Combining & Creating a Singular Vita of Ignatius of Loyola

Introduction

In 1906 J. Pierpont Morgan purchased a book from the DeForest Collection. This acquisition, on the surface a fairly traditional biography of St. Ignatius of Loyola from the seventeenth century, is in fact a very unusual volume. While no documents exist that describe exactly what attracted the banker to this particular book, it is a rarity in the age of printed texts: a volume created by combining two different books in a purposeful and imaginative manner. An illustrated biography, narrating the story of the Jesuit founder’s life in one hundred engraved plates, is woven into a textual biography, fashioning a one-of-a-kind book. In many ways, the process...
employed recalls the creation of an illuminated manuscript from previous centuries. The result is a lavishly illustrated text that demonstrates a keen understanding of how word and image support, complement, and augment one another.

Background

Prior to 1736, numerous biographies of Ignatius of Loyola had been printed. Many were traditional prose narratives, illustrated only by an engraved frontispiece depicting a portrait of the founder of the Society of Jesus. The earliest account was written by Pedro Ribadeneira in the late sixteenth century. His biography of Ignatius was published in 1572 in Latin, translated quickly into Spanish, Italian, and French, then English and Dutch, and disseminated widely. Within a century, additional biographies of Ignatius proliferated in every major European language: they were written in Latin by Giovanni Pietro Maffei (Rome, 1585), in French by Jean Auvray (Rouen, 1622) and Dominique Bouhours (Paris, 1679), in Spanish by Andrea Lucas de Arcones (Granada, 1633), in English by John Cousturier (Rouen, 1633), and in Italian by Daniele Bartoli (Rome, 1650).

The earliest illustrated biography was conceived in the first years of the seventeenth century, as the Jesuits pushed for the canonization of Ignatius. The Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris was published in Rome in 1609 to celebrate his beatification, and for the continued promotion of his case for sainthood. It was reprinted in 1622 when that effort was achieved, with an additional image of that event added to the original seventy-nine engravings created by Jean-Baptiste Barbé (some based on drawings by Peter Paul Rubens). This work sets the standard for similar books that would proliferate in the years following, including S. Ignatii Loyolae Soc. Iesu Fundatoris Quaedam Miracula, with twenty engravings by Valerién Regnard, and printed in Rome after 1622. These images perhaps document the paintings depicting the life, and especially the miracles, of Ignatius, that hung around the church of Il Gesù in Rome at the time of his canonization.

Barbé’s engravings also substantially influenced the Vita Sancti Ignatii Loiola, Societas Iesu Fundatoris, produced by Erhard Lochner in Augsburg, also in the canonization year of 1622, with one hundred engravings by Wolfgang Kilian. While many of the illustrations in this vita are based strongly on those of Barbé, the work includes twenty new engravings, for a comprehensive consideration of the new saint’s life. Among other illustrated biographies produced in the first half of the seventeenth century is the Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris ad viuum expressa ex ea quam P. Petrus Ribadeneyra, a folio of sixteen engravings by the Galle workshop in Antwerp in 1610. While the plates in this volume are more limited in number, the larger format accommodates multiple episodes in each engraving, resulting in a complex narrative. The Wierix workshop, also in Antwerp, a few years later (c.1613) produced the Vita B.P. Ignatii de Loyola Fundatoria Societatis Iesu. This short work, with thirteen engravings, also exhibits the influence of the Barbé prints. Another post-canonization biography, the Vita Sancti Ignatii, was printed in Paris, perhaps as late as 1638, with thirty-one engravings by Petrus Firens.

These seven illustrated vitae, despite having been produced in a short span of time (approximately three decades), exemplify tremendous diversity. They vary considerably in physical size, form, and number of images, as well as in focus and purpose. The images differ in many aspects of artistic composition and detail, and in the length and language of their accompanying inscriptions. These vitae, as a group, offer a glimpse into how the life of the Jesuit founder was promoted by the seventeenth-century Society, and received and interpreted by diverse audiences in the early modern period. Their differences reflect various functions and
goals; yet there is a consistency in that all were printed in the same format: a book of images, with the only text being short inscriptions included below each illustration—brief explanations that expand upon and provide context for the images. In every one, the images take precedence over the text.

However, one single copy of one of these books—the *Vita Sancti Ignatii Loiola, Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Augsburg, 1622), now owned by the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York—has been significantly transformed by virtue of its coupling with a later, textual biography of Ignatius, Hercule Rasiel de Selva’s *Histoire de l’Admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et Fondateur de la Monarchie des Inghistes; avec une Description abrégée de l’Establissement, & du Gouvernement, de cette formidable Monarchie* (The Hague, 1736). This is a rare and novel act in the era of early printed books.

The *Vita Sancti* tells the story of the life of Ignatius, in one hundred detailed engravings. The viewer is led from his childhood in Spain through his spiritual conversion as a young man, to his studies in Paris that led to his joining together with others of similar convictions, and their establishment of a new religious order in Rome. The collection of images concludes with the miracles performed by Ignatius, before and after his death, and his eventual canonization. The *Histoire* recounts in prose many of the same events, at least in four of the seven books that comprise the work. But three of the books, as indicated by the overall title, move beyond a biographical consideration of Ignatius, to examine the establishment of the Society of Jesus, its expansion worldwide, and the physical structure and government of the organization.

Neither the compiler of this specific book, nor the original patron is known, as the book’s provenance prior to J.P. Morgan’s acquisition is unclear. But the patron responsible for its creation may be seen as the descendant of earlier patrons of manuscripts, which were specially and purposefully commissioned, and often personalized. This essay will examine the layout constructed by the merger of the *Vita Sancti* illustrations and the text of the *Histoire*, the resulting relationships between word and image, and the positive and negative aspects of this unusual book. The engravings can be seen as illustrating the written words, but because they were pre-existing and not originally created to correspond to a text, the pairing is not always harmonious. This new book, which will hereafter be referred to as PML 2745 (the Morgan Library’s accession number), combines two independently printed books into one volume, blending words and images together to create a unique work.
The alignment of the *Histoire de l’Admirable Dom Inigo* and the *Vita Sancti*

From the very beginning of PML 2745, the pages of the two books are intertwined. The titlepage of the 1622 *Vita Sancti* faces the frontispiece from the *Histoire* showing Ignatius in vigil at Montserrat. (fig. 1) This engraving is signed by J. V. Schley and dated 1736. In other editions of the *Histoire* it faces the titlepage, but here that titlepage is placed directly following. (fig. 2) Most books have only one titlepage, and the arrangement of these two titlepages and one frontispiece prompts the question of dominance. Is this book intended to be a textual biography augmented by illustrations taken from another source? Or, is it an illustrated biography in which explanatory text has been added to clarify the narrative? This essay will address this question of dominance, and elucidate the relationship between the two books.

The following pages are taken from the *Histoire*: a three-page “Avertissement de l’auteur” and a sixteen-page “Catalogue de livres.” These pages are followed by the privilege page from the *Vita Sancti*, containing the date 28 March 1622. This indicates that the book was printed just weeks after the canonization of Ignatius. A four-page dedicatory inscription to the Emperor Maximilian, also from the *Vita Sancti*, follows. These two dozen pages that immediately follow the titlepages indicate a pattern: throughout the book the reader’s attention will shift back and forth between the two books, between words and images, between diverse typefaces and font sizes, and between two different languages. The textual contrast is most jarring in these early pages, as seen in the juxtaposition of the conclusion of the dedication (on the left hand page) printed in a larger font, in Latin, and the start of book one of the *Histoire* on the right, in French, with a different typeface and lots of capitalized headings. (fig. 3) After this point, the text will largely be the French of the *Histoire;* the Latin will be confined to the inscriptions below the engravings of the *Vita Sancti.*

*Histoire de l’Admirable Dom Inigo: Book One*

At this point the reader encounters the beginning of the text of book one of the *Histoire.* A chapter summary follows the titlepage, and indicates that this first book will describe the life of Ignatius, from the time of his birth to the period in Manresa when he composes the *Spiritual Exercises.* Sixteen pages of text precede the insertion of the first image, a portrait of Ignatius. This results from the fact that the *Vita Sancti* does not include a birth scene, as other illustrated *vitae* do, that might have been placed at the very beginning of the book. The portrait (facing the text at the end of chapter XII and the start of chapter XIII, as Ignatius embraces a new life of spiritual chivalry) is the first of nine successive images the reader encounters before the text of the *Histoire* resumes. The second engraving shows Ignatius as a child, with his parents, and the third depicts him leaving home as an adolescent. The next two engravings represent his military training, and subsequent wounding at the Battle of Pamplona. All of these early events are explicitly described in the text, however, the...
images are not placed adjacent to them. Instead, they are grouped together, many pages later. This set of images goes on to include a detailed account, in four scenes, of the recovery of Ignatius from his injury, and his conversion through reading of the lives of Christ and the saints, prayer, and visions of St. Peter and the Virgin Mary. The corresponding text begins to describe this period before the insertion of the engravings, and continues after it.

This particular arrangement prompts queries as to why the text and images are arranged in such a manner. In this block of engravings, number seven is flipped, creating blank facing pages, then two images (six and seven) facing one another. (fig. 4) While this placement may not have been intentional, the layout emphasizes the significance of these connected events: the conversion of Ignatius to a life where he has immersed himself in the stories of the saints, and vows to live through the inspiration they provide. Following that, images eight and nine are reversed, perhaps inadvertently, although the scenes—Ignatius in prayer, and the vision of the Virgin—are closely connected and this placement does not affect the narrative progression. These rearrangements of order or position are among the hallmarks of this unique edition.
After engraving nine the reader is guided back to the text, finding the protagonist leaving home, recovered and changed forever. Two pages of text precede the next image, number ten, showing Ignatius departing for Montserrat. Here one finds that the alignment of text and image seems deliberate. The account of Ignatius taking leave of his family after his recovery faces an illustration of the event. Word and image reinforce one another, and the placement of this engraving in the midst of multiple pages of text, as opposed to in a group of images, suggests that the layout was carefully arranged to exploit the connection. The same could be said of the next image (eleven), in which Ignatius encounters a Moor, which faces text that explains the episode in detail.

These conscious alignments of text and image continue, with perhaps the best example being the placement of engraving thirteen. (fig. 5) The image depicts Ignatius giving his clothes to a poor man, after having removed them in favor of the rough sacks he will don from this point forward; the figures are positioned outside, under a starry sky. The exact lines of chapter XVII which describe the event are found in the text opposite:

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Pour commencer à la mettre en exécution, il alla sur le soir trouver un Pauvre; & s’étant dépouillé jusqu’à la che-mise, il lui donna en cachette ses habits. Il se revêtit ensuite de sa Robe de toile; & retourna, ainsi vêtu, à l’Eglise du Monastère. Il se Souvint, en y entrant, de ce qu’il avait lu dans Amadis, & dans d’autres Histoires Romantiques, que les nouveaux Chevaliers, avant que de recevoir l’Ordre de la Chevalerie, veillent une nuit tout armés; ce qui s’appelle, en Stile Paladin, faire la Frile des armes. Pour ne point manquer à une for-
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Further correspondence between the image and text may be found in the notation “B5” at the bottom of each page. Throughout the book these notations are used to connect the illustrations to the text, helpful when they are located pages apart. Their placement here on facing pages reinforces the notion that these pages were purposefully aligned.

However, as the reader moves forward, he encounters many places where text and images may not correspond as well. Because they were not created together, in places the text may elaborate upon an event considerably more than the images do, and the opposite is true as well. The text which describes the vigil undertaken by Ignatius upon his arrival at Montserrat (chapters XVII and XVIII) is rather brief, and perhaps unsatisfying, considering the significance of the actions in the context of Ignatius’s spiritual transformation. But, two engravings (fourteen and fifteen), depicting Ignatius first in confession, and then kneeling overnight at the altar of the Virgin Mary, expand considerably upon the written word. Thus, the lack of exact correspondence should not be viewed as a negative aspect. The incorporation of the illustrations allows for unforeseen opportunities to add detail and emphasis to parts of the text.
With a few exceptions, as have already been noted, the engravings inserted into book one of the Histoire have largely corresponded to the text, and have been placed in order. The last section of the book, which examines the life of Ignatius in Manresa—where he lives a penitential life, experiences temptations and visions, and then retreats to a cave where he composes the Spiritual Exercises—mixes some images into the text out of order, however. Engraving sixteen is pulled out and placed near the end of the book, after image twenty-four. Images twenty-two and twenty-three are reversed, and two later images, seventy-nine and eighty, are brought forward and placed between them. It is here that the reader begins to experience an additional benefit of this unusual book: the creative license that rearranged the images to find places in the text for which they are ideally suited. An excellent example of this ingenuity is the placement of an image of Ignatius tempted by the devil (seventy-nine). (fig. 6) The Vita Sancti positions this temptation among images of healing and preaching, and other events that occurred late in the life of Ignatius, in Rome. Yet, Ignatius was tortured by temptations throughout his life, and the text of the Histoire describes them, explicitly and at length, during his months in Manresa.[12] The compiler of PML 2745 thoughtfully extracted this image and incorporated it earlier into the text. Image seventy-nine, portraying Ignatius lying in bed, with demons hovering over him and beating him with clubs and fists, appropriately faces this text:

Il ne faut pourtant pas dissimuler, qu’une fois le Démon l’étrilla bien, & qu’une autre fois il pensa l’étrangler. Mais, Inigo avoit la consolation de pouvoir attribuer ces disgraces à la trahison du Malin Esprit, qui l’avoit ainsi maltraité pendant qu’il dormoit. [13]

There may not be a more considered rearrangement of images in PML 2745, but as the reader progresses through the book it becomes apparent the compiler took great care to combine the two books to create a singular vita of Ignatius of Loyola.

Analysis of PML 2745

By the time that the reader arrives at the end of book one, he has determined that there are certainly advantages and disadvantages to combining two different books in this manner. Perhaps the greatest opportunity is gained in the careful placement of text pages and illustrations, where the two work together to flesh out the narrative in greater detail than would be possible individually. This is evident in the examples previously considered: the departure of Ignatius for Montserrat, the giving of his clothes to a poor man, and the temptations of the devil. In these cases the images correspond perfectly to the text, increasing the comprehension of the reader, who now has the advantage of reading the story in three ways: a descriptive text in French, a detailed visual image, and a short Latin inscription.

Yet, this alignment causes some visual interruptions. Because the images were only printed on one side of the paper—in contrast to the text, which is printed recto and verso—they always are flanked by at least one blank page, and two if they are grouped in bunches. As noted, occasionally, the placement of images facing one another results in another set of facing pages that are both blank.

It should be emphasized that each of the one hundred illustrations in the Vita Sancti is numbered, starting with the portrait of Ignatius, and that all one hundred are used in PML 2745. The first engraving to appear is number one, and the last is number one hundred, but in between they do not always appear in order. Because they are explicitly numbered it is evident that they have been rearranged, but they have not been reworked in any way, nor are any omitted. Because the underlying structure of the Histoire varies a bit from a standard biographical account, there are large sections of the book
without corresponding images. This is seen, for example, in Book Three, which includes only twelve engravings.[14] They are positioned exclusively in the first half of the book, which considers the last phase of Ignatius’s life, spent in Rome establishing the order. The final image appearing in this book depicts him writing the Constitutions (engraving seventy-six). This image is followed by thirty-two solid pages of text, outlining the offices, structure and government of the Society. This departure from the biographical format means that there are no comparable illustrations.

The divergence between text and image is most evident in books four, five and six of the Histoire. These pages survey the expansion of the Society throughout Europe (in Book Four), Asia (in Book Five), Africa and South America (in Book Six). Book Six also assesses the difficulties that the Jesuits faced in France. In the almost two hundred pages of text that make up these three books, there is only one illustration incorporated into PML 2745, and it seems to have been inserted without substantial thought, perhaps accidentally. Engraving seventy-five, representing the founding of the German College in Rome, is
placed in the middle of Book Six. The facing page does not describe the event pictured, nor relate even in a vague manner. In fact, the text that actually describes this episode can be found earlier, in Book Four.\[15\] This placement defies explanation. The other events described in these three books are largely without comparable images from the *Vita Sancti*. The exception may be two images of Francis Xavier: image sixty-seven showing Ignatius sending Xavier to India, and image seventy-four depicting Xavier writing a letter to Ignatius from Goa. These engravings are appropriately placed into Book Three, in the context of the life of Ignatius in Rome, and events corresponding to the years surrounding the approval of the order (1540).\[16\] However, the missions of Xavier in India and Japan are discussed at length in Book Five, and those engravings would not be out of place there. This may be a case in which duplicating the engravings and using them twice may be appropriate, but it was not done. We are reminded that while this particular volume may have been specifically compiled, it is still a printed book, and aspects of true individualization are limited.
The Conclusion of PML 2745

Book Seven brings the reader’s attention back to Ignatius, and the progress of the Society in his final years. As in the early books, the text here is augmented heavily with illustrations: thirty-one images spread over eighty-eight pages of text. There are both large chunks of text—at one point almost forty pages pass with no illustrations—and places where no text interrupts a steady flow of images—twelve in a row at one point, and seven together at another. This is due to the fact that the text of this section, and the images not already incorporated into the previous books, do not correspond overly well. A large number of these images depict miracles, notably healings, performed by Ignatius both in life and posthumously, however, most are not explicitly described in the text.

In the few places where his miracles are considered specifically, text and image are aligned well. One good example is the juxtaposition of engraving ninety, depicting the exorcism of demons from the College of Loreto upon receipt of a letter from Ignatius, and the corresponding text. Another clear connection is made in engraving ninety-one, showing the appearance of Ignatius to Leonard Kessel, a Jesuit priest who lived in Cologne and who had expressed a desire to see Ignatius, positioned opposite the text where the story is explained. (fig. 9) Even in a few places where alignment of text and image is not exact, it is made with some thought. Engraving eighty-eight depicts the meeting of Ignatius and Filippo Neri, founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, an event not specifically described in the text. (fig. 8) However, the image is placed opposite the only mention of Neri’s name, in the context of Cardinal Baronius, who had succeeded Neri as superior of the Oratorians, assisting at a memorial mass performed for Ignatius in 1599. (fig. 7) Book Seven, and the Histoire overall, ends with a description of the canonization of Ignatius in the final chapter (XL), and engraving one hundred is placed opposite the start of this chapter. (fig. 9) However, in a final note of slight discord, the word “FINIS” appears at the bottom of this image, while there are in fact two final pages of text describing the canonization process, before the appearance of the words “FIN DU SEPTIEME ET DERNIER LIVRE.”

Final Considerations

The engravings of the Vita Sancti and the text of the Histoire tell essentially the same story. For this reason, the compiler of PML 2745 was often able to strategically align word and image, to great advantage. However, in other places there is a lack of concordance. Because the text and images were originally conceived separately, there are, inevitably, places where they deviate.
We may conclude that PML 2745 was envisioned as a textual account, supplemented by a set of images printed a century earlier. The rearrangement of the images, and the fact that they are occasionally forced into, or against the text, suggests that they were added to the words, and not the other way around. Images are flexible, while text usually is not. In this singular volume the text retains its original form, and the illustrations are the interlopers. They add another voice, one generally concordant; typically subservient, yet at times threatening to overtake. They are interspersed into the prose, in some places orderly, but in others almost haphazardly. The rhythm of text and image is uneven, it moves back and forth with relative ease through most of the books; while large amounts of text weigh down the middle of the work. The engravings of the 1622 *Vita Sancti* were intended to stand on their own, as a visual biography (with only short captions to textually augment the imagery), but here, forced to take on a new role, they shine in illuminating the *Histoire*.

The unknown patron, who commissioned a unique volume constructed by bringing these two books together, revived the tradition of connoisseurs of an earlier age, who had ordered one-of-a-kind books, created by hand, and not readily or precisely duplicated. In the era of the printing press it is difficult to find truly unique books, yet our inventive patron succeeded in formulating one, in a time-efficient and cost-effective manner.

**Endnotes**

1. This information provided by the Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum via oral communication of 26 March 2014. While the provenance of PML 2745 is not known prior to this date, it is possible that the work was purchased from a member of the wealthy DeForest family of New York, which included siblings Robert Weeks DeForest (1848–1931), once president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; artist and designer Lockwood DeForest (1850–1932); art historian Julia Brasher DeForest (1853–1910); and painter and art collector Henry Wheeler DeForest (1855–1938).


8. Hercule Rasiel de Selva is the pseudonym of Pierre Quesnel (1699–1774). The edition owned by the Morgan Library is the first edition, printed in The Hague by Charles Le Vier in 1736, and has also been attributed to Charles Gabriel Porée (1885–1770). Another copy of the 1622 *Vita Sancti Ignatii Loyola, Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* is owned by Harvard University (Houghton Library), but is not bound with any other book.


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Combining & Creating a Singular Vita of Ignatius of Loyola

Summary

A book housed today in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, appears on the surface to be a fairly traditional biography of St. Ignatius of Loyola from the seventeenth century, however, it is in fact an unusual volume. It was created by combining two different books in a purposeful and imaginative manner. An illustrated biography—the *Vita Sancti Ignatii Loiola, Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (printed in Augsburg, 1622)—narrating the story of the Jesuit founder’s life in one hundred engraved plates, is woven into a textual biography—Hercule Rasiel de Selva’s *Histoire de l’Admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa* (printed in Augsburg, 1622)—narrating the story of the Jesuit founder’s life in one hundred engraved plates, is woven into a textual biography—Hercule Rasiel de Selva’s *Histoire de l’Admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa* (The Hague, 1736).
vernement, de cette formidable Monarchie (published in The Hague, 1736), fashioning a one-of-a-kind book. In many ways, the process employed recalls the creation, in previous centuries, of an illuminated manuscript. It was likely directed by a patron (unfortunately unknown today) who desired a personalized edition, a rarity in the age of printed texts. The result is a lavishly illustrated text that demonstrates a keen understanding of how word and image support, complement, and augment one another. This essay will examine the layout formed by the merger of the Vita Sancti illustrations and the text of the Histoire de l’Admirable Dom Inigo, the resulting relationships between word and image, and the positive and negative aspects of this unique book.

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