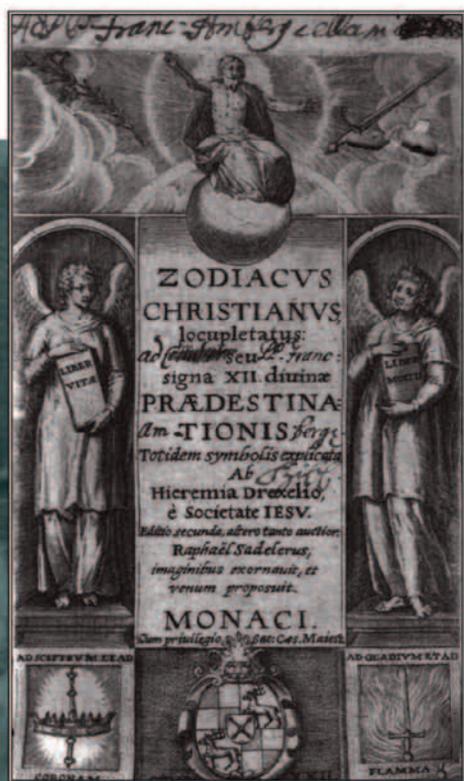


Jeremias Drexel's 'Christian Zodiac'

Seventeenth-Century Publishing Sensation.
A Critical Edition, Translated and with
an Introduction & Notes



Nicholas J. Crowe

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Seventeenth-Century Publishing Sensation. A Critical
Edition, Translated and with an Introduction & Notes

NICHOLAS J. CROWE

Centre for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, Oxford, UK

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It was their encouragement and support which first generated, then fostered the fascination with Drexel and his writings that has culminated in this volume, in hopes that after several centuries those writings will become available once more to a wide readership.

Oxford, January 2013

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Introduction

Jeremias Drexel and the ‘Christian Zodiac’

I

The case of Jeremias Drexel (1581–1638) is arresting on a number of levels. The life, works and circumstances of his extraordinary success as a preacher, professor, rhetorician and author combine to distinguish him as a uniquely intriguing figure in the cultural and intellectual ambience of seventeenth-century Europe. Born to Lutheran parents, he converted to Catholicism as a pupil at his Jesuit school, St Salvator in Augsburg, proceeding in due course to study philosophy and theology at Ingolstadt. Thereafter trained by the Society of Jesus, he became a novice in 1598 and a priest in 1610, saying his first mass in the monastery church of the Jesuits in Munich – St Michael’s – at which moment his career as a preacher and orator began its striking ascent. Early public distinction in the art of allusive rhetoric, and a gift for energizing listeners, drew wider attention and in 1615 Drexel was appointed *Hofprediger* (court preacher) at the court in Munich of Prince Maximilian I (Elector of Bavaria in the Holy Roman Empire), where he remained until his death 23 years later. His exemplary command of oratory, in concert with an apparently awe-inspiring scholarly reach, is in plentiful evidence in some 34 principal publications, informed as they are not merely with the substance, but driven too by the brio and drama of his pulpit performances. These publications were invariably illustrated with emblematic engravings, and commanded an increasingly extensive readership with each passing year, notably appealing to Protestants as well as Catholics, appearing in multiple reprints, re-editions and translations across Europe during Drexel’s lifetime and posthumously across the rest of the seventeenth century in an astonishing arc of popularity. The orbit of his readers’ catchment was geographically – and denominationally – wide to a conspicuous degree. Drexel was among the most-read authors of that century, a genuine luminary in the culture of the German Baroque, and arguably the most published author of the period *tout court*. This, then, is already a compelling phenomenon: Drexel clearly possessed all that was required of a bestselling writer in his time – a fact of immediate significance. Today, he is not only no longer a bestseller, he has been almost universally glossed over, if mentioned at all, even in detailed discussions of the literary, theological or cultural environment in which he rose to such resounding prominence. His was a career authentically meteoric in both senses – brilliance preceding sudden obscurity – and so when we weigh the causes of

his contemporary celebrity and its impossibility today, we are obviously also assembling a picture not only of the man, but the world which he inhabited, and particularly the kind of cultural space which separates it so radically from our own. The light which his asseverations cast on that world (to use a figure occurring often in his emblematic meditations) spreads, therefore, further than the subjects directly addressed by him. The notion of stories behind stories and meanings behind meanings is, indeed, one which on the evidence of his illuminating texts he well understood, especially in regard of the urgent spiritual import of apparently everyday routines, deeds and things. What we take to be the 'real' is often a façade behind which the 'more real' things lie: our enemies, therefore, an over-familiarity with the world as we superficially apprehend it and vicious complacency. A work entitled *Zodiacus christianus*, published in Munich first as a homiletic digest in 1618 and then in a fuller, definitive version in 1622, with many reprints and editions thereafter, is exemplary in demonstrating how Drexel saw the world and his role in it. The phenomenon of Drexel is usefully addressed via an analysis of that text, because a discussion of what he understood by the notion of a 'Christian Zodiac', as a kind of object lesson, will suggest means of unlocking what has until recently remained cryptic about this uncommon individual and his writings.¹

Drexel, the 'indefatigable Jesuit',² not only wrote prolifically and at speed but managed to build a hugely fruitful relationship with a cohort of printers and publishers to ensure that his works reached their widest possible target readership. Such were the collaborative agencies by which Drexel's devotional and instructive works were to make him, as one observer has indicated, 'the most popular spiritual writer of the early part of the [seventeenth] century'.³ Other commentators have assembled statistics relating to his publication record

¹ For a conspectus of the life and times of Jeremias Drexel (Drexelius in Latin; *vulgo* Dresselius, Drechsel, Drexl, Träxl), see Karl Pörnbacher, *Jeremias Drexel. Leben und Werk eines Barockpredigers*, Munich: Franz X. Seitz, 1965. Also Heribert Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel SJ (1581–1638) mit einer Einführung in die Jesuitenemblemantik und einer Bibliographie der Jesuitenemblembücher*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970.

² Peter M. Daly, 'A Survey of the Publications of the Bavarian Jesuits of the Upper German Province to the Year 1800' in Peter M. Daly, G. Richard Dimler and Rita Haub, eds, *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten in Bayern: Einfluss und Wirkung*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2000, p. 53.

³ William V. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972, p. 221. For James Latham S.J. also, Drexel is the 'most popular spiritual writer of the early seventeenth century'. See 'Text and Image in Jeremias Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*' in Daly, Dimler and Haub, p. 85.

which give rise to even greater claims,⁴ all of them inviting serious scrutiny. Once established securely at court in Munich, Drexel initiated a publishing regime set to an arranged and relentless timetable, and in proportion with the demand beginning to be expressed by his burgeoning base of readers. If anything, his recognition at the highest official level quickened his populism, his rhetorical connectivity with every social stratum; the congregations which had packed his sermons now became the first generation of his readers, and in this way his star ascended far more swiftly than if Drexel the preacher had not metamorphosed into Drexel the writer.⁵ Throughout the 1620s and 1630s he was averaging one book per year (with an almost-simultaneous translation into at least one European language in many cases), beginning with *Zodiacus christianus* (original draft) in 1618 and *De aeternitate considerationes* in 1620: his two most widely-read works. Over the years these volumes, with one exception,⁶ were composed in Latin. Invariably, the scholarship is comprehensive, judiciously trawling the Greek and Latin reservoirs with which he was manifestly intimate – as a professor of rhetoric and the humanities variously at Munich, Augsburg and Dillingen – as well as Scriptural and exegetical sources. This core of erudition had been central to Drexel's life ever since his entrance into the Society of Jesus at the age of 17, in 1598, and his early days as a scholar under the guidance – *inter alia* – of Matthias Rader SJ, who became a close friend and mentor.⁷ By the time his career was properly launched some ten years later, Drexel was 'well versed in Sacred Scripture, ancient history, and a wide variety of literature. In some ways [a] man of the Renaissance, he made frequent use of his intimate knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics. His rhetorical repertoire included mythological legends, enigmas, plays on words, and stories, all of which he employed to illustrate moral

⁴ Daly, for instance, argues unequivocally that Drexel was 'the most published European writer in the [seventeenth century]': Daly, p. 53.

⁵ Drexel's favour at court, from 1615 to 1638, shored up his reputation and offered a form of security not generally available to scholars of an ascetic cast of mind during the upheavals of the Thirty Years' War. See Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years' War: Kings, Courts and Confessors*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 9. Bireley makes the point that Drexel's preaching did not stop with his court preferment: it continued in parallel with his work as an author. Both activities testify to his clear attachment to the diverse usages of rhetoric as an efficient mode of communication, and to his facility with those usages.

⁶ *Tugendspiegel oder Klainodtschatz*, a panegyric published in German (Munich, 1636), occasioned by the death in 1635 of Maximilian's first wife, Elisabeth of Lorraine.

⁷ Pörnbacher, pp. 16–20. On Rader's role as educator of 'such outstanding literati as [...] Jeremias Drexel' see Hans Dieter Betz, *et al.*, eds, *Religion Past and Present*, Vol. 10, Leiden: Brill, 2009, p. 695.

lessons'.⁸ The primary intent, to re-acquaint his readers with the eternal verities in order to point up the significance of these holy truths to all aspects of their lives, was achieved by means of a winning marriage of grandiloquently freighted text and the emblematic engravings which accompanied it. As we shall see, his relationship with Raphael Sadeler the Elder (and in later years with Sadeler's three sons) was in this regard exceptionally fruitful.

There is some dispute about the identification of Drexel's first published work, and about the dating of a number of his shorter or less substantial pieces of writing, although the chronology of the principal works is now secure.⁹ The most recent bibliographer to address this question estimates that the earliest publications appeared in 1608 and 1615.¹⁰ From then on, Drexel's output consisted almost entirely of devotional or instructive works of spirituality, generally derived from his own sermons, although there is the occasional excursion into eulogy, sacred verse and drama. As *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* summarily states: 'He is remembered chiefly as the author of a long series of devotional treatises which went through numerous editions and translations and circulated equally among Protestants and Catholics.'¹¹ The prolific nature of Drexel's writing from 1608 until his death in 1638 is attested by fairly detailed extant records of his print-runs (and, even more compellingly, reprint-runs),

⁸ Latham, p. 85. On the significance to Jesuit pedagogy broadly of a humanist-style immersion in the Greek and Latin classics, see François de Dainville SJ, *La Naissance de l'humanisme moderne*, I, Paris: Beauchesne, 1940, pp. 158–60; also Joseph de Guibert, *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus. Esquisse historique*, Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I, 1953, p. 321. With the assistance of Duke Albert V of Bavaria (Maximilian's grandfather) the Jesuits had established colleges at Ingolstadt in 1555 and Munich in 1559; see A.G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1992, p. 87. Drexel was to study or teach at both institutions. 'The University of Ingolstadt [...] became to Catholic Germany what Wittenberg was to Protestant [...] and] Munich [was] sometimes called the Rome of Germany': B.J. Kidd, *The Counter-Reformation 1550–1600*, London: SPCK, 1933, p. 132.

⁹ Pörnbacher, pp. 168–93.

¹⁰ Respectively, *Summa der tragoedien von Keyser Iuliano abtrinnigen* and a contribution to *Certamen poeticum. Super lessu mortuali germanico a variis vario carminis genere traducto*, a collaborative work involving three others. See Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Barockliteratur: Hundert Personalbibliographien deutscher Autoren des 17. Jahrhunderts*, I, Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1980, p. 573. Dünnhaupt's bibliographical work, and that of other modern commentators cited in these notes, integrates and supersedes that of Augustin and Alois de Backer, working first on their own and then re-edited by Carlos Sommervogel, whose collaborative late nineteenth-century researches culminated in the monumental *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Although still inspirational, this work has a number of errors and omissions in the matter of original information on Drexel.

¹¹ F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 508.

from which it is safe to infer a quite extraordinary degree of popularity and thence absorption into popular religious culture. The bookseller Cornelius Leyser (Leysserius), a close associate of Drexel's by virtue of his status as printer by appointment to Maximilian's court, remarks in his Preface to Drexel's *Noe, architectus arcae* (Munich, 1639) that between 1620 and 1639 a total of 158,700 copies of Drexel volumes were printed by the author's three preferred Munich publishers: Leyser himself, Nicolaus Heinrich and Anna Bergin.¹² A second edition of the work (1642) adds as a tribute to the exceptional author whose work – as it were – the reader now holds in his hands, that a further 12,000 copies of various titles had appeared in the meantime. Leyser specifies that up to and including 1642 he had sold 64,600 Latin and 42,400 German copies; Heinrich had sold 48,900 copies in aggregate, and Bergin 14,800 copies. These figures, remarkable enough in themselves, do not take account of other Munich-based publishers and printers who were known to be dealing with Drexel, nor with his publishers in towns further afield, such as Cornelius ab Egmond¹³ in Cologne, Nicolaus Heyll (Heyllius) in Mainz, and Joannes Cnobbaert (Cnobbarus) in Antwerp.¹⁴ Given that the population of Munich, Drexel's centre of operations, was at this time around 22,000, one might in fact begin to wonder whether saturation may not be a more apt term than absorption.¹⁵ By all accounts, these were spectacularly successful sales.¹⁶ It would have been difficult, at the very least, not to know who Father Jeremias Drexel was, and if he was not being read, he was being heard: the preaching did not stop. Further evidence of the best-selling status of his works is their very rapid republication in editions of larger format, sometimes as re-editions of individual titles but more commonly as selected or collected anthologies. As early as 1628, a 'collected' Drexel appeared in Munich

¹² 'Anna Bergin, widow' was the publisher of the 1622 *Zodiac*.

¹³ 'Cornelius ab Egmond': a pseudonym used by the Amsterdam publisher Willem Blaeu.

¹⁴ See Augustin and Alois de Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Tome I, Liège: Grandmont-Donders, 1853, pp. 275–76; Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, 'Jeremias Drexel', *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, I, Hamm: Bautz Verlag (1975), 1383; and Italo M. Battaferano, 'Drexeliana: Bibliographisches und Rezeptionsgeschichtliches zu Jeremias Drexel', *Studi tedeschi Napoli*, 27 (1984), 255–8. Drexel's enduring popularity owed something to the custom of seventeenth-century publishing houses (such as Blaeu) to hand on tried-and-tested backlists for reprinting from one generation to the next: Paul Begheyne, 'Jesuit Book Production in the Netherlands, 1601–1650', in Thomas M. Lucas, ed., *Spirit, Style, Story: Essays Honoring John W. Padberg, SJ*, Chicago: Loyola Press, 2002, p. 310.

¹⁵ For Munich population statistics in the seventeenth century see the *Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik und Datenverarbeitung* [<http://www.statistik.bayern.de>]. Also G. Richard Dimler, *The Jesuit Emblem: Bibliography of Secondary Literature With Select Commentary and Descriptions*, Brooklyn: AMS Press, 2005, p. xii.

¹⁶ See Jost Schneider, *Sozialgeschichte des Lesens*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2004, p. 90.

(*Opera cum indice quadruplici*), and a sizeable two-volume *Opera spiritualia* was published in 1635.¹⁷ Finally, evidence of a considerable trade in pirated editions points from another direction towards an author whose output could be relied upon to generate a keen market for internal consumption and export alike.¹⁸

Drexel's pattern was to allow permission for – and in a number of cases directly commission – a German translation almost as soon as his original text had been completed. As a recent commentator notes, this was a slightly peculiar practice, in that the Latin works were themselves usually the distillation of sermons originally delivered in the vernacular: German orations becoming Latin texts becoming German translations.¹⁹ The author's German translators of choice were his friends Conrad Vetter and Joachim Meichel, although, such was the demand, other translators were called upon at times: Thomas Kern, Christoph Agricola and Andreas Agricola, in particular. The concerted industry demonstrated by this co-dependent policy of publication and translation strongly suggests the production line, and was undertaken with clear fixity of purpose. The spread of European-language translations beyond Germany, completed very swiftly for the most part, is also striking. Entire swathes of Drexel titles were translated into English, French, Italian, Dutch, Hungarian, Polish, Czech and – in one notable case – Welsh.²⁰ This broad sweep of evidence testifies to a sustained, pan-

¹⁷ During the seventeenth century, other recensions of the 'complete' works appeared two more times in Munich; twice in Douai; seven times in Lyons and Mainz; five times in Antwerp; twice in Würzburg and Frankfurt. See Gerhard Dünnhaupt, 'Jeremias Drexel (1581–1638)' in Dünnhaupt, *Personallbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*, II, Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1990, pp. 1368–1418.

¹⁸ Paul Begheyn has looked into this question recently in surveying the Netherlandish market for Drexel: 'Several publishers profited from the popularity of Drexel's work and printed his books often without the permission of the author.' See 'The Emblem Books of Jeremias Drexel SJ in the Low Countries. Editions Between 1622 and 1866' in Daly, Dimler and Haub, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

¹⁹ Alan R. Young, 'Drexel's *The Christians Zodiace* (1647) and Protestant Meditation' in Daly, Dimler and Haub, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–4. See also J.M. Blom, 'A German Jesuit and his Anglican Readers. The Case of Jeremias Drexelius (1581–1638)' in G.A.M. Janssens and F.G.A.M. Aarts, eds, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984, p. 43. Wilhelm Kühlmann notes that in the early-modern German context '[m]uch of the edifying literature of Late Humanism was composed in Latin and then translated into German' and cites Drexel as a prolific example of the process: 'Neo-Latin Literature in Early Modern Germany', in Max Reinhart, ed., *Camden House History of German Literature*, Vol. 4, *Early Modern German Literature 1350–1700*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007, p. 309.

²⁰ Young, p. 254. The Welsh translation of *De aeternitate considerationes* was made by Elis Lewis in 1661, from Ralph Winterton's 1632 English version and titled: *Ystyriaethau Drexelius ar dragywyddoldeb gwedieu cysieithu yn gyntaf yn Saeson-aeg gan Dr R. Winterton*,

European,²¹ trans-denominational, multilevel response to the kind of writing of which Drexel was a seasoned master.²² It also adverts to an appreciation of his resonant way of purveying what had to be said, to his linguistic and oratorical texture, as well as to the appearance and format of the printed works themselves. We are, here, in the presence of a singularly important former of opinion in the field of popular religion, someone to whom the ordinary populace as well as patricians at court could safely look as a mentor.

The *Zodiacus christianus*, in its rudimentary 1618 form (transcribed Lenten sermons) as well as the *editio princeps* of 1622, is characteristic of Drexel's work in its use of engraved emblematic illustrations, here as invariably provided by Raphael Sadeler I.²³ The regular deployment of this technique of meaningful

ae vr awrhon yn Gymraeg gan Elis Lewis o'r Llwyn-gwern yn fir Feirion Wr-bonheddig. Winterton, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, had undertaken his Latin–English translation as a cure for melancholia. It achieved very considerable success, and became the best known of Drexel's works in England. See Norman Moore (rev. Michael Bevan), 'Ralph Winterton (1601–1636)', in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, general eds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 59, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 800.

²¹ Widespread acquaintance with Drexel's works across the entirety of the European continent was being attested as early as the 1620s. On his readership in Poland and proximate Middle European territories, see Marcin Wislocki, 'From Emblem Books to Ecclesiastical Space: Emblems and Quasi-Emblems in Protestant Churches on the Southern Coast of the Baltic Sea and their Devotional Background' in Simon McKeown and Mara R. Wade, eds, *The Emblem in Scandinavia and the Baltic*, Glasgow Emblem Studies, Vol. XI, Glasgow University, 2006, pp. 263–94.

²² By the early eighteenth century Drexel's writings had spread as far as Russia, where they were introduced with some acclaim into Orthodox culture: further evidence of his unique cross-denominational reach, and extraordinary doctrinal polyvalence. Primarily, there is a 1714 translation into Russian, by Metropolitan John of Tobolsk, of the *Heliotropium*. See S.V. Fomin, *Poslednii Tsarskii Sviatoi*, Moscow: Palomnik, 2003. John of Tobolsk was (and is) sometimes erroneously taken to be its author rather than translator.

²³ The 'Raphael Sadeler' mentioned without further qualification in received Drexel scholarship is generally Raphael Sadeler the Elder or 'Raphael Sadeler I' (1560–1629 or 1632). It is significant that at this early stage in Drexel's publishing career – 1618 – the author's name does not appear anywhere on the title page or in the text of the *Zodiac*, while Sadeler's name is prominent on the title page and colophon: after 1618 Drexel is always clearly named as author. See Robin Raybould, *An Introduction to the Symbolic Literature of the Renaissance*, Victoria, BC: Trafford, 2005, p. 272n. The Sadelers were a much-fêted and many-branched family of engravers, originally from Antwerp, migrating serially across Europe, with one stream to Munich, a pattern begun by Raphael's elder brother Johann (Jan). In due course, Raphael's three sons, Raphael (II), Johann (II) and Filips all themselves worked with Drexel. See Young, p. 256. An imperial warranty of protection of Sadeler's engravings for the 1622 *Zodiac* was issued by the Holy Roman Emperor himself, Ferdinand II, and is printed at the end of the volume to prevent plagiarism of the images, on pain of the imperial

illustration was a major part of Drexel's success as an author, and his fertile collaboration with Sadeler a central element in the vertiginous rise of his career in Munich. This cooperation represents an early-modern 'synergy' explaining a number of key elements in the story of Drexel's elevation to popular pre-eminence. He understood that, in the precise context of his writings, illustrations served a number of functions: primarily, as pictorial complements to the text, focal points of devotional meditation and mnemonic aids. As a Bavarian Jesuit, and a figurehead in the liturgical milieu of the seventeenth-century German Baroque, Drexel occupies a major place in the type of culture at once fostered and broadcast by emblematic books. Underscored by the complementary work of Sadeler, his output articulates a particular form of local Catholic worship (and practice) whose ambit then goes on to reach far beyond specific time and place.²⁴ The kind of spiritually charged art which appeared in Drexel's works was prized by the Society of Jesus for its 'visual, mnemonic, and spiritual potentials', yoked as these were to educational theory and a 'profound belief in the benefits of catechisms, litanies, and different types of prayer'.²⁵ In Drexel's case the Sadeler engravings are always 'integral' to the work as a whole,²⁶ and the emblem is always symbolic or metaphoric.²⁷ There is also an inevitable political dimension to bear in mind, as Maximilian I – an archetypal Counter-Reformation prince – clearly found the support of the Bavarian Jesuits an indispensable element in his programme of reforms.²⁸ Members of the Society of Jesus occupied an important

displeasure and a fine of 12 pounds in weight of pure gold. On the peregrinations of this prolific family see Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the 'Privilegio' in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 194–9.

²⁴ Jeffrey Chipps Smith discusses the Sadeler's contribution as part of a typically Jesuit refraction of professed faith, occupying an important niche in the culture of the time: 'The Art of Salvation in Bavaria', in John W. O'Malley SJ, *et al.*, eds, *The Jesuits. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, pp. 568–99. Smith further comments on the inexpensiveness of many of Drexel's emblematic books in the 1630s and 1640s: *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, p. 7.

²⁵ Smith, 'The Art of Salvation', p. 593.

²⁶ Daly, p. 47.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Maximilian was *de facto* chief-of-staff of the Catholic League, the army mobilized to enact his proprietorial interests during the Thirty Years' War. See Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years' War*, London: Routledge, 1988, *passim*; J.V. Polisensky, *The Thirty Years' War*, London: Batsford, 1974, pp. 137–70; Robert Bireley, *op. cit.*, and the same author's *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999, pp. 106–7; Dieter Albrecht, *Die auswärtige Politik Maximilians von Bayern, 1618–1635*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962; Hugo Altmann, *Die Reichspolitik Maximilians I. von*

role at the interstices of religion and politics, and the sanction of divine approval, then as now, could prove remarkably empowering. Bavaria was simultaneously the political bulwark and spiritual epicentre of Catholicism in Germany at this time, and Drexel – as one of the foremost churchmen of the region as well as a trusted ‘spiritual lieutenant’ – was valued highly by Maximilian, not only as formal *Hofprediger* but also personal confessor.²⁹ Moreover with his appointment at Maximilian’s court he found himself at the meeting-point of Catholic culture in the arts, sciences and literature,³⁰ a culture to which he was to contribute most substantively as an embodiment of contemporary versions of courtliness and piety.³¹ It is possible, furthermore, to see the impress of Humanism in the projected ambience of that court.³² Recent scholarship has recognized the particular

Bayern, 1613–1618, Munich: Oldenbourg, 1978. On Maximilian’s campaign to ‘stamp out’ Protestantism in the home territory of Bavaria, see Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, p. 77 and *passim*.

²⁹ On Maximilian’s relations with Drexel during the Thirty Years’ War, and Drexel’s roles as confessor and factotum, see Pörnbacher, pp. 21–4. In these capacities Drexel accompanied Maximilian on his 1620 Austro-Bohemian campaign and kept an (unpublished) diary from the time: see Sigmund Riezler, ‘Kriegstagebücher aus dem ligistischen Hauptquartier 1620’, in *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 23 (1903), pp. 77–210. For the influence of Catholic spirituality as purveyed by Drexel and others on Maximilian’s worldview, and Drexel’s reciprocal accommodation of ‘neo-absolutist’ monarchism, see Dieter Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern, 1573–1651*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998, pp. 285–338; also Wolfgang Behringer, ‘Falken und Tauben. Zur Psychologie deutscher Politiker im 17. Jahrhundert’ in Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia and R.W. Scribner, eds, *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997, p. 227. On the political coloration of Drexel’s advisory role at court, see Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990, p. 136. Dieter Breuer discusses the specific role of literature in the ideological complexion of Maximilian’s politics in *Oberdeutsche Literatur 1565–1650: Deutsche Literaturgeschichte und Territorialgeschichte in frühabsolutistischer Zeit*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1979.

³⁰ See Peter Claus Hartmann, *Die Jesuiten*, 2nd edn, Munich: C.H. Beck, 2008, p. 60.

³¹ See Cristina M. Pumplun, ‘Begriff des Unbegreiflichen’: *Funktion und Bedeutung der Metaphorik in den Geburtsbetrachtungen der Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg (1633–94)*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995, p. 117.

³² On the Humanistic hue of Catholic Bavaria and Drexel’s contribution to it, see Magnus Ulrich Ferber, “Cives vestros sine controversia habeo pro Germaniae cultissimis”: Zum Verhältnis von Späthumanismus und Konfessionalisierung am Beispiel der bikonfessionellen Reichsstadt Augsburg’ in Gernot Michael Müller, ed., *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg: Kulturgeschichte einer Stadt zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreissigjährigem Krieg*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2010, pp. 409–20.

role played here by the Drexel-Sadeler collaboration,³³ and it is precisely those accommodations between political necessity and Bavarian Jesuit spirituality, coming together in that collaboration, which bring Drexel to the fore as a man in the right place at the right time.³⁴ His practice is to 'extend Ignatian devices of meditation beyond confessional boundaries to a larger public,'³⁵ and his work serves therefore as an example of what one might call efficacious introspection. He has been recently identified as a leading figure 'in German symbolic theology and religious emblematics' owing to the 'immensely widespread publication of his books.'³⁶ The ability to break through 'denominational boundaries' may be similarly allied to his public association with emblems.³⁷ It is largely due to his influence that the culture of emblem books itself was able to develop to the extent that it did, this particular mode of symbology soon rising into special aesthetic prominence.³⁸

Central to this significance is the sanctioning by Ignatius of Loyola – the founder of the Society of Jesus – of emblems and images, particularly in regard of

³³ Christine Göttler, 'Rhetorica caelestis: Jacob Bidermann, Jeremias Drexel and the Sadeler at the Court of Maximilian I in Munich', abstract of paper at 'Historians of Netherlandish Art' Conference, Antwerp, March 13–16, 2002 [<http://www.hnanews.org/hna/conferences/antwerp/papers/gottler.html>].

³⁴ It can be persuasively argued that Drexel was as much pioneer as participant in the efflorescence of the Jesuit emblem book in Germany at this time. See Young, p. 254. Nienke Tjoelker also identifies Drexel and his fellow Jesuit Henricus Engelgrave as especially significant in this respect: 'Jesuit Image Rhetoric in Latin and the Vernacular: The Latin and Dutch Emblems of the *Imago Primi Saeculi*' in *Latin and the Vernaculars in Early Modern Europe. Renaissanceforum* 6 (2010) p. 97 [<http://www.renaissanceforum.dk>].

³⁵ Göttler, p. 1.

³⁶ Paulette Choné, 'Lorraine and Germany' in Anthony J. Harper and Ingrid Höpel, eds, *The German-Language Emblem in its European Context: Exchange and Transmission*, Glasgow Emblem Studies, Vol. V, Glasgow University, 2000, p. 5.

³⁷ Éva Knapp and Gábor Tuskés, 'German-Hungarian Relations in Literary Emblematics', in Harper and Höpel, p. 44. The same cross-denominational appeal of Drexel's emblematic works in the Dutch context, beginning with the *Zodiac*, is referenced by Bert Both and Els Stronks: 'Acceptatie van het vreemde. Pers- en geloofsvrijheid in de Republiek vanuit internationaal perspectief', *Nederlandse Letterkunde*, Jaargang 15, 2 (augustus 2010), 77.

³⁸ See John Landwehr, *German Emblem Books, 1531–1888. A Bibliography*, Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1972; and Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2nd edn, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964, pp. 318–320. The 'most influential expression' of Jesuit emblem-culture at this period was the *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu*, published in 1640 in Antwerp on the first centenary of the Jesuit order, a richly illustrated history of the Society to that point. Tjoelker, p. 98. See also Lydia Salviucci Insolera, *L'Imago Primi Saeculi (1640) e il significato dell'immagine allegorica nella Compagnia di Gesù: Genesi e fortuna del libro*, Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2004.

education.³⁹ It derives in part from the longstanding medieval and Renaissance tradition of memory-cultivation (the *ars memorativa*), but is here lent special focus by the Jesuit ‘recognition of the primacy of the visual image as an aid to religious meditation [in which] the starting point for private meditation, in keeping with Ignatius’s famous *composition of place* (*compositio loci*), might well be [...] an emblem.’⁴⁰ The relationship between private devotion and imagery is material here, and as Craig Harbison points out, an emphasis on private devotions ‘did not have to weaken Church authority: there is no evidence that clerics complained about lay people saying their prayers privately.’⁴¹ In fact, in the Ignatian system of spiritual figuring – *invisibilia per visibilia* – the association of the meditative with the pictorial could not be more intimate.⁴² The spiritual is not only rendered present, it is rendered enduringly present. Drexel’s practice exemplifies both the devotional dimension of memory-cultivation and also its particular Jesuit inflection. He was keenly interested by the uses of imagery

³⁹ Writing of St Francis de Sales and the relationship he exemplifies between emblematic and *eloquentia*, Joseph E. Chorpenning makes the wider observation that the ‘primacy of emblems in Jesuit education is clear as early as the 1560s, when Father Ledesma, head of studies in the Collegio Romano, suggested that once a year, on a feast day, the best compositions of the pupils – orations, letters, visual poems, and emblems – be exhibited [...] Student emblem exhibitions (*affixiones*) quickly became a standard feature of Jesuit colleges’. See ‘St Francis de Sales’s “Emblematic Habit of Mind”’, *International Commission for Salesian Studies Newsletter*, 19 (January–February 2007), p. 3.

⁴⁰ Young, p. 259. For a useful re-examination of the ‘art of memory’ see Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds, *The Medieval Craft of Memory. An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 1–31. This volume is a conspectus of writers who would have been well known to Drexel. The devotional element is of vital importance: see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966, p. 113: ‘[T]he art of memory came out of the Middle Ages. Its profoundest roots were in a most venerable past. From those deep and mysterious origins it flowed on into later centuries, bearing the stamp of religious fervour strangely combined with mnemotechnical detail which was set upon it in the Middle Ages’. Stephen Clucas refers to the persistence into the early European Enlightenment of ‘memorial culture’: ‘Introduction’ to Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory. The Quest for a Universal Language*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000, p. x. For further examples of secular and religious examples lasting usefully beyond the medieval period see Wolfgang Neuber and Jörg Jochen Berns, eds, *Ars Memorativa: Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Gedächtniskunst 1400–1750*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993.

⁴¹ Craig Harbison, *The Art of the Northern Renaissance*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995, p. 94.

⁴² ‘[T]he importance of the Ignatian method lies in its unremitting emphasis on making every possible focus of meditation – even invisible things and abstract notions – palpably pictorial’. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, p. 180.