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Joseph of Nazareth as Man and Father in Jerónimo Gracián's Summary of the  
Excellencies of St Joseph (1597)

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## INTRODUCTION

The *Sumario de las Excelencias del Glorioso S. Ioseph, Esposo de la Virgen Maria* (Summary of the Excellencies of St Joseph, Husband of the Virgin Mary) is a treatise written by the Spanish Carmelite friar Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios (1545-1614) and published in Rome in 1597.<sup>1</sup> The *Summary*'s contents, context and purpose have been brought to light through the work of Fr Joseph F. Chorpenning, O.S.F.S., who describes Gracián's work as the most comprehensive Josephine devotional text to date,<sup>2</sup> and notes that it continues to be regarded as a reliable and orthodox historical and iconographic source of events in the life of St Joseph and of the Holy Family.<sup>3</sup>

The context, content and purpose of the *Summary* is better understood and appreciated through knowing the particular circumstances of Gracián's life. Born into a large family with important political connections, at the age of fifteen Gracián studied law and theology at the University of Alcalá and was ordained a priest.<sup>4</sup> While thinking seriously of joining the Jesuits in Alcalá, Gracián encountered the Carmelite nuns of the Teresian reform, who gave him a copy of Teresa's constitutions; he studied them and entered the Carmelite novitiate in 1572, at the age of twenty-seven.<sup>5</sup> Known for his charismatic and energetic personality, Gracián soon became

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<sup>1</sup> Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, *Sumario de las Excelencias del Glorioso S. Ioseph, Esposo de la Virgen Maria*. Rome: Antonio Zannetti, 1597. This work is hereafter referred to through the thesis as "the *Summary*". This thesis cites a copy of the original 1597 Spanish edition of the *Summary*, held at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome. It also cites an Italian translation which, according to the *imprimatur*, was published at the same time as the original Spanish and is held by the Oratory of St Joseph in Montréal. (*Sommario dell'Eccellenze del Glorioso S. Giosef, Sposo della Vergine Maria*. Translated by Sulpicio Mancini. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1597.) Both copies were viewed by me in 2015. In the footnotes, distinctions are made between the Spanish original ("Sumario") and the Italian translation ("Sommario") to identify from which edition particular material has been sourced.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph F. Chorpenning, *Just Man, Husband of Mary, Guardian of Christ: an anthology of readings from Jerónimo Gracián's Summary of the Excellencies of St Joseph (1597)* (Philadelphia: St Joseph's University Press, 1993): 21. Chorpenning writes (*Just Man*, 1993: 20) that the *Summary* has seen twenty-seven editions, printed in Spanish, Italian, French and German, that most of the editions published prior to Gracián's death were overseen by the author, and the final edition to have been corrected by Gracián himself (the 1609 Brussels edition) is considered its definitive version.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Art of Painting*, which was published posthumously in 1649, Francisco Pacheco consistently cites the *Summary* in his description of how scenes from the lives of Jesus, Mary and Joseph should be depicted visually. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura: su antigüedad y grandezas* (Seville: Simon Faxardo, 1649): especially 494-528; Joseph F. Chorpenning, *Just Man*, 1993: 3.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Payne, O.C.D., *The Carmelite Tradition* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2011): 64.

<sup>5</sup> The Carmelite reform was instigated by St Teresa, who established her monastery of San José in Ávila in 1562. In her foundation she wanted to achieve the specific intention of forming a small community of enclosed Carmelite women committed to supporting one another and fostering a vocation of intense contemplation and prayer for the Church. Gracián essentially met the Carmelites by accident, mistakenly going to their convent instead of to the Franciscans, where he was to celebrate Mass. After reading the constitutions, he wrote to Teresa, whom he had never met. For Teresa's reform, see Payne, *The Carmelite Tradition*, 2011: 64. For

Teresa's close friend, advisor and "spiritual father".<sup>6</sup> This relationship saw Gracián's abrupt rise in the order, and he assumed several important positions before being elected the first provincial of the Discalced Carmelites in 1581.<sup>7</sup> His strong support for Teresa, and his focus on continuing Teresian reform, sparked opposition and in February 1592 he was expelled from the Carmelite order.<sup>8</sup>

In 1597, Gracián found himself in Rome after years of struggle to implement Teresian reform, his expulsion from the Carmelite order in 1592, and a two-year period as a captive under Turkish corsairs.<sup>9</sup> After he was freed, he travelled to Rome seeking reinstatement as a Carmelite. It was there that he wrote the *Summary* at the behest of Fra Pedro Juan de Zaragoza, whom he titles as *socio*, or assistant, to the Master of the Sacred Palace of St Peter's.<sup>10</sup> The Master of the Sacred Palace, who was always a member of the Dominican order, held the role of the Pope's "official theologian" and also held the right to examine every book or print

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Gracián's first encounter with the Carmelites, see Teresa of Ávila, *The Collected Letters of St Teresa of Ávila, vol. 1 (1546-1577)*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh (Northeast: ICS Publications, 2001): 632.

<sup>6</sup> Teresa writes that, on her first meeting with Gracián, "he pleased me so much that I felt as if those who had extolled him to me had not really known him." She later made a promise of obedience to him. See Teresa of Ávila, *Saint Theresa: The History of her Foundations*, trans. Agnes Mason, C.H.F. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909): 165; J.A. Fernández-Santamaría, *Natural Law, Constitutionalism, Reason of State, and War: Counter-Reformation Spanish Political Thought*, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 2006): 74; Germán Bleiberg, Maureen Ihrie, and Janet Pérez, *Dictionary of the Literature of the Iberian Peninsula*, vol. 1 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993): 767.

<sup>7</sup> During his novitiate, Teresa requested Gracián preach and give spiritual direction to her nuns in Pastrana. A few months after his profession as a Carmelite in 1573, Gracián was appointed Apostolic Visitor to the Discalced Carmelites in Andalusia, and before a year had passed he was named the vicar provincial of all Carmelites in Andalusia. In 1575 he became the Visitor to both the Andalusian Calced and Discalced Carmelites. See *The Collected Letters of St Teresa*, 632.

<sup>8</sup> Victoria Lincoln, *Teresa – A Woman: A Biography of Teresa of Ávila* (Albany: State University of New York, 1984): 185. Lincoln writes that there is significant contradictory information surrounding Gracián, with much written to justify his expulsion from the Carmelites after Teresa's death, and much being simply "luminous whitewash" written in accordance with Gracián's biography, in which he presents himself as, like Christ, having been persecuted without cause. In 1999, Gracián's sentence of expulsion from the Carmelites was lifted after extensive review, and the following year the Carmelite order began official proceedings in his cause for canonisation (*The Collected Letters of St Teresa*, 640).

<sup>9</sup> Gracián was captured in 1593, while travelling from Sicily to Naples on a ship belonging to the Spanish Inquisitorial mission. During this time he was apparently branded on the soles of both feet with a cross and on two occasions condemned to die at the stake. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre di Dios, *Jerome Gracián: Treatise on Melancholy: A Biographical Note and Translation*, trans. Michael Dodd (Wisconsin: Pileated Press, 2009): 13, 15; José Antonio del Niño Jesús, "Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios y su Summario de las Excelencias del Glorioso S. Joseph, Esposo de la Virgen Maria o Josefina (1597)", *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 25 (1977): 295, 296.

<sup>10</sup> The conditions of Gracián's dismissal prevented him from re-entering Carmel either as a discalced friar or among the regular observance. Following his expulsion, he sought admission to other congregations, including the Carthusians, Dominicans and Augustinians, but all refused him. He was eventually authorised by papal brief to return to the Carmelites, but due to the strong opposition in Spain he lived with the Italian Carmelites of the Observance while retaining his discalced habit before assisting the Discalced Carmelites in establishing a presence in the Spanish Netherlands. See Gracián, *Jerome Gracián: Treatise on Melancholy*, 2009: 15; Stephen Payne, *The Carmelite Tradition*, 2011: 65.

produced in the city of Rome and to established their sale price.<sup>11</sup> Zaragoza, a Dominican friar, was involved as consultant theologian for the Roman Inquisition in 1596, and acted as *socio* to the Spanish friar Bartolomeo Miranda, who held the office of Master of the Sacred Palace from 1591 until his death in 1597.<sup>12</sup> The *Summary* makes no mention of Miranda by name, and, as will soon be discussed, Gracián identifies Zaragoza as the impetus behind his composition of the work. In fact, it appears evident that without Zaragoza’s influence Gracián would never have written an entire book on the subject of St Joseph.<sup>13</sup> What also seems apparent is that Gracián’s personal circumstances – his rise to prominence within the Carmelite order, his turbulent expulsion and subsequent captivity and his striving to be reinstated as a Carmelite – all impacted on his perception of St Joseph and on the way in which he communicated the virtues of the saint to his audience.

In his *Summary*, Gracián identifies fifty virtues, or “excellencies”, of Joseph, which he compiles into five books, each of which focuses on an individual title of Joseph.<sup>14</sup> In applying such a focus, Gracián’s *Summary* responds to the heightened devotional interest in Joseph circulating during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The liturgical cult of St Joseph saw prominent growth following the incorporation of his feast (March 19) into the Roman Calendar in 1479 by Pope Sixtus IV. From this date, until the Milanese Dominican Isidoro Isolano published his *Summa de Donis Sancti Iosef* (*Summa of the Gifts of St Joseph*) in 1522, numerous altars and chapels, oratories and churches, religious houses and institutes of consecrated life, confraternities and associations, and at least one

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<sup>11</sup> Witcombe’s study of Renaissance printing states that any print material produced in Rome required the special permission (*imprimatur* or *publicatur*) of the Master of the Sacred Palace, who was granted this authority through the Papal Bull of Innocent VIII issued in 1479. In 1570, Pope Pius V established the Congregation of the Index of prohibited books (books considered harmful to the faith and thus forbidden to be read or possessed by the faithful), and installed the Master of the Sacred Palace as its permanent secretary. Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Brill: Leiden, 2004): 72, 73.

<sup>12</sup> In his assisting role to the Master of the Sacred Palace, Zaragoza censored Francisco Patrizi’s *Nova de universis philosophia* and Antonio Possevino’s *Bibliotheca selecta*. For information on Zaragoza and the office of Master of the Sacred Palace, see Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition on the Stage of Italy, c. 1590-1640* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014): 121, 289 n.57. For biographical information on Bartolomeo Miranda, see Jacques Quéfif, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti*, vol. 2 (Paris: J.B. Christophorum Ballard and Nicolaum Simart, 1721): 321, and Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and its Laws in the Age of Galileo* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013): 240, n. 80.

<sup>13</sup> José Antonio del Niño Jesús, “Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios”, 1977: 297.

<sup>14</sup> These titles are husband of Mary, father of Jesus, just man, angel on earth (or angelic man), patron of the interior life, and patron of a happy death. Jerónimo Gracián, *Obras del P. Maestro F. Geronymo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, de la Orden de N. Señora del Carmen* (Madrid: Alonso Martin, 1616): 231.

hospital were founded in Italy in Joseph's name.<sup>15</sup> The reasons for Joseph's increased liturgical importance are numerous; what is clear is that the "ardent devotion" of Bernard of Clairvaux, expanded upon during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by Dominican and Franciscan scholastics, and by Jean Gerson, played a significant role.<sup>16</sup> This period also witnessed significant social and religious upheaval, including recurrences of plague, the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, competition for territory in the Italian peninsula, and the posting of Martin Luther's theses in 1517.<sup>17</sup> The championing of Joseph as the patron of specific causes at this time indicates a heightened belief in the breadth and power of his intercession.<sup>18</sup>

It was during this period of growing devotional interest in Joseph that the Archconfraternity of St Joseph of the Carpenters began, founded in Rome in 1540.<sup>19</sup> Pre-eminently lay and voluntary organisations, confraternities were responsible for encouraging piety and promoting charity among their members, with a particular focus on preparation for the afterlife.<sup>20</sup> Often small and local groups, confraternities fostered an effective fusion between the spiritual and temporal realities; they encouraged piety, such as devotion to a particular saint, while also promoting

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<sup>15</sup> Carolyn C. Wilson, "Some Further Evidence of St Joseph's Cult in Renaissance Italy and Related St Joseph Altarpieces", *Die Bedeutung des hl. Josef in der Heilsgeschichte. Akten des IX. Internationalen Symposions über den hl. Josef*, vol. 2 (Kisslegg: FE-Medienverlag, 2006): 904.

<sup>16</sup> Wilson, *St Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art*, 2001: 3-6.

<sup>17</sup> Wilson, *St Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art*, 2001: 9.

<sup>18</sup> From the 1470s Joseph was promulgated as the champion of the Church in the face of Ottoman expansion, from 1517, as defender against the threat of Protestantism, and by the mid-1520s, as intercessor in evangelising Mexico; he was eventually made patron of the conquest and conversion of Mexico in 1555. Joseph's patronage has expanded to include workers, communicants, children, and migrants. Carolyn C. Wilson, "Some Further Evidence", 2006: 904; Carolyn C. Wilson, "St Joseph in the Early Cinquecento: New 'Readings' of Two Parmigianino Drawings and a Recently Discovered Bedoli", *New Studies on Old Masters: Essays in Renaissance Art in Honour of Colin Eisler*, ed. John Garton and Diane Wolfthal (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011): 331; Stefania Colafranceschi, "Patrocino, Intercessione, Gloria di San Giuseppe attraverso l'Iconografia Devozionale in Italia" (Kalisz: St Joseph Symposium, 2009): 845.

<sup>19</sup> Joseph was enthusiastically adopted as patron particularly by carpenters, who were often members of lay confraternities or sodalities. These groups encouraged a rapid spread of saintly devotion among the faithful. According to Barbara Wisch, the particular spread in Josephine devotion "was an expression of the interest generated by the nascent bourgeoisie, composed of merchants and artisans", and this is especially pertinent given that the *Summary* itself was written in response to a request made by an organisation of carpenters. Wisch, "Re-Viewing the Image of Confraternities in Renaissance Italy", *Confraternitas* 14 (2), 2003: 17; Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, vol. 1, translated by Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992): 206.

<sup>20</sup> The oldest group of this kind to exist in Rome has been identified as the confraternity of the Gonfalone, which was founded in the 1260s. It numbered among the largest and most well-known of the Roman sodalities, and by the sixteenth century had amassed a vast membership ranging from shopkeepers to wealthy families and members of the papal court. For purpose and function of confraternities, see Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): ix. For information on the confraternity of the Gonfalone, see Barbara Wisch, "Violent Passions: Plays, Pawnbrokers and the Jews of Rome, 1539", *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie (Oxon: Routledge, 2016): 198; Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbiggin, *Acting on Faith: the Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia: St Joseph's University Press, 2013).

social involvement through charitable works and networking across professional, social and political spheres.<sup>21</sup> They functioned as a means by which individuals could express penitence, reap benefits through good works, find spiritual and physical nourishment, and feel protected and comfortable in a familiar cultural and linguistic environment which offered a clear pathway to social and economic networking.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, confraternities signified one of the most fundamental and private forms of devotion present during the late medieval period and Renaissance.<sup>23</sup> Archconfraternities, which flourished during the sixteenth century, particularly in Rome, were formerly simple confraternities which had been given full papal recognition and were thus afforded special privileges and indulgences.<sup>24</sup> They also functioned at the centre of a network of confraternities of a similar type, and were responsible for setting standards regarding, among others, protocol, devotions, and dress.<sup>25</sup>

The Archconfraternity of St Joseph of the Carpenters was formed following a schism within the confraternity of St Gregory the Great, which had been founded by a group of masons in the 1520s.<sup>26</sup> This schism resulted in some members of the group forming their own independent organisation which had as its patron St Joseph.<sup>27</sup> The confraternity established themselves in the Mamertine Prison in the Roman Forum, and soon after their foundation funded the construction of a church, San Giuseppe dei Falegnami (St Joseph of the Carpenters) above the prison.<sup>28</sup> The church, which was consecrated in 1598, contains an oratory which Gracián writes was used by the members of the confraternity when they gathered to pray and sing litanies.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> John Henderson, *Piety and charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994): 1-2.

<sup>22</sup> Christopher F. Black, "Introduction: The Confraternity Context", *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Christopher F. Black and Pamela Gravestock (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing House, 2006): 1, 2; James Brodman, *Charity and religion in medieval Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009): 188.

<sup>23</sup> Christopher F. Black, "Introduction: The Confraternity Context", 2006: 2.

<sup>24</sup> Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 72.

<sup>25</sup> Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, 1989: 72.

<sup>26</sup> Giovanni Milone, "Origine e Primi Sviluppi Dell'Arciconfraternità di San Giuseppe dei Falegnami in Roma", *Estudios Josefinas*, Dec. 1977 (61-62): 694.

<sup>27</sup> The New Testament references Joseph's trade as a carpenter (Matt 13:19), in this way establishing him as a suitable intercessor for a group of carpenters.

<sup>28</sup> Giovanni Milone, "Origine e Primi Sviluppi", 1977: 695; Carlo Pietrangeli, *Guide Rionali di Roma: Rione X – Campitelli, Parte I* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1975): 90.

<sup>29</sup> Gracián, *Sumario*, 1597: i.

The *Summary* clearly indicates how Gracián came to be connected with the confraternity and to write this work for them. The prologue to the 1597 Spanish and Italian editions opens with this dedication to the group:

*Dia de S. Cathalina deste año de 1596, estando yo en S. Pedro en las estácias del Maestro del Sacro palacio, llegaron dos hermanos de vuestra Cofradia a pedir licencia, para hazer imprimir un pequeño libro intitulado (meditaciones de los siete dolores, y gozos de S. Ioseph) que os embarion los hermanos de Perusa, donde estava inpresso. Y como viesse el Padre Maestro Fr. Pedro Iuan Saragosa vuestro desseo, y devocion, me cometio que leyesse aquel libro, y escribiesse alguna obra mas copiosa, que se pudiesse inprimir en alabanças deste dichosissimo Sancto.*

[On the feast of St Catherine [November 25] in the year 1596, while I was at St Peter's visiting the Master of the Sacred Palace, two members of your guild arrived to request permission to publish a little book entitled *Meditations on the Seven Sorrows and Joys of St Joseph*<sup>30</sup> that was sent to them by their counterparts in Perugia,<sup>31</sup> where it had been printed. And seeing your fervour and devotion, Father Master Pedro Juan de Zaragoza charged me to read that book and to write a book of greater length for publication in praise of this most blessed saint.]<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The work of the Capuchin friar John of Fano on the seven sorrows of St Joseph has been proposed (see Chorpenning, *Just Man*, 1993: 60, n.26) as the book which the brothers wanted reprinted. (John of Fano, *Le Sette Pater Nostri de Santo Joseph (Operetta devotissima chiamata Arte de la Unione*, Brescia: Damiano and Iacomo Filippo, 1536). Gracián writes that, in addition to meditations on the seven sorrows and joys of St Joseph, the book contained litanies of the Name of Jesus and of the Virgin Mary, orations, commemorations, and a litany of St Joseph. *Sumario*, 1597: i. What seems apparent is that these meditations on Joseph's sorrows and joys were inspired by the devotion to the Seven Sorrows and Joys of Mary. Meditations on the sorrows and joys of Mary date from the thirteenth century, with a chaplet of Mary's sorrows originating with the Servites in the fourteenth century and gaining popularity particularly during the Black Death (1347-51). The writings of the Franciscans helped to define seven particular sorrows and joys for contemplation by the faithful. See John D. Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion* (London: Burns and Oates, 2002): 209; Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Brill: Leiden, 1994): 154, 156.

<sup>31</sup> The collaboration between similar devotional groups based in different locations perhaps indicates that the Roman group was an Archconfraternity. Wilson ("Some Further Evidence", 2006) identifies evidence of a second society of St Joseph existing in Perugia in 1558. She suggests that it may have been this group which shared the book of Joseph's sorrows and joys with the confraternity in Rome (pp. 912-913).

<sup>32</sup> Gracián, *Sumario*, 1597: 1. The English translation is taken from Joseph F. Chorpenning, *Just Man*, 1993: 20. Note that the word "cofradia" is interpreted here by Chorpenning as "guild". Gracián refers to the members of the *cofradia* as "brethren" rather than "members". He indicates in his concluding doctrine to Book I of the *Summary* that the group was founded in 1540 in the Mamertine prison, and further suggests that the group, by virtue of their association with a church, was not a guild but a confraternity. Confirmation of this fact was found in the work of Fr Tarcisio Stramare ("San Giuseppe e la redenzione del lavoro", *Rivista Internazionale de Teologia e Cultura* 159 (1998): 26) in which the group is referred to as a confraternity, and in various histories of the Mamertine and Tulliano prisons (see particularly Francesco Cancellieri, *Notizie del Carcere Tulliano detto poi Mamertino alle radici del campidoglio ove fu rinchiuso S. Pietro e delle catene con cui vi fu avvinto prima del suo martirio* (Rome: Luigi Perego, 1788): 173), which identified the group as a religious organisation and specifically as an "Archconfraternity". Carolyn C. Wilson writes (*St Joseph in Italian Society and Art*, 2001: 10) that a common error in Josephine studies is to assume that confraternities dedicated to St Joseph were simply trade guilds, rather than devotional or religious organisations.

The 1609 edition of the *Summary* adds further to this description. This particular edition, which is dedicated to Isabel Clara Eugenia, the daughter of Philip II and regent to the Spanish Netherlands, includes a prologue addressed directly to the reader.<sup>33</sup> Gracián opens his prologue with the words:

*La devocion del glorioso S. Ioseph, el provecho de las almas, y la ternura que me causaron las lagrimas de unos Carpinteros, benigno Lector, me movio a escribir este Summario de sus excelencias.*

[Devotion to St Joseph, the benefit to souls, and the tenderness caused by the tears of some carpenters, good reader, moved me to write this Summary of his excellencies.]<sup>34</sup>

And further, in his description of his encounter with the carpenters, he writes:

*Negó se la el Maestro, y comenzaron a derramar lagrimas con tanta ternura, que a los dos nos enternecieron.*

[The Master denied it (the Carpenters' request to reprint the Perugian book on St Joseph) and they began to shed tears with such tenderness that we were both moved.]<sup>35</sup>

Continuing his prologue, Gracián identifies the *Summary*'s aim as to “write on the glorious St Joseph to the satisfaction of the brothers, for the honour of the saint and for the good of souls”, and thus encourage devotion to St Joseph among all the faithful.<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, to support this final point, the Italian translation of the *Summary* includes, under its address to the “very devoted brothers of the company of St Joseph”, the words *di tutta la Cristianità* (of all Christianity).<sup>37</sup> The *Summary* offered the confraternity clear theological and devotional instruction regarding their patron, valuable instruction for prayer and worship,<sup>38</sup> and a distinct source of identity. Additionally, it offered Joseph to the brethren as a clear and relevant model for daily life. By presenting clearly and thoroughly the life and privileges of Joseph, the

<sup>33</sup> Chorpenning, *Just Man*, 1993: 22-23.

<sup>34</sup> Gracián, *Sumario*, 1609: i.

<sup>35</sup> Gracián, *Sumario*, 1609: i.

<sup>36</sup> *Che si potesse stampare a lode di questo gloriosissimo Santo, e ad utile e profitto di tutte le vostre compagnia, e di tutte l'anime de i suoi devoti.* Gracián, *Sommario*, 1597: i.

<sup>37</sup> Gracián, *Sommario*, 1597: i.

<sup>38</sup> Blancus' engravings visualise and reinforce Gracián's comprehensive Josephine devotion, and they work along with their accompanying epigrams to present an iconographic program of the saint which arguably would have encouraged meditation and prayer. Gracián's text, particularly his closing instruction at the end of each Book of the *Summary*, which is addressed directly to the brethren and which he refers to as “doctrine”, would also offer such guidance.

*Summary* is made relevant to the brethren of the Archconfraternity who, like Joseph, were themselves working men and perhaps fathers and heads of their households. Joseph is cast not as a distant intercessor, but as a tangible figure and effective patron and model for the brethren.

Gracián also describes his own “satisfaction and contentment” in composing the *Summary*, writing that Joseph has been “my advocate all the time of my life”, and identifying a secondary advocate in St Teresa who, he writes, “founded many monasteries of the Discalced Carmelites, devoted to and under the name of St Joseph”.<sup>39</sup> His letters disclose a secondary aim of offering support to Carmelite nuns and friars in their vocation.<sup>40</sup>

When we consider the nature and environment of the *Summary*'s origins, we can identify potential further aims. Gracián was reinstated as a Discalced Carmelite on his return to Rome in 1596, due in part to his “heroic comportment during captivity” and the official commencement of Teresa's cause for beatification.<sup>41</sup> Although he had been readmitted into the order, the Spanish Carmelites regarded him with such great hostility that he was advised to remain in Rome, where he lived among the Calced friars while wearing the habit and following the rule of the Discalced.<sup>42</sup> Gracián's reputation as a “hero” at the hands of his Turkish captors, and the protection afforded him by Teresa's beatification process, worked in part to repair a damaged reputation. It is quite conceivable that the *Summary*, which was dedicated to a much-loved, popular saint, and which was backed by Zaragoza, an influential Dominican theologian, was written with the intention to restore Gracián's honour and also to give grounding to his particularly reformatory ideas.

The wide circulation of the work strengthened the *Summary*'s exceptional influence in advancing the spread of Josephine doctrine and theology. In his preface to the 1609 edition of the text, Gracián testified that he had:

*y he visto por experiencia, que in Italia, y España ha hecho fruto, para mover los animos a la devocion deste Santo, y de su Esposa. Y habiendo leído los Arzobispos de Toledo, Valencia, y otros perlados, han ordenando en sus diocesis, que el dia de S. Ioseph sea fiesta de guardar.*

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<sup>39</sup> *Il che ho fatto io con mia gran soddisfazione e contente, per averlo avuto per mio avvocato in tutto in tempo della vita mia, e anco per aver consessato alcuni anni in Spagna la madre Teresa di Gesù, quale fondò molti monasterio Monache Carmelitane Scalze, a devotione e sotto nome di san Giosef.* Gracián, *Sommario*, 1597: i.

<sup>40</sup> Chorpenning, *Just Man*, 1993: 21. The text's secondary aim perhaps becomes even more relevant when we consider the tense situation of the Carmelite order in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>41</sup> Chorpenning, *Just Man*, 1993: 13.

<sup>42</sup> Chorpenning, *Just Man*, 1993: 13-14.

[seen by experience the effect that in Italy and in Spain this book has had in enkindling in the faithful devotion to this saint and to his spouse. After having read it, the archbishops of Toledo and of Valencia as well as other prelates have ordered that in their dioceses St Joseph's feast day be kept as a holy day of obligation.]<sup>43</sup>

Gracián's work also had a strong influence in terms of artistic representation of Joseph, with a number of Spanish seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artists producing works which bore visual affinity with the *Summary*. This influence is strongly based on the artworks which are found in the first edition of the *Summary*, published in Spanish, and in its Italian translation.<sup>44</sup> Both include a series of six engravings<sup>45</sup> composed by Christophorus Blancus.<sup>46</sup> A native of Lorraine, Blancus worked in Rome from 1591 until his death in 1620.<sup>47</sup> His work flourished around 1600, and he is perhaps best known for his engraving of the Holy Family (1595), a signed portrait of Michelangelo (1612), and an engraved map of Japan (1612).<sup>48</sup> Each of these

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<sup>43</sup> English translation taken from Joseph F. Chorpenning, *Just Man*, 1993: 53.

<sup>44</sup> According to the *imprimatur*, it was published at the same time as the original Spanish. Chorpenning, "St Joseph as Guardian Angel, Artisan, and Contemplative", 2011: 108. This study uses the engravings found in the 1597 Italian translation of the *Summary*, which during my own research I confirmed are identical to those included in the original Spanish edition. Several passages from the *Summary*'s text included in this work are sourced from the Italian translation and have been translated into English by me. The remainder is taken from the works of Fr Joseph Chorpenning, particularly his 1993 anthology *Just Man*, which use the original Spanish edition. The translations of the epigrams accompanying the engravings are the work of Patrick T. Brennan, S.J., and come from Chorpenning's study of the engravings.

<sup>45</sup> The 1597 Spanish edition of the *Summary* also includes a frontspiece depicting the Madonna and Child, which is repeated at the end of the text's prologue; however, this is not explored in this study. "Engraving" is described by Antony Griffiths as the oldest of the intaglio processes, and as a "highly skilled craft", requiring much practice to cut an even groove, and involving a long process of learning how to create parallel lines with the graver or burin, which give the work its distinctive quality. Griffiths notes that the idea of using engraved plates to make prints on paper emerged in Germany in the fifteenth century. The durability of copper and the fact it can be easily incised made it a suitable material for the plates, which could be inked numerous times and thus produce more prints. The *Summary*'s engravings feature a clear mastery of the engraving technique, with the engraver's use of evenly-spaced, parallel lines and cross-hatching to indicate shading and depth suggesting he was a mature artist. See Antony Griffiths's work *Prints and Printmaking: an introduction to the history and techniques*, (California: University of California Press, 1996), especially pages 38 and 39. For details on printmaking, see Gerald W. R. Ward (ed.), *The Grove Encyclopedia of Materials and Techniques in Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008): 194.

<sup>46</sup> This work, in continuation of previous scholarship, titles the artist as "Christophorus Blancus". It remains unclear as to how Gracián came into contact with him.

<sup>47</sup> Blancus married Aurelia Antelli in 1593, and he lived and worked near the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella. For Blancus' biographical information, see Chorpenning, "St Joseph as Guardian Angel, Artisan and Contemplative", 2011: 108; Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Biographical and Critical* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1849): 82; A. Bertolotti, *Artisti francesi in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI, e XVII* (Mantova: Tipografia Mondovi, 1886): 94-96; Arnaldo Morelli, "Nuovi documenti frescobaldiani: I contratti per l'edizione del primo libro di *Toccate*", *Studi Musicali* 2 (1988): 263; Saverio Franchi, *Le impressioni sceniche: dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori Romani e Laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1597 al 1800*, vol. 2 (Rome: Edizioni di Stori e Letteratura, 2002): 20.

<sup>48</sup> Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Biographical and Critical* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1849): 82. Blancus' map incorporates almost all the salient features present in the lost map of Inácio Moreira, was circulated widely for the twenty years following its printing, and was used in the production of at least three

engravings introduces a book of the *Summary*,<sup>49</sup> depicts a scene from the life of Joseph, and is accompanied by a Latin epigram written by Francisco de Cabrera Morale, acolyte to Pope Clement VIII.<sup>50</sup>

Taking these engravings as its core focus, this thesis will use art historical, cultural and theological lenses to consider each engraving in terms of its visual composition and message. Respecting the *Summary* as a unified work, the engravings are examined alongside the accompanying epigrams and the main text. They are considered in light of the work's social and cultural contexts, especially the religious developments resulting from the Council of Trent (1545-47; 1551-52; 1562-63).<sup>51</sup> In this way, the intrinsic connection between the text, engravings and epigrams becomes clear and the *Summary*'s response to theological and devotional portrayals of Joseph are more easily explored. These methods of analysis will help this research achieve its fundamental aim of demonstrating how the engravings of the *Summary*, in conjunction with the epigrams and text *de facto*, interpret and communicate the nature of Joseph's fatherhood and masculinity and present them in ways which were tangible for its primary audience: the members of the Archconfraternity of St. Joseph of the Carpenters.

Fr Joseph Chorpenning states that the style and format of the *Summary*'s engravings, in conjunction with their relationship to the text, enable them to function as emblems.<sup>52</sup> John Manning notes that the emblem emerged as a distinct literary device in the first half of the sixteenth century, and books which incorporated the emblem were often moral or devotional

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other maps. See Angelo Cattaneo, "Geographical Curiosities and Transformative Exchange in the Nanban Century (c. 1549-c. 1647)", *Études Épistémè* 26 (2014), <http://episteme.revues.org/329>.

<sup>49</sup>Except for the sixth, which precedes a Litany of Joseph. I also found that in the Spanish edition of the *Summary* which I consulted, the engraving of the Marriage of Mary and Joseph was placed immediately after the title page, while in the Italian edition it follows the prologue. Unfortunately, the Spanish edition I consulted has suffered humidity damage, which has left several of the engravings discoloured.

<sup>50</sup> Joseph F. Chorpenning, "St Joseph as Guardian Angel, Artisan, and Contemplative", 2011: 108.

<sup>51</sup> In the Council's closing session, it passed a decree on sacred images, clearly expressing that while images of Christ, of the Mother of God, and of other saints are especially fit for placement in the churches, and while they should be venerated, they do not themselves contain any divinity or virtue. Art was viewed as having a positive function in leading audiences to a contemplation of the divine, with the Council stressing the importance of the faithful being "instructed" and "excited" by art, by which they could "adore and love God and cultivate piety". *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. H.J. Schroeder, O.P. (Illinois: TAN Books and Publishers, 1978): 215-6; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002): 53; Christopher C. Wilson, "St Joseph in Spanish American Colonial Images of the Holy Family: Guardian of an Earthly Paradise", in Joseph F. Chorpenning, *Joseph of Nazareth Through the Centuries* (Pennsylvania: St Joseph's University Press, 2011): 241.

<sup>52</sup> Fr Chorpenning was the first scholar to recognise and argue for the significant connection between the format of Gracián's publication and the sixteenth-century emblem. See Joseph F. Chorpenning, "St Joseph as Guardian Angel, Artisan, and Contemplative", 2011: 108, 109.

in subject.<sup>53</sup> Bradley J. Nelson offers an authoritative definition of the “emblem”, which he identifies as a combination of the *inscriptio*, epigram or titular motto (“fragmentary soul”), with an equally fragmentary image (“body”), and followed by a *subscriptio*, or commentary, which guides the reader “towards the solution of a verbal-visual enigma”.<sup>54</sup> The description of the elements of the emblem in such a way is found in Paolo Giovio’s *Dialogo dell’imprese militari et amorose* (1555), in which he stresses that the motto is itself “the soul of the body”,<sup>55</sup> and thus gives the image its life; such an idea was embodied in the first emblem book, Andrea Alciati’s *Emblematum Liber* (1531).<sup>56</sup> Drawing from such sources, this thesis defines the emblem as a visual-textual device which intrinsically combines image, text, and epigram, with each element operating in accordance with the others to present a didactic and moral message and to communicate the true meaning of the emblem through their rich internal harmony and symbolism.<sup>57</sup>

While the *Summary*’s images and text have historically been regarded as separate elements, they are connected profoundly and intimately: the text itself serves as both the inspiration for and commentary on the images and epigrams.<sup>58</sup> The scenes chosen for illustration are specific and their placement before each Book of the *Summary* means that the audience engages with them even before Gracián’s text. In this position, they serve both to inform and be informed by the text. They act as a precis or abstract of Gracián’s main ideas and doctrine, presenting them in a way that is not only easily understandable and accessible but also memorable.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the epigrams provide the engravings with their emblematic quality, working with the image to convey the essential meaning of the forthcoming text. They offer insight into the

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<sup>53</sup> John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002): 14.

<sup>54</sup> Bradley J. Nelson, *The Persistence of Presence: Emblem and Ritual in Baroque Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010): 6. Peter M. Daly argues that the close interaction between the elements of the emblem has its origins in a variety of areas, including classical myth and allegory, the biblical and Christian tradition, medieval natural lore and bestiaries, Horapollo and hieroglyphs, and heraldry. See Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: structural parallels between the emblem and literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), especially page 10, for more comprehensive analysis of these origins.

<sup>55</sup> *L’anima del corpo*.

<sup>56</sup> Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell’Imprese Militari et Amorose* (Leone: Guglielmo Roviglio, 1559): 6.

<sup>57</sup> Laurence Grove, “St Joseph the Superhero in ‘Comics’ Old and New”, *Joseph of Nazareth Through the Centuries*, ed. Joseph F. Chorpenning, O.S. F. S. (Pennsylvania: St Joseph’s University Press, 2011): 154.

<sup>58</sup> The perception of the images and text of the *Summary* as separable is perhaps the reason why in almost all reproductions of the *Summary* the engravings have been omitted. Joseph F. Chorpenning, “St Joseph as Guardian Angel, Artisan, and Contemplative”, 2011: 123.

<sup>59</sup> Chorpenning, “St Joseph as Guardian Angel, Artisan, and Contemplative”, 2011: 109.

specific meaning of the image for both the sixteenth-century and the contemporary audience, thus guiding the audience's understanding of the image.<sup>60</sup>

Peter M. Daly writes that despite the significance of the emblem, “iconographic scholarship has not produced any systematic studies of the emblem as a form or genre in its own right, nor has such an approach been conducive to the establishment of an adequate theory of the emblem.”<sup>61</sup> Further, some critics have denounced the emblem as a “degenerate form of allegory”, “arbitrary”, and “capricious”.<sup>62</sup> By exploring the ways in which the character and attributes of St Joseph are communicated both visually and textually, this study acknowledges the significance and function of the emblem in conveying meaning.

Although the text of the *Summary* has been the subject of academic discussion, the engravings have been, until recently, relatively overlooked and ignored in research. In 1995, the Centro Español de Investigaciones Josefinas, located in Valladolid, published a facsimile of the *Summary*, but did not include the engravings. Further, Fr Jose Antonio Carrasco, also of the Centro, conducted extensive research into the *Summary* but did not discuss the engravings. The failure of the Valladolid book to mention the engravings was countered by Fr Chorpenning who, with his 1996 publication, gives the engravings ground-breaking and scholarly attention. Until Fr Chorpenning's work, the engravings had been neglected in research and deliberately removed from re-publications of the *Summary*. The precise reason for this is unclear: perhaps the engravings were simply regarded as ornamental accompaniments rather than crucial elements of the whole text. Whatever the motivation, their removal denies the engravings, and the *Summary* as a whole, of their original and lasting function.

In academic scholarship, Joseph has traditionally been seen to be overlooked, particularly when viewed in light of the wealth of iconographic and hagiographical studies focused on the Virgin Mary, and this research began with this perception. Over the course of this study, however, it has become clear that there is much literature available on Joseph both as a stand-alone figure and in relationship to Jesus and Mary. An invaluable source for this thesis was the *Bibliographie sur saint Joseph et la sainte Famille*, composed by Fr Roland Gauthier, CSC, which contains over nineteen thousand entries of works taking Joseph or the Holy Family as

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<sup>60</sup> Joseph F. Chorpenning, “The Enigma of St Joseph in the Holy Family on the Steps”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): 280.

<sup>61</sup> Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, 1998: 6.

<sup>62</sup> Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, 1998: 3.

their subject.<sup>63</sup> This alone shows that, contrary to the common perception, much has been contributed to the field of Josephine research.

Particularly useful in gaining an understanding of the history of the Josephine cult are the works of Fr Francis L. Filas. Filas' works offer a concise history of the presentation of Joseph in Scripture and apocryphal literature, and throughout history. They add a critical background to understanding the historical developments in the Josephine cult, particularly within a fifteenth- and sixteenth-century context. Significant Josephine research has been conducted in recent years, with the works of Dr Carolyn C. Wilson, Charlene Villaseñor Black, Stefania Colafranceschi, and Sara Nair James of particular benefit to this project. A specialist in Josephine studies, Dr Wilson's book, *St Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art: new directions and interpretations*, offers a detailed exploration of social influences upon Italian artistic representations of Joseph. Charlene Villaseñor Black's *Creating the Cult of St Joseph: art and gender in the Spanish empire*, provides a thorough historical analysis of Joseph's cult within the focused context of the New World. Villaseñor Black also clarifies how artistic depictions of the saint transformed in the post-Tridentine period. Stefania Colafranceschi's studies of artistic representations of Joseph, particularly as *nutritor Domini*<sup>64</sup> and in holy cards, critically engages with various attitudes to Joseph in the Early Modern period, particularly in terms of his role as patron and defender of the Church. Sara Nair James' recent study of Ugolino di Prete Ilario's visual depictions of Joseph in Orvieto cathedral offers a focused study of a specific and localised artistic approach to Joseph while also examining the historiography and broader developments of the Josephine cult.

The spread of the Josephine cult went hand-in-hand with shifting social perceptions of the roles of men and fathers, and so this thesis has engaged with several prominent studies focused on the lives of Italian Renaissance and Early Modern lay and religious men. Through this exploration, it has been found that masculinity studies are a fairly recent phenomenon, and that studies of devotion in the Renaissance, and particularly regarding cults of the saints, focus more prominently on the feminine experience. The works of David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber offer a useful background into family life and the roles of husbands and fathers during

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<sup>63</sup> Roland Gauthier, *Bibliographie sur saint Joseph et la sainte Famille* (Montréal: Oratoire Saint-Joseph du Mont-Royal, 1999).

<sup>64</sup> This title translates as "nurturer of the Lord", and is used to imply not only feeding, but also nurturing, education and guardianship. Wilson (*St Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art*, 2001: 23) writes that *nutritor Domini* is the title most frequently given to Joseph during the Renaissance period, and such titles describing his fatherhood grew in popularity over references to his role as Mary's spouse.

this period. André Vauchez's studies of lay religiosity focus specifically on the growth of interest in lay sanctity as a suitable model for holiness, thus highlighting connections between the cults of lay saints, such as St Elzear (ca 1285 – 1323) and his wife, Blessed Delphina (ca 1282 – 1360), and the cult of St Joseph. Dyan Elliot's study of spiritual marriages teases out the connections between marriage and chastity, and to the ways in which the chaste marriage of Mary and Joseph was presented as both valid and imitable. Further, the works of Pat Cullum and Katherine Lewis present an effective link between masculinity, celibacy and holiness, thus informing this work's presentation of Joseph as both masculine and chaste.

Most scholarship available on the *Summary* itself has been undertaken by Fr Joseph Chorpenning. His anthology *Just Man, Husband of Mary, Guardian of Christ: An Anthology of Readings from Jerónimo Gracián's 'Summary of the Excellencies of St Joseph' (1597)* provides analysis and commentary on particular sections of the *Summary*, offering the first English translation published on any part of the text. He reviews the engravings in the brief companion piece to his anthology, "St Joseph as Guardian Angel, Artisan, and Contemplative: Christophorus Blancus's Engravings for the *Summary of the Excellencies of St Joseph (1597)*". In this work, Chorpenning notes that the engravings "have been neglected by modern scholars who have studied this important book."<sup>65</sup> Both of these works have proved to be invaluable in the information and arguments they offer.

In his succinct and focused study of the engravings, Chorpenning offers the first specialised academic review of Blancus' prints. Each engraving is treated individually in its own right, with strong consideration given to their emblematic function and their role in communicating devotion to Joseph. Due to their relative exceptionality in the field of research on Gracián's *Summary* and, more specifically, on the engravings, Chorpenning's works naturally form an important foundation on which this thesis builds. My research considers each engraving in terms of its emblematic function, as Chorpenning does, but it expands upon his work with a focused analysis on the engravings' artistic composition and their relationship with social, religious and cultural contexts. My thesis builds upon Chorpenning's research to explore the deep Scriptural, apocryphal, patristic and devotional influences upon the *Summary*. Thus, in applying both art historical and theological lenses, this study approaches the *Summary* and its engravings from a new perspective and uses the previous research on the *Summary* to draw deeper conclusions.

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<sup>65</sup> Joseph F. Chorpenning, "St Joseph as Guardian Angel, Artisan, and Contemplative", 2011: 109.

The centrepiece of each of the six chapters of this thesis is an analysis of one of Blancus' engravings. This analysis naturally follows the order in which they appear in the *Summary*, with Chapter One focusing on the engraving of the Marriage of the Virgin, which it considers in relationship to the accompanying epigram and text of the *Summary*. It explores the ways in which the *Summary* communicates the Scriptural account of the marriage of Joseph and Mary, apocryphal narratives describing their union, and writings of the Church Fathers on the virginity and validity of the marriage. This chapter examines related artworks, highlighting the similarities and differences they hold with Blancus' engraving. Also explored is how the prevailing Italian view of marriage, influenced by Tridentine reform, is reflected in Blancus' iconographic choices. Each of these areas is examined in order to demonstrate the meaning of Blancus' composition, the impact of specific influences, and why it conveys a particular message. This chapter also assesses the influence of the *Summary*'s approach to the marriage of Mary and Joseph upon the brethren of the Archconfraternity.

The second chapter analyses Blancus' second engraving of the Holy Family at work. The engraving is considered in close relationship to Gracián's text, to the accompanying epigram, and to related artistic representations, predominately of Netherlandish origin, of the Holy Family within a domestic setting. This chapter will explore in depth Book II's characterisation of Joseph as fulfilling the roles and responsibilities of true fatherhood, and its presentation of the saint as the typological parallel of God, Creator and Divine Father. Considering each of these elements, this chapter relates the imagery to the immediate context of the confraternity, demonstrating the *Summary*'s effective modelling of Joseph as father and artisan.

Chapter Three engages in a study of Joseph's role as a "just man", doing so through an examination of the *Summary*'s emblematic depiction of the Conversation between Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, which highlights Joseph's prudence and justice. This depiction will again be considered in light of the related epigram and text *de facto*, and will also be seen in connection with Scriptural accounts and artistic representations of the Holy Family or of the *sacra conversazione*, which traditionally strove to cast Joseph as the protector and defender of Mary. The emblematic elements of Book III work harmoniously to present Joseph as a prudent, wise man, attentive to the needs of his family and living in full submission to the will of God, and it ultimately casts him as a model to be emulated by members of the Archconfraternity.

The following chapter considers Gracián's identification of Joseph as an "angelic man", or angel on earth, as communicated in Blancus' image of the Holy Family's Return from Egypt.

Taking into consideration Scriptural references to Joseph's virtues and trials, this chapter considers Blancus' corresponding engraving and the ways in which the image and its accompanying epigram both inspire and are inspired by Gracián's text. Of particular importance here is the epigram's titling of Joseph as *atlas, dux, custos*;<sup>66</sup> taking each of these titles in turn, the chapter considers the ways in which they are visualised in Blancus' engraving and in Gracián's text. Further explored is the relevance the representation of the difficulties faced by Joseph and the Holy Family would have held for the brethren of the Archconfraternity.

The fifth chapter examines Joseph's contemplation and role as patron of the interior life as shown in the engraving accompanying Book V, which depicts the Holy House of Nazareth. Through its depiction of the sleeping Joseph receiving divine revelation, while Mary and Jesus prepare a meal, the scene portrays the ideal balance between action and contemplation, a subject which is further stressed through the accompanying epigram and text. This particular subject features highly in Carmelite spirituality and in the writings of St Teresa of Ávila, and thus finds a prominent place in the *Summary*. In this way, Joseph, shown here as practicing a balance between action and contemplation, is presented as a model for both the Carmelite religious and for the brethren of the Archconfraternity. Relationships between the engraving and artistic representations of the dream of Joseph and of the Holy Family within a domestic setting will also be explored, in order to indicate Blancus' artistic inspirations and motivations.

The sixth chapter explores Blancus' final engraving, which depicts the death of Joseph. It begins with a visual analysis of the artwork, comparing it with the engraving's accompanying epigram and text *de facto* and with other artworks and literature, particularly apocryphal, depicting the same subject. While many artistic representations of the death of St Joseph date after the *Summary*'s publication, Blancus' engraving does contrast with the pre-established iconography of the scene in the simplicity of its composition. Book V ultimately presents Joseph's death as the most perfect, in that in death the saint was accompanied and supported by Jesus and the Virgin. This chapter illustrates that the representation of a "good" or "happy" death would have been particularly meaningful and even reassuring during a time in which death, though an everyday reality, was still approached with trepidation and in which groups like the Archconfraternity were established with the particular goal of ensuring salvation for their members.

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<sup>66</sup> These titles are translated as "Atlas, leader, guardian". They are not found in Scripture or in apocrypha, yet they do feature in some areas of devotion (particularly "guardian"). Further, it appears they do form part of the Litany to Joseph which follows Book V of the *Summary* and which itself is attributed to Gracián.

The purpose of this study is, first and foremost, to draw attention to the vital importance held by the engravings and their accompanying epigrams within Gracián's *Summary*. It presents them not as disconnected elements, but as an organic whole. It highlights their reciprocal relationship within the *Summary* and their role in honouring Joseph's privileges and in presenting him as a tangible patron and role model for the Archconfraternity. Further, this study illustrates the role of the engravings as inspiring and commenting upon the text, and demonstrates the crucial function of the epigrams in revealing the engravings' message.

Due to the limited resources available, particularly regarding the decision to include emblems within the *Summary*, and the composition of the engravings, certain questions remain unanswered. It is unclear, for instance, how Christophorus Blancus became involved in the *Summary*'s creation, and who decided to present the engravings as emblems and why. It seems clear that the text was written first and that both Blancus and Cardinal Morale were instructed to follow a strict set of guidelines, though exactly who devised these guidelines is unclear. Just how much licence each contributor exercised is unknown. Owing to the tightly-knit final product, however, it seems their creative impulses may have been quite limited.

This work is not only informed by foundational works in the field of Josephine research, such as those of Filas, Wilson and Villaseñor Black, but also contributes a new interpretation of Joseph's artistic and cultural legacies to the field. It aims to resurrect Joseph as a legitimate protagonist in the lives of Christ, the Virgin, and the Christian faithful. Additionally, reflecting the recent historiographical tendency to move away from "Big Man" histories, current scholarly interest inclines toward previously-ignored and marginalised figures, including obscure males, saints of more specific regional focus, or female saints. Joseph is therefore an interesting choice for study, because while he should be a prominent (or "Big Man") saint, he instead remains obscure and marginalised.

Placing Joseph and his cult in its own context, and treating him as a subject unto himself, encourages a new, more vigorous cult figure to emerge. The study teases out a new understanding of his legacy, one which is steeped in the context of time and place. It is innovative in that it seeks to address a gendered understanding of the male saint, not as a 'Big Man' and not as an aspect of the feminine, but as a malleable figure fully in tune with the various ideals and priorities of individual contexts. By exploring the visual expressions of Joseph in the particular context of the Church community and the Archconfraternity of St Joseph of the Carpenters in Rome, this research will build on and offer a new perspective to

traditional iconographic studies in the field of Josephine research. And finally, as the *Summary*'s engravings have not been studied in depth, the research will promote a greater awareness of their significance and power, both as emblematic pieces and as reflections of the ways in which Joseph, men and fathers were regarded in sixteenth-century Italian society.