Learned Love

Proceedings of the Emblem Project Utrecht Conference on Dutch Love Emblems and the Internet (November 2006)

Edited by
Els Stronks and Peter Boot,
assisted by
Dagmar Stiebral

DANS Symposium Publications 1
The Hague, 2007

Contents

Commonplaces of Catholic love. Otto van Veen, Michel Hoyer and St Augustine between humanism and the Counter Reformation

Arnoud Visser, University of St Andrews

What does an innovative scholar have in common with the mythological figure of Narcissus? This slightly disturbing comparison was first made not by one of the fathers of modern psychology, Freud or Jung, but by the father of the emblem, the legal humanist and antiquarian Andrea Alciato. In his emblem 'Φιλαυτία' (Fig. 1), he places the intellectual innovator on the therapeutic couch to deliver a grim diagnosis: rejecting traditional methods and pursuing new doctrines are signs of 'self-love', a condition of serious intellectual decay ('ingenii est marcor cladesque') of the type that caused the beautiful Narcissus to turn into the flower known for its mind-numbing, *narcotic* qualities. Similarly, Alciato argues, scholars seeking new paths are high on themselves, chasing merely their own shadows.[1]

Alciato's appeal to 'old learning' is perfectly in tune with the humanist agenda of restoring the classical heritage. For the humanists, the past should show the way, that is, Classical Antiquity, rather than the new methods developed in the medieval schools. These modern scholastic inventions, they believed, were of no practical use, and represented a form of intellectual autism. Yet ironically, Alciato's Narcissus emblem also complicates the humanists's own call for a return to the sources, 'Ad fontes!'. For how do they avoid the same trap? Can they be free from the wrath of Echo and avoid their own reflection in their studies? Obviously, they could not and for this both the philologist and the cultural historian of today should be very grateful. In fact, electronic editions of emblem books exemplify just how fruitful it is to study the relationship between ancient models and the development of a new literary genre. Indeed, it might even give us some dangerously interesting reflections of ourselves...

This paper is concerned with the uses of ancient sources in devotional love emblems. It proceeds from the idea that these emblems constitute a significant index to religious practices in early seventeenth-century Europe. It is my aim to identify some forms and functions of the devotional emblem, by focusing on two collections in particular: Otto van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata*, and the little-studied, but more often reprinted *Flammulae amoris* by Michel Hoyer. In both collections the early Christian church father Augustine of Hippo takes a central place. Why? What does the prominence of Augustine tell us of the confessional status of these emblems? What are Augustine's lessons in love and what do they teach us about the learned side of the emblem? These are the questions we will try to answer, but before doing so, we need to sketch the contours of Augustine's authority in the Reformation era.

1 Alciato 1988, emblem 69.

Fig. 1: A. Alciato, 'Φιλαυτία', in: *Emblema* (Paris, 1584; French Emblems at Glasgow site)

Augustine in the Reformation

Modern historians have long recognised the importance of Augustine's thought for the Reformation. If it was 'the explosive power of an idea' that sparked the religious revolution, as Diarmaid MacCulloch put it, this idea was in fact 'a new statement of Augustine's ideas on salvation'. For the young Luther the church father was a seminal guide to scripture, in particular to the letters of Paul.[2] However, Luther's opponents were equally informed by Augustinian thought, appealing in particular to his ideas about obedience to the church and the sacraments.[3] Thus, the Reformation could once be summarized as the 'ultimate triumph of Augustine's doctrine of grace over Augustine's doctrine of the Church.'[4] The dissemination of his works illustrates the Church father's importance. No fewer than sixteen monumental *opera omnia* editions were published in the sixteenth century, and, more significantly, he beats the other fathers in patristic anthologies. More than sixty percent of the quotations in these collections refer to his works, including texts falsely attributed to him.[5]

2 Good overviews of Luther's reception of Augustine are Krey 1999, and Hendrix 2004, 41-42.
3 See for example Moore 1982.
4 MacCulloch 2003, 107-114; McGrath 1987, 175-182.
5 *Index Aureliensis: Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum* 1966, part 1, 1: 397-445;

Augustine's overwhelming presence has thus created the image of a monolithic and impenetrable influence. This is further reinforced by the use of the term 'Augustinianism'. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that some have given up hope of coming to a more precise picture of Augustine's significance. In the *Oxford Dictionary of the Reformation*, Hans-Ulrich Delius, for example, considers it 'a moot question, for all the reformers owed an indirect debt to Augustinian traditions in ways that today can no longer be calculated.'

I believe, however, that this scepticism should be challenged. Although 'Augustinian traditions' are surely difficult to disentangle, it is not evident that the works of Augustine were equally influential. Indeed, the sheer diversity of ideas for which Augustine's authority was lined up contradicts a monolithic influence. What caused this diverse, even contrasting reception? Two factors in particular seem to be responsible.

First, the vast range of the church father's oeuvre. Apart from unique works like his spiritual autobiography, *Confessions* and the encyclopaedic apology of *City of God*, his works can roughly be organised around three polemics, that against the Manicheans, the Donatists and the Pelagians. Each of these polemics shaped Augustine's thought in a different way, allowing the reader to select his favourite perspective. The broad scope of the oeuvre and his personal development make it in fact difficult to speak of *one* Augustine.

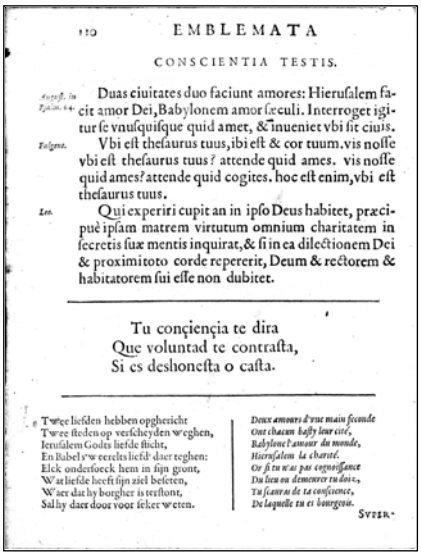
Second, for his early modern readers Augustine was not just an author but an authority. Most of his readers did not plough through his full oeuvre but cited the useful bits. In fact, they may never have read the 'real' Augustine at all. Countless printed anthologies offered a storehouse of quotations, useful for a wide variety of arguments. This practice of commonplacing, a term referring to the rhetorical concept of *locus communis*, thus qualifies the humanist claim of a return to the sources.[6] For scholars of the emblem this is nothing new. Emblem books were part and parcel of this rhetorical culture, trading in portable quotations, which could be applied to all sorts of arguments. And yet, although we know of their role in producing emblem books, we have paid less attention to the implications of this practice. What does it mean, for instance, when Van Veen quotes Augustine? This is especially interesting in the field of religious emblems, which appeared in an age of increasing confessional divisions. The example of Augustine, who, as we just saw, had a remarkably flexible authority in the Reformation, will help us to identify the forms and functions of 'learned love'.

Otto van Veen (1556-1629)

The first collection of devotional love emblems, Otto van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata* (Antwerp 1615), features the figures of Divine Love, represented as a haloed Cupid, and 'Anima', the human soul, in the form of a young girl. Perhaps less

Lane 1993, 69-95.

6 Moss 1996, Moss 2003.



110 EMBLEMATA

CONSCIENTIA TESTIS.

Duas ciuitates duo faciunt amores: Hieruſalem facit amor Dei, Babylonem amor ſæculi. Interroget igitur ſe vnuſquiſque quid amet, & inueniet vbi ſit ciuis.

Vbi eſt theſaurus tuus, ibi eſt & cor tuum. vis noſſe vbi eſt theſaurus tuus? attende quid ames. vis noſſe quid ames? attende quid cogites. hoc eſt enim, vbi eſt theſaurus tuus.

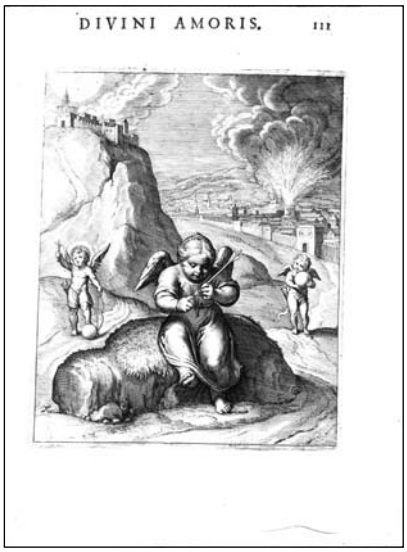
Qui experiri cupit an in ipſo Deus habitet, præcipuè ipſam matrem virtutum omnium charitatem in ſecretis ſuæ mentis inquirat, & ſi in ea dilectionem Dei & proximi toto corde repererit, Deum & rectorem & habitatorem ſui eſſe non dubitet.

Tu conçiençia te dira
Que voluntad te contrasta,
Si es deshoneſta o casta.

Twee liefden hebben opghericht
Twee ſteden op verſcheyden weghen,
Ieruſalem Godts liefde ſticht,
En Babel ſ'werelts liefd' daer teghen:
Elck onderſoeck hem in ſijn gront,
Wat liefde heeft ſijn ziel beſeten,
Waer dat hy borgher is teſtont,
Sal hy daer door voor felker weten.

Deux amours d'vne main feconde
Ont chacun baſty leur cité,
Babylone l'amour du monde,
Hieruſalem la charité.
Or ſi tu n'as pas cognoiſſance
Du lieu ou demeurer tu doit,
Tu ſcauras de ta conſcience,
De laquelle tu es bourgeois.

SVSER.



DIVINI AMORIS. 111

Figs. 2 and 3: O. Vaenius, 'Conscientia testis', in: *Amoris divini emblemata* (EPU site)

obvious behind the presence of these allegorical children is the fatherly authority of Augustine. In a total of 60 emblems he is cited no less than 82 times from twenty different works.[7] This makes him by far the most cited authority of the collection, more prominent, for example, than the Bible. Moreover, for roughly a quarter of the emblems (16 examples) Augustine seems to have prompted the invention.[8]

A clear example is 'Conscientia testis' ('Conscience is a witness', Van Veen 1615, 110-111, Figs. 2 and 3), which exemplifies Augustine's seminal image of the two cities. This image, most fully developed in his *City of God*, distinguished between two spiritual realms, Jerusalem and Babylon. Citizens of the heavenly city were those who loved God and obeyed His word, while self-love and presumed independence characterized the inhabitant of Babylon. In the *pictura* of Van Veen's emblem the difference between the two cities is clear: The high heavenly city with its prominent church can only be reached by a steep, narrow road. On this road stands Divine Love, his gaze fixed upon the cross he is holding in his hand, while keeping a globe firmly under his foot. By contrast, in Babylon buildings are on fire, creating huge black clouds above it. On the road to it, Cupid, treasuring a globe in his arms, casts a beguiling look at Anima, who is examining her conscience. All these components closely match the accompanying quotation from Augustine's *Explanations of the Psalms*.

7 This includes spurious works and untraceable quotations.

8 'Amor rectus', 'Amor aeternus', 'Mentis amor sol dei', 'Amor docet', 'In unitate perfectio', 'Amor vinculum perfectionis', 'Gravata respuit', 'Facit munificum', 'Nihil amanti grave', 'Amoris flagellum dulce', 'Amor omnia rectificat', 'Sitim extinguit', 'Odit timorem', 'Conscientia testis', 'Par pari' and 'Virtutum fons est et scaturigo'.

How, then, does Augustine contribute to the religious identity of Van Veen's book? Is 'the great herald of divine love', to borrow Karel Porteman's words, simply an unavoidable authority, is he a medium for a mystical message, or could we perhaps even detect that other persona, that of the 'doctor of grace'?[9]

The first step to an answer is to consider Van Veen's historical world. The *Amoris divini emblemata* appeared at a time when Protestant and Catholic authorities were 'fishing for souls', to use Adriaan van de Venne's famous image. With Antwerp, its place of publication, we find ourselves in one of the centres of the Counter-Reformation in Europe. Apart from the activities of the religious orders, such as the Jesuits with their emphasis on education, the secular authorities set up their campaigns for recatholization and consolidation of their own power. In their public devotion the archdukes Albert and Isabella emphasised some elements in particular, which may help us to position Van Veen. These included the cult of the Eucharist, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, especially the Immaculate Conception and the Lady of Sorrows, as well as a renewed veneration of several carefully selected local saints and relics.[10] In communicating this devotional programme the visual arts played a vital role.

How should we place Van Veen in this context? Against the backdrop of these institutional campaigns, two characteristics of Van Veen's style emerge: his humanist approach and his sober use of Catholic devotional imagery. Van Veen's connection with humanist circles is well known.[11] Although his loyalty to the Catholic court of Albert and Isabella is not in doubt – indeed his social credit at court was associated with his status as a religious refugee – his work is more devoted to preserving classical standards than to reviving Catholic piety.[12] In fact, his work sometimes bridged the confessional divides in unexpected ways. For the States General of the Dutch Republic, for example, surely an openly Calvinist institution, he even produced a series of twelve paintings about the Revolt of Claudius Civilis (1613), based on his album with engravings about the same subject.[13]

It is intriguing, therefore, to read that Isabella herself may be behind the invention of the spiritual love emblem. In the preface to his latest collection, Van Veen describes how the archduchess was offered a copy of the secular emblems, and had wondered whether they could also address Divine Love. If this were true, the *Amoris divini emblemata* would be part of the court's devotional campaign. Yet the idea is problematic. Not only is the anecdote based on hearsay – Van Veen obvi-

9 Porteman 1977, 103.

10 Duerloo 1998.

11 Porteman 1996a, 1-2.

12 See the internal report to a request by Van Veen to the Archdukes, dating from 1619, and printed in De Maeyer 1955, 347-348. Another fascinating example of Van Veen's idiosyncratic religious quest is his attempt to explain the theological problems of predestination and free will in a geometrical system, published in Van Veen 1621, see Geissmar 1993.

13 The paintings are now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, object numbers SK-A-421-432. See further Morford 2001, 57-74.

ously did not verify it with Isabella – it is also presented in the context of a dedication. Van Veen needed to attract Isabella's attention, for since the return of Peter Paul Rubens from Italy, he was increasingly overshadowed by his talented former pupil.[14] He received some support from the Archdukes, but he was not one of the official court painters.[15] Van Veen's quest for patronage is reflected in his dedications of the *Emblemata horatiana* to Albert and the *Amoris divini emblemata* to Isabella.

In modern research, Van Veen's message has been associated with a variety of mystical traditions. Margit Thøfner suggested a conscious link with the thought of Teresa of Ávila, for whose canonization Isabella was campaigning.[16] Jan Bloemendal placed the work in the context of 'Jesuit and pietist religiosity'.[17] Most recently, Anne Buschhoff tried to identify several spiritual and mystical traditions that 'influenced' the work, including that of medieval bridal mysticism.[18] Although these traditions constitute a significant general context for devotional literature of this period, I believe that we can locate the work more precisely in its religious landscape. As his use of Augustine will show, Van Veen's book should be seen as a thoroughly humanistic product advancing a practical form of piety, rather than a mystical programme. I will make two points in support of this case, one regarding formal aspects and the other its content.

First of all, Van Veen's collection reveals a humanist concern for *copia*. A substantial number of emblems, for instance, take their cue from the *loci* Van Veen had exploited before, in his secular love emblems. Its composition also resembles Van Veen's other emblematic achievement, the *Emblemata Horatiana*. In each of these works Van Veen heavily relies on the principle of commonplacing.[19] In his analysis of the devotional emblems Jan Bloemendal has demonstrated how Van Veen took many of his quotations from Josephus Langius' commonplace bible.[20]

This compositional practice has fascinating implications. It undermines the idea of deliberate intertextual allusions to the original classics. Instead, we see these sources used as a storehouse, which the user accessed through a range of general of topoi. It is important to realise that the principle of commonplacing is not just a curious aspect of the genesis of these works, it also pervades their subsequent presentation and anticipates their intended use: in other words, Van Veen not only relies on commonplace books, he produces them.[21]

14 Rubens had returned from Italy in 1608, see Buschhoff 2004, 139.
15 Van Sprang 2005, 37; de Maeyer 1955, 62-82.
16 Thøfner 2002, 83 and 101.
17 Bloemendal 2002, 277.
18 Buschhoff 2004, 151-178.
19 Enenkel 2006, 20-25.
20 Bloemendal 2002; Buschhoff 2004, esp. 360-393, further offers a systematic account of Van Veen's sources, including his use of commonplace books.
21 For Van Veen's use of commonplace collections, see Buschhoff 2004, 181, Bloemendal 2002 and Gerards-Nelissen 1971.

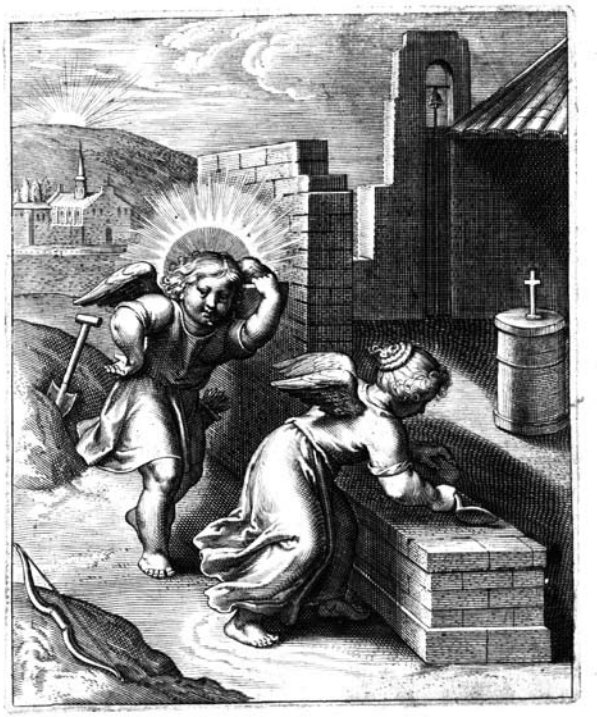


Fig. 4: O. Vaenius, 'Amor aedificat', in: *Amoris divini emblemata* (EPU site)

Moving from form to content, my second point is that Van Veen's collection of quotations is meant to combine piety with pleasure. Rather than showing a path to mystical union with God, and taking the reader through the steps of purification, illumination and union, many of the emblems in fact promote what I would call practical forms of piety, often with a neostoic edge.[22] They advise to follow the path of virtue (in 'Amor rectus'), to spurn earthly riches (in 'Amor thesaurus', 'Amor spernit'), and explain that love makes steadfast in need (as for instance in 'Amor docet'). They associate virtue with good works ('Virtus character amoris', 'Ab uno amore multa bona') and invite concrete action, such as giving alms to the poor ('Munificum facit'). Even penitence is presented as a social practice, when Van Veen uses the image of flagellation to stress the virtues of criticism from a friend ('Amoris flagellum dulce').

One final example may suffice. In 'Amor aedificat' (Van Veen 1615, 78-79), Paul's words to the Corinthians (I Cor. 8:1), 'Charity builds up' prompts Van Veen to depict Divine Love and Soul as construction workers (Fig. 4), with Divine Love

22 *Pace* Buschhoff, who argues that the first group of eight emblems are meant to lead the reader to 'mystical contemplation' (Buschhoff 1999, 40-44; Buschhoff 2004, 183-198). Yet, Van Veen's references to the three steps of this process would be rather vague, and especially the themes of purgation and penitence are conspicuously absent. In fact, the clearest example of penitence only follows on page 62-63.

providing the cement (in a rather sturdy fashion) to the bricklaying Soul.[23] The accompanying selection of quotations expresses ethical, rather than mystical concerns, such as the passage from Paul's letter to Timothy (1 Tim. 4:12): 'be thou an example of the faithful, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in chastity [...].' In his Dutch poem Van Veen proceeds from the image of building to make a similar point:

> The soul in love always fancies building and founding
> something which brings virtue, prosperity or peace
> to lighten someone else's heart:
> God's love gives the grace to do this
> And provides the means to build.
> It gives a blessed life to him
> Who firmly can trust in its basis.[24]

This is not the affective, mystical language we are used from later devotional love emblems. True, Augustine is a source of some of the most successful mystical imagery: it was he who wrote how God had 'pierced [his] heart with the arrows of [His] love', and who had compared his religious enthusiasm to a strong burning fire that could not be put out by any 'cunning tongue'.[25] This imagery was taken up in Teresian mysticism, for example. But that is not what Van Veen shows to his audience. The archduchess Isabella, for one, would have found ample trace of Catholic spirituality, but no references to the Eucharist or the Lady of Sorrows. She would have seen no arrows piercing through hearts, or references to holy relics.[26] Rather than promoting a specific confessional message, Van Veen offers an elegant guide to Catholic piety for an international readership. Augustine's commonplaces, I would say, are meant to lend universal authority to this spiritual manual, aimed at an international elite.

---

23 It is interesting to see that the first part of Paul's phrase is not exploited: 'Scientia inflat, charitas aedificat', 'Knowledge puffs up, charity builds up.' See also Els Stronks's discussion of this emblem elsewhere in this volume, comparing it to Montenay's 'Sapiens mulier aedificat domum', based on Prov. 14:1.

24 Van Veen 1615, 78: 'De siel verlieft heeft altijdt lust / Om yet te bouwen en te stichten, / Tot deught, tot weluaert, ofte rust, / Om andre t'herte te verlichten: / Godts liefde daer toe gratie gheeft, / En brenght de middel om te bouwen, / En maeckt dat die hier salich leeft, / Die op sijn gront kan vast betrouwen.'

25 *Confessiones*, 9.2.3, quoted from Augustine 1961, 182.

26 In 'Agitatus fortior', Van Veen cites Augustine's image of the heart pierced by arrows of love, not to signify a mystical experience, however, but the effect of external hardship on faith. In the *pictura* sacred love and the human soul cling to a big tree during a storm. Van Veen 1615, 92-93.

Fig. 5: M. Hoyer, titlepage, in: *Flammulae amoris* (private collection). (See also colour plate 1)

Michel Hoyer (1593-1650)

In our second case, however, the affective language of Catholic devotion is very much present. The little-studied collection of *Flammulae amoris*, or *Sparkles of Augustine's love*, brings us to the world of penitent tears, chaste sighs, and pious desire (Fig. 5).[27] The work was composed by the Augustinian hermit Michel Hoyer, and published in Antwerp in 1629.[28] It contains 25 emblems about Augustine's remarkable career from sinner to saint. Each of these starts with a fine engraving by Guillaume Collaert, followed by quite extensive Latin poems and a short selection of commonplaces from Augustine's works.

Compared to Van Veen, Hoyer's use of Augustine is more focused: he draws primarily on the *Confessions* and a few pseudo-Augustinian texts of a similar slant. He shows us not only the authoritative Father of the Church, but also the man who struggled with worldly temptations, the adolescent who once prayed to God: 'Give

27 Hoyer 1629; Rubio Álvarez 1970; Courcelle 1972; Hebert 1987.
28 De Meijer 1993; Gerlo and Vervliet 1972.

Fig. 6: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 5, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also colour plate 2)

Fig. 7: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 8, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also colour plate 3)

me chastity and continence, but not yet.'[29] Especially the first section of emblems deals with this long spiritual crisis. For example, one emblem (Hoyer 1629, emblem 5) shows Augustine as a Roman soldier, wounded by one of Cupid's arrows (Fig. 6). The blindfolded perpetrator of this crime is still flying around, and visible in the left corner. Meanwhile, first aid is delivered by a winged physician in the form of Divine Love, (a role we recognise from one of Herman Hugo's emblems). In the background we see another victim, a wounded stag, with a similar spiritual condition.

In comparison, the *pictura* illustrating Augustine's famous conversion seems slightly disappointing (Fig. 7). In the *Confessions* the episode, presented at the end of book 8, forms the climax of the book (in fact to such an extent that generations of readers never finished the last, more philosophical books). It describes how a depressed Augustine had retreated into the garden of a friend's house when he suddenly heard a child singing the words 'Pick up and read' ('Tolle, lege'), which he took as a divine command to take up the Scripture to address his problems. In Hoyer's emblem of this tolle-lege episode, the *pictura* represents the scene in a straightforward way, depicting Augustine as a melancholic young man, weeping

29 *Confessiones*, 7.7, quoted from Augustine 1961, 169.

Fig. 8: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 19 in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also colour plate 4)

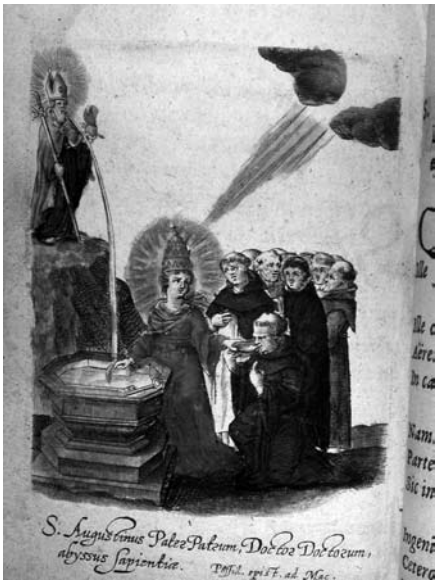


Fig. 9: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 24, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also colour plate 5)

under a tree. The divine command literally comes from the heaven in upper right corner. Perhaps one of the most suggestive features is the Flemish monastery on the left in the background.

With its close focus on Augustine's life, Hoyer's *Flammulae* can partly be seen as a transformation of the genre of the saint's life into emblems.[30] As such, it belongs to a different cultural world than Van Veen's devotional emblems. We see this reflected in the use of Augustine's works. Whereas Van Veen used the church father as a resource for topical quotations, Hoyer preserved the coherence of Augustine's original text. His references are clearly based on sustained reading of the original. This different approach to the sources points to different functions of the book, two of which can be singled out.

The first concerns the institutional profile of the *Flammulae*. Hoyer was an Augustinian hermit and his book is clearly meant to strengthen the identity of the order in a local context. For example, in several *picturae* Augustine is dressed as a Flemish hermit, with the characteristic wide-brimmed hat and black habit (Fig. 8). In one of the final emblems (Hoyer, emblem 24, Fig. 9), glorifying Augustine as the fountain of wisdom, the *pictura* even implies a hierarchy: we see a hermit drinking first from the fount, next in the queue is a Dominican (dressed in a white habit and a black cape), followed by a canon (or possibly a Jesuit) and a Franciscan

30 See Guiderdoni-Bruslé in Stopp 2005, 15-16; Knapp and Tüskés 1998.

(wearing a brown habit). The local, institutional orientation is also reflected in the dedication of the book to fellow-Augustinians.[31] In his dedicatory letter, signed on Augustine's name day, Hoyer quotes yet again other fellow-Augustinians.[32] All this makes the book an emphatically Augustinian venture.

From a functional perspective, one could regard the *Flammulae* as motivational literature, which provided a welcome boost to the confidence of the order. The Augustinians had suffered big losses in the Reformation caused by their fellow-brother Luther; in fact, nearly all of their monasteries in Germany and England.[33] In the Low Countries, they lost half their buildings, while the number of Augustinian monks was decimated. Since 1585, when Alexander Farnese freed Brussels from Calvinist rule, the Provincia Belgica of the order had been working steadily and highly successfully on its restoration, mainly through education.[34] Moreover, apart from bolstering internal confidence, clerical competition may also have been a consideration for Hoyer. Other orders were fishing for the same souls. The Jesuits in particular were fierce competitors, with an infrastructure, which was slightly bigger than that of the Augustinians. Around 1625 the Augustinians ran 13 schools for humanities in the Southern Netherlands, providing education to 2,444 pupils. The Jesuits, however, had 16 colleges in their Flemish province and another 18 in the Walloon area. There are numerous traces of institutional rivalry on the educational front, including violent clashes between students.[35] Of course, the Jesuits were also highly successful in their appropriation of the genre of the emblem.[36]

The second function of Hoyer's *Flammulae* is that of pedagogical instrument. Hoyer was a teacher, lecturing at the time at the Augustinian college of Brussels.[37] Paratextual pointers guide us to this social context: the preliminaries include poems by some of his students, among whom we find Albertus Rubens. This publication, his first, was soon followed by other didactic works, including saints' lives and Latin plays with revealing titles such as *Theatrum castitatis*.[38] This concrete pedagogical background informs the emblematic style. Hoyer's poems are perfect examples of the imitation exercises he must have set his students on a daily basis. They combine classical allusions and various metrical forms, with a distinctly

31 Franciscus vander Eycken, one of Isabella's chaplains, and dean of Yper cathedral, the town where Hoyer was ordained as priest.

32 Thomas of Villanova, the Spanish bishop who would soon be canonized.

33 Po-Chia Hsia 1998, 28.

34 Vermeulen 1964, 18, n. 52 indicates the number of members was reduced from over 500 before the religious conflicts to 62 in 1589; for the restoration of the order in Brussels, see Vermeulen 1964, 17-22. For the essential role of education in restoring the order, see Leyder 1997.

35 Vermeulen 1964, 24-25, 38-49.

36 Porteman 1996b.

37 Vermeulen 1964, 22-28; the pedagogical purpose is explicitly mentioned by the printer's preface in the third edition from 1708: 'quondam ad Juventutis studia promovenda [...] Typis commissae' (fol. *3ro).

38 De Meijer 1993.

Augustinian moral. This made Hoyer's *Flammulae* a practical book for students, teachers and preachers.

Conclusion

What, then, do these examples tell us about the learned side of the Dutch love emblem? First of all, the case of Augustine has revealed that quotations should not necessarily be taken as intertextual allusions to coherent, 'original' contexts. Rather, the significance of emblematic sources depends on textual transmission and cultural reading practices. The Augustine Van Veen used was the one that others had selected for him, culled from all the major medieval ecclesiastical writers. Here, Augustine does not represent one of the theological positions he became associated with during the sixteenth century, but serves as a commonplace authority furnishing edifying quotations.

The second point concerns confessional identity: by tracing the use of one source through several works it has become clear how very differently the same author could be read and appropriated. Van Veen and Hoyer used the same literary genre and the same source to target different niches in the religious market. This exemplifies the confessional flexibility of the genre, a feature which is further reflected in the reception of religious emblem books. Hoyer's emblems, for example, formed the basis for the rational inquiries of the Anglican John Hall, intended to please the scientist Robert Boyle.[39] All this illustrates how the learning behind the love emblem was not a static quality, offering mere erudition for modern footnotes. It was a creative principle.

Bibliography

Alciato, A. (1988[2]) *Index Emblematicus.* Vol. 1: *The Latin Emblems Indexes and Lists* edited by Daly, P.M., V.W. Callahan and S. Cuttler. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Augustine (1961) *Confessions*, tr. R. S. Pine-Coffin. London: Penguin.

Bath, M. (1994) *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture*. London-New York: Longman

Bloemendal, J. (2002) 'Een emblematicus en zijn inspiratie. De bronnen van Otho Vaenius' *Amoris Divini Emblemata*, Antwerpen 1615 – ontlening en adaptatie', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde*, 118, 273-287.

Buschhoff, A. (2004) *Die Liebesemblematik des Otto van Veen. Die* Amorum emblemata *(1608) und die* Amoris divini emblemata *(1615).* Bremen: Werbedruck Bremen H.M. Hauschild.

Buschhoff, A. (1999) 'Zur gedanklichen Struktur der *Amoris divini emblemata* des Otto van Veen (Antwerpen 1615)' in J. Manning, K. Porteman & M. Van Vaeck (eds.), *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries.* Turnhout: Brepols, 39-76.

39 Turnbull, 1953, 224; about Hall's *Emblems* see Bath 1994, 186-190.

Courcelle, J. and Courcelle, P. (1972) 'L'Illustration symbolique des "Confessions" augustiniennes dans les "Flammulae Amoris"', *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 8, 7-24.
Duerloo, L. (1998) 'Archducal Piety and Habsburg Power' in W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella 1598-1621. Essays*. Turnhout: Brepols, 267-283.
Enenkel, K. (2006) *Imagines agentes: geheugenboeken en de organisatie van kennis in de Neolatijnse literatuur*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
Geissmar, Ch. (1993) 'The Geometrical Order of the World: Otto van Veen's Physicae et Theologicae Conclusiones', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 56: 168-182.
Gerards-Nelissen, I. (1971) 'Otto van Veen's Emblemata Horatiana', *Simiolus*, 5, 20-63.
Gerlo, A. and Vervliet, H. (1972) *Bibliographie de l'Humanisme des Anciens Pays-Pas*. Brussels: Presses universitaires de Bruxelles.
Hebert, B. (1987) 'Antike Bildvorstellungen in der Ikonographie des hl. Augustinus? Ein Nachtrag zu den Stichen der "Flammulae Amoris" (von Michael Hoyer) und Vermutungen zum Homergemälde des Galaton', *Revue des études augustiniennes,* 33, 137-141.
Hendrix, S. (2004) 'Luther' in D. Bagchi and D.C. Steinmetz (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 39-56.
Hoyer, M. (1629) *Flammulae amoris, S.P. Augustini versibus et iconibus exornatae*. Antwerp: H. Aertsens. Reprinted in 1632 and 1639, extended edition in 1708.
Index Aureliensis: Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum (1966) part 1, vol. 1. Baden-Baden: Koerner.
Knapp, Éva and Tüskés, Gábor (1998) 'Emblematische Viten von Jesuitenheiligen im 17./18. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 80, 105-137.
Krey, P.D. (1999) 'Luther' in A.D. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopaedia*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, *s.v.*
Lane, A.N. S. (1993) 'Justification in Sixteenth-Century Patristic Anthologies' in L. Grane, A. Schindler and M. Wriedt (eds.), *Auctoritas Patrum: Contributions on the Reception of the Church Fathers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 69-95.
Leyder, D. (1997) 'Onderwijs als hefboom voor de heropleving van de Keulse Augustijnenprovincie (zeventiende eeuw)' *Trajecta* 6 (4), 318-333.
MacCulloch, D. (2003) *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700*. London: Allen Lane.
Maeyer, M. de (1955) *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de xviie-eeuwse schilderkunst in de zuidelijke Nederlanden*. Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Schone Kunsten en Letteren van België.

McGrath, A.E. (1987) *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Meijer, A.K. de (1993) 'Michel Hoyer' in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques,* vol. 24. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, cols. 1321-1323.
Moore, Jr., W.L. (1982) 'Doctor Maximus Lumen Ecclesiae: The View of Augustine in John Eck's Early Writings', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 13 (2), 43-54.
Morford, M. (2001) 'Theatrum hodiernae vitae: Lipsius, Vaenius, and the Rebellion of Civilis' in K.A.E. Enenkel (a.o., eds.), *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literatures of the Early Modern Period*. Leiden-Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 57-74.
Moss, A. (2003) 'Emblems into Commonplaces: The Anthologies of Josephus Langius' in K.A.E. Enenkel and A.S.Q. Visser (eds.), *Mundus Emblematicus: Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books.* Turnhout: Brepols, 1-16
Moss, A (1996) *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought.* Oxford: Oxford University Press**.**
Po-Chia Hsia, R. (1998) *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Porteman, K. (1977) *Inleiding tot de Nederlandse emblemataliteratuur*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.
Porteman, K. (1996a) *Amorum Emblemata / Otto Vaenius*: introduction by Karel Porteman. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1-21.
Porteman, K. (1996b) *Emblematic Exhibitions (Affixiones) at the Brussels Jesuit College (1630-1685): A Study of the Commemorative Manuscripts*. Turnhout-Brussels: Brepols-Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.
Rubio Álvarez, F. (1970) 'Una curiosidad bibliográfica: "Flammulae amoris Sancti Patris Augustini"', *La Ciudad de Dio*, 107-116.
Sprang, S. van (2005) 'Les peintres à la cour d'Albert et Isabelle: une tentative de classification' in Hans Vlieghe and Katlijne van der Stighelen (eds.), *Sponsors of the Past. Flemish Art and Patronage 1550-1700*. Turnhout: Brepols, 37-46.
Stopp, Elisabeth (2005) *Adrien Gambart's Emblem Book. The Life of St Francis de Sales in Symbols. [...] Edited by Terence O'Reilly, with an Essay by Agnès Guiderdoni-Bruslé*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph University Press.
Thøfner, M. (2002) '"Let your desire be to see God": Teresian Mysticism and Otto van Veen's *Amoris Divini Emblemata*', *Emblematica*, 12, 83-103.
Turnbull, G. H. (1953) 'John Hall's Letters to Samuel Hartlib', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, vol. 4, no. 15: 221-233.
Van Veen, O. (1615) *Amoris divini emblemata*. Antwerp: Martin Nutius and Ioannes Meursius.
Van Veen, O. (1621) *Physicae et theologicae conclusiones, notis et figuris dispositae ac demonstratae, de primariis fidei capitibus, atque inprimis de praedestinatione, quomodo effectus illius superetur a libero arbitrio [...]*. Orsellis [=Brussels?]: s.n.

Verkerken D. and W. Grootaers (1996) *Repertorium Ordinis Fratrum Sancti Augustini Provincia Coloniae – Provincia Belgica 1252-1995*. Instrumenta Augustiniana 1. Leuven: Peeters.
Vermeulen, N. C. H. M. (1964) *Jan de Leenheer o.e.s.a. moralisator en humanist. Een inleiding tot zijn leven en zijn werken*. Nijmegen: Drukkerij gebr. Janssen N.V.

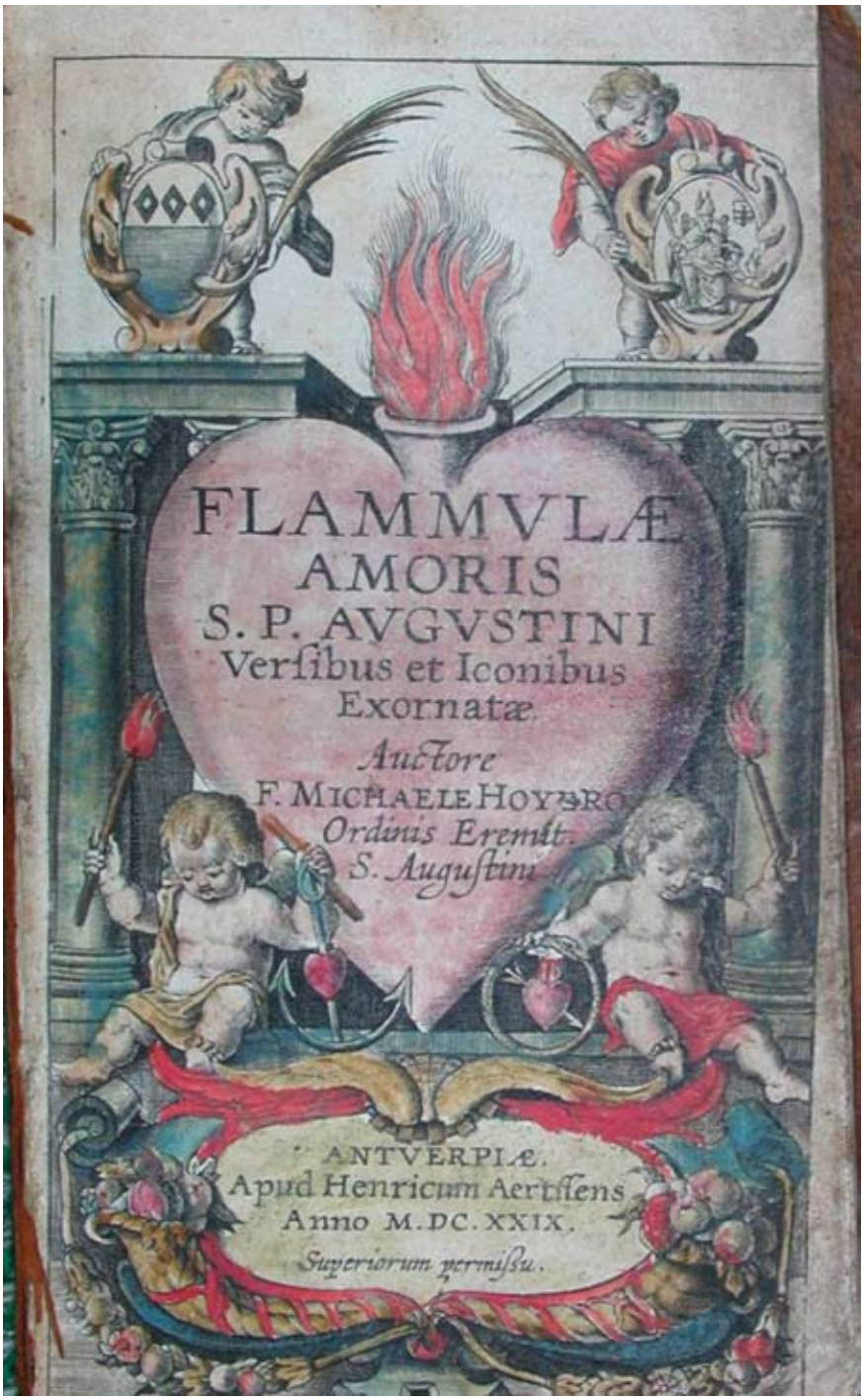


Plate 1: M. Hoyer, titlepage, in: *Flammulae amoris* (private collection). (See also Fig. 5 on page 41)

Plate 2: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 5, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also Fig. 6 on page 42)

Plate 3: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no 8 in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also Fig. 7 on page 42)

Plate 4: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 19 in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem).
(See also Fig. 8 on page 43)

Plate 5: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 24, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also Fig. 9 on page 44)