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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NETHERLANDS AND NEW SPAIN

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PhD thesis

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“And how do you know where these meanings are?

I kind of see 'em. Or feel 'em rather, like climbing down a ladder at night, you put your foot down and there's another meaning, and I kind of sense what it is. Then I put 'em all together. There's a trick in it like focusing your eyes.”

Philip Pullman, *His Dark Materials: Northern Lights*.

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(Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.

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Archives, special collections, databases

Archives

- (GAS) Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, Netherlands.
- Archief van de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente Haarlem, Netherlands.
- Museo y Archivo Histórico Casa de Morelos, Morelia, Michoacán, México.

Special collections

- (UG) Universiteitsbibliotheek Groningen, Netherlands.
- (UL) Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Netherlands.
- (UA) Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- (KB) Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Leiden, Netherlands.
- (UU) Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, Netherlands.
- Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain.
- (BNM) Biblioteca Nacional de México, Ciudad de México, México.
- Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago, Chile.
- Biblioteca Justino Fernández, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ciudad de México, México.
- Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Ciudad de México, México.

Databases

- HathiTrust Digital Library: <https://www.hathitrust.org/>
- (DD) Delpher database: <https://www.delpher.nl/>
- (BSCO) Book Sales Catalogues Online - Book Auctioning in the Dutch Republic, ca. 1500–ca. 1800. Database provided by Brill: <https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online>
- Google Books: <https://books.google.com/>
- (RAH) Real Academia de Historia, *Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico*: <https://dbe.rah.es/>

I. Introduction: one heart, two objects.

Let us imagine that sometime in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, a religious person of a Protestant denomination, a citizen of the so-called Dutch Republic, lays his hands on a book of a religious nature — one which by this time has been on the literary market for eighty years or more, undergoing numerous reprints and reissues in its lifetime. This book is entitled *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelyke spiegel voor 't gemoed*,¹ was first published in Amsterdam in 1678 by Pieter Arentsz (d.1688), and is composed of texts in Dutch and images, both made by the prolific artist and writer Jan Luyken (1649-1712). On opening and beginning to gaze upon the contents of the book, the believer begins to turn the pages and ends up encountering, on three separate occasions, three images that show how two human figures appear to be interacting, in different ways, with a heart (Figs.1-3).²

Around the same time, across the Atlantic, in a small town called Atotonilco near what was once known as San Miguel el Grande (today San Miguel de Allende), in part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, a Roman Catholic community of believers attends the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene. To enter, they must pass not only the main doors but also the interior doors of a *cancel*, a wooden screen that, among its functions, regulates the passage of visitors, protects from wind and external sound, and guards the sacred mysteries that take place inside the sanctuary. This *cancel* is peculiar: it is made up of an impressive number of panels, each one painted by the artist Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (eighteenth century), with images, and texts of various kinds both in Spanish and Latin (Fig.4). Entering through one of the doors, the community finds itself in a vestibule, from which they can move to various parts of the complex. Looking back towards the inner part of the *cancel*, they notice that many of the panels have images of two figures and a heart, and the heart appears to be going through various processes (Figs.5-6).

¹ “Jesus and the Soul. A Spiritual Mirror for the Inner Being [emotional state, character, soul, mind, heart].” Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. The word *gemoed* is not easy to translate. Els Stronks proposes “A Spiritual Mirror for the Heart”. Here I prefer to translate *gemoed* indicating some distinction from “heart”, since to put in the title the word heart gives way to a more biased reading to the text and sets up certain implications of what heart means. Els Stronks, *Negotiating Differences: Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011), 238.

² Here and throughout the study, the figures used for Luyken’s *Jesus en de ziel* belong to the 1696 edition of the books: Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696) preserved at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. These are images retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library, and they are of Public Domain. Between the 1699 and the 1678 there are no important alterations on the object.

Both the believer in the Dutch Republic and the people in Atotonilco are faced with images which they would have no reason to doubt are linked in some way to a system of beliefs that is akin to their own, that is, assuming that the believer wanted to have the book, or someone wanted them to have it, and that the religious community was part of the social and religious developments of the Viceroyalty. It is possible that neither side knew, however, that these images are derived from the same source: a famous Jesuit-influenced religious emblem book entitled the *Schola cordis, sive, Aversi a Deo cordis ad eundem reductio et instructio*, written by the Benedictine monk Benedictus van Haeften (1588-1648), with images by Boetius a. Bolswert (c.1585-1633), first published in Antwerp in 1629. The visual motif of the heart produced for one object has come to have, then, other lives, in similar objects but in a different Christian denomination on one hand, and in drastically different objects but in a Catholic shrine half a world away on the other.

Imagining these events in the life of a motif has made me wonder, perhaps naively, what happened when these people saw the heart as it was displayed in such images, and in such objects? Could they have had a similar response, though the circumstances in which they encounter the motif were so different? Did these images have any impact on the religious life of the diverse consumers who interacted with them? Moreover, if they did, could we know that now, and if so, how? Given that the events, experiences, and impact I was considering concern religious life, I started to question what kind of religious images these are: these are not stand-alone devotional images or objects containing the visual motif of the heart alone, used in a specific religious practice; rather, they are images surrounded by texts, and they are part of an object or a structure, both of them richly populated by more images and texts. Is it possible to study the role of this kind of religious image in the individual's religious experience, especially when that experience is something that happened in the eighteenth century? In sum: how can we know the modes by which historically situated religious images worked?

Both Luyken's and Pocasangre's hearts provide us an opportunity to explore theoretical and methodological issues entailed in the study of the religious image, understood as part of an artefact, used by individuals either for religious purposes or in a religious setting and as a historical phenomenon that helps us understand something of the development of the religious in the human being — something we could not know, were it not for images and the objects containing them. To be more concrete, what I want to understand is the roles the visual motif of the heart, whose iconographic source was the *Schola cordis*, played during the eighteenth

century in the religious consumption of the emblem book *Jesus en de ziel*, and in engagement with the *cancel* of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene in Atotonilco. It is my argument in the present study that this question can be answered by providing a method based on the objects in which the heart images are contained, and on the religious affordances that can be deduced from them. By attempting to answer this basic question, I can forge a path to confront slightly more fundamental issues about the nature of the religious image as such and about its study. In other words, the description and analysis of the visual motif of the heart in two objects, a Dutch Protestant emblem book, and a viceregal Catholic *cancel*, furnish an opportunity to problematise the religious image, and to suggest how by understanding the affordances of religious images, we can gain a better understanding of the role of these objects in the religious experiences of individuals in a historical context.

The chosen objects present diverse material, cultural, and spatial conditions, and nevertheless they share the same iconographic source, and produced in the same period. Using two divergent objects united by a common motif enables us to explore the spectrum of the extent to which their materiality, production, and use condition our understanding of religious images and their role in the experience of the individual (in terms of the religious consumption of the objects that contains them), preserving a common visual vehicle as kind of an iconographic guiding line. This research is ultimately an analysis on the utility of a method: the selected cases will bring diverse elements and problems into the discussion of how we study the roles of images, that most probably are shared with other religious objects, and thus can be further developed, and challenged, beyond the boundaries of this project. The questions and methods to be used and developed here should be such that they can be applied, and questioned, in other case studies.

We will primarily engage in analysing the visual motif of the heart in both *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel*, applying an object-based method of analysis, structured in three steps that will be further explained below, namely: the description of the object, the internal mechanisms of the object, and the known interaction with the object. Thus, the main body of the research will be devoted to the application of this method; the subsequent part, the final chapter, will be a reflection on the methodology applied, what we come to understand of such objects, and what claims can be made concerning the nature and modes of study of the religious image.

Before proceeding, however, it seems appropriate to introduce the objects of study in some more detail, noting how they have been addressed in prior scholarship. I will also take

advantage of this section to briefly introduce the iconographic source of both objects: the *Schola cordis*. Familiarity with the *Schola cordis* provides us with important information regarding basic differences and similarities between the original religious material to which the images belonged, and our case studies. This will prove to be especially relevant for the analysis of the *cancel*. Secondly, I will sketch how and to what degree the theoretical issues I aim to treat in the study of these objects have been previously tackled. Lastly, I will provide an account of how I will proceed to analyse the objects of study in order to answer the question of the motif's role in the modes in which the objects were consumed. This will be an explanation of the method to be used, briefly mentioned above.

1. The objects of study and their scholarship

The *Schola cordis, sive, Aversi a Deo cordis ad eundem reductio et instructio* is a Roman Catholic emblem book written by the Benedictine monk Benedictus van Haeften of the Abbey of Affligem, and published in 1629 by Hieronymus Verdussen (1552-1635) in Antwerp with engravings by Boetius a. Bolswert.³ The *Schola cordis* is divided into four books, which are themselves divided into classes, and the classes into lessons.⁴ Every lesson is generally preceded by an emblem that presents an image with a *subscriptio* detailing the name of the emblem, giving a biblical verse, and an epigram. There follows the lesson, composed first of the biblical verse and the epigram found in the emblem, then a text in prose with the contents of the lesson, constantly utilising references to other authors and to the Bible throughout the text. The length of the lessons throughout the book can vary. The book is composed of fifty-

³ USTC No. 1003906. The work was reprinted at least three more times: 1635, 1663, 1699. For Haeften's *Schola cordis*, see: Bernhard Scholz, "Emblematic Word-Image Relations in Benedictus van Haeften's *Schola cordis* (Antwerp, 1629) and Christopher Harvey's *School of the Heart* (London, 1647/1664), in *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, ed. Bart Westerweel (Leiden, New York, & Cologne: Brill, 1997), 149-176; Bernhard Scholz "Het hart als *res significans* en als *res picta*: Benedictus van Haeften's *Schola Cordis* (Antwerpen, 1629)," *Spiegel der Letteren* 33, no. 3 (1991): 115-148. For a brief introduction to the concept and origins of the emblem book see: Peter M. Daly, ed. *Companion to Emblem Studies* (New York: AMS Press, 2008); Karl A.E. Enekel and Paul J. Smith, "Introduction: Emblems and the Natural World (ca. 1530-1700)," in *Emblems and the Natural World*, ed. Karl A.E. Enekel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2017), 1-40; Karl A.E. Enekel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510-1610* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019). For a general introduction to the theory of emblem see: Peter M. Daly, *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2014). For Benedictus van Haeften see: Herwig Verleyen, *Dom Benedictus van Haeften proost van Affligem 1588-1648: bijdrage tot de studie van het kloosterleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1983).

⁴The number of lessons depends on the class: the First Class has seven lessons; the Second Class, seven; the Third Class, six; the Fourth Class, eleven; the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Classes have eight lessons each. This makes a total of fifty-five lessons.

five engravings, plus the title-figure, almost all of which represent several tests and situations to which the heart is put by *Anima* and *Amor divinus*.

The contents of the work are divided in the following manner: The first book (*Praeuia ad doctrinam cordis: Introductio*) serves as the introduction to the subject, and to the doctrine of the “school of the heart”; this book contains no emblems. The second book (*Auersi cordis ad Deum: Conuersio & directio*) is comprised of three classes: the first (*Cordis auersio*) presents the sins and worldly elements that made humanity distant from God and led it to damnation; the second (*Cordis reuersio & expurgatio*) and third (*Cordis oblatio & examen*) introduce the reader to the purgative path or process that the believer must follow. The third book (*Dei erga cor humanum beneficia*), composed of the fourth (*Cordis illuminatio, & Spiritualis profectus*) and fifth (*Cordis perfectio & cum Christo unio*) classes, centres on the illuminative path and unitive path. Finally, the fourth book (*Exercitatio cordis in Christi passione*) is divided into the sixth (*Peregrinatio cordis cum Christo patiente*) and seventh (*Cordis cum cruce & crucifixo conformatio*) classes and provides a number of exercises the devotee is invited to do, connected to the Passion of Christ and to the three paths (purgative, illuminative and unitive) explored throughout the work.⁵

Van Haeften’s work is connected to a tradition in which motifs of secular love emblems are transferred to a religious context. Eros and Anteros, the main protagonists of these secular books, were redeployed as allegories of a spiritual pilgrimage of Heavenly Love and Earthly Love, Divine Love and the Anima, and, of course, of Jesus and the Soul.⁶ This journey follows the purgative–illuminative–unitive formula, known as the mystic way, which is “the progress of the soul en route to salvation”.⁷ According to this structure, the person follows a path in ascending order from the purgative to the illuminative and finally the unitive state.⁸ The most famous examples of this literature, apart from the *Schola cordis* itself, are Otto van Veen’s (1556-1629) *Amoris divini emblemata, studio et aere* (1615),⁹ published in Antwerp; and

⁵ Carme López, “A Play on Emblematics: Reworking the *Schola Cordis* into a Marian Catholic Programme of Applied Emblems,” *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 33, no.2 (June 2017): 141.

⁶ Barbara K. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 190-191. About Eros and Anteros, see: Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (Colorado: Icon Editions, 1972). The Jesuits, especially, made use of Eros and Anteros in religious settings, so their love and journey could reflect important aspects of the spiritual life. A good example is the emblem book *Typus Mundi*, attributed to Philippe de Mallery (1627).

⁷ Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 192.

⁸ Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 190-193.

⁹ For Otto van Veen’s *Amoris divini emblemata*, see: Arnoud Visser, “Commonplaces of Catholic Love. Otto van Veen, Michel Hoyer and St. Augustine between Humanism and the Counter Reformation,” in *Proceedings of the Emblem Project Utrecht Conference on Dutch Love Emblems and the Internet*, ed. Els Stronks and Peter Boot

Herman Hugo's (1588-1629) *Pia desideria, emblematis, elegiis et affectibus SS. Patrum* (1624),¹⁰ also published in Antwerp.

It is through Van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata* that the notion of *Amor divinus* and the *Anima* and their journey for salvation are introduced in the genre of emblem books for the first time.¹¹ As Nathalie de Brézé rightly observes, in Van Veen

the soul is no longer a passive substance that solely depends on its faith; it covers a path which, as in earthly life, is fraught with pitfalls, doubts, difficulties to overcome adversity and not succumb to vice.¹²

Hugo's *Pia desideria*, on the other hand, may be one of the most widely reproduced and reutilized religious emblem books ever produced.¹³ This work laid out a somewhat clearer narrative around the progress of the Soul in her journey to salvation, following the structure of the mystic way.

Van Haeften's *Schola cordis*, in turn, lies at the origin of a sub-group of what Barbara Lewalski calls the "schools of the heart" emblem books. In this group, the heart motif is the central figure of both the emblems, and of the text accompanying them. The bodily organ becomes the central medium through which the soul follows the purgative process, starting in a worldly, sinfully inclined environment, proceeding through a spiritual renovation to a final unification. Each lesson of the work focuses on different challenges the person's heart must

(The Hague: DANS-Data Archiving and Networked Services, 2007), 33-48.; Peter Boot, "Similar or Dissimilar Loves? *Amoris Divini Emblemata* and its Relation to *Amorum Emblemata*" in *Otto Vaenius and his Emblem Books*, ed. Simon McKeown, *Glasgow Emblem Studies* 15 (2012): 157-173; Anne Buschoff, *Die Liebesemblemata des Otto van Veen: Die Amorum (1608) Emblemata und die Amoris Divini Emblemata (1615)* (Bremen: Verlag H.M. Hauschild GmbH, 2004).

¹⁰ For a general introduction to the *Pia desideria*, see: Richard G. Dimler, "Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria*," in *Mundus Emblematicus: Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, ed. by Karl A.E. Emenkel and Arnoud S.Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 351-379. This emblem book was constantly reprinted and adapted to different languages. Feike Dietz and Els Stronks, "German Religious Emblems as Stimuli of Visual Culture in the Dutch Republic," *Church History and Religious Culture* 91, no.3/4 (November 2011): 356. On the *Pia Desideria* and its influence see: Els Stronks, "Dutch Religious Love Emblems. Reflections of Faith and Toleration in the Later Seventeenth Century," *Literature and Theology* 23, no.2 (June 2009): 143; Feike Dietz, "*Pia desideria* through Children's Eyes. The Eighteenth-Century Revival of *Pia desideria* in a Dutch Children's Book," *Emblematica* 17 (January 2009): 192-212.

¹¹ Els Stronks. "Amor Dei in Emblems for Dutch Youth," in *Ut pictura amor: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1500-1700*, ed. Walter Melion, Michael Zell, and Joanna Woodall (Leiden & Boston: 2017), 565.

¹² Nathalie de Brézé, "Picturing the Soul, Living and Departed," in *The Anthropomorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts*, ed. Walter Melion, Bret Rothstein, and Michel Weemans (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 134.

¹³ Bart, Westerweel, "On the European Dimension of Dutch Emblem Production," *Glasgow Emblem Studies* 8 (2003): 2-3.

confront. *Anima* and *Amor divinus* are still present, but the struggles that the spiritual life entails are exemplified through what we suppose is *Anima*'s heart. The works in this group are literally schools, the author teaching lessons that utilise the heart as the main tool through which we learn and recollect the work's message visually and textually. In them, the heart becomes thereby the instrument by means of which to understand every important spiritual process either of improvement or of detriment to the devotee's soul.¹⁴

Two after-lives of the Schola cordis: Atotonilco and Jesus en de ziel.

The images of the *Schola cordis* came to have many lives thanks to an impressive network of movements and transactions that owes its success to the distributive affordances of the printing medium. In this section I proceed first to sum up part of the Catholic life of the book, considering the *Schola cordis* was produced in a Catholic environment, reaching in the end our principal object: the *cancel* at Atotonilco; second, I elucidate briefly on the presence of the book in the Protestant side, with *Jesus en de ziel* as the main point of discussion. As will be seen next in the analysis of the case studies, in Part II of this research, I begin with *Jesus en de ziel* and then follow with the *cancel*. This is mainly due to how this research developed, first working within a Dutch context and archives. *Jesus en de ziel* became the basis for comparison when working with the Mexican counterpart, which came afterwards.

The *Schola cordis* entered different geographies, through diverse translations, editions, and in a multiplicity of contexts from the time of its first conception, being produced and consumed in Europe, Latin America, and Asia.¹⁵ The first German edition, for example, was produced in 1652 under the title *Hertzen Schuel, oder, Des von Gott abgefuerten Herzens Widerbringung zu Gott vnd Vnderweisung*, reprinted in 1664. In Spain, the Benedictine monk Diego de Mecoleta (d. 1764) translated the *Schola cordis* to Spanish. This version, entitled *La escuela del corazon: instruccion para que el corazon averso se convierta a Dios*, was published in Madrid by José Rodríguez de Escobar (n.d.) in 1720 (reprinted in 1748 and 1791).

In addition, the *Schola cordis* was used for pictorial cycles outside of the print medium. For example, the book was used as reference for the paintings of diverse spaces and objects in

¹⁴ Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 193.

¹⁵ Lauren G. Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ or Unholy Idol? The Sacred Heart in the Art, Religion, and Politics of New Spain* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019), 43.

the Viceregal period.¹⁶ It can be seen in a series of wall paintings in the “Patio de los Naranjos”, located at the Convent of Santa Catalina de Siena, in Arequipa, Perú, completed in the eighteenth century;¹⁷ and in the famous *Políptico de la Muerte*, now in the Museo del Virreinato, in Tepotzotlán, also from the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Lastly, it can be seen as part of the pictorial programme of the *cancel* at Atotonilco, the second of our two case studies.

Built around the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the *cancel* at the Sanctuary of Atotonilco is a wooden structure composed of three large panels that conceal the entrance to the interior of the sanctuary proper. The sanctuary was a complex religious project devised by the Oratorian priest Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro (1709-1776), who began its construction in 1740. A large-scale enterprise that went through different construction phases, the sanctuary was augmented by the Chapel of Bethlehem and the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre between 1759 and 1763. Inside the architectural space, the chapels were connected to the rest of the complex through a vestibule, which started to serve as the first zone that the community would enter when passing the main entrance and the *cancel* located immediately after it. Both lateral sides of the *cancel* have one door each, and the central section has two doors in the centre which, unlike the lateral ones, have windows. Both sides (external and internal) of the structure are ornamented with paintings, executed in tempera on wooden panels, which belong to the structure itself. The *cancel* is composed of no fewer than 216 panels, of which forty-six were inspired by the images and accompanying texts of the Spanish edition of the *Schola cordis*, the *Escuela del corazon*, mentioned above. These panels were painted by Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre. Due to the significant number of interventions that the *cancel* has suffered, which will be discussed in the analysis, today it is possible to recognize the influences of the *Schola cordis* in only thirty-seven of the panels, and of these only eighteen are less heavily

¹⁶ For more information, and a visual archive, on the use of religious emblems as the basis for Latin American Colonial Art, see: PESSCA (Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art), accessed September 18, 2022, <https://colonialart.org/>. On the study of emblems in the Viceroyalties, see: José Pascual Buxó, *El resplandor intelectual de las imágenes: estudios de emblemática y literatura novohispana* (Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002); Museo Nacional de Arte ed., *Juegos de ingenio y agudeza: la pintura emblemática de la Nueva España* (Ciudad de México: Ediciones del Equilibrista, 1994); José Miguel Morales, “La emblemática mística y su influencia en los programas iconográficos de Iberoamérica,” *Quiroga: Revista de Patrimonio Iberoamericano*, no.11 (January-June 2017), 71-80; Víctor Mínguez ed., *Del libro de emblemas a la ciudad simbólica: actas del III Simposio Internacional de Emblemática Hispánica*, vols. 1 & 2 (Valencia: Universitat Jaume I, 2000); Bárbara Skinfill & Eloy Gómez, *Las dimensiones del arte emblemático* (Michoacán: Colegio de Michoacán, 2002).

¹⁷ For this programme, see: Rafael García, “Gemidos, deseos y suspiros: el programa místico de Santa Catalina de Arequipa,” *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar*, no.48-49 (1992): 83-96.

¹⁸ For the *políptico de la muerte*, see: Andrea Montiel, “El políptico de la muerte: un compendio para el bien vivir en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII,” *Vita Brevis* 3, no.4 (January-June 2014): 25-36.

modified so that we can glimpse more reliably Pocasangre's hand and get closer to the original aesthetic effect and compositional conception of each of the panels.¹⁹

All the *Schola cordis* based panels (referred to hereafter as the EC-panels) are positioned together, located in the bottom section of the internal side of the *cancel*. The rest of the panels of the *cancel* can be divided in three separate programmes: one dedicated to the Virtues, Gifts, and Religious Figures (located at the top section of the exterior side, comprised of sixty panels); another to the Liturgical Year (located at the bottom section of the exterior side, comprised of forty eight panels), loosely based on the images contained in the *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, written by Jerónimo Nadal (1507-1580), and first published in 1593; and a third one focused on religious figures before the Sacred Heart (located at the top section of the internal side, comprised of sixty six panels).²⁰

The *cancel* has received relatively little scholarly attention, mostly only mentioned briefly in broader Emblem studies and their influence in the Viceroyalty.²¹ The most important contributions to its study number three works, of which only one is fully dedicated to the presence of the *Schola cordis* in the *cancel*. Reyes Escalera's article on the identification of the emblems of the *Schola cordis* in the *cancel*, provides a detailed iconographic and stylistic analysis of the panels, and provides a synthetic treatment of the subject of the *Schola cordis*.²² Escalera's emphasis is less on the *cancel* as an object, than on it as a bearer of an iconographic tradition, and the study speculates on the possibility of Pocasangre's use, at Father Alfaro's instance, of both a Latin and a Spanish version of Haeften's book as a source. I will argue that it may not be necessary to insist on the use of both versions, since what is supposedly used of the Latin edition was already contained in the Spanish one.

The second work treating the *cancel* in some detail is José de Santiago Silva's *Atotonilco: Alfaro y Pocasangre*, a book that has justly become an authoritative reference for art historical studies of the Sanctuary of Atotonilco.²³ In his highly detailed description of the diverse spaces of the complex, Santiago also addresses the *cancel*. Apart from providing a

¹⁹ See Tables 11-14, located in Chapter 4 of Part II, in which it is clarified the connections between the panels and the contents, both visual and textual, from the *Escuela del corazon*.

²⁰ See Tables 2-14, located in Chapter 4 of Part II, in which it is clarified the contents of the diverse programmes described here.

²¹ See, for example: Buxó, *El resplandor intelectual*; Museo Nacional de Arte, *Juegos de ingenio*; Morales, "La emblemática mística"; Mínguez, *Del libro de emblemas*; Skinfill and Gómez, *Las dimensiones*.

²² Reyes Escalera, "Schola Cordis y su impronta en el cancel del Santuario de Jesús Nazareno de Atotonilco (México)," *Quiroga: Revista de Patrimonio Iberoamericano*, no.11 (January-June 2017): 12-28.

²³ José de Santiago, *Atotonilco: Alfaro y Pocasangre* (Guanajuato: Ediciones la Rana, 2004).

historical overview of the conception of the sanctuary and of its progenitor, Father Alfaro, one of Santiago's main objectives is to give a thorough account on how the complex is composed, what images are preserved in the sanctuary, and what are the iconographic sources employed to make the rich visual programme for which the sanctuary is famous. The author also argues for a notable coherence between the way the sanctuary is configured and Father Alfaro's spirituality. About the *cancel*, Santiago, like Escalera after him, stresses the iconographic background of the panels, but now connects it to the intellectual programme of the complex, and provides an (incomplete) list identifying some of the panels with the *Schola cordis*. The author does not devote much room to a consideration of the object in which the panels are situated, except to point out some symbolic implications of the entrance as the liminal space between the sacred and the profane. Santiago is interested instead in how the images are coherent with a greater intellectual and religious scheme; any aspect of interaction between the *cancel* and the panels themselves is overlooked.

Finally, the dissertation of Ana Isabel Pérez Gavilán is dedicated to the practice of the *Via Crucis* at the Sanctuary of Atotonilco.²⁴ Pérez's extensive study within the complex revolves around this religious practice, connecting diverse pictorial cycles to the *Via Crucis*, distinguishing different spaces and types of representation in which the practice might have been performed in the eighteenth century. The motif of the heart acquires a fundamental role, existing a very particular pictorial cycle in which the heart has substituted the figure of Jesus on the scenes of the Stations of the Cross (Fig.7). As we shall see, the heart is a motif widely used in the diverse visual programmes of the sanctuary. For this reason, Pérez gives importance to the *cancel*, primarily as an object that bears the emblematic tradition of the *Schola cordis*, and that shows how this tradition is connected to the development of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Via the *cancel*, but not necessarily focusing on it, Pérez traces the ways in which the emblems of the *Schola cordis* are connected to what Alfaro was trying to convey in the sanctuary, and to the meanings of the practices and possible actions enacted within the complex.

As useful as these contributions are, none discusses in detail the visual motif of the heart in the *cancel* in terms of what kind of role it could have played, as part of this entrance device, in the religious experience of the individual. How could the motif, whose sources have

²⁴ Ana Isabel Pérez, "The *Via Crucis* in the Eighteenth-Century New Spain: Innovative Practices in the Sanctuary of Jesus of Nazareth at Atotonilco, Guanajuato (PhD diss., Binghamton University & State University of New York, 2010).

been so carefully delineated, work, and what could the community have done with it? In the existing scholarship, the relationship between object and image has received less attention. What is stressed, rather, is the way in which the meanings of the source on which the panels are based are conveyed by means of an iconographic, intellectual, and religious programme that lies behind the configuration of the sanctuary and belongs to a cultural history of the presence of the emblematic tradition in the visual culture of the Viceroyalty.

In sum, the questions have been mostly of an iconographic nature. Even where the programme in the *cancel* is used to talk about practices, an important fact remains absent: the images are part of a large construction, a *cancel* which, I will argue, conditions whatever the images with the motif of the heart could come to afford to the community. In terms of iconographical analysis, it should be underlined that the images on the *cancel* are not merely Van Haefen's images in the *Schola cordis* transferred to a different location and object; they are a new creation by Pocasangre and Father Alfaro that is in dialogue with the rest of the structure, and the sanctuary as a whole. This new work is created with the help of the *Escuela del corazon* as a visual and textual resource, but nevertheless a creation that stands on its own without it. In other words, in considering the EC-panels of the *cancel* at Atotonilco we are not looking at the *Escuela del corazon*, as if the structure would only work in reference to its iconographic source. More importantly for the present study, the community is not looking at the *Escuela del corazon* but otherwise, but at a self-standing *cancel*, containing images in which the heart is going through diverse processes, and two figures are interacting with it. These are images that we know, alongside, conceivably, a few learned individuals in the eighteenth-century Viceroyalty, are derived from a famous religious emblem book. How the community relates to these images is, however, not something conditioned by the book they were inspired by, but primarily by the affordances of the structure and the space where the viewers are able to relate to these images; in addition to the community's own systems of beliefs and practices, in a specific period in time, and their use of the sanctuary, whether learned, authorised or instructed by the ecclesiastical authorities of the sanctuary.

What is central to this study is the knowledge that we can come to acquire from the analysis of the object itself, in terms of what the object affords, what it could have afforded, and what these can tell us about how the objects' users interacted with it. The interest is primarily not of an iconographical nature, or in the intellectual-historical context of the work, nor about the patronage behind the *cancel*'s production; it is rather object-oriented research,

and the possibilities for religious action that we can elucidate from it. The object allows us to focus on more concrete actions and exchanges, as opposed to an approach on larger contexts that uses the object to exemplify more general processes or signify ideas that go beyond what we know the specific object might have offered in a given context. Our study wants to give the *cancel* the greatest emphasis, acknowledging that even though the iconographical, intellectual and patronage contexts are important, among others, we want to pause for a moment on the object as such, and what can we get from it.

Let us turn to *Jesus en de ziel*. The influence of the *Schola cordis* was not limited to Catholic visual culture, it *also* entered the Protestant printing culture.²⁵ One of the first Protestant adaptations of Van Haeften's work was Christopher Harvey's (1597-1663) *The School of the Heart* (1647), in which the author describes the fall of man and darkness that has surrounded the heart using forty-seven emblems, most of them based on the *Schola cordis* images.²⁶ Apart from Harvey's work, other Protestant emblem books were published with references to the *Schola cordis*. For example, Johannes Boekholt's (1656-1693) *Geopende en bereidwillige herte na de Heere Jesus* (1693) relies heavily on the visual corpus provided by Van Haeften.²⁷

Jan Luyken's *Jesus en de ziel* was a crucial publication for the entry of the motif of Eros and Anteros into religious love emblem books produced in the Dutch Republic, and for the proliferation of emblems of the type found in the *Schola cordis*. Luyken managed to appropriate the Catholic visual tradition in a quite masterful and creative way. The poet and

²⁵ According to Dietz and Stronks, the reception of the Catholic visual tradition has as intermediary the German Protestant visual culture that appropriated these emblem books in the first place. In this way German Lutheranism became a filter for the kind of visual culture that was being introduced in the Dutch Republic. See: Dietz and Stronks, "German Religious Emblems," 360-361. Protestantism, in its various forms, had a complex relationship with images; see: John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Joseph L. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004); Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993); Stronks, *Negotiating Differences*; Ilja M. Veldman, "Protestantism and the Arts: Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," in *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corby Finney (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 397-421.

²⁶ Harvey altered many elements of the *Schola cordis*, including providing devotional poems and new biblical texts for the mottoes of the emblems. He also breaks with Van Haeften's structure of mystical stages, using the emblems and texts instead to show the process the heart goes through for the sake of renovation, and the necessity and loving benefit of adhering to a spiritual life, without any intention to show a final unification with God. See: Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 193.

²⁷ Stronks, *Negotiating Differences*, 246, 249. Boekholt followed the same strategy for his 1684 Dutch edition of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's *El pastor de Nochebuena*, known as *De harder van de goede nacht*. On Boekholt see: Jacques B.H. Alblas, *Johannes Boekholt (1656-1693): The First Dutch Publisher of John Bunyan and other English Authors* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1987).

engraver used as part of his visual and textual sources a few emblem books in addition to the *Schola cordis*, some of them already mentioned: Otto van Veen's *Amorum emblemata* (1608) and the *Amoris divini emblemata*; Hugo's *Pia desideria*,²⁸ and Van Haeften's *Regia via crucis*.²⁹

All these books may have contributed contents and images for Luyken's works, but it is important to observe precisely which influences predominate. Van Veen's works clearly provided a model for centring the text on the celebration of love between Christ (*Amor divinus*) and the Soul (*Anima*), drawing on allegorical interpretations of the Song of Songs, one of the biblical books underlying this subject. On the other hand, Hugo's *Pia desideria* prefigures the basic narrative structure followed by Luyken, and both Van Haeften's works were crucial for the visual language of *Jesus en de ziel*.³⁰

Jesus en de ziel comprises thirty-nine emblems, and an additional image that works as its title-figure. Throughout the work's three-part structure, which follows more or less Van Haeften's tripartite mystic path, we see and read about the Soul's journey to be united with God, leaving in that way the worldly behind. During this trip, we see the Soul's growing relationship with Jesus, the bridegroom, who joins her for the greater part of this journey to salvation.³¹

From the *Schola cordis*, Luyken used Emblem 33 (*Obsignatio cordis*)³² (Fig.8) for his emblem XXXVII (*De Ziele heft haer herte met Jesus versegeldt*);³³ and Emblem 36 (*Cordis vigilia*)³⁴ (Fig.9) for emblem XIV (*De Ziele rustende van alle uyerlijcke menighuyldigheden, waeckt met het inwendige ooge des gemoeds*). Luyken focuses on the image of Van Haeften's Emblem 33, without drawing on the biblical verse (Song of Songs 8:6) and the epigram given in the *Schola cordis*; instead, he uses Galatians 2:10. From Van Haeften's Emblem 36 he draws,

²⁸ Dietz and Stronks, "German Religious Emblems," 358. A precedent for how the *Pia Desideria* could be used in a more Protestant tone was provided by Petrus Serrarius' first Dutch adaptation of Hugo's book in 1653, the *Goddelycke aandachten*. See: Stronks, "Dutch Religious Love Emblems," 143. However, according to Stronks, Serrarius' book went almost unnoticed.

²⁹ Els Stronks, "Working the Senses with Words: The Act of Religious Reading in the Dutch Republic," in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Celeste Brusati, Karl A.E. Enenkel & Walter Melion (Boston & Leiden: Brill, 2011), 690, 692.

³⁰ Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 191.

³¹ Stronks, *Negotiating differences*, 233.

³² Book 3, Lesson 13, Class 5.

³³ This is the title of the poem that accompanies the image, and I use it here purely as a convenient means of identifying the image; other than the Roman numeral (e.g., XXXVII) no other title for the emblem is given in the work. The same applies for the rest of the emblems of *Jesus en de ziel*.

³⁴ Book 3, Lesson 16, Class 5.

for emblem XIV, the same biblical verse (Song of Songs 5:2) deployed for the emblem in the *Schola cordis*. In addition to heart images clearly derived from Van Haeften, Luyken also created one emblem with the heart, Emblem XXXII (*De Ziele roemt de geestelijcke schoonheyt hoogh boven de wereltsche*), whose source remains unidentified, but that we could assume was generally inspired by the manner in which the motif was used in the *Schola cordis*.

In sharp contrast to the dearth scholarship on the *cancel*, a considerable amount of research has been devoted to Luyken's oeuvre. Indeed, there have been studies that explore several aspects of *Jesus en de ziel* in particular, notably those of Els Stronks, Feike Dietz, and Arie Gelderblom, in which the book has been analysed in terms of readership, meaning, composition, and the work's contribution to the construction of religious identities in the Dutch Republic.³⁵ Often the studies on meaning and use are focused on what the text and image are trying to say, and how this can be connected to a historically and culturally situated context, and to a history of ideas.³⁶ It is clear that *Jesus en de ziel* was a fundamental element in the development of the emblem genre in the Dutch Republic, in addition to being a clear reflection and contributor of many religious ideas that were developing in the region. Studies of the work, many coming from the field of literature, have put their focus on understanding the kind of reader to which the book was directed, and the place it holds in a cultural history of the Early Modern period.

³⁵ To name just a few of the most relevant contributions: Stronks, "Working the Senses"; Stronks, *Negotiating Differences*; Feike Dietz and Johannes Müller, "De *Spiegel* in beeld: Hendrik Herps *Spiegel der volcomenheit* in *Jesus en de ziel* van Jan Luyken," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 82, no.1 (January 2011): 59-84; Arie Gelderblom, "Who were Jan Luyken's Readers?," in *Emblemata Sacra: rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images: The Rhetoric and Hermeneutics of Illustrated Sacred Discourse*, ed. Ralph Dekoninck and Agnes Guiderdoni-Bruslé, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 399-509; Arie Gelderblom, "Leerzaam huisraad, vol van vuur," in *De steen van Alciato. Literatuur en visuele cultuur in de Nederlanden: opstellen voor prof. Dr. Karel Porteman bij zijn emeritaat*, ed. M. van Vaeck, H. Brems, G.H.M. Classens (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 900-921; Arie Gelderblom, "Binnen en buiten. Symboliek in de emblemen van Jan Luyken" in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1998-1999* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 18-35; Piet Visser, "De pilgrimage van Jan Luyken door de doopsgezinde boekenwereld," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen nieuwe reeks* 95 (1999), 167-198; Karel Porteman, "De Nationale benadering van het emblema. Roemer Visscher en Jan Luyken," in *Niederlandistik und Germanistik Tangenten und Schnittpunkte: Festschrift für Gerhard Worgt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Helga Hipp (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 179-196; Herman W.J Vekeman, "'Jesus en de ziel' Jan Luyken tussen essentie en existentie," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal - en Letterkunde* 95 (1979): 177-203; Karel Meeuwesse, "Uren met Luyken," *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 61, (1968), 81-86.

³⁶ See, for example, Stronks, "Working the Senses"; Gelderblom "Who were Jan Luyken Readers?"; and Visser, "De pilgrimage". Stronks stresses upon the development of devotional readers, and how both text and images found on emblem books can elucidate such development in the Dutch republic. Taking into account the topics, language, and types of images in Luyken's work, Gelderblom attempts to elucidate what kind of reader Luyken's production was intended for. Piet Visser contextualises Luyken's production on the Mennonite religious, cultural, and economic developments during the end of the seventeenth century to the eighteenth.

Nevertheless, no detailed research exists that focuses on the use of the visual motif of the heart in Luyken. Even less attention has been devoted to the role that such motifs could have played in terms of religious experience with respect to religious interactions between an individual and the object that bears this motif. We still do not know much about the implications of its materiality for its consumption, as an object that had many “lives” as a (re-)printed book. Els Stronks has indicated possible directions on approaching the material aspects of *Jesus en de ziel*. In particular, she has explored the material possibilities of interaction with Luyken’s work, analysing an eighteenth-century anonymous manuscript that reproduces *Jesus en de ziel*’s images with new texts.³⁷ Stronks examines how the anonymous author emphasises in this new artistic creation Luyken’s diverse proposals such as the act of learning how to see God through the book of nature.³⁸ Aside from not being centred on the motif of the heart in Luyken, Stronk’s treatment of the material aspects here tend to be, however, more focused on the product based on *Jesus en de ziel*, than on *Jesus en de ziel* itself and its production and consumption themselves: the study revolves around not Luyken’s object, but what was done when the decision was made to take Luyken’s work as a model.

While this study is invaluable for our understanding of the possibilities of the book in terms of the new product a believer created by drawing on the object, what remains understudied is the manipulation with *Jesus en de ziel* itself. *Jesus en de ziel*, as a religious object, was actually part of a greater network of production and consumption. The material implications of how that network was developing can tell something largely ignored in scholarship about the modes by which the individual interacted with the book, and with the heart-emblems within it. The present study aims to address this *lacuna*, by analysing these other facets of the emblem book, considering the implications of a study mostly focused on the object, looking for what else can the object help us in understanding processes of religious consumption in the eighteenth century, acknowledging, albeit putting aside for the moment, the work that has been done so far on its contents, meaning and implications within the literary, religious and cultural developments in the Dutch Republic.

A particular inspiration for my own focus on interaction with the object is Feike Dietz’s work on the Dutch Religious emblem book in general. Though the author does not deal either with the role the material aspects of consumption had for interaction with the emblem book,

³⁷ Kept at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek. The manuscript is entitled *Verborgte leven der ziele met Christus*.

³⁸ Stronks, “Working the Senses,” 692-696.

her work has helpfully traced the modes of communication employed through visual and textual strategies within emblem books.³⁹ By understanding emblems as intermedial products, Dietz explores the development of diverse ways in which the components of an emblem work together to appeal to different sensorial responses from the reader (looking, reading, singing, mediating, etc.), and how such communication strategies were in dialogue with the development of religious identities in the Dutch Republic. In other words, Dietz has carefully studied how some religious emblem books were constructed by considering the use of a certain type of engravings and texts, and how the criteria for composition could be related to the religious developments of the period. Dietz's approach is a fundamental aid to the mode in which in this research I have tried to develop part of the methodology to be applied, mainly the second step which relates to understanding the internal mechanisms of the object. Though I will not treat the development of religious identities throughout the eighteenth century, I do share Dietz's notion of the relevance the composition criteria of the contents of the books have for the modes messages are constructed, communicated and possibly consumed, by the religious individual.

2. A material approach? An object-based approach

The reader may already suspect the direction of the present research. Consideration of the role of images presumes that they have a concrete existence: in other words, that they are around us, and in order for them to be around us they need a body, a surface, an object that contains them.⁴⁰ For images to be experienced implies that the images exist, and that they exist in conditions that enable them to be interacted with, occupying a space to which the user can have access. Yes, this study is about images, but most importantly, it is about the implications of what comes along with these images: the support that contains them, the rest of the elements

³⁹ See, for example: Feike Dietz, *Litteraire levensandere: internationale uitwisseling van woord, beeld en religie in de Republiek* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012); Feike Dietz, "Under the Cover of Augustine: Augustinian Spirituality and Catholic Emblems in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic," in *Augustine Beyond the Book: Intermediality, Transmediality and Reception*, ed. Karla Pollman (Boston & Leiden: Brill), 167-194.

⁴⁰ Here, and throughout, many of the assumptions on images come from shared views with authors on different disciplines within Art History, mainly: Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1984); Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1986); Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); David Morgan, *Images at Work: The Material Culture of Enchantment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

that shape this support, their possible original locations, and the dynamics at work in their environment, including people and, of course, other images, their surfaces, materials, etc.

The value and meaning(s) of the image are not and cannot be detached from this entanglement. With regard to the value of the object, we follow Michael Yonan's argument: "The design of virtually all consumed merchandise, of everything within the built and manufactured environment, is a component of its potential meanings."⁴¹ Images belong *somewhere*, whether that be the site of original display or not. They are part of a book, a church, a museum, a house, a wallet, or the door of the bathroom. Furthermore, both objects at the heart of this study, the book and the *cancel*, have one element in common: they are things that bear a multiplicity of texts and images, among which the visual motif of the heart is present in some images and in some texts. Attempting to understand the role that this visual motif could play in experience implies talking about interaction and manipulation, about actions performed by a user to gain access to this motif.

For such interaction to occur, the user must deal with the object in some way, and it might also be unavoidable that they have to engage with the rest of the visual and textual contents of the object, in one way or another. When we are studying religious images, what happens to those that belong to an assemblage of texts and visuals, that are created to be consumed as part of something bigger? How do these material assemblages work in terms of religious practice, or the consumption and experience of a certain sense of the divine? In other words, what conditions does a book, or a *cancel* provide for the religious consumption of a motif that is itself embedded in a larger amount of visual and textual information? The present study directs attention then to the whole objects as bearers of images (in our case, of the visual motif of the heart), to their material capacities, and to their study as part of a sense of the religious for individuals.

In this sense, the present study draws much inspiration from recent approaches to the material study of religion or material religion. In religious studies, the material aspects of religion, the manner in which religious objects invite actions of a religious kind is still a growing field of study.⁴² The material analysis of religions is driven by the desire to learn what

⁴¹ Michael Yonan, "Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design and Material Culture* 18, no.2 (Fall-Winter 2011): 242.

⁴² See: John Kieschnick, "Material Culture," in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, ed. John Corrigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 225-226. As part of broader developments in the so-called "material turn" in scholarship in the humanities, material religion has developed considerably as a field of academic research

the materiality that belongs to diverse practices can tell us about the way worlds of devotion, authority, imagination, divine action and its interpretation are constructed, and about the communal structures that people join and that support these practices. It is a mode of analysis that takes into consideration the material aspects of the cultural construction of reality. For David Morgan

the material study of religion examines whatever artifacts, bodies, substances, or environments do to produce and to maintain a web of relations that brings human beings to what really matters to them – their people, their land, their gods or ancestors, the next life, the mythic past, or the world as it ought to be. This means investigating the webs of human and non-human agents acting on one another by describing their material linkages. The web or assemblage of things whose interaction constitutes a religious event consists of objects, from microbes to rocks to human beings, but also environments and all kinds of substances – air, water, earth, fire, sunlight. The material study of religion means studying what things do to make religions happen.⁴³

The materiality of religions is an integral part of the network that constitutes the diverse system of beliefs, functioning in many cases as connectors and supports between human beings and their sense of the beyond or divine. Moreover, these material aspects of the religious are, according to this approach, what helps us to understand religions in terms of interconnected actions: it is by attending to these material connections that, it is argued, we can understand how religions operate in the daily life of the individual.

The following study is in accord with the broader shift proposed by material religion, as a means of acknowledging that some questions within the study of religions can be best

the last twenty-five years. In 2005, the journal *Material Religion* was launched, aiming to “explore how religion happens in material culture [...] No less important than these material forms are the many different practices that put them to work.” See: “Aims and Scope,” *Material Religion*, Taylor & Francis Online, accessed September 18, 2022, <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=rfrm20>. For recent discussions of material religion in what is a quickly growing field, see: David Morgan, *The Thing about Religion: An Introduction to the Material Study of Religions* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2021); Vashudha Narayana, ed., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Religion and Materiality* (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2020); Birgit Meyer & Terje Stordalen, eds., *Figurations and Sensations of the Unseen in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: contested Desires* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2019). Jeffrey J. Kripal, ed., *Religion: Sources, Perspectives, and Methodologies* (Michigan: Macmillan Reference USA, 2016); Tracy Pintchman & Dempsey, *Sacred Matters: Material Religion in South Asian Traditions* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2015); S. Brent Rodriguez-Plate, ed., *Key Terms in Material Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); Dick Houtman & Birgit Meyer, *Things: Religion and the Question of Materiality* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012); Julian Droogan, *Religion, Material Culture and Archaeology* (New York: Continuum International Pub, 2012).

⁴³ Morgan, *The Thing about Religion*, 76.

answered if we consider as part of our sources the materiality within a particular system or environment in which the religious exist. The elusiveness of fully understanding the state of mind of an individual notwithstanding, the materials involved in their experiences could be our best shot to get closer to comprehending something of the religious worlds experienced by individuals.

Within the quite broad scope of material aspects of religion, encompassing literally every feature that possibly involves a sense of the material including human beings, this study focusses mostly on how images and objects as image-bearers are perceived and studied. In this sense, the approach of two authors, Birgit Meyer and David Morgan, shapes in significant ways my own approach to the material, religious objects, and religious images at the heart of the present study, and it seems appropriate to treat their contribution in greater depth.

Meyer understands religion as a process of mediation of a professed beyond, in which media are fundamental.⁴⁴ Religious practices, by nature, have various media at their disposal, of which images may be one kind. Meyer defines media as the material aspects of religious practice, and their function is literally to mediate, i.e., to be part of the *practices of religious mediations*. This means that media are crucial for establishing communication between the individual and the divine, which normally the individual is not able to see or, in other words, is invisible to her or him.⁴⁵ In the case of images, Meyer understands media as those artefacts “that make an image visible and tangible under the conditions of their particular technological properties and affordances.”⁴⁶ It follows that the study of religion could be enriched by involving the study of the materiality entangled in the religiosity of the individual. As Meyer argues, we can no longer consider “the practices, objects and other forms through which religion becomes manifest in the world as secondary to beliefs, meanings and values”.⁴⁷ The implication is that it seems materiality does have to do something with the transcendental since it is what mediates between the one who believes and what is believed in.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Birgit Meyer, “Religion as Mediation,” *Entangled Religions* 11, no.3 (January 2020): par. 6, <https://doi.org/10.13154/er.11.2020.8444>.

⁴⁵ Birgit Meyer, “Picturing the Invisible: *Visual Culture and the Study of Religion*,” *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 27, no.4/5 (2015): 337.

⁴⁶ Meyer, “Picturing the Invisible,” 345.

⁴⁷ Meyer, “Picturing the Invisible,” 337.

⁴⁸ Birgit Meyer & Jorada Verrips, “Aesthetics,” in *Key Words in Religion, Media and Culture*, ed. David Morgan (New York & London: Routledge, 2008), 25.

In Meyer's perspective, religious media stand for authorised conveyors of what the divine is in a specific religious context. Through media, elements are materially displayed and are authorised to be related to this "beyond" in one way or another. As "mediators", media shape the content they seem to transmit: "rather than merely acting as tools of transmission or intermediaries, media are the forms through which religion matters and happens."⁴⁹ These forms, which Meyer calls "sensational forms", are authorised through negotiation or convention in each religious tradition; their success depends on repetition, in the sense that through the repeated practice entailed by each form, emerges the possibility of experience of a certain (authorised) notion of the divine. "Sensational forms" are, then, media that are authorised within a particular religious group or religious tradition.⁵⁰ These "sensational forms" have the authorised purpose of making connections between the individual and that which is "beyond" — however that is conceptualised in a particular religious tradition.

Finally, Meyer distinguishes two levels of media, the first being "all kinds of stuff [...] that operate as media in the sense of means and transmitters",⁵¹ and a second being "complex authorized, sensational forms employed for the purpose of making connections between the 'here and now' and a 'beyond,' between 'immanent' and 'transcendent.'"⁵² As a mode to analyse how the first-level media end up as more complex forms that are part of the practices of religious mediation, "it is necessary to explore both their technological affordances (in the sense of possibilities for action) and the specific ways in which they are framed and deployed".⁵³

While Meyer has studied and theorised a wide spectrum of media, David Morgan has dedicated most of his work to the study of images, and to the religious practices where images do something or are believed to do something, and to the consequences derived from how we interact with such images. For Morgan, images are objects that invite the viewer to engage with them, an interface with the world that affects how we see, behave and understand the world: images, he writes, "are designed to be noticed, to be seen, to provoke a reaction".⁵⁴ This applies to the ways images affect how the individuals shape their understandings of the divine.

⁴⁹ Birgit Meyer, "Mediating Absence – Effecting Spiritual Presence: Pictures and the Christian Imagination," *Social Research* 78, no.4 (Winter 2011): 1036-1037. See also: Meyer, "Religion as Mediation," par. 27.

⁵⁰ Meyer, "Religion as Mediation," par. 7.

⁵¹ Meyer, "Religion as Mediation," par. 7.

⁵² Meyer, "Religion as Mediation," par. 7.

⁵³ Meyer, "Religion as Mediation," par. 8.

⁵⁴ Morgan, *Images at Work*, 52.

Morgan is interested in the act of seeing. The users of images enter a zone of engagement, of communication, mediation, and presence between the user or community and this something else. The very act of seeing is structured by a network of diverse interactions within the environment of the person.⁵⁵ The image is linked to varied personal structures of the viewer, connected to emotion, memory, and projection (or expectancy). The act of seeing is a social endeavour, and images come to play a part in what and how people see; they work in collaboration with their users so that the users organise acts of seeing within their social system.⁵⁶

Furthermore, to see is itself a material act: it is through a certain *something* or *someone* that we see images, and such a process connects larger material networks with each other:

In order to understand the visual nature of religious experience and the cultural work it performs, we must recognize how seeing is intermingled with other forms of activity, such as reading, suffering, eating, dreaming, singing, and praying. Images shape religious meaning by working in tandem with other artifacts, documents, and forms of representations, such as texts, buildings, clothing, food, and all manner of ritual. Seeing is not an isolated or “pure” biological or cultural activity.⁵⁷

To study interaction with the image, Morgan consequently calls for the acknowledgement of the complex network that seeing an image implies. To understand what images do, and to start to connect them to the acts of seeing and the grand network of activities that could occur, the author understands the importance of describing the particular design of the image “in tandem with how they operate in assemblages.”⁵⁸ The shape and modes of operation of the object condition what the image does and the very act of seeing, and therefore how it will affect the body, the person’s behaviour, and the social and natural environments in which we develop.⁵⁹ The religious image is seen as the key to understanding the sociality of the human being, given that it is through artefacts like images that a number of social developments occur and can be understood in the life of the individual. In other words, as an interactive device, the image

⁵⁵ David Morgan, *The Embodied Eye: Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2012), 69.

⁵⁶ Morgan, *Images at Work*, 53-54.

⁵⁷ David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2005), 51-52.

⁵⁸ Morgan, *Images at Work*, 54.

⁵⁹ Morgan, *Images at Work*, 51.

comes to have a certain type of relationship with its user, becoming part of a network of actions that are integral to the user's life and social context.

Finally, Morgan's material analysis stresses the relevance of the objects' "physical structure, the signs of their manufacture, the spaces and contexts in which they are used, and the symbolic or textual material embedded in them."⁶⁰ To do this, the author relies on the researcher creating an archive that will be helpful in comprehending how the object of study relates to other things that are similar to it. Taking this corpus into consideration, the researcher continually returns to the object in order to begin to detect similarities and differences, and thereby to situate the object

within historical periods, geographical sites, conceptual taxonomies, social settings, and historical narratives. If we are to learn about the cultural work that an object performed – how it enabled or compelled human beings in a particular time and place to be 'women' or 'children' or 'men' or 'pious' or 'redeemed' or 'racially pure' or 'elite', how the object helped construct power or authority or thwart it, how it disciplined, formed, and articulated bodies, how it launched imagination or curtailed it – we have to know what the object is really like.⁶¹

The role that Morgan gives to the image in his studies on religion is fundamental to us. By focusing on the values of the visual, contained in the material, he comes to understand diverse acts and moments within people's religiosity. Furthermore, I take from him the idea of the act of seeing as a collaborative moment between image(s) and user(s), and that this event does not happen in isolation, but is conditioned or influenced by the context in which it happens, and by many variables, among them other material variables, that occur at the moment of this act. More importantly, in agreement with Morgan, how these acts happen is conditioned by the ways in which the object that contains them is constituted and can or should be manipulated.

Both Birgit Meyer and David Morgan were fundamental for the basis of this research, serving as starting points, providing me with several key elements on how to understand religious objects. Their work insists on the analysis of these objects as part of practices, or in any case, of actions that the individual or the community carry out in what constitutes their

⁶⁰ David Morgan, "Assembling Inferences in Material Analysis," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Religion and Materiality*, ed. Vasudha Narayana (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2020), 300.

⁶¹ Morgan, "Assembling Inferences," 300.

system of beliefs. I follow Meyer's emphasis on the materiality of these practices, in terms of the difficulty in certain cases of separating purely spiritual elements, experienced or performed by the individual or community, from material ones (e.g., images, objects, spaces, attire, etc.), and the changes that considering the latter would introduce to the study of religiosity and religion. Along the lines of Meyer's approach, I stick to the notion, also shared by Morgan, that objects shape in several ways the content they were intended to convey within their function as mediators within religious practices. This influences how the individual and the community perceive the religious, and in any case, form an idea of it.

As the development of this study progressed, I realised that there were elements proposed by the authors that became slightly more challenging to apply to both the book and the *cancel*. This led me to some theoretical questions regarding their approaches, and it also helped to define what I wanted to understand of my objects of study, and how I would proceed then to analyse them. Meyer's work, which stresses on understanding religion in terms of actions related to a certain idea of the transcendent, helps us to comprehend the religious as an active element in history, as processes that are not fixed in time, but in constant transformation by means of which the individual is taught or finds ways to relate to what they believe in. When we look at the actions that make religion what it is, we realise that human beings have a variety of ways in which to communicate. While certain media can be seen as the material aspects of religious practices whose function is to be part of the practices of religious mediation, it would be going too far to infer that *all* media belonging to the world of the religious function as mediators between the individual and the divine. The danger here is a certain circularity: that what we are interested in is shaped by what will allow us to arrive at the definition we previously conceived. This would lead to a situation in which objects or media are not studied because they are part of a religious world, but only insofar as they can be seen as mediating features of religious practices as we *a priori* choose to define these practices.

Secondly, the conceptual framework of the idea of media as practices of religious mediation remains somewhat blurry in its boundaries. It is not so clear how far we can understand what mediation and practice is. A mode Meyer proposes to resolve these boundaries is "sensational forms", i.e., authorised forms for this relationship with a professed beyond. For Meyer, authoritative forms are the means by which the religious is shaped, perceived, and lived. In this way, the author engages with the institutional, communal, and social aspects of the religious: how a group negotiates and authorises, through a diversity of historical and cultural

developments, the forms that allow it to link in some way with the transcendent. The authorisation need not necessarily be institutional, but could be simply an agreement, a negotiation within a group. It is true that we can find these authorised forms in many religious traditions, and in various religious communities. How far the sense of authorised sensational forms extends is difficult to know; what is important is that it is clear to individuals that these forms are usable and effective in their system of beliefs.

We may be confronting here a deeper, underlying distinction between the methodologies of cultural anthropology and those of historical approach to objects. In a historical scenario we will give priority to the sources we have regarding the historical problem we want to solve. In the case of an object situated in a specific historical context, we may not want to know whether such an object functions as a mediator, or whether it can be described as a sensational form. This is not because it cannot be the case with historical objects: indeed, it is most likely that many religious objects of the past did function in accordance with Meyer's categories. It seems to me, however, that to set out to discover this of a past religious object may lead us to expect too much of the object. The temptation will be strong to subject the object to an *a priori* function that we expect its material conditions and possible use to reveal. Instead of asking questions of the object, our primary source, to see what answers it can provide us in terms of its use in a religious environment, it would be too easy to shape our questions to see if the answer is the same as the one we have already arrived at, the difference being only that we arrive that answer under a particular set of material and technological conditions pertaining to the object. In the study of religious objects of the past, in which our ability to interview or observe image-users is foreclosed, our interest is principally not in seeing if the object fits into a pre-existing category of religious practice, but rather in seeing how the material conditions in which its images are contained can tell us something about how the object might have functioned and been used in the past.⁶²

In other words, while the object may turn out to fit the definitions and contingencies developed by Meyer, I would also like to think that it may not — it could surprise us! If it does, we should not dismiss it. As useful as understanding images as media that are part of practices of religious mediation undoubtedly continues to be, it may also lead us to set aside certain objects and images whose function within a person's religious consumption is not sufficiently

⁶² The only category that I am in fact allowing to situate the object in is as a religious object, i.e., an object created for a religious purpose.

clear for it to fit into this conceptual framework. At the outset of this study, we do not know whether *Jesus en de ziel* or the *cancel* functioned in this way, and yet we can certainly say that what they contain and convey is linked to a sense of the religious. In the present research, the aim is first to see if (and to what extent) we can know how such objects were functioning before we study whether they fit into a series of categories determining their value within what is understood as the study of religion. For this reason, we will only emphasise the fact that the objects are religious, and therefore valuable to be studied in this research, insofar as they belong, in one way or another, to a religious space and context, and provide, visually and textually, information that is of a religious nature. Their functions will not be ascribed to an established conceptual category, but we will focus on the material conditions and affordances of the objects, and the primary sources we find about them, to provide us the possible roles, if any, they could have had in the religious experience of the individual.

Morgan's interest, on the other hand, in religious practices where images do or are believed to do something, is central to this study. In our case, though, we prefer to be a little more cautious in talking about images as agents or actors, and to concentrate more on what images afford. Our aim is to focus on the object and its material technological qualities that allow us to understand how they might have been manipulated as objects with a religious purpose. To ask what images do implies extending the study into a territory of beliefs and of the "power of the image" that our objects may not have participated in, or, if they were, we may not know, at least on the basis of extant evidence available to us.⁶³ While this study presumes, with Morgan, that if images are consumed they become forms through which the ways in which we perceive, behave and understand the world are transformed, the extent to which historical images actually transformed perceptions and actions of anonymous past persons often remains obscure. Instead, we can attempt to understand how much, and in what ways, the image is *intended* to promote such transformation.

The web of relationships and activities involved in interacting with an image is, as Morgan rightly argues, notoriously complex, and yet it is something that we must attempt to consider when analysing religious images. In this sense, Morgan is not asking us to consider all possible elements in the network of such interaction, but to understand the limits of what the analysis can provide, as the web to which the image belongs contains a variety of questions

⁶³ On the power of images see the now classic works: David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press); WJT Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

and answers that can affect an individual's understanding of these acts of seeing. The answers we arrive at regarding the practices of seeing, and the function of the image are thus incomplete.

Because of the bodily, mental, emotional, behavioural, and social implications entangled in the network of acts involving a religious practice, Morgan's exposition serves as a cautionary tale for our study. It is easy to be blinded by the spectrum of elements linked to the act of seeing. For this reason, in this research I have chosen to slow down the process a bit, to focus a bit more on the object itself, since the overwhelming extent of these networks can make us easily lose sight of the object of study. Our central question remains: what is it that the object allows us to know about its use, and about the possible modes of integration to systems and practices of belief? This study proceeds on Morgan's understanding, that among an image's material conditions there is the possibility of being seen and engaged with, and that an image can integrate itself into the social life of the individual and of the community in such a way that it conditions various processes of how its users experience the world. For present purposes, however, I prefer to be cautious in understanding how far we can extend our knowledge of the ways in which such integration happens with historical works. We shall focus instead, for now, on the object as a used object, and what we can know about interaction with it at a given time through documentary and material sources. By slowing down to focus on the object, I hope to offer an opportunity for the object itself to provide information that could otherwise be lost at the moment it is integrated to a larger narrative concerning history, interaction, social networks, and religious transformations.

On the other hand, it is fundamentally true, as Meyer has underlined, that the image makes something visible and tangible.⁶⁴ This is something that an image affords simply by its existence. Whether the image can be actually seen or touched is another story. A religious image can make something visible and tangible, without ever having been seen or used. Consider for example the images and hieroglyphs inside an Egyptian sarcophagus. They have a function and a use, yes, but, as far as we know, they were not meant for us; rather, they are for the deceased. This point contradicts Morgan's assertion that the image will invite an observer to make contact with it: the extent to which we can say that an image is (always) designed to be noticed is moot. We could more cautiously state that if the image affords being noticed, it is almost inevitable that it will provoke a reaction. It is not the image that invites the

⁶⁴ Meyer, "Picturing the Invisible," 13.

reaction, however, but their material conditions, conditions as minimal, but as fundamental, as the location of the image.

In his approach to how to proceed with material analysis, Morgan attaches importance to the conditions through which the objects come into existence, including the symbolic elements embedded in them.⁶⁵ The author proceeds to take into consideration the formation of an archive that allows us to contextualise and understand these conditions through which, Morgan argues, we will be able to comprehend how the object acted in the social, religious transformations of individuals. While the archive that allows us to contextualise the objects in the various narratives and scenarios to which they belonged is important, and completes a series of aspects regarding the value of the images within the understanding of the transformations and conformations of networks of actors in the development of the human being; in this research I would like to subordinate any kind of contextualisation to something more specific, once again with the intention of giving the greatest possible emphasis to the object, and avoiding drowning the object in a grand narrative of a cultural and intellectual history of the period.

In sum: I am interested in what the objects can tell themselves, in the sense that they provide certain information that inevitably corresponds to moments in time, and that their manufacture corresponds to objectives and demands within the social network of which they became part. Reference to context in this study will be conditional then on whether it helps us to grasp something about the ways in which the objects were intended to function and the ways we can know that they ended up being consumed.

This research will therefore not investigate historical developments surrounding the use of *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel* at Atotonilco. We will not, for example, deal with the visual culture of the heart in Christianity. We know that the “school of the heart” tradition to which the *Schola cordis* belongs, is connected to the development of a religious iconography regarding the heart. The visual motif of the heart is an integral part of Christian iconography and visual culture, but what follows is not the result of research into the visual motif of the heart in Christian religious practices during the Early Modern Period in itself. We will not revise scholarship into the iconography of the heart or delve into the historic tradition of the

⁶⁵ Morgan, “Assembling Inferences,” 300.

use of the heart in religious images in general.⁶⁶ What is said about the heart relates specifically to the objects, surfaces, and structures described in the case studies above. In other words, the visual motif of the heart is relevant only insofar it works for talking about religious experience connected to *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel* at Atotonilco.

This research, then, is not focused on an iconographic analysis of the visual motif of the heart, neither on a social history of the diverse religious communities we are dealing with, nor in the objects' relevance for developing a grand narrative regarding a history of religious ideas in the period. Nor is it a study of comparative religion and visual cultures between Catholicism and Protestantism in the eighteenth century. It is, rather, an object-focused research which wants to delve into what the objects containing the visual motif of the heart can allow us to know in terms of their religious affordances, and the modes they could have worked within the religious experiences of individuals, in a specific historical moment. The objects selected work together because of the clear number of variables they provide in terms of their material conditions, and because they share a visual motif tailored in a specific way, which allows us to explore various aspects of religious images and religious objects using a single

⁶⁶ On the heart in Christian iconography, see: Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*; Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Eugen, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2000); Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000); Raymond Anthony Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000); Morgan, *The Embodied Eye*; David Morgan, *The Sacred Heart of Jesus: The Visual Evolution of a Devotion* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008); David Morgan, "The Image of Love: Eros and Agape in the History of Devotion to the Sacred Heart," in *Sacred Heart Devotion: Memory, Body, Image, Text – Continuities and Discontinuities*, ed. Franzika Metzger and Stefan Trtunte (Köln: Bohlau Verlag, 2020), 109-133; Jon L. Seydl, "The Sacred Heart of Jesus: Art and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Italy" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003); William W.E. Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Paul E. Zarowny, "The Heart of Christ at Helfta: The Influence of Aristotelian Cardiology on the Visions of Saint Gertrude the Great and Saint Mechthilde of Hackeborn" (PhD diss., Fordham University, 1999); James Peto, *The Heart* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Agnès Guiderdoni, "Constructing the Imaginary Desert of the Soul in Emblematic Literature," in *Solitude: Spaces, Places, and Times of Solitude in Late Medieval and Early Modern Cultures*, ed. Karl A.E. Enekel and Christine Götler (Boston & Leiden, 2018), 208-241; Joseph F. Chorpenning, "Lectio Divina and Francis de Sales's Picturing of the Interconnection of Divine and Human Hearts" in *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400-1700*, ed. Walter S. Melion, James Clifton and Michel Weemans (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2014), 449-477; Dietz and Stronks, "German Religious Emblems"; Henrik von Achen, "Human Heart and Sacred Heart: Reining in Religious Individualism. The Heart Figure in 17th Century Devotional Piety and the Emergence of the Cult of the Sacred Heart," in *Categories of Sacredness in Europe, 1500-1800. Conference at the Norwegian Institute in Rome 11-14 October 2001*, ed. Arne Bugge Amundsen & Henning Laugerud (Oslo: Institut for Kulturstudier & Universitetet I Oslo, 2003), 131-158; Escalera, "*Schola Cordis*"; Radosław Grześkowiak & Hulsenboom, "Emblems from the Heart: The Reception of the *Cor Iesu Amanti Sacrum* Engraving Series in Polish and Netherlandish 17th-Century Manuscripts," *Werkwinkel* 10, no.2 (November 2015): 131-154; Scholz, "Het hart als *res significans*"; Scholz, "Emblematic Word-Image Relations"; Stronks, "Dutch Religious Love Emblems"; Dietz, *Litteraire Levensandere*; Heather Webb, *The Medieval Heart* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Katie Barclay & Bronwyn Reddan, *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Meaning, Embodiment, and Making* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2019); David Morgan, *The Forge of Vision: A Visual History of Modern Christianity* (California: University of California Press, 2015).

visual motif as a common thread. Therefore, historical contexts, or methods for example within art history such as iconography, could come of use only insofar they help us to answer something we need to know about the object as such.

3. A three-step method for an object-based research on religious object's consumption

It should be clear by now that in order to address the question of the role the visual motif of the heart played in the consumption of *Jesus en de ziel* and of the *cancel* at Atotonilco, this study is based mostly on the objects themselves. It is by thoroughly studying them that I aim to contribute not only to what we know of the motif and of the objects that bear it, but also to address the question of how we study the modes in which religious images work in specific contexts and processes within the historical development of the religious. Instead of using as a guiding light a conceptual framework of what an image, as media, is presumed to do within religious practices, or expanding the material analysis to a richly complex network of actors of which the image is participant, I want to give primary attention to the object as a kind of story teller: how can we discern what the object could have provided or ended up providing at a particular moment in time, and what does that tell us about the plurality of modes in which religious lives and their respective systems of beliefs were being conformed. Further, we will consider what this tells us about the plurality of what a religious image could come to be. By slowing down to focus as much as possible solely on the objects themselves, it is hoped that we can begin discussing some ideas around how we study the religious object in religious studies.

This study will propose that the object (as a bearer of images), its construction and design, together with interaction by individuals or a community, are what can elucidate some of the roles an image or visual motif had in a certain historical context. This mode of proceeding (this method of analysis) takes as its theoretical starting point some ideas related to the theory of *affordances* proposed by James J. Gibson.⁶⁷ As both Birgit Meyer and David Morgan aver, what an image comes to be is conditional to its technological properties, design, and manufacture.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), 127.

⁶⁸ Meyer does briefly mention Gibson and the theory of affordances: Meyer "Religion as Mediation," par. 7.

Images are part of the affordances of the environment: as objects they afford. The term *affordance* stands for what the environment provides to the subject; it indicates “the complementarity of the animal and the environment.”⁶⁹ Affordances are not dependent on the observer. It is not up to the observer to decide what affordances an object has; rather, the object simply and materially provides the number of affordances it can have relative to the observer.⁷⁰ The manipulation of the object depends, then, not only on what the person wants to do with it, but on what *can* be done with it; that is what the object allows by its shape, its design, materials, weight, location, etc.

To perceive is to recollect information that comes from the environment. The environment provides opportunities for behaviour, for how the properties of the environment relates to the capabilities of the person.⁷¹ Perception also has to do with the awareness of surfaces in the environment, and how they relate to the individual. Indeed, a *surface* — the interface between substances and the environment — is, as Gibson observes, “where most of the action is.”⁷² Persisting substances have a surface, and the surface has a layout, a characteristic texture that depends on the composition of the substance, and a characteristic shape.⁷³ To recollect, to be aware, is not a onetime process, but a continuum, a constant action that depends on exploration of the environment:

Perceiving gets wider and finer and longer and richer and fuller as the observer explores the environment. The full awareness of surfaces includes their layout, their substances, their events, and their affordances. Note how this definition includes within perception a part of memory, expectation, knowledge, and meaning – some part but not all of those mental processes in each case.⁷⁴

Images borne by objects are made on a surface, and as part of this surface they afford. There is a play of affordances between what is depicted in the surface and the surface itself. Images are marks, made with other substances, which change the surface. The layout and shape of those

⁶⁹ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 127.

⁷⁰ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 138–139.

⁷¹ Catherine Dowell, Alen Hainal, Wim Pouw & Jeffrey B. Wagman, “Visual and Haptic Perception of Affordances of Feelies,” *Perception* 49, no.9 (October 2020): 906.

⁷² Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 23. Gibson talks about *medium*, not environment, but in our case the medium relates to the thing (body, object, structure, etc.) through which something exists. See: Belting: *An Anthropology of Images*.

⁷³ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 23–24. Surfaces depend on their substance, or the conglomerate of substances that compound them. It follows that if the substance changes, the surface, its layout, texture, and shape are subjected to diverse degrees of change.

⁷⁴ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 255.

graphic marks, and the layout and shape of the surface, are perceived, and information is recollected by looking at and manipulating the surfaces. Perception becomes richer by exploring the environment in which the marked surfaces are embedded and with which they are entangled. Images and the objects that carry them are subject to interaction, and their dialogue in their design and complementarity can afford opportunities to think, to do, and to sense something about another object or thing.⁷⁵

The following study proposes that in the case of religious objects and the images that they bear, we can employ some of Gibson's ideas to explain what objects afford not only as objects but more importantly as religious objects. What does the object afford religiously speaking? The "religious" affordances of these images, conditioned to their surfaces and what their surfaces afford as well, can tell us something about the opportunities for action with religious purposes that *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel* were providing to their users. These *opportunities* or possibilities will then be compared with what we can come to know about what the users did with both objects based on historical evidence. The relationship between the affordances of the object and the subsequent interaction with it, is what can give us some knowledge on how these objects and their heart images could have come to be integrated to the religious life of the individual.

The analysis method to follow can be divided into three steps: description, internal mechanisms, and interaction, which will be applied to both the emblem book and the *cancel* in order to understand their affordances, and the potential interactions that users had with them.

1) Description

A description, and the manner in which it is made, depends on the kind of object being described, and what it is the researcher is looking for. In this case, we want to understand what the object is first, and second, its contents and the order, or disposition, of these contents within the object. The objects we analyse here are both bearers of images, and images in themselves. So, the questions we want to answer here are: What is the object that bears the images? Where is it? Who made it? What are its contents? Do the contents have a coherent order or structure?

⁷⁵ Rex Harston, "Cognitive, Physical, Sensory, and Functional Affordances in Interaction Design," *Behaviour & Information Technology* 22, no.5 (September 2003): 319, 322.

Can they be described in a narrative way, or are there other ways to describe them? How can the images be described? If we want to decipher what we see in images, we have to acknowledge, following Erwin Panofsky, how diverse objects and events are depicted through forms and motifs that are conditioned by a historic moment in time.⁷⁶ This applies as well to the manufacturing of objects serving as bearers of images, which are conditioned, materially and stylistically, to particular historical conditions, some of which we may be able to determine and others not. Since we are focusing on one motif, that of the heart, then the questions regarding the contents are conditioned by our goal to understand this motif better. To concentrate on just one motif is in part an acknowledgement of the many other ways, motifs, and characteristics the single object could come to have, the heart being just but one.

2) *Internal mechanisms*

Objects and what they contain are meant to work in a way or set of ways. The modes in which their contents are displayed throughout the object imply design decisions and intended functions. By describing the object and by analysing how the object and its images work internally, we can come to understand how the object was set up to be consumed. Art historian Michael Baxandall helps us to avoid the hopeless quest to reconstruct what he calls a “historical state of mind” of the manufacturer (in his case the artist), by proposing instead that we focus on how to reconstruct the relationship between the object and the circumstances of its very existence.⁷⁷ In agreement with Baxandall, we can say that artists, like manufacturers, are addressing problems, the products they make are the solutions to said problems.⁷⁸ Part of what we want to know is what kind of problem the product was designed to solve, and in what circumstance the manufacturers came up with the solution.

The result of experiencing something visually is culturally and materially conditioned. How what has been perceived is actually organised and understood is the result of an entangled network of influences, modes of processing and classifying contained in a complex social

⁷⁶ Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 11. In this sense, a history of style is unavoidable as a correcting measure to the description.

⁷⁷ Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention*, 42: “Even [...] [the artist’s] own descriptions of his own state of mind [...] have very limited authority for an account of intention of the object: they are matched with the relation between the object and its circumstances, and retouched or obliquely deployed or even discounted if they are inconsistent with it.”

⁷⁸ Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention*, 14-15.

system of which the perceiving person is part. The manufacturers of what the individual is seeing and manipulating are also part of this system.⁷⁹ In the Early Modern period, we can more or less align the culturally shaped visual experience of the viewing user(s) with the culturally determined aspects of the visual experience of the manufacturer. Whatever is intended to be communicated should be capable of being communicated in order to reach the public(s) for which it was intended. Both the public, and the object consumed share a common set of characteristics, in the former expressed through visual skills, in the latter expressed through material modes of configuration that afford the picking up of information through these visual skills. In other words, an object that affords being seen, and that through vision comes to be of use for the individual or the community, is counting on several culturally conditioned visual skills on the part of the individual or community. These skills provide modes of concretizing particular ways of knowing, understanding or feeling in regard to what is being seen, what is being experienced.

Ernst Gombrich argued that there is a principal purpose to images,⁸⁰ and, by extension, to objects: image-objects have a dominant meaning, intended in the manufacturing of the image and the object. Motifs acquire punctual meanings, in a specific context, becoming part of what predominates when looking or manipulating the image. But none of this means that the object was actually consumed in this way; only that the object offers a number of traits, signs, sequences, orders, configurations, compositions, that set it up to work in a specific way. These are the internal mechanisms of the object: they describe how it was that the object was meant to work, according to what it contains, and how the contents are displayed and manipulated. In other words, there are a set of marks on the object's surface, a set of visual features, letters, colours, textures, etc., and a set of mechanisms that compose the object, or make the object operate in a specific manner. Internal mechanisms relate then to the intended function of the object in accordance with what the object itself can provide us as we look at, analyse, and manipulate it.

In order to analyse the object's internal mechanisms, whether it be an emblem book or a *cancel*, we rely on tools that help us to interpret composition, strategies of communication,

⁷⁹ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 40.

⁸⁰ Ernst Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon Press, 1972), 15-16: "If the picture did not represent the Annunciation, the windows could not signify by themselves, and if the ears of corn and the grapes were no the object of blessing in a painting of the Madonna, they would not be transformed into the symbol of the Eucharist."

and the affordances of design of the images contained in the object, and of the object as a whole. How the motifs were created and where they are located within the pictorial frame is crucial for understanding the motifs and the system to which they belong. This study will argue that the composition of the objects is, in this way, a technique through which the user recognizes elements that can be integrated to the modes they live the religious. How everything is displayed and shown, or made present, to the user, conditions the user's perception of the object and how it becomes part of their experience of the religious.

In brief, the internal mechanisms of the objects of this study, the emblem book of Luyken and the *cancel* of Atotonilco, are the result of the skills and the techniques of a number of contributors: artist, writer, bookbinder, printer; the painter, the *ébéniste*, the intellectual author of the visual program, etc. The technology behind the object is then put to the test by the skills and techniques the user has in order to consume it. We need to remember that we are dealing with objects that are not composed of just one image, but that carry many images, connected to texts, that each interact with each other, through a certain type of surface, and a certain type of shape. How the images relate to each other depends on many conditions, and at the centre of how they work is the intended and actual user.

3) *Interactions*

Finally, we want to attempt to understand the interaction the object had with the individual or community within a given historical context. In this study we will limit our attention to the sources at hand regarding the eighteenth century, focussing first on what we can know about direct interaction with the objects concerned. Primary sources allow us valuable insight into the objects' interactions, even if we must acknowledge that they do not tell the whole life story of the object, but furnish only glimpses of movements, transactions, rituals, perceptions, actions, etc. Whenever there is no direct evidence of the objects' interactions, we must rely on the closest sources available.⁸¹

It must also be acknowledged that it is even less probable that we will find direct information regarding interaction with a particular visual motif. This deficit will be taken into consideration, understanding the distances that the evidence of *known interaction* will impose

⁸¹ The idea of closeness to the object depends on what kind of question is the one the researcher is trying to solve.

to the analysis, and that we will be constrained to speculate about more general relationships with the religious objects studied. The goal, however, is to provide a scope, a small window through which we can know what kind of things happened or could have happened to and with the objects, and how that changes or contributes to the internal mechanisms of the objects. As we have noted already, objects belong to environments. We aim here to select a fraction of these environments, and compare this with the function and communication strategies (i.e., the internal mechanisms) of the object.

There is, of course, a part of the religious experience that we cannot access, and this portion is even greater when the experience we are attempting to understand is set in an historical context. In our case, part of what we do not know belongs to the domain of faith and divine revelation: belief is something that simply is so and is personally experienced by each individual.⁸² The objective of knowing a historical person's religious experience remains elusive. What we can say must rely on surviving media and tools that surrounded and belonged to these citizens.⁸³

By relying on these tools, we are also acknowledging that the reconstruction of such an experience or moment is necessarily in a considerable distance from what actually happened. What we have are basic research problems and questions for which we are attempting to find answers. Such answers should comply to the systems we ourselves have created to validate whether they can be used to understand something about the past, or to put it more honestly, something about ourselves and about how we think about the past. To produce knowledge about the past and how we approach the past. Any reconstruction of past visual and religious

⁸² It is true that the image participates in the way in which the individual relates to the divine. The number of elements entailed by such participation depends on the individual and what can be understood as relating to the divine. To pursue the sense of intrinsic, real, and complete divine meaning in images and texts can lead to a dead end, and into even murkier territory. Whatever this engagement with the divine provided by a medium could mean, what happens to the individual and their communication with the divine, and the meanings that could be extracted from this goes beyond anything we can know or study. As Gombrich notes, even a theological authority such as Thomas Aquinas “feels that the human intellect can never exhaust the meaning or meanings inherent in the language of the Divine. Each such symbol exhibits what may be called a plenitude or meanings which meditation and study can never reveal more than partially” (*Symbolic Images*, 14).

⁸³ As Robert Orsi writes: “We scholars of religion go among people in other times or in other places who are working on their worlds with (among other things) religious tools they have found, made, or inherited, in relationships with each other and with gods, spirits, ancestors, and other significant beings. Mostly we do not share these ways of living and imagining, or do not quite share them, or even if we do share them or once did, we train ourselves to approach them now in another spirit and with different questions. Yet we want to understand these persons in their worlds in order to discover something about human life and culture, about religion and about ourselves; we would not be doing this work unless we believed that we would learn something essential about questions and problems that press themselves upon us with great urgency” (Robert Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars who Study Them* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 177-178).

experience is a present action that builds upon what was. In this sense, I follow what Bourdieu called “the paradox of the historical comprehension of a work or a practice of the past”:⁸⁴

to make up for the absence of the (true) understanding immediately available to an indigenous contemporary, one must perform the task of *reconstructing* the code found invested there; but without meanwhile forgetting that the singularity of the original comprehension is that it in no sense presupposes any such intellectual effort of construction and translation; and that the contemporary native, in contrast to the interpreter, invests in his comprehension practical schemas which never crop up as such in consciousness⁸⁵

With Bourdieu in mind, research into the religious image’s role within experience will have to acknowledge the delicate line any “explanation” can fail to identify: the moment where our assumptions about what is happening substitute what could have happened, or what was happening. As Latour puts it:

We have to resist pretending that actors have only a language while the analyst possesses the *meta*-language in which the first is ‘embedded’ [...] analysts are allowed to possess only an *infra*-language whose role is simply to help them become attentive to the actors’ own fully developed metalanguage, a reflexive account of what they are saying.⁸⁶

We are not looking then at what was the one primordial role of the heart in the religious experience of the individual, but into what possible roles (or religious affordances) the visual motif could have in specific contexts, and objects: how these objects were set up to be consumed on the one hand, and how they ended up being consumed, on the other.

Whatever the image comes to be for us, it is not something that depends solely on the image, but also on us: it is, in other words, a collaborative endeavour. The image does not provide everything for our conclusion of what the image is or means. This goes both for the

⁸⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 314.

⁸⁵ Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, 314.

⁸⁶ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 49.

user of the image at the period of study we are dealing with, and for the researcher.⁸⁷ We expect and project something in the image, and additional values to complete it. Some of these values can be speculated about, but many cannot be known. As David Morgan says, images have in their capacity to

resolve ambivalence or incompleteness by merging fragments of sensation into wholes. Images perform as hybrids of what people see, remember as having seen, want to see, imagine they saw, and draw from the history of what other people saw and what artists produce as what other people saw. This means that an image is an amalgam of mental imagery, pictures, photographs, paintings, memories, fantasies, dreams, hallucinations, misperceptions, and ideological dispositions.⁸⁸

In this sense, we need to be clear that the provision of marks in a surface that can be recognized, picked up, and that are arranged in a certain way to be perceived in a manner as to guide on what information can be collected and then complemented with our own assumptions, is what the image and the object in great part afford.⁸⁹ Though collaboration is indispensable, and there are many things we will not know, we can think the manufacturers of these objects were trusting collaboration to go a certain way, or at least to possess a number of basic characteristics on which the person can build, for their own good.⁹⁰ The success of the work of art, of the book, of the religious object, relied upon a good collaboration, which usually meant something that would benefit both the institution (the maker, the provider, etc.) and the individual (the consumer).

Using this tripartite analysis of the objects — 1) description, 2) internal mechanisms and 3) interactions — all three components of which are focused solely on the visual motif of the heart, this study argues that it is possible to link the construction and communication strategies of a religious object with the ways in which it may have been accessed or interacted

⁸⁷ As Gombrich rightfully warns: “the historian should also retain his humility in the face of evidence. He should realize the impossibility of ever drawing an exact line between the elements which signify and those which do not” (*Symbolic Images*, 18).

⁸⁸ David Morgan, “The Visual Culture of Revelation: Visions and the Images that Reveal Them,” *Irish Theological Quarterly* 86, no.3 (August 2021): 6.

⁸⁹ Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, 18.

⁹⁰ Cf. Baxandal on the fifteenth-century experience of religious art: “The public mind was not a blank tablet on which the painters’ representations of a story or person could impress themselves; it was an active institution of interior visualisation with which every painter had to get along” (*Painting and Experience*, 45).

with. By linking both elements — construction/communication with interaction — it is possible to approach a more concrete understanding of religious experience, understanding religious experience as the ways in which the person experiences the religious through the consumption of religious objects. The study of the interaction with objects conditioned to those objects' functions and communication strategies, that is, to the possibilities of action that the objects afford, opens a window on the ways in which objects were integrated into the range of resources used by individuals to live a religious life, and therefore, provides fresh insight into the ways in which images, and their motifs such as the heart, could form part of the visual-material repertoire for living a religious life.

4. Outline of the study

The research is divided into three parts. Part I consists of the present introduction, where I have detailed the objects, the scholarship, the theoretical issues, and the method to be used with the objects of study. In Part II I treat the two objects of study: first *Jesus en de ziel*, and second the *cancel*. As noted above, the order of analysis is mainly due to the way the research was carried out, which led first to the analysis of Luyken's book, and second to the *cancel* at Atotonilco. This section consists of six chapters, three for each object of study. Each chapter deals with one of the steps of the method explained above. Thus, the first three chapters are concerned with the description of *Jesus en de ziel* (Chapter 1), the internal mechanisms of this emblem book (Chapter 2), and what we know about the interaction that there was with the object (Chapter 3). The same applies to the *cancel*: first I will make a detailed description of the object (Chapter 4), then its internal mechanisms (Chapter 5), and finally the known interaction with the *cancel* (Chapter 6). Part II is the main body of the whole work, since in it we are applying the expressed method, through which I propose it is possible to elucidate the role of the visual motif of the heart in both *Jesus en de ziel* and in the *cancel*, for what may have been their part in the religious experience of the individual in the eighteenth century.

Part III consists of a single chapter. Here I analyse the results of the method used, providing answers and new problems regarding the usefulness of the method, and about the possibilities of knowing the role of the visual motif of the heart in the experience and consumption of both objects. This will lead to a second section of the chapter, where I then problematise what the objects of study allow us to know, and how they also present us with

certain limitations regarding the modes in which we can study and understand the role of religious images in a given historical context, in terms of the experience of the religious by the individual.

For the conclusion I set out what the results were: how the method changes or provides information regarding both the visual motif of the heart and the objects that contain it, and what this suggests about the study of religious images and objects. We conclude with the advantages and disadvantages that can be elucidated from the research and what might be forthcoming in future research.

II. The heart in a book and a *cancel*: an object-based approach

Chapter 1: A description of *Jesus en de ziel*

In 1678, the Amsterdam book publisher Pieter Arentsz made available for the public the first edition of *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelyke spiegel voor 't gemoed*, by the poet and engraver Jan Luyken. The son of Casper Luyken (1608-1668) and Hester Cores (1610-1676), Jan Luyken was born the 16 of April of 1649 in Amsterdam, where he worked most of his life as both a prolific poet and engraver. Around 1634, his father had joined the Remonstrant church; ten years later he was sympathising with the Amsterdam Collegiants. Regarding his own religious background, we know that on the 8th of June of 1673 Jan Luyken was registered as a member of the Amsterdam Mennonite congregation of the Lamb and Tower (*Lam en Toren*).¹ As an engraver Luyken made around 3287 images during the course of his career, 681 of them for his own written works. He was author of twelve emblem books, all of them furnished with his engravings, two of which were published the year he died.² In chronological order of publication the books are: *Duytse lier* (1671), *Jesus en de ziel* (1678), *Voncken der liefde Jesu* (1687), *Spiegel van 't menselyk bedryf* (1694), *Beschouwing der wereld* (1708), *Lof en oordeel van de werken der barmhertigheid* (1709), *De zedelyke en stichtelyke gezangen* (1709),³ *De onwaardige wereld* (1710), *De bykorf des gemoeds* (1711), *Het leerzaam huisraad* (1711), *Des menschen begin, midden en einde* (1712), and *De schriftuurlyke geschiedenissen en gelykenissen, van het Oude en Nieuwe Verbond (2 delen)* (1712).⁴ Jan Luyken died in Amsterdam in 1712.⁵

Part of Luyken's own works were first published by Pieter Arentsz.⁶ Arentsz was also a Mennonite from the same congregation as Luyken,⁷ and a supporter of Galenus Abrahamsz

¹ Visser, "De pilgrimage van Jan Luyken," 172.

² Besides, other posthumous and compilatory works were published during the eighteenth century. In 1714 it was published the *Geestelyke brieven*; in 1754 a compilation was published in Haarlem: *De algemeene werken*; in 1767 *Het overvloeijend herte* also in Haarlem.

³ This is the enlarged version of *De zedelyke en stichtelyke gezangen*. In 1698 it was published a first version without images.

⁴ Probably also a posthumous work, published immediately after Luyken had died.

⁵ Henk van 't Veld, *Jan Luyken (1649-1712): Leven en werk in woord en beeld* (Apeldoorn: De Banier, 2017).

⁶ Not including *Jesus en de ziel*, Luyken's work was published by others as well, mostly in the decades after his death. The publishers include Nicolaus Visscher, Adriaan Veenendaal, Jacobus Wagenaar, Willem de Coup, Jan Ten Houten, Hendrick Bosch, Jacobus Hayman, H.H. Van Drecht, Jacob Ter Beek en Kornelis de Veer, Antonien en Adrianus Schoonenuburg, Jan Roman de Jonge, Gerrit de Groot en Zoon, Abraham Bothall, De Erven van F. Houttuyn. See: Nel Klaversma & Niki Hannema, *Jan en Casper Luyken te boek gesteld: catalogus van de boekencollectie Van Eeghen in het Amsterdams Historisch Museum* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999).

⁷ Arentsz was part of the Congregation of the Lamb, which would end up the congregation of the Lamb and Tower.

(1622-1706).⁸ His son in law, Cornelis⁹ van der Sys, also entered the printing business, and joined in publishing together with Arentsz. When the latter died in 1688, Arentsz's widow Catharina Wijnberg first, and later Van der Sys would carry on with the enterprise, publishing among other things the works and re-editions of Luyken's oeuvre.¹⁰ After Wijnberg's death in 1715, Van der Sys continued the firm until 1747.¹¹

In total, *Jesus en de ziel* came to have ten official editions from the end of the seventeenth century and to the end of the eighteenth century (Table 1).¹² The editions of *Jesus en de ziel*¹³ were almost exclusively published by Arentsz, Catharina Wijnberg and van der Sys.¹⁴ Van der Sys's last printing was released in 1744, which was a reissue of the 1714 edition. There followed a brief gap in publication: it would not be until 1771 that a new printing would appear, now published by Philippus Losel en Zoon in Rotterdam. The 1680, 1744 and 1771 are not considered here as editions but as prints, mainly because of the format of publication, where the number of the edition is not annotated in the title-page of the book.

Edition	Date	Title	City	Publisher
1 st	1678	<i>Jesus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Pieter Arentsz
n/a	1680	<i>Jesus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Jan Rieuwertsz
2 nd	1685	<i>Jesus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Pieter Arentsz

⁸ Galenus Abrahamsz, one of the most important leaders of the congregation *bij 't Lam*, believed, among other things, that no church, including the Mennonites, was the true church, and that any structure or sign of authority had no real power. The church over which he was presiding needed to be seen then just as a 'visible church', a tool "to help man on the road to salvation, not salvation itself." (Anna Voolstra, "Membership Required? The Twofold Practice of Believer's Baptism within the Amsterdam Mennonite Lamist and Zonist Congregations During the 17th and 18th Centuries," in *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity in the Dutch Republic: Studies Presented to Piet Visser on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. August den Hollander, Alex Noord, Mirjam van Veen and Anna Voolstra (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2014), 176). The denial of structures implied mostly the devaluation by Galenus of Mennonite confessions and baptism, which troubled his opponents since they felt more or less unitarian ideas about faith were crucial for salvation. Galenus, however, gave more weight to individual faith and how it was expressed in daily life as the means for redemption of the soul. See: Voolstra, "Membership Required?"; Andrew C. Fix, *Prophecy and Reason: The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁹ Also found in some books as Kornelys.

¹⁰ Visser, "De pilgrimage van Jan Luyken," 179.

¹¹ Visser, "De pilgrimage van Jan Luyken," 180.

¹² By official is meant here that the edition is indicated on the title page ("tweede", "derde", "sesden" druk, etc.). According to Els Stronks, the book was reprinted in 1680, 1685, 1692, 1696, 1714, 1722, 1729 and 1744. (*Negotiating Differences*, 256). She does not include in her tally the 1687, 1689 and 1704 editions.

¹³ From the 1704 edition on, it would be published as *Jesus en de ziel*. Also, the 1714 edition has new engravings made by Luyken. It is the only one with these engravings.

¹⁴ The 1680 edition of *Jesus en de ziel* was printed by Jan Rieuwertsz (OCLC: 68840016).

3 rd	1687	<i>Jesus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Pieter Arentsz
4 th	1689	<i>Jesus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Weduwe Pieter Arentsz
5 th	1692	<i>Jesus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Weduwe Pieter Arentsz
6 th	1696	<i>Jesus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Weduwe Pieter Arentsz
7 th	1704	<i>Jezus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Weduwe Pieter Arentsz, Cornelis Van der Sys
8 th	1714	<i>Jezus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Weduwe Pieter Arentsz, Cornelis Van der Sys
9 th	1722	<i>Jezus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Weduwe Pieter Arentsz, Cornelis Van der Sys
10 th	1729	<i>Jezus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Cornelis Van der Sys
n/a	1744	<i>Jezus en de ziel</i>	Amsterdam	Weduwe Pieter Arentsz, Cornelis van der Sys (reissue of 1714 edition)
n/a	1771	<i>Jezus en de ziel</i>	Rotterdam	Philippus Losel and Son

Table 1. Editions and reprints of *Jesus en de ziel* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Three copies of *Jesus en de ziel* are at the centre of this study: the first from 1678 (the 1st edition), a second from 1704 (the 7th) and thirdly, the printing from 1744. The copy consulted for the 1678 edition is preserved in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Groningen; the 1704 edition is now in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, and the 1744 printing is in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam. The selection criteria for the years of the copies were conditioned by the objectives established for this part of the study. In the first case, the goal is to describe the contents of the book by using as a base the first version of the work, before some small modifications were made thereafter.¹⁵ The copy of the 1704 edition is selected not only because it includes some of these later modest alterations, which provide insight into the printing history of the work, but because of the exceptional material evidence it provides of the use of the work. This copy includes an extra page at the beginning, where it is explained the book was given as a gift or prize (*prys*) to a girl named Stijntje Baartens, by the Mennonite congregation *bij 't Zon* in 1719 (Fig.10). As I will show in Chapter 3, this was a widespread practice during the eighteenth century in the Mennonite congregations: the gift of emblem

¹⁵ Some of them will be discussed in the following pages.

books, such as the ones made by Luyken as prizes, to young congregants¹⁶ as a reward for their progress in exercising the lessons they had been taught, or in their catechism. The third book considered here, was chosen as a representative copy chronologically more proximate to a number of primary sources used in our analysis of the reception and use of the work in the eighteenth century, and to the cultural context of the religious radical pietistic revival in the Netherlands, which will also be discussed in Chapter 3.

In the following section, I briefly describe on the basis of these three witnesses what are the principal differences among them. Next, I describe in detail the contents of the three heart-emblems common to the editions. Subsequently I sketch the contents of the rest of the book, using as a base text the first edition, and further outlining any significant differences with the other two. For the description of the contents, I use as a guide the moments where the heart is important, either directly or indirectly, for the narrative of the text. For the translations to English of the biblical verses employed by Luyken, I use Theodore Haak's translation of the *Statenvertaling* published in 1657, called *The Dutch Annotations Upon the Whole Bible*.¹⁷ In some cases I include, as a footnote, the full annotation with the verse offered by Haak, taken from the *Statenvertaling*, since it illuminates more established interpretations of the biblical verses in the Dutch Republic. Luyken decided to do new engravings for *Jesus en de ziel* only once, for the eighth edition (1714); these images will not be used or addressed in this study. Except for the printing made by Losel in 1771, in all the rest of editions and printings, the same engravings, that had first appeared in 1678, were redeployed.

¹⁶ In the Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, in a register regarding baptisms and birth records, there is a Steijntije Baartens, part of the church *bij de zon*, born the 30th of June of 1701. If she were to be the same as the one in Luyken's book, it means that she would have been 18 years old when she received the book. Register of birth of Steijntije Baartens, June 30, 1701, fol. 95. In DTB Dopen, archiefnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 297, (Folio 95). Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief (hereafter GAS).

¹⁷ Full title: Theodore Haak, *The Dutch Annotations Upon the Whole Bible: Or, all the Holy Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament Together With, and According to their own Translation of all the Text: As Both the One and the Other were Ordered and Appointed by the Synod of Dort, 1618, and Published by Authority, 1637. Now Faithfully Communicated to the Use of Great Britain, in English, Whereunto is Prefixed an Exact Narrative Touching the Whole Work, and this Translation* (London: Henry Hills, 1657).

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 - JESUS EN DE ZIEL. || *Een* || Geestelyke Spiegel voor 't gemoed. || *Bestaande in veertig aangenaame* || *en ftichtelyke* || SINNE-BEELDEN. || *Vervat in* || DRIE DEELEN. || *Trecks my nau, uyt mijn selven, en uyt alle Creatures,* || *warelijk, vierig, sachtelyk ende louter; soo fullen wy sacht--* || *jes en onvermoeit loopen, in den alderzoetsten roock uwer* || *Salven, en niet aflatent tot dat wy die edele reuck, welke* || *Christus is, met vergaderde krachten in de inwendigheyt* || *onfes Geestes, vry genieten en smaken.* || t' AMSTERDAM, || By PIETER ARENTSZ in de Beurtraet, || in de drie Rapen. 1678. 8° A-L⁸ [\$5, (-A1, A2)] 88 leaves, pp. 1-8 9-61 62 63-115 116 117-174 175-176 [=176].

- Luyken, Jan. *Jezus en de ziel. Een geestelyke spiegel voor 't gemoed*. Weduwe Pieter Arentsz en Cornelis van der Sys: Amsterdam, 1704. Signature (2419 G 13), Identifier (OCLC: 65581552). Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden.
 - JEZUS EN DE ZIEL. || *Een* || Geestelyke Spiegel voor 't gemoed, || *Bestaande in veertig aangenaame* || *en ftichtelyke* || ZINNEBEELDEN. || *Vervat in* || DRIE DEELEN. || *Nevens* || *Het Eeuwige Vaderland en deszelfs vreugde.* || *De zevende druk, vermeerderd met een Brief,* || *handelende van Gods Eigenschappen.* || *Trecks my na u, uit myn zelven, en ut alle Creatuuren,* || *waarlyk, vierig, zachtelyken louter; zo zullen wy zach-* || *jes en onvermoeid loopen, in den allerzoetsten rook uwer* || *Zalven, en niet aflatent tot dat wy die edele reuck, welke* || *Christus is, met vergaderde krachten in de inwendigheyt* || *onzes Geestes, vry genieten en smaaken.* || [ornament: head of child and wings united in the middle] || TE AMSTELDAM, || By de Wed: P: ARENTZ, en C: VAN DER SYS, || Boekverkoopers, in de Beursstraat, in de || drie Raapen. 1704.

8°, A-N⁸ [\$5 (-A1, A2, N1)]. 104 leaves, pp. [4] 1-9, 10-190 191-192 93-95 96-108. [=210]¹⁸

- Luyken, Jan. *Jezus en de ziel. Een geestelyke spiegel voor 't gemoed*. Kornelys van der Sys: Amsterdam, 1744. Signature (OK 71-29), Identifier (OCLC: 65893595). Universiteitbibliotheek Amsterdam.
 - JEZUS EN DE ZIEL. || *Een* || Geestelyke Spiegel voor 't gemoed, || *Bestaande in veertig aangenaame* || *en fichtelyke* || ZINNEBEELDEN. || *Vervat in* || DRIE DEELEN. || DOOR || JOANNES LUIKEN. || *Nevens* || Het Eeuwige Vaderland en deszelfs vreugde. || De zevende druk, vermeerderd met een Brief, || handelende van Gods Eigenschappen. || *Trekt my na u, uit myn zelven, en ut alle Kreatuuren, || waarlyk, vuurig, zachtelyk en louter; zo zullen wy zach-* || *jes en onvermoeid loopen, in den allerzoetsten rook uwer* || *Zalven, en niet aflaaten tot dat wy die edele reuk, welke* || *Christus is, met vergaderde krachten in de inwendigheid* || *onzes Geestes, vry genieten en fmaaken.* || [ornament: head of child and wings united in the middle] || TE AMSTELDAM, || By KORNELIS VAN DER SYS, Boekverkoper, || in de Beurstraat, in de drie Raapen, 1744. 8° A-M⁸ N¹ [\$5 (-A1, A2, N1)] 97 Leaves, pp. [2] 1-8 9-190 191-192 [2] [=196]¹⁹

General differences between the objects

The book follows a homogenous disposition of emblem and text in all three books. The work is divided in three parts, each comprising thirteen emblems. At the verso of the opening page of every new emblem there is a poem with a title, below which appears a *Goddelyck Antwoort* (Divine Response) which always consists of a biblical verse. On the recto of the facing page appears the engraving of the emblem (Fig.11). In the 1704 edition and 1744 printing, the number of the emblem in the series is printed above the image. Structurally

¹⁸ The total number of pages does not agree with the number of gatherings because of the extra page added to indicate the prize. This page was included in the middle of the first gathering. It is indicated to whom it was given, and why, when, where and who gave it. The official signature on behalf of the congregation is by Herman Schijn (1627-1727), leader in the congregation *bij de Zon* at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

¹⁹ The total number of pages does not agree with the number of gatherings because there were pages used to rebind the book again.

speaking, Peter M. Daly describes a typical printed emblem as being usually printed on one page and as comprising an image accompanied with two or more brief texts.²⁰ These elements he calls the motto, the picture, and the epigram, or *inscriptio*, *pictura* and *subscriptio*. The variables of what an *inscriptio* or *subscriptio* can be as many as there are known emblem books in the Early Modern period.²¹

In *Jesus en de ziel* the word *sinne-beelden* is what we will understand as an emblem.²² The structure of Luyken's emblems do not comply, however, with Daly's notion of a standard structure, since they consist only of *pictura* and *subscriptio*. As *subscriptio* below the engraving there is always another biblical verse. Turning the page, on the verso of the emblem is printed a further reflection on the emblem, with the title *Op het 'x' Sinnebeeldt* (on the 'x' emblem), and a subtitle related to what occurs in the poem, the biblical verses and the image (Fig.12). These further reflections take up two pages; only the reflection on the last emblem has been extended to six pages. They are for the most part written in prose, though there are some exceptions, that include verse. At the turn of the next page, there immediately follows the next emblem, disposed in the same order. Exceptionally, the reflection on the final emblem of the book was significantly enlarged to extend over twenty-one pages in the second edition (1685), a precedent followed in 1704 and 1744. The final reflection serves thereby almost as a separate final chapter of the book. The other important difference between the three books is their structure in the conclusion. In the first edition, after the reflection comes a *sangh* (song/poem) to be sung or recited to the tune of the secular madrigal *Amarilli mia Belle*.²³ In the 1704 edition and 1744 printing, this piece²⁴ is printed immediately after the final emblem, separating the emblem from its further reflection. Further, as a conclusion, these two latter editions conclude with an additional *toezang* (final song).

Finally, the copy consulted of the 1704 edition in this study adds another little text after the index of the book, called: *Copie van een brief, handelende Van de drierlei*

²⁰ Peter M. Daly, "Emblems: An Introduction," in *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2008).

²¹ The same goes as to a homogenous definition of what an emblem book is: "To date, attempts to define the genre of illustrated books called emblem books have not been very successful. If definitions are too narrow they exclude too much; if they are too wide they embrace too much." (Daly, "Emblems," 1-2).

²² As it happens with the term *gemoed*, *sinne-beelden* (later in the other two editions *zinnebeelden*) can be translated to: emblems, images, pictures, signs, illustrations, depictions, scenes, figures.

²³ *Amarilli, mia bella* (Luyken writes, erroneously, "belle") is a madrigal composed by Giulio Caccini, part of his *Le nuove musiche* in 1602. The song was widely distributed throughout Europe. See: Tim Carter, "Caccini's 'Amarilli, mia bella': Some Questions (And a Few Answers)," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113, no.2 (1998): 250-273.

²⁴ Now written *Zang*.

*Eigenschappen des eenigen Gods, en van de Eeuwige Godheid van Jezus Christus. zynde een schriftelyk antwoord, op een vraag, aan den autheur gedaan, want hy van 't Wezen Gods hield.*²⁵ The letter is signed “N.N.”. The pagination of this text does not follow the pagination of the rest of the book. *Jezus en de ziel* ends, without taking the index into account, at page 190; the first page of the *Brief* is numbered “93”. Interestingly, the *Brief* is not necessarily a binder’s insertion of pages since the alphabetical order of the gatherings in the copy is continuous: *Jezus en de ziel* ends at M8 and the *Brief* starts at N1. As far as is known, only the 1704 edition has this added text.

2. The three heart-emblems

Normally the term emblem, within an emblem book, is used for the page where the engraved image, the *pictura*, is printed together with its *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*; indeed, this is the way I have used the term thus far. I would like now, however, to extend the semantic range of the term for the sake of practicality. In this section, whenever I refer to an emblem, I include the accompanying texts as well in the pages surrounding the *pictura* and *subscriptio*, meaning the poem, the Divine Response and the further reflection. The exception to the rule is when I am translating directly from Luyken, whose use of the term is limited to the traditional use of the term in reference to the page that includes the image alone.

The description of the three emblems will be treated in the following order, reflecting the sequence in which they appear in Luyken’s work: first the poem, second the Divine Response, third the contents of the image, fourth the biblical verse, fifth the further reflection.

Jezus en de ziel: Emblem XIV (Fig.1)

The poem’s title is *De Ziele rustende van alle uyerlijcke menighoudigheden, waeckt met het inwendige ooge des gemoeds* (Fig.13).²⁶ The poem’s content starts by making clear that the ‘I’, i.e. ‘the Soul’, is not dead (though it appears to the world as though it is); it is the flesh

²⁵ “Copy of a Letter, Elaborating on the Three Properties of the One God, and of Jesus Christ’s Eternal Godhood. A Written Answer to a Question Given to the Author, for He Loved God.”

²⁶ “The Soul resting from all outer multiplicities watches with the inner eye of the inner being.”

alone that is sleeping.²⁷ The soul is resting from the earthly, the worldly, and the animal lusts belonging to the flesh; but while she rests, the heart is watchful for God and the divine, so when the Lord touches her he does not find her dormant or lethargic. The eye of her inner being is always open, capable of seeing the eternal good, light, and life in God. As the flesh sleeps it forgets that which does not belong to the heart and should be ignored by the Spirit. By following such a path, the worldly life is left behind for a righteous life which has been found thanks to God.²⁸ With the poem's conclusion comes the Divine Response, a citation from Matthew 26:41: "Waeckt ende bidt, op dat ghy niet in versoeckinge en komt."²⁹

There follows the image printed on the facing page. The image is composed of a standing male child in the act of walking, with a nimbus around his head; the child has his head turned to the right, with his left arm flexed directed to his face. The left hand seems to be pointing with the index finger either to the head or upwards. His right arm is held with the palm open downwards. The child has either his eyes closed or looking downwards, in direction of the other figure. His left leg is positioned in front, and his right behind. He wears a simple robe, tied at the waist by a simple girdle. The child appears to be depicted in the act of finding the other figure in the image: a female, who lies on a bank with her head in the crook of the right arm and with her eyes closed, is apparently asleep. She also wears a simple robe girded at the waist. Both figures are barefooted. Her left hand is holding a heart, depicted immediately below the open palm of the child's right hand. The heart itself is depicted with an open eye at its centre, which looks directly towards the observer of the image. The figures are presented in the foreground of a landscape, with what seems to be a ruined apse in the background. The image represents Jesus finding the Soul asleep while her heart is watchful. Below the image is printed a verse from Song of Songs (5:2): "Ick sliep, maer myn herte waeckte."³⁰

The prose text that follows bears the title *Op het XIV. Sinnebeeldt*, and the subtitle *Van het waken des Geestes*.³¹ The text constitutes a continuation of the topic given by the poem, the

²⁷ Jan Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelike spiegel voor 't gemoed* (Amsterdam: Pieter Arentsz, 1678), 64.

²⁸ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 64.

²⁹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 64. Haak: "Watch and pray, that ye come not into temptation."

³⁰ Luyken, (a) *Jesus en de ziel*, 65. Haak: "I slept, but mine heart waked." The verse with full annotations: "*I Slept* [Here is shewed, that the Spouse, or some members of the Church, after they have eaten and drunk well, that is, have abundantly enjoyed the mercies of Christ, do sometimes fall into sleep of slumbring; that is, was flow and slack in zeal & good works, and fall into carnal ease and security, see Mat. 25:4; Rom. 13:11; 1 Thes.5:6, 7] *but mine heart waked*; [that is, notwithstanding I forgot not my Bridegroom, but kept him still in mine heart. Understand here by the heart, the inward man, or the regenerate man, who is opposed to the flesh, or the outward man, rom.2.v.28,29. See likewise, Mat.26.41. Gal.5.17.]" The square brackets are reproduced here as given in the edition of the text.

³¹ "On the vigil of the Spirit."

biblical verses and the image. It opens again with a description of the worldly senses resting, and the desire for what is to come, such that the Soul sleeps while the heart watches: “Het vleesch moet slapen, het geloven waken: de lusten des lichaems moeten slapen, en de voorsichtigheyt des herten moet waken.”³² In the reflection that follows, Luyken sets forth the saints as models, establishing that they sleep not out of laziness, but because the flesh demands it. They are working internally, getting to know who they are by looking at their hearts. They sleep from what is transient, and with their true self observe the eternal. Sleep, Luyken observes drawing on a long tradition, is closest to death, the death of the mortal body, and the wakefulness of the heart is the closest to our true body or self, free from the flesh. The Soul, awake and watchful, is led by the divine into her highest self, right before the eternal King’s chamber. The exalted Soul, embracing her most inner self comes to feel in this loving power a stream coming from the Holy Spirit, like a lively fountain pouring eternal sweetness. The Soul, being so high in the light, has her senses blinded, and the simple eye is opened in the realm of the loving power. This eye, beholding in spiritual clarity, sees all that God is easily. But when the Soul comes to herself again, she realises this experience is impossible to express in words and is not easy to comprehend or to confess.³³

Jesus en de ziel: Emblem XXXII (Fig.2)

The poem’s title is *De Ziele roemt de geestelijcke schoonheyt hoogh bovende wereltsche* (Fig.14).³⁴ The narrator, employing the first person plural, assures the addressees that “we” (probably referring to him and to the readers) love beauty, but specifies that by this beauty “we” mean internal beauty, which cannot come from outer material ornaments.³⁵ The transient animal is nothing compared to the beauty of the eternal spirit which comes from God. The body of the Soul, by nature divine, and consisting of essential things, is, Luyken writes, thin and clear as crystal. It has a beauty that cannot be obtained even by acquiring the most beautiful materials, not even with what a ‘King’s wife’ could offer. The poem concludes with the Soul talking directly to the human being, which is deceived by external beauty, not knowing

³² Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 66: “The flesh must sleep, faith must guard: the desires of the body must sleep, the prudence of the heart must be vigilant.”

³³ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 66-67.

³⁴ “The Soul praises spiritual beauty over the worldly.”

³⁵ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 138.

true beauty, which means that its eyes are covered with darkness.³⁶ The Divine Response is a citation from Psalm 45:14 “Des Konincks dochter is geheel verheerlijcke, inwendigh.”³⁷

The image on the facing page shows a female figure standing, wearing a simple robe, and pointing with her right hand at a heart which she holds with her left hand. She seems to be showing it to the female figure seated on a throne to her right. This figure, in contrast, is dressed in a sumptuous gown; she wears a crown and holds a sceptre in her left hand. The two figures are set in what seems to be a courtyard; the throne is part of a larger architectural structure, positioned at the top of steps covered by what would appear to be a carpet, and framed with a column from which are suspended a swag of fabric or curtains. A peacock wanders behind the standing figure, with his feathers outstretched. The emblem represents the Soul showing true beauty to the World. The biblical verse below is a quotation from 1 Peter 3:4:

Welcker verciersel zy, niet het gene uysterlick is [bestaende]³⁸ in het vlechten des hayrs, ende omhangen van goudt, ofte van klederen aen te trecken: maer de verborgen mensche des herten, in het onverddersselijck [verciersel] eens sachtmoedigen en stillen Geest die kostelick is voor Godt.³⁹

The ensuing reflection, entitled *Van de inwendige geestelijke schoonheyt*,⁴⁰ is composed of a prose text and a poem.⁴¹ Luyken opens with an account of the beauty of new birth. This new creature, hidden in the old one, is nourished with the water of eternal life. The new creature is clear as crystal, and shines through with all the glory of the eternal light of the Lord: “Wat dit nu voor eene schoonheyt is, kan niet met woorden uytgesproocken worden, maer Godt kan het,

³⁶ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 138.

³⁷ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 138. Haak: “The Kings daughter is wholly made honourable within”. The verse with full annotations: “*The Kings daughter is wholly made honourable within, [Or from within. Solomons Bride in her retiring chamber; but Christ his bride hath her spiritual excellency or gloriousness within, in the inner man (Eph. 3. 16.) consisting in spiritual gifts. Compare Rev. 19-8.]*”

³⁸ The square brackets are original from the text.

³⁹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 138. Haak: “Whose adorning let it not be that which is outward, (consisting) in plating of hair, and hanging about of gold, or of putting on of garments. But the hidden man of the heart in the incorruptible (adorning) of a meek and quiet spirit, which is precious before God.” The verse with full annotations: “*Whose adorning [That is, their chief adorning, for Paul 1 Tim. 2 9. permits women also a decent or comely habit: but Peter here reproves all immoderate and too curious adorning, to which the female sex is oftentimes inclined, and all pride and vanity in the ordinary and otherwise allowed adorning] let it not be that which is outward, (consisting) in plating of hair, and hanging about of gold, or of putting on of garments. // But the hidden man of the heart [That is, the inward man, which is daily renewed according to the image of God, 2 Cor.4. 16.] in the incorruptible (adorning) of a meek and quite spirit, which is precious before God.*”

⁴⁰ “On the internal spiritual beauty.”

⁴¹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 140.

dien hy wil, door 't opendoen der geestelijcke oogen, wel laten sien.”⁴² The second paragraph sets a mystical tone, explaining that when the sensual external powers and the prodigious internal ones unite to focus on the “den allerinwendigsten mensch”,⁴³ which resides in the mystery of the Spirit (where the true divine image of the self is), then the individual enters the divine abyss. This is in accordance with the idea that the human being is eternal in nature: to enter the divine abyss means that God has found the person in a pure state of being. If the spirit of the person could see itself having this mystical experience of sinking into God, it would then see how beyond measure and noble she or he is in God.⁴⁴ The poem that brings this part of the work to a close, returns to the difference between the flesh and the spirit, and the importance to adorn the interior, the inner soul. The donkey or ass, which is the body, can be unworthy and mocked, as long as the new image of the Soul can be washed and prepared to enter the temple where God dwells.⁴⁵

Jesus en de ziel: Emblem XXXVII (Fig.3)

The poem's title is *De Ziele heft haer herte met Jezus versegeldt* (Fig.15).⁴⁶ The poem revolves around praising Jesus and expressing the Soul's love for him. In contrast to others, who find pleasure in a treasure of earthly things, elements that please only the devil, the Soul has Jesus on her heart like a seal. The seal of Jesus will guard the Soul from evil.⁴⁷ The Divine Response is a quotation from the Song of Songs 8:6 “Set my als een segel op u herte, als een segel op uwen arm: want de liefde is sterck als de doodt: de yver is hart als het graf: hare koolen zijn vurige koolen, vlammen des Heeren.”⁴⁸

⁴² Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 140: “The beauty of this cannot be expressed in words, but God can, if he wishes, show it to you by opening your spiritual eyes.”

⁴³ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 140: “the most inward person.”

⁴⁴ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 140-141.

⁴⁵ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 141.

⁴⁶ “The Soul has her heart sealed with Jesus.”

⁴⁷ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 158.

⁴⁸ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 158. Haak: “Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as seal upon thine arm. For love is strong as death: zeal is hard as the grave: the coals thereof are fiery coals, flames of the Lord.” The verses with full annotations: “*Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm.* [In these words the Spouse prayeth unto Christ for assurance and confirmation of his love unto her, that she might be set and abide as a seal, in and upon his heart, and continue so forever. This hath respect to breastplate of the high Priest, wherein were graven the names of the twelve tribes of *Israel*, in or upon twelve precious stones, *Exod.28.21,29*. At all times seals were made use of for confirmation of a thing that was written or promised; to the end, that the same might not be broken, see *Nehem.9.28. Ferem.22.24. Hag.2.23. Mal.3.* vers. 16. 2 *Tim.2.1.9*. The High-Priest bare the names of the twelve tribes, not onely upon his heart, but also upon his shoulders, for a memorial or remembrance of the children of *Israel*, see *ISA.49. 16*. Some conceive, that by the heart here is meant the inward and intimate love of

The image shows three figures. First, a standing female figure at the left from the observer's perspective, wearing simple robes. She looks to her left, either to the male standing figure, with a nimbus, and wearing simple robes, or to what she is helping to hold with her left hand. Both figures are holding, one with his right hand and the other with her left, a heart with a circle in its centre, upon which the word IESU is inscribed. With her right hand and with her arm upheld, the female figure holds another object which is similar to the circle within the heart. This is, with all certainty, a seal, the one used to "impress" the word IESU on the heart. The male figure points with his left-hand index finger to the heart. At the left side of the female figure, from the observer's perspective, and just behind her, there is crouching on the ground what seems to be a demon, with a gaping mouth. The figures are depicted in the foreground of a natural landscape. The image represents the Soul and Jesus holding the heart, moments after the Soul has sealed it with Jesus' name. The *subscriptio* is drawn from the Epistle to Galatians 2:20:

Ick ben met Christo gekruyst. En ick leve [doch] niet meer ick, maer Christus leeft in my: en 't gene ick nu in het vleesch leve, dat leve ick door het gelove des Soons Godts. die my lief gehadt heeft, en hem selven voor my overgegeven heeft.⁴⁹

The ensuing reflection bears the subtitle *Van de verzeegeling des herten*.⁵⁰ Jesus Christ is presented as the groom, who desires that his beloved always remembers him. The bridegroom asks for custody of the heart: "want het herte is een kist der hemelsche schatten, daer in de

the Bridegroom, and by the arm the outward manifestation of his love, as *psal.77.16.* and *86.11.*] *for love* [to wit, the spiritual love of the Spouse unto Christ, and in like manner the love of Christ unto his Church and elect] *is strong as death*: [The meaning is, As death by its power overcometh and conquereth even the strongest man that is, *Psal.89.49.* so the mutual love between us both is exceeding strong, and cannot be quenched in us by any enemy or adversity, no not by death it self] *zeal is hard as the grave*: [*Zeal* or jealousy. This signifieth a vehement burning fervent love. This love or zeal is said to be *hard as the grave*, because it devoureth, and overcometh all difficulties, *Gal.5.24.* *Colos. 3.5.* even as death and the grave do swallow up all things] *the coals thereof are fiery coals*, [here is spoken of the burning coals of love, that kindle and inflame the heart, and cannot be quenched]. *Flames of the LORD*. [that is, great mighty flames. Or flames that are kindled by the LORD. Understand the flame or fire of the love and spirit of Christ, which may justly be called great, by reason of the strength of his love, and the powerful working of the Spirit in the hearts of the elect.]”

⁴⁹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 159. Haak: "I am crucified with Christ: And I live, (yet) no more I, but Christ liveth in me. And that which I now live in the flesh, the same I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave up himself for me." The verse with full annotation: "*I am crucified with Christ*: [How this is to be understood, see *Rom. 6.6.* where the same is said, and further expounded] *And I live*, [namely, now truly, a spiritual life] (*yet*) *no more I*, [namely, such as I was before my conversion and regeneration] *but Christ liveth in me*. [namely, by his holy Spirit, by which he leads me in the waies of God, and makes me fruitfull unto good works] *and that which I now live in the flesh*, [that is, in this my natural life, which he distinguisheth from the spiritual] *the same I live by the faith of the Son of God*, [that is, although I have mine infamities in that same flesh, yet I believe and trust that the Son of God hath satisfied for the same by his death: who also quickens me by his Spirit] *who loved me, and gave up himself for me*. [namely, unto death, *Rom. 4.25.*]"

⁵⁰ "Concerning the sealing of the heart[s]."

genade, liefde, wijsheyt en den heyligen Geest selve uytgegoten word, ende in woont.”⁵¹ But the heart is still human, it belongs to the flesh and is weak, and that is why the groom wishes to be the seal of it, so that no enemy can come near to it. Christ must be engraved in our hearts, the author writes. Here Luyken quotes Paul’s words in the Epistle to the Galatians 6:17 “Want ick drage de litteeckenen des Heeren Jesu in mijn lichaem.”⁵² The Soul echoes Paul’s idea that she is not her own any more but Christ’s (an idea conveyed in the *subscriptio*),

ende dat hy als den gekruysten in my leve, want ick ben met Christo aen ’t kruys gehect, en drage altydt dat sterven des Heeren JESU in myn lichaem om, op dat oock het leven des Heeren JESU in myn lichaem openbaer worde.⁵³

The Soul reflects on the revelation of Jesus in the body, making a differentiation between the signs on the soul of the follower of Jesus and the marks borne by the Antichrist’s servants. The text ends with the indication that the souls that are united with Christ will wear the sign of the divine not only on their foreheads, hands, or other members of their bodies, but most importantly inwardly, in the heart. As we have carried the earthly image, writes Luyken, so we shall carry the heavenly image: “alsoo hebben de werken en gedachten, dewelke van het herte komen, haer verdiensten alleen van Christo; en also veel een herte gelykvorming is sijn Heere wiens beeld het draegt, alsoo veel sal het aannemelyk voor God zyn.”⁵⁴

3. The contents of the work

The first page of Luyken’s work is the title-figure, or frontispiece. In the engraving, a male figure with a nimbus holds a thurible in his left hand, and, in his right a rope which is tied to the waist of a female figure, by which he leads her (Fig.16). The two are depicted running in a landscape. Below the image appears the *subscriptio*: *Jesus en de Ziel*, and then a quotation

⁵¹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 160: “for the heart is a chest of heavenly treasures, where grace, love, wisdom, and the Holy Ghost itself are poured out and dwell.”

⁵² Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 160: Haak: “Henceforward let no man trouble me, For I bear the markes of the Lord Jesus in my body.”

⁵³ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 161: “and that he lives crucified in me, because I am attached with Christ to the cross, and in my body, I always carry the death of Jesus the Lord, so that the life of Jesus the Lord may be revealed as well in my body.”

⁵⁴ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 161: “so the works and thoughts that come from the heart have their merit only from Christ; and as much as a heart is conformed to His Lord whose image it carries, it will be pleasing to God.”

from Song of Songs (1:4) “Treckt my, wy sullen u na lopen.”⁵⁵ Luyken’s name appears in the lower right corner, as the inventor and maker of the engraving. The verso of the title-figure is blank.

There follows the title page (Fig.17).⁵⁶ Here is stated the title of the work, and what does it consist of: *Bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke Sinne-Beelden. Vervat in Drie Deelen.*⁵⁷ The title serves to indicate what the reader will find when she or he turns the pages: the book *Jesus en de ziel* presents itself therefore as a spiritual mirror for the inner state of the inner being. The mirror is composed of forty emblems, including the title-figure, which are both pleasing and instructive. If they are described as “pleasing” or “delightful” (*aangename*), it would seem that they are intended to appeal to our senses, and if they are edifying (*stichtelyke*), then it is clear that the reader is meant to be educated by them. The use of capitals in the title give prominence to Jesus, the Soul, the emblems, and the threefold division of the book. Below the title follows a brief text that serves to reinforce the idea of the verse from the Song of Songs in the title-figure, explaining the purpose of the work as the hard journey from which there should no relenting until “wij die edele reuck, welcke Christus is, met vergaderde krachten in de inwendigheid ense Geestes, vry genieten en smaken.”⁵⁸

At the turn of the page is presented a *Kort bericht aan de leezer*,⁵⁹ in which the reader is informed, in a poetic manner, of the intended function of the emblems. The emblems’ roles are, we are told, manifold. Some have been put

om de Ziele uyt den slaap der Sonden op te wecken; andere om de Ziele te verquicken in hare verslagenheyt, angst en aanvechtinge; andere om haar op den Oorspronk aller schoonheden te doen velrieven. Sommege ruycken van dierbare waarheyt; Sommege van Liefde, sommege locken de Ziel tot de vereeniging met Godt: Ook synder die met

⁵⁵ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, fol. A1r. Haak: “Draw me, we will run after thee.” The verse with full annotations: “*Draw me, we will run after thee*: [Draw me; That is, incline mine heart and minde, that it may adhere unto thee by faith and love. For this drawing is not done with outward strength and violence. But by the word of preaching outwardly, and inwardly by the powerfull working of the Spirit of Christ, whereby the understanding of the children of God is so enlightened, and our will so reformed and amended, as that we willingly and joyfully follow; yea run after our blessed Lord and Bridegroom Jesus Christ. See *Isai.40.41. Jer.31.3. John 6.44,45. And 12.32. Phil.2.13. Heb.12.1,2.*.]”

⁵⁶ Fig.17 provides the title page of the 1696 edition.

⁵⁷ “Consisting of forty delightful and edifying emblems. Comprised in three parts.”

⁵⁸ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, fol. A2r: “we get to freely enjoy and taste that noble fragrance, which is Christ, in our inner Spirit.”

⁵⁹ “Short message to the reader.”

haar edele Reuck en veruw ons vertoonen een weynigjen van 't vreugden ryke
Paradys; een ewige lust-gaarde der Engelen en salige Zien.⁶⁰

There follows the *Voor-sangh* (prelude or introductory song). In the song, Luyken talks directly to the Soul about the journey she needs to undertake to return to her rightful home; about what has been lost, the pleasures and deception of earthly things; about the love that Jesus, the bridegroom, has for us, and on what will become of the Soul once it has been eternally wed to the bridegroom.⁶¹

The following page announces and describes the contents of the first part: the Soul, awakened by the power of God to seek repentance, decides without hesitation and with sincerity to leave the world and herself so she can come to God, to her home by right.⁶² That is what we read and see in the first thirteen emblems. The Soul starts the journey, already problematizing the temptations in which the flesh falls, and the tension between flesh and spirit. She desires a higher good, acknowledging, through God, that her current life on earth is not her rightful homeland but a prison, and that she needs to go in search of where she truly belongs (E.⁶³I-II, IV). The first emblem's poem talks about a higher good, for which the Soul leaves behind earthly desires. The image shows the Soul sitting with the personification of worldly desires (Fig.11). She points at her chest while looking upwards; at the same time, she points with her other hand at the earthly desires represented by food and a figure with the ears of an ass. In the second emblem, we are introduced to the idea of the Old Adam,⁶⁴ as the representation of the body, tempted and trapped in many ways by the devil. The Soul speaks

⁶⁰ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, fol. A3r: "to raise the Soul out of the sleep of Sins; others to uplift the Soul in her grief, anguish, and temptation; others to make her fall in love with the Origin of all beauty. Some smell of dear truth; Some of love, some call the Soul to unite with God: Also, those with their noble smell and delight show us a glimpse of the joyful and rich Paradise; an eternal garden of delights of Angels and Blessed Souls."

⁶¹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, fol. A4r-A4v.

⁶² Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, fol. A5r.

⁶³ E. stands for emblem(s).

⁶⁴ The notion of an "old Adam" comes from 1 Corinthians 15:45: "Alzo is e rook geschreven: De eerste mens Adam is geworden tot een levende ziel; de laatste Adam tot een levendmakenden Geest." *Statenvertaling*. Haak, with full annotations: "So it is also written [Namely, Gen 2. 7.] *The first man Adam is become a living soul*. [that is, after that God had formed his body out of the dust of the Earth, he breathed into him a reasonable and immortal soul, whereby the body is made alive and is moved: and so besides the understanding, he also received an animal or natural life, like as other living creatures] *The last Adam* [namely, Jesus Christ, who is also opposed to the first, Rom. 5. V. 17, 18, 19. These words are not here related as written there or any where else, but are by the Apostle opposed to that which is spoken of the first *Adam*, namely, that like as we have received from the first *Adam* a natural or animal body, so also by the second *Adam*, namely, Christ, we shall obtain a spiritual body] *a quickning Spirit*. [that is, by the union of the humane nature with the eternal divine nature, which is a quickning spirit, he is become a Prince of life to us, Acts 3. 15. And as he now since the resurrection hath a spiritual body, which is immortal and incorruptible, so shall he also give such bodies unto all those that are descended from him, not by a natural procreation, but by a supernatural regeneration. For each *Adam* communicates to his posterity such as he hath."

of the new body, placed inside the old one, reinstated by the Son of God.⁶⁵ The fourth emblem strengthens this idea: “Hebt gy Duyvel en Werelt het sterftelyke lyf in uwe gevangenis, so heb ick mynen Heylandt en wederbarer in myne Ziele, die sal myn een Hemels lyf geven, dat eeuwig blyft”⁶⁶

The search for the beauty of the Divine in all created things begins as well. It is possible to discern God in nature (E.III), but such insight can only be granted by God himself. As the Divine Response of his third emblem, Luyken employs Matthew 5:8: “Salig [zyn]⁶⁷ de reyne van herten: Want sy sullen Godt sien.”⁶⁸ In the image the Soul is set in a garden. She gestures towards a flower while looking upwards (Fig.18). In the subsequent reflection on the third emblem Luyken gives a clear idea of how he understands the external and internal. The Soul comes to understand “Dat uytwendige is een openbaringe van dat inwendige. Wanneer ik spreek, so zyn die uysterlyke woorden een openbaring van het inwendige woordt dat sich in myn herte op doet.”⁶⁹ There is an internal, eternal reality to everything that we see in the world. That eternal beautiful paradise is manifest only in the inner individual, and though in the exterior the essential beauty can be seen (with the eyes of the spirit), the earthly realm is bound to perish. What is behind it is everlasting.⁷⁰

The love of the Bridegroom and the way to attain it, through gentle, meek and humble behaviour is presented in the emblems that follow (E.V-VI). With humbleness God has to be exalted in the heart. The person belongs to God, as creator of all things, and God gave a precious gift to the Soul, by giving birth to his Son in the Soul. Because his Son is in the Soul, the Soul is the Father’s son as well. This goes back to the idea of new birth: continuously accepting the gift given (his Son), and exalting God with the heart, a continuous process to

⁶⁵ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 16-17.

⁶⁶ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 25: “You have the Devil and the World, the mortal body in your prison, so have I my Saviour and the one who gives birth to me again in my Soul, who shall give me a heavenly body that will last eternally.”

⁶⁷ The square brackets are from the original text.

⁶⁸ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de Ziel*, 28. Haak: “Blessed are the pure of heart; for they shall see God”. Full annotation: “*Blessed are the pure of heart*; [That is, who are purified by the Spirit of God from the defilements of sin, and from all manner of hypocrisie, *Eph.5.26.*] *for they shall see God.* [that is, shall perfectly know him, nad behold his glory, 1 *Cor.* 13.12.]”

⁶⁹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 20: “That the external is a revelation of the internal. When I speak, those external words are a revelation of the inner word that arises in my heart.”

⁷⁰ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 20.

attain salvation, which is about constantly being born anew: “hoe meer men sich selfs afsterft, hoe meer men aen het rechte leven verjonget en vernieut wert, ende dat is dat eeuwige leven.”⁷¹

The seventh emblem is the first image, since the frontispiece, to show the male child that represents Jesus, though it is rather more childlike than the male figure in the frontispiece (Fig.19). The Bridegroom has made his appearance, offering flowers to a happy Soul who points at her chest once again. The poem recounts how the Soul cannot contain her love for the Bridegroom. As true love is experienced, evil surrounds the Soul with more force. She must rely on her love, purity, and faith for and in God, battling with unclean thoughts that are prowling about, or against sinful ideas like God’s supposed preference for some more than others (E.VIII-XI). This battle is part of the pilgrim’s (Soul) journey, with deceit lurking around every corner, and though all darkness may surround the path, the light of Jesus should lead the way (E.XII). This light implies the imitation of Jesus’ life and teaching, the only way to free the heart from blindness.⁷²

The final emblem (E.XIII) of the first part continues the theme of the Soul confronting, with the help of her beloved, a sinful life, tired of a world-lust trying to defeat her. This circumstance is represented by the Soul and Jesus on a boat in the sea (Fig.20). The poem tells how the two are trying to arrive to the other side, rowing against the flowing stream of sins of the world.⁷³ The divine response gives an assurance of the goal: “Wie volherden sal tot den eynde, die sal salig worden.” (Matthew 24: 13).⁷⁴

Part Two of the work opens with a brief outline of the contents of the ensuing section: “De Ziele, door een getrouwe voortgang langhs den wegh der bekeeringe, is door Godts genade gekomen tot het schouwende leven, en spreekt veel hooge en dierbare Waerheden, tot stichtingh van haer naesten uyt.”⁷⁵ The Soul is now knowledgeable, enlightened; the true self is awakened. She knows sin is lurking, and that even if she has been given grace by God, her confinement in the old Adam of the flesh makes temptation an ever-present problem. This is the context of the first heart-emblem described above: *De Ziele rustende van alle uyerlijcke*

⁷¹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 33: “the more one dies, the more one is rejuvenated and renewed in the righteous life, and that is eternal life.”

⁷² Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 56.

⁷³ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 60.

⁷⁴ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 59. Haak: “But he that shall endure unto the end, he shall be saved.”

⁷⁵ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 63: “The Soul, by a faithful journey on the way to repentance, has come, by the grace of God, to the contemplative life, and recounts many high and beloved truths, for the edification of her companions.”

menighoudigheden, waeckt met het inwendige ooge des gemoeds (E.XIV). The text goes on to argue that as long as Christ remains in the heart, darkness will be devoured by light (E.XV), and sins will be forgiven because “Wanneer Christus opstaet, soo sterft Adam.”⁷⁶ Luyken repeats the argument that with the constant death of Adam, the Soul is born anew out of God in Christ, so that she is the daughter of God as well. She shares both Christ’s death, resurrection, ascension, and eternal reign, since the Soul has been born from Christ’s flesh and blood. To be born anew is to have a new spiritual body in God, which is hidden in the earthly *Adamic* body.⁷⁷

The theme of the new body continues in the subsequent pages, which build on the Soul’s growing awareness of having a divine, fiery spark of eternal life, and discuss the way in which the individual relates to God (E.XVI, XVIII-XXI). The ensuing emblems also present the Soul’s ongoing tense relationship with the old Adam, the worldly, the still blind human being, and the wicked souls (E.XVII, XXII-XXIII). The Soul beholds the sacrifices made by God for his people, the death of Christ for salvation, the meaning of true divine love (E.XXIV), and the number of traps the devil has laid to make us stumble (E.XXV). In the last emblem of the second part (E.XXVI), the Soul is set in the midst of the fire of purification (Fig.21).⁷⁸ The love for Jesus and faith in God, and their power in her heart will enable her to endure the suffering such fire brings, so that it consumes what needs to be consumed.

The third and final part opens with a description of contents which outlines that

De Ziele haer aen de gaven, openbaringe en inlichtinge Godts niet vergenoegende, begeert, na den aerdt der liefde, met haer beminde gantsch vereenight te zyn, en haer selve in den goddelycken afgrond in te sincken, als een druppel waters in den wyn.⁷⁹

This part of Luyken’s work is distinctive inasmuch as in the further reflections provided for each emblem, biblical verses – drawn especially from the Psalms – start to take more space. The Soul is resigned completely towards God and expresses her fervent desire to be united to her beloved. God answers through the gift of new birth in God’s spirit (E.XXVII-XXIX), the Soul coming gradually closer to Paradise. The courtship between the Soul and Jesus is stronger and more sensual, and the notion of union is more present. In Emblem XXIX, the Soul repeats

⁷⁶ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 70: “When Christ rises, Adam dies.”

⁷⁷ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 71.

⁷⁸ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 112.

⁷⁹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 117: “The Soul, not satisfied with God’s gifts, revelation and instruction, desires, after the nature of love, to be completely united with her beloved, and to immerse herself into the divine abyss, like a drop of water in the wine.”

the idea of the drop of water poured into red wine, losing herself completely to be merged in God (Fig.22).⁸⁰ The Divine response is composed of quotations from John 6:56 and John 17:21, 23, which stress the connection between the Last Supper and oneness in God.

The Soul now understands the sharp separation between her original nature and the nature of the flesh, divine love, and worldly love, divine treasure (residing in the heart), and worldly treasure (mere external pleasure), and so she positions herself against the world (E.XXX-XXXI). Beginning from Emblem XXX we start to see a personification of the world that is not the “donkey-ears” character that has been shown since Emblem I, but a more formal and in some cases elegant character (Fig.23). The Soul has the Earth’s sphere below her feet, while the World holds it in her hands. Jesus looks down on the scene from heaven. The World’s side of the scene has buildings as a background; the Soul is set against natural background, to which she gestures with one hand while pointing at her chest with the other. A garden in the background divides the figures.

After the second heart emblem in the work, Emblem XXXII (*De Ziele roemt de geestelijke schoonheyt hoogh bovende wereltsche*), we see the Soul solely focused on reaching the divine kingdom, and on making of her heart the place for such throne, with an underlying theme of complete resignation, following the example of Jesus and fundamentally of his suffering (E.XXXIII-XXXV). Emblem XXXVI shows the Soul resting on Jesus’ chest, or more specifically on Jesus’ heart, where no evil can enter (Fig.24): “Een plaets van waare vrede en vreughden.”⁸¹ With and in Jesus this is, the author argues, true rest for the true self.⁸²

⁸⁰ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel* 126. The idea of a drop of water into wine is part of a long mystical tradition in Christianity. For example, in his *De Diligendo Deo* (On Loving God), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) writes: “As a drop of water poured into wine loses itself, and takes the color and savor of wine; or as a bar of iron, heated red-hot, becomes like fire itself, forgetting its own nature; or as the air, radiant with sun-beams, seems not so much to be illuminated as to be light itself; so in the saints all human affections melt away by some unspeakable transmutation into the will of God” (“Quomodo stilla aquae modica, multo infusa vino, deficere a se tota videtur, dum et saporem vini induit, et colorem; et quomodo ferrum ignitum et candens, igni simillimum fit, pristina propriaque forma exutum; et quomodo solis luce perfusus aer in eadem transformatur luminis claritatem, adeo ut non tam illuminatus, quam ipsum lumen esse videatur: sic omnem tunc in sanctis humanam affectionem quodam ineffabili modo necesse erit a semetipsa liquescere, atque in Dei penitus transfundi voluntatem.”); in Robert E. Lerner, “The Image of Mixed Liquids in Late Medieval Mystical Thought,” *Church History* 40, no.4 (December 1971): 397. J. Meister Eckhart (c.1260-c.1328), in his *Rede der onderscheidunge* uses as his base this Bernardine image, to argue that “This union is much closer than when a drop of water is poured into a vat of wine and becomes so transformed in union that no creature can discern a distinction” (Eckhart in Lerner, “The Image of Mixed Liquids,” 402.). For further discussion and examples in late medieval spirituality, see: Lerner, “The Image of Mixed Liquids”.

⁸¹ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 154: “A place of true peace and joy.”

⁸² Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 156.

There follows the third heart emblem, Emblem XXXVII: *De Ziele heft haer herte met Jezus versegeldt*. The Soul trusts completely in Christ and understands his suffering and wounds as the signs of love for her (E.XXXVIII). In Emblem XXXVIII Christ shows his wounds and points at his chest (Fig.25). The Soul considers the value of Christ's wounds and the implications of his heart being pierced:

De heymelyckheyt sijns herten is door de gaten des lichaems openbaer geworden; die groote verborgentheyt der Godtsaligheyt is ontdeckt [...] // Longinus heeft my de zyde Christi met de Lancie geopent, en ik bender ingetreden. Hier woon ick seker, hier vermaak ick my, hier ruste ick soet, hier weyde ick met lust.⁸³

In the final emblem (E.XXXIX) of the book the Soul reaffirms her desire to be dissolved in Christ in his loving fire, acknowledging the limits of the flesh and longing for the reunion with the Lord after the death of the 'old man'. In the image, Jesus and the Soul are separated by a wall, and their gestures suggest they might be looking for something or someone (Fig.26). As we have noted, the reflection concluding this emblem is significantly longer to those with which the other emblems conclude. Called *Van 't eeuwige Vaderlandt, en dessefs vreughde*,⁸⁴ this is the end of the entire journey made by the Soul and includes a long exhortation on the beauty and order of Heaven, the nature of Angels, the value of music and its angelic aspects, and the experience of the Soul in paradise, among other things. The text begins where the image left off, with the triumph of the Soul arriving, after her pilgrimage, now free of the flesh, at her rightful home in divine eternity:

Wanneer nu de Godtlievende Ziel den wegh haers Pelgromschap, door de gevaerlijke wilde woestijne deser werelt, ten eynde gekomen is, en dat den ouden schyts-muur haers uyerlijken lichaems, van voor haer aengesicht is weghgefallen, dan gaet sy weder in haer eerste en rechte Vaderlandt, daer sy uyt gesprooten is, [doch in Adam uytgewandelt was] by haren alderlieftsten Vader t' huys, om met alle heylige Engelen in eeuwigheyt voor zijn aengesicht te spelen.⁸⁵

⁸³ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 165: "The secret of his heart was revealed through the holes of the body; the great mystery of God's holiness was unveiled [...] // Longinus opened the side of Christ with the Spear to me, and I entered it. Here I live with certainty, here I delight myself, here I rest in sweetness, here I graze with pleasure."

⁸⁴ "Of the Eternal Homeland, and its joy."

⁸⁵ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 168: "And when the God loving Soul's pilgrimage through the dangerous wilderness of this world has come to an end, and that old dividing wall of her external body has fallen, then she goes again to her first and rightful homeland, because she was born out of it [but, in Adam, had strayed from it], she goes to her dearest Father's home, to play before his countenance with all the holy Angels for eternity."

The work concludes with the *Sangh* that I have referred to above, set to the tune of the madrigal *Amarille mia Belle* [sic].⁸⁶ The text is a declaration of love from the Soul to her bridegroom, and ends with the following words:

liet in 't hert sich vinden: // Een levend water ontsprongen uyt Gots herte; // Geen dorst sou my meer smerte. // Ja soetste Jesus myn allerschoonste Heere, // Laet myn sterven, laet my sterven, laet my sterven, van u leren.⁸⁷

In the extended version of the further reflection, as it is found in the 1704 edition and thereafter, Luyken explores with greater detail the topics already mentioned, especially regarding the nature of Angels. Interestingly, Luyken rather obscurely refers to the Angels as being created by God to be at the service of his own heart. God's heart is none other than Jesus. There is an equivalence posited between all the joy arising in the heart of the human being, and all of God's joys springing from his divine heart. The Angels' reasons for existence are described as to play, praise, and sing; activities that increase the joy of God's heart.⁸⁸ The expanded reflection concludes with the *Toezang*, praising the Heavens, the rightful home. This hymn is sung to all the brothers, sons of God, in the hope that the contents of the book, described as the flowers of a garden of which Luyken has been but a gardener who has transplanted the flowers from other soil, may assist the reader to arrive with joy in the promised land.⁸⁹ This last metaphor is a reworking of the last paragraph of the first edition of the book.⁹⁰

Finally, the *Copie van een brief* included in the 1704 edition should be mentioned. The letter is to a 'sister' (*zuster*) and reflects upon the Trinity, the conception of the soul and its relationship with divinity, about Holy Communion, and the love and union between the bride and Bridegroom. After it comes a song, to be sung to the tune *Ik ging op eenes Morgen*.⁹¹ The

⁸⁶ The corrupted French title could have its origins to the manuscript London, British Library, Royal Appendix MS 55 which, it has been argued, is the first source of the song in England. According to Carter, in this manuscript "The text of the song [*Amarilli, mia Bella*] is corrupted in a manner suggesting reproduction from memory by someone more used to French than to Italian. ('Amarilli' is given as 'Amarille' [...]) This is perhaps evidence for some manner of north-European transmission." (Carter, "Caccini's *Amarilli, Mia Bella*," 271).

⁸⁷ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 174: "he let himself be found in the heart: // A life-giving water sprang from God's heart; // No thirst will give me pain any more. // Yes, sweet Jesus my most beautiful Lord, // Let my death, let my death, let my death, learn from you."

⁸⁸ Jan Luyken (c), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelyke spiegel voor 't gemoed* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentsz en Cornelis van der Sys, 1704), 172-173.

⁸⁹ Luyken (c), *Jesus en de ziel*, 190.

⁹⁰ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 173.

⁹¹ "I went on one Morning". The original text origins seem to be from *Haerlems oudt liedt-boeck*, published around 1640. The melody appears to come from Theodotus (Aegidius Haefacker), *Paradys der gheest. En kerck.zieof-sanghen*, the edition from 1648, printed in Antwerp.

text was written by Luyken, and was published in his *De zedelyke en stichtelyke gezangen*, first published in 1709. It refers to God's love represented in his Son, and the thirst for divine love by the believer. Christ is a living fountain, that washes away sins, and asks those who want to be saved to drink from him, the source of eternal life.⁹²

⁹² Luyken (c), *Jezus en de ziel*, (107, 108).

Chapter 2: Internal mechanisms in Luyken's heart-emblems¹

In this chapter, I analyse Luyken's use of the visual motif of the heart in *Jesus en de ziel*. By 'use' I mean in this case the motif's functions intended within the book, and within the visual and textual tools that he used. Taking into consideration what has been said in the preceding chapter, we may summarise the intended functions of the heart motif as follows:

- 1) to tell the work's users that the true self resided inside this organ, and that, because of it, the heart is the location where the Holy Spirit resides or is able to reside;
- 2) to enable, by means of a rebirth, the awakened self to see and understand the divine essence behind nature and the daily activities in life, until death; it is through the eyes of the heart that the believer should not only see but also that she or he should behave;
- 3) finally, to remind the book's user that there needs to be constant protection of the heart, as the locus of the divine treasure guarded within it; the world is now the testing ground, and this spiritual pilgrimage will have its struggles, but if believers want to inherit what is rightfully theirs, i.e., the Kingdom of Heaven, they must protect the now awakened self that resides within them. This protection can only be provided by Jesus through love.

This chapter will demonstrate how these three functions were set in play through several composition and communication strategies employed by Luyken and his publisher Arentsz.

The design of a book affords diverse movements and interactions with the object. If the user of a book wants to read the contents within the book, then they have to open it, so the contents can be revealed. But they are not revealed all at once. The user needs to keep manipulating the book, leaf through the pages, for the contents to keep being revealed. Depending on the book this revelation is materialised through different forms, different marks in the surface such as language or images; but also in different forms according to a narrative style, a structure of sorts, the size of the forms, the composition of pages and the number of pages. The consumption of a book in terms of reading the book implies a revelation of information that depends on the user's actions and skills. In other words, the mechanics of knowing what is within a book depend on the user, so the contents will only appear if the person

¹ Parts of this chapter served as the basis of the following academic publication: Mauricio Oviedo, "La experiencia de lo divino: El Emblema XIV de *Jesus en de Ziel* (1678) como caso de estudio," *Nierika* 11, no.21 (January-June 2022): 66-101.

wishes to or by accident; in any case it must be made to appear. In this way, the book works, following Bernhard Siegert, like a door or a triptych could work: it reveals and conceals, but in order to reveal it has to be made to reveal.² In a religious environment, with an object meant to be approached in a religious manner and presumably usually bought and read with such a religious tone, then the revelation is religious, both verbally and visually; and by going through the pages, the revelations change and transform previous revelations. With *Jesus en de ziel* what is revealed by the user entails poetry, explanations, the Word of God and images. The heart-emblems are then not simply given; they are discovered, uncovered by the opening of a book and by reaching those pages, in whatever ways the user has come to reach them. That path - the time and process entailed in arriving at the point of viewing them makes the configurations of prose, verse, the biblical text, and the image an organic constant process.

The analysis of the heart-emblems in Luyken and the supposed clarity that I, as a researcher, have regarding their function, must be understood inevitably as an approximation to the object of study as an actual object of study and hardly as the book it used to be. In the present study, I have restricted the analysis of composition and function to what the heart-emblems, located within the book object that contains them, can tell the viewer when considered within their material context: how they work within the machine they were intended to be part of, and what could this machine do by design and purpose. In this sense, I refrain from contextualising the function and composition of the heart-emblems as much as possible, restricting our focus to the object of study and what it alone can reveal. The “context” I will be interested in, as it will be seen in the next chapter, relates more to what can the evidence tell us of the life of the object in specific moments and places. What does the object tell alone are the internal mechanisms that surround and occur within the motif. These mechanisms are part of the affordances of the object: they are what the object offers, specifically what the object affords religiously. It should be understood, of course, that the motif cannot work alone. It is part of a material and visual ecosystem, in this case an image, a page, a folio and a book. In other words, by defining the internal mechanisms of the heart-emblems, we will attempt to explain what visual and cognitive strategies were used in the creation of the object, to afford religious experience.

² Bernhard Siegert, *Cultural Techniques: Grids, Filters, Doors, and Other Articulations of the Real* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 198.

The chapter is structured in two parts: first I focus on how the heart-emblems were made, and how they fit within the structure of the book. A number of formal aspects are taken into consideration: narrative, composition, style, and the relationships between the textual and the visual form. Once these elements have been established, I turn to a detailed consideration of the function of the heart-emblems.

1. The heart-emblems as part of the narrative or as standalone works.

Thus far, we have focused on the heart-emblems not in isolation but as part of a book. The reason for this approach is that the image consumption I am interested in is when the user interacts with the emblems by looking at them within *Jesus en de ziel* as a whole. Given this focus, we can delineate **at least two** basic ways to read what is happening in the images. In the first scenario, the image is approached from the point of view of the narrative of the work as a whole; here, the reader is following the story set forth by Luyken, briefly described in the previous chapter. Let us take Emblem XIV (Fig.1) as an example. In this case, if the reader follows the order of the book in sequence, then the first heart-emblem works as a transition and introduction: it is the first emblem of the second part of the work, and therefore also relates to some degree to the conclusion of the first part. If the previous emblem, Emblem XIII (Fig.19), is borne in mind, then the reader knows that the Part I of the work ends with Jesus and the Soul arriving shore after a journey by water made difficult by their struggle against the tide, which represents worldly desires and treasures. Having arrived, now, at the opening of Part II, the Soul rests, with an open-eyed watchful heart (E.XIV), guided by God. The Soul is, then, in the necessary condition to undertake the remainder of the journey that will be recounted in the second part of the book.

A second way to read the images is to note that the emblems make sense even if read out of sequence, or not as part of the narrative. While the pages afford a sequential reading, they do not require it. Rather, the emblems in *Jesus en de ziel* can equally be engaged as independent parts of a whole. If we return to Emblems XIII and XIV, we can note the former can be read alone, as an independent image that describes the journey against this worldly tide, and the arrival to a safe shore that is the ultimate destination (Heaven). In this reading, Emblem XIII ceases to be merely the journey that ends in arriving at a place to rest before continuing with the trip but contains within itself a more significant horizon. Emblem XIV, in turn, read

independently of the narrative sequence, implies that even while sleeping or resting, the true self needs to keep guard of the presence of the divine. In sum, the emblems that make up the book are not dependent on each other for their meaning, but they do afford a sequential reading. Luyken designed and compiled the images in an order which rewards the use of them either in sequence as a group or independently, thereby ensuring several meanings and logical points of cohesion.

2. Notes on structure and composition

As we have noted in the last chapter, *Jesus en de ziel* is divided into three parts. Each part has thirteen images or symbols (*Sinne-beelden*). The book follows a more or less consistent pattern or rhythm (Figs.10-11):

1. First, the poem with divine answer (page 1),
2. Second, the image with Bible verse printed below (page 2),
3. Third, a further reflection (pages 3-4).

The content is disposed according to an unchanging pattern of four pages per emblem: one page each for the poem, and image + verse, and two pages for the reflection.³ The emblems follow a somewhat logical narrational sequence. A story can be traced across the emblems through the images, and their accompanying poems and further reflections. The images are in most cases clear in their message and connection to the poems. There are no more than three figures in each image; usually, there are just two. If only one figure is presented, it is usually the Soul, within the environment which, in these cases, plays a more dominant role in the scene. In terms of composition, there are no dramatic variations in the configurations of the images; this lends a certain visual coherence and continuity to the work.

In terms of image composition, the image of Emblem XIV places the sleeping Soul on a diagonal, following the line of the little mound on which she is sleeping. The mound together with the tree frames Jesus in a triangle. Because of his posture and location, Jesus brings a certain dynamism to the scene; he is the figure who reacts to the setting, a spectator of what is happening to the Soul, and the reason why the heart has its eye open. The direction of Jesus'

³ Emblem XIII and Emblem XXVII use an extra page for the additional reflection in the 1704 edition.

gaze is slightly ambiguous: it may be directed to either the Soul as a whole or to the heart. Jesus' right hand is positioned right above the heart, and his left points upward. This same gesture can be observed in the *Cordis vigilia* (Haeften's *Schola Cordis*) (Fig.9), Luyken's model, and it was a device that the poet/engraver deployed quite often: one hand indicates what belongs to the world (worldly) and the other points to the divine. Coincidentally, while the Soul's left hand upholds the true self (the heart), the right hand on which she rests is pointing down. In this way, the disposition of the hands suggests a certain tensile balance between the two figures in the midst of which is the heart – a human organ with the eye of the Spirit open – which is presented as the middle ground between Earth and Heaven. The higher position of Jesus and his head surrounded by a nimbus also serve to convey the notion of the ideal, whereas the Soul's location on the ground below, stresses what is material, earthly, and what becomes factual.⁴ The opposition is reinforced by the backgrounds against which the two figures are displayed: an earthly closed background behind the Soul, and behind Jesus, a more open scene that extends towards the horizon and sky. The heart can be seen then as visually separating the two realms, with their reinforced backgrounds, or as what sustains, like a bridge, the link between them.

Emblem XXXII (Fig.2) similarly uses a simple principle of composition based on two sides. In this case, instead of placing the Soul on the left in a more closed space, Luyken depicts Worldly Beauty in this position. It is now the Soul that is in the open space. The diagonal created by the entire structure of the steps, throne, and the posture of the figure, together with the diagonal sketched through the drapes or curtains above, frames the Soul in a triangle. This is reinforced by the upper part of the line of arches that contribute to clarifying the vanishing point in the image. Whereas Jesus was the centre of action in Emblem XIV, here it is the Soul who is shown in action: here, the Soul is in the act of display, as she exposes the heart (perhaps) over and against Worldly Beauty. The heart is used as the object par excellence to define and show (display) divine beauty.⁵ In this image, the heart neither separates nor creates a bridge, but its location indicates where the divine resides in the mundane setting.

Emblem XXXVII (Fig.3) disposes the Soul and Jesus within the frame on the same sides as they appear in Emblem XIV. Here, however, the side of the Soul, where the tree is, has an extra character: the devil. The devil serves to indicate a reaction to what has just

⁴ For relationships top-bottom in an image see: Gunther Kress & Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁵ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 138-141.

happened in the scene: The Soul's sealing of her heart. The Soul's heart is positioned slightly further to the right, where the Jesus figure is depicted. Though not as evident as in the other cases, here again the side of the image containing more elements is that of the Soul. In this emblem, however, both Jesus and the Soul stand (both at eye-level) and hold the heart (the hand of Jesus is depicted slightly above the hand of the Soul). Once again, in this emblem, the heart divides both realms, but when looked at in the context of the considering poem, verses, and accompanying reflection, the heart should be understood as the actual bridge of the flesh with the divine, on which the name of Jesus is sealed.

In the three images, we can see a kind of freeze-framed action. Jesus' posture and the hand gestures in Emblem XIV tell us that he has just encountered the sleeping Soul whose Heart represents the 'awakened' character. We can imagine him walking in the space beyond the frame of the image and arriving where the Soul is resting to discover what is happening in the instant the emblem depicts. In Emblem XXXII, the Soul has come to the place where Worldly Beauty is sitting or residing, and her hand gesture suggests the act of displaying something. The Soul is depicted in the act of giving a discourse on Divine Beauty. That is, indeed, what the poem and further reflection describe. In Emblem XXXVII, the position of the Soul's right hand and the reproduction of the seal in the heart shows that the viewer is witnessing the moment immediately after the action of sealing. The astonished expression on the devil's face indicates an immediate response to the completion of the act.

3. Notes on the style used for the characters

The way the characters have been represented is also fundamental for fulfilling Luyken's objectives. The Soul is not a portrait of a recognizable person, realistically depicted. At best, her representation can be described as that of a young girl,⁶ whose facial features are interchangeable with those of many other female allegorical representations by Luyken.⁷ Her lack of resemblance to any specific person enables her to be used as a vehicle of identification for anybody, or every-user. The reduction of her expression to a minimum effectively

⁶ On the representation of the Soul as female, see: Anita Schorsch, "Emblematic and Allegorical Images of Body and Soul," in *Emblematic Perceptions: Essays in Honor of William S. Heckscher on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. Peter M. Daly & Daniel Russel (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1997), 159-188.

⁷ To name just a few examples: the title page for Stephanus Curcellaeus' *De zedelyke werken* (1674); the title page for Mattheus Bois' *Christelyke sin – en geestryke annotatien* (1686); the title page for Philippus van Limborch's *Christelyke godgeleerdheid* (1701); and the engravings comprised in Luyken's *Voncken der liefde Jesu* (1687).

suppresses any individual personality of the figure, in order that she may stand as a generic representation of the repentant soul, filled with a longing to love, and unite with God. Such a basic profile makes her the perfect mirror for those who are in the same situation. She is nobody, or rather, she is everybody, the basic common ground of a Christian in search of a rebirth, salvation, and therefore unification in love to Jesus. To borrow Scott McCloud's terms of analysis in the field of comic book studies, she is a cartoon, deliberately distant from lifelike depictions. She becomes, therefore "a vacuum into which our identity of awareness are pulled... an empty shell that we inhabit which enables us to travel in another realm. We don't just observe the cartoon, we become it!"⁸

McCloud's observations regarding cartoons, or the act of cartooning as a mode of amplification through simplification, may be fruitfully borrowed here:

When we abstract an image through cartooning, we're not so much eliminating details as we are focusing on specific details. By stripping down an image to its essential 'meaning' an artist can amplify that meaning in a way that realistic art can't.⁹

The 'cartoon-like' way Luyken draws the Soul's face serves, then, to give to the figure no other specific identity but that of the soul, and by means of this representational strategy, more people can feel identified in image, and identify with the image as they look at it. *Jesus en de ziel*, as a whole, has no correlation with a specific existing environment, it is neither a reconstruction of biblical events, or of contemporary events to Luyken. It is a compound of images and texts that, through their inclination to anchor to more general notions of a daily spiritual life, tries to encompass the main journey within and outside the individual. In this way, it depicts the diverse motifs in a way in which the great majority of users of the book could identify with. This does not mean that it is then merely symbolic, in the sense that the motifs are just ideas on which the user reflects or projects. On the contrary, what I wish to argue is that their universality makes it easier for them to become part of the visual repertoire the individual has at hand to understand and live her or his life.

This aspect of the representation of the Soul can be applied to the heart. Together with the other figures and motifs in the images, in addition to the texts accompanying them, the 'Valentine' form of the heart makes it a placeholder for everybody's heart and everybody's

⁸ Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994), 36.

⁹ McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 30.

spiritual experience. It renders the organ a receptacle for everyone, into which the devotee can project her or his own heart. Neither the eye in emblem XIV, nor the seal in emblem XXXVII alters this representational function, since these elements themselves adhere to this principle of using general motifs to which the reader can be expected to relate, or which she or he may desire: readers should, it is implied, want to be watchful and spiritually awake, and to seal their most divine treasure by imprinting the name of the Son of God in their hearts. The image works then as a kind of accommodating mirror. By not showing any detail that would render the heart a particular organ belonging to a particular individual, the image gives the viewer space to perceive the heart as both human and divine, as the carrier of emotions and of the Spirit, as the prime mover of the body and the residence of the Soul and God.

Jesus, on the other hand, is identified as such by the artist, through the bestowal of attributes like the nimbus, or flowers used as a crown. Beyond these modest elements, however, there is not much in the representation of the Jesus figure that draws on Christian iconography prior to 1678. It is not the case that Luyken never represented Jesus following the iconographic tradition: there are certainly examples of his deployment of rather traditional Christological iconography when the objective was to illustrate events of the biblical narrative.¹⁰ In these cases, through the ‘realistic’ (and traditional) iconography of Jesus, Luyken recreates a scenario of past biblical events. In *Jesus en de ziel*, however, the artist elected instead to draw inspiration from the *amor divinus/Anima* formula followed by Catholic emblem books, as it is the case of van Veen’s *Amoris divini emblemata* and the *Schola cordis*, discussed in the Introduction. The infant Jesus is used to illustrate the personal and interior spiritual life, as it has developed, is developing, and will develop in the course of the believer’s life. The depiction of the Christ figure as infant accords with the depiction of the Soul and the heart: they all serve to render the image personal to the user of the book, by removing the distance imposed by either individual, biblical, or historical iconographic attributes.

¹⁰ As it happens, for example, in the engravings made for *Het Nieuwe Testament ofte alle Boecken des Nieuwen Verbonds onses Heeren Iesu Christi* (1681).

4. Relationships between image and text: an act of metonymy

One way to understand the relationship between image and poem, and their juxtaposition, is in terms of metonymy.¹¹ The cognitive linguists Günter Radden and Zoltán Kövecses define metonymy as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain.”¹² The image in the emblem can, I would argue, be understood as a metonymy of the text. The image can function as a cue for the title of the poem, the poem itself, or the divine response; or all of them at once. Because of its composition and elements, it can serve as a sign through which the viewer can infer a concept or idea.¹³ It is not the case that the image represents everything in the poem; rather it represents enough to convey or rather to stand for the text through the use of visual elements.

Any visual representation cannot be taken as a ‘whole’ in terms of substituting completely what it represents; images are by nature a partial outcome of something, proposed either by their maker or by their consumer.¹⁴ In other words, if we unite the notion of metonymy to Gibson’s ecological approach, we can argue that an image substitutes neither reality nor the text it stands beside, but supplies information and “mental access” to that reality and the textual form printed beside it. At the same time the text also is transmitting information regarding the reality and the visual form for which it stands. Together they manage to supply such information and afford such access in a manner by means of which perception is transformed and knowledge is received in a particular way.¹⁵ In short, the image is, in this metonymic understanding, a mode of access. In an emblem book such as that of Luyken, the image, as part of a message, can give access to several ‘target’ ideas also proposed in verbal form by the poet. The image then, together with the text, become mnemonic tools, attempts to imprint in the believer a way to understand her or his spiritual life, and the heart’s role in it.

¹¹ For the way the term metonymy is being used here, see: William Dezheng, “Metonymy and Visual Representation: Towards a Social Semiotic Framework of Visual Metonymy,” *Visual Communication* 16, no.4 (January 2017): 441-466; Wojciech Wachowski, “How Fundamental and Ubiquitous Really is Metonymy?,” In *Memory, Identity and Cognition: Explorations in Culture and Communications*, ed. Jace Mianowski, Michał Borodo and Paweł Schreiber (Cham: Springer, 2019), 155-173; Zoltán Kövecses & Günter Radden, “Metonymy: Developing a Cognitive Linguistic View,” *Cognitive Linguistics* 9, no.1 (January 1998): 37-78.

¹² Kövecses & Radden, “Metonymy,” 39.

¹³ Dezheng, “Metonymy and Visual Representation,” 444.

¹⁴ Dezheng, “Metonymy and Visual Representation,” 451.

¹⁵ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*.

Poetry, of course, can be employed in a similar way, viz., as a tool for learning, that uses rhyme and repetition patterns to reinforce its pedagogical purpose. In the first mention of the heart in the poem of Emblem XIV, for example, the central idea of the poem is framed in four verses in which the rhymes act as a kind of frame:

Soo slaep ick, maer mijn herte waeckt,
Op Godt en Goddelijcke dingen,
Op dat als my den Heer genaeckt,
Hy my niet vindt in sluymeringen.¹⁶

Just as in this first stanza of the poem we learn precisely what we are actually looking at in the image, so we might also speculate on how beholding the image might occur before the reading of the text, and thereby inform the reader's understanding of the poem (Fig.27). It is conceivable as well that, after having gone through all the components around the image (poem, divine response, further reflection, etc.), it may happen that just by the act of looking at the image, then the poem, the bible verses, and the elements of the accompanying reflection are all activated in the person's consciousness. As a tool, the image then adds to its range of affordances that of serving as a device for remembering or accessing information. This can occur in manifold ways, and the web of simultaneous associations need not necessarily be triggered by the image. It may happen with Emblem XIV, for example, that if I or someone in my hearing recites or even only alludes to Song of Songs 5:2, part of my visual resources immediately called into play at that moment may be Luyken's engraving.

Finally, in a certain sense the texts around Luyken's engravings serve to limit the range of possible interpretations or meanings of the image. Though it is not the case that Luyken can control how his book will be used, an intention is nevertheless expressed at the moment he tries to establish a cohesive structure for understanding the whole work. To use Roland Barthes's terminology, the texts function as a kind of anchorage,¹⁷ operating on the connotative level, that helps to reduce the proliferation of associations the interpreter makes when encountering the image.¹⁸ In this sense, poetry, the Word of God (in the various ways in which it is presented), and the accompanying reflection can be seen as frames for the contents of what is

¹⁶ Luyken (a), *Jesus en de ziel*, 64: "So I sleep, but my heart watches, // For God and Divine things, // So that if I am touched by the Lord, // He does not find me asleep."

¹⁷ Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1987).

¹⁸ Malcolm Barnard, *Graphic Design as Communication* (London & New York: Routledge, 2005), 45-46.

seen in the image. These frames are located within other framing devices: the narrational sequence of the rest of the book in which the image is printed; the book itself as an object; the manipulation of the book (the concealing and revealing aspect of it) and all the experience, objectives, and prior knowledge of the reader/viewer.

The restriction, or framing provided by the text can be understood as well as a paratext, loosely borrowing the concept from Gérard Genette and applying it to the emblem format.¹⁹ As it is with a text within a book that usually does not appear alone, but has a number of elements surrounding it, such as the author's name, a preface, the index, the same can be said for the images in *Jesus en de ziel*. Genette looks at the paratext as what *presents* the text, or *makes it present*. If we focus, or rather the reader focuses on the image, the surrounding textual information, and the way it is presented, promises the presence, reception, and consumption of the image within the format of the emblem book as it was conceived by the makers of the object. This connects to Siegert's view on the door or triptych commented at the beginning of this chapter. The "revelation" aspect that the book affords can also be seen in the mode it was decided to display the contents, textually and visually speaking, within the book, proposing in this case,²⁰ that the textual framing of the image can work as a *threshold* that offers the *presence* of the image in a particular way.

5. The function of Luyken's hearts: a comparison to other emblem books

In brief, Emblems XIV, XXXII and XXXVII, in both their visual and textual terms, show the heart both as an active and passive agent, maintaining in all three cases the idea that it is in such organ that the true self resides and which, by the revelation of God to us and the opening of our divine spiritual eyes, is able to understand and see many things that the flesh, the world, and evil keep veiled. In the heart lives the born-again creature, who needs constantly to die in and with Christ, to be reborn and behave accordingly, knowing that though she or he has become (once again) internally divine,²¹ the believer needs to continue to make progress, because she or he is still attached to the Old Adam. In the emblems, the heart is not merely a

¹⁹ Gérard Genette, "Introduction to the Paratext," *New Literary History* 22, no.2 (Spring 1991): 261.

²⁰ It must be clear that we are freely using the concept of paratext by Genette, in the sense that in the relationship of the diverse components that have been discussed, such as poem, further reflection and image, the paratext can be interchangeably applied.

²¹ Or aware of its primordial divine nature.

metaphor or allegory by means of which to refer to diverse ideas; rather Luyken's heart-images represent for the most part what it actually is in the life of the human being. In short, the heart image serves, then, not only to make visible the invisible (i.e., the Soul), but also to indicate that there is a real and bodily location wherein the invisible dwells.

The functions accorded to the heart by Luyken are made explicit in the interaction between the images and the accompanying texts, in addition to the rest of the narrative within the book, and the communication and composition tools described above are crucial for the heart to play these roles. The three emblems communicate the relevance of the heart by themselves, as standalone compound artefacts, but also in their communication with the neighbouring emblems and the journey Luyken is describing in the work as a whole, and in the book's physical structure.

The design of the images makes clear the way in which the heart serves as a location of the divine in the flesh. In the three emblems, Luyken maintained a basic structure that would denote duality: Earth/Heaven, evil/good, worldly/divine, temptation/salvation. The heart, as the vital organ of the human being, served first to create a middle ground tension or a bridge between this duality within the image (E.XIV & E.XXXVII); and second, as a focal point conveying a specific message (E.XXXII). The heart image is used to define, in the first instance, the realms just described, and holds in tensile relationship these dualities, initially by revealing the heart's watchfulness of the divine and, at the same time, divine guidance of the heart; and later, by portraying the sealing of the heart, in which the divine treasure is located, with the holy name of Jesus. In the second instance, the heart is depicted as the object of contemplation, to which worldly beauty cannot compare.

The composition of the images gives the heart a role in what is happening or has happened in the scene. The heart then is not necessarily meant to be approached individually or independently but as a component of a set of motifs that are working together to communicate a message concerning the journey of the soul. This quality contributes to the heart image's function as representation of an actual location of the divine, and the new-born self, rendering its meaning and purpose the result of a collaborative endeavour with the rest of the elements within the space. This means that the heart is not necessarily intended to be immediately and independently deciphered, as though it had an embedded meaning within it. Rather what the heart images signify can be conditioned by the elements with which they work, including the textual elements. It could be said, applying Gibson's ecological approach to the

composite analysis of images, that each image is an ecological system on its own, and the heart itself works not as a stand-alone entity, but as part of a network to which it belongs.²²

Moreover, as we have argued, some of the motifs employed in composing the scenes are, for the most part, stylized in a way that they do not convey any concrete or specific reference to the experiential, contextualised reality of the reader, but refer to more general visual conceptualizations of the objects or figures they are representing. This can be said, at least, of the manner in which the Soul, Jesus, and the heart have been depicted. It is easy to identify each of the three motifs within the book; the reader will readily be able to identify when he or she is looking at the Soul and when at Jesus. At the same time, the heart and the Soul, I have argued, become through their stylizations, fitting vehicles or mirrors for everybody's heart and soul. This in turn prompts the realisation that the journey and events taken along the book and within the images, can be seen as a journey and set of events that every believer has undertaken or will experience.

There is one last crucial element to highlight in Luyken's hearts: the lack of recurrence. Though he mentions the organ many times during the book, Luyken used the heart image only three times. This restraint, I would argue, could have served to fortify the function given by the poet/artist to the motif. The reader of *Jesus en de ziel* understands that the Soul is undertaking a journey, and from a certain moment is accompanied by Jesus, before reaching a final destination which is unity with God. The journey involves the rejection of the flesh and of the world, new birth, and nourishment of a new status as a human being who has allowed God, through Jesus, and the Holy Spirit, to dwell in their inner self.

When the reader encounters an image of the heart, what she or he knows is that it has something to do with the processes being described in the text. At the same time, it is a new element in the visual sequence. In this respect, the first appearance is crucial: the watchful heart with the eyes of the spirit open is clearly distinguished from, but in the end united to the slumbering flesh, represented by the recumbent figure of the Soul. Here is where we find the main tenet of the visual motif heart in Luyken: the heart presents a new way to see, independent and ever-present, known to us through the organ that is always beating even when we rest. The

²² Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*. See also: Introduction.

open eye of the heart implies the revelation the reader should have in his life as a devotee, where their concealed spiritual eyes are opened by the divine within them.

By using the heart in but a few engravings, Luyken lent distinction to the significance the motif could come to have for the reader. This notion of a mode of observing through the spiritual eyes opened by rebirth (or already by repentance), has a great number of implications that connect not just with the other two heart-emblems, but to the rest of the book. In this way, the first heart emblem works as a marking point capable of transforming the reader's understanding of concealment and obscurity, and of revelation and enlightenment, within the journey described in the text, which is an allegory to the journey the reader should be going through. Luyken depicts the realisation of the self, which comprises being capable of looking for what is behind the transient to the essential divine beauty, which is concealed and never perishes. The heart's fleshiness makes it, of course, an unstable home for the divine, so true repentance and surrender is needed for the location of the divine in the flesh to be protected by the seal of Jesus.

A brief comparison with other heart-emblems

To strengthen the lack of recurrence as an actual aid for the function of the heart in the work, I want to contrast what has been said of *Jesus en de ziel* with other two books published in the Dutch Republic, part of what Lewalski called the “schools of the heart” genre, discussed in the Introduction. The comparison will make it easier to understand Luyken's craftsmanship and his original input to the conception of the heart. The first book is Johannes Boekholt's 1686 Dutch edition of Christian Hoburg's (1675) *Levendige Hertzens-Theologie* (1661), entitled *Levendige herts-theologie*.²³ The very year Hoburg's book was published, a Dutch translation was already in the works by none other than Christoffel Luyken, Jan Luyken's brother.²⁴ In

²³ Willem Heifting, “Christian Hoburg's *Levendige Hertzens-Theologie* (1661): A Book in the Heart of the Seventeenth-Century Spirituality,” in *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity in the Dutch Republic: Studies Presented to Piet Visser on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. August den Hollander, Mirjam van Veen, Anna Voolstra & Alex Noord (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2014), 194. See also: Grzeskowiak and Hulsenboom, “Emblems from the Heart.”

²⁴ Heifting, “Christian Hoburg's *Levendige Hertzens-Theologie*,” 196–197. The full title is: *Levendige herts-theologie, dat zijn aendachtige betrachtigen, hoe Jesus in der geloovigen herten wil woonen, werken en leven, en haar wil zijn alles in allen. Met schoone, en nette print-verbeeldinge, ter fake dienende, verciert: nevens versen, suchtingen, en alleen-spraken*. [Vivid Heart Theology, That is: Attentive Consideration, How Jesus will Dwell, Work, and Live in the Hearts of the Believers, and be in Everything. Adorned with Beautiful Images and Nice Copper Plates: Alongside Verses, Sighs, and Soliloquies].

1686, Johannes Boekholt, who collaborated with Jan Luyken in various projects, published a new edition of the work with some changes, including the addition of nine of Jan Luyken's poems.²⁵ The second book we shall consider is *'t Geopende en bereidwillige herte*,²⁶ first published in 1693, and attributed to Boekholt.²⁷ Boekholt included fifteen emblems in his work, using the series given in Van Haeften's *Schola cordis*.

Let us start with *Levendige herts-theologie*. Hoburg tells us that he found the images that he employed for his book in a French publication. This work can be identified: it is none other than *Le coeur devot, throne royal de Jesus pacifique Salomon*, published in Paris in 1626, and reprinted in 1627 in Antwerp now accompanied by eighteen engravings. Its author was the Jesuit Étienne Luzvic (1567-1640), and the engravings were copies made by Martin Baes (1604-1637) after the famous series *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* by Antoine Wierix II (1555/59-1604), completed around 1585-1586.²⁸

For the 1686 edition of Boekholt's translation of Hoburg, Luyken provided the title-figure, which shows a man with a heart in flames in his right hand, genuflecting and looking up (Fig.28). The ray of light coming from the upper left contains the inscription "myn Soone geeft myn u Herte"²⁹ (Proverbs. 23:26). Before the message *Aan den aandachtigen ende God-Lievende Lezer*,³⁰ we find two verses from the Song of Songs (4:9 and 8:6).³¹

In an introductory note, Hoburg reflects on the notion of a heart theology, understood by him as divine knowledge attainable only known by and through the heart. The book is arranged in such a way as to preclude any doubt about what is depicted: each image is supplied

²⁵ Heifting, "Christian Hoburg's *Levendige Hertzens-Theologie*," 198. For a more detailed description of the changes done by Boekholt see: Heifting, "Christian Hoburg's *Levendige Hertzens-Theologie*," 201.

²⁶ Full title: *'t Geopende en bereidwillige herte, na den Heere Jesus, voor 't oog gestalt, door vyftien sinnebeelden, in kooper gesneeden, en onderscheyden in twee deelen. Met een aanvoegsel van gesangen, over het lijden Christi, en andere geestelijke stoffen.* [The Opened and Willing heart, To the Lord Jesus, set Before the Eye through Fifteen Symbols [emblems], Engraved in Copper, and Divided in Two Parts].

²⁷ The author of the book appears just by its initials: J.B.B.S.

²⁸ Heifting, "Christian Hoburg's *Levendige Hertzens-Theologie*," 199. For the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* and its reception, see: Grześkowiak and Hulsenboom, "Emblems from the Heart." In Boekholt's edition the engravings are the copies made by Karel Mallery (1571-c.1635).

²⁹ Christian Hoburg, *Levendige herts-theologie, dat zijn aendachtige betrachtungen, hoe Jesus in der geloovigen herten wil woonen, werken en leven, en haar wil zijn alles in allen. Met schoone, en nette print-verbeeldinge, ter fake dienende, verciert: nevens versen, suchtingen, en alleen-spraken* (Amsterdam: Joannes Boekholt, 1686), fol. A1r. Haak: "My son, give me thine heart". The verse with full annotations: "My son, give me thine heart: [That is, apply thine understanding, and thy mind hereunto, that thou here, understand, receive, and keep my commandements]" The brackets are part of the original text.

³⁰ Hoburg, *Levendige herts-theologie*, fol. A3r: "To the attentive and God-loving Reader."

³¹ This last one is the same for the third heart-emblem of *Jesus en de ziel*.

with the explicit formula “Here happens ‘x’”: “Hier beschermt Jesus het Herte”,³² or “Hier werd het Herte van Jesus na gesuyvert”,³³ to name just two examples (Figs.29-30). The various poems, songs, and quotes in the work drawn from other authors focus on praising Jesus, asking for forgiveness, to be filled with his love and by all that is good, and to be protected against evil, and worldly pleasure. Through the motif of the heart is shown the importance of repentance and an acknowledgement of human failure to stand firm against sin, which prompts constant self-embarrassment, but also the capacity to ask in humility for God’s love. Hoburg’s work, in Boekholt’s translation, is concerned with the spiritual actions of divine grace within us; the acts of God, through Jesus and the Holy Spirit within us.

In *’t Geopende en bereidwillige herte* the heart is seen in the various situations identified by Lewalski as those through which the heart must pass to show repentance, humility, and surrender; and to be purified, and accepted by God.³⁴ The work’s structure follows a general design presenting a poem on the left-hand verso of an opening and the image at the recto on the right, with Bible verses as *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*. The poems’ titles are themselves short poems, or abstracts of poems, containing a little more detail regarding what is happening in the image, what the reader should see, and what is going to be read. For example, in the fourth *Zin-vertooning* (display of meaning) the *Inhoud* (contents) is described as: “D’oprechte ziel in nedrigheid, // Het HERT voor JESUS open leid, // En merkt daar in zeer veele zonden, // Die Hem, en ook haar ziele wonden”;³⁵ and in the eighth: “Uyt ’t rein en welbeproofde hert, // Doet Jesus guur’ge bloemen spruiten, // Die zijn genaad en liefde uiten, // Waar door hy selfs verheerlijkt werd.”³⁶ The format and amount of text change depending on the emblem, but in most cases a song is printed at the conclusion. Boekholt uses verses and poems from other authors, in certain cases quoting or naming them.³⁷

³² Hoburg, *Levendige herts-theologie*, 23: “Here Jesus protects the Heart.”

³³ Hoburg, *Levendige herts-theologie*, 53: “Here the Heart has been cleaned by Jesus.”

³⁴ Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*.

³⁵ Johannes Boekholt, *’t Geopende en bereidwillige herte, na den Heere Jesus, voor ’t oog gestelt, door vyftien sinnebeelden, in kooper gesneeden, en onderscheyden in twee deelen. Met een aanvoegsel van gesangen, over het lijden Christi, en andere geestelijke stoffen* (Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1693), 34: “The sincere soul in humility, // Opens the Heart before Jesus, // And notices many sins in there, // That hurts Him and her soul.”

³⁶ Boekholt, *’t Geopende en bereidwillige herte*, 60: “Out of the clean and tested heart // Jesus makes fragrant flowers grow, // They show his mercy and love // Through which he was glorified.”

³⁷ An interesting example is Boekholt’s *inhoud* for the sixth emblem, which is a fragment of a poem by Luyken (Boekholt, *’t Geopende en bereidwillige herte*, 50). Boekholt references that the poem appears in the *Levendige herts-theologie*, the other book under discussion, which it in fact does, attributed also to Luyken. The poem would be published by Luyken in 1709, as part of his *De zedelyke en stichtelyke gezangen*, by the name “Van gantser herten”. According to Karel Meeuwesse, the poem was included in the *Levendige* as a companion for the emblem “Cordis divisio”, part of Haeften’s *Schola cordis* (Meeuwesse, “Uren met Luyken,” 83).

In each of these two contemporaneous works the heart comes to exercise a recurring function: the images of the heart act by constant reiteration, which means that the relationship between the image and the motif works quite differently to what we see in *Jesus en de ziel*. To paraphrase Henrik von Achen, both works use, in different ways, the heart as the common descriptor for important phenomena, a trope that helps the reader to have a common guideline in terms of meaning throughout the sequence of images.³⁸ In short, in *Levendige herts-theologie* the heart is a space, a constant stage-setting for divine-human encounters and teachings. The reader of this book will realize soon enough that all the images follow the same frame, and that every time there is an encounter with the image what will be seen is an event happening in the stage that the heart has become. The shape of the motif is a reminder that what the book talks about is the true self. The heart serves as a visual mark that helps the reader not to deviate from the important ideas that the poems, songs, and prose convey in words alongside the action taking place in the image. There is not necessarily a focus on the organ as such; rather the focus is on the heart as the symbol of our inner struggles and our relationship with Jesus. So, what we see is a great number of allegorical ways to convey the message of repentance, penitence, surrender and all that God needs to do and will do in us and for us. In this sense, the little scenes depicted on the stage of the heart are not intended to refer visually to reality, indeed, they are set in a space that perfectly avoids it. The scenes are, rather, symbolic tools for something else, and the heart is the stage for such emblematic language, both textually and visually.

't Geopende en bereidwillige herte is similar in its visual strategy. The heart works not as a space in this work, but as an object which can transmit a great amount of information. As with *Levendige herts-theologie* the user comes to understand at a certain point that almost all the images in the work include the heart, the Soul, and Divine Love as recurrent motifs. The Soul and Divine Love are the characters that place or see the heart in different situations that accordingly follow the intentions of the emblem both visually and textually. The reader will always see the heart doing or going through something not on its own, but in most instances held by the Soul or by both the Soul and Divine Love. What we can learn through the heart as a visual tool seems to become more predominant here as understanding the organ as a special part to work on. The reader should understand the metaphor, viz. how this object represents many of the things that the inner self needs to do. In this sense, *'t Geopende en bereidwillige herte* presents a notable difference to *Levendige herts-theologie*, since Hoburg's accompanying

³⁸ Achen, "Human Heart," 138.

images are characterised by a certain passivity. While the texts call the reader to engage in several actions, such as repentance and the opening of one's heart to God, and then proceed to ask Jesus not to forsake us, what the images show are only the actions taken up by Jesus in the human heart which is active merely as the stage for the divine action. *'t Geopende en bereidwillige herte* depicts a more active role not for the heart, but for the Soul, which is depicted as cooperating with Divine Love in putting the heart to the test, so that it can be purified.

Both works employ the visual strategy of repetition to focus the book-user on a series of ideas related to penitence and salvation. The heart motif serves as a constant to which the reader can cling, by means of which diverse processes related to the inner self can be more easily understood through texts and images. Bernhard Scholz's observation regarding Christopher Harvey's *School of the Heart* (1647),³⁹ can fruitfully be applied here: like Harvey, Boekholt and Hoburg

offer metaphorical mirror images to the self, metaphorical self-images if you wish, and the self, in turn, responds to those images, and in so doing, finds the topics and the tropes of a language which will enable it to articulate its knowledge about its current state of salvation.⁴⁰

Jan Luyken took a different approach. As I have argued, Luyken presses more on the heart in terms of its corporeality: the organ, and the implications that this part of the body has for the religious realm where the poet's production was mobilised. This idea needs some clarification. Luyken's use of the heart as a metaphor is irrefutable, particularly in his poetry; I want, however, to press on the notion that in his first use of the motif in *Jesus en de ziel* (Emblem XIV), Luyken lays the visual foundations of what the heart will become later in his engravings and in a great deal of his poetry. This visual pattern invites the beholder to look at the heart not merely as a conveyor of, or point of access to a great amount of religious data, but also as the actual bodily organ where things spiritual and bodily happen. This being said, I do not mean to imply that in Hoburg and Boekholt it is not possible to understand the heart in its corporeal/spiritual sense; rather that the focus in their works expands the use of the visual motif of the heart as a vehicle to convey messages to the inner self as a whole, and is not as clearly

³⁹ Mentioned in the Introduction.

⁴⁰ Scholz, "Emblematic Word-Image Relations," 173.

restrained as we see in Luyken, with the heart as an actual location in the body for spiritual struggle and regeneration.

6. The heart in Luyken's other works

Luyken thus posits in *Jesus en de ziel* the general principle that there is a way to see and to behave towards the world and ourselves that is possible only if we accept God in our hearts, and are continuously doing so. This theme will underlie the rest of his emblematic *oeuvre*. As Vekeman notes, *Jesus en de ziel* organises at an early stage a significant component of the system of thought that Luyken will continue to present throughout his devotional work: the element of rebirth, and the believer's subsequent return to gaze upon sensorial realities but now as a born-again creature.⁴¹ This, I have argued, is achieved thanks to the visual and communication strategies employed by Luyken, the final one being the limited recurrence of the motif.

Though the heart does not appear as a visual motif in all his work, this visual and textual argument will remain more or less the same across Luyken's *oeuvre*. Explicit examples, albeit without any depiction of the heart being deemed necessary, can be found in *Voncken der liefde Jesu* (1687), *Het menselyk bedryf* (1694), *Het leerzaam huisraad* (1711) and *Des menschen begin, midden en einde* (1712). To conclude this chapter, I want to give two examples of how Luyken continued to connect the presence, visually speaking, of the heart to the ideas discussed above.⁴²

⁴¹ Vekeman, "'Jezus en de ziel,'" 185.

⁴² Other examples may be mentioned, such as *De zedelyke en stichtelyke gezangen* (1709). The title-figure of this work shows several characters with texts, most probably containing songs. Paper enwraps the globe that two figures have under their feet (Fig.31). A heart is depicted in the middle of the scene, with fire bursting from its upper aperture, and with an open eye depicted at its centre looking upwards towards clouds filled with cherubs. Behind the heart and the figures there are other characters in what appears to be a garden. In addition, Luyken made numerous engravings for diverse religious publications, where the heart with an open eye or the heart (without eye), either alone or in a figure, appear; these could be argued to express the same intentions we can observe in his own work. These works include: *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen* (1691), published and in some cases attributed to Boekholt in terms of authorship; three books by Willem Deurhoff: *Voorleeringen van de Heilige Godgeleerdheid* (1687), *Bespiegeling van de Heilige Godgeleerdheid* (1697), and *Grondvesten van de Christelyke Godsdienst* (1690); Stephanus Curcellaeus' *De theologieze werken, behlsende in twee delen d'onderwysing van de Christelyke Religie, en den zeden-spiegel der deugden* (1678); Herkules Bouman's *Waereld vol stryd, of algemeen worstelperk van 't rampspoedig menschdom* (1706); and finally the *Sedige bedenckingen* (1701), by an unidentified author. Further research on how Luyken expanded his own perception of the heart through the works of other authors needs to be done.

In his 1708 emblem book *Beschouwing der wereld, bestande in hondert konstige figuren, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen*,⁴³ the title-figure holds a heart with an open eye in her right hand (Fig.32). The heart is looking at the world, to which an angel is pointing with one hand while gesturing towards heaven with the other. Around the figures are arrayed other characters, one seated with texts, and another pointing at a print or painting of a night sky which is draped over a part of the world, covering it. The other figures seem to be engaged in conversation.

In the Foreword (*Voorreden*) to the work, Luyken refers to the Heart-eye which can be deceived if the person does not see beyond what the world is showing on its surface. The world is equated to a closed wooden chest, and it is explained how we can be misled by the world's appearance, to the extent that even the true eye of our heart can fall for its allure.⁴⁴ In order to find the key that opens the chest and look beyond the ephemeral treasures, it is necessary to observe by means of the Holy Word. Only through it can we understand God's will in the world. Light becomes the most beautiful thing on Earth, and its origin, together with all that is beautiful, is God.⁴⁵

The heart plays the role of the location and medium through which we can see beyond what the world on the one hand displays, but on the other uses to deceive us. The image works as the premise and hermeneutical key for the rest of the book. In this way, though the heart motif does not appear again in the book, the title-figure serves to both introduce and to encompass the contents of the book.

And it is successful, at least in the logic of image-text relationships. The emblems in it refer literally to nature, and talk of it in divine terms, with an extended use of the Word of God as the divine voice. Nature is taken as a means either to see the divine in nature, or as a means of access to what God teaches. Through this divinely guided sight, we come to know how to perceive the Sun, Moon, stars, the four elements, climate changes, geography, plants, minerals, parts of the day, the seasons, diverse animals, human acts, human ages, human socio-economic status, and finally the whole world. As Porteman and Smits-Veldt succinctly put it, in Luyken:

⁴³ "Contemplation of the World, Comprised in One Hundred Artful Figures, With Divine Proverbs and Edifying Verses."

⁴⁴ Jan Luyken, *Beschouwing der wereld, bestaand in hondert konstige figuren, et godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke Verzen* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentsz & Cornelis van der Sys, 1708), fol. *3r.

⁴⁵ Luyken, *Beschouwing der wereld*, fol. *3r-*4v.

“De natuur verwijst niet alleen maar naar God, ze is zijn adem.”⁴⁶ Humanity and the natural world do not serve as reflections, or mere devices by means of which to talk about the divine, but constitute aspects of what the Divine is.⁴⁷

Beschouwing der wereld provides perhaps the greatest examples of this new vision. In this work, Luyken employs phenomena such as the wind, the trees, and water not as mere references or symbols,⁴⁸ but as actual manifestations of God’s divine power. When looking at the wind in the image, we are, it is visually argued, looking at God’s force. So, what seems to be expected is that, through the images of natural phenomena, seen by the awakened eyes guided by the Spirit, we can come to understand that there is a divine beauty concealed in such phenomena.⁴⁹ We experience God’s power through them, and this in turn affects our senses and emotions,⁵⁰ and our behaviour within our own ecological system or space. The beauty that can be found on earth and in humanity should be seen as a small speck of God’s incommensurable beauty and goodness.⁵¹ The elements that compose the world have to be seen then not as metaphors of the divine, or of divine power, but as elements which have an intrinsic value in themselves, a value revealed only to born-again eyes of the heart, and to which Luyken offers a literary and visual guide. In sum, by means of the title-figure of the heart watching the world that encompasses the visual and textual content of the entire book, Luyken tells readers about the perception of the world through the heart-eye, about how diverse natural situations and motifs have a divine nature, so that they discern at the outset how the world should be understood and lived through the rest of their lives.⁵²

A second example is the 1710 emblem book *De onwaardige wereld, vertoond in vyftig zinnebeelden, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen*.⁵³ Again, the heart appears in the title-figure (Fig.33). Here, we see a female character pointing at a book on which a heart and a crown are displayed; the earthly sphere lies under her left foot. On her chest she bears a winged

⁴⁶ Karel Porteman & Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560-1700* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008), 862: “Nature does not refer just to God, it is his breath.”

⁴⁷ Stronks, *Negotiating Differences*, 238.

⁴⁸ Luyken could be challenging the very notion of the Emblem, following Alciati’s tradition. At the very least, the author seems to be undoing the Emblem or, perhaps more radically, the artist is presenting the world itself as emblematic, whose meaning we can access through the open eyes of God.

⁴⁹ Porteman, “De nationale benadering,” 192.

⁵⁰ Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland*, 868.

⁵¹ This idea could as well justify the notion of engravings and paintings, among other types of visual tools, as valid for religious objectives. See: Stronks, *Negotiating Differences*, 129.

⁵² Dietz, *Literaire Levensandere*, 200.

⁵³ “The Unworthy World, Displayed in Fifty Emblems, With Divine Proverbs and Edifying Verses.”

heart with an open eye looking upwards. *Putti* descend from the sky to crown the character. In the Foreword to the work, we are told the heart's eye, the eye of the soul, needs to have discernment with regard to what the world displays. We need to decide to follow the right path and not fall into the pathway to hell.⁵⁴ This is the overarching premise of the book: a constant tension between worldly pleasure on the one hand, and the heavenly path on the other. The emblems address what the reader needs to be wary of in the transient and the flesh, and how she or he should best continue the journey to a safe haven.

In *De onwaardige wereld* the heart motif appears, however, not only in the title image, but also twice in the series of emblems. Emblem⁵⁵ XXVIII: *De Herten Wagen*⁵⁶ shows a heart with an open eye above a two-wheeled cart (Fig.34). The eye looks slightly to its right where an angel is depicted dragging the vehicle; above the angel we see *putti* in the sky. To the left, a donkey pulls in the opposite direction, with the globe and other objects representing worldly riches on his back. The sky above the donkey is stormy and the path the animal is following has at its end a fire. In the wheel of the cart it is inscribed *Waar heen zal ik wenden*.⁵⁷ The poem accompanying the image discusses how the person (represented by the heart-eye) looks at how she or he is divided in two: between the animal, and the angelic image.⁵⁸ Later, the poem goes on to describe what the animal and angelic parts of the human person consist of, their appearance, and what they desire. The angel's focus on the heavens and salvation pulls the cart as strongly as possible, so the body has no choice but to follow the Soul to the gates of Heaven.⁵⁹ Once there, the beast will be unharnessed from the heart's cart, so that the angelic side will be completely free to reach the divine destination.⁶⁰

The second heart-emblem in the work is Emblem XLV: *De Onvaste Steun*,⁶¹ where a heart is cast down from a tumbling pedestal previously set above the globe (Fig.35). Death is the cause of the commotion: the skeletal figure on the left of the scene balances himself with his scythe in his right hand while with its left foot it kicks the sphere of the earth, leaning back to increase the impact of his strike. In addition to the heart, a moneybag is depicted in the

⁵⁴ Jan Luyken, *De onwaardige wereld, Vertoond in vyftig zinnebeelden, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentsz & Cornelis van der Sys, 1710), fol. A3r-A3v.

⁵⁵ In the book they are called figures, not emblems.

⁵⁶ "The Heart's Carriage."

⁵⁷ "Where shall I turn to?"

⁵⁸ Luyken, *De onwaardige wereld*, 113.

⁵⁹ Luyken, *De onwaardige wereld*, 114.

⁶⁰ Luyken, *De onwaardige wereld*, 115.

⁶¹ "The Unsteady Support."

process of emptying its contents as the pedestal lurches to the right, and a crown which seems to have sat on top of the heart now tumbles through the air. At the right of the earth's sphere, in which direction the heart is falling, there are vases and cups, among other objects. In the background at the right, we see a building and a gathering of people who, it could be hypothesised, are focused on the riches falling with the heart. At the left of the figure, where death is portrayed, there is an empty natural landscape. The poem revolves around not trusting in the pedestals and bases that the world may give to the heart. All the richness in the world will not compare to Heaven, and after death, all of it is left behind.⁶²

Luyken then repeats the notion of the motif of the heart as a location for the true self, an awakened self that, because of her or his fleshy life, must struggle continually with worldly temptation. As the title-page image shows, the heart is ready to ascend, being winged and looking up, but the trial keeps on going until the moment of death. *De Onwaardige Wereld* emphasises the struggle that every Spirit-guided human being has to endure while alive. It does not follow for example the narrational logic of *Jesus en de ziel* but showing examples of how the believer needs to be careful with what the world, as a whole, offers. Nevertheless, the use of the heart is here too not far from what Luyken started with *Jesus en de ziel*.

In conclusion, beginning with the heart-emblems of *Jesus en de ziel*, together with the whole book, and artfully deploying the composition and narrational strategies discussed in this chapter, Luyken proposed that to be reborn causes the devotee to understand that the world in which we live and the way we see it and behave towards it need to change. The world is not our home, the heart images teach us, but a passing space, in which, with the guidance of the Holy Spirit through our hearts, we can set off on the path to the place that is ours by right.⁶³ Nature, the self, daily activities, tasks, objects, and the household space all have in themselves a sense of divinity if looked upon with the right eyes.

⁶² Luyken, *De onwaardige wereld*, 185-186.

⁶³ Vekeman, “‘Jesus en de ziel’,” 185.

Chapter 3: Interaction with *Jesus en de ziel*¹

In this chapter we turn from an analysis of the visual and textual contexts of the book, to known interaction with *Jesus en de ziel* as an object. By ‘known interaction’ I mean what we are in a position to know thanks to primary sources, which provide specific information about the presence of the book object within a given social environment during the eighteenth century. For the purposes of this study, I concentrate on sources mainly from Amsterdam. As a principal tool to understand interaction, the gathering of this data has made it possible to reconstruct primarily the circulation of Luyken’s book product: how and where the book circulated.

Of course, evidence of circulation does not reveal directly what use was made of the heart-emblems; rather it provides insight into under what possible conditions they were accessed. The conditions depend on the one hand on the object of study, and, on the other on the limitations we might put on the types of uses in which we are interested. Here we are concerned with a book product, and our interest in it is as it was being consumed, by reading and by looking at its text and images simultaneously. A number of conclusions are drawn from the book’s modes of circulation, which take into account what has been said in the two preceding chapters on description and internal mechanisms. I propose that the book’s strategies for communication were indeed effective in some cases at the moment of their consumption and, in the different cases of interaction to be described here, I track how what *Jesus en de ziel* supplied could have been recognized by the people who interacted with the book object. These patterns, of course, come either to mediate or to be mediated by a number of conditions determined by these people; the sources reveal a few of these conditions, and we will naturally concentrate on these, without passing judgement about whether or not other conditions of interaction with the book were possible. In addition, as a secondary (or auxiliary) tool that is useful to broaden our understanding of the circulation of the book, and to think-through certain hypothetical (rather than ‘known’) scenarios of interaction, I will make use of the witness of fleeting contemporary comments either about *Jesus en de ziel* or about other books by Luyken.

The chapter is structured in three parts. First, I delve into general sources for the book’s circulation, predominantly the book sales catalogues from the period, and some sources found

¹ Parts of this chapter served as the basis of the following academic publication: Mauricio Oviedo, “Among Catalogues, Bindings, and Sacred Economies: Consuming *Jesus en de Ziel* in the Eighteenth Century,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 102 (July 2022): 222-249.

in contemporary newspapers. Second, we turn to the circulation of the book as a gift object and the relevance of this circulatory practice in a specific religious community: the Mennonites. Third, I discuss diverse sources regarding the use of Luyken's books, among them *Jesus en de ziel*.

1. Circulation: in dialogue with other books

To gain a picture of where and how books moved, book sale catalogues are of fundamental importance: *Jesus en de ziel* is no exception. Book auctions, or auctions containing books, became an important element in the dynamics of book distribution in the Republic. To these events

collectors came to find rare books to add to their libraries, booksellers shopped for bargains to add to their stock or pass on to a valued client, and grieving widows and heirs realized the value of a loved parent's library for cash.²

Book collectors and buyers would scour the different cities of the Dutch Republic looking for books and would participate in events outside their own province. This detail is important since it provides some perspective on both the scope of book circulation, and the necessary narrowness of my focus: my scope is limited here to book catalogues printed solely in Amsterdam. It must be acknowledged at the outset that this selection is not a complete reflection on the book movements and book sales in the city, but a fragment of it. Besides, it is also possible that some anonymous collections from Amsterdam were auctioned outside Amsterdam.³ The book sale catalogues which we analyse reveal, then, just a fragment of what was going on with books in the city and in the Republic. It does provide enough evidence,

² Arthur der Weduwen & Andrew Pettegree, *The Dutch Republic and the Birth of Modern Advertising* (Boston & Leiden: Brill, 2019), 95.

³ On the book sale catalogues and history of the book in the Netherlands see: Weduwen & Pettegree, *The Dutch Republic*; Artur der Weduwen & Andrew Pettegree, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019). While it is true the focus of both Pettegree and Der Weduwen is mainly on the seventeenth century, their works have relevant information about how the books were produced, their costs, and the relationships between the print industry and social, political, economic, and cultural factors in the Dutch Republic. Many of these factors experienced no dramatic change during the eighteenth century. On eighteenth century works regarding the history of the book, see: Inger Leemans & Gert-Jan Johannes, *Worm en donder: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1700-1800: de Republiek* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2017), 81-110.

however, to afford us a peek inside the kind of book market environment *Jesus en de ziel* was involved with.

The information provided by book sale catalogues on interaction can be difficult to interpret. First, we need to be clear that the catalogues do not constitute an overarching and direct representation of how society interacted with books. Most probably, many book owners or collectors kept their books to themselves, and after they died these books were not put into auction or for sale. Many books could have been kept by the family; some must have gotten lost; others could have been bought among booksellers and redistributed and promoted in diverse catalogues, etc. Also, it was not every book owner in the Dutch Republic that could build a book collection worthy of a catalogue. In this study, we cannot easily address the question of how widely the book circulated, since the book sales catalogues cannot actually tell us much about that, just that the book actually did circulate (and sometimes the price). Neither do we include here book sales of anonymous collections or retail stock auctions undertaken by booksellers, since the reasons why these parties might have a copy of *Jesus en de ziel* are manifold and are difficult if not impossible to trace.

It is true that there is evidence of some marketing strategies around Luyken and his work. When the Rotterdam bookseller Philippus Losel promoted in the newspapers that he had stock of *Jesus en de ziel*, for instance, he made sure to note that he had copies of all the rest of Luyken's oeuvre in *octavo*. Losel clearly banked on a certain popularity of these emblem books, and on their ability to actually engage the customer, when he bought stock of more than one work.⁴ This could tell us something about tactics for consumption and modes of engaging with the religious market at the time. For our study, however, we will focus instead on the catalogues made after the death of the erstwhile owner, knowing there is a higher chance the books were being collected by the person for his or her own consumption.⁵ These catalogues will permit us to speculate a bit more about book-object interaction, and to posit, with caution, that these owners may, in fact, have read the book. If this action did indeed happen, they were

⁴ See: "Advertentie," *Leydse courant*, April 12, 1748, 2. Delpher Database (hereafter DD), accessed on September 20, 2022: <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010908919:mpeg21:p002>; "Advertentie," *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, April 4, 1754, 2. DD, accessed on September 20, 2022: <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011111312:mpeg21:p002>.

⁵ It has to be noted that here as well the booksellers could have included books of their own stock combined with those of the proprietor. Even so, the chances are higher for them pertaining to the person.

in position to recognize the patterns offered by Luyken and use them for their religious experience.

For this study, all book catalogues sales printed in Amsterdam between 1678, the year of *Jesus en de ziel*'s first edition, and 1799 have been reviewed.⁶ These catalogues are usually divided according to subject matter, such as theology, jurisprudence, and medicine, and then further subdivided by format, beginning with *folio*, then *quarto*, *octavo*, and so on.⁷ For the first half of the eighteenth-century, *Jesus en de ziel* appears in the section of theology; later, it begins to be listed under the section of poetry books. The book appears in catalogues made for the auctioning of private collections of deceased people, in booksellers retail stock catalogues, and in the sale of anonymous collections.

A total of 154 catalogues were examined. As it can be seen in Appendix 1, *Jesus en de ziel* appears in at least 29 catalogues: 18 printed catalogues of private collections of deceased persons; 7 of anonymous collections; 3 retail stock auctions; and 1 whose origin is unclear.⁸ Among the deceased private collections, the professions or backgrounds of the holders of *Jesus en de ziel* are varied, from a minister,⁹ an engraver,¹⁰ a professor at the Remonstrant Seminary,¹¹ to a pharmacist,¹² a magistrate,¹³ a notary,¹⁴ and a Mennonite preacher.¹⁵

Two elements stand out from a survey of the catalogues. First, it seems that whoever had a copy of *Jesus en de ziel* was often in possession of other books by Luyken. From the

⁶ Reviewed using: *Book Sales Catalogues Online - Book Auctioning in the Dutch Republic, ca. 1500–ca. 1800*, advisor: Brill (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015): <https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online>. Hereafter BSCO.

⁷ Weduwen and Pettegree, *The Bookshop of the World*, 20-21.

⁸ *Catalogus praestantissimorum & exquisitissimorum librorum*. [Collected by an Amsterdam bookseller] (Amsterdam: Rudolf Wetstein & Gerard Wetstein, 1726). BSCO.

⁹ Petrus Noortdyk. *Catalogus elegantissimus exquisitissimorum [...] librorum*. [Collected by an Amsterdam minister] (Amsterdam: Johannes van Oosterwyk, 1709). BSCO.

¹⁰ Jan Goeree. *Catalogus variorum atque exquisitissimorum librorum*. [Collected by an Amsterdam engraver]. (Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli & Janssonius van Waesberge, 1731). BSCO.

¹¹ Adrianus van Cattenburch. *Catalogus variorum praestantissimorum & insignium librorum*. [Collected by a Professor at the Amsterdam Remonstrant Seminary] (Amsterdam: Salomon Schouten, 1737). BSCO.

¹² Jeronimo de Bosch. *Een schoone verzameling van [...] boeken*. [Collected by an Amsterdam pharmacist] (Amsterdam: Petrus Schouten & widow Kornelis (I) van Tongerlo & Kornelis (II) van Tongerlo, 1767). BSCO.

¹³ Jan Karsseboom. *Catalogus van een keurige verzameling [...] boeken*. [Collected by an Amsterdam magistrate] (Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman & Willem Vermandel, 1792). BSCO.

¹⁴ Isaac Pool. *Catalogus van een voortreffelyke verzameling [...] boeken*. [Collected by an Amsterdam notary] (Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman & Willem Vermandel & Jan Willem Smit, 1793). BSCO.

¹⁵ Allard Hulshoff. *Catalogus eener keurige en welgeconditioneerde verzameling [...] boeken*. [Collected by an Amsterdam Doctor of Philosophy and Mennonite preacher] (Amsterdam: Laurens van Hulst, 1796). BSCO. Unfortunately, the profession is not identified in the other instances, or the former owners are just catalogued as “a citizen from Amsterdam.”

catalogues of deceased persons, we note that the book they have the most next to *Jesus en de ziel* is Luyken's *Voncken der liefde Jesu*, which appears listed in 13 catalogues, on one occasion twice. Particularly significant, given their iconography, is the presence of *Beschouwing der wereld* in 13 catalogues, and *De onwaardige wereld* in 9. Apart from these works we find numerous copies of *De zedelyke en stichtelyke gezangen*,¹⁶ *Het menselyk bedryf*,¹⁷ *Geestelyke brieven*, *De vykorf des gemoeds*, *Het leerzaam huisraad*, and *Des menschen begin, midden en einde*.¹⁸ In other words, *Jesus en de ziel* often appears as part of an assemblage of Luyken books.

Secondly, what emerges is that it was common practice to bind *Jesus en de ziel* with other books. This was done most probably on the initiative of the purchaser, who would take both works, usually sold as “loose sheets without binding” and then ask them to be bound together.¹⁹ Among the estate auctions, we find five instances of copies of *Voncken der liefde Jesu* being bound together with *Jesus en de ziel*,²⁰ and among the booksellers' auctions, two of the six catalogues sold the two works bound together in the same format. At some of the major libraries today in the Netherlands we still find examples of these bindings.²¹ Evidence of a copy of *Jesus en de ziel* being bound with *Des menschen begin, midden en einde* is preserved in the catalogues on at least one occasion.²² In another two instances, Luyken was bound to other books not necessarily entirely from his pen: on one occasion it was bound with *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen*,²³ which has been attributed to both Luyken and Johannes Boekholt, the publisher of the book; and on another with Hieronymus Sweerts' *Innerlycke ziel-tochten op 't*

¹⁶ Depending on the catalogue, the book will be found either under heading *Zedelyke stichtelyke* or *Gezangen*.

¹⁷ This title appears as *Spiegel van het menselyk bedrijf*.

¹⁸ In some catalogues, the work appears under *Kinder-boekje*. Following Hanou, most probably *Kinder-boekje* referred to *Des menschen begin, midden en einde*. See: Elisabeth Wolff, Agatha Deken & André Hanou, *Geschrift eener bejaarde vrouw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 269.

¹⁹ Der Weduwen and Pettegree, *The Bookshop of the World*, 19.

²⁰ This can be inferred from the fact the catalogues do not use a separate entry number for the two works, but put them in the same sentence. Also, these books are specified to already be bound.

²¹ To name but a few examples: in the Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam's library (hereafter UA) alone there are three volumes of this kind: one made with the 1696 editions of both texts (UA, Sig: O 61-680); a second one whose binding is from 1717 with a 1717 edition of *Voncken...* and a 1714 *Jesus...* (Sig: O 61-8592); and the third with a 1714 *Jesus...* and a 1763 *Voncken...* (Sig: O 63-4276). In the Special Collections of the University of Utrecht's library (hereafter UU) there is a 1692 *Jesus...* with a 1691 *Voncken...* (UU, Sig: ALV 157-1100). In Utrecht we also find a binding with three books by Luyken, where a 1696 *Jesus...* is united to a 1705 *Voncken* and to the 1731 edition of *Het leerzaam huisraad* (Sig: 247 J 9), another book both written and with engravings by Luyken, first published in 1711.

²² *Catalogus van veele schoone gebonde en ongebonde boeken* (Amsterdam: Salomon Schouten, 1733), 25. BSCO.

²³ *Catalogus van een ongemeene schoone verzameling [...] boeken* (Amsterdam: Gerbrand Roos, 1791), 35. BSCO.

H. Avontmaal en andere voorvallende gelegentheden.²⁴ Again, extant copies of these bindings furnish further valuable insight into other types of books that were bound to *Jesus en de ziel*. For example, at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Den Haag is preserved a 1689 copy of *Jesus en de ziel* bound together with both a 1691 copy of *Voncken der liefde Jesu* and a 1690 copy of Pieter Huygen's *De beginselen van Gods koninrijk in den mensch*.²⁵ The emblems and title-figure for this latter book were made by Luyken. At the Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht there is preserved a binding that includes a copy of *Jesus en de ziel* preceded by a 1684 edition of Petrus Langedult's *Christus lydende, en verheerlykt*.²⁶

We may further note that other books with the visual motif of the heart appear in the collections. The catalogue *Bibliotheca Blockiana* (1702), for the auction of the late Ameldonck Block's collection lists, in addition to a *Jesus en de ziel* bound with *Voncken der liefde Jesu*, a copy of Christian Hoburg's *Levendige herts-theologie*,²⁷ discussed in the previous chapter. In the catalogue of the late Abraham Eden's private library (1721) we find again Hoburg's emblem book.²⁸

What does all this information tell us? First, that *Jesus en de ziel* should not be thought of alone, at least in terms of the consumption of devotional literature: the heart-emblems could have been used along with other visual and textual devices created by Luyken. The number of networks between diverse books, both of a religious and non-religious nature, that our work, *Jesus en de ziel*, could have been part of in book collections and in book bindings is too vast to grasp and to map. It is worth noting, however, that among such networks Luyken seems to have held a place, providing literature and images that extended the possibilities of experience alongside *Jesus en de ziel*.

Of particular importance in these assemblages is *Voncken der liefde Jesu*, the work most present in the lists and bound with our book. This book rehearses various ideas found in *Jesus en de ziel* and delves, both visually and textually, more into the spiritual pilgrimage of the individual, with a predominating emphasis on divine love, the real reborn body of the

²⁴ *Catalogus van een keurige verzameling*, 27.

²⁵ Koninklijke Bibliotheek (hereafter KB): Sig: KW 233 O 7. First published in 1689.

²⁶ UU: Sig: ODA 8675.

²⁷ *Bibliotheca Blockiana*. [Collected by a citizen of Amsterdam] (Amsterdam: Hendrick Boom & widow Dirk (I) Boom, 1702), 70. BSCO. Worth noticing is that Block also possessed a copy of Jacob Boehme's (1575-1624) 1685 edition of *De Weg tot Christus* (*Bibliotheca Blockiana*, 78), an author that will be mentioned further in the chapter. The title-figure of the 1685 edition also makes use of the heart as part of its visual motifs.

²⁸ *Catalogus van verscheide [...] Nederduytsche boeken* (Amsterdam: Andries van Damme, 1721), 21. BSCO.

individual, the love of Jesus within the believer, and the promise to be united with God. On the other hand, the visual motif of the heart is accentuated by the presence of *Beschouwing der wereld* and *De onwaardige wereld*, discussed above. In these works, as noted in the preceding chapter, the heart is afforded a prominent role in their respective title-pages, and in the arguments set forth by Luyken on spiritual eyes, on the reborn creature, and on being able to see and experience what lies behind the material, the mundane, and the flesh. In addition, in the other prominent works by Luyken, the world and society's daily activities (*Het menselyk bedryf*), the ages of man (*Des menschen begin, midden en einde*), and even household objects (*Het leerzaam huisraad*) become, visually and textually, part of the spiritual journey and the spiritual sight of the believer.

The extension of a textual network, and the interaction with other visual strategies not dissimilar to what Luyken achieved, is found not only in the collection of titles in, as it were, a single bookcase, but also within the bindings of individual multi-text volumes. The selection of other books to be bound next to *Jesus en de ziel* makes Luyken's book a valuable witness for understanding a particular religious configuration of knowledge that the consumer would like to own (and consume). *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen*, for example, follows the visual and textual tradition set by the *Pia desideria* by Herman Hugo.²⁹ *Goddelyke* has similar objectives to *Jesus en de ziel*, combining word and image, through engravings, poetry, and songs, for the reader to express his or her burning love towards God.

The consumption of the heart-emblems was, in some instances, part of a larger literary and visual network of religious experience and tools that provided access to that experience. *Jesus en de ziel* was carefully combined by the consumer with other literature and, among the books found in these collections, appear other works on the heart, as the presence of *Levendige herts-theologie* shows. In a sense, *Jesus en de ziel* is a system in itself, an intricate network of communication strategies for the believer to access an experience of the divine, and to understand divine life in a certain way. This network could in turn be extended in multiple ways, one of which was through the possession of other books by Luyken, which were constructed on the basis of the visual and textual proposals devised first in *Jesus en de ziel*.

²⁹ For *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen* and the Protestant tradition based on the *Pia desideria* see: Dietz, *Litteraire levensaders*. (*passim*).

2. Luyken as a gift: interaction with the Mennonites.³⁰

In the eighteenth century, *Jesus en de ziel* entered the market of edifying literature for young people for whom the book was perceived as a fitting gift or a prize. On the 4th of April of 1754, the Rotterdam bookseller Philippus Losel put an advertisement in the *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, in which he promotes the book specifically as suitable for use as a gift to young people.³¹ This was no passing fad. Losel is still placing advertisements for the work in 1771, when he promoted it for children in the *Rotterdamse courant*.³² The booksellers Hofhout en Wolbergen also promoted the book in the *Rotterdamse courant*, on December 1st, 1772, as suitable (*geschikt*) for young people as *St. Nikolaas Prysjes* (St. Nicholas gifts or presents).³³

This perception of the book's appropriate use similarly became part of a practice in the Mennonite congregations throughout the Dutch Republic during the eighteenth century. Various congregations would annually give an edifying book to young people as a prize for their religious education, or catechism. The publisher, bookseller and Mennonite Frans Houttuyn is illustrative of this practice. Houttuyn published and sold a great number of devotional books, and belonged to the congregation *bij de Zon*, for which he published catechism booklets and notebooks for preachers. Houttuyn also became a provider of these annual "prize books" awarded by the Mennonite congregations.³⁴ Since it was for children and teenagers, a prize-giving book needed to be attractive, and its appeal relied in part on the images it could contain. In this sense, emblem books became a perfect choice for this particular market. Jan Luyken's books were one of the most popular books given in these annual prize-giving

³⁰ On the Mennonites see: Karl Koop, *Anabaptis-Mennonite Confessions of Faith: The Development of a Tradition* (Ontario: Pandora Press and Herald Press, 2004); Piet Visser, "Mennonites and Doopsgezinden in the Netherlands, 1535-1700," in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521-1700*, ed. John D. Roth & James M. Stayer (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2007), 299-345; S. Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden: geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531-1675* (Hilversum & Leeuwarden: Uitgeverij Verloeren and Fryske Akademy, 2000), William E. Keeney, *The Development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought and Practice 1539-1564* (Nieuwkoop: b. de Graaf, 1968); Gary K. Waite, "A Reappraisal of the Contribution of Anabaptists to the Religious Culture and Intellectual Climate of the Dutch Republic," in *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity in the Dutch Republic: Studies Presented to Piet Visser on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. by August den Hollander, Alex Noord, Mirjam van Veen & Anna Voolstra (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2014), 6-28..

³¹ "Advertentie," *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, 2.

³² "Advertentie," *Rotterdamse courant*, November 2, 1771, 2. DD, accessed on September 21, 2022: <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:002079131:mpeg21:p00001>

³³ Probably referring to Saint Nicholas Day. "Advertentie," *Rotterdamse courant*, December 1, 1772, 1. DD, accessed on September 21, 2022: <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:002080141:mpeg21:p00001>

³⁴ Keith L. Sprunger, "Frans Houttuyn, Amsterdam Bookseller: Preaching, Publishing and the Mennonite Enlightenment," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 78, no.2 (April 2004): 171-172.

events.³⁵ It is within this context of book prizes that Stijntje Baartens received her 1704 edition of *Jesus en de ziel* in 1719.³⁶

To know more about Luyken's presence among prize-giving books, we have to consult the minutes of the Mennonite congregations. Given that we know that Stijntje Baartens received her book from the congregation *bij de Zon*, let us focus on their minutes. Though the minute-record is not as detailed for every year, many of the congregations' annual records indicate, around December, what book they intended to give to teenagers and children. Of Luyken's titles, in the minutes for the years between 1711 and 1757 we find *Jezus en de ziel* and *Vonken der liefde Jezus*,³⁷ *Het leerzaam huisraad*,³⁸ *Het menselyk bedryf*,³⁹ and *Beschouwing der wereld*.⁴⁰ The University of Amsterdam's collection holds examples of these prizes. A copy of *Jezus en de ziel* (1714) bound with *Vonken der liefde Jesu* (1741), is preserved with an inscription that indicates that it was given to a certain Cornelia in 1750.⁴¹ There are also examples of other Luyken's books used as gifts. The same collection preserves copies of *De onwaardige wereld*: one given to Jan van Nieuwenhoven in 1711,⁴² and another to Sijmetje van Overwijk that same year.⁴³ A copy of *Beschouwing der wereld* was given to Grietje Schilp in 1754,⁴⁴ by the *Doopsgezinde* church in Wormerveer. Moreover, the practice of using Luyken's books in prize-givings was not restricted to Amsterdam. In her study on Mennonites

³⁵ Sprunger, "Frans Houttuyn," 171-172.

³⁶ Described in Chapter 1. It is unclear why the newest edition was not given to Stijntje, which was the one published in 1714 (8th edition), instead it was given the seventh edition. It could have been simply because it was old stock, or a book already kept at the church. It is worth observing that the eighth edition is the one for which Luyken prepared new engravings. It should be remembered that this is the only edition with different engravings; after 1714, the publishers returned to using the old engravings. The reasons behind these decisions are unclear.

³⁷ *Resolutie-Boek der Leeraren en Diaconen Begonnen den 3 January A. 1742. Eyndigende den 27 December A. 1765*, December 7, 1757, fol. 331. In Archief van de Doopsgezinde Gemeente de Zon, archiefnummer 877, inventarisnummer 6, (fol. 331). GAS.

³⁸ *Resolutie Boek der Leeraaren & Diaconen. Beginnende 25 July 1703 en Eyndigt 13 May 1715*. December 30, 1711, fol. 207. In Archief van de Doopsgezinde Gemeente de Zon, archiefnummer 877, inventarisnummer 3, (fol. 207). GAS. Interestingly, in 1715 (19 December, fol. 304) it was decided to give *Het geopende, en bereidwillige harte*, by whom we assume is Boekholt (in the minutes it is attributed to J.B.B.S). *Resolutie Boek der Leeraaren & Diaconen. Beginnende 25 July 1703 en Eyndigt 13 May 1715*. December 19, 1715, fol. 304. In Archief van de Doopsgezinde Gemeente de Zon, archiefnummer 877, inventarisnummer 3, (fol. 304). GAS.

³⁹ *Resolutie Boek der Leeraaren en Diaconen. Beginnende 1 January 1726 tot 30 December 1741*. December 17, 1738, fol. 359. In Archief van de Doopsgezinde Gemeente de Zon, archiefnummer 877, inventarisnummer 5, (fol. 359). GAS.

⁴⁰ *Resolutie-Boek der Leeraren en Diaconen Begonnen den 3 January A. 1742. Eyndigende den 27 December A. 1765*, December 15, 1756, fol. 315. In Archief van de Doopsgezinde Gemeente de Zon, archiefnummer 877, inventarisnummer 6, (fol. 315). GAS.

⁴¹ UA, Sig.: OK 65 1449. It seems the last name has been erased.

⁴² UA, Sig.: OK 65 1531.

⁴³ UA, Sig.: OK 65 1636. On the registers of the Mennonite congregation, we have one Sijmetje van Overwijk, who became a member on 23 February 1721. Register of Sijmetje van Overwijk, February 23, 1721, p.176. In Lidmatenregister Doopsgezinde Gemeente, archiefnummer 877, inventarisnummer 36 (p.176). GAS.

⁴⁴ UA, Sig.: OK 65 1733.

in Utrecht, Angelique Prangma-Hajenius provides an enlightening list of the books given as prizes between 1713 and 1815 at the *Doopsgezinde Gemeente Utrecht*. *Jesus en de ziel* was awarded three times (1715, 1741, 1759), *De voncken der liefde Jesu* once (1723), *Beschouwing der wereld* twice (1744, 1764), *Het leerzaam huisraad* twice (1720, 1778), *Bykorf des gemoeds* twice (1748, 1769), and *Menschen begin, midden en einde* twice (1789, 1791).⁴⁵

This type of circulation of Luyken's heart-emblems within *Jesus en de ziel* leads to two interesting inferences. First, it is clear that Luyken's literature was approved and promoted for a population that was in the process of shaping its religious identity. It is difficult to find clear statements from contemporary Mennonite sources regarding religious emblem books, but from this evidence we can infer that their reception of this literature was sufficiently favourable to permit them to entrust part of the devotional experience to the use of these works. A highly rare statement of a Mennonite view of the purpose on religious emblem book, is this exceptionally clear quotation from the Mennonite Rotterdammer poet Jan Suderman's (1680-after 1723) religious emblem book *De godlievende ziel* (1724), a book very much based on the *Pia desideria* and the *Amoris divini emblemata*:

Men kan niet ontkennen dat de geestelyke Zinnebeelden en Dichtkunst (twee gezusters die elkanderen de hant bieden, dewyl, zo ergens, hier de Schildery eene stomme poëzy, en de poëzy eene sprekende Schildery is) krachtigh kunnen dienen om het gemoet te ondersteunen en tot Godt te helpen geleiden; en nooit worden zy beter besteedt dan wanneer zy daertoe aengelegt worden.⁴⁶

Els Stronks has noted that a great number of the emblematisers in the Protestant tradition belonged to Anabaptists religious groups, such as the Mennonites.⁴⁷ Also, other contemporary Mennonite authors do provide some insight into their conception of the union of images and words, which can be taken as a hint of their opinion about the genre. In the preface of the Mennonite François van Hoogstraten's (1632-1696) emblem book *Het voorhof der ziele*

⁴⁵ Angelique M. L. Prangma-Hajenius, *Dopers in de domstad: geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinde Gemeente Utrecht, 1639-1939* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2003), 261-264. Prangma-Hajenius also mentions *Ambaghte en kinderspel* and *Onwaerdige wercke*. These two last books I have not found yet within Luyken's known oeuvre.

⁴⁶ Jan Suderman, *De godlievende ziel, vertoont in zinnebeelden door Herman Hugo en Otto van Veen* (Utrecht: Hermanus en Johannes Besseling, 1749), fol. *4r-*4v: "One cannot deny that spiritual Emblems and Poetry (two sisters that offer to each other a hand, since, here painting is mute poetry, and poetry is a talking picture) can powerfully serve to sustain one's mind [or character/disposition] and to help guide it to God; and they are never used better than when they are laid out for this purpose."

⁴⁷ Stronks, "Dutch Religious Love Emblems," 148.

(1668), for example, the author establishes that “want men kan aldus [...] door Beelden en woorden, door het gezicht en gehoor, twee zinnen, die, na het zeggen des Filosoophs, werktuigen van de Wetenschap zijn, gesticht worden.”⁴⁸ Hoogstraten goes on to justify the use of images and text for learning by referring to the Egyptian hieroglyphs, Aesop’s *Fables*, and the *Tabula* of Cebes of Thebes, among others,⁴⁹ before turning to Old Testament stories, and concluding that “Ja zelf onze Zaligmaeker heeft doorgaens in d’Evangeliën met Beelden en gelijkenissen [...] den wegh ten Hemel gebaent.”⁵⁰ It can be assumed then that there was a part of the Mennonite community that considered this type of objects, and their visual and textual communication strategies, as fitting for the formation of the individual, and in our context specifically that of the young individual.

The second inference that may be drawn from the evidence of the circulation of Luyken’s heart images is that the book was often used only after the user had received a set number of teachings based on the Mennonite’s religious system of beliefs. This affords us more insight into the religious knowledge that was anticipated and the experience that the book user had gained before receiving the book, which would condition the communication strategies configured in *Jesus en de ziel*. Given that Jan Luyken belonged to the Mennonite community, as did Pieter Arentz, the first publisher of the book, one cannot help but wonder whether if the composition of the book was made with a more specific type of user in mind, a user with a set system of (Mennonite) religious knowledge that would help them to access, enjoy or consume the book as Luyken intended. Perhaps the author, together with his publisher, understood the religious market that was developing in the Dutch Republic in such a way that they could, consciously, attract as many readers as diverse denominations there were at the moment. What is important is that, through the sources discussed so far, we can access another fragment of the interaction networks that the heart-emblems became part of — networks that constantly structured the comprehension of what the divine *is* for the individual. We may note that in general it is a given that an individual had a certain understanding of the divine and his or her own religious formation at the moment they consumed the book. This implies that it is also a given that the networks of interactions, as manifold as they can be, always were operative at

⁴⁸ François van Hoogstraten, *Het voorhof der ziele, behangen met leerzaeme prenten en zinnebeelden* (Rotterdam: François van Hoogstraten, 1668), fol. *3v: “for one can thus be edified [...] through images and words, through sight and hearing, two senses which, in the words of the Philosopher are instruments of knowledge.” See also: Stronks, *Negotiating*, 210-214.

⁴⁹ Hoogstraten, *Het voorhof der ziele*, fol. *3v.

⁵⁰ Hoogstraten, *Het voorhof der ziele*, fol. *4r: “Yes, our Saviour himself has paved the way to Heaven in the Gospels with images and parables.”

the moment somebody consumed the book. However, such networks are always particular. The data provided by auction and sales catalogues, as well as the “awarding” of these books within the Mennonite communities, provide valuable and rare insight to the actual formation that some individuals had before using the book as one of their tools for access to an experience of the divine.

The question is then: after what kind of religious education would the young members receive these prizes? Thanks, in part, to catechisms we can reconstruct what young readers could have learned before (or around the time of) receiving their prize copy of the work. Mennonite congregations had religious education literature for the young structured in a question/answer style typical for catechesis, as if the pupil or student would ask the question, and the professor (*Leerar*) would answer. The answers were meant to be memorised or interiorized in the belief of the student and were composed as far as possible solely of selected bible verses: this effectively put the biblical Word of God itself in the mouth and mind of the youth answering the professor’s question.

An example of a late-seventeenth-century catechism among Mennonites is the *Kort onderwys des christelijke geloofs, voor de jeugd geschikt na de belijdenissen der Doopsgezinden*, first published in 1697.⁵¹ The first page of the work opens with the question of how is God known in ourselves, to which is given the reply: “Als wy aandachtig letten op onze ziel; op ons lichaam, en de wonderlijke zamenvoeginge van die beide.”⁵² Pages later, the minister or teacher enquires whether faith comes from man and man alone, to which the youth is to answer that faith is for God alone to give.⁵³ But in what way does God give such a gift to us? Externally and internally: first through the preaching of the Word, an answer justified through Romans 10: 14,17; second, through the Holy Ghost, an answer which uses the figure of Lydia from the Acts of the Apostles as example (Acts 16: 14): “de Heere haar herte [opende],⁵⁴ om acht teg even op ‘t geen van Paulus gesproken weird.”⁵⁵ Answers such as this, if learned by heart, would have certainly contributed to the individual’s perception of the heart

⁵¹ The book does not offer a precise author. The preface is written by E. Az. van Dooregeest, Herman Schijn and Pieter Beets. They probably co-authored the book. Here I am using the second edition, from 1698. The booklet had 6 editions, the last one published in 1753.

⁵² *Kort onderwys des christelijke geloofs, voor de jeugd geschikt na de belijdenissen der Doopsgezinden* (Amsterdam: Jacobus van Nieuweveen, 1698), 1: “When we pay close attention to our soul; to our body, and the miraculous merging of the two.”

⁵³ *Kort onderwys des christelijke geloofs*, 95. Taken from Ephesians 2: 8.

⁵⁴ In the copy consulted, the text reads “poende”.

⁵⁵ *Kort onderwys des christelijke geloofs*, 95: “the Lord opened her heart, to take heed to that which was spoken by God.”

and its relationship with the Holy Ghost at the moment the young person decided to interact with Luyken.

Herman Schijn, one of the leaders and teachers at the Congregation *bij de Zon*, and the one who signed Stijntje Baartens' prize as a representative of the congregation, also wrote catechetical literature.⁵⁶ His *Eerste beginselen van de christelyken godsdienst* was published in 1718, the year before Schijn inscribed Baarten's prize-giving copy of *Jesus en de ziel*. In this work, the author provides similar questions and answers to those found in *Kort onderwijs des christelijke geloofs*, including, for example, a question and response regarding the internal notion of the gift of faith:

Vrage. Wat is de innerlyke Roeping?

Antw. De innerlyke Roeping is de werkinge van Gods Geest, die met de uiterlyke prediking vergeselschap gaat, om het harte te openen, ons verstant te verligten, en tot het gelove en bekeeringe op te wekken en aan te zetten, als wy lezen van Lydia. Hand. 16: 14.⁵⁷

In 1721, Schijn also published *de mensch in Christus, of het geestelyk leven der gelovigen*. Though not strictly a catechism, this work provides useful insight into Schijn's perception of the Divine and attests his desire to propagate these ideas to the congregation, and to the education of the youth. Recurrent themes are the place of Christ in the heart, the notion of faith, and the internal actions of the Holy Ghost in our hearts. Through Pauline verses (e.g. Galatians 2:20), Schijn recounts how we need to have the Holy Ghost engraved in the flesh of the heart: "of wy alle een brief van Christus waren, geschreven niet met inkt, maar door den Heiligen Geest, niet in steenen, maar in vleesche tafelen des harten!"⁵⁸ In addition, Schijn refers to the concept of rebirth, and in order to explain it relies on important Bible verses where the heart takes centre stage, such as Ezekiel 36: 25-26:

⁵⁶ As it was mentioned in Chapter 1.

⁵⁷ Herman Schijn, *Eerste beginselen van den christelyken godsdienst, tot onderwyzinge der jeugt, by vragen en antwoorden* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Bostius, 1718), 33: Question: "What is the inward Calling? // Answer: The inward Calling is the working of God's Spirit, which accompanies the outward preaching, to open the heart, enlighten our mind, and excite and prompt us to believe and repent, as we read of Lydia. Acts 16: 14."

⁵⁸ Herman Schijn, *De mensch in Christus, of het geestelyk leven der gelovigen* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Bostius, 1721), 16: "If we were all a letter of Christ, written not in ink, but by the Holy Spirit, not in stones, but in the flesh of the heart!"

Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean from all your uncleannesses; and from all your dung-gods will I cleanse you. And I will give you a new heart, and will give a new spirit in the innermost (part) of you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and will give you a fleshy heart.⁵⁹

As we have seen emphasised in *Jesus en de ziel*, for Schijn, too, the relationship with Christ depends on love. To be a follower of Christ means to love him, to love God, to serve God both in public and in private, internally and externally, with all one's heart, soul, and mind. It is not enough to desire God in one's inner self, and stay in a contemplative state day and night, doing God's will in private. The follower needs to show this love to God, and this light to others, through deeds and works. To follow Jesus, Schijn continues, is to show humbleness, and ardently serve God in spirit.⁶⁰ The religious condition is then an active one; through living and understanding the divine within us and concealed in the transcendent.

As a final point regarding Luyken's appeal to the congregation, we can go beyond these explicit references to the heart and the role of love with Christ that can be easily connected to the heart-emblems, to consider more general proposals regarding the Mennonite system of beliefs in the period. To be "reborn" or to attain "rebirth", concepts so important for Luyken, was in general understood for the Mennonites to mean that the Holy Ghost came to the individual soul from God the Father through Jesus Christ.⁶¹ Renewal was in essence a restoration to a divine life in accordance with Christ's own life. As Visser has observed: "Rebirth thus proceeded according to the analogy of Christ's redemptive suffering and resurrection: the sinful body must be laid aside, buried in Christ, and raised by faith as a new being."⁶² Further, Mennonite teaching held that all are descendants of Adam, which implied a natural state of original sin. Through rebirth the prelapsarian state of Adam is restored, and this is only possible through the second Adam, Jesus Christ. Love of Christ, a divine love that resides within and the daily external and internal expression of it, is intimately connected to attaining or having attained rebirth, and this divine condition of the individual reveals a

⁵⁹ Haak with full annotations: "*Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you*, [It will be my word and Spirit apply unto you the precious blood of the immaculate lamb Jesus Christ, for the cleansing of your souls. See I *Pet.* 1.2., 19. And *Eph.* 5. 26. *Heb.* 9. 14. I *Joh.* 1. 7, &c.] *And ye shall be clean from all your uncleannesses; and from all your dung-gods will I cleanse you.* [Compare below c. 37. 23. And 43. 7.] *And I will give you a new heart*, [See hereof above chap. 11. On vers 19.] *and will give a new spirit in the innermost (part) of you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and will give you a fleshy heart.*"

⁶⁰ Schijn, *Den mensch in Christus*, 141.

⁶¹ Koop, *Anabaptit-Mennonite Confessions*, 85.

⁶² Visser, "Mennonites and Doopsgezinden," 305.

different moral attitude to life.⁶³ The transformation by rebirth is then manifested through the individual's behaviour in the world which is now ordered by a divine spiritual condition.⁶⁴ To be born again in Christ is thus expressed by material means, in moral and ethical actions performed in the flesh.⁶⁵ To paraphrase David Morgan, by embodying the divine, the sacred becomes part of the experience of living in the world,⁶⁶ as the Holy Ghost, dwelling in the heart, directs every aspect of a now sacred life.

It was in the light of these ideas that Luyken was being consumed by young and old. The contents of *Jesus en de ziel* and specifically the emblem-hearts and the way these are communicated are part of a kind of assemblage of concepts, works, theologies and practices that the auctions and prize giving lists, and book inscription help to reveal. The book belonged to the broad entanglement of Mennonite notions of the religious that an adolescent Stijntje Baartens might have had. The way in which Luyken expressed the journey of the soul, and the role of the heart in that journey, found a ready audience in a readership shaped by a Mennonite understanding and experience of a religious life. Through the use of the book and its heart-images, the young Mennonite could extend and reinforce, visually and textually, what her or his congregation were instructing. Luyken and his hearts became thereby one more tool, one more mediation, by means of which to practise behaving in a certain manner, to experience the divine, and to shape his or her own life accordingly.

⁶³ This new morality needed, it was believed, to be carefully safeguarded. The moral aspect of the life of the reborn is connected to Mennonite understandings of the relationship between the flesh of the mortal believer and the divine within the reborn: "This new moral character had its ontological basis in the heavenly Christ coming in the flesh; for only what was truly heavenly could save and transform. Since God became human, humans could now become divine, receive eternal life "and the ethical and moral characteristics of the divine nature." Salvation was seen "as a dynamic process of the divinization of human nature, and hence as a reversal of the process of the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ." (Koop, *Anabaptist-Mennonite Confessions*, 100.)

⁶⁴ Keeney, *The Development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought*, 74.

⁶⁵ Keeney, *The Development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought*, 114.

⁶⁶ Morgan, *The Embodied Eye*, 181. The term 'world', in this sense, was understood by the Mennonites in various ways. In the first instance, 'world' is a theological concept denoting sin, the flesh, and unbiblical religious practices and devotions. When Mennonites prophesied against or avoided by all means the 'worldly' life, they were mainly referring to this theological notion. The 'world' also had another value in Mennonite thought however, namely a kind of social reality in which the devout believer lived, and with which she or he was not necessarily in conflict. This social world was to be inhabited in such a way as to configure it in accordance with biblical and spiritual values. The Mennonites were actively involved in social life in many forms, both economically and culturally. See: Zijlstra, *Om de ware*, 464.

3. Testimonies of reading and literature concerning *Jesus en de ziel* and Luyken

This final section is divided in two. First, I briefly discuss two accounts of individuals who interacted with *Jesus en de ziel* on one hand, and with *Beschouwing der wereld* on the other. Both were, coincidentally, Mennonites. Second, I reflect on the reception of Luyken using two literary accounts, the first from *Geschrift eener bejaarde vrouw*, a novel from 1802 written by Betje Wolf (1738-1804) and Aagje Deken (1741-1804), and the second from the poet Willem Hendrik Warnsinck (1782-1857). These sources furnish more insight into how Luyken's books, and fundamentally their potential readers, were perceived at the end of the eighteenth century.

The practice of using *Jesus en de ziel* to shape the religious identity of the young members, treated above, was taken to a different level in a work penned by Abraham van der Meersch (d.1748), a businessman dealing in textiles (linen and cloth) and a Mennonite member of the congregation *bij 't Lam en Toren* in Amsterdam.⁶⁷ In 1721, Van der Meersch wrote *De laatste vaderlijke lessen*,⁶⁸ a work addressed to his seven-year-old grandchild Abraham Jr., that comprised an introductory autobiography followed by a number of lessons which focused on the proper religious and social development his descendent should come to have. Van der Meersch frequented the Collegiants' meetings, and was influenced by Galenus Abrahamsz.⁶⁹ He taught his grandchild to read and write outside of school.⁷⁰ When the child was between seven and eight years of age, he taught him more than forty *zielroerende*⁷¹ poems, taken from *Jesus en de ziel*, *Voncken der liefde Jesu* and Petrus Serrarius' (1600-1669) *Goddelijck aandagten*.⁷² Though the author does not specify how he accomplished this, he does inform us that among the poems he teaches his grandchild are the one from Luyken's Emblem XIV of

⁶⁷ Of which he served as deacon twice. Piet Visser & S.B.J. Zilverberg, "Abraham van der Meersch, *De laatste vaderlijke lessen* (1721). Ingeleid en voor uitgave gereedgemaakt door P. Visser en S.G.J. Zilverberg." *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen Nieuwe Reeks*, no.17 (1991): 154.

⁶⁸ The original manuscript is located at the Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam's Library (UA, Sig.:PA 565-A772). The full title is: *De laatste vaderlijke lessen vanden koninklijke prophet David aan zijne waarde soone Salomon, in zijn hoogen ouderdom, waaren deeze aanmerkelijke woorden: ende gij mijn soone Salomo! Kenden God uwes vaders, ende dient hem met een volkomen herte, en met een willige ziele, want de HEERE doorzoekt alle harten, ende hij verstaat alle het gedichtsel der gedachten. Indien gij hem zoekt hij zal van uw, gevonden worden, maar indien gij hem verlaat hij zal uw tot in Eeuwigheid verstooten. 1 Chron. Cap. 28 vs. 9.* [The Last Paternal Lessons of the royal prophet David who, in his old age, told these valuable words to his esteemed son Solomon: And you my son Solomon! Know your father's God, and serve him with a whole heart, and with a willing soul: for the LORD searches all hearts, and understands every thought. If you look for him, he shall be found by you; but if you forsake him, he shall cast you away for Eternity. 1 Chr. 28: 9.]

⁶⁹ On the Collegiants and Galenus Abrahamsz, see: Fix, *Prophecy and Reason*.

⁷⁰ Visser & Zilverberg, "Abraham van der Meersch," 165-166.

⁷¹ Visser & Zilverberg, "Abraham van der Meersch," 166: "Soul touching."

⁷² Visser & Zilverberg, "Abraham van der Meersch," 153-154. For Serrarius, see: Dietz, *Literaire levensandere*.

Jesus en de ziel (Fig.1), the first heart-emblem, and Emblem XXXVII (Fig.3), the third heart-emblem.⁷³

Our second witness is Maria Kouwenhoven (d.1808). In the first decades of the eighteenth century, Kouwenhoven was living in the Mennonite Orphanage of Frankestraat in Haarlem. There she acquired the skill of sewing linen, something she continued to do after her departure from the orphanage in 1729. This profession led her to become a renowned linen seamstress in the service of a number of prominent Mennonite families. In addition, for forty-seven years, Kouwenhoven instructed many girls in the same work. Her reputation as a seamstress, her religious commitment and her piety became a renowned model of Mennonite society, to the point that after her death in 1808, aged 102, Adriaan Loosjes published a brief text on her life which was accompanied with an engraving of her portrait.⁷⁴ It is in this text that we learn that Kouwenhoven's pious activities included reciting diverse passages from Jan Luyken's poems. Loosjes described Kouwenhoven as "een liefhebster van Godsdienstige Boeken, en de stichtelijke Werkjes van Jan Luiken waren hare geliefde handboekjes."⁷⁵ Apparently, she particularly liked *Beschouwing der wereld*. Its poems

waren zeer diep in haar geheugen geprent, en van dezelve, vooral van die op den Morgen, den Middag, Avond enz.,⁷⁶ maakte zij veel gebruik, wanneer men bij haar kwam, en als zij van jonge lieden een bezoek ontving, bediende zij zich van het Dichtstukje, getiteld: *de Oude*.⁷⁷

Both Kouwenhoven and Van der Meersch provide valuable evidence of one particular use of Luyken's poems: memorization. For these two Mennonites of quite different positions and statuses, Luyken's literature became part of a religious vocabulary, and cultural configuration, to be recalled from memory. For Abraham van der Meersch, *Jesus en de ziel* was part of the

⁷³ Visser and Zilverberg, "Abraham van der Meersch," 165-167. In the document, Abraham van der Meersch provides the poems in form of a list, but does not specify any order of teaching or mode of teaching.

⁷⁴ Sjoerd Bijker, Mechteld Grandeel, Bonny Rademaker-Helfferch, Rineke Verheus-Niuwstraten & Piet Visser, *Wezen en weldoen: 375 jaar doopsgezinde wezenzorg in Haarlem* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009), 41.

⁷⁵ Adriaan Loosjes, "Kort levensberigt van Maria Kouwenhoven Wed. Dirk Kuykelier," 1808, par. 3. In Archief Zuiderhofje, inventarisnummer 63, Stukken betreffende de viering van de honderdste verjaardag van Maria Kuikelier-Kouwenhoven, haar levensbericht en portret [1808]. Archief van de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente Haarlem: "passionate about Religious Books, and the edifying works by Jan Luyken were her most beloved handbooks."

⁷⁶ Loosjes must be referring to "De Morgenstond", "De Middag", and "De Avond-Stond", and "De Middernacht" from Luyken's *Beschouwing der wereld*.

⁷⁷ Loosjes, "Kort levensberigt": "were deeply engraved in her memory, and of these [poems], especially those about the morning, afternoon, evening, etc.; she made great use of them when people came over, and when she received visits from young people, she referred to the poem entitled *de Oude*."

spiritual devotional information his grandson should integrate: the grandfather saw this literature fitting for his grandson's age. Though in this case the child was far younger than Stijntje Baartens, and did not necessarily receive the book as a prize on successful memorization of the catechism, the idea of Luyken as a good reading option to contribute to extending and forming the religious system of beliefs of minors, clearly persists and extends beyond the bounds of formal catechetical instruction and its rewards. In the case of Kouwenhoven, while *Jesus en de ziel* is not named explicitly, *Beschouwing der wereld* is noted as a book whose contents are memorised, as a means of keeping near the poems dearest to her according to her own life and experience. In addition, Kouwenhoven recites Luyken to others, changing the medium by which the contents of the book are consumed. The seamstress becomes herself the medium by means of which Luyken was being received by others. As a mnemotechnical device, Luyken's edifying literature belonged, then, to the spiritual understanding and ways of expressing the individual lay woman and man.

For Van der Meersch, his grandson and Kouwenhoven alike, we might imagine a process something like that described in Chapter 2: a metonymic act devised in the relationship between image and poem. We cannot know precisely how Van der Meersch taught his grandson the poems, but we can say that if the book was used by both grandfather and grandson then images were present in this practice. Considering the complex networks of ideas, experiences and images that Van der Meersch Jr. acquired by learning more than forty poems, it is within reason to think that when he remembered the text, images such as the ones containing the visual motif of the heart would also be present in the child's mind; or rather, that by recurring to the images he could simultaneously remember the text. As we noted in the preceding chapter, Luyken's poems transmit information regarding the religious system of beliefs and visual form for which they stand. Van der Meersch Jr. received textual and visual stimuli capable of changing his way of communicating and behaving in his own environment.

Kouwenhoven lets us know a step further, or rather we get to know what kind of action was taken by her after consuming Luyken. Kouwenhoven had in her mind both poems and images, this again in part thanks to the configuration of Luyken's emblem books, and she made a selection and proceeded to transform herself, or made of herself a new medium, and therefore image, of Luyken's message.⁷⁸ In other words, it could have happened that, visually speaking, whenever the ones that heard Kouwenhoven reciting Luyken came to think of Luyken, it was

⁷⁸ On this aspect of interchange between image, medium and body see: Belting. *An Anthropology of Images*.

Kouwenhoven, and not Luyken's emblems what they pictured. If this was the case, the image of Kouwenhoven/Luyken would become part of the religious experience of others. The cognitive processes concerning the divine and religious life now had not only poems and engravings, emblems as part of their mediation, but also people, bodies and expressive dynamics that could become themselves images and modes of accessing the experience in principle set out by the book. Kouwenhoven, together with Luyken, was providing visual means capable of giving form to whoever the experienced God would come to be.

Mietje, Hendricks, Luyken and Radical Piety

The novelists Betje (Elisabeth) Wolff and Aagje (Agatha) Deken provide, in their book *Geschrift eener bejaarde vrouw* (1802), an additional valuable perspective on Luyken's reception and use, at the turn of the nineteenth century. The book was to be published in three parts, but the final part never saw the light.⁷⁹ The narrator of the novel is Mietje who, at the end of her life, recounts her autobiography, using both her own memories as well as notes left by her mother Naatje. André Hanou, editor and author for the introduction of the 2007 edition of *Geschrift eener bejaarde vrouw*, tells us that the child was born in Amsterdam, from an upper-middle-class merchant family. Naatje was in control of Mietje's education and upbringing, encouraging her in many ways, and looking for proper models by which her daughter might learn various skills on how to become a well-balanced woman. In this way, Naatje manages to make of Mietje a thoughtful, critically astute person, who always bears in mind, as a good Christian, that any knowledge needs to be determined by, or subjected to the teachings in the Gospels.⁸⁰

As she grows up, under the watchful guidance of her parents, Mietje has various experiences, which provide occasion to discuss poverty, death, happiness, good and evil and, of course, God. Gradually Mietje develops critical acumen, using her own reasoning and understanding, on the path to become a good Christian with sound judgement.⁸¹ The narrator tells us that around the age of fourteen, she started wanting to know more about God, searching

⁷⁹ Of this final part, fortunately, we have manuscripts, but from what was printed we get to know only fourteen years of the main character, Mietje. André Hanou, "Inleiding," in Elisabeth Wolff, Agatha Deken & André Hanou, *Geschrift eener bejaarde vrouw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), 7.

⁸⁰ Hanou, "Inleiding," 8-9.

⁸¹ Hanou, "Inleiding," 8-9.

for the essential teachings in the Gospel. It is only from this age that she was permitted to read the Bible by her mother, who now considered her sufficiently prepared for the complexity of the Word of God. From this age on, Hanou tells us, she continued her life as a determined Christian, led by the hand of God.⁸²

On two occasions, the narrator of the novel refers explicitly to Luyken. The first account is when Mietje is between five and seven. The narrator tells us that a lady who lived next door gave her as a present two books by Jan Luyken: *Luikens kinderboekje*⁸³ and *Voncken der liefde Jesu*. The neighbour put Mietje on her lap, and told her “‘Hoor, jonge juffrouw, je moet de versjes van buiten leren, en die dan voor ons opzeggen; dat staat zo mooi voor een kind, hartje!’”⁸⁴ Naatje thanked the lady for the gifts to her daughter, but, we are told, she never set Mietje to learn the poems within the books. Years later, Mietje asked her mother why she withheld Luyken’s books from her. Her mother’s response answer is illuminating:

Die boekjes zijn gevuld met kinderlijke, onbetamelijke, ja ergerlijke toespelingen op de Eeuwige Geest, en op de schone godsdienst van Jezus. De vrome man zag dit anders in. Maar ik had geen vrijheid om mijn kind zulke lage denkbeelden voor te houden van die God, waarover verstandige mensen spaarzaam spreken, en aan wie zij nooit denken dan met een eerbied, waarvoor onze menselijke spraak geen woorden heeft.⁸⁵

The second account appears in the part of the novel when the narrator is retelling her life around eight years of age. Mietje describes her cousins, especially two, who lived together: Machteld, a widow with two children, and Alida. Both women were considered *fijntjes*, in other words, mystics. Mietje tries to explain to the reader what mystics are. She distinguishes two kinds. The first are not interested in being taught the articles of faith, since they maintain “dat de Geest dit in het verborgen doet. Ja, ik heb wel eens horen zeggen ‘De leraars trekken door hun

⁸² Hanou, “Inleiding,” 15.

⁸³ According to Hanou, this book probably is *Des Menschen begin, midden en einde*, which was the book Luyken made for his son. Hanou in Elisabeth Wolff, Agatha Deken & André Hanou, *Geschrift eener bejaarde vrouw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), 269.

⁸⁴ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 59: “Listen, young lady, you have to learn the verses by heart, and then recite them to us; that is so beautiful for a child, dearheart!”

⁸⁵ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 59: “Those little books are filled with childish, indecent, irritating allusions to the Eternal Spirit, and to the beautiful religion of Jesus. The pious man saw this differently. But I have not taken the liberty to present to my child such low conceptions of this God, of whom sensible people seldom speak, and of whom they never think except with a reverence, for which our human speech has no words.”

grote geleerdheid de mensjes maar af van het werk des geestes.”⁸⁶ The second type she calls corrupted mystics. They reject the sciences and any form of religious institutional teachings and ceremonies.⁸⁷ Mietje tells us that for these ‘mystics’, knowledge only comes from the Holy Scripture through the Holy Ghost. Their main creed is the possibility to be united with God, to be absorbed through the Spirit. They maintain that every pious individual has a particular road to follow in their process of union with God, and that is how they profess tolerance. Their piety must be shown through charity and good behaviour, in denial of worldly desires.⁸⁸

Mietje does not, however, make explicit into which of these two categories her cousins fit. She proceeds to relate that her cousins never went to church, and that for the most orthodox religious thinkers they could be considered even more dangerous than actual sinners. In addition, “Nooit lazen deze nichten iets anders dan duistere, warrig geschreven, voor ons onbegrijpelijke, *dierbare boekjes*”.⁸⁹ Authors included in that obscure category were Luyken and the German mystic Jacob Boehme,⁹⁰ together with *Amarella’s leven*.⁹¹ Her cousins would also peruse songs by Dirk Rafaelsz Camphuysen (1586-1627), and their children would read *Schat der ziele*,⁹² *Voncken der liefde Jezu*, *Het leven van meester Quaadt*, *De heyligen oorlogh* and *De christinne*.⁹³

⁸⁶ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 72: “that the Spirit does this in secret. Yes, I have heard them say ‘The teachers, through their *great* learning, draw the people away from the work of the Spirit.’”

⁸⁷ For Pietists, if that is what Mietje’s cousins were, to call someone a ‘true Christian’ implied that God was working within the believer. Attending church services in order to follow a religious habit was not considered a means of salvation. The relationship of the individual believer to God in her or his devotion was held to be more important than defending or following any denomination. Knowledge, whether acquired through theological learning or that established in church confessions, was not the basis for this faith, but God’s ability to transform the mind’s framework through a personal relationship. Faith, for the Pietist, implied therefore a change in the believer’s daily life, a transformation that should be able to be recognized by others. The personal encounter with the divine was to be reflected in daily pious behaviour: the believer cultivated, in other words, a divine life. See: Ryoko Mori, “The Conventicle Piety of the Radicals,” in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660-1800*, ed. Douglas Shantz (Leiden & Boston: Brill), 202.

⁸⁸ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 72. Mietje’s description can be interpreted through the lens of how the Word was perceived by Waterlanders and Collegiants. Sacred texts were to be understood according to what the Holy Spirit revealed to each individual. On this topic, see: Hendrik W. Meihuizen, “Spiritualistic Tendencies and Movements among the Dutch Mennonites of the 16th and 17th Centuries,” *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 27, no.4 (October 1953): 259-304.

⁸⁹ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 73: “These cousins never read anything other than obscure, confusingly written books, incomprehensible to us, but dear to them.” The italics are original.

⁹⁰ On Jacob Boehme, see: Bo Anderson, Lucinda Martin, Leigh Penman and Andrew Weeks, eds., *Jacob Böhme and His World* (Boston & Leiden, 2018).

⁹¹ Hanou posits that this title may refer to an edition of *L’Ecole du pur amour de Dieu* by Armelle Nicolas. Hanou in Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 271.

⁹² By Miguel Comalada (seventeenth century).

⁹³ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 73. These three last works are by John Bunyan (1628-1688).

The first thing to notice in these accounts is the recurring idea of learning the poem by heart, and that the act of reciting it was perceived, by some, as good and fitting for a child. The poems were meant to be integrated into the religious communication system of the youth, as part of her or his daily life, and as a demonstration of a certain notion of spirituality from a young age. The metonymic act discussed above, in which both poems and images interrelate in such a manner and stand for a particular religious system or a particular perception of the religious, was part of the communication and mnemotechnic strategies afforded by *Jesus en de ziel*. A second element that we may observe is the rejection of this type of literature by the mother in the novel. It is literature that is accused of being childish and misleading. The education given by Van der Meersch on the one hand and Naatje on the other are completely different in this regard. Like other Mennonites and citizens such as Mietje's neighbours, Van der Meersch trusts that Luyken is fitting for young minds. Naatje's position on the matter, on the other hand, is that it is a type of literature that is specifically tailored for pietistic people's minds, who blindly follow what is being said about it, and who believe in the guidance of the Holy Spirit in their hearts. They are not critical, and their low, simplistic conception of God is clear.

Later in the novel, Mietje elaborates further on piety, and in particular on a radical mystical piety whose adherents are active readers of books such as those written by Luyken. It should be noted that Mietje's final comments on her cousins are (somewhat) positive. Though they are mystics, we are told, thanks to their beliefs they renounced any worldly pleasure, or as the narrator puts it, any pleasure from the "*Ezel*".⁹⁴ As good pietists, they spoke little, and fasted and prayed a lot. They would dress mostly in simple clothes and were occupied with visiting and helping the sick, the poor and the prisoners (without the ulterior motive of evangelization). Their lives and works arose from their love to God, and through such ideas they managed to achieve happiness in their lives.⁹⁵ The passage ends with a very 'enlightening' idea:

⁹⁴ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 73: "Donkey." This reference could be connected to the representation of the worldly in *Jesus en de Ziel*, where we see in the first instances this human being with donkey ears.

⁹⁵ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 73.

Zij waren zo hoogst gelukkig in zichzelf, dat ik mijn moeder eens tot haar vriendin Warin hoorde zeggen: ‘Lieve Warin, als de mens ooit zijn rede zou kwijtraken, dan zou men, met een gevoelige ziel, het gevaar lopen mystiek te worden.’⁹⁶

Such were, in the eyes of Wolff and Deken’s characters, Luyken’s readers: people who ‘ran the risk of becoming mystical’.⁹⁷ They are characterised as irrational, with innocent and non-critical views on God or devotional literature. They are defiant with respect to authority, and firm in their belief that it is through the Holy Spirit that divine, true knowledge is acquired. They also fit the profile proposed by Luyken, believing in the actions of God within them, and showing the spiritual gift given to them by a daily religious life. Common daily activities take on a spiritual tone. Such believers crave for union with God, and find in this type of devotional literature the tools to edify and improve their spiritual self. But in the eyes of others, like Mietje’s mother and Mietje herself, their interaction with God is perhaps not considered the best. They are inclined instead to a more systematic preparation where what is learned and discussed about God is conditioned to the age and maturity of the person. There is an order of things of when and what to learn about God, and a predominant focus on the Gospel and avoiding as much as possible such “obscure” literature.

Wolff and Deken are not alone in their estimation of a certain irrationality, a “mystical” approach to Luyken. In 1849, the poet Willem Hendrik Warnsinck (1782-1857) published his *Herinneringen uit mijne kinderjaren*, an account of his life as a child and adolescent. Hendrick discusses his education, his family, and the formation of his religious views. With respect to the latter, the author refers to the distance he felt from religion, even though it was a topic very much present not only in school, but also in his childhood home. So, in this regard Hendrick is unlike Mietje, who is described as having a strong religious devotion. Nevertheless, his account preserves a valuable anecdote on the reception of Luyken’s works. Hendrick recounts that his parents’ pious maidservant had a book entitled *Jezus en de ziel*. The young Willem would sit

⁹⁶ Wolff, Deken & Hanou, *Geschrift*, 73: “They were so happy on their own, that I once heard my mother say to her friend Warin: ‘Dear Warin, if people were ever lost their reason, they would, with a sensitive soul, run the risk of becoming mystical’”

⁹⁷ It is interesting to notice that in the auction for the books collected by Betje Wolff en Aagje Deken, we find Luyken’s *Jezus en de ziel*, of 1689, bound to *Vonken der liefde Jesu*, from 1691, among other Luyken books. (*Catalogus eener uitmuntende verzameling [...] boeken* (Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman & Willem Vermandel, 1789), 34. BSCO). It is possible Wolff and Deken were basing their opinions as well by knowing what was inside the books, and not just external perceptions on them. Now, according to the BSCO, it is not possible to know which books were actually coming from their collection, since it appears the book catalogue includes books that were not part of it. On Wolff and Deken’s catalogue, see: Ria Dijkstra-van Bakelen, “De veilingcatalogus van Betje Wolff en Aagje Deken,” *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw*, no.34-35 (April 1997): 123-148.

to look at it and “een *Ilias* van mystieke denkbeelden en voorstellingen spookte mij door hoofd en hart!”⁹⁸ For the poet, this book was in a way partly responsible for creating in him confusing ideas about God and people. They were a text and images that, he suggested, were “wel geschikt om het jeugdige brein tot waanzin te vervoeren!”⁹⁹

Wolff, Deken and Hendrick provide insight into another side of Luyken’s readership. While during the eighteenth century Mennonite congregations would trust in Luyken to be befitting for young minds, and we have encountered examples of education and religious life given by Van der Meersch and Kouwenhoven, we have also those who believed Luyken was not fitting for youth, but misleading, and that only a certain type of religious identity would consume this literature. To this pious population adjectives such as childish, innocent, irrational, or mental conditions like madness qualify their estimation of Luyken’s readers. What is fundamental is that the authors perceive the book as capable of changing a person. It is not clear whether for these authors a denomination such as the Mennonites as a whole have been the butt of their descriptions,¹⁰⁰ but it is known that, in this period, religious groups such as the Mennonite movement were described as part of an ‘enthusiasm’,¹⁰¹ a concept that suggested a sensorial mode of religious living and behaving, according to which the individual emphasised what his or her divinely inspired emotions dictated with regard to their participation in society. This posed a threat to confessional structures. In short, the movement stressed the importance and authority of a life lived according to the directives and inspiration of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰²

With the evidence provided by Wolff, Deken and Hendrick we can argue that *Jesus en de ziel* was used to contribute to an individual religious experience in which the presence of God within the individual was fundamental and could not be necessarily described by words. And nonetheless words and images were part of such an experience. Coincidentally, the first heart-emblem we find in Luyken sets the stage for this idea (Fig.1): a contemplation of God

⁹⁸ Willem Hendrick, “Herinneringen uit mijne kinderjaren,” in *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen, of tijdschrift van kunsten en wetenschappen, waarin de boeken en schriften, die dagelijks in ons vaderland en elders uitkomen, oordeelkundig tevens en vrijmoedig verhandeld worden. Benevens mengelwerk, tot fraaije letteren, kunsten en wetenschappen, betrekkelijk. Tweede stuk.* (Amsterdam: Wed. R. Stemvers, 1849), 391: “an *Iliad* of mystical ideas and depictions would haunt me in my head and heart!”

⁹⁹ Hendrik, “Herinneringen,” 391: “capable “of driving the young brain to madness!””

¹⁰⁰ On the connections between pietism and Mennonites see: Astrid von Schlachta, “Anabaptists and Pietists: Influences, Contacts, and Relations,” in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660-1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Boston & Leiden: Brill, 2014), 116-138.

¹⁰¹ For the use of the word ‘enthusiasm’ and its connection to the Mennonites see: Fred van Lieburg, “Experiential Protestantism and Emotional Communities: A Case-Study of an Eighteenth-Century Ego-Document,” *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 129, no.2 (June 2014): 113-137.

¹⁰² Lieburg, “Experiential Protestantism,” 131-133.

through the spiritual eyes of the heart, through the true self, which while sleeping keeps watchful, and in which experience of the divine cannot be expressed in words. Luyken's emblems can be understood, then, as part of a worldview in which interaction with God implied an intense sensorial perspective of the divine.¹⁰³ The communication strategies devised in *Jesus en de ziel* come to be united with a religious perspective in which the condition of the emblems as tools for access to the experience of a notion of the divine merge with a more explicit bodily experience of it.

At the same time, what Luyken supplied to shape the experience of the divine is received in an environment in which the presence of God in the individual was expressed intensely. In the mid-eighteenth century, during the midst of a strong revival movement known as the *Nijkerkse beroeringen*,¹⁰⁴ emotional religious experiences were expressed by pious devotees intensely in speech, song, and bodily gesture. For participants in this movement, God's love was felt in the soul, physically in the body, and in the experience of the external world of nature; descriptions of a kind of religious lovesickness, redolent of the *Song of Songs*, were common in the movement.¹⁰⁵

An eye-witness account of events that occurred in Willemstad, Noord-Brabant between January 27th and 31st, 1757 provides an illustrative example of the environment in which a book such as *Jesus en de ziel* could have been present. Reprinted in a Reformed student almanack in 1968,¹⁰⁶ the account was written by a man who, together with his wife and daughter, used to receive pious people in their home.¹⁰⁷ During these gatherings intense religious experiences took place, especially for the man's wife. One Sunday she was not able to sleep, for there was an excess of divine love in her heart to the point that she could not bear it. Her body was exhausted, and she begged her divine beloved (Jesus) to grant her rest, since her heart could not take it any longer. It appears that her prayers were answered, for finally she started to be

¹⁰³ According to Arie Gelderblom, the most active users of these kind of books were mostly pious Protestants ranging from those from a variety of different confessional backgrounds to those without any denominational identity (Gelderblom, "Who were Jan Luyken's Readers," 501-502).

¹⁰⁴ On the *Nijkerkse beroeringen* see: Joke Spaans, ed., *Een golf van beroering: de omstreden religieuze opwekking in Nederland in het midden van de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001); Fred van Lieburg, "Interpreting the Dutch Great Awakening (1749-1755)," *Church History* 77, no.2 (June 2008): 318-323"; Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism".

¹⁰⁵ Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism," 125.

¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, the original has since been lost.

¹⁰⁷ Fred van Lieburg, "Een egodocument vol emoties. Gereformeerde vrouwen in Willemstad in 1757," in *Pietas reformata. Religieuze vernieuwing onder gereformeerden in de vroegmoderne tijd. Feestbundel voor prof.dr. W.J. op 't Hof bij zijn afscheid als bijzonder hoogleraar in de geschiedenis van het gereformeerd piëtisme vanwege de Hersteld Hervormde Kerk aan de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid van de VU te Amsterdam*, ed. Aza Goudrian, Jan van de Kamp & Wim van Vlastuin, 153-163 (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2015), 154.

able to fall asleep.¹⁰⁸ The near contemporaneous account records that moments before completely falling asleep she pronounced: “Ik sliep maar mijn harte waakte.”¹⁰⁹

Throughout this chapter I have discussed diverse processes of interaction with Luyken’s work based on a selection of diverse contemporary documentary, literary, and autobiographical evidence. The environments of which *Jesus en de ziel* and the heart-emblems specifically could have been part are, of course, manifold. We have attempted to show some elements of the complex entangled networks related to uses of an object meant to be manipulated by a person could come to hold in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic, in particular, an object designed to be read and looked on with religious intent. The available evidence to track what happened with the book gives the suitable environment for the book to work or achieve part of its purposes. The internal mechanisms provided in *Jesus en de ziel* through the book’s size, length, structure, design, texts, and images, became part of an ongoing configuration of the religious systems and lives of the individuals, belonging to a larger network of devotional and emblematic literature, and part of a religious market that demanded to consume such a book and its emblems in diverse terms. Conditioned by historical and personal circumstances both known and unknown to us, these visual-textual tools, in which the visual motif of the heart played an important role, shaped how individuals experienced and conceived of the divine, of themselves, and of their surroundings, by affording a particular material, textual and visual set of lenses.

What we have discovered, it must be acknowledged, are only fragments of the fabric of life of which *Jesus en de ziel* came to be part. Book sales catalogues revealed the ways in which the heart-emblems of *Jesus en de ziel* and other works by Luyken connected with other texts and images devised by the same maker through the same publishing house. In addition, the occurrence of multi-text bindings in which other books besides Luyken’s own are bound together indicates yet greater breadth in the possible individual choices regarding how to configure what the person wanted as part of her or his configuration of the divine and themselves.

¹⁰⁸ *Lustrumalmanak van het corpus studiosorum in Academia Campensi cui nomen est Fides Quaerit Intellectum* 1968. (Amsterdam: Jacob van Kampen, 1968), 29.

¹⁰⁹ *Lustrumalmanak*, 29: “I sleep but my heart watches.” See also: Lieburg, “Een egodocument,” 155.

Secondly, it is clear the heart-emblems did in fact become part of documentable educational practices in Mennonite congregations. The religious object in this way gets a specific user-group, since it is perceived by booksellers and the congregations alike as adequate for younger generations. The sources also afford insight into what kind of education preceded their owning of the book, and how it shaped their perception thereafter. The young Stijntje Baartens would integrate to her life as a Mennonite the language and images offered by Luyken, and by so doing, the divine and interaction with it could acquire a form conditioned in part by the book.

It is worth underlining that *Jesus en de ziel* was given at a moment when the recipient was neither baptised nor had experienced rebirth. This means that young readers were reading about an experience with God, a journey leading to unity, that they were yet to experience, or that they were, at most, only beginning. Luyken then could come to be an anticipation of presence, a set of proleptic textual and visual marks prepared and ingrained in the individual that would help her or him to recognize the experience of the divine when it would happen. In other words, Luyken's book could help them to visualise what was yet to come and to identify the divinity of such a future experience by having at the ready a legitimate textual and visual framing device by which to recognize it. The scene of the watchful heart, when the soul or person sleeps and yet experiences the divine through truthful eyes (**first heart emblem**, Fig.1), could perfectly be experienced by devotees such as the Mennonites. The acknowledgement of true divine beauty, residing in the heart, against worldly beauty (**second heart emblem**, Fig.2), could be part of how the devotee was about to experience her or his surroundings in moments of weakness against material beauty, remembering what is really important and transcendently beautiful within themselves. Finally, the acceptance of Jesus in the heart of the believer, and as the sole guardian and seal of divine beauty and of her or his truthful self (**third heart emblem**, Fig.3), could give security and confidence to the devotee. Whenever the temptation of the works of evil came near, believers would know that the divine treasure residing in their hearts was protected, and would continue to be safe provided that a faithful religious life was lived. These three scenarios could be mediated on, remembered, or reflected upon using *Jesus en de ziel* heart-emblems as an integral component of the individual's spiritual practice, or spiritual conception of life.

Finally, to learn from Luyken's *oeuvre* could mean to memorise its contents, especially the poems, to integrate them into one's language and to allow them to reconfigure the way in

which one communicates with one's environment. The acquisition of "Luyken's language" came with a visual configuration as well. Learning the poems implied consuming the images, or rather, remembering the images implied remembering and telling the poems. In this sense the emblem book expanded the network of vision and language the individual could use to be and behave in the world.

To consume Luyken's work implied an intention of change, and an actual change in how the individual behaved or was supposed to behave, and therefore how the individual might have been perceived. Thanks to Mietje we can catch a glimpse of part of the purpose of giving these books to children. The recitation of poetry to the others was a social practice that could help the child to be looked at, or perceived as a good child, with God at their side from a very early age. Now, if we unite how Mietje describes her cousins with Hendrick's account of when he was a child, the social legitimacy of Luyken as a good option for improving a child's religious identity was something more pertinent to a particularly pietistic (including Mennonite) side of society. The language and visuals employed by Luyken were consumed with less difficulty by religious individuals conditioned by a system of beliefs where the presence of the Holy Spirit as the guiding light to understand the world and the Word of God was fundamental.

The notion that this literature either was childish, misleading or irrational, capable of leading somebody to madness, is striking. For those who did not like Luyken's communication strategies, there was something in these books that was just not understandable, or simply wrong. On the other hand, this suggests that there was something that these more pious groups, including the Mennonites I would argue, were able to see and experience by consuming this kind of book-object, that nobody else could. The contents of *Jesus en de ziel* easily resonate with the condition of the human body as a vessel of divinity, as a tool of God. A person having these vivid experiences, or looking forward to having them, could find in *Jesus en de ziel* an object that gave access, or could easily enable, an experience of the divine. A tool that was capable of changing the individual - an enabling tool that, by supplying information textually and visually, could help the believer access that which cannot be expressed either through words or images.

Chapter 4: A description of the *cancel* at Atotonilco

Between 1759-1763, the Chapel of Bethlehem and the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre were added to the Sanctuary of Atotonilco. The construction of the sanctuary began in 1740 (Fig.36). The initial portion of land, purchased by Father Alfaro from Ignacio García, was increased over the years by other acquisitions and donations. The first phase took eight years to build, and it comprises the main church, dedicated to the image of the Nazarene. The subsequent stages of construction of the complex were directed by Alfaro. Both the Chapel of Bethlehem and of the Holy Sepulchre belong to a second phase of construction. Both chapels were united by a vestibule that would become the new and only path of entrance to the principal church of the sanctuary.¹ The *cancel*, our object of study, is located in the vestibule, serving as the entrance screen to the whole complex, preceded only by the main doors (Figs.4-5). The most likely date of the *cancel*'s creation is between 1759 and 1763, when the vestibule, which remains the *cancel*'s location to the present day, and the surrounding chapels were being built.

The *cancel* is a wooden structure composed of three large wooden panels that conceal the entrance to the sanctuary. Both lateral sides have one door each, and the central section has two doors in the centre which, unlike the lateral ones, have windows. The *cancel* operates, as it were, as a second, inner, set of doors, beyond the doors in the exterior walls (Fig.37). All four doors open inwards (Fig.38). The *cancel* has no ceiling, i.e., when one looks up, what one sees is part of one of the two vaults composing the vestibule. Upon entering through the *cancel*, the visitor can see in front of them the entrance to the main church, to their right the entrance to the Chapel of Bethlehem, and on their left the one to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. Above the vestibule there is a second level, which is a small room dedicated to the practice of the Spiritual Exercises, and is adjacent to the choir of the main church. From now on this room will be called the Room for Exercises.

The *cancel* is ornamented both internally and externally with paintings, executed in tempera on wooden panels framed by wooden rails and stiles.² The rails and stiles are also ornamented with floral motifs, and with texts such as names or titles; these texts will be treated in more detail later. The ornamentation follows the composition and style drawn up by Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro for the entire sanctuary, which is completely painted with visual and

¹ Santiago, *Atotonilco*, 93-95.

² The rails are the horizontal wooden planks, and the stiles are the vertical wooden planks.

textual religious motifs, both on the walls and on its vaults (Fig.39). The outside of the complex was also painted with religious themes (Fig.40).³ Today we find traces of painting still left on the outside walls, from which we can elucidate, for example, the monograms of Jesus and Mary (Fig.36). These paintings seem to have eroded over time.

It is most likely that the paintings on the *cancel* were all executed by Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre, the artist in charge of materialising the visual programme of the sanctuary. We know almost nothing about Pocasangre, other than that he was responsible for other few mural paintings in the Shrine of El Señor del Llanito (established in 1776), near Dolores Hidalgo, and in the chapel at one of the houses of the Count de la Canal, in San Miguel de Allende. We also have some of his paintings in the Churches of Nuestra Señora de la Salud, La Concepción, and in La Santa Escuela, all three in San Miguel de Allende.⁴

Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, on the other hand, had the reputation of being an extremely devout person, interested in teaching and helping the devotees to reach the nearness to God he professed.⁵ Alfaro was born in 1709 in Mexico City. At the age of twelve he entered, at the request of his parents, to the Real y Pontificio Seminario de México. In 1730 he applied to join the Oratorians of the town of San Miguel el Grande, today San Miguel de Allende, and in 1733 he was ordained deacon and elected deputy of the Congregation of Oratory of Saint Philip Neri.

³ In his hand-written *Recuerdos tiernos de las finezas de Jesus, y Maria. Poemas sagrados* (1768), preserved in a manuscript in Madrid (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss/3779), Manuel Antonio Valdéz y Munguía describes some of the paintings on the outside façade of the sanctuary: fol. 34r-34v “se vee de hermoso pincel el Divino Nazareno [...] Danle compañía a su Imagen en los correspondientes puestos Maria Santisima, San Juan, Dimas, y Magdalena, quedando como Custodios de la Casa ladeando dos Ventanas quatro Angeles peregrinos. Levantense en los lados, y el medio tres Cruces de Canteria, que forman un Calvario, y con esto, y toda la perspectiva de Cornisas, y Pilastras, en que á [34v] bien proporcionados hechos se colocan los atributos de la Passion en varias tarjas; y dos Imágenes de San Ignacio, y San Juan de la Cruz, que ladean la Puerta queda la Portada toda tan lucida, como adornada” [the Divine Nazarene, made by beautiful brush, is seen [...] Giving company to his Image in the corresponding positions Holy Mary, Saint John, Dismas, and Magdalene, remaining as Custodians of the House, four pilgrim Angels flanking two windows. // On the sides and in the middle there are three stone crosses, which form a Calvary, and with this, and the whole perspective of cornices and pilasters, in which the attributes of the Passion, made with good proportions, are placed in several panels; and two images of Saint Ignatius and Saint John of the Cross flank the doorway, the whole façade is as beautiful as it is adorned.]

⁴ Santiago, *Atotonilco*, 129. Unfortunately, there is no authoritative text on Pocasangre. Mostly he is mentioned in connection to Atotonilco. In his *La Pintura mural*, José Mercadillo managed to identify the artist in connection to the murals. See: José Mercadillo, *La Pintura mural del Santuario de Atotonilco* (México: Editorial Jus, 1950).

⁵ On Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, see: José Bravo, *Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro: vida, escritos, fundaciones, favores divinos* (México: Jus, 1966); Clementina Díaz, “La poesía del Padre Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 4, no.15 (1947): 51-101; José María de Jesús Díez de Sollano, *Centésimo aniversario del venerable siervo de Dios P. Luis Felipe N. de Alfaro celebrado en el Santuario de Jesús de Atotonilco, de que fue su fundador insigne* (León: Tipografía de José María Menzón, 1876); Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra, “Elogio fúnebre escrito por Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra, 1776. Documento 21,” in *Apéndice documental: Atotonilco, Alfaro y Pocasangre*, ed. José de Santiago Silva (Guanajuato: Ediciones la Rana, 2004), 47-55.

That same year he was elected prefect of the sacristy and ordained priest. As a member of the Congregation, he was in charge of completing the construction of the Chapel de la Salud, also known as the Oratorio Parvo, located between the cloister of the oratory and the college of the Oratorians in San Miguel el Grande. He was also chaplain of the Santa Casa de Loreto and, in 1738, he founded the Santa Escuela de la Virgen de Loreto, both places located in San Miguel. In 1740, he began the construction of the Sanctuary of Atotonilco, to which he would dedicate all his time, officiating at most of the religious services, starting and leading the practice of Spiritual Exercises in the second half of the century, and promoting the devotion of the Stations of the Cross.⁶ Alfaro died in Atotonilco in 1776.⁷

Over the years, the *cancel*, like the sanctuary as a whole, has undergone a number of important modifications. The structure of the *cancel* has suffered considerable damage, with the result that several of the images that were part of the original design have been lost, either because the painting was literally lost, or because it was completely erased. Now we have in many cases practically empty panels. In addition, there have been significant artistic interventions in the surviving pictorial works of the sanctuary, both on the building's interior and exterior walls, and on the *cancel*. Many interventions seem to derive from transformations undertaken in the nineteenth century; unfortunately, we do not know very well the motives behind these alterations; we must rely upon the material evidence of the intervention alone, as detailed documentary accounts of the transformations do not survive.

As we shall see, the major intervention on the *cancel* was on the lower section, i.e., on the paintings of the lower part of the structure, both on its exterior and on its interior. We know only the name of two artists who worked on these interventions, Pedro Ramirez and José María Barajas.⁸ Besides these fleeting references, we do not know who else may have worked on the structure. By means of stylistic analysis, and aided by the work of Reyes Escalera, we can distinguish different hands that worked on the *cancel*.⁹ Furthermore, the same stylistic analysis allows us to see which works retain the compositional and stylistic basis of Pocasangre's original work. In our analysis of the section of the images based on the emblems of the *Schola cordis*, I will make it clear which images by Pocasangre's hand are preserved, and which have been severely altered. It goes without saying that this intervention modified not only the lower

⁶ On the Stations of the Cross in the sanctuary, see: Pérez, "The *Via Crucis*."

⁷ Santiago, *Atotonilco*, 83-117.

⁸ Escalera, "*Schola Cordis*," 15.

⁹ Escalera, "*Schola Cordis*."

section of the external side of the *cancel* but, more importantly for our purposes, the original programme and visual order of the section based on the emblem book.

On the basis of structural analysis of the *cancel*, it is possible to make three important general observations:¹⁰

First: at some point, the lateral panels of the *cancel* were partially trimmed. We know this because where the *cancel* meets the wall of the sanctuary there are poorly executed cuts in the wooden structure, which reveal the existence of at least one more vertical line of panels, rails, and stiles; that is perhaps one more line of images both on the inside and on the outside. This is the case on both left and right sides.

Second: for some reason, part or the whole of the *cancel* was at some time disassembled and then reassembled. The manner in which the structure was reassembled led to certain pieces no longer fitting together and other pieces being cut off. This entailed that in some panels the representations are only partially complete, in their mutilated state. This occurs mainly in the panels framing the central doors of the *cancel*, and in the panels I have described, following Santiago, as possible landscapes,¹¹ which, as we shall see, form a horizontal line running across the structure. The consequences of these rather violent alterations can be detected, for instance, in one of the landscapes, in which is depicted kind of a tower that now appears on its side, since the panel has been rearranged horizontally to fit the available space (Fig.41). This fragment was most likely part of another image that is no longer in our possession. On the other hand, on one of the panels next to the doors, a section of illegible text can be seen, that breaks off on the left side, where it adjoins the door. Finally, further evidence of these somewhat clumsy alterations can be seen in the rails, where the names of the figures do not fit exactly in the space, and are aligned just below or above the figure, as is the case in most of the compositions of the structure.

Third: the *cancel* originally had either no windows or, as it would be, much smaller windows than what it has now. As it will be explained below, where there are now windows, a

¹⁰ The observations that follow have benefited greatly from conversations with UNAM PhD candidate Ana Maria Pimentel. I am indebted to Ms. Pimentel's generous assistance, especially her classification of elements in her research which helped me to cross-check my own classification, and to determine what differences we had, and why. Her description of the structure, to be published in her PhD dissertation, titled "Todo horror o toda gloria: la mística jesuita en la emblemática del ingreso del Santuario de Jesús Nazareno en Atotonilco, Gto.; ultimo tercio del s. XVIII", is fundamental for the description in the following pages.

¹¹ Santiago, *Atotonilco*, 151.

part of it originally had more panels of paintings. This can be determined because, on the inside of the *cancel*, two of the window wooden rails contain four texts that come from emblems of the *Schola cordis*, which fit precisely with the programme and order assigned by Alfaro and Pocasangre to the images based on the emblem book (Fig.42). This discrepancy will be treated at greater length below. For now, it is important to note Alfaro and Pocasangre's original conception and execution of the central doors are totally different from the doors as they are preserved today, both in their interior and exterior. Furthermore, it is very likely that the modification, that is, the disassembly and reassembly of these doors, and their alteration so that they now had windows or much bigger windows, is linked to the moment when the *cancel* as a whole was disassembled, and to the moment when, due to some compositional complication that is yet to be determined, panels had to be trimmed, so that everything would fit in place once again.

It is possible that all three moments, namely the trimming of the lateral structures, the reassembly and trimming of the panels, and the insertion of windows, happened at the same time. What is clear is that the current appreciation of the *cancel*, and of its programme, is necessarily incomplete. This does not mean that the visual programmes cannot be described at all, but rather urges caution in our interpretation: there is some information that we simply do not have, and that could very well change some of the meaning attributed to the programme that does survive. It is my contention that, with what we currently have, it is nonetheless possible to describe the visual sets contained in the structure in a cohesive way, and that the missing elements would not create major problems for such a description, but rather enrich it.

In this chapter I will make a description of each of the visual programmes of the *cancel*. Next, I will focus on the programme based on the *Schola cordis* and the correspondences with the emblem book. Finally, I describe with more detail those panels from the *Schola cordis* (from now on, when it is necessary, EC-panels) that are in the best conditions, in terms of the preservation of the original work made by Pocasangre.

Let us now proceed to the description of the visual programmes contained in the *cancel*. The programmes can be divided into four registers: the upper and lower registers on the exterior of the *cancel*, and the upper and lower registers on the interior of the *cancel* (Figs.43-44). The registers treat the following subjects:

1. Virtues, Gifts, and Religious Figures,

2. Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History),
3. Various Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart,
4. Programme based on the *Escuela del Corazon (Schola cordis)*.¹²

While the last register is the most important for the present study, it is necessary, in accordance with the methodology I am employing, to describe the object in its entirety, just as we undertook when describing Luyken's *Jesus en de Ziel*, since it is in the object as a whole and taken together with the other images presented in that object, that the visual motif of the heart affords interaction. As we will see in the last chapter of this study, the differences in the ways in which the case studies are described say a lot about the material conditions of the object that allow us to speak of interaction and possibilities of religious experience.

1. First register: Virtues, Gifts and Religious Figures. Top section of the exterior side of the *cancel*.

The programme of the upper register is composed of theological, cardinal and capital virtues,¹³ representations of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit,¹⁴ and saints (Figs.45-46). These last figures are mostly the so-called Desert Fathers.¹⁵ Above each of the panels, on the rails, we have a name or *titulus* that identifies each figure. Similarly, each panel depicting the Virtues and Gifts is accompanied by a smaller panel, which indicates an aspect of that virtue. The title states what the accompanying image is about: “de la ‘x’” (About ‘x’ virtue/Gift) (Fig.47). The images on these small side panels are frequently based on the emblems of the emblem book *Empresas Espirituales y Morales*, by Juan Francisco de Villava, published in 1613 (Fig.48). In the identification below, I indicate in a footnote which emblem the image in the *cancel* is linked to. The images of the virtues follow, more or less, the known iconography of the virtues. The images of the Gifts are scenes referring to that gift.

¹² The reference to the Spanish title will be explained in the description of this specific register.

¹³ Faith, Hope and Charity are the theological virtues. Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance are the Cardinal virtues. The capital virtues are Chastity, Temperance, Charity, Diligence, Kindness, Patience and Humility.

¹⁴ The Gifts are: Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety, and Fear of the Lord. On the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. See: Bonaventure, *Collations on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* (New York: Franciscan Institute Publication, 2008); José Antonio Aldama, “La distinción entre las virtudes y los dones del Espíritu Santo,” *Gregorianum* 16, no.4 (1935): 562-576.

¹⁵ On the Desert Fathers, see: John Wortley, *An Introduction to the Desert Fathers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2019).

As for the religious figures, most of them have the word *abad* before their names, indicating that the figure was an abbot desert father (*abba*). All the characters are male. Their clothing or habits do not allow us to determine who the character is: they are mostly generic reddish and brownish garments (Fig.49). Neither are there recognisable or distinguishable attributes that would allow us to identify them. The figures are depicted in various postures, but most commonly in some form of prayer, either kneeling or prostrate on the ground with their faces turned toward heaven, and outstretched hands, or with an open book in their hands. The settings of the scenes usually represent a natural, open-air space. This means that, in order to identify who each figure is intended to be represented, we are constrained to rely on the names or *tituli* that appear on the rails. Even with the benefit of the *titulus*, a number of the figures remain difficult to identify. This is in part because many saints have the same name and it is difficult to determine which saint is intended here, and in part, because in a few instances, it has not been possible to identify the saint to which the *titulus* refers. In ambiguous instances, given that most of the figures are Desert Fathers, my identification of the figures cleaves more closely to this tradition.

The exact reasons behind the choosing of the Desert Fathers by Alfaro remain unknown. His selection could have been inspired by the visual tradition of the Thebaid, an iconographic theme that appeared in Tuscany in the late thirteenth century. The theme showed diverse scenes recounting the experiences of the Egyptian anchorites, set in desert landscapes.¹⁶ Most probably Alfaro saw in these figures exemplary models for a devoted, ascetic life to God. In addition, the deserts features of the terrain of Atotonilco in which the sanctuary was made could have aided to such selection. A possible textual source used by Alfaro, or one derived from it, for the Desert Fathers, could have been the *Vitae patrum*, published in Antwerp in 1615, and compiled by the Jesuit Heribert Rosweyde (1569-1629). For the identification of the Desert Fathers, I will use the alphabetic edition done by Benedicta Ward on the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, and the *Vitae Patrum*.¹⁷

¹⁶ On the iconography of the Thebaid, see: Christine Unruh, "Charismatic Desert Saints. Charisms as Signifiers of the 'Other' in Thebaid Cycles of the Italian Tre- and Quattrocento," in *Transcultural Imaginations of the Sacred*, ed. Margit Kern & Klaus Krüger (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2019), 141-163.

¹⁷ For the *Vitae Patrum* I use the online translation of the 1628 edition provided by Benedict Baker: *Vitae Patrum*, Translation online provided by Benedict Baker of: Heribert Rosweyde, editor. *Vitae Patrum: de vita et verbis seniorum libri x*. Antwerp: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1628: accessed on September 22, 2022: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/>. References to book and chapter are given in Arabic numerals.

In the following set of tables, I have assigned numbers to each of the panels within each of the registers, from left to right. As we will see, registers two and four are arranged in such a way that they must be read from left to right. In this first register, each panel is first identified by a number, the name as it appears in the *titulus* on the *cancel*, followed by my own identification in English (in parentheses). I provide the mottos as well written in red in the small panels next to the Virtue and Gift images, which are based on Villava's *Empresas Espirituales*.

It is important to underline that the following identifications are only tentative for, at this stage, it is not possible to corroborate the identification. For this reason, a system of symbols has been employed to indicate the degree of certitude with which an identification is made. When the name that appears on the *cancel* titulus has an obelus before and after, this indicates the text is corrupt or that there is uncertainty in the transcription. The word "titulus" indicates that it is clear that something was written, it is now illegible either because it has been erased or it is greatly degraded. In some cases, I suggest a reconstruction within parentheses. When the word "motto" is given this indicates that there was originally a motto based on Villava, but that is illegible in its current state. Finally, as noted above, I have preferred to label a number of panels "possible landscape", most of which are, today, empty. A question mark here indicates that what they were meant to represent remains unclear.

Left (Fig.50)

No. of Panel	Figure (identification), motto (when applicable)
1	<i>Prudencia</i> (Prudence).
2	Titulus (On Prudence?), ¹⁸ motto.
3	<i>El Abad Apolo</i> (Apollo). ¹⁹
4	Titulus (A virtue? a gift?) ²⁰
5	De la † Parqzta †, ²¹ motto.

¹⁸ It refers to the emblem "Del Prudente" from: Juan Francisco de Villava, *Empresas espirituales y morales, en que se finge, que diferentes supuestos las traen al modo estrangero, representando el pensamiento, en que mas pueden señalarse: assi en virtud, como en vicio, de manera que pueden servir a la christiana piedad* (Baeza: Fernando Díaz de Montoya, 1613), 51v.

¹⁹ He seems to appear again in the internal side of the cancel, but now adoring the Sacred Heart. Benedicta Ward, *Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (Kalamazoo & Oxford: Cistercian Publication & A.R. Mowbray, 1984), 36-37; *Vitae Patrum* 8.52: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page116.html>.

²⁰ This panel is partially trimmed.

²¹ Most probably it has to do with panel 4, following the order and composition of the program. It does not seem to be connected to Villava's program.

6	<i>El Abad Leonicio</i> (Leontius of Cilicia). ²²
7	Titulus (A virtue? a gift?).
8	Possible landscape?
9	Possible landscape?
10	<i>Don de Sabiduria</i> (Gift of Wisdom).
11	Titulus (Unidentified male saints). ²³
12	<i>De la Sabiduria</i> (On Wisdom), ²⁴ motto.

Table 2. Identification of panels. Left side. Top section of the exterior side of the *cancel*:
Virtues, Gifts and Religious Figures.

Centre (Fig.51)

No. of Panel	Figure (identification), motto (when applicable)
13	<i>Justicia</i> (Justice).
14	Titulus (Unidentified male saint). ²⁵
15	<i>De la Fee</i> . (About Faith), motto: <i>Fortius vt pugnem</i> . ²⁶
16	Titulus (On Justice?), motto: <i>Seruabo incolumes</i> . ²⁷
17	<i>El Abad Cosme</i> (Cosmas the eunuch). ²⁸
18	<i>Fee</i> (Faith).
19	Titulus (Unidentified male saint).
20	<i>S. Antonio</i> (Anthony the Great). ²⁹
21	Titulus (Hope?).
22	Titulus (On Hope?), motto: <i>sic humore vitebo</i> . ³⁰
23	<i>S. Lorencio</i> (Saint Lawrence of Rome?).
24	<i>S. Be</i> . ³¹
25	Titulus (On Fortitude?), motto: <i>Nec si super irruat Aeter</i> . ³²
26	Titulus (Fortitude?).

²² *Vitae Patrum* 10.61: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page145.html>.

²³ It is an image with three saints in it.

²⁴ It could be based on the emblem “Del Predicador”, from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 73v.

²⁵ On the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* there are several Theodoros and one Timothy. See: Ward, *The Sayings*, 73-80, 237. See also, *Vitae Patrum* 10.45: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page144.html>.

²⁶ Based on the emblem “Del Fiel”, from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 45v.

²⁷ Based on the emblem “Del Juez”, from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 55v.

²⁸ *Vitae Patrum* 10.40: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page144.html>.

²⁹ Ward, *The Sayings*, 1-8; *Vitae Patrum* 1: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page5.html>. This is one of the four Anthonys that appear in the *cancel*. Three of them have no more description than their first names. The other is Anthony of Padua. This means that the three are, at least at the moment, interchangeable.

³⁰ Based on the emblem “Del Confiado”, from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 47v.

³¹ Given that the titulus does not use Abad, it is possible it does not refer to one of the desert fathers. However, there is an Abba Be in the *Vitae Patrum* 8.49: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page116.html>.

³² Based on the emblem “Del Fuerte”, from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 53v.

27	<i>El Abad Aimones</i> (Abba Ammonas?). ³³
28	Titulus (On Chastity?), motto: <i>Fecundior ore</i> . ³⁴
29	<i>El Abad Elias</i> (Abba Elias). ³⁵
30	<i>El Abad Pitirion</i> (Abba Pithyrion). ³⁶
31	<i>Castidad</i> (Chastity).
32	<i>El Abad Ysidoro</i> (Abba Isidore?). ³⁷
33	<i>El Abad Macario</i> (Abba Macarius the Great). ³⁸
34	<i>El Abad Pafuncio</i> (Abba Paphnutius). ³⁹
35	<i>El Abad Alexandrino</i> (Abba Alexander?). ⁴⁰
36	<i>Paciencia</i> (Patience).
37	<i>De la Paciencia</i> (About Patience), motto: <i>Pugnare necesse est</i> . ⁴¹
38	<i>El Abad Gerasismo</i> (Abba Gerasimus?). ⁴²
39	<i>El Abad Matheo de la Fuente</i> (Abbot Mateo de la Fuente). ⁴³
40	<i>El Abad Sabas</i> (Abba Saba). ⁴⁴
41	Possible landscape?
42	Possible landscape?
43	<i>Don de Te</i> [*] ⁴⁵ (Gift Fear of the Lord?).
44	<i>El Gran Pa</i> [*]. ⁴⁶
45	Titulus (On the gift Fear of the Lord?), motto.
46	<i>S. Benito</i> ⁴⁷ (St Benedict of Nursia?). ⁴⁸
47	Titulus (On the gift of Knowledge?).
48	<i>Don de Ciencia</i> (Gift of Knowledge).

Table 3. Identification of panels. Centre. Top section of the exterior side of the *cancel*:
Virtues, Gifts and Religious Figures.

³³ Ward, *The Sayings*, 25-28.

³⁴ Based on the emblem “Del Virgen”, from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 59v.

³⁵ Ward, *The Sayings*, 70-72; *Vitae Patrum* 8.35: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page113.html>.

³⁶ Ward, *The Sayings*, 200; *Vitae Patrum* 2.13: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page60.html>.

³⁷ In *The Sayings*, there are two Isidore, Isidore the Priest and Isidore of Pelusia (Ward, *The Sayings*, 96-99). In the *Vitae Patrum* there is an Abba Isidore (*Vitae Patrum* 8.71: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page119.html>.)

³⁸ Ward, *The Sayings*, 124-138; *Vitae Patrum* 8.19: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page109.html>.

³⁹ Ward, *The Sayings*, 202-204, *Vitae Patrum* 2.16: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page61.html>.

⁴⁰ In the *Sayings* there is mention of an Abba Alexander (Ward, *The Sayings*, 12).

⁴¹ Based on the emblem “Del mortificado”, from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 93v.

⁴² Ascetic monk, abbot and saint of the fifth century AD.

⁴³ Priest and disciple of John of Avila from the sixteenth century. Hermit and founder of the Monastery of Tardón of the Order of St Basil. On Mateo de la Fuente, see: Juan de Avila, *Obras del venerable maestro Juan de Ávila, clérigo, apóstol de la Andalucía. Tomo octavo* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1806), 260-275.

⁴⁴ Ward, *The Sayings*, 72. *Vitae Patrum* 9.2: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page127.html>.

⁴⁵ This symbol indicates erasure where there were letters.

⁴⁶ This panel is partially trimmed.

⁴⁷ The titulus is also partially trimmed, and unfortunately the painting does not exist anymore.

⁴⁸ In the internal side of the *cancel* there is another Benito, but it is unknown if it is referring to the same or to other.

Right (Fig.52)

No. of Panel	Figure (identification), motto (when applicable)
49	<i>De la templanza</i> (On temperance). ⁴⁹
50	<i>El Abad Amon</i> (Abba Ammon?). ⁵⁰
51	<i>Templanza</i> (Temperance).
52	Titulus (Diligence).
53	<i>De la Diligencia</i> (On Diligence). Motto: <i>Nae dissipet Auster</i> . ⁵¹
54	Titulus (Unidentified male saint)
55	<i>De la Ch [*]?</i> (On Charity?). ⁵²
56	Possible landscape?
57	Possible landscape?
58	<i>S. Nicolas</i> . ⁵³
59	<i>Del Consejo</i> (On Counsel). ⁵⁴
60	<i>Don de Consejo</i> (Gift of Counsel).

Table 4. Identification of panels. Right side. Top section of the exterior side of the *cancel*:
Virtues, Gifts and Religious Figures.

2. Second Register: Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History). Bottom section of the external side of the *cancel*.

This register is composed of images depicting various scenes from the life of Jesus, or linked in some way to the life of Jesus (Fig.53), which are mostly derived from the Gospels connected to a particular feast in the liturgical calendar, according to the *Missale Romanum*. On the top rail of each image is written the scene it represents, preceded by a number, starting from “1.” on the left side of the *cancel*. From what we have left of the register, it seems these numbers were in consecutive order, and it would seem that in their original conception, the

⁴⁹ Based on the emblem “Del Templado”, from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 57v. Most probably it contained the text *Sola hec virga potest* in the ribbon behind the cross, that is the one the emblem has as its *motto*.

⁵⁰ There is an Amoun of Nitria, see: Ward, *The Sayings*, 31-32. In the *Vitae Patrum* there are numerous Ammon.

⁵¹ Based on the emblem “Del Modesto” from Villava, *Empresas espirituales*, 81v.

⁵² It is also partially trimmed.

⁵³ It is unclear to which Saint Nicholas it could be referring. A peculiarity is that the panel shows three male saints. There is another Saint Nicholas on the internal side of the *cancel*, which I have decided to identify with Nicholas of Myra, since it is called “S. Nicolas Obispo”.

⁵⁴ It looks like Mercury, and it has no correlation to Villava’s *Empresas espirituales*.

scenes could be read more or less from left to right, up to the last panel at the bottom of the door on the right-hand side. Unfortunately, very possibly due to the intervention mentioned in previous paragraphs, the numbering has lost its logic, and there are now numbers that are repeated. In addition, many of the numbers and titles of the scenes are no longer fully retrievable, since the inscription on the rail is completely or partially erased. The same is true of the images: many of the paintings on the panels are completely or partially erased.

In the lower part of each image is painted a medallion containing a text. Here we read the feast of the liturgical year to which the biblical scene the image represents is linked. Many of the texts contained in these medallions have been lost, or form part of the panels that are completely or partially empty. The following tables identifying each of the panels in the register are arranged as follows: first is given the image number; next, the number as given in the *cancel*; third, the biblical event as written in the panel; fourth the liturgical occasion as identified in the medallion, and the identification of the gospel to which it is making reference to. To identify the gospel and crosscheck the liturgical occasion, I will make use of the *Missale Romanum*.⁵⁵ When one of the elements to be identified is not known, a title indicating what is supposed to be represented will be given. If the biblical event or liturgical occasion can be inferred from the elements at hand, I will put it in brackets.

Left (Fig.50)

No. of Panel	No. in the <i>cancel</i>	Biblical event (Translation)	Liturgical occasion (Translation)	Gospel
61	1.	<i>El Juicio.</i> (Last Judgment)	<i>Dom. I. de Adviento.</i> (First Sunday of Advent).	Luke 21: 25-33
62	2.	<i>Los Sacerdotes preguntan à S. Juan si es el Mesias.</i> (The Priests ask John the Baptist if he is the Messiah)	<i>Dom. III. De Adviento.</i> (Third Sunday of Advent).	John 1: 19-28

⁵⁵ References are to the 1570 *editio princeps* of the *Missale Romanum*, which was in use with minor principally calendrical alterations in secular communities in the Viceroyalty in the period. The edition has been reproduced in facsimile in: *Missale Romanum. Editio princeps* (1570), ed. Manlio Sodi & Achille Maria Triacca, *Collectio Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini* 2 (Citta del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012). A digital reproduction of a Venice printing of the 1570 *Missale Romanum* is consultable here: https://books.google.nl/books?id=adC-aRGza70C&redir_esc=y

63	3.	[John the Baptist in Prison] ⁵⁶	<i>Dom. II de Adviento.</i> (Second Sunday of Advent).	Matthew 11:2-10
64	4.	<i>La Anunciacion.</i> (The Annunciation)	<i>Fer. IV. De Temporas.</i> (Ember Wednesday in Advent).	Luke 1: 26-38
65	7.	<i>S. Juan Bautisando. Dom. III. De Adviento.</i> (John baptising)	<i>Dom. III. De Adviento.</i> (Fourth Sunday of Advent).	Luke 3: 1-6
66	8.	<i>Los Zelos de S.S. José.</i> (The Jealousy of Joseph)	<i>Vip de Navidad.</i> (Christmas Vigil).	Matthew 1: 18-21
67	25.	<i>Exortacion al projimo.</i> (Exhortation to the neighbour)	<i>Fer. IV de Ceniza.</i> (Ash Wednesday).	Matthew 6: 16-21
68	26.	<i>Hijo del Centurión.</i> (The son of the centurion).	<i>Fer. V. de Ceniza.</i> (Thursday after Ash Wednesday).	Matthew 8: 5-13
69	Number	<i>El Hijo Prodigio</i> (The Prodigal Son).	[Saturday after Second Sunday of Lent]	Luke 15: 11-32
70	Number	<i>Arroja al demonio</i> (Throw the Demon).	[Third Sunday in Lent] ⁵⁷	Luke 11: 14-28

Table 5. Identification of panels. Left side. Bottom section of the exterior side of the *cancel*: Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History).

Centre (Fig.51)

No. of Panel	No. in the <i>cancel</i>	Biblical event (Translation)	Liturgical occasion (Translation)	Gospel
71	5.	[Mary visits Elizabeth]	[Ember Friday in Advent] ⁵⁸	Luke 1: 39-47

⁵⁶ According to the 1570 *Missale Romanum*, the gospel appointed for the Second Sunday of Advent is Matthew 11: 2-10, in which John the Baptist is in prison and hears about the Messiah. The image shows what could be a prison and a figure outside of it, which could be one of John's disciples.

⁵⁷ Given that it is next to the Prodigal Son and due to the reference to the demon, the logical liturgical occasion would be Third Sunday in Lent, for which the appointed mass gospel is Luke 11: 14-28, which recounts the moment Jesus casts out a demon.

⁵⁸ The image, though in a poor condition, seems to present a female figure in blue and red robes, which we could identify as Mary. Considering it is numbered with the number 5, and that to its left, at the left side of the *cancel*, we have panel 64, which is numbered with the number 4, we could think this image to be showing Ember Friday in Advent, to which the corresponding gospel is Luke 1: 39-47, in which is told the moment Mary visits Elizabeth.

72	6.	[Proclamation of John the Baptist]	[Ember Saturday in Advent] ⁵⁹	Luke 3: 1-6
73	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
74	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
75	15.	Biblical Event? ⁶⁰	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
76	†16†	† Presentación de Jesús en el templo † ⁶¹ (Presentation of Jesus at the Temple).	[Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary]	Luke 11: 14-28
77	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
78	Number	<i>Huida a Egipto</i> (Flight into Egypt).	[Feast of the Holy Innocents]	Matthew 2: 13-18
79	Number	[Adoracion de los Reyes Magos y los Pastores] ⁶² (Adoration of the Magi and Shepherds).	[Epiphany of the Lord]	Matthew 2: 1-12
80	Number	<i>Degollacion de los Niños</i> (Beheading of children). ⁶³	[Feast of the Holy Innocents]	Matthew 2: 13-18
81	†15 or 45†	<i>Jesus disputando con los Doctores</i> (Christ among the Doctors).	[First Sunday after Epiphany]	Luke 2: 42-52
82	†16 or 46†	<i>S. Juan [*] Cordero</i> (John [*] Lamb).	[Octave of Epiphany?] ⁶⁴	John 1: 29-34.
83	Number	[*] <i>aguas</i> ([*] Waters).	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
84	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion ⁶⁵	Gospel
85	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
86	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
87	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
88	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
89	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
90	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
91	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
92	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
93	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel

⁵⁹ Following the same logic as the preceding panel, and given that the image in the panel appears to show a male saint that we could identify as John the Baptist, this could be Ember Saturday in Advent, to which the corresponding gospel is Luke 3:1-6, in which is told the proclamation of John the Baptist.

⁶⁰ The image is almost entirely eroded

⁶¹ The image is almost entirely eroded.

⁶² There is no legible title for the biblical event, but the image is clear enough to identify it as such.

⁶³ Most probably the Slaughter of the Innocents.

⁶⁴ This is considering the words we still have from the panel: St John and the Lamb. It is possible that it refers to when John the Baptist declares “Here is the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world!” John 1: 29. This biblical event corresponds to the gospel appointed for the mass on the Octave of Epiphany.

⁶⁵ From panel 84 to panel 98, the registers of number, event and liturgical event are completely erased. The paintings also do not survive.

94	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
95	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
96	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
97	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
98	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel

Table 6. Identification of panels. Centre. Bottom section of the exterior side of the *cancel*:
Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History).

Right (Fig.52)

No. of Panel	No. in the <i>cancel</i>	Biblical event (Translation)	Liturgical occasion (Translation)	Gospel
99	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
100	Number	[Cutting off Malchus ear]	Liturgical occasion? ⁶⁶	Gospel
101	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
102	Number	<i>Jesus manda a los vientos</i> (Jesus calming the storm).	<i>Dom. IV</i> [[]] (Fourth Sunday after Epiphany)	Matthew 8: 23-27
103	17.	<i>Bodas de Cana.</i> (Wedding at Cana).	<i>Dom. II. De Epif.</i> (Second Sunday after Epiphany).	John 2: 1-11
104	18.	<i>Leproso Curado.</i> (Jesus Cleanses a Leper).	<i>Dom. III. De Epif.</i> (Third Sunday after Epiphany).	Matthew 8: 1-13
105	Number	<i>El Rico y Lázaro.</i> (The rich man and Lazarus).	<i>Fer V. de la II de Cuar.</i> (Thursday after Second Sunday in Lent).	Luke 16: 19-31
106	36.	<i>El Heredero de la V</i> [*]. (The heir of the [vineyard]).	<i>Fer. VI de la II de Cuar.</i> (Friday after Second Sunday in Lent).	Matthew 21: 33-46
107	Number	Biblical Event	Liturgical occasion	Gospel
108	Number	<i>Conversion de la Magdalena</i> (Conversion of Mary Magdalene)	[Thursday after Passion Sunday] ⁶⁷	Luke 7: 36-50.

Table 7. Identification of panels. Right side. Bottom section of the exterior side of the *cancel*:
Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History).

⁶⁶ This event is not exactly part of the liturgical year.

⁶⁷ The painting probably refers to the sinful woman who anointed Christ's feet. If that is the case then the relevant liturgical occasion would be Thursday after Passion Sunday, to which the appointed gospel is Luke 7: 36-50.

3. Third register: Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart. Top section of the internal side of the *cancel*.

The third register is composed of important characters of the Catholic doctrine (Fig.5). Each of the figures is accompanied by the Sacred Heart of Jesus.⁶⁸ Here we have both male and female saints, among them several mystics. All are depicted adoring or praying in contemplation before the Heart in various postures. The figures are in robes or religious habits, usually black, although some are coloured white, reddish, and brownish. The white garments might say a little more about the figure, but this is still insufficient. Most of the settings represent a natural landscape, but a few are interiors. As we saw in the first register, the depiction of the figures provides very few identifying clues, so we have to rely once again on the names in the *tituli* on the bottom rails of each image. The abbreviations accompanying each name do however identify them as abbots (“Ab.”), saints (“S.”), and venerable fathers (“V.P.”). There seems to have also been text in the top rails of the top images, but unfortunately these *tituli* are currently illegible. For the identification of these figures, I will use David Farmer’s *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*,⁶⁹ and the online tool *Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico*, provided by the Real Academia de la Historia.⁷⁰

The Sacred Heart of Jesus is depicted in three ways. On the sides of the *cancel*, we find the representation closest to the typical iconography of the devotion, with the cross inserted into the top of the Sacred Heart, which is surrounded by the crown of thorns (Fig.54).⁷¹ In these cases, the heart is shown floating in mid-air. In the central section, there are two variations on this iconography, the main one being the Sacred Heart depicted with the cross to one side (Fig.55); and a secondary variation employed only for two figures, Claude la Colombière

⁶⁸ On the Sacred Heart of Jesus and its presence on the Viceroyalty of New Spain, see: Lauren G. Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ or Unholy Idol?*

⁶⁹ David Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), accessed September 22, 2022: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607>

⁷⁰ Real Academia de la Historia, *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*, accessed September 22, 2002: <https://dbe.rah.es/>.

⁷¹ On the iconography of the Sacred Heart, see: Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*.

(1641-1682)⁷² and Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (1647-1690),⁷³ in which we see the full figure of Christ who appears before both devotees, pointing to his heart on his chest (Fig.56).⁷⁴

As in the first register, the identification of the panels is indicated as follows:

first the number of the panel I have assigned, next a transcription of the titulus appearing on the *cancel*; and third, in parentheses my own identification in English.

Left (Fig.57)

No. of Panel	Figure (identification).
109	Unidentified saint. ⁷⁵
110	Unidentified saint. ⁷⁶
111	Unidentified saint. ⁷⁷
112	<i>Ab. Ioanna.</i> ⁷⁸
113	<i>Ab. Esteban</i> (Abbot Stephen Harding?). ⁷⁹
114	<i>Ab. Doroteo</i> (Dorotheus of Gaza?). ⁸⁰

⁷² Claude de la Colombière was the Jesuit confessor of Marguerite-Marie Alacoque. On La Colombière, see: William P. O'Brien, "Claude La Colombière (1641-82), Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (1647-90), and the Devotion to the Sacred Heart," in *A Companion to Jesuit Mysticism*, ed. Robert A. Markys (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2017), 166-192.

⁷³ Marguerite-Marie Alacoque was a Visitationist nun, who had visions of Jesus offering his Sacred Heart to her, with which the modern devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus began. On Alacoque, see: Morgan, *The Sacred Heart*; O'Brien, "Claude La Colombière."

⁷⁴ This representation is usually connected to the iconography popularised by the work of the artist Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787). The first Sacred Heart of Jesus made by Batoni having this type of depiction dates to 1767, and is located at the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome. On the other hand, the iconography of the Heart being shown by Jesus on his chest instead of showing it on his hand became popular in the nineteenth century; we know of no examples of the use of this iconography during the eighteenth century. We established in the beginning of the chapter that the *cancel* was likely made around 1759-1763, given that it was around that time the vestibule and the two chapels were made. We have, then, a discrepancy between the approximate date of the *cancel* and the later development of Batoni's Sacred Heart. As we will see in Chapter 6, we can be sure the (or a) *cancel* was made not after 1766, since Alfaro mentions it in his description of the Sanctuary. For the present research, then, we retain the approximate date of the *cancel* established in the beginning, supposing that this variation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was added to the structure at some later date. For Batoni and subsequent visual developments of the Sacred Heart, see: Morgan, *The Sacred Heart*.

⁷⁵ The only photographic source I have been able to access is of insufficient quality to identify the figure. These panels are too high to be seen clearly from below. Unfortunately, the administration of the Sanctuary of Atotonilco offers very limited access to some of the spaces of the complex, for which sometimes I could only rely on the photographic sources at my disposal. In this sense I thank Ana Maria Pimentel for all the photographic material she shared with me.

⁷⁶ The photographic source is illegible.

⁷⁷ The photographic source is illegible.

⁷⁸ I have not been able to identify this figure. The panel is partially trimmed.

⁷⁹ David Farmer, "Stephen Harding," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-1480>.

⁸⁰ Considering it is the Dorotheus we know was an abbot.

115	<i>S. Matilde</i> (Matilda of Ringelheim? Mechtilde of Hackeborn?)
116	Possible landscape?
117	Possible landscape?
118	<i>S. Buenaventura</i> (Bonaventure).
119	<i>El V.P. Juan La [*] ercio</i> . ⁸¹
120	<i>El V.P. Diego Albares</i> (Diego Álvarez de Paz). ⁸²
121	Unidentified male saint. ⁸³
122	<i>El V.P. Francisco Suares</i> . (Francisco Suarez). ⁸⁴
123	<i>S. Francisco de Sales</i> (Francis de Sales).
124	<i>S. Cayetano</i> (Saint Cajetan).

Table 8. Identification of panels. Left side. Top section of the interior side of the *cancel*:
Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart.

Centre (Fig. 58)

No. of Panel	Figure (identification)
125	<i>Ab. Pambo</i> (Abba Pambo). ⁸⁵
126	<i>Ab. Pablo</i> . ⁸⁶
127	<i>Ab. Theodoro</i> . ⁸⁷
128	<i>Ab. †Panunin†</i> (Poemen?). ⁸⁸
129	<i>Ab. Arcebio</i> . ⁸⁹
130	<i>V.P. Claudio Columbiero</i> (Claude la Colombière).
131	<i>Santa Maria Magdalena</i> (Mary Magdalene).
132	<i>Santa Maria Egipciaca</i> (Mary of Egypt). ⁹⁰
133	<i>V. Margarita de Alacoq</i> (Marguerite-Marie Alacoque).
134	Unidentified Saint.

⁸¹ I have not been able to identify this figure.

⁸² Javier Burreza, "Diego Álvarez de Paz," in Real Academia de la Historia, *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/19431/diego-alvarez-de-paz>.

⁸³ This panel does not show any titulus. It might have been lost due to the interventions done to the *cancel*, discussed before.

⁸⁴ Sergio Rábade, "Francisco Suárez," in Real Academia de la Historia, *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/8415/francisco-suarez>.

⁸⁵ Ward, *The Sayings*, 195-198; *Vitae Patrum* 8.10: <http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk/page108.html>.

⁸⁶ There are numerous desert fathers identified as Paul. In Ward, *The Sayings*, there are at least four.

⁸⁷ There are numerous desert fathers identified as Theodore. In Ward, *The Sayings*, there are at least four.

⁸⁸ Ward, *The Sayings*, 163-195.

⁸⁹ I have not been able to identify this figure.

⁹⁰ David Farmer, "Mary of Egypt," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-1113>.

On Mary of Egypt and Mary Magdalene and the Viceroyalty of New Spain, see: Ana Laura Torres, "Pecado, recogimiento y conversión: un proyecto contra la prostitución femenina en la Ciudad de México del siglo XVII," *Boletín Monumentos Históricos* 3, no.29 (December 2013): 52-71.

135	<i>Ab. Ysac.</i> ⁹¹
136	<i>Ab. Antonio.</i> ⁹²
137	<i>Ab. Apolo.</i> ⁹³
138	<i>S. Stanilao (Stanisław Kostka).</i> ⁹⁴
139	<i>Ab. Pambo.</i> ⁹⁵
140	<i>Ab. Sereno (Abba Serinus).</i> ⁹⁶
141	<i>Ab. Antonio.</i>
142	<i>Ab. Abraham (Abba Abraham).</i> ⁹⁷
143	<i>S. Ygnacio de Loyola (St Ignatius of Loyola).</i>
144	<i>Ab. Musia.</i> ⁹⁸
145	<i>Ab. †Nestero†</i> ⁹⁹
146	<i>Ab. Pinusio.</i> ¹⁰⁰
147	<i>Ab. Pemones.</i> ¹⁰¹
148	<i>S. Philipe Neri (Philip Neri).</i>
149	<i>Ab. Isidoro.</i> ¹⁰²
150	<i>Ab. Piterio.</i> ¹⁰³
151	<i>Ab Moises (Abba Moses).</i> ¹⁰⁴
152	<i>Ab. Olimpio (Abba Olympius).</i> ¹⁰⁵
153	Possible landscape?
154	Possible landscape?
155	Empty. ¹⁰⁶
156	Text. ¹⁰⁷

⁹¹ There are two Isaacs listed in Ward, *The Sayings*: Isaac, priest of the Cells (99-101) and Isaac the Theban (109).

⁹² As noted above which Anthony is depicted remains unclear. It could be Anthony the Great again.

⁹³ As with Anthony, there is an ambiguity in the identification of Abba Apollo, since there is another Apollo in the first register, mentioned above.

⁹⁴ On St Stanislaus Kostka and his presence in viceregal painting, see: Alia Cordero, “La Virgen de Guadalupe y los santos de la Compañía: una pintura de José Padilla,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 33, no.99 (2011): 253-271.

⁹⁵ As it is with Anthony and Apollo, Pambo is one of the ambiguous identifications of the *cancel*. If these panels were intended to refer to different figures by the same name, these figures have not been identified.

⁹⁶ Ward, *The Sayings*, 228.

⁹⁷ Ward, *The Sayings*, 33-34.

⁹⁸ I have not been able to identify this figure.

⁹⁹ There are two Nisterus mentioned in Ward, *The Sayings*: Abba Nisterus (154-155) and Nisterus the Cenobite (155-156).

¹⁰⁰ I have not been able to identify this figure.

¹⁰¹ I have not been able to identify this figure.

¹⁰² The identification of Isidore is another of the ambiguities of the *cancel*. We do not know exactly to which Isidore they were referring to. Different from the preceding label, Isidore is here written not with a “Y” but with an “I”.

¹⁰³ This would seem to be Pythirion again, another repetition within the *cancel*.

¹⁰⁴ Ward, *The Sayings*, 138-143.

¹⁰⁵ Ward, *The Sayings*, 160-161.

¹⁰⁶ It could have been text but now the contents of the panel are completely erased. In terms of composition, the presence of text is what would be logical, being the counterpart of panel 156.

¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, it is partially trimmed and incomplete, which renders it illegible.

157	Unidentified female Saint. ¹⁰⁸
158	Unidentified female Saint. ¹⁰⁹

Table 9. Identification of panels. Centre. Top section of the interior side of the *cancel*:
Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart.

Right (Fig.59)

No. of Panel	Figure (identification)
159	<i>Ab.</i> ¹¹⁰
160	Unidentified Saint.
161	<i>S. Diego.</i> ¹¹¹
162	<i>S. Teresa</i> (Teresa of Ávila). ¹¹²
163	<i>Ab. Apele.</i> ¹¹³
164	<i>Ab. Juan</i> (Abba John?). ¹¹⁴
165	<i>Ab. Salemon.</i> ¹¹⁵
166	Possible landscape?
167	Possible landscape?
168	<i>S. Juan de la Cruz</i> (John of the Cross). ¹¹⁶
169	<i>S. Pedro Nolasco</i> (Peter Nolasco).
170	<i>S. Antonio de Padua</i> (Anthony of Padua).
171	<i>S. Benito Abad.</i> ¹¹⁷
172	<i>S. Ma del Reyno de Portugal</i> (Mafalda of Portugal?). ¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁸ There is no titulus to identify who the saint would be. Instead follows the Latin text that belongs to the emblem below.

¹⁰⁹ It could be Saint Rose of Lima.

¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, the photographic source I have does not let me identify it.

¹¹¹ I have not been able to identify this figure.

¹¹² On St Teresa and the Viceroyalty of New Spain, see: Manuel Ramos, "Santa Teresa en la Nueva España: apuntes para el estudio de una devoción," in *De la historia económica a la historia social y cultural. Homenaje a Gisela von Wobeser*, ed. María del Pilar Martínez (Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2015), 263-276; Asunción Lavrin, "Santa Teresa en los conventos de monjas de Nueva España," *Hispania Sacra* 67, no.136 (2015): 505-529.

¹¹³ I have not been able to identify this figure.

¹¹⁴ In Ward, *The Sayings*, there are eight monks identified as John.

¹¹⁵ The panel is partially trimmed, but the figure appears to be a female saint. I have not been able to identify this figure.

¹¹⁶ On John of the Cross and the Viceroyalty of New Spain, see: Jessica Ramírez, "El capital visual de la fiesta. Promoción carmelitana a partir de los festejos de canonización de Fray Juan de la Cruz, 1729," in *Expresiones y estrategias: La iglesia en el orden social novohispánico*, ed. María del Pilar Martínez & Francisco Javier Cervantes (Ciudad de México & Puebla: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México & Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2017), 81-112.

¹¹⁷ It is another ambiguity, since it could be again Saint Benedict of Nursia, as it was identified in the external side of the *cancel*.

¹¹⁸ David Farmer, "Mafalda of Portugal," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-1052>.

173	<i>S. Nicolas Obispo</i> (Nicholas of Myra).
174	Unidentified male saint. ¹¹⁹

Table 10. Identification of panels. Right side. Top section of the interior side of the *cancel*:
Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart.

4. Fourth register: Programme based on the *Escuela del corazon* (*Schola cordis*). Bottom section of the internal side of the *cancel*.

The fourth register was originally composed of images based on the emblems of the *Schola cordis*, and therefore constitutes the focus of the present study. Not all the emblems from Haeften's work were used, but a selection was made, most probably by Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro alone or in consultation with Pocasangre. The paintings and texts are not exact copies of the images in the emblems, but interpretations elaborated by the artist. The images are arranged in a specific order, starting with the upper left panel of the door on the left side of the *cancel*, and ending with the lower right panel of the door on the right side. As we have noted, several interventions that altered both the structure and the order the *cancel*, the inclusion of windows and the pictorial interventions, have changed the programme.

According to Reyes Escalera, Pocasangre used both the Latin version of the *Schola cordis* and the Spanish version (*Escuela del corazon*).¹²⁰ From the former he drew part of the *subscriptio* of the image, which is either a biblical verse or a religious phrase in Latin. Further, Pocasangre apparently based the images on those made by Boetius a. Bolswert, the original engraver for Haeften's book. From the Spanish version of the text, Escalera continues, the artist drew the small poem, the *redondilla*,¹²¹ that accompanies the lessons that belong to each emblem, and the title of the emblem. The *redondilla* in *Escuela del corazon* is, actually, a loose translation of the epigram in the *subscriptio* of the emblem. As we shall see, while Pocasangre and Alfaro based their texts on the *redondilla*, they did not copy it exactly, and even changed the meaning of the text in some instances.

¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, the image is incomplete since it was partially trimmed.

¹²⁰ Escalera, "*Schola Cordis*," 16-17. On the diverse editions and translations that came from the *Schola cordis*, see the Introduction.

¹²¹ A poem of four verses.

Despite Escalera's proposal, it is not clear why Pocasangre would need both editions, since the *Escuela del corazon* alone contained all that he needed to do his panels. With respect to the images, it is difficult to know which set of engravings was the direct source of inspiration for Pocasangre, firstly because of the poor state of preservation of the paintings, but also because it can be seen from the outset that Pocasangre did not follow his visual references exactly but adapted them to his own creative purposes. It makes no difference if the source was the Latin or the Spanish version. As for the texts, it is most likely that Pocasangre used only the Spanish version, since the same also contains the texts in Latin, and more importantly, the typography used in that version is closer to the typography used in the *cancel*, as opposed to the typography of the Latin version. In other words, even if it was possible Pocasangre used more than one edition or translation of the *Schola cordis*, his work could have easily derived just from the Spanish edition. Unfortunately, it is impossible for us to know which edition, or editions Pocasangre and Alfaro used or had as reference, since no evidence of a personal copy of the emblem book identified as clearly belonging to Alfaro survives (much less evidence of a copy used by Pocasangre). For practical purposes I will therefore refer to the emblem book as the *Escuela del corazon*, since this emblem book contains all the information necessary to paint the panels.

The upper rail of each panel provides a Latin text, drawn from the *subscriptio* of the corresponding emblem in the *Escuela del corazon*. In the following tables, for space reasons, and because the *redondillas* are but loose translations of the texts, I do not include the Latin texts. Instead, the Latin texts are provided in the more detailed description of Pocasangre's EC-panels that follows. Within the painting is an oval medallion in which the title of the image is written, followed by the small poem (*redondilla*). The title is written in red, and certain key words within the poem are also written in red. In addition, in some images Pocasangre put the number of the emblem, sometimes in accordance with the emblem used from the *Escuela del corazon*. The reason behind the difference in numbers is not yet clear.

In the following tables I indicate: the number assigned to the panel, the title of the image, the text in the medallion, the number of emblem if it is visible within the panel, the number of the corresponding emblem in the *Escuela del corazon* and, finally, whether the work by Pocasangre is still visible in the panel, or whether it was heavily reworked from the nineteenth century onwards. If there is no title for the image, I reconstruct it on the basis of the corresponding title from *Escuela del corazon* in square brackets. If the text in the medallion

contains some illegible words, I insert the corresponding words from the *Escuela del corazon* in square brackets.¹²²

Left (Fig.57)

No. of Panel	Title (translation)	Text in Medallion	No. Emblem in panel	No. Emblem in EC	Pocasangre or Nineteenth century onwards intervention
175	<i>Vanidad del Corazon</i> (Vanity of the Heart)	<i>Fuelle la ambicion inchada, // al Corazon [viento]¹²³ inspira, // y nada es quanto Respira // sino viento, sombra, y nada.</i>	Number	2	Pocasangre
176	<i>Pesades del Corazon</i> (Heaviness of the Heart)	<i>Tanto abate la alma al suelo // [la comida] demasiada // que con carga tan pesada // no puede [mirar al cielo.]¹²⁴</i>	Number	3	Pocasangre
177	[Dureza del corazon] ¹²⁵ (Hardness of the Heart)	Text	Number	5	Nineteenth
178	[Division del corazon] ¹²⁶ (Division of the Heart)	Text	Number	6	Nineteenth

¹²² The edition I will use to do the identification and complement either the titles or texts is: Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791) (Tomes I & II). It seems there were no substantial changes with previous editions regarding the text and the emblems.

¹²³ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 98.

¹²⁴ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 106.

¹²⁵ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 124.

¹²⁶ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 132.

179	[Vuelta al corazon] ¹²⁷ (Turn of the Heart)	Text	Number	8	Nineteenth
180	[Derramamiento del corazon] ¹²⁸ (Outpouring of the Heart) ¹²⁹	Text	Number	9	Nineteenth

Table 11. Identification of panels. Left side. Bottom section of the interior side of the cancel:

Fourth register: Programme based on the *Escuela del corazon* (*Schola cordis*). Bottom section of the internal side of the *cancel*.

Centre (Fig.58)

No. of Panel	Title (Translation)	Text in Medallion	No. Emblem in panel	No. Emblem in EC	Pocasangre or Nineteenth century onwards intervention
181	<i>Circumcision del Corazon</i> (Circumcision of the Heart)	<i>Dale a Dios tu corazón // después de Circuncidado: // pues los que cuchillo han dado // Cruz, clavo, y lansa, son.</i>	Number	10	Pocasangre
182	<i>Emolición del Corazon</i> (Emolition of the Heart)	<i>Mi corazon marmol fiero // en cera veras bolver, // si le llegare a encender // tu fuego de amor Dios mio</i>	13	13	Pocasangre
183	<i>Purificación del Corazon</i> (Purification of the Heart)	<i>Lava esposa penitente // esse corazon manchado // pues te ofrezco mi costado // [una cristalina fuente.]¹³⁰</i>	Number	14	Pocasangre

¹²⁷ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 151.

¹²⁸ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 163.

¹²⁹ The image barely resembles the emblem.

¹³⁰ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 206.

184	<i>Entrega del Corazon</i> (Giving of the Heart)	<i>O norte de mi aficion // cuyos rigores meresco // [recibe] el que yo te ofresco // y dame tu Corazon</i>	Number	15	Pocasangre
185	<i>Nivel del Corazon</i> (Level of the Heart)	<i>Si deseas alma fiel, // tu corazon nivelar // al mio lo has de ajustar, // que es el mas recto nivel</i>	Number	20	Pocasangre
186	<i>Renovacion del Corazon</i> (Renovation of the Heart)	<i>Dexa el viejo corazon // que con novedades vive: // y este Nuevo hija, recibe // que te ofrece, mi afición.</i>	Number	21	Pocasangre
187	[Ilustracion del corazon] ¹³¹ (Illustration of the Heart)	Text	Number	22	Pocasangre
188	[Escritura del corazon] ¹³² (Writing of the Heart)	Text	Number	23	Pocasangre
189	[Aradura del] ¹³³ <i>Corazon</i> (Ploughing of the Heart)	[Rompa] <i>la cruz, el [erio] // de [este mi] corazon v[ano, // y de tu] palabra el grano // [en el] Siembra, [esposo mio.]</i> ¹³⁴	Number	24	Pocasangre
190	[Siembra del corazon] ¹³⁵ (Sowing of the Heart)	<i>Tiempo es, que [siembres tu grano // en el] campo de [mi pecho: // no que]de, esposo, el [barbecho // valdío, esteril] y vano.]</i> ¹³⁶	Number	25	Pocasangre

¹³¹ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 18.

¹³² Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 30.

¹³³ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 40.

¹³⁴ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 40.

¹³⁵ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 50.

¹³⁶ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 50.

191	[Riego del corazon] ¹³⁷ (Irrigations of the Heart)	<i>Mi corazon un ve[rgel] // florid[o] s[erá, y vistoso, // si su rocío] piadoso / el cielo destila [en él.]</i> ¹³⁸	Number	26	Pocasangre
192	<i>Flores del Corazon</i> (Flowers of the Heart)	<i>Estas flores que el desvelo // de tus suelos cultivo // te consagro esposo, y yo // le añado el patrio suelo.</i>	27	27	Pocasangre
193	<i>Custodia del Corazon</i> (Custody of the Heart)	<i>Tan guardado esta, [que] nada // est[e jardin] ya [recela] // pues vibra [su]</i> ¹³⁹ <i>Centinela // de el temor de Dios la espada.</i>	Number	28	Pocasangre
194	[Escudo del] ¹⁴⁰ <i>Corazon</i> (Shield of the Heart)	[Con tu escudo à la fatiga] // <i>de defensor [mio atiende; // pues el amor que te enciende, // á tal empeño te]</i> ¹⁴¹ <i>obliga.</i>	29	29	Pocasangre
195	[Escala del corazon] ¹⁴² (Stairs of the Heart)	Text	Number	30	Nineteenth
196	[Ensanche del corazon] ¹⁴³ (Widening of the Heart)	<i>Como velo su Carrera // Un corazon Delatado // Pues [*]</i> ¹⁴⁴	Number	31	Nineteenth
197	[Morada del corazon] ¹⁴⁵ (Abode of the Heart)	<i>De la [tu espíritu] morada // Mi [corazón] has</i>	Number	32	Nineteenth

¹³⁷ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 57.

¹³⁸ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 57.

¹³⁹ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 71.

¹⁴⁰ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 79.

¹⁴¹ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 79.

¹⁴² Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 87.

¹⁴³ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 95.

¹⁴⁴ The title has been completely eliminated, already starting with text in the medallion. The text completely deviates from the *Escuela del Corazon*, and I have not found the possible source for it.

¹⁴⁵ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 106.

		<i>esposo; Pa[ra que en lazo] amoroso // [te ame]¹⁴⁶ como soy amada.</i>			
198	[Selladura del corazon] ¹⁴⁷ (Sealing of the Heart)	<i>De [tu] pecho plano [bella // el Eterno Padre labra, // para escribir la palabra, // que el Amor divino sella.]¹⁴⁸</i>	Number	33	Nineteenth
199	[Llagadura del corazon] ¹⁴⁹ (Wounding of the Heart)	Text	Number	34	Nineteenth
200	[Incendio del corazon] ¹⁵⁰ (Fire in the Heart)	Text	Number	35	Nineteenth
201	[Desvelo del corazon] ¹⁵¹ (Staying awake of the Heart)	Text	Number	36	Nineteenth
202	[Vuelo del corazon] ¹⁵² (Flight of the Heart)	Text	Number	37	Nineteenth
203	[Reposo del corazon] ¹⁵³ (Resting of the Heart)	Text	Number	39	Nineteenth
204	[El sudor de la Sangre, baño del corazon] ¹⁵⁴ (The sweat of the blood, bath of the Heart) ¹⁵⁵	Text	Number	40	Nineteenth

¹⁴⁶ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 106.

¹⁴⁷ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 116.

¹⁴⁸ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 116.

¹⁴⁹ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 129.

¹⁵⁰ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 141.

¹⁵¹ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 151.

¹⁵² Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 160.

¹⁵³ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 175.

¹⁵⁴ Haefte, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 196.

¹⁵⁵ The image barely resembles the emblem.

205	Title ¹⁵⁶	Text	Number	Number	Nineteenth
206	Title	Text	Number	Number	Nineteenth
207	Title	Text	Number	Number	Nineteenth
208	Title	Text	Number	Number	Nineteenth
209	Title	Text	Number	Number	Nineteenth
210	[El rostro de Christo bordado en el corazon] ¹⁵⁷ (The Face of Christ Embroidered in the Heart) ¹⁵⁸	Text	Number	45	Nineteenth

Table 12. Identification of panels. Centre. Bottom section of the interior side of the cancel:
Fourth register: Programme based on the *Escuela del corazon* (*Schola cordis*). Bottom section of the internal side of the *cancel*.

The images of panels 205 to 209 bear no relationship, visually speaking, to the emblems in the book. While Escalera proposed that these images correspond to emblems 41 to 44, the visual connection is not at all clear.¹⁵⁹ If the artist was drawing on a visual source for these images, it remains unidentified. It should also be noted that these are images that have received the heaviest intervention.

Probably these panels were based on the *Escuela del corazon* as well, but there seems to have been a problem of consistency in the reconstruction of the *cancel*, which resulted in the disruption of the order of the panels and their correspondences. As it can be seen in Table 12, panel 204 corresponds to emblem 40 of the *Escuela del corazon*, and panel 210 corresponds to emblem 45. This means that between the panels, Pocasangre would have had only four emblems to use but five panels to paint. In other words, there would be an extra panel that has nothing to do with the *Escuela del corazon*, added to the whole programme. My hypothesis regarding this ambiguity is that there could have been a mistake in the intervention, where a

¹⁵⁶ According to Reyes Escalera, this image would be *Los cordeles de Cristo, ligadura del Corazon* [The cords of Christ, bind of the Heart], based on emblem 41 of *Escuela del Corazon* (Escalera, “*Schola cordis*, 25). But the image has no link whatsoever to the emblem. It looks more like emblem 7 from *Escuela del corazon: Insaciabilidad del Corazon* [Insatiability of the Heart].

¹⁵⁷ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 222.

¹⁵⁸ The image barely resembles the emblem.

¹⁵⁹ Escalera, “*Schola Cordis*,” 23-26.

panel based on an emblem prior to emblem 40, as it could be, for example, emblem 38 (which is not in the *cancel*), was eliminated (or lost), and this shifted the order and number of the panels and their corresponding emblems, putting an extra one between panels 204 and 210.

Also, as noted above, there are traces of text in the central rails of the windows (Fig.42). The rail on the right is upside down, which means the text is upside down, evidently the result of the faulty reassembly of the *cancel* at a certain point. The texts are the Latin texts to what would be the panels based on emblems 16, 17, 18, and 19 of the *Escuela del corazon*. In other words, what is now a part of the windows of the central doors, were originally also panels corresponding to the *Escuela del corazon*, and correspondingly, on the other side of the *cancel*, to the Liturgical and biblical programme. All of this implies that either originally there were no windows, and more panel paintings unknown to us were part of the *cancel* (including the emblems just mentioned), or that the windows were smaller than they are now.

Right (Fig.59)

No. of Panel	Title (Translation)	Text in Medallion	No. Emblem in panel	No. Emblem in EC	Pocasangre or Nineteenth century onwards intervention
211	[El corazon copa de Christo sediento] ¹⁶⁰ (The Heart, cup of Christ thirsty)	<i>No gustes la [amarga hiel]¹⁶¹ // del leve infiel judío // bebe esposa el amor mio // y sacia la sed Corazon</i>	42	46	Pocasangre
212	<i>Comtrincion del Corazon con el clavo del temor</i> (Contrition of the Heart with the nail of the fear of God)	<i>Pues con tres clavos señor // clavado fuiste por mi // el corazon clave a ti // el clavo de tu temor.</i>	45	47	Pocasangre

¹⁶⁰ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 227.

¹⁶¹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 227.

213	[Plantío de la Cruz en el corazon] ¹⁶² (Planting of the cross in the Heart)	Text	Number	49	Nineteenth
214	[Dedicacion del corazon, con el título de la santa Cruz] ¹⁶³ (Dedication of the Heart, with the title of the Holy Cross)	Text	Number	50	Nineteenth
215	[Mosto del corazon destilado del lagar de la Cruz] ¹⁶⁴ (Must from the heart distilled from the winepress of the Cross)	Text	Number	52	Nineteenth
216	[Refugio del corazon en la llaga del Costado] ¹⁶⁵ (Refuge of the Heart in the wound of the Side)	Text	Number	53	Nineteenth

Table 13. Identification of panels. Right side. Bottom section of the interior side of the cancel: Fourth register: Programme based on the *Escuela del corazon* (*Schola cordis*).

Bottom section of the internal side of the *cancel*.

5. Correspondences with the books of the *Escuela del corazon*

As it was mentioned in the Introduction to the thesis, the *Schola cordis* is composed of four parts, called books: Books 2, 3 and 4 all contain emblems. Pocasangre used emblems from throughout the work, and he ordered them within the structure following the consecutive order of the emblem book. In the following table, I indicate from which section of the *Escuela del corazon* the EC Panel took the image from.

¹⁶² Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 248.

¹⁶³ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 254.

¹⁶⁴ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 266.

¹⁶⁵ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 274.

Book from <i>Escuela del Corazon</i> (translation)	Class from Book	Corresponding No. of Panel(s)	Corresponding No. of emblem from <i>Escuela del Corazon</i>	Side of the cancel
Book II: <i>Conversion y dirección del corazon averso</i> (Conversion and direction of the adverse heart)	First class: <i>Desvio del corazon</i> (The heart's deviation)	175-178	2-3, 5-6	Left door ¹⁶⁶
	Second class: <i>Vuelta y limpia del corazon</i> (Turn and cleansing of the heart)	179-180 181-183	8-9 10, 13-14	
	Third class: <i>Oblacion y examen del corazon</i> (Oblation and examination of the heart)	184-185	15, 20	Central structure
Book III: <i>Beneficios que Dios hace al corazon humano</i> (Benefits that God brings to the human heart).	Fourth class: <i>Alumbramiento del Corazon, y aprovechamiento espiritual</i> (Enlightenment of the heart and spiritual progress)	186-196	21-31	
	Fifth class: <i>Perfeccion del corazon, y union con Christo.</i> (Perfection of the heart and union with Christ)	197-203	32-37, 39	
Book IV: <i>Exercicios del corazon en la Pasion de Christo</i> (Exercises of the	Sixth class: <i>Viage del corazon con Christo paciente</i> (pilgrimage of the heart with Christ patient)	204, ¹⁶⁷ 210	40, 45	Right Door
		211-212	46-47	

¹⁶⁶ This is looking at the *cancel* from the vestibule where it is located, i.e., the internal side of the *cancel*.

¹⁶⁷ As noted above, in the original conception panels 205 to 209 probably also represented emblems. They would have also belonged to the sixth class of the *Escuela del corazon*.

heart in Christ's Passion).	Seventh class: <i>Conformacion del corazon con la cruz, y crucificado</i> (Conformation of the heart to the cross, and crucified)	213-216	49-50, 52-53	
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Table 14. Correspondences between Books, Classes and emblems from *Escuela del corazon*, and the EC-panels.

6. Description of the EC-panels preserving Pocasangre's original conception

Let us proceed, finally, to describe briefly the panels based on the *Escuela del corazon*. I will only describe the panels in the best state of preservation, that have been able to be identified as closest to the original hand of Pocasangre, and therefore reliably most closely reflect the original conception of the *cancel*. These panels are panel numbers 175-176, 181-194, and 211-212.¹⁶⁸ In the following descriptions, the order will be as follows: first, the Latin text in the top rail of each panel will be given;¹⁶⁹ second, the description of the image; and third, the name of the emblem and the contents of the *redondilla*. As above, if part of a text is erased or difficult to read, I supply the relevant section of the *Escuela del corazon* in square brackets. Any substantial changes in the *redondillas* or titles of the panels that change the meaning or sense of the sentence or phrase are indicated.

¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately, it is not possible to focus only on the panels corresponding to the heart-emblems used also in *Jesus en de ziel*. These images are among those that were severely altered during the nineteenth-century interventions. For this reason, we cannot be confident that their present form reflects the original eighteenth-century design. Panel 201 uses, for example, Emblem 26 from the *Escuela del corazon*, which draws on the same emblem used for Emblem XIV of *Jesus en de ziel*. In the image's altered state, which reflects a very naïve aesthetic, the eye has disappeared from the heart. Panel 198 uses Emblem 33 from the *Escuela del corazon*, which corresponds to Emblem XXXVII of *Jesus en de ziel*. The panel presents the eucharistic Host within the heart instead of the name of Jesus, as it can be seen in *Jesus en de ziel* and the *Escuela del corazon*. Because this image shows signs of having been heavily reworked, it is unclear however, whether the Eucharistic reference in the EC-panel is original.

¹⁶⁹ This, as we noted above, is the *subscriptio* that can be found in the engravings of the corresponding emblems of the *Escuela del corazon*.

Panel 175: Vanidad del Corazon (Fig.6)

Panel 175 corresponds to the second emblem of the *Escuela de corazon: Cordis vanitas* (Fig.60). On the top rail we read: *Ambitio follis, vento [distendit] honorum // COR vanum, hinc spirat nil, nisi grande NIHIL.*¹⁷⁰ Below is presented the image. In what seems to be a natural landscape, a male child with wings points with his left hand to a heart and what is happening to it. The natural landscape will be consistently treated in the rest of the EC-panels. The child's right hand rests on his chest. He is wearing red and green tunics, the red one on top of the green one, and red boots (*borceguíes*). In the middle of the scene, we can see a demon with bellows, in what appears to be the act of blowing air towards the heart. The heart is sustained by a female child with her right hand. She seems to be wearing a yellowish and red garment, and a red scarf. With her left hand she appears to be pointing upwards. From an aperture in the top of the heart several elements are being expelled, among which can be distinguished a musical instrument. The image represents *Amor divinus* (the male child) and *Anima* (the female child) who behold a number of worldly objects related to vanity, and therefore to the demon, that come from within the heart. In an oval medallion is written in red the title: *Vanidad del Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*: *Fuelle la ambición inchada, // al Corazon [viento]*¹⁷¹ *inspira, // y nada es quanto **Respira***¹⁷² *// sino viento, sombra, y nada.*¹⁷³

Panel 176: Pesades del Corazon (Fig.61)

Panel 176 corresponds to the third emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis aggravatio* (Fig.62). On the top rail we read: *Crapula et [ebrietas, solidi]¹⁷⁴ duo pondera [plumbi]¹⁷⁵ // Nata polo sursum tendere, CORDA [vetant].¹⁷⁶* The image shows a table in the middle, and *Anima* is seated in a chair on the left side of it. *Amor divinus* is standing at the right side of the table. The heart is on the table, below what seems to be a kind of tea stand, with a receptacle on top of it. A demon is floating just above the table, grabbing the receptacle with his left hand, and offering one cup to *Anima*, who is actually outstretching her left arm to it.

¹⁷⁰ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), page facing 98.

¹⁷¹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 98.

¹⁷² The use of bold typeface stands for the words that are written in colour red in the panel.

¹⁷³ "Puffed-up ambition bellows // to the heart the wind inspires, // and what it breathes is nothing // but wind, shadow, and nothing."

¹⁷⁴ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), page facing 106.

¹⁷⁵ The rail is partially trimmed, and the word *plumbi* has been lost.

¹⁷⁶ As with *plumbi*, *vetant* has been lost.

Meanwhile, *Amor divinus* looks at *Anima* and points with his left hand upwards. *Anima* seems to still be wearing her yellowish garment but not her scarf, and *Amor divinus* maintains his previous tunics. The image represents the worldly desires, such as food and drink, which oppress the heart. These are temptations offered by the devil to *Anima*. In the oval medallion is written in red the title: *Pesades del Corazon*. There follows the *Redondilla*: *Tanto abate la alma al suelo // [la comida] demasiada // que con carga tan pesada // no puede [mirar al cielo.]*¹⁷⁷

Panel 181: Circumcision del Corazon (Fig.63)

Panel 181 corresponds to the tenth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis circumcisio* (Fig.64). Unfortunately, the Latin text in the top rail is now completely illegible. According to the *Escuela del corazon*, the text of the top rail can be reconstructed as: “*Crux capulum, chalybem cultro dat lancea, clavi // Ferrum, hoc COR circumcide Deoque Sacra*”.¹⁷⁸ The image shows *Amor divinus* on the left, standing and holding a knife in his left hand. He seems to be pointing at the knife with his right hand. *Anima* is on the right, also standing, and extending her right hand to *Amor*. On her left hand she is holding, aloft, the heart, to which is tied a number of elements that, due to the poor conditions of the painting, are not possible to identify. The corresponding emblem in the *Escuela del Corazon* shows, hanging from the heart, what seems to be a pouch (of money), a violin and a portrait.¹⁷⁹ Both figures maintain their previous garments, except for *Anima*'s scarf. The image displays the moment *Amor divinus* wants to cut off all the things the heart has tied up around it, which represent worldly elements. In the oval medallion is written in red the title: *Circumcision del Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*: *Dale a Dios tu corazón // después de **Circuncidado**: // pues los que cuchillo han dado // Cruz, clavo, y lansa, son.*¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Haefen, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 106. “So much does food bring the soul down to the ground, that with such a heavy burden, it cannot look up to heaven.”

¹⁷⁸ Haefen, *Escuela del corazon* (I), page facing 170.

¹⁷⁹ The engraving also shows the bust of a buffoon coming out of the heart. We do not know if this bust could have been in the painting.

¹⁸⁰ “Give your heart to God // after it has been circumcised: // for the things which made the cut, // are the cross, the nail, and the spear.”

Panel 182: Emolicion del Corazon (Fig.65)

Panel 182 corresponds to the thirteenth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis emollitio* (Fig.66). Unfortunately, the Latin text in the top rail is now completely illegible. Reconstructed according to the *Escuela del corazon*, the top rail should read: “Cor, marmor glaciale, Deus, ceu cera, liquescet. // Vrere cum tuus hoc ceperit ignis amor.”¹⁸¹ The image shows *Amor divinus* in the left, pointing to his chest with his left hand, and pointing upwards with his right. *Anima* is at the right and on her knees. *Anima* appears to be looking at *Amor*. She is holding her scarf high in her right hand. In her left hand she is holding the heart, which stands in the middle of the composition. Both characters maintain their previous garments.

Due to the state of the painting, it is difficult to discern much of what is happening in the image just by looking at it. Thanks to the name of the panel (*Emolicion del Corazon*), the text in the *redondilla*, and the corresponding engraving in the *Escuela del Corazon*, it seems the heart is being softened through the fire, or rays of light, coming from the head of *Amor divinus*. Though it seems rays of light are emanating from *Amor divinus*' head in the panel, we do not know how the rays were originally represented to understand that they were directly affecting the heart. In the oval medallion is written in red the title: *Emolicion del Corazon*.¹⁸² There follows the *redondilla*: *Mi corazon marmol fiero // en cera veras bolver, // si le llegare a encender // tu fuego de amor Dios mio*.¹⁸³ Here Pocasangre and Alfaro changed the word “frio”, which was the original word in the *Escuela del corazon*,¹⁸⁴ to “fiero”: instead of “cold marble” the text refers to the “hard marble” of the human heart.

Panel 183: Purificacion del Corazon (Fig. 67)

Panel 183 corresponds to the fourteenth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis mundatio* (Fig.68). Unfortunately, the Latin text in top rail is now illegible. According to the *Escuela del corazon*, the text of the top rail likely read: “Fons scaturit lateris transfixi, e vulnere, sponsi. // Hoc CORDIS maculas ablue sponsa tui.”¹⁸⁵ The image shows *Amor divinus* to the

¹⁸¹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), page facing 197.

¹⁸² Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 197.

¹⁸³ “My hard marble heart, // you will see turn to wax, // if your fire of love, my God, // were to light it up.” In this *redondilla* there is no word highlighted in red.

¹⁸⁴ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 197.

¹⁸⁵ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), page facing 206.

left, on top of a fountain, with both hands up, and looking down at the heart of *Anima*. Both hands, feet, and chest (heart) of *Amor divinus* are pouring out blood: the blood from the hands and feet pours into the fountain; the blood from the chest pours into *Anima's* heart. *Anima* is next to the fountain, holding the heart with both hands while the organ receives the blood of *Amor*. Both figures retain their previous garments, except for *Anima's* scarf. The image represents how the heart can be cleansed and purified only through the blood of Christ, represented by *Amor divinus*. In the oval medallion is written in red the title: *Purificacion del Corazon*.¹⁸⁶ There follows the *redondilla*: *Lava esposa penitente // esse corazon manchado // pues te ofrezco mi costado // [una cristalina fuente.]*¹⁸⁷

Panel 184: Entrega del Corazon (Fig.69)

Panel 184 corresponds to the fifteenth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis donatio* (Fig.70). On the top rail we read: *Vnice CORDIS Amor timor [unice]¹⁸⁸ CORDIS IESV. // Cor tibi dono meum Cor mihi redde tuum*. The image shows *Amor divinus* on the left, with wings extended, directing his hands to the heart, as if to receive it or bless it. *Anima* is on her knees and holds up high her heart with both hands, as if she is about to give her heart to *Amor divinus*. Both figures retain their previous garments. The image represents the moment *Anima* gives her heart to *Amor divinus*. In the oval medallion is written in red the title: *Entrega del Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*: *O norte de mi aficion // cuyos rigores meresco // [recibe]¹⁸⁹ el que yo te ofresco // y dame tu Corazon*.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 206.

¹⁸⁷ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 206. “Wash, penitent spouse, // that stained heart, // for I offer you my side, // a crystalline fountain”. It is safe to assume that “cristalina fuente” was written in the colour red, since we have indistinguishable traces of red letters where the two words would be. This logic is the same applied to other examples in the following panels.

¹⁸⁸ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), page facing 218.

¹⁸⁹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 218.

¹⁹⁰ “Oh, north of my fondness, // whose hardships I deserve, // receive the one that I offer to you, // and give me your Heart.”

Panel 185: Nivel del Corazon (Fig.71)

Panel 185 corresponds to the twentieth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis rectificatio* (Fig.72). On the top rail we read: *Ad rectam, [persepe],¹⁹¹ mei, COR, CORDIS, amussim // Si rectum cupias, exige, nata, tuum.* The image shows *Amor divinus* and *Anima* holding together an instrument that has inside a heart upside down, and below it another heart. This instrument, which according to the text below, could be a level, is above a pedestal. Both *Amor divinus* and *Anima* retain their previous garments. With her left hand, *Anima* holds steady the heart below, and with the right she sustains the right side of the instrument. We cannot see the left hand of *Amor*, but it could be holding the upside-down heart, and with his right arm he sustains the instrument. An important feature is the plumb bob hanging from the top of the level, showing the plumbline within the sacred heart, the correct alignment to which the human heart has to be set.¹⁹² The image shows both figures working together to level the heart of the soul to the heart of God which, in the context of the sanctuary, would be the Sacred Heart.¹⁹³ In the oval medallion, appears the title in red: *Nivel del Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*: *Si deseas alma fiel, // tu corazon nivelar // al mio lo has de ajustar, // que es el mas **recto nivel**.*¹⁹⁴ Here Pocasangre and Alfaro changed the word “arreglar”, which was the original word in the *Escuela del corazon*,¹⁹⁵ to “nivelar”, so instead of referring to “fixing your heart” the text now talks of “levelling your heart”. They also substitute the word “infallible”, found in the text in the emblem book, for “recto”, so that the text describes the level as “upright” instead of “infallible”.

Panel 186: Renovacion del Corazon (Fig.73)

Panel 186 corresponds to the twenty-first emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis renovatio* (Fig.74). Unfortunately, the Latin text in the top rail is now completely illegible. Following the *Escuela del corazon*, the text of the top rail may be reconstructed as: “Cui novua cuncta placent, vetus o, COR, pone; novumque // Quod tibi pro veteri sponsa repono, cape.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), facing 270.

¹⁹² In the corresponding emblem (Fig.72), the plumbline hangs through the artery of the divine heart to align with the artery of the human heart, and the plumb bob itself is thus framed in the human heart.

¹⁹³ See below, Chapter 6.

¹⁹⁴ “If, faithful soul, you wish // to level your heart, // you must adjust it to mine, // which is the most upright level.”

¹⁹⁵ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 270.

¹⁹⁶ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 5.

The image shows *Amor divinus* at the left holding with both hands the heart. *Amor divinus* has lost his wings, most probably as a result of the poor condition of the painting. *Anima* is kneeling and raising both her hands as if she were to receive the heart from *Amor divinus*. Both figures wear the same garments as in preceding panels. The image represents the giving of a renewed heart (now a heart blessed by God) to *Anima*. In the oval medallion, appears the title in red: *Renovacion del Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*: *Dexa el viejo corazon // que con novedades vive: // y este Nuevo, hija, recibe // que te ofrece, mi afición*.¹⁹⁷

Panel 187: Ilustracion del Corazon (Fig.75)

Panel 187 corresponds to the twenty-second emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis illuminatio* (Fig.76). On the top rail we read: [Lux] *de luce Deus [caeci] lux unica, mundi, // [CO]*¹⁹⁸ *RDE graues tenebras discute luce tua*. The image shows both *Amor divinus* and *Anima* holding the heart in the middle of the scene, as if the heart were about to receive something from above. The poor condition of the painting has rendered detail difficult to discern. The corresponding engraving from the *Escuela del corazon* shows how the heart is being illuminated from above, and from the inside through the right hand of *Amor divinus*. The colours in the painting have also suffered some fading, which means that though in the case of *Amor divinus* we can be sure the figure wears the same garments as before, that is not the case with *Anima*, whose garments look rather more reddish. The image represents the divine illumination of the heart. Unfortunately, the oval medallion is almost completely erased: neither the title nor the *redondilla* survive. The *Escuela del corazon* allows us to reconstruct the title and the *redondilla* as: “Ilustracion del corazon” (title),¹⁹⁹ and “Luz de luz, mi Dios, mi amor, // que al ciego mundo amaneces, // de mi alma las lobregueces // destierre tu resplandor” (*redondilla*).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ “Leave the old heart // that lives with novelties: // and receive, daughter, this New one, // which my affection offers to you.”

¹⁹⁸ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 18.

¹⁹⁹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 18.

²⁰⁰ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 18: “Light of light, my God, my love, // you that dawn on the blind world, // may your radiance banish // the murkiness from my soul.”

Panel 188: Escritura del Corazon (Fig.77)

Panel 188 corresponds to the twenty-third emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cor tabula legis* (Fig.78). On the top rail we read: *Scribo nouam teneri [nunc CORDIS] in [equore legem], // Cum vetus in duris [sit] mihi Scripta [petris]*.²⁰¹ The image, which is in quite a poor state and, by my estimation, has undergone more interventions than those described above, shows *Amor divinus* at the left in a lower position than *Anima*. It is possible that *Amor divinus* is depicted seated, as is certainly the case in the corresponding emblem. *Anima* seems to be kneeling and holding the heart with, it seems, both hands. The heart is upside down. *Amor* has his right hand on the heart, and his left hand cannot be seen. Due to the state of the painting the colours of the garments are very faded; while it would appear that the two figures retain the garments they were in the preceding panels, this cannot be known for sure. The painting is greatly damaged, and it is difficult to discern what is happening in the scene. According to the corresponding emblem, and the title and *redondilla* taken from the *Escuela del corazon*, it seems *Amor divinus* might be depicted writing on the heart. Unfortunately, the oval medallion is almost completely erased, and both the title and the *redondilla* are lost. Following the *Escuela del corazon*, the title and the *redondilla* would likely have read: “Escritura del corazon” (title),²⁰² and “En duras piedras grabé // la ley antigua severa; // la nueva en la blanda cera // de tu pecho escribiré” (*redondilla*).²⁰³

Panel 189: Aradura del Corazon (Fig.79)

Panel 189 corresponds to the twenty-fourth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Aratio cordis* (Fig.80). On the top rail we read: *CORDIS agrum, Crucis, eia, tuae proscindat // aratrum, // [cui verbi] insper[gas]*²⁰⁴ *semina, Sponse, tui*. The image presents *Anima* pulling, with a harness attached to her torso, what can be described as a plough but made out of the Cross, with wheels supporting the Cross’ arms. *Anima* has both her hands raised, and her red scarf is floating above her. Behind is *Amor divinus* who holds the Cross-plough with his left hand. In his right hand he holds a whip. *Amor* is looking to the left, perhaps in the direction of

²⁰¹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 30.

²⁰² Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 30.

²⁰³ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 30: “On hard stones I engraved // the old stern law; // I will write the new one // on the soft wax of your chest.”

²⁰⁴ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 40.

the Cross. The heart lies on the ground, just below the Cross-plough. The heart has an undistinguishable black mark on top of it, almost certainly a representation of the arrow that appears in this position in the emblem: the arrow serves as the ploughshare. Both figures retain their same garments. The painting represents how the heart is being ploughed (by the Cross-plough driven by *Amor divinus* and pulled by *Anima*), so that *Amor* and *Anima* can start sowing it. In the oval medallion, appears the title in red: [Aradura del]²⁰⁵ *Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*: [Rompa] *la cruz, el [erio] // de [este mi] corazon v[ano, // y de tu] palabra el grano // [en el] Siembra, [esposo mio.]*.²⁰⁶

Panel 190: Siembra del Corazon (Fig.81)

Panel 190 corresponds to the twenty-fifth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Seminatio in corde* (Fig.82). On the top rail we read: *Semi[na iam terrae manda, diuine colone,] // Ne nostri, st[erilis sit tibi] RICORDIS [ager]*.²⁰⁷ The scene shows *Anima* at the left kneeling and holding, with both her hands, the heart, which is in the middle of the scene. *Amor divinus* is on the right, standing, and dropping seeds into the heart's top orifice with his right hand, which is just above the heart. He has his wings spread, and what seems a sack of seeds hangs from his left shoulder, and extends across his torso. Both *Anima* and *Amor* are looking at the heart. Further, both figures retain the same garments. The image represents the moment *Amor divinus* is sowing divine seeds on *Anima's* heart. Unfortunately, the title in the oval medallion is almost completely erased. According to the *Escuela del corazon*, the title can be reconstructed as: "Siembra del corazon".²⁰⁸ There follows the *redondilla*: *Tiempo es, que [siembres tu grano // en el] campo de [mi pecho: // no que]de, esposo, el [barbecho // valdío, esteril] y vano.*²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Haefen, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 40.

²⁰⁶ Haefen, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 40. "Let the cross break the uncultivated land // of this vain heart of mine, // and sow the seed of your word in it, my spouse."

²⁰⁷ Haefen, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 50.

²⁰⁸ Haefen, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 50.

²⁰⁹ Haefen, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 50. "It is time for you to sow your grain // in the field of my bosom: // let not, oh husband, the fallow ground // be wasted, barren and vain."

Panel 191: Riego del Corazon (Fig.83)

Panel 191 corresponds to the twenty-sixth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis irrigatio* (Fig.84). On the top rail we read: [Telluri c]lausum, ca[elo patet: im]plue rorem, // *CORDIS* [ab hoc vario]²¹⁰ flore virescet humus. The image shows *Amor divinus* on the left, standing, with his wings spread, and holding a recipient with his hands. With this recipient *Amor divinus* is giving water to the heart, which is in the middle of the scene, held with both hands by a kneeling *Anima*. *Amor* focusses his attention on the heart, or on the duty he is performing, while it seems *Anima* is looking at him. Both retain the same garments seen in earlier panels. The scene represents the moment where the heart, already sowed with seeds, is now being irrigated, for those seeds to grow. Unfortunately, the title in the oval medallion is almost completely erased. The *Escuela del corazon* allows us to reconstruct the title as: “Riego del corazon”.²¹¹ There follows the *redondilla*: *Mi corazon un ve[rgel] // florid[o] s[erá, y vistoso, // si su rocío] piadoso / el cielo destila [en él.]*.²¹²

Panel 192: Flores del Corazon (Fig.85)

Panel 192 corresponds to the twenty-seventh emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis flores* (Fig.86). On the top rail we read: H[ec tibi, nata tuo] de semine, consecro Sp[onse // Lilia et]²¹³ his patrium floribus addo solum. The scene shows both *Amor divinus* and *Anima* kneeling, both on one knee. *Amor divinus* is on the left, with his wings spread. He has one flower on his right hand and seems to pick another flower with his left hand. The flowers come from the heart’s orifice, which seems to have sprung a great number of plants and flowers. Meanwhile, *Anima* is holding the heart with both her hands and on top of her right lap. She looks at the flowers springing from the heart. Both figures are wearing the same garments as before. The image represents the moment in which, after receiving water, the seeds sowed in the heart have grown to become beautiful, divine flowers. In the oval medallion, appears the title in red: *Flores del Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*: ***Estas flores que el desvelo // de***

²¹⁰ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 57.

²¹¹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 57.

²¹² Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 57. “My heart will be a flowery and attractive orchard, if the sky distils its pious dew on it.”

²¹³ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 64.

*tus suelos cultivo // te consagro esposo, y yo // le añado el [patrio]²¹⁴ suelo.²¹⁵ Here Pocasangre and Alfaro changed the word “sudor”, which was the original word in the *Escuela del corazon*,²¹⁶ for “suelos”: instead of “which your sweat (toil) has cultivated”, the text now reads “that the care of your soil has cultivated”.*

Panel 193: Custodia del Corazon (Fig.87)

Panel 193 corresponds to the twenty-eighth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis custodia* (Fig.88). On the top rail we read: [Qu]am bene conclusum vigil hic Cor protegit // hortum, // [P]ros[tri]cto²¹⁷ munit quem timor ense Dei. The image shows a walled garden, inside of which is *Anima* seated, holding the heart in her arms. The garden is closed. Outside the garden we see at the left what can be assumed to be *Amor divinus*, dressed as a soldier, wearing a breastplate and a helmet. He is fighting off three demons that are at his right. His right hand seems to be holding something, but now it is damaged. Thanks to the corresponding engraving in the *Escuela del Corazon*, we can assume it was a flaming sword.²¹⁸ Though the painting is rather faded, it seems that *Anima* is clothed as in previous panels. The image represents how *Amor divinus* guards *Anima* and her heart, and becomes the custodian of their place, keeping away evil from the doors of the garden. In the oval medallion, appears the title in red: *Custodia del Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*: *Tan guardado esta, [que] nada // est[e jardin] ya [recela] // pues vibra [su]²¹⁹ Centinela // de el temor de Dios la espada.*²²⁰

Panel 194: Escudo del Corazon (Fig.89)

Panel 194 corresponds to the twenty-ninth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cordis protectio* (Fig.90). On the top rail we read: *AEgide Cor tanti, mea lux, defende laboris, // Quem pro CORDE tuus ferre coegit amor*. The scene shows both *Anima* and *Amor divinus* at the left,

²¹⁴ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 64.

²¹⁵ “I consecrate to you, my husband, // these flowers that the care // of your soil has cultivated, // and I add to them the homeland soil.”

²¹⁶ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 64.

²¹⁷ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 71.

²¹⁸ In the engraving it is a sword where the blade is made of fire.

²¹⁹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 71.

²²⁰ “So guarded is it, that this garden is no longer wary of anything, for its Sentinel trembles in the fear of God’s sword.”

guarded behind a large oval shield. The shield adorned with the Cross on its face. At the right side of the scene, two figures are holding weapons to attack both *Anima* and *Amor*. We see on the left side a demon with a bow prepared to attack; most probably he had an arrow too but now it is no longer visible. Next to the demon is a female figure, in garments that seem to be more elegant, or elaborate, than what *Anima* is wearing, but which are depicted in the same colours as *Anima*'s clothes. This figure holds a spear which she points towards *Anima* and *Amor divinus*. Above them a cupid is in the air, also prepared to attack *Anima* and *Amor* with bow and arrow. On the ground, between the two groups of figures, we can see arrows, some of them broken. We can only glimpse *Amor divinus*' head and wings. *Anima* maintains the same garments as before. The image represents the failed attacks of evil, the worldly desires (represented by the woman next to the demon),²²¹ and the temptations (perhaps represented by the cupid), to *Anima* and *Amor divinus*; and how the Cross (the death of Christ in the Cross) protects them from these attacks. In the oval medallion, appears the title in red: [Escudo del]²²² *Corazon*. There follows the *redondilla*, which is in quite poor condition, and is almost illegible: [Con tu escudo à la fatiga] // de defensor [mio atiende; // pues el amor que te enciende, // á tal empeño te]²²³ *obliga*.²²⁴

Panel 211: El Corazon copa de Christo sediento (Fig.91)

Panel 211 corresponds to the forty-sixth emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Cor phiala* (Fig.92). On the top rail, we read: *Res[qu]e qua Ioda [sic!]²²⁵ genus offert, pocula [fellis]²²⁶ // Compuncti CORDIS sed bibe, Sponse, merum*. The scene shows *Amor divinus* sitting and clutching the heart with both hands, putting it near his mouth. We can only see the red garments of *Amor divinus*. *Anima* is kneeling, supporting the heart as well, and looking at *Amor*. *Anima* maintains the previous garments. The image represents *Amor divinus* drinking from *Anima*'s heart. Unfortunately, the title in the oval medallion is almost completely erased. The *Escuela del corazon* allows for the following reconstruction: "El corazon copa de Christo sediento".²²⁷

²²¹ We could think of her as an allegory of the World, which would be in analogy with the representation of the World in *Jesus en de ziel*.

²²² Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 79.

²²³ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 79.

²²⁴ "With your shield // as my defender attend to my weariness; // for the love that kindles you, // compels you to such an endeavour."

²²⁵ Haeften's *Escuela del corazon* (II) gives *Iudae* which makes more sense; the rail appears to read *Ioda*.

²²⁶ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 227.

²²⁷ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 227.

There follows the *redondilla*: *No gustes la [amarga hiel]²²⁸ / del leve infiel judío / bebe esposa el amor mio / y sacia la sed Corazon.*²²⁹

This is an interesting case where Pocasangre and Alfaro changed the sense of the original *Escuela del corazon* emblem. While the image in the panel copies the depiction of the engraving in the emblem book, the accompanying text on the *cancel* says something different. For emblem forty-six, Haeften wrote: “No gustes la amarga hiel, que te dá el infiel judío: // bebe, esposo, el amor mío, // y templa tu sed con él.”²³⁰ Pocasangre and Alfaro inverted the roles, so that it is *Anima* (not *Amor*) who drinks, because of her thirst, from the love of her beloved. The effect is that what is depicted in the panel loses its coherence with what is written in the medallion.

Panel 212: Comtrincion del Corazon con el clavo del temor (Fig.93)

Panel 212 corresponds to the forty-seventh emblem of the *Escuela del corazon: Compunctio cordis* (Fig.94). On the top rail, we read: *Hoc mihi Cor [sancti clauo trans fige ti]moris. // Pro me que cla[ui]s²³¹ in cruce fixus eras.* The scene depicts *Anima* kneeling, supporting with her right hand the heart, which rests on the ground. Her left hand is raised to the level of her head, and she is looking at what *Amor divinus* is doing. She seems to react with surprise, or fright. *Amor divinus* is on one knee preparing to put a nail in the heart’s orifice. He has his left hand holding the nail, and his right hand up high with a hammer. Both figures retain their previous garments. The image represents the moment *Amor divinus* is nailing the heart in reference to when Christ was nailed to the Cross. In the oval medallion, appears the title in red: *Comtrincion del Corazon con el clavo del temor*. It is worth noting the change Alfaro and Pocasangre made here, using the word “Comtrinción” instead of “Punzada” as given in the *Escuela del Corazón*.²³² Instead of reading “Puncture of the Heart”, we read, then, “Contrition

²²⁸ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 227.

²²⁹ “Taste not the bitter gall, // of the faint unfaithful Jew, // drink, wife, my love, // and quench your thirst, Heart.”

²³⁰ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 227: “Taste not the bitter gall, // which the unfaithful Jew gives thee: // drink, o husband, my love, // and quench thy thirst with it.”

²³¹ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), page facing 233.

²³² Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 233.

of the Heart”. There follows the *redondilla*: *Pues con tres clavos señor // clavado fuiste por mi // el corazon **clave a ti** // **el clavo de tu temor***.²³³

²³³ “For with three nails, Lord, // you were nailed by me [or because of me], // I nailed my heart to you, // [with] the nail of your fear.”

Chapter 5: Internal mechanisms in Atotonilco's *cancel* hearts.

In Chapter 3, the use of the visual motif of the heart with Luyken's *Jesus en de ziel* was analysed. From the outset, we may note that the implications of the word "use" for the Dutch printed book were very different from those associated with the use of the *cancel*, and the intended functions of the motif within this structure more challenging to elucidate. In the *cancel* at Atotonilco, we find the motif of the heart in two situations: in images based on the emblems of the *Schola cordis* and, secondly, in images that make use of the iconography of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. My main concern in this study lies in the ways in which the *cancel* re-uses and re-works the heart-emblems we have already encountered from the *Schola cordis*, most probably through its Spanish edition, *Escuela del corazon*. Nevertheless, as we will see, it is by means of the images of the Sacred Heart of Jesus that some of the possible uses of the *Schola cordis* programme can be determined. It should also be pointed out that, while in Luyken's *Jesus en de ziel* the discussion of the visual mechanisms could explore several elements of composition and forms of depiction, with the *cancel* we are constrained to be more cautious in our use of the surviving evidence, because of the heavy intervention the panels and the structure as a whole underwent, which limits what we can discern of the *cancel*'s original modes of representation. We shall, where necessary, make use of other features of whose original state we can be more certain.

As obvious as it may seem, we need to be clear that in analysing the *cancel* we are not in front of some kind of architectural form of a book: even if the images were informed directly from a book, the affordances of the *cancel*'s structure condition the heart motif's intended functions and the images internal mechanisms. In the case of *Jesus en de ziel*, it was easier to start by summarising the intended functions of the heart motif within the heart-emblems. Their functions could be relatively simply elucidated on the basis of the constant dialogue between the images and the textual information surrounding them, and their disposition throughout the book. In this way, the images belonged to a complex structure which enabled them to become part of diverse modes of readership and consumption the user could undertake. The user's actions were conditioned by the very fact that the mechanism, the technology they were manipulating, was a book. By reading from left to right, for instance, by understanding the composition of each emblem and explanation, and more importantly, by dint of the very structure of the book, the style of writing and visualisation, and the homogeneity of the mode of displaying and organising the various elements, the heart image was orchestrated perfectly

to play a part in the manner in which the user integrated *Jesus en de ziel* to their experience as a religious individual. Though there are several external conditions the book needs for its intended functions to be perceived and be effective, it seems safe to say that by studying the object alone we can see how the use-possibilities of the heart motif can be contingent on the very object to which it belongs. The heart images do not need further external information to be apprehended other than a certain religious disposition, and perhaps a habitual way of looking determined by previous social and cultural interaction with objects of a similar kind.

An emblem book such as *Jesus en de ziel* is a product designed, from the very beginning, to be composed of texts and images, which means that without images, it cannot be the product it was supposed to be.¹ The *cancel* sets up a quite different scenario. A fresh problem arises: What occurs when the object, its mechanisms, and intended functions can be independent from the images contained in the object? in the sense that there is no need for the images to fulfil the object's purpose, as a product with an intended function within a given space. The *cancel* has no need for the paintings in the panels to fulfil its basic functions in the sanctuary, but these images need the *cancel* to exist and be visually engaged with or consumed. What happens, in other words, then when image and object are not necessarily and inherently aligned? What takes place when the images can only proceed to be consumed under a number of conditions that depend on how the *cancel* is used, but which do not necessarily mean that the use of the *cancel* is primarily meant for the consumption of the images? What difference does it make that the purpose of the *cancel*'s disposition is totally independent of the purpose of the consumption of the heart images?

In this chapter I take as a point of departure a basic but fundamental question: what does a *cancel* is intended to provide? Exploring this question will give us a firmer basis on which to consider the *cancel* at Atotonilco first as an object that affords several actions, and second as a bearer of images disposed in a certain manner. We shall ask in what way the mechanisms of the object condition the consumption of the images. Next, we shall proceed to analyse the different visual registers in the structure, and elucidate the internal mechanisms that are working in them and between them, to conclude with an analysis of the visual programme of the EC-panels. We shall see how the heart in this programme can work independently of the rest of the programmes in the structure, and be intertwined to them.

¹ A book does not need images to be a book, but from the very beginning, the configuration of the book that we know as *Jesus en de ziel* can only be if images are within the book, and in a certain manner displayed through it.

1. What is a *cancel* intended to provide?

Scholarly bibliography regarding *cancel*s is almost non-existent. They are briefly defined in different architectural dictionaries and manuals, but little has been said about their history or development, or of their relevance in the construction and definition of architectural spaces, primarily of a religious nature. For help in understanding the purpose and function of the *cancel*, we may turn to definitions and accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Spain. By means of these historical sources, it is possible to identify key elements of the *cancel* in general that will help us contextualise the particular *cancel* at the Sanctuary of Atotonilco.

According to the 1729 edition of the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, a *cancel* is an “Antepuerta de madera, lienzo ò cuero, que defiende del aire, ò à los que entran el que vean lo que está detrás de él.”² In a 1783 version derived from the same dictionary, the *cancel* is described slightly more extensively as

Armazon de madera con que se impide la entrada del ayre, y el registro en las iglesias y salas. Los hay de varias figuras, en las iglesias comunmente son cubiertos: la línea del frente es la mayor; las dos laterales se unen al muro en que está la puerta.³

The word “registro” is ambiguous. It could be equivalent to “checking out”, i.e., to “searching” the place for things, in the sense of precluding people from looking inside the place, as a security measure, or to prevent idle curiosity. It could also refer to bodily perception of the entry of air into the spaces, in the sense that the *cancel* aids in preventing perception of draughts. In any case, *el registro* is an action to which the *cancel* acts as a barrier.

In a slightly earlier text regarding the Real Templo y Convento de Nuestra Señora de Gracia in Granada, Spain (1697), we learn that a *cancel* also provides dignity and decency to a

² Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las prhasas o modos de h hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua. Tomo segundo. Que contiene la letra C* (Madrid: Francisco del Hierro, 1729), 107: “A front door of wood, canvas or leather, which protects from the air, or those who enter from seeing what is behind it.”

³ Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana. Reducido á un tomo para más fácil uso*. (Madrid: D. Joaquín Ibarra, 1783), 197: “Wooden structure which prevents the entrance of a draught, and the searching [or perception of the draughts] in churches and halls. They come in various shapes, in churches they are usually covered: the front is the largest side; the two sides in which the door is located adjoin the wall.”

sacred place: “y para mas decoro, y decencia de este Sagrado Templo, se puso un cancel cerrado de primoroso arte, con muchas molduras, y preciosa talla.”⁴ Most significantly, in a work on the precepts of the church, the Augustinian Juan Antonio Bacó (1591–1665), in his *Suma de los preceptos*, first published in 1661, describes how the doors and *cancel* are to be used during an official event within the church or shrine. The entrance doors to the church should be closed during mass and any other divine office, but not closed in a manner that they cannot be opened by those who want to enter. They should be disposed in a way that restrains the view from the outside of what is happening on the inside of the church. But if the church has a *cancel*, it will suffice to just have its side doors open “porque de essa manera no se puede ver officiar de fuera, que es lo que se pretende”.⁵

What are the main elements of the *cancel* that we can draw from these descriptions? First, that a *cancel* is a structure that can be made of various materials: normally, when it functions as a frame situated at the entrance of a church immediately within its main doors, it is a structure made of wood. Among its functions, it serves to prevent air from entering the church; we may infer that it also prevents dust or other dirt from entering the church with the wind or draught from the outside. The *cancel* also serves to restrict the view of the person outside the building who wants to look inside. It seems it was considered undesirable for curious onlookers to be able to see how mass was officiated, or to other liturgical occasions. Probably, it is similarly undesirable for the people inside to be curious about what is happening outside, but that is not explicitly stated in the definitions and descriptions. Except for what Juan Antonio Bacó tells us, the texts do not explicitly state *why* people should be prevented from seeing inside the building. One might hypothesise that it may also be to reduce the risk of inadvertently showing disrespect to the Sacrament: if the Sacrament were exposed, it would be inappropriate for someone, for instance, to show their back to it, or to be eating, chatting or playing – activities which are perfectly legitimate in the exterior space. To break the sightline also means to break a need for certain physical responses that would be occasioned by seeing

⁴ Juan de la Natividad, *Coronada historia descripción laureada, de el misterioso genesis, y principio augusto de el eximio portento de la gracia, y admiración de el arte la milagrosa imagen de Maria Santissima de Gracia cuyo sagrado bulto, y titulo glorioso, ocupa, y magnifica su Real Templo, y Convento de RR. PP. Trinitarios Descalzos, redentores de cautivos christianos, desta nobilissima ciudad de Granada* (Granada: Imprenta Real, 1697), 171: “and in order to have more dignity and decency to this Sacred Temple, a closed *cancel* was erected, of beautiful craftsmanship, with many mouldings and precious carvings.”

⁵ Juan Antonio Bacó, *Suma de los preceptos del decálogo y de la iglesia, restitucion, usucapion, prescripción, sacramentos, censuras, contratos, compra, venta, mutuo, usura, aambio, arrendamiento, simonia, ensiteusis, feudeo, oficio divino, indulgencia, iubileo, cruzada, y legitima*. (Mallorca: Miguel Capó, 1689), 381: “because in that way, the liturgy cannot be seen from outside, which is what is intended.”

the sacrament. It might have not been well received were the believer and the community, not to notice the Sacrament though it is visible.

Secondly, the *cancel* establishes a limit to vision, to what can and cannot be perceived, and thereby also indicates to the viewer that if one wants to see something beyond the barrier, one must enter the space. The entrance is usually through the side doors on the left and right side of the structure, not through the central doors (if they exist); there is no way of knowing and looking at what is inside the space except by crossing these barriers and being fully inside the space. Further, we may say that the structure aims to regulate this act of entrance by serving as a barrier, a transient difficulty in the viewers' progress and in their scope of vision that obliges the individual to make a decision. Inadvertent physical or visual entrance is impeded. If visitors and viewers enter it is because they decide to enter. The best scenario of why somebody decides to enter would be due to their interest in experiencing in some way the space and what the space entails, the events it affords, and the objects it contains. Of course, the person can cross this barrier, however, without any particular religious motivation, as it would be to just want to get out of the heat or the rain. If the interest is supposed to be one informed by the religiosity of the person, then yes, the decision afforded by the *cancel* is connected to the person choosing to be a participant of a sense of the sacred the religious complex affords to them. The limit the *cancel* imposes would imply, then, the importance of what happens inside.

Finally, the *cancel* affords dignity and decency to the space. It regulates not only air-flow, but human behaviour, prompting that whoever enters should do so in an appropriate and respectful manner. In this way, body and mind are brought into accord with the space they enter.

These affordances are connected mainly to the use of the *cancel's* side doors. Most of the *canceles* also have central doors, and this is also the case at Atotonilco (Figs.37-38). The central doors establish another type of interaction with the space. Their opening usually indicates an activity, such as a procession, that instead of drawing the individual inside the church, brings individuals or objects from within the church to the outside. The structure that conceals what is located or performed inside the building, is opened in such a manner that it allows the bringing out of what the church guards within. By the opening of the structure, the people, together with the object(s) of devotion, and the clergy, can begin a sacred journey from the sacred space.

The *cancel* functions as a device that helps to delimit space, and that regulates the body and the gaze of the worshipper. It is, we might say, a cultural technique which affords distinction,⁶ and thereby makes it possible to experience the religious in a different way from the religious experience of a space where such a structure is absent. In other words, while the *cancel*, by its mere existence, modifies the way of experiencing the religious and the divine, the structure itself need not offer anything more than that. We can say, then, that the *cancel* is a structure that enables certain forms of experience, causing the patterns of recognition in the various images, objects, and events inside and outside the church to be perceived in a certain way.

Its manufacture is important. A *cancel* can be either sumptuous, carved with fine ornamentation; or it can be simpler in its materials and ornament, fulfilling its function with the barest necessities with nothing much to add to the decoration of the space. For example, in the *cancel*s at the Catedral de Puebla (seventeenth century), the structures are not just fulfilling the functions described above, but they are also made in a luxurious and detailed manner, so as to be aligned with the grandiosity of the cathedral as a whole. The *cancel* becomes part of the experience of the visitor not just by regulating the individual, but by being manufactured in a manner that impresses and contributes to a coherent reception, visually and spatially, of the whole church.

2. The *cancel* at the Sanctuary of Atotonilco

The previous paragraph hints at one of the possible reasons behind the configuration of the *cancel* at Atotonilco. As we have noted, the whole complex of the sanctuary is richly painted (Fig.39). At a basic level, the idea of configuring a *cancel* to contain several images could be a way to provoke a coherent reception of the whole building. The individual would not so much be impressed by the luxurious quality of the structure and its ornament, but by the intensity of the visual and textual messages displayed throughout the entire complex. In this way, the *cancel* is not merely an object external to the design of the complex, perfunctorily fulfilling the task that it must fulfil, but is integrated into the religious experience that is entailed by interacting with the sanctuary as a whole.

⁶ See: Siegert, *Cultural Techniques*, 198-199.

We have then, perhaps, a partial answer to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter. While the *cancel* can function independently of the forms it contains, we may be able to understand the *cancel* and the importance of its images in relation to the space it inhabits. Rather than thinking of the space generically as a religious one, if we particularise our consideration by focusing on the fact that the space is the Sanctuary at Atotonilco, we can observe that the configuration of the *cancel* as a structure that also provides visual and textual information, is a decision that is in keeping with the architectural, pictorial, and intellectual programme of the complex as a whole. In other words, if we may speculate on the intentions of the creators of the whole building, we may posit that if the sanctuary was to have a *cancel*, it could *only* be one that engaged in an integrated way with what the sanctuary was offering to its users. Some affordances of an object are conditioned to the affordances of another object; they could even ‘fit’ into each other, in this case, the *cancel* ‘fits’ the space that contains it. The rich imagery of the *cancel* is thereby justified in that it helps to complete the configuration of the object specifically for the space for which it was designed. While such a preliminary analysis does not respond to the internal mechanisms of the images themselves, it does underline that their presence is coherent and justified because of the space (the sanctuary) that contains both the structure of the *cancel* that in turn contains them.⁷

Taking what has been said so far about the general functions of a *cancel* into account, what can be said of the particular object at Atotonilco? What, for instance, does this object serve to conceal? As we noted in the preceding chapter, the structure of the *cancel* is located in the vestibule of the complex. To understand what the *cancel* conceals, it is sufficient to limit ourselves to this small space. If the visitor passes through the main exterior doors, and takes the left side door of the *cancel*, they will be facing the wall where the portal to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre is located (Fig.95). If the person turns right, then they will be facing the wall where the portal to the Chapel of Bethlehem is located (Fig.96). Both walls are richly painted with religious figures, texts and themes. If the visitor positions himself with his back to the central side of the *cancel*, he will see in front of himself the portal to the main church.

⁷ This discussion can be extended to other elements within the sanctuary: for a vault to be a vault it does not need the images it contains, and neither does a wall. To be a vault in Atotonilco, however, everything suggests that the vault must be a surface bearer of images and texts. This is the experience proposed by the authors of the complex, and their commitment to it means that the objects contained therein fulfil their structural function and at the same time their ideological, experiential, and religious function.

Wherever they look standing there, in the middle of the vestibule, hundreds of images, texts and themes will meet their eyes (Fig.97).⁸

But even without having yet entered through the *cancel*, visitors can already see images, which in one way or another refer to what will be found inside, as a kind of visual preamble. Looking up at the walls of the entrance opening, it is possible to see on the right a Christ in Majesty in a scene that alludes to the Last Judgement; on the left is depicted a dying man facing a particular judgement, surrounded by demons (Fig.98); on the right and left corners of the doorway we observe an angel writing the names of the blessed in a book, and a demon doing the same with the names of the damned. At the jambs of the doorway are depicted the sufferings and torments which the damned are undergoing.⁹ The images are accompanied by texts written in the wall that serve to further explain the message the believer should receive from the scene. For example, between the scene of the Last Judgment and that of the dying man appears, in a medallion, the following text: “Pues tu salvacion depende // De este que digo momento // Si la das Buena que gloria. // Si la das mala que infierno // Teme, teme pecador // El mas horroroso mal. // Porque ay un juyzio final, Todo susto y todo horror.”¹⁰

A fragment of what is painted in the first vault of the vestibule can also be distinguished: a partial view of Jesus’ encounter with his mother Mary before the Passion.¹¹ The other themes portrayed in the vault, also related to the Passion of Christ, can only be seen after the viewer has entered through the *cancel*.

Following the themes explored in these images and texts we might speculate that they form part of the narrative of limits and decisions imposed by the structure of the *cancel* as a whole. By showing scenes of salvation and condemnation, as well by affording a glimpse of a fragment of Jesus’ life prior to his crucifixion, the programme is configured in such a way it could prompt the devotee to enter the space in search of something beneficial to them, religiously speaking, as it would be their own salvation. In other words, the representation of

⁸ These images will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁹ Santiago, *Atotonilco*, 139-140. On this section of the entrance to the sanctuary, see: Ana María Pimentel, “El portón de acceso del Santuario de Jesús Nazareno en Atotonilco, Gto. Como locus mnemotécnico durante el último tercio del siglo XVIII,” (MA diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2014).

¹⁰ “For your salvation depends // on this moment / if you behave good then glory // If you behave bad then hell // Be afraid, be afraid sinner // Of the most horrible evil // For there is a final judgement, full of fright and full of horror.”

¹¹ Santiago, *Atotonilco*, 106.

condemnation, repentance and salvation is linked, by its location, to the moment of decision afforded by the *cancel*.

3. The *cancel* as bearer of images: the internal mechanisms within the visual programmes

Let us now concentrate on the visual programmes contained in the *cancel*. Many *canceles* are ornamented; they may even bear carved images of saints, or other religious scenes or symbols, but, to my knowledge, no extant *cancel* compares with Atotonilco's in terms of the richness of the visual programme and sheer number of images. How were these myriad images seen by an individual?

In terms of visibility, while the upper registers on both the exterior and interior sides of the *cancel* are not affected if the side doors or the central doors of the structure are opened or closed, this is not the case for the lower registers. In fact, if all the doors of the *cancel* are opened, all the images of the *Schola cordis*-based programme in the lower register are entirely concealed (Fig.38). This means that, in order to see the complete lower programmes, the side doors and central doors are to be in a closed state (Fig.37). Furthermore, if one wants to see the full visual programme of the liturgical year, the main exterior doors of the sanctuary must be closed as well, since they open inwards, and cover part of this register when they are open.¹² From a spatial and structural point of view, this entails that the consumption of the images of the entire *cancel* can only be achieved when the sanctuary is closed, albeit not necessarily locked.¹³

All of this implies that if the images in the *cancel* are intended to be seen as a series of units, defined by the programmes described in the preceding chapter, the structure must be arranged in a certain way that is not necessarily connected to the structure's main function, but to ensure that the viewer is able to look at the different programmes. It should be clear that even if the structure is not arranged for this specific function, it would still be possible for the user to see at least the complete programmes on the *cancel*'s interior, once she or he had entered

¹² They also cover the entrance jambs, limiting the visibility of some of the images mentioned above.

¹³ The light in the foyer is also reduced, with only two windows in the walls flanking the *cancel*. Visualising the whole programme would have required the use of candlelight at times.

the church, and the side doors had been closed, as would have been requested at the beginning of a liturgical service.

What would it take to view the programmes in their entirety? Does the structure afford any specific form of exploration, a particular order of viewing or walking through the images? While the structure itself does not necessarily impose a constraint on the order of viewing, the arrangement of the images within the *cancel* does. It would seem that the four visual programmes were not randomly arranged in the structure, but that there is a discernible logic in their sequence. If we observe that in the two upper registers are grouped important Christian characters and allegories of the virtues and gifts of the Holy Spirit, and that in the two lower registers we find the liturgical calendar and the corresponding visual scenes from the gospels, in addition to the spiritual paths and processes that the soul has to follow on its way to salvation and union with the divine, as it is in the EC-panels, we may infer that the *cancel* has an spiritual ideal section, a section of exemplarity symbolised by religious figures and more abstract religious ideas in the upper registers; and a more pragmatic section in the lower registers.¹⁴ The upper and lower registers, both in the internal and external sides, might be working together, in pairs, so they represent what is the ideal section, represented by the religious figures, the virtues and the gifts, and practical and moral instruction, to be followed by the believer in his life, such as the liturgical year and the ways to shape the heart in order to attain salvation. In other words, both the outer top and bottom registers are working together, as well as both the inner top and bottom registers. We will now turn to an analysis of each of the registers and their internal mechanisms, which will enable us to consider the programme of the EC-panels, and a possible coherence between it and the entire structure that contains it.

Virtues, Gifts and Religious Figures.

The depictions of desert fathers, the virtues and gifts in the exterior section constitute images that exemplify, in quite a general way, a life dedicated to God, and the desired qualities

¹⁴ This idea is similar to what Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen propose regarding composition in graphic design. It may be helpful to thinking of the structuring of the *cancel* in similar terms: “The upper section tends to make some kind of emotive appeal and show us ‘what might be’; the lower section tends to be more informative and practical, showing ‘what is’” (Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 186). Kress and van Leeuwen continue: “For something to be ideal means that it is presented as the idealized or generalized essence of the information, hence also as its, ostensibly, most salient part. The Real is then opposed to this in that it presents more specific information (e.g. details), more ‘down-to-earth’ information [...] or more practical information.” (Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 186).

of a good Christian. The arrangement of these figures along the upper section is harmoniously composed, in accordance with the different sizes of the panels and the distribution of the virtues and their additional images. There does not appear to be any particular element of hierarchy or necessary order for the reading or viewing of the images in this section. As we noted in the preceding chapter, each panel simply contains a name to identify whom or what we are looking at (Fig.49). These *tituli* are necessary, since the iconography of most of the figures does not offer much help in this regard: there are no attributes that would serve to identify the saintly figures, and the small houses or churches that appear in the background are nondescript. Most of the religious figures are not known for dramatic narrative episodes in their lives or deaths, unlike, for instance, missionaries, bishops, or martyrs. The desert fathers are mostly known for their *sayings*, but these would not have been easy to depict at all. The name or *titulus* for each panel and the observer's knowledge of the figure to whom the name refers would lend more relevance to the image.

One may ask whether the viewer needs to know a source such as the *Vitae partum*, for example, in order to understand the images? It is certainly the case that many of these figures are quite obscure, even to the most devout person. Of course, we cannot discard the possibility of the knowledge, either of the devout person, or communicated by somebody from the very sanctuary, such as Alfaro himself, instructing about who is depicted in the images. At present, research has identified no sources that could elucidate such a practice with the panels. Neither is it clear whether the selection of these figures by Alfaro was a careful set of choices perfectly aligned to what the Oratorian considered relevant to the Christian faithfuls' moral and spiritual life, or for some other as yet to be determined reason. What is clear, however, is that in a general sense Alfaro considered the inclusion of these figures as something fruitful for the worshipper, most probably on account of their ascetic and pious nature, the intensity of their beliefs, and their communal retreat into the desert as exemplary actions representative of a monastic and utterly devout life. The retreat could have been compared, at the time, to the making of a pilgrimage to the Sanctuary in Atotonilco, or to self-seclusion to practise the Spiritual Exercises. The desertic nature of Atotonilco may have played a valuable role in the inclusion of the desert fathers.¹⁵

¹⁵ In his little book *A la mas hermosa y salutifera flor de los campos*, Father Alfaro refers to the desert nature of the site, and links it to the decadence and sin that proliferated the site, before God decided to make it a paradise (consummated in the erection of the Sanctuary dedicated to the Nazarene). See: Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, *A la mas hermosa y salutifera flor de los campos, a el mas peregrino oloroso lirio de los valles, a la rosa mas fragante de los jardines, a el clavel mas disciplinado de los huertos, el santisimo redentor de nuestras almas Jesus*

We may speculate, on the other hand, that these carefully labelled holy figures could be intended to serve as a more generic, unifying idea of “saints of the desert”. Their labels allow the viewer of the figures to understand them as real, historical figures, rather than merely symbolic figures of what a saint would be, but without any distinguishable exemplary content. Further, all the figures are depicted in a bodily posture that suggests contemplation, prayer, repentance, or disposition to receive God’s message. In this way, we can hypothesise that the upper register affords a generic model that depicts how to behave towards God, utilising representations of real saints whose historicity is acknowledged through their *tituli*.

In conclusion, through the images depicting saintly characters, the worshipper sees a general set of activities that are all about prayer and contemplation: they are carefully distinguished and historicised (via their names only) stand-ins for images of spiritual ideals. By means of the depiction of virtues and gifts, on the other hand, they give shape to more abstract ideas to follow and understand as good Christians. The composition of the panels in the upper register is thus arranged in such a way as to afford the viewer the notion of exemplary religious figures, most of them united by pertaining to the same category (i.e., desert fathers), and perhaps, through them, it affords bodily referents on how to behave towards God. It also provides the acknowledgement of the virtues to be followed by a good Christian, and the gifts that can be received by the grace of God. The understanding of the images contained in the panels is strongly dependent on the textual guidance afforded by the labels with which they are inscribed. Whether there was an orderly method for learning about these figures, their lives, and their sayings, is unknown; nonetheless, the general exemplarity of the figures was readily comprehensible. In any case, we cannot discard the fact that the provision of *tituli* affords either the stimulation of curiosity (“Who was Abba Apollo?”), the reinforcement of existing knowledge (“There is Abba Apollo!”), or the prompting of a desire for information that will benefit, nurture, and modify the individual’s understanding of what it means to be Christian (“What would Abba Apollo say?”).

Nazareno, señor de Aguas Calientes, que como maestro divino y florido hortelano celestial paraíso, las enseña en nueve flores, y nueve deliciosos caminos para el cielo (México: Imprenta Madrileña de los Herederos de Lic. D. Joseph de Jauregui, 1783).

Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History)

In the lower register of the exterior of the *cancel* the disposition of images changes. As discussed in the previous chapter, due to the traces of numbers in some of the panels, and because of some of the panels' locations corresponding to the consecutive order of the liturgical year, it is highly possible this register had a logical order for its reading and appreciation. Such an order must have been structured according to the liturgical calendar. The images depict scenes from the gospel, and the titles that frame them leave no room for error in their identification, both in terms of what scenes they depict, and to what liturgical events the scenes are connected. The liturgical calendar opens with the First Sunday of Advent, which had long been associated with the Last Judgement (Panel 61, Fig.53). The gospel appointed for the mass was Luke 21: 25-33. This is the first panel of the register, located at the top left side of the left side door of the *cancel*. Christ's coming is interpreted as not only his coming incarnation in his Nativity, but, simultaneously, as his Second Coming, which is described in the passage of Luke just mentioned. The liturgical year is, then, fundamental, as the cohesive element of the whole programme.

One could wonder if this programme was made for a catechetical purpose, or if it was rather just a way of pictorially configuring salvation history through liturgical celebration. It is also worth pointing out that the liturgical year is not primarily directed to the individual but to a community; this prompts consideration of the communal aspect of the consumption of the images in the *cancel*. The celebrations of the liturgy are public celebrations of the church. Could there be a moment, a certain kind of practice, in which instead of an individual a group was the primary consumer of the programme? Such a circumstance would necessitate, as we have noted above, the closing of the side doors and central doors of the *cancel*. It is also peculiar that the visual and textual coverage of the liturgical year in the structure is quite extensive. The series covers far more than the principal high holy days: for example, the Thursday after Ash Wednesday is included in panel 68, which is not a major day in the liturgical year.

Now, the fact that the liturgical year indicates a particular order in the *cancel* that could be followed does not mean, of course, that the images could not be viewed one by one, or that the users were not able to select what they wanted to see in the order in which they wanted to see it. Every individual image constitutes a scene of value within the chronological framework of the liturgical year that the devout viewer(s) could have been supposed to know or learn.

The lower register offers then a specific itinerary, by means of which the Christian life of the worshipper is visually informed of the ecclesial celebration of salvation. These celebrations were fundamental in the catechetical process of the devotee, and their location in the *cancel* could come to afford a constant reminder of the need for participation in these celebrations, and the knowledge (maybe memorization) of their corresponding gospels. It is a complex structure that could indicate the need to practise (via devout attendance at the celebrations) their religion. In this way, from the very doors of the *cancel* the Sanctuary of Atotonilco establishes itself as a space that serves an important role in the individual's and the community's tools for religious practices.

By placing the exemplary virtues, gifts, and holy persons in the top register, and then organising the liturgical calendar which in some way parallels the events of salvation history in the lower register, the structure offers on the upper side an ideal of what the Christian could come to be, and on the lower side a practical manner for the Christian to carry out, as part of a community, their own process to become good Christians and to attain salvation. This practical manner is via the knowledge and participation in the diverse public celebrations of the church. A similar pattern will be seen on the interior of the *cancel*.

Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart.

The interior of the *cancel* shows both similarities and major differences to its exterior. In the interior's upper register, the focus lies on the motif that accompanies the figures that are represented. The Sacred Heart of Jesus takes centre stage as that which represents the divine within each of the panels. As we shall see in the next chapter, this devotion is crucial to the way in which the divine and religious were experienced within the sanctuary. The viewer could recognise three ways in which the Sacred Heart is represented,¹⁶ and could observe the devotional ways in which the figures are depicted behaving, such as kneeling before an

¹⁶ It is not clear what the presentation of the devotion in three different ways may have been intended to imply. The decision might have been determined by design factors, given that on the sides of the *cancel* we find the Sacred Heart represented in one way (with the cross inserted into the top of the heart), and in the central structure in another way (the heart with the cross to one side). The only exceptions are the figures of Claude la Colombiere and Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, that present a third variation (the full figure of Christ with the Sacred Heart appearing before them). These figures are located in a similar position to the left and right of the central side of the structure, giving balance to the rest of the composition of the panels. As we noted in the last chapter (footnote 74, Chapter 4), this third variation must have come at a larger stage of the *cancel*, probably in the nineteenth century.

apparition of the Sacred Heart (Fig.54). It is important to emphasise that the Sacred Heart is literally depicted as an apparition to the individual figure in the scene, being physically present in the room or space where the character is depicted.¹⁷ As with the exterior counterpart, the upper register's panels are here arranged along the length of the *cancel* following a certain compositional logic, but do not contain explicit indications regarding the order in which they should be read or viewed. In addition, once again most of the figures in this register do not show sharp distinctive attributes by means of which the viewer can securely identify who is represented in the image. This information is, however, provided by the name in a *titulus* that appears underneath each of the figures.

We are dealing here with a visual programme that makes use of a motif that is, in itself, used as an object of devotion. The Sacred Heart of Jesus is one of the most important devotions of the second half of the eighteenth century in New Spain.¹⁸ This entails that, as far as the internal mechanisms of these panels' paintings are concerned, a motif is used here whose possibility of recognition and religious value for the devotee is already established long before it is employed in the *cancel* itself. Thus, while this specific devotional image and its devotional affordances are conditioned by the composition of the painting and the surface that contains it, it itself already provides a series of mechanisms directed towards the devotees' established, and learned, systems and practices of beliefs. In analysing this register, what we are looking at is the ways in which these pre-existing devotional mechanisms are linked to the rest of the scene(s) and the structure as a whole.

It is expected that the Sacred Heart will be an easily recognisable motif for devotees, and one that immediately predisposes them to assume a certain religious attitude. The Sacred Heart's presence in the *cancel* is arranged in such a way that the Heart presents itself as one of the forms of appearance, or of materialisation of the divine before the believer. But the figures represented in adoration before the Sacred Heart are not simply any believers, nor are they anonymous figures, rather they are recognisable, significant figures not only in the history of the institution of the church, but in many cases of the human interaction with the divine. This does not mean that all the figures depicted had a direct encounter with the Sacred Heart.

¹⁷ As Kilroy-Ewbank writes: "artists borrowed pictorial conventions associated with visualizing miraculous apparitions and the saints who experienced them in their depictions of the Sacred Heart. Many consistently display vertically oriented compositions, shallow spatial depth, and specific visual motifs, like clouds, a nimbus, and rays of light to emphasize the miraculous appearance and divine nature of the Heart." (Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 228.)

¹⁸ On the Sacred Heart's presence in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, see: Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*.

Actually, in most of the stories and biographies that we know of these figures, there is not a mention or occasion in which the Sacred Heart appeared to them. We could even say that it is only to one identified figure that the holy organ appeared: Margaret-Marie Alacoque. The panels are not meant to represent, then, any event that belongs to the life of any of these characters. We could think Alfaro chose this devotional image as the overarching visual resource that materialises, or gives shape to the divine, and unites, thematically speaking, the figures into the sense of their great closeness and pious devotion towards God, and the notion of God as present, literally, in their lives. In addition, some are fundamental for the development of the Catholic Church, and so we could think of them as figures the worshipper needed to know about, and be thankful for, as they are the representatives of the Church's divine mission for the salvation of humanity. Figures such as Bonaventure (c. 1218-1274) (Panel 118, Fig.99) were in support of an effective approach to the divine, with works that became fundamental for the development of mystical theology. It is also worth noticing that Bonaventure wrote *De triplici via* (1257-1267), which greatly contributed to the configuration of the tradition on the mystical paths (purgative, illuminative and unitive), utilised afterwards by both Haeften and Luyken. Others are important characters of the viceregal history of the church, such as the Jesuit Diego Álvarez de Paz (c. 1561-1620) (Panel 120), who also dedicated part of his texts on the mystical life, and on the perfecting of the spiritual life.¹⁹ Of this mystical theology, another important exponent found in the *cancel* is John of the Cross (1542-1591) (Panel 168), who would propose that "Through a life of pure faith and love of God, the soul eventually attains the deepest mystical union".²⁰

Some figures likely served as archetypes of repentance, such as Mary Magdalene (Panel 131) and Mary of Egypt (5th century?) (Panel 132). Others experienced ecstasy and visions, giving testimony of their physical experiences of the divine, such as Stanislaus Kostka (1550-1568) (Panel 138), and Teresa of Avila (1515-1582) (Panel 162).

We do also find figures that indeed were more connected to the history of the devotion of the Sacred Heart. For example, the presence of Frances of Sales (1567-1622) (Panel 123, Fig.54), who wrote his famous *Introduction à la vie devote* (1609) and advocated for the self-loving sacrifice of the devout person and the love of God is perhaps unsurprising. De Sales

¹⁹ Burrieza, "Diego Álvarez de Paz."

²⁰ David Farmer, "John of the Cross," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford University Press, 2011), par. 3: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-904>.

founded, together with Jane Frances de Chantal (1572-1641), the Order of the Visitation in 1610.²¹ This is the order to which Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (1647-1690) (Panel 133) entered to become a nun, specifically at the Visitation convent of Paray-le-Monial. Alacoque experienced a series of visions where Christ would speak to her. It is through these visions that to Alacoque is revealed the Sacred Heart of Jesus, shaping the devotion into its Early Modern iconography and devotion. Finally, the Jesuit Claude de la Colombière (1641-1682) (Panel 130) was a great promoter of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. He was Alacoque's spiritual director and confessor, and he supported her claims of having visions and experiences related to the holy organ.

The presence of Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) (Panel 143), father of the Spiritual Exercises, and founder of the Jesuits, is also crucial, as the representative of the Society of Jesus, the most important promoters of the devotion to the Sacred Heart.²² Symmetrically opposite Loyola's panel is Philip Neri (1515-1595) (Panel 148), founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, order to which Father Alfaro belonged.

Thus, we have in this register a great number of figures that represent notions of mystical union, of great pious devotion, of repentance and of ecstatic and visionary experiences; in addition to fundamental characters in the foundation of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and to the religious practices and ideas that Alfaro was intending to promote in the sanctuary. Through the repetition of the motif as a communication strategy, the panels afford the worshipper's possibility to focus on one of the many ways in which the divine presents itself, for visual and devotional purposes. At the same time, through the interaction between the motif and the figure depicted before it, the viewer can understand that these figures are important, that their great devotion and their actions reflect the privilege of being in the presence of Christ's beloved and sacred organ. The figures are exemplary characters of a Christian devoted life not just to God, but to the community and to the church as an institution; and they are visual testimonies of God's manifestation to his most fervent devotees. In sum, they serve as lessons in how to believe, how to behave, and therefore how to live. But these exemplary lives can only be truly understood if one knows who the people depicted are, a possibility afforded by the names indicated on each of the panels. As we saw with the exterior

²¹ David Farmer, "Francis of Sales," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-676>.

²² For the connections, both political and religious, of the Sacred Heart, the Society of Jesus, and their presence in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, see, Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*.

counterpart of the *cancel*, here too believers can complete what is represented using the knowledge that they have, or will have, about who is the character privileged enough to be in the presence of God.

Programme based on the Escuela del corazon (Schola cordis)

Finally, we come to the EC-panels. The lower register, like its exterior counterpart, offers the possibility of being traversed in a certain order: it is safe to assume each of the panels were numbered (Figs.57-59). Moreover, internally from left to right they follow the order established by the book on which they are based. In this way, if he or she so wished, the viewer could walk from left to right, looking at each of the panels, and, consciously or not, simultaneously following the order of the book. It is difficult to believe, however, that a narrative could be discerned just by performing this kinaesthetic act. In other words, although there is an order to the panels, that does not mean each of them are scenes which can be easily understood consecutively, as a journey being undertaken by the characters depicted in the images.

This non-consecutive nature of most of the scenes is, as we have noted, characteristic of the sequence of images in the *Schola cordis* itself, something that is reflected as well in its Spanish edition. Unlike in *Jesus en de ziel*, where the continuous narrative of pilgrimage is more clearly discernible, in the case of these images what we have is, in most of the cases, various unconnected scenes in which the heart is subjected to a specific process. Scenes can also be consecutive, however, unified by a certain topic. That is the case with Panels 189-192 (Figs.79-86), where an agricultural, gardening theme underlies the scenes. They are ordered one after the other in the central doors of the *cancel* (Fig.51). We can see, respectively, the ploughing (Panel 189, Fig.79), sowing (Panel 190, Fig.81), irrigation (Panel 191, Fig.83), and the growing of flowers (Panel 192, Fig.85) of the heart. Another clear example is the consecutive sequence of the custody and protection of the heart in Panels 193 and 194 (Figs.87-90).

On the other hand, while it is true that each of the sets of processes are linked by a theme, as they are grouped together in the *Schola cordis*, and therefore some correspond to the purgative, illuminative and unitive ways, and others to a kind of *imitatio Christi* in which the

heart is modelled on the image of Christ (and to some extent on the Heart of Christ) (Table 14), this is not information a person can easily access simply by looking at the panels of the *cancel*. It cannot be stressed enough that these are panels based on and not simply literal copies of images of the *Schola cordis*. As we saw in the previous chapter, Alfaro and Pocasangre took artistic and textual liberties with the texts that accompany each of the images, in some cases this entailed completely changing the original meaning of the image and text. Although it is possible that some viewers would recognise the *Schola cordis* images in the *cancel*, and hence could go on to consume the images according to the information provided by the book, this does not mean that the *cancel* respected to the letter what is set out in the book. While we have a numbering that indicates an order of consumption, this does not necessarily entail that this order generates a logical or coherent sense of what the *Escuela del corazon*-based programme means. If the intention behind the creation of these panels was to prompt recognition of the original source, that is, that the *cancel* function as a located mediator that supplies the user with a source-book, then the only way that such a reading would in fact happen would be if such intention was taught by someone else, such as the clergy. The programme alone cannot afford such knowledge.

What do the internal mechanisms of these panels afford? Recalling the comparative analysis made between Luyken, Hoburg and Boekholt in Chapter 2, we may observe that the tool of repetition is also at work here. All the register's images feature the heart, and the devotee following them can recognise a series of events in which the heart acts as a protagonist, who is usually at the centre of the scene. In addition, by means of the text contained in each of the panels we can understand that there is something that the image wants to tell us about the heart, that is intimately linked to the ways in which the devout person relates to the divine. In this manner, the composition of the panels affords mnemonic tools by means of recurring motifs, which makes it possible to understand the connection between the panels. What is shown are various scenes usually with the same recurring characters, *Anima* and *Amor divinus*, in different situations, but always relating to the heart.

In addition, the artist used a fundamental stylistic resource in the texts of each panel, which we will also see widely used throughout the religious complex of the sanctuary: the implementation of the colour red to highlight key words within the texts. In the consumption of the panel, what is seen is connected not just to what is read, but also to what seems to be the most relevant word of the text, a feature afforded by a change of colour. Between the shifts in

colour and the elements contained in the image, the viewer can distinguish a series of textual and visual patterns, indicators of what is most relevant in what is being seen and read.

How does the representation of the characters and motifs, in conjunction with the accompanying texts, help us to pick up information they provide? In the case of *Jesus en de ziel*, the form of representation attached to the text helped to determine who was who: who was the Soul, and who was Jesus. In this case, we have no further explanatory texts, but we do have devices that the *Schola cordis* itself used: one character has wings and the other does not. The first would therefore be understood to be the divine character, and the other, without wings, the worldly one. Moreover, the images in the *cancel* deploy something that the *Schola cordis* engravings did not: colour. By means of the panels of this register that have suffered less alteration, we can observe that the artist consistently repeated the colours selected for the clothing of each of the characters. The user could thereby recognise that each of the panels represents the same characters in different situations. In other words, they could understand that the register contains a group of images that are linked together.

The heart, on the other hand, is simple in its design, without any distinguishing features, just enough to be recognisable as a heart. At least in terms of iconography, users would not be confused, however, about whether what they are looking at is a common heart or the Sacred Heart of Jesus, as there is no distinctive attribute that would lead them to think the latter is employed. In any case, the devotee is faced with a structure that provides the forms of representation of this devotion, just above this visual programme. For this reason, it would not be difficult for the viewer to recognise the worldly heart. Nevertheless, as we shall see next, in some of the texts that accompany the panels there are suggestions or allusions to the heart of God or Jesus, and yet the heart is not represented in any exceptional manner, but follows the aesthetic guidelines provided by the original source.

Let us focus on the texts written in Spanish. Each of the images contains an oval medallion which presents a text consisting of a title, and a poem. The pattern is easy to discern, for each panel provides textually the general idea of what the scene is supposed to mean. Consider a few examples.²³ In Panel 175 (Fig.6), the user reads from the title that what the image is about is the “vanity of the heart.” The poem expounds upon this vanity: how the heart is puffed up and breathes nothing of value, and therefore it is empty. Within the poem the word

²³ See Tables 11-13 for all the texts contained in the medallions of the EC-panels.

“respira” is painted in red, which is indicative of what the heart inhales and exhales, of what goes in and out. This is what we see in the image: a heart in the middle of the scene into which air is introduced by the devil, and out of which come objects that are the attributes of the vanity described.

On Panel 176 (Fig.61), which goes on the “weight of the heart”, the poem discusses the reason behind the heavy weight of the human heart, with sin translated into the consumption of food, which is the word highlighted in red, referring to gluttony. Such a heavy burden does not allow the heart to look up to heaven, to salvation. And indeed, there is an effective correspondence of ideas with the contents of the image, where the heart is on a table, being oppressed by tableware, while *Anima* is desiring more beverage coming from the devil. Panel 181’s (Fig.63) poem, on the “circumcision of the heart”, goes on one of the preparations for the heart so it can be given to God: it must be cut off all those worldly elements, all those unnecessary things the heart clings to. The knife, or the action of cutting off, is a metaphor for part of the material culture involved in the crucifixion: the cross, the nail and the spear. The image builds upon this metaphoric use of the knife, being the instrument held by *Amor divinus* to cut all the elements that are attached and hanging from the organ, held by *Anima*. The action can be read from left to right: *Amor divinus* is moving towards *Anima* with the knife, the object that is in the middle of the scene; *Anima* has the heart in her left hand, in the extreme right of the scene.

With Panel 185 (Fig.71), which is about the “levelling of the heart”, we have an interesting example where the text aligns not just to the image in the panel, but it also affords, in a more explicit manner, the connection of ideas and understandings of the divine with what is portrayed in the upper register of the *cancel*. In addition, it is one of the cases where the text allows the viewer to differentiate between the human and the Sacred Heart. The painting shows one heart being levelled with another. While this other heart has no distinguishing feature, when we read the accompanying text, we note that it is God who is speaking, most certainly through the figure of Jesus. God tells *Anima* that if she wants to level her heart, it is to His heart that she must adjust it. In essence, the divine heart is the model on which the human heart should be based. The words “recto nivel” in the medallion are painted in red, as this is the most important idea of the image: to rectify, as it were, the human heart through the divine heart, which is the correct measure for the condition in which the human soul should be. This image, if consumed during the user’s exploration of the *cancel*, dialogues with the images of the

characters contemplating the Sacred Heart in the upper interior register. It would not be difficult to interpret that these famous figures of Christian history have managed to level and rectify their hearts given that they have been blessed, in the *cancel*, with the presence of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Panel 211 (Fig.91) is, on the other hand, one fine example of the changes employed by Alfaro and Pocasangre in the texts of the *cancel*. These changes provoked a discrepancy between the text and the image. What the poem in the medallion focuses on is the benefits of being nourished with the love given by the beloved Spouse, who is God, and to quench the thirst by drinking such love. As it was previously shown in the last chapter, there is a change from the original narrative that appears with the corresponding emblem in the *Schola cordis*. The figure that is talking in Haeften's poem is *Anima*, not *Amor divinus*, as it is presented in the *cancel*; and it is *Anima* who is commanding *Amor divinus* to drink from her heart.²⁴ But while the text has been changed, the image has not been correspondingly updated by Pocasangre. The image on its own could have become confusing for the user, since what is depicted visually in the panel has not adapted to the changes in the medallion text: we see *Amor divinus* drinking from the heart of *Anima* just as appears in the original engraving in the *Schola cordis*. In this interesting case, what the image can offer is truncated by a problem of coherence that renders the iconography of the object ineffective. Due to problems in its design, occasioned by an alternation of the accompanying text, any religious benefit of this image will depend more on the engagement of the individual with the object than what the iconography of the object could offer.

All this consumption of the panel through the recognition of a pattern in motifs and words is only possible, however, if the viewer can read the Spanish, or the Latin texts that also accompany the panels. If the person was illiterate, then, once again, the programme would require a third party to inform the viewer of the content. Such cases would imply a possible communal "reading" of the EC-panels, in which one person would read the textual elements of the paintings, to one or more users. A mediator would be needed for what the panels can afford both textually and visually.

In this section, I have argued that the fact that someone knows the literary/emblematic source of the programme does not necessarily make them understand the programme as it

²⁴ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (II), 227.

appears in this instance. What it can do is impose the knowledge derived from the source on the programme as it is displayed in the *cancel*, leading potentially to the ignoring of subtle but significant modifications introduced by Pocasangre and Alfaro. In fact, this programme can be consumed and understood in a certain way without the help of the *Schola cordis* — a way that ends up being linked to certain narrative principles of Haeften's book. Though the proposal of the mystical ways and the modelling of the soul to Christ's heart is lost in the *cancel* register or, rather, it is difficult to access on the basis of the information provided by the images alone, the idea that we are confronted with moral and Christian lessons of how the heart is and how it should be, of what should be done to the heart so that it is on the right path and directed towards salvation is retained. This is communicated through the shared internal mechanisms of the images that compose the programme, via patterns that maintain their constancy in composition and in the modes the information that is delivered, in repetition, throughout the register. The user can see that he or she is being offered information through moral visual teachings and poems working together, that inform them about the state of their hearts and how they should be disposed to receive God's grace. The images and texts are thus capable of shaping, and modifying the viewer by providing textual and visual tools that can be integrated to the user's experience of the religious.

Throughout this chapter I have tried to elucidate how the *cancel* works. In the opening paragraphs we asked how an object works whose main functions are not necessarily aligned with the possible functions that will be fulfilled by the images it contains. As a conclusion, I would like to provide an answer to this question while retaining a focus on the visual motif of the heart in the EC-panels.

In summary, we can say that the *cancel* in Atotonilco functions in at least three ways:

- 1) as a structure that regulates physical transit in and out of the sanctuary, and restricts the user's vision, such that it serves as a device that conceals and at the same time provides an opportunity for revelation;
- 2) as a bearer of images, which entails that it functions as an object that maintains that visual, narrative, and religious coherence that is striven after in the sanctuary, and which is supposed to be experienced by the individual devotee; and finally,

- 3) as a bearer of images that are configured and arranged in a specific manner. The *cancel*'s structural logic conditions how the images and the information they provide can be observed and consumed by the user.

Of course, other modes of consumption of the *cancel* are possible. We have argued, however, that the visual programmes in the various registers, and the internal composition of these programmes, follow a logic, which could be perceived by the user only by interacting with the images and texts on the one hand, and by the provision of additional information, perhaps by a third party, on the other. Because this logic can also be established between the programmes, another form of interaction can be identified, in which one programme informs the other. A clear example of this function is the interaction between the two registers on the interior of the *cancel*.

Panel 185 of the lower register of the *cancel*'s interior, which refers to how the human heart should be levelled to the heart of Jesus, provided an example of the internal mechanisms of the EC-panels. Although in this case the text and the image explicitly identify the subject matter of the panel, it is not difficult to imagine that the user could consume the panel from what they already knew about the Sacred Heart of Jesus, an object of devotion depicted in the top register immediately above them.²⁵ Further, the materialisation of the divine in front of the notable figures of Christian history in this top register could function as a device to inform the individual how to consume the lower visual programme. The panels of the Sacred Heart could afford a manner of distinction between what is a divine representation of the heart, as it is in the upper register, and what is not, as shown in the lower one. The upper register could have reinforced the notion that, by interacting with the EC-panels, the community could be sure that they were dealing mostly with a human heart, with the believer's own heart. The EC-panels provide moral information that can be picked up visually and textually by the user, which affords reflection on the heart's present condition and its ideal condition to obtain salvation.

Among the various ways in which the visual motif of the heart functions in the *cancel*, we can discern one that seems to dictate the relationship of this motif to the rest of the sanctuary. Contained in a structure with a specific set of functions, designed in such a way as to be coherent with the visual and intellectual programme of the entire architectural complex to which it belongs, the visual motif of the heart is incorporated into the *cancel* as a tool that,

²⁵ And, in the vault that is above the *cancel*, as we will see in the following chapter.

when consumed on its own, provides the user visually and textually with lessons about his/her own heart that should be heeded. At the same time, it serves as a practical device to understand the individual's heart which, when linked to the programme relating to the Sacred Heart, is integrated into the devotional narrative that the sanctuary aims to teach and imprint on the individual, as we will see in the following chapter. The EC-panels then serve as a set of visual forms to indicate processes that examine the individual's own heart, an individual who has at her or his disposal right there in the same structure not only examples of a good Christian life, or the practical liturgical celebrations to be followed by the good Christian community, but the model *par excellence* by means of which their own heart should be shaped: the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Chapter 6: Interaction with the *cancel*

Just as the dynamics of the study of internal mechanisms shifted from one object to another in this study, so does the analysis of interaction with the objects. In the case of *Jesus en de ziel* we were able to determine a number of forms of interaction with the book, and therefore with the heart-emblems, utilising a wide range of sources: from the written evidence of the book catalogues to the material evidence of composite books that are preserved, in addition to evidence of ownership, and of Luyken's reception by certain parts of Dutch society. In the case of the *cancel* nothing similar survives. No contemporary sources that provide evidence of possible interaction with the *cancel* have yet been identified. For this reason, the very notion of how to study interaction with the object is challenged, and other ways of proceeding have to be identified.

In light of the analysis offered in the previous chapter, I propose that part of what the image or object affords can be perceived thanks to the information provided by other images or objects and activities in its environment. This is not a new argument, but my point is that through an analysis of the information that survives about these other images, we can at least outline what the complex as a whole was able to afford with respect to the possibilities of religious experience of the *cancel*. By using information pertaining to the closest material environment of the object we are able to come closer to reconstructing the composite experience that a religious object affords.

We have seen how the various programmes of the *cancel* can be read as informing each other, and, more importantly, how the EC-panels can be interpreted in the light of what the upper register shows. We also saw the ways in which the object affords interaction, and how the layout of internal composition of each of the panels allows for a certain kind of reading and understanding of what was being seen and read. Now we are confronted with the challenge of elucidating the correspondences these mechanisms could have with the space to which they belong, and to the activities performed within this space. It should be clear, of course, that our analysis cannot tell us whether at some historical point there was indeed a specific interaction with the programme in such a way that an explicit order was followed by the viewer, and that having followed this sequence the person engaged in reflection or did some other act of a religious nature. Given the lack of ego-documents describing interaction with the work, we

cannot know whether the plausible possibilities we are attempting to construct were actually realised.

But there is something we do know. The *cancel* is, in any account, unavoidable. It is the single object in all the sanctuary that the community simply had to interact with if they wanted to enter the space. Its panels, then, would be looked at in one way or another, and their peculiar characteristics would be perceived albeit fleetingly or nonchalantly. The community knew that in order to enter the sanctuary space they would have to go through an object containing, among other things, a great number of images and texts, all disposed in an identical manner, where they could see a heart as the subject of various processes and scenarios. The *cancel* serves as a barrier to be crossed, presenting a number of marks in the surface that can be readily recognized and distinguished as blocks, or themes. The EC-panels all share the same disposition of text and image: this much could be seen even without reading the texts or distinguishing the images, and they could therefore be understood and visually grouped as a cycle on its own. The same applies for the other registers. The *cancel* registers are easily visually distinguished from each other, and they can be distinguished from the rest of cycles in the sanctuary. As an unavoidable object, its images, and maybe texts, became part of the person's experience of the place.

I wish to propose that the *cancel*'s rich visual framework was designed to generate a cohesive reading of the space of the church interior. In the event that they focused for a moment on the panels depicting, for example, the *Escuela del corazon*-based programme, the visiting faithful would not have seen them as extraneous, but complementary to the number of experiences the whole complex afforded. In this way, the panels were able to be integrated by the individual into their religious experience of the space, without deviating from the kind of religious experience Alfaro was trying to inculcate. Its structure and location bestowed on the *cancel* of the role of concealing the spaces inside in such a manner that everything that occurs inside cannot be experienced on the outside of the barrier. Inside the complex, the *cancel* shows processes and experiences related to both the human and sacred heart. These very processes are distributed through an entangled network of cycles arranged in a specific manner, within a space in which a number of religious practices are performed.

This reading of the *cancel* and the sanctuary's interior is not cohesive in the sense that there is an exact way of navigating the sanctuary together with the *cancel*. Rather the two cohere insofar as the diverse cycles adorning the interior of the complex, which could be

consumed by the individual or community either *ad libitum* or directed by a specific religious practice, could align with the panels of the heart, furnishing the panels with a corpus of visual aids, explanations, and visual statements of belief, on which to rely. As we shall explore throughout this chapter, the visitor's ability to interact with the multiplicity of cycles, including the *cancel*'s, rests not only on the shared topics on which they touch and the prominence of hearts through the complex, but, in fact, primarily because of compositional decisions.

The sanctuary is a structure containing diverse cycles displayed for the most part in a similar fashion, with the aim of making the interior a suggestive environment for active participation by the community. Almost every painted wall or vault in the sanctuary presents a text that complements the image, and many of the texts are written in first person, including the texts from the *cancel*. It would seem that the aim was for the individual not to learn a narrative, or a biblical story, but to actually be a participant of the process of salvation. This is already established from the liturgical calendar displayed on the external side of the *cancel* (Tables 5-7), but it is particularly inside the space that many of the images belonging to specific cycles contain texts that, if repeated by the community, imply the active participation in processes that are all intended, in the end, for salvation of the participants. In this sense, the space functions as a massive and complex machine, driven by a specific technology that complements the actual objects of devotion within the sanctuary (such as the image of Jesus the Nazarene). A complex entanglement of visual and textual devices follows a pattern of recognition which enables the community to become active participants in the experience of the religious. And this all starts, and ends, in the *cancel*, with its panels on the human heart where God (*Amor divinus*) talks to the Soul (*Anima*), and the Soul talks to God, all in first person. Father Alfaro provided in this way instruments to shape the community's perception of the religious, not just through the images they were looking at, but through the connection of them to specific ways of talking, and thereby to ways of belonging to the process of salvation initiated by the crucifixion of the Son of God.

In the end, the ornamental principle of the sanctuary is that there be no way for the individual's gaze to fall on anything that does not always already imply an image, object, text, or idea relating to her or his own beliefs, or to a certain kind of belief that Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro intended to imprint in the community. This kind of living religion entailed being surrounded by an impressive, and indeed excessive series of objects, images, texts, shapes, and colours that all had the same objective. Many of these objects were using patterns that were

intended to be recognized, where the community could get involved in the process of salvation, acknowledging their role in it. The composition of the entrance to the complex would be no exception.

In the following pages we shall explore diverse visual and textual elements in the sanctuary. We shall pay particular attention to the practices performed within the space, where clear correlations can be drawn between these practices and what the *cancel* afforded. First, I provide a brief account of the establishment of the sanctuary around 1766. Next, Alfaro's own brief account of the *cancel* penned in 1766 will be used as a kind of navigating tool. As we have already noted, the entangled network of visual cycles and devotional activities within the sanctuary is highly complex, and there is no easy way to decide where to begin our consideration of them. Alfaro's brief comment on the *cancel* will serve as a means to guide our movement around the various cycles and activities, alternating between spaces located in the House of Exercises and spaces located on the first floor of the sanctuary. From the *cancel* we move to the practice of the Spiritual Exercises. In this practice we may find some clues of the rationale behind Alfaro's configuration of the *cancel*, mainly of the EC-panels. Lastly, we will explore the relationships between the human heart, as shown on the EC-panels, and the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

1. Organization of the sanctuary

The extent to which the sanctuary has undergone alteration and is no longer preserved in its original state has been noted. For a closer understanding of what could have been the state of the complex during the eighteenth century, the description of the sanctuary by Father Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, as chaplain, in 1766, as part of an episcopal visit (*auto de visita*), provides an invaluable source.¹ In the document, Alfaro offers a detailed description of objects, spaces and decorations of the sanctuary, and adds an explanation on how a day of Spiritual Exercises was organised in the famous eight-day retreat of exercises performed in the sanctuary.² Relying on this document obliges us to avoid referring to the contents of the Chapel

¹ Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario de Atotonilco: cercano a la Villa de San Miguel," September 18, 1766. In Caja 113, Exp.66. Museo y Archivo Histórico Casa de Morelos (Hereafter ACM). This document was partially transcribed by José Santiago de Silva. see: Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, "Documento 22," in *Apéndice documental: Atotonilco. Alfaro y Pocasangre*, ed. José de Santiago Silva, 78-97 (Guanajuato: Ediciones la Rana, 2004). The following discussion rests on my own examination of the original.

² For an explanation of Alfaro's distribution of hours for his Spiritual Exercises, see Appendix 2.

of the Calvary, which today is connected to what was once the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, since this chapel was not completed yet when the description was written.

By 1766, the sanctuary comprised the principal sanctuary, a single nave church, whose altarpiece is dedicated to Jesus the Nazarene, and contains a wooden sculpture of the Nazarene placed there by Alfaro in 1748.³ The complex also had five chapels, seven additional altarpieces (not corresponding to the altarpieces inside the chapels), three *camarines*,⁴ and a sacristy.⁵ In addition, the House of Exercises was located on the second floor of the edifice. Starting from the south side of the vestibule on the inner side of the *cancel*, and going all the way around the complex until returning to the vestibule on the north side, the chapels appeared in the following order: Bethlehem; the Rosary; the Holy Cenacle; the Holy House of Loreto; the Holy Sepulchre. The altarpieces were, in the same order, dedicated to: St Louis, King of France; St Christopher; Our Lady of Refuge; St John Nepomuk; Calvary; St Vincent Ferrer; St Philip Neri. The *camarines* were dedicated to: the Rosary; Jesus the Nazarene; and Our Lady of Loreto (Table 15).⁶

³ Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 262-264.

⁴ A *camarín* is a small chapel usually behind the high altar or any other important altarpiece, and it works as the permanent place for display of either a highly important image or a relic.

⁵ Today the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

⁶ Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario."

		<i>Camarín</i> of Jesus the Nazarene			
	Sacristy	Main Altarpiece: Seventh Vault			
		Sixth Vault		Chapel of the Rosary	<i>Camarín</i> of the Rosary
Chapel of the Holy Cenacle		Altarpiece of the Calvary	Nave Fifth Vault	Altarpiece of St John Nepomuk	
<i>Camarín</i> of Our Lady of Loreto	Chapel of the Holy House of Loreto		Nave: Fourth Vault	Altarpiece of Our Lady of the Refuge	
		Altarpiece of St Vincent Ferrer	<i>Sotocoro</i> : Third Vault	Altarpiece of St Christopher	
		Altarpiece of St Philip Neri	Vestibule: Second Vault	Altarpiece of St Louis King of France	
Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre		Vestibule: First Vault <i>CANCEL</i>		Chapel of Bethlehem	

Table 15. Schematic distribution of chapels, altarpieces and *camarines* on the first floor of the Sanctuary of Atotonilco, c. 1766.

2. Alfaro's *cancel*: the purgative, the illuminative and the unitive paths

We have already established that Pocasangre and Alfaro arranged the *cancel*'s panels such that both the textual and visual information could succinctly convey religious ideas through the voices and actions of God (*Amor divinus*) and the Soul (*Anima*). These ideas were all directed to a central aim: the formation of the human heart. According to the evidence of the surviving panels, the goal of this formation was to render the heart worthy of the love of God. The *cancel* was not necessarily read step by step, rather, every image with its texts would show what should be done to the heart, what the heart was undergoing, and the reception of God's love, represented either by nourishment and protection, or by emulating God's own act of love toward humankind: the sacrifice of Christ.

If we take as a sample the best-preserved EC-panels of the *cancel* (including the surviving texts in the medallion),⁷ we can discern how the *cancel* teaches that the human heart is drowned in vanity and material needs (Panels 175 and 176, Figs.6, 61), and how all this worldly weight needs to be cut off (Panel 181, Fig.63). The heart should be put on the flames of Divine love, which melt away what is not good (Panel 182, Fig.65), and it can be only purified through the wounds of Christ (Panel 183, Fig.67). The devotee next gives their heart in return for receiving the heart of their saviour (Panel 84, Fig.69). The human heart can be levelled and rectified only through the true measure, which is the divine Heart (Panel 185, Fig.71). The old heart, by the grace of God, can be renewed, so the person can acquire this new organ that comes from the love of God (Panel 186, Fig.73). The heart must be prepared as a plot of soil, so the Soul asks that the divine seed be implanted in it by her beloved (Panels 189 and 190, Figs.79, 81). The nourishment of God's love will be shown in the heart, and as a well-prepared land, with the correct irrigation, flowers will bloom (Panels 191 and 192, Figs.83, 85). With God's love, with the acceptance and surrender of the heart to his protection, the heart then is guarded against evil and sin (Panels 193 and 194, Figs.87, 89). The love demonstrated through Christ's sacrifice is what should nourish the soul, and this is what Christ offers to her (Panel 211, Fig.91). The love of the devotee should be demonstrated (as an act of retribution) by receiving and experiencing as closely as possible the pain endured by her Saviour (Panel 212, Fig.93).

This is the information that a surviving fragment of the *cancel* provides. There are not any instructions to be found in the complex regarding the meaning and use of the programme, nor there is much mention of the *cancel* and its contents in the primary sources. Father Alfaro mentions the *cancel* only on one occasion, in his 1766 description. Even though it is quite a brief text, without many explanatory details, its contents give a fundamental clue about how Alfaro understood the configuration of the EC-panels. He described the *cancel* as follows: “pintado al temple de la parte de la Yglesia, las tres vias del corazón humano, purgativa, iluminativa y unitiva, de parte de la Calle las Dominicas, y, ferias.”⁸

Alfaro knew, as we do, the source of the panels, and he understood it as a summary of the paths (purgative, illuminative, and unitive) that the human heart was to take in its progress

⁷ See Tables 11-13.

⁸ Alfaro, “Descripcion de el Santuario,” fol.8v: “painted in tempera, [on the church interior side of the *cancel*], the three ways of the human heart, purgative, illuminative and unitive; on the street side the Sundays and feast days.” It is worth noticing that Alfaro does not mention the programmes from the top registers. This raises the question of whether they were in place at the time of his writing in 1766.

towards salvation, a process that implied union with God and the hard work of sustaining this union. If we look again at the panels, and what would be their corresponding distribution in the various Classes and Books of the *Schola cordis* (Table 14), we notice two things: first, images that are part of this tripartite system are indeed represented; and second, there also appear images that, according to Haeften, are not exactly part of this system, but are related to it.

Let us look at Table 14 from Chapter 4, together with Figs.57-59. The First Class in Haeften's *Schola cordis* is described by the author as the preamble to starting with the ways: here the first objective is to direct the deviant heart to the very process of salvation itself. The first four panels of the *cancel* derive from this preamble. The Second Class in Haeften's work initiates the purgative way, where the participant purifies and fortifies the heart. The Third Class continues with a heart that is already purified and now has to be examined so it can be offered to God. Aligning with these two classes the *cancel* presents, in its current state,⁹ seven panels belonging to the purgative way. Haeften's Fourth Class focuses on the illuminative way, in which the heart, illuminated, worthy of God, is given spiritual food until it is prepared to reach or to pass unto the unitive way. The *cancel* contains eleven panels devoted to this path, all located in the central structure. The Fifth Class of the *Schola cordis* prepares the heart spiritually so that it can receive God's grace, divine food, and God's love that leads to unity with Him. Seven of the *cancel* panels are devoted to this unitive way. Here ends the direct connection between the *cancel* and the tripartite system of spiritual progress. The Sixth and Seventh Classes of the *Schola cordis* focus on exercises concerning the passion of Christ. These practices can sustain the heart's condition of being in God's grace.¹⁰ The pilgrimage undertaken in this life, which is parallel to the purgative, illuminative, and unitive ways, is only possible in Christ and through his passion. The rest of the panels of the *cancel*, which cover almost all the panels of the central lower register and all along to the north side of the structure, are based on these classes.

No evidence survives that allows us to state with certainty whether any of these collections and groupings of the panels were explained to the community. While explicit image-based instruction is certainly not improbable, it is equally important to note what the building itself afforded, and perhaps even encouraged. As we shall see, the visual paths contained in the *cancel*, including the panels connected to Christ, are confined to the religious

⁹ It must be borne in mind that, besides the heavy intervention undergone by some of the individual panels, the *cancel* suffered a restructuring that resulted in the loss of several panels.

¹⁰ Haeften, *Escuela del corazon* (I), 86-87.

practices that Alfaro was promoting in the sanctuary, which in turn made it possible for the believers to relate to, and connect with the various lessons the panels offer. The *cancel* implicitly provides, through text and image, a sequence of processes that were probably unfamiliar to the believer, but were nonetheless intended to be happening within them, by means of the devotional practices that she or he performed in the sanctuary.

3. Alfaro's Spiritual Exercises.

In addition to the explicit naming of the three ways in Alfaro's brief description of the sanctuary, we may also note its importance in one of the devotional sources that, as we will show in the following, most probably was used by the Oratorian, namely Sebastián Izquierdo's (1601-1681) *Practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales del N. Padre S. Ignacio*, first published in 1675.¹¹ This is one of the numerous texts that followed upon the Spiritual Exercises proposed by Ignatius of Loyola. Loyola's *Exercitia spiritualia* was first published in Latin in 1548, and it is a book composed of several specific meditations, prayers, practices and instructions that are divided into four "weeks". The weeks do not sharply correspond each to the seven days of a week, but to four different thematic stages, to be carried out in about thirty days, and are directed to the improvement of the believer in their relationship and commitment towards God. The path the believer follows in the exercises takes them from the understanding of sin and the mercy of God through the various episodes of the life of Jesus, until they reach the Passion, and finally the resurrection of Christ and the love of God. The diverse practices were to be carried out while on retreat, in silence and solitude.¹² As we will see next, Izquierdo's *Practica* takes Loyola as the primary basis, but reduces the four "weeks" into eight days.

To understand how Izquierdo's text and Loyola's Exercises furnish a connection between the tripartite system of spiritual progress and the panels of the *cancel* as they were perceived by Alfaro, we must first, however, introduce the House of Exercises (*Casa de Ejercicios*) within the complex, which was fully dedicated to the practice of the Spiritual Exercises. The House was one of the most important projects for the sanctuary, and it modified how participants interacted with the entire complex. We are fortunate to have a very early

¹¹ Here I will use the 1728 edition. Sebastián Izquierdo, *Practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales de nuestro padre San Ignacio* (Madrid: Alonso Balvas, 1728).

¹² On Ignatius of Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, see: Terence O'Reilly, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Context, Sources, Reception* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020).

description of the House of Exercises and of the activities that took place within it preserved in Alfaro's 1766 description of the sanctuary. This account reflects the House of Exercises in a near pristine state: the House was inaugurated in July of 1765.¹³

Located on the second floor of the sanctuary, the House of Exercises, by Alfaro's account, was mainly composed of the Room for Exercises (*Sala de Ejercicios*), the Directory (*Directorio*), the Refectory (*Refectorio*), the Clock Tower (*Torre del Reloj*), a kitchen and the dormitories. The Room for Exercises was located above the vestibule of the church, west of the choir, to which it was connected by means of a door which had a window in it.¹⁴ The Directory was located at the north wall of the Room for Exercises, the Refectory and Clock Tower at the south. Most probably the kitchen was also on the south side of the structure and the dormitories were on the ground floor. A staircase connected the dormitories to either the kitchen or the Refectory.¹⁵

The community participating in the Spiritual Exercises was varied and comprised different social classes. The minimum number of participants (in 1766) was twenty-five people, and the maximum seventy-two.¹⁶ According to the Oratorian Father Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra, in his funeral eulogy to Alfaro (1776), the priest wanted his preaching and teaching to be understood by everyone, from the ignorant to the most knowledgeable. The exercises were no exception: his way of speaking and explaining was conditioned by the type of audience he would have in front of him.¹⁷ Alfaro was concerned in creating a space for everyone interested to come and be taught the Word of God.

The exercises were eight days and eight nights long, considering that the participants entered the complex one day before the first full day of exercises. In a full day, a great number of activities had to be performed; the schedule provided for only one break in the afternoon after lunch.¹⁸ These activities will be discussed shortly; first, however, let us focus our attention on the exercises themselves, as Alfaro conceived them. We can safely assume Alfaro's

¹³ Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario," fol.10r.

¹⁴ Today the former Room for Exercises is united to the choir, forming one large room. The door to the choir contained a stained-glass window. Alfaro also refers to a *mampara* (screen), "en que estan estampados varios jeroglíficos del Sacramento con sus versos" (Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario," fol.10v. [in which there are printed various hieroglyphs of the Sacrament with their verses]. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to determine where this screen would have been.

¹⁵ Pérez, "The *Via Crucis*," 73.

¹⁶ Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario," fol. 10r.

¹⁷ Díaz de Gamarra, "Elogio fúnebre," 66.

¹⁸ See Appendix 2.

configuration of his eight days exercises drew on Sebastian Izquierdo's *Practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales*. Apart from its being one of the most famous guides to the performance of the exercises in eight days,¹⁹ the engravings printed in the work strongly inspired Alfaro's programme. In his 1766 description, the Oratorian tells us that the walls of the Directory were painted with the "Compositions of Place" (*composiciones del lugar*) of each day of exercise.²⁰ The brief description would seem to refer to the paintings on the Directory walls that are clearly inspired by the engravings in Izquierdo's book.²¹ In addition, Izquierdo establishes four points to meditate upon for each day of exercise. In Alfaro's distribution of the hours, according to the 1766 text, we can see that this four-part structure is respected, and that the four points of meditation are distributed throughout the day, the first being at around 6:00, the second around 10:00, the third around 16:00, and the fourth around 18:00. The version of the Spiritual Exercises practised in this space was thus partially mediated by Izquierdo's guide.

How does this account of the House of Exercises relate to Alfaro's description of the *cancel* and to the *cancel* itself? Though we cannot tell for sure to what extent Sebastián Izquierdo's book was used, we can propose some connections between the book, its purposes, the creation of the House of Exercises and Izquierdo's presence in it, and the EC-panels programme. Izquierdo explains that the four weeks that Ignatius of Loyola intended to be devoted to the Spiritual Exercises, had the objective of leading the Exercitant through various degrees, from the start of their conversion to acquiring a high degree of perfection. These degrees correspond, he writes, "a las tres vias, Purgativa, Iluminativa, y Unitiva, en que dividen el camino espiritual los Theologos mysticos".²² While Izquierdo reduced Loyola's time frame

¹⁹ Izquierdo's book was very popular in the Viceroyalty. First published in 1675, its popularity among the various guides to the Ignatian exercises was due to its brevity, practicality, and the clarity of Izquierdo's exposition, in addition to the engravings it contained, some of which were based on Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines*. See: Mónica Hidalgo, "Versiones y ediciones de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* de San Ignacio. México, 1586-1856," *Revista de Historia de América*, no.169 (February 2021): 32.

²⁰ Alfaro, "Descripcion de el Santuario," fol. 9v. Among other elements worth noting in Alfaro's description of the Directory, the paintings of the anchorites (as Alfaro calls them) in the lower register of the walls and an *Ecce Homo* in a niche should be mentioned. The sculpture had a round wooden board where penances were written. Apparently, the participant would spin the board, and where the finger of the *Ecce Homo* stopped and pointed that was the penance to be carried out by the participant (Alfaro, "Descripcion de el Santuario," fol. 9v).

²¹ The paintings of the Directory have suffered heavily from numerous interventions. Fortunately, most of the original programme according to Izquierdo's book is, however, preserved (albeit heavily reworked). Unfortunately, what we know of the Directory is mostly thanks to Santiago Silva's account and photographs in *Alfaro y Pocasangre*. Currently, by decision of the administration of the sanctuary, it is not possible to access this space. For more photographs of the Directory, see: José de Santiago Silva, *Atotonilco* (Guanajuato: Ediciones la Rana, 1996).

²² Izquierdo, *Practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales*, 5: "to the three ways [paths], Purgative, Illuminative, and Unitive, into which the mystical theologians divide the spiritual path."

of four weeks to eight days, he maintained the Jesuit founder's objectives.²³ Izquierdo explains his division of the weeks into the eight days in the exercise of Day Six (On the Conquest of Christ's Kingdom), describing how the weeks (And therefore the days) relate to the three ways, and how the three ways relate to the narrative of Jesus in the Desert:²⁴

Porque en la primera semana dellos (que corresponde à la Via purgativa) se nos enseña, como hemos de salir del captiverio de Satanàs por medio de la verdadera penitencia de los pecados. Y en la segunda, y tercera (que corresponde à la Via iluminativa) como hemos de caminar en seguimiento de Christo para conseguir la unión con Dios, que en esta vida puede alcanzarse, (de que se trata en la quarta semana correspondiente a la Via unitiva) y despues con seguridad, y muchas ventajas la gloria eterna, que nos está prometida.²⁵

In Izquierdo's version, the first Ignatian week is translated into the first five days of Spiritual Exercises, which in turn means that the first five days correspond to the purgative way. In the sixth day and seventh days, the sixth and seventh exercise (on the Passion of Christ) summarises the second week and third week respectively; and together the teachings

²³ It is true that the connection between the mystic ways and the exercises does not come from Izquierdo, but from Loyola himself, though the latter refers to them not as ways but as lives, and refers only to the purgative and the illuminative. This connection was further developed by other commentators, authors, editions, and versions of the exercises See: O'Reily, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 205-206; Hidalgo, "Versiones y ediciones." Loyola himself mentions the ways (lives) in the tenth annotation of his Exercises: "Quando el que dà los Exercicios siente al que los recibe, que es batido, y tentado debaxo de especie de bien, entonces es propio de platicarle sobre las reglas de la segunda semana ya dicha, porque comúnmente el enemigo de natura humana tienta mas debaxo de especie de bien, quando la persona se exercita en la vida iluminativa, que corresponde á los Exercicios de la segunda semana, y no tanto en la vida purgativa, que corresponde á los Exercicios de la primera semana." (Ignacio de Loyola, *Exercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Puebla: Colegio del Espíritu Santo, 1698), 21). Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1914), 7-8: "When he who is giving the Exercises perceives that he who is receiving them is assaulted and tempted under the appearance of good, then it is proper to instruct him about the Rules of the Second Week already mentioned. For, ordinarily, the enemy of human nature tempts under the appearance of good rather when the person is exercising himself in the Illuminative Life, which corresponds to the Exercises of the Second Week, and not so much in the Purgative Life, which corresponds to those of the First."

²⁴ We could speculate on whether the importance of the temptation of Christ in the desert (Luke 4: 1-13; Matthew 4: 1-11) can be linked to the conception of the Sanctuary, its location in a desert place such as Atotonilco, and the inclusion of the Desert Fathers in the *cancel's* iconography. According to Izquierdo (*Práctica de los Exercicios Espirituales*, 83), Loyola used this episode in the life of Jesus to elaborate the exercises. God, through the death and resurrection of Christ, "[los] encaminasse por el Desierto desta vida al Cielo prometido." [led them through the Desert of this life to the promised Heaven].

²⁵ Izquierdo, *Práctica de los Exercicios Espirituales*, 83-84: "For in the first week of them (which corresponds to the Via purgativa) we are taught how we are to come out of Satan's captivity by means of true penance for our sins. And in the second and third (which correspond to the Illuminative Way) how we are to walk following Christ in order to attain union with God, which in this life can be attained (which is dealt with in the fourth week corresponding to the Unitive Way) and then with security and many advantages the eternal glory, which is promised to us."

correspond then to the illuminative way.²⁶ The eighth exercise, regarding the love of God, and the last one during the retreat, corresponds to the fourth week and the unitive way. The participant would reflect and experience a number of ideas that would range from the prison of Satan and the act of penitence to the acceptance of Christ as the right path that will lead to salvation. During eight days the soul would prepare itself to reach that notion of unity that could be achieved during life. For the soul to be formed during the exercises was an active process.

The correspondences between the Ignatian Exercises, Izquierdo's reception of them, and the three paths can be aligned as follows:

Ignatian Week	Izquierdo Day	Exercise (Izquierdo)	Mystic Way
First week	First Day	I. Del Principio, y fundamento	Purgative
	Second Day	II. De Los Pecados Mortales	
	Third Day	III. De la Muerte	
	Fourth Day	IV. Del Juicio Universal	
	Fifth Day	V. Del Infierno	
Second week	Sixth Day	VI. De la Conquista del Reyno de Christo	Illuminative
Third Week	Seventh Day	VII. De la Passion de Christo	
Fourth Week	Eighth Day	VIII. Del Amor de Dios	Unitive

Table 16. Correspondences between Loyola, Izquierdo and the Mystic ways.

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the content of each of the exercises. What is important to understand, however, is that at the start of the exercises, through reflection on the notions of condemnation, death and evil, penitence is demanded for sins committed. By leaving behind darkness and understanding its nature, which is the most arduous step, taking most of the week, the participant then can follow the path of Christ, constantly fighting against any worldly and evil temptation that wants to deviate. In following Christ's passion closely, the soul comes to be prepared, to understand and experience unity with God through love. This state must be maintained through prayer, and through remembering what has been learned.²⁷

²⁶ Izquierdo, *Practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales*, 83-84, 110.

²⁷ And, in any case, by repeating the exercises. See: Izquierdo, *Practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales*, 118-119.

The spiritual formation through exercises reaches its high point on the last day, which focuses on the love of God, and provides the most explicit treatment of this notion of unity and the role of the heart within it. The exercise focuses on the Resurrection and the love of God, which is, in the end, the main goal of the spiritual life.²⁸ The Composition of Place asks for the participant to imagine himself in front of the loving God.²⁹ A painting on the south-east side of the Directory shows this Composition following the corresponding engraving in Izquierdo's work (Fig.10):³⁰ the Soul offers her flaming heart to the Trinity,³¹ a striking image that finds counterparts, for example, in the surrendering and renovation of the heart in the EC-panels (Panel 184 and 186, Figs.69, 73).³²

If we follow the argument of Izquierdo's influence in Alfaro's programme, we can add that the programme of exercises is based on the same tripartite system that is at the heart of the *cancel's* EC-panels composition. As the soul is being shaped through the different exercises, going through stages that lead from understanding sin and temptation to the unity and love to/from God, there is a parallel process going on at the very barrier of the sanctuary. The heart was itself being shaped through the panels for the same, or similar, purpose. Of course, we cannot tell for sure that Alfaro made the connection explicit between the *cancel* and his configuration of the exercises to the devotees, but it is possible that the correspondences between these practices and the visual programme of the *cancel* through their share of the same mystic path system were intentional. The topics of repentance and the capacity of the retreatant to shape their soul/heart in order to be able to purely love God and be an adequate receptacle of God's love; the example of Jesus' passion and suffering as the path to follow and the model for the soul/heart; and the understanding of these elements as stages in processes which the retreatant needs to undergo, are clear in both the EC-panels and in the House of Exercises of the sanctuary.

²⁸ Izquierdo, *Practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales*, 111.

²⁹ Izquierdo, *Practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales*, 112.

³⁰ For a photograph of this image, see: Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 314.

³¹ This is the engraving for the last exercise, corresponding to the Love of God. Around the figure there are several objects representing the worldly, and below, the text *Quid nos separabit* (cf. Romans 8:35 [Douay-Rheims Bible, hereafter DRB]: "Who then shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation? Or distress? Or famine? Or nakedness? Or danger? Or persecution? Or the sword?").

³² It also has striking similarities to Jan Luyken's Title-figure for Christian Hoburg's *Levendige herts-theologie* (Fig.28).

4. The human heart in the sanctuary: the relationship with the Sacred Heart

The painting on the south-east wall of the Directory is not the only work outside the frames of the *cancel* that represents the heart as being offered to or in relationship with the divine. An oil painting located in the highest part of the altarpiece in the *Camarín* of the Rosary represents an apotheosis of hearts.³³ The scene depicts God the Father depicted above, below him the Holy Spirit, and below the Holy Spirit there are depicted five hearts, encircled by what appears to be a kind of rosary: the Sacred Hearts of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph are above, the other two hearts are presumably hearts of St Joachim and St Anne. Below the hearts of the Holy Family, angels bear a tray with hearts aloft in offering, and in the lowest register is depicted Christ with both a cross and a sword on his chest, carrying in his hands the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Sacred Heart of Mary. Surrounding this central register, we can find a great number of saints also offering their hearts.³⁴ While we cannot be sure who had access to the *camarín*, we can say that the depiction of the offering of the hearts of believers, in addition to the hearts that the saints themselves are offering, all in presence of the hearts of the Holy Family, is clearly connected to the ideas and spiritual practices of offering the heart, retribution through love, and total acceptance of the heart of God.

This apotheosis of hearts is one of many examples in the sanctuary where the underlying visual resource is the interaction between human and sacred hearts. The predominant message of interactions are the notions of repentance, offering, retribution and love. It could even be said that the sanctuary as a whole provides an apotheosis of hearts. In this sense, a fundamental, overarching devotion in the complex is the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In the following paragraphs we shall consider the relevance of this devotion in the Viceroyalty, and how it is inserted in the visual programme of the sanctuary, arguing that a knowledge of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was the basis by which many of the elements contained in the complex could be grasped. For the EC-panels this is fundamental, not only because of the relationship between the topics they touch upon, but because the visual strategies utilised in the panels are built upon the modes of representation and the importance of devotion

³³ Unfortunately, the administration of the sanctuary is not presently granting access to the *Camarín* of the Rosary. For a photograph of this image, see: Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 360

³⁴ Among the figures identified by José de Santiago Silva are Ignatius of Loyola, Philipp Neri, Stanislaus Kotska, Francis Xavier (1506-1552), and Aloysius Gonzaga (1568-1591) (Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 359-360).

to the Divine Heart of the Son of God. In other words, the visual affordances of the Sacred Heart devotion aids the affordances of the EC-panels.

It was not difficult to obtain an understanding of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Viceroyalty during the eighteenth-century.³⁵ The first publication to appear on the Sacred Heart in New Spain was Juan Antonio de Mora's *Devoto culto que debe dar el christiano a el Sagrado Corazón de Christo Dios*, published in 1732.³⁶ Mora's work was based on Joseph de Gallifet's (1663-1749) *De cultu sacrosancti cordis Dei*, originally published in 1726. Together with Claude de la Colombiere, confessor, and spiritual guide of Marguerite-Marie Alacoque,³⁷ Gallifet became one of the most important figures in spreading the devotion in the early eighteenth century. The engravings contained in his *De cultu* helped in spreading the more anatomical, corporeal accuracy in the visual depiction of the Sacred Heart, and internationalising the cult in general. Gallifet was very much interested in giving legitimacy to the origins, revelations and historical developments surrounding the Sacred Heart of Jesus, providing arguments on why it had to be a devotion to be preserved and spread through Christendom.³⁸ Mora's *Devoto culto*, on the other hand, was a fundamental aid in the devotion's popularity in the Viceroyalty. Mora briefly recounts the origins of the devotion, its development throughout Europe, and proofs of how the Sacred Heart was revealed to diverse holy figures, besides Alacoque. Mora then proceeds to provide modes in which the devotion can and should be promoted, and various practices by means of which the devotee can come to love and give reverence to the Sacred Heart, describing different exercises for worshipping, loving and invoking the holy organ. Mora dedicates part of the last pages to the Sacred Heart of Mary, including exercises to revere Mary's heart. The book ends with several prayers addressed to both Sacred Hearts.³⁹

By the eighteenth century the devotion of the Sacred Heart was focusing more and more in the loving relationship to be pursued with Christ.⁴⁰ This approach stressed Christ's sacrifice as the ultimate evidence of his love for humanity, and therefore how repentant and humble

³⁵ On the Sacred Heart in New Spain, see especially: Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 23.

³⁶ Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 23.

³⁷ Both figures appear in the top register of the interior side of the *cancel*, as we saw in Chapters 4 and 5.

³⁸ Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 48-53. See also: Morgan, "The Image of Love."

³⁹ Juan Antonio de Mora, *Devoto culto que debe da el christiano a el Sagrado Corazon de Christo Dios, y hombre. Sacado de el libro, que de este argumento escribió en Roma, y dedicó a nuestro muy santo P. Benedicto Decimo Tercio el R. P. Joseph Gallifet de la Compañía de Jesus, Asistente de las Provincias de Francia* (Mexico: Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1732).

⁴⁰ Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 44.

believers had to be to prepare themselves to be worthy of God's love. The devotee was encouraged to be conscious of the offences committed against the Saviour and his heart. As Kilroy-Ewbank has observed, "As a devotion, it emphasises the participatory shame believers need to feel in Christ's suffering and martyrdom."⁴¹ The connections between shame, repentance, love given and received, will be fundamental in the devotee's perception of Christ and the holy organ, but also of their own hearts and their own condition as being worthy of God's love and sacrifice.

In the Viceroyalty it would not be unusual for some devotees to have books of spirituality or devotional manuals on the Sacred Heart and other devotions. Following Mora's *Devoto culto*, the visual and textual printing culture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus began to increase.⁴² As Rubial notes, in the late seventeenth century there was a growth in the printing and production of such texts, both imported and produced in New Spain.⁴³ These books were simple in their language and format, and were relatively inexpensive. By the eighteenth century the cult had been widely spread, mainly thanks to the Society of Jesus's role in promoting the devotion.

It is in this context that the images on the walls and *cancel* of the Sanctuary at Atotonilco are being made. It is through such a cultural, devotional, and visual background that the devotee could have come to experience the abundance of Hearts found throughout the complex. Let's focus once again on the sanctuary so we can see, now with this brief context on the Sacred Heart of Jesus, how the devotion was inserted in the grand visual programme of the building. On entering the vestibule of the sanctuary, the community is confronted with a plethora of hearts. The *cancel* holds at least 102 panels with a heart on them, considering the forty-two EC-panels,⁴⁴ in addition to the sixty panels of saints and important religious figures, each of whom is depicted before the Sacred Heart. On the north side of the vestibule, on top of the trefoil arch that serves as entrance to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, there is painted a wounded Heart of Jesus (Fig.101). Finally, at the centre of the first vault is painted a heart in

⁴¹ Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 112.

⁴² See Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, especially Chapters 2 and 3.

⁴³ Antonio Rubial, "Un nuevo laico, ¿un nuevo Dios? El nacimiento de una moral y un devocionalismo "burgueses" en Nueva España entre finales del siglo XVII y principios del XVIII," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, no.56 (2007): 6. On this topic, see also: Olivia Moreno, "Una lectura de la devoción seglar en Nueva España. Los manuales de ejercicios espirituales de los terciarios franciscanos (1686-1793)," In *Expresiones y estrategias: La iglesia en el orden social novohispano*, ed. María del Pilar Martínez & Francisco J. Cervantes (Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017), 337-362.

⁴⁴ Without including the ones that were originally located where there is now part of the window.

flames within a cross, surrounded by swords and inscriptions (Fig.102). Let's turn our attention to these last two.

Surrounding the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre's trefoil frame, to each side of the wounded Heart of Jesus just mentioned, we find scenes of the wounds Jesus endured during the Passion (Fig.95).⁴⁵ Below each scene is written a verse composed by Father Alfaro: "O Divino Corazon // al verte tan mal herido // se rompa el mio de afligido // y muera de contricion."⁴⁶ The paintings serve as a preamble to the main theme of the chapel, the death of Christ. The verse is written for this reason in a manner in which the individual could either read or hear what is written and understand it as his or her own expression and prayer. This connects, of course, to the way texts are used in the *cancel*, where, as we have seen, we read *Anima's* voice or *Amor Divinus'* voice, both in first person.

At the centre of the first vault in the vestibule, we see what has been interpreted as the Heart of Jesus, in flames and on a cross. The heart and cross are surrounded by seven swords and a series of words: swords and the words of the following text are interspersed:⁴⁷ *Tuam ipsius animam pertransiuit gladius ait Simeon ad Mariam Virginem* (cf. Luke 2:35).⁴⁸ Santiago Silva and Pérez have assumed this is a blending between the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Crucifixion, and the Seven Sorrows of Mary.⁴⁹ It could also be just the heart of Mary, with the swords representing her sorrows, and the cross as the representation of the death of her Son. Mary and her sorrows become analogous or complementary to the pain Jesus endured, a suffering best represented through hearts and swords.⁵⁰

Both depictions of a divine heart relate to the pain endured by the divine figure on account of, and for the sake of humanity. In the case of the entrance to the chapel, to ask to die of contrition, and that one's heart be broken, is to understand that this suffering is connected to

⁴⁵ The Chapel of Bethlehem also has painted scenes in its arch; counterbalancing the Passion narratives, these scenes relate to the birth and infancy of Jesus. See: Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 161.

⁴⁶ "O Divine Heart // when I see you so gravely wounded // let mine be broken with grief // and die of contrition."

⁴⁷ Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 175.

⁴⁸ "A sword has pierced your soul, says Simeon to the Virgin Mary." It may be worth noting that the vulgate text of Luke 2:35 reads: "Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes" DRB: "And thy own soul a sword shall pierce, that, out of many hearts, thoughts may be revealed)." The wounding of the Virgin's soul (*anima*) is prophesied to cause, or rather, be the occasion for the revelation of the thoughts of many hearts.

⁴⁹ Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 175; Pérez, "The Via Crucis," 85.

⁵⁰ On the connections between the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Sacred Heart of Mary, see: Morgan, "The Image of Love." As Kilroy-Ewbank argues "Because both Mary's and Christ's sacrifice contributed to the salvation and redemption of humankind, the faithful understood Mary as co-redemptive." (Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 140).

the devotee's life: what is being sought is a way to respond to Christ's pain through one's own heart, by asking for forgiveness and repentance. Alfaro's verse situates the believer as an active participant, requesting a reaction (for the heart to break and to die of contrition) when looking at the suffering divine heart. The two sacred hearts are shown in a state of suffering for the sake of the individual, in a space where the individual is able to discern diverse processes her or his own heart has undergone or is going through (in the *cancel*), and where that suffering divine heart appears to the most loving and faithful believers. Both Sacred Hearts show a story to be told and known, and actions that should be taken because of this story.

Moving on from the vestibule, the third vault, located in the *sotocoro*, has at its centre an allegory of the union between the Sacred Heart and the human heart through the Eucharist (Fig.103). The human heart, which is depicted containing a Eucharistic host, and the surrounding inscriptions are derived from an engraving from the *Vida* of the Augustinian Recollect nun Antonia de la Madre de Dios, written by Sor Antonia's confessor Fra Joseph Geronymo Sanchez de Castro (*Vida de la V. M. Sor Antonia de la Madre de Dios*, 1747).⁵¹ At the vault of the sanctuary the human heart is being crowned, as in victory. The hand of God hovers above the heart, surrounded by a ribbon which reads "De amor muero por que en llamas vivo".⁵² Below the heart we find the text "Este Corazon humano // Es todo ya de el Divino // Y pues de tu mano bino // Tengale Dios de su mano."⁵³ Among the texts surrounding the heart we find "En llamas esta encendido / Un corazon que ardiente ama",⁵⁴ and "Pues de amores me abrazo / Divino Dueño".⁵⁵

The Sacred Heart of Jesus, on the other hand, is depicted on a Cross, and contains within it the Blessed Sacrament in a monstrance. This image follows closely some representations of the Sacred Heart of Jesus with the Eucharist,⁵⁶ such as, for example, Miguel Cabrera's (1695-1768) *An Allegory of the Holy Eucharist* (1750).⁵⁷ Both hearts in Atotonilco are united by a

⁵¹ Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 196. The engraving, by the engraver Isidoro Vicente de Balbás (d. 1783), reproduces an image solicited by Sor Antonia herself after a series of visions and mystical experiences directly connected with the Blessed Sacrament.

⁵² "Of love I die because in flames I live."

⁵³ "This human heart //Belongs entirely to the Divine // And since it came from your hand // May God hold it in His hand."

⁵⁴ "It burns in flames // A heart that ardently loves."

⁵⁵ "For with love the Divine Lord embraces me."

⁵⁶ On depictions of the Sacred Heart together with the Cross and the Host, see: Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 164-170.

⁵⁷ The painting is part of the Colección Blaisten, located in Ciudad de México, México. Colección Blaisten, "Miguel Cabrera: Alegoría de la Santa Eucaristía, 1750," Accessed September 24, 2022: <https://museoblaisten.com/Obra/1697/Alegoria-de-la-Santa-Eucaristia>

sheaf of wheat and a bunch of grapes. The religious devotion to the Sacred Heart in the eighteenth century placed a greater emphasis on the idea of love and emotions, and exalted, through a series of analogies, the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The celebration of the Mass and the reception of Communion perfectly represented the idea of sacrifice, love, contrition and acceptance of and by God's love,⁵⁸ the themes that through the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus the church was trying to profess. In the vault's image, through the striking connection of the Blood and Body (grapes and wheat) of both hearts, both in flames and both with the Eucharist, there is a suggestion of a sense of union through the analogies between the Eucharist and the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, between receiving the host (the Body of Christ) and the surrendering of the human heart to receive God's love.

The notion of union, as established in the *Schola cordis*, is translated here into receiving completely the love of God, and therefore to the consumption of the heart in flames, as close as possible to the condition of the divine heart. Juan Antonio de Mora would beg the Sacred Heart graciously to perfect "lo que en nuestros corazones es imperfecto: y finalmente hazlos tales, que puedan amarte, reverenciarte, è imitarte para que te posean eternamente."⁵⁹ Many of the EC-panels are connected to an idea of union, and also to the objective of following the example of the Sacred Heart. The devotion could stimulate the believer into desiring unity through love, by surrendering all the self to the beloved organ.⁶⁰ The idea of receiving God's love, or rather, of being in flames due to the love of God, appears in Panel 182 (Fig.65), where the heart is being melted and transformed into wax (to be modelled by God), by the fire of God. In Panel 184 (Fig.69), the human heart is being given to the Divine, and in turn asks for the heart of the beloved. In the image we see the moment the soul gives her heart to *Amor divinus*. In turn, in Panel 186 (Fig.73), *Amor divinus* asks *Anima* to leave behind the old heart, and to take the one offered by him with affection: the image depicts *Amor divinus* giving a heart to *Anima*. In addition, other surviving panels show how the heart blooms if pious dew drops down onto it from the divine heavens (Panel 191, Fig.83); and the beloved's offering the Soul to drink his love (Panel 211, Fig.91) instead of any mundane drink.

⁵⁸ On the connections between the Sacred Heart and the Eucharist in the context of the Viceroyalty, see: Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ*, 151-195.

⁵⁹ Mora, *Devoto culto*, 47: "that which in our hearts is imperfect: and finally make them such that they may love you, revere you, and imitate you, so that they may possess you eternally."

⁶⁰ Mora, *Devoto culto*, 46.

5. The Stations of the Heart

The relationship between the human heart and the Sacred Heart implies submission, acceptance, forgiveness, and redemption. From the painting on the south-east side wall of the Directory, in which the heart is being offered to God, to the paintings and texts in the *cancel*, *camarín*, vestibule and *sotocoro*, the images all connect to the idea of love through sacrifice and pain. They convey a notion of transformation of the human heart to make it worthy of God's love, but also a transformation possible due to God's love expressed in the life and Passion of Christ, the very path the Spiritual Exercises were expecting for the community to follow. The central role of the constant relationship between the human heart and the Sacred Heart finds its best expression in the Stations of the Heart.

The walls of the Room for Exercises are adorned with the Stations of the Cross (the *Via crucis*)⁶¹ and the stations of the Sacred Heart,⁶² alternating with one another, all painted in tempera.⁶³ In addition, at the time (1766) the Room contained, among other things, a table with a crucifix, a number of books (presumably used for the exercises), and stools and benches to sit on.⁶⁴ Every day of the retreat of Spiritual Exercises, the participants would perform the Stations of the Sacred Heart at around 17:00.⁶⁵ The paintings are severely damaged, and most have undergone alteration. A few paintings in the cycle of fourteen stations have been lost.⁶⁶ Each station presented texts by Alfaro. Fortunately, the Oratorian wrote a little devotional book entitled *Sendero del cielo, por donde lleva al corazon humano el divino Sagrado Corazon de Jesus Nazareno, hasta colocarlo en la patria celestial de su gloria*,⁶⁷ in which the fourteen

⁶¹ According to the disposition of what is presently in the Room, the Stations open with the Arrest of Jesus. On the *Via crucis* in New Spain, see: Alena L. Robin, "Devoción y patrocinio: el *Via Crucis* en Nueva España" (PhD diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2007).

⁶² It would seem that this innovative representation of the Stations of the Cross using the heart was later used in other spaces, following Atotonilco's example. One example is a series of canvases from 1773 in Nuestra Señora de Loreto, in Zumpango, State of Mexico, by Francisco Báez (b. 1727); another is a painting in the collection of the Museo Casa de la Bola, in Mexico City. Both works are discussed by Robin, "Devoción y patrocinio," 69-70. It is possible that another cycle of paintings on the Stations of the Sacred Heart existed. In his 1766 description, Alfaro says that throughout the church there are distributed images of the Stations of the Calvary and of the Sacred Heart (Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario," fol. 8r).

⁶³ Above these two cycles there were paintings of the twelve apostles. In the arch that separates the two vaults of the Room for Exercises there hung a painting of the "holy shroud", painted on both sides: the front of the body of Jesus faced the church, and the back looked towards the window at the west side.

⁶⁴ Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario," fol. 9v-10r.

⁶⁵ See Appendix 2. According to Valdez y Mungía, the Stations of the Sacred Heart were also performed every Tuesday. Valdez y Mungía, *Recuerdos tiernos*, fol. 26v.

⁶⁶ Pérez speculates that the screen (with a door) separating the choir from the Room of Exercises was adorned with some of the Stations. Her hypothesis is justified on the basis of the distribution of the stations in the room, which would not fit if there were no extra wall or screen. Pérez, "The *Via Crucis*," 124-125.

⁶⁷ "Path of Heaven, through which the divine Sacred Heart of Jesus of Nazareth leads the human Heart, until it is placed in the Heavenly Homeland of His Glory."

stations focused on the Sacred Heart are explained. Significantly, the verses within this book match, in great part, the surviving texts in the walls of the Room for Exercises.⁶⁸

Everything that was said during the performance of each station must have been performed in front of the image. At each station, a common little verse was supposed to be said in addition to the verses already designated for each part. The verse, written in first person plural, reads as follows: “¡O Corazon de Jesus // Traspasado de dolor! // Adoramoste rendidos. Ten Jesus Piedad de nos.”⁶⁹ The first line and part of the second of this verse (“O corazon de Jesus traspasado”) are painted in red in each of the surviving Stations of the sanctuary. Moreover, in each Station the participant was to say a Lord’s Prayer (indicated in red in the walls as “Padre n(os)tro”), a Hail Mary and a *Gloria Patri*. The following words concluded, more or less, each station:

Pequé contra tí atrevido, // Por tu amante Corazon // Perdonanos, y concede // A nuestras culpas perdon. // Bendito sea para siempre // Tan Sagrado Corazon, // Que por el amor del hombre // Sufrió tan grande dolor // Y el de María nuestra Madre, // Que con gran resignación // El mismo dolor sintió, // Por mí, ingrato pecador.⁷⁰

On the walls this is indicated in red with the fragment “Peque contra ti arrojado”; the adjective “atrevido” (defiantly) of Alfaro’s text has been replaced with the word “arrojado” (cast down), which could indicate prostration.⁷¹ The texts encompassing each station place the believer in a position of penitence, asking for forgiveness for what has been done to the Sacred Heart. The participant is placed in the role of culprit, who expects to be forgiven by the Sacred Heart due to his or her part of what Christ sacrificed out of love for them.

This notion of participation through texts and images that permeate the entire complex can be exemplified by a few examples of the stations and their inscriptions. In them, the human

⁶⁸ It is worth noting that the book was not intended to be used only within the sanctuary. Alfaro actually proposes the use of fourteen prints of the Sacred Heart within the domestic place the person lives (Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, *Sendero del cielo, por donde lleva al corazon humano el divino Sagrado Corazon de Jesus Nazareno, hasta colocarlo en la patria celestial de su gloria* (México: Imprenta de D. Felipe de Zuñiga y Ontiveros, 1793), fol. 3r.

⁶⁹ Alfaro, *Sendero del cielo*, fol. 4v: “O Heart of Jesus // Pierced with sorrow // We adore you in submission // Have mercy on us.”

⁷⁰ Alfaro, *Sendero del cielo*, fol. 5r: “I have defiantly sinned against you, // By your loving Heart // Forgive us, and grant // Forgiveness to our faults. // Blessed be forever // Such Sacred Heart, // That for the love of man // Suffered such great pain // And that [the heart] of Mary our Mother, // Who with great resignation // Felt the same pain, // Because of me, an ungrateful sinner.”

⁷¹ The word could also refer to a violent act, which would mean the person sinned violently.

heart is not only positioned in a direct relationship with the Sacred Heart, but also is an organ that should be shaped and that should undergo a process similar to that endured by Christ. The verses are arranged so that the first text refers to what happened to the Sacred Heart, and the second to what the penitent asks that is related to this event. For example, the brief verse text of the Seventh Station of the Heart, which represents the Heart on the Column (Fig.7), reads:⁷² “O corazon de Jesus // Azotado con rigor // Por nuestros impios Sa[yones]⁷³ // con insaciable [furor.]”⁷⁴ There follows what the participant asks of the Sacred Heart: “Compasivos te pedimos // Por tan agudo dolor // Que tus Azotes levanten // **A ti nuestro corazon.**”⁷⁵ The verse of Tenth Station, in which the Heart carries the Cross (Fig.104), first reads “O corazon con la Cruz // Acuestas por nuestro amor. // Caminando fatigado // Para hazer la redempcion,”⁷⁶ and then continues: “Piadosos le suplicamos // Por esta amarga estacion // Que camine con su Cruz // **Tras ti nuestro corazon.**”⁷⁷ Finally, the Fourteenth Station, the crucifixion of the Heart (Fig.28), reads: “O corazon enclavado // Con indecible dolor, // Agonizando y muriendo // Entre u[no, y otro Lad]⁷⁸ron.”⁷⁹ before concluding “Co[n]cedenos, fino amante, // Verdadera contricion, // Con que sea crucificado // **Por ti nuestro corazon.**”⁸⁰

We find then, the idea of the human heart taking action, either by asking or by expecting that the great sacrifice can show mercy on them. The heart tries to follow the same path as the Sacred Heart, up to its Crucifixion, begging to be crucified as well as the upmost sign of contrition and love. The exercitant gives her heart to participate in the various scenes, speaking and watching how the process unfolds while begging to be modelled after the Sacred Heart. It should be clear by now that this modelling of the heart after the divine organ belongs as well to what the *cancel* is affording visually and textually.

⁷² I will use Alfaro’s *Sendero del cielo* to complete some of the words that are now erased on the walls.

⁷³ Alfaro, *Sendero del cielo*, fol. 8r.

⁷⁴ Alfaro, *Sendero del cielo*, fol. 8r: “O Heart of Jesus // Scourged with rigour // By our impious executioners // With unquenchable fury.”

⁷⁵ “Compassionate we beseech you // For so sharp a pain // That your scourging may lift // Our hearts to you.” Emphasis is mine.

⁷⁶ “O heart with the Cross // On its back for our love. // Walking tired // To make the Redemption.”

⁷⁷ “We devoutly beseech him // Through this bitter station // That our heart may // walk after you with its Cross.”

⁷⁸ Alfaro, *Sendero del cielo*, fol. 11v.

⁷⁹ “O heart nailed // With unspeakable pain, // Agonising, and dying // Between one and another Thief.”

⁸⁰ Alfaro, *Sendero del cielo*, fol. 11v: “Grant us, O fine lover, // True contrition, // That our heart may be crucified // For your sake.”

6. The *Via crucis*.

Father Alfaro could not emphasise enough the importance of the Passion of Christ, and the *Via crucis* became one of his fundamental tools. We need to remember that the Stations of the Sacred Heart alternated with the Stations of the Cross, in the Room of Exercises, meaning that there is one station of the Cross followed by one station of the Heart, and so forth. Whereas participants in the Exercises would pray the Stations of the Heart at 17.00, they prayed the *Via crucis* once a day, around 9:00 o'clock and the *Via dolorosa*, which seems to be a variation of the *Via Crucis*,⁸¹ at around 14:00.

The *Via crucis* finds its more extensive representation in the vaults of the vestibule, the choir and the nave up to the presbytery (Fig.39). The Sacred Heart depicted in the first vault of the vestibule is actually part of this programme (Fig.102). The iconography of the scenes represented here are mostly based on the engravings from the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (1594) by the Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal.⁸² The narrative was distributed in the four segments of each vault, taking advantage of its groined shape. The series opens, thematically speaking, with the blessing that Jesus asks of his mother,⁸³ which is what we can see from the external side of the *cancel*, and concludes with the descent from the cross.⁸⁴ The third vault, which corresponds to the *sotocoro*, does not represent the Passion, as we have already explored.⁸⁵ The transverse arches separating each vault have texts explaining the steps and the narratives of each vault.

The narrative is clear from the very first vault. The crucified heart surrounded by swords and representing the pain the Mother of God suffered on account of the pain suffered by her Son, comprehends in a single image the whole process of the Passion, pinpointing the emotional state and weight of the Christian narrative of salvation from the moment of Simeon's prophecy during Christ's presentation in the Temple, shortly after his birth, until the moment

⁸¹ As described by Alfaro, a *Via dolorosa* was painted in oil in the altarpiece of the Calvary, located below the fifth vault; it was comprised of nine stations (Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario," fol. 7v).

⁸² Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 11.

⁸³ It is unclear where Alfaro drew his text and image from. It is of the few not derived from Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines*.

⁸⁴ Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario," fol. 8r.

⁸⁵ The narrative order of the vaults suggests that the first church, constructed between 1740-1748, did not originally have a choir, and that its vaults were not painted. When the construction of the vestibule was started, the project to paint the vaults also began; the choir was not yet in place. It was only when the House of Exercises was built that it was decided to complete the choir, and as a result the *sotocoro* was formed. The painting of the union of the human and divine hearts was then included, and the vault above the choir was narratively separated from the other of the vaults.

of his death and burial.⁸⁶ Again, Alfaro utilises textual aids, with key words painted in red, to immerse the viewer in the narrative. In the fifth vault in the nave, for example, we find at the west segment a scene representing the *Ecce Homo* (Fig.106). In the descriptions located at the west transverse arch next to it a text explains, in first person, the scene (Fig.107): “Ya mi Jesus os veo // de espinas Coronado // el rostro abofeteado, // de salivas feo.”⁸⁷ The words “Jesus” and “Coronado” are written in red.

On the one hand, in the vestibule the devotee can see the pain represented in the Sacred Heart, and on the other, throughout the vaults and their texts, they can see how the narrative of this pain unfolded, and why it unfolded in this manner. Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro wanted nothing more than to plant in the believers’ hearts the love they should have for Jesus the Nazarene, the main focus of the Sanctuary.⁸⁸ This meant, it would seem, that they recognize that the pain of the Saviour was caused by the believer themselves, and that they should therefore ask for forgiveness as a form of retribution. It should be remembered that the devotion to the Sacred Heart was a devotion of retribution for sin through love: a request to return to “el ardiente Corazon de tu dulcissimo Redemptor Jesus”,⁸⁹ as Juan Antonio de Mora put it. The Sacred Heart asks nothing but

⁸⁶ One might posit a link here between the placement of this text/symbol which derives from the account of Christ’s presentation in the Temple (Luke 2), and the entrance to the church.

⁸⁷ “I already see you my Jesus // crowned with thorns // your face stricken, // with ugly spittle.”

⁸⁸ See, for example, Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, *A la mas hermosa y salutifera flor de los campos*, fol. A6v. Alfaro’s emphasis on Christ and his Passion was more explicit in his founding of the Brothers of the Santa Escuela de Cristo in various places, such as San Miguel el Grande, León, San Luis de Paz, Dolores, San Luis Potosí, Aguascalientes and Zacatecas, and also in Atotonilco, behind the church (Perla Chinchilla & Antonio Rubial, “Jesuitas y oratorianos,” *Historia y Grafía* 26, no.51 (2018): 194). The members of the Santa Escuela most probably participated in the Spiritual Exercises. The aim of these institutions was to promote certain spiritual disciplines and devotions such as physical mortification, and prayer and reflection on the death of Christ (Alicia Bazarte & José A. Cruz, “Santas Escuelas de Cristo en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII en la Ciudad de México” *Fuentes Humanísticas* 21, no.38 (2009): 179). In the case of Atotonilco and San Miguel, members of the Santa Escuela took part in the procession which took place every Good Friday and led from San Miguel to Atotonilco. Alfaro himself bore a cross, a crown of thorns, and had a rope around his neck (Erandi Rubio, “Vínculos espirituales e históricos. Del Oratorio de San Miguel el Grande al Santuario de Atotonilco,” *Historia y Grafía* 26, no.51 (2018), 161). On the inner wall of the entrance to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, there is a painting representing the Good Friday procession that would happen in San Miguel (Santiago, *Alfaro y Pocasangre*, 396). Two figures carry what seems to be a banner depicting both the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Sacred Heart of Mary, and in the centre Christ crucified. For the Santas Escuelas de Cristo, see: Bazarte and Cruz, “Santas Escuelas de Cristo.” See also: Díaz de Gamarra, “Elogio fúnebre,” 57.

⁸⁹ Mora, *Devoto culto*, 7: “the burning Heart of your most tender Redeemer Jesus.”

quanto debes, y nunca pagas; y si amor con amor se paga, y no con otra cosa, ni con menos: mira ahora quanto debes amarlo, reverenciarlo, y servirlo: puesto que de nuevo te explica, y ofrece las vivas llamas de su ardentissimo Corazon.⁹⁰

In this sense the crucifixion becomes a clear moment of love shown through sacrifice. In Panel 212 (Fig.93) of the EC-panels, on the contrition of the heart, *Anima* asks for her heart to be nailed to Christ, with the nail of the fear of God, just as Christ was nailed for her salvation. The image shows *Amor divinus* about to pierce *Anima*'s heart with a nail.

7. Other activities performed during the Spiritual Exercises retreat

Lastly, several other activities performed during the eight days of retreat seem pertinent to the interpretation of the EC-panels, and bear therefore brief mention here. The following information is based on Alfaro's description of the exercises, the explanation of which can be found in Appendix 2. The exercitants would, for example, pay seven visits to the Blessed Sacrament.⁹¹ These visits were intended to be made in imitation of the visits to the Sacrament performed by St Francis Borgia (1510–1572), described on the south side wall of the choir. Fifty-six times the participants would visit the Sacrament, and they were expected to reflect on a quality of Jesus during each visit: as their father, as their king, as their medic, as their friend, as their advocate, and as their redeemer.

Each day, the rosary would be prayed three times, corresponding to the Joyful, Sorrowful and Glorious Mysteries, around 5:30, 14:00 and 17:00 o'clock, respectively.⁹² The participants would also attend Mass once a day, at 7:00 o'clock, and then proceed to visit what Alfaro calls the five altars, by which he seems to be referring to the five chapels of the complex,

⁹⁰ Mora, *Devoto culto*, 7: "of what you owe, and never repay; and if love is repaid with love, and not with anything else, nor with less: see now how much you ought to love, revere, and serve Him: since He again explains to you, and offers the living flames of His most ardent Heart."

⁹¹ At around 5:30; 9:00; 10:00; 12:00; 14:00; 17:00; 18:00. This veneration most probably took place at the main altar.

⁹² It may have been prayed as Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro put it in his little book *Reyno piadosissimo*. See: Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro, *Reyno piadosissimo ilustrado con nueve ciudades de refugio, en que hallarán acogida los mas ingratos pecadores, alcanzarán perdón de sus culpas, y reforma de sus vidas: consagrado a la hermosissima, y bellísima Maria con el título de Refugio de Pecadores, que se venera en el Santuario de Jesus de Atotonilco* (México: Viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1751). Following the rosary in the morning the participants would pray from the "Annunciation" (Encarnacion del Divino Verbo), up to "Finding of Jesus in the Temple" (El hallazgo del Niño Perdido); at 14:00 from the "Agony in the Garden" (La Oracion del Huerto) to the "Crucifixion"; and at 17:00 from the "Resurrection" up to the "Coronation of the Virgin," (La Coronacion de la Emperatriz Sagrada).

considering there are more than five altars in the complex but only five chapels (in 1766). We do not know in what order they visited the altars. We may speculate, however, that they followed the order in which Alfaro described the chapels: starting from the south side with the Chapel of Bethlehem, and proceeding to the Chapel of the Rosary, the Chapel of the Holy Cenacle, the Chapel of the House of Loreto and finally the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. If this was the order, there seems to be an interesting pattern alternating the narratives of birth and death of Christ: Bethlehem implying birth; the Rosary birth and especially death (in addition the Glorious mysteries); the Cenacle revealing the mystery of the Passion as it is presented in the Eucharist; the House of Loreto referring to the incarnation (Annunciation); and finally the Holy Sepulchre focused on the death of Christ.⁹³ It is also worth noting that, during these visits the exercitants would be in the vestibule at least once, if not twice, since the Chapel of Bethlehem and the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre are located there. This meant, of course, that they would have to face, once again, the *cancel*.

Taking the visits to the chapels together with the rosary, for eight days the participants would repeatedly relive the story of their Saviour from his birth to his death and resurrection, to finally end in the crowning of the Mother of God in heaven. To this already dense programme of remembrance, must be added the *Via crucis*, the *Via dolorosa*, and the Stations of the Heart, without forgetting the very Spiritual Exercises themselves. All of this was to be performed by a group of exercitants who were immersed in a space that provided the visual cues and texts to actually perform these activities and to participate, over and over again, in the holy story of their own salvation.

Finally, when walking between spaces, the participants would pray the penitential psalm, known as the *Miserere* (Psalm. 50/51). By Alfaro's account the participants would pray the *Miserere* six times during the course of the day:⁹⁴ this means that it was recited at least forty-eight times during the whole process of the exercises. In addition, every time the exercitants were in the Refectory,⁹⁵ they could see the *Miserere* written in the walls, below twenty paintings of the Stations of the Cross as they were described by María de la Antigua

⁹³ These are the main themes of each chapel; it should be remembered, of course, that each chapel contained more images and religious objects to contemplate.

⁹⁴ They would also pray the *Litaniae sanctorum*, the *De profundis* (Palm. 129[130]) and the *Nunc dimittis* at least once a day, sometime after 19:00, though we do not know the exact time.

⁹⁵ Alfaro's emphasis on striving to be a living image of Christ's pain went to considerable lengths. According to Father Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra in his funeral eulogy to Alfaro (1776), the priest not only emulated Christ on Good Fridays, but also every Friday during the exercises. On this day he would serve the table of the participants, and always did so on his knees, wearing a robe and crown of thorns (Díaz de Gamarra, "Elogio fúnebre," 63).

(1566-1617) in her *Cadena de Oro, Evangelica red arrojada á la diestra de los Electos, y Escogidos* (1729).⁹⁶

The *Miserere* pleads for God's forgiveness in the first person. The penitent asks for mercy from God, acknowledges all their sins, and seeks to return to God's grace. The penitent requests to God to create in him a clean heart, "and renew a right spirit within my bowels. Cast me not away from thy face; and take not thy holy spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and strengthen me with a perfect spirit."⁹⁷ For eight days, while walking and while eating, the participants are to read and recite the request for a clean heart, and a request for restoration and salvation. Besides the EC-panels that could be related to this repeated petition that we have already noted, such as the surrender and renovation of the heart depicted in Panels 184 (Fig.69) and 186 (Fig.73), Panel 183 (Fig.67) explicitly depicts this process of cleansing. Here, the heart is offered to be cleaned by utilising the pouring blood coming out of the side wound of the chest of Christ. The image shows *Amor divinus* as a font: blood gushes from his five wounds, and *Anima* raises her heart so as to let the blood from the wound in Christ's chest drop into the organ.

The main tenet of the complex is the love of God expressed in the suffering and subsequent death of Jesus, and its acknowledgement and imprint in the heart of the devotee as the mode to achieve salvation. This imprint can only be effected through the transformation of the heart into an ideal receptacle of the love of God. The *cancel* was physically unavoidable: a first notion of interaction resides on this fact. The community had to engage with this barrier at least for a moment if they wanted to enter the space of the Sanctuary at all. Upon entering, the community would see that the barrier bore images not only for those on the outside, but also for those on the inside of the space. The *cancel* is an object that opens and closes, both physically and thematically, what is going on within the space. The extent to which the community actually interacted with it, or whether there was any specific form of interaction, we do not know. But the community was certainly faced with the structure, which presented

⁹⁶ Alfaro, "Descripción de el Santuario," fol. 10r. Unfortunately, because the layout of the second floor has been altered through the years, it is not clear now where exactly the refectory was located (Pérez, *The Via Crucis*, 72-73).

⁹⁷ Psalm 50 (51): 12-14. DRB; "Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis. Ne projicias me a facie tua, et spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me. Redde mihi laetitiam salutaris tui, et spiritu principali confirma me."

them the images of the heart populating the whole space of the entrance, with texts alluding to processes the heart would go through, and clear allusions to activities the community was also performing throughout the Sanctuary, either by attending mass, praying or by doing other more specific religious practices, such as the Spiritual Exercises.

Inevitably the *cancel* takes centre stage, not because it is an object of devotion, or the most sacred figure within the complex; nor because it was a tool for specific spiritual practices, but because of its location and configuration. The *cancel* serves as that which the community would start or end with, even if they did not spend a large amount of time contemplating it when they were within the space. By serving this role, it could integrate itself to the entire religious experience that shaped the community in the entangled space of the whole Sanctuary. The *cancel* was not necessarily an object to be integrated as a whole into the community's system of beliefs. Rather it was disposed as a plethora of options that would become more or less part of the individual's and the community's notions of religious behaviour, and of the formation of the heart in accordance with its experience and acknowledgement of the love represented in the Sacred Heart, and the possibilities of unity, through love, with the divine. This piece of visual, textual, and material technology, serving to enclose the space while at the same time providing images and texts configured in a particular manner, aligns with how the other technologies within the sanctuary were being displayed.

III. The hearts: roles, objects, lessons, and proposals

Throughout the six chapters of Part II we have analysed the two case studies by means of detailed description, an examination of how they function or were intended to function visually and materially, and with respect to what we can come to know of the possible interaction with them. Having then analysed the objects, we are now in a position to return to the initial questions of this study, elucidating the advantages of the method, its limitations, and what it has allowed us to know about the role of the visual motif of the heart in the religious consumption of the objects in question at a given historical moment. From this reflection, I derive a series of theoretical propositions regarding the religious image and the religious object as such. In sum, Part III is where we put to the test what has been learned from Part II, and its discussion is a mode to return to the Introduction of this study (Part I), where we revise the initial problems and solutions proposed.

Let us return to our opening question: what roles did the visual motif of the heart, whose iconographic source was the *Schola cordis*, play during the eighteenth century in the religious consumption of the book *Jesus en de ziel*, and the *cancel* of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene in Atotonilco? The heart belonged, in each of the works studied, to a network of images and mechanisms intrinsic to the object, that conditioned what they were able to provide. Those mechanisms extend from how the objects could be manipulated, to the strategies of communication employed for the information intended to be picked up from the images to be successfully received. The objects themselves afford possibilities for action, including actions of a religious kind where the visual motif of the heart could be connected by the consumer to other images, objects, and structures. The hearts, then, are part of systems, and their affordances are limited to those systems.

1. The heart-emblems in *Jesus en de ziel*

In the case of *Jesus en de ziel*, the visual motif of the heart provides a number of modes in which the individual can understand the heart as their own organ, as the location for the divine within the body, as the only place where a sense of the divine can be grasped, and as the place where the true self of the human being resides. In inferring the possibilities that were afforded the individual user of Luyken's work to reflect on the organ, and considering it as the

location for the divine, I follow Herman Roodenburg's challenge to the idea that in the Reformation references to the heart and the body are purely rhetorical and metaphorical tools employed to imply something else, something 'higher' or 'spiritual', as if the spiritual was detached from the material. Roodenburg argues instead that even in Early Modern literature the 'spiritual' should be understood as an embodied adjective:

to discuss merely the metaphorical or merely the literal when studying the early modern body makes no sense [...] our metaphors of sensations are already fully involved in our sensory knowing – a phenomenological insight applying perfectly to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when most men and women perceived the world in vastly different ways than we do, making no sharp distinctions between their mental and bodily states¹

The importance of the organ and the mode in which Luyken conceptualises it are modified and conditioned by the actual use of the object, its consumption and alteration, the religious denominations of those using it, and the conceptions of the religious that the users came to have. To consume *Jesus en de ziel*, which could be done in a myriad of ways, meant to enable the object to be a navigating and shaping tool for the religious system of the individual, transforming a sense both of the divine and of themselves.

Luyken's hearts are visual references of that organ which cannot be seen and, in conjunction with the texts accompanying these images, they are references of the notion that the organ we cannot see is the organ that can truly "see" the divine and, equally importantly, the organ where the divine can reside. In one emblem, the heart positions itself as the one organ by means of which God approaches us (Emblem XIV, Fig.1); another shows how the truly beautiful, therefore divine, is located within it (Emblem XXXII, Fig.2); and the last heart-emblem shows that its beauty exists and makes sense only through Jesus and his death, which seals the human heart and places it under his protection (Emblem XXXVII, Fig.3). It is after the image of Jesus, his life, death, and resurrection, that the heart must be modelled, and where it will be safeguarded from all evil.

The way in which Luyken's heart can work to provide this kind of information is in part thanks to a larger network of references to which the heart belongs. Luyken's hearts are

¹ Herman Roodenburg, "The Body in the Refomations," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations*, ed. Ulink Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 644.

part of images that are at the same time part of emblems, which are organised in a book. For example, in the scene of Emblem XIV, intimately connected to the facing-page's poem, we see the soul functioning as the "body", and the heart as the organ capable of addressing God. In terms of what it was proposed to convey, the heart functions better if it is understood as within a space of associations between the other motifs, the poem, and the two biblical texts that seem to function as a divine contingency of interpretation, being the Word of God. In this way, Luyken both "textualizes" and "visualises" the Word of God, using a poem that directs attention to the heart as that which allows us to address the beloved bridegroom Jesus portrayed in the accompanying scene.

When we talk about objects being consumed, we are also talking about decisions being made about them. In the case of a book, what the object will end up providing depends on the decisions of the individual, on the desire to open it, and to make marks appear on the object's surface that indicate different things to the user. The book reveals and conceals. *Jesus en de ziel* was made to be opened and, as it were, to be walked through for a story to be revealed to the individual, and for that story to function for some purpose for the individual who reveals it. The book is presented as a journey that the soul must take to return to its rightful home. The religious object is a narrative that is to function as a mirror of its consumer's life; a story both verbalised and visualised, both images and texts restrained by the word of God. But this narrative is not something fixed we can acquire at once. As a book, it comes to be a constant revelation; a repeated coming together of images and words as one goes through the pages. In sum, the visual motif of the heart does not simply appear, it is revealed by the user's decisions and the book's composition, placed in a space that causes its appearance to have a series of links to other revelations in the book.

Further, *Jesus en de ziel* functions in a self-referential way. It is a religious object that contains emblems that can function both together and separately, that interact with the individual's ways of consuming and their prior knowledge, but that in themselves provide sufficient information to be consumed. The image/text linkage is fundamental for this feature. The heart-emblems could have worked separately, but in the consumption of the book, they share composition and communication strategies with the rest of the book, and can be used as referential information for other emblems and, in turn, the other emblems can work as referential to those of the heart. The constancy with which the characters are depicted, the order and location of the poems for each emblem, the divine answer provided below each poem, the

biblical verses below the engravings, together with the further reflection, all make the scenes depicting the visual motif of the heart to easily integrate, and be part of the whole narrative the book is trying to offer visually and textually. Thus, though the image the viewer beholds in the heart-emblem is new, it is also an image that shares many visual characteristics with the rest of engravings within the book, in addition to its consistent location within the textual structural order of the book.

In Chapter 1, I selected three different editions of Luyken to make clear that we are dealing with an object that was not as concrete as we would like at first to think. The idea of a religious object being a book that went through several editions prompts an awareness that the material conditions through which this textual and visual construct was consumed by the public varied. And indeed, they did. Three editions: the first allowed us to see the original conception of the book; the second told us of the interaction between a specific religious landscape and a person who might have consumed the object as a gift given by the very religious community the person was part of; and a third edition served as a basis of analysis of the work at the time of its greatest exchange, and from which we have the most sources describing its use.

Based on these sources, we were able to learn that in the eighteenth century *Jesus en de ziel* was an object intended to be consumed primarily by an individual, either bought or given as a gift. It was a religious object promoted as a positive Christian material asset, a recommended tool for spiritual objectives that the individual could make use of. As we saw in Chapter 3, the consumption history of *Jesus en de ziel* shows how, in certain circumstances, an object with a certain purpose can be modified so that this purpose can be put into dialogue with another set of objectives proposed by the individual. The book was integrated into the set of tools with which the individual was equipping themselves for the sake of spiritually living a life on a path to salvation. It also served, however, as an identity marker of sorts, that could help to profile the life of a believer in a certain community as righteous, just by the believer's possession of it, but also by the act of reciting it.

We know Mennonites used *Jesus en de ziel*, and the book became a marker for various processes within the Mennonite community. It was a gift, a tool given at a certain age regarding a religious knowledge, a marker in maturation that also provides guidance for what comes next. In that sense, we can speculate that the possibilities of what the heart could convey according to the affordances of the book, was something that for the Mennonites befitted their beliefs. In addition, the diverse interactions between the book and its consumers tell us about the

possibilities of the visual motif of the heart becoming part of the user's spiritual education, which would employ memorization of the texts by Luyken, as was clearly expressed by Van der Meersch. Further, the integration of Luyken into the book-user's religious behaviour towards society can be seen in the desires Mietje's neighbours exhibited regarding Mietje's recitation of Luyken's poems. Luyken was a tool for the demonstration of a good life, integrated into practices of recitation performed by both young people, which would entail the supposedly good formation of the minor, and by older people, as we saw with Kouwenhoven, where the recitation of Luyken's poems appears as a mode to display how spiritual the person was. In this last sense, Luyken's books worked as a means of social distinction. The use of the work also served as a technique for religious distinction in a discussion of how to approach the Divine, as is described in Mietje and her mother's negative perception of this type of literature. Thus, in certain scenarios Luyken's book was not seen as material for everyone who believed in God, but as an adequate tool to a particular religious system or perception of the religious.² In a way, *Jesus en de ziel* can be seen as affording help to some people to distinguish what practices *not* to follow religiously speaking, which among which was, ironically, not to read *Jesus en de ziel*.

The users' interaction with *Jesus en de ziel* and the emblems within it, puts into dialogue the mechanics the book offers its user to work with, and a set of objects, practices and configurations that could condition how to achieve or sustain the experience of the religious. We discovered forms of integration where our motif is linked, through material acts such as bookbinding, to another set of images, to other motifs and to other stories, by means of which the work and its heart images become part of a different network. What is most interesting is that it becomes part of a network created by the decisions of both the consumer and the seller. The tools for a good religious life made available by the market to the individual were restructured in order to generate better tools, or in any case, tools that were more appealing. The presence of images/texts combinations and the configuration of them with other

² Arie Gelderblom suggests that the most active users of these kinds of books were pious Protestants ranging from those from a variety of different confessional backgrounds to those without any clear denominational identity. It is known that pietist-minded believers sought spiritual nourishment in various writings, in addition to the Bible, and publishers were aware of this market (Gelderblom, "Who were Jan Luyken's Readers," 501-502). See also: Willem J. op 't Hof, "De religieuze leescultuur in het Nederlands gereformeerd piëtisme tijdens de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 9 (2006): 47.

images/texts, make these bound composite devotional books perfectly constructed vehicles to shape what the devotee sees or wants to see of the religious, and how.³

The articulated book, or the book in interaction with the other books bound with it, provides for the user several visual and textual patterns, from which she or he can draw to shape a variety of religious ideas and perspectives that will modify how they live their daily lives. In other words, because of the conditions shaping how we select, articulate, look at, and read the book-object(s), the book serves as a tool to understand, identify, refer to, experience, and respond to what surrounds and shapes the user in their daily life. The book would become a tool for the modes the person could come to understand their soul, the relevance of their own hearts, the search to open wide their spiritual eyes and protect that which is divine within, which guides and protects the reborn individual until their last moment, their salvation, the unity with God that is expected to happen. Furthermore, the use of books to articulate their users' experience and comprehension of the real implies the constant reconfiguration of the book: not only the production of books, but also their reedition, and their destruction, or reformulation into other books, among other things. The modes in which the book is present in the life of the person will intervene and transform the relationship between the consumer, the object, and the understanding of their reality; in our case, the religious person's understanding of their reality.⁴

2. The EC-panels in the *cancel*

In the *cancel* at Atotonilco, the visual motif of the heart works in tandem with the other programmes contained in this entrance structure, and with a diverse variety of cycles displayed throughout the walls of the sanctuary. All the way through the myriad of hearts in the EC-panels, the organ is shown as subjected to diverse processes in order for it to be in an adequate state to receive the love of God and to be united with Christ. These conditions include the modelling of the human heart according to the Passion of Christ. The means by which this is expressed is through the combination of visual images and texts that work together to explain to the viewer/user what is happening to the heart in the scene.

³ Meyer, "Religion as Mediation," par. 27.

⁴ Siegert, *Cultural Techniques*, 15.

Pocasangre utilised diverse strategies of communication to afford the sense that the panels conform to one concrete programme, with the potential to be connected to the other programmes configuring the *cancel*. The original numbering of the panels, the constancy in the clothes and their colours of the characters, the use of red to pinpoint keywords in the texts, the location of the texts in Spanish and of those in Latin and, of course, the location of all the panels in the internal lower register of the structure as a whole, belong to these strategies. The user could see that the panels were consistent in showing two figures, one winged and the other not, performing or contemplating the processes the heart is undergoing. The user could plausibly understand that all the several hearts were actually portraying one single heart going through the diversity of processes.

In this case, and in contrast to what we see in *Jesus en de ziel*, the narrative connecting the panels is not as easy to follow as the literary narrative source on which the panels were based (i.e. the *Schola cordis*). I have argued that it might have not been Father Alfaro's aim to ensure that the believer could independently follow it. Though the believer could have known the literary source, it is difficult to imagine that the only way to understand these panels was through prior knowledge of the sources on which they drew. Considering the site to which the *cancel* belongs, and the interests of Alfaro in making an accessible place for the local community so they could be led to the right Christian path, it is difficult to suggest that he would make the programme deliberately obscure.

What possibilities for consuming the EC-panels can we elucidate right now? On account of the challenges presented by the *cancel* in terms of sources and its very configuration, we have concluded that there are moments in which what an image affords is conditioned by what other images, objects and activities in its environment are also affording. The information picked up thanks to an image, object or activity that belongs to the closest material environment of the object is a means to get closer to the possibilities of experience afforded by the object. I propose that though the viewers could have just consumed the messages of the panels by seeing/reading each of them, and that they could have comprehended by themselves that what they are looking at are scenarios that convey the human heart's current state and what it could come to be, the composition and location of the structure in connection to the rest of the sanctuary worked as a kind of contingency or constraint to direct the consumer into a number of interpretations that would not deviate from the purposes intended by Father Alfaro. Part of what the hearts from the *cancel* could afford was shaped by the consumption of the complex

as a whole by the individual or the community. As I have shown, the narrative of a path or journey that entails a purgative, illuminative, and unitive set of processes, permeates the rich visual and textual programme of the entire complex. It is on this path that the panels were based.

In that sense, among the roles of the visual motif of the heart in the EC-panels is, first, a supportive role for a greater narrative and set of practices that surrounds the believer, within which the EC-panels provide more information, more ideas, more understanding of the transformation and offering of the heart, that the individual was being asked to perform, through a rich set of visual programmes that provided the means to practise the *Via crucis*, the intense Spiritual Exercises devised by Alfaro, and, of course the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It is possible that the affordances of the hearts from the EC-panels were conditioned by the Sacred Heart, a theme visually located both in the *cancel* above our programme and in diverse spaces of the complex. A clear example of this relationship can be seen with Panel 185 of the *cancel* (Fig.71), where the text and image show how the human heart can be rectified, levelled only through the correct divine measure, which is the divine heart. Pocasangre's hearts are then embedded within a structure (the *cancel*) that at the same time guards a larger structure (the sanctuary), where the heart of God and the human heart are in constant dialogue.

A second role of the heart motif in the panels is that of completing the visual coherence that the whole complex aims to achieve. It is possible that the *cancel* itself was not used for any specific practice, but that its mere presence afforded picking up information that related to the other set of possibilities of action the user had within the sanctuary. Written evidence of how people would have interacted with these panels has not survived, or, at least, has not been thus far identified. This has the salutary effect, however, of forcing us to focus on what we have: it remains an important element to understand the basic fact that the EC-panels belonged to a structure (the *cancel*), that afforded other kinds of actions and that was made for a purpose that could perfectly be independent of whatever its visual programmes displayed. The work is not the usual object for adoration or the centre, so far as we know, of a specific religious practice. Broadly speaking, the *cancel* is inherently a structure that regulates and guards, that conceals and shows something of great religious value. It is also an unavoidable structure for the individual or the community gathering at the complex, which meant that the brief interaction with its panels was nearly inevitable for anyone desirous to enter the sanctuary. The *cancel's* mechanisms, how it works, and how it was used, gives us at least a number of

conditions by means of which the EC-panels could have been consumed. We noted, for example, that the *cancel* had to be closed if the user was to explore the entire programme (Figs.37-38).

The EC-panels of the *cancel* belong then to an explicit network of objects, images, and texts, of a variety of visual and textual marks in the surfaces that comprise the sanctuary; each of these parts of the network work in concert to direct the user to think, reflect, and do something. The *cancel* is, in this sense, complementary, part of a grid of information-providers, many if not all of which furnish information about more or less the same thing.

The information-providers are not limited to the surfaces of the sanctuary, however. Thanks to the description on the Spiritual Exercises provided by Alfaro (Appendix 2), we can say that at least in the eighteenth century, complementary communal activities were prescribed by Alfaro, such as his exercises, during which the sanctuary surfaces were actively used with the specific objective of the improvement of the Soul and the attainment of Salvation. What the *cancel* could afford to the system of beliefs of its user was determined by whether the diverse information-providers in this complex network were able to do their job, that is whether the specific practices concerning the use of the other images and structures in the sanctuary were performed and understood. These are possibilities that we cannot discover by focussing on the object in isolation, but only come into view when we consider it as part of an ecological system of values in which it was embedded. We are constrained to trust the rest of the environment to which the *cancel* belongs, since as is often the case in historical sanctuaries, no written evidence of users' interaction with the images survives.

Both the heart-emblems in *Jesus en de ziel* and the EC-panels at Atotonilco become aids, or tools that help in organising the environment of the individual or community. I would argue that they contribute both visually and textually in determining *patterns* with which the devotee can navigate in their religious life.⁵ Due to the possibilities of action it affords, in a single book the individual could pick up information on how to behave as an individual striving for union with God, and even visualise the difficult process of this union through images and texts. In addition, the individual could take this book and configure it with other kinds of books, all similarly affording adequate equipment for a religious life. The *cancel* on the other hand, serves as part of a larger machine, a whole built complex that affords numerous possibilities

⁵ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 258.

for teaching on the process of loving and being loved by God. This complex provides specific forms to visualise God's love and material suffering, such as the heart imagery used in the paintings on the *via crucis* located at the Room for Exercises. The sanctuary also supplies the modes by which to proceed to repay the individual's faults in causing this divine suffering through the actions of love exemplified throughout the religious practices and on the very panels of the *cancel*.

3. Lessons from and for the hearts

The method of analysis used to study each of the case studies reveals both positive elements and some shortcomings. The diversity of material and spatial conditions of the objects made it possible to observe several different features relating to the visual motif of the heart, the images to which they belong, and the mechanisms of which they are part. Both the steps of description and analysis of internal mechanisms show the advantages of giving the object the opportunity to provide various clues about its communication strategies, its affordances, and the apparent functions that it was intended to have. In this way, from the material and visual point of view, and with respect to the manner in which an object can function mechanically, and be used, the description and the internal mechanisms provide valuable information about how the religious object, and the material circumstances of its existence come to solve particular problems posed by its creators: how to manufacture a book with images and texts that manages to provide a series of ideas of a religious nature; and how to manufacture a structure at the entrance of a religious complex that at the same time offers a series of images that provide its consumers with a series of religious ideas that can dialogue with other visual programs, religious objects and practices in the space where it is located. The creators of the works hope, of course, that their solution will enjoy a certain degree of success with the consumers.

However, in terms of interaction, the analysis was more complex. Although the objects date from a particular moment, or moments, in time, it is in the analysis of the interaction with the object that our attention turned to the historical context. As we noted in the Introduction, my interest was to see how much we could learn about a historically situated direct interaction with the object. We anticipated at the outset that was a rather elusive goal, even more so considering that we were focusing on a particular visual motif. Nevertheless, the argument was

made that it would be reasonable to approach the possible ways in which the object could have been integrated, that is, could have been consumed at a particular time, if we were able to find documentary sources that would allow us even only a trace of the presence of the object, as a used object, at specific historical moments.

In the case of *Jesus en de ziel*, documentary sources afforded us a small window on various processes and networks in the eighteenth century to which the book belonged and could have belonged. It was possible to put this information into dialogue with what the book and the visual motif of the heart were affording. The *cancel* was a different story. From the historical point of view, the object has been quite elusive with respect to its interactions. What allowed us to place it at a specific historical moment was the extensive description of the sanctuary and the Spiritual Exercises provided by Father Alfaro himself. While this did not tell us much about the *cancel* and the EC-panels themselves, through this document we could detect similarities in various religious ideas that were populating the entire sanctuary complex and their interaction with the practices that Alfaro ended up configuring for his exercises. We saw how the visual programmes of the *cancel* made sense within this configuration as a whole. Instead of focussing on a diversity of documentary sources that show different modes in which the motif could have been included in the practices of individuals, we resorted to the objectives laid out by Alfaro and the way in which the *cancel* fits with these stated objectives. In other words, the analysis of the interaction with the *cancel* led us to resort to the internal mechanisms of the entire complex where the *cancel* is inserted, and of the specific practices which we know took place within this space. In some way, we extended step two of the method, arguing that if we are still studying what the material conditions of the object can tell us about its consumption, the solution could be to expand the analysis of the material conditions a little more to the very space in which the object is and was inserted. Proceeding in this way has provided valuable information, although it does invite a more careful analysis of how the interaction with the object can be studied.⁶

One might say that in many respects the findings of the study, in their strong emphasis on methodical description of affordances, interactions, and processes, while attending very closely to the material qualities of the specific object, is not particularly concerned with many features on historical context, a history of ideas, or an iconographic corpus and analysis

⁶ What could come next is to use other historical resources, an archive that allows us to locate the *cancel* and analyse it in a larger and slightly more general cultural context. Of course, this is beyond the objectives of this thesis.

surrounding the images with the visual motif of the heart in them, that often have been the focus of art historical description. The stress has been on how these things work, or could have worked. But this focus on function and use naturally leads to another question: could not something else work the same way that our objects do? Or, on the other hand, do other things do something else? Taking into consideration these questions, the following proposals serve to conclude the present study, by outlining how we can understand, under a series of conditions, exposed throughout the case studies, certain elements of religious images and religious objects that, I would argue, could be put to the test with other types of religious images and religious objects.

1. Images and objects afford

We established in the Introduction that images afford, and that these affordances are not dependent on the observer but that the object affords whatever it can relative to the observer. The user is dependent on what can be done with the object, since what can be done is not simply anything the user wishes to do, but what the object allows to do with it:

Substances have biochemical offerings and afford manufacture. Surfaces afford posture, locomotion, collision, manipulation, and in general behavior. Special forms of layout afford shelter and concealment. Fires afford warming and burning. Detached objects — tools, utensils, weapons — afford special types of behavior to primates and humans. The other animal and the other person provide mutual and reciprocal affordances at extremely high levels of behavioral complexity. At the highest level, when vocalization becomes speech and manufactured displays become images, pictures, and writing, the affordances of human behavior are staggering.⁷

At the same time, affordances come to change the notions of value and meaning, for, as Gibson writes, noticing an affordance is “a process of perceiving a value-rich ecological object. Any substance, any surface, any layout has some affordance for benefit or injury to someone.”⁸ Taking the theory of affordances into consideration, we understand then that what images afford is measured relative to a specific observer, and it must be borne in mind that such

⁷ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 137.

⁸ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 140.

complementarity occurs within a specific ecological realm. Image and observer are never absolutely alone, and the affordances are conditioned to this situation. For the observer to specify an affordance, they must take into consideration that the affordance itself is imbued in both the environment and the observer:

the information to specify the utilities of the environment is accompanied by information to specify the observer himself, his body, legs, hands, and mouth [...] The awareness of the world and of one's complementary relations to the world are not separable.⁹

Following Harston's development of Gibson's initial proposals, we can list different types of affordances: cognitive, physical, sensory, and functional. The first three of these affordances can be clearly identified in *Jesus en de ziel*, the *cancel* and the *Schola cordis* itself. *Cognitive* affordance relies on the opportunity offered by a design, or an element of the design and the materials with which the design is made, the ways in which these allow the user to think, understand or come to know something about another thing. This design enables, then, a space for cognitive action about something. *Physical* affordance stands for the opportunity the design or element in the design and the materials it is made of provides, that allows the user to do something, physically speaking, with the object.¹⁰ Finally, a *sensory* affordance describes the opportunity the design or element in the design and the materials it is made of gives, that affords something to sense, in terms of senses and emotions. This third kind of affordance is an attribute for both *cognitive* and *physical* affordances:

users must be able to sense cognitive affordances and physical affordances in order for them to aid the user's cognitive and physical actions. Sensing cognitive affordances is essential for their understanding, and sensing physical affordances is essential for acting upon them.¹¹

The disposition of information through a diversity of visual and textual marks in the book and the *cancel* afforded, as we saw, possibilities for the users to think, do and sense something about an object that is linked to a religiosity, which is itself comprised of a constant complementarity between the user's sense of the religious and the intended religious functions

⁹ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 141.

¹⁰ Harston, "Cognitive," 319. See also Jenny L. Davis, *How Artifacts Afford: The Power and Politics of Everyday Things* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2020).

¹¹ Harston, "Cognitive," 322.

and meanings the object is putting forward for consideration. Religious affordances imply that what the object affords religiously speaking is relative to the religiosity of the observer, or to the religious conditions under which the environment between object and observer occur.

The fact that the object is made for religious purposes suggests that its manufacture, the materials used for it, and its design are intended to provide possibilities for action to a certain kind of observer, one who would be compatible with the religious purposes for which the object was in principle made. This does not mean that a religious affordance of an object necessarily complies with the intended function or meaning the manufacturer was trying to convey. What somebody ends up believing or perceiving religiously by means of an object or image is not dependent on the purposes of their design or materials. What an object or image affords is not conditioned solely by what the manufacturer wanted for it to afford.¹² In this sense, in this study I have focussed on those affordances that are linked to the strategies of design, materiality, and communication proposed and made in the manufacturing of the object that have a purpose of a religious kind, understanding that the modern researcher, and the creators of the object, expect the object to be used successfully, i.e., with some of the strategies of design and communication taken into consideration, together with the materials employed to configure the object.

In this research, I concentrated on images that are created: manufactured images that should not exist prior to human creativity (the products of *homo faber*). We make images and turn things into images.¹³ I have analysed images whose function is mostly present when they are looked at, and whose use is performed in great part by looking at them.¹⁴ Notice that actual use is not equal to intended function(s). By function we mean the objective for which the image was made in the first place; what it was meant to do when observed or grasped. The distinction

¹² Although the affordances of the images are dependent on the affordances of the object, as we saw with the *cancel*, an object's affordances can also be independent of the affordances of the images it contains.

¹³ Alva Noë, *Varieties of Presence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 103.

¹⁴ One may also note that the objects have a visual function that is not dependent on their contents' being seen. While a closed book does not allow for seeing the images it contains, it does imply their existence. In this way, the closed book can have an important visual function, such as serving as a symbol of piety for the owner or user of the book. On the other hand, due to the modes in which the *cancel* works, there are also ambiguous moments of visibility regarding the images the structure contains. The images might be in some cases visible, but not necessarily legible. In other cases, some panels might not be seen at all, as with the main doors or the doors of the *cancel* open, but the configuration of the structure and what *can* be seen implies the existence of more images within the *cancel*. With regard to the visual function of the opened *cancel* being, we could suppose it could be more connected to how the individual or community experienced the place, where it is being afforded the visibility of the interior or the exterior of the complex. On the illegible visibility of the panels, the possible function, or meaning that this could have had becomes elusive in the present study.

is important since, in fact, use can, and often does, transgress function, either in an amicable or a violent way.

It seems also important to recall that, contrary to common assumption, images are not necessarily meant to be seen. To be seen is, in the end, a function that is imposed on some (but not all) images by some (but not all) users and makers. To be seen is also an affordance. Nonetheless, it cannot be excluded that one possible function of an image could preclude our seeing of that image. Further, it is possible that images are meant to be seen only by a particular person or group of people with a number of conditions: religious role, class, family, gender, etc. Lastly, images may be not intended for human beings at all, but for animals, or for gods.

The action of looking at or seeing is, then, for our cases of study, paramount. Looking is a faculty of perception, and perception is connected to how we acquire knowledge. Vision comes to play a behavioural role for us within the environment, for through vision we navigate “how to get about among them [things] and what to do or not do with them”,¹⁵ as Gibson reminds us. Behaviour, in turn, comes to be controlled by perception. This means that vision is a tool for how we are going to behave, which entails that behaviour depends on how we perceive things. To see, then, to perceive by looking, is connected to knowing, or as Gibson puts it, “Knowing is an *extension* of perceiving.”¹⁶

Looking, in addition to listening, feeling, smelling and tasting is fundamental to the processes through which we gain awareness. Awareness exists and is shaped by constant interaction, and things, among them images, are part of such processes. A child:

is shown things, and told things, and given models and pictures of things, and then instruments and tools and books, and finally rules and short cuts for finding out more things. Toys, pictures, words are aids to perceiving, provided by parents and teachers.¹⁷

These *things* are aids, tools that help organise and determine standards, or *patterns* of our environment.¹⁸ They are facilitators, through which we create structures of knowledge and,

¹⁵ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 223.

¹⁶ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 258.

¹⁷ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 258.

¹⁸ *Patterns* is defined here following up to a certain point what Gibson labelled as *invariants* by which Gibson meant constants, preserved properties, identifiable or evident by the movement or change in the environment (Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 73). This will be further explained below.

since we act not only as individuals but as a community, of common knowledge. *Things* help us to apprehend, to access information, though they are not the information themselves: “The learner has to hear the speech in order to pick up the message; to see the model, the picture, or the writing; to manipulate the instrument in order to extract the information.”¹⁹ Images, as *things*, are then engineered products, “tools for thinking about things.”²⁰ To paraphrase Alva Noë, they are tokens for communication strategies.²¹

Both Luyken’s hearts and the EC-panels, as well as the book and *cancel* that contain them, afford this facilitation, helping to organise the environment of the individual or community that consumes them. The consumption of Emblem XXXVII (*De Ziele heft haer herte met Jesus versegeldt*, Fig.3) in *Jesus en de ziel* affords being part of the communication strategies to structure the individual’s environment in terms, for example, of the distinction between worldly, external, and sinful beauty; and divine beauty, which belongs to God, and is located inside of each one of the believers’ hearts. The consumption of Panel 183 (*Purificacion del Corazon*, Fig.67) in the *cancel*, to name just one example, affords the picking up of information on how the purification of the individual’s life, and of their own hearts in search for perfecting the self, can only be effected through the blood spilled from Christ’s wounds.

Following this line of thought, it can also be said that images are part of the cultural techniques in a human environment, and as such they are a component of what Bernhard Siegert calls “operationalizing distinctions in the real.”²² Cultural production implies the creation of perceptible elements, events and objects of distinction in the environment: “Concrete actions serve to distinguish them from earlier nondifferentiatedness [...] all cultural techniques are based on the transition from nondistinction to distinction and back.”²³ The uses of cultural techniques, in this case images and their objects, transition from the production of new images, to their destruction or reformulation into other images, intervening in and transforming the spaces in which they are consumed. Cultural techniques can also make distinctions so as to blur the lines between what was in another moment distinct. They are not

only media that sustain codes, and disseminate, internalize, and institutionalize sign systems; they also destabilize cultural codes, erase signs, and deterritorialize sounds

¹⁹ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 258.

²⁰ Noë, *Varieties of Presence*, 104.

²¹ Noë, *Varieties of Presence*, 105.

²² Siegert, *Cultural Techniques*, 14.

²³ Siegert, *Cultural Techniques*, 14.

and images [...] Media appear as code-generating or code-destroying interfaces between cultural orders and a real that cannot be symbolized.²⁴

We have treated images for this reason as part of an environmental, behavioural, and social system. The image is a carrier of elements belonging to or at least ascribed to us, and in turn it is capable of developing part of what we understand as reality — in our case a religious reality. Images are then, consciously, or unconsciously for us, tools for seeing inasmuch as they become referential modes for how our awareness happens.²⁵ In other words, because of the conditions of how we perform the act of looking, images afford understandings, experiences or behaviours in relation to what surrounds, affects and modifies us in life.

Siegert's proposal on cultural techniques becomes an adequate aid for defining elements derived from the analysis of the objects of study. Both *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel* have provided us with ways in which we can understand their roles within the production of cultural techniques of the time. Primarily in the chapters on internal mechanisms and interaction with the objects (Chapters 2-3, 5-6), we elucidate the possibilities of the objects generating distinctions within the reality of the individual or the community. These distinctions are, of course, of a religious profile, concerning the believers' religious reality. As we have seen, the book offered through text and images, in addition to the mode it is structured and constructed, ways not only of understanding notions of the divine, but of comprehending such notions within their everyday lives. The location of the divine in the heart, the heart as that which must be cared for, and the acceptance of Jesus through his seal, as that which takes care of us and protects us from evil, are elements that seem to be aimed at being understood by the user of the book so that they can be applied, or integrated into their daily life. Such integration will affect the modes in which the individual relates or reacts to their surroundings, their own actions, and the actions of others.

As we saw in Chapter 3, there were processes of reconfiguration of *Jesus en de ziel*, such as the rebinding of the book with other texts, including in occasions those of Luyken. In the decisions of readers as well as those of sellers, Luyken's images and texts were reconfigured into other book-objects and thereby generated other cultural techniques, through the constant dialogue with other texts and images. The mere possession of the book in turn implied a technique of distinction within the individual's religious reality. Whether in the user's library,

²⁴ Siegert, *Cultural Techniques*, 15.

²⁵ Alva Noë, *Strange Tools: Art and Human Nature* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2015), 52.

in their hands, whether used for education, quiet reading, or recitation to others, Luyken's emblem-literary production, *Jesus en de ziel* in particular, afforded diverse and generative religious cultural processes such as serving as an identity marker for what a good Mennonite was supposed to be, or, on the contrary, how the consumption of the book was an indicator of a certain way of perceiving and believing in God that was not welcomed by other Christian groups.

As far as the *cancel* is concerned, we can start with the structure itself. Its spatial location as an entrance portal generates already a distinction between the internal space, where religious events and religious objects take place in a controlled way, and the external space, where the religious in processions, religious festivities, religious images in the streets, etc. is mixed with all the otherwise profane events of the community's daily life.²⁶ This entrance structure that has to be manipulated in order to enter or leave the religious space is made up of a plethora of visual and textual information that affords the conditioning of the community's understanding of their reality, such as the consumption of the programme of the liturgical calendar on the external side of the *cancel*. The community is supposed to follow and perform the calendar as part of their salvation process; due to its location and the obligatory use of it to enter or exert the place, the *cancel* serves as an inevitable reminder of the relevance these events have for the community's religious wellbeing.

On entering the *cancel* the community finds itself in a space (the vestibule) filled with images and texts relating to this same process of salvation, now with the prominent insertion of the visual motif of the heart. The sanctuary employs the use of a devotion (the Sacred Heart of Jesus) that on a visual level affords the distinction between the divine and the secular, and between the Saviour and the sinner who has to follow the path of Christ, in repentance and great piety, in order to perfect their own heart and attain salvation. Due to the presence of the human heart in the *cancel*, the manipulation of this structure also affords these kinds of distinctions. Not only that: the *cancel* itself, by means of the visual programmes it contains and by being closed, becomes, so to speak, another "wall" of the architectural complex full of visual and textual resources that are supposed to be of help to the community. The panels serve as visual resources aimed entirely at this relationship between the divine and the human, with the

²⁶ On the manifestations of the religious in daily life of the Viceregal community, see: Gustavo Curiel & Antonio Rubial, "Los espejos de lo propio: ritos públicos y usos privados en la pintura virreinal," in *Pintura y vida cotidiana en México: siglos XVII-XX*, ed. Cándida Fernández, Alberto Sarmiento & Leticia Gámez (Sevilla: Fomento Cultural Banamex, Fundación Caixa de Girona & Fundación El Monte, 2012), 33-95.

human heart in its process of improvement through true repentance and acceptance of the love of their Lord.

The *cancel* does not, then, afford only a distinction of particular spaces or environments, but by its peculiar visual configuration and contents, complements the notion that the site being entered has a series of specific visual and textual modes of understanding, approaching and loving God; and proceeds, through specific cultural techniques shaped by consistent visual and textual strategies of communication found throughout the sanctuary, to distinguish the experience of the divine in the complex as unique, distinct from any other religious experience. In other words, the community consuming the sanctuary of Atotonilco was provided with ways of understanding and shaping their own religious reality unlike any other site, and part of the techniques used to make this happen was the very configuration of the *cancel*, its location, and its congruence with the complex visual religious programme of the entire sanctuary.

2. *Patterns of recognition are a religious affordance within images and objects*

Religious images afford *patterns of recognition*, which are part of how the user can engage with the object. For the purposes of this research, recognition entails that we see, or bodily sense, or do something that lets us understand the minimum of what is happening in our space. Recognition²⁷ implies revelation, the gaining or access to knowledge – a literal transition that leads “to an insight or revelation, a knowledge, following an acknowledgement of a sign, cognition, or apprehension.”²⁸ To recognize is to identify the necessary elements to say that something is or means something. There are religious objects that play with identification: what can be identified as part of the sense of the divine for an individual comes because of an interplay between the object and the individual. Human technologies, such as books or *canceles*, have assisted this process of identification by creating surfaces that aid in the recognition of the potentially religious, or the potentially divine in the surface, through the

²⁷ A term that finds its origins in the notion of anagnorisis, proposed by Aristotle in his *Poetics*. On the conceptual debates regarding recognition see: Teresa G. Russo, ed. *Recognition and Modes of Knowledge: Anagnorisis from Antiquity to Contemporary Theory* (Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 2013).

²⁸ Teresa G. Russo, “Introduction: A Rising of Knowledge,” in *Recognition and Modes of Knowledge: Anagnorisis from Antiquity to Contemporary Theory*, ed. Teresa G. Russo (Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 2013), xviii.

surface, or with knowledge received from the surface by means of which the divine can be recognized in other kind of surfaces, whether human-made or not.

How we are able to recognize a pattern and what kind of recognition takes place, are both directly connected to the object's production, the materials used for it, the context in which it is being recognized (the people, the space, the reasons, the time of the day, age, gender, etc.), the path taken by the believer that led to the moment of recognition, and the minimum knowledge that affords a minimum guidance.

Though we are not able to detail all the elements of the context in which something is being recognized, we do have sources that help us in getting to know a bit about it. *Jesus en de ziel* was a product put out in the religious market of the time, an emblem book promoted as an aid for religious purposes to their consumers. Through its production and the decisions behind the manner in which it is sold and bought, it becomes part of the composite bound religious books of the time. Even if it is not possible to state precisely how widely read it was, it seems that it was a well-known book, at least from the mentions we have of it on the primary sources studied. We are also provided with contexts such as Mennonite communities and the ages at which a book such as *Jesus en de ziel* was given as catechetical gifts, or in other cases the contexts in which the book is given so kids can learn the poems and recite them.

Sources relating to the *cancel*, as we saw, could not provide much information on contexts. Nevertheless, the material conditions of the object, especially its location within the complex, and the very fact that it is not a moveable structure gives us some necessary conditions for the process of recognition to happen. Moments to consume the *cancel* were all related to the notion of going to the sanctuary, for whatever reason. It is an entrance structure designed for public space intended to receive a community of believers, either for praying, mass or to participate in the Spiritual Exercises, among other things. The moment of interaction was then inevitable. When it comes, however, to the moment of recognizing the panels, the material conditions are the only ones, for now, that can be known. It is true that the *cancel* could not be moved, but its configuration meant that the opening and closing of its doors implied diverse modes in which the person would come to consume the panels. As has been noted, the material conditions for recognition and consumption of the EC-panels as a whole was only possible within the closed structure, and with the person or community standing within the vestibule.

What implies a minimum knowledge that affords a minimum guidance? To be a Christian (either Catholic or Protestant [including Protestant minorities]); to know how to use a book or a *cancel*; to recognize the type of book they are dealing with, or the type of place they are entering is fundamental. There will also be a need for the images to afford the ability to distinguish between the figures they depict, not in terms of knowing who they are, but of understanding them as distinct individuals, and as reused in the next pages and panels. The minimum knowledge will be anything that helps the individual to take the hint that the object they are dealing with has a religious connotation, either from the format of the book, its title, contents, or images, or from the location of the *cancel*, its images and diversity of Christian narratives.

Within a single moment of recognition other micro-moments can occur, and the experience of the divine either deepens, expands, focuses, or overwhelms the believer. Recognition can also have other values: historical, economic, political, and ideological. A Catholic church for example, can create an overwhelming sentiment in the process of recognition. The church, as a building, is already a place that affords a change of attitude from the believer when inside or outside the building. This change is very much connected to the notion of the threshold or liminality that the entrance of the building affords.²⁹ This is not a place like any other, but one with a very specific profile. It is, in some sense, a location for the divine, or better said, a location for communion, experience and education about the divine. It is not where the divine ‘is’ in terms that the divine is located here and is nowhere else to be found, but a place specially created to focus on the divine, where it can be recognized, located, and be present.³⁰

What is within the church: images, smells, chapels, reliquaries, relics, the altar, the chairs, the roof, the stain glass, the paintings, the organ, the people, the priest, the size, the height, the depth, and the light; all of this alters the levels of recognition within the recognized

²⁹ For how there are changes in the individual when entering or exerting a place, see: Emilie M. van Opstal, “General Introduction,” in *Sacred Thresholds: The Door to the Sanctuary in Late Antiquity*, ed. Emilie M. van Opstal (Boston & Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1-27.

³⁰ Brian Larkin underlines this idea in his discussion of Baroque Catholicism: “The experience of God’s real presence within the world and the baroque religious practices based on it were founded on an epistemology that united the sign and signified. Baroque Catholics did not sharply distinguish between the symbol and the thing it symbolized; rather, the symbol contained the essence of or made present the thing symbolized [...] the image of a saint, the liturgical gestures of the faithful, and symbolically designed and decorated church interiors did not merely bring God, the saints, or the heavenly kingdom to mind; they made them present within the world.” (Brian Larkin, *The Very Nature of God: Baroque Catholicism and Religious Reform in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 6).

place. And this is without considering the precise state of the person who is entering the building that day. To go to the Sanctuary at Atotonilco for the Spiritual Exercises, for example, would change completely the modes in which the believer related to the space, as for during eight days the community will have to constantly move around and pray before images, and reflect diverse topics and continue praying while walking from one place to the other. The activities performed by this community during these days are done within diverse environments of the building all richly invested with images and texts connected to the Christian narrative of salvation, among which the human and Sacred Heart become constant visual and textual elements to reflect upon from the very entrance of the place. The pace for examination of the sanctuary that happens through the Spiritual Exercises would have conditioned, then, the levels of recognition and the religious associations between images, texts, and practices, transforming what the community would perceive and understand of the environment they are immersed in.

In the case of *patterns*, we can take some of the principles underlying Gibson's conception of *invariants* to talk about the *patterns* given by the image, considering the image as a set of marks in a surface that affords the record of a sense of awareness of an environment.³¹ An *invariant* structure or *pattern* supplies the sense of constancy during the changes produced by "dynamic" perspectives on observable reality.³² If a number of observers detect the invariants of the surface of an environment or object, then they will perceive the object in more or less the same way, as far as the invariants go.³³ What *patterns* can help to do is to benefit us to recognize the changes and the peculiarities in an arrangement that has an underlying structure of recognition, and furthermore, what these changes imply in the perceived surface. *Patterns* are optical measures of stability in a dynamic world accessed only through perception.

Images afford *patterns* from which the user can create a common ground on an amount of ideas about their surrounding life and other objects (images of a religious kind in this case).³⁴ By acknowledging an affordance of *patterns*, we follow the notion that what the consumer sees in an image is not a copy of reality, since images are other than what they represent.³⁵ The visual motif of the heart in the works analysed in the present study is different from an actual

³¹ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 279. The choice to use *pattern* in place of Gibson's *invariant* is motivated by a desire for simplicity. The *invariants* discussed by Gibson refer to a more complex structure within his proposal of ecological perception; here we aim to focus on what seems the most useful elements of Gibson's theory for understanding the religious image.

³² Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 122.

³³ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 200.

³⁴ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 279.

³⁵ Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 194.

heart, and nevertheless it represents, as part of a set of *patterns*, that which is not visible, the so-called prototype, recognizable for us. It is equivalent to a certain reality — in our case, a religious reality.³⁶

We recognize through traces, a pattern that leads us to something we know. As Ernst Gombrich established: “Without knowing it, we have carried out a rapid succession of tests for consistency and settled on those readings which make sense.”³⁷ By recognition, by revealing or acquiring knowledge through looking at or manipulating an image, we have a moment of self-understanding. To recognise in religious terms implies that we are able to reflect upon ourselves and our system of beliefs when interacting with a religious object, with the images contained and produced by it, with the representative world they have configured, and then we incorporate what is recognized to our daily life and interactions.³⁸ An example of the system of beliefs would be those taught and reconfigured by a Mennonite young person when they received Luyken’s book as a gift. In this sense, religious images afford both *integration* and *compatibility* by means of *recognition of patterns*. We do not know the system of beliefs of the individual, but we can speculate, thanks in part to what an object religiously affords, that if the object is desired by the consumer, this implies that it affords compatibility with her or him, and that it can be easily integrated by the system of beliefs of the user, not as a fixed object, but as a modified one.

Memory, or, to be more precise, the visual memory that is triggered or produced by the image and its medium, plays a decisive role in this process.³⁹ We might say that elements such as images afford being powerful mnemonic tools for the individual.⁴⁰ By constantly looking at

³⁶ Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 276.

³⁷ Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 183. “Without such a test, even the images of traditional art may yield as variegated and fantastic a result as the proverbial shapes of clouds and inkblots.” (Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 183).

³⁸ In this case, I loosely follow Paul Ricoeur’s proposal on recognition, principally in his *The Course of Recognition*, in which identity and the comprehension of life is understood as a narrative, as it would be in a text; Paul Ricoeur, *The Course of Recognition* (Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 99-104. This is especially important when we consider religious objects such as devotional books, or in our case religious emblem books, where both texts and images play a narrative with which the reader can identify. See: Jenna Sunkenberg, “Narrative Identity: Recognizing Oneself in Augustine and Ricoeur,” in *Recognition and Modes of Knowledge: Anagnorisis from Antiquity to Contemporary Theory*, ed. Teresa G. Russo (Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 2013), 141-154.

³⁹ Morgan, *The Embodied Eye*, 67.

⁴⁰ See: David C. Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions: The cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-out Rhymes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Evelyn B. Tribble & Nicholas Keene, *Cognitive Ecologies and the History of Remembering: Religion, Education and Memory in Early Modern England* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). The connections between images and memory have deep roots in the history of Christianity. See: Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

an image or set of images, over time several constraints can be created for memory. This does not necessarily imply that the repetition of an act of viewing will immerse us in deep thought, but that it is able to condition us to recognize *patterns*. In this sense, a religious image becomes a device for *pattern-recognition* of a set of elements that serve to focus or constrain, limit, or redirect experience.

When it comes to the book and the *cancel*, they both provide, in different modes, two elements that become part of the recognition of patterns, and that might be found in other religious images. They both use visual and textual *repetition* and *rhythm* as part of their strategies for communication.⁴¹ *Repetition* can be self-contained in the object or structure, as both book and *cancel* show: in the former through a highly consistent composition of texts and images throughout the book; in the latter through the organisation of the EC-Panels in one part of the structure, their consistency in the location of images and texts, the coherent employment of colour, and the recurrence of the same main characters, including the heart, throughout.

Repetition can also be something used in a referential way with other objects and religious images, which do not necessarily have to be present at the moment the user is consuming the religious object in question. In this scenario, repetition is a tool for memory. In Chapter 2, we saw how Luyken's visual and textual strategies, including the use of the visual motif of the heart, were something the author and his publishers maintained in a large part of his oeuvre. Further, as was shown in Chapter 3, it was a normal practice to make *Jesus en de ziel* part of an assemblage of books, written and with images by Luyken.

We should also consider the notion of repetition through objects and images that are present while the religious object in question is being consumed. A set of surfaces where patterns can be recognized can be connected to the object that is being seen and used. I would argue, for example, that the EC-panels afford two modes in which recognition can occur. One is by recognizing the patterns of repetition contained in the structure as a whole: that would help the consumer in understanding there is a unity in what they are looking at, and that by a complementarity between the person's system of beliefs and what is depicted, they can come to see in these repetitions and structure the visual motif as a human heart being subjected to the processes we have already discussed.

⁴¹ The visual-textual formula shapes how the provision of information occurs, and that changes some aspects of how the interaction with the object can work.

A second mode is that this process of recognition can occur together with the other objects and images in the same space, in this case with the other programmes from the *cancel* itself and the ones lining the walls of the complex. The devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and its presence in the sanctuary, for example, could condition what is recognized in the *cancel*. In the case of the sanctuary, this is afforded not just by the mere existence of other visual programmes surrounding the *cancel*, but also because the textual and visual strategies utilised for the EC-Panels are not so different from the ones used in these cycles. The EC-panels, together with the rest of the *cancel* and the other visual programmes are marked in modes that help in constancy and difference, in distinction, analogy, communication and practice. The EC-panels are not the object of an official, authorised practice, as far as we know, but they are made in such a way that they can be integrated to what the diverse practices in use of the other set of visual programmes are providing.

Rhythm, on the other hand, is in these cases intimately connected with repetition, in the sense that the composition strategies used in both objects come to provide a sense of consistency and expectancy. The users of *Jesus en de ziel* can attune themselves to how the texts and images are disposed, and would not expect for the order to change, always receiving first the poem, then the images with their accompanying texts and, when turning the page, the further reflections. This provides a sense of structural unity, disrupted just at the end by the last emblem, whose further reflections seem to function as a grand conclusion comprising the whole subject of the book. Further disruption of this unity can occur by the decisions made by the publishers of subsequent editions, as was seen in the 1704 edition, which appends one text at the end. This can also come about by decisions made by the seller and the buyer, and how either of them thinks *Jesus en de ziel* could be consumed, as we saw with the bindings. Further, the compositional strategies in both objects of study help to determine what represents the divine and what represents the worldly.

Rhythm can, then, provide a sense of *unity*. In the case of the *cancel*, apart from the notion of structural unity provided by a themed repetition, I would argue that the consistency in the presence of the hearts, and the impressive number of panels that comprise this presence of hearts, together with the space where the consumer is consuming the panels, which is at the same time awash with of hearts and biblical images, afford what Gombrich called the “etc. principle”: “the assumption we tend to make that to see a few members of a series is to see

them all.”⁴² In this sense, the overwhelming amount of panels, and the modes they are composed in terms of repetition and rhythm, could have been either consumed individually, or just a fragment of them would have been needed to give a sense of them all, in connection to a religious idea, linked to the system of the consumer, the practices in the space, and the other images that have being or are about to be consumed in the complex.⁴³ This is a device employed not only in the EC-panels, but also in the other three programmes in the *cancel*. It was not necessary to explore the whole register of the desert fathers and the gifts and virtues: the sheer multiplication of images on the same theme provided the necessary sense of what it was depicted, and even why. The same goes for the other registers on the *cancel*.

3: *Communication and presence with and of the divine*

We can agree that any object bearing religious motifs, oriented towards a religious practice, could imply not only communication with the divine, but also a means by which the divine occupies a physical space in our reality. The divine is not necessarily “in” the object, but the object and its use can indicate in one way or the other divine-human interaction, presence, or at least acknowledgement.⁴⁴ An object can afford divine-human interaction. The divine appears to be only *understood, coped with, or approached* through things, acts, sounds, sensations, and words. *Something* is part of the devotee’s access to any notion of divinity, and even the self-revealing, spiritual idea of God cannot escape this *something*: language, the Word, and therefore the Bible, is as much an object as it is text and image(s). There is always a mediation that persuades and affords the possibility to at least come closer to whatever the divine implies. With Birgit Meyer, we can affirm that the media are not an option, but a fundamental part of what religion is.⁴⁵

The recognition of the presence of the divine is dependent on human actions. As Jean-Luc Marion suggests with respect to the idol:

⁴² Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 175.

⁴³ Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 175: “it can be shown that this tendency of ours to take things a read can indeed lead to curious illusions when the mind is tricked into running ahead of the facts and expecting the continuation of a series that turns out to be less simple.”

⁴⁴ On the communication and communion with the divine, see; Morgan, *Sacred Gaze*.

⁴⁵ Meyer, “Mediating absence,” 1036.

Man becomes religious by preparing a face for the divine; he takes it upon himself to fashion the face, and then to ask the divine to invest it, as radically as possible, so as to become his god [...] Is it necessary, however, to receive the idol as a correct face of the divinity? Without any doubt, but on condition that the nature of such a divinity be evaluated. It falls to man to experience and establish it [...] The idol must fix the distant and diffuse divinity and assure us of its presence, of its power, of its availability.⁴⁶

The fixation of the divine in an object seems to be conditioned by what the individual had experienced of the divine.⁴⁷

Though both communication and presence are among the possibilities a religious object such as a book or a *cancel* can afford, there is for now no way of knowing if this possibility was realised, i.e., whether these objects did provide a physical space or a means of communication and of mediating with the divine. We have seen in our case studies that they could provide visual and textual marks that, by being recognized in a myriad of ways, could come to generate, or transform a sense the person has of the divine, or of a certain feature of the divine, or their system of beliefs. For example, Luyken integrates text and images arranged in a specific way that makes the divine verbalised, grounded or contained in the word of God, and, at the same time, visualised for the individual in forms that are not divine in themselves. In this sense, what both *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel* at Atotonilco let us know is that they afford communication and communion with the divine. As religious objects, they belong to the visible in religion, to that group of objects which are used to grasp any sense of the divine without which the divine could not be grasped. This does not mean our objects are necessary. Rather they afford visibility, and therefore the possibility of religious consumption on the part of the individual that, in turn, offers opportunities to acquire, produce, and transform a notion or set of notions regarding the divine. Transcendence, meditation, and imagination in spiritual exercises, for example, are elements we must be careful not to use against the visible and what we are capable of perceiving. As much as the spiritual seems to be about the immaterial, it cannot be known, recognized, or felt without the material. Images enter this game: “whether we have an image before us or not, the mind can only grasp the invisible by means of, or with reference to, the visible.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Jean-Luc Marion, *The Idol and Distance: Five Studies* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2001), 5.

⁴⁷ Marion, *The Idol and Distance*, 5-6.

⁴⁸ Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 188.

Both the book and the *cancel* provided words and images to any construction of divinity the user or community were developing. But our research can only go as far in determining the modes in which the images could be integrated, recognized, and appealed to fit into the religious life of the user. This integration implies transforming the object so that it can be part of the tools, ideas, practices, and perceptions of the religious that are at the disposal of the user.

At least based on the works analysed in the present research, we can say the following: a religious object could be understood as a thing intended by its manufacturers and since its manufacture to be part of a religious practice, or a religious type of consumption. The object not only provides possibilities of action as an object, but also provides ways of acting and consuming that are conditioned to the design of the object, which is oriented to be part of a religious practice. So, instead of simply talking about possibilities of action, we talk about *religious* possibilities of action, insofar as what is being handled is an object designed to provide such possibilities. It is in its design, in its creation, location and subsequent use, that the religious object finds its place in the religious experience of the individual.

A religious practice or a religious type of consumption entails a procedure performed by an individual, either alone or in community, that is connected to and meant to be fruitful within their system of beliefs, a system which conditions a certain notion of the divine. A religious practice, in this case, is not an authorised practice to access the religious, but an action, or number of actions, that are considered beneficial for the individual's conception of the religious and the divine by the user herself, an institution, a publisher, a seller, or some other actor. Religious experiences are the events in the life of an individual that are intimately connected to their system of beliefs. Religious interaction is the manipulation of religious objects for a religious purpose; by interacting with the object the individual performs a religious practice, which in turns implies that while performing this practice the individual experiences and possibly (re)configures a sense of the divine conditioned by their system of beliefs.

4: Information-providers and the hopes of the maker

The entire range of options that an individual brought with them when consuming *Jesus en de ziel* is too vast to grasp, and, to a certain extent, not that necessary, at least for our present purposes. Whatever it was that the consumer brought to their encounter with the object, this

was *prior* information, something that helped in recognizing the *patterns* the objects in question afforded. Something must be known beforehand, there must be a minimum on which the makers of the object can rely for the object to have a certain appeal. This does not mean that in order to study what an object affords religiously speaking we have to know precisely what was known by the individual consumer, but that both the manufacturers of the object and its modern researchers share a trust that the consumers have already a certain number of skills and amount of information that helped them interact with the objects.

The *cancel*, for example, belonged to an historical and geographical context where images were present in many practices. Rubial rightly notes that the Sanctuary at Atotonilco was the clear proof of a Christianity in the eighteenth century deeply rooted in tragedy and in pain. Father Alfaro was providing a place for repentance and purification, processes of penitence undertaken for the love of God.⁴⁹ Indeed, this seems to be an aspect of a certain approach the Novohispanic church took to tackle how modernity was developing in the eighteenth century. Rubial observes:

toda la literatura devocional y las prácticas, así como las nuevas propuestas iconográficas, iban dirigidas a forzar meditaciones que buscaban transformar las conciencias hacia la conversión moral y a una interiorización de la culpa, dentro de una sujeción absoluta a los confesores y directores espirituales.⁵⁰

Devotional texts instructed devotees, for example, that an image (either print or painting) of the Sacred Heart could work as a substitute for the Holy Sacrament (Eucharist) if there was no opportunity of kneeling and praying before it.⁵¹ Among the religious material culture the communities of the eighteenth-century Viceroyalty were consuming, objects pertaining to devotion to the Sacred Heart were prominent and, as we have seen, this devotion constituted a valuable information-provider for the *cancel*.⁵² Texts were even created and circulated that provided an explanation of what the human heart is, how it behaves, and its relationship with

⁴⁹ Rubial, “Un nuevo laico”, 22. See also: Gisela von Wobeser, *Cielo, infierno y purgatorio durante el Virreinato de la Nueva España* (Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2015).

⁵⁰ Rubial, “Un nuevo laico”, 22: “all the devotional literature and practices, as well as the new iconographic proposals, were aimed at forcing meditations that sought to transform consciences towards moral conversion and an interiorisation of guilt, in absolute subjection to confessors and spiritual directors. “

⁵¹ Kilroy, *Holy Organ*, 128.

⁵² In the Viceroyalty of New Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Church expressly encouraged the instruction and participation of the laity through collective activities, or rather, collective ways of living religion or making daily life religious. This was performed by confraternities, congregations and brotherhoods and other elements. The Church also made use of the dissemination and consumption of religious books. See: Moreno Gamboa, “Una lectura de la devoción seglar,” 338-339.

the notion of love; all with the objective of connecting the human to the Sacred Heart.⁵³ In his *Sendero del cielo*, Father Alfaro proposes that for a person to do the Stations of the Heart promoted in the sanctuary at home, they simply make use of fourteen prints of the Sacred Heart, and place them in their living spaces.⁵⁴

It is perfectly plausible, then, that for the community it was easy to recognize the Sacred Heart, and several devotional practices, prayers, etc. related to it.⁵⁵ At the same time, this knowledge could have informed any process of recognition and consumption of the EC-panels. What is beneficial with the *cancel* is that the very devotional practices concerning the Sacred Heart were happening within the complex, with the help of a great number of images connected to it.

In light of this brief consideration of the context to which the *cancel* belongs we can deduce that: in the sanctuary were offered visual and devotional practices and modes to relate to God that in no way contradicted the modes in which the *cancel* could have been perceived and interacted with at any given moment. The manufacturers are then able to rely on previously disseminated and received information for these objects to work, and to allow their users to comprehend something about them, to deem them non-contradictory to their previous knowledge and to the environment within which they are used. If there is any sense of success in the user's actual consumption of the visual motif of the heart, then the heart, in both case studies, becomes part of a repertoire that is to some extent constructed by the individual, and to some extent given to them. The shape of the heart, its location in a network of materials, motifs, themes and words, and its ways of being consumed, lead it to be integrated into a repertoire of visuals, texts, and practices.

⁵³ See, for example, the anonymous devotional book *Practicas devotas en honor del Sacratissimo Corazon de nuestro Señor Jesuchristo*. reprinted in 1804 (the original year of edition is unknown): “Es el corazon el símbolo mas propio del amor. La experiencia propia nos enseña que los afectos y efectos del amor se nos hacen principalmente sensibles en el corazón. Si el alma ama mucho, su corazón se inflama; si se ve correspondida la persona que ama, el corazón siente placer, que llamamos dilatación; si se experimenta ingratitud, siente pena que explicamos con el nombre de opresión de corazon” (*Practicas devotas en honor del Sacratissimo Corazon de Nuestro Señor Jesuchristo* (Mexico: Mariajo Joseph de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1805), 28. [It is the heart the most characteristic symbol of love. Our own experience teaches us that affections and effects of love are mainly felt in the heart. If the soul loves much its heart swells; if the person it loves is requited, the heart feels pleasure, which we call dilation; if it experiences ingratitude, it feels sorrow, which we call oppression of the heart].

⁵⁴ Alfaro, *Sendero del Cielo*, fol. 3r.

⁵⁵ On how connected the religious aspect was to the daily life of the individual, see: Curiel & Rubial, “Los espejos de lo propio.”

Images and texts provide, then, guiding lights for the user: basic and fundamental guides that it is hoped the user has the skills to follow. Apart from physical conditions such as being capable of opening, closing, watching, and walking, there are other skills and a certain identity the makers of the object expect the consumer to have: the capacity to read, to listen, and to be a Christian (within the respective denomination). The producers of the image expect that the guides will help the user to produce interpretations that do not go as off-script as they, in fact, sometimes are wont to do.⁵⁶ They are expecting a user who understands, takes the hints, and integrates them to the larger system of perception and understanding that configures them. Objects and what they contain are *meant* to work in a particular way. The modes in which their contents are ordered and displayed within the object imply design decisions and intended functions and modes of consumption that their makers hope will be fulfilled in one way or the other. This does not, of course, mean the object is consumed in this way, but that the object offers a number of specific traits, signs, sequences, orders, configurations, and compositions that allow it to work in a specific manner, or set of manners.

5: Religious objects afford an economy of the sacred

The person who interacts with a religious space, object, or event, and who does so with religious intent, is expecting something. In this scenario, perception, as the mode to recollect information provided by the environment, contains within it an expectation, or more specifically a religious expectation, that allows the individual to react to what they understand as a religious moment.⁵⁷

Bearing this notion of expectation in mind, we may say that the value and choice of the religious object can be seen in terms of a kind of “sacred economy”. The term was used by David Morgan to refer to the ways in which the religious image can serve as much as currency as commodity. On certain occasions, then, religious objects become part of a network configured as a set of patterns of exchange: a constant process of transactions, socially and materially speaking, between humans and the divine. We can call this network an economy that entails demands and expectations, consumption, and the striving to gain, sustain, increase,

⁵⁶ John Bateman, *Text and Image: A Critical Introduction to the Visual/Verbal Divide* (London: Routledge, 2014), 82-83.

⁵⁷ Paul Taberham, *Lessons in Perception: The Avant-Garde Filmmaker as Practical Psychologist* (New York & Oxford: Berghahn, 2018), 98.

decrease, repair or discard something. In this spiritual economy the actors, the buyers, and the sellers, are intimately connected, and produce, sustain, or destroy spiritual values in favour or to the detriment of others. By giving or receiving an obligation is created, and a relation proposed between humans, objects, and the divine. Following through such relations (or not) produces new values and reconsiderations in the spiritual economy of society. Images are part of the currency of such an economy.⁵⁸

The Sanctuary of Atotonilco gives cues to the community for how to behave and what to do to attain salvation: what to give and what to acquire to pay back Christ's sacrifice. The human heart within the sanctuary, including the EC-panels, is actually an offering that needs to be made, a request to feel a portion of what Christ felt. The Sacred Heart of Jesus is a model to follow and a reminder of what has been done to God.⁵⁹ It is, to a certain extent, both a commodity and a currency. The human heart has a value and can be shaped into the perfect object of exchange. It is an organ that must be modelled, and to undergo various processes as we see in the EC-panels. In this way, the human heart becomes the ideal object to be given, to use in soliciting forgiveness, and for the individual to be saved.

With the emblem book we can see another aspect of this economy, in the sense of the book literally belonging to a religious book market, as we saw in Chapter 3. Literature and the diversity of emblem books were configured for a religious market, where believer-consumers tailored the consumer-goods, sometimes literally, at the stationer's shop, ordering new combinations of texts, or bindings. In so doing, consumers configured the techniques and the technology for their own configuration of a sense of the divine. Book printing, and printing culture in general, was central to this widening in market possibilities from which the devotional public could choose.⁶⁰ Of course, the conditions of supply and demand depended

⁵⁸ Morgan, *The Forge of Vision*, 71-72. Wouter J. Hanegraaf makes a similar proposal when he writes of a "religious supermarket": Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Western Esotericism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York & London: Bloomsbury, 2016). See also: Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 64-91.

⁵⁹ See Morgan, *The Sacred Heart*.

⁶⁰ On the History of the Book, forms of consumption and printing culture, see: Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp, eds., *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2021); Shanti Graheli, ed., *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019); Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles & Jeroen Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Jessica Buskirk & Samuel Mareel, *The Aura of the Word in the Early Age of Print (1450–1600)*, (New York & London: Routledge, 2016); Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp, *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Library of the Written Word 15 (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011); Wiem van Mierlo, ed., *Textual Scholarship and the Material Book* (Amsterdam: Rodopi 2007).

on factors such as location, religious denomination, financial means, and political persuasion, among other things. Nevertheless, innovations in printing culture afforded different ways to approach the religious materially, both for the supplier and the consumer.

6: The religious object as part of the technologies for practical devotion

Finally, religious images can become part of the *practical devotion* of the individual. I take as a starting point John Decker's definition of this term. For Decker, practical devotion is:

the activation and employment of images, objects, and practices dedicated to keeping body and soul safe and secure as the individual struggled along the more mentally and spiritually demanding paths of salvation and redemption. Like its more speculative counterpart, this form of devotion was an act of free will that demonstrated the soul's desire to cooperate in God's plan of salvation.⁶¹

Though Decker uses this definition to talk about fifteenth-century Catholic imagery, I argue that such a definition can be applied to both Catholic and Protestant cases in the Early Modern Period. Decker's definition stresses a mental and spiritual path, implying separation from the body and the material. The present study has emphasised, in contrast, in the inseparable place of the body and other media in whatever it is we mean by spirituality and religion. For that reason, in this study, *practical devotion* means the activation of material aspects of religion which help give a base for the individual to start or to continue their endeavour to achieve or maintain salvation. In this sense, we can say that *practical devotion* can be understood as part of the sacred economy we discussed above.

The activation referred to implies a mode in which the religious object comes to be integrated by the individual into their religious toolset. In our case studies, this happened in at least two ways. Either through the visual and textual elements of the object, the processes of recognition performed with the object, and its potential future use in the person's behaviour and sense of the divine — such an activation is conceivable with both the heart-emblems and the EC-panels. Or it comes about in the way the object physically becomes part of the tools the

⁶¹ John R. Decker, "“Practical Devotion”: Apotropaism and the Protection for the Soul,” in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Celeste Brusati, Karl A.E. Enekel and Walter S. Melion (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012), 360.

individual acquires and has at their disposal to use in shaping or sustaining their sense of the divine, and of the relationship they can come to have with it — these are elements more clearly expressed in the use of *Jesus en de ziel*.

Decker further argues that images are part of what he calls the *technology of salvation*. Christians come to create tools or rituals (in which tools can be used or made) to shape their souls for them to qualify as worthy of Christ. Such technologies comprise various rituals, objects, structures and rules the Christian believer uses to relate with God, and construct, or improve their spiritual self.⁶² Accordingly, religious objects afford being used as “instruments” with which devotees can constantly shape their religious experiences.⁶³ Once again, though Decker defines this technology in a fifteenth-century Catholic context, we can argue, at least with regard to the manipulation of *Jesus en de ziel*, that a Protestant user of images also instrumentalised them as a technology to improve a safe passage (pilgrimage) through mortal life (as reborn individuals), to the gates of Heaven and, finally, to the union with God. On the Catholic side the objective is not particularly different. The soul is surrounded with reminders of what has been sacrificed and what can be given. It is admonished to improve the heart, which can only happen if the human heart comes to be adequately modelled after the Holy Organ itself. The whole Sanctuary of Atotonilco could be seen as a large-scale technology for salvation, a gigantic machine that affords from the *cancel* at its very entrance, diverse resources for the user and the community to practise what they have been taught and have now integrated to their own set of practices and comprehensions of the divine, in order to improve their lives, and to be prepared for the final religious objective – the union with God.

By discussing the religious images in this study as ‘technologies’, we look at them as instruments for the skills, knowledge, procedures, or tasks done to achieve something, in this case to achieve salvation. Religious images, and their production, entail the following of a set of procedures for their very existence, from the selection of materials to the application of them. Further, by describing these works as technologies of salvation, we wish to stress that religious images are objects that themselves become part of sets of instruments and skills at the disposition of their users, and that contribute to the configuration of the techniques by which believers achieve whatever they want to achieve. The physical mechanics of a book or of a *cancel*, for example, are fundamental to what they come to imply in such a religious system.

⁶² John R. Decker, *The Technology of Salvation and the Art of Geertgen tot Sint Jans* (Parnham: Ashgate, 2009), 42-43.

⁶³ Decker, *The Technology of Salvation*, 46.

The physical affordances of opening, closing, carrying, concealing, or revealing, inherent in the objects at the centre of this study, are interconnected with the religious affordances of the image/object. Interaction with these objects puts in dialogue the internal mechanisms with a set of techniques that involve other objects as well, activated by the individual to achieve or sustain their religious experience.

Religious images are then part of a process of consumption, of decisions and dynamics in which a process of religious exchange between the individual and a sense of the divine can be performed through the object, and together with other objects and techniques gathered by the individual. Though there are cases of particular, private, and unique technologies of salvation, in many instances the images used as tools for access in the believer's practical devotion are recognized by the community. As with the *cancel*, we can see how the EC-panels could have become part of these tools for access for a community that together were consuming them. In fact, it is plausible the communal aspect that afforded the structure could have helped in the configuration of these EC-panels as part of a practical devotion. In addition, the other instruments for practical devotion that could have been identified in the rest of images and texts decorating the walls of the complex, especially the ones connected to the Sacred Heart, could have perfectly contributed to the integration of the EC-panels to the believer's system of practices directed to their devotion and comprehension of the divine.

We must be careful not to misunderstand this notion of technologies of salvation as objects that, in use, work an automatic salvation for the user. None of the two case studies discussed here can provide salvation: they are not formulas delivering shortcuts to redemption. Rather, book and *cancel* are just the objects in a specific condition chosen by the user, community, or institution, to serve as contributors in the general path the believer is meant to follow if they want to be saved. The works each provide modes to visualise a sense of the divine, or of the interaction that could exist with the divine (Soul and Jesus, *Anima* and *Amor divinus*), and to behave in consideration of this sense, but nothing else. They are not *the* answer, but flawed materials that can contribute to reaching the answer at the end of times.

We can then say that images can serve as *technologies of practical devotion* thanks to the way images are made, in other words, how a surface such as a piece of paper (in *Jesus en de ziel*) or wood (as with the *cancel*) is marked in such a way that an image comes to be, and thanks to the mechanics, processes, techniques, and procedures of manufacture by which the object/surface, in which the image is located, comes to be. The marks on the surface, part of

the configuration of the image, provide several *patterns* in a given environment which then evoke in the observer a sense of awareness of this environment. The set of patterns and the range of peculiarities proper to a specific surface give, in a religious setting, a common ground for *practical devotion*. Be it the integration of the visual motif of the heart to a religious emblem book, or the presence of the organ in an entrance structure, the peculiarities proper to these surfaces, and the fact that they are part (both spatially and thematically) of a religious setting, afford diverse modes in which the heart can become part of the practical devotion of the individual, of the technologies of salvation the individual (and community) constantly configure in their objective to attain salvation. The modes are dependent on the processes of *recognition*, the expected success of the communication strategies provided by the internal mechanisms of the object, the information-providers next to the objects, and the individual or community itself.

Let us not forget, however, that images are, in the end, not copies of reality, they are not even close to being similar or an imitation of it; such attributes can only be earned by an image if it copies its kin. As Ernst Gombrich reminds us: “no image can represent more than certain aspects of its prototype; if it did it would be a double, and not even Pygmalion could make one.”⁶⁴ So, an image is always other than what it represents, perhaps less, perhaps more, but never the same. Difference is a fundamental feature of an image. There is something we need to know, the constraints and conventions contained in an object, through which we can recognize, or as Gombrich puts it “guess”,⁶⁵ the aspects of the prototype that the image presents to us. The connection between image and reality is not about likeness but equivalence. Equivalences, Gombrich writes, “enable us to see reality in terms of an image and an image in terms of reality [...] this equivalence never rests on the likeness of elements so much as on the identity of responses to certain relationships.”⁶⁶

Images and texts are suppliers of information regarding such reality, in our case a religious reality.⁶⁷ Pictures provide, then, several patterns from which the user can create a common ground with respect to a number of ideas about their surrounding life and other objects (especially other images of a religious kind, in this case). Images transmit modes for gaining

⁶⁴ Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 194.

⁶⁵ Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 194.

⁶⁶ Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 276.

⁶⁷ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 279: “A picture supplies some of the information for what it depicts, but that does not imply that it is in projective correspondence with what it depicts.”

information, and this transforms perception and therefore shapes knowing in a particular way.⁶⁸ *Jesus en de ziel* and especially the heart-emblems, supply information regarding the real-life journey to attain rebirth and, furthermore, to achieve union with God; and the role the heart, as the vital organ and location of the divine within the individual, plays in said journey. The *cancel*'s programmes, especially the EC-panels, supply information regarding the processes and tests the human heart must go through to attain salvation in Christ, which implies the modelling of the self into the ideal receptacle of God's grace, so the believer can be united to Him. This modelling means an arduous process to follow, to understand and to experience as close as can be experienced the pain the Saviour went through for the sake of his people, the believer included.

Recognition and awareness do not easily happen on their own. Images are informed by other images, as we see both in *Jesus en de ziel* and in the *cancel*; they are really part of an ecosystem created between producers and consumers around a notion of the divine. The image can give patterns if the conditions provide possibilities to recognize said patterns. The marks in the surface afford a sense of awareness and distinction, but their implications for the religious life of the individual, that is, their involvement as part of the technologies that are configured in the practical devotion of the person, need other sets of skills and a network of information-providers that can work in a myriad of ways. Based on the works at the centre of this study we can say that the notion of patterns, and the sense of constancy are powerful and dynamic visual and textual aids when they are juxtaposed with the ever-changing process of observable reality.⁶⁹

Both emblem book and *cancel* are then suppliers of information, and containers from which information can be extracted, regarding a religious reality. Both as common ground in practical devotion, and as part of the believer's technology of salvation, these objects are powerful mnemonic tools for the individual. Through the processes of recognition and awareness of what is being looked at, and thanks to the patterns and dynamics that distinguish images, we can succinctly define the religious image, then, as a *device that affords the recognition of patterns that will aid in the way a person experiences a sense of the divine*.

These lessons from and for the heart were elucidated from the benefits and limitations of the method employed to analyse the book and the *cancel*. The six proposals I have laid out

⁶⁸ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 279.

⁶⁹ Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 122.

are but a fragment of what a religious object can tell us. They nevertheless suggest that a path to follow in interpreting religious images is to analyse what they can afford. Instead of reducing them to what they, supposedly, in essence do, we have attempted to pursue what they allow to be done with them, if we attend to the manner in which they, as objects, have been configured. For now, what we can say is that, subjected to the specific conditions of their existence and the conditions of their consumer, images afford patterns of recognition, communication, presence, and an economy of the sacred. Images need information-providers (and they are themselves information-providers), and both their manufacturers and modern researchers rely on the information and skills of the user to accomplish a successful relationship with the object. The object affords, then, a place within the technologies for practical devotion of the individual.

Conclusion

At the outset of this research, I noted that asking what kinds of religious responses an individual or community might have to a material object in a historically situated context such as the eighteenth century, entails more problems than solutions, especially considering the very limited access we have to sources that might provide insight into personal religious experience. The objects, on the other hand, tell another story: not necessarily what exactly happened in these unremarked encounters between the users, consumers, and observers of these works and the objects themselves, but what the works afforded, that is, what they allowed to happen in each context religiously speaking.

The structure of this project was, admittedly, relatively simple in design, but this simplicity had its advantages, for it allowed us to delve concretely into more complex aspects of the study of religious objects in general. Two case studies were subjected to a three-step method in order to draw conclusions in relation to the question guiding our research and, at the same time, to evaluate whether or not the method employed is useful in answering the question. We have undertaken a very specific material-based method to analyse two works whose iconography both derives from a third as a means of exploring the ramifications, limits, and strengths of an affordance-based approach to religious visual culture.

To describe the object, to understand how it works internally, and to determine how a person (could have) interacted with it, became the core of this object-based approach. The method supposed at least three problems of wider resonance: How can we describe an object-bearer of images? What do we mean by the internal mechanisms of an object that is a bearer of images? And, What sources can be helpful to begin to understand human interaction with this object-bearer of images? To address these problems, the study was guided by the main question to be solved: What roles did the visual motif of the heart, whose iconographic source was the *Schola cordis*, play during the eighteenth century, in the religious consumption of the emblem book *Jesus en de ziel*, and in engagement with the *cancel* of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene in Atotonilco? A decision was made, then, to centre on describing the objects in a way that focused on how and where the visual motif of the heart was present, to discuss the objects' strategies for communication, and their mechanisms working in concert with the representation of the heart, and to try to understand the users' manipulations of the object, taking into account how the visual motif could have affected such interaction.

The choice to consider, side by side, an object from a Dutch context and an object from a Viceregal context, without necessarily directly comparing them, is not a common one. Nor is it common to read about a Mennonite emblem book and a Viceregal *cancel* in the same study. It is worth frankly acknowledging just how peculiar, and, perhaps oddly ambitious, the comparison between these disparate objects could appear. The rationale was, however, straightforward: the two case studies share a direct iconographic lineage, they are both religious, they are both Christian, and they both seem to be objects that afforded manipulation in a religious environment. Their material diversity and the clear distinctions in their geopolitical, social, and religious conditions of manufacture, made it possible to explore the reach of an object-based approach on historically situated case studies. In other words, the selection of these objects was based on a shared set of conditions and a plethora of differences that would allow for the analysis of the role of images in the religious experience of a sense of the divine to be widened up and challenged as a result of the constraints that the objects themselves were imposing.

The specific objects chosen for this study were important insofar as they allowed us to analyse and question more concretely various processes of engagement and manipulation of the historical religious image. However, any other group of objects could have worked as case studies too if they were historically situated and consumed Christian objects that, as a result of their conditions of manufacture and function, were accessed by a community of believers (as was the the *cancel*), or part of a wider religious market to which the community had access (as was *Jesus en de ziel*) — that is, provided that they were objects that would allow us to explore their availability to wider publics, the way they afforded manipulation by the public, and therefore the opportunities they provided for religious action.

The selection of the two contrasting case studies proved, in the end, to be fruitful, allowing us to navigate through diverse religious material conditions. This not only provided an opportunity for the method to be tested with more variables, but also allowed us to discern some commonalities in the modes in which Christian religious objects worked in general. In other words, the study of particular objects has helped us, we hope, to see, explore and understand more precisely the workings of the specific objects of study and of religious objects in general.

Beyond the book's relevance within the history of emblem literature in the Dutch Republic or in Early Modern Protestant visual culture, we were able to establish *Jesus en de*

ziel as an object or material instrument actually used for religious purposes. In *Jesus en de ziel* the opportunities the individual had either to follow a clear narrative or to approach the heart-emblems directly, was afforded not only by the physical structure of the book, but also by the sense of order that the communication strategies provided, including the use of text together with images, and the homogeneity in style and composition of both the visual and textual elements. The composition of the religious object became, therefore, fundamental to our attempt to understand the religious affordances of the object.

We came to comprehend that Luyken utilises diverse communication strategies to render the heart the location for the divine within the believing human being. The human heart is thereby construed as an organ that in all its fleshiness preserves the quality of being the place where God resides or should reside within the reborn human. It is from the heart that the individual starts to truly “see” the world, and behave according to this revelation of themselves as religious individuals. The implication is that it is the heart that must be protected because within it, and thus within our bodies, there is a truly divine beauty that must be constantly guarded during the lifetime of the believer. We noticed that such a particular focus on the heart is provided in great part by the constancy and rhythm of the composition of the book object itself.

The heart-emblem’s situational interactivity, on the other hand, enabled us to draw other conclusions. The book’s mobility was central: it allowed us to understand the possibilities in the literal construction of book objects that could be helpful, edifying, or at least adequate for a person’s system of beliefs and religious practices. All these ideas regarding the heart and the journey of the Soul in the daily life of the individual were being consumed either together with other books written by Luyken (either bound with, or constituting part of a collection of Luyken’s works, as the catalogues revealed), or individually, as an object that provided in itself an adequate knowledge of how a young person should understand the nature of her or his own heart and behave accordingly (as we saw with Stijntje Baartens and the Mennonites). The object could also function to communicate to outsiders that there is a way of talking and behaving that is provided by texts and visual images that are deemed fitting tools for the practical devotion of the individual (as Van der Meersch, Kouwenhoven and Mietje’s neighbours perceived).

The *cancel* of Atotonilco was studied in detail, for the first time, from the perspective of it being a religious object, i.e., a material object that works for religious interactive purposes,

and not simply the passive repository of an iconographic and emblematic tradition present in the Viceroyalty. Of the two case studies, the *cancel* was the object where the problem of tracing historical interaction was more evident, but through expanding our study of the religious affordances of the *cancel* to include the environment to which the work belonged and to which it provided access, we managed to conclude that we are dealing with an organised system of text and visual images that are presented through wall paintings, altarpieces, devotional images, and through specific practices, in which the very human heart represented in the *cancel* plays a fundamental role. We connected the modes in which the journey of purification, illumination, and union implied in the EC-panels, comes to be verbalised and practised through the Spiritual Exercises. The Exercises are themselves performed within an ecology of constant interaction between the content and the visual and textual style employed throughout.

The visual, material and spatial composition of the whole complex, including the *cancel*, are fundamental if we want to understand something about the religious experiences of the community gathering at Atotonilco. The assemblage presents an organisation of the religious system of beliefs, in which the relationship between the human heart and the Sacred Heart is linked to the holy Sacrament and the very life of Jesus Christ. In part of the Spiritual Practices performed in the complex, the figure of Christ has even been supplanted by the Sacred Heart, and what the devotee follows is the Heart's suffering, through the Passion and to the Heart's Crucifixion. Devotees, with their own hearts both bodily ever-present through the very practice of following the stations, and represented in the very entry-structure of the complex in which they are now immersed, thus make the journey of the Cross accompanying the Sacred Organ in its path, for the salvation of the hearts of its people.

The study has shown how the Sanctuary at Atotonilco and the emblem book both worked as contingencies or constraints, providing additional texts and visual images that could then serve to regulate the visual motif of the heart and the images and programmes containing it. In this way, visual images and texts regulated each other in a kind of visual ecology, the contingency of which was generated through a grid of information-providers by means of which it was possible to maintain the individual and community within a certain Christian habitus and narrative of salvation.

We were able to position both *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel* as objects of paramount importance in the modes in which individuals and communities operationalise and create distinctions in this religious reality. They are tools for organisation, for navigating a religious

environment: be it a book with images with a set of purposes in which the human heart acquires a prominent role in the path to salvation and in the book-users' self-understanding as individuals in a process of rebirth through the Holy Spirit; or be it the entrance to an architectural complex designed to provide the community visual, textual, and spiritual tools to be employed in their technologies of salvation, which necessarily entailed modelling the heart and offering it to God, loving the Saviour and receiving the love promised by Him. Through their diverse mechanisms, through their multiplicity of texts and images, and through their manipulation, these objects afford processes of constant revelation. The book and the *cancel*, we can conclude, contribute to the processes of revelation in the users' faith and practice through their visual, textual, and mechanical affordances.

The limits of the methodological choices were acknowledged throughout this research: the amount of information that images and the objects that bear them can provide is limited, and the decision to avoid certain contextualising approaches and types of sources imposed some constraints on the study. The risks of taking this direction were not unknown, since the attention given to the historical-cultural contexts or an iconographic context of the works was deliberately minimal, restricted to only those various elements we absolutely needed in order to understand the objects in themselves. The general objective was not to fall into merely situating the case studies in greater historical, intellectual, and iconographical narratives since this would have diffused the attention and sure focus on what was important for the present study: the religious affordances of the visual motif of the heart specifically in *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel*.

This way of proceeding has its strengths and weaknesses. We abstained from using certain elements that could have integrated the case studies to a history of ideas or mentalities, and we were at a certain point limited by the muteness of the objects in our attempt to explain or develop any detailed understanding of the religious experience of the works in question. Nevertheless, the self-imposed constraints also helped us to discover that there are aspects of images and their objects that are often neglected, and that, if attended to carefully, can assist us in understanding a historically situated possibility of experience in a religious setting. The material and visual affordances of the objects open a door to the actual notion of a used object within a religious environment. So, instead of focusing on what the object could have meant, we begin to grasp how the object either worked, or could have worked.

We placed *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel* primarily as religious objects used at a particular historical moment. That is, as objects of religious consumption. Consumption, we argue, is not to be necessarily established first from a cultural context to which the objects belonged, but through the traces that the objects themselves provide, which allow us to delimit the possibilities of religious experience offered. Truly, the object has a series of lives, and it is possible to approach many of them if we pay attention to their internal material mechanisms that have survived until now. The emblem book and the *cancel* teach us the value of looking first at what possibilities the material objects may be establishing, and what in many cases it was decided to do with them, as they were reconfigured to meet various religious needs. If we are interested in religious experience in historical contexts, and take into consideration the presence of objects for the possibility of that experience, what we can know about the period should be premised on the affordances of the object.

An image-bearing religious object already tells us a great deal about the possibilities of religious experience that an individual may have had at a particular time, even before the object users' cultural, visual, intellectual, and theological context is taken into account. The object serves as an organiser of the environment of either the individual or the community. The religious object modifies the life of the individual. Considering the affordances of a religious object can, therefore, make a valuable contribution to the study of the role of material culture in the development of religious identities and processes. What a religious object can provide is to a large extent contingent on its material conditions. In our cases, shaped by the use of images, the object is conditioned by the configuration of marks on its surface, and by how this promotes a certain type of interaction, a way of picking up information about what is understood as the divine, or proper to the divine.

What is next? The object-based steps and arguments ventured here with respect to our case studies could, *mutatis mutandis*, usefully be taken into consideration in research on other kinds of religious objects in differing conditions. As a test case, we could focus next on religious objects that in some way stand alone, i.e., that are devoid of text or accompanying images, where the communication strategies of the object are limited to the minimum of information that the marks in the surface of the medium can provide. Without the “information-providers” constituted in our case by the rest of a book, or the rest of the space, and without evidence of important visual devotions near it that could regulate engagement with the image, we would be constrained to question what kind of affordances the form and materials of the

objects would have in themselves, whether there are patterns of recognition that could be identified by us and followed by the community, and how such objects then would communicate and afford interaction with the divine. To what extent could we on the basis of the materials alone elucidate the aspirations and intentions of the makers of the objects, or are we going to need other information-providers, more distant ones, in order to understand the objects' affordances? In sum, we would be constrained to ask whether we could still consider these objects as we did the visual motif of the heart, the emblem book, and the *cancel*: as devices affording the recognition of patterns that assist in the way a person experiences a sense of the divine.

A further step would be to situate the objects at the heart of the present study in the wider historical and cultural narratives deliberately avoided here. We have argued that such a step can only be undertaken once what we can know about the religious affordances of the visual motif of the heart and the objects that bear it has been thoroughly explored. Taking these wider contexts into account in a subsequent step will allow us to see how the affordances relate to other cultural processes, and other objects within them, for example, within a cultural history of Christian religious images. Once established, the religious affordances of *Jesus en de ziel* and the *cancel* realised during their use provide a useful basis on which to explore the implications of individual and collective experiences, and links to Protestant and Catholic devotional developments or, for that matter, geo-political developments such as colonialism during the eighteenth century.

But it has been an argument of this research that such extrapolations must remain firmly rooted in the analysis of the objects themselves and of how they (can) work. Indeed, an avenue of research that could provide much more information on the role of the heart in the emblem book and the *cancel*, would be to pursue even more extensively the material analysis of the objects in question. Here our focus was necessarily limited to just those basic material aspects that could help us to understand each work as a physical object, with marks on its surface that conformed the diverse images of the heart to it. We were primarily concerned with the materials of the physical object to the extent that it was designed in such a way that it allowed specific forms of manipulation and observation that permitted the individual or community to extract information connected to the heart, and that communicated the organ's potential value for the constant reconfiguration of the consumers' system of beliefs and religious practices. The

important roles that the materials themselves - the type of wood, paper, ink, paint, etc, - could play in affording religious experience and consumption, await further study.

Finally, it is important to note that the propositions made in this study, which could perhaps be understood as a means to (re)classify religious images or categorise what they afford, are, in the end, object-based, i.e., they are dependent on what the case studies allowed. The study attempts to understand not necessarily what an image does, but what it affords religiously speaking, and to understand how this affordance works. Any valuable definition of the objects must, of course, derive from what the objects themselves tell us. It is true that some fundamental theoretical principles were established *a priori* and without any prior regard for the objects; simply as objects they share certain identifiable features. This is, for example, the case of the affordances of the object: the very existence of an object implies that it affords something. Aside from this exception, however, any definition or category that can be inferred from what has been proposed in the present study should not be used to subject the image to a certain definition of what it is or can be. Rather, it is hoped that the propositions made here will assist in understanding the possibilities for action that an image can provide under various conditions.

It is not what *people want* to do with a religious object, but what *can* be done with it, what the *object itself affords* that has been central to our account. This is the slight shift I have proposed and applied: from the individual to the object, not in the sense that the individual is not important, but in the sense that the decisions of the individual are conditioned by the object itself. The study of objects under the light of affordances, and in our case, the notion of “religious affordances”, focusses our analysis of the object’s purpose on the possibilities for action that the object offers. Because we are interested in religious interactions, our interpretation of the objects centres on the possibilities of religious interaction that the object affords.

The stress upon affordances provides insight into the possibilities of experience: since what we can know about the religious formation of the believer is limited, the object’s manufacture and communication strategies can, we have attempted to argue, provide us precious information about how this formation was experienced. There persists in scholarship of religious visual cultures a subtle and implicit expectancy that the object’s provision of contents can be easily and naturally picked up by the object’s user – or by the contemporary scholar – in ways that are assumed not to deviate much from what the artist or the author

intended. As we have seen, a religious object is not alone: its role in religious experience is performed in a collaborative process between the individual's system of beliefs, practices, and dispositions, other individuals, the environment, and other objects. What has been stressed in the present study, however, is what the object materially affords in this collaborative interaction. Derived ultimately from a single visual source, the *Schola cordis*, presented as part of two different physical structures, emblem book and *cancel*, multiplied through engravings and painted panels, themselves located in diverse geographies, spaces, religious denominations, and therefore religious realities and practices, the visual motifs of the heart afforded specific and identifiable possibilities for religious experience in individuals and communities of the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic and the Viceroyalty of New Spain. It has been our endeavour to trace and describe with precision how the material objects afforded these experiences, and, where possible, to note evidence of their realisation.

In many respects, the description of historical religious experience has been central to this study. I have implicitly argued that even though diverse accounts of historical religious experience are beneficial, these tend to get lost in a certain speculation based on ideas and sometimes rather vaguely defined “contexts” or “mentalities”. My argument is that a first and fundamental step in any account of religious experience is to take seriously the mediation of things and, in particular, what these objects afford. The analysis of the affordances of the objects that religious consumers, users, believers, and practitioners used is the *sine qua non* for understanding religious experience. This means that it is not possible to understand what devotion from the human heart to the heart of Jesus means, without meticulous description and analysis of the specific possibilities of action afforded by particular heart-shaped, or heart adorned objects. The technologies of devotion work not by ponderous imagination alone, but by the materials and design of the object, and by the use by a real user or group of users in a complex, and sometimes structured visual ecology.

Appendix.

Appendix 1. Book Sales Catalogues from Amsterdam in which *Jesus en de ziel* is featured¹

The following table presents the catalogues in chronological order. The names of the catalogues are given according to the BSCO.

No.	Year	Name Catalogue	Type of Catalogue	Edition or print <i>Jesus en de ziel</i>	Bound to another Luyken title??	Other books by Luyken.	Name of Owner or Bookseller
1	1690	Catalogus van verscheyden [...] boeken. [Amsterdam]: Hendrick Boom & widow Dirk (I) Boom, 1690.	Booksale auction	1685	No	No	Hendrick Boom & widow Dirk (I) Boom. Booksellers
2	1702	Bibliotheca Blockiana. [Collected by a citizen of Amsterdam]. Amsterdam: Hendrick Boom & widow Dirk (I) Boom, [1702].	Auction private library deceased	1689	<i>Voncken</i> ²	No	Ameldonck Block, citizen of Amsterdam. Deceased.
3	1709	Catalogus elegantissimus exquisitissimorum [...] librorum. [Collected by an Amsterdam minister]. Amsterdam: Johannes van Oosterwyk, 1709.	Auction private library deceased	1687	No	<i>Beschouwing</i> ³ <i>Voncken</i> <i>Zedelyke</i> ⁴	Petrus Noortdyk, Minister from Amsterdam. Deceased.
4	1721	Catalogus van verscheide [...] Nederduytsche boeken.	Auction private	n.d.	<i>Voncken</i>	<i>Spiegel</i> ⁵ <i>Onwaardige</i> ⁶ <i>Geestelyke</i> ⁷	Abraham Edens. Deceased.

¹ This table has been reproduced in the following academic publication: Oviedo, "Among Catalogues".

² *Voncken der liefde Jesu; van het Godtbegettrende zielenvier. Bloemitjes der salige hoope, tot verheugelykheid der wandelaars, langs den weg, na vreden ryk. Eenbehelinge van vyftig sinne-beelden, met hunne daar opspelende verssen, en heylige spreuken.* Amsterdam: Pieter Arentsz, 1687.

³ *Beschouwing der wereld, bestaande in hondert konstige figuren, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen.* Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentz en Kornelis van der Sys, 1708.

⁴ *De zedelyke en stichtelyke gezangen. Op nieuw Vermeerderd. En den lof en oordeel van de werken der Barmhertigheid. Alles met konstige figuren versiert.* Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentz zand Kornelis van der sys, 1709.

⁵ *Spiegel van 't menselyk bedryf*, also known as *Het menselyk bedryf. Het menselyk bedryf. Vertoond in 100 verbeeldingen van ambachten, konsten, hanteeringen en deryven, met versen.* Amsterdam: Jan and Casper Luyken, 1694.

⁶ *De onwaardige wereld, vertoond in vyftig zinnebeelden, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen.* Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentz en Kornelis van der Sys, 1710.

⁷ *Geestelyke brieven. Aan verscheide zyner goede vrienden, op bezondere i yden en toestanden geschreeven. Inhoudende veel ernstige vermaaninge tot waare boete, versmaading der wereld, en krachtige voorstellinge om ons te doen verlieven op God, en de Zalige Eeuwigheid.* Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentz en Kornelis van der Sys, 1714.

		Amsterdam: Andries van Damme, [1721].	library deceased			<i>Bykorf</i> ⁸	
						<i>Zedelyke</i>	
						<i>Beschouwing</i>	
						<i>Leerzaam</i> ⁹	
						<i>Menschen</i> ¹⁰	
5	1724	Lyst der boeken. [Collected by a citizen of Amsterdam]. Amsterdam: Jan Swart & Jacob ter Beek, [1724].	Auction private library deceased	1714	No	<i>Voncken</i>	George Bruyn, citizen of Amsterdam. Deceased.
6	1726	Catalogus praestantissimorum & exquisitissimorum librorum. [Collected by an Amsterdam bookseller]. Amsterdam: Rudolf Wetstein & Gerard Wetstein, [1726].	Unknown	1722	No.	No.	Henricus Wetstein.
7	1731	Catalogus variorum atque exquisitissimorum librorum. [Collected by an Amsterdam engraver]. Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli & Janssonius van Waesberge, [1731].	Auction private library deceased	1689	No.	<i>Onwaardige</i>	Jan Goeree, Amsterdam engraver. Deceased.
						<i>Leerzaam</i>	
						<i>Zedelyke</i>	
						<i>Bykorf</i>	
						<i>Beschouwing</i>	
						<i>Voncken</i>	
8	1733	Catalogus van veele schoone gebonde en ongebonde boeken. Amsterdam: Salomon Schouten, [1733].	Auction private library deceased	1730	<i>Menschen</i>	<i>Bykorf</i>	Balthazar Lakeman. Deceased.
						<i>Geestelyke</i>	
						<i>Zedelyke</i>	
						<i>Menschen</i>	
						<i>Spiegel</i>	
9	1737	Catalogus variorum praestantissimorum & insignium librorum. [Collected by a Professor at the Amsterdam Remonstrant Seminary]. Amsterdam: Salomon Schouten, [1737].	Auction private library deceased	1722	No	<i>Zedelyke</i>	Adrianus van Cattenburch, Professor at the Amsterdam Remonstrant Seminary. Deceased.
10	1738	Catalogus van godgeleerde [...] en andere boeken. Amsterdam: Marten Schagen, 1738.	Auction retail stock	1678	No	<i>Voncken</i>	Marten Schagen, bookseller.
						<i>Zedelyke</i>	
11	1738	Catalogus van verscheyde deftige Nederduytsche boeken. Amsterdam: Adriaan Slaats, [1738].	Booksale auction	1678	No	No	Adriaan Slaats, bookseller.
12	1752	Catalogus van veele voortreffelyke boeken.	Booksale auction	1714	No	<i>Hondert</i> ¹¹	Jan Hartig, bookseller.
						<i>Kinder – boekje</i> ¹²	

⁸ *De bykorf des gemoeds, honing zaamelende uit allerly bloemen. Vervattende over de honderd konstige figuren. Met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen.* Weduwe Pieter Arentz, en Kornelis van der Sys, 1711.

⁹ *Het leerzaam huisraad, vertoond vyftig konstige figuren, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen.* Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentz en Kornelis van der Sys, 1711.

¹⁰ *Des menschen begin, midden en einde; vertoonende het kinderlyk bedryf en aanwas, in een en vyftig konstige figuren. Met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen.* Weduwe Pieter Arentz en Kornelis van der Sys, 1712.

¹¹ Probably *Spiegel van 't menselyk bedryf* or *Het menselyk bedryf*.

¹² Probably *Kinder – boekje* referred to *Des menschen begin, midden en einde*. See: Hanou in Wolff & Deken, *Geschrift eener bejaarde vrouw*, 269.

		Amsterdam: Jan Hartig, 1752.				<i>Beschouwing</i> <i>Onwaardige</i> <i>Leerzaam</i> <i>Zedelyke</i> <i>Geestelyke</i>	
13	1757	Catalogus van een uitmuntende verzameling [...] boeken. Amsterdam: Jan Hartig, 1757.	Booksale auction	1696	<i>Voncken</i>	<i>Leerzaam</i> <i>Onwaardige</i> <i>Kinder – boekje</i> <i>Beschouwing</i> <i>Geestelijke</i>	Jan Hartig, bookseller.
14	1763	Catalogus van een extra fraaye verzameling van Nederduitsche boeken. [Catalogues distributed by Hendrik de Winter and Pierre IJver]. (Sold by Hendrik de Winter.) Amsterdam: Johannes Smit, [1763].	Booksale auction	1714	No	<i>Beschouwing</i> <i>Onwaardige</i> <i>Bykorf</i> <i>Leerzaam</i> <i>Voncken</i> <i>Zedelyke</i> <i>Spiegel</i> <i>Menschen</i> <i>Geestelyke</i> <i>Duitsche</i> ¹³	Johannes Smit, Bookseller.
15	1767	Een schoone verzameling van [...] boeken. [Collected by an Amsterdam pharmacist]. Amsterdam: Petrus Schouten & widow Kornelis (I) van Tongerlo & Kornelis (II) van Tongerlo, [1767].	Auction private library deceased	1687	<i>Voncken</i>	<i>Beginselen</i> ¹⁴ <i>Hiterste</i> ¹⁵ <i>Bybelsche</i> ¹⁶ <i>Zedelyke</i> <i>Bykorf</i> <i>Leerzaam</i> <i>Menschen</i> <i>Onwaardige</i> <i>Beschouwing</i>	Jeronimo de Bosch, Amsterdam pharmacist. Deceased.
16	1773	Catalogus van een extra fraaye verzameling [...] boeken. [David Klippink as owner of the books derived from Van Goinga's Repertorium]. Amsterdam: David Klippink, [1773].	Retail stock	171	No	<i>Bykorf</i> <i>Beschouwing</i> <i>Onwaardige</i> <i>Voncken</i> <i>Leerzaam</i> <i>Menschen</i> <i>Spiegel</i> <i>Zedelyke</i>	David Klippink, Bookseller.
17	1776	Catalogus van eene kleyne doch fraaye verzameling [...] boeken. [Collected by a citizen of Amsterdam]. Amsterdam: widow Antoni Waldorp & Gerrit Warnars, [1776].	Auction private library deceased	1729 & 1714	<i>Voncken</i>	<i>Bykorf</i> <i>Zedelyke</i> <i>Beschouwing</i> <i>Onwaardige</i> <i>Leerzaam</i> <i>Spiegel</i> <i>Menschen</i> <i>Geestelyke</i>	Jacob de Haan, citizen of amsterdam, Deceased.

¹³ *Duytse lier, drayende veel van de nieuwste, destige, en dartelende toonen, bevad in tien verdeelingen, en verciert met kopere platen*. Amsterdam: Jacobus Wagenaar, 1671.

¹⁴ Pieter Huygen's *De beginselen van Gods koninrijk in den mensch*. Amsterdam: weduwe Pieter Arentz, 1689.

¹⁵ In the catalogue it appears as *Hiteserte wille van een moeder*. It probably refers to *Uyterste wille van een moeder aan haar toekomstende kind*, a Dutch translation of Elizabeth Jocelin's *The Mothers Legacie, to her Unborn Child* (1624), which included engravings by Luyken. I include it here because it is being put on sale as a book by Luyken.

¹⁶ I have not been able to identify which book could this be. There are mentions in catalogues of a *Bybelsche figuren* by Luyken. See, for example: *Catalogus van eene Party zeer welgeconditioneerde en Meestal netgebonden Nederduitsche Boeken* (Amsterdam, 1792). It could be a collection of engravings on the Bible made by Luyken, as the ones he made for *De schriftuurlyke geschiedenissen en gelykenissen, van het Oude en Nieuwe Verbond (2 delen)*. Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentz en Kornelis van der SYs, 1712.

18	1782	Catalogus eener overheerlyk keurige verzameling [...] boeken. Amsterdam: heirs David Klippink, 1782.	Auction private library deceased	1714	No	Beschouwing	Jacob Lutkeman, deceased
						Zedelyke	
						Bykorf	
						Onwaardige	
						Leerzaam	
						Spiegel	
						Voncken	
						Geestelyke	
						Menschen	
Duitsche							
19	1782	Catalogus van eene keurige verzameling [...] boeken. Amsterdam: Daniel Jean Changuion & Petrus den Hengst, [1782].	Auction private library deceased	1714	No	Spiegel	Louis Bousquet, deceased
						Det zelfde ¹⁷	
						Voncken	
						Beschouwing	
						Onwaardige	
						Leerzaam	
						Bykorf	
						Overvloeijend ¹⁸	
						Menschen	
Zedelyke							
20	1784	[Lyst van het alphabetische naamregister]. [Printed prices]. Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman, [c. 1784].	Retail Stock	1696	No	Beschouwing	Hendrik Gartman, bookseller
						Onwaardige	
						Menschen	
						Zedelyke	
						Leerzaam	
						Voncken	
Spiegel							
21	1787	Catalogus eener ongemeen keurige verzameling [...] boeken. [Collected by a citizen of Amsterdam]. Amsterdam: Petrus den Hengst & Pieter Johannes Uylenbroek, [1787].	Auction private library deceased	1714	No	Onwaardige	Bernardus de Bosch, citizen from Amsterdam. Deceased.
						Spiegel	
						Menschen	
						Voncken	
						Jesus	
						Zedelyke	
						Geestelyke	
						Leerzaam	
						Bykorf	
						Beschouwing	
						Spiegel	
Duitsche							
22	1788	Catalogus eener kleine [...] verzameling van Nederduitsche boeken. [Collected by a citizen of Amsterdam]. Amsterdam: Harmanus Keyzer & Pieter Johannes Uylenbroek, [1788].	Auction private library deceased	1714	No	Beschouwing	Jan Terwe, a citizen of Amsterdam. Deceased.
						Bykorf	
						Voncken	
						Onwaardige	
						Leerzaam	
						Menschen	
						Spiegel	
						Zedelyke	
						Overvloeijend	
Duitsche							

¹⁷ In the catalogue it appears as *Det zelfde werlt*. Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify which book is being referred to.

¹⁸ *Het overvloeijend herte, of nagelatene verzen. Bestaande in stichtelyke beschouwingen en geestlyke overdenkingen, verrykt met godelyke spreuken, over veelerleie soorten van onderwerpen, by verschillende gelenheden opgesteld. Vercierd met vyf en tachtig konstige figuren, in den smaak des aucteurs getekend en in 't koper gebragt door Cornelis van Noorde. Haarlem: C. H. Bohn, 1767.*

23	1788	Catalogus I eener uitmuntende verzameling van Nederduitsche boeken [...]. Catalogus II van Nederduitsche, Latynsche en Fransche goed geconditioneerde boeken [...]. Catalogus III van eene uitgezogte verzameling der beste Nederduitsche boeken. Amsterdam: Petrus den Hengst, [1788].	Auction private library deceased	1696	No	Beschouwing	Adriaan Ryken, deceased.
						Bykorf	
						Leerzaam, Menschen (bound together)	
24	1788	Catalogus van een groote en extra fraaye verzameling [...] boeken. Amsterdam: Jan Roos & Gerbrand Roos, [1788].	Auction booksale	1729	No	Bykorf	Jan Roos & Gerbrand Roos, bookseler
						Leerzaam	
						Spiegel	
						Menschen	
						Voncken	
						Zedelyke	
Overvloeyend							
25	1789	Catalogus eener uitmuntende verzameling [...] boeken. Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman & Willem Vermandel, [1789].	Auction booksale	1689	Voncken	Menschen	Hendrik Gartman & Willem Vermandel, booksellers
						Duitsche	
						Geestelyke	
						Bykorf	
26	1791	Catalogus van een ongemeene schoone verzameling [...] boeken. Amsterdam: Gerbrand Roos, [1791].	Auction private library deceased	n.d.	Gods liefde vlamen ¹⁹	Leerzaam	Jan Willem Gensel, deceased.
						Hondert	
						Menschen	
27	1792	Catalogus van een keurige verzameling [...] boeken. [Collected by an Amsterdam magistrate]. Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman & Willem Vermandel, [1792].	Auction private library deceased	n.d.	Zieltochten, ²⁰	Beschouwing	Jan Karsseboom, Amsterdam magistrate, deceased.
28	1793	Catalogus van een voortreffelyke verzameling [...] boeken. [Collected by an Amsterdam notary]. Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman & Willem Vermandel & Jan Willem Smit, [1793].	Auction private library deceased	1722	No	Voncken	Isaac Pool, Amsterdam notary. Deceased.
						Onwaardige	
						Geestelyke	
						Spiegel	
						Zedelyke	
						Bykorf	
						Menschen	
						Beshouwing	
Leerzaam							
29	1796	Catalogus eener keurige en welgeconditioneerde verzameling [...] boeken. [Collected by an Amsterdam Doctor of Philosophy and Mennonite	Auction private library deceased	1704	Voncken	Beschouwing	Allard Hulshoff, Amsterdam doctor of philosophy
						Bykorf	
						Zedelyke	
						Onwaardige	
						Leerzaam	
Voncken							

¹⁹ *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen, van een boetvaardige, geheiligde, liefhebbende, en aan haar selfs-stervende ziele, in drie deelen verdeelt. Afgebeeld door vijftig nette koopere figuren. Nessens haar verzen, aanmerkingen, gezangen, en Ziel-zuchtingen.* Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1691.

²⁰ Hieronymus Sweerts' *Innerlycke ziel – tochten op 't H. Avontmaal en andere voorvallende gelegentheden.* Amsterdam: Hieronymus Sweerts, 1673.

		preacher]. Amsterdam: Laurens van Hulst, [1796].				<i>Menschen</i>	and Mennonite preacher.
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Appendix 2. Explanation of the Distribution of the Hours in the eight days of exercises described by Alfaro.

What follows is a loose transcription of the original text: Alfaro, Luis Felipe Neri de. "Descripcion de el Santuario de Atotonilco: Cercano a la Villa de San Miguel." September 18, 1766. Preserved in Caja 113, Exp.66. ACM.²¹ I have divided the document into small sections introduced by an excerpt from Alfaro's text, and provide for each a brief paraphrase of the contents.

(fol.11r) *La víspera a las cinco de la tarde, están todos juntos, se toca la esquila a media buelta, al cuarto el segundiyo,*

On the first day, the people who are going to participate in the Spiritual Exercises meet at five o'clock in the afternoon, at a location not specified by Alfaro. The "esquila" (noted above) is the church bell. To ring the "esquila a media buelta" means that the rope of the bell was pulled in such a way that the clapper hit only one side of the bell.²² The "segundiyo" is probably the *cimbalillo*, a smaller bell, and it was rung "al cuarto", fifteen minutes after five o'clock.

se deja a la media, que entran al coro, se dice la oracion preparatoria, que es especial,

After thirty minutes, the "esquila" and the "segundiyo" are not rung anymore. The participants enter the choir of the Sanctuary. There they say a preparatory prayer. Alfaro does not specify the prayer, but only states that it is special.

se adora al Señor Sacramentado, y se reza la estacion menor, en cruz, se invoca el patrono que se elije,

The participants proceed to adore the "Sacramental Lord". Alfaro is referring to the Blessed Sacrament.²³ They pray the minor station, which consists of a Hail Mary and a Lord's

²¹ This text has been partially transcribed by José de Santiago Silva: Alfaro, "Documento 22," 78-79.

²² Rafel Puy, "Campanas y toques en los templos de la Calahorra (II): Catedral de Santa María," *Kalakorikos* 19 (2014): 210.

²³ It is not clear, in any part of the description, where the Blessed Sacrament is situated, but most probably it is in the main altar of the temple. It could be also in a monstrance at the choir or the Room for Exercises, if we speculate in the trajectories the participants are performing.

Prayer.²⁴ The minor station is prayed "en cruz", which may mean that it was prayed standing and with arms extended. In addition, the chosen patron saint is invoked. What exactly Alfaro means by this practice is unknown to us. We do not know whether the patron saint was chosen by the clergy or by the participants, or whether he is referring to another type of patron saint altogether.

y pasando al salon ayí se tiene una hora de oracion, la que se acaba con coloquio, se canta la letanía de todos Los Santos, con rogativa en la torre,

The participants move next to the hall. Alfaro is probably referring to the Room for Exercises. There they have an hour of prayer, at the end of which there is a colloquy. The Litany of the Saints (*Litaniae Sanctorum*) is subsequently sung. A rogatory prayer (*rogativa*) is said in the tower (the clock tower). Probably this prayer is connected to the litany, but Alfaro's description does not allow us to know for sure.

terminada a oscuras, se hace la exortacion, y sigue el misere, y de profundis en cuyo tiempo ay disciplina, mientras, se componen los vestidos entra el examen, nunc dimittis y sacadas las luces se haze la memoria de los que han ocurrido,

The participants are already in the dark. They make an exhortation of some kind, though it is unclear what practice Alfaro is referring to here. This is followed by the praying of the penitential psalms *Miserere mei* (Ps. 50[51]) and the *De profundis* (Ps. 129[130]). During the *De profundis* there must be, Alfaro tells us, discipline. *Disciplina* may refer to a practice of physical mortification, namely the use of a small scourge or whip for penitential purposes. This is plausible if we interpret the following fragment of the description to mean that the participants are readjusting their garments. The description continues: while the garments are being arranged, the examination begins. The examination likely referred to the Particular Examen or General Examen of Conscience, required in the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises.²⁵ Afterwards, the participants pray the canticle associated with the Office of Compline, the *Nunc dimittis*. The phrase "sacadas las luces" could suggest that the participants have resorted to lighting candles. The reason for this is that, despite nightfall, the first day's activities are not

²⁴ Ramón de la Campa, "La estación al Santísimo Sacramento y la devoción terciaria franciscana," in *El franciscanismo en Andalucía: la Orden Tercera Seglar, historia y arte: conferencias del XI Curso de Verano (Priego de Córdoba, 26 a 29 de julio de 2005)*, ed. Manuel Peláez & Miguel Castillejo (Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2006), 205.

²⁵ Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 21-31

yet over. Participants proceed to do “memoria de los que han ocurrido”. This practice could concern those who have passed away, the *animas* of those who have died.

se ban para el Directorio a los pies de el Ecce Homo, a tomar las mortificaciones que en la rueda nos señala con su santísimo dedo,

The participants go to the Directory, and kneel at the feet of a statue of *Ecce Homo*. Elsewhere in the manuscript, Alfaro reveals that the *Ecce Homo* image has a little round board on which a number of penances are written. The board was spun and where it stopped and the finger of the sculpture pointed, determined the penance to be carried out by the participant.²⁶ This is what Alfaro is referring to when he writes that the participants receive the mortifications “que en la rueda nos señala con su santísimo dedo”.

de alli, de dos en dos, se pasa al Refectorio, resando el miserere, se bendisen las mesas, interim la cena se lee, lo que conduse a lo que se ha meditado, entre plato, y plato, se canta una jaculatoria, acabada la cena de dos en dos resando el miserere se entran al coro, a dar gracias, se resa la estasion menor

From the Directory the participants go to the Refectory. They walk from one place to another in pairs. On the way they must pray the *Miserere*. In the Refectory, the tables are blessed. Alfaro writes that they read during dinner, but does not specify what. We do know that this practice leads the participants to what has been meditated upon so far in the day. Between courses of the meal, an ejaculatory prayer is chanted. When the dinner is over, they leave the Refectory, once again in pairs. From the Refectory they go to the choir, praying the *Miserere* again as they go. In the choir they give thanks, and proceed to pray the minor station.

de ayi se buelve al Refectorio cantando nueve Aves Marias, se hincan a los pies de la Señora se resan unas oraciones, para tomar el sueño, se avisa de la meditación, que sigue al otro dia, se las [illegible] y con gran silencio se retiran acostarse. [End of Paragraph]

The participants return to the Refectory. On the way they sing nine Hail Marys. Back in the Refectory, they kneel at the foot of the statue of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, and

²⁶ Alfaro, “Descripcion de el Santuario,” fol. 9v.

recite various prayers. Before they can go to sleep, they are told about the meditation for the next day. The participants leave the Refectory and go to sleep.

Por la mañana:

A las 5, se toca la esquila, mientras el segundiyo, que es la media, se canta el Alabado, y cada uno sus devociones,

The next day, at five o'clock in the morning, the "esquila" is rung, and, after half an hour, the "segundiyo". At this time, the participants sing the "Alabado", which probably refers to the hymn in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.²⁷ In addition, each of the participants sings his or her personal devotions.

juntos, a la media se haze la primera Visita al Santísimo (que siete veces al dia se visita por los siete derramamientos de sangre, a imitación de Francisco de Borja) se invoca al Patrono, se reza la primera parte del Rosario pasando al salon

Half an hour later, they make their first visit to the Blessed Sacrament. There are seven visits per day, each one corresponding to a shedding of the Lord's blood, following the writings of Francis Borgia (1510-1572). These visits and their link to Borgia are detailed on the south side of the choir. The patron saint is invoked. The visit to the Blessed Sacrament is followed by a visit to the Room for Exercises. The first part of the Rosary is prayed. Given the way the fragment is written, we do not know whether the prayer takes place before going to the Room, on the way to it, or in the Room itself.

de 6 a 7, una hora de oracion de el primer punto terminada con coloquio, se resa la Camandula,

The participants have an hour of prayer connected to the first point that corresponds to the Ignatian exercise they are doing. This hour is from six to seven o'clock in the morning. The prayer is concluded with a colloquy. Afterwards, the "camandula" is prayed. This is a type of Rosary that contains thirty-three beads or knots (in reference to the number of years of Christ's life).

²⁷ René C. Pacheco, "Las diferencias entre el alabado franciscano y el agustino," in *Perspectivas históricas del discurso novohispano*, ed. María Isabel Terán, Alberto Ortiz, Víctor Manuel Chávez & María del Carmen Fernández (Zacatecas: Texere Editores, 2015), 31.

y baxan de dos en dos, con los pelos sueltos, y descubiertas, las cabezas (los que usan capacetes) resando el miserere, a oír Missa a la Yglesia, terminada, se visitan los cinco Altares, pasan al desayuno hasta las 9,

They descend in pairs to the first floor of the sanctuary. They must go down with their hair unbound and their heads uncovered. This last indication is directed to those who wear a “capacete”, which would normally refer to a type of helmet but may refer here to another accessory to cover the head. The participants descend praying the *Miserere*. They attend mass in the Sanctuary and, once the mass is over, the five altars are visited. Alfaro could be referring to the five chapels (Bethlehem, Rosary, Holy Cenacle, House of Loreto, and Holy Sepulchre). After these visits, the participants have breakfast, which lasts until nine o'clock in the morning.

de 9 a 10, segunda visita, Via crucis, y lección espiritual, los Eclesiasticos, horas menores,

From nine to ten o'clock the participants make the second visit to the Blessed Sacrament. They perform the *Via Crucis*, and have a spiritual lesson. Clerics participating in the exercises are required to recite the *Little Hours* or *minor hours*. At nine o'clock they say *Terce*.

de 10 a 11, oracion del segundo punto su examen, tersera visita al Santísimo

From ten to eleven o'clock, the prayer is said on the second point of the corresponding Ignatian exercise. The examination related to the exercise follows. This probably refers to either the Particular Examen or the General Examen, mentioned above. In addition, the third visit to the Blessed Sacrament is made.

de 11 a media se lee, un libro de Examen de consciencia, y quedan examinandose hasta las 12,

From eleven to eleven-thirty, the participants read a book regarding the General Examen of Conscience. They have to undergo self-examination until twelve o'clock.

se pasa al Directorio, a los pies del Señor a resivir las mortificaciones, y de dos (f.11v) en dos resando el miserere se pasa al Refectorio a comer, se lee, sobre el punto, que se ha meditado se cantan algunas jaculatorias, se va a dar [illegible] del mismo modo, que se vino, quarta visita, descanso hasta las 2,

The participants make their way to the Directory. Although Alfaro does not specify, we can assume, from the activities linked to the Spiritual Exercises that took place earlier, that they were previously in the Room for Exercises, and that from there they go to the Directory. In the Directory they once again receive mortifications, at the feet of the *Ecce Homo*. From the Directory they go, in pairs, to the Refectory to eat, and on the way they pray the *Miserere*. There they read on the point on which they have previously meditated (the second point). They also recite ejaculatory prayers. The participants leave the Refectory in the same way as they entered: in pairs, praying the *Miserere*. They make then their fourth visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Once the visit is over, there is a break in the activities until two o'clock in the afternoon.

de 2 a 3, quinta visita, segunda parte de el Rosario, y Via Dolorosa,

From two to three o'clock the participants make the fifth visit to the Blessed Sacrament. They also do the second part of the Rosary, as well as the *Via Dolorosa*.

de 3 a 4, leccion espiritual, y los Eclesiasticos Oficio Divino,

From three to four o'clock there is a spiritual lesson. At this same time the clerics have to recite the relevant part of the divine office: *Nona*.

de 4 a 5, orasion de el tercer punto

From four to five o'clock in the afternoon, the participants say the prayer related to the third point of the corresponding Ignatian exercise.

sexta visita, de 5 a 6, estaciones de el Sagrado Corazón, tercera parte de el Rosario y desahogo

The sixth visit to the Blessed Sacrament takes place from five to six o'clock. Afterwards, they do the Stations of the Sacred Heart, located in the Room for Exercises. In addition, the participants do the third part of the Rosary and the "desahogo". Unfortunately, it is unclear what kind of practice the "desahogo" refers to.

de 6 a 7, septima visita, orasion del cuarto punto, letanía de santos rogativa, exortación, disciplina examen y todo lo de la noche antedente. [End of the fragment]

From six to seven o'clock, the seventh visit to the Blessed Sacrament is made, as well as the prayer related to the fourth point of the Ignatian exercises. After that, the participants do the *Litaniae Sanctorum*'s rogatory prayer. Alfaro indicates that from this point in the evening the participants repeat the rest of activities that were done the night before. This whole cycle is repeated with each of the exercises. Unfortunately, Alfaro does not indicate how the eight days of exercises conclude. The last day of activities probably concluded around seven o'clock in the evening.

Timetables of the distribution of the hours according to Alfaro, "Descripcion de el Santuario."

Afternoon before the first day of exercises

Time	Activities	Place(s)
5:30 p.m.	Preparatory prayer	Choir
n/a	Blessed Sacrament Minor station Invocation of Patron Saint	n/a
n/a	Hour of prayer Colloquy <i>Litaniae Sanctorum</i>	Room for Exercises
n/a	Exhortation <i>Miserere</i> <i>Deprofundis</i> Examination of Conscience <i>Nunc dimittis</i> Reflection on those who have died	Clock Tower and somewhere else?
n/a	<i>Ecce Homo</i> mortifications	Directory
n/a	<i>Miserere</i> Dinner Tables are blessed Meditation Ejaculatory prayers	Refectory
n/a	<i>Miserere</i> Minor station	Choir
n/a	Nine Hail Marys Our Lady of Perpetual Help Sleep.	Refectory

One full day of the Spiritual Exercises programme.

Time	Activities	Place
5:00 a.m.	Alabado Personal devotions	Dormitory?
5:30 a.m.	1 st Blessed Sacrament Invocation of Patron Saint 1 st part of rosary	n/a
6:00 a.m.	1 st point of Ignatian Exercise Colloquy Camándula	Room for Exercises
7:00 a.m.	<i>Miserere</i> Mass Visit to the five altars Breakfast	Main Temple The five chapels of the complex Refectory
9:00 a.m.	2 nd Blessed Sacrament <i>Via Crucis</i> Spiritual lesson Little hours (ecclesiastics)	<i>Sotocoro</i> and Nave or Room of Exercises
10:00 a.m.	2 nd point of Ignatian Exercise Examination of conscience 3 rd Blessed Sacrament	Mainly the Room for Exercises
11:00 a.m.	Book Examination of conscience	Room for Exercises?
11:30 a.m.	Self-examination	Room for Exercises?
12:00 p.m.	<i>Ecce Homo</i> mortifications <i>Miserere</i> Lunch Reading and meditation on second point Ejaculatory prayers <i>Miserere</i> 4 th Blessed Sacrament Break	Directory Refectory
2:00 p.m.	5 th Blessed Sacrament 2 nd part of rosary Via dolorosa	<i>Sotocoro</i> and nave or Room for Exercises
3:00 p.m.	Spiritual lesson	n/a

	Little hours (ecclesiastics)	
4:00 p.m.	3 rd point of Ignatian exercise	Room for Exercises
5:00 p.m.	6 th Blessed Sacrament Stations of the Sacred Heart 3 rd part of rosary Desahogo	Mainly the Room for Exercises
6:00 p.m.	7 th Blessed Sacrament 4 th point of Ignatian exercise	Mainly the Room for Exercises
7:00 p.m.?	<i>Litaniae Sanctorum</i>	Room for Exercises
n/a	Exhortation <i>Miserere</i> <i>Deprofundis</i> Examination of Conscience <i>Nunc dimittis</i> Reflection on those who have died	Clock Tower and somewhere else?
n/a	<i>Ecce Homo</i> mortifications	Directory
n/a	<i>Miserere</i> Dinner Tables are blessed Meditation Ejaculatory prayers	Refectory
n/a	<i>Miserere</i> Minor station	Choir
n/a	Nine Hail Marys Our Lady of Perpetual Help Sleep.	Refectory

Figures



Fig.1. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem XIV. Page 65 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Welcker vercierfel zy, niet het gene uytelijck is [bestaende] in het vlechten des bayrs, ende ombangen van gondt, ofte van klederen aen te trecken: maer de verborgten mensche des herten, in het onverderffelijck [vercierfel] eens sachtmoedigen en stillen Geest die kostelijck is voor Godt. 1. Pet. 3. v. 4.

Op

Fig.2. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem XXXII. Page 139 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaende uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696).

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*Ick ben met Christo gekruyst. En ick leve [doch] niet
meer ick, maer Christus leeft in my : en 'e gene ick nu in
het vlesch leve, dat leve ick door het gelove des Soons
Godts. die my lief gebadt heeft, en hem selven voor my
overgegeven heeft. Gal. 2, vers 20.*

Op

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Fig.3. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem XXXVII. Page 159 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696).

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Fig.4. External view of the central structure of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.5. Internal view of the central structure of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.

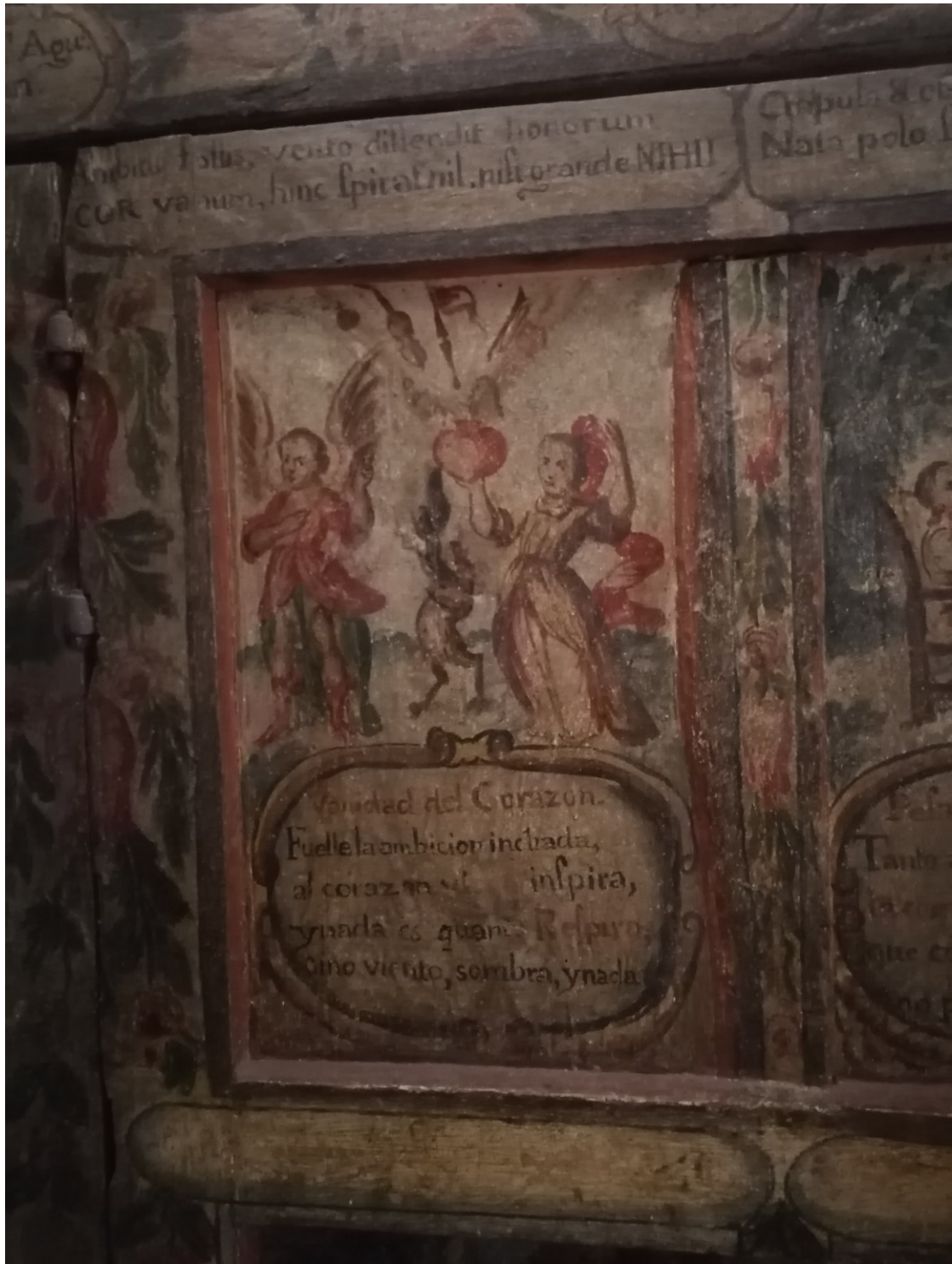


Fig.6. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Vanidad del Corazon*. Panel 175¹ of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author of this research.

¹ The number given to the panel corresponds to the numbers given to the panels in this research.



Fig.7. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), one of the Stations of the Heart (Flagellation of Christ). Room for Exercises of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.8. Boetius a. Bolswert, Engraving for emblem 33 (*Obsignatio cordis*). Page 424 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Schola cordis, sive, Aversi a Deo cordis ad eundem reductio et instructio* (Antwerp: Ioannem Meursium & Hieronimum Verdussium, 1635. Duke University. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Fig.9. Boetius a. Bolswert, Engraving for emblem 36 (*Obsignatio vigilia*). Page 460 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Schola cordis, sive, Aversi a Deo cordis ad eundem reductio et instructio* (Antwerp: Ioannem Meursium & Hieronimum Verdussium, 1635). Duke University. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.

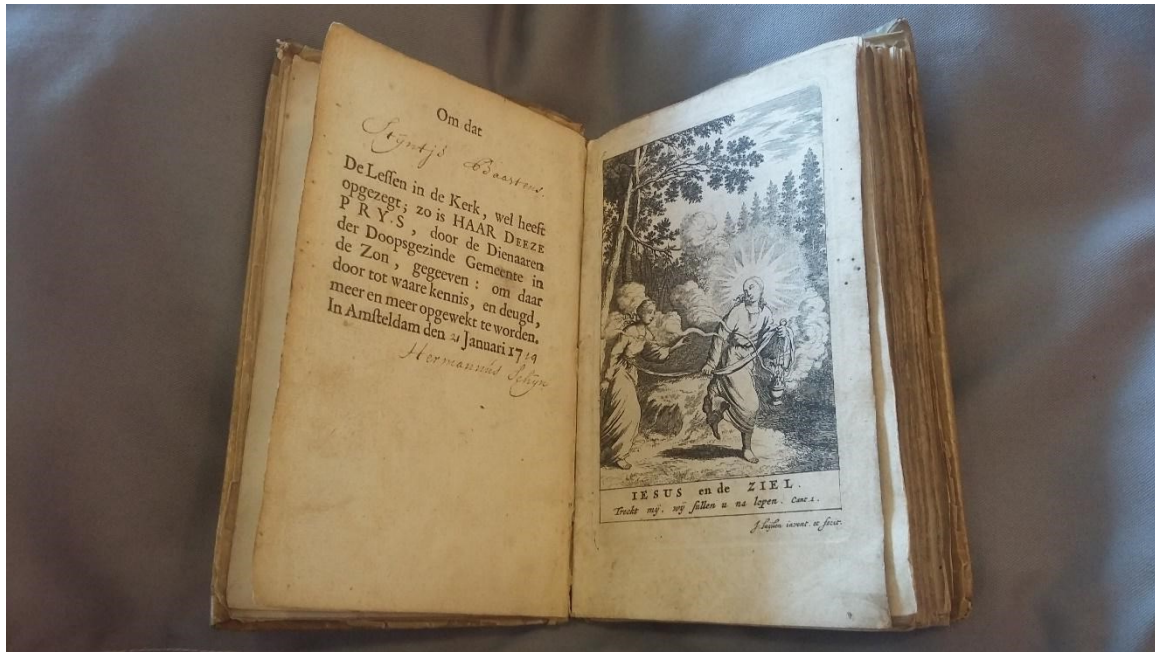


Fig.10: Page where it is indicated the book is a gift (*prys*) to Stinjtje Baartens. Part of Jan Luyken(c). *Jezus en de ziel. Een geestelyke spiegel voor 't gemoed.* Weduwe Pieter Arentsz en Cornelis van der Sys: Amsterdam, 1704. Signature (2419 G 13), Identifier (OCLC: 65581552). Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden. Photo taken by the author.

De Ziele door den treck des VADERS
op geweekt.

Algeeft sich hier so mildt in desen lande,
 Voor 't uytterlyke levens vier,
 Een overvloet om sorgeloos te branden,
 En vlees en bloed, dat grove dier,
 Syn aartse lufft, den vollen toom te geven,
 Noeh voel ick vaak, in myn gemoet,
 Een vonkent vuur, een diep verborgen leven,
 Dat hongert naar een hooger goet ;
 En sprekt: Wy syn niet t'huys op dese aarde ;
 My dorstet na myn Vaderlant,
 En Vader, die my uyt syn wesen baarde,
 Waar tegen sich den Efel kant :
 Nocht yds genoeg ; wegh al te diepe sorgen :
 Volbrenge noch dese laatste lufft.
 Dit dryft het Vlees, van d'een tot d'andre morgen
 En set den Geest in valse rust.
 Nu langer niet. Nu is het tyd van waken,
 Eer dat de Ziel een Distel wert,
 En nimmer tot genade meer mag raken.
 O Heer geeit my een ander hert.

Goddelyck Antwoort.

Heden indin ghy zyne stemme hooret, soen verbarde
 Hure herten niet. Hebreen 3. vers 15.
 De Goddeloose verlate synen wech, ende de ongerechtige
 Man zyne gedachten: ende by bekeere sich tot den Heere, soo
 sal by hem syner ontfermen. Iſaia 55. vers 7.

Ick



Ick sal opstaan ende tot mynen Vader gaan, ende ick
 sal tot hem seggen, Vader, ick hebbe gesondigt. Luc. 15.
 vers 18.
 O Godt, zyt my Sondaar genadigh. Luce. 18.
 vers. 13.

Op

Fig.11. Pages 10 and 11 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.

Op het I. Sinnebeeld.

*Van den treck des Vaders; en hoe de mensche
die moet volgen.*

Wanneer den mensch eenen diep verborgen wille in sich vindt, die daar gaarn woude tot Gods genaden sich wenden, soo hy maar konde, soo wete hy, dat die selve Wille dat ingelyfde, en in 't Paradys na de begane sonden ingesproken Woort Gods zy: dat hem dan noch den Godt JEHOVA, als den Vader, tot Christo treckt. Want in onse eygenheyt hebben wy genen wille meer tot gehoorzaamheyt.

Maar dien selve treck des Vaders, als die ingelyfde, in gesproken genade treckt alle menschen, oock den allergoddelloosten, wanneer hy niet gansch een Distel is, en den treck eenen oogenblick stil staan wil van syne valsche werckingh.

Dat alsoo geen mensch oorsaack heeft om aan Godts genade te twyffelen, soo hy in sich eene begeerte vint om sich noch eenmaal te bekeeren.

Die selve spore het genen oogenblick meer, gelyck geschreven staet: Heden wanneer ghy de stemme des Heeren hoort, so verhart uwe harten niet.

Want die begeerte, om sich eenmaal te bekeeren, is Gods stemme in den mensche, dewelcke de Duyvel, met zyne ingevoerde Beelden, bedeckt en ophoudt, dat het van den eenen daghen en het eene jaar tot het and're op geschoven wort, tot eyndeling de Ziele een Distel werd, endie genade niet meer bereycken kan.

Siet toe, verstoopt u w gemoedt en verstant niet. Wanneer u w gemoedt spreect: Keer omme, doet dit quaat niet. soo weet dat ghy van de wysheyt Gods geroepen word: keert haaltigh omme, en denckt waar ghy t'huys zyt,

zyt, in welcken swaren diensthuys uw Ziele gevangen leyt, en vorst naar uw Vaderlandt, daar uwe Ziele uytgewandelt is, en daar heen zy weder behoorden te gaan.

O Ziele! ð eeuwige creatuur, neemt toch den tyd der genade waar, terwyl u de deure open staet. Siet een stemme roept u uyt den slaap; richt u op, vryft den vaack uyt u oogen, en siet dat de Sonne eerlange sal onder gaan, daar ghy hier in 't open veldt noch soo verre van huys zyt. Springt op u benen, en stapt haestigh, sonder omme kyken voort, eer u de eeuwige nacht overvalt, want de Sonne der goddelycke genade soude u niet weer op gaan, en ghy soudt eeuwig in de nare duyfternis gaan waren. Dat was al te grooten jammer! eeuwig van licht, van vreughd, van Vader en Vaderlandt berooft te zyn. Wat is toch de weelde en wellust deser wereld? als een schaduw gaatsé voor by, als een roock en damp verdwynt zy, en laat haar liefhebbers niet over, als een knagende worm in 't gemoedt, alles moeten zy hier laten: maar dien schat nemen zy me in de eeuwigheyt. Omeen oogenblick geringe vreughd wordt een eeuwich Coninckryck versuymt. Godt behoeft ons voor sulck een dwaasheyt.

De

Fig.12. Pages 12 and 13 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.

*De Ziele rustende van alle uysterlijke menighvuldigheden,
waecht met het inwendige ooge des gemoeds.*

AL schijn ick voor de werelt doot,
En van het leven afgesneden,
Och neen! och neen! dat is geen noot,
Ick slaep in d'uyterlijke leden.
Ick rust van al het aertsch bedrijf,
Van alle wereltlijcke weelden,
En wellust voor het diersche lijf,
Van menighvuldigheyt en beelden;
Soo slaep ick, maer mijn herte waecht,
Op Godt en Goddelijcke dingen,
Op dat als my den Heer genaecht,
Hy my niet vindt in sluymeringen.
Ick slaep, maer 't oogh van mijn gemoed
Is alijdt open en verheven,
En schoot in Godt het eeuwigh goedt,
Het eeuwigh licht, en eeuwigh leven.
Och! ja mijn vleesch slaept soo maer voort,
En zinckt noch diepper in 't vergeten,
Van al wat niet in 't hert behoort,
En dat den Geest niet dient te weten.
Ach! was met my de werelt doot,
In een vergetenheydt der sonden!
De gantche menscheydt wiert vergoot,
En 't rechte leven wiert gevonden.

Goddelijck Antwoordt.

Waeckt ende bidt, op dat ghy niet in versoekinghe en
komt. Matth. 26, vers 41.

Ick

Fig.13. Page 64 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.

De Ziele roemt de geestelycke schoonheyt hoogh boven de wereltsebe.

WY zijn soo slecht niet als ghy meent,
 Dat wy geen schoonheyt fouden minnen,
 Al ons vercierfel is van binnen,
 Niet van een worm of vee ontleent.
 Wat hoorden meest te zijn gepresen?
 Ghy ciert een haest verdwijnent beest,
 Wy cieren schoon een eeuwigen geest,
 Met hooge verwen, uyt Godts wesen.
 't Sijn geest gedachten soo ghy 't acht,
 Geen dromen noch geen beuselingen,
 Maer ware wesentlijcke dingen,
 Die grijp'lijck zijn, bestaende uyt kracht,
 ô Sacht ghy 't kleedt, het lijf der Zielen,
 Soo dun en klaer als kristallijn,
 Doorvloeyt van d'eeuwige sonneschijn,
 Ghy foudt voor dese schoonheyt knielen;
 Wy ruylden met geen Koninghs wijf,
 De Sijde, 't Purper en Scharlaken,
 En konnen haer soo schoon niet maken,
 Al was 't van goudt en peerlen stijf.
 Daerom ô mensch! ghy zijt bedrogen,
 Of ghy geen schoon van buyten siet,
 De ware schoonheyt kent ghy niet,
 Een duyfternis bedeckt uw oogen,

Goddelijk Antwoordt.

DEs Konincks dochter is geheel verbeerlijckt, inwendigh. Psalm 45. vers 14.

Welc-

Fig.14. Page 138 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.

De Ziele heeft haer herte met Jesus versegeld.

EEn ander segel met zijn ringe,
 Een groote schat van aertsche dingen,
 Die dierbaer is en hem behaeght,
 Voor een ontrouwe knecht of maeght.
 Ick heb den Soon uyt Godt den Vader,
 Dien levendigen bron en ader,
 Der diepste liefde en vriendelijckheit,
 Het eeuwigh licht der Majesteit,
 De soetste JESUS, Heer der Heeren,
 Wien alle fael'ge geesten eeren
 En dienen, sonder dwang of wet,
 Soo duyd'lijck op mijn hart gelet
 Gelyck een zegel; dat de dingen,
 Die wy soo mildt van Godt ontvingen,
 Ons nimmer mochten zijn ontvoert,
 Door hem die op dien schatkist loert,
 Om sich daer meester van te maken.
 Den roover durft ons niet genaken,
 Als hy dat hooge segel fiet,
 Want dit gebrædt en smaect hem niet.

Goddelyck Antwoort.

SEt my als een segel op u herte, als een segel op uwen
 Arm: want de liefde is sterck als de doode: de yver is
 hart als het graf: hare koolen zyn vurige koolen, vlam-
 men des Heeren. Cant. 8. vers 6.

ick

Fig.15. Page 158 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Fig.16. Jan Luyken, Title-figure. fol. A1r of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.

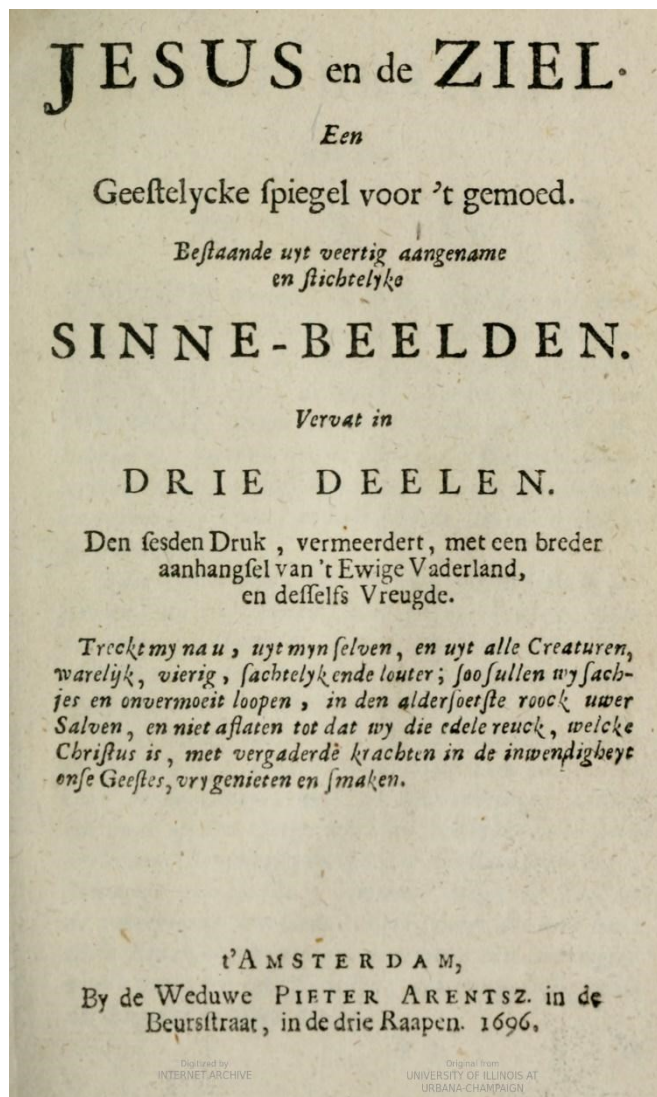


Fig.17. fol. A2r of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Want syne onsenelyke dingen worden van de scheppinge der Werelt aen, uyt de Schepselen verstaen ende doorsien, beyde syne eeuwige kracht ende Goddelykheit, op dat sy niet te verontschuldigen en souden zyn. Rom. 1. vers 20.

B 2

Op

Fig.18. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem III. Page 19 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Smacckt, en fiet, dat de Heere goet is: welgeluck-
saligh is de man [die] op hem betrouwt. Psalm 34.
vers 9. Ick hebbe den Heere lange verwacht, ende
hy heeft sich tot my geneyght, ende mijn geroep gehoort:
Psalm 11. vers 2.

C 2

Op

Fig.19. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem VII. Page 35 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Een dingh doe [ick,] vergetende 't gene dat achter is , ende
streckende my tot het gene dat voren is , jage ick na het wit toe
den prijs der roepinghe Godts , die van boven is in Christo Je-
su, Phile. 3. vers 14.

Op

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Fig.20. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem XIII. Page 59 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



De smeltkroes is voor het silver, ende den oven voor het
goudt: maer de Heere proeft de herten. Prov. 17. vers 3.
Wie soude de afdwalinge verstaen? reynigt my van de
verborgene [afdwalinge.] Psalm 19. vers 13.

H

Op

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Fig.21. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem XXVI. Page 113 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696).

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De Ziele ſpreekt van de loutere vereniging met Godt.

Gelijck een waterdrop, geplingt in rooden wyn,
 Haer ſelf ſoo gantsch verliest, aen ſmaak, aeri
 reuck en verwe;
 Soo louter moet den geeft in Godt verſmolten zijn
 En gantsch te gronde toe haere eygen wille ſterven;
 Dat is den eyich, die Godt van zijne ſchepſ'len doet,
 Al wat ſich hier verheft en kant, wort uytgeſpogen?
 Dit doet de liefde uyt een oprecht en reyn gemoet,
 Dat altijd voor ſijn Godt in kleynheyt leyt gebogen
 Wat dwaasheyd houd ons op van deſen waerden doot?
 O ſalig ſincken in een zee van ware weelde,
 Daer d'armē menſcheyt ſchoon en rijck'lijck wordt
 vergoot,
 En ſpant de kroon van al wat d'eeuw'ge wysheyd beelde.
 Beſchout eens recht mijn Ziel, vind gy des vredens
 maet
 In 't eeuwigh Koninckrijck, daer uyt ſo veel gemoeden,
 Uyt ſoo veel duyſenden maer eenen **W I L L E** gaet,
 In d'eeuw'ge oorſpronck en fontijn van alle goeden.
 Mijn Lief, mijn Bruydegom, mijn alderſchoonſte Heer!
 Ach eenig eeuwig **EEN** mijn rykdom, mijn hoogwaerde,
 Gy zijt het eenigh al, en al wat ik begeer,
 Wie heb ick neffens uw in hemel of op aerde.

Goddelijck Antwoordt.

Die mijn vleesch eet en mijn bloedt drinckt, die blijft
 in my, ende ick in hem. Joan. 6. vers 56.
 Op dat ſy alle een ſijn, gelykerwijs gy Vader in my, ende
 ick in u, dat oock ſy in ons een zijn. Joan. 17. vers 21.
 Ick in haer, ende ghy in my. vers 23.

Die

Fig.22. Page 126 of Jan Luyken Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



En hebt de wereldt niet lief, noch 't gene in de werelt is
Soo yemant de werelt lief heeft, de liefde des Vaders en is niet
in hem, I. Joan, 2. vers 15.

I 2



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Fig.23. Jan Luyken. Engraving for Emblem XXX. Page 131 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696).

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De Heere is mijn licht, ende mijn heyl, voor wien soude
 ick vresen? De Heere is mijn levens-kraacht, voor wien
 soude ick verwaert sijn. Psalm. 27. vers 1.

O

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Fig.24. Jan Luyken. Engraving for Emblem XXXVI. Page 155 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696).

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Gy zijt myn Steenrotze ende mijn Buycht; leydt my dan,
ende voert my om uwes nacms wille. Psal. 31. vers 4.

L 2

Op

Fig.25. Jan Luyken. Engraving for Emblem XXXVIII. Page 163 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangenane en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



*Het leven is my Christus, ende het sterven is [my] gewin.
Phil. 1. vers 21.*

*Ick werde van dese twee gedrongen, hebbende begeerte om
ontbonden te worden, en met Christo te zyn. Want [dat] is
seer verre het beste. Vers 23.*

L 4

Op

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Fig.26. Jan Luyken. Engraving for Emblem XXXIX. Page 167 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696).

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*De Ziele rustende van alle uyerlijke menighvuldigheden,
waecht met het inwendige oog des gemoeds.*

AL schijn ick voor de werelt doot,
En van het leven afgesneden,
Och neen! och neen! dat is geen noot,
Ick slaep in d'uyterlijke leden.
Ick rust van al het aertfch bedrijf,
Van alle wereltlijke weelden,
En wellust voor het dierfche lijf,
Van menighvuldigheyt en beelden;
Soo slaep ick, maer mijn herte waecht,
Op Godt en Goddelijke dingen,
Op dat als my den Heer genaecht,
Hy my niet vindt in sluymeringen.
Ick slaep, maer 't oogh van mijn gemoed
Is altijd open en verheven,
En schout in Godt het eeuwigh goedt,
Het eeuwigh licht, en eeuwigh leven.
Och! ja mijn vleesch slaep soo maer voort,
En zinct noch diepper in 't vergeten,
Van al wat niet in 't hert behoort,
En dat den Geest niet dient te weten.
Ach! was met my de werelt doot,
In een vergetenheydt der sonden!
De gantfche menscheydt wiert vergoot,
En 't rechte leven wiert gevonden.

Goddelijck Antwoordt.

Waeckende ende bidt, op dat ghy niet in verfoeckinge en
komt. Matth. 26, vers 41.

Ick



Ick slaep, maer myn herte waechte. Cant. 5, vers 2.

E

Op

Fig.27. Pages 64 and 65 of Jan Luyken (b), *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed: bestaande uyt veertig aangename en stichtelyke sinne-beelden. Vervat in drie deelen* (Amsterdam: Weduwen Pieter Arentsz, 1696). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Fig.28. Jan Luyken, Title-figure. fol. A1r of Christian Hoburg, *Levendige herts-theologie, dat zijn aendachtige betrachtigen, hoe Jesus in der geloovigen herten wil woonen, werken en leven, en haar wil zijn alles in allen. Met schoone, en nette print-verbeeldinge, ter fake dienende, verciert: nevens versen, suchtingen, en alleen-spraken* (Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1686). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagin. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.

II.

Hier beschermt J E S U S het Herte.



Fallax mundus ornat vultus, Hoe vitare si vis rete;
 Dolus latet sed occultus: Cito Christi sinus pete
 Ne crede blanditijs- Procul ab invidijs.
 In. Galle. excudit. C. de Mallery fecit.

De Werelt, Satan, 't Vleesch, gedurig netten stellen,
 Om doch mijn arme Ziel te brengen in den noot:
 Maar al mijn hoop en trooft om vry te zyn van quellen
 Is J e s u s met sijn gunst, en liefde wondergroot.

B a

Zie-

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Fig.29. Karel Mallery, Engraving for Emblem II. Page 23 of Christian Hoburg, *Levendige herts-theologie, dat zijn aendachtige betrachtigen, hoe Jesus in der geloovigen herten wil wonen, werken en leven, en haar wil zijn alles in allen. Met schoone, en nette print-verbeeldinge, ter fake dienende, verciert: nevens versen, suchtingen, en alleen-spraken* (Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1686 University of Illinois at Urbana). Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.

Hier werd het Herte van Jesus na gefuyvert.

V I. Figuur.



Eia IESV tibi notum. An non cernis? tota patet
Cor. si lubet, lustra totum Ara cordis, nil te latet:
Pia tuo sanguine. Fove tuo lumine.

C. de Mallery fecit. F. Galle exc: 7

O hoe dierbaar is u goedheyd,
Schoonste Jesu! vol van soetheyd,
Dat gy 't arme sondig Hert,
Niet laat smooren in haar smert;
Maar het reynigt van de sonden,
Die gy daar noch hebt gevonden.

D 3

Zie-

Fig.30. Karel Mallery, Engraving for Emblem VI. Page 53 of Christian Hoburg, *Levendige herts-theologie, dat zijn aendachtige betrachtigen, hoe Jesus in der geloovigen herten wil wonen, werken en leven, en haar wil zijn alles in allen. Met schoone, en nette print-verbeeldinge, ter fake dienende, verciert: nevens versen, suchtingen, en alleen-spraken* (Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1686). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Fig.31. Jan Luyken, Title-figure. fol. A1r of Jan Luyken, *De zedelyke en stichtelyke gezangen. Op nieuws vermeerderd. En den lof en oordeel van de werken der barmhertigheid. Alles met konstige figuren versiert* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentz & Cornelis van der Sys, 1709). Duke University. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Fig.32. Jan Luyken, Title-figure. fol. *1r of Jan Luyken, *Beschouwing der wereld, bestaand in hondert konstige figuren, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentsz & Cornelis van der Sys, 1708). Duke University. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Fig.33. Jan Luyken, Title-figure. fol. A1r of Jan Luyken, *De onwaardige wereld, vertoond in vyftig zinnebeelden, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentsz & Cornelis van der Sys, 1710). Getty Research Institute. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



I.L.

*Ik doe wandelen op den weg der gerechtigheid: in het
midden van de paden des rechts: Op dat ik myne lief-
hebbers doe be-erven dat bestendig is: en ik zal haare
schat-kameren vervullen. Spreuken VIII: 20, 21.*

Op

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Fig.34. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem XXVIII. Page 112 of Jan Luyken, *De onwaardige wereld, vertoond in vyftig zinnebeelden, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentsz & Cornelis van der Sys, 1710). Getty Research Institute. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Maar geliefde, bouwet gy u zelven op uw' allerbeiligste geloove, biddende in den Heiligen Geest: Bewaard u zelven in de liefde Gods, verwachtende de barmhertigheid onzes Heeren Jezus Christus ten eeuwigen leven. Judas vers 20, 21.

Op

Fig.35. Jan Luyken, Engraving for Emblem XLV. Page 184 of Jan Luyken, *De onwaardige wereld, vertoond in vyftig zinnebeelden, met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen* (Amsterdam: Weduwe Pieter Arentsz & Cornelis van der Sys, 1710). Getty Research Institute. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain.



Fig.36. Main entrance to the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Photo taken by the author.

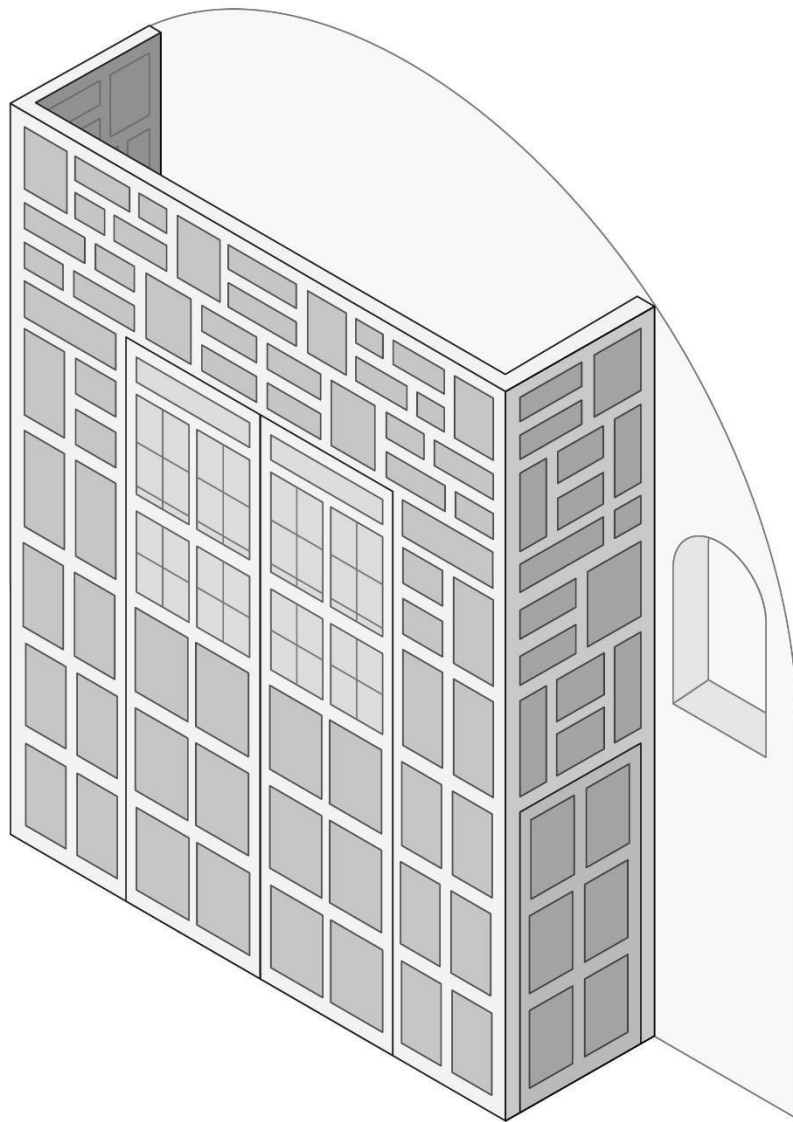


Fig.37. Isometric view of the *cancel* with doors closed. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.

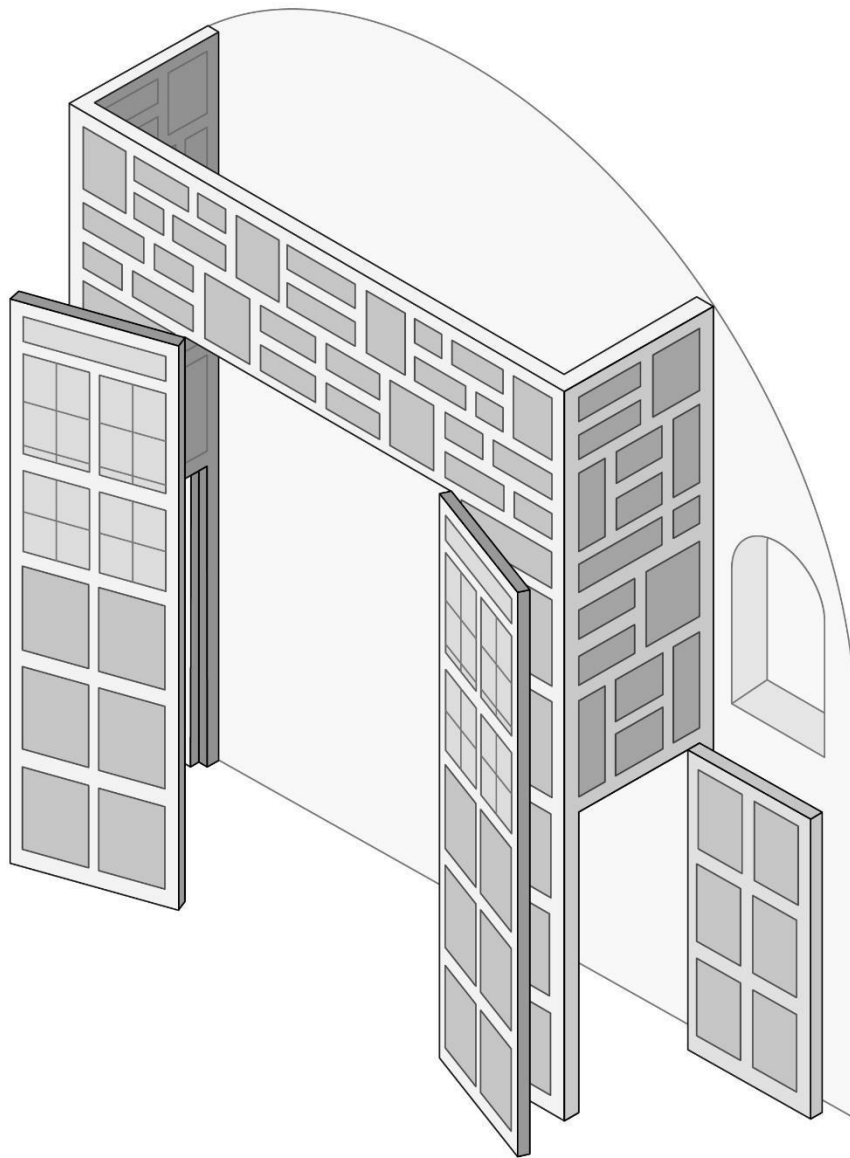


Fig.38. Isometric view of the *cancel* with all doors open. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.



Fig.39. Part of the vaults and arches composing the nave of the main church. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.40. Traces of painting showing Christ carrying the cross, in the outer east walls. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Photo taken and provided by Edgar Ulloa.



Fig.41. Possible landscape? (intervened). Panel of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México, c. 1759-1763. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.42. Detail of the windows of the *cancel* showing text in the rails. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.

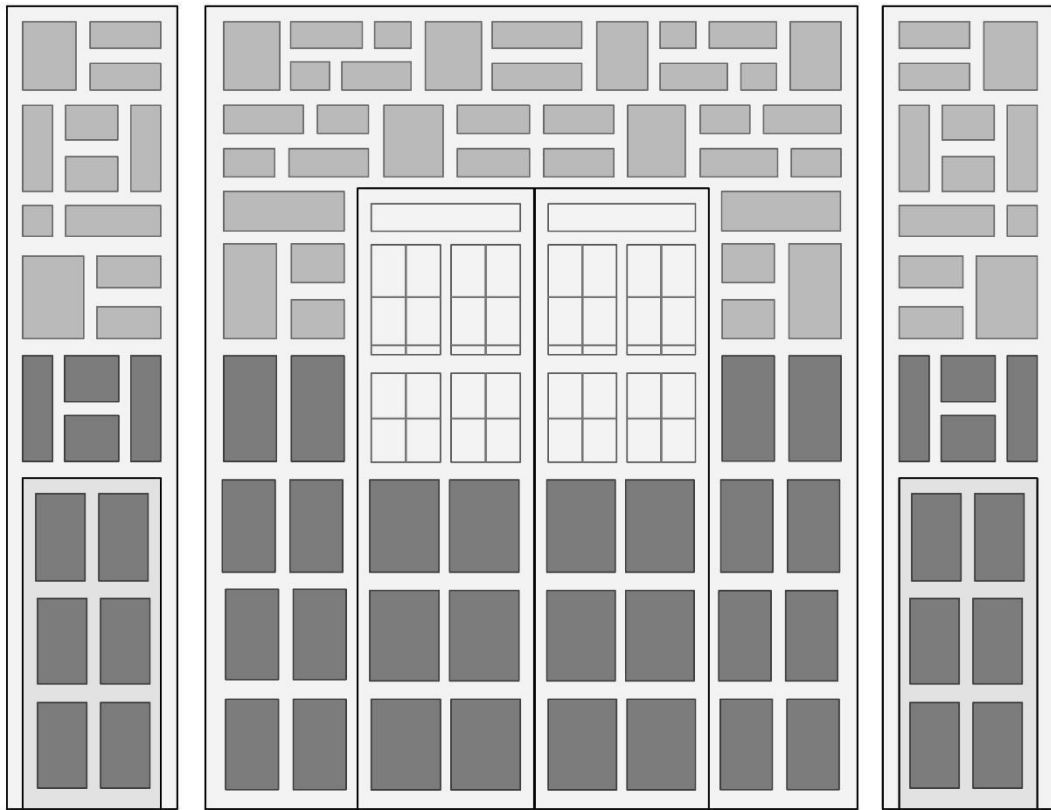


Fig.43. Left, right and center parts of the exterior side of the *cancel*. Top section (lighter grey): Virtues, Gifts, and Religious Figures. Bottom section (darker grey): Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History). Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.

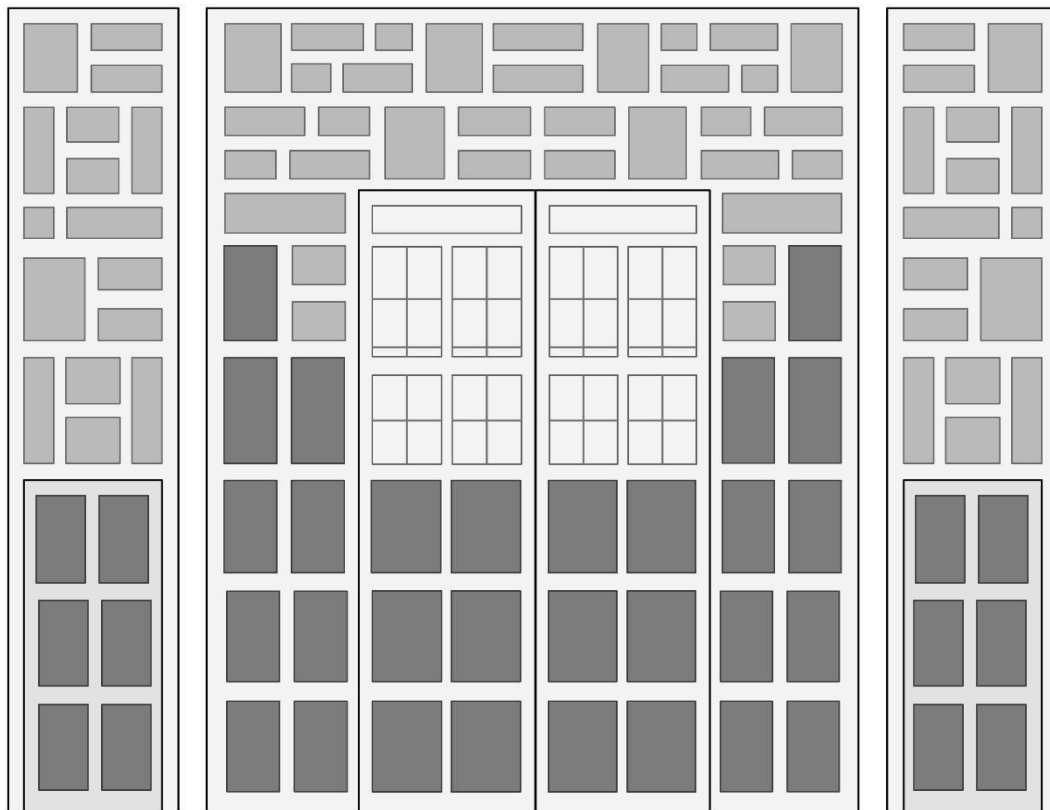


Fig.44. Left, right and center parts of the interior side of the *cancel*. Top section (lighter grey): Various Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart. Bottom section (darker grey): Programme based on the *Escuela del corazon (Schola cordis)*. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.

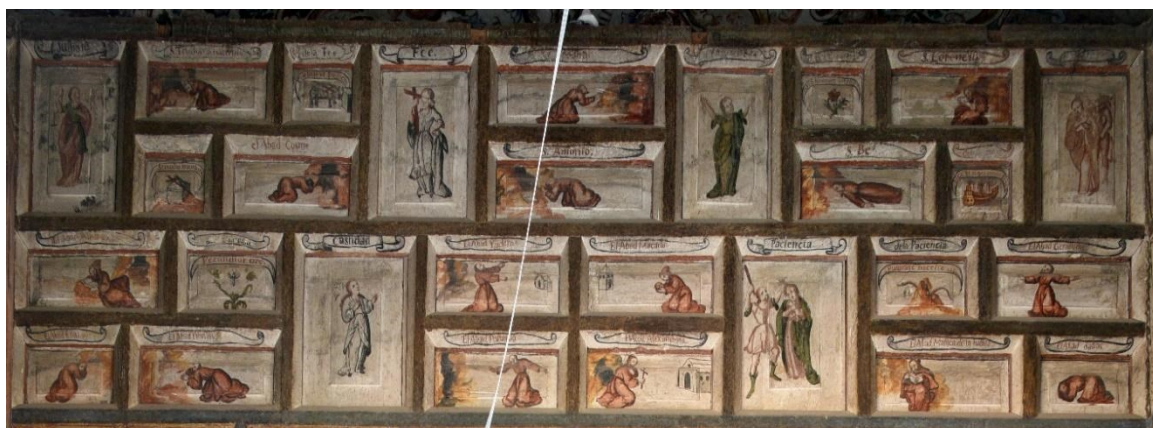


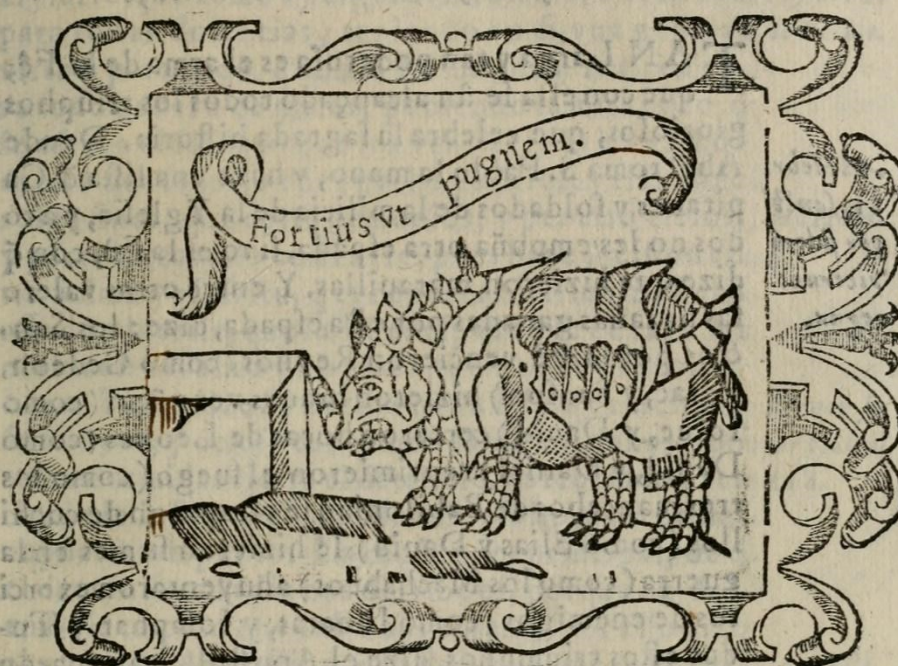
Fig.45. Central part of the top register of the exterior side of the *cancel* (Detail). Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.46. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Fee*. Panel 18 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.47. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *De la Fee*. Panel 15 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



CON El sazar beligero Elephante
 Competidor eterno,
 Nunca lucha el gentil Rinocerote,
 Sin que en piedra bastante
 Primero aguze el cuerno
 Con que á de darle peligroso bote:
 Para que advierta y note,
 Quien mostrar quiere al enemigo fiero
 Bien agudo el azero,
 Que en la Piedra divina
 Que es Christo, la arma de la fê se afina?

F 5 Cui

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Fig.48. *Del Fiel*. Page 45r of Juan Francisco de Villava, *Empresas Espirituales y Morales, en que se finge, que diferentes supuestos las traen al modo extranjero, representando el pensamiento, en que mas pueden señalarse: assi en virtud, como en vicio, de manera que pueden servir a la Christiana piedad* (Baeza: Fernando Díaz de Montoya, 1613). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain



Fig.49. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *El Abad Cosme*. Panel 17 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.

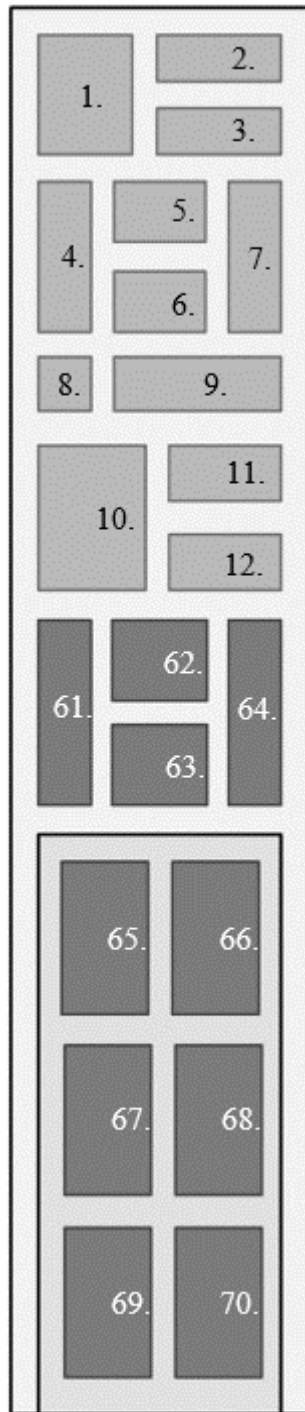


Fig.50. Left part of the exterior side of the *cancel*. Top section (lighter grey): Virtues, Gifts, and Religious Figures. Bottom section (darker grey): Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History). Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.

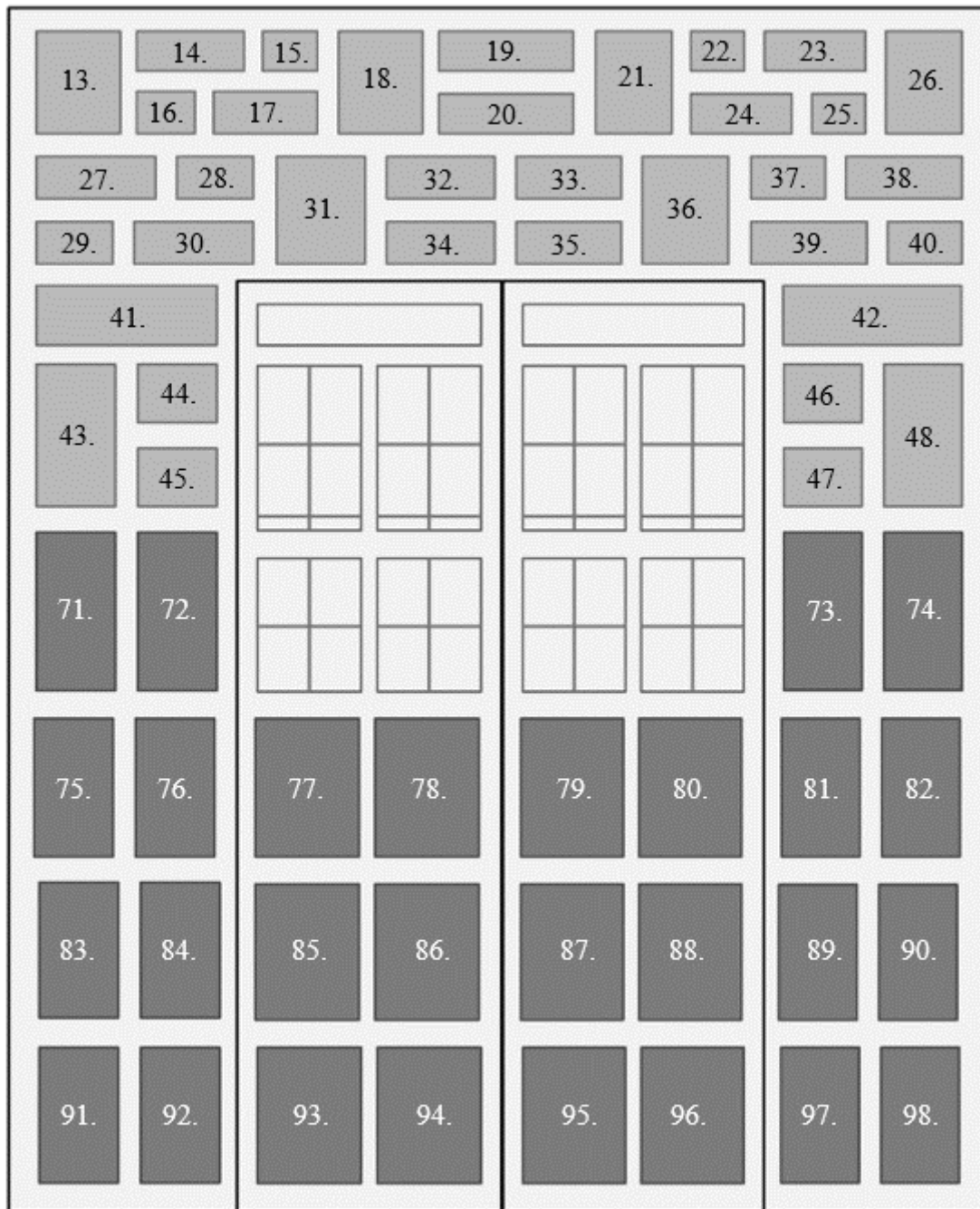


Fig.51. Centre of the exterior side of the *cancel*. Top section (lighter grey): Virtues, Gifts, and Religious Figures. Bottom section (darker grey): Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History). Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.

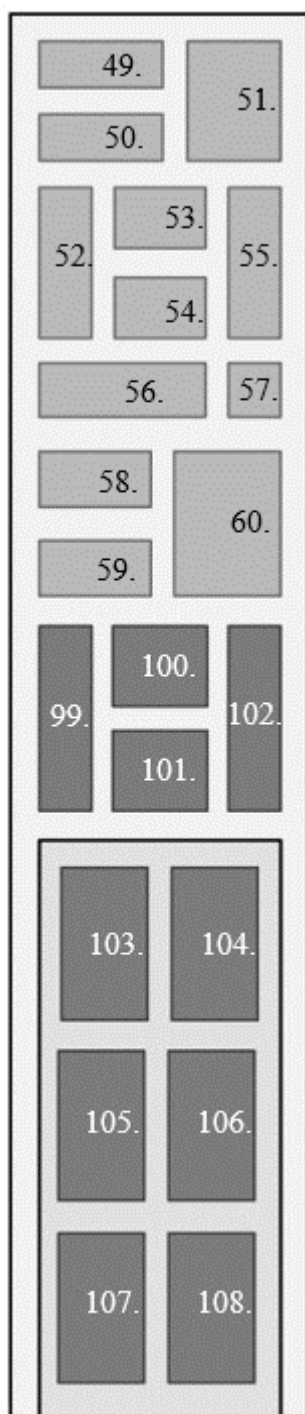


Fig.52. Right part of the exterior side of the *cancel*. Top section (lighter grey): Virtues, Gifts, and Religious Figures. Bottom section (darker grey): Liturgical Year and Biblical Events (related to Christian Salvation History). Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.



Fig.53. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *El Juicio. Dom. I. de Adviento.*
Panel 61 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene,
Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.54. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *S. Francisco de Sales*. Panel 123 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.55. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *S. Philipe Neri*. Panel 148 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.56. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *V. Margarita de Alacoq*. Panel 133 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.

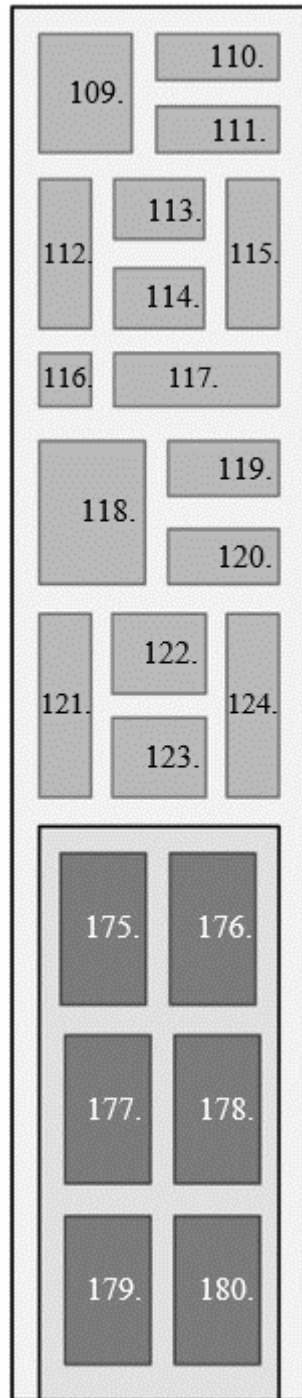


Fig.57. Left side of the interior side of the *cancel*. Top section (lighter grey): Various Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart. Bottom section (darker grey): Programme based on the *Escuela del corazon (Schola cordis)*. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.

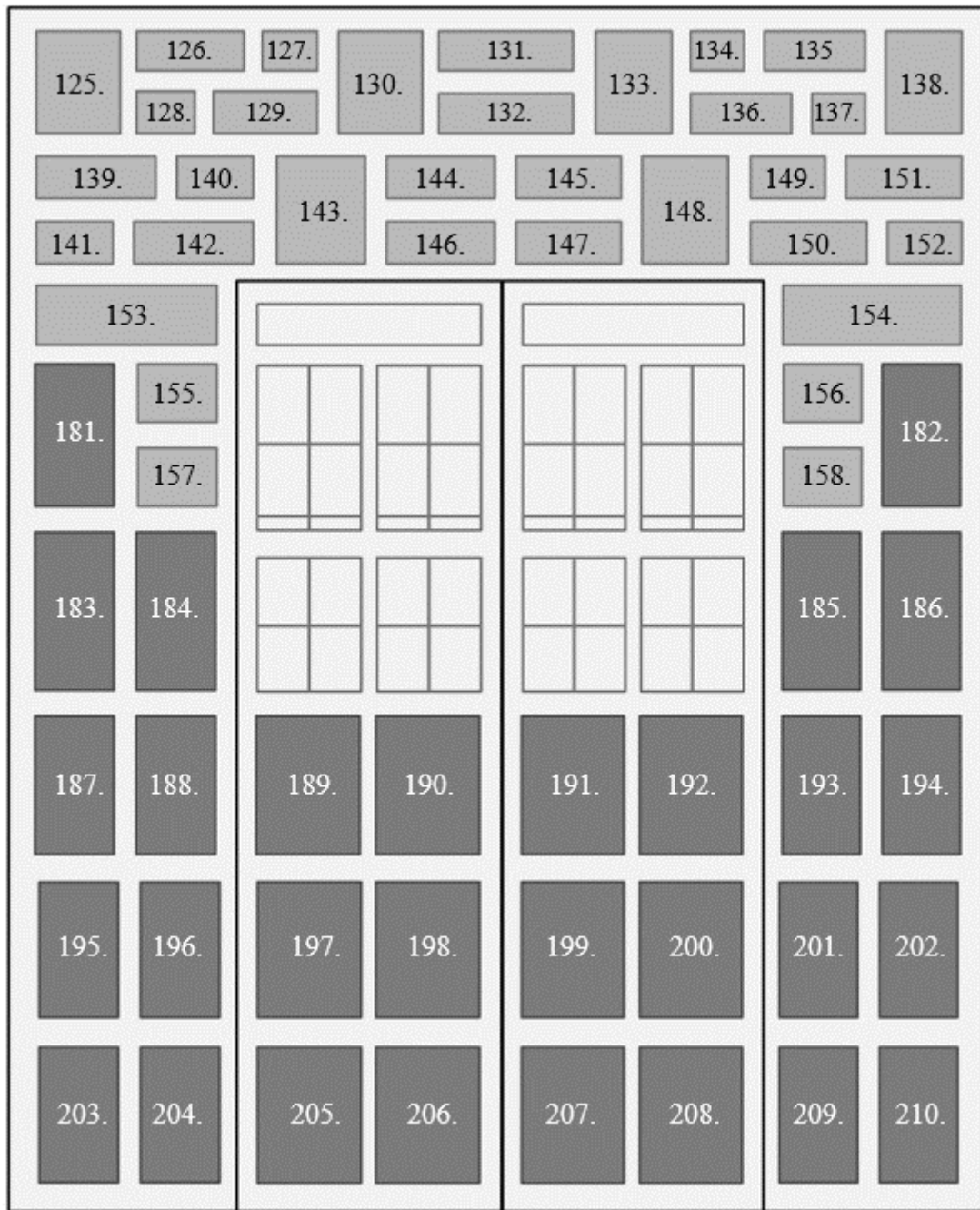


Fig.58. Centre of the interior side of the *cancel*. Top section (lighter grey): Various Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart. Bottom section (darker grey): Programme based on the *Escuela del corazon (Schola cordis)*. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.

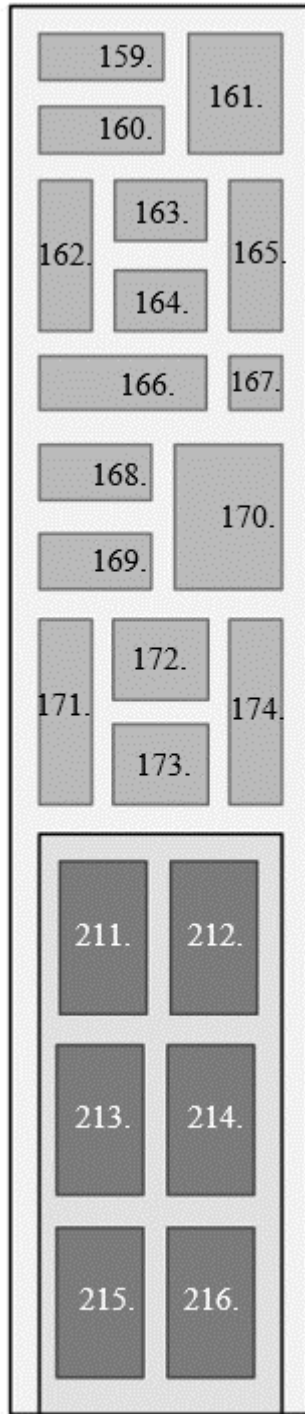


Fig.59. Left side of the interior side of the *cancel*. Top section (lighter grey): Various Religious Figures before the Sacred Heart. Bottom section (darker grey): Programme based on the *Escuela del corazon (Schola cordis)*. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende. Image made and provided by Arturo Rodríguez.



Fig.60. *Cordis vanitas*. Page facing 98 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribio en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: traducida al Castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. I* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.61. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Pesades del Corazon*. Panel 176 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.62. *Cordis aggravatio*. Page facing 106 of Benedictus van Haefsten, *Escuela del corazon que escribio en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: traducida al Castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. I* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.63. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Circumcision del Corazon*.
Panel 181 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene,
Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.64. *Cordis circumcisio*. Page facing 170 of Benedictus van Haefsten, *Escuela del corazon que escribio en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: traducida al Castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. I* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.65. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Emolicion del Corazon*. Panel 182 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.66. *Cordis emollitio*. Page facing 197 of Benedictus van Haefsten, *Escuela del corazon que escribio en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: traducida al Castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. I* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.67. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Purificación del Corazon*.

Panel 183 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.68. *Cordis mundatio*. Page facing 206 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribio en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: traducida al Castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. I* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.69. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Entrega del Corazon*. Panel 184 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.70. *Cordis donatio*. Page facing 218 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribio en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: traducida al Castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. I* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.71. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Nivel del Corazon*. Panel 185 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.72. *Cordis rectificatio*. Page facing 270 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribio en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: traducida al Castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. I* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.73. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Renovacion del Corazon*. Panel 186 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.74. *Cordis renovatio*. Page facing 5 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.75. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Ilustracion del Corazon*. Panel 187 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.76. *Cordis illuminatio*. Page facing 18 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecoleta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.77. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Escritura del Corazon*. Panel 188 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.78. *Cordis tabula legis*. Page facing 30 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecoleta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.79. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Aradura del Corazon*. Panel 189 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.80. *Aratio cordis*. Page facing 40 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.81. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Siembra del Corazon*. Panel 190 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.82. *Seminatio in corde*. Page facing 50 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecoleta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.83. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Riego del Corazon*. Panel 191 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.84. *Cordis irrigatio*. Page facing 57 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecoleta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.85. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Flores del Corazon*. Panel 192 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.86. *Cordis flores*. Page facing 64 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecoleta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.87. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Custodia del Corazon*. Panel 193 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.

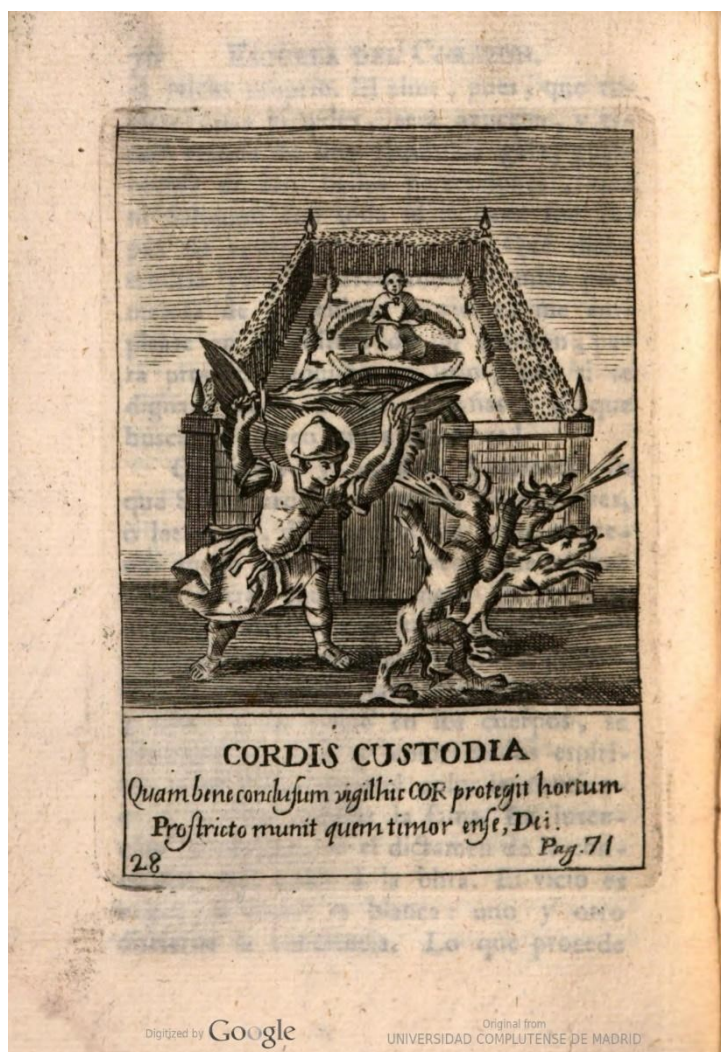


Fig.88. *Cordis custodia*. Page facing 71 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.89. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Escudo del Corazon*. Panel 194 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.90. *Cordis protectio*. Page facing 79 of Benedictus van Haefsten, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.91. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *El Corazon copa de Christo Sediento*. Panel 211 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.92. *Cordis phialia*. Page facing 227 of Benedictus van Haeften, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecoleta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.

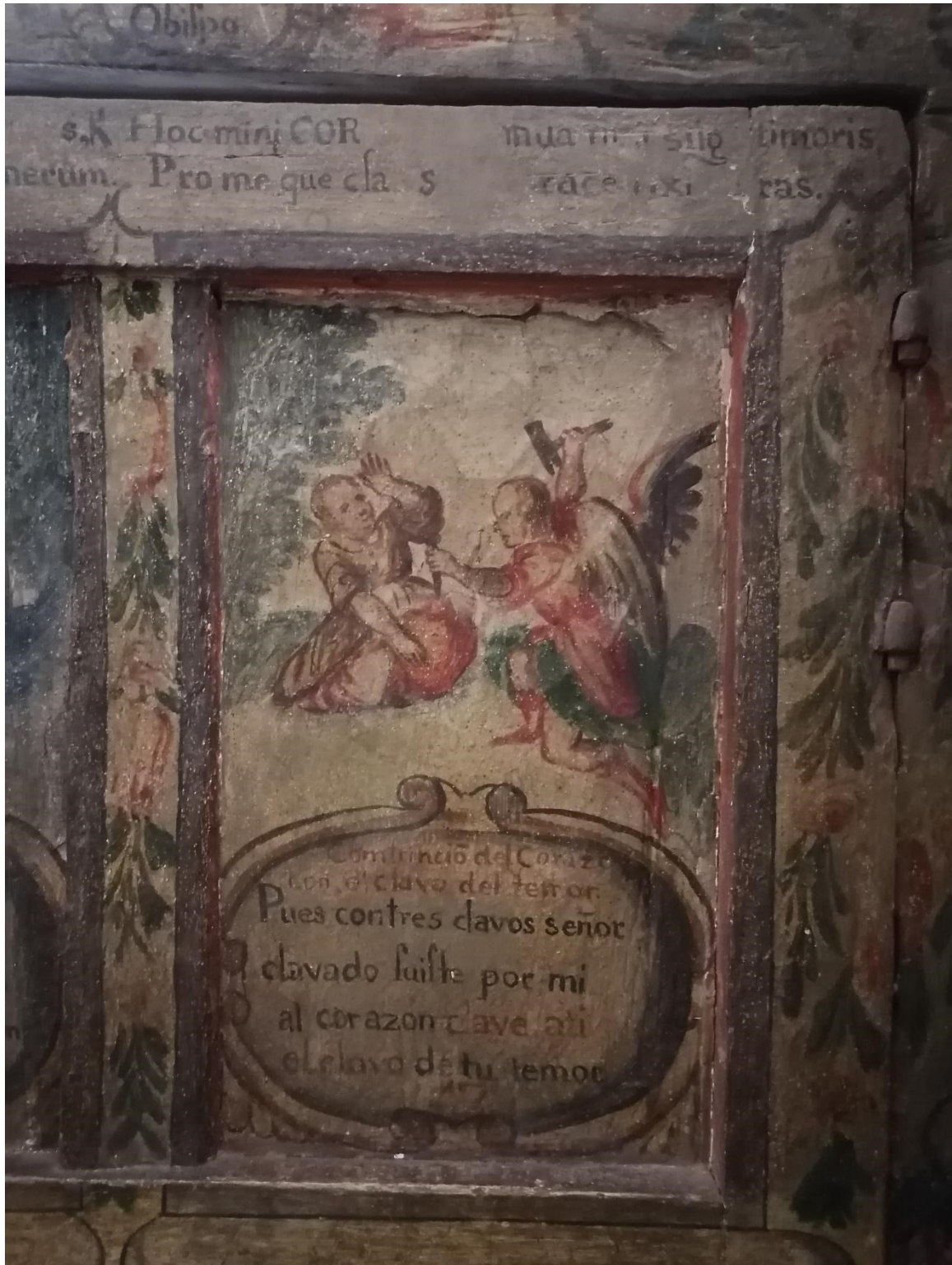


Fig.93. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *Comtrincion del Corazon con el clavo del temor*. Panel 212 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.94. *Compunctio cordis*. Page facing 233 of Benedictus van Haefthen, *Escuela del corazon que escribió en lengua latina el P. D. Benito Haesten de la Orden de S. Benito: Traducida al castellano por Fr. Diego de Mecolaeta de la misma Orden. Tom. II* (Madrid: D. Blas Roman, 1791). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.



Fig.95. Detail of the portal to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.96. Detail of the portal to the Chapel of Bethlehem. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.97. Detail of second vault at the Vestibule. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.

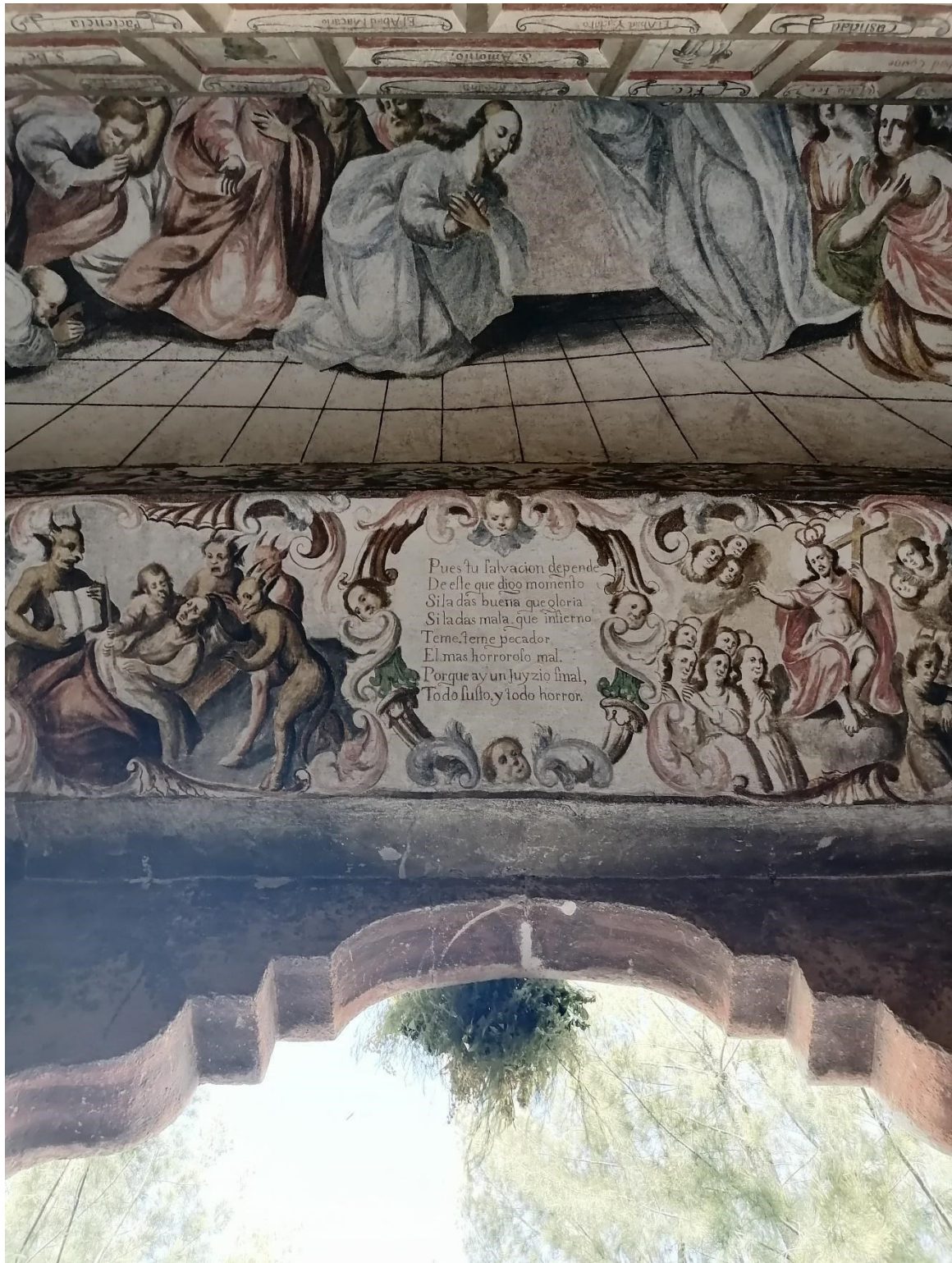


Fig.98. Detail of the entrance opening. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.99. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), *S. Buenaventura*. Panel 118 of the *cancel* at the entrance door of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo provided by Ana María Pimentel.



Fig.100. Engraving for Exercise VIII. Page facing 111 of Sebastián Izquierdo, *Practica de los Exercicios Espirituales de Nuestro Padre San Ignacio* (Madrid: Alonso Balvas, 1728). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Image retrieved from HathiTrust Digital Library. Public Domain, Google-Digitized.

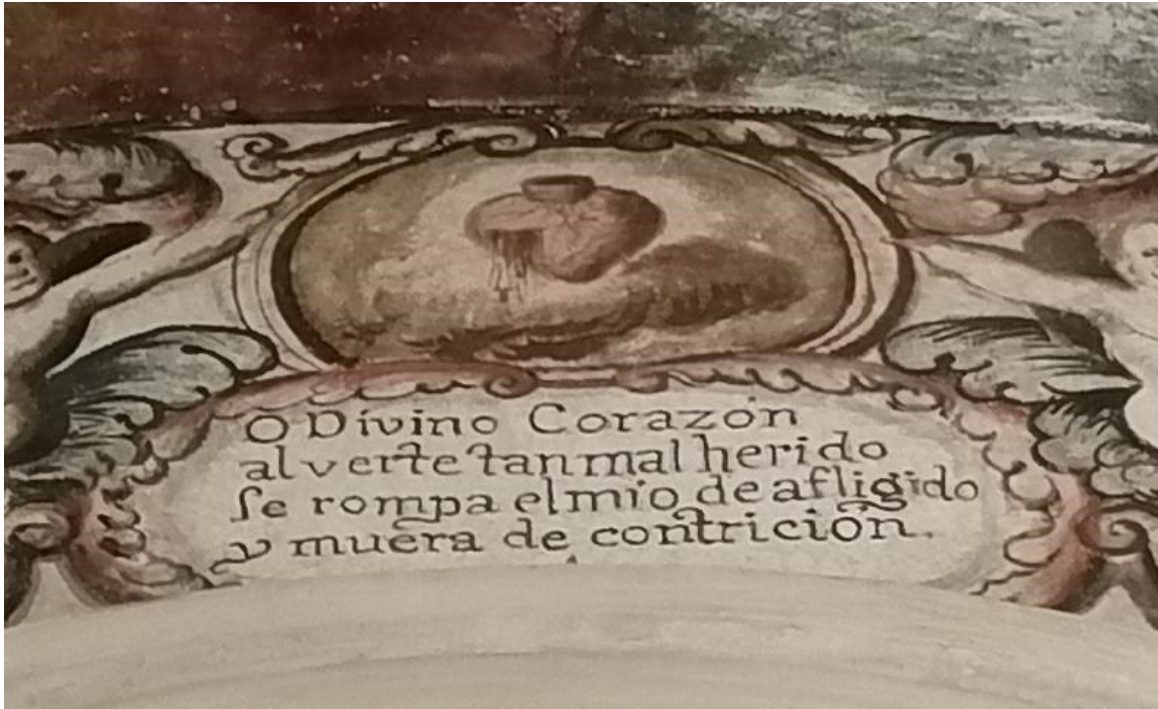


Fig.101. Detail of the portal to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, showing the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México.
Photo taken by the author.



Fig.102. Detail of first vault at the Vestibule. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.104. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), one of the Stations of the Heart (Christ Carrying the Cross). Room for Exercises of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.105. Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre (intervened), one of the Stations of the Heart (The Crucifixion). Room For Exercises of the Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.



Fig.106. Detail of fifth vault, showing the *Ecce homo*. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.

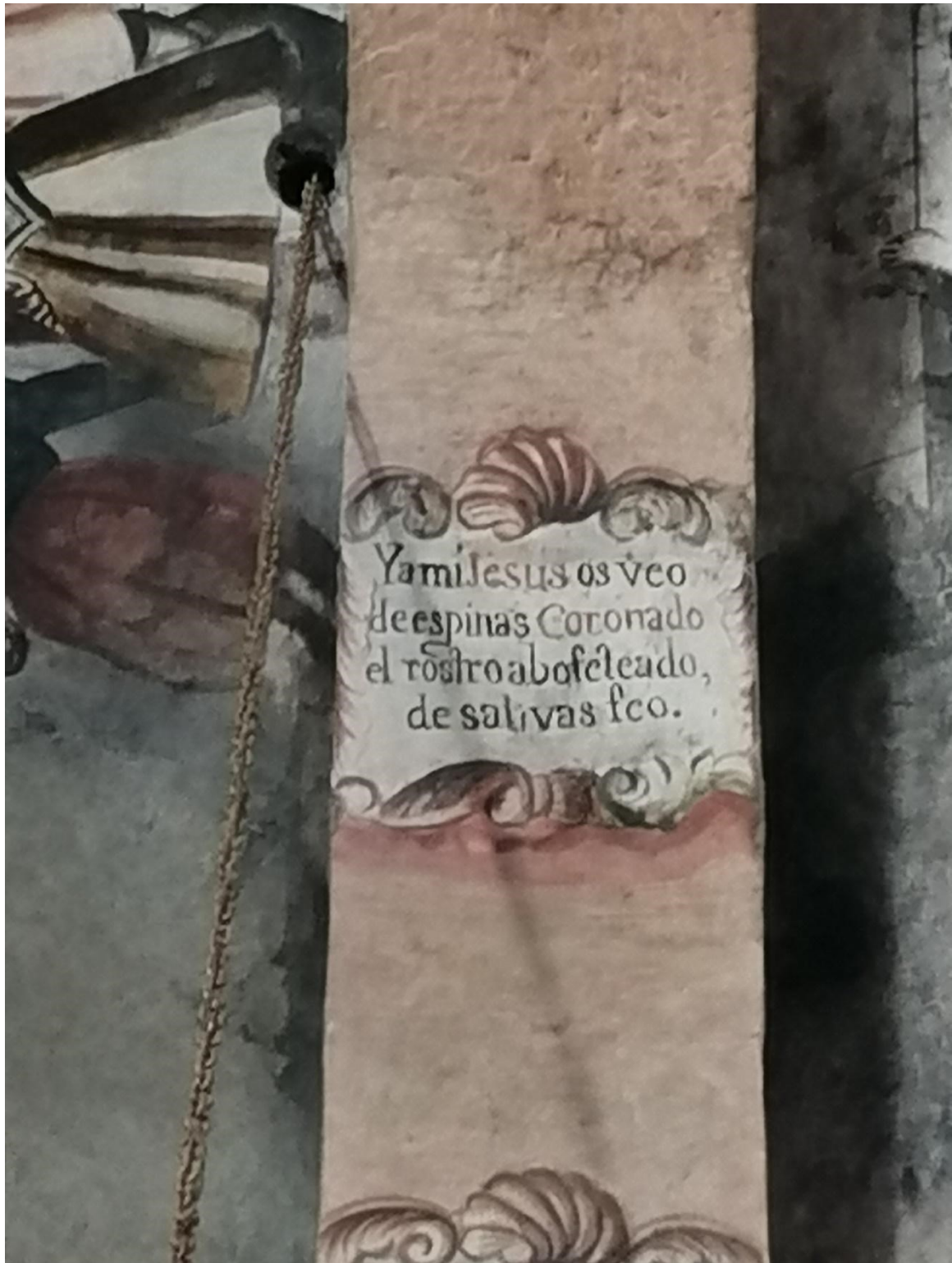


Fig.107. Detail of the west transverse arch next to the fifth vault. Sanctuary of Jesus the Nazarene, Atotonilco, near San Miguel de Allende, México. Photo taken by the author.

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Met deze studie wilde ik de mogelijkheden analyseren om de rol te bestuderen die een religieus beeld kan hebben gehad in de religieuze ervaring van het individu, met name wanneer die ervaring plaatsvond in een bepaalde periode in de geschiedenis; en de manieren waarop historisch gesitueerde religieuze beelden werkten. Om deze twee elementen te onderzoeken concentreerde ik me op één visueel motief binnen religieuze beelden: het hart, en de aanwezigheid van een dergelijk motief in twee objecten uit de achttiende eeuw:

- 1) Het religieuze embleemboek *Jesus en de ziel. Een gestelyke Spiegel voor 't gemoed*, voor het eerst uitgegeven in Amsterdam in 1678 (met een lange reeks herdrukken en heruitgaven gedurende de achttiende eeuw) door Pieter Arentsz, en bestaande uit teksten in het Nederlands en afbeeldingen, beide gemaakt door Jan Luyken; en
- 2) De *cancel*, een houten scherm gebouwd rond het derde kwart van de achttiende eeuw, bij de hoofdingang van het Heiligdom van Jezus de Nazarener te Atotonilco, bij wat vroeger San Miguel el Grande heette (tegenwoordig San Miguel de Allende).

Het embleemboek bevat drie emblemata waarvan de gravures *Jesus en de ziel* tonen, die op verschillende manieren met het hart samenwerken. De emblemata zijn: embleem XIV, embleem XXXII en embleem XXXVII. Deze emblemata worden in deze studie de hart-emblemata genoemd. De *cancel* van Atotonilco bestaat uit een indrukwekkend aantal panelen, elk beschilderd door de kunstenaar Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre. Aan de binnenkant van de *cancel*, d.w.z. aan de kant van de *cancel* die vanuit de binnenkant van het heiligdom kan worden bekeken, is een groep van zesenveertig panelen te zien waarop *Amor divinus* en *anima* samen met het hart staan, en het hart verschillende processen doorloopt. De panelen worden in deze studie de EC-panelen genoemd. Deze afbeeldingen met betrekking tot beide studieobjecten zijn grotendeels afkomstig uit dezelfde iconografische bron: een beroemd, door de Jezuïeten beïnvloed religieus embleemboek getiteld de *Schola cordis, sive, Aversia Deo cordis ad eundem reductio et instructio*, geschreven door de Benedictijnse monnik Benedictus van Haeften, met afbeeldingen van Boetius a. Bolswert, voor het eerst uitgegeven in Antwerpen in 1629.

Zowel het hart van Luyken als het hart van Pocasangre geven ons de kans om de theoretische en methodologische kwesties te onderzoeken die gepaard gaan met de studie van het religieuze beeld, gezien als onderdeel van een artefact, gebruikt door individuen voor religieuze doeleinden of in een religieuze omgeving, en als een historisch fenomeen dat ons helpt iets te begrijpen van de ontwikkeling van het religieuze in de mens – iets wat we niet zouden kunnen weten zonder deze afbeeldingen of de objecten waarin ze te vinden zijn.

Rekening houdend met de oorspronkelijke intentie van dit onderzoek, en de gekozen studieobjecten, formuleerde ik een openingsvraag: welke rol speelde het visuele motief van het hart, waarvan de iconografische bron de *Schola cordis* was, in de achttiende eeuw in de religieuze consumptie van het boek *Jesus en de ziel*, en de *cancel* van het Heiligdom van Jezus de Nazarener in Atotonilco? In deze studie betoog ik dat deze vraag kan worden beantwoord met een methode die uitgaat van de objecten waarin de hartbeelden te vinden zijn, en van de religieuze *affordances* die daaruit kunnen worden afgeleid. Door te proberen deze basisvraag te beantwoorden, heb ik een weg gebaand om vervolgens de meer fundamentele vragen over de aard van het religieuze beeld als zodanig en over de bestudering ervan te benaderen. De beschrijving en analyse van het visuele motief van het hart in twee objecten, een Nederlands protestants embleemboek en een adellijk katholieke *cancel*, vormen een aanleiding om het religieuze beeld ter discussie te brengen, en om te stellen hoe we, door het begrijpen van de *affordances* van religieuze beelden, een beter begrip kunnen krijgen in de rol die deze objecten spelen in de religieuze ervaringen van individuen in een historische context.

Het onderzoek bestaat uit drie delen. Deel I bestaat uit de Inleiding, waarin ik de studieobjecten, de academische kennis, de theoretische kwesties en de methode die op de studieobjecten zal worden toegepast, uiteenzet. De analysemethode is verdeeld in drie stappen: beschrijving, interne mechanismes, en interactie, en is toegepast op zowel het embleemboek als de *cancel* om inzicht te krijgen in hun *affordances* en de mogelijke interactie die gebruikers ermee hebben gehad. De suggestie is dat het object (als drager van afbeeldingen), de constructie en het ontwerp ervan, samen met de interactie door individuen of een gemeenschap, sommige van de rollen die een beeld of visueel motief in een bepaalde historische context had, kunnen ophelderen. Deze manier van werken (deze analysemethode) neemt als theoretisch uitgangspunt enkele ideeën die verwant zijn aan de theorie van *affordances*, zoals voorgesteld door James J. Gibson.

In deel II behandel ik de twee studieobjecten: ten eerste *Jesus en de ziel*, en ten tweede de *cancel*. Dit deel bestaat uit zes hoofdstukken, drie voor elk studieobject. Elk hoofdstuk behandelt één van de stappen van de methode. Zo gaan de eerste drie hoofdstukken over de beschrijving van *Jesus en de ziel* (hoofdstuk 1), de interne mechanismes van dit embleemboek (hoofdstuk 2), en wat we weten over de interactie die er met het object is geweest (hoofdstuk 3). Hetzelfde geldt voor de *cancel*: eerst maak ik een gedetailleerde beschrijving van het object (hoofdstuk 4), dan de interne mechanismes ervan (hoofdstuk 5), en tenslotte de reeds bekende interactie met de *cancel* (hoofdstuk 6). Deel II is het belangrijkste deel van het hele werk, omdat we hier de uitgewerkte methode toepassen, waarmee het naar mijn mening mogelijk is de rol van het visuele motief van het hart in zowel *Jesus en de ziel* als in de *cancel* op te helderen, met het oog op wat hun aandeel in de religieuze ervaring van het individu in de achttiende eeuw kan zijn geweest.

Deel III bestaat uit één hoofdstuk. Hier analyseer ik de resultaten van de gebruikte methode en bied ik antwoorden en nieuwe problemen met betrekking tot de relevantie van deze methode, en over de mogelijkheden om de rol van het visuele motief van het hart in de ervaring en de consumptie van beide objecten te achterhalen. Dit leidt tot een tweede deel van het hoofdstuk, waar ik vervolgens aankaart wat de studieobjecten mogelijk maken te achterhalen, en hoe ze ons ook bepaalde beperkingen opleggen met betrekking tot de wijzen waarop we de rol van religieuze beelden in een bepaalde historische context kunnen bestuderen en begrijpen, in het kader van de ervaring van het religieuze door het individu.

In deel III concludeer ik dat het hart in elk van de bestudeerde werken deel uitmaakte van een netwerk van beelden en mechanismen die inherent zijn aan het object en die bepalend zijn geweest voor wat ze kunnen verschaffen. Die mechanismes variëren van de manier waarop de objecten kunnen worden gemanipuleerd tot de communicatiestrategieën die worden gebruikt om de informatie die uit de beelden moet worden opgevangen met succes te ontvangen. De objecten zelf bieden mogelijkheden voor actie, waaronder acties van religieuze aard waarbij het visuele motief van het hart door de consument kan worden verbonden met andere beelden, objecten en structuren. De harten maken dus deel uit van systemen, en hun *affordances* zijn beperkt tot die systemen.

Zowel de hart-emblemen in *Jesus en de ziel* als de EC-panelen in Atotonilco worden hulpmiddelen, of instrumenten die helpen bij het organiseren van de omgeving van het individu of de gemeenschap. Ik stel dat ze zowel visueel als tekstueel bijdragen aan het bepalen van

patronen waarmee de toegewijde zijn of haar religieuze leven kan navigeren. Door de handelingsmogelijkheden die het boek biedt, kon het individu in een enkel boek informatie tot zich nemen over hoe zich te gedragen als een individu die streeft naar vereniging met God, en zelfs het moeilijke proces van deze vereniging visualiseren door middel van beelden en teksten. Bovendien zou het individu dit boek kunnen combineren met andere soorten boeken, die op soortgelijke wijze een passende inrichting bieden voor een religieus leven. De *cancel* daarentegen dient als onderdeel van een grotere constructie, een geheel gebouwd complex (Heiligdom) dat talrijke mogelijkheden biedt voor onderwijs over het proces van het liefhebben en bemind worden door God. Dit complex verschaft specifieke vormen om Gods liefde en stoffelijk lijden te visualiseren, zoals de hartenafbeelding die gebruikt wordt in de schilderijen van de *via crucis* in de Oefenzaal. Het heiligdom biedt ook de wijzen waarop men de gebreken van het individu, die dit goddelijk lijden hebben veroorzaakt, kan vergoeden, via de liefdesdaden die in de religieuze praktijken en op de panelen van de *cancel* worden uitgebeeld.

In het tweede deel van deel III som ik een aantal voorstellen op die voortkomen uit de studie van zowel het embleemboek als de *cancel*: 1) beelden en objecten veroorloven; 2) herkenningsspatronen zijn een *affordance* van religieuze beelden en objecten; 3) beelden en objecten kunnen communiceren en aanwezigheid met en van het goddelijke verschaffen; 4) beelden en objecten zijn informatieverschaffers, informatie die verband houdt met de hoop op succes die de maker van het object en het beeld heeft; (5) religieuze objecten kunnen deel uitmaken van de technologieën voor praktische devotie. Op de grond van deze voorstellen kunnen we stellen dat zowel het embleemboek als de *cancel* leveranciers van informatie zijn, evenals dragers waaruit informatie kan worden onttrokken, met betrekking tot een religieuze werkelijkheid. Zowel als gemeenschappelijke basis in de praktische devotie, en als deel van de heilstechnologie van de gelovige, zijn deze objecten krachtige geheugensteunen voor het individu. Door de processen van herkenning en bewustwording van hetgeen dat wordt bekeken, en dankzij de patronen en dynamiek die beelden onderscheiden, kunnen we het religieuze beeld dus in het kort omschrijven als *een instrument dat de herkenning van patronen mogelijk maakt, patronen die helpen bij de manier waarop iemand een gevoel van het goddelijke ervaart.*

Voor de conclusie zet ik uiteen wat de resultaten zijn: hoe de methode verandert of informatie verschaft over zowel het visuele motief van het hart als de objecten die het dragen, en wat dit suggereert over de studie van religieuze beelden en objecten. We sluiten af met de

voor- en nadelen die uit het onderzoek kunnen worden opgehelderd en wat er in toekomstig onderzoek zou kunnen volgen.

Aan het begin van deze studie merkte ik op dat de vraag naar het soort religieuze reacties van een individu of gemeenschap op een materieel object in een historisch gesitueerde context zoals de achttiende eeuw meer problemen dan oplossingen met zich meebrengt, vooral gezien de zeer beperkte toegang die we hebben tot bronnen die inzicht zouden kunnen verschaffen in persoonlijke religieuze ervaringen. De objecten daarentegen vertellen een ander verhaal: niet noodzakelijk wat er precies gebeurde in deze onopgemerkte ontmoetingen tussen de gebruikers, consumenten en waarnemers van deze werken en de objecten zelf, maar wat de werken mogelijk maakten, d.w.z. wat zij in elke context op het gebied van religie lieten gebeuren.

De selectie van de twee contrasterende casestudies bleek vruchtbaar te zijn, omdat het ons in staat stelde door verschillende religieuze materiële omstandigheden te navigeren. Dit bood niet alleen de mogelijkheid om de methode met meer variabelen te testen, maar stelde ons ook in staat om enkele overeenkomsten te ontdekken in de wijze waarop Christelijke religieuze voorwerpen in het algemeen werkten. In andere woorden, de studie van specifieke objecten heeft ons, naar wij hopen, geholpen om de werking van de specifieke studieobjecten en van religieuze objecten in het algemeen nauwkeuriger te zien, te verkennen en te begrijpen.

Wij konden zowel *Jesus en de ziel* als de *cancel* positioneren als objecten van het grootste belang in de wijzen waarop individuen en gemeenschappen in deze religieuze werkelijkheid functioneren en onderscheid maken. Het zijn instrumenten voor organisatie, voor het navigeren door een religieuze omgeving: of het nu een boek met afbeeldingen is met een reeks doelen waarin het menselijk hart een prominente rol krijgt op de weg naar verlossing en in het zelfbegrip van de boekgebruikers als individuen in een proces van wedergeboorte door de Heilige Geest; of het is de ingang van een architectonisch complex dat is ontworpen om de gemeenschap visuele, tekstuele en spirituele instrumenten te verschaffen die kunnen worden gebruikt in hun verlossingstechnologieën, die noodzakelijkerwijs inhouden dat het hart wordt gemodelleerd en aan God wordt aangeboden, de Verlosser wordt liefgehad en de door Hem beloofde liefde wordt ontvangen. Door hun verschillende mechanismen, door hun veelheid aan teksten en beelden, en door hun manipulatie, maken deze objecten processen van voortdurende openbaringen mogelijk. Het boek en de *cancel*, zo kunnen we concluderen, dragen door hun

visuele, tekstuele en mechanische *affordances* bij aan de processen van openbaring in het geloof en de praktijk van gebruikers.

Een beeld dragend religieus object vertelt ons al veel over de mogelijkheden van de religieuze beleving die een individu op een bepaald moment kan hebben gehad, zelfs voordat er rekening wordt gehouden met de culturele, visuele, intellectuele en theologische context van de objectgebruikers. Het object dient als organisator van de omgeving van het individu of de gemeenschap. Het religieuze object geeft vorm aan het leven van het individu. De beschouwing van de *affordances* van een religieus object kan daarom een waardevolle bijdrage leveren aan de studie van de rol van de materiële cultuur in de ontwikkeling van religieuze identiteiten en processen. Wat een religieus object kan bieden is in hoge mate afhankelijk van diens materiële voorwaarden. In ons geval, gevormd door het gebruik van beelden, is het object geconditioneerd door de configuratie van tekens op het oppervlak en door de manier waarop dit een bepaald soort interactie bevordert, een manier om informatie op te pikken over wat wordt begrepen als het goddelijke, of het goddelijke eigene.

In veel opzichten heeft de beschrijving van de historische religieuze ervaring centraal gestaan in deze studie. Ik heb impliciet betoogd dat, ook al zijn diverse verklaringen van de historische religieuze beleving nuttig, deze de neiging hebben verloren te gaan in een zekere speculatie op basis van ideeën en soms nogal onduidelijk gedefinieerde ‘contexten’ of ‘mentaliteiten’. Mijn argument is dat een eerste en fundamentele stap in elke beschrijving van de religieuze beleving bestaat uit het serieus nemen van de bemiddeling van objecten en, in het bijzonder, wat deze objecten verschaffen. De analyse van de *affordances* van de objecten die religieuze consumenten, gebruikers, gelovigen en beoefenaars gebruikten, is de *conditio sine qua non* voor het begrijpen van de religieuze beleving. Dit betekent dat het niet mogelijk is te begrijpen wat de devotie van het menselijke hart tot het hart van Jezus betekent, zonder een nauwgezette beschrijving en analyse van de specifieke handelingsmogelijkheden die bepaalde hartvormige of met een hart versierde voorwerpen verschaffen. De technologieën van de devotie werken niet door moeizame verbeelding alleen, maar door de materialen en het ontwerp van het object, en door het gebruik van een echte gebruiker of een groep gebruikers in een complexe, en soms gestructureerde visuele ecologie.

Resumen en español

En este estudio quise analizar las posibilidades de estudiar el papel que una imagen religiosa pudo tener en la experiencia religiosa del individuo, especialmente cuando esa experiencia es algo que ocurrió en un determinado periodo de la historia; y los modos en que funcionaron las imágenes religiosas situadas en un contexto histórico determinado. Para explorar estos dos elementos, me enfoqué en un solo motivo visual dentro de las imágenes religiosas: el corazón, y la presencia de dicho motivo en dos objetos durante el siglo dieciocho:

- 1) el libro de emblemas religioso *Jesus en de ziel. Een geestelyke Spiegel voor 't gemoed*, publicado por primera vez en Ámsterdam en 1678 (con una larga serie de reimpressiones y reediciones durante el siglo dieciocho) por Pieter Arentsz, y compuesto por textos en neerlandés e imágenes, ambos realizados por Jan Luyken; y
- 2) el cancel, una especie de mampara de madera construida hacia el tercer cuarto del siglo dieciocho, en la entrada principal del Santuario de Jesús Nazareno en Atotonilco, cerca de lo que fue San Miguel el Grande (hoy San Miguel de Allende).

El libro de emblemas tiene tres emblemas cuyos grabados muestran a Jesús y al Alma interactuando, de diferentes maneras, con el corazón. Los emblemas son emblema XIV, emblema XXXII y emblema XXXVII. Estos emblemas se denominan en el presente estudio *heart-emblems*. El cancel en Atotonilco está formado por un impresionante número de paneles, cada uno de ellos pintado por el artista Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre. En la parte interior del cancel, es decir, en el lado del cancel que se puede mirar desde el interior del Santuario, se puede notar un grupo de cuarenta y seis paneles donde *Amor divinus* y *anima* están juntos con el corazón, y el corazón está pasando por varios procesos. En el presente estudio, estos paneles reciben el nombre de *EC-panels*. Estas imágenes pertenecientes a ambos objetos de estudio proceden en su mayoría de la misma fuente iconográfica: un famoso libro de emblemas religioso de influencia jesuita titulado *Schola cordis, sive, Aversi a Deo cordis ad eundem reductio et instructio*, escrito por el monje benedictino Benedictus van Haeften, con imágenes de Boetius a. Bolswert, publicado por primera vez en Amberes en 1629.

Tanto el corazón de Luyken como el de Pocasangre nos brindan la oportunidad de explorar cuestiones teóricas y metodológicas que conlleva el estudio de la imagen religiosa, entendida como parte de un artefacto, utilizada por los individuos ya sea con fines religiosos o

en un entorno religioso, y como fenómeno histórico que nos ayuda a comprender algo del desarrollo de lo religioso en el ser humano – que no podríamos saber si no fuera por las imágenes y los objetos que las contienen.

Tomando entonces en cuenta el interés inicial de esta investigación, y los objetos de estudio elegidos, formulé una pregunta inicial: ¿qué papeles jugó el motivo visual del corazón, cuya fuente icnográfica fue el *Schola cordis*, durante el siglo dieciocho en el consumo religioso del libro *Jesus en de ziel*, y el cancel del Santuario de Jesús Nazareno en Atotonilco? Es mi argumento en el presente estudio que esta pregunta puede responderse proporcionando un método basado en los objetos en los que están contenidas las imágenes del corazón, y en las *affordances* religiosas que pueden deducirse de ellos. Al intentar responder a esta pregunta básica, forjé un camino para afrontar cuestiones algo más fundamentales sobre la naturaleza de la imagen religiosa como tal y sobre su estudio. La descripción y el análisis del motivo visual del corazón en dos objetos, un libro de emblemas protestante neerlandés y un cancel católico virreinal, brindan la oportunidad de problematizar la imagen religiosa y de sugerir cómo, al comprender las *affordances* de las imágenes religiosas, podemos entender mejor el papel de estos objetos en las experiencias religiosas de los individuos en un contexto histórico.

La investigación se divide en tres partes. Parte I consiste en la Introducción, donde detallo los objetos de estudio, los estudios académicos alrededor de los mismos, los elementos teóricos y el método que se utilizará con los objetos de estudio. El método de análisis se divide en tres pasos: descripción, mecanismos internos e interacción, y se aplicó tanto al libro de emblemas como al cancel para comprender sus *affordances* y las posibles interacciones que los usuarios tenían con ellos. Se propone que el objeto (como portador de imágenes), su construcción y diseño, junto con la interacción de los individuos o de una comunidad, son los que pueden dilucidar algunas de las funciones que una imagen o un motivo visual tenían en un determinado contexto histórico. Este modo de proceder (este método de análisis) toma como punto de partida teórica algunas ideas relacionadas con la teoría de las *affordances* propuesta por James J. Gibson.

En la Parte II trato los dos objetos de estudio: primero *Jesus en de ziel*, y segundo el cancel. Esta sección consta de seis capítulos, tres para cada objeto de estudio. Cada capítulo trata de uno de los pasos del método. Así, los tres primeros capítulos se ocupan de la descripción de *Jesus en de ziel* (capítulo 1), de los mecanismos internos de este libro de emblemas (capítulo 2) y de lo que sabemos sobre la interacción que hubo con el objeto (capítulo

3). Lo mismo ocurre con el cancel: primero hago una descripción detallada del objeto (capítulo 4), después de sus mecanismos internos (capítulo 5) y, por último, de la interacción conocida con el cancel (capítulo 6). La Parte II es el cuerpo principal de todo el trabajo, ya que en ella estamos aplicando el método expresado, a través del cual propongo que es posible dilucidar el papel del motivo visual del corazón tanto en *Jesus en de ziel* como en el cancel, por lo que puede haber sido su papel en la experiencia religiosa del individuo en el siglo dieciocho.

La Parte III consta de un único capítulo. Aquí analizo los resultados del método utilizado, aportando respuestas y nuevos problemas sobre la utilidad del método, y sobre las posibilidades de conocer el papel del motivo visual del corazón en la experiencia y consumo de ambos objetos. Esto nos lleva a una segunda sección del capítulo, donde problematizo lo que los objetos de estudio nos permiten conocer, y cómo también nos presentan ciertas limitaciones en cuanto a los modos en que podemos estudiar y comprender el papel de las imágenes religiosas en un contexto histórico determinado, en cuanto a la experiencia de lo religioso por parte del individuo.

En la Parte III concluyo que el corazón pertenecía, en cada una de las obras estudiadas, a una red de imágenes y mecanismos intrínsecos al objeto, que condicionaban lo que eran capaces de proporcionar. Esos mecanismos abarcan desde la forma en que los objetos podían manipularse hasta las estrategias de comunicación empleadas para que la información que se pretendía captar de las imágenes se recibiera con éxito. Los propios objetos ofrecen posibilidades de acción, incluidas acciones de tipo religioso en las que el consumidor puede conectar el motivo visual del corazón con otras imágenes, objetos y estructuras. Así pues, los corazones forman parte de sistemas y sus posibilidades se limitan a ellos.

Tanto los *heart-emblems* en *Jesus en de ziel* como los *EC-panels* en Atotonilco se convierten en ayudas, o herramientas que ayudan a organizar el entorno del individuo o de la comunidad. Argumento que contribuyen tanto visual como textualmente a determinar patrones con los que el devoto puede navegar su vida religiosa. Debido a las posibilidades de acción que ofrece, en un solo libro el individuo podría recoger información sobre cómo comportarse como individuo que lucha por la unión con Dios, e incluso visualizar el difícil proceso de esta unión a través de imágenes y textos. Además, el individuo podría tomar este libro y configurarlo con otros tipos de libros, todos ellos proporcionando de forma similar el equipamiento adecuado para una vida religiosa. Por otro lado, el cancel forma parte de una máquina mayor, un complejo construido (el Santuario) que ofrece numerosas posibilidades para enseñar el proceso de amar

y ser amado por Dios. Este complejo proporciona formas específicas para visualizar el amor de Dios y el sufrimiento material, como la imaginería del corazón utilizada en las pinturas del *via crucis* situadas en la Sala de Ejercicios. El santuario también proporciona los modos de proceder para reparar las faltas del individuo al causar este sufrimiento divino, a través de las acciones de amor ejemplificadas a lo largo de las prácticas religiosas y en los propios paneles del cancel.

En la segunda sección de la Parte III, enumero una serie de propuestas derivadas del estudio tanto del libro de emblemas como del cancel: 1) las imágenes y los objetos ofrecen oportunidades de acción (*afford*); 2) los patrones de reconocimiento son una *affordance* dentro de las imágenes y los objetos religiosos; 3) las imágenes y los objetos posibilitan (*afford*) comunicación y presencia con y de lo divino; 4) las imágenes y los objetos son proveedores de información, información relacionada con las esperanzas de éxito que tiene el creador del objeto y la imagen; 5) los objetos religiosos posibilitan (*afford*) una economía de lo sagrado; 6) los objetos religiosos pueden formar parte de las tecnologías para la devoción práctica. Considerando estas propuestas, podemos decir que tanto el libro de emblemas como el cancel son proveedores de información, y contenedores de ellos que se puede extraer información, sobre una realidad religiosa. Tanto como punto común en la devoción práctica, como parte de la tecnología de salvación del creyente, estos objetos son poderosas herramientas mnemotécnicas para el individuo. A través de los procesos de reconocimiento y conciencia de lo que se mira, y gracias a los patrones y dinámicas que distinguen a las imágenes, podemos, por tanto, definir sucintamente la imagen religiosa como *un dispositivo que permite el reconocimiento de patrones que ayudarán en la forma en que una persona experimenta un sentido de lo divino*.

Para la conclusión expongo los resultados: cómo el método cambia o aporta información tanto sobre el motivo visual del corazón como sobre los objetos que lo contienen, y qué sugiere esto sobre el estudio de las imágenes y objetos religiosos. Concluimos con las ventajas e inconvenientes que pueden dilucidarse a partir de la investigación y lo que podría plantearse en futuras investigaciones.

Al comienzo de este estudio, señalé que preguntarse qué tipo de respuestas religiosas podía tener un individuo o una comunidad ante un objeto material en un contexto histórico determinado como el del siglo dieciocho, entraña más problemas que soluciones, sobre todo teniendo en cuenta el acceso tan limitado que tenemos a las fuentes que podrían aportar

información sobre la experiencia religiosa personal. Los objetos, por otra parte, cuentan otra historia: no necesariamente lo que ocurrió exactamente en estos encuentros no comentados entre los usuarios, consumidores y observadores de estas obras y los propios objetos, sino lo que las obras permitían o posibilitaban (*afforded*), es decir, lo que permitieron que ocurriera en cada contexto, religiosamente hablando.

La selección de los dos casos de estudio contrastados resultó fructífera, ya que nos permitió navegar por condiciones materiales diversas. Esto no sólo brindó la oportunidad de poner a prueba el método con más variables, sino que también nos permitió discernir algunos puntos en común en los modos en que funcionaban los objetos religiosos cristianos en general. En otras palabras, el estudio de objetos particulares nos ha ayudado, esperamos, a ver, explorar y comprender con mayor precisión el funcionamiento de los objetos de estudio en específico y de los objetos religiosos en general.

Pudimos situar tanto a *Jesus en de ziel* como al cancel, como objetos de suma importancia en los modos en que los individuos y las comunidades operacionalizan y crean distinciones en esta realidad religiosa. Son herramientas de organización, de navegación en un entorno religiosos: ya sea un libro con imágenes con un conjunto de propósitos en los que el corazón humano adquiere un papel destacado en el camino hacia la salvación y en la autocomprensión de los usuarios del libro como individuos en un proceso de renacer a través del Espíritu Santo; ya sea la entrada a un complejo arquitectónico diseñado para proporcionar a la comunidad herramientas visuales, textuales y espirituales que han de emplear en sus tecnología de salvación, que necesariamente implicaban modelar el corazón y ofrecérselo a Dios, amar al Salvador y recibir el amor prometido por Él. Por sus diversos mecanismos, por su multiplicidad de textos e imágenes y por su manipulación, estos objetos permiten procesos de revelación constante. Podemos concluir que el libro y el cancel contribuyen a los procesos de revelación en la fe y la práctica de los usuarios a través de sus posibilitaciones (*affordances*) visuales, textuales y mecánicas.

Un objeto religioso portador de imágenes ya nos dice mucho sobre las posibilidades de experiencia religiosa que puede haber tenido un individuo en un momento determinado, incluso antes de tener en cuenta el contexto cultural, visual, intelectual y teológico del usuario del objeto. El objeto sirve como organizador del entorno del individuo o de la comunidad. El objeto religioso modifica la vida del individuo. Por tanto, considerar las posibilidades de un objeto religioso puede suponer una valiosa contribución al estudio del papel de la cultura material en

el desarrollo de las identidades y los procesos religiosos. Lo que un objeto religioso puede proporcionar dependen en gran medida de sus condiciones materiales. En nuestro caso, formado por el uso de imágenes, el objeto está condicionado por la configuración e marcas en su superficie, y por cómo ésta promueve un determinado tipo de interacción, una forma de recoger información sobre lo que se entiende como divino, o propio de lo divino.

En muchos aspectos, la descripción de la experiencia religiosa histórica ha sido fundamental para este estudio. He argumentado implícitamente que, aunque son beneficiosas las diversas descripciones de la experiencia religiosa histórica, éstas tienden a perderse en una cierta especulación basada en ideas y “contextos” o “mentalidades” definidos a veces de forma bastante vaga. Mi argumento es que un primer y fundamental paso en cualquier descripción de la experiencia religiosa es tomarse en serio la mediación de las cosas y, en particular, lo que estos objetos permiten o posibilitan (*afford*). El análisis de las *affordances* de los objetos que utilizan los consumidores, usuarios, creyentes y practicantes religiosos es la condición *sine qua non* para comprender la experiencia religiosa. Esto significa que no es posible entender lo que significa la devoción del corazón humano al corazón de Jesús sin una descripción y un análisis meticulosos de las posibilidades específicas de acción que ofrecen determinados objetos con forma de corazón o adornados con corazones. Las tecnologías de la devoción no se basan únicamente en la imaginación, sino en los materiales y el diseño del objeto, y en su uso por parte de un usuario o grupo de usuarios reales en una ecología visual compleja y, en ocasiones, estructurada.

Brief CV

Mauricio Gerardo Oviedo Salazar (born February 26, 1989 in San José, Costa Rica) holds both a bachelor's and a *licenciatura* degree in art history from the University of Costa Rica. He has a Master's degree in Religious Studies with emphasis on Western Esotericism from the University of Amsterdam. Among his publications, conferences, papers and lectures, he has explored various topics related to art, magic, mysticisms, astrology; philosophy of science; art theory; religious emblem books; material culture; comic studies; the motif of the heart in Christian art; and Costa Rican art between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He is currently teaching at the University of Costa Rica.