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Signature:

Mirjam E.W. Groentjes

Date

Patterns of Salvation: Visual Typology in the Low Countries, 1550-1600

By

Mirjam Elisabeth Willemijntje Groentjes
Doctor of Philosophy

Art History

Dr. Walter S. Melion
Advisor

Dr. C. Jean Campbell
Committee Member

Dr. Sarah McPhee
Committee Member

Dr. Elizabeth Carson Pastan
Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

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By

Mirjam E.W. Groentjes
M.A., Leiden University, 2006

Advisor:

Dr. Walter S. Melion

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Abstract

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By Mirjam E.W. Groentjes

In the Middle Ages, typology as a means of conveying divine truths dominated the liturgical and hermeneutical sphere. The sixteenth century saw its expansion into the public domain, as well as a significant diversification in its application, particularly in the visual arts. The foundation of typological thought is the idea that God's salvific plan for mankind is reflected in and revealed through his Creation, and can be discerned by studying patterns in the Bible, History and Nature. In this dissertation it is argued that a biblical definition of typology has impeded our understanding of visual typology and an alternative definition is proposed: Typology is an exegetical method that looks for patterns in salvation history as manifestations of the divine will and its purpose for mankind. This dissertation explores the way in which sixteenth-century artists in the Low Countries reexamined typology's interpretative potential to invite their viewer's engagement in a visual hermeneutical process, encouraging both a close reading of the Scriptures, and a reflection of the viewer's own place in salvation history. At the core of the dissertation are selected works of four prominent artists from the Low Countries: Maarten van Heemskerck (*Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series, 1539), Karel van Mander (*Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* engraving, 1588, and *The Crossing of the River Jordan*, a painting from 1604), Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem (the Prinsenhof Quartet: *Massacre of the Innocents*, *Monk and a Beguine*, *Fall of Man*, *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, painted 1591-1593) and Marten de Vos (*Wedding at Cana* altarpiece of 1597, and the *Panhuys panel*, 1574-1575). These four artists each employed typology to make their arguments in works of art that carried great personal significance to them and reflect the social and political turmoil of the second half of the sixteenth-century in the Low Countries.

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- Effects of his Tyranny, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-79.010).
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- Con.02 Pieter Nagel after Gerard van Groeningen, *Allegory of Law and Grace*, engraving, ca. 1567, British Museum, London (1868,0612.472).
- Con.03 Unknown artist, *Allegory of Christ's Redemptive Death on the Cross*, oil on canvas, ca 1600, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (P.1-1938).

Introduction

“When one academic discipline takes over the terms and concepts of another and employs them in a way that is more than analogous, it is necessary to be very careful about definitions.”¹ Robert Reiter warns scholars studying and teaching English literature that they should turn to “exegetes and to historians of exegesis” for a correct understanding of biblical typology.² Traditionally, biblical typology is described as a system of exegesis that interprets events, people and objects (types) from the Old Testament as foreshadowing or prefiguring events, people and objects (antitypes) from the New Testament.³ As Erich Auerbach phrases it in his seminal article *Figura*: “Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses and fulfils the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events of figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life.”⁴ In its strictest sense biblical

¹Robert E. Reiter, "On Biblical Typology and the Interpretation of Literature," *College English* 30, no. 7 (1969): 562.

² *Ibid.* Reiter provides a general overview of the history of biblical typology, with a number of examples from seventeenth-century literature.

³ The word typology comes from the Greek *typos*, which means ‘imprint’ and is generally used interchangeably with its Latin equivalent *figura* (figure), from which derive the terms figuralism and prefiguration. Philologist Erich Auerbach traces the origins and meaning of the words *typos* and *figura* from the first century B.C. Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, Six Essays*, ed. Erich Auerbach (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), 11-28. Classical authors such as Ovid used *figura* also in the sense of ‘imprint of the seal’, a meaning which was still known in the fifteenth century, when the author of the *Spieghel der menscheliker behoudenesse* used it as a metaphor for the malleability of Scripture to conform to different methods of teaching: “Now we may notice, that the Scripture, is like pure wax, which after every seal, takes well its shape” (“Nu moghen wy merken, dat de scrifture, es ghelike den wasse pure, twelke na elken zeghel, mach nemen zine vorme wel”). My translation. L.M.Fr. Daniels O.P., *De Spieghel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse, de Middelnederlandse Vertaling van het Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, vol. IX, Studien en Tekstuitgaven van Ons Geestelijk Erf, Bezorgd door het Ruusbroec-Genootschap te Antwerpen (Tiel: Lannoo, 1949), 8, lines 255-58.

⁴ Auerbach, "Figura," 53.

typology is historical and Christocentric (all types are fulfilled by events from Christ's life, death and Resurrection).⁵

Art historians find the visual counterpart of such a definition in the popular typological compendia *Biblia pauperum* ('Poor man's Bible') and the *Speculum humanae salvationis* ('Mirror of human salvation'), which circulated in manuscript form and later as printed block books throughout North-Western Europe from the thirteenth century until about 1530.⁶ The archetypal examples of visual typology contained in these volumes have led to the more general application of a strict, biblical definition of typology to works of art. This in turn has contributed to its treatment as "the inert iconography of a work" and obscured the full scope of its pictorial application.⁷ It also encouraged the erroneous view still held by some scholars that the *Biblia pauperum* and *Speculum humanae salvationis* went out of print in the sixteenth century because visual typology had become obsolete.⁸

⁵ Ibid., 42.

⁶ The last known *Biblia pauperum* was published in 1530, with images by Jacob Cornelisz and Lucas van Leyden: Jan Piet Filedt Kok, "Een *Biblia Pauperum* met Houtsneden van Jacob Cornelisz. en Lucas van Leyden Gereconstrueerd," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 36, no. 2 (1988): 113. Very few copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* were produced in the early sixteenth century. Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis 1324-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 215. Many older copies would still have been in circulation. Over 350 surviving manuscripts and block books testify to the *Speculum's* popularity.

⁷ Christopher Hughes, "Visual Typology in Early Gothic Art, 1140-1240" (PhD: University of California, Berkeley, 2000), x. "Both the monographic and the iconographic approach have led to a rather stunning misunderstanding of the medieval audience's engagement with typology."

⁸ For instance, the 2011 Lucas van Leyden exhibition catalogue entry for Cornelis Engebrechts's *Crucifixion* triptych (1515-1517) reads: "Such analogies, that is, prefigurations or typologies, were commonly used in painting in the late Middle Ages and would fall into disuse in the course of the sixteenth century" ("Dergelijke vergelijkingen oftewel prefiguraties of typologieën waren gangbaar in de schilderkunst van de late middeleeuwen en zouden in de loop van de zestiende eeuw in onbruik raken"). My translation. Christiaan Vogelaar et al., "Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance," (Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, 2011), 205, cat. 2. Jan Piet Filedt Kok notes that: "[...] the interest in such, essentially medieval, typological connections seem, under the influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation, to be waning in the course of the sixteenth century" ("[...] de belangstelling voor zulke, in wezen nog middeleeuwse, typologische verbanden lijkt in de loop van de zestiende eeuw door de invloed van de Renaissance en Reformatie op de achtergrond te raken"). My translation. Filedt Kok, "Een *Biblia Pauperum* met Houtsneden van Jacob Cornelisz. en Lucas van Leyden Gereconstrueerd," 85. For similar

Throughout the centuries, however, writers and poets, but also craftsmen and artists, have not restricted their typological usage to the theological tradition.⁹ Typology enabled them to expound biblical history, promulgate church doctrine, (attempt to) convert Jews and gentiles, disseminate political propaganda and offer moralistic teachings. In order to gain an understanding of the manifold imaginative ways in which artists employed typology, the scholarly definition of visual typology needs to be expanded. Early sixteenth-century works by artists such as Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533) and Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450-1516), reveal both their awareness of the pictorial traditions of the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, as well as their active engagement with the broader typological conception of salvation history and the manifold ways in which this could be expressed visually. Many artists followed their example.

This dissertation explores the way in which sixteenth-century artists in the Low Countries re-examined typology's interpretative potential to invite their audience's engagement in a visual hermeneutical process that encourages both a close reading of the Scriptures and a reflection on the individual viewer's own place in salvation history. After a brief excursus into the history of typology and the creative ways in which it was expressed visually, an alternative definition will be proposed, which recognizes the

opinions, see for instance: F.P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan, 1970), 266. Jan van Laarhoven, *De Beeldtaal van de Christelijke Kunst: de Geschiedenis van de Iconografie* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1992), 186, 272.

⁹ Peter Bloch: "Through this, Art History is in no way forced into the role of handmaiden to Theology; legitimate challenges persist, especially there, where typological art was not just the illustration of a theological train of thought, but was developed independently" ("Die Kunstgeschichte würde dadurch keineswegs in die Rolle einer Magd der Theologie gedrängt; legitime Aufgaben bleiben ihr vor allem dort, wo die typologische Kunst nicht nur die Illustration theologischer Gedankengänge bietet, sondern selbständig entwickelt wurde"). My translation. Peter Bloch, "Typologische Kunst," in *Lex et Sacramentum im Mittelalter, Miscellanea Mediaevalia: Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln, Band 6*, ed. Paul Wilpert (Berlin: Water de Gruyter and Company, 1969), 141-42.

underlying premise reflected in (visual) typological usage. Some examples of early sixteenth-century pictorial innovations will then set the stage for the four case-studies that make up the bulk of this dissertation: Maarten van Heemskerck's *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series of 1569, Karel van Mander's *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* engraving of 1588, Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem's series of four large paintings for the Haarlem Prinsenhof (the *Massacre of the Innocents*, *Monk and a Beguine*, *Fall of Man* and *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, painted between 1591 and 1593) and Marten de Vos's *Wedding at Cana* altarpiece of 1597.

The typological way of thinking had long roots in traditional Jewish historiography, in which new things were interpreted in terms of the things that had gone before them.¹⁰ The Old Testament hero who, upon encountering an angel, was commanded to "loose [...] thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy [...]" was Joshua, Moses's right-hand man and successor, who led the Israelites into the Promised Land after the prophet's death.¹¹ The close resemblance to what Moses was ordered to do in the episode of the burning bush ("[...] put off the shoes from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground") is not accidental.¹² Similarities between the deeds of the Old Testament heroes Joshua and Moses exemplify

¹⁰ Tibor Fabiny, *The Lion and the Lamb, Figuralism and Fulfilment in the Bible, Art and Literature* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 47-58. Horace Hummel argues that "[...] the 'typical' is a dominant concern of the Old Testament, its historiography, its cultus, its prophecy, etc. [...] In the case of theology proper, this underlying unity consists of a belief in the unity of redemptive design and action behind and above all the flux and ephemerality of empirical history. I submit that most of the Old Testament literature was selected, preserved and arranged, and presented to a large extent with an eye to the 'typical' in the above sense, that is, to the typological as well." Horace D. Hummel, "The Old Testament Basis of Typological Interpretation," *Biblical Research* 9 (1964): 40-41. Also see: Jean Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality, Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1960), 12-15, 70, 153-54.

¹¹ Josh. 5:16. I use the Douay Rheims Bible throughout this dissertation.

¹² Exod. 3:5

God's declaration to Joshua "As I was with Moses, so I am with thee also" (Josh. 3:7) and illustrate the hermeneutical practice whereby recurring narrative patterns of blessings and promises were seen to be manifestations of divine will in history. With the future understood in terms of the past, rabbinic exegetes searched the Hebrew Bible for signs of the promised Messiah.¹³ What distinguishes the Christian reading of history from the Jewish interpretation is that the former identified Jesus Christ as the fulfilment of these patterns whereas the latter did not.¹⁴

The early Christian appropriation of this view of history was seen to be sanctioned and promulgated by Christ, who identified himself on multiple occasions as the fulfilment of promises and prophecies from the Hebrew Scriptures. He told his disciples: "Search the scriptures: for you think in them to have life everlasting. And the same are they that give testimony of me."¹⁵ In the Sermon on the Mount he stressed: "Do not think I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil it."¹⁶ After Judas's betrayal, Christ said "[...] I sat daily with you, teaching in the temple, and you laid not hands on me. Now all this was done, that the scriptures of the prophets might

¹³ A.C. Charity succinctly summarized that: "[...] historical typology in the Old Testament has for its aims [...] the presentation of certain historical, including future, events in such relation to one another that they may be perceived to be purposive acts of God, tending to fulfilment [...]." A.C. Charity, *Events and their Afterlife, the Dialectics of Christian Typology in the Bible and Dante* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 79.

¹⁴ Several authors have suggested classical rather than Jewish roots for Christian typology. André Grabar, for instance, notes: "It was the old method of Stoic origin that established mysterious correspondences between events widely separated in time and space, and that frequently appealed to symbolic interpretations of mythological and historical stories to facilitate such correspondences. Philo was the first to apply this method to the Bible, proposing symbolic interpretations of events and objects mentioned in the Mosaic books; and he opened the way to a typological exegesis of the Old Testament by comparison with the New." André Grabar, *Christian Iconography, a Study of its Origins* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 142. However, as Leonhard Goppelt points out: "The symbolic and allegorical interpretation of mythology was well known to the Greek world, but typology was not because typology presupposes a divine history in past, present and future." Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos, the Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. Donald M. Madvig (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1982), 19n56.

¹⁵ John 5:39.

¹⁶ Matt. 5:17.

be fulfilled.”¹⁷ The evangelist Luke recounts that after the Resurrection Christ lectured to his disciples and “[...] beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he expounded to them in all the scriptures, the things that were concerning him.”¹⁸ Christ also designated Old Testament narratives as prefiguring his death and Resurrection: “For as Jonah was in the whale’s belly three days and three nights: so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights.”¹⁹ Furthermore: “[...] as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up: That whosoever believeth in him, may not perish, but may have life everlasting.”²⁰

Typology as an exegetical method was taken up by early Christian authors, particularly by Paul, who explained that the trials the Jewish people suffered in the desert “[...] happened to them in figure: they are written for our correction, upon whom the ends of the world are come.”²¹ Paul identifies Adam as “[...] a figure of him who was to come” (Rom. 5:14) and “[...] as in Adam all die, so in Christ all shall be made alive” (1 Cor. 15:22). In this view the Old Testament is no longer seen as the history of the Jewish people but as an indispensable narrative that reveals its true, spiritual meaning when interpreted in light of Christ’s life, death and Resurrection: “For the letter killeth but the spirit quickeneth.”²² The appropriation of the Old Testament in this way buttressed the authority of Christ as the promised Messiah and facilitated the conversion of both Jews and Gentiles.

¹⁷ Matt. 26:54-56.

¹⁸ Luke 24:27.

¹⁹ Matt. 12:40.

²⁰ John 3:14-15.

²¹ 1 Cor. 10:11.

²² 2 Cor. 3:6. “Throughout his pastoral and doctrinal writings, Paul works hard to make the Jews and Gentiles see how everything, including the understanding of the Hebrew Bible, has been changed by the coming of Christ.” Hughes, “Visual Typology in Early Gothic Art, 1140-1240,” 4.

By the end of the sixth century, the Church Father Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636) had gathered the bulk of the available typological material in two treatises, which were influential throughout the Middle Ages and likely to be found in many monastic libraries. The *Questiones in vetus testamentum* consists of paraphrases from the Pentateuch and other Old Testament books, and highlights typological connections between worthies from the Old and New.²³ The *Allegoriae quaedam sacra scriptura* explains in a more condensed form how Old Testament characters relate to Christ and the Church. For instance, Adam was a figure of Christ (“figuram Christi gestavit”) because he was created on the sixth day of the world in the image of God, while Christ assumed his carnal form in the sixth age of man in order to reform humankind in the likeness of God. The author also included figures from the New Testament such as Peter, the father of the Prodigal son, Lazarus, Barabbas, Pilate, Simon of Cyrene and others. He treats actual and parabolic characters in a similar way and regularly employs abstract types and antitypes (the Church, Gentiles, Synagogue, Antichrist). Since the time of Isidore of Seville, exegetes have continued to explore the Bible and various extra-biblical sources for typological patterns to complement and deepen their understanding of God’s divine plan and man’s destiny.

The inherently visual language of Scripture invited artists to give visual form to the salvific patterns discovered by exegetes. Juxtaposition of two or more biblical stories was an evident and popular choice, but by no means the only pictorial device used to visualize typological analogies. Already in early typological works of art formal qualities were employed to underscore or even establish the relationship between type and

²³ The full text of these treatises can be found in the Patrologia Latina database: Jacques-Paul Migne, "Patrologia Latina," <http://pld.chadwyck.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/>. Access date 05 May 2016.

antitype. The interplay between form and iconographical content of an artwork made the application of typology a very versatile means of conveying scriptural and salvific truths.

The mid sixth- century mosaics in the choir of the San Vitale Church in Ravenna count as an early example of a work of art with a consistent typological program (figs. Intro.01-02).²⁴ *Abraham Receiving the Three Men* (Gen. 18:2-8), *Abraham's Sacrifice* (Gen. 22:1-13), *Abel's Sacrifice* (Gen. 4:4) and *Melchizedek's Sacrifice* (Gen. 14:18) all find their antitype in the physical altar in the church where the priest celebrates mass. In the case of *Abraham Receiving the Three Men*, which generally prefigures the annunciation to the Virgin, the typological connection is visualised by the analogy between the bread on the table and the presence of Christ's sacrificial body in the form of the host during the Eucharistic ritual (the bread even has a cross impressed upon it, as the hosts would have had).²⁵ These mosaics show a pattern of divinely sanctioned ritual that continues into the post-biblical age, authorizing the commemoration and re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice in the celebration of Mass and establishing the continuity between the venerable Old Testament Fathers and the ministers of the Church.

While exegetes were combing through (extra-)biblical writings to discover patterns of significance, artists devised new ways to express visually the typological relationship between the Old and New Testament. From the ninth century onwards, for

²⁴ Fig. Intro.01: Artstor, "San Vitale, Ravenna: Abraham and the Three Angels at Mambre and the Sacrifice of Isaac, Chancel, North Lunette," <http://www.artstor.org/>. Intro.02: "San Vitale, Ravenna: Abel and Melchizedek, Chancel, South Lunette," www.artstor.org. Access date 05 May 2016.

²⁵ J. Robert Wright, "Iconography and Eucharistic Ecclesiology in the Apse Mosaics of San Vitale and their Distant Liturgical Echo in the First Anglican Canon," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 78, no. 2 (June 2009): 219-26. Wright plausibly explains the absence of a Crucifixion scene: "[...] the Eucharistic offering was already being understood as the continuation and extension of the sacrifices of the Old Testament prefiguring the self-offering Christ on the cross. Similarly, the religious meal in ancient Israel is continued around the Christian altar and joined to the eternity of God in heaven. That which Christ did then in his body, we do now in the Eucharist." Ibid., 224.

instance, the juxtaposition of personifications of the Church (*Ecclesia*) and the Synagogue (*Synagoga*) became popular.²⁶ *Ecclesia* is usually crowned while *Synagoga*'s attribute is her blindfold. This type of imagery leans heavily on Paul's description of the Old Testament as the veiled truth only revealed by the coming of Christ: "[...] Moses put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel might not steadfastly look on the face of that which is made void. But their senses were made dull. For, until this present day, the selfsame veil, in the reading of the Old Testament, remaineth not taken away (because in Christ it is made void). But even until this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. But when they shall be converted to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away."²⁷

In a fourteenth-century *Speculum* manuscript from Darmstadt, both figures are included in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, signalling that *Ecclesia* is prepared for the coming of the heavenly bridegroom while *Synagoga* is not (fig. Intro.03).²⁸ A manuscript illumination from around 1460 associates the figure of *Ecclesia* with the saving sacraments of Baptism (baptismal font) and the Eucharist (chalice and host); she holds a cruciform staff with banner and is being crowned by Christ (fig. Intro.04).²⁹ Her counterpart *Synagoga* has lost her crown, and her staff is broken. Her blindfold signifies that she does not recognize Christ as the Messiah (in other words, she did not read the

²⁶ Bernd Nicolai, "Orders in Stone: Social Reality and Artistic Approach. The Case of the Strasbourg South Portal," *Gesta* 41, no. 2 (2002): 111-28. Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages; Two Symbols in Art and Literature* [Synagoge und Kirche im Mittelalter], trans. Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald (New York: Ungar, 1970).

²⁷ 2 Cor. 3:14-16.

²⁸ Fig. Intro.03: Horst Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Dortmund: Harenberg Kommunikation, 1981), 75, fig. c.

²⁹ Fig. Intro.04: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, "Christ Choosing 'Ecclesia', Chasing Away 'Synagoga' (Liber Floridus, Ms 72a23, Fol. 199v),"

http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_72a23%3A199v_afb. Access date 05 May 2016.

Bible typologically) and fails to see that her path leads to damnation (graphically illustrated by a hell mouth).

Sometimes a visual analogy between two events inspired the inclusion of those scenes as types, as in the twelfth-century Saint Bertin cross-foot (fig. Intro.05).³⁰ The scene of *Jacob Blessing Ephraim and Manasses* (Gen. 48:13-15) prefigures Christ on the Cross because the biblical story records Jacob crossing his arms for the blessing of his two grandsons (fig. Intro.06).³¹ Occasionally, even the artistic visualisation of the biblical narrative, rather than the narrative itself, actually provided the type, as in the case of the widow of Sarephta (1 Kings 17:10), a prefiguration of the Crucifixion. The prophet Elias was sent to Sarephta where he met a widow whom he asked for a meal. She replied that she had very little food and was gathering two sticks so that she could cook a last meal for her son and herself, before they were doomed to starve. Elias asked her to bring him food anyway, and miraculously the widow's supplies continued to replenish. The scene functions as a type based on the assumption that the widow had crossed the two sticks she held in her hands (fig. Intro.07).³²

The famous 1181 Klosterneuburg altarpiece, made by Nicholas of Verdun (ca 1130-1205), shows how types and antitypes are visually related to each other, thereby

³⁰ Fig. Intro.05: Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin, "Patrimoines de Saint-Omer," <http://www.patrimoines-saint-omer.fr/Les-musees-et-oeuvres/Musee-de-l-hotel-Sandelin/Parcours-Histoire/Salle-d-art-religieux/Pied-de-croix-de-Saint-Bertin>. Access date 05 May 2016. The museum website even offers a three-dimensional view of the art work.

³¹ Fig. Intro.06: Philippe Verdier, "A Mosan Plaque with Ezechiel's Vision of the Sign of Thau (Tau)," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 29/30 (1966/67): 30, fig. 14, 31, fig. 16. "And he set Ephraim on his right hand, that is, towards the left hand of Israel; but Manasses on his left hand, to wit, towards his father's right hand, and brought them near to him. But stretching forth his right hand, put it upon the head of Ephraim, the younger brother; and the left upon the head of Manasses who was the elder, changing his hands." Also see: Hughes, "Visual Typology in Early Gothic Art, 1140-1240," 69-73.

³² Fig. Intro.07: Verdier, "A Mosan Plaque with Ezechiel's Vision of the Sign of Thau (Tau)," 29, fig. 14. See: 1 Kings 17:10 and Gen. 48:13-15 respectively.

strengthening their typological interdependence (fig. Intro.08).³³ The altarpiece originally consisted of three rows of enamels (after a fire in 1311 six enamels were added, making the total number of enamels per row fifteen). The top row depicts scenes ‘ante legem’ (from Adam to Moses), the bottom row shows scenes ‘sub legem’ (from Moses to Christ) and the row in the middle contains scenes ‘sub gratia’ (from the life of Christ until the Last Judgement).³⁴ The *Entombment* is accompanied by *Joseph Thrown into the Well* and *Jonah and the Whale* (fig. Intro.09).³⁵ The artist has taken care to make the scenes visually cohesive; the tree motif behind Joseph is repeated behind Christ and by the sail behind Jonah, and both Joseph and Jonah are shown naked, going down almost vertically, head first. Christ, who is the fulfilment of the pattern, is singled out by being clothed and lying prone. In the Klosterneuburg altarpiece, typology also functions an exegetical tool that deduces events not explicitly mentioned in biblical history: the *Circumcision of Christ* (Luke 2:21) is prefigured by the *Circumcision of Isaac* (Gen. 21:4) and the *Circumcision of Samson* (fig. Intro.10).³⁶ Samson’s circumcision is not mentioned in the Bible.³⁷ However, since Samson prefigures Christ in the preceding and subsequent enamels, and the historical circumstances suggest he was likely circumcised as a child, the scene was included in the Klosterneuburg altarpiece to complete the pattern.³⁸

³³ Fig. Intro.08: Wikimedia Commons, "Verdun Altar,"

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Verdun_Altar.JPG. Access date 05 May 2016.

³⁴ This tripartite view of history ultimately derives from Paul (Romans 5:13-14) and was elaborated by Augustine. Hughes, "Visual Typology in Early Gothic Art, 1140-1240," 86-88.

³⁵ Fig. Intro.09: Flickr and Peter (petrus.agricola), "Verdun Altarpiece - Central Panel, Right Part," <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28433765@N07/14671080140>. (detail). Access date 05 May 2016.

³⁶ Fig. Intro.10: Flickr and Peter (petrus.agricola) "Verdun Altarpiece - Left Wing," <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28433765@N07/14857755455/in/photostream/>. Detail. Access date 05 May 2016.

³⁷ Christopher Hughes makes this argument, only mistakenly claims that it is the annunciation of the birth of Samson that is not in the Bible, rather than the story of Samson’s circumcision. Hughes, "Visual Typology in Early Gothic Art, 1140-1240," 92.

³⁸ Another example comes from the fifteenth-century *Typologische Taferelen uit het Leven van Jezus* manuscript, where the author describes six elders accompanying Moses when he strikes water from the

These examples already indicate that visual typology is not simply the static juxtaposition of two or three biblical narratives; rather it is an inherently visual, exegetical exercise. Artists employed both formal and narrative means to engage viewers in a hermeneutical process to discover the salvific significance of the typological analogy. Following patristic and medieval writers, Augustine in particular, art historian Christopher Hughes describes typology as a *forma intelligenda* (a way of understanding) and submits that to late antique and medieval Christians “[...] typology is not simply the sum of Old and New Testament prefigurative relationships, but instead a lively conceptual activity or epistemology.”³⁹ He argues convincingly that “[...] typology was attractive to medieval viewers because it provided a form of cognitive stimulation that enabled them to think more deeply and searchingly about their world.”⁴⁰ Although Hughes describes a vital aspect of typology, namely the way in which viewers could engage with typological works of art, the more general question of what (visual) typology is remains unanswered.

From the thirteenth century onwards a trend towards codification of typological analogies can be traced in the appearance of various typological compendia throughout western Europe. Many of the analogies in these compendia conform to the traditional,

rock (Exod. 17:6). The biblical narrative does not specify the number of attendants, but since Moses striking the rock prefigures the miracle at Cana, where Christ changed the water contained in six vessels into wine (John 2:9), both author and illuminator put the number of elders at six. Bert Cardon, Robrecht Lievens, and Maurits Smeyers, *Typological Scenes from the Life of Jesus* (Louvain: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1985), 64, 109 (fol. 3).

³⁹ Hughes, "Visual Typology in Early Gothic Art, 1140-1240," xii. Augustine wrote: "The goal of these teachings by means of figures is to nourish and excite within us the fire of love so that we lift ourselves very high and seek for repose inside of us. Truths thus presented touch and reach our heart much more than those appearing to is stripped of those mysterious vestments." Quoted in *ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁰ "Typology and its Uses in the Moralized Bible," in *The Mind's Eye, Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouche (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 136-37.

biblical definition of typology, while concurrently many others reveal a broader understanding of the typological conception of salvation history and man's place in it. As these manuscripts and (later) block books have had such a decisive influence both on contemporary artists and the modern perception of visual typology, it is worth examining them at some length.⁴¹

Manuscripts or block books of the *Biblia pauperum* could consist of thirty-four, or up to as many as fifty pages, featuring two types for every antitype.⁴² The juxtapositions, especially in the shorter, more widely available volumes, generally conform closely to a biblical definition of typology. The *Crucifixion*, for example, illustrates the traditional understanding of typology beautifully. *Christ on the Cross* is flanked by two types: *Abraham's Sacrifice* on the left and *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* on the right (fig. Intro.11).⁴³ Abraham is about to sacrifice his son Isaac to God when his hand is stayed by an angel. The patriarch then offers up a ram instead (Gen. 22-7-18). The story of Abraham's sacrifice prefigures God's sacrifice of his Son for the redemption of

⁴¹ For the artistic influence of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, see for instance: Wilson and Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis 1324-1500*, 28-29. Jan-Karel Steppe, "De Overgang van het Mensdom van het Oude Verbond naar het Nieuwe, een Brussels Wandtapijt uit de 16e Eeuw Ontstaan Onder Invloed van de Lutherse Ikonografie en Prentkunst," in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Grafische Kunst, Opgedragen aan Prof. Dr. Louis Lebeer ter Gelegenheid van zijn Tachtigste Verjaardag*, ed. M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, H. Liebaers, and G. Schmook (Antwerp: Vereniging van de Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 1975), 326-59.

⁴² The University of Manchester Library has a facsimile of a 34-page German *Biblia pauperum* (GW4325, dated ca 1462): University of Manchester - Rylands Medieval Collection, <http://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/media/book/showAllPagesThumbnail?mid=Man4MedievalVC~4~4~989078~142625>. Access date 05 May 2016. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* has a Latin *Biblia pauperum* of fifty pages (MS. Xylo-5, dated 1480-1485): Bibliothèque Nationale de France, "Biblia Pauperum," <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k850504w/f10.image>. Access date 05 May 2016. Both of these manuscripts are also available via the Warburg Institute: Warburg Institute, "Iconographic Database," http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/main_page.php. Access date 05 May 2016.

⁴³ Fig. Intro.11: British Museum, "Biblia Pauperum Sheet 25 (1845,0809.26)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=1845,0809.26. Access date 05 May 2016. See: Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2* (Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1990), 168-69, 39, plate .e.

mankind.⁴⁴ On the right side of the page the Israelites, who are being bitten by venomous vipers as a punishment from God, find relief by looking at the bronze serpent Moses was commanded to lift atop a pole and display to his repentant people (Num. 21:4-9). This type comes from the gospel of John, where Christ prophesied to his disciples that: “[...] as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up: That whosoever believeth in him, may not perish; but may have life everlasting.”⁴⁵

The artist/exegete who compiled the *Biblia pauperum* only rarely deviated from strict biblical typology, as when he included the *Five Foolish Virgins* as a type of *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (fig. Intro.12).⁴⁶ The foolish virgins of Christ’s parable (Matt. 25:1-13) failed to prepare for the arrival of the Bridegroom and were shut out when he arrived. In the picture they are being mocked by two devils who herd them down a staircase leading to hell. The foolish virgins function as types of the soldiers who came to arrest Christ but fell back when he revealed himself (John 18:6), indicating that Hell awaits those who are ill-prepared to meet their Savior.⁴⁷ The type here is not a historical

⁴⁴ “Abraham prefigures the Heavenly Father who sacrificed his Son, Christ, on the cross for all of us so that He might show through this event a sign of His Father’s love.” (“Abraham Patrem Celestem significat qui Filium Suum, scilicet Cristum, pro nobis omnibus in cruce immolavit ut per hoc innueret signum amoris paterni”). *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 124, 81.

⁴⁵ John 3:14-15. The caption reads: “The serpent that was suspended and beheld by the people prefigures Christ on the cross whom all the faithful should behold to be free from the serpent, the devil.” (“Serpens suspensus intuitusque a populo Cristum in cruce figurat quem intu[eri] debet omnis fidel[is] quia serpent id est dyabolo vult liberari”). Ibid. Visually the hands connect the scenes: the angel points to the sacrificial lamb that prefigures Christ and Moses points to the brazen serpent, underscoring the redemptive power of Christ’s sacrifice. The Roman centurion points to Christ on the cross as he announces: “Indeed this was the son of God.” (Matt. 27:54)

⁴⁶ Fig. Intro.12: British Museum, “Biblia Pauperum Sheet 20 (1845,0809.21),” http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=1845,0809.21. Access date 05 May 2016. Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 163-65, 34, plate .v.

⁴⁷ *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 119, 64. The caption: “We read in Matthew, chapter 25, that the entrance – the gate of eternal salvation – was closed to the foolish virgins who did not have oil for their lamps. These virgins signify the Jews who fell back from the Lord when asked on the Mount of Olives, ‘whom do you seek?’ They retreated in despair and harness of heart, and therefore since they do not believe, they are now in hell.”

event but a parable, from the New Testament and not the Old. The second type, the *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, is based on prophecies from both Testaments: Isaiah (14:11-15) and Revelation (12:9). In their pride, Lucifer and his angels aspire to godlike status and are expelled from Heaven. According to the caption they exemplify “the Jews who feared to lose their position in society and in their land. Therefore, they crucified and killed the humble and devout Jesus, and fell into the pit of their own making, namely into hell as is written in the Psalm.”⁴⁸ The inclusion of these types amidst the other images in the *Biblia pauperum* suggests that they were considered valid prefigurations.

The *Speculum humanae salvationis* reveals more discrepancies between a biblical definition and artistic practice. Several biblical types, for instance, were technically not drawn from the Scriptures: although Isaiah is an Old Testament prophet, the story of his martyrdom, which prefigures *Christ Nailed to the Cross*, was recorded in Petrus Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* in the twelfth century (fig. Intro.13).⁴⁹ Similarly, the emperor Augustus is mentioned in the New Testament, but the story of *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl*, a type of the *Nativity*, was drawn from the thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* (fig. Intro.14).⁵⁰ The *Speculum* also includes extra-biblical types: the story of the *Sacrifice of King Codrus* is told in *Facta et dicta memorabilia* by Roman author Valerius Maximus and foreshadows the *Crucifixion* (fig. Intro.15).⁵¹ From the same sources

⁴⁸ Ibid., 119.

⁴⁹ Fig. Intro.13: The Morgan Library and Museum, "Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Ms 385, Fol. 26r)," <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=335855>. Access date 05 May 2016.

⁵⁰ Fig. Intro.14: "Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Ms 385, Fol. 11r)," <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=335825>. Access Date 05 May 2016. Emperor Augustus asked a sibyl whether there would ever be a king greater than himself. The sibyl then had a vision of the Virgin and Child. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 85. Augustus is mentioned in Luke 2:1, Acts 25:21 and Acts 25:25.

⁵¹ Fig. Intro.15: The Morgan Library and Museum, "Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Ms 385, Fol. 27r)," <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=335857>. Access date 05 May 2015. The Greek King Codrus was told that the only way to save Athens was to sacrifice himself. Dressed as a king, his

derives the story of the *Golden Table of Zabulon*, which was fished out of the sea and dedicated to the Sun god, prefiguring the dedication of Mary to the temple in the *Presentation of Mary* (fig. Intro.16).⁵² The book includes antitypes from extra-biblical sources, such as the *Annunciation of the Birth of Mary* and the *Birth of the Virgin Mary*, found in the *Legenda aurea*. Finally, animals also feature as types: *The Ostrich Saving its Young* (from the *Historia scholastica*) foreshadows *Christ in Limbo* (fig. Intro.17).⁵³

The fourteenth-century *Concordantiae caritatis*, described by art historian Peter Bloch as “the most extensive of all typological works,” juxtaposes each antitype with two types from the Old Testament and two types from Book of Nature (fig. Intro.18).⁵⁴ The *Annunciation to the Virgin*, for example, is foreshadowed by the *Annunciation of the*

enemies would not attack him, but dressed as a peasant he was killed. This was seen to foreshadow Christ’s sacrifice for the redemption of mankind. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 101. Augustine mentions the story in his *De Civitate Dei*. Aurelius Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 846.

⁵² Fig. Intro.16: The Morgan Library and Museum, “Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Ms 385, Fol. 7v),” <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=335818>. Access date 05 May 2016. The purity of the gold and the sun reflect the purity of the Virgin. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 82.

⁵³ Fig. Intro.17: The Morgan Library and Museum, “Speculum Humanae Salvations (Ms 385, Fol. 31r),” <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=335865>. Access date 05 May 2016. According to Comestor, King Solomon once saw an ostrich saving its chick by breaking the glass it was in with dragon’s blood. The blood of the dragon is a type of the salvific blood of Christ. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 105. Daniels, judging the visual arts by a theological definition of typology (revealing his own religious views to an extent), denies these instances are truly typological: “In all of these instances, typology in the strictest sense of the word is not applied. These are no more than idiosyncratic parallels, which can be very useful to elucidate religious doctrine, but, as far as we know, were not intended by God to prefigure future salvation.” (“In al deze gevallen kan van typologie in de strikte zin van het woord geen sprake zijn. De door hem vertaalde gebeurtenissen zijn niet meer dan merkwaardige parallelen, die zeer nuttig kunnen zijn om de geloofsleer te belichten, maar, voor zover wij weten, door God niet als een voorafbeelding van het latere heil zijn bedoeld.” My translation) Daniels O.P., *De Spieghel der Menscheliker Behoudenesse, de Middelnederlandse Vertaling van het Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, IX, Studien en Tekstuitgaven van Ons Geestelijk Erf, Bezorgd door het Ruusbroec-Genootschap te Antwerpen, xix.

⁵⁴ Fig. Intro.18: Herbert Douteil et al., *Die Concordantiae Caritatis des Ulrich von Lilienfeld: Edition des Codex Campiliensis 151 (um 1355) und Übersetzung: Band 2* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010), 429. Bloch, “Typologische Kunst,” 137. “das größte aller typologischen Werke.” Hanneke Wirtjes, *The Middle English Physiologus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), lxix. “Nature is not studied for its own sake but for what it can tell us about God’s purpose and about how we should conduct ourselves. Nature has become a metaphor, a book to be studied by all good Christians.”

Birth of Isaac (Gen. 17:16) and the *Annunciation of the Birth of Samson* (Judg. 13:9-24).⁵⁵ Below, the sturgeon (thought to live off the wind) and a pair of vultures (purportedly able to conceive without physical contact) prefigure the Virgin Mary conceiving Christ.⁵⁶ The elucidation of the last pair is explicit: “What false things do you believe about the Virgin birth, godless heretic? When, as you can see, such things are possible in nature, how much more can be done through the Ruler of all Creation, by means of the Virgin? As the sunbeam shines into and out from the glass without disturbing the mirror, in such a way the entry and exit of the Godhead does not diminish the virginity of the mother, but confirms and sustains it.”⁵⁷

The analogy between the light shining through glass and Mary’s virginal conception of Christ, which became popular from the ninth century onwards, also appears as a prefiguration in the *Pictor in carmine*.⁵⁸ This English manuscript was written around 1200, and its author explicitly aimed at artists: “Therefore it is that, to curb the licence of painters, or rather to influence their work in churches where paintings are permitted, my pen has drawn up certain applications of events from the Old and New Testaments [...] to supplement the materials for the comely decoration already begun in many churches and

⁵⁵ To create visual unity, Abraham and Sara are shown to be visited by an angel. The biblical story has God speak directly to Abraham in Genesis 17, and in the guise of three men in Genesis 18.

⁵⁶ Herbert Douteil et al., *Die Concordantiae Caritatis des Ulrich von Lilienfeld: Edition des Codex Campililiensis 151 (um 1355) und Übersetzung: Band 1* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010), 16-17.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 17. “Was also glaubst du Falsches über die Jungfrauengeburt, gottloser Häretiker? Wenn schon, wie du siehst, solchest im Wirken der bloßen Natur möglich ist, um wieviel mehr kann es geschehen durch den Herrscher über die ganze Schöpfung auch in der Jungfrau? Denn wie der Sonnenstrahl durch das Glass ein- und austritt und den Spiegel nicht zerstört, ebenso wenig mindert der Ein- und Ausgang der Gottheit die Jungfräulichkeit der Mutter, sondern bestärkt und erhält sie.” (My translation)

⁵⁸ Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine: A Study of the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), 244. Shirley Neilsen Blum, “Hans Memling’s *Annunciation* with Angelic Attendants,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992): 46. Karl-August Wirth, *Pictor in Carmine: Ein Handbuch der Typologie aus der Zeit um 1200* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2006), 136. “Sol lucet per medium vitri nec violat substantiam.” It prefigures the very first type: “Colloquium Gabrielis et virginis de incarnatione verbi.”

to curb the faults of excessive levity by providing a supply of more excellent quality.”⁵⁹

This text avoids extra-biblical legends but it does include (mythical) animals as types, such as the unicorn as a prefiguration for the Virgin Mary and the lion and phoenix as foreshadowing Christ’s death and Resurrection.⁶⁰ The text contains antitypes from the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul before concluding with the Last Judgement.⁶¹

These departures from a strictly biblical understanding of typology demonstrate that the late medieval conception of salvific analogies in history was inherently flexible; the message conveyed by a particular juxtaposition took precedence over a strictly biblical origin of either type or antitype.⁶² A biblical definition also fails to address the fact that salvation history is ongoing: as Auerbach points out, both type and antitype “[...] point to one another and both point to something in the future, something still to come, which will be the actual, real, and definitive event. This is true not only of Old Testament prefiguration, which points forward to the incarnation and the proclamation of the gospel, but also of these latter events, for they too are not the ultimate fulfilment, but

⁵⁹ M.R. James, "Pictor in Carmine," *Archaeologia: or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 2, no. 94 (1951): 142. The *Pictor in Carmine*'s counterpart on the continent was the *Rota in Medio Rotae*. Floridus Rohrig, "Rota in Medio Rotae, Ein Typologischer Zyklus aus Osterreich," in *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, ed. Floridus Rohrig (Klosterneuburg: Klosterneuburger Buch- und Kunstverlag, 1965). Frank Büttner and Andrea Gott dang, *Einführung in die Ikonographie: Wege zur Deutung von Bildinhalten* (München: C.H. Beck Verlag 2006).

⁶⁰ James, "Pictor in Carmine," 146, 55-66. The unicorn is actually called 'rinoceros' in the caption and functioned as a prefiguration of the *Annunciation to the Virgin*.

⁶¹ Wirth, *Pictor in Carmine: Ein Handbuch der Typologie aus der Zeit um 1200*, 254-72. The siege of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian is also included as antitype (CXXXII, p. 264). The destruction of Jerusalem was prophesied by Christ (Luke 19:43-44), but the names of the Roman generals are not recorded in the Bible.

⁶² Friedrich Ohly distinguishes between 'halb biblische' and 'außer biblische' typology. An example of the former would be Odysseus tied to the mast as prefiguration of Christ on the cross, of the latter Romulus and Remus as the founders of the old city of Rome, prefiguring Peter and Paul founding the new (Christian) Rome. Friedrich Ohly, "Synagoge und Ecclesia. Typologisches in Mittelalterlicher Dichtung (1966)," in *Schriften zur Mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 316. Whether these more unusual typological juxtapositions also found their way into the visual arts is unknown to me, but certainly worth exploring. Also see: "Halbbiblische und Außer biblische Typologie (1976)," in *Schriften zur Mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 361-400.

themselves a promise to the end of time and the true kingdom of God. Thus history, with all its concrete force, remains forever a figure, cloaked and needful of interpretation.”⁶³

The inclusion of animals as types of Christ already reveals this understanding of continuity in typology in the Middle Ages; instead of identifying one individual animal, bound to a specific place and time, a species of animals typifies salvific events. Types drawn from the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul also testify to this perceived continuity. Catherine Brown Tkacz notes that: “The post-biblical life of the Church continued to provide new types: St. Ignatius of Antioch, for instances, writing to the Church at Tralles ca. 107, describes the bishop as τύπον of the Father.”⁶⁴ In the second part of the *Concordantia caritatis* saints are depicted as antitypes to a pair of Old Testament prefigurations.⁶⁵ Another visual example is the depiction of the life of St. Francis of Assisi (1181/82-1226), who is shown as a type of both the prophet Elijah and of Christ in the late thirteenth-century fresco decoration of the upper church of San Francesco d’Assisi. The two upper registers of the North wall feature an Old Testament cycle, the South wall a New Testament cycle. Scenes from the life of Saint Francis are depicted in parallel, not chronologically but according to their relationship to the scenes above (fig. Intro.19).⁶⁶

⁶³ Auerbach, "Figura," 58.

⁶⁴ Catherine Brown Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and the Early Christian Imagination* (Paris: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 51-52. Woollcombe notes: “Ignatius’ description of the Bishop as τύπος του πατρός is probably an instance of symbolic typology with an anti-Gnostic bias. It is likely that he was insisting that the Bishop was a genuine ‘type’ of God, as opposed to the spurious types about which the Gnostics fancifully speculated.” K.J. Woollcombe, "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," in *Essays on Typology*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe and K.J. Woollcombe (Napierville: A.R. Allenson, 1957), 70.

⁶⁵ Hans Tietze, "Die Typologischen Bilderkreise des Mittelalters in Österreich," *Jahrbuch der K.K. Zentral-Kommission für Kunst- und Denkmale* II, no. 2 (1904): 68, 77.

⁶⁶ Fig. Intro.19: Gerhard P. Ruf, *Die Fresken der Oberkirche San Francesco in Assisi, Ikonographie und Theologie* (Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner, 2004), 105. “In Assisi, it is not just a mere ‘concordance’ of Old and New Testament that was painted. From the arrangement one sees clearly that the hagiographic row of pictures from the life of St. Francis connect with the pictures from the Old and New

Kings and rulers at least as far back as the Carolingians (re)presented themselves as the divinely sanctioned successors of Old Testament sovereigns and sometimes even as *typus Christi*.⁶⁷ That they were born in the era *sub gratia* did not make this typological analogy any less potent; these types find their antitype in the Second coming of Christ at the end of time. In the wake of this tradition, Emperor Charles V of Spain (1500-1558) was heralded as the new Messiah by the citizens of Bruges during his Joyous Entry into the city in 1515.⁶⁸ In fact, the frequency with which the Emperor was addressed as a type of Christ, the new Moses, the new David, the new Solomon, or the new Hercules, actually inspired his personal librarian to have a booklet printed in Antwerp that recorded all of these glorifying epithets.⁶⁹

Similar terminology was used to describe Charles's son and successor Philip II (1527-1598). When King Philip visited an English college, the rector referred to the

Testaments. These scenes should also be considered as more than just a narrative in the lower section of the wall where, because there was space left over, it was decided to depict the life of St. Francis. The life of St. Francis is not depicted according to the historical narrative, but designed theologically. The life's history of St. Francis is oriented after the pattern of the biblical cycles painted above it." ("In Assisi ist nicht nur eine 'Konkordanz' des Alten und Neuen Testaments gemalt worden. Aus der Gliederung ersieht man deutlich, dass auch die hagiographische Bilderreihe des Franziskus einen Zusammenhang mit den Bilderreihen des Alten und Neuen Testaments hat. Es ist also mehr als nur Narratives in der unteren Zone zu sehen, als nur dies, dass sich noch Platz in der freien unteren Zone angeboten hätte, ein Franziskusleben zu malen. Das Franziskusleben ist nicht narrative-historisch wiedergegeben, sonder theologisch konzipiert worden. Die 'Lebensgeschichte' des hl. Franziskus orientiert sich an der Vorlage der darüber gemalten biblischen Zyklen." My translation) *ibid.*, 21.

⁶⁷ M.J. Silverman, "Notes: Aelfric's Designation of the King as *Cristes Sylfes Speligend*," *The Review of English Studies, New Series* 35, no. 139 (Aug. 1984): 332. "The Carolingians liked to see themselves as successors of the Old Testament Israelites and their kings as successors of David, God's representative on Earth." Ian S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Nature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), 116.

⁶⁸ Brigitte Dekeyser, "Een Gelaagde Bijbellectuur: over het Gebruik van Typologie in de Rederijkersliteratuur," in *Koninklijke Soevereine Hoofdkamer van Retorica 'De Fontaine' te Gent, Jaarboek*, ed. D. Coigneau, A. van Bruaene, and W. Waterschoot (Oudenaarde: Drukkerij Sanderus, 2003-2004), 26. Also see: H. van de Waal, *Drie Eeuwen Vaderlandsche Geschied-Uitbeelding, 1500-1800: een Iconologische Studie* (1952: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952), 27.

⁶⁹ Michel Weemans, "The Preaching of John the Baptist: Herri met de Bles's Visual Exegesis and Expanded Typology," in *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400-1700*, ed. Walter Melion, James Clifton, and Michel Weemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 284-85.

“Psalme, though it were written properlie and peculiarly of Christ himself, yet by secondary application and some similitude, it maie also very aptelie be accommodated to his Most Christian King [Philip II] and his son, that are so principall ministers of Christ, and do imitate so manifestlie his kinglie vertues, which in this Psalme are expressed.”⁷⁰ Here, Philip functions as an antitype for the figure in the psalm, and in this sense he is analogous to Christ, who is another antitype to that same figure. Unusually, however, Philip II internalized these epithets and boasted a special relationship with God. Once, when comforting a dejected minister, he allegedly said: “May God give you life and health, because you are engaged in His service and mine – which is the same thing.”⁷¹ Geoffrey Parker persuasively argues that King Philip believed these attributions to the point at which his self-image as a messianic figure analogous to Christ decisively influenced his foreign politics: “the king disregarded strategic concerns and failed to formulate fall-back strategies because he expected God to provide a miracle to bridge the gap between means and ends.”⁷²

Such epithets sometimes also found visual expression: in 1559, four years after Philip succeeded his father as ruler of the Netherlands, painter Lucas d’Heere (1534-1584) depicted him in the guise of King Solomon receiving gifts from the Queen of Sheba, who personifies the Netherlandish provinces (fig. Intro.20).⁷³ This painting

⁷⁰ Geoffrey Parker, "The Place of Tudor England in the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain: The Prothero Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 176.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 167, 213. “[...] although many sycophants, propagandists and apologists made extravagant claims for their patrons, and although many advisers (especially clerics) believed that God fought on their side, no other monarch of this period regularly framed foreign and domestic policy on the assumption that she or he had divined God’s purpose. Fewer still routinely relied on miracles to bridge the gap between ends and means.” *Ibid.*, 213.

⁷³ Fig. Intro.20: Geheugen van Nederland, "Philips II als Koning Salomo Ontvangt de Hulde van de Nederlanden, Voorgesteld als de Koningin van Sheba met Haar Gevolg," <http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/?/nl/items/NCRD01:101791909>. Access date 05 May 2016. S.

formed part of the choir decorations in Ghent cathedral, where a meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece (consisting of the most important nobles of the Low Countries) would take place on 29 July of that year.⁷⁴ Significantly, the inscription on the frame does not speak of the Queen of Sheba but identifies her as “Nicaula” (following Flavius Josephus) who comes from the hills and lands of Sheba, while Philip is described as “a second Solomon, pious jewel of kings,” suggesting that the meeting depicted in the painting is not one between peers.⁷⁵ King Philip’s depiction as Solomon was not a mere analogy to a venerable Old Testament king; it conveyed a secular and sacred claim of power, namely that he was God’s appointed successor, and signalled the representatives of the Netherlandish provinces that they should submit to his wisdom.⁷⁶

Groeneveld and Paul Dirkse, eds., *Ketters en Papen onder Filips II: het Godsdienstige Leven in de Tweede Helft van de 16e Eeuw* (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, 1986), 15, 108, fig. 3. W.H Vroom and M.E.H.N. Mout, "Willem van Oranje. Om Vrijheid van Geweten," (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1984), 59, C5. On Charles V as David and his son Philip II as Solomon, see: Parker, "The Place of Tudor England in the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain: The Prothero Lecture," 180-82. For the story of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, see: 1 Kings 10.

⁷⁴ Groeneveld and Dirkse, *Ketters en Papen onder Filips II: het Godsdienstige Leven in de Tweede Helft van de 16e Eeuw*, 15n3. This was not the first time Philip II associated himself with King Solomon; in 1557 the King sponsored a glass stained window for Gouda Cathedral, which depicted the *Dedication of the Temple by King Solomon* (1 Chron. 7:1-3). God’s answer to Solomon’s sacrifice is summarized at the top: “I have heard your prayer and if you walk in My sight as your Father did, then I shall perpetuate your royal throne forever.” V. Pijls, A. Scheygrond, and G.J. Vaandeldrager, *De Goudse Glazen*, trans. S.B. Kuiper (Gouda: Foundation 'Fonds Goudse Glazen', 2001), 17. The second window down was gifted in 1561 by abbess Elburg van Boetzelaer, and depicted *the Queen of Sheba Visiting King Solomon*. Through the iconography of this window she suggests that as the Queen of Sheba submitted to Solomon’s wisdom, so she herself submits to King Philip’s rule. *Ibid.*, 16. Xander van Eck, "Pal Naast Philips, Margaretha van der Marck als Schenkster van Dirck Crabeth's Judith en Holofernes in de Goudse Sint Jan," *De Schatkamer: regionaal historisch tijdschrift Midden-Holland* 23, no. 2 (2009): 38. The composition was based on an engraving of 1557 by Frans Floris after Dirck Coornhert. Edward H. Wouk, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Frans Floris*, vol. 1 (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2011), 64, 68, cat. 29. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-BI-6503).

⁷⁵ The full text reads: “When Nicaula came from the hill and land of Sheba to Sion, she spoke: I am amazed at this greatness, exceeding expectations and fame” (“Colle Siona soli veniens Nicaulo Sabaei, Spem super et famam grandia mirror ait”). Below: “Philip is a second Solomon, the pious jewel of kings, he donated marvellous decorations [for the cathedral] for this conference of wisdom [with the council of the Golden Fleece]” (“Alter item Salomon, pia regum gemma Philippus, Ut foris hic sophiae mira theatre dedit”). These translation are based on the Dutch translation made by W. Waterschoot and classicist D. Knecht: W. Waterschoot, "Leven en Betekenis van Lucas d'Heere," *Verlagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 1 (1974): 31, including note 61.

⁷⁶ Sometime between 1572 and 1580, Johannes Wierix (1539-1620) engraved a print titled *Christ Gives the Symbols of Power to Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII* after Abrosius Francken (ca 1544-1618), which was

The increased availability of scriptural texts to a wide audience (which would contribute to the growing demand for religious reform) went hand in hand with a re-examination of patterns in biblical history. In the sixteenth century, a particular interest in moralistic lessons to be drawn from biblical history emerged: there was a particular focus on what biblical history could reveal about contemporary situations. The tumultuous political and religious events that took place throughout the century stimulated an identification of the people in the Low Countries with the trials and tribulations of the Israelites of the Old Testament. This identification became more pronounced during the early seventeenth century, when it was licensed by the glosses in the *Statenbijbel*.⁷⁷ This typological way of thinking sometimes manifested itself in the visual arts, as the Lucas d'Heere painting indicates, and an awareness of this trend is crucial to understanding the way in which typology informed people's view of the world and their place in it.

An early instance of the identification of Netherlandish people (not just kings and rulers) with the Israelites from the Old Testament comes from a set of five manuscripts,

published by Willem van Haecht (ca 1527-ca 1583). This print depicts Christ handing over the globe of the world to King Philip II of Spain and Pope Gregory XIII as they kneel before him. The globe is surmounted by a cross and a crown that holds a sword and an olive branch (symbols for war and peace). The message that Christ hands over authority to rule the world is further amplified by quotations such as: "Fear God, honor the king," and "as the Lord liveth, and as my lord the king liveth: in what place soever thou shalt be, my lord, O king, either in death, or in life, there will thy servant be." James Clifton rightly points out that this last quotation functions both as "a pledge of loyalty, of Philip to Christ and of the Catholic viewer to Philip." Walter S. Melion and James Clifton, eds., *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2009), 196, cat. 52. Groeneveld and Dirkse, *Ketters en Papen onder Filips II: het Godsdienstige Leven in de Tweede Helft van de 16e Eeuw*, 110, fig. 35.

⁷⁷ Regarding the identification of the Dutch with the Israelites in the Old Testament in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth century see: Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Fontana Press, 1987), 25-125. "Lines dividing history and scripture dissolved as the meaning of Dutch independence and power was attributed to the providential selection of a new people to be as a light unto the nations. In this Netherlandish addendum to the Old Testament, the United Provinces featured as the New Zion, Philip II as a King of Assyria and William the Silent as a godly captain of Judah." Ibid., 94. "This interpenetration with profane history lent Dutch Scripturalism its tremendous strength. It was used not in order to swallow up the secular world within the sacred, but rather to attribute to the vagaries of history (with which the Dutch lived, at times, very painfully) the flickering light of providential direction." Ibid., 97.

the *Historia frisiae*, *Gesta fresonum*, *Gesta frisiorum*, *Old freesche cronike* and *Ald frysk kronykje*, probably dating to the second half of the fifteenth century (although earlier dates have been proposed).⁷⁸ These manuscripts contain a series of fourteen legends related to the history of the Frisian people living in the northern provinces of the Low Countries. After detailing among other things how God championed the Jewish people by saving them from the evil King Pharaoh, granting victories to Joshua, giving strength (“sterkheid”) to Samson and great courage (“grate coenheit”) to Judith, the author of the *Gesta* notes: “This God has done for the children of Israel. In the same manner He has done great things for the Frisian people [...] proof of which can be found in history” (“Dit hat God by dae kynden fan Isrl dyen. Aldus hat Hy aeck greet werck by ws Friesen dyen [...] als het bewysd is in der hystorien”).⁷⁹ The chronicle recounts the life of three brothers (Bruno, Saxo and Friso) as they sailed from India (their people having been previously converted to Christianity by the apostle Thomas) and were led by God to a place thereafter known as *Freesland*, which was like “[...] the promised land that the children of Israel divided amongst each other” (“[...] als dat land fan biloften den kynden van Isrl mit eaucmghe is ghedeeld”).⁸⁰

The fourteen legends describe the foreign domination of tyrants such as Radbod, King of the Danes, and Ludger, Duke of Saxony, who forced the Frisians back to paganism and enslaved them. The Frisians fight off their oppressors, convert back to

⁷⁸ Hans Mol and Justine Smithuis, "De Friezen als Uitverkoren Volk: Religieus-Patriottische Geschiedschrijving in Vijftiende-Eeuws Friesland," *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 11 (2008): 165, 82-90. On the developments in Frisian historiography, see: Hessel Miedema, "De Vormgeving van de Vroege Friese Geschiedschrijving," *Oud Holland* 118, no. 1 (2005): 1-27.

⁷⁹ Franciscus Junius, *Gesta Fresonum uit de Apographa Juniana met Aanteekeningen, Voorafgegaan door eene Voorlezing over Franciscus Junius van Mr. J.W. de Crane* (Workum: H. Brandenburgh, 1837), 119-20. (My translation).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 120. (My translation).

Christianity, and distinguish themselves as crusaders against pagans in Rome, Lisbon, Aachen and Damiate. They are granted a degree of independence and privileges for their trouble. Throughout the text, particularly in the *Historia* and *Gesta* manuscripts, comparisons are made between the Frisians and such Old Testament figures as Samson, Judith and the Maccabees. Although these texts are overtly political in nature, it is nevertheless clear that the Frisians are portrayed as proud inheritors of the Jewish relationship to God.

This awareness that people living in post-biblical times are themselves part (however small) of the continued pattern of providential history was expressed visually in the *Seven Sacraments* print series, engraved by Philip Galle (1537-1612) and published in 1576 (fig. Intro.21).⁸¹ In the *Sacramentum Baptismi*, a large arch frames a contemporary baptism scene, with the *Baptism of Christ* and the *Baptism of the Eunuch* depicted in the background.⁸² Two Old Testament prophets, here Ezechiel and Zechariah, hold placards with excerpts from their prophecies, and point at the scene below the arch.⁸³ In the corners, four types to baptism are presented: *Noah's Ark*, *Passage through the Red Sea*, *Namaan Cleansed of Leprosy*, and the *Pool of Bethesda*.⁸⁴ Interestingly, the antitype here is not Christ's baptism, but the sacrament itself, as practised in the sixteenth century. In this way, Philip Galle's *Baptism* certifies the scriptural authority of the Roman Catholic

⁸¹ Fig. Intro.21: Metropolitan Museum of Art, "The Seven Sacraments: Baptism (53.601.14(67))," <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/368952>. Access date 05 May 2016.

⁸² Matt. 3:13-17 and Acts 8:36-38 respectively.

⁸³ Ezechiel 36:25: "And I will pour upon you clean water, and you shall be cleansed from all your filthiness, and I will cleanse you from all your idols" ("Et effundam super vos aquam mundam, et mundabimini ab omnibus inquinamentis vestries, et ab universis idolis vestries mundabo vos"), and Zechariah 13:1: "In that day there shall be a fountain open to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem: for the washing of the sinner, and of the unclean woman" ("In die illa erit fons patens domui David et habitantibus Jerusalem, in ablutionem peccatoris et menstruatae").

⁸⁴ Genesis 7:16-24, Exod. 14:21-22, 2 Kings 5:9-15, John 5:1-4. Notice that the first three are drawn from the Old Testament, while the last derives from the Gospel.

sacrament and includes his sixteenth-century audience in God's salvific pattern. The sheer abundance of textual quotes, in addition to the images, prompts the viewer to engage in a close reading of Scripture and seek out these and other passages that constitute the pattern that reaches into their own time. They are encouraged to consider the biblical narratives in relationship to their own lives, as lived sacramentally in relation to the Church.⁸⁵

This brief selection of examples shows the inadequacy of the traditional biblical definition of typology to recognize and describe the ways in which typology was applied in the visual arts throughout the centuries. The message meant to be conveyed by the typological analogies superseded the strictly biblical, historical and Christocentric origins of types and antitypes, which could be drawn from any of a number of sources: the Old and New Testaments, the Book of Nature, legend, mythology or post-biblical history.⁸⁶ Typology was also employed for more than exegetical purposes: Philip II, for example, used it to advance his political agenda in the Netherlands. Bernd Mohnhaupt not unjustly concluded that "[...] the search for the correct definition of 'typology' resembles Sisyphean toil. Its derogation is the only possible consequence. The strictest definition as regards content – only biblical typology is allowed – fails from the start because it is an arbitrary selection that takes definitions more seriously than the phenomena they aim to describe."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 152-53, cat. 25. James Clifton succinctly summarizes: "[...] the Old Testament narratives are not only prefigurations of the New Testament ones, nor are they simply to be interpreted through the lens of the Gospel; rather they demonstrate a continuity of meaning that validates contemporary ritual and practice." *Ibid.*, 153.

⁸⁶ For the use of mythological types, which seem to occur more frequently in literature than in the visual arts, see for instance: Ohly, "Halbbiblische und Außerbiblische Typologie (1976)," 361-400.

⁸⁷ Bernd Mohnhaupt, *Beziehungsgeflechte: Typologische Kunst des Mittelalters*, ed. Heimo Reinitzer, vol. 22, *Vestigia Biblicae, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Bibel-Archivs Hamburg* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), 22. "[...]

One solution lies in acknowledging the underlying idea that typological analogies express, namely, that God's salvific plan is reflected in and revealed through his Creation and can be discerned by studying patterns in the Bible, History and Nature. This is not a new perspective; many scholars have commented on this crucial element of typological thinking but, unfortunately, few of them have taken it as a point of departure.⁸⁸ In order to gain an understanding of the manifold imaginative ways in which artists employed typology, especially in the sixteenth century, the definition of typology needs to be expanded. In this dissertation, the following definition of typology is proposed and applied: typology is an exegetical method that looks for patterns in salvation history as manifestations of the divine will and its purpose for mankind.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the abundance of typological manuscripts such as the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis* testifies to the popularity of visual typology. With the invention of the movable type printing press,

die Suche nach dem korrekten Begriff 'Typologie' einer Sisyphosarbeit gleicht. Ihr Abbruch ist die einzig mögliche Konsequenz. Die strikteste 'inhaltliche' Definition – nur innerbiblische Typology sei erlaubt – krankt zuallererst daran, daß sie eine willkürliche Setzung ist, die Begriffe wichtiger nimmt als die mit ihnen bezeichneten Phänomene." (My translation)

⁸⁸ Auerbach notes: "The figural interpretation, or to put it more completely, the figural view of history was widespread and deeply influential up to the Middle Ages, and beyond [...] No student of the Middle Ages can fail to see how it provides the medieval interpretation of history with its general foundation and often enters into the medieval view of everyday reality." Auerbach, "Figura," 60-61. Richard Emmerson points out that many scholars work not with Auerbach's actual definition of typology, but rather with what he calls the 'Auerbachian understanding' of typology. By this he means a simplified, strict definition that focuses on the relationship between the Old and the New Testament and thereby "[...] tends to limit typology to its most pristine form, as it was developed by Paul and other New Testament authors," and disregards subsequent typological exegesis. Richard K Emmerson, "Figura and the Medieval Typological Imagination," in *Typology and English Medieval Literature*, ed. Hugh T. Keenan (New York: AMS Press, 1992), 8-9. Bernadette Kramer, in her insightful 2013 dissertation acknowledges that typology aims to discern God's purpose for mankind through careful study of salvation history ("Het doel van typologie is om door een juiste interpretatie van de gehele heilsgeschiedenis deze verbanden bloot te leggen en zodoende inzichten te verschaffen in de tweede betekenislaag van gebeurtenissen, personen en voorwerpen, als uitdrukking van God's bedoeling met de mensheid"). Her object of study, a wonderful *Speculum humanae salvationis* type manuscript from Copenhagen, still leads her to claim, however, that "several types are always required to prefigure the antitype properly" ("Er zijn altijd meerdere prototype nodig om het antitype goed te prefigureren"). Bernadette Kramer, *Een Lekenboek in Woord en Beeld: De Spiegel der Minschliken Zaligheid* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 15-16.

these compendia were amongst the earliest to be published. Concurrently, bibles in Latin and vernacular translations were printed and distributed throughout Western Europe, gradually making the Scriptures accessible to a much wider audience. From the early sixteenth century, the basic principles of typological exegesis and their basis in Scripture were made textually available to the laity; educated laymen, including artists and their patrons, could now read and study biblical passages themselves.

Vernacular bibles, like Jacob van Liesveldt's 1526 *Dat oude ende dat nieuwe testament (The Old and New Testament)* and Willem Vorsterman's 1528 *De Bibel (The Bible)*, were important instigators of pictorial innovation. Many of these Bibles were illustrated with images that interacted with the Scriptures. For example, pictorial elements within an image could bring to mind different biblical passages from the chapter it prefaced, inviting the viewer to consider them in tandem. Sometimes the iconography lent itself to the illustration of more than one biblical passage (for instance a depiction of a young woman supplicating an enthroned king), meaning that the text it accompanied supplied the identification of the scene (Abishag and King David). At the same time, however, other biblical stories that feature similar elements (such as Bathsheba and King Solomon) would have come to mind, establishing a pattern in the mind of the viewer (perhaps reminding him or her that Abishag and Bathsheba are both types of the Virgin Mary).⁸⁹ Alternatively, images were sometimes repeated throughout the book,

⁸⁹ Walter S. Melion, "Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries," in *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. James Clifton and Walter Melion (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2009), 18-21. Bart Rosier, *The Bible in Print: Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Folio, 1997), 97-100. In this example, from the 1532 edition of the Vorsterman Bible, a marginal gloss explicitly identifies Abishagas as a figure of the Virgin Mary (*figuere van die moeder Gods Maria*). Melion, "Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries," 18.

accompanying different chapters or verses, thereby suggesting those scriptural passages could be considered together.⁹⁰

Individual prints and print series with biblical subject matter also prompted their viewers to a close reading of the sacred texts and invited an exegetical response.

Traditional typological narratives, of which the source material was now increasingly accessible both to artists and their patrons and audiences, were re-examined and re-interpreted in a variety of ways to respond to new demands. The oeuvre of the great innovator Lucas van Leyden (ca. 1494-1533), particularly his graphic work, offers many examples to illustrate these developments.⁹¹

The wider availability of scriptural texts meant that instead of relying on pictorial traditions, many artists now chose the biblical narrative itself as a starting point for their designs. Around 1508, for example, Van Leyden engraved *David and Abigail*, which shows an angered King David on horseback (fig. Intro.22).⁹² The King had asked a man named Nabal for his hospitality but was denied. As David rode up with his army to punish him for his rudeness, Nabal's wife Abigail met the King with provisions and by pleading with him saved the lives of her family and household (1 Samuel 25:35). This story traditionally prefigured the *Intercession of the Virgin Mary* (fig. Intro.23).⁹³ Van

⁹⁰ "Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries," 21.

⁹¹ That Lucas van Leyden was familiar with the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis* is apparent from other works. Vogelaar et al., "Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance," 189n33. He also provided twentyfour Old Testament designs for the latest known *Biblia Pauperum*, published around 1530 by Doen Pietersz in Amsterdam. Filedt Kok, "Een *Biblia Pauperum* met Houtsneden van Jacob Cornelisz. en Lucas van Leyden Gereconstrueerd," 83-116. Lucas van Leyden was also one of the artists supplying illustrations for the New Testament of Willem Vorsterman's 1528 Bible. Melion, "Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries," 15.

⁹² Fig. Intro.22: Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Abigail before David (41.35)," <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/364649?sortBy=Relevance&ft=41.35&pg=1∓rpp=20&pos=1>. Access date 05 May 2015.

⁹³ Fig. Intro.23: The Morgan Library and Museum, "Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Ms. 385, Fol. 39v)," <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=335882>. Access Date 05 May 2016. Ellen S.

Leyden, however, chose to depict the moment before Abigail kneels in supplication: she is the small female figure in the right background. Lucas makes clear that she has seen King David, but has yet to be seen by him.⁹⁴ As Walter Melion has rightly pointed out, if Abigail has not yet petitioned David, she cannot function as a prefiguration of the Virgin.⁹⁵ Instead, Lucas encourages his viewers to “[...] consult the Bible in search of the historical event and its meaning, rather than substituting the typological consensus for the scriptural source.”⁹⁶

Van Leyden also explores new typological subjects, such as his 1510 engraving *Abraham Sends away Hagar*, a story which was rarely depicted before this time (fig. Intro.24).⁹⁷ Sara, Abraham’s wife, had been unable to conceive a child. Therefore, Sara offers her servant Hagar to Abraham, who bears him a son named Ismael. But when Sara has a son of her own, Hagar and Ismael are cast out (Gen. 21:14). In his letter to the Galatians Paul says: “Abraham had two sons: the one by a bondwoman, and the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bondwoman, was born according to the flesh: but

Jacobowitz and Stephanie Loeb Stephanek, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and his Contemporaries* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1983), 40, 25.

⁹⁴ This print is one of many instances where Lucas van Leyden shows he has been reading the biblical passage closely. Vogelaar et al., "Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance," 239-40.

⁹⁵ Melion, "Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries," 21-22.

⁹⁶ Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 22. Another instance where Lucas van Leyden deviated from the typological tradition is his painting *The Sin of Moses* (1527, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 54.1432). Rather than depicting Moses striking of the rock with his staff, which traditionally prefigured either the Eucharistic miracle or Christ’s sacrifice on the Cross, Lucas shows the moment right after the rock has spouted forth a stream of water and the Israelites are busy collecting it. The troubled look on Moses’s face is a reflection of God’s admonishment for his failure to acknowledge the divine origins of this miracle and for his lack of faith (instead of talking to the rock as instructed, Moses struck it twice with his staff). Now the painting “deals with the crucial question of the relation of faith to ritual acts.” Lawrence A. Silver, "The *Sin of Moses*. Comments on the Early Reformation in a Late Painting by Lucas van Leyden," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1973): 406, 01-09. Also see: Vogelaar et al., "Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance," 57-58.

⁹⁷ Fig. Intro.24: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Abraham Verstoort Hagar en Ismaël (RP-P-OB-1588)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.33659>. Access date 05 May 2016. Werner Busch, "Lucas van Leydens "Große Hagar" und die Augustinischen Typologieauffassung der Vorreformation," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45, no. 2 (1982): 98. Vogelaar et al., "Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance," 60, 236-37. Jacobowitz and Stephanek, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and his Contemporaries*, 50.

he of the free woman, was by promise.” Sara is called “Jerusalem, that is above” and stands for the New Covenant, while Hagar refers to “Mount Sinai,” where Moses received the tablets of the Old Law.⁹⁸ In the print, the cityscape at the upper left frames Sara, while Hagar’s path leads down to the lower right, away from the city towards a mountain. This seems to indicate, as Werner Busch argues, that the print is devised to show the juxtaposition between the Old and the New Dispensation following Paul.⁹⁹ The trees, one barren the other verdant, underscore this juxtaposition (even though one would expect the leaves to be on Sara’s side).¹⁰⁰ The two trees were a familiar typological motif, which would gain currency in print design and painted composition throughout the sixteenth century.

Although Busch seems unaware, his argument finds support in another of Lucas van Leyden’s engravings, the *Return of the Prodigal Son* (ca. 1510).¹⁰¹ This print shows

⁹⁸ Gal. 4:24-26.

⁹⁹ Busch, "Lucas van Leydens "Große Hagar" und die Augustinischen Typologieauffassung der Vorreformation," 98, 129.

¹⁰⁰ Busch suggests that Van Leyden refers to a tradition in which the left side (*sinistra*) is associated with negative things, and the right side (*dextra*) with positive things. Ibid., 124-25. As it turns out, the artist included the foliated and barren trees in a number of prints around this time, and the barren tree is not always on the left side (see: *Delilah cuts off Samson's Hair* and the *Raising of Lazarus*). Instead I would suggest that Van Leyden inserts the trees to suggest a typological reading of the narrative to the viewer. Also see: Jacobowitz and Stephanek, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and his Contemporaries*, 25,50-52. In their catalogue, Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie Loeb Stephanek suggest that the trees represent “a symbol of choice” and function as “an appropriate emblem for Abraham’s moment of decision.” They describe the buildings behind Sara as “a decayed castle” probably representing “the Old (pre-Christian) Covenant” while Ismael, “ancestor of the gentiles” represents the New Covenant. Somehow, Abraham has to choose between these two sides. This reading of the *Abraham sends away Hagar* print is quite problematic; the decision to send Hagar away is first made by Sara, and then confirmed by God himself (Gen. 21:9-13). Also, the casting of Ismael, traditionally seen as the ancestor of the Muslims, as representing the New Covenant seems farfetched, not only in light of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians, but also considering the authors’ later argument which compares Abraham casting out Hagar with Maximilian I defeating the Turks. Unfortunately, no supporting references that the story of Hagar’s flight is “a typological parallel for the flight of Mohammed and the end of the Moslem era” have been included in the catalogue entry.

¹⁰¹ Neither Busch nor the 2011 *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance* catalogue recognize the similarities between the two prints. Jacobowitz and Stephanek note their resemblance, particularly the presence of the foliated and barren trees, and suggest that the theme of free will is dominant in both prints. *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and his Contemporaries*, 94.

many compositional similarities to *Abraham Sends Away Hagar*: a cityscape on high ground to the left, low-lying countryside with a mountain to the right, a leafy and a barren tree, the main protagonists positioned in the center, and even the presence of a sniffing dog (fig. Intro.25).¹⁰² The parable tells of the younger of two sons who asked his father for his inheritance, lost it all “living riotously,” and was forced to tend swine in hunger and poverty. He repented and returned to his father who received him with open arms, ordering clothes to be fetched and a calf to be killed for a feast in his honor. When the older son objected, the father declared it right to celebrate “[...] for this thy brother was dead and is come to life again; he was lost, and is found.”¹⁰³

In the *Biblia pauperum*, this quote by the father was seen to refer to Christ’s Resurrection, which is why it prefigures *Christ Appearing to his Disciples* (fig. Intro.26).¹⁰⁴ In the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the focus is instead on the son’s repentance, as the story prefigures *Mary Magdalen Washing Christ’s Feet at Bethany* (fig. Intro.27a-27b).¹⁰⁵ Other exegetical sources suggest that the parable of the Prodigal describes the sinner’s journey away from the Father, and his eventual return to God, illustrating God’s magnanimous forgiveness of repentant sinners. While away from

¹⁰² Fig. Intro.25: Metropolitan Museum of Art, "The Return of the Prodigal Son," <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/364692?sortBy=Relevance&ft=26.3.2&pg=1&pp=20&pos=1>. Access date 05 May 2015. M.B and R.P., "Prodigal Son Triptych Loaned," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit* 4, no. 7 (1923): 61.

¹⁰³ Luke 15:11-32.

¹⁰⁴ Fig. Intro.26: British Museum, "Biblia Pauperum Sheet 32 (1845,0809.33)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1354240&partId=1&searchText=1845,0809.33&page=1. Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 46, 131, 74. Notice the compositional similarities (house, mountain, two trees, position father and son).

¹⁰⁵ Fig. Intro.27a: The Morgan Library and Museum, "Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Ms 385, Fol. 16v)," <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=335836>. Access date 05 May 2016. Fig. Intro.27b: "Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Ms 385, Fol. 17r)," <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=335837>. Access date 05 May 2016. Wilson and Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis 1324-1500*, 20-21.

home, the son lost his material wealth, but in his eventual remorse and decision to return to his father he has gained spiritual wealth.

Netherlandish theologian and humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) explains the story as follows: “[...] though it also has a general application to every sinner who repents after great crimes, yet in accordance with the mode of the time at which it was said, more particularly describes the gentiles welcomed to the gospel of grace and the Jews who thought themselves righteous while begrudging the gentiles’ blessedness.”¹⁰⁶ In this interpretation, the elder son represents the Jews who cling to the Old Dispensation and do not recognize the redemptive power of the Gospel: “For while this was going on, the elder son was not at home, but was busy in the field of the Mosaic Law, sweating from carrying out the burdens of the commandments and labouring under the weighty words of the Law; and in the meantime his younger brother accepted the gentle yoke of his father.”¹⁰⁷

This juxtaposition of the Old and New Covenant is reflected in the landscape of Lucas van Leyden’s depiction of the parable, with the father welcoming back his son on elevated ground while the pigs in the lower valley refer to his former wretchedness. Forgiveness is granted in the shadow of a large, leafy tree, in the presence of two groups of elaborately dressed men. Their presence signals that the barren tree on the left side of the image may correlate to the failure of the Jewish people to appreciate that divine forgiveness has been attained through Christ’s sacrifice (this may also explain why the

¹⁰⁶ Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Paraphrases on Luke 11-24*, ed. Rogert D. Sider, trans. Jane E. Phillips, *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 74.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 85 (also: 75n14). “For fixing on the tasteless letter of the Law, he did not know what a quantity of joys the spirit of the Gospel contains. The Jews ignore these joys, doing nothing but digging and hauling in the field of the Law; meanwhile the people of the gentiles is welcomed with great joy into the house of the Father, who thirsts for nothing else but the salvation of all his people.”

men look so serious), while the tree stump on the right refers to the miserable state of a sinful life led far from God.¹⁰⁸ The similarities in landscape composition between *Abraham Sends away Hagar* and the *Return of the Prodigal Son* suggests that Lucas van Leyden was referring to the typological implications of the biblical narratives, both of which were rarely depicted before the sixteenth century.

Lucas van Leyden has not made the typological allusion in both prints very explicit, and yet the barren and verdant trees form a vital part of their compositions. The trees divide the images vertically into two halves, reminiscent of a page with two columns of text. Their central position, framing the focal point of the narrative, means that the trees function as glosses on the biblical story that unfolds in front of them. As glosses they provide additional context for the story that stands not by itself but is a part of the larger salvific plan. They challenge the viewer to examine the print more closely in order to discover the typological pattern embedded in the narrative. Furthermore, they prompt the viewer to look up the story in the Bible, of which the prints themselves are glosses, in a way.

Sometimes, familiar typological motifs were combined in new constellations, as in the *Sibyls* print series published by Doen Pietersz. (ca.1480-ca.1532) around 1530. This series of seven large woodcuts features scenes from the *Passion of Christ* by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (ca. 1470-1528/32), accompanied by twelve *Sibyls* (bracketed by *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*) designed by Lucas van Leyden and personifications of the

¹⁰⁸ In the *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance* catalogue, three other engravings with a foliated tree and barren tree are listed: *The Holy Family* of ca. 1508, and the *Delilah Cuts Samson's Hair* and *Raising of Lazarus* from ca. 1507 (no mention of the *Return of the Prodigal Son*). Huigen Leeftang points out that in *Raising of Lazarus*, the dead tree is depicted next to Christ on the right, while the foliated tree stands next to a Jewish priest. It seems Lucas does not intend to link the living or the dead tree to an individual figure but comments on the typological relevance of the narrative more generally.

virtues and vices (fig. Intro.28).¹⁰⁹ *Synagoga*'s familiar attributes are her broken staff, a blindfold, and the Tablets of the Law (fig. Intro.29).¹¹⁰ *Ecclesia* is crowned, holds a crucifix atop a staff and carries a book with little roundels with symbols of the four Evangelist and the *Agnus Dei* emblazoned on the cover. Just as the opening scene, *Abraham's Sacrifice* (the only Old Testament scene), foreshadows the entire series of Passion scenes that follow, so does the figure of *Synagoga* depicted underneath transform the subsequent sibyls into types of the Old Testament prophets who foresaw events from Christ's life, death and Resurrection.¹¹¹ The series ends with the pairing of the *Coronation of the Virgin* and *Ecclesia*, indicating that Christ's sacrifice for mankind foreshadowed in the Old Testament and foreseen by pagan prophetesses established a New Covenant between God and his Church.

In the later sixteenth century, the pairing of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* made way for alternative juxtapositions of the Old and New Testaments, as in the *Allegory of the Old Law and the New*, engraved by Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619) after a design by Crispijn van den Broeck (1524-1589/91), published around 1586 by Hans van Luyck (fig. Intro.30).¹¹² On the left side of the image, Moses represents the Old Testament through his attributes of the Tablets of the Law and his rod. He stands on a stone pedestal, as if he were a statuary monument, bringing to mind Ezechiel's prophecy about the advent of the

¹⁰⁹ Fig. Intro.28: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Blad met Twee Sibyllen en Twee Scènes (RP-P-BI-6282)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.37577>. Access date 05 May 2016. The images of virtues and vices are tentatively attributed to Lucas van Leyden as well. Vogelaar et al., "Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance," 314.

¹¹⁰ Fig. Intro.29: Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Bart Cornelis, and Anneloes Smits, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: Lucas van Leyden* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 1996), 238-39, figs. 311-12.

¹¹¹ The Lucas van Leyden catalogue entry mistakenly notes that *Ecclesia*, rather than *Synagoga*, is paired with Abraham's sacrifice. Vogelaar et al., "Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance," 314.

¹¹² Fig. Intro.30: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Allegorie op de Verlossing van de Mensheid (RP-P-1904-827)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.331834>. Access date 05 May 2016.

Messiah: “And I will give you a new heart, and put a new spirit within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and will give you a heart of flesh.”¹¹³ This rendering of Moses might also remind the viewer of the words of Paul in the second letter to the Corinthians: “[...] you are the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, and written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart.”¹¹⁴

On the right side, the New Testament is represented by the haloed Christ holding the Cross.¹¹⁵ He hovers over a tome, which is supported in turn by the symbols of the four Evangelists. The gospel citations in the book confirm that Moses is the type, encompassed and fulfilled by Christ, the antitype: Moses holds the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20:1-17, Deut. 5:4-21) while quotes from Christ’s sermon on the Mount reflect his warning that “[...] unless your justice abound more than that of the scribes and the Pharisees, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.”¹¹⁶ The first quotation in the book comes from Matthew (5:44): “But I say to you, love your enemies: do good to them that hate you: and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you.”¹¹⁷ To clarify, in the Bible, the preceding verse reads: “You have heard that it was said to them of old: thou shalt not kill. And whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment.” Similarly, the other three quotes from Matthew, along with their preceding Scriptural verses, suggest

¹¹³ Ezechiel 11:19.

¹¹⁴ 2 Corinthians 3:3.

¹¹⁵ The thick clouds above Moses indicate the darkness that was dispelled by Christ: “[...] I am the light of the world: he that followeth me, walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.” (John 8:12) In the background the figure of John the Baptist preaching connects the Old and New Testaments in his role as “the last prophet and the first saint.” Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 141.

¹¹⁶ Matthew 5:20.

¹¹⁷ “Ego autem dico vobis: Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite his qui oderunt vos, et orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos. ”

that observance of the Decalogue is insufficient to attain salvation and that with Christ the true meaning of the Commandments was made clear.¹¹⁸

Subsequently Mark 13:35-36 is quoted: “Watch ye therefore, (for you know not when the lord of the house cometh: at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the morning), lest he finds you sleeping.”¹¹⁹ This refers to the Second Coming of Christ and resonates with the reclining figure in the lower foreground. Cowering behind Moses is the skeletal figure of Death, who points a very long arrow at the body. At Christ’s feet another man rises from a grave, his hands clasped in prayer. These figures suggest that the Old Law labours under the sway of Death, while the New Covenant brings salvation and eternal life: “For the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth” (2 Cor. 3:6). The viewer is subsequently admonished: “Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father is also merciful. Judge not, and you shall not be judged. Condemn not, and you shall not be condemned.”¹²⁰ The final quotation, deriving from John 14:23, explains what adherence to the New Law will accomplish: “If any one love me, he will keep my word, and my father will love him and we will come to him, and will make our abode with him.”¹²¹

A small slip of paper, referring to the second chapter of Paul’s letter to the Colossians, is attached to the cross. Its location suggests that viewers were advised to look up Colossians 2:13-15: “And you, when you were dead in your sins, and the uncircumcision of your flesh; he hath quickened together with him, forgiving you all

¹¹⁸ The quotes are from Matthew 5:44, 5:22, 5:34-35, and 5:28 respectively.

¹¹⁹ “Vigilate ergo (nescitis enim quando dominus domus veniat: sero, an media nocte, an galli cantu, an mane), ne inveniatur vos dormientes.” The Vulgate text actually ends with “ne, cum venerit repente, inveniatur vos dormientes” or “lest coming on a sudden, he finds you sleeping.”

¹²⁰ Luke 6:36-37. “Estote ergo misericordes sicut et Pater vester misericors est : nolite iudicare, et non iudicabimini: nolite condemnare, et non condemnabimini.”

¹²¹ “Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et Pater meus diliget eum, et ad eum veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus.”

offences: Blotting out the handwriting of the decree that was against us, which was contrary to us. And he hath taken the same out of the way, fastening it to the cross [...].” Erasmus explains that observance of Mosaic Law: “[...] Christ had annulled by the profession of gospel faith, on account of which the offences of our former life are not being imputed to anyone. Whatever could be exacted from us on the terms of this binding contract, Christ has paid on the cross on which the contract was torn to pieces and completely destroyed.”¹²² In the engraving, the torn slip of paper elucidates that the contract of the Old Covenant was made void by Christ’s death on the Cross.

The artist probably drew inspiration from depictions of the *Allegory of Law and Grace*, in which individual typological pairings are combined in a new way to allude to the Old and New Testaments. Although this iconography appeared on the frontispieces of Catholic bibles, its origins were clearly Lutheran. This imagery illustrates the lively interest in typology in Reformed as well as in Catholic circles. In Lutheran theology, man’s salvation depends on his transition from the Old to the New Covenant, from the Law (and the belief that salvation can be obtained by observing the Commandments and doing good deeds) to the belief (*sola fides*) in Christ’s saving grace.¹²³ The imagery emerged from the workshop of Luther’s close friend Lucas Cranach the Elder (ca. 1472-1553) in Wittenberg in 1529.

¹²² Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Paraphrases on the Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistles to the Ephesians, Phillipians, Colossians, and Thessalonians*, trans. Mechtilde O’Mara and Edward A. Phillips jr (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 414-15.

¹²³ In the *Operationes in psalmos* of 1519-1521, Luther advocates the necessity of the *transitus* from “de lege ad gratiam, de peccato ad iustitiam, de Mose ad Christum.” Steppe, “De Overgang van het Mensdom van het Oude Verbond naar het Nieuwe, een Brussels Wandtapijt uit de 16e Eeuw Ontstaan Onder Invloed van de Lutherse Ikonografie en Prentkunst,” 335-36. Also see: James Clifton, “A Lutheran Image on the Title-Page of the Last Bible without a Confessional Label,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, Louvain Journal of Theology and Canon Law* 84, no. 1 (2008): 77-78.

One of the two earliest examples, a painting now in the collection of the Herzogliches Museum in Gotha, is divided vertically into two sections by a tree barren on one side, in full leaf on the other (fig. Intro.31).¹²⁴ The left side represents the Old Testament, where Jewish elders cannot prevent Death and the Devil from chasing a naked sinner into the fires of Hell. In the background the *Fall of Man*, *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, and the *Last Judgement* are depicted. The image on the right shows John the Baptist directing the sinner to Christ on the Cross. The dove of the Holy Spirit flies along a thin stream of blood that emerges from Christ's side and touches the heads of the sinner and his guide, envisioning God's grace made available to mankind via Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. At the foot of the Cross, the *Angus Dei* tramples a skeleton and a monstrous creature that represent Death and the Devil respectively. The *Risen Christ* illuminates the sky while in the background the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* takes place.

Besides the so-called Gotha version of the *Allegory of Law and Grace*, a second composition known as the Prague version was designed around the same time (fig. Intro.32).¹²⁵ The main difference between the two types is the presence of one single figure of the sinner, seated with his back against the tree, instead of two separate figures. His body is oriented towards the side of the Law, but his head is turned towards Christ. Both versions of the *Allegory of Law and Grace* were quickly translated into print in the 1530s and found their way to the Antwerp print houses.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Fig. Intro.31: Wikimedia Commons, "Cranach Gesetz und Gnade Gotha," https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cranach_Gesetz_und_Gnade_Gotha.jpg. Access date 05 May 2016.

¹²⁵ Fig. Intro.32: WikiArt, "Law and Grace: Lucas Cranach the Elder," <http://www.wikiart.org/en/lucas-cranach-the-elder/law-and-grace-1529-1>. Access date 05 May 2016.

¹²⁶ A simplified version of the Prague model appeared as part of the frontispiece to Martin Lempereur's publication of the first complete Bible in Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples's French translation, as early as 1530. Clifton, "A Lutheran Image on the Title-Page of the Last Bible without a Confessional Label," 69, 75-76. A lovely example of an individual print with this iconography was engraved by Pieter Nagel after a design by

A beautiful example is the frontispiece to the 1538 Dutch Bible edition published by Hansken van Liesvelt (active 1537-1539) in Antwerp (fig. Intro.33).¹²⁷ *Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law* is depicted opposite *The Virgin Receiving Christ in her Womb*; the *Fall* parallels *The Crucifixion*, and a skeleton on a tomb analogizes to *Christ's Resurrection*.¹²⁸ Although this print could certainly be understood as representing core Lutheran doctrine, it was also designed to accommodate a more general typological reading that urged its viewers to consider the salvific relationship between the Old and New Testaments. The vertical division mimics the configuration of two columns of text and the biblical stories depicted on the one hand constitute part of the fabric of the biblical narrative, while on the other hand function as glosses because of their interrelationship. Together they form a salvific pattern, prompting the reader to search for similar patterns in the biblical passages they are about to explore, and to relate what they read to the larger context of redemptive history.

Gerard Groeningen around 1567. Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 193, cat. 49.

¹²⁷ Fig. Intro.33: Yale University Library: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, "Den Bybel met Groter Neersticheyt Gecorrigeert (2032811)," <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3440699>. Access date 05 May 2016. This frontispiece was a copy from Erhard Altdorfer's titlepage of the Lower German Bible (Lutheran) published in Lübeck by Ludwig Dietz in 1533-34. Clifton, "A Lutheran Image on the Title-Page of the Last Bible without a Confessional Label," 76-77.

¹²⁸ In her dissertation Bonnie-Jeanne Noble quite strongly objects to a typological interpretation of the *Allegory of Law and Grace*, mainly based on her reading of the Gotha and Prague versions of the theme. Although she makes a very convincing argument that these two paintings can be described as "Lutheran exegesis in visual form" (98), I cannot agree with her that "[...] the underlying principle is emphatically non-typological." (87). Besides the fact that theological and typological imagery are not mutually exclusive, and that the source for many of the iconographical motifs and pairings is traditional typology, the very opposition between the Law-side and grace-side of the images rests on the typological juxtaposition between individual scenes (it is not accidental that *Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law* features opposite *The Virgin Receiving Christ in her Womb* and that Adam and Eve are paired with the *Crucifixion*). Furthermore, the adjustments and rearrangements made to both compositions in later renditions (Bible frontispieces and prints among them), and the fact that this imagery appeared both on Catholic and Reformed publications indicates that the reading of the original two paintings may not necessarily translate to every version of the *Allegory of Law and Grace*. Typology is not just "about the relationship between parts of a text" (98) and a typological reading of an image is not a reduction but an expansion of its meaning. Bonnie-Jeanne Noble, "The Lutheran Paintings of the Cranach Workshop, 1529-1555" (PhD, Northwestern University, 1998), 46-104.

The *Allegory of Law and Grace* imagery aims to magnify the redemptive power of Christ's sacrifice. A series of twelve narrow, monochromatic paintings by Maarten van Heemskerck does much the same, except that Christ himself is not actually depicted. Instead, the *Strong Men* panels (late 1550s) show scenes from the life of biblical champion Samson, ancient hero Hercules and four mythological gods, all operating as types to Christ's redemptive power (fig. Intro.34).¹²⁹ As this configuration of panels shows a unusually creative and innovative application of typology, it is worth examining *Strong Men* series somewhat more closely. The insightful analysis of Van Heemskerck's *Strong men* series by Ilona van Tuinen illuminates how close reading of a work of art can challenge the traditional understanding of visual typology.¹³⁰ A small corrective of her study is in order, however, due to a misidentification of one of the panels.

Despite her traditional conception of (visual) typology, which, unfortunately, she does not question, Van Tuinen provides a perceptive and on the whole persuasive analysis of Van Heemskerck's *Strong Men* series. Initially, her conviction (no doubt buttressed by her heavy reliance on the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae*

¹²⁹ Fig. Intro.34: Ilona van Tuinen, "Struggles for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men"" (University of Amsterdam, 2009), Appendix IV, last page (no page number). Also see: "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " *Simiolus* 36, no. 3/4 (2012): 145-49, 58, fig. 18, 62. Van Tuinen has suggested the arrangement of the four sets of panels. *Ibid.*, 161-62. The panels are currently divided over different art collections. The Amsterdam Rijksmuseum has four panels: *Hercules Slaying Nessus* (sk-A-3513), *Samson Rending the Lion* (sk-A-3512), *Samson Destroying the Temple* (sk-A-3511) and *Neptune* (sk-A-3514). The Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven also owns four: *Hercules and Antaeus* (1960.50.c), *Hercules Slaying the Hydra* (1960.50.b), *Hercules Carrying the Column of Heaven* (1960.50.d) and *Saturn* (1960.50.a). *Samson Slaying the Philistines* (49.81) and *Jupiter* (49.82) belong to the Allen Memorial Art Museum in Oberlin, and both *Samson Carrying away the Gates of Gaza* and *Pluto* are part of private collections in London. *Ibid.*, 142, note 1. The panels probably formed part of the decoration of a piece of furniture.

¹³⁰ Van Tuinen's 2012 article was based on her Master's thesis, completed in 2009. In this thesis, her only source for typological imagery is the *Biblia pauperum*, which leads her to conclude there was no typological counterpart for *Samson Destroying the Temple* or *Samson Slaying the Philistines*. For her article, however, she also consulted the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.

salvationis) that typology always entails the juxtaposition of an Old Testament type with its designated New Testament antitype, leads her to suggest rather vaguely that the key to interpreting the series lies within a “biblical humanist tradition.”¹³¹ Conversely, she does acknowledge that “[...] it is through typological implications that we can begin to decipher the meaning of the *Strong Men*.”¹³² Finally, she suggests: “Indirectly, the meaning of the series is embedded in traditional typology, though in an unusually reflective and original way.”¹³³

Technical analysis has revealed that the *Strong Men* were originally configured as four sets of three panels.¹³⁴ The first grouping comprised *Jupiter, Hercules Slaying*

¹³¹ Tuinen, "Struggles for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 9. In her thesis, she repeatedly remarks that if Van Heemskerck intended for the typological employment of an individual scene, “[...] he would have juxtaposed it with its New Testament counterpart.” Ibid., 65, 59, 60, 63, 64. Van Tuinen recognizes that he employed typology innovatively in his 1559 *Triumph of Patience* series, as he placed Isaac’s antitype at the end of the series: “This scene is thus not juxtaposed with its typological counterpart of the Crucifixion but connects with Christ, the ultimate triumphant figure of the last print, in a much broader but undoubtedly Christian configuration.” “The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 156. "Struggles for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 60.

¹³² "Struggles for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 62.

¹³³ "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 145, 62.

¹³⁴ Unaware of the original configuration of the panels, Erwin Panofsky paired the mythological gods with the Herculean scenes and then added a Samson panel. He suggested that the gods represent the four elements (Jupiter for air, Neptune for water, Saturn for earth and Pluto for fire). Wolfgang Stechow, *Catalogue of European and American Paintings and Sculpture in the Allen Memorial Art Museum* (Oberlin: Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1967), 72-73. Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 145. Rainald Grosshans largely subscribed to Panofsky’s reading; he merely suggests different combinations of the Hercules and Samson panels, based on formal correspondences. Rainald Grosshans, *Maarten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde* (Berlin: Horst Boettcher Verlag, 1980), 148-51, cat. 30, figs. 45-51. Van Tuinen, however, rightly notes that both Hercules and Samson operated as types of Christ for centuries, and it is this Christological connection that ultimately unifies the Strong Men series, Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 155. Malcolm Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* (London: Penguin Group, 2005), 104, 26. Grosshans does acknowledge the analogies between the lives of Hercules and Samson. Grosshans, *Maarten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 149. Van Tuinen, however, points out that Van Heemskerck chose not to stress these analogies; both Hercules and Samson fought with a lion, but only Samson’s victory over the feline is depicted, for instance. Instead, their adventures were depicted in reference to a third protagonist: Christ.

Nessus, and *Samson Carrying away the Gates of Gaza*. While Samson was in Gaza visiting a prostitute, the Philistines surrounded the city, intending to kill him the next morning. Samson awoke at midnight, however, and upon exiting the city took the gates, bolts and all.¹³⁵ Van Tuinen rightly points out that in both the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, this story foreshadows the Resurrection, when Christ awoke from death in the middle of the night and broke out of his tomb.¹³⁶

For the story of Hercules and Nessus, Van Tuinen relies on classical sources.¹³⁷ Closer in time to Van Heemskerck, however, was a popular and influential retelling of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by the French Benedictine monk Petrus Berchorius (ca 1290-1362).¹³⁸ His fourteenth-century *Moralized Ovid (Ovidius Moralizatus)* relates the story as follows: When Hercules and his bride Deianira wanted to cross a river, the centaur Nessus offered his assistance to carry Deianira across. Despite his assurances, Nessus attempted to rape her as soon as they reached the opposite shore, and Hercules reacted by shooting him with an arrow dipped in the poisonous blood of the Hydra. As the centaur

¹³⁵ Judges 16:1-3.

¹³⁶ Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 43, 85, 128, 72. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 66, 108. Samson carrying the gates of Gaza also appeared as a type of the Resurrection in other places, such as the Verdun Altarpiece in Klosterneuburg and in the left panel of Roger van der Weyden's *Miraflores* altarpiece (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). The *Pictor in Carmine* lists the story as a prefiguration of Christ in Limbo, but 'Samson sleeping with his mistress in Gaza' ("Samson dormit in lectulo cum amicasuaintra Gazam") prefigures "Christ prepared for burial by Nichodemus and Joseph of Arimathea" ("CIX Sepultum Christum operiunt lintheis Nichodemus et Ioseph"). James, "Pictor in Carmine," 162.

¹³⁷ Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 159.

¹³⁸ "Although not the best known of the medieval moralizing commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, the *Ovidius Moralizatus* of the fourteenth-century Frenchman Petrus Berchorius possesses strong credentials for being considered the most influential of these works, affecting artists, writers, and other mythographers until the sixteenth century." William Donald Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation" (University of Illinois, 1971), 1. Panofsky notes that: "Rivalled only by Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* (and that exclusively in Italy), Berchorius's mythographical introduction and its derivatives constituted the most important source of information wherever classical divinities had to be depicted or described [...]." Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 79n2.

lay dying, he gave his blood-soaked mantle to Deianira with the promise that if her husband put it on, he would love her more fervently. Later, when Deianira came to suspect that Hercules was in love with Iole, she sent him the robe stained with the centaur's blood, which, when Hercules put it on, caused him to feel agonizing pain. He finally threw himself upon a burning pyre to end his torment. For his services, his father Jupiter deified him.¹³⁹ By killing his would-be murderer, Van Tuinen convincingly argues, "Hercules was the victor over his own death."¹⁴⁰

These two scenes are complemented by the painting of *Jupiter*, recognizable from the eagle and the lightning bolt. Van Tuinen notes: "As the most powerful of the gods, Jupiter resides in the realm of heaven, or eternal life."¹⁴¹ This idea is also reflected in a

¹³⁹Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 324-25. In Van Heemskerck's painting, Hercules is slaying the centaur with his club. While some sixteenth-century prints depict the bow and arrows (Heinrich Aldegrever's 1550 *Hercules Killing Nessus* or Sebald Benham's 1542 print; Metropolitan Museum of Art, inventory numbers 41.1.121 and 17.3.478 respectively), other examples feature Hercules with his club (Van Tuinen refers to Baccio Bandinelli's sculpture of ca 1524). Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men"," 153, fig. 14. The presence of the club rather than the bow and arrow raises the question of the identification of the scene as Hercules slaying Nessus. Hercules was also depicted fighting centaurs trying to prevent the rape of Hippodamia (in the centauromachy). In 1563 Cornelis Cort engraved the Labours of Hercules series, published by Hieronymus Cock, after a lost series of paintings made by Frans Floris for Antwerp merchant Nicolaas Jongelinc (1554-1555). One of the scenes is *Hercules Prevents the Centaurs from Abducting Hippodamia*. Manfred Sellink, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort*, ed. Huigen Leeftang, vol. 3 (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2000), 31, cat.no. 172. However, considering that only one centaur is depicted, and the other panels of the series that depict fights focus also on one enemy, the identification with the centaur Nessus here seems appropriate.

¹⁴⁰ Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men"," 159. In *Ovidius Moralizatus*, Hercules is equated with God, Christ, the Soul, the Spirit, holy, wise and brave men, and the devil. Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 86, 118, 280, 325, 29, 35. Malcolm Bull argues: "It is perhaps on account of his ordinariness that Hercules never became a demon. There is nothing uncanny about him. Many pagan deities were compared to Christ; only Hercules is consistently likened to a Christian, and from the early Middle Ages, Hercules is at home in Christendom in a way that the other classical gods are not." Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 138.

¹⁴¹ Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men"," 159. "Heemskerck could not have paited a more suitable god to stand next to the vanquishers of death than the mighty Jupiter himself. Jupiternot only escaped his own death with the aid of his mother, but he also saved his siblings from theirs when he liberated them from his father's stomach." According to Berchoriust: "[...] Jupiter can signify God, the Lord and master of heaven itself." Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 46. He supplements this statement with a quote from Isaiah 66:1 "Heaven is my throne." Berchorius generally identifies Jupiter as

circular print depicting the *Gods on Mount Olympus*, engraved by Cornelis Cort after Francesco Primaticcio (1504-1570) and published by Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570) in 1565; Jupiter is depicted at the very center as the unequivocal ruler of heaven (fig. Intro.35).¹⁴² As Jupiter had the power to deify humans as well as demigods, and exercised this power in the case of Hercules, it is fitting that he joins the *Samson Carrying away the Gates of Gaza* and *Hercules Slaying Nessus* panels in representing triumph over death.

The second set was made up of *Samson Destroying the Temple*, *Hercules and Antaeus*, and *Saturn*. As punishment for their sins, the Israelites were ruled by their enemies, the Philistines (Judges 13:1). Samson killed many, until the Philistines finally captured him. When he was brought from his cell, he pulled down the pillars supporting the building, “and he killed many more at his death, than he had killed before in his life.”¹⁴³ The story does not feature in either the *Biblia Pauperum* or the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, leading Van Tuinen to allude vaguely to Van Heemskerck’s 1569 *Clades judaeae gentis* print series.¹⁴⁴ The *Pictor in carmine*, however, lists *Samson Destroying the Temple* as one of as many as seventeen types for the Crucifixion.¹⁴⁵

God in heaven, or as Christ. Sometimes, however, Jupiter is described as “a good man,” a “proud man or some evil or shameless lord,” a “bad prelate and ruler,” or even as “the devil.” Ibid., 49, 50, 83, 142, 43.

¹⁴² Fig. Intro.35: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, “Bijeenkomst van Goden op de Olympus (RP-P-OB-7150),” <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.336031>. Access date 05 May 2016. Sellink, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort*, 3, 69-70, cat. 187. Van Tuinen does not include this picture in her analysis.

¹⁴³ Judges 16:21-30. Isidore of Seville remarks in his *Allegoriae Quaedam Sacra Scriptura* that: “Samson is a figure of the death and victory of our Savior [...] because with his death he killed more men than while he was living.” (“Samson salvatoris nostril mortem et victoriam figuravit, [sive quia de faucibus diabolicis gentes, quasi favum ab ore reperti leonis, abstraxit], sive quia post mortem plures lucratus plurimosque moriensquam vivens extinxit.” Migne, “Patrologia Latina”. [item 130.80])

¹⁴⁴ Tuinen, “The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck’s “Strong Men,”” 157. “[...] Heemskerck may have intended the scene to be an illustration of one of the chances God bestowed upon the Jews to deliver themselves from their sins, just as he did in the 1569 print series *Disasters of the Jewish people*.” For detailed analysis of this series, see the first chapter of this dissertation.

¹⁴⁵ The Crucifixion (“CI. Crucifigitur Christus”) is prefigured by “Samson concussus duabus columnis moritur et opprimit principes Philistinorum.” James, “Pictor in Carmine,” 161-62. Van Tuinen does note that the *Mocking of Samson* (the moment before Samson pulls down the temple pillars) is a type to the

Tuinen still comes to the same conclusion: as Samson died to redeem the sins of the Israelites, so Christ died for the sins of mankind.¹⁴⁶

Hercules could not defeat the giant Antaeus, until he realized that his opponent drew strength from the earth (his mother Gaia).¹⁴⁷ He then lifted him off the ground and crushed him to death. Van Tuinen explains that Antaeus was seen to symbolize earthly (sinful) things like lust, libido and passion.¹⁴⁸ By overcoming Antaeus, whose name, as Berchorius explains: “[...] is taken from ‘anti’, which means ‘against’, and ‘heos’, which means ‘virtue’ [...]”, Hercules represents the wise man who “[...] raises himself through contemplation and elevates himself from the earth – that is, the flesh [...].”¹⁴⁹

Saturn was the father of Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto. According to prophecy, his position would be usurped by one of his children, so he devoured them all as soon as they were born. Eventually, he was tricked into eating a rock instead of the baby Jupiter, who in due course confronted his father and forced him to regurgitate all of his siblings. After defeating Saturn and the Titans, Jupiter banned them to Tartarus, the mythological equivalent of hell, a place of punishment for the wicked.¹⁵⁰ Saturn has been employed to

Mocking of Christ in the Speculum humanae salvations. Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 157.

¹⁴⁶ "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 157. Van Tuinen resorts to Van Heemskerck's *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series, in which, she notes, the Israelites are given many chances “[...] to deliver themselves from their sins [...]”, to argue that Samson's death contributed to the redemption of the sins of the Israelites.

¹⁴⁷ Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 105-07. One example, at least, of a print depicting *Hercules and Antaeus* actually features Gaia as an old woman. It was engraved by Cornelis Cort after a design of Frans Floris, and published by Hieronuyms Cock in 1563. Sellink, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort*, 3, 36, cat. no. 180, 46.

¹⁴⁸ Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 157. Also see: Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 336. Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 106, 25.

¹⁴⁹ Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 334.

¹⁵⁰ Lynn B. Mitchell, "Virgil's Teachings on Rewards and Punishments in the after Life," *The Classical Weekly* 14, no. 8 (1920): 60-61.

symbolize many things, but in the *Strong men* series, Van Tuinen explains, “[...] Saturn becomes a representation of the world of sin [...]”¹⁵¹ Together, these three *Strong men* panels, as Van Tuinen rightly concludes, stand for the triumph over sin.¹⁵²

Below these six panels, the following scenes were included (from left to right):

Neptune, Samson Slaying the Philistines and Hercules Carrying the Column of Heaven.

One day, while on his way to meet a Philistine woman he wanted to marry, Samson came across a young lion, “and the spirit of the Lord came upon Samson, and he tore the lion as he would have torn a kid in pieces, having nothing at all in his hand” (Judg. 14:6).¹⁵³ In the *Biblia pauperum*, Samson’s victory over the lion is a type of *Christ in Limbo*, as Van Tuinen notes. She does not mention the caption, which refers specifically to Christ’s victory over the devil: “Samson prefigures Christ who slew the lion, that is the devil, when he delivered man from his power” (“Sampson Cristum significat qui leonem id est dyabolum occidit quando de ejus potestate hominem liberavit”).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 159. The *Ovidius Moralizatus* identifies Saturn in a variety of forms: as signifying time, a “pious and just prelate, busy about satisfying others, who dares to devour bad sons and subjects through correction,” as well as signifying “tyrants and especially those who subject cities to themselves by means of stealth or violence” and prudence. Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 37-37, 41-42.

¹⁵² One of Berchorius’s explications of Saturn describes him as “[...] an old – that is long – subject to evil habits, evil superior. He is bent – that is turned aside from the straightness of true faith or cast down to earthly things through avarice – and he holds a sickle – that is he is perverted by falsity and maliciousness and eager to injure and afflict others with the sickle of robbery and injustice.” "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 39.

¹⁵³ Interestingly, depictions of Hercules and the Nemean Lion tend to follow the iconography of Samson and the Lion, in which the Old Testament hero defeats the lion by tearing apart his jaws. Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 104.

¹⁵⁴ Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 127, 42, 84, 72. In the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Christ in Limbo actually spread out over three scenes: *Christ in the Realm of the Dead*, *Christ Vanquishes the Devil*, and *Christ Leads the Patriarchs from Hell*. Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", " 156n55. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 58-61, 64-5, 104-06, 07. In between, *Mary Vanquishes the Devil* is depicted, prefigured by *Judith and Holofernes* (Judith 13:5-11), *Jahel and Sisara* (Judges 4:21), and *Queen Tomyris and King Cyrus* (Historia Scholastica). Ibid., 62-63, 106-07. In the scene of *Christ Vanquishes the Devil*, which is prefigured by *Samson Rending the Lion*, Christ is actually shown piercing

As one of his twelve labors, Hercules was ordered to kill the Hydra. This serpentine monster had many heads and every time Hercules severed one of them, two more grew back in its place. Finally, with the help of his nephew Iolaus, who cauterized each stump as Hercules cut off the monster's heads, the Hydra was finally defeated. Throughout the Middle ages and the Renaissance, associations with the Hydra were, understandably, overwhelmingly negative; the monster was equated with envy, heresy, contemporary enemies (such as the Moors or the Turks) and, as Van Tuinen explains, with evil and the devil.¹⁵⁵ This grouping is completed by a depiction of the mythological figure of *Pluto*, god of the underworld. Berchorius equates Pluto with "[...] hell, or the divine power that rules hell [...]," the "ruler of darkness," Lucifer and the devil.¹⁵⁶ In support of her identification, Van Tuinen introduces a 1569 print engraved by Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, depicting Pluto and Cerberus, instead of the devil, guarding the entrance of Hell (fig. Intro.36).¹⁵⁷ With *Samson Rending the Lion* and *Hercules Slaying the Hydra*, *Pluto* stands for victory over the devil, she aptly concludes.

the devil with his staff. Ibid., 60, 106. In the *Pictor in carmine*, the story prefigures of the *Annunciation to the Virgin* (tenth of twenty-one possible types; the ninth is the annunciation of Samson's birth): "Samson and the lion tightly embracing prefigure the deity and the flesh embracing in Christ." Deirdre F. Baker, "Pictor in Carmine uel Adaptatio Rerum Gestarum in Veteri Testamento ad Nouum: A Critical Edition" (University of Toronto, 1991), 119, 83. M.R. James rightly said: "The reader cannot, I think, fail to be impressed by the ingenuity with which the most unpromising incidents in the Old Testament story are pressed into the service, and perhaps may feel, as I do, that this ingenuity often testifies to a really poetic imagination, exercised by generations of men determined to find Christ everywhere." James, "Pictor in Carmine," 151.

¹⁵⁵ Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men"," 157. Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 87, 92, 127. Berchorius, however, presents an unusual, positive interpretation of the Hydra: "Set this forth about faith and the church which seem to be of such a nature that when they are injured by some tyrant or when their heads – that is members – are cut off, they are made stronger by it and are show to grow. This was clear in the time of the tyrants; when they killed one martyr, two or three at once arose in his place, as it is said about the sons of Israel in Exodus 1:12: 'The more they were oppressed, the more they multiplied.'" Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 334.

¹⁵⁶ "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 99-100, 03, 06.

¹⁵⁷ Fig. Intro.36: Harvard Art Museums: Fogg Museum, "The Four Last Things: Hell (2006.154)," <http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/316023>. Access date 05 May 2016. Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men"," 157, fig. 17.

The last trio of panels, depicting *Hercules Carrying the Column of Heaven*, *Samson Slaying the Philistines* and *Neptune*, presents a bit of a puzzle. Using Boethius's Christianized retelling of Hercules's adventures, which were translated and published by Dirk Volkertsz. Coornhert (1522-1590) in 1557, as her main source, Van Tuinen argues that *Hercules Carrying the Column of Heaven* was the hero's last labor before his death and deification. She sees a parallel between Hercules carrying the heavens on his shoulders and Christ carrying the Cross. Samson is likened to Hercules in that he had faith that God was on his side while he fought the Philistines, and because he suffered for a higher purpose. Neptune completes the set (representing the triumph of faith, according to Van Tuinen) because, as ruler of the seas, he "[...] represents the realm of water, or more specifically of rebirth or baptism."¹⁵⁸

Van Tuinen's reading of this last set is problematic; Neptune's relation to the other two panels is tenuous at best, and it is unclear how the scene with Hercules represents the triumph of faith. Part of the confusion stems from a misidentification of the Hercules scene (dating back to Panofsky, at least). The description of the titan Atlas holding up the heavens with a number of columns appears in Homer's *Odyssey* and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as Van Tuinen notes.¹⁵⁹ However, Van Heemskerck has depicted Hercules in motion, as indicated by the position of his left foot and the way he carries the column at an angle, rather than in a stationary position. A second pillar, its round base visible in the lower left foreground, is placed on the ground. Furthermore, sixteenth-

¹⁵⁸ "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", 159-60.

¹⁵⁹ "Struggles for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", 31. "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men", 159.

century renditions of the story of Hercules and Atlas, in which the hero agrees to carry the firmament while Atlas retrieves the golden apples guarded by the Hesperides, consistently show Hercules with a large sphere on his shoulders, rather than holding a column (figs. Intro.37, 39, 41).¹⁶⁰ Several contemporary print series depicting the labors of Hercules even include both Hercules and Atlas (with a sphere), and Hercules carrying pillars, as separate scenes (figs. Intro.38, 40).¹⁶¹

Other columns described by ancient sources are the so-called Pillars of Hercules. Both Strabo (ca. 59 BC-ca. 19 AD) and Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) mention these pillars, for instance, in the *Geography* (3.5.5) and *Natural History* (Book 3) respectively.¹⁶² These pillars were considered markers of the most western extent of the known world, identified with Gibraltar or Gades (Cadiz).¹⁶³ On his way to the island of Erytheia to steal the cattle of Geryon, Hercules marked the furthest extent of his travels around the

¹⁶⁰ Fig. Intro.37: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Hercules en Atlas (RP-P-H-Z-146)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.30528>. Fig. Intro.39: British Museum, "The Labours of Hercules: Hercules Supporting the World for Atlas and Hercules Fighting the Nemean Lion (1950,0520.421)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=1950,0520.421. Fig. 41: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Hercules Torst de Wereldbol voor Atlas (RP-P-1905-3931)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.collect.99074>. Access date 05 May 2016

¹⁶¹ Fig. Intro.38: "Werken van Hercules: Hercules Draagt de Zuilen (RP-P-H-Z-149)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.30533>. Fig. Intro.40: British Museum, "The Labours of Hercules: Hercules Squeezing Antaeus to Death and Hercules Carrying a Column of Gibraltar (1950,0520.418)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=1950,0520.418. Access date 05 May 2016. Regarding the number of Herculean labors and their order both literary and visual accounts differ. Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 101.

¹⁶² Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, 8 vols., vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924), 135-37. Pliny, *Natural History, Volume III*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942), 5. These authors describe the pillars of Hercules as geographical markers, not as part of Hercules's adventures. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) was the first to designate the installation of the pillars as markers of the end of the known world as one of Hercules's labors. Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 119.

¹⁶³ The name associated with these pillars is Gades (modern-day Cadiz), but the pillars themselves were generally assumed to have been placed at the strait of Gibraltar. *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 119. Other versions have Hercules tunneling through the Atlas Mountains rather than traversing them, thereby creating the strait of Gibraltar and opening up the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean.

Mediterranean ocean with these two pillars. The motif of the Pillars of Hercules was familiar in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, as they were adopted as part of the personal coat of arms of their Spanish Emperor Charles V (fig. Intro.42).¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the scene designated as *Hercules Carrying the Column of Heaven*, should be identified as the *Pillars of Hercules*.

In a massive fight, Samson slayed a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (Judges 15:14-15). After his victory, he was parched and prayed God for water so that could stay strong and would not fall into the hands of his adversaries. God then made water flow out from the jawbone. Van Tuinen notes that in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the story of the slaying of the Philistines foreshadows *Christ and the Soldiers in the Garden of Olives*.¹⁶⁵ When soldiers came to arrest Christ, he asked them for whom they were looking. When they told him ‘Jesus of Nazareth’, Christ said to them ‘I am he’, upon which the soldiers all fell to the ground. Van Tuinen offers that both Samson and Christ defeated many people with a single item (the jawbone and a word) and that they both prayed to God for support.¹⁶⁶

The caption of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, however, suggests a different interpretation; the author of the *Speculum* explains that the soldiers fell down in a manifestation of Christ’s power; he could have rained down upon these soldiers the fire

¹⁶⁴ Fig. Intro.42: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Keizer Karel V Omgeven door zijn Overwonnen Tegenstanders (RP-P-1950-201a)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.98308>. Access date 05 2016. For an interesting discussion of the origins of the coat of arms, particularly its motto, see: Earl Rosenthal, "Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 204-28.

¹⁶⁵ Tuinen, "The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's "Strong Men"," 159n66. John 18:4-6.

¹⁶⁶ Samson prayed because he was thirsty and might fall into the hands of his enemies if he did not regain his strength. Christ prayed in the garden of Gethsemane because he felt terror of His imminent suffering and death: "My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt" (Matth. 26:39).

and brimstone that destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha (Gen. 19:24), opened the gates of heaven to flood the earth again (Gen. 7: 11), afflicted them with the plagues of the Egyptians (Exod. 7-11), sent fiery serpents to bite and kill them (Num. 21:6), delivered them into the hands of the devil in accordance with what happened to Tobias's wife Sara's first seven husbands (Tob. 6:14), or responded in fifteen other destructive ways.¹⁶⁷ Instead, Christ allowed himself to be arrested, because "[...] he wanted to prove he would willingly suffer death" ("[...] om dat hi bewisen woude willichlic den doot te liden"). Samson (and Samgar, who killed sixhundred Philistines with a ploughshare) prefigured Christ to illustrate God's power to destroy his enemies ("Is dat dese mits Gods hulp so veel vianden versloghen, so en is niet wonderlicdat so veel vianden voer Christo vielen").¹⁶⁸ In other words, Christ had the power to resist his captors, but chose to suffer torture and death for the salvation of mankind.

In the *Strong Men* series, Neptune is not included as a reference to rebirth or baptism, as Van Tuinen suggests. Instead, he also represents suffering; Berchorius describes Neptune as the undisputed god of the sea "[...] which stands for the bitterness of tribulations and contrition – through the harshness of sorrow and contemplation."¹⁶⁹ This interpretation is reflected in Van Heemskerck's depiction: Neptune's torso brings to mind the famous Laocoön statue unearthed in Rome in 1506 and displayed in the Vatican shortly after. The artist's sketches reveal that he studied it closely (figs. Intro.43, 44).¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Joost Roger Robbe, *Der Mittelniederländische Spiegel Onser Behoudnisse und Seine Lateinische Quelle: Text, Kontext und Funktion* (Münster: Waxman Verlag, 2010), 324-26. In total the author lists twenty different responses Christ could have given instead of surrendering to the soldiers.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 326. Samgar's story is told in Judg. 3:31.

¹⁶⁹ Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation," 83,94.

¹⁷⁰ Fig. Intro.43: Jean-Marc Moret, "Le Laocoön Agenouillé: Généalogie d'un Type Iconographique " *Revue Archéologique, Nouvelle Série* Fasc. 1 (2002): 16, fig. 10.

Fig. Intro.44: Christian Hülsen and Herman Egger, *Die Römische Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck, im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin* (Soest: Davaco Publishers, 1975), 13, plate 24,

Laocoön was a priest of Neptune who warned the Trojans not to accept the giant wooden horse gifted to the city by their enemy. At the command of the gods who sided with the Greeks, sea serpents strangled Laocoön and his two sons. The agonizing facial expression and bodily contortion in the sculpture caused the figure of Laocoön to be appreciated as an *exemplum dolorum*.¹⁷¹

Instead of the triumph of faith, *Hercules Carrying the Column of Heaven*, *Samson Slaying the Philistines* and *Neptune* together stand for the triumph over suffering (or, perhaps more accurately, the triumph through suffering). Christ approached his captors and willingly let himself be arrested. He had freely chosen to undergo the Passion and Death on the Cross for the redemption of man. The column that Hercules carries marks the furthest extent of his travels, the end of the (known) world, signaling that Christ would make the ultimate sacrifice for the redemption of mankind.¹⁷² The column Hercules carries is reminiscent of the column of the Flagellation, one of the *arma Christi* (fig. Intro.45).¹⁷³ Although she was referring to the story of Atlas, Van Tuinen was correct in perceiving that “[...] the burden Hercules bore on his shoulders [...] echoes the Cross that Christ was forced to bear before being crucified.”¹⁷⁴ The figure of Neptune,

fol 23v. Van Tuinen recognizes the back of the Laocoön statue *Hercules Slaying the Hydra*: “In doing so, he may have deliberately emphasized the parallel between the two scenes, for both Hercules and the unfortunate Trojan had to face the terror of wrestling a many-headed serpent.” Tuinen, “The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's “Strong Men”,” 150.

¹⁷¹ Leopold D. Ettlinger, “Exemplum Doloris, Reflections on the Laocoön Group,” in *De Artibus Opuscula Xi. Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 121-26.

¹⁷² Samson quenching his thirst with water spouting from the jawbone, and the location of Hercules’s pillars as boundary markers between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean both served to strengthen the connection between these panels and the figure of Neptune.

¹⁷³ Fig. Intro.45: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, “Scènes uit het Lijdensverhaal van Christus: Passiewerktuigen (RP-P-OB-68.127),” <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.223482>. Access date 05 May 2016.

¹⁷⁴ Tuinen, “The Struggle for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's “Strong Men”,” 160. Viewers may have also made the connection with *Samson Destroying the Temple*, in which he is shown embracing a pillar, a reference to Christ’s death for the sins of mankind.

with his reference to the Laocoön statue, also exemplifies the suffering Christ, the ultimate *exemplum dolorum*.

Besides offering an excellent example of how mythological figures could be employed as types, the *Strong Men* series is beautifully illustrative of how typological works of art rely upon their viewers to discover the salvific patterns implicit in such series. First the identification of each separate figure is required; without inscriptions, the attributes must supply their identity. Each panel then functions as a gloss on the other panels, providing clues as to how each set, and subsequently the whole ensemble, should be understood. These clues can be very subtle; the absence of a depiction of *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* as a counterpart to *Samson Rending the Lion*, for instance, signals that the meaning of the paintings lies not in comparing Hercules and Samson, but rather with the antitype they both prefigure: Christ.

Van Heemskerck's twelve *Strong men* paintings, then, together depict the triumph over death, sin, the devil and suffering. The overall pattern exemplifies the salvific power of Christ, who eclipses the Old Testament judge Samson, the virtuous demi-god Hercules and the mythological deities Jupiter, Saturn, Pluto and Neptune. The mythological gods, who rule supreme in their respective kingdoms and may perhaps additionally be seen to symbolize the four elements, underscore the encompassing nature of God's plan, which reaches across time and space and the divine creation. By contemplating each panel and its visual and conceptual relationship to the other paintings, viewers become more fully aware of Christ's divine strength which allowed him to conquer sin and the devil through suffering and death for the redemption of mankind.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ The typological interpretation of the *Strong Men* series would have triggered other associations. For instance, as Van Tuinen tentatively speculates, some of the protagonists' attributes may have recalled the

Although in her article Van Tuinen does not investigate her preconceived notions of typology, her careful analysis of Van Heemskerck's *Strong Men* panels does result in a crucial understanding of the typological framework that undergirds the series. Her work is part of a trend among scholars, who increasingly recognize the pervading presence of typological imagery, particularly after the 1530s and the creative ways in which figurative patterns were employed to convey meaning. The groundbreaking work of two other art historians, who each propose a more comprehensive understanding of visual typology, will be briefly summarized to introduce some of the intricate typological innovations that emerged in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century.

Reindert Falkenburg has proposed typology as an interpretative framework for Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*.¹⁷⁶ On the exterior panels, God the Father oversees the *Creation of the World*; when opened the triptych displays scenes traditionally identified as the *Creation of Man*, the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, and *Hell*

instruments of the Passion; Hercules's pillar might refer to the Cross, Samson's jawbone to Golgotha (the place of the skull), and Neptune's trident (of which only one tine is prominently depicted) to Longinus's lance. Tuinen, "Struggles for Salvation: A Reconstruction and Interpretation of Maarten van Heemskerck's 'Strong Men'," 66-67. Van Tuinen concludes that is unlikely that *Neptune*, *Hercules Carrying the Pillars of Gades*, and *Samson Slaying the Philistines* were chosen solely because their attributes could be interpreted in light of the Crucifixion. Still, a careful examination of the ensemble would probably have sparked similar idea in viewers. Alternatively, viewers may have been reminded of Charles V of Spain's coat of arms: "The device [...] identified Charles with Hercules and was later seen as an indication of his ambition to surpass the hero not just in geographical terms but in virtue, valor, and fame." Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, 92. Bull adds: "Wherever Charles went, Hercules went too. The triumphant entries that were staged for him as he moved through his vast empire usually included the 'impresa', and sometimes more direct references to the emperor's Herculean achievements." The coat of arms also contained an eagle, which resonated with Charles V's frequent identification with Jupiter. Neptune was also part of his symbolic repertoire. These associations were also marshalled to pay homage to his successor, Philip II. *Ibid.*, 46-47, 139, 53, 57, 364. Similarly, the Habsburgers were by no means alone to identify with mythological gods and heroes, including Hercules; the practice was widespread among ruling houses in Western Europe. *Ibid.*, 92-97.

¹⁷⁶ Eric de Bruyn said Falkenburg is "definitely breaking new ground" with this suggestion. Eric de Bruyn, "Review: *The Land of Unlikeness. Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights. Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History – Volume X* by Reindert Leonard Falkenburg," *Oud Holland* 126, no. 4 (2013): 217.

respectively (figs. Intro.46-47).¹⁷⁷ Falkenburg points out that Bosch's painting depicts "[...] the general course of human history 'flowing' from left to right."¹⁷⁸ The key to the interpretation of the triptych is the scene of God the Father standing between Adam and Eve in the interior left panel. At first glance this configuration seems to represent elements from the story told in Genesis: *The Creation of Man* and *The Institution of Marriage in Paradise*. Besides a number of subtle divergences from existing pictorial traditions, significantly, God the Father is depicted in the guise of Christ, the fulfilment of all types. This suggests, Falkenburg says, that the "[...] Creator in Bosch's Paradise scene [...] is the central figure of a typological construct comprising both the Creation and the Salvation of mankind."¹⁷⁹ While this configuration of figures grounds the triptych as a whole in a firmly typological framework, an examination of the subsequent panels reveals that the viewer is in fact witnessing the opposite of the history of salvation: the history of perdition of mankind (which is why Falkenburg speaks of 'para-typology' and a 'parodic' form of visual typology).¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Fig. Intro.46: Museo del Prado, "The Garden of Earthly Delights: Closed (P02823)," <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-garden-of-earthly-delights/02388242-6d6a-4e9e-a992-e1311eab3609>. Access date 05 May 2016.

Fig. Intro.47: "The Garden of Earthly Delights: Open (P02823)," <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-garden-of-earthly-delights/02388242-6d6a-4e9e-a992-e1311eab3609>. Access date 05 May 2016. As Falkenburg explains, this grim outcome is not inevitable (viewers are urged to engage their own sense of judgement), he prefers the term para-typological as the triptych shows the history of damnation rather than the history of salvation. Reindert Falkenburg, "Black Holes in Bosch: Visual Typology in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*," in *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Walter S. Melion, and Todd M. Richardson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 115, 28.

¹⁷⁸ "Black Holes in Bosch: Visual Typology in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*," 123.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 114. "Figured as, and prefiguring, Christ the God-man, the Creator is the pivot of a pictorial narrative relating the history of mankind from its very beginning to its destiny in a highly condensed manner typical of medieval typological imagery. It offers an epigrammatic rendering of the History of Salvation as preordained by God, capitalizing on a formal and semantic play on the *imago Dei* and the mirror relationship of God and mankind." Ibid., 114-15. *The Land of Unlikeness, Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Zwolle: WBooks, 2011), 8, 67-76. "[...] we 'see' several, typologically related images condensed in, or projected into, a single pictorial composite." Ibid., 76.

¹⁸⁰ "Black Holes in Bosch: Visual Typology in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*," 115, 27. "The course of human history as it is depicted in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* does not take its point of departure in the

Falkenburg persuasively argues that the “rhetoric of visual typology operating in *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts” functions as a template for the reading of Bosch’s *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych.¹⁸¹ In the *Speculum*, the arrangement of the figures invites a reading from left to right. Formal similarities signal semantic correspondences, prompting the viewer to “turn his or her mind and eyes to each scene at will, recognizing patterns of correspondence which do not become obvious if one restricts oneself to linear reading alone.”¹⁸² In the context of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the *Creation* scene functions “in a manner reminiscent of the way the New Testament scene in illustrations of the *Speculum* ‘directs,’ or ‘governs,’ the representation of the respective Old Testament scenes [...]”¹⁸³ However, the *Paradise* scene signals that the *Garden of Earthly Delights* does not “[...] simply paint an irrevocable sliding down of mankind towards perdition [...]”¹⁸⁴ The Creator looks directly at the viewer, which functions as an appeal to: “respond with his own ‘eye of judgement’ and to measure every aspect of the course of human history against the anthropological *factum* of man’s original identity as ‘image and likeness’ of God and the salvific promise prefigured in the

figure of the Creator and the promise of the *lignum vitae*, but in its antipode, the Tree of Knowledge and its fruit.” Ibid., 237. Not every reviewer is convinced; Keith Moxey says that “If the argument pursued above strains credulity, it is because ‘para-typological mnemonics’ runs the same risks as those Panofsky envisioned for iconography — that it might become the equivalent of an astrology rather than an astronomy.” Keith Moxey, “Review: Reindert Leonard Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness: Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (2012): 1222.

¹⁸¹ Falkenburg, “Black Holes in Bosch: Visual Typology in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*,” 125-26. *The Land of Unlikeness, Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights*, 77-81. “These images visualize, in their serial alignment and through certain formal and iconographical correspondences, the underlying figurative concepts that bind them together; in their design they thus appeal to a method of perception that is both comparative and projective.” Ibid., 77.

¹⁸² *The Land of Unlikeness, Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights*, 78. “[...] each scene, or even detail, can become the center of a revolving movement of imaginative projection (one ‘sees’ one image ‘into’ the other, and vice versa, though one could also say that one sees a single *Gestalt* shimmer through a multitude of images.” Ibid., 79. “Black Holes in Bosch: Visual Typology in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*,” 126. The *Klosterneuburg* altarpiece works in a similar way.

¹⁸³ *The Land of Unlikeness, Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights*, 81.

¹⁸⁴ “Black Holes in Bosch: Visual Typology in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*,” 128.

creation of Mankind.”¹⁸⁵ The beholder is asked to [...] imaginatively construct his or her own place in the course of human history, and [...] see through the delusional world of evil-induced phantasms.”¹⁸⁶

In his analysis of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych, Falkenburg shows that Bosch was both aware of existing pictorial traditions and of the underlying idea of typology as an exegetical method that looks for patterns in salvation history as manifestations of the divine will and its purpose for mankind. The subtle divergence in the iconography of the *Creation* scene signals to the viewer that the imagery on the triptych should be understood within a typological framework. More importantly, the outward gaze of the Creator figure as well as the unusual nature of the scenes on the interior of the triptych engage the viewer not only to discover the salvific pattern, but to question how they themselves relate to this pattern. The painting denotes agency on the part of the viewer, as perdition is the inevitable finale of the triptych but not necessarily of their life. These elements of the innovative use of typology will recur in art works throughout the sixteenth century.

Another art historian who has made important strides in researching typology is Michel Weemans. He has detected the use of what he terms ‘expanded typology’ (because it involves extra-biblical analogies) in works by Flemish painter Herri met de Bles (ca. 1510-1555/60).¹⁸⁷ In *The Preaching of John the Baptist* (ca 1550), currently in Barcelona, John is preaching from the dark hollow of a large, dead tree in the left middle

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 131.

¹⁸⁶ *The Land of Unlikeness, Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights*, 10.

¹⁸⁷ Weemans, "The Preaching of John the Baptist: Herri met de Bles's Visual Exegesis and Expanded Typology," 267.

ground of a sweeping, mountainous landscape (fig. Intro.48).¹⁸⁸ In the foreground groups of men in oriental dress are listening to him or discussing his words among themselves. Behind them is a small clearing where among the trees a diminutive figure of Christ can be discerned (unobserved by John's audience). The dead tree on which John sits is juxtaposed to the verdant trees around Christ, identifying the former as a type of the latter.¹⁸⁹ The little owl perched above John's head, by virtue of its nocturnal vision (associated with discernment), signals John's prophetic vision of the advent of the Messiah. Just left of the large tree in the right foreground, a blind man and his guide can be distinguished, a motif that further emphasizes that the narrative is one of seeing and not seeing, or outward vision and internal discernment.

In his analysis of this and other versions of the narrative by Herri met de Bles, Weemans notes that "Bles's landscapes are characterized by a repertoire of recurring motifs actively involved in the visual exegesis, by way of their interactions with each other and with the biblical protagonists."¹⁹⁰ The beholder is challenged to produce an exegetical rather than a mere iconographical reading of the painting, visually to roam the picture plane and examine the analogies with outward eyes, finally to discern Christ within it and within himself/herself.

In the Cleveland *Preaching of John the Baptist* (ca 1540), a little boat carrying the imperial double-headed eagle above the emblem of Charles V of Spain is depicted in close proximity to the dove of the Holy Spirit descending over the scene of Christ's

¹⁸⁸ Fig. Intro.48: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, "Landscape with Saint John the Baptist Preaching (050470-000)," <http://www.museunacional.cat/en/colleccio/landscape-saint-john-baptist-preaching/herri-met-de-bles/050470-000>. Access date 05 May 2016.

¹⁸⁹ Weemans, "The Preaching of John the Baptist: Herri met de Bles's Visual Exegesis and Expanded Typology," 275.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Baptism (fig. Intro.49).¹⁹¹ The sheer size of Charles V's territory, which extended into the far reaches of the New World, his efforts to subdue both Turkish invaders and Protestant reformers, among other historical circumstances, were interpreted as signs of the approaching Second Coming of Christ and the inauguration of the Kingdom of God.¹⁹² Weemans explains that "the preaching of John the Baptist and the Baptism of Christ are the inaugural events of this new age, on stage in the history of salvation, which will undergo its completion in the Heavenly Jerusalem. The pictorial juxtaposition of the imperial eagle and the dove of baptism suggests that between this biblical event and its eschatological fulfilment, the divinely ordained reign of the Emperor is a crucial step."¹⁹³ The visual analogy between the dove and the imperial eagle might also suggest to the beholder that the divine words that were proclaimed when the Holy Spirit descended at Christ's baptism, "this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," could equally be understood to refer to Charles V and his religious and political policies.¹⁹⁴

Weemans shows that Herri met de Bles challenges viewers to examine their own way of looking at the painting and the patterns they discern among the figures in the landscape, and prompts them to reexamine the biblical story and the patterns that pervade it. The Cleveland *Preaching of John the Baptist* is of particular interest in that it includes the emblem of Charles V, and thereby contains a political statement. The painting

¹⁹¹ Fig. Intro.49: The Cleveland Museum of Art, "Landscape with Saint John the Baptist (1967.20)," http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1967.20?collection_search_query=Bles&op=search&form_build_id=form-IrPF5dS01hyVN0YpJiEmgfi0i9nWttEkzOOQt0_0Gzo&form_id=clevelandart_collection_search_form. Access date 05 May 2016.

¹⁹² Weemans, "The Preaching of John the Baptist: Herri met de Bles's Visual Exegesis and Expanded Typology," 285. "Typology, in an expanded sense, fulfils here its exegetical function as a process of analogy connecting biblical events with events of the present time, and also as a method for interpreting the prophetic or allegorical significance of historical events."

¹⁹³ Ibid., 286. "The privilege of the chosen people of God in the Old Testament was to be the precursors for a more perfect nation whose fulfilment is the Kingdom of God extended to the utmost limits of the earth."

¹⁹⁴ Matt. 3:17.

encourages viewers to go back to the Scriptures to find out how a contemporary emperor fits into the pattern of divine revelation that pervades the painting, actualizing the sacred narrative in a very concrete way. The use of typology for political purposes would become increasingly popular in the sixteenth century.

The innovations in typological usage discerned by Falkenburg and Weemans are not unique to Hieronymus Bosch and Herri met de Bles. The four chapters of this dissertation will show how Maarten van Heemskerck, Karel van Mander, Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem and Marten de Vos each engaged with typology as an exegetical method to visualize patterns in salvation history as manifestations of the divine will and its purpose for mankind. Employing typology, they address a variety of issues, touching on the emancipation of painters as artists and their authority as exegetes, framing tumultuous contemporary events within a salvific context, and cultivating the idea of the Netherlanders as the new chosen people of God.

The inclusion of scenes from the Old and the New Testament, as well as a story from the testimony of Flavius Josephus, first sparked my interest in Van Heemskerck's extensive *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series (1569). The seemingly random selection of scenes, some conventional (*Noah's Sacrifice*, the *Tower of Babel*), others atypical (the *Burial of Samson*, the *Capture of Tirsah*), suggested that the overall iconographical program might have a typological foundation. Additionally, the sheer size of the series (twenty-two prints) singled it out as the *magnum opus* of the artist's graphic oeuvre, an idea confirmed by the presence of the artist's self-portrait on the frontispiece. In light of suggestions in some of the scholarly literature that typological imagery was rapidly losing ground in the course of the sixteenth century, a series engraved after the design of one of

the most successful and prolific northern artists of the sixteenth century seemed like an excellent place to start.

For a similar reason, and because of his extensive knowledge of contemporary artists and their works, artist-biographer Karel van Mander was an obvious candidate for the second case-study. The fact that he became a Mennonite at some point during his life suggested the additional opportunity to examine whether his religious views may have informed his typological usage. His 1588 *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* provided a great case study as it includes Old Testament prophets as part of a New Testament composition. Throughout his life, he composed a number of works, including poems/songs, which suggest that the story of the annunciation and adoration of the shepherds was of particular personal interest to him and may reflect some of his Mennonite beliefs. Furthermore, his engagement with existing pictorial traditions, ultimately tracing back to Federico Zuccaro's *Annunciation to the Virgin Surrounded by Prophets of the Incarnation* fresco (1566-1567) reveal his preference of typology over allegory as a carrier of meaning.

The 1605 *Crossing of the River Jordan* was the last painting Van Mander made, and includes portraits of both of his patrons (Duyfken and Isaac Roch), and of the artist himself. Like Van Heemskerck, Van Mander here reveals his preoccupation with memorializing himself, as well as his views on the authority of the visual arts as exegetical devices for understanding Scripture. As this painting is part of the tradition whereby Netherlanders directly identify with the Israelites from the Old Testament, I felt it was worth exploring in the context of this dissertation.

While researching these Haarlem artists, the group of paintings that Cornelis Cornelisz executed for the Prinsenhof of that city caught my attention. The different sources of the subjectmatter suggested an underlying typological framework to the quartet: the series consists of an Old and a New Testament scene (*Fall of Man, Massacre of the Innocents*), a somewhat obscene picture involving contemporary monastics (the *Monk and a Beguine*), and a mythological story painted on a truly monumental scale (the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*). Of particular interest was the *Massacre of the Innocents*, a very unorthodox subject matter for a triptych, and yet it was conceived to be combined with wingpanels formerly of the drapers' altarpiece, depicting the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Adoration of the Magi*. Finally, as these paintings were commissioned to adorn the living quarters of a Calvinist prince, a secular, politically charged setting, the Prinsenhof quartet raised enough questions to merit further investigation.

Finally, in order to broaden the scope of my research beyond Haarlem, I opted to include a work by Marten de Vos, the most prolific artist from Antwerp, the great artistic and commercial center of the Southern Netherlands at the time. Since art from a liturgical setting had been underrepresented in my research, an altarpiece seemed appropriate. Marten de Vos's *Wedding at Cana* altarpiece, located in a prestigious position in the chapel behind the high altar of the Church of our Lady, with its elaborate rendition of a traditional typological subject matter promised to be a valuable contribution to this research project.

The first chapter of this dissertation examines the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series, designed by Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574) and published by Philip Galle

in 1569. The series opens with a frontispiece featuring the artist's self-portrait among classical ruins, which is followed by eighteen paired scenes from the Old Testament, two Nativity scenes from the New Testament and concludes with the *Destruction of Jerusalem* based on an account by Flavius Josephus. The *Clades* series consists of a sequence of visual and narrative patterns, reflecting divine authority made manifest in history. By alternating familiar stories such as *Noah's Sacrifice* and the *Tower of Babel* with obscure scenes like the *Capture of Tirsah* and the *People of Israel Divided between Tibni and Amri*, Van Heemskerck prompts his viewers to re-examine the biblical narrative to discover the overall meaning of the series. By including his own portrait in the opening print, the series provides a typological basis for his claim to exegetical as well as artistic authority.

The second chapter investigates Karel van Mander's *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* from 1588. At the center of the image, the Christ child lies in his manger, surrounded by his parents and a number of shepherds. On each side, three Old Testament prophets are placed, holding placards with applicable extracts from their prophecies. In the background the annunciation to the shepherds takes place. The prophets who foresaw the advent of the Messiah here function both as glosses on the nativity scene via their placards, as prefigurations of the shepherds, and as types of Christ. The shepherds have received divine revelation from the angel, similar to how the prophets received their visions. Subsequently, they witness the birth of Christ with their physical eyes and thereby function as types for the viewer, who is invited to witness the unfolding of sacred history and to question his or her own position in relation to it. Through this engraving and his 1605 painting of the *Crossing of the River Jordan*, Van

Mander, like Van Heemskerck, claims that the visual arts have exegetical authority because they can visualize patterns in divine history.

The four paintings Cornelis Cornelisz completed for the Prinsenhof in Haarlem, the *Massacre of the Innocents*, *Monk and a Beguine*, *Fall of Man* and the large *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* are the subject of the third chapter. By combining subjects from the Old and New Testament, mythology and contemporary history, Cornelisz identifies a typological pattern of human failure and its consequences. The quartet of paintings carries a political message, the hope that after the atrocities and persecution under Spanish rule, that the prince of Orange (the antitype of the types presented in the four paintings) would lead the Low Countries to peace and prosperity once more. The inclusion of wing panels painted by Van Heemskerck, and Cornelisz's visual references to works of other artists such as Albrecht Dürer and Hendrick Goltzius, reveals the artist's secondary agenda: through his intricately painted typological quartet, the artist aimed to put both the city of Haarlem and his own artistic skills permanently on the map.

The final chapter of this dissertation focuses on Marten de Vos's *Wedding at Cana*, painted for the Antwerp winetaverners' guild in 1597. This large altarpiece depicts the first miracle Christ performed during his ministry: changing water to wine (thereby transforming the Old Covenant into the New). De Vos presents the wedding at Cana as part of a salvific pattern of marriages that reaches into the viewer's own time, thereby addressing contemporary concerns surrounding the sacrament of marriage and the marital state. The painting suggests that in changing water to wine, transforming the Old Law of Moses into the New Dispensation of Christ, marriage became a sacred institution conveying grace upon newlywed couples. As such the *Wedding at Cana* had an

admonitory purpose, urging its viewers to follow the new rules on marriage proclaimed by the council of Trent so their marriage would incur divine grace in addition to the Church's blessing.

The individualized features of some of the protagonists have given rise to the suggestion that the *Wedding at Cana* might contain portraits of members of the Antwerp winetaverners. This seems unlikely, particularly in light of a comparison with Marten de Vos's 1574-75 *Panhuys* panel, in which typology is the framework through which Peeter Panhuys, his family and friends present themselves as the Israelites from the Old Testament. The *Panhuys* panel was clearly commissioned as a group portrait, and shows De Vos's long-standing familiarity with multi-layered typological imagery as well as the close identification of sixteenth-century patrons and audiences with the Israelites from the Old Testament.

This dissertation aims to explain the way in which typology forms the basis for the kinds of analogical arguments put forth by the aforementioned artists. In the Middle Ages, typology as a means of conveying divine truths dominated the liturgical and hermeneutical domain. The sixteenth century saw its emancipation into the public domain, and a significant diversification in its application, particularly in the visual arts. That the typological worldview was pervasive throughout the sixteenth century and beyond is evidenced by its political application in propaganda, for instance, and the emergence of historiated portraiture. Religious persecution, turbulent politics and violent wars reminded the Netherlanders of the history of the Israelites from the Old Testament; such typological analogies suggested a divine purpose behind contemporary events, and atrocities committed by enemies in an attempt to subdue the Reformation or Revolt were

even seen reflect divine favor. Inherent in the application of typology in the visual arts is the appeal made to the viewer to discover the salvific analogies and, as salvation history is ongoing, the significance of the typological patterns to their own lives. That the artists that feature prominently in this research project occasionally employed typology to advance a personal agenda, the following chapters will show.

Chapter 1 – Maarten van Heemskerck: Clades Judaeae Gentis

The Netherlandish artist Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574) is mainly known for his stay in Rome between 1532 and 1537 and his subsequent introduction of Italianate painting in the Netherlands.¹⁹⁵ The artist biographer Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), who happened to meet Van Heemskerck in Rome in July 1532, called him a “good master of figures and landscapes” and one of the “most beautiful inventors of stories and close observers of the Italian manner.”¹⁹⁶ He expounds on various print series after the master’s designs, disregarding his painted oeuvre entirely.¹⁹⁷ After his return from Rome, Van Heemskerck increasingly focused on his graphic work, especially after the iconoclasm of 1566, which saw the destruction of many of his paintings. Today around six hundred of his print compositions are known.¹⁹⁸

Van Heemskerck’s oeuvre reflects his familiarity with traditional typological analogies as well as his continued interest in the inventive adaption of typology as a means to convey meaning to his viewers. He applied typology in a particularly creative and innovative way in the *magnum opus* of his graphic work: the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series.¹⁹⁹ The prints were engraved and published by Philips Galle (1537-1612) in

¹⁹⁵ This chapter (now updated) was previously published in the form of an article: Merel Groentjes, "Clades Judaeae Gentis: Patterns of Destruction," in *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400-1700*, ed. Walter S. Melion, James Clifton, and Michel Weemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 509-44. Also see: Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 129-32, cat. 14a-h.

¹⁹⁶ Robert H. Getscher, *An Annotated and Illustrated Version of Giorgio Vasari's History of Italian and Northern Prints from his Lives of the Artists (1550-1568)*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), 261-62.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 208-15.

¹⁹⁸ Ilja Veldman, *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 1986), 13.

¹⁹⁹ The series is sometimes also called the *Inventiones Heemskerckianae Ex Utroque Testamento*, after an inscription added to the frontispiece by Ioannes Galle (1600-1676) when he reprinted the series in Antwerp. See for instance: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Portret van Maarten van Heemskerck op de Sokkel van een

1569.²⁰⁰ As his subject matter, Van Heemskerck has chosen to depict commonly illustrated Old Testament scenes such as the *Tower of Babel* and *Lot and his Daughters*, as well as scenes rarely if ever depicted, such as the *Burial of Samson* and the *People of Israel Divided between Tibni and Amri*. Furthermore, the series ends with two Nativity scenes from the New Testament, and the *Destruction of Jerusalem by Emperor Titus*, which does not occur in Scripture at all but derives ultimately from an eyewitness account of the Jewish revolt in the first century, recorded by Flavius Josephus (ca 37-100 AD) in *De bello judaico*.

Despite increased scholarly interest in Van Heemskerck's prints in recent decades, the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* series has received very little attention in scholarship.²⁰¹ Eleanor Saunders, who dedicated a chapter to the *Clades* series in her dissertation on Old Testament subjects in Van Heemskerck's oeuvre, is one of the few scholars to have investigated the series as a whole. Her approach is informed by the assumption that Van Heemskerck "[...] chose his subjects for the light they would shed on contemporary problems" but she concedes that "how exactly to interpret them raises a more difficult issue."²⁰² Ultimately, she reads Samson's victory in *Samson Destroying the Temple of the*

Zuil (RP-P-OB-5929)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114515>. Access date 03 September 2016. Horst Bredekamp, "Maarten van Heemskercks Bildersturmzyklen als Angriffe Auf Rom," in *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. R. Scribner and M. Warnke (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1990), fig. 31.

²⁰⁰ Most of the preparatory drawings survive and are dated 1567 and 1568. Jan Garff, *Tegninger af Maerten van Heemskerck : Illustreret Katalog* (Kopenhagen: Den kongelige kobberstiksamling. Statens museum for kunst, 1971), cat. 90-101.

²⁰¹ Since the publication of this chapter as a separate article, two relevant publications have come to my attention, Frances C.E. Allitt's 2010 Master's thesis and the INHA exhibition catalogue that focusses on Van Heemskerck's *Clades* series. Frances C.E. Allitt, "Construction and Collapse on Paper: *Clades Judaeae Gentis* of Maarten van Heemskerck, 1569" (Emory University, 2010). Marc Folin and Monica Preti, eds., *Les Villes Détruites de Maarten van Heemskerck: Images de Ruines et Conflits Religieux Dans Les Pays-Bas Au Xvie Siècle* (Paris: Institut Nationale d'Histoire de l'Art, 2015).

²⁰² Eleanor Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*" (PhD, Yale University, 1978), 233.

Philistines as a direct reference to Emperor Charles V's fight against the enemies of the Catholic faith; the army of Regent Margaret of Parma is likened to the army of Nebuchadnezzar, and Titus stands for the Duke of Alva, who harshly reconquered most of the Netherlandish cities that had revolted against Spanish overlordship.²⁰³ However, not all prints of the series lend themselves equally well to such an interpretation; the Nativity scenes seem particularly out of place.²⁰⁴

Rather, in the *Clades Judaeae Gentis*, Van Heemskerck innovatively used typology to argue for the exegetical authority of the visual arts. The twenty-two engravings of the series, organized in pairs, represent the unfolding of salvation history through visual and narrative patterns, principally by means of the (ruinous) architectural monuments that dominate every scene.²⁰⁵ These ruins function as a vehicle for the communication between God and his people and signal the increasing distance between God and the Israelites as the latter continue to disregard divine commands.²⁰⁶ Their failure to recognize Christ as the Messiah ultimately leads to the destruction of the Jewish Temple and the definitive breaking of the Old Covenant. In the frontispiece of the series,

²⁰³ Ibid., 274-75.

²⁰⁴ Frances Allitt situates the *Clades* series into the "[...] tradition of moral exempla common in the second half of the 16th century" and concludes: "Clades is a record of the turning fortunes of the ancient Jewish people, ending with their rejection of Christ and ultimately God's desertion. The series is not meant so much as a historical record, however, as it is a lesson for Van Heemskerck's viewers. The overarching message is the necessity of accepting Christ." Allitt, "Construction and Collapse on Paper: Clades Judaeae Gentis of Maarten van Heemskerck, 1569," 5-6, 62. Since their sixteenth-century viewers would likely have consisted almost entirely of Christians (Roman-Catholic, Protestant or otherwise), convincing them that Christ was in fact the Messiah, come to restore the relationship between God and mankind, seems unnecessary. The Israelites' refusal to recognize Christ as the Messiah is just the last of a series of increasingly disobedient acts that damage the relationship between God and his people until it is effectively perceived to be beyond repair.

²⁰⁵ Allitt subdivides the first eighteen prints into groups of three pairs. Ibid., 4, 21ff.

²⁰⁶ In her Master's thesis, Allitt makes a similar argument. She notes that "[...] it is possible to argue that in each successive group of three pairs [of *Clades* prints], God's direct interaction with the Israelites steadily decreases." Also: "Van Heemskerck uses the Classical ruins as a visual device to signify God's changing favor. Shifts in God's favor occur when the Jews either honor or betray their covenant with God, and the ruins themselves signify either the destruction or reconstruction of that relationship." Ibid., 3, 4.

Van Heemskerck introduces himself as an artistic authority on ancient Roman architecture, and, by extension, as an exegete authorized to present his tropological interpretation visually to his viewers.

Van Heemskerck's Catholic upbringing acquainted him with traditional typology embedded in the liturgy. While in Rome, numerous sketches testify to his admiration of the Sistine chapel paintings, which contains several figurative analogies.²⁰⁷ Later, as an active member of the 'Wijngaerdtranken' rhetoricians chamber in Haarlem, even if only or mostly responsible for the "design and execution of devices, decors, costumes, attributes and the like", as Ilja Veldman has suggested, the artist would have been involved in the organization of the moralistic and didactic plays the rhetoricians staged. These plays were usually presented on religious occasions and often contained typological juxtapositions.²⁰⁸ These and other biographical circumstances suggest that Van Heemskerck must have been very familiar with typological figuration, an assumption buttressed by an examination of a number of his paintings and prints.

Shortly after returning from his sojourn in Italy in 1537, Van Heemskerck received a commission to paint a monumental polyptych for the main altar of the St. Laurence church in Alkmaar, now on display in the cathedral of Linköping, Sweden (figs. 1.01-1.02).²⁰⁹ This was his first opportunity to display his new Italianizing style of

²⁰⁷ Hülsen and Egger, *Die Römische Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck, im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*. On the typology in the Sistine chapel, see for instance: Edgar Wind, *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²⁰⁸ "Artists often had a specific role in a chamber or rhetoric, designing and executing the decors for the theatrical performances and making stage props, decorations, costumes and shields." Ilja Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1977), 130-32. On the subject of typology and the *rederijers*, see: Dekeyzer, "Een Gelaagde Bijbellectuur: over het Gebruik van Typologie in de Rederijersliteratuur," 9-30.

²⁰⁹ Fig. 1.01 and 1.02 were kindly provided by Ms. Ulrika Sköld, Domkyrkointendent of Linköping cathedral. Grosshans, *Maarten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 109, fig. 32, 10, fig. 33. The city archive of Alkmaar still has the original contract and bills on file. J.H. Bloemsma, "De Italiaanse Kermis van een

painting and to impress potential patrons.²¹⁰ Consequently, in the words of Bengt Cnattingius: “Apparently Heemskerck was prepared to create his *opus ultimum* with the St. Lawrence altar [...] that was the maximum of power and talent that he could muster. As to size, too, it was to be ‘non plus ultra’.”²¹¹

The altarpiece consists of ten panels, divided into two horizontal registers, the upper roughly twice the height of the lower. The outer wings depict the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* on the upper left, *St. Lawrence Distributing the Church Treasures* on the right, with the *Adoration of the Shepherds* below the former and the *Last Supper* below the latter. The interior consists of six separate scenes, from left to right: *Ecce Homo*, *Crucifixion*, *Resurrection*, and below, the *Flagellation*, *Carrying of the Cross*, and the *Mocking of Christ*. Van Heemskerck placed his self-portrait, which looks out at the beholder, among the donor portraits in the panel depicting *St. Lawrence Distributing the Church Treasures*.

On the exterior wings, St. Lawrence is visually presented as a figure of Christ. In the scene of his martyrdom, the saint’s body is tied to a gridiron, his torso twisted towards the beholder. His body is on display, just as the Christ child is on display in the scene below, the *Adoration of the Shepherds*. On the right, the saint distributing the

Hollandse Boerenzoon, Leven en Werk van Maerten van Heemskerck," in *Maerten van Heemskerck 1498-1574, 'Constigh Vermaert Schilder'*, ed. Erik Zevenhuizen and Piet de Boer (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1998), 38. Also see: A. Rohmdahl, "Das Altarwerk Marten Heemskerck für die Laurentiuskirche zu Alkmaar," *Oud Holland* 21 (1903): 173-74.

²¹⁰ “Heemskerck, one can certainly say, could not have demonstrated more clearly that in Italy he had come to a whole new understanding.” (“Heemskerck had, mag men wel zeggen, niet duidelijker kunnen demonstreren dat hij in Italië tot geheel nieuwe inzichten was gekomen”). My translation. W. Th. Kloek, W. Halsema-Kubes, and R.J. Baarsen, *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm* (Den Haag: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986), 70.

²¹¹ Bengt Cnattingius, *Maerten van Heemskerck's St. Lawrence Altar-Piece in Linköping Cathedral, Studies in its Mannerist Style* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1973), 69. Linköping cathedral offers a great virtual tour of the church on their website, where Van Heemskerck’s triptych can be seen *in situ*: <http://linkopingsdomkyrka.se/virtuell-rundtur-i-domkyrkan>

church treasures analogizes Christ's distributing the bread and the wine at the *Last Supper*.²¹² Van Heemskerck thereby follows in a long tradition in which saints are designated *typus christi*. The eucharistic references to Christ's sacrificial body and passion on the outside wings of the St. Lawrence altar are reinforced by the Passion, Crucifixion and Resurrection scenes on the inside. In the *Crucifixion*, a snake and the skull and bone at the foot of the cross further remind the viewer that Christ's death on the cross redeemed Adam's original sin.²¹³ Originally, the altarpiece was also to have two grisaille lunettes containing prophets and sibyls, reminiscent of imagery of prophecy and fulfillment in the Sistine Chapel, the *Biblia pauperum*, Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*, and many other pictorial sources. Ultimately, these lunettes were not included as part of the polyptych.²¹⁴

Around 1550 Van Heemskerck painted a triptych of which today only the two wing panels survive: the inner left panel depicts the *Fall of Man* and was mirrored by *Gideon and the Fleece* on the right (figs. 1.03a-1.03b).²¹⁵ Traditionally, these scenes were prefigurations associated with the Virgin Mary, referring to her role as the new Eve and her virgin conception of Christ respectively.²¹⁶ In the *Biblia pauperum*, both images

²¹² Veldman speaks of an iconographical connection ("iconografisch verbonden") without specifying its exact nature. Jan Piet Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes, and W. Th. Kloek, eds., *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm: Catalogus* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986).

²¹³ Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 136.

²¹⁴ Jefferson C Harrison, *The Paintings of Maerten van Heemskerck, a Catalogue Raisonné*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1987), 341. "[...] twee ronden daer de profeten ende sibyllen in staen." Rohmdahl, "Das Altarwerk Marten Heemskerck für die Laurentiuskirche zu Alkmaar," 173.

²¹⁵ Fig. 1.03a & 1.03b: Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg: Musée des Beaux-Arts, "Adam et Eve, Gédéon," <http://www.musees.strasbourg.eu/index.php?page=XVIe-siecle-nordique>. Access date 05 May 2016. Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, fig. 103-04, cat. 71.

²¹⁶ Labriola and Smeltz suggest that the lamb skin refers to Christ, and Gideon's military attire to Christ's ultimate victory over evil. Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 145.

flanked the *Annunciation to the Virgin*.²¹⁷ The Boymans van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam owns two panels by Van Heemskerck that together depict the *Visitation*, which, as Rainald Grosshans has argued, may have formed the outer panels of this lost triptych (figs. 1.04a-1.04b).²¹⁸ If this is true, the lost central panel likely showed a scene from the life of the Virgin, possibly a Nativity.²¹⁹

Another traditional typological analogy, one that Van Heemskerck depicted on a number of occasions and that would (re)gain currency in the sixteenth century, was the story of Moses and the brazen serpent paired with a Crucifixion. Discouraged by their difficult journey through the desert, the Israelites rebelled against Moses, asking “why didst thou bring us out of Egypt, to die in the wilderness?” As punishment for their lack of faith, God sent “fiery serpents” that bit and killed many. The Israelites repented, and God instructed Moses to “make a brazen serpent, and set it up for a sign: whosoever being struck shall look on it, shall live.”²²⁰ Ever since Christ himself prophesied that “as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever that believeth in him, may not perish, but may have life everlasting” (John 3:14-15), the story of the brazen serpent has functioned as a type to Christ’s Crucifixion.

Maarten van Heemskerck’s painted rendition of the theme is unusual in that the depiction of *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* is spread out over both exterior panels, with the serpent on its pole nearly at the center, while the *Crucifixion* covers all three of the

²¹⁷ Ibid., 15, plate A. Brigitte Dekeyzer, “Typologische Creativiteit in de Late Middeleeuwen: de Dialoog tussen Oud en Nieuw Testament in the Gents-Brugse Boekverluchting,” *Millennium, Tijdschrift voor Middeleeuwse Studies* 17, no. 2 (2003): 123.

²¹⁸ Figs. 1.04a and 1.04b: Grosshans, *Maarten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, figs. 101-02, cat. 70.

²¹⁹ “In stilistischer, technischer und ikonographischer Hinsicht spricht alles dafür, daß diese Bilder einst die Innenseiten der Rotterdamer Heimsuchung gebildet haben [...]” Ibid., 191-93, cat.70, fig. 01-02.

²²⁰ Num. 21:4-9.

interior panels (figs. 1.05-1.06).²²¹ The originally scalloped top of the triptych amplified the visual focus on the serpent atop the pole as well as on the crucified Christ depicted behind it on the inside of the altarpiece, thereby stressing the salvific power of the act of looking at the body of Christ. The good and the bad thief, placed on the inside wings of the triptych, buttress the message expressed by pairing of the *Brazen Serpent* and the *Crucifixion*, namely, that accepting Christ as the Messiah leads to eternal salvation, whereas rejection of him results in death (as graphically illustrated by the skeleton hanging in the background). Additionally, during the celebration of Mass in front of the altarpiece, when the officiating priest lifted the consecrated host for the congregation to see, Van Heemskerck's typological imagery gained a further dimension through the visual display of the body of Christ *sub gratia*. Devotional practice understood the elevation of the consecrated host to be the moment when meditation on (images of) the Passion of Christ would culminate in the salvific act of spiritual communion.²²²

Karel van Mander (1548-1606) describes another altarpiece by Van Heemskerck that contained the story of the *Brazen Serpent* but was innovatively paired with the *Adoration of the Magi*: "In the Church of St. Aechte an altarpiece with the *Three Kings*; this he designed so that one king stood in the middle panel, and one in each of the

²²¹ Fig. 1.05: Princeton University Art Museum, "The Brazen Serpent, 1549," <http://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/33332>. Acces date 05 May 2016. Fig. 1.06: The State Hermitage Museum, "Calvary," <http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+Paintings/38857/?lng=nl>. Filedt Kok, Halsema-Kubes, and Kloek, *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm: Catalogus*, 255, cat. 137. At an unknown date, the wing panels depicting the *Brazen serpent* were attached to each other and subsequently transferred to canvas. Jefferson C Harrison, "The *Brazen Serpent* by Maarten van Heemskerck: Aspects of its Style and Meaning," *Record of the Art Museum* 49, no. 2 (1990): 16. Van Heemskerck was inspired by Michelangelo's *Brazen Serpent* in the Sistine Chapel as well as by the Laocoön statue in the Vatican. *Ibid.*, 22.

²²² On spiritual communion, see for instance: Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). R. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400-1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). And: Reindert Falkenburg, "Hieronymus Bosch's Mass of Saint Gregory and 'Sacramental Vision'," in *Das Bild der Erscheinung: die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas Gormans and Thomas Lentens (Berlin: Reimer, 2007), 179-206.

shutters; on the outside was the *Brazen Serpent* in grisaille. This was an outstandingly good work [...]” (In de kerck van S. Aechte, een altaer-tafel van den Coninghen: Dit had hy gheordineert dat in de binnen Tafel eenen Coningh en in elcke deur eenen quam: van buyten was de Serpent-bijtinge van wit en swart. Dit was een uytnemende goet werck [...]).”²²³ Unfortunately, this rather interesting triptych did not survive the centuries.²²⁴

The *Adoration of the Magi*, also known as *Epiphany*, marks the beginning of the Messianic era when Christ is manifest to the gentiles who have come to adore him.²²⁵ By pairing this scene with the *Brazen Serpent*, Van Heemskerck focuses attention on the salvific power of (gazing at) the physical presence of the body of Christ.²²⁶

On occasion, Van Heemskerck also applied typology in his graphic work, and more freely than in his paintings. An interesting example is the *Patientiae Triumphus* (Triumph of Patience), a series of eight prints, engraved by Coornhert and published in 1559 by Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570).²²⁷ The opening plate shows the representation of

²²³ Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave* (Utrecht: Davaco publishers, 1969), fol. 246r.

²²⁴ The 1551 *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, (Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, Inv.no. OS I-139) has been proposed as wing panels of the triptych. However, Grosshans rightly argues that various figures overlap the center, where the triptych would have opened, making it unlikely that the painting ever consisted of two separate sections. Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 202.

²²⁵ Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 147-48.

²²⁶ Traditionally, the *Adoration of the Magi* was combined with *Abner Visits David* and the *Queen of Sheba Visits Solomon* (*Biblia pauperum*) and the *Magi Adoring the Star*, the *Three Heroes of David* and *Solomon's Throne* (*Speculum humanae salvationis*). The *Pictor in Carmine* lists five options: Samson accepts a Philistine woman as his bride (“Samson accipit in coniugium mulierem de filiabus Philistinorum”), Hiram king of Tyre sends Solomon gold from Ophir (“Serui Hiram Regis Tyri deferent Salomoni aurum de Ophir”), the Queen of Sheba offers Solomon gold and spices (“regina Saba offert Salomoni aurum et aromata”), Merodach Baladan king of Babylonia sent down letters and service to Ezechiel who had regained health (“Nuncii Merodahbaladan Regis Babilonie deferent Ezechie conulescenti literas et munera”) and Golden earrings were delivered to Job after the scourging (“Dantur Iob post flagella in aures auree”). My translations. There is no reference to Adoration of the Magi. James, “Pictor in Carmine,” 153. So far I have not found another combination of the *Brazen Serpent* with the *Adoration of the Magi*; it might have been Van Heemskerck’s own invention.

²²⁷ Preliminary drawings for all but the first print are extant in various collections. Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, 62, note 34. It is likely that Coornhert played an important role in the conception of the subject matter of the prints of this series. See: Walter S. Melion,

Patientia, seated on a cart drawn by personifications of Hope and Desire and trailing a chained Fortuna (fig. 1.07).²²⁸ The series continues with five Old Testament heroes (Isaac, Joseph, David, Job and Tobit) identified by their attributes and followed by the vices they conquered (fig. 1.08).²²⁹ The series closes with St. Stephen from the New Testament, who functions as the culmination of his Old Testament predecessors, and of the *Triumph of Christ* (figs. 1.09-1.10).²³⁰

Here Van Heemskerck has creatively merged allegory and typology, making Christ's Old Testament types function as personifications of patience, who find their ultimate fulfillment in Christ himself. Their virtue made them "into models of patience in adversity."²³¹ The unexpected insertion of St. Stephen stresses the continuity between the Old and the New Testaments. When accused of blasphemy, Stephen recounted the history of the Jewish people, starting with Abraham. He places himself in the Old Testament prophetic lineage when he accuses his audience of failing to keep the Law and slaying the prophets who announced the coming of the Messiah. As the enraged crowd began to stone him (thereby confirming Stephen's identification of himself as a prophet), Stephen asked forgiveness for his murderers, just as Christ had done.²³² Consequently, the first

"The World between Good and Bad: Ilja M. Veldman, *De Wereld tussen Goed en Kwaad: Late Prenten van Coornhert* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgeverij, 1990)," *Print Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (1992).

²²⁸ Fig. 1.07: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Triomf van de Lijdzaamheid (RP-P-1960-56)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.collect.98201>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck*, 38, fig. 13.

²²⁹ Fig. 1.08: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Triomf van Isaak (RP-P-1960-57)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.collect.98202>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck*, 39, fig. 14.

²³⁰ Fig. 1.09: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Triomf van Stefanus (RP-P-1960-62)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.collect.98219>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck*, 45, fig. 19. Fig. 1.10: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Triomf van Christus (RP-P-1880-a-4017h)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.collect.98224>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck*, 46, fig. 20.

²³¹ *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, 69.

²³² Acts 7:1-59.

martyr of the Christian faith bridges the Old and New Testaments and looks forward to the second coming of Christ, referred to in the last print of the series.

In the early 1550's Van Heemskerck painted a number of triptychs that contain traditional typologies but also clearly show his interest in exploring different ways in which typology could be marshalled to convey meaning. Van Heemskerck's fascination with ancient architecture, often introduced into his paintings and graphic works as an intrinsically supportive part of the narrative depicted, naturally coincided with his interest in typology. In many prints, Van Heemskerck deliberately chose to insert a particular type of ancient monument, as can be seen in his *Triumphs of Petrarch* series (ca. 1565), engraved by Galle, where the *Triumph of Love* includes the temple of Venus, the *Triumph of Chastity* a Vestal temple, the *Triumph of Fame* a Colosseum-like building and triumphal obelisks, and the *Triumph of Time* a collection of ruined buildings (fig. 1.11).²³³ They testify to Van Heemskerck's practice of employing "background architecture in its capacity to illustrate ideas."²³⁴

Before designing the *Clades* series, Van Heemskerck had already depicted ruinous architecture as a carrier of typological meaning in the impressive and multi-layered print of *Balaam and the Angel*, engraved by Coornhert and published by Cock in 1554 (fig. 1.12).²³⁵ On his way to curse the Israelites, the she-ass Balaam was riding

²³³ Fig. 1.11: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Triomf van de Tijd (RP-P-1891-a-16467)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114865>. Access Date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck*, 63, fig. 34.

²³⁴ Todd M. Richardson, "To See Yourself within It: Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 'Festival of Fools,'" in *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Walter S. Melion, Reindert Falkenburg, and Todd M. Richardson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 296. Also see: Veldman, *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck*, 58-66. Victor Plahte Tschudi, 'The Rhetoric of Roman Monuments: Observations on an Engraving by Maarten van Heemskerck', *Nordlit*, 6, <http://www.hum.uit.no/nordlit/6/tschudi.html#_ftn7, accessed 12 February 2012.

²³⁵ Fig. 1.12: Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 53, fig. 25. Walter S. Melion, "Exegetical Duality as a Meditative Crux in Maarten van

diverted from her path to avoid an angel with a drawn sword unseen by her master. Van Heemskerck depicted the moment when the she-ass remonstrates with Balaam for punishing her, just before he becomes aware of the angel. Realizing his transgression, Balaam repented and instead of cursing the Israelites blessed them and prophesied: “I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not near. A star shall rise out of Jacob and a sceptre shall spring up from Israel,” which, in the exegetical tradition is interpreted to refer to the mystery of the Incarnation and the advent of the Messiah.²³⁶

On the left, an arresting complex of crumbling ruins encloses the prophet who is about to beat the she-ass. Balaam’s spiritual blindness is indicated by his downward gaze as well as by these ruins that obstruct both his path and his view into the landscape vista that represents his prophetic vision of the future. The ruins illustrate the transition from Balaam’s old world of the (crumbling) Old Covenant to the new world (filled with a variety of whole structures) he foresaw after he recognized the angel, repented and chose to obey God’s commands.²³⁷

Van Heemskerck’s application of architecture to express typological meaning in both *Balaam and the Angel* and the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* series derives from an existing pictorial tradition in which (the crumbling of) architecture was used to differentiate between the Old and the New Dispensations. Fifteenth-century paintings such as Robert Campin’s *Betrothal of the Virgin* (ca. 1420), Jan van Eyck’s *Annunciation*

Heemskerck's *Balaam and the Angel in a Panoramic Landscape of 1554*," in *Meditatio - Refashioning the Self, Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture*, ed. Karl Enekel and Walter S. Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 391-434.

²³⁶ Num. 24:17 (For the complete story: Num. 22-24:25).

²³⁷ The prints reflect 2 Peter 2:5-6: “And spared not the original world, but preserved Noe, the eighth person, the preacher of justice, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly. And reducing the cities of the Sodomites, and of the Gomorrhites, into ashes, condemned them to be overthrown, making them an example to those that should after act wickedly.” Filedt Kok, Halsema-Kubes, and Kloek, *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm: Catalogus*, 262-3, cat. 144.

in the *Ghent Altarpiece* (1432), his *Washington Annunciation* (ca. 1434-36), the *Friedsam Annunciation* (ca. 1450) currently attributed to Petrus Christus, and Rogier van der Weyden's 1450-52 *Bladelin Triptych* visually indicate the transformation from the Old to the New through the juxtaposition of romanesque (Old Testament) and gothic (New Testament) architecture.²³⁸ Additionally, the dilapidated palatial ruins that Gerard David (ca. 1460-1523) includes in many of his Nativity paintings, such as the *Adoration of the Magi* (ca. 1490) in Brussels and in Munich (1500-1505), or his *Nativity with Saints Jerome and Leonard and Donors* (1510-1515) in New York, refer to the former residence of King David, forefather and an important prefiguration of Christ.²³⁹ Similar settings occur in works of Hugo van der Goes (ca. 1440-1482), as in the *Portinari Altarpiece* (1474-1476), where the artist has made this reference explicit by including a harp, traditionally an attribute of King David, in the tympanum of the building in the central background (fig. 1.13).²⁴⁰

In the early fourteenth-century *Belleville Breviary*, at the bottom of each page from the calendar an Old Testament prophet hands over a veiled prophecy and a rock from the crumbling synagogue to an apostle. The apostle then unveils the prophecy and turns it into an article of faith (fig. 1.14).²⁴¹ The manuscript also contains a description of

²³⁸ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, its Origins and Character*, Icon Edition ed., 2 vols., vol. 1 (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1971), 134-40. Shirley Neilsen Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs, a Study in Patronage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 18ff.

²³⁹ Maryan W. Ainsworth, *Gerard David, Purity of Vision in an Age of Transition* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 212. The paintings can be found on p. 49 (fig. 60), p. 10 (fig 6) and p. 210 (fig. 200) respectively. This catalogue offers several more examples. Stories from the life of King David regularly prefigure those from the life of Christ, especially in the *Biblia pauperum*, where this occurs eight times out of forty pairings. Moses is the next most popular prefiguration (six out of forty). Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*.

²⁴⁰ Fig. 1.13: Wikipedia, "Portinari Altarpiece," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portinari_Altarpiece. Access date 05 May 2016. Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs, a Study in Patronage*, 77-8.

²⁴¹ Fig. 1.14: Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Gallica, "Breviarium ad Usum Fratrum Predicatorum, Dit Bréviaire de Belleville, Vol. I (Partie Hiver) " <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451634m/f14.image.r=.langEN>. See: Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Jean

an image showing: “a page on which the apostles assemble and build a church of the stones that they have taken and transported from the synagogue”, but unfortunately this image has not survived.²⁴²

It is significant that Maarten van Heemskerck chose typological narrative as the basis for his *Clades Judaeae Gentis*; this testifies to its potency to convey ideas and to the importance of typological analogies to the artist personally. The sheer size of the *Clades* series, with twenty-two engravings, is the first indication that Van Heemskerck intended the series to be his *magnum opus*. The *Twelve Patriarchs* (1550) and the *Victories of Emperor Charles V* (1555), the largest print series in the artist's oeuvre besides the *Clades*, both consist of only twelve prints. Secondly, the *Clades* series opens with an elaborate frontispiece that comments on the artist's views, and his artistic and exegetical authority. Series like the *Vicissitudes of Human Affairs* and the *Victories of Emperor Charles V* also include opening prints.²⁴³ However, these images are visually much more integrated than the autonomous *Clades* frontispiece, and offer no comment on how the beholder should interpret the series.²⁴⁴

Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 1 (1984): 79, fig. 1. Access date 05 May 2016.

²⁴² "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," 78. Illustrations in manuscripts of Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* (City of God) also use the architecture to differentiate between the earthly and the heavenly city. In a French manuscript in the Philadelphia Museum of art dated ca 1408-1410 (Inv.no. 1945-65-1), the earthly city contains darkish, round-domed structures while the heavenly city is filled with white buildings with tall church spirals. Philadelphia Museum of Art, "La Cité de Dieu (1945-65-1)," <http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/144727.html?mulR=506982178|1#>. Access date 05 May 2016.

²⁴³ The *Victories of Emperor Charles V* had a separate frontispiece added by Hieronymus Cock and contained a dedication of the series to Philip II, Charles V's son, in memory of his father's achievements. On this series, see: Bart Alexander Rosier, "The Victories of Charles V: A Series of Prints by Maarten van Heemskerck, 1555-1556," *Simiolus* 20, no. 1 (1990-1991): 24-38.

²⁴⁴ In their catalogue, G. Langemeyer and R. Schleier remark that the frontispiece of the *Clades* series bears no relation to the rest of the series and only functions to glorify its artist: "Zu einer Stichserie mit alttestamentlichen Themen, die Philip Galle nach Entwürfen Maerten van Heemskerck gestochen hat, wurde ein Titelblatt herausgegeben, das sich in Bildmotiven und Inschriften nicht auf den Inhalt der Serie bezieht, sondern auf den Inventor sich richtet und ihm das höchstmögliche Lob ausspricht [...]." G. Langemeyer and R. Schleier, *Bilder Nach Bildern, Druckgrafik und die Vermittlung von Kunst* (Münster:

A third indicator of Van Heemskerck's ambitions for the *Clades* series is the presence of the artist's self-portrait on the frontispiece, the only printed image of his likeness. Van Mander reports the existence of a number of individual self-portraits at various ages, but unfortunately of these only the 1553 *Self-Portrait before the Colosseum* survives (fig. 1.15).²⁴⁵ The biographer also recognizes Van Heemskerck in the wreathed figure standing behind the painter in Van Heemskerck's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (fig. 1.16).²⁴⁶ That particular painting is a self-portrait in more than one way, as it testifies to the artist's fascination with antiquities, his interest in the Italianizing style of painting and his preoccupation with memorializing himself. By contrasting the old, bespectacled painter with the young wreathed figure, as Jefferson C. Harrison convincingly argues, Van Heemskerck stressed the superiority of artistic invention over execution.²⁴⁷ The artist also inserted his own likeness among the donors of a number of his altarpieces, as in the *St. Lawrence altarpieces and the wings to the drapers' retable*.²⁴⁸ In light of the relatively

Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 1976), 86. In Van Heemskerck's *Clades* frontispiece, however, both the text, which refers to a 'libellum' or booklet, and the ruinous architecture, omnipresent throughout the series, testify rather to a close connection between frontispiece and series.

²⁴⁵ Fig. 1.15: The Fitzwilliam Museum, "Self-Portrait before the Colosseum (103),"

<http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/1521>. Access date 05 May 2016. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 247r. For the *Self-Portrait before the Colosseum*, see: Filedt Kok, Halsema-Kubes, and Kloek, *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm: Catalogus*, 267, cat.148. Arthur J DiFuria, "Remembering the Eternal in 1553: Maerten van Heemskerck's *Self-Portrait before the Colosseum*," *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 59 (2009): 96. "[...] the *Self-Portrait before the Colosseum* is an effective advertisement of Van Heemskerck's importance in transmitting the Italianate manner north and cultivating an audience for prints that featured the topography *all'antica* he invented from his Roman drawings."

²⁴⁶ Fig. 1.16: Frans Hals Museum, "De Heilige Lucas Schildert de Madonna (Os I-134),"

<http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/en/collection/search-collection/st-luke-painting-the-virgin-366/>. Access date 05 May 2016. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, 245r. Jan Piet Filedt Kok, *De Heilige Lucas Tekent en Schildert de Madonna* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA, 2005). William J. Scheick, "Glorious Imperfection in Heemskerck's Lukean Portraits of the Virgin," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 4 (2003): 287-97.

²⁴⁷ Filedt Kok, Halsema-Kubes, and Kloek, *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm: Catalogus*, 192, cat. 70.

²⁴⁸ See chapter three of this dissertation. Israhel van Meckenem (ca 1445-1503) was the first artist to engrave his own portrait. However, he was not a painter. Of Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533) only two painted portraits are known (dated 1509 and 1525-7, both in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum collection). Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), who painted himself multiple times, never immortalized himself in print.

high numbers of Van Heemskerck's self-portraits in paint, against one single engraved portrait in an oeuvre of about six hundred print designs, it becomes evident that the *Clades* series was highly significant for Van Heemskerck personally.²⁴⁹

It seems that, towards the end of his life, Van Heemskerck's preoccupation with immortalizing himself took on greater urgency, especially after the 1566 iconoclasm. He started designing the *Clades* series soon after, when he was almost seventy years old. Shortly after its publication he erected a funerary monument for his father, who had died in 1535 (fig. 1.17).²⁵⁰ This monument took the shape of a stone obelisk, which features his father's portrait near the top and an inscription underneath that reads: "To God, most good, most great. Martinus Hemskerck inscribed this out of piety for his dearest father, Iacobus Venius, son of William. He lived seventy-nine years" ("D[eo] O[ptimo] M[aximum]. Iacobobo Venio Guilelmi f[ilii]o parentis cariss[imo] Martinus Hemskerk

Landau and Parshall remark that: "That Dürer observed this boundary may tell us something more about his private conception of the printed portrait." David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1994), 355. Perhaps Van Heemskerck observed the same boundary, until the iconoclasm changed his outlook.

²⁴⁹ There are several reasons why Van Heemskerck may have preferred to include his portrait in paintings rather than prints. Large altarpieces were prestigious commissions, probably afforded more income for the artist (Van Mander recounts that they could sometimes even result in annuities: Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 246r. However, after the 1566 iconoclasm, it became abundantly clear that large altarpieces were not guaranteed a perpetual presence in churches but could easily be removed or destroyed. Prints, by contrast, due to their wide distributions and reproductive qualities might reach a wider audience and outlast any altarpiece. Bloemsma, "De Italiaanse Kermis van een Hollandse Boerenzoon, Leven en Werk van Maerten van Heemskerck," 46. Oftentimes, larger prints were pasted directly onto a wall, causing them to deteriorate more rapidly, while smaller prints were usually pasted into albums. Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550*, 81. By referring to the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* series as a 'libellum' (booklet) on the frontispiece, and by choosing a relatively small size for its prints (approximately 14x20 cm or 5.5x7.9 inches) Van Heemskerck was aiming for his patrons to preserve his works in good condition so they might last the ages.

²⁵⁰ Fig. 1.17: Wikipedia, "Obelisk van Heemskerck (Courtesy of the Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed)," https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obelisk_van_Heemskerck. Access date 05 May 2016. These photos of the obelisk were made by C. Steenbergh in 1917 at the request of 'Buiten' Magazine (11, issue 23), published by Scheltema en Holkema's bookstore in Amsterdam between 1907-1936. The current owner of the negatives is the Netherlandish Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed (who graciously provided this information). These photographs show the original obelisk *in situ*; since 1990 the obelisk was replaced by a replica, and relocated to the church to protect it from the elements. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, 145.

pietatis ergo I[inscripsit]”).²⁵¹ Below the text, the relief of a putto with a downturned torch and his foot on a skull stands over the text “remember death” (“cogita mori”), Maarten van Heemskerck’s coat of arms, and the date, 1570 (fig. 1.18).²⁵²

The coat of arms, which also appears on the frontispiece of the *Clades* series was Van Heemskerck’s own invention. It features an eagle, a lion rampant (common heraldic devices) above, and underneath a winged arm holding a pen or brush, resting on a tortoise. Van Mander explains that it: “[...] represents (I believe) Apelles’s advice not to be too sluggish regarding work, nor to overburden the spirit with too many details – which was impressed upon Protogenes as is mentioned elsewhere.”²⁵³ The motto visualized by the wings and the tortoise resulted from the combination of the popular *festina lente* (‘make haste slowly’), the Roman Emperor Augustus’s favorite maxim, and the story of ancient painter Apelles, who knew ‘when to take his hand away from a picture.’²⁵⁴ The inclusion of Van Heemskerck’s coat of arms both on his father’s

²⁵¹ “D[co].O[ptimo].M[axiom]. IACOBO.VENIO.GVILELMI.F[ilio].PA.RENTIS.CARISS[imo]. MARTINVS.HEMS.KERK.PIETATIS.ERGO.I[nscripsit].VIX[it].AN[nos].LXXIX. Another text on the obelisk reads: “Here lies Jacob Willemsz. van Veen, who died on the sixteenth day of September 1535, aged seventy-nine years” (“hier.leijt.begraven.Jacob.willemsz.van.veen.ende.starf.den.XVI.dach.september A°XV^CXXXV.ende.heeft.geleeft.LXXIX.Iaer. *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, 145.

²⁵² Fig. 1.18: Wikipedia, “Obelisk van Heemskerck (Courtesy of the Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed)”. Access date 05 May 216. See: Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*. Van Heemskerck painted his father’s portrait in 1532, presumably before he left for Italy (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 71.36)

²⁵³ “[...] wesende (als ick acht) t’advijns van Apelles, van niet te traegh in arbeyt te wesen/ noch den geeft met al te veel wercken niet t’overladen/ ghelijck Protogeni voor ghehouden wiert/ als elder verhaelt is.” Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 247r.

²⁵⁴ Pliny, *Natural History, Volume IX*, trans. H. Rackham (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961), 321. Erasmus discussed the motto ‘festina lente’ in his *Adagia*, and soon it “[...] became the most widely cherished Renaissance maxim; and those who chose it as a device made a sport of expressing the same idea by an unlimited variety of images.” Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), 98. Van Heemskerck was probably inspired by an emblem by his friend Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) that he, in turn, found in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, the Strife of Love in a Dream*, trans. Joscelyn Godwin (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 133. According to Wind, “the woodcuts of the *Hypnerotomachia* alone show more than eighty variations of *festina lente*, each one of them giving a new twist to the theme.” The image chosen by Junius for his 1565 *Emblemata*, Wind describes as: “The union of contraries is here ciphered through an

monument and in the *Clades judaeae gentis* frontispiece buttresses the suggestion that they were both intended to memorialize Van Heemskerck's artistic genius for posterity.

The *Clades Judaeae Gentis* opens with an impressive frontispiece that portrays the artist's self-portrait in the form of a bust, surrounded by attributes of the painter and draughtsman (fig. 1.19).²⁵⁵ The bust balances precariously within a niche inserted into a large socle decorated with rams' heads and garlands. The text on the socle reads:

“Maarten van Heemskerck,
Painter, a second
Apelles – that of our age -
Father of (these) inventions,
depicted from life.”

“Martinus Heemskerck,
Pictor, alter nostri
Saeculi Apelles, in:
ventionum Pater ad
vivum expressus.”²⁵⁶

The socle stands on a large dais inscribed with words addressed directly to the viewer:

“We deliver to you, dear reader, a booklet which
presents the famous vicissitudes of the Jewish people as a mirror,
as an example, of what will happen if you commit an offence,
both in the present as well as in the age to come.”

extravagant contrapost, whose very absurdity makes the image memorable.” Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, 103. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, 150-1.

²⁵⁵ Fig. 1.19: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Portret van Maarten van Heemskerck op de Sokkel van een Zuil (RP-P-1880-a-4109)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114514>. Access date 05 May 2016. Also see: Ilja Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, ed. Ger Luijten, vol. 1 (Roosendaal: Koninklijke van Poll, 1993), 204 fig. 237.

²⁵⁶ Translation: *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, 149. In her master's thesis, Allitt translates this text as: “Martinus Heemskerck, A painter, another sacred Apelles or our own time, father of inventions, expressed after the life” [sic]. She seems to confuse ‘saeculi’ with ‘sanctus’ (sacred), as she refers to ‘sacred Apelles’. She also suggests that *alter nostri Apelleo* (she transcribed the ‘s’ as an ‘o’) means “a new Apelles.” Allitt, “Construction and Collapse on Paper: Clades Judaeae Gentis of Maarten van Heemskerck, 1569,” 13,15.

“Damus tibi, benigne lector, uno libello tanquam in speculo exhibitas, memorabiliores Judaeae gentis clades, ut delictorum semper comites, ita cum praesenti, tum posteræ aetati pro exemplis futuras.”²⁵⁷

On the dais the artist sits sketching the ruins in the background, assisted by a young man who holds a drawing aid. In light of Van Heemskerck’s *Self-Portrait before the Colosseum* (fig. 1.15), in which he depicted himself drawing the Colosseum, the sketching figure in the *Clades* frontispiece is assumed to represent the artist at work.²⁵⁸ Simultaneously, these two figures signal to the viewer that they should mimic these men by paying particular attention to the ruins in the subsequent prints, as they provide the key to understanding the typological pattern that unfolds throughout the series.

The frontispiece serves as a reminder that Van Heemskerck journeyed to Rome and examined the architectural and sculptural remnants of the ancients first hand. It argues for the importance of studying these remains as a vital part of artistic formation and presents the artist as an *exemplum* for a new generation of northern painters and draftsmen. Having studied the ancient monuments carefully and extensively (as the

²⁵⁷ My translation. Ilja Veldman translates the text as: “The disasters visited on the Jewish people are as a mirror, an example of the punishment that one will receive for misdeeds, both now and in the future.” Ilja Veldman, “The Old Testament as a Moral Code: Old Testament Stories as Exempla of the Ten Commandments,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 23, no. 4 (1995), p. 236. David Freedberg (translated by J. Engelsman) calls the series *de Rampen van de Joden* and for the frontispiece text offers: “Wij bieden u, welwillende lezer...de gedenkwaardige rampen van het joodse volk, om altijd bij u te dragen als voorbeelden van misdrijven, zowel tegenwoordig als in de toekomst.” David Freedberg, “Aertsen, Heemskerck en de Crisis van de Kunst in de Nederlanden,” *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 35, no. 3 (1987): 239. Arthur Difuria speaks of “instructive examples for the future, from the past.” Difuria, “Remembering the Eternal in 1553: Maerten van Heemskerck’s *Self-Portrait before the Colosseum*,” 95. Frances Allitt translates this text as: “We give to you, dear reader, displayed [published] in one little book as though in a mirror, the vicissitudes of the Jewish people which are worth remembering, as now in the present so also in the future ages.” Allitt, “Construction and Collapse on Paper: Clades Judaeae Gentis of Maarten van Heemskerck, 1569,” 16.

²⁵⁸ For a more elaborate discussion on the identification of Van Heemskerck with the sketching figure in the *Clades* frontispiece, see: “Construction and Collapse on Paper: Clades Judaeae Gentis of Maarten van Heemskerck, 1569,” 17-18.

variety of ruinous architecture in rest of the series will reveal) to improve his creative abilities, Van Heemskerck claims to have surpassed even the great Apelles, presenting himself as the new Apelles of the age. The presence of his self-portrait as part of a larger Roman triumphal monument testifies to his authority as interpreter of these ancient monuments. By extension, his authority as a painter and interpreter of antique architectural forms implicitly affirms his moral and exegetical authority as an interpreter of biblical history.²⁵⁹ The sheer number and intricate subject matter included in the prints subsequently to be examined, were intended to impress upon contemporary viewers the artist's extensive knowledge of both familiar and obscure scriptural stories, and his ability to discern salvific truths by recognizing divine patterns that run through these histories, and, in this case, are revealed through the destruction of man-made edifices.

Opening the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series is *Noah's Sacrifice* (fig. 1.20).²⁶⁰

Dissatisfied with the sins of humankind, God decided to wash the earth clean. He ordered Noah to build an ark so that he and his family, with representatives of the animals, were

²⁵⁹ Many modern scholars have referred to these ruins generally and vaguely as *vanitas* symbols. See: J. Bruyn, "Old and New Elements in 16th-Century Imagery," *Oud Holland* 102, no. 2 (1988). p. 94-97. And: Ilja Veldman, "Maarten van Heemskerck und die Romische Kunst," in *Hoch Renaissance im Vatikan, Kunst und Kultur in Rom der Papste 1503-1534* (Ostfildern: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1999), 420. Juan Antonio Ramirez considers Van Heemskerck a witness to a new and very destructive weapon, the explosive: "It is difficult to say which substances or materials these buildings might have contained so as to produce such flames, and even more surprising is the fact that some building elements seem to be hovering in mid-air at the very moment the fire breaks out. It seems as if Van Heemskerck had created a new paradigm for the violent destruction of the Biblical world, specific for the Renaissance: the explosion." Juan Antonio Ramirez, "From Ruin to Pulverization," *SITE magazine* 3, no. 4 (2002). There is no evidence, however, that suggests that Van Heemskerck ever, intentionally or otherwise, witnessed such violent acts of warfare. In fact, his biographer Karel van Mander notes that he received special permission from the city council of Haarlem to leave the city when the Spanish were preparing to besiege it in 1572 (he stayed in Amsterdam with his friend and former pupil Jacob Rauwaert). Van Mander also recounts an incident where the painter climbed high up in the church tower when the city's militia practiced for fear of being shot. This does not sound like a man who would seek out violence. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 247r.

²⁶⁰ Fig. 1.20: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Offer van Noach (RP-P-1905-3933)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114516>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 204 fig. 238. Gen. 8:20-22.

kept safe, while “all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the flood gates of heaven were opened.”²⁶¹ After the flood water had receded, “the ark rested [...] upon the mountains of Armenia.”²⁶² To express their gratitude at being saved Noah built an altar and made a whole-burnt offering (holocaust), which Van Heemskerck has depicted in the lower left foreground. A rainbow, the sign of God’s new covenant with Noah, is shown next to the ark in the background behind an intact triumphal column.²⁶³ The caption reads:

“The flood receding, Noah first places a rich holocaust upon the altars, and the vapor rises heavenward.”

“Prima Noe imponit pingues holocausta per aras
Decrescente unda, penetravit ad aethera nidor.”²⁶⁴

Van Heemskerck’s choice to open with *Noah’s Sacrifice*, rather than any other biblical episode, is highly significant.²⁶⁵ The narrative provided the artist a way of introducing the main theme of the series, namely, the estrangement between God and mankind that is seen to grow as the series progresses. The dominant presence of the ruins, not mentioned anywhere in the biblical narrative, testifies to God’s retributive justice that destroys the

²⁶¹ Gen. 7:11.

²⁶² Gen. 8:4.

²⁶³ Gen. 8:21: “And the Lord smelled a sweet savour, and said: I will no more curse the earth for the sake of man: for the imagination and thought of man’s heart are prone to evil from his youth: therefore I will no more destroy every living soul as I have done.” Gen. 9:13: “I will set my bow in the clouds, and it shall be the sign of a covenant between me, and between the earth.”

²⁶⁴ The translations of captions underneath the *Clades* prints are my own.

²⁶⁵ Van Heemskerck may have drawn inspiration from the Sistine ceiling. There, after the scenes of *Creation*, and the *Fall of Adam and Eve*, Michelangelo inserts a scene of *Noah’s Sacrifice*, the *Flood* and *Noah’s Drunkenness*. The first and the last of these are smaller and clearly corollary to the *Flood*. Additionally, perhaps another motif might be found in the identification of the Dutch peoples with Noah, which becomes more explicit in the seventeenth century. See: Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 45-6.

works of sinful humankind.²⁶⁶ Noah's sacrifice expresses his gratitude for the salvation offered him by God, who then renews his covenant, placing the rainbow in the sky. This is the only print in the series where God and the Israelites are shown directly interacting.

The choice to begin with scenes from the story of Noah may also have been influenced by Italian theological treatises, in which Noah was "said to have mediated between the Old and the New Dispensation," as he had seen the world before and after the flood.²⁶⁷ Noah's sacrifice, for instance as depicted by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, was seen as "a prophetic act, humbly performed in the foreknowledge that man's covenant with God would ultimately be [re-]established by a unique and exceptional sacrifice, of which his own was merely a symbol or type."²⁶⁸

Paired with *Noah's Sacrifice* is the *Mocking of Noah*, which continues the biblical story (fig. 1.21).²⁶⁹ Noah planted a vineyard (visible in the background), but overindulged on his own vintage, and became intoxicated from the wine. Van Heemskerck shows him lying drunk with his genitals uncovered, as his son Cham makes fun of him. Cham's brothers Sem and Japheth, however, take a cloak and cover up their father's body. Above

²⁶⁶ Regarding the frontispiece, Saunders has stated that "the inclusion of antique statuary [...] singles out the human figure as one of the most important forms for an artist to master." Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 225. In fact, among Van Heemskerck's printed oeuvre, the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* series is just about Van Heemskerck's only work where the human figure is obviously not the first focus. The ruinous architecture introduced in the frontispiece dominates all of the prints in the series; they, rather than the human figures, bind the series together.

²⁶⁷ Wind, *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling*, 52.

²⁶⁸ Garff, *Tegninger af Maerten van Heemskerck : Illustreret Katalog*, 52-53.

²⁶⁹ Fig. 1.21: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Offer van Noach (RP-P-1905-3933)". Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 205 fig. 239. Gen. 9:21-23. To the Church fathers, going back to St. Cyprian in the third century, Noah's drunkenness prefigured "Christ drunk with his passion." Wind, *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling*, 48-9. Furthermore, in the *Biblia pauperum*, the *Mocking of Noah* (with the *Mocking of Samson*) prefigures the *Mocking of Christ*. Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 37, plate C. In the *Speculum humanae salvationis* the *Mocking of Hur* is added. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 40-41.

Noah's head Van Heemskerck depicts a goat, an animal often associated with wine, drunkenness and the cult of Bacchus. In fact, the text below the image makes this reference explicit:

“Noah, being conquered by Bacchus, sleeps while greatly exposed,
and Cham laughs at his father's uncovered genitals.”

“Dormit in aprico multo Noe victus Iaccho,
et nudata patris ridet genitalia Chamus.”

When Noah woke up, he was greatly displeased and cursed Cham and his offspring.

The architecture in the *Mocking of Noah* seems partly intact and partly ruinous, and Noah's family are thus forced to create a make-shift home. Despite the renewal of the covenant between God and man in the previous print, Noah has fallen into sin and inadvertently tempted his son Cham into committing a transgression. The ruins exemplify the increasing distance and estrangement between God and his people, and can be seen to be prophetic of the ultimate destruction of the Temple, when the breaking of the Old Covenant is made painfully manifest, as visualized by the last print of the series.

Cham's grandson, King Nimrod, features prominently in the next pair of prints, that depict the *Tower of Babel* and the *Destruction of the Tower of Babel* (figs. 1.22-1.23).²⁷⁰ He is overseeing the building of a mighty tower, intended to touch the

²⁷⁰ Fig. 1.22: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Toren van Babel (RP-P-1880-a-4111)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114518>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 205 fig. 240.

Fig. 1.23: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Vernietiging van de Toren van Babel (RP-P-1880-a-4112)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114519>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 206 fig. 241.

heavens.²⁷¹ Nimrod's crown resembles the one God wears in *Noah's Sacrifice* and exemplifies his arrogance.²⁷² Ultimately, the people were punished for their presumption: no longer able to understand each other, they ceased building and scattered.²⁷³ The caption:

“Behold! In their pride they build a large edifice, and in their might they were creating a peak that would touch the clouds, a peak that would touch the stars.”

“En molem aedificant animisque, opibusque parati, vertice qua nubes, et vertice tangeret astra.”²⁷⁴

The Tower of Babel already had a considerable pictorial tradition, in which the tower is generally shown to be under construction, since the Bible makes no actual mention of its demolition.²⁷⁵ However, in the *Clades* series, the violent destruction is shown in both prints: after a fierce fire of divine wrath hits the tower, it collapses as the people flee. Again, through the destruction of a large, man-made edifice, God shows his displeasure over man's sins.

²⁷¹ Gen. 10: 6-8. The story of the tower of Babel is told in Gen. 11: 5-9. On the presence of Nimrod, see: Margaret D. Carroll, "The Conceits of Empire: Breugel's Iceskating Outside St. George's Gate in Antwerp and Tower of Babel," in *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe: van Eyck, Bruegel, Rubens, and their Contemporaries* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 75.

²⁷² “Possibly this resemblance should not be skimmed over as a mere coincidence of form, but should be taken seriously as an indication of his self-identification with God and, thus, as an expression of the prideful error implied by his project.” Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 227. It is very likely that Van Heemskerck borrowed the figure of King Nimrod, as well as the motif of the brick oven from Bernard Solomon's woodcut of the *Tower of Babel*. Claude Paradin, *Quadrins Historiques de La Bible* (Lyon: J. de Tournes, 1558). Genese XI.

²⁷³ Genesis 11:5-7.

²⁷⁴ The caption of the *Destruction of the Tower of Babel* reads: “Built by the great strength of man, mighty Babylon falls, these lands shake and the mortals scatter.” (“Alta cadit Babylon multa constructa virum vi, concutit haec terras, mortalia pectora sternit.”).

²⁷⁵ Helmut Minkowski, *Vermütungen über den Turm zu Babel* (Freren: Luca Verlag 1991). Sarah Elliston Weiner, "The Tower of Babel in Netherlandish Painting" (Columbia University, 1985).

The *Clades* series continues with two scenes from the story of Lot: *Lot and his Family Leaving Burning Sodom* and *Lot and his Daughters* (figs. 1.24-1.25).²⁷⁶ God decides to punish the inhabitants of the sinful city of Sodom by completely destroying it, but offers Abraham's cousin Lot safe passage. Van Heemskerck depicts two angels leading Lot and his family to safety. Lot's wife turns to witness the destructions (against a divine injunction) and in consequence turns into a salt pillar. The caption:

“Behold! Both Lot and his wife were singled out
and are being guided out of Sodom.
See, the wife turned into a rock of solid salt.”

“Ducitur e Sodoma Loth uxor et utraque nota
Concretique salis coniunx trahit ecce rigorem.”²⁷⁷

Like Noah before him, Lot and his family were saved from mass annihilation but despite this, also like Noah, Lot became intoxicated on alcohol and thereby facilitated the subsequent sins of his offspring, as the following print, *Lot and his Daughters*, shows. Thinking they were the last people on earth, Lot's daughters contrived to get their father drunk so he could be persuaded to impregnate them. Through this unlawful act, their offspring were forever cursed.²⁷⁸ Van Heemskerck chose to depict the moment when the

²⁷⁶ Fig. 1.24: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Loth en zijn Familie Verlaten de Stad Sodom (RP-P-1880-a-4113)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114520>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 206 fig. 242.

Fig. 1.25: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Lot en zijn Dochters (RP-P-1880-a-4114)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114521>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 207 fig. 243. Gen. 19:15-26 and 19:33-35.

²⁷⁷ Gen. 19:26.

²⁷⁸ Gen. 19:30-38.

actual transgression takes place, while the second daughter who sits outside the cave reveals her sorrow at their plight through her crouching pose.²⁷⁹ Visually the scenes of the *Mocking of Noah* and *Lot and his Daughters* are interrelated through the placement of the protagonists in the lower left corner of the picture plane and through the cloth cover tied over the figures that identifies both locations as makeshift homes.

At this point there is a slight change of tone. In the first six prints, God shows his displeasure over sins committed by mankind by destroying buildings on a large scale. The next two pairs of prints center on the military exploits of Joshua. Here the divine destruction of architecture functions as a mark of divine favor. In the *Destruction of Jericho*, Joshua closely follows God's orders to march around the city of Jericho with the Ark of the Covenant and trumpets sounding (fig. 1.26).²⁸⁰ Consequently, the walls collapsed and the Israelites take the city.²⁸¹ Joshua: "[...] killed all that were in [the city], man and woman, young and old. The oxen also and the sheep, and the asses, they slew with the edge of the sword."²⁸² Like the destruction caused by the Flood depicted in *Noah's Sacrifice*, and like the *Destruction of Sodom*, every living thing is obliterated.

²⁷⁹ The caption reads: "Behold! By pouring out a great deal of wine, the ignorant father (shocking) cleaves to the embrace of his daughters and deflowers them." From the Latin: "En pater (infandum) natarum amplexibus haeret inscius has vitiat diffusus nectare multo". In an earlier version of the narrative Van Heemskerck designed (part of his 1551 *Power of Women* series), the seduction is in progress; one daughter pours out the drink, while her sister gestures to their father's genitals to signal their intention. Veldman, *Maarten Van Heemskerck Part I*, 216. The series comprises of six prints: *Eve Offering Adam the Forbidden Fruit*, *Lot and his Daughters*, *Jael Slaying Sisera*, *Samson and Delilah*, *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, and *Solomon's Idolatry*.

²⁸⁰ Fig. 1.26: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Verwoesting van Jericho (RP-P-1880-a-4115)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114522>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 207 fig. 244. Josh 6:12-20

²⁸¹ The caption reads: "Jericho falls by circling the entire city with the ark of the covenant, and the cry of the people and the sound of the war trumpets." ("Corruit Hiercho totam cum circuit urbem Arca Dei voce et populi, et clangore tubarum")

²⁸² Josh. 7: 21. Only Rahab the harlot and her family were left alive, because she had hidden Joshua's spies in her house when they were almost caught.

Then a man called Achan, one of Joshua's soldiers, disobeyed Joshua's command not to touch the spoils of war (they were dedicated to God). The *Stoning of Achan and the Destruction of Ai* shows him being put to death as a punishment for his transgression in taking some of the plunder (fig. 1.27).²⁸³ Achan's disobedience had resulted in the defeat of the Israelites at the siege of Ai, for which "[...] all Israel stoned him: and all things that were his were consumed with fire. And they gathered together upon him a great heap of stones, which remaineth until this present day."²⁸⁴ After Achan's death, the Israelites were allowed to conquer the city of Ai, shown ablaze in the background. Here, it is no longer God who personally destroys a city; rather, he allows the Israelites to do it themselves as a reward for their obedience. A large cult statue of a male god holding lightning bolts in his hand is revealed as the building around it collapses. The idol functions as an additional justification for the destruction of the idolatrous Ai and visually connects to the next two prints.²⁸⁵

The *King of Ai Hanged* and the *Body of the King of Ai Brought to the City Gate* together depict only a single bible verse: "And he hung the king thereof on a gibbet until the evening and the going down of the sun. Then Josue commanded, and they took down his carcass from the gibbet: and they threw it in the very entrance of the city, heaping

²⁸³ Fig. 1.27: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Verwoesting van Ai en de Steniging van Achan (RP-P-1880-a-4116)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114523>. Acces date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 208 fig. 245. Josh. 7:25, 8:19-20.

²⁸⁴ Josh. 7:25-26 "All things that were his" included all his possessions, but also his family members. The caption reads: "Through the flying of stones, the life of covetous Achan ends and everything of his was consumed by fire." ("Finit Achas vitam per sapa volantia avarus huius quicquid erat multo consumitor igni." There is a small mistake in the Latin with the word 'sapa', which means 'must' or 'new wine boiled thick.' The word 'saxum', which means rock or stone, was probably intended.

²⁸⁵ "A large Jupiter-like statue with a certain resemblance to the idol Bel, sits in the midst of the city, identifying it as the purlieu of pagan gods." Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 228.

upon it a great heap of stones, which remaineth until this day” (figs. 1.28-1.29).²⁸⁶ Van Heemskerck has depicted the King of Ai hanging from a gibbet in the foreground, his sword and arms (decorated with the lightning bolts previously associated with the cult statue) hanging beside him. By placing the king’s arms on the gibbet next to the corpse, Van Heemskerck indicates that with the burning of Ai (visible in the background) and the death of its king, its idolatrous practices were also destroyed.²⁸⁷ Thematically, as well as visually, this image, with its tents at lower left and recently ruined buildings, is reminiscent of the previous prints.

The *Body of the King of Ai Brought to the City Gate* concludes the narrative of Joshua and includes two moments in the story; the body of the king has been taken down and placed on a stretcher, and in the background, it has been covered by a pile of rubble.²⁸⁸ In burying the king, the Israelites are actually actively building a ruin, a victory moment that alludes ironically to the moral imperfection of its builders. The story of the King of Ai recalls the fate of Achan, for both executed and buried under stones “which remaineth until this present day.”²⁸⁹ However, the king was honored by being executed by hanging rather than stoning and the body of Achan was burned, a fate the king was also spared. It would seem that in this analogy, the fire stands for the purification of sin

²⁸⁶ Fig. 1.28: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Koning van Ai Wordt Opgehangen (RP-P-1880-a-4117)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114524>. Access date 05 May 2015. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 208 fig. 246. Fig. 1.29: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Het Lichaam van de Koning van Ai Wordt naar de Stadspoort Gebracht (RP-P-1880-a-4118)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114525>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 209 fig. 247. Josh. 8:29.

²⁸⁷ The caption reads: "Having taken the celebrated city of Ai, it burns (by divine command) they fastened bonds to the neck of the fearful king." From the Latin: "Nobilis ardit Hay (divino numine) capta, Regis et aptantur pallenti cincula collo."

²⁸⁸ The caption reads: "They took down the lifeless body from the raised beam, and covered the cast down body with a large pile of stones" ("Stipite de celso corpus iam exangue refigunt Abiectum mango lapidum tumulatur aceruo").

²⁸⁹ Josh 7: 26 and Josh. 8:29.

and exemplified the consequence of invoking divine wrath (Achan stole property beholden to God, and the King of Ai committed idolatry). Saunders correctly concludes: “Finally, the removal of the king from the gallows and his burial under an enormous pile of stone rubble at the city gate completed the victory of the Jews and their obligation to the Lord to effect the total destruction of Ai.”²⁹⁰

The following set of scenes, *Samson Destroying the Temple of the Philistines* and the *Burial of Samson* continue the shift of destructive agency from God to man (figs. 1.30-1.31).²⁹¹ When Delilah had cut off Samson’s hair, the source of his great strength, the Philistines were finally able to take him captive. While celebrating their victory Philistines demanded that Samson be summoned to entertain them. As they brought him up from his cell, Samson asked a boy to direct him to the columns supporting the building so he could lean and rest. As his hair was already starting to grow back, Samson prayed to God to return his strength to him as well. Van Heemskerck shows the moment when Samson embraced both columns and pulled them down, causing the entire building to collapse: “And he killed many more at his death, than he had killed before in his life.”²⁹² Rather than showing another scene of divine mass annihilation, it is Samson (with divine assistance) who kills a great number of the enemies of the Israelites.

²⁹⁰ Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 228.

²⁹¹ Fig. 1.30: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Simson Verwoest de Tempel van de Filistijnen (RP-P-1880-a-4119)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114526>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 209 fig. 248. Fig. 1.31: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Begravenis van Simson (RP-P-1880-a-4120)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114527>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 210 fig. 249. Judg. 16:25-30 and Judg. 16:31.

²⁹² Judg. 16:30. The caption reads: “Samson embraced a column with his right arm and one with his left arm and threw down the lofty dwelling to great ruins.” From the Latin: “Utramque implicuit dextra laevaue columnam Sampson, et ingenti cecidit domus alta ruina.”

The *Burial of Samson* has little or no previous pictorial tradition. The fallen hero is being honored for his last deed.²⁹³ His body is carried on a donkey amidst a procession of his kin, recognizable from the emblem of ass's jaws and honey bees, references to other episodes from his life.²⁹⁴ Behind the procession, a ruinous building testifies to Samson's triumph. The accompanying caption reads:

“With great sorrow the wretched body exceeding human excellence was consigned to the earth, attended by sad brothers of repute.”

“Cum gemitu mandatur humo miserabile corpus
supermum maesti fraters comitantur honorem.”²⁹⁵

Like Joshua, Samson is (posthumously) rewarded for having been the instrument of divinely sanctioned destruction.

Between two large columns behind the procession, a small figure carries the body of a man. Saunders observes: “In the background, a Philistine corpse is borne off by a single figure without the honorable ceremony accorded to the Israelite hero, an anecdote which provides an ironic anti-type to the foreground scene.”²⁹⁶ However, another association could have come to mind – a statue of Hercules and Antaeus that Van Heemskerck drew while he was in Rome. He included it in the *Landscape with Classical Ruins and St. Jerome*, a painting of 1547, now in the collection of the Liechtenstein museum, as well as in an engraving of the same composition published by Cock in 1552

²⁹³ Judg. 16:31.

²⁹⁴ Judg. 14:5-9 (the story of the lion and the honey) and 16:14-19 (the story of the jawbone of an ass).

²⁹⁵ There seems to be a misspelling of the word ‘supermum’, which should be ‘supernum.’

²⁹⁶ Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 229.

(fig. 1.32).²⁹⁷ While on his way to perform one of his labors, Hercules was challenged to a fight by the giant Antaeus. Every time Hercules threw his enemy down, he would get up that much stronger, until he realized that Antaeus drew his strength from the earth (his mother Gaea). By lifting his opponent off his feet, Hercules succeeded in crushing him to death. After his victory, he marched onwards, finally reaching the Atlantic Ocean, where he erected two pillars. In the *Burial of Samson*, the figure of Hercules is still holding his limp opponent's feet in the air. The figures are placed between two large columns that could refer to the Pillars of Hercules, as well as to the columns Samson tore down in the temple of the Philistines.²⁹⁸ A visual reference to the ancient hero Hercules (like Samson, a figure of Christ) serves to celebrate Samson's super-human strength.²⁹⁹

Saunders suggests that Van Heemskerck drew on a pamphlet issued by Cock and Christopher Plantin (1520-1589), depicting the funeral of Emperor Charles V.³⁰⁰ In fact, the presence of Hercules could serve to strengthen Saunders's conclusion that "Samson's destruction of the pagan Philistines parallels the accomplishments of Charles V, a noted defender of the Catholic Church and Holy Roman Empire against Protestant encroachment" since the two Herculean columns feature as part of the Emperor's coat of

²⁹⁷ Fig. 1.32: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Ruinelandschap met de Boetvaardige Hieronymus (RP-P-BI-5945)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.345498>. Ilja Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, ed. Ger Luijten, vol. 2 (Roosendaal: Koninklijke van Poll, 1994), 249, fig. 588/I.

²⁹⁸ The Pillars of Hercules were also incorporated in Charles V's coat of arms. In antiquity the two pillars marked the end of the known world. After the discovery of the Americas they became the symbols of access to the new world. Van Heemskerck has depicted these pillars on the opening page of the *Victories of Emperor Charles V amidst his Vanquished Adversaries* (1556), on which see: Bart Rosier, "The Victories of Charles V: A Series of Prints by Maarten Van Heemskerck, 1555-1556," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 20, no. 1 (1990-1991): 24-38. And: Ilja Veldman, *Maarten Van Heemskerck Part II*, ed. Ger Luijten, 2 vols., vol. 2, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700* (Roosendaal: Koninklijke van Poll, 1994), 206.

²⁹⁹ See the introduction of this dissertation for a discussion of Van Heemskerck's *Strong Men* series, which features both *Samson Destroying the Temple of the Philistines* and *Hercules and Antaeus*.

³⁰⁰ Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 274.

arms (fig. Intro.42).³⁰¹ However, the association with Charles V, while not at all unlikely, is secondary, as it applies only to this particular print in the series; it has no bearing on the overall meaning of Van Heemskerck's series.³⁰²

The *Capture of Tirsah* and the *People of Israel Divided between Tibni and Amri* show the increasing distance between God and the Israelites, who now take matters into their own hands, lacking or ignoring divine guidance (figs. 1.34-1.35).³⁰³ Army captain Zimri killed the Israelite King Elah (drunk at the time), in the house of the governor of Tirsah. Zimri then ruled in his stead and proceeded to kill the rest of Elah's family, which the Bible explains as a punishment from God for the idolatry and the sins of the house of Baasa.³⁰⁴ However, upon hearing the news, the Israelite army proclaimed their commander Amri king and proceeded to besiege the city of Tirsah. When Zimri realized the city would fall he burnt the palace down, immolating himself, and was thus seen to be punished for his sins against God and the people of Israel.³⁰⁵ Van Heemskerck shows the small figure of Zimri against the flames of the burning palace, the bridge to which the Israelites have stormed.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Saunders herself notes that "the figures offer no clues because of the uniformity of their vaguely classicizing costumes, unbroken by any contemporary intrusions." Ibid., 239.

³⁰³ Fig. 1.34: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Inname van Tirza (RP-P-1880-a-4121)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114528>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 210 fig. 250. It is clear from the rarity of the scene and the formal similarities that Van Heemskerck was familiar with the version of the *Capture of Tirsah* by Bernard Salomon (ca. 1506-1561). Paradin, *Quadrins Historiques de La Bible*, "Rois XVI". And: Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 100. Fig. 1.35: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Het Volk van Israel Verdeeld tussen Tibni en Omri (RP-P-1880-a-4122)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114529>. Access date 05 May 2015. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 211 fig. 251. 3 Kings 16:17-19, 3 Kings 16:21-22.

³⁰⁴ 1 Kings 16: 11-13: "And when he was king and sat upon his throne, he slew all the house of Baasa, and he left none thereof to piss against a wall, and all his kinsfolks and friends. (16:11)

³⁰⁵ 1 Kings 16:18-19. The caption reads: "Ah! Zambri the king is killed, he was surrounded by an army, and he and his palace perished in a fierce fire." From the Latin: "Hela cadit, regnat Zambri, qui milite cinctus seque suamque domum rapidos coniecit in ignis."

The story of Zimri offers a number of parallels to other scenes from the *Clades* series. King Elah, in his drunkenness, facilitated not only his own murder but also that of his offspring, which is reminiscent of *Noah's Drunkenness* and *Lot and his Daughters*. Like Joshua and Jehu (in the next pair of prints), Zimri killed a reigning king, and like Jehu he proceeded to murder the entire royal family. However, the difference between Jehu and Zimri is that the latter proclaimed himself king, instead of being anointed by God. So even as Zimri functions as an instrument of God in destroying the house of Baasa, his usurpation of power was not justified, and he was punished accordingly. Both Zimri and Samson committed suicide. But while Samson was celebrated for it because he killed many of his enemies in the process, Zimri's suicide was solely considered a punishment for his own arrogance. Like Achan, he took what was not his and his body burned. The architectural destruction, although it serves indirectly to signal that his sins are being duly punished, was not instigated by God but by Zimri himself. The distance between God and his people is thus shown to have again increased.

The next scene, the *People of Israel Divided between Tibni and Amri*, continues the narrative. As the palace of Tirsah burnt down, Amri's elected leadership was challenged. The Bible says: "Then were the people of Israel divided into two parts. One half of the people followed Thebni the son of Gineth, to make him king: and one half followed Amri. But the people that were with Amri, prevailed over the people that followed Thebni son of Gineth: and Thebni died and Amri reigned."³⁰⁶ In the print the divided soldiers are standing before a partly collapsed temple and a stone aqueduct. The figure standing in between, apparently resolving the situation might be Amri, who

³⁰⁶ 1 Kings 16:21-22.

ultimately prevailed.³⁰⁷ Again, the Israelites manage their own affairs instead of relying directly on divine guidance.

The series continues with two prints depicting *Jehu Destroying the Temple and Statue of Baal* and *Jehu Adoring the Golden Calves*, which take up the theme of idolatry previously referenced in the destruction of (the king of) Ai (figs. 1.36-1.37).³⁰⁸ By order of the prophet Elisha, Jehu is anointed king of Israel, having been divinely instructed to end the idolatry of the reigning house of Amri's son Achab.³⁰⁹ Jehu then proceeds to kill the whole of Achab's family.³¹⁰ In order to eradicate the Baal cult that Achab had tolerated, Jehu had the priests of Baal proclaim a festival and invite their colleagues from all over the country. After the priests had seated themselves in the temple for the

³⁰⁷ The caption offers: "Israel is divided, in order to create a king, both sides entered in competition, and Thebni succumbed and Amri prevailed." From the Latin: "Scinditur Israhel, rex parte creatur utraque pugnam ineunt, Thebni succumbit praevallet Amri." Saunders pays particular attention to this print and reads its inclusion in Van Heemskerck's *Clades* series as "[...] a poignant allusion to the divisiveness in the Netherlands which clearly weighed heavily on the minds of his politically active associates both in the midst of the crisis of the 1560s and in later phases of the revolt." Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 268. This analogy between the complicated and dynamic political and military situation in the Netherlands in the 1560s and the rather calm and clear-cut division of the people of Israel, which is resolved even within the same Bible verse seems strained at best.

³⁰⁸ Figs. 1.36: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Jehu Verwoest de Tempel en het Beeld van Baal (RP-P-1880-a-4123)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114530>. Access 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 211 fig. 252. Fig. 1.37: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Jehu Aanbidt het Afgodsbeeld van de Gouden Kalveren (RP-P-1880-a-4124)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114531>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 212 fig. 253. Kings 10:26-27 and 4 Kings 10:29-31.

³⁰⁹ Like Noah, Lot and Jehu, initial divine favor does not prevent Amri falling into sin: "And Amri did evil in the sight of the Lord, and acted wickedly above all that were before him." 3 Kings 16:25. His son Achab in turn sinned worse than his father, which resulted in the destruction of his ruling house.

³¹⁰ Jezebel, the wife of Achab, compares Jehu to Zimri because he also killed a reigning king (1 Kings 31). Technically, Zimri killed two kings, his predecessor and himself. Within the context of the series this not only links Jehu to Zimri but also to Joshua, who killed the reigning King of Ai. The difference, however, is that Joshua killed an enemy king while Zimri murdered the king of his own people. The case of Jehu is again different, as he was anointed king by the prophet Elisha with the express instructions to destroy the reigning house of Achab and its idolatrous practices. In fact, he also killed two reigning kings: Joram king of Israel, and his son Ochozias, king of Juda, and then continued to kill all of Achab's offspring, as Zimri killed Baasa's family. See 2 Kings 9:1-27 and 2 Kings 10:1-17.

celebrations, Jehu ordered his men to kill them. Then they took the statue of Baal, destroyed it, and burnt down the temple.³¹¹

After the destruction of the statue and the temple of the idol Baal, the area was turned into a sewer:

“The open space of the temple was turned into a foul sewer, nevertheless, he judged the divine calves worthy of honor.”

“Areaque est temple in tetram mutata cloacam, Apse tamen dium vitulis decernit honorem.”³¹²

Both the caption and Van Heemskerck’s image, which shows a small figure relieving himself in the far right corner, reflect this part of the biblical narrative quite literally. To the left, Jehu has erected a large statue of four calves on a socle reminiscent of the one in the frontispiece (it has similar rams’ heads and garlands). Like his predecessors Noah and Lot, Jehu enjoys divine favor when he eradicates the cult of Baal, but this cannot prevent him from falling into sin, in his case the very sin he was trying to eradicate – idolatry.³¹³ As God’s punishment of sin through the destruction of man-made structures fails to eradicate sinful behavior early in the series, so Jehu’s similar attempt has even less an effect, as he himself succumbs to sin.

³¹¹ The caption for this print reads: “Courageous Jehu destroyed the great god Baal and he burned the ruined the ruined colossal statue.” The Latin: “Grande bahal numen fortis disiecit jehu, cunctaque combussit disiecti dona colossi.”

³¹² 2 Kings 10:26-27 “[They] brought the statue out of Baal’s temple, and burnt it and broke it in pieces. They destroyed also the temple of Baal, and made a jakes in its place unto this day.”

³¹³ Saunders, “Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*,” 269.

Approaching the end of the series, Van Heemskerck shows the *Chaldeans Carrying away the Pillars of the Temple* and the *Chaldeans Carrying away the Temple Treasures* (figs. 1.38-1.39).³¹⁴ After a long period in Jewish history when divine favours alternated with divine wrath dispensed to punish misconduct, these prints introduce the period of the Babylonian exile. God no longer punishes the Israelites himself, but now acts by proxy: through their enemies. The troops of Nebuchadnezzar raided and destroyed the city of Jerusalem, robbed the temple of its ornaments and precious metals, and deported the people to Babylon.³¹⁵

The design of the Temple building is clearly modeled on the Pantheon, a favorite subject of Van Heemskerck's Roman sketches that appears in a great number of his prints, in various guises (as temple of the sun, temple of Bel, and the Jewish temple).³¹⁶ The size of the building and the pattern of destruction are reminiscent of the *Tower of Babel*, and the *Destruction of the Tower of Babel* respectively, which serves as a reminder that the Chaldean victory was a (mediated) instrument divine punishment.³¹⁷ However, while God himself destroyed the Tower of Babel, here Israel's enemies

³¹⁴ Fig. 1.38: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Chaldeeën Nemen de Zuilen van de Tempel van Jeruzalem Mee (RP-P-1880-a-4126)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114532>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 212 fig. 254. Fig. 1.39: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Chaldeeën Plunderen de Tempel van Jeruzalem (RP-P-1880-a-4125)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114533>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 213 fig. 255. See: 2 Kings 5:9 and 2 Kings 25:13-17.

³¹⁵ The first caption reads: "As an insult to the fatherland, the Chaldeans carried offerings weighty with gold and both the besses and columns, towards the border" ("Dona aura gravia, et bases, binasque columnas, insultans patrias transfert Chaldaeus ad oras"). The second caption: "The great sun had crossed the sky for nine years, and then (under Sedechia) the temple was ravaged by siege engines" ("Sol novies magnum se circumvolerat annum, (Sub te Sedechia) vatatur machina templi").

³¹⁶ See: "Maarten Van Heemskercks Bildersturmzyklen Als Angriffe Auf Rom," 211-13.

³¹⁷ "And [Sedechias] did evil in the eyes of the Lord, according to all that Joakim had done. For the Lord was angry against Jerusalem and against Juda, till he cast them out from his face. And Sedechias revolted from the king of Babylon." 4 Kings 25: 19-20.

exemplified by three human figures, are actually physically engaged in destroying buildings with pickaxes.

Unexpectedly, the series continues with two New Testament Nativity scenes: the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Adoration of the Magi* (figs. 1.40-1.41).³¹⁸ For the first time since *Noah's Sacrifice*, the divine is visually present again, by means of three angels, the light from the star of Bethlehem, and the divine light that the Christ child himself emits. Also, the ruinous space canopied with a piece of fabric that resembles the space in which the family of Noah resided in the background of the *Mocking of Noah*, now functions as the setting for the main narrative point. With the birth of Christ, the ruins become habitable once more.³¹⁹

The architectural setting for the *Adoration of the Magi* is a contemporary building with a number of circular oculi in the roof, through which divine light enters to illuminate the shadowy scene. The Virgin and child are placed at the heart of an ascending brick ramp that circles around them, supported by ionic columns. Two of the Magi are depicted in the left and right foreground, while the third adores the child.³²⁰ Horst Bredekamp has identified this construction as the Belvedere staircase, designed by Donato Bramante, in

³¹⁸ Fig. 1.40: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Aanbidding van de Herders (RP-P-1880-a-4127)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114534>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 213 fig. 256. Fig. 1.41: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Aanbidding der Koningen (RP-P-1880-a-4128)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114535>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 214 fig. 257. Luke 2:8-15 (Shepherds hear the birth announced by angels), Luke 2:16-18 (Adoration of the Shepherds) and Matthew 2:11 (Adoration of the Magi).

³¹⁹ The caption reads: "Christ is present in this sanctuary, the Mother is sitting down on her knee, the shepherds are present and the golden angels sing from heaven." From the Latin: "Aeditus hic Christus, subsidet poplite Mater adsunt pastores, fulva canit, ales ab aethra."

³²⁰ The caption reads: "A star marks the roof of the hut built from turf, setting out from the east, the magi bear gifts for the child." From the Latin: "Stella notat tuguri congestum cespit culmen, dona magi peuro portent oriente profecti." By speaking of a 'hut built from turf' which is clearly not depicted in the print, Hadrianus Junius, who in all likelihood wrote the captions, indirectly stresses the importance of the structure in the scene.

the Vatican Cortile del Belvedere in Rome (fig. 1.42).³²¹ However, as Bredekamp points out, Heemskerck has partly made the structure into a ruin, with spaces opening to the outside world, holes in the roof, and vegetation creeping in. Not only does this allow for the light of the star to illuminate the scene, but it also indicates that the ultimate restoration of the relationship between God and his people, and the road to salvation, starts with the birth of Christ calls forth a new age, a new way to approach or return to God (visualized by the upwards sloping ramp). The process of ruination is reversed as the architecture again has a purpose to fulfil in salvation history.

Maarten van Heemskerck's *Clades Judaeae Gentis* series concludes with the *Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus* (fig. 1.43).³²² The caption reads:

Jerusalem is in the hands of Titus and the temple,
wealthy through its offerings utterly burns by a blazing fire,
by the highest divine command.”

“Titus habens Solymas, flammis radicitus urit,
Et templum donis opulentum et numine summi.”

In the second half of the first century, the Jewish people revolted against the rule of the Romans. Titus and his army crushed the rebellion by besieging and finally destroying the city of Jerusalem, the center of the resistance, in 70 AD. Van Heemskerck's ultimate

³²¹ Bredekamp, "Maarten van Heemskercks Bildersturmzyklen als Angriffe Auf Rom," 215.

Fig. 1.42: The Courtauld Institute of Art, "Belvedere Staircase, from Bramante's Scala di Chiocciola, in the Cortile di San Damaso, Vatican (D.1952.Rw.3639),"

<http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk/images/gallery/5cfaa779.html>. Access date 05 May 2016.

³²² Fig. 1.43: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Vernietiging van Jeruzalem door Keizer Titus (RP-P-1880-a-4129)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114536>. Access date 05 May 2016. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 1, 214 fig. 258.

source for this image was the eyewitness account of Flavius Josephus (ca 37-100 AD), recorded in *De bello judaico* and transmitted either through translations of the original text or various medieval adaptations.³²³ From the twelfth century onwards, various manuscript editions were circulating. The first printed edition of Josephus's narrative appeared in 1470, published by Johann Schüssler in Augsburg, and was followed by ten Latin and three vernacular editions throughout Europe.³²⁴ After the second half of the sixteenth century, these books were embellished with woodcut illustrations, mainly showing a range of medieval legends that had attached themselves to Josephus's account. The destruction of the Jewish Temple as depicted by Van Heemskerck seem to occur only very rarely.³²⁵

Jacob van Maerlant (ca. 1225-1300) translated and revised a Latin version of Josephus's Greek text, issuing it under the name *De wrake van Jherusalem* in 1271. It continued to be transcribed, although in many of these editions the rhyme scheme was removed. An example is the 1482 edition by Gerard Leeu of Gouda, published under the title *Die destructie van Jherusalem*, and reissued by Niclaes van Winghe in 1552.³²⁶ Willem Vorsterman published *De destructie vander stat van Jherusalem* in 1525 in

³²³ Wolfgang Bunte, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems in der Mittelniederländischen Literatur* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1992).

³²⁴ Guy N. Deutsch, "Iconographie de L'Illustration de Flavius Josephus Au Temps de Jean Fouquet," in *Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des Hellenistischen Judentums*, ed. K.H. Rengstorf (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 55-56.

³²⁵ Another example shows Titus in full armor standing before his soldiers inside the city of Jerusalem. His right arm, holding a staff, is raised up. Surrounding the burning temple are dead bodies. This illumination is part of a French manuscript (Champagne region), produced around 1480 and now in Vienna (B.N. 2538, fol. 141v). Ibid., fig. 142.

³²⁶ A number of legends had sprung up in the middle ages relating to the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple. Many of the woodcuts illustrate these narratives rather than Josephus's historical texts. For further literature see: Bunte, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems in der Mittelniederländischen Literatur*. And: Willy L. Braekman, *Die Destructie Vander Stat van Jherusalem. Een Vlaams Volksboek, naar het Uniek Exemplaar van de Antwerpse Druk van Willem Vorsterman (Ca. 1525)* (Brugge: Van der Wiele, 1984).

Antwerp, basing his edition on a twelfth-century Old French *chanson the geste* called *La vengeance de nostre Seigneur*. In addition to these publications Van Heemskerck was likely familiar with Dutch History Bibles, which incorporated elements from Josephus's narrative.³²⁷

It is important to note that Josephus was a Jew who had fought in the rebellion, but ended up as Titus's protégé. He rewrote his Aramaic diary into a Greek war story that shines a very favourable light on the actions of his patron. According to Josephus, Titus did not burn down the Jewish temple; rather Jewish fanatics were responsible.³²⁸ Three different factions of zealots were fiercely fighting each other within the city itself before and during the Roman siege of Jerusalem: "[...] it so came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down, and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides".³²⁹

Regarding the Temple, Josephus remarks: "But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire; and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages."³³⁰ This idea also appeared frequently in medieval literature, where the destruction of the Temple is viewed as divine punishment. Josephus says: "Now if any one considers these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by all

³²⁷ For History Bibles as chronicles, see: Sandra Hindman Hoadley, "Text and Illustration in the Dutch First History Bibles (Ca. 1425-1475)" (Cornell University, 1973). Saunders allows that: "Josephus's own text is most significant because he described the final battle with such vividness and detail that his words seem to have served Van Heemskerck as a direct source." Saunders, "Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*," 272.

³²⁸ "Dat Jeruzalem valt en dat de tempel van Solomon verwoest wordt geschiedt bij Josephus niet *dankzij* de Romeinen maar *ondanks* de Romeinen." Kuiper, "Die Destructie Van Jherusalem in Handschrift En Druk," 69.

³²⁹ William Whiston, *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*, vol. 6 (New York: Robinson and Franklin, 1839), 31. "[...] they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans than they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery endured by the city after these men's actions [...]."

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their preservation, but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntary bring upon themselves.”³³¹ This idea is reflected in Van Heemskerck’s *Clades* series in general, and in its last print in particular. Titus and his troops are making their way down to the Temple, which is already burning. The Roman holds up his arms in dismay at the imminent destruction of the edifice.³³²

Van Heemskerck’s choice to conclude with the *Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus* is consistent with the rest of the series: like the *Burial of Samson*, the *Capture of Tirsah*, and the *People of Israel Divided between Tibni and Amri*, it is a rare scene in an unexpected place, and like the *Tower of Babel* and the *Destruction of Sodom* it features a large edifice being destroyed. Furthermore, the destruction of the Temple is the culmination of both the visual and narrative patterns that inform the entire series. By their rejection of Christ as the Messiah, the Israelites orchestrated their own destruction, eliciting the ruination of the Temple that incontrovertibly announced the definitive rupture of the Old Covenant.

In the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series, Maarten van Heemskerck innovatively used typology to argue for the exegetical authority of the visual arts. The dominant presence of (ruinous) architecture throughout the series functions as a vehicle for the communication between God and the Jewish people. The ruins signal the increasing

³³¹ Ibid., 103.

³³² Saunders notes that: “There may, in fact, be some attempt on van Heemskerck’s part to shift the blame for this devastation more towards the ill-disciplined soldiers than to their commander-in-chief by choosing from Josephus’s narrative the particular moment of Titus’ attempt to halt the fire.” Saunders, “Old Testament Subjects in the Prints of Maarten van Heemskerck: *Als een Claere Spiegele der Tegenwoordige Tijden*,” 275. In fact, this shift in blame already occurs in Josephus’s text: “And now, a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the last battle; whereupon he rose up in great haste, and, as he was, ran to the holy house, in order to have a stop put to the fire [...] so there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army.” Whiston, *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*, 6, 96.

distance between God and his people as they continue to disregard his commands. The narrative opens with several prints in which the destruction of architecture is a direct result of the sinfulness of man and functions as divine punishment. Joshua's victories at Jericho and Ai show the same act of destruction as a reward for obedience, but also introduce the shift from divine agency to human agency. Although divinely sanctioned and facilitated, Joshua and his troops (and not God himself) destroy the city of Ai.

An important turning point in the series is reached when Samson pulls down the pillars and kills his enemies. This destruction, although divinely sanctioned, is again carried out by a man, who is posthumously honored for it. However, Zimri's choice to burn down the palace of Tirsah signals again the increasing distance between God and his people. The Israelites are now seen to use the demolition of buildings increasingly for their own purpose, and they even choose their own political leaders. When mankind takes matters of sin and punishment into their own hands, they have even less success than God's destruction of the Tower of Babel or the city of Sodom. Jehu falls himself into the very sin of idolatry he tried to eradicate. The Israelites are by now so far removed from their God that instead of punishing them directly, he marshalls the Chaldeans as instruments of severe divine castigation, namely the destruction of Jerusalem. The burning and collapsing Temple in these prints prefigures the ultimate destruction of the Temple and the definitive breaking of the Old Covenant in the last print of the series.

The Israelites are granted the ultimate chance of restoration in the form of God's Son. The adoration of the Christ child will make the ruins that exemplify the broken relationship between God and man habitable again. The upward ramp in the *Adoration of the Magi* shows reconstructed architecture as a way up, a return to God. However, the

Israelites' refusal to recognize in Christ the Messiah ultimately results in the destruction of the Jewish Temple and the breaking of the Old Covenant. Following the narrative of Flavius Josephus, in the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* Van Heemskerck shows how the Jewish people orchestrated their downfall.

The last print of the series has no pendant and thereby refers back to the frontispiece, where the ruins and Van Heemskerck's portrait have acquired a whole new meaning. Close observation of ancient ruins and statuary has not only perfected the master's artistic skills, but also indicates his understanding of God's plan for mankind. In his prints, Van Heemskerck presents a series of visual and narrative patterns that indicate manifestations of divine authority in salvation history. Where the Israelites fail to see that their God is communicating with them through the destruction (and reconstruction) of architecture, the artist recognized the instrumental value of man-made objects as a means for God to communicate with his people.

The viewer examining Maarten Van Heemskerck's prints is urged to consider the relationship between each of the individual prints and their relevance to the overall narrative. Through a complex print series of a size unprecedented in his oeuvre and furthermore prominently featuring his own portrait as a venerable and timeless monument, Van Heemskerck presents himself not only as an artistic authority (having studied the ancient monuments extensively), but even more as an exegetical authority (having studied the Scriptures equally thoroughly). His *Clades Judaeae Gentis* series offers the viewers an intriguing insight in the patterns of divine will that emerge from the biblical account, while simultaneously arguing for the exegetical authority of the visual arts.

Chapter 2 – Karel van Mander: Adoration of the Shepherds

Four years after his official registration as a master painter with the Haarlem guild of St. Luke in 1584, and a year after the earliest known dated print after his design (the 1587 *Allegory of Christian Patience*), artist-biographer Karel van Mander designed the *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* (fig. 2.01).³³³ Jacob Matham, who worked in Hendrick Goltzius's workshop at the time, has been identified as the likely engraver.³³⁴ In the print, the Christ child lies in a manger at the center of the image, surrounded by the Virgin Mary, Joseph and a number of shepherds. This group is flanked in the foreground by six Old Testament prophets: Jeremiah, Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah and Micah, each holding a placard with an relevant extract of their prophecies. In the background, the shepherds are visited by an angel bringing news of the birth of the Savior.

It is worth tracing the unusually well preserved visual lineage of Karel van Mander's *Adoration of the Shepherds* engraving, as it throws his pictorial choices into sharper relief. Already in 1930, Elisabeth Valentiner remarked on Karel van Mander's

³³³ Fig. 2.01: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Aanbidding der Herders, op de Voorgond Mozes en Vijf Profeten (RP-P-OB-27.233)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.collect.150860>. Access date 05 May 2016. Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Karel van Mander*, ed. Huigen Leeftang and Christiaan Schuckman (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 1999), 41, fig. 45/II. An unfinished proof has been preserved in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-27.232). The Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (inv. NMH Anck 54) owns a drawing by Karel van Mander, a study of five prophets with tablets. Ger Luijten and Ariane van Suchtelen, *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art 1580-1620* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgeverij, 1993), 368-69, cat. 27. The only known impression of the 1587 *Allegory of Christian Patience* belongs to the collection of the British Museum in London (1934,0217.12). This print was engraved by Harmen Muller (1540-1617) and published by Jan Greve (born 1553, active in Hamburg from 1580 onwards). Marjolein Leesberg, "Karel van Mander as a Painter," *Simiolus: Netherlandish Quarterly for the History of Art* 22, no. 1/2 (1993-94): 99, cat. 92. Elisabeth Valentiner, *Karel van Mander als Maler* (Strassburg: J.H. Ed. Heitz, 1930), 117, no. 50.

³³⁴ *Karel van Mander als Maler*, 104. Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Karel van Mander*, xix.

indebtedness to Federico Zuccaro's design for a fresco in the Santa Maria Annunziata, the church of the Jesuit Collegio Romano in Rome.³³⁵ Executed in 1566 and 1567, the *Annunciation to the Virgin Surrounded by Prophets of the Incarnation* fresco is known today through a set of large engravings by Cornelis Cort, executed in 1571 (fig. 2.02).³³⁶ The prints reveal a two-tiered design with God the Father surrounded by angels at its zenith, sending the dove of the Holy Spirit down to the earthly realm, where the Virgin Mary receives the archangel Gabriel's announcement that "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee. And therefore also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke 1:35). The Virgin is flanked by the prophets Moses, King David and Isaiah on the left, and King Solomon, Jeremiah and Haggai on the right. To the far left and right, the sun, the enclosed garden, the fountain, the tower and other attributes testify to the Virgin's virtues, while the spandrels at the top show the fallen Adam and Eve, whose original sin will ultimately be redeemed by the Savior born of the Virgin's womb.³³⁷ Prophecy, allegory and typology are here engaged to describe different aspects of the divine mystery; they visually illustrate the harmony of God's divine plan in salvation history.

At the center, Christ, the Light of the World (John 8:12), descends from heaven into the earthly realm where the Virgin Mary, who also stands for the Church (as emphasized by the architectural setting of the scene), has consented to become the mother of God. The prophets positioned left and right carry texts that illuminate various aspects

³³⁵ Valentiner, *Karel van Mander als Maler*, 18-19, 104.

³³⁶ Fig. 2.02: Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 133, cat. 15. In 1626, the Santa Maria Annunziata was pulled down to build the much larger Sant'Ignazio di Loyola a Campo Marzio and the original frescoes were lost.

³³⁷ Most of the emblems find their origins in the Song of Songs. *Ibid.*, 133-34.

of the coming of the Savior: Moses announced in Deut. 18:15 that “the Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet of thy nation of thy brethren like unto me.”³³⁸ The text underscores that as a prophet himself, Moses (and by extension all other prophets) functioned as a type to be fulfilled in Christ, the antitype. King David holds an excerpt from Psalm 131:11: “of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne” which indicates that the Savior would be of the lineage of King David, born from the Virgin, his descendant, who will be the “tabernacle of the Lord.”³³⁹ Isaiah confirms: “Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son” (Isaiah 7:14).³⁴⁰

The excerpt accompanying King Solomon refers allegorically to the mystery of the Incarnation that was given visual form in Zuccaro’s design: “Let my beloved come into his garden.”³⁴¹ This text from Canticum 5:1 was seen to describe the mystical union between the bride (the Virgin/Church) and the bridegroom (Christ). In the context of this print, the enclosed garden (the *hortus conclusus* emblem) not only stands for Mary’s virginity, but also represents her womb, where she will receive Christ. The prophet Jeremiah also refers to Christ’s birth: “For the Lord hath created a new thing upon the earth: a woman shall encompass a man.”³⁴² Finally, Haggai concludes: “And the desired of all nations shall come” (Haggai 2:8).³⁴³

Walter Melion has argued convincingly that Zuccaro’s composition, as recorded by Cort, follows a *glossa*-structure, where the prophets and the texts they are holding, as well as Adam and Eve, and the Virgin’s emblems all comment on and bear witness to the

³³⁸ The placard reads: “Prophetam de gente tua, et de fratribus tuis sicut.”

³³⁹ “De fructu ve[n]tris tui ponam super sedem tuam.”

³⁴⁰ “Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium”

³⁴¹ “Veniat dilectus meus in hortuum sum.”

³⁴² “Creavit dominus novum super terram. Foemina circumdabit virum.”

³⁴³ “Adhuc modicum et veniet desideratus cunctis centibus.”

Annunciation to the Virgin in the center of the image.³⁴⁴ Like the exegetical apparatus provided in the margins of biblical texts in the *Glossa ordinaria*, Zuccaro's figures are grouped around the advent of Christ, providing various readings of this momentous event. In Zuccaro's invention, the textual glosses on placards and tablets are actually overshadowed by visual glosses in the form of the prophets themselves, the Virgin's emblems, Adam and Eve, and even the angels in heaven that testify to Mary's angelic nature.³⁴⁵ The artist shows that the visual arts can be employed as a means to illuminate and contextualize the biblical narrative, and thereby in effect can function as a scriptural gloss as well.

In his fresco, Zuccaro envisions the divine mystery of the Incarnation. That the full depth of this mystery can never be wholly understood (or it would not be a mystery), is reflected in his composition, which retains an intangible quality. Although Christ the light of the world descended from heaven to earth, the space the Virgin is occupying is not an historical but an allegorical space, representing the Church Christ will inhabit, as he will inhabit the Virgin herself.³⁴⁶ The Old Testament prophets saw particular aspects of the divine mystery before their mind's eye, which is reflected in the prophecies they

³⁴⁴ Walter S. Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588," in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Feike Dietz, et al. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 80. "[...] the print's intertextual fabric is woven from scriptural loci whose figurative relation to the Annunciation derives from typologies exegetically codified in the *Glossa ordinaria et interlinearis* [...]. In fact, the pictorial format of Cort's engraving, made up of a centrally placed biblical event embedded within layers of Pentateuchal and prophetic commentary, likewise derives from the *Glossa*, which embed a passage from the Bible within tabular scholia: patristic glosses are placed adjacent to the scriptural source text; historical and moralizing glosses are subjoined as appendices." Also see: "Scriptural Authority in Word and Image," in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Celeste Brusati, Karl Ehenkel, and Walter Melion (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2011), 6-22.

³⁴⁵ Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 134. Gabriel's gesture closely resembles God's gesture, indicating that the archangel conveys a message from God.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

announced to the world. That they did not fully understand is clear from their gazes; they point the viewer in the right direction but none are actually looking at the *Annunciation* or the advent of Christ through the action of the Holy Spirit. Yet for the beholder, the Old Testament prophecies are imperative to understanding the magnitude of the coming of Christ the Messiah and the inauguration of the New Covenant.

A drawing now in the Uffizi in Florence shows that Zuccaro's original composition focused on the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, with Christ's entry into his mother's womb visually enacted in the form of a sun inscribed with the letters IHS (Christ's initials, and the emblem of the Order of the Jesuits) descending from the heavens towards her (fig. 2.03).³⁴⁷ In the definitive composition, however, this symbol was removed and a number of Old Testament prophets and a collection of emblems were added on each side. In his *Grondt der edel vry schilderconst (Foundation of the noble and free art of painting*, part of the *Schilder-boeck*), Van Mander actually mentions this fresco as an example of how an artist can amplify ('vermeerderen') elements to a 'solitary' ('eensame') *historia*: "Exempel hier oock de boodtschap Succary, Vermeerdert met Enghelen en Propheten."³⁴⁸

By 1571, print publisher Antonio Lafreri had obtained a papal privilege ("Cum Privilegio Summi Pontificis") to reproduce Zuccaro's fresco as a two-plate engraving,

³⁴⁷ Fig. 2.03: Werner Körte, "Verlorene Frühwerke des Federico Zuccari in Rom," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3. Bd, no. 8 (1932): 525, fig. 5. Related drawings are in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (Italienska Handteckningar, Catalogue raisonné af Osvald Siré, Stockholm 1917, p. 102, nr. 400), the Louvre in Paris (inv. 4391, recto, study of angels) and the Uffizi in Florence (inv. 11.082, probably by a student, not by Zuccaro).

³⁴⁸ "Men can oock noch vermeerderen eensame Historien, op diversche manieren" Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, 65, fol. 20v. Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation of 1588*," 87. "[...] the elaboration of a singular, centrally placed event by means of corollary figurative devices, such as personifications, that comment on the meaning of the scopus – the core scene." Also see: *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 8-9.

which he dedicated to Cardinal de Granvelle.³⁴⁹ A drawing now in the Louvre in Paris indicates that Zuccaro himself adapted his fresco design for graphic execution (fig. 2.04).³⁵⁰ The linchpin of this argument is formed by the original location of the fresco: John Gere has suggested that Zuccaro's *Annunciation* fresco was probably painted in the main apse of the Santa Maria Annunziata, which was a half-dome.³⁵¹ This means that Adam and Eve would have been painted on the spandrels of the outer arch. Werner Körte argued that the figures of Adam and Eve were absent altogether but were added to the drawing when Zuccaro adapted his design for the engraver employed by Lafreri: Cornelis Cort. He is strengthened in his conviction by the appearance of two small figures in the far background between the Virgin and the angel, whom he identifies as Adam and Eve as well.³⁵² Whether or not Adam and Eve were ever painted, it is likely that the drawing in the Louvre was not intended as a preparatory drawing for the fresco, but made as a model for printmaking.³⁵³

Anticipating (and perhaps to contributing to) the popularity of the fresco, Lafreri commissioned Cornelis Cort to produce no less than three sets of plates with the same design, all in one year.³⁵⁴ The following year Lafreri, together with the Venetian publisher Luca Bertelli, was involved in the publication of yet another set of plates

³⁴⁹ "Amplissimo patri ac domino D. Antonio Perrenotto S.R.E. presb card granvelano archiepiscopo meheliniensi neapolisq proregi." Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586), became archbishop of the city of Malines in 1559, a cardinal only two years later, and Viceroy of Naples in 1571. "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588," 77, 80.

³⁵⁰ Fig. 2.04: Louvre: Inventaire du Département des Arts Graphiques, "L'annonciation (4539, Recto)," <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/175/101793-LAnnonciation-max>. Access date 05 May 2016. Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy* (London: British Museum, 2001), 72, 74 (fig. 4).

³⁵¹ *The Print in Italy*, 115.

³⁵² Körte, "Verlorene Frühwerke des Federico Zuccari in Rom," 526, note 2.

³⁵³ Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 114-15, cat. 74.

³⁵⁴ Only one set mentions Cort as the engraver. Two of the three contain the papal dedication (on a square block underneath the foot of King Solomon). Manfred Sellink, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort*, ed. Huigen Leeftang, vol. 1 (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2000), 53-55, 58-63, cat. 20-22.

depicting Zuccaro's fresco, this time engraved by Girolamo Olgiatti. Michael Bury suggests compellingly that Lafreri allowed Bertelli to make a copy of one of Cort's sets of plates in order to meet demand in Venice, in exchange for some financial remuneration.³⁵⁵ As Lafreri's inventory only lists one set of plates, it seems likely that the other two extra sets engraved by Cort were also intended for other publishers, as it was more economical for them to produce their own impressions as needed, than to buy large quantities of impressions from Lafreri.³⁵⁶ Apparently, however, even these four sets of plates could not satisfy demand within and outside the city of Rome. Soon, other artists and publishers began producing their own copies. Gaspare Osello, for instance, engraved a set of plates for his half-brother Niccolo Nelli in 1576, and Nicolo Bertelli did the same for Lorenzo Vaccari in 1579.³⁵⁷

In the North, various editions of prints after the fresco appeared: Johannes Sadeler (ca 1550-1600) published a set of prints engraved by his brother Raphael (1560/61-1628/1632), in Antwerp in 1580 (with a later version issued in Venice through Stefano Scolari (active ca. 1652-1691)).³⁵⁸ Paulus Mondekens (ca. 1560-ca. 1600) signed his name on a print, probably in Cologne, around 1600.³⁵⁹ Sometime between 1571 and 1591,

³⁵⁵ Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 115-16, cat. 75.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 116.

³⁵⁷ Sellink, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort*, 1, 56. Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 221-36.

³⁵⁸ Dieuwke De Hoop Scheffer, *Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler II*, ed. K.G. Boon, vol. XXI, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts, Ca 1450-1700* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co, 1980), 213, 16, cat. 12, 185, fig. 12. Sellink, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort*, 1, 56.

³⁵⁹ Not much is known about Paulus Mondekens. Baptismal records of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cologne (1571-1650) record a Paulus Mondekens, married to Elisabeth Montier. Their son Paulus was baptized on 10 October 1578. Paulus senior witnessed eight baptisms and two betrothals between 1587 and 1595. In his last entry he is described as an elder of the church. His wife witnessed four baptisms, the last two in 1612. There is also a record for a 'widow Mondekens' on 21 July 1612, which could be Elisabeth. The previous entry, in which she is still called the wife of Paulus Mondekens (witness to the baptism of Susanna Mondekens, daughter of David Mondekens and Susanna Baron) dates to 01 July 1612. This might indicate that Paulus Mondekens died between 1 July and 21 July 1612. However, the records also mention

Gerard de Jode published a smaller edition, mirrored and rather square in form, in Antwerp (fig. 2.05).³⁶⁰ Two of the prophets (Haggai and King David) have been cut off, one placard is missing (Haggai's), Adam and Eve have been omitted, and Hebrew letters have replaced the face of God the Father. This last alteration was probably done to accommodate reformed patrons, while other compositional choices may have been prompted by limited funds or materials (such as the size of the paper).³⁶¹ Other artists chose to adjust the composition more radically, altering its sense to their personal artistic sensibilities or their patron's needs.

A conservative adaptation is a painting owned by the diocese of Groningen in the Netherlands (fig. 2.06).³⁶² It was probably produced during the Jesuit presence in the city (1591-1594) and shows an additional scene below, invented by its unknown painter. The figures crowding the bottom half of the painting have been identified as humanity, hopefully awaiting salvation.³⁶³ The recess in the floor at the Virgin's feet offers the

an Anna Mondekens who could be the widow. David Mondekens outlived his wife and married again in 1618. The records seem to be incomplete, in any case, as Paulus Mondekens also had a son Adriaan who was born in 1586 for whom there is no baptism entry. These records can be found online: Cor Snabel and Elizabeth A. Johnson, "17th Century Hollanders," PB works, <http://17thcenturyhollanders.pbworks.com/w/page/50087144/Baptisms%20in%20the%20Dutch%20Reformed%20Church%20in%20Cologne%2C%20Germany%201571-1650>. Access date 05 May 2016. The church records of 1571-1591 show that the church council decided to make Paulus Mondekens a deacon on 20 Jan. 1583. His name was spelled in different ways: Paulus Mondeken, Pauwel Mondekens, Pauwels Mondekens, Pauwels Mondeken, Pauwels Mondekin, Pouwels Mondekein and Paulus Mondekens. The records indicate that he regularly attended church meetings and was asked to address or castigate ("vermanen") other church members on various issues. H. Q. Janssen and J.J. van Toorenenbergen, *Handelingen van den Kerkeraad der Nederlandsche Gemeente te Keulen, 1571-1591*, Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1881), 180ff.

³⁶⁰ Fig. 2.05: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Annunciatie, Omgeven door Profeten (RP-P-1991-120)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.129450>. Access date 05 May 2016.

³⁶¹ David Freedberg, "The Hidden God: Image and Interdiction in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 5, no. 2 (1982): 140. Protestants objected to the depiction of God in human form on the basis of the commandment: "Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above [...]" (Exodus 20:4)

³⁶² Fig. 2.06: Groeneveld and Dirkse, *Ketters en Papen onder Filips II: het Godsdienstige Leven in de Tweede Helft van de 16e Eeuw*, 180-81, cat. 16.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 180.

people below visual access, and connects both halves of the image.³⁶⁴ A fitting caption, derived from the book of Isaiah (45:8) has been added at the bottom: “Drop down dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the just, let the earth be opened, and bud forth a Savior” (“Rorate caeli desuper et nubes pluant iustum aperiatur terra et geminet salvatorem et iustitia oriatur similego Dominus creavi eum”).³⁶⁵ Perhaps the artist was inspired by the iconographical theme of the *Glory of the Blessed (Gloire des Bienheureux)*. A drawing in the Louvre (inv. 4500, recto), currently attributed to Federico Zuccaro and showing a design for the dome of a chapel with this iconography, is reminiscent of the painting in Groningen (fig. 2.07).³⁶⁶ A group of figures looks upwards and reaches towards the heavens, where some putti are frolicking in the clouds.

A much more fundamental interpretation of Zuccaro’s design is reflected in a drawing, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and currently attributed to Jan van der Straet (1523-1605), also known as Stradanus (fig. 2.08).³⁶⁷ Stradanus, who was born in Bruges but spent most of his working life in Florence, is described by Vasari (with whom he collaborated for a number of years) as “good in drawing and excellent in ideas, with much invention and a good manner in coloring [...]” (Ilquale ha buon disegno, bonissimi

³⁶⁴ A quote was included: “Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it done to me according to thy word” (Luke 1:38)

³⁶⁵ This text, known as the ‘Rorate’, was sung in the liturgy in the four weeks before Christmas and refers to the story of the annunciation to the Virgin. Groeneveld and Dirkse, *Ketters en Papen onder Filips II: het Godsdienstige Leven in de Tweede Helft van de 16e Eeuw*, 180.

³⁶⁶ Fig. 2.07: Louvre: Inventaire du Département des Arts Graphiques, “La Gloire des Bienheureux (4500, Recto),” <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/3/101750-La-gloire-des-bienheureux-max>. Access date 05 May 2016.

³⁶⁷ Fig. 2.08: Metropolitan Museum of Art, “The Six Prophets of the Coming of Christ (1996.302),” <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/335543> On Stradanus, see: Alessandra Baroni and Manfred Sellink, *Stradanus, 1523-1605, Court Artist of the Medici* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997). And: Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Johannes Stradanus*, vol. 1 (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2008).

capricci, mota invenzione, e buon modo di colorire [...]”.³⁶⁸ The *Six Prophets of the Annunciation* drawing can be dated based on its inscription: “This day the 19th of July 1572 at Florence, originating from one of yours the 4th of July.”³⁶⁹ Whether this can be understood to mean that Stradanus merely copied an existing design or, as seems more likely judging by Vasari’s assessment, whether he came up with this revised composition himself, remains unclear.³⁷⁰ What is certain, is that Stradanus was in contact with Cornelis Cort, as Cort engraved *the Practice of the Visual Arts* for him in 1573, only a year after he had finished the three sets of *Annunciation to the Virgin* plates for Lafreri.³⁷¹ Stradanus would likely have been familiar with Zuccaro’s original composition, either through the original fresco or through the many engravings and drawings made after it.

From 1570 onwards, Stradanus sent his print designs to Antwerp for publication, working first briefly with Hieronymus Cock’s firm *Aux Quatre Vents*, and then, after Cock passed away, with the by then independently established Philips Galle.³⁷² This collaboration was a fruitful one, both artistically and commercially. In the main, Galle personally engraved the designs from Stradanus, but occasionally he employed other artists, Hendrick Goltzius among them. It would seem that through this collaboration the

³⁶⁸ *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Johannes Stradanus*, 1, xxix, ln1.

³⁶⁹ “Addi 19. di luglio 1572 zu fiorenzo. Horicento una della vostra 4 di juglio”.

³⁷⁰ Marjolein Leesberg, when discussing Stradanus’s intensive collaboration with Philips Galle in Antwerp, concludes that: “It is well known that the erudite Philips Galle worked with prominent humanists and scholars, and was interested in depicting new subjects in print, and in this respect Galle and Stradanus had a common interest. The subjects seem to have been suggested by both men, though mostly by Stradanus.” Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Johannes Stradanus*, 1, xxxvi.

³⁷¹ No early impressions of the print remain. The only know copies were published by Lorenzo Vaccari in Rome in 1578. Bury, *The Print in Italy*, cat. 3.

³⁷² “It is not known how the collaboration between the two men came about, one working in Florence, the other in Antwerp. Cock does not seem to have been in Italy during this period, nor Stradanus in Flanders, but there were ample opportunities for contact through northern artists and scholars travelling back and forth between these two countries.” Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Johannes Stradanus*, 1, xxxi.

design of the *Six Prophets of the Annunciation* print found its way to the city of Haarlem where Goltzius was likely the artist responsible for its engraving in 1580 (fig. 2.09).³⁷³

In this composition, many of the elements from Zuccaro's design have been rearranged: the six prophets have been moved from the sides to the center foreground of the image, and have been enlarged to occupy about half the picture plane. Behind them, atop a small staircase, the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, rather reduced in scale, is framed in an architectural setting, flanked by the Virgin's emblems on either side. Through this alternative arrangement, focus has clearly shifted from the New Testament fulfilment of prophecy towards the Old Testament predictions of the advent of the Messiah.

By placing the prophets at the foot of the stairs, the artist indicates that the prophets foresaw the coming of the Savior and that the ascent towards a true understanding of the mystery of the Incarnation begins with their prophecies and insights.³⁷⁴ However, where the advent of Christ for the prophets is a meditative vision of the future, for the viewer it is a (visual) reality, as they see the angel approach Mary in the background of the image. The *Annunciation* is depicted in a rather shallow space and actually resembles a wall painting, flanked by windows with a view on a garden. The new format chosen by the artist is reminiscent of the way the pages of the *Biblia pauperum* are organized: with the New Testament scene in the center, scenes on either

³⁷³ Fig. 2.09: British Museum, "Six Prophets of the Annunciation (1857,0613.450)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1503679&partId=1&searchText=1857,0613.450&images=true&page=1. Access date 05 May 2016. Walter L. Strauss, *Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617, the Complete Engravings and Woodcuts* (New York: Abaris Books, 1977), 239, cat. 141. Access date 05 May 2016. The print has been ascribed to Goltzius from as early as 1921: Otto Hirschmann, *Verzeichnis des Graphischen Werks von Hendrick Goltzius 1558-1617* (Leipzig: Verlag von Klinkhardt & Bierman, 1921), 6, cat. 8. Walter Melion supports this attribution: Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation of 1588*," 85, 86 fig. 3.5.

³⁷⁴ The last line of the caption reads: "Scripta prophetam per lege ritem scies."

side that illuminate some aspect of it, complemented by prophets and pertinent excerpts from their prophecies.

If Goltzius was indeed the engraver of the *Annunciation to the Virgin with Six Prophets of the Incarnation*, as seems likely, Karel van Mander certainly would have known the image and probably discussed it with his friend.³⁷⁵ It has even plausibly been suggested that Goltzius was the one who commissioned him to design the *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets*.³⁷⁶ Van Mander was already familiar with the Zuccaro's fresco, which he studied during his time in Rome (1573-1577), as his biography of the Italian artist reveals.³⁷⁷ While in Italy, Van Mander became acquainted with a number of followers of the Zuccaro brothers Federico and Taddeo (who had died in 1566), as well as with engraver Cornelis Cort.³⁷⁸ In light of the sheer number of drawings and prints made after Zuccaro's fresco design and Zuccari's artistic influence in Rome at the time, it is safe to assume that the design for the Santa Maria Annunziata (whether in fresco or in print) was a current topic of discussion among artists and art theorists, in the North as well as in the South.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁵ Van Mander designed his print during his time with the so-called Haarlem Academy, an informal partnership with Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis Cornelisz that lasted from 1587 to 1590.

³⁷⁶ Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588," 77. "[...] I think it likely that Goltzius, who was skilled at extending the reach of his own religious imagery, commissioned Van Mander's invention, typically ceding to him the prerogative of signing himself as sole author." Ibid., 85.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 85, 87. Marjolein Leesberg points out that "There were few artists who did not work for or under the influence of Zuccaro." Leesberg, "Karel van Mander as a Painter," 16.

³⁷⁸ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 192v.

³⁷⁹ A drawing of the *Annunciation to the Virgin* for the chapel of the Trinity at Chateau Fontainebleau, dated ca. 1610-1615 by Martin Fréminet, (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 2000.20), shows that Zuccaro's design influenced artists well into the seventeenth century. Another drawing by Fréminet that shows the actual design as it was painted belongs to the collection of the Louvre (RF 2361.Bis, Recto). Although the basic compositional structure remains, the prophets are no longer recognizable as such (they look more like sibyls). Today the painting is almost completely obscured by the main altar placed in front of it. Perrin Stein, "Renaissance and Baroque Europe. Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1999-2000," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 58, no. 2 (2000): 29. Sylvie Béguin, "Two Projects by Martin Fréminet for the Chapel of the Trinity at Fontainebleau," *Master Drawings* 1, no. 3 (1963): 30-34, 77-79.

The most evident visual similarities between Karel van Mander's *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* and Federico Zuccaro's *Annunciation to the Virgin Surrounded by Prophets of the Incarnation* fresco as it was transcribed in print by Cornelis Cort (and the composition engraved by Goltzius), are the six prophets and the placards they are holding. They function as glosses to the main narrative by inviting the viewer to read the excerpts they are holding and to ponder how they apply to the central scene. At the same time, Van Mander's choice to replace King David, King Solomon and Haggai with the prophets Ezechiel, Zechariah and Micah, and to retain only Moses's prediction that "the Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet of thy nation of thy brethren like unto me" clearly indicates that he has opted for a different approach than his predecessors.

The prophets' texts reveal that the emphasis on the Virgin Mary and the virtues that qualify her to become the mother of God has now shifted to her son Christ and the consequences of his advent for mankind.³⁸⁰ Moses refers to Christ as a prophet, while Isaiah (9:6) identifies him as new ruler of Israel ("For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder"), as does the prophet Micah (5:2): "And thou, Bethlehem Ephrata, art a little one among the thousands of Juda, out of thee shall come forth unto me that is to be the ruler in Israel".³⁸¹ Ezechiel (36:8) offers a vision of Israel's return to the promised land: "But as for you, O mountains of Israel, shoot ye forth your branches, and yield your fruit," while Zechariah (2:10) announces the

³⁸⁰ Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588," 80, 82. "[...] absent are the payers of Marian allusion that cluster at the periphery of the earlier print – blind Eve who implicitly identifies Mary as the spiritually sighted new Eve, and the landscapes filled with solar and lunar emblems of the Virgin. Instead, Van Mander centers his print on the newborn Christ, whom he positions at the precise point where the vertical, horizontal and diagonal axes intersect. Ibid., 82.

³⁸¹ Isaiah 9:6, Micah 5:2.

coming of the Savior to the holy city of Jerusalem at the end of time: “Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Sion: for behold I come and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord.”

The caption underneath the print reflects this train of thought:

“Did you, child, did you, the only salvation, the only light in the world, \have to be born in such a miserable place? You, of whom Moses and all of the prophets have sung that you would be the hope, the light and the leader of the world, who would snatch man from the jaws of the devouring underworld, you, the death of Death and the Conqueror of the Styx.”³⁸²

“Tene puer? Tene una salus? Lux unica mundi? Tam vili decuit nascier hocce loco? Quem Moses, vatum quem cuncta oracular mundo. Spem fore, quem lumen, quem cecinere ducem? Ut rapidi humanum raperes efaucibus Orci, Morte genus mortis Mors Dominorq[ue] Stygis?”

Christ’s responsibility to “snatch man from the jaws of the devouring underworld” has been given visual form in the engraving by means of a pitch-black underground cavern in the foreground of the image. In opposition to the rays of heavenly light in the background, the darkness in the foreground represents the underworld, gaping dangerously close to where the viewer is positioned. Access to Christ is provided by means of a column that bridges the darkness. The dead branches placed on the column allude to the *arma Christi*, instruments of the Passion (particulary the flagellation).

³⁸² Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Karel van Mander*, lxviii. Walter Melion translates the caption as follows: “Hold, a boy? Hold, and at the same time salvation? The sole light of the world? Is it fitting for such a one to be born in this low place? He Whom Moses, Whom all the oracles of the prophets celebrated as the world’s future hope, light, and leader? Was it in order that You, the Death of death and Tamer of the Styx, might by [your] death snatch humankind from the rapacious jaws of Orcus?” Melion, “Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588,” 82.

Through the Passion, Christ defeats Death and clears the way for humanity to attain salvation and eternal life.³⁸³

A large saddle, shrouded in darkness and deposited right next to the column, may be a more general reference to the *gravitas* of Christ's future suffering for humanity. The Dutch saying "iemand ergens mee opzadelen" (literally "to saddle somebody with something") means 'to impose a burden or responsibility upon someone'. Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert used this expression in his book *Tsamensprekinghe, waar in bewesen wort dat hy niet goet en wil worden die quaat blijft* (*Discussion, in which it is proven that those who remain evil choose not to be good*), published in 1568, where he says that God does not want to force the 'burden' of his gifts on anybody: "Doch niet met bedwanghe want godt en zadeldt sijne gaven niemandt op met ghewelt [...]."³⁸⁴ Christ took upon himself the burden of death in order to offer humankind redemption. Viewers may have been reminded of Christ's prayer in the garden of Gethsemane: "My father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless not as I will but as thou wilt."³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Walter Melion has rightly pointed out that the position of the Virgin and the shepherd to her right resembles traditional Annunciation iconography. Furthermore, the display of the naked Christ child on a cloth can be interpreted as a reference to Christ's sacrificial death. "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588," 82. "The text closely responds to the image's many subtle intimations of sacrifice: the gravity and reverence expressed by all the participants, whether prophetic, pastoral or familial; the prone position of Christ in the sarcophagal manger, as well as his attitude – legs crossed, arm extended, and head inclined – which hints at the Crucifixion, especially when seen together with the cross-like shepherd's crook aligned to His body."

³⁸⁴ Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie, "Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal," De Geïntegreerde Taalbank, gtb.inl.nl. Last visited: 04 May 2013. Cornelis Adriaensz. Boomgaert, *Dieryck Volckertsz. Coornherts Wercken, Waer van Eenige Noyt voor Desen Gedruet Zyn*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Iacob Aertsz. Colom, 1629-1632), 162b. In Coornhert's *Van 't overheydts ampt* he discusses imposing articles of faith on other people: "Doordat elck die eenighe bysondere meyninghe van eenighe dingen hebbende, die den anderen als noodigh om weten der saligheydt acht, ende elck op-zadelen ende voor een noodigh artijckel (ja des gheloofts) gehouden heben wil [...]." Ibid., 384c, 477d.

³⁸⁵ Matth. 26:39. Biblical references to a saddle appear only in case of travel. In 1599, Karel van Mander painted the *Landscape with the Disobedient Prophet* (current whereabouts unknown) that shows story of the disobedient prophet of 1 Kings 13. This prophet was deceived by an old man to break his promise to God to "[...] not eat bread nor drink water, nor return by the same way that thou camest" (1 Kings 13:9). When he was on his way again he met a lion that killed him but would not eat the body nor attack his ass. In Van Mander's painting, the old man is depicted next to his saddled ass (he went to retrieve the prophet's

In any case, the prominence of the saddle in the foreground of the image would suggest it was intended to contribute in some meaningful way to the overall narrative.³⁸⁶

The ‘miserable place’ the caption refers to is given pictorial form as an open space between two buildings in Van Mander’s print. Behind the prophets Jeremiah and Moses, a dilapidated structure rises up, made of weathered stone and wood. Zechariah and Micah stand on the opposite side, in front of a building that is made of bricks and partly covered in plaster. In Zuccaro’s fresco and its subsequent prints, the architectural space is a part of the allegorical structure of the print and contributes to our understanding of the scene.³⁸⁷ Van Mander uses architecture to indicate that the print should be read typologically. The *Adoration of the Shepherds* literally takes place in the space between the dilapidated building that stands for the Old Testament and the new building rising up on the other side, representing the New Covenant. The birth of the Savior hails in a new age, but not until after the Passion will salvation for all of mankind be achieved. This impression is strengthened by the fact that both Ezechiel and Zechariah, who speak of the coming of Paradise, are standing on the side of the New Covenant.

body), and an ass whose saddle has been removed (its rider is being attacked by a lion to the left of the image). One might suggest that as the prophet refused to shoulder the burden of God’s commandments by breaking his promise, perhaps Van Mander referred to this by removing the saddle from his ass. For further information on this painting, see: Leesberg, “Karel van Mander as a Painter,” 47, cat. 7, 48 fig. 37. Valentiner, *Karel van Mander als Maler*, 84, fig. 39.

³⁸⁶ Melion, “Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander’s *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588,” 83n5. Walter Melion offers a different interpretation: “The shadowy saddle beside the toppled column recalls that the Holy Family, along with all true believers of the covenant of salvation, not least the prophets and the shepherds, are mere ‘pilgrims and strangers on the earth’, as Hebrews 11:13 affirms.”

³⁸⁷ “Caelatum in Transitu: Karel van Mander’s *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* and its Visual Referents,” in *Religious Minorities and Cultural Diversity in the Dutch Republic, Studies Presented to Piet Visser on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. August den Hollander, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 99. “[...] Zuccaro devised an allegory on the mystery of the Incarnation, arraying six prophets as if they were the living piers of a basilical apse.”

Zuccaro joined the divine promise of the advent of the Messiah and redemption for the chosen people of God (prophecy) with the significance of historical events in the context of God's plan for mankind (typology), to lift both into the spiritual realm of the mysteries of the faith (allegory). His focus was ultimately on the advent of Christ through the mystery of the Incarnation. The fresco's ephemeral pictorial setting, as well as its original physical location in a half-dome high above the altar would have impressed upon its viewers something of the immeasurable profundity and glory of the divine mystery.

Stradanus (or his source) opted for a more palpable setting and focussed primarily on the importance of Old Testament prophecy as a means to understand and appreciate the advent of the Savior. By enclosing the attributes to the Virgin's virtues within a window frame and placing the prophets in a space unrestricted on either side, the artist seems to differentiate between the symbolic value of the allegorical glosses applicable only to the Virgin Mary, and the exegetical importance of the prophecies that illuminate salvation history more generally. The typological aspects of the narrative are subtly present in the form of the prophets themselves, who prefigure the viewer as witnesses to the Annunciation, and by means of the tripartite composition and quoted prophecies (reminiscent of the *Biblia pauperum* format).

Van Mander, on the other hand, chose to depict the physical presence of the Christ child on earth, removing the allegorical references altogether; he selected typology over allegory and (to an extent) prophecy to reveal that salvation history was destined to lead to the birth of the Savior and the conquering of Death through Christ's Passion, death and Resurrection. He purposefully applied typological imagery to address the viewers directly and to encourage them to consider their own role in God's larger plan for mankind.

Van Mander's prophets physically occupy the same space as the other figures, yet they do not interact with them or participate in the narrative. In this setting they function as glosses on the central scene, but also as types of Christ and prefigurations of the shepherds.³⁸⁸ As the prophets were divinely inspired to glimpse the coming of the Messiah, so the shepherds received a message from a heaven-sent angel and, as promised, subsequently physically see the Savior in his manger.³⁸⁹ In turn, both the prophets and shepherds prefigure the viewer, who is able to witness the Savior in the print and is prompted by the prophecies and the caption to ponder the circumstances and consequences of the advent of Christ. As the shepherds adore the Christ child in his manger, so the viewer is invited to do the same. Several prophecies even directly address the viewer, such as Jeremiah's, who enjoins them to 'behold' ('ecce'), and Zechariah, who invites the viewer to 'sing praise, and rejoice'.

The *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* shows how visual imagery can provide a complex, multi-layered gloss on a biblical narrative, in the manner of textual commentary. By placing the prophets alongside the shepherds, Van Mander directly relates these figures to each other, thereby drawing attention to the internal harmony of the biblical narrative that reflects the constancy of God's plan. Melion has even pointed out how Moses's staff, symbol of his role as mediator between God and the Chosen people, subtly touches the staff of one of the shepherds, thereby conveying

³⁸⁸ "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation of 1588*," 82. "The analogy between these recipients of the angel's words and the print's beholder, whom the prophets address with their scriptural placards, serves to emphasize that the shepherds populating the middle-ground, in the attention they bestow on Christ, exemplify our viewing of Him as the fulfilment of prophecy, whose living presence is seen to embody and thus confirm the word of the Lord."

³⁸⁹ Luke 2:8-20

authority to them as witnesses of the birth of Christ.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, a shepherd's staff has been placed on the floor at the foot of the manger and extends from the Christ child in the direction of the column that forms the viewers' access point to the scene. This staff functions as a direct invitation to the viewer to overcome the darkness of sin and death by taking up the staff as a shepherd of the chosen people of God.

It seems Karel van Mander had a particular fondness for the story of the adoration of the shepherds, as he made three separate paintings of the subject, as well as two prints.³⁹¹ The 1588 *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* was an early and rather complex exploration of the theme; the paintings, made roughly a decade later, show the same preoccupation with (divine) light and an elaborate architectural setting, but pictorial references to prophets are absent. The figures of the Virgin Mary and the shepherds that address her in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* painting of 1596, now in the Národní Gallery in Prague, are reminiscent of the 1588 engraving (fig. 2.10).³⁹² Despite the fact that the scene is no longer taking place at night, the light emanating from heaven, from the Virgin and from the child can still be clearly discerned. In the 1598 painting currently belonging to the collection of the Frans Hals museum in Haarlem the artist returned the nativity scene to a nocturnal setting and strongly emphasized Christ by bathing him in light against a pitch-black backdrop (fig. 2.11).³⁹³ A basket with supplies

³⁹⁰ Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588," 92. "That the tip of Moses' rod touches the hook of a shepherd's crook, implies that the prophet *cum* mediator, like Christ whom he prefigures, is authorized to shepherd his people."

³⁹¹ Leesberg, "Karel van Mander as a Painter," 47-48. In Karel van Mander's known oeuvre, it seems the *Adoration of the Shepherds* is the only (biblical) story that he painted more than once.

³⁹² Fig. 2.10: Wikimedia Commons, "Karel van Mander - The Adoration of the Shepherds," https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karel_van_Mander_-_The_Adoration_of_the_Shepherds.jpg. Access date 05 May 2016. This is the only *Adoration of the Shepherds* painting known to Elisabeth Valentiner: Valentiner, *Karel van Mander als Maler*, 38, 79.

³⁹³ Fig. 2.11: Frans Hals Museum, "De Aanbidding van de Herders (Os 75-321)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/en/collection/search-collection/the-adoration-of-the-shepherds-119/>.

in the foreground echoes the basket at the foot of the manger in the 1588 engraving, and the ox, displayed more prominently in the painting than in the print, directly gazes out at the beholder again.

The third painting of the same subject matter was put up for auction by the R.L. Feigen and Co. Art gallery in New York, at Christie's on 25 May 2005, and subsequently acquired by an unknown buyer (fig. 2.12).³⁹⁴ Its current whereabouts are unknown. In its composition, the painting resembles most closely the work in the Frans Hals museum; figures like the Virgin, the woman at the foot of the manger supporting a toddler, the shepherd holding his hat to his chest, the seated Joseph and the ox are strikingly similar.³⁹⁵ In this painting the light emanates only from an opening in the clouds, framed by putti reminiscent of the angels from Raphael's Sistine Madonna, now in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden.³⁹⁶ The light does not fall upon the Christ child and only partially on his mother; instead it highlights the empty space between the ox, a sleeping dog and the Virgin.

³⁹⁴ Fig. 2.12: Christies, "Karel van Mander - The Adoration of the Shepherds," <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/furniture-lighting/karel-van-lander-the-adoration-of-the-4507891-details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=4507891&sid=7ab8484d-a04c-4ad1-bf05-4152178ddb17>. Acces date 05 May 2016. Sale 1529, lot 24. Leesberg describes this painting as "[...] one of van Mander's best works." Leesberg, "Karel van Mander as a Painter," 27.

³⁹⁵ The Christie's auction notes refer to a fourth *Adoration of the Shepherds*, in the collection of the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford. This painting, however, is correctly identified by Leesberg as an *Adoration of the Magi*. See "Karel van Mander as a Painter," 48, 26, fig. 14. The entry mentions the dark openings in the foreground of each of the adoration paintings: "the hollow or grotto-like opening in the foreground may symbolize the cave in Bethlehem where, according to ancient tradition, the birth of Jesus actually occurred." Considering the composition of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* paintings (and both engravings) by Karel van Mander, it seems unlikely that such an allusion was intended. Finally, the author interprets a large column as one against which tradition recounted the Virgin had supported herself against while giving birth. However, only in the auctioned painting does a column appear that could fit this description and it seems rather inconveniently located for such a purpose.

³⁹⁶ See the museum catalogue: Dresden Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, "Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister Dresden, Illustriertes Gesamtverzeichnis," ed. Harald Marx and Elisabeth Hipp (Cologne: König, Walther, 2007), 419, fig. 93.

According to Van Mander in his *Wtbeeldingen der figueren* (*Depiction of figures*, part of the *Schilder-boeck*), the dog stands for loyalty as well as for the righteous teacher that watches over man's soul and punishes man's sins ("Den Hondt beteyckent den rechten Leeraer, die onbeschroemt moet ghestadich bassen, de wacht houden over s'Menschen sielen, en bestraffen de zonden der Menschen"). As the dog is shown sleeping like the child sleeps in his manger, it may be an attribute to the newly born Savior. Furthermore, the dog's proverbial loyalty to its master can be seen as foreshadowing the practice among the apostles to address Jesus Christ as 'Master' ("Met den Hondt wort beteyckent de getrouwicheyt: want den Hondt seer ghetrouwe is, oock geen weldaet verghetende").³⁹⁷ Therefore, the dog can also be considered to be part of an invitation to the viewer take up his or her position at the side of the mother of God, to adore and follow her child and thereby come to bathe in the heavenly light. In this sense, the viewer is invited to become the antitype to both the shepherds and the apostles.

Finally, in Van Mander's second *Adoration of the Shepherds*, engraved by Jan Saenredam (1565-1607) in 1598, as in the three paintings of the Adoration, the artist chose to forego all visual references to the prophetic foretelling of the advent of the Messiah, and the allegorical significance of the Incarnation (fig. 2.13).³⁹⁸ Instead he again employed typology by means of the fanciful architecture and the groups of shepherds appearing in the foreground. Both of these compositional devices invite his viewers to contemplate their own relationship to the shepherds, the Christ child (surrounded by the

³⁹⁷ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 128v.

³⁹⁸ Fig. 2.13: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Aanbidding van de Herders (RP-P-OB-10.668)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.515391>. Access date 05 May 2016. Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Karel Van Mander*, 42-46, cat. 46. This engraving was enormous; it involved three separate plates and measured about 43.7x108.6 cm when combined in print.

Holy Family) in the background of the image, and the long and winding path that will eventually lead them to the newly born Redeemer and through him, ultimately, salvation.

The nativity is situated inside a largely dark, vaulted edifice of unusual, even illogical construction. The space in the far background that accommodates the Holy Family is illuminated by a sizeable aperture in the vaulted roof, as well as by the child in his manger. In fact, the radiance of Christ is the only element besides the caption that allows for the identification of the scene. The darkness of the vaulted building and its disjointed construction represent the Old Covenant, illuminated by Christ. The location of the nativity inside the building emphasizes the foundation of the New Covenant in the Old Testament but the aperture in the vault indicates that heaven is accessible once more, and can be reached through faith in Christ the Good Shepherd (John 10:11, 14).

In the left and right foreground shepherds are gathering, apparently discussing the advent of Christ. On either side a figure is about to descend some steps and proceed in the direction of the child, although the way towards him is not altogether clearly outlined. In fact, the distance implies a temporality, as the viewer will move visually with the shepherds from the time of the Old Testament towards the burgeoning age of the New Covenant. The descending steps reflect Christ's humility, as mentioned in the caption:

First the heavenly child, the future leader and
the shepherd of the chosen people is revealed
to the shepherds. Summoned, they hasten with
joy and all reverently adore the child lying in a
shabby manger. Simplicity is agreeable to God:
the annunciation does not reach kings or the
highest monarchs nor is it conveyed to them.

“Proditur athereus primum pastoribus infans,
 Electiductor coetus pastor[ue] futurus,
 Admoniti properanthilares, puerumq[ue] iacenten,
 Vilibus in cunisomnes reuerenter adorant.
 Simplicitas est grata Deo: non regibus iste
 Nuncius, aut summis venit, adferturq[ue] monarchis.”³⁹⁹

The shepherds function again as both types of Christ and prefigurations of the viewer, who joins them in considering the advent of Christ and thereby fulfils the historical pattern. Instead of merely juxtaposing type and antitype by means of contrasting darkness and light, Van Mander has connected the shadowy and illuminated areas in the print by means of a pathway that leads from the foreground to the background of the image, visualizing the movement from the Old Covenant to the New. The shepherds operate at the threshold between the two covenants and invite their companions (and the beholder) to journey through the darkness and approach the light of salvation, contemplating the salvific power of the Lord. Contrary to Van Mander’s previous versions of the narrative, the viewer’s path towards the Savior seems unclear at best, overshadowed and arching away from the Holy Family. This may indicate that an effort is required on the part of both the shepherds and the viewers to attain salvation.

Karel van Mander’s writings also reveal his fascination with the role of the shepherds as the first witnesses of the fulfilment of God’s promise to mankind through the advent of Christ. In his *Bethlehem, dat is het broodhuys*, a collection of sixteen edifying “field songs” probably composed towards the end of his life, a group of nine

³⁹⁹ Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Karel van Mander*, 44.

shepherds sing to each other stories from biblical history to pass the time while they mind their sheep.⁴⁰⁰ Their first song concerns the creation of the earth and the fall from grace: “because death was not a creature of God, but sin has caused all the sorrow” (“Want schepsel Gods en is de dood doch niet/ Maer door de sond’ is komen al’t verdriet.”)⁴⁰¹ The second song describes how the old dragon that is Death (“de oude draeck”) thought the battle for the human soul was already won (“sy meende wel ghewonnen was den strijd”). However, although man has now become a slave to Death’s gruesome bites (“als arem slaef voor s’ doodts grousame beten”), condemned to living in dread and aching sadness for all of his life (“in vrees’ en angst in pynelijck verdriet, zijn leven langh”), God foretold the coming of the Savior for the comfort of man: “God heft raed geweten, tot s’ Menschen Troost voorsegging is geschiet.”⁴⁰² Christ, “[...] the light that from the beginning ignited, the stars that give clarity to the earth, from above the round azure roof (“[...] dat licht dat van begin aenstac, de lichten al die d’eerde claerheyt gheven, van boven an dat rond asurich dack”) the light of the world and man’s life, the true light and the true heavenly bread” (“Des weereldslicht zijn ghy, en s’ menschen leven, waerachtigh lich ten t’ ware Hemels brood”) will console “the sad people tormented with darkness, in fear of death, the black dungeon full of pain” (“voor t’ droeve folck met duysternis gequeld, in doodts verschrick, den kercker swardt vol pijnen”).⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ The full title of the work is: *Bethlehem, dat is het Broodhuys inhoudende den Kerstnacht, te weten gheestlicke Liedekens ghedichten of Leyssen, die de Herderen by Bethlehem snachts hun Dee wakende singen met verlanghen na de comste Christi*. P.E.L Verkuyll, *Karel van Mander, Bethlehem dat Is het Broodhuys* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff/Bouma's Boekhuis 1985), 9-27.

⁴⁰¹ All the present translations of this text are mine. *Ibid.*, 35-36, lines 51-52. (Rom 5:12): “Wherefore as by one man sin entered into this world and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned.”

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 45, lines 49-53.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 45-46, lines 63-66, 69-76.

In the following songs, the shepherds sing of Adam and Eve, their sons Cain, Abel and Seth, and their descendants. They relate to each other the stories of Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and King David. By the thirteenth field song they have reached their own time and continue to speak about the angel that is coming down from heaven to announce the birth of the Savior: they see the heavens open (“het schijnt dat al den Hemel is ontsloten”) and with trepidation witness an angel of the Lord descending (“och help ons God, t’is s’Heeren Enghel schoon”).⁴⁰⁴ Upon receiving the glad tidings, the shepherds praise God and the fulfilment of prophecy (“dits al geschied, op dat volbracht zy t’gene, dat den Heer sprac, door den Propheet voor hene”).⁴⁰⁵ They call upon the reader/listener to join them in seeking “the breadhouse of their souls” (“het broodhuys uwer sielen”) so that their “hearts may be clean and nourished” and become strong, praise God (“dat u gemoed, mag reyn zijn en gespijst, en dan gesterckt, den besten gever prijst), because “his word has become flesh, yes virtuous bread” (“zijn word is vleesch geworden, ja recht brood”) that heals mankind from death (“het welck geneest, de menschen van der dood”).⁴⁰⁶

The last field song is a panegyric on the Savior, where the shepherds recognize “Christ revealed, in the flesh here as a child” (“Christ g’openbaerd, int vleesch hier als een kind”), and “welcome the healer of our souls” (“welcome zijt gheneser onser zielen”). The shepherds urge their readers “to be as him, whom we were ordered to follow, meekness, come and learn all it has to teach” (“Te zijn gelijc, en volgen werd

⁴⁰⁴ Literally: “Oh help us God, it is a beautiful angel of the Lord.” Ibid., 134, lines 6, 13. “My heart is filled with trepidation, So that all my limbs tremble with fear, Oh see that shining light descend, Wonderful to behold, and clear as a lightning bolt.” (“Mijn hert is ooc vol vresen t’eenemael, Soo dat gheheel mijn leden ancxstigh beven, Och siet wat comt daer blinckende afgedreven, Heerlijk om te sien, en claer als Blixem-strael.”)

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 139, lines 33-35.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 141, lines 74-76, 79-80.

bevolen, Zachtmoedigheyd, comt leerd al t'sijner scholen").⁴⁰⁷ The song concludes with a reflection on the poet himself: the laurel crown bestowed on many poets as a symbol of their earthly fame will wither and turn to shame. The only true reward the poet needs is the green palm (the symbol of victory over death) bestowed by the Son of God in the eternal light ("Een noodig is, om van God's soon in handen/ Den Palm groen ontfaen in 't eeuwigh licht").⁴⁰⁸

Without necessarily establishing a direct relationship between text and image, it is clear that, to an extent, the songs of the shepherds rely on the same imagery as Karel van Mander's two engravings to evoke Christ as the fulfilment of prophecy, the light of the world ("des weerelds licht"), who will snatch mankind from the jaws of death by providing "an open door, a clear entrance" ("een open deur, en eenen toegang vry") to "Heaven above, his almighty Father" ("ten Hemel hoog, tot zijn Almachtige Vader").⁴⁰⁹ Both prints employ the contrast between darkness and light to identify Christ as the light of the world who has come to replace the Old Covenant with the New. The 1588 *Adoration of the Shepherds* focuses on Christ ultimately overcoming death through the Passion by guiding the viewer's eye over a column bridging a pitch black crevice. The 1598 *Adoration* leads the viewer via a winding and uncertain path shrouded in darkness towards the illuminated Christ child who provides access to heaven, visualized by the aperture in the roof. In the former, Christ's journey towards redemption for mankind

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 147, lines 9, 47. This sixteenth field song is known as the ABC-song because the first letters of the words that form the first verse are arranged alphabetically: "Ach Bemind Christ, Door Een Fijn G'loovig Hert, Inwendig Kleyn Lifds Mildige Natuyre, Oeffenen Pooght, Quaed Raed Schouwt T'elcker Vyre, Xprs Yeg'lijcks Ziel, het een noodigst werd." Ibid., 147, lines 1-5.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 104-05, lines 07-08.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 138, line 4, 145, line 40-41.

features more prominently, while in the latter the viewer's own journey towards attaining salvation is emphasized.

In the *Bethlehem*, the shepherds are clearly aware of the typological implications of the advent of the Messiah: Now the fall of Adam will have healed, and the snake's head broken to pieces" ("Nu sal den val van Adam zijn geheeld, en t' slangen hooft, te morselinge wesen"), and speak of Christ as the Lamb of God ("t' Lam Gods") who, as the true shepherd, will feed and water his herd ("die t' kudde self wel voeden sal") with his divine word.⁴¹⁰ Singing their songs about events from salvation history, the shepherds are portrayed as the keepers of that history. Towards the end of the book they cross the threshold into the era of the New Covenant ("in 't vreedsaem nieu verbond") as they are the first witnesses to the birth of Christ and the first to proclaim this to the world: "now let us, each in turn, sing, and announce His praise with new songs" ("nu laet osn noch, by buerten singen elck, en sijnen lof, met nieuwe sangh oorconden").⁴¹¹ Most importantly, each field-song is clearly marked in the manuscript as being modelled on a particular psalm, which implies that they were meant to be sung by its sixteenth- and seventeenth-century audience.⁴¹² When they were not merely reading but themselves singing the shepherds' songs, Van Mander's contemporaries were in fact physically acting out the parts of the shepherds in the narrative, becoming their antitypes in a very real way by fulfilling the typological pattern through their actions.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 145, lines 31-32. "His word will be as sweat, unadulterated milk, usefull food for tender lambs" ("Zijn word sal zijn, soet ongevalschte melck, voor lammers teer, een voedsel nut bevonden"). Ibid., 146, lines 55, 58.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 150, line 84, 46, lines 59-60.

⁴¹² The first field song was modelled after psalm 74 ("T'eerste Veld-Lied nae de wijse Psalm 74"), the second after psalm 104 ("Tweede Veld-Lied nae de Wijse des 104 .Psalm"), etc. Ibid., 33, 43.

All of Van Mander's *Adoration of the Shepherds* works address the viewer directly in some way, most particularly both prints. In Van Mander's 1588 engraving, the prophets provide the narrative (gloss) of the promise of the Messiah, they themselves seeing him only before their minds eye. Through Moses's staff their authority to convey biblical truths is shown to be transferred to the shepherds they prefigure, who were the first witnesses to the advent of the new-born Savior. The shepherds in their turn offer access to Christ by means of a shepherd's staff that extends to the viewer of the image, inviting the viewer to fulfil the typological pattern of witnessing the arrival of the Messiah and testifying to the child's redemptive power. Ten years later, in the 1598 print, the artist speaks even more directly to his viewers, asking them to cross over from foreground to background, from darkness to light, from sin to salvation, from death to eternal life. By depicting the shepherds as speaking to each other of the birth of the Savior (which brings to mind the shepherds singing in *Bethlehem, dat is het broodhuys*) and making ready to approach the child, so the viewer is again invited to follow them and proclaim the same truth to his family and friends, thereby not only completing the historical pattern but in fact continuing it into their own time.

A source of inspiration for Van Mander's preoccupation with the role of shepherds as witnesses, antitypes to the prophets and types to the viewer, as expressed in his paintings, engravings, and writings, were the written works of the northern Anabaptist leader Mennon Simons (1496-1561). The artist adhered to his teachings and would have been familiar with his writings.⁴¹³ Shepherds feature prominently in the written works of

⁴¹³ Melion, "Caelatum in Transitu: Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* and its Visual Referents," 92. "Van Mander came to espouse Mennonite beliefs in the 1580s, and the *Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* would seem to be one of his earliest attempts to

Simons; he often speaks of Christian worshippers as a flock, as wandering sheep in need of the protection and guidance from “the true Shepherd of your souls, Jesus Christ.”⁴¹⁴ He also warns his readers against “greedy shepherds who seek your wool, milk and flesh, and not your souls” and “pose as shepherds but [...] are deceivers.”⁴¹⁵ Any number of passages from Menno Simon’s books and letters could have inspired Van Mander, such as this section from the 1544 *Brief Confession on the Incarnation*: “This same Christ Jesus, the Bishop of bishops, and the Shepherd of shepherds, who was faithful in all things unto which He was sent of His heavenly Father, never sends to His members, children, and sheep to tend and protect them, any other bishops, teachers, shepherds, and laborers in the vineyard, than those who are of one body, spirit and mind with Him, even as He is one with the Father. He sends men who by the divine Word, which is Christ, are so renewed, converted, and changed that He may truly say of them, Behold, these are the children which God hath given me. Whosoever shall hear you shall hear me.”⁴¹⁶

In fact, the print contains numerous allusions to scriptural testimony and imagery employed by Simons to support his vision on the nature of Christ and the mystery of the Incarnation.⁴¹⁷ The shepherds, as archetypes of Christian humility and simplicity, bring to

encode allusions to these beliefs into an image whose iconography is adapted from a Marian allegory that he converts into a Christological epitome.”

⁴¹⁴ Menno Simons, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, Translated from the Dutch by Leonard Verdun and Edited by John Christian Wenger, with a Biography by Harold S. Bender* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1956), 221. Foundation of Christian Doctrine, chapter D: To the corrupt sects (1539). Menno Simons also described himself in terms of a humble shepherd amongst his flock. Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation of 1588*," 96-97.

⁴¹⁵ Simons, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, Translated from the Dutch by Leonard Verdun and Edited by John Christian Wenger, with a Biography by Harold S. Bender*, 212-13, 1021. Foundation of Christian Doctrine, chapter C: To the common people, and Admonition to the Amsterdam Melchiorites (ca. 1545) respectively.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 422.

⁴¹⁷ Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation of 1588*," 95. “Now, Van Mander’s print, although it purports not at all to illustrate a doctrine the truth of which, being fathomless, must be known by faith alone, contains numerous allusions to the

the fore Christ's own humility in being born in such a lowly place (and later in suffering the Passion) in order to accomplish ultimate redemption for mankind. This resemblance in human nature is counterbalanced by the fact that the shepherds, in their adoration, still stand higher than the divine Christ child, and where they are clothed, he is naked.⁴¹⁸

Melion points out that "Van Mander's many allusions to the suffering of Christ – the column and the scourge-like branch, for instance – evoke Simons's fervent belief that Christ, though 'not of the sinful condition', became servile on behalf of humankind, taking the form of a 'despised servant', and as such, endured many abuses.⁴¹⁹ The many parallels drawn by Simons between the biblical shepherds, Old Testament prophets, himself as a humble shepherd and prophet, and the reader/viewer, suggest that Van Mander's *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* would have offered a compelling image for Mennonite votaries.⁴²⁰

Despite this Mennonite signature, Van Mander composed his print in such a way that it could accommodate a Catholic or Reformed reading equally well. The former is grounded in the *Glossa* interpretation of the scriptural texts held by the prophets, focussing on the mystery of the Incarnation and the founding of the Church. The latter is based on reading the print through the lense of Calvin's *Commentaries on the major and*

ways and means – the scriptural proof texts and the scripturally derived imagery – utilized by Simons to make his case."

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 99.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 98. "For if he were to prove or declare Himself to be the Son of God, it must, without doubt, be according to His sanctifying Spirit, inasmuch as he could not be such according to the flesh, since He had diminished Himself, and was forsaken of the Father, was weak, dispised, hungry, thirsty, suffering, mortal, and like unto us in all things, yet without sin." Simons, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, Translated from the Dutch by Leonard Verdun and Edited by John Christian Wenger, with a Biography by Harold S. Bender*, 435.

⁴²⁰ Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588," 97.

minor prophets, navigating the relationship between prophecy and the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ.⁴²¹

These three parallel perspectives are reflective of the contemporary circumstances in Haarlem, where the Reformed, Catholic and Mennonite faiths co-existed in a relatively tolerant civic environment.⁴²² Understandably, the Reformed church shied away from taking up the position formerly held by the Catholic Church, although their ministers were paid from public funds and provided civic services such as baptisms, marriage ceremonies and burials.⁴²³ After the establishment of the Dutch Republic in 1579, Catholic worship was for a time forbidden, and at times Catholics were hindered in their worship or prosecuted, but generally speaking, for its citizens there did exist a “[...] freedom of conscience, the freedom to think and believe what they wanted, and the promise that they were not to be coerced in matters of faith.”⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ Ibid., 77, 88-94, 104-11. “These perspectives are self-contained, in that they co-exist rather than interpenetrate, and operate more in tandem than as mutual complements.” Ibid., 101.

⁴²² “The ecclesiastical communities, the Reformed included, formed closed circles centered on their characteristic doctrine and devotion. For most persons, Church membership, or alternatively, the refusal to join a Church, stood apart from social life as it was lived daily. Whereas society was Christian, its contours were not determined by the public Church”) (“De kerkelijke gemeenschappen, de gereformeerde niet uitgezonderd, vormden besloten kringen rond de eigen leer en eigen vroomheid. Kerkelijk lidmaatschap, of het afzien van kerkelijk lidmaatschap, stond voor de meeste mensen los van de maatschappij van alledag. Die maatschappij was christelijk, maar werd niet door de publieke kerk bepaald. Deze situatie was in Europa uitzonderlijk.” Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke Cultuur en Kerkelijk Leven 1577-1620* (Den Haag: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1989), 197. English translation of this quote: Melion, “Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander’s *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation of 1588*,” 103-04.

⁴²³ In fact, a survey of church membership in 1620 reveals that about half the population was not affiliated with a specific church (they might still attend services, but were not committed members). About 20 percent of Haarlemmers belonged to the Reformed church, the same number was Catholic and about 10 percent of people was either Lutheran or Mennonite. Judith Pollmann, “From Freedom of Conscience to Confessional Segregation? Religious Choice and Toleration in the Dutch Republic,” in *Persecution and Pluralism: Calvinists and Religious Minorities in Early Modern Europe 1550-1700*, ed. Richard Bonney and D.J.B. Trim (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006).

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 126-27. Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke Cultuur en Kerkelijk Leven 1577-1620*, 197. “De gereformeerde kerk doordrong de maatschappij niet op dezelfde manier als de katholieke kerk dat voor de invoering van de Reformatie had gedaan. Zij kon dat ook niet, want zij was geen staatskerk, waarvan alle onderdanen vanzelfsprekend lid behoorden te zijn. Zij ambieerde die rol ook niet.”

The viewer's choice to engage with one confessional reading rather than another, when examining Van Mander's *Adoration of the Shepherds*, mirrors this important value, gained through the struggle for independence from Spain (and which contributed significantly to society's tolerance): the individual nature of religious choice.⁴²⁵ This freedom meant that many couples and families could find themselves divided confessionally, and "however committed believers were to the doctrines of their Church, few early modern Dutch people could afford to sever links with the kinsfolk on whose support they depended for survival."⁴²⁶ Van Mander's engraving espouses the religious tolerance of the time, accommodating votaries from the three largest denominations in the city of Haarlem. Melion succinctly summarizes: "The religious situation in Haarlem was thus conducive to the production of Van Mander's, Matham's, and Goltzius's collaborative engraving addressed to discrete communities of conscience ready to read in their own ways the mystery of the Nativity and the oracles of the Incarnation."⁴²⁷

Implicit in such exegetical paths and typological patterns is the undeniable claim that the visual arts can reveal patterns in divine history, allowing viewers to witness its unfolding and inviting them to question their own position in relation to it. This implies an essential responsibility on the part of the artist as well as the viewer. In the *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets*, the ox, attribute of St. Luke (patron saint of painters and recorder of the story of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*), turning his head towards Christ (while the ass has only eyes for his food) may perhaps be construed as a

⁴²⁵ Pollmann, "From Freedom of Conscience to Confessional Segregation? Religious Choice and Toleration in the Dutch Republic," 136. "[...] the fluidity of the confessional situation, the fact that religion was a matter of choice, that made grassroots toleration imperative."

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 126-27, 36. Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke Cultuur en Kerkelijk Leven 1577-1620*, 197.

⁴²⁷ Melion, "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588," 104.

sign that Van Mander considered himself suited for the task of attending closely to the scriptural meaning of the Nativity and the mystery of the Incarnation. In the 1588 *Adoration of the Shepherds* engraving the artist's views on this matter may not be overt. However, in his painting the *Crossing of the River Jordan* (1605) Van Mander is more explicit about his views on the authority and responsibilities of an artist (fig. 2.14).⁴²⁸

The *Crossing of the River Jordan* was Karel van Mander's last known painting and the second largest painting in his known oeuvre.⁴²⁹ After Moses died within sight of the Promised Land, Joshua, who had formally taken over Moses's responsibility as shepherd of the chosen people, leads the Israelites through the river Jordan (Joshua 3-4).⁴³⁰ The Levite priests took up the Ark of the Covenant and, by divine command, led the people towards the Jordan. As the priests entered the river, the water receded, allowing the Israelites safe passage to the other side, as long as the Ark of the Covenant remained in the middle of the river bed. Joshua then ordered one man from every tribe of Israel to take up a stone and set it up on the opposite bank in commemoration of this miracle. He also had twelve stones placed in the river bed. When the people of Israel had all passed through the river, the priests followed them out of the river bed and the Jordan flowed normally once again.

⁴²⁸ Fig. 2.14: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, "The Crossing of the River Jordan (3200 Ok)," <http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/object/4586>. Access date 05 May 2016. Jeroen Giltaij, "Acquisitions of Old-Master Paintings in the Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1988-1991: Supplement," *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1070 (May 1992): 342-46. Guido Jansen, "Doortocht door de Jordaan, Karel van Mander," *Jaarverslag 1989 Vereniging Rembrandt* (1990): 30.

⁴²⁹ The *Crossing of the River Jordan* measures 106x184,5 cm. Only the 1582 *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* (165x165 cm) and 1588 *Landscape with the Judgment of Midas* (120x204 cm) were larger. However, the landscape of the latter was painted by Gillis van Coninxloo, Karel van Mander only supplied the figures. Leesberg, "Karel van Mander as a Painter," 32, 50. A *Last Supper* measuring 125x190 cm was accepted by Valentiner, but rejected by Leesberg on stylistic grounds. Her suggestion it may have been by Cornelis Ketel is a persuasive alternative. *Ibid.*, 53. Valentiner, *Karel van Mander als Maler*, 47, 80, cat. 5, fig. 41.

⁴³⁰ God announced to Joshua: "This day will I begin to exalt thee before Israel: that they may know that as I was with Moses, so I am with thee also" (Joshua 3:7).

Van Mander's painting shows a wide and lustrous landscape vista with a walled city depicted in the background.⁴³¹ The Israelites are progressing from the left foreground, where the priests support the Ark of the Covenant, across the winding river bed to the temptingly illuminated Promised Land in the right background. Joshua, depicted with a white beard and turban, is standing in half-shadow, directing the representatives of each tribe to take stones from the riverbed. In the right foreground, the painting's patrons, Duyfken Roch (in a blue dress with a red undergarment) and her husband Isaac van Gerwen are depicted together. The boy dressed in green, leaning against Duyfken, might be a reference to the couple's wish for the birth of an heir.⁴³²

The painting was commissioned on the occasion of the marriage of wine merchant Isaac Gerwen (1580-1647) to Duyfje Vreerixdr. Roch (1588-1613) in 1605.⁴³³ For this reason, the painting has been called a marriage portrait, although at first glance the subject seems less than obvious or appropriate.⁴³⁴ Van Mander has included his own portrait as one of the Levites carrying the Ark of the Covenant: "sickly, but a good likeness" ("sieckelijk, dan niet te min, wel gelijkende"), as his biographer records.⁴³⁵

⁴³¹ "[...] en 't is met een lustich, en luchtich lantschap versiert [...]." G.A. Bredero, *T Geslacht, de Geboort, Plaets, Tijd, Leven ende Wercken van Karel van Mander, Schilder, en Poeet, Mitsgaders zijn Overleden, ende Begraeffenis* (Antwerpen: Donker, 1943), 27.

⁴³² So far I have been unable to find any children resulting from this union. Duyfken died eight years after being married, aged only twentyfour.

⁴³³ Since Duyfken is highlighted much more prominently than her husband, and that the painting ended up in the collection of her brother, Klaes Frederijksz Roch, after she died suggests that the Roch family was responsible for the commissioning of the painting.

⁴³⁴ A more fitting subject could for instance have been a *Wedding at Cana*, which became popular in the seventeenth century, as its subject is actually a marriage, and as both Isaac Gerwen and the Roch family were in the wine business. On marriage portraits in the Netherlands, see: E. de Jongh, *Portretten van Echt en Trouw: Huwelijk en Gezin in de Nederlandse Kunst van de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Haarlem: Uitgeverij Waanders, 1986).

⁴³⁵ Bredero, *T Geslacht, de Geboort, Plaets, Tijd, Leven ende Wercken van Karel van Mander, Schilder, en Poeet, Mitsgaders zijn Overleden, ende Begraeffenis*, 26.

Finally, on the frame of the picture, written in golden letters the following inscription appears:

“Every Christian, sore tormented here on earth,
 Comes at last to the kingdom of sweet joys,
 But the Jordan, death, must first be crossed,
 For this is the way all flesh must go,
 The last adversary that man must vanquish,
 If the journey succeeds, then all is well.”

“Elck Christen hier ter werelt seer bestreden,
 Komt noch op ’t lest in ’t rijck vol vreuchden soet,
 Maer den Iordaan, de doodt moet zyn gheleden,
 Want ’t is den wech voor alle vlees te treden,
 Den vyant lest diemen verwinnen moet,
 Gheluckt dees reys maer wel, so ist al goet.”⁴³⁶

Rather than being only a wedding portrait, this painting contains a last statement by the artist, who had been feeling poorly for a while and possibly anticipated his approaching demise. The subject of the *Crossing of the River Jordan* is here chosen as a metaphor for the passage through death in order to attain eternal life.

Although the subject matter may not seem to be suited for a wedding portrait, the presence of a bride in this painting about the death and eternal life of the artist is less strange. In the *Pastoral Letter* to the Amsterdam Church of 1558, Menno Simons speaks to his followers on the fear of death: “I have no doubt that [...] Christ Jesus is your Lord, and that you are His servants; that He is your bridegroom, and that you are His bride; and that for the sake of His blessed name you proclaim and teach it to the whole world for

⁴³⁶ Leesberg, "Karel van Mander as a Painter," 47.

doctrine, instruction, and reproof, that they, repenting, may turn to God.” He continues: “Therefore we ought not to dread death so. It is but to cease from sin and to enter into a better life [...]. We should [...] joyfully lift our head, gird our loins with the girdle of truth, and be taken up to the heavenly Canaan. And so with our only and eternal Joshua, Jesus Christ, take the awarded inheritance, and so be delivered from the laborious way of our hard pilgrimage, so full of trouble, which we must lead through the trackless, cruel waste, so long as we are in this life. And after that we shall rest in peace.” Simons explains that “the friends who have fallen asleep in God” joyfully “enter into the eternal marriage feast, prepared in heaven for all the chosen ones by the blood and death of Christ.”⁴³⁷ Since Van Mander spent his last two years in Amsterdam, his health deteriorating, it is rather likely that he himself read or was read this letter sometime in the last two years of his life.

In traditional typology, the crossing of the river Jordan functioned as a type of the baptism of Christ, together with Naaman cured of leprosy (by bathing in the Jordan seven times), the laver on twelve oxen (used by priests to cleanse themselves before entering the holy of holies), the crossing of the Red Sea, Noah’s ark, and several other stories.⁴³⁸ As such, it was a narrative particularly suited to illustrate the transition into eternal life: “For we are buried together with him by baptism into death; that as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life” (Romans 6:4).⁴³⁹ The apostle Peter further explained: “[...] when they waited for the patience of

⁴³⁷ Simons, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, Translated from the Dutch by Leonard Verdun and Edited by John Christian Wenger, with a Biography by Harold S. Bender*, 1058-59.

⁴³⁸ See for instance: Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 30-31, 88-89.

⁴³⁹ “His beautiful poem, calligraphed on the frame in gold lettering, raises the scene to a universal image of the last struggle, that against death, which everyone has to endure before entering heaven, just as the

God in the days of Noe, when the ark was a building: wherein a few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. Whereunto baptism being of the like form, now saveth you also: not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examination of a good conscience towards God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Who is on the right hand of God, swallowing down death, that we might be made heirs of life everlasting: being gone into heaven, the angels and powers and virtues being made subject to him” (1 Peter 3:20-22).

Perhaps Van Mander was also familiar with an exegetical tradition that reached at least into the thirteenth century, and distinguished the Crossing of the River Jordan from the Crossing of the Red Sea as a superior type to the Baptism of Christ. Thomas Aquinas explains: “It should be said that the crossing of the Red Sea prefigures the baptism insofar that baptism takes away sin. But the crossing of the river Jordan insofar as it opens the gates of heaven, which is a more important effect of baptism, can be fulfilled only by Christ. It was more fitting that Christ should be baptized in the Jordan rather than in the sea.” He continues: “The river Jordan was the means whereby the children of Israel entered into the promised land. This the baptism of Christ has above all baptisms, that it leads into the Kingdom of God, which is signified by the promised land.”⁴⁴⁰

Simons describes Christ’s own baptism: “[...] He came to John to the Jordan and desired to be baptized of him, that He might fulfill all righteousness,” and instructed his readers: “[...] even as Christ died and was buried, so also ought we to die unto our sins, and be buried with Christ in baptism. Not that we are to do this for the first time after

Israelites had to triumph over the Jordan before setting foot in the promised land.” Luijten and Suchtelen, *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art 1580-1620*, 541.

⁴⁴⁰ John Freccero, *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion* (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1986), 67. *Summa Theologica* 39, art 4, ad. 1. “The figure of baptism in general was indeed the Red Sea; baptism in the special sense, however, as a sacrament which brought with it grace, came to be figure by the river Jordan.” *Ibid.*, 66.

baptism, but we must have begun all this beforehand.”⁴⁴¹ A passage from Simons’s *True Christian faith* (*Van het rechte christengeloove*) may have inspired Van Mander: “But those who with Joshua and Caleb cling to the Word of the Lord, who firmly believe in Christ, as the Scriptures say, who are firmly assured in their hearts by the Holy Ghost that God will not fail in a single word, but that He will in His time give all that He has promised to those who [...] walk humbly in the King’s highway, follow Christ, their Shepherd and Leader, and govern al their ways by His Spirit, Word, and perfect example; who turn not aside neither to the right hand, nor to the left, behold, these are they who will enter victoriously into the spiritual promised land, the eternal rest and peace, God’s eternal kingdom and glory, with all the saints and believers, through grace, eternally inheriting it with Christ, as Joshua and Caleb inherited the literal land through faith, and with their children inherited it. O children, believe it! All things, says Christ, are possible to him that believeth.”⁴⁴² In light of these texts, Van Mander’s choice to select the *Crossing of the River Jordan* as subject matter for what he probably suspected to be his last painting, seems particularly appropriate to convey his views on life, death and the role of the artist in conveying scriptural truths visually.

Van Mander’s portrait identifies another layer of meaning, embedded in the *Crossing the River Jordan*. He has depicted himself as a priest, a Levite, carrying the Ark of the Covenant, thereby calling to mind Deuteronomy (9:13): “And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, who carried the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and to all the ancients of Israel. And he commanded them, saying: After

⁴⁴¹ Simons, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, Translated from the Dutch by Leonard Verdun and Edited by John Christian Wenger, with a Biography by Harold S. Bender*, 120, 22.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 357. *True Christian Faith*, Chapter D: The Faith of Joshua and Caleb.

seven years, in the year of remission, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel come together, to appear in the sight of the Lord thy God in the place which the Lord shall choose, thou shalt read the words of this law before all Israel, in their hearing. And the people being all assembled together, both men and women, children and strangers, that are within thy gates: that hearing they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and keep, and fulfil all the words of this law: That their children also, who now are ignorant, may hear, and fear the Lord their God, all the days that they live in the land whither you are going over the Jordan to possess it.”

By depicting himself as a Levite, Karel van Mander claims their role for himself, as keeper and (even more so) as teacher and expounder of Scripture. As the Levites read from the Law to educate the Israelites, so Van Mander illuminated Scripture through his art. Under the Old Law, the commandment “thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor of those things that are in the waters under the earth” (Exodus 20:4) did not allow pictorial representation of God himself, only of the Law. However, with Christ “[...] the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us (and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth” (John 1:14). The advent of the Savior was therefore seen to negate this prohibition against image-making for Christians. Inscribed on stone tablets, the Law was discernible in material form and functioned as a prefiguration of the Word of God, the incarnate Christ, who in turn authorized the representation of Scripture in the visual arts.⁴⁴³ The artist claims to shoulder that

⁴⁴³ In the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the Ark of the Covenant prefigures the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, as well as the *Baptism of Christ*. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel: die Bilder des Mittelalterlichen Erbauungsbuches Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 26-31. In the *Pictor in carmine*, the *Ark Captured by the Philistines (Archa Dei Capitur a Philisteis)* prefigures *Christ Apprehended by the Jews (Comprehenditur*

responsibility by depicting himself implicitly fulfilling the type (the Levite) he impersonates in the painting. As a Levite carrying the ark, obeying God's commandment to do so, and as an artist painting the narrative he shows himself to be an expounder of biblical knowledge, adhering closely to the scriptural meaning of the divine Word.

The idea, current throughout the sixteenth century but reaching its height of popularity in the Golden Age, that the Netherlanders were in fact the new chosen people of God, is reflected in the presence of Duyfken and Isaac among the Israelites. They function as the antitypes to the Old Testament people in the painting. The typological analogy in the *Crossing the River Jordan* thereby extends not only to the artist but also to his patrons and his viewers.

Karel van Mander studied the work of his predecessors Zuccaro, Cort and Stradanus and many others, but gave his *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* a clear and distinctive signature. The fresco in Santa Maria Annunziata envisioned the annunciation as the apex of the advent of Christ. Its location in a half-dome and its allegorical setting both contribute to the intangible quality inherent in a mystery of the faith. This otherworldly atmosphere has been retained in the subsequent prints, for instance by the artist's play with light and darkness to indicate the presence of Christ, the light of the world. The Groningen painting underscores the salvific aspect of the mystery of the Incarnation through the addition of the cavernous realm of the blessed awaiting deliverance. Stradanus's interpretation of Zuccaro's composition moved away from the mystery of the Incarnation towards Old Testament prophecies that offer an understanding of its meaning and consequences. The prophets take up half the picture

Christus a Iudeis). Baker, "Pictor in Carmine uel Adaptatio Rerum Gestarum in Veteri Testamento ad Nouum: A Critical Edition," 148, 531.

plane and form the visual access point to the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, framed in the background. Van Mander removes the annunciation altogether in favor of the more substantial reality of a Nativity scene, showing the incarnate Christ, adored by the shepherds.

Zuccaro, Stradanus and Van Mander all combine both textual and visual glosses to illuminate the biblical narrative, thereby illustrating how art can function as a scriptural gloss. Zuccaro's preferred medium is allegory; Stradanus focuses on prophecy, while Van Mander finds typology most powerful as it provides him with a direct way to address his viewers and engage them in a process of visual exegesis. The main protagonist in his print is no longer the Virgin but the physical presence of Christ on earth; the glosses do no longer refer to the virtues of the Virgin that testify to her suitability to become mother of God but rather to the qualities and the consequences of the advent of the Savior who has already been born. As viewers' eyes roam across the picture plane, they find themselves both witnesses to and active participants in the unfolding of the divine plan in history. In this they are prefigured by both the prophets and the shepherds. The birth of the Savior is presented as a pivotal moment, which, at the same time realizes the salvific pattern of Old Testament events and prophecies. The presence of prophets in addition to the shepherds, as well as a visual invitation directed at the viewer by means of pictorial cues like the column and the shepherds' staff, carries the pattern through to the New Testament and beyond. The viewer is invited to consider his or her personal response (and responsibility) to the birth (and later sacrifice of) Christ.

In the *Crossing of the River Jordan*, one of his largest works and probably the last he ever painted, Karel van Mander immortalizes himself as a Levite shouldering the

responsibility of expounding the Law, as codified in Scripture to the chosen people. The Ark of the Covenant (containing the word of God), shouldered by a priest (the artist), holding back the water of the Jordan and thereby providing passage into the Promised Land suggests how the visual arts can provide a pathway for the viewer in his quest for eternal life in heaven. The painting, prominently featuring its patrons, who are embarking on their own journey to the Promised Land together, seems to speak out the hope: “That their children also, who now are ignorant, may hear, and fear the Lord their God, all the days that they live in the land whither you are going over the Jordan to possess it.” (Deut. 31:13)

Chapter 3 – Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem: The Prinsenhof Quartet

On the third of October 1583, at 21 years old, Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem joined his brothers Hans, Floris and Jacob as a member of the city's civic guard. Military training was an important and necessary responsibility; only ten years before, Haarlem's militia had had to defend their city against besieging Spanish troops. However, about six years and three months after Cornelisz enlisted, the city's magistrates "for certain reasons and considerations" ("om zeeckere redenen en[de] consideratien") released him from his military duties.⁴⁴⁴ The surviving documentary evidence is mute on the motives for his dismissal, but circumstantial evidence suggests that the council intended the painter to give his full attention to the four paintings they commissioned him to design for the newly-built Prinsenhof.

The Prinsenhof, formerly the west-wing of the Dominican monastery that abutted Haarlem's city hall, was destined to become the residence of the Prince of Orange when he visited the town.⁴⁴⁵ The council charged Cornelis Cornelisz to design four paintings: a *Massacre of the Innocents* and a *Monk and a Beguine*, both completed in 1591, a *Fall of Man* finished in 1592, and a particularly large *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* that dates to

⁴⁴⁴ P.J.J. van Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, trans. Diane L. Webb (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 1999), 223.

⁴⁴⁵ The Prinsenhof was designated for the use of Maurits of Orange (and his successors), who was known as 'geboren prins van Oranje'. Technically, however, the Prince of Orange at the time was Philip William (1554-1618), the eldest son of William of Orange. When his father took up arms against the Spanish king in 1568, Philip William was kidnapped and taken to Spain to be raised as a catholic. Not until 1596 was he allowed to travel to the Netherlands and even then he was understandably denied access to the Republic as they suspected him to be an informant for the Spanish crown. From 1609 onwards he was allowed to travel freely through the Northern Netherlands. When he died in 1618, his half-brother Maurits officially became the new Prince of Orange. Throughout the Netherlands, however, Maurits had been known as the Prince of Orange well before that date. For this reason, Maurits will be designated as the Prince of Orange throughout this dissertation. Kees Zandvliet, *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2000), 19, 89.

1592/93 (figs. 3.01-3.04).⁴⁴⁶ In addition, the council records of 1591 reveal that the artist was remunerated “[...] also for his work adjusting and adding some paintings to the doors hanging from the aforementioned picture in the court of his Excellency, very artfully made” (“[...] als oock voor zynen arbeyt int versien ende eenige schilderye te maken opde deuren hangende aenden voorss[eyde] taffereele int hof van zyne Ex[cellenti]e, zeer constelyck gemaect”).⁴⁴⁷ These doors originally belonged to the Haarlem drapers’ altarpiece and were painted by Maarten van Heemskerck in 1547. They depicted the *Annunciation to the Virgin* on the exterior, and the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Adoration of the Magi* on the interior panels (fig. 3.05-3.07).⁴⁴⁸

Of Cornelis Cornelisz’s four Prinsenhof paintings, the *Massacre of the Innocents* triptych has proven to be the most enigmatic; the relationship between Maarten van Heemskerck’s wing panels and the central painting by Cornelisz has yet to be accurately

⁴⁴⁶ Fig.3.01: Frans Hals Museum, "De Kindermoord te Bethlehem (Os I-49)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/zoeken-de-collectie/de-kindermoord-te-bethlehem-321/>. Access date 05 May 2016. Fig. 3.02: "Een Monnik en een Begijn (Os I-50)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/zoeken-de-collectie/een-monnik-en-een-begijn-323/>. Access date 05 May 2016. Fig. 3.03: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Zondeval (Sk-a-129)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.8165>. Access date 05 May 2016. Fig. 3.04: Frans Hals Museum, "De Bruiloft van Peleus en Thetis (Os I-51)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/zoeken-de-collectie/de-bruiloft-van-peleus-en-thetis-324/>. Access date 05 May 2016.

⁴⁴⁷ My translation. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 224, nr.7.

⁴⁴⁸ Fig. 3.05a: Frans Hals Museum, "Linkerzijluik van het Drapeniersaltaar, Buitenzijde: De Annunciatie (Maria) (Os I-136c)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/zoeken-de-collectie/linkerzijluik-van-het-drapeniersaltaar-buitenzijde-de-annunciatie-maria-726/>. Fig. 3.05b: "Rechterzijluik van het Drapeniersaltaar, Buitenzijde: Annunciatie (de Engel Gabriël) (Os I-136d)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/zoeken-de-collectie/rechterzijluik-van-het-drapeniersaltaar-buitenzijde-annunciatie-de-engel-gabriel-727/>. Last accessed 14 July 2016. Fig. 3.06a: "Linkerzijluik van het Drapeniersaltaar, Binnenzijde: de Aanbidding van de Herders (Os I-136a)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/zoeken-de-collectie/linkerzijluik-van-het-drapeniersaltaar-binnenzijde-de-aanbidding-van-de-herders-369/>. Fig. 3.06b: "Rechterzijluik van het Drapeniersaltaar, Binnenzijde: de Aanbidding van de Koningen (Os I-136b)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/zoeken-de-collectie/rechterzijluik-van-het-drapeniersaltaar-binnenzijde-de-aanbidding-van-de-koninge-370/>. Last accessed 14 July 2016. Fig. 3.07: Wikimedia Commons, "Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem-De Kindermoord " https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:WLANL_-_mickeymousestudio_-_28005-Cornelis_Cornelisz_van_Haarlem-De_kindermoord.jpg. Last accessed 14 July 2016.

described, and its connection to the other three Prinsenhof paintings remains unclear. The violence of the *Massacre of the Innocents* naturally reminded modern scholars of the turbulent 1570s in the artist's hometown and the many Spanish atrocities committed elsewhere in the Low Countries. Unfortunately, taking these historical events as a point of departure has resulted in a superficial appreciation of the *Massacre of the Innocents* triptych, as historical events cannot account for all of Cornelisz's formal and iconographic choices, not least the inclusion of Van Heemskerck's wing panels. Furthermore, this approach has obscured Cornelisz's pictorial conversation with Van Heemskerck and other artists whose works he referenced. As the Prinsenhof functioned as a public art gallery from very early on in its existence, this interpretative angle certainly merits recognition.

In fact, close analysis of the quartet of paintings reveals that Cornelis Cornelisz adapted sacred typology to a secular, politically charged setting to justify the rejection of tyranny and bad rulership by the Netherlanders and to admonish the new governance of the country not to succumb to desires of sex and power so as to lead the new nation to prosperity. By depicting scenes from the Old and New Testaments, as well as from mythology and contemporary history, Cornelisz identifies a pattern of human failure and its consequences in time while simultaneously expressing hope for a better future under new rulership. Furthermore, he clearly emulated his great predecessors Albrecht Dürer and Maarten van Heemskerck, and playfully referenced his contemporaries Hendrick Goltzius and Anthonie van Blocklandt. Cornelisz thereby portrays himself as the culmination of artistic development to date, showcasing his mastery of the human figure, traditional compositional techniques, and modern pictorial innovations.

The history of the Prinsenhof quartet is set in motion on Monday the 4th of January 1546, when local artist Maarten van Heemskerck was contracted by the Haarlem drapers' guild to design two large wings for their existing altarpiece in St. Bavo's cathedral. He was to depict an "angel's greeting to our Lady" ("dengelsche gruetenisse aen onse Vrouwe") spread over the exterior of the panels, and a "holy Christmas night" ("heylige kerstnacht") and "presentation and offerings of the three holy kings" ("presentatie ende offer van de heylige drye coninghe") on the interior of the wings.⁴⁴⁹ They required the painter to provide upholstered and gilded frames ("[...] sal oick te zijnen conste maicken oft doen maicken ende leveren de lijsten oft boorden verguldt ende gestoffeert om de voirs deuren"), and would pay him 150 Carolus guilders for his labours ("Ede op dese contracte ende overeencompste sullen de voirs vindere ende Regenten den voirn meester Maerten Jacobss aen ghelde leveren ende betaelen te weeten van stoned aen gereet vijftich Karolus guldens").⁴⁵⁰ On the back of the contract, the first payment is recorded as late as November 10th of the same year, presumably because it was only then that Van Heemskerck started the work.⁴⁵¹ The second payment was made in February and the last instalment, four months after delivery (according to the contract), is dated 8 January 1548, putting the completion of the altarpiece in early September of 1547.

Van Heemskerck painted the *Annunciation to the Virgin* in a subdued palette across the exterior of the two panels (fig. 3.05). To the left, the Virgin kneels at her lectern and demurely turns her head to the side to listen to the archangel Gabriel who

⁴⁴⁹ A. van der Willigen, *Geschiedkundige Aanteekeningen over Haarlemsche Schilders en andere Beoefenaren van de Beeldende Kunsten, Voorafgegaan door eene Korte Geschiedenis van het Schilders- of St. Lucas Gild aldaar* (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1866), 126-27.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 127. The contract was signed by Cornelys Ban, Dirck Claes Wij, Jan Janss. Verwer, Willem Gael, Martynus Heemskerck, Aelbert Claess. Ban and A. Raet.

⁴⁵¹ Liesbeth Helmus, M., *Schilderen in Opdracht: Noord-Nederlandse Contracten voor Altaarstukken 1485-1570* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2010), 241-42.

approaches her from the right, illustrating Psalm 44:11 with her pose: “Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear [...]”⁴⁵² The angel interrupts her reading a passage in Isaiah (2:2-4) in which the prophet speaks of the coming kingdom of peace “[...] and they shall turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into sickles: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they be exercised any more to war.”⁴⁵³

Traditionally, the Virgin is shown reading the prophecy of Isaiah (7:14) which announces the birth of the Savior.⁴⁵⁴

Gabriel’s attribute, an olive branch, also deviates from the traditional white lily (a symbol of purity). Isaiah’s verses and the olive branch both refer to Christ as the bringer of peace.⁴⁵⁵ The archangel wears an intricate garment that includes a leather apron with bells attached to it, which is fastened at the chest with a medallion depicting the Trinity. In his *Schilder-boeck* Karel van Mander recorded that merchant and patron of the arts Jacob Engebrechtsz Rauwert (ca. 1530-1597), one of Van Heemskerck’s pupils at the time, painted the purple slips of the angel’s garment. Van Mander describes the archangel as “very strangely and richly decked out,” and particularly admired Van Heemskerck’s skill in depicting the delicate reflection of the angel’s feet in the polished marble floor (“Hier sietmen oock een onghemeen waerneminghe, dat is, den Enghel, die op een Marber glat plaveytsel schijn gheeft oft spiegelt, of hy op ijs stonde, t’welck op geploste Marberen wel geschiedt”).⁴⁵⁶ Above Gabriel the heavens have opened and the dove of the Holy Spirit descends towards the Virgin. The setting can be described as a classicizing

⁴⁵² Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 173.

⁴⁵³ Isaiah 2:4.

⁴⁵⁴ “Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign. Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel.”

⁴⁵⁵ Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 173.

⁴⁵⁶ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 246r.

loggia looking out on a deep landscape vista scattered with ruins. The small human figures in the background are generally recognized as representing the *Visitation*.⁴⁵⁷

On the left interior wing Van Heemskerck painted the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in a more flamboyant palette (fig. 3.06a). The Christ child is presented on a white linen cloth, but his crib is a small sarcophagus, a reference to his later sacrifice and Resurrection. The cave-like ruinous structure shelters a large group of figures: Mary and Joseph, who adore and watch over the child, midwives Salome and Zelomi, a number of shepherds, a tonsured monk holding a book and “a number of common people” (“eenige slechte Menschen”) of various ages.⁴⁵⁸ The ox and ass are depicted prominently along the middle axis of the panel. Their presence at the nativity was deduced from Isaiah’s prophecy that “the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib: but Israel hath not known me, and my people hath not understood” and were interpreted to stand for the Jewish people and the gentiles respectively.⁴⁵⁹ Finally, a number of angels descend from the heavens with flowers and trumpets sounding; one of them holds a laurel wreath and a liturgical incense burner.

The *Adoration of the Magi* is equally crowded, this time with Magi Casper, Balthazar and Melchior, and their various attendants (fig. 3.06b). Van Heemskerck has depicted them in the traditional way as representing the three ages of man (youth, middle age, old age) and, by means of their skin color and the presence of elephants, dromedaries

⁴⁵⁷ P. Biesboer agrees that the background shows the Visitation, but he describes it as “Mary fleeing to the house of Joachim and Martha” (“Maria vluchtend naar het huis van Joachim en Martha”). He seems to confuse the parents of Mary (Joachim and Anne) with the parents of John the Baptist (Zachary and Elizabeth). Why he inserted Martha, the sister of (another) Mary and Lazarus is unclear. The Virgin Mary in fact hastened to the house of Zachary and Elizabeth. Pieter Biesboer, “Schilderijen uit de Kerk: de Overgebleven Altaarstukken,” in *De Bavo te Boek, bij het Gereedkomen van de Restauratie van de Grote of St.-Bavo Kerk te Haarlem* (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1985), 74.

⁴⁵⁸ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 246r.

⁴⁵⁹ Isaiah 1:3. Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 174.

and horses, as representing the three known continents of the world (Europe, Africa and Asia). Van Mander describes the interior panels as “[...] two lavish pictures, with many details and well painted, in which various portraits of some ordinary people appear as well as his own” (“[...] twee rijcklijcke historien met veel werck en wel geschildert daer verscheyden conterfeytsels van eenige slechte menschen en oock zijn eyghen in comen.”)⁴⁶⁰ Van Heemskerck is presumed to appear in the *Adoration of the Magi* as the figure between the bearded king robed in red and the smaller dromedary’s head, looking out at the beholder.⁴⁶¹

The original subject of the central element of the drapers’ altar has not come down to us, although several efforts at discovery have been made by examining the surviving documentary evidence. In 1876, J.J. Graaf attempted to reconstruct the furnishings of St. Bavo before the destruction of the so-called ‘Haarlemse Nonen’ on 29 May 1578, during which churches and monasteries in the city were ransacked. His sources include account books and foundational charters, and a number of seventeenth-century descriptions of the cathedral’s decorations.⁴⁶² Under number 37, Graaf records the altar St. Gregory, belonging to the wool-weavers’ guild, also known as the linen- or drapers’ guild. One of his sources describes the altarpiece as an “Assumption of Mary” (“Hemelvaert Marye”), while another mentions St. Gregory and a “white lady” (“Albae dominae”). Graaf speculates that this last reference may describe an alabaster statuette of the Virgin.⁴⁶³ Unfortunately, Graaf’s source material was incomplete and sometimes ambiguous, as

⁴⁶⁰ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 246r.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. For this pictorial detail, see: Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, fig. 85a.

⁴⁶² J. J. Graaf, "Beschrijving der S. Bavo-Kerk te Haarlem," *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom Haarlem* 4 (1876): 1-2.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 51-52. *ibid.*, 40, no. 22.

becomes clear from F. Allan's subsequent reconstruction seven years later: Allan identified the altar of the drapers as dedicated to St. Jodocus and St. Livinus.⁴⁶⁴

Alternatively, under number 12, Graaf lists a separate altar of the linen-weavers, dedicated to the Virgin and Saint Severus, located just a few meters away from the wool-weavers' altar on the north-side of the church. This altarpiece, according to Graaf's sources, may have been sculpted.⁴⁶⁵ Perhaps art historian G.J. Hoogewerff identified the linen-weavers' altarpiece as belonging to the drapers when he proposed that the central panel of their altarpiece almost certainly consisted of woodcarving.⁴⁶⁶ Alternatively, the many other carved altarpieces in St. Bavo's may have suggested the idea.⁴⁶⁷ In any case, although many scholars acknowledge the possibility or sometimes even assume the reality of a carved central element for the drapers' altarpiece, the evidence presently available remains inconclusive.

Currently, art historians consider an Assumption of Mary or a Crucifixion as most likely centerpiece for the original drapers' triptych. The former has at least one historical document to buttress its claim whereas the latter has none. Furthermore, the patron saint of the drapers was the Virgin Mary, so a Marian theme would be appropriate. Still, Rainald Grosshans convincingly argues for a Crucifixion scene, noting that traditionally, the Annunciation to the Virgin was considered to have taken place on the same day (25

⁴⁶⁴ Francis Allan, *Geschiedenis en Beschrijving van Haarlem, van de Vroegste Tijden tot op onze Dagen* (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1883), 229-30. Graaf mentions only the former, as the saint of the altar of the cloth shearers. Graaf, "Beschrijving der S. Bavo-Kerk te Haarlem," 40, no. 22.

⁴⁶⁵ "Beschrijving der S. Bavo-Kerk te Haarlem," 28. There is a record of payment to a certain Jacop, believed to be a wood carver, for work on a St. John figure in the altar of the Virgin in 1436.

⁴⁶⁶ G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, vol. 4 (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhof, 1942/43), 326.

⁴⁶⁷ W. Halsema-Kubes, "Beeldhouwwerk. Vele Fraeye Beeldekens," in *De Bavo te Boek, bij het Gereedkomen van de Restauratie van de Grote of St. Bavo Kerk te Haarlem* (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1985), 140.

March) as the Crucifixion.⁴⁶⁸ A Crucifixion, whether carved or painted, would be in accordance with the many Eucharistic allusions in both of Heemskerck's wing panels. Other subjects suggested, such as another Nativity scene, a Resurrection, Last Judgement or even an earlier Massacre of the Innocents, have not found wide acceptance among scholars.⁴⁶⁹

In fact, the choice of a *Massacre of the Innocents* as the new centerpiece for the wings of the former drapers' altarpiece was highly unorthodox. Altarpieces generally served to amplify the message of the Eucharistic ritual enacted on the altar during mass, at which time the consecrated host and wine turned into the body and blood of Christ in commemoration of the last supper and Christ's sacrifice for the redemption of mankind. Therefore, altarpieces are often decorated (in paint or woodcarving) with scenes from the life and passion of Christ, the Virgin Mary or the martyrdom of saints. However, the newly formed triptych was specifically designed for the Prinsenhof reception room rather than a church altar. Therefore, the artist's deliberate choice of a Massacre of the Innocents can be seen as a deliberate break from pictorial conventions, underscoring the triptych's new function in a secular and politically charged setting.

⁴⁶⁸ Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 173.

⁴⁶⁹ Biesboer and Van Thiel favor a Nativity scene, which seems redundant with the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Adoration of the Magi* depicted on the wing panels. Biesboer, "Schilderijen uit de Kerk: de Overgebleven Altaarstukken," 73-74. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 209. Zandvliet offers many suggestions, positively rejects a Massacre of the Innocents, and concludes a composition with saints or an Assumption of Mary is most likely, as such imagery was a prime target for iconoclasts ("Welk onderwerp voordien in het midden was geplaatst is niet bekend, maar het was zeker geen kindermoord. Het zou de *Geboorte* zelf geweest kunnen zijn, maar er zijn ook andere mogelijkheden, zoals een *Opstanding van Christus*, de *Overwinning van de Dood door de Verlosser*, of een *Laatste Oordeel*, de aanvang van het koninkrijk der hemelen. Nog waarschijnlijker is echter een tafereel met heiligen of een *Hemelvaart van Maria*, want er moet toch een reden voor de selectieve vernietiging zijn geweest"). Zandvliet, *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, 149. Harrison is the only art historian who speculated that the original panel might have been a *Massacre of the Innocents*, as this story follows the *Adorations* chronologically. Jefferson C Harrison, *The Paintings of Maerten van Heemskerck, a Catalogue Raisonné*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1987), 614, cat. 67.

The *Massacre of the Innocents* by Cornelisz (fig. 3.01) shows the soldiers of King Herod violently wresting male infants from their mothers' desperate grasps. Herod had learned of the birth of 'the king of the Jews' from the three Magi, who had come to pay homage to Christ. Afraid that this unknown child might one day usurp his throne, Herod ordered the murder of all male infants under the age of two in the town of Bethlehem and its direct vicinity.⁴⁷⁰ Christ's father Joseph, however, was forewarned in a dream and fled with his family to Egypt, thereby saving his son from the massacre that ensued.⁴⁷¹

The variety of contorted poses of Cornelisz's muscular soldiers in the *Massacre of the Innocents* is more than matched by the desperation in the faces of the mothers who attempt to save their children. The baby boy lying on the ground in the center foreground vainly grasps at the knife that cuts his throat while close to him a woman dressed in yellow and blue, positioned as a mirror image of his murderer, is held down under another soldier's foot while she struggles to keep hold of her little son's arm.⁴⁷² These pictorial details offer a very acute summary of the appalling events that unfold in the painting as a whole. Historian Theodorus Schrevelius (1572-1653) remarked that Cornelisz's *Massacre of the Innocents*, depicting the "cruelty of the soldiers" ("daer de wretheydt van de soladenten gaende is"), "can barely be seen without tears" ("kan qualijk gesien worden sonder tranen"), because when examining it, "one can hear the lamenting of the women over the loss of their children" ("daer men hoorden het lamenteren van de vrouwen over 't verlies van hare kinderen").⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ Matt. 2:16.

⁴⁷¹ Matt. 2:13-15.

⁴⁷² The poses of the legs on the soldier and the woman appear similar, but where he leans forward in the act of killing a child, she leans backwards in an attempt to save one. He is naked, she is fully clothed, his face is turned away and shrouded in darkness, while her anguished features are illuminated and clearly visible.

⁴⁷³ Theodorus Schrevelius, *Harlemias, ofte om Beter te Seggen, de Eerst Stichtinghe der Stadt Haerlem* (Haarlem: Thomas Fonteyn, 1648), 374.

For its contemporary audience, the violence depicted in the *Massacre* would have conjured up images of the atrocities of war and persecution taking place in the Netherlands under Spanish rule. In 1572, the city of Haarlem had joined the side of William Prince of Orange and rejected Spanish overlordship, as a result of which the Spanish army laid siege around the city on December 11th of that same year. Painter Maarten van Heemskerck, who by that time had reached the venerable age of 74, received special permission from the city council to leave Haarlem and stay with his former pupil and friend Jacob Rauwert in Amsterdam.⁴⁷⁴ At the time, young Cornelis Cornelisz was in his early teens. Van Mander informs us that either one or both of his parents, draper Cornelis Thomasz and his wife Alijdt Jacobsdr, had also fled the city, leaving their house, business and teenage son in the care of painter Pieter Pietersz (1540-1603) for the duration of the siege.⁴⁷⁵

By June 1573, biographer Willem Jansz. Verwer (ca. 1533-1595), incidentally the son of Jan Jansz. Verwer (1505-1585), one of the drapers who commissioned Van Heemskerck to paint the wings for their guild's altarpiece, recorded in his diary: "the 29th saw great lamentation among the citizens and soldiers, partly out of fear of treason, and partly because of the great famine. Because the citizens would not refuse to eat anything and the intestines, tripe and lungs of horses were the best foods" ("En 29 wasser een groot gekerim onder die burgers ende soldaten, eendeels uijt vrese van verraden te wesen ende eendeels door de groote hongernoodt. Want die burgers en ontsagen haer geen dinck

⁴⁷⁴ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 247r.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid. Also see: I. van Thiel-Stroman, "'Een Groot Heerlijck Huys opt Spaerne'. Het Ouderlijk Huis van Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Later de Slepersstal en de Korenbeurs," in *Hart voor Haarlem. Liber Amicorum voor Jaap Temminck*, ed. Hans Brokken, Florence Koorn, and Ab van der Steur (Haarlem: Schuyt & Co Uitgevers en Importeurs BV, 1996), 192-93.

te eeten, die dermen, penssen ende longene van de paerden was die beste cost”).⁴⁷⁶ Over the next two weeks the situation in the besieged city further deteriorated; on July 12th he wrote in his journal that: “On this day, the hunger in the city was so great that the citizens could no longer stand on their legs” (“Op desen dach is die honger in de stadt zoe groot geweest, dat die burgers nau langer op haer benen gaen en conden”). The following day, after an arduous siege of seven months, the severe food shortage forced the city of Haarlem to surrender to Don Frederik de Toledo, second son of Don Alva de Toledo and commander of the Spanish troops (“die stadt Haerlem is in handen van de Co.Mt. overgegaen in genaden ende ongenaden”).⁴⁷⁷

Within two days of capitulation, the first public executions took place in the city: “On this day between 9 and 10 o’clock around three hundred were executed on the Market, most of them were beheaded, the rest hanged” (“Op desen dach omtrent tuschen 9 ende 10 uren zijnder omtrent driehondert geexecuteert opte Marckte, die meestedeel gerecht ende dandere ghehangen”).⁴⁷⁸ The following morning, Wigbolt Ripperda, governor of Haarlem and captain of the Prince of Orange, was decapitated, along with his lieutenant (“[...] smorgens tuschen tien ende elf uren worden Wijboudt Ripperda,

⁴⁷⁶ Willem Janszoon Verwer, *Memoriaelbouck. Dagboek van Gebeurtenissen te Haarlem 1572-1581* (Haarlem: Schuyt, 1973), 97. (My translations) A sixteenth-century protest song also speaks of the famine in Haarlem: “No food was there to be found, if they were not released, then cats and dogs, and horses were their fare, turnip cakes and many a skin, and many types of greenery, that would harm the people, their bellies had to endure.” (“Gheen spijs wert meer ghevonden, als sy niet warden verlost, dan katten en honden, peerden was heren kost, raep-koecken ende menighe huyt, oock veelderhande groene cruyt, twelck den mensch wel sou schaden, moest heuren buyck versaden.”) H. J. van Lummel, *Nieuw Geuzenlied-Boek, Waarin Begrepen Is den Gantschen Handel der Nederlanden, Beginnende Anno 1564 uit Alle Oude Geuzenlied-Boeken Bijeenverzameld* (Utrecht: C. van Bentum, 1872), 135, Geuzenlied LIX. (My translation).

⁴⁷⁷ Verwer, *Memoriaelbouck. Dagboek van Gebeurtenissen te Haarlem 1572-1581*, 109.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 113, folio 88. The bodies were buried at the assembly hall and practice grounds of city’s militia. Allan, *Geschiedenis en Beschrijving van Haarlem, van de Vroegste Tijden tot op onze Dagen*, 212. Those who opted for confession were decapitated, while those who refused were hanged. Jan Willem Wijn, *Het Beleg van Haarlem* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen en Zoon, 1942), 197.

gouvernoer ende capiteijn van de Prins van Orangen wegen over Haerlem, met zijn luytenant opte Marckt met die swaerd geexecuteert”). The soldiers from their ‘vaendel’, about 300 to 400 men, were all either hung on the gallows, decapitated, or tied together and thrown into the nearby Haarlemmer Lake to drown (“[...] tgheheele vaendel van Ripperda voors geexecuteert met swaerde, mitsgaders ock meest alle. Die rest worden verdroncken inde Haerlemmermeer ende worden an malcanderen gecoppelt”).⁴⁷⁹

Painter, publisher and engraver Frans Hogenberg (1535-1590) vividly illustrated these horrific events in his print *The Atrocities of the Spanish Soldiers in Haarlem* (fig. 3.08).⁴⁸⁰ In the caption underneath the image he reports:

“After Haarlem surrendered,	“Nachdem sich Harlem ergeben hat,
A great bloodbath was instigated,	Ist angericht ein groß bluit batt,
The hanging and beheading would not end,	Dahangen und kopfen nam khein eindt,
The women were also violated,	Die Weiber auch wurden geschendt
Supporters of the Spanish cause,	Vom Hispanigschen gesind dermaßen,
Forced them naked onto the streets,	Daßseie gar nackend auf den Straßen
Treating them with great indecency,	Gehangen seind mitt großer unzucht,
Against all honor and godliness.”	Wider alle eher, und Gottes frucht.” ⁴⁸¹

Subsequently hundreds of people: soldiers, foreign mercenaries and city officials were executed, their possessions claimed by the new governance of the city. Even the sick and wounded troops recovering in the city’s hospitals were dragged out of their beds and put

⁴⁷⁹ Verwer, *Memoriaelbouck. Dagboek van Gebeurtenissen te Haarlem 1572-1581*, 114.

⁴⁸⁰ Fig. 3.08: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Moord te Haarlem door de Spanjaarden (RP-P-1949-433)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.226378>. Last accessed 14 July 2016. Ger Luijten and Ursula Mielke, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Frans Hogenberg* (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2009), 92, fig. B90/I.

⁴⁸¹ *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Frans Hogenberg*, 92, fig. B90/I. My translation, with the help of historian Ms. Dirma van Eck.

to death mercilessly in the streets (“Op dee tijdt worden alle die ziecke Geusche soudaten, die indt gasthuijs ende pesthuijs cranck laegen, mede opt erffvandt voors pesthuijs gebrocht ende aldaer onthalst”).⁴⁸²

Plundering of the city was forestalled by a ransom of 240.000 guilders, 100.000 of which had to be paid within twelve days of the city’s surrender.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, while the Spanish occupation lasted, the Haarlemmers were required to house and maintain regiments of hostile soldiers, further depleting their remaining resources. Willem Verwer remarks that: “[...] it is not to be wondered at that all the citizens are dying of great hunger and poverty.” (“[...] en is niet genoch te verwonderen, dat alle die burgers sterven ende vergaen van grooten honger ende aermoede”).⁴⁸⁴

Then, in the early hours of October 23rd 1576, a fire lit by some guardsmen got out of control and started to spread, and citizens rushing in to extinguish the flames were severely hindered by Spanish soldiers.⁴⁸⁵ The strong wind then caused the fire to spread and destroy about 450 houses, a church, monastery and hospital.⁴⁸⁶ The reported point of origin of the fire was a house called the *Little Anchor (Het Anckertje)*, which was located just across the alleyway from Cornelisz’s house, the *Swan (‘De Zwan’)*, making it likely that he witnessed the flames as well as the results of their destructive force. Miraculously, the painter’s family house was spared.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸² Verwer, *Memoriaelbouck. Dagboek van Gebeurtenissen te Haarlem 1572-1581*, 121.

⁴⁸³ Wijn, *Het Beleg van Haarlem*, 194.

⁴⁸⁴ Verwer, *Memoriaelbouck. Dagboek van Gebeurtenissen te Haarlem 1572-1581*, 133.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 180. “If the soldiers on guard had allowed the citizens to extinguish the fire instantly, four men, with the help of God, could have managed it” (“Hadden die soldaeten, aldaer die wacht hebbende, terstont die burghers toeghelaten den brant te blutzen, vier man soudet ghehouden hebben met hulpe van God”).

⁴⁸⁶ Wijn, *Het Beleg van Haarlem*, 200.

⁴⁸⁷ Thiel-Stroman, "'Een Groot Heerlijck Huys opt Spaerne'. Het Ouderlijk Huis van Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Later de Slepersstal en de Korenbeurs," 194, 201, n. 21. Five years after the fire, Cornelis Cornelisz’s recently widowed mother bought the still vacant lot and had a house built, incorporating the small alley that used to separate the Swan and the Little Anchor. The new house was called the *Gilded*

When the Spanish troops finally left Haarlem in 1577, about one fifth of the city's population had died of starvation and a third of the town was in ruins because of the siege and the great fire.⁴⁸⁸ If the drapers' altarpiece survived intact until this moment, it may have been damaged after the Spanish retreat, or during the 1578 'Haarlemse Nonen' when Calvinist troops violently disrupted the Catholic church service in St. Bavo, killed a priest, wounded thousands of citizens and ransacked the cathedral, churches, and monasteries.⁴⁸⁹ Needless to say, the traumatic events of the 1570s: the Spanish siege, the subsequent surrender, ransoming, violence, rape, executions, quartering, destruction by fire and religious unrest, left an indelible impression on the minds of the Haarlemmers. Given the proximity of Cornelisz's residence to St. Bavo and the likelihood of his being Catholic, he may very well have witnessed many of these disturbing and violent events first-hand.

An indirect source of information about the siege and subsequent events would have been his care-taker and teacher Pieter Pietersz, who was asked by the city council of Haarlem to make an inventory of all the paintings stolen after the surrender of the city, who had taken them, and their monetary value. On 24 July 1574 he reported no less than 65 paintings missing, two of which, incidentally, belonged to Maarten van Heemskerck, and many others were by his hand.⁴⁹⁰ Finally, Cornelisz's eldest brother Hans (Jan)

Swan (De Vergulde Zwan). Sometime later this house was divided into two separate units. The left house thus created was called the *Stork (De Oyevaer)*.

⁴⁸⁸ P.J.J. van Thiel, "Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem - His First Ten Years as a Painter, 1582-1592," in *Netherlandish Mannerism, Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, September 21-22, 1984*, ed. Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1985), 73.

⁴⁸⁹ *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 22-23.

⁴⁹⁰ C.J. Gonnet, "Oude Schilderijen in- en van de Stad Haarlem," *Oud Holland* 33, no. 1 (1915): 133. Maarten van Heemskerck lost a *Deluge* and a *Crossing of the Red Sea* estimated at 100 and 72 guilders respectively. Pieter Pieterz's brother Aernt Pietersz lost an unspecified banquet scene painted by Pieter (100 guilders). These paintings were among the most expensive pieces to be purloined.

Cornelisz married Alijdt Pouwelsdr, sister of the aforementioned biographer Willem Verwer, so it is highly likely that the biographer and the artist were acquainted.⁴⁹¹ It is safe to assume, then, that Cornelis Cornelisz was very well informed, both through personal experience and through knowledgeable friends, of the dramatic events that transpired in Haarlem in the 1570s.

Considering these turbulent historical circumstances and the artist's proximity to them, it is not strange that many art historians have interpreted Cornelisz's painting of the *Massacre of the Innocents* of 1591 in light of these traumatic events. Already in 1929, R.H. Wilenski declared the *Massacre of the Innocents* "a protest picture."⁴⁹² Eric Jan Sluijter speculated that it "seems quite possible it has political connotations and probably refers to the recent massacre inflicted in Haarlem."⁴⁹³ Julie McGee suggests that Cornelisz's 1591 *Massacre* contains "a potent local historical message" and that "the agony of the people of Bethlehem and the ruthless murders by the soldiers of Herod can be seen as a bitter reminder of the innocent victims of Haarlem slaughtered by the Spanish soldiers in 1572-1573."⁴⁹⁴ They are joined by David Kunzle who interprets Cornelisz's *Massacre of the Innocents* as both a "terrifying indictment of tyranny" and a "means of rallying and unifying a population swollen by the 1580s with refugees from

⁴⁹¹ Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 16. Perhaps Cornelisz also knew draper Jan Janz Verwer, one of the drapers that commissioned the wings of the drapers' altarpiece. Verwer died when Cornelisz was in his early twenties.

⁴⁹² Wilenski does not offer an explanation, but does assume that Cornelisz was a protestant. R.H. Wilenski, *An Introduction to Dutch Art* (London: Faber and Gwyer Limited, 1929), 36.

⁴⁹³ "Dat het politieke connotaties heeft en wellicht verwijst naar de slachtingen die nog niet zo lang daarvoor in Haarlem werden aangericht, lijkt mij heel wel mogelijk." Eric Jan Sluijter, "De 'Heydensche Fabulen' in de Noordnederlandse Schilderkunst, circa 1590-1670. Een Proeve van Beschrijving en Interpretatie van Schilderijen met Verhalende Onderwerpen uit de Klassieke Mythologie" (Leiden University, 1986), 489, n. 205-4.

⁴⁹⁴ Julie L. McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, Biliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1991), 187-88.

the south.”⁴⁹⁵ He finds it “anti-tyrant”, “probably anti-monarchical” but “not anti-Catholic as such” and suggests its “patriotic associations with the martyrdom of the city” may have inspired visitors to the Prinsenhof who beheld the slaughter of so many innocent boys, to reach out to and offer financial support for the many children orphaned by the war with the Spanish or otherwise in danger of poverty or neglect.⁴⁹⁶

Pieter Biesboer adds that the *Massacre* shows an example of bad rulership: “The little boys who were murdered by order of King Herod in Bethlehem are victims of his tyranny. In Haarlem the officers and soldiers of the municipal troops were killed at the command of the tyrannical king Philip II, after the Spanish army had conquered the city. In contemporary pamphlets king Philip II was portrayed as a second Herod [...] the Massacre is an example of bad governance, where *virtus*, virtue, is not chosen.”⁴⁹⁷ In his comprehensive monograph on Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, Pieter J.J. van Thiel concurs: “[...] in the Dutch Republic the *Massacre of the Innocents* functioned, in view of the actions of the Spanish enemy, as an example of Tyranny” and remarks that “the spectre of tyranny, embodied in such figures as Herod, strongly influenced political thought in those days.”⁴⁹⁸ He objects, however, to reading a direct connection to the siege

⁴⁹⁵ David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002), 226.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 228. Kunzle points out that in Italy, it was not uncommon for orphanages to be named after the Holy Innocents, like the *Innocenti* Orphans’ Hospital in Florence.

⁴⁹⁷ Pieter Biesboer, *De Gouden Eeuw Begint in Haarlem* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 2008), 15. “De jongetjes die in opdracht van koning Herodes in Bethlehem werden vermoord, zijn slachtoffer van zijn tirannie. In Haarlem waren in opdracht van de tirannieke koning Filips II de officieren en manschappen van de schutterij gedood, nadat het Spaanse leger de stad had veroverd. In eigentijdse pamfletten werd koning Filips II wel als een tweede Herodes afgeschilderd [...] De Kindermoord is een voorbeeld van slecht bestuur, waarin niet voor *virtus*, deugd, wordt gekozen.” (My translation)

⁴⁹⁸ Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 209. In his entry in the Frans Hals Museum catalogue, Van Thiel remarks: “[I]n those days Herod’s gruesome deed was seen as an *exemplum* of tyranny, akin to the reign of terror, under which Holland in general and besieged and occupied Haarlem in particular, had so suffered during the Spanish domination [...] Herod appeared as the tyrant par excellence in other instances as well, next to Caligula, Nero and other infamous figures from the Bible and antiquity. Appropriately hanging in the Prinsenhof, foremost serving as lodging

of Haarlem.⁴⁹⁹ Truus van Bueren agrees that it is “most likely that the *Massacre* referred to the tyranny and cruelty of Philip II and the Spanish [...] and, more generally, to the misery that tyrannical rulers can create.”⁵⁰⁰ The painting, she concludes, may also have functioned to caution those in power to avoid tyrannical rule.⁵⁰¹

Two scholars have, in general terms, articulated the typological nature of the relationship between the New Testament narrative of the massacre and contemporary Spanish oppression: McGee explains that “in the sixteenth century, Hebraic imagery became a common metaphor for narrating the plight of the Netherlanders. The atrocities suffered by the Jews became synonymous with the oppression of the Dutch people. Netherlandish Hebraism was not exclusively Calvinist, and the biblical idiom was used simultaneously by opposing factions. Comparisons with the people of Israel are found in numerous plays, poems, prints and paintings.”⁵⁰² How this applies particularly to Cornelisz’s *Massacre of the Innocents* triptych remains unclear. Van Bueren follows her line of thought: “As so often the Netherlandish people were compared to the subjugated but chosen children of Israel. Usually, Old Testament stories were adopted for the purpose. This time, however, they chose a narrative from the New Testament. Christ had already been born, securing the salvation of mankind.”⁵⁰³ Conversely, she then asserts

for Prince Maurits, the *Massacre of the Innocents*, thus, was a model of poor governance, and a warning of the way in which Maurits should not rule the country. Neeltje Köhler, ed. *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850, the Collection of the Frans Hals Museum* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 2006), 427.

⁴⁹⁹ Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 206n48. Van Thiel describes the *Massacre of the Innocents* as “a universally dramatic picture.” *Ibid.*, 211. In his 1985 article he did identify the *Massacre* as “an example of tyranny, drawing a historical parallel between King Herod and King Philip II of Spain.” “Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem - His First Ten Years as a Painter, 1582-1592,” 82.

⁵⁰⁰ Truus van Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), 445.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 446.

⁵⁰² McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 185.

⁵⁰³ Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen*, 446.

that the city council of Haarlem would not have wanted to depict its citizens as “defenceless victims of the cruel Alva,” which seems at odds with her suggestion that the painting refers to the cruelty of the Spanish overlords.⁵⁰⁴ Van Bueren is right to point out, however, that after the siege the Haarlemmers emphatically stressed that not Spanish military prowess but the severe famine had forced them to yield. Haarlem’s resistance had significantly weakened the enemy, resulting in their crucial defeat at the siege of Alkmaar on 8 October 1573.⁵⁰⁵

Notwithstanding the suggestion of these art historians that Cornelisz’s *Massacre of the Innocents* represents a typological metaphor, its applicability to the triptych remains indeterminate. The conspicuous absence of references to the Netherlands or Haarlem, in the form of a Netherlandish cityscape, coats of arms or contemporary dress suggests that perhaps the biblical narrative presents a more fruitful point of departure. The absence of such indicators is thrown into sharper relief by another *Massacre of the Innocents* painting that Cornelisz completed in 1590, shortly before he started on the Prinsenhof quartet (fig. 3.09).⁵⁰⁶ The cityscape in this painting, which was probably commissioned by the States of Holland to decorate the ‘Slot te Naeltwijck’, a stronghold expropriated by the States in 1583 and later offered to Prince Maurits of Orange, has a decidedly sixteenth-century Netherlandish appearance.⁵⁰⁷ Instead of starting with

⁵⁰⁴ Truus van Bueren and Marijke Spies, "Review: Julie L. Mcgee, Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638). Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists," *Oud Holland* 106, no. 4 (1992): 201. (My translation)

⁵⁰⁵ Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen*, 256-57, 444-45.

⁵⁰⁶ Fig. 3.09: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Kindermoord in Bethlehem (Sk-a-128)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.8164>. Last accessed 14 July 2016.

⁵⁰⁷ Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 306-07, cat. 41. McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 162-63.

contemporary tragedies, an investigation into the extensive exegetical and pictorial traditions surrounding the story of the Massacre of the Innocents can reveal something of the existing perceptions of Spanish oppression and brutality in the Netherlands.

According to the gospel of Matthew, Herod's infanticide took place to realize messianic prophecy: "then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremias the prophet, saying: A voice in Rama was heard, lamentation and great mourning; Rachel bewailing her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."⁵⁰⁸ Furthermore, Matthew explains, Christ escaping to Egypt until Herod's death fulfilled a prophecy from Hosea: "That it might be fulfilled which the Lord spoke by the prophet, saying: Out of Egypt have I called my son."⁵⁰⁹ Matthew thereby situates Herod's infanticide in the larger context of salvation history, as part of a pattern ordained by God and foreseen by the prophets. Matthew's framing of the dramatic narrative in a salvific context set the tone for subsequent hermeneutical traditions, although exegetes have approached the story from different perspectives within that context.

Thomas Aquinas's thirteenth-century commentary on the gospel of Matthew follows the *Catena Aurea* (golden chain) format, in which extracts from earlier commentaries are listed with each verse. For Matthew 2:16 he cites among others Augustine (354-430), who remarks that Christ could surely have prevented the deaths of the innocents but knew that "[...] they died not in that death, but rather lived in higher

⁵⁰⁸ Matt. 2:17-18, Jer. 31:15. The illustration made by Lieven de Witte for *Dat Leven ons Heeren* (1537) shows soldiers with raised knives struggling with mothers and children, with in the left foreground a tomb inscribed 'Sepulchrum Rachel' (Gen. 35:19-20) and in the right background the Holy Family escaping to Egypt, where the idols fall down (Isa. 19:1). Ilja Veldman and Karin van Schaik, *Verbeelde Boodschap, de Illustraties van Lieven de Witte bij 'Dat Leven ons Heeren' (1537)* (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 1989), 57, fig. 14.

⁵⁰⁹ Matt. 2:14, Hos. 11:1.

bliss.”⁵¹⁰ Bede (672/3-735) is quoted explaining: “In this death of the children, the precious death of all Christ’s martyrs is figured; that they were infants signifies, that by the merit of humility alone can we come to the glory of martyrdom; that they were slain in Bethlehem and the coasts thereof, that the persecution shall be both in Jerusalem whence the Church originated, and throughout the world, [...] that they were slain while Christ escaped, signifies that the bodies of the martyrs may be destroyed by the wicked, but that Christ cannot be taken from them.”⁵¹¹ Other comments recount the motivations ascribed to Herod in the Bible: that the massacre of innocent children resulted from Herod’s anger at being deceived by the Magi (who failed to report Christ’s location) and his fear for the usurpation of his position.

In his paraphrase of Matthew, Desiderius Erasmus’s focus shifts from the martyrdom of the children to the futility of Herod’s “[...] hope to stop with human plans what was divinely done.”⁵¹² Erasmus continues: “[...] the craftiness of mortals struggles in vain against divine plans. By these things an example was provided showing, on the one hand, what those who would believe in the gospel were going to suffer at the hands of ungodly princes and, on the other, what those kings would achieve who attempt to destroy by their cruelty the gospel faith, still tender and growing in the hearts of the godly. To be killed for Christ’s sake is to be saved.” Of course God could have saved the Christ child by simply killing King Herod himself, Erasmus notes, “[...] but this sequence of events is more conducive to strengthening belief, for God wants the tyrant’s

⁵¹⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels, Collected out of the Works by the Fathers by St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. John Henry Parker, vol. 1: St. Matthew (London: J.G.F and J. Rivington, 1842), 82.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁵¹² Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Paraphrase on Matthew*, trans. Dean Simpson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 50.

furore to serve his own glory.”⁵¹³ Herod’s madness, revealed through his monstrous and senseless cruelty towards the innocent children “made the justice of God shine brightly” and revealed to the world that the tyrannical king deserved “the horrible death he later suffered.”⁵¹⁴

Reformer John Calvin (1509-1564) describes the massacre of the innocent children as a hateful and shocking butchery, and concludes that: “It might be supposed, that no salvation could be expected from him, on whose account, as soon as he was born, infants were murdered; nay more, that it was an unfavorable and disastrous omen, that the birth of Christ kindled a stronger flame of cruelty than usually burns amidst the most inveterate wars.”⁵¹⁵ In Matthew’s reference to Jeremiah, Calvin finds its resolution, as the prophet continues: “Thus saith the Lord: Let thy voice cease from weeping, and thy eyes from tears: for there is a reward for thy work, saith the Lord: and they shall return out of the land of the enemy. And here is hope for thy last end, saith the Lord: and the children shall return to their own borders.”⁵¹⁶ Thus, Rachel’s weeping for the woes that befell the tribe of Benjamin and the massacre of the innocents by Herod “both were a prelude of the salvation which was shortly to arrive.”⁵¹⁷

Calvin explains that Herod was well aware of the Jewish prophetic tradition that announced the advent of “[...] a king who would restore their distressful and ruinous affairs to a prosperous condition,” which is why he was greatly alarmed by news of the

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 54, 54n29. The story of Herod’s death (“internal fire,” convulsions and madness) was documented by Flavius Josephus in his book *Antiquities of the Jews* (17.6.5-8.1)

⁵¹⁵ John Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists Matthew, Mark and Luke, Translated from the Original Latin, and Collated with the Author's French Version by the Rev. William Pringle* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2003), 161.

⁵¹⁶ Jeremiah 31:16-17.

⁵¹⁷ Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists Matthew, Mark and Luke, Translated from the Original Latin, and Collated with the Author's French Version by the Rev. William Pringle*, 161.

birth of the Savior. Calvin notes that “[...] all tyrants are cowards, and their cruelty produces stronger alarm in their own breast than in the breasts of others.⁵¹⁸ Herod must have trembled more than others, because he perceived that he was reigning in opposition to God.” Herod’s advisors, on the other hand, seemed unimpressed by the report. Calvin recognizes a similar response among Catholics (“Papists”) of his own day: “so long as wicked men think that it is taking nothing from themselves, they will yield to God and to Scripture some degree of reverence. But when Christ comes in close contact with ambition, covetousness, pride, misplaced confidence, hypocrisy, and deceit, they immediately forget all modesty, and break out into a rage. Let us therefore learn that the chief cause of blindness in the enemies of truth is to be found in their wicked affections, which change light into darkness.”⁵¹⁹

In his commentary on Luke 2:1 (“And it came to pass, that in those days there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that the whole world should be enrolled”), Calvin underscores the magnificence of God’s providence in employing the mandate of the tyrannical Roman ruler to draw the Virgin Mary to Bethlehem to fulfil divine prophecy: “Matters have been brought, in this way, to the last extremity, and the Jews appear to be cut off and alienated for ever from the covenant of God. At that very time does God suddenly, and contrary to universal expectation, afford a remedy. What is more, he employs that wicked tyranny for the redemption of his people. For the governor, (or whoever was employed by Cesar for the purpose,) while he executes the commission entrusted to him, is, unknown to himself, God’s herald, to call Mary to the place which

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 132.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 133.

God had appointed.”⁵²⁰ Seen in this light, even tyrannical rulers and their policies can further the divine plan for redemption.

Early exegetical traditions stress the martyrdom of the little children, while Erasmus and Calvin focus much more on the senselessness of Herod’s attempt to thwart God’s redemptive plan for his chosen people. The tyrant’s cruelty throws God’s justice into sharper relief, in Erasmus’s view, while Calvin’s exegesis centers on the new kingdom of peace and prosperity inaugurated by the Messiah. Calvin elaborates on Hosea’s prophecy by articulating its typological implication, connecting the Israelites’ exodus from Egypt with the return of the Holy Family from Egypt after Herod’s death: “that deliverance was a sort of birth of the nation [...] The words of the prophet import, that the nation was rescued from Egypt as from a deep whirlpool of death. Now, what was the redemption brought by Christ, but a resurrection from the dead, and the commencement of a new life? The light of salvation had been almost extinguished, when God begat the church anew in the person of Christ.”⁵²¹ This reading of events, where terrible suffering (due to the absence of the long awaited righteous leader) is a prelude to the birth of a prosperous nation under the just rulership must have appealed to the Calvinist city council of Haarlem.

In the typological tradition of the *Biblia pauperum*, the innocents were prefigured by the priests slain by order of Saul for harbouring David (1 Kings 22:17-18) and the princes murdered by Queen Athalia to prevent them assuming the throne (4 Kings 11:1).⁵²² Just as the innocent priests and princes were needlessly martyred by tyrants

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 109.

⁵²¹ Ibid., 157.

⁵²² Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 21, 105. “Saul typifies Herod, David typifies Christ, and the priest the children whom Herod slew

(who ultimately failed to kill the one they were after: Saul was succeeded by David, and Queen Athalia was murdered by followers of her escaped grandson who ultimately succeeded her), just so the innocent children were massacred by Herod (who failed to kill Christ) and just so many Haarlemmers died at the hand of the Spanish who were ultimately thwarted in their goal to subdue the Low Countries and suppress the reformed religion.⁵²³ The typological analogy between the New Testament narrative and contemporary events in the Netherlands show that, in the larger context of salvation history, the sacrifice of Haarlem in particular and the Low Countries more generally made possible the ultimate defeat of their enemy and the ascendancy of new rulers to the throne; the portrayal of the Netherlanders as “defenceless victims of the cruel Alva” illustrates their martyrdom under tyranny and contributed to framing their suffering in a positive way.

The prophetic, exegetical and typological tradition surrounding Herod’s infanticide indicate that the martyrdom of innocent children had a purpose as part of salvation history. Herod’s cruelty throws into sharper relief the futility of opposing God’s divine plan to inaugurate the promised new kingdom. The brutal murder of innocent children prefigures the violence and defeats suffered by the Netherlanders under the rule of King Philip II and his emissary Don Alva de Toledo. By presenting historical events in

because of Christ.” And: “The cruel queen prefigures Herod who because of Christ slew the children; and the child snatched from death prefigures Christ who was secretly taken away from the massacre ordered by Herod.”

⁵²³ The *Pictor in Carmine* offers four prefigurations: 1) Pharaoh having the male Hebrew children drowned in the river (Exod. 1:21); 2) The tribe of Benjamin is almost completely consumed by civil war (Judg. 21:46-48); 3) Saul commanding the priests to be slain (1 Kings 22:17-18); and 4) Antiochus parades around two women with their children hanging from their breasts (2 Macc. 6:10). (My translations from the Latin) Wirth, *Pictor in Carmine: Ein Handbuch der Typologie aus der Zeit um 1200*, 115. Baker, "Pictor in Carmine uel Adaptatio Rerum Gestarum in Veteri Testamento ad Nouum: A Critical Edition," 125-26, 276-81.

a typological framework, Cornelisz (and with him Haarlem's Calvinist city council) suggests that the suffering of the Netherlanders was part of God's larger plan and would inaugurate a new kingdom of peace and prosperity. The Netherlanders are identified as God's new chosen people, as the Israelites were before them, and justified, and therefore morally obligated to reject the tyrannical rule of the Spanish in favor of the Prince of Orange's leadership.

A monument still extant in Haarlem's St. Bavo cathedral, a so-called Communion board ('Avondmaalsbord'), erected in 1581, shows a further instance of a Calvinist interpretation of the siege and the resulting famine in the larger context of salvation history (fig. 3.10).⁵²⁴ On the choir side, the board is titled "The Lord Christ the Heavenly bread, Gives life through his death" and cites 1 Cor. 11:23-26 and 1 Cor. 10:16, verses which relate to the institution of Communion.⁵²⁵ On the side of the choir ambulatory the text is divided over six separate spaces in a format reminiscent of a page from the *Biblia pauperum*. The lines at the top indicate that all enemies will be defeated as God stands on the side of the Haarlemmers. The arched spaces detail the progress of the siege of Haarlem, emphasizing that: "Gaven wij die stadt op doer hongers verbant, niet dat hij se in creegh met stormender hant: ("forced by hunger we gave up the city, they did not take the city by stormed assault.")⁵²⁶ The eight lines written in the predella offer an explanation for the suffering:

⁵²⁴ Fig. 3.10: C.A. van Swigchem, "Kerkborden en Kolomschilderingen in de St.-Bavo te Haarlem 1580-1585," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 35, no. 3 (1987): 220, fig. 8.

⁵²⁵ M.H.G.B. Temminck-van Eijkuizen and J.J. Temminck, *De Naamborden, Rouwborden en Tekstborden in de Grote Kerk te Haarlem*, ed. Maarten Brock, *Bavoreeks* (Haarlem: Lenoir Schuring Drukkers, 1997), 16-17. Scribbled in the margins of the board are references for further reading on the subject: Mattheus 26 (26-28), Marcus 14 (22-24) and Luke 22 (17-20).

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

As God released Daniel from the cruel lion's jaws,
 And protected Susanna from those two old scoundrels.
 Saved Jerusalem from Antiochus's ungodly laws,
 And who helped three children from their painful misery.
 So he also, and without any delay,
 Miraculously saved the city from so many enemies' hands.
 He was the helper in our need, he tested us,
 For this, he must be praised in cities and all the lands.⁵²⁷

“Ghelijck God Daniel verlost(e)n uut der wrede(n) lewen mont,
 en Susanna beschermde voor die twe oude qua boeven.
 Jersale(m) behoede voor Antiochus ongodlick verbont,
 en die drie kinderen help uut haer pijnlick bedroeven.
 Soo heeft hij oock dese stadt sonder enich vertoeven,
 Wonderlicken bewaert voor soe veel vijants handen.
 Hij was de noothelper, hij ghinck ons beproeven,
 Dies moet hij ghelooft sijn in steden en in landen.”

Both Daniel and Susanna were unjustly accused, but through divine intervention their accusers suffered the ultimate punishment instead. The tale of the three children, Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenago, who were thrown into the fiery furnace for refusing to worship a statue of Nebuchadnezzar (but were saved by an angel of God), reflects Calvinist's views on the catholic use of images and the 1576 fire in Haarlem.

The conclusion of the narrative detailing Antiochus's crimes against the Jews best illuminates the message of the Communion board as a whole: “Now I beseech those that shall read this book, that they be not shocked at these calamities, but that they consider

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 19. (My translation) Biblical verses: Daniel 6:16-24 (Daniel in the lion's den); Daniel 13 (Susanna and the elders); 2 Maccabees 5 (Antiochus conquers Jerusalem) and Daniel 3 (Three youths in the fiery furnace).

the things that happened, not as being for the destruction, but for the correction of our nation. For it is a token of great goodness when sinners are not suffered to go on in their ways for a long time, but are presently punished. For, not as with other nations (whom the Lord patiently expecteth, that when the day of judgment shall come, he may punish them in the fulness of their sins) [...] And therefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us: but though he chastises his people with adversity, he forsaketh them not. But let this suffice in a few words for a warning to the readers.”⁵²⁸ According to this view, the Haarlemmers would have interpreted their defeat not as a humiliation, as Van Bueren suggests, but rather as punishment for their sins. At the same time, however, these punishments analogized God’s relationship with the biblical Jews, who, throughout the Old Testament, experienced misfortune and military defeats as punishment for their sins. The Israelites were no longer considered to be the chosen people because of their ultimate failure to recognize Jesus Christ as the promised Messiah.

Other sixteenth-century sources confirm this train of thought: the misfortunes of the Netherlands are interpreted both as punishment for their sins as well as a sign of their special relationship with God. Adrianus Saravia (ca. 1532-1613), chaplain to the army of the Prince of Orange during his (unsuccessful) campaign against the Duke of Alva in the Spring of 1568, wrote a pamphlet to strengthen (military) morale against the cruelties the Duke of Alva and his troops were committing in the Netherlands.⁵²⁹ In the *Heartfelt Desire* Saravia stresses that: “[...] with God lies victory and he grants it only to those he wants” (“[...] in God de victorie gheleghen is en hy en gheeft se nyemanden, dan die hy

⁵²⁸ 2 Macc. 6:12-17. The Kennemer siege of Haarlem in 1274, during which Saint Bavo was believed to have delivered the city, might have come to mind of the Haarlemmers as well. Swigchem, "Kerkborden en Kolomschilderingen in de St.-Bavo te Haarlem 1580-1585," 221.

⁵²⁹ Willem Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (C. 1532-1613)* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 26-27.

wilt”). He continues: “even though we consider ourselves now to be God’s people, we are still daily being delivered to our enemy’s hands and only through our own negligence, because we believe that multitudes of people and horses will earn us victory and do not pray to the Lord for victory at all, on whom all victory depends” (“al ist dat wy ons selven nu Gods volck beroemen te wesen, so worden wy daghelijckx nochtans dickwils geleverd in ons viants handen ended at alleenlijck door negligentie, door wat wy meenen met menichte van volcke ende peerden victorie te verwerven ende den Heere en bidden wy gansch niet om victorie, van wien alleene de victorie comen moet”).⁵³⁰

A pamphlet by Antwerp printer Niclaes Mollijns (†1625), entitled *De Principaelste Redenen dende Oorsaecken van den Dieren Tijd in dese Lande. Midtsgaders eenen Raedt ende Maniere om den Selven te Verdrijven ende te Weyren* (*The Principle Reasons and Causes of the Dire Times in these Lands. Together with Guidance and Ways to ward and drive them off*), published in 1568, shows that the identification of the Netherlanders with the Israelites was also prevalent in pro-Spanish circles.⁵³¹ The author concludes that the Low Countries are ruled by: “[...] impiety, self-love and self-interest, arrogance, lasciviousness, adultery, usury, cheating, and in short, everything that can be called sinful and iniquitous, so that we deserve a deluge or another evil plague, like those destroyed by the water during the time of Noah, if God were to treat us as we deserve” (“[...] onghelooue, eyghen liefde ende profijt, hoouerdye, oncuysheyt, overspel,

⁵³⁰ Adrianus Zaraphya, "Een Hertgrondighe Begheerte " in *Verantwoordinge, Verklaringhe ende Waerschouwinhe Mitsgaders eene Hertgrondighe Begheerte des Edelen, Lanckmoedighen ende Hooghgeboren Princen van Oraengien*, ed. M.G. Schenk (Amsterdam-Sloterdijk: Wereldbibliotheek, 1933).

⁵³¹ Whether Niclaes himself was Catholic or Protestant is unknown. His father, Jan Mollijns (I) converted to Protestantism and in 1566 was banned from Antwerp for six years because of it. Paul Valkema Blouw and A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen, *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century: The Collected Works of Paul Valkema Blouw* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 544.

woecker, bedroch, ende in summa, al dat sonde ende boosheyt ghenaeemt mach worden: so dat wy alsoo wel een Diluuie oft andere ghemeyne plaghe verdienen, als de gene die deur het water ten tijde van Noe vernielt warden, in dien Godt de Heere met ons handelen wilde nae onse verdienste”).⁵³²

The author continues by calling for repentance and a turning away from sin. He offers the “laudable (“lofweerdigen”) Duke of Parma (1545-1592), Governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1545 to 1592 as one of the signs of God’s help. Towards the end of his admonitions, Mollijns expresses his hope that the Netherlanders will be aided as the Samaritans were released from a siege by the Syrians (2 Kings 6-7). The starving Samaritans: “[...] who, one day were eating their beasts, nay even their own children [...] the next day were provided for” (“[...] die den eenen dach haer beesten aten, ia haer eighen kinders [...] des anderen daechs van als wel voorsien waren).”⁵³³

As has been pointed out by various scholars, sixteenth-century pamphlets, protest songs, tableaux-vivants and rhetoricians’ plays, frequently portray the Spanish and their rulers as types of biblical and mythological tyrants.⁵³⁴ Initially, protests against Spanish policies were aimed at the King’s representatives rather than King Philip II himself, on the assumption that he was being misinformed and misled by his closest advisers.⁵³⁵ The

⁵³² Nicolaes Mollijns, *De Principaelste Redenen ende Oorsaecken van den Dieren Tijd in Dese Landen. Midtsgaders eenen Raedt ende Maniere om den Selven te Verdrijven ende te Weyren* (Antwerp: Nicolaes Mollijns, 1586), 1.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

⁵³⁴ See for instance: Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 209-11.

⁵³⁵ “Regicide, the killing of a ruler, was considered a kind of parricide, and as such subject a special elaboration of punishment. It was easier, of course, to justify throwing off a usurper than a legitimate heir to the throne, however tyrannical. In the Netherlands there was no question of the legitimacy of Philip’s (or Charles’s) succession to his patrimony. The eventual throwing off of the ‘father’ in 1581 was a matter of intense moment and very careful judicial argumentation by the rebels, after a long period of pretended loyalty to the king, and passing off the blame onto Philips’s viceroys.” Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672*, 39. Adrianus Saravia followed the wide-spread method of seeming loyalty and devotion to King Philip II on the cover of his pamphlet, while at the same time

harsh measures of taxation and persecution by the duke of Alva made him particularly unpopular, as is revealed by his frequent identification with King Herod and other tyrants such as Phalaris of Acragas, the Roman emperor Nero, the Egyptian Pharaoh and Emperor Nebuchadnezzar.⁵³⁶ In 1568, a protest song described Alva in very graphic terms:

“With your teeth dripping with blood, like Pharaoh and Jezebel, you come to the Netherlands, as Herod, angry and fierce: to hang, murder and burn, to decapitate all with haste. You will come to shame with Babylon, for all the innocent blood.”	“Al met u bloedige tanden, als Pharaoh en Iesabel , comt ghy in dees Nederlanden als Herodes quaet en fel, hanghen, moorden en branden, ontlijven al metter spoet. Ghy sult met Babel comen in schanden, om dat onschuldige bloet.” ⁵³⁷
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Even when Alva was not explicitly named as Herod, he was often depicted with his attributes: the killing of infants and the personification of Tyranny. In 1572, an anonymous series of four engravings was published, depicting Alva being sent on a mission to suppress the Netherlandish uprising by the King of Spain and his subsequent

inserting comments in his text that compare him unfavourably to his father, the Emperor Charles V. Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (C. 1532-1613)*, 28-29.

⁵³⁶ P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de Pamfletten 1566-1584* (Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij, 1956), 280. Adrianus Saravia (ca 1532-1613) hopes that the Prince of Orange will scare Alva to such an extent that he will repent, and like the tyrants Manasse, Ahas, Nabuchadnezzar and Antiochus will find mercy with the Lord: “[...] de goede, rechtveerdige, getrouwe God sal de edele, vrome Prince van Oraingen victorie geven. Ja, hy sal (hoop ick door die cracht Gods) den Duc Dalba sulck een hertgrondighe verschrikkinghe ende vrees doen hebben dat hy tot die oprechte kennise sal comen door die cracht Gods, so menigen, verherden, wreeden tyrant endeo Gods lateraer door benautheyt ghecomen is, so men can lessen van Manasses, Ahas, Nabuchodonoser, Antiochus, how grouwelijcken tyrannen sy waren; door benautheyt zijn sy tot den here bekeert ende hebben ooc genade by den Heere bevonden.” Zaraphya, "Een Hertgrondighe Begheerte " 152-53.

⁵³⁷ James Tanis and Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1993), 27. Lummel, *Nieuw Geuzenlied-Boek, Waarin Begrepen Is den Gantschen Handel der Nederlanden, Beginnende Anno 1564 uit Alle Oude Geuzenlied-Boeken Bijeenverzameld*, 59, Geuzenlied XXIX.

tyranny over the Netherlands (figs. 3.11a-3.11d).⁵³⁸ In the first print the Spanish King is petitioned by a bishop, a member of the inquisition and two monks to respond to the iconoclasm in the Netherlands. The following print shows Alva, accompanied by the Duchess of Parma and the Cardinal Granvelle, receiving a sword from the Pope. The snake whispering into Alva's ear represents their malicious motives. Subsequently, Alva is depicted on a throne, embracing the whore of Babylon, while the economy of the Netherlanders has come to a standstill. The final print still shows Alva on a throne, now devouring a child. In his left hand he holds a purse that signifies his greed, while a devilish figure uses a bellow to fill his head with malevolent thoughts. He is accompanied by a three-headed monster and tramples the bodies of the beheaded counts of Egmond and Hoorne under his feet. A peasant and a citizen wring their hands in desperation.⁵³⁹

Depicting Alva on a throne refers to more general criticism that the Duke elevated himself above his station. Both in the Netherlands and Spain, Alva was censured for having a statue of himself erected in the town square of Antwerp in 1571, crushing personifications of heresy and rebellion; a servant of the crown was expected to dedicate his victories to his sovereign and not to glorify himself (the statue was removed shortly after he returned to Spain in 1574).⁵⁴⁰ In a letter to King Philip II, William of Orange

⁵³⁸ Fig. 3.11a: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Katholieken Smeken Filips II in te Grijpen in de Nederlanden (RP-P-OB-79.009)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.444750>. Fig. 3.11b: "Margaretha van Parma, Granvelle en de Paus Steunen Alva's Missie (RP-P-OB-79.010)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.444751>. Fig. 3.11c: "Terwijl Alva Vrijt met de Hoer van Babylon Raakt de Economie van het Land in Verval (RP-P-OB-79.011)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.444752>. Fig. 3.11d: "Alva Vermoordt de Onschuldige Inwoners van het Land (RP-P-OB-79.012)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.444753>. Last accessed 14 July 2016.

⁵³⁹ Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*, 64-67.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 30-34, 86-89. The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam has a number of prints depicting Alva's statue (inventory numbers RP-P-OB-79.154-79.161, RP-P-OB-79.164-79.166. Also see: Maurits Ebben, Margriet Lacy-Bruijn, and Rolof Van Hövell tot Westervliet, eds., *Alba: General and Servant to the Crown*

complained of Alva's behavior: "Alva, following the example of the tyrant Herod, took your royal chair, which had never before been touched by any stadholder, and covered it with a golden cloth, on which he, in your absence, sat like an idol in the crowded square of Antwerp [...] and this in public contempt and to great damage to your Royal Majesty's honor and reputation."⁵⁴¹

While Alva was frequently depicted as a tyrant like Herod, Prince William of Orange was not introduced as his opponent until the early 1570s.⁵⁴² Towards the end of 1572, an anonymous allegorical print under the title *The Netherlands Torn between Alva and Orange* was circulated (fig. 3.12).⁵⁴³ On the left, William of Orange is seated in his armor, surrounded by soldiers, the personification of *Concord* (driving away *Mutiny*) and

(Rotterdam: Karwansaray Publishers, 2013), 314-19. "The erection of the statue was a spectacularly bad decision, and was exploited to the full by the duke's enemies." Ibid., 325.

⁵⁴¹ Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*, 30. Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672*, 138.

⁵⁴² Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*, 25.

⁵⁴³ Fig. 3.12: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Plaag van Alva's Tirannie in de Nederlanden (RP-P-OB-79.003)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.444742>. Last accessed 15 July 2016. Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*, 81. The caption at the top of the print reads: "In this image you, kind-hearted reader, will find drawn, Quite lifelike and clear to all, the plague of The Netherlands, Once risen above other countries through wealth and trade, But now under the tyranny of Alva, They are miserably imprisoned and also terribly maltreated, Robbed, violated, and brought to ruin" ("In diese figur findest u, guthertziger, lefer gants Lieblich abgemalet, und ein jeder fur augen gestellet, die plage von Niderlant, welche fur anderr nation mit Reichtum vnd nerung hoich Erheben sijnt, jetzund aber durch die albanische tiranye, vnderr Welchen sie Elendiglich gefangenn und auch graciesam mishandelt, Ligen beraubet geschend vnd zu nicht getan wirten"). The caption at the bottom of the print reads: "Two maidens of honorable ways, And with cheerful hearts, Have hastily made their way, From the anger of Alva to the side of the Prince, The noble maiden of Holland, a militant heroine, The Zeelander of Walcheren, truly free as well, Sit confidently, with Fear under their feet, Unity drives Mutiny away, The maiden of Mechelen and her sister Zutphen, In fear and discord have succumbed, Like the French King's earlier betrayal, Shamelessly dishonored the maiden Henegouwen, See the violated and blinded gathered together, Brought under Alva's foot, Together they beg the Prince for help/ Such is prevented by the papist brood" ("Zwo medlin wol getan mit erbern seden, Darzu hertsen wollgemut, Des albanisch gross wuten sint affgetreten, zum prince sich gebent mit sput, Die edle magt von hollant ein strijtar heldin, Die zeuosche von Walcheren mit Ihr gants fren, Sit sendt gerust habend forcht onderr Ihr fusses hin, Entracht vertreibt Ihr mouterij, Die magt von mechlen dar zu Ihr swester von sutphen, Aufssorcht und zweitracht sint geswecht, Wie des frantsen kunings veratherey fur hin, Onehrt die magt hennig aw gants frech, Siehe da ligen die geschent, verblind al zsamenn, Ghezogen vnder dalbanische fuss, Suffzen umb hulff zum prince ersamenn/solchs thut verhindern das phaffs gebruss"). Ibid., 79.

the provinces Holland and Zeeland, who trample *Fear* under their feet. William's banner depicts the pelican, feeding her young with her own blood, symbolizing his self-sacrifice in his fight against Spanish cruelty (and referencing his role as savior of his country).⁵⁴⁴ Alva's banner features a wolf with a lamb between its jaws, which represents his killing of innocents (and possibly his disregard of Christian values as the lamb, like the pelican, is a symbol of Christ). Alva and his council hold the other Dutch provinces on a leash, kneeling, blindfolded and bound. The naked personification of Gelderland (*Geldria*) is pushed back towards the other captives by *Discord* and *Tyranny*. Although Alva is not explicitly named as Herod in this print, the figure of Tyranny cleaving a small child is his unmistakable attribute.

Such juxtapositions appear in various configurations, in which Alva's cruelty, greed and pride are contrasted by William's virtues (linked to his religious beliefs), such as justice and peace.⁵⁴⁵ Individual prints of the Prince of Orange identified the latter with biblical heroes like Moses, as in Hendrick Goltzius's 1581 elaborate engraved portrait (fig. 3.13a).⁵⁴⁶ The two upper cartouches represent the story related in Exodus 13:21-22: "And the Lord went before them to shew the way by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by

⁵⁴⁴ Ebben, Lacy-Bruijn, and Van Hövell tot Westervliet, *Alba: General and Servant to the Crown*, 316-17. A relief on the base of Alva's statue "[...] the duke was portrayed as the 'good shepherd', protecting his flock from a host of nocturnal animals of prey, such as a bat and a wolf. Its use is especially interesting since 'good shepherd' imagery was frequently used in the 'mirror for princes' genre; the statue's designer washere applying it to Alba, a mere nobleman and governor." *Ibid.*, 317.

⁵⁴⁵ Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*, 25-27. In the anonymous *Emblematic contrast between Orange and Alva*, dated ca 1572 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv RP-P-OB-78.194), Alva is accompanied by Discord ("Tweedracht") and Envy ("Nydichheit") and holds captive the naked Virgin of the Netherlands ("Die Nacie van Nederland") while the poor people ("Arme Ghemeeynte") sits at his feet. William, on the other hand, is joined by Honor ("Eer"), Prosperity ("Slants Voorspoed") and Clear Conscience ("Rust der Conscientien").

⁵⁴⁶ Fig. 3.13a: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Portret van Willem van Oranje (RP-P-1940-257)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.367421>. Last accessed 15 July 2016. Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein, Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Hendrick Goltzius*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision, 2012), 138-44.

night in a pillar of fire: that he might be the guide of their journey at both times. There never failed the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, before the people.”⁵⁴⁷ The lower left cartouche depicts Moses receives the Tables of the Law (Deuteronomy 9:10) while the Israelites dance around the golden calf. The caption reads: “I will follow these commandments” (“Haec mandata sequar”). William of Orange’s personal motto “Calm in stormy waters” (“Saeuis tranquillus in undis”) is illustrated in the fourth cartouche by a kingfisher nesting in a basket amidst the waves. Its nest could weather the worst of storms and therefore represents the prince’s steadfastness in turbulent times.⁵⁴⁸ The print’s pendant depicts Charlotte of Bourbon (1546/47-1582), as William’s dutiful and pious wife (fig. 3.13b).⁵⁴⁹ The cartouches surrounding her portrait depict the four elements (earth, water, fire and air), accompanied by a small biblical scene (the *Creation of Man*, *Christ’s Baptism*, *Elijah’s Sacrifice*, and *Pentecost* respectively).⁵⁵⁰ The choice for these scenes suggests that William and Charlotte trusted in God’s all-encompassing creative and restorative powers.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ The captions read: “Hac duce [luce] clarescit mihi nox” (This light illuminates my night) and “Hac protegor umbra” (This shadow protects). (My translation)

⁵⁴⁸ The story originates in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Liber XI, vs. 410-4789). When King Ceyx and Queen Alcyone drowned the gods turned them into kingfishers. Under the protection of Aeolus, the god of the wind and Alcyone’s father, they nested on the water. In the Christian tradition, Aeolus was replaced by God. B.W Schaper, “Het Werkende Woord: Het Adagium van Willem de Zwijger,” *Maatstaf: Maandblad voor Letteren* 2 (1954-1955): 24-31.

⁵⁴⁹ Fig. 3.13b: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, “Portret van Charlotte van Bourbon (RP-P-OB-104.048),” <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.522395>. Last accessed 15 July 2016. On the left, a hare is depicted in the decorative scrollwork, and on the right a tortoise, representing vigilance (“wakenthey”) and domesticity, the idea that a woman’s place is in the home (“inhuysighey”), at least according to Karel van Mander’s *Schilder-boeck*. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 130r, fol. 32r.

⁵⁵⁰ Klaus Popitz, *Die Darstellung der Vier Elemente in der Niederländischen Graphik von 1565 Bis 1630* (München: UNI-Druck, 1965), 40-41.

⁵⁵¹ A 1575 print, designed by Marten de Vos, engraved by Theodoor de Bry (1528-1598) and published by Adriaen Huybrechts I (active 1573-1614), depicts William of Orange together with his wife Charlotte of Bourbon. The couple is shown praying to God to “deliver us from the foreign godless might” (“verlost ons vander vromde godloose macht”). In the print, a quote referencing the story of Nineveh from the book of Jonah: “If you, like the people of Nineveh, avow guilt, then God will taken from you the rod of chastisement.” This implies that the tyranny of foreign rulership can be seen as divine punishment; people

By placing the *Massacre of the Innocents* in the Haarlem Prinsenhof, the juxtaposition between the tyrants (Alva, Philip II) and the savior (Christ, the Prince of Orange) is thrown into sharp relief. The unjustified violence against innocent victims, motivated by the ruler's fear to lose power, is magnified by the painting's location in the living quarters intended for the Prince of Orange but opened up for visitors in his absence. Prepared by homilies, reading the Scriptures, examining exegetical treatises, typological compendia, political pamphlets and prints, or perhaps just from watching rhetoricians' plays, contemporary viewers would have instantly made the typological connection between Herod's tyranny, the Spanish oppression and the deliverance brought by the Prince of Orange.

The *Massacre* offered an acknowledgement of their suffering, a justification for the throwing off of their rightful but despotic ruler, a plea for just rule under the new governance of the Netherlands and finally, most importantly, the anticipation that their distress would inaugurate a new era of peace and prosperity. Even those unfamiliar with the Calvinist focus on the New Kingdom after the massacre will have recognized Isaiah's promise of peace in the *Annunciation to the Virgin* and the vibrancy of the two *Adoration* scenes, in which young and old, Jew and Gentile, man and woman, cleric and layman, and king and servant would join together in their recognition of the truth of biblical prophecy and prefiguration.⁵⁵² The painting's location in the Prinsenhof suggested that

are asked to put their faith in God, who will release them from their dire situation. Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*, 92-93. The Rijksmuseum Amsterdam owns two copies of this print: RP-P-OB-67.036 and RP-P-OB-79.618.

⁵⁵² The pose of the Virgin in Heemskerck's *Adoration* could be read in light of Isaiah 55:3-5: "Incline your ear and come to me. Hear and your soul shall live. And I will make an everlasting covenant with you, the faithful mercies of David. Behold I have given him for a witness to the people, for a leader and a master to the Gentiles. Behold thou shalt call a nation which thou knewest not: and the nations that knew not thee shall run to thee, because of the Lord Thy God and for the Holy one of Israel; for he had glorified thee."

this anticipated era of peace and prosperity would not only be a spiritual but also a political reality.

Any first impression of the *Massacre of the Innocents* triptych is rather overwhelming: the three interior panels are large and crowded with many colorful figures. After roaming Van Heemskerck's wing panels, the eye is irresistibly drawn to the relative peace and tranquillity of the background of Cornelisz's painting. The positioning of the wing panels in relation to the *Massacre* enhances this effect. Since the triptych functioned in a secular, politically charged setting, it likely hung on a wall in a way that is similar to its modern configuration, with the wings positioned at an angle, allowing both sides to be examined while leaving the interior visually accessible to astonished visitors. Turning to the sides, the exterior panels depicting the *Annunciation to the Virgin* offer a welcome tranquillity of figures, colors and composition.

As there are many noticeable differences between the wings and the central panel, and because the iconographical combination of the subjects is so unusual, many scholars have overlooked the fact that the *Massacre of the Innocents* was conceived as a triptych. In fact, at an unknown time in the triptych's history, Van Heemskerck's wing panels were actually removed. Graaf remarks in 1876 that they had recently been found in the attic of the Mauritshuis Museum in The Hague, where the *Massacre* was on display at the time.⁵⁵³ Shortly after their rediscovery the wings were reinstated. Unfortunately, modern scholarship reflects this rather negligent attitude. So far, Grosshans is the only art historian to provide a photograph of the triptych as a whole. Other publications depict the panels separately (which, admittedly, makes them easier to examine), or omit them

⁵⁵³ Graaf, "Beschrijving der S. Bavo-Kerk te Haarlem," 52n2.

altogether from their analysis. Since the choice to combine Van Heemskerck's wing panels with a *Massacre of the Innocents* scene was a deliberate one, the exact relationship between the three paintings that make up the triptych merits exploration.

Many scholars do not comment on the relationship between the wings and Cornelisz's *Massacre of the Innocents*. Some only deny a meaningful connection, like Grosshans, who remarked that with the reconstruction of the triptych, iconological and aesthetic considerations were no longer of primary concern.⁵⁵⁴ Van Thiel concludes: "Substituting the Massacre of the Innocents for the original subject, which was destroyed in 1578, is proof that the 1589/90 one was not aiming at an iconographical reconstruction of the altarpiece, for the Massacre falls outside the tradition of the annunciation/birth iconography, though it does offer a continuation of the biblical story. The newly created iconography has a profane character, because in the Dutch Republic the Massacre of the Innocents functioned, in view of the behaviour of the Spanish enemy, as an example of Tyranny."⁵⁵⁵ Elsewhere he remarks that in "[...] Catholic imagery *The Massacre of the Innocents* does not fit in with these [*Adoration*] scenes, but the Reformed Protestant, thus also Cornelisz's patrons, had no tradition in this respect," which still leaves open the question of the exact relationship between the wings and the central panel.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck, die Gemälde*, 174. "Die Wahl des Themas, ungewöhnlich als Mittelbild eines Altares, sowie der von Heemskercks Darstellung abweichende und sehr viel größere Figurenmaßstab zeigen, daß ikonologische und ästhetische Überlegungen nicht mehr von vorrangiger Bedeutung waren."

⁵⁵⁵ Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 209. He also notes: "Although Cornelis would have chosen the subject for the opportunity it gave him to display his academic knowledge and skill as a history painter, he must have been aware of the significance that was attached to this biblical episode." Luijten and Suchtelen, *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art 1580-1620*, 377.

⁵⁵⁶ Köhler, *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850, the Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, 427.

Similarly, Liesbeth Helmus posits that “the choice for the depiction of the massacre of the innocents [...] fit with the reformed perspective on the iconography of the wing panels. Herod’s command to kill all male children under the age of two was after all directly connected to the birth of the Christ child. Moreover, Herod was a tyrannical leader, an example of bad rulership and because of this a warning for the stadholder.”⁵⁵⁷ Van Bueren is equally vague: “Instead of the peace, symbolised by the olive branch held by the angel in the *Annunciation*, the coming of the Savior initially caused disaster because of the imperfections of man. The depiction of the *Massacre of the Innocents* made the [Eucharistic] imagery on the wings acceptable because it referred to the contemporary political situation as well as to the future [of peace] that people hoped for.”⁵⁵⁸

Kunzle finds that the *Massacre* is “[...] the perfectly evil counter example to the reign of peace” foretold in the *Annunciation*. With poetical flourish, he remarks that closing the shutters of the “reconfigured altarpiece” allows one to “re-enact the closing of the book of history on war.”⁵⁵⁹ Conversely, considering its secular setting in the

⁵⁵⁷ Helmus, *Schilderen in Opdracht: Noord-Nederlandse Contracten voor Altaarstukken 1485-1570*, 247-48. “De keuze voor een voorstelling van de kindermoord [...] paste in de reformatorische opvattingen bij de iconografie van de zijluiken. Herodes’ opdracht om alle kinderen van het mannelijke geslacht on der de twee jaar te doden, hield immers direct verband met de geboorte van het Christuskind. Herodes was als tirannieke leiders bovendien een voorbeeld van slecht bestuur en daarmee een waarschuwing aan het adres van de stadhouder.” (My translation).

⁵⁵⁸ “In plaats van de vrede, gesymboliseerd door de olijftak die de engel in de *Verkondiging* in de hand houdt, veroorzaakte de komst van de Verlosser door de onvolmaaktheid van de mens in eerste instantie nog rampspoed. Door de voorstelling met de *Kindermoord* werden de voorstellingen op de luiken acceptabel omdat daarmee zowel werd ingehaakt op de actuele politieke situatie als op de toekomst waarop men hoopte.” (My translation) Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen*, 444.

⁵⁵⁹ Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672*, 230. Judith Niessen offers a similar assessment: “Cornelis made an iconographical connection between his *Massacre of the Innocents* and Heemskerck’s *Annunciation*. His prominent triumphal arch with the city behind it is a visual reference to the vaulted passage with the vista in the background of the *Annunciation*, whereby the joyful moment – the announcement of the birth of Christ – visible when the shutters are closed, turns into a complete nightmare when the doors are opened.” (“Cornelis legde een iconografisch verband tussen zijn *Kindermoord* en Heemskercks *Annunciatie*. Zijn prominente triomfboog met de stad daarachter is een

Prinsenhof, the triptych was certainly no longer an altarpiece, with shutters to be opened only on special feast days. In fact, it is unlikely that Cornelisz ever intended the shutters to be closed at all, an inference based on the size of the *Massacre of the Innocents* (255 cm wide), which meant that the wing panels, each measuring 122.5 cm in width, when shuttered would not cover the central painting in its entirety.⁵⁶⁰

Various factors may have influenced the choice for the *Massacre of the Innocents* as the centerpiece for the new triptych, taking into account that Cornelis was commissioned to include Van Heemskerck's panels.⁵⁶¹ City officials may have been impressed by a *Massacre* painted by Cornelisz in 1590, and the artist's familiarity with the narrative and its possible pictorial execution supported a swifter completion of the council's commission for the Prinsenhof (fig. 3.09).⁵⁶² The unusual combination of biblical scenes represented a clear break with traditional iconographical schemes and thereby served to underline that the triptych functioned in a political and secular rather than in a religious, liturgical context. The explicit violence and palpable drama of the subject matter allowed the atrocities to which the Netherlanders were subjected by the Spanish to be framed in a meaningful way, stressing the importance of their suffering in

visuele verwijzing naar de overwelfde doorgang met het vergezicht in de achtergrond van *De annunciatie*, waardoor het heugelijke moment – de aankondiging van de geboorte van Christus – dat te zien is als de luiken gesloten zijn, verandert in een regelrechte nachtmerrie als de deuren geopend worden.”) (My translation) Judith Niessen, *Cornelis van Haarlem 1562-1638* (Rotterdam: Nai010 Uitgevers, 2012), 52.
⁵⁶⁰ Measurements taken from: Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen*, 437.

⁵⁶¹ In 1591 the city treasurer of Haarlem recorded the payment of 600 pounds for “[...] his labor and artfulness in making and painting a certain large picture of the killing of the children by King Herod, as well as for his work to adjust and add some paintings to the doors hanging from the aforementioned picture in the court of his Excellency, very well done [...]” (“Meester cornelis corneliss[en] schilder voor zynen arbeyt ende conste int maecken ende schilderen van zeeckeren grooten teffereel vande doodinge der kinderen byden Coninck Herodes, als oock voor zynen arbeyt int versien ende eenige schilderye te maken opde deuren hangende aenden voors[s]eyde taeffereele int hof van zyne Ex[cellenti]e, zeer constelyck gemaect”). (My translation). Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 224.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 306-07, cat. 41.

the larger context of salvific historical events. Furthermore, it justified them in rejecting the tyrannical rule of King Philip II. Finally, from an artistic point of view, a *Massacre of the Innocents* offered the painter an opportunity to paint a great number of nudes in a variety of poses, allowing him to show off his command of naked bodies to express human drama on an impressive scale, as well as his skills of invention and composition more generally.

Cursory observation of the triptych reveals that Cornelisz has exploited two main elements from the *Adoration* scenes to create unity within the triptych. Firstly, compared to the 1590 *Massacre of the Innocents*, he has augmented the number of (highlighted) figures in the foreground, to match the crowds in Van Heemskerck's panels. They are mostly women and some men, packed in tight groups along the sides of the canvas. Four nude, muscular soldiers (and one clothed in red wearing a blue cap) open up the scene for the beholder, while the receding crowds consist mainly of female heads expressing agony and despair at the events that unfold around them. Secondly, the vaulted ruinous structures of Van Heemskerck's *Adoration* scenes, which are magnified by the lobate frame that Cornelisz chose to leave intact, connect to the large triumphal arch in the very center of the *Massacre of the Innocents*.

The massive triumphal arch that draws the beholder's eye in the *Massacre* signals a duality that pervades the triptych as well as the other three Prinsenhof paintings: that of heavenly perfection versus earthly reality. The *Annunciation* was already illuminated from above but in the *Adoration* panels, the heavenly light was added by Cornelisz when he squared Van Heemskerck's wings. In contrast, the triumphal arch in his own painting conspicuously blocks out much of the heavens. The painter distinguishes between the

heavenly peace foretold by prophets like Isaiah, and prefigured by the calm and harmonious *Adoration* scenes, and the earthly struggles that await not only Christ but also the Netherlanders before this eternal peace of heaven can be realized at the end of time.⁵⁶³ Visually, the eye of the viewer first has to traverse through the scene of the massacre and underneath the dark arch before it has visual access to the blue sky once more. The arch refers to the eventual triumph for which the innocent children were martyred: Christ being saved from the murderous soldiers of the tyrant Herod so that he in turn could sacrifice himself for mankind. The painting expresses the hope that the Netherlanders, fulfilling the role of martyrs at the hand of the enemy, would finally emerge triumphant in an age of peace under Netherlandish rather than Spanish rule, and with a degree of religious tolerance.

A closer examination of the *Massacre* triptych reveals that although Cornelis Cornelisz has attempted to create some semblance of unity among the three elements that make up the triptych, overall it is clear that he made a conscious choice not to develop this more fully.⁵⁶⁴ His intention to differentiate between Van Heemskerck's wings and his own painting is reflected in his choice of support: Van Heemskerck's panels are painted on wood, but Cornelisz chose canvas for his *Massacre of the Innocents*.⁵⁶⁵ Consequently,

⁵⁶³ Chronologically speaking, in (pictorial) narrations of the life of Christ, the adoration of the shepherds is followed by Christ's circumcision, which in turn is followed by the adoration of the magi. Medieval tradition held that the circumcision was the first of the seven bloodlettings of Christ. Placing a *Massacre of the Innocents* between the two adoration scenes therefore can be seen to foreshadow Christ's passion as well as support the identification of the innocents (and the Netherlanders) as martyrs. Maarten van Heemskerck designed a series of prints of the seven bloodlettings of Christ, engraved by Harmen Jansz Muller, in 1565. Veldman, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerck*, 2, 81-82, cat. 376-82.

⁵⁶⁴ Van Thiel remarks: "The formal relationship of the central scene to the adjacent depictions on the inside of the shutters is less successful. In this case, Cornelis subordinated his striving for uniformity, which is generally apparent from his use of a related color scheme, to his need to emulate." Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 102.

⁵⁶⁵ Van Thiel notes that Cornelisz was "one of the first painters to paint on canvas." *Ibid.*, 7.

the wings' lobate format had to be adapted, as is mentioned in the surviving contract. The lobate frame provided a visual continuation of architectural forms, but at the same time conspicuously differentiated the wings from Cornelis Cornelisz's own central painting. Furthermore, Cornelisz contrasted Van Heemskerck's serene composition, vivid colors and clothed, statuesque figures with violently struggling, mostly naked forms that radiate out from the center of the painting, depicted in a much more subdued color palette.

Contrasting the ruins of the *Adoration* scenes with the impressive Renaissance architecture in the central painting is the familiar pictorial device that amplified the painting's typological message of the renewal of God's covenant with man through the advent of Christ. Furthermore, Cornelisz's scenery reflects contemporary Italian theory on theatrical stage settings. This theory was popularized first and foremost by Italian architectural theorist Sebastiano Serlio (1475-c. 1554) but ultimately originated in Roman architect Vitruvius's *Ten books on architecture* (*De architectura libri decem*). Among the many editions that followed Serlio's *All the works on architecture and perspective* (*Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva*) there was a French translation by artist Pieter Coecke van Aelst, issued in Antwerp in 1545, and a Dutch version printed only four years later. The only English translation of the work, published in London in 1611, was based on a 1606 reprint of the Dutch text.⁵⁶⁶

This theory holds that stage settings should be adapted not to the individual locations of the play in question, but to the genre to which the play belonged: tragedy, comedy, or satire. Tragic scenes were to be framed with classical architectural elements such as columns, pediments and statues, and buildings such as palaces and triumphal

⁵⁶⁶ A. E. Santaniello, *The Book of Architecture by Sebastiano Serlio, London, 1611* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 4-5.

arches. Comical plays required as a setting the interior of a private house, while landscape settings accommodated satirical pieces.⁵⁶⁷ In his 1545 translation (and augmentation) of Vitruvius's *Second book on perspective (Il secondo libro di prospettiva)*, Serlio records that the tragic scenery: "[...] is to represent tragedies. Its settings want to be for great personalities since accidents of love, and unexpected events, and violent and cruel deaths have always taken place in the houses of great lords, of dukes and noble princes or even of kings. Therefore, there must be in these stage sets no building which has nothing noble [...]."⁵⁶⁸ Interestingly, the woodcut with which Serlio illustrated this part of his treatise and which was copied in subsequent editions and translations, shows a city street lined with loggias and palaces that leads from a small triumphal arch in the left foreground to a larger triumphal arch in the middle background (fig. 3.14).⁵⁶⁹ Behind the latter, an obelisk and a building with a pyramid-shaped roof rise up.⁵⁷⁰ Although Cornelisz has dispensed with the pyramid, the triumphal arch is the dominant feature of the composition and an obelisk can be identified in the background of the *Massacre*. Cornelisz's choice of architectural scenery perfectly amplifies the tragic nature of the narrative depicted in the foreground of his painting.

Cornelisz has taken various elements of Van Heemskerck's compositions and adjusted them according to contemporary artistic fashions. Where Van Heemskerck, who was after all completing a commission for the drapers' guild, could only show the bodies

⁵⁶⁷ Vitruvius Pollio, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morris Hicky Morgan (Stilwell: Digireads.com, 2005), 91. Richard Krautheimer, "The Tragic and the Comic Scene of the Renaissance: The Baltimore and Urbino Panels," *Gazette des Beau-Arts* 33, no. 6 (1948): 329.

⁵⁶⁸ "The Tragic and the Comic Scene of the Renaissance: The Baltimore and Urbino Panels," 330.

⁵⁶⁹ Fig. 3.14: Wikipedia Harvard University Houghton Library, "Architectural Perspective of a Stage Set by Sebastiano Serlio (*De Architectura Libri Qvinque*, 1569, P. 69),"

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=35094631>. Last accessed 15 July 2016.

⁵⁷⁰ Krautheimer, "The Tragic and the Comic Scene of the Renaissance: The Baltimore and Urbino Panels," 330-31, fig. 3.

of his figures through the folds of their costumes, Cornelisz' soldiers are unhampered by fabric and reveal their physical fitness through their taut muscles and energetic movements. The colors used in the *Adoration* scenes are repeated in the *Massacre* but they are ancillary to the flesh-tones that dominate the composition. Van Heemskerck distinguished the skin tones of men and women. In Cornelisz's *Massacre of the Innocents*, his friend Karel van Mander would later admire the "[...] various flesh colors appropriate to the different times of life, for men as well as women, and the soft young flesh of the children – and the transformation by death of the bloodless bodies" ("[...] oock verscheyden Carnatien van verscheyden ouderdommen, so van Mannen, Vrouwen, als dat teer jongh vleesch der kinderen, en t' veranderen door de doot in den uytgebloedde lichamen)."⁵⁷¹ Where Van Heemskerck included classical ruins as the setting for his *Adoration* scenes, Cornelisz opted for contemporary Italianizing architecture (even though he did study Van Heemskerck's Roman sketches extensively, and used some of his figure studies in other paintings). Through all these formal and stylistic adaptations of Van Heemskerck's wings, Cornelisz places himself in the artistic lineage of the great master. Emulating him, he presents himself as the new (and improved) Maarten van Heemskerck.⁵⁷²

In the Prinsenhof *Fall of Man* (Gen. 3:1-7) Cornelisz employs a similar but more general method of emulation (fig. 3.03), this time of another illustrious predecessor: the

⁵⁷¹ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 293r.

⁵⁷² Van Thiel noticed this as well: "Generally speaking, it seems to have been Cornelis's ambition to redeem the unfulfilled promise of the art of his predecessor. Where Heemskerck fell short – in the realisation of a truly convincing and natural depiction of the human figure and in the evocation of completely realistic scenes, owing to his overwhelmingly linear style, his angular bodies, his uniform heads, and his forced arrangement of the elements in a composition – Cornelis did his best to improve upon these deficiencies by blurring the bodies' contours, subtly shading undulations, individualizing heads, and arranging scenes, which, no matter how artificial their set-up, powerfully suggested an imaginable reality." Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 97.

German artist Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). In Dürer's composition Adam and Eve are positioned on either side of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Adam holds a branch of the Tree of Life in his right and a piece of fruit from the forbidden tree in his left hand. His face is turned towards Eve who receives a second piece of fruit from the serpent curled around a branch of the tree (fig. 3.15).⁵⁷³ For his *Fall of Man* engraving Dürer used the antique statues of the Apollo Belvedere and the Medici Venus as models for the poses of the figures of Adam and Eve, but represented them according to the Vitruvian principles of proportion.⁵⁷⁴

In Dürer's print, Adam and Eve are accompanied by various animals: a cat, mouse, hare, ox, elk, parrot and an ibex. Generally, scholars seem to have accepted Erwin Panofsky's explanation that these animals represent the four 'humors' or 'temperaments' of man: sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric and melancholic.⁵⁷⁵ Medieval tradition held that in Paradise, the temperaments were perfectly balanced in Adam and Eve. After the Fall one of the four temperaments always dominated a person's character, making them susceptible to sensuality, sloth, cruelty or gloominess. Conversely, animals were ruled by one of the four temperaments from the moment of their creation. Panofsky identifies the rabbit (the ears seem to indicate the creature is in fact a hare) as representative of the sanguine humour, the ox as referring to the phlegmatic, the cat indicating the choleric and the elk embodying the melancholic temperament. The mouse stands for Adam, about to

⁵⁷³ Fig. 3.15: Victoria and Albert Museum, "Albrecht Dürer, Adam and Eve (E.581-1940)," <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O140261/adam-and-eve-print-durer-albrecht/>. Access date 15 July 2016.

⁵⁷⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1 (London: Humphrey Milford, 1945), 85-86.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 84-85. Charles Ilsley Minott associates the parrot with Adam, because of its position in the rowan tree (Tree of Life) of which Adam holds a branch. This tree was known to be used by predators who hunted the birds that were attracted to its fruits. He also relates the cat and the elk, both symbols connected with the moon and lunar goddess Diana to Eve, and speculates that a similar interpretation might be found for the rabbit and ox. Charles Ilsley Minott, "Albrecht Dürer: The Early Graphic Works," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 30, no. 2 (1971): 17-18.

be caught by the cat that is Eve, and the ‘wise and benevolent’ parrot mirrors the evil snake (the devil).⁵⁷⁶ The ibex or mountain goat in the background is unfortunately not included in Panofsky’s analysis.

At first glance, Cornelisz’s composition is very similar to Dürer’s engraving; Adam and Eve are standing in front of the Tree of Knowledge, surrounded by a variety of animals, a cat and elk among them. The pose of Adam has been largely copied from Dürer’s print, although his rather heavy set upper torso brings to mind the antique sculpture of the Farnese Hercules rather than the Apollo Belvedere. Eve’s arms and head are positioned differently from Dürer’s example.⁵⁷⁷ Both of their bodies are painted in a softer and more elegant style than the dramatic and muscular figures of the *Massacre of the Innocents*, showing the painter’s command over this particular, more modern style of painting. Various scholars have pointed out that Cornelisz here refers to the artist Anthonie van Blocklandt’s female nudes, for instance his painting of *Venus Disarms Cupid* (ca 1580), or Goltzius’s 1583 *Andromeda* print, done in Anthonie Blocklandt’s style (fig. 3.16).⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁶ Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 1, 84-85. Paul Smith approached the print’s symbolism from a different angle, noting that the German word for elk is ‘ehland’, which was also an archaic German word for ‘savior’ and that powdered Elk’s hoof was considered to be a medicine against epilepsy or the ‘falling disease’. Therefore, the elk symbolized Christ who saved mankind from falling into sin. “Thus it appears that German linguistic (re)motivation is of great importance for deciphering the typological message of Dürer’s engraving. Paul Smith, “Rereading Dürer’s Representations of the Fall of Man,” in *Zoology in Early Modern Culture : Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, ed. Karl Enekel and Paul Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 313.

⁵⁷⁷ Perhaps one might go so far as to say that Cornelisz’ change in the positions of the arms indicates a subtle shift in meaning. In Dürer’s print, Adam still holds the Tree of Life while Eve persuades him to try the fruit. In Cornelisz’ painting, while it is Eve who listens to the serpent and Adam who listens to Eve in turn, their arms and their bodies mirror each other. Furthermore, they hold the forbidden fruit together in their hands (while the serpent offers Eve a second piece of fruit). The responsibility for the Fall of mankind here seems to be distributed more equally over both Adam and Eve, rather than that Eve alone is identified as its primary instigator.

⁵⁷⁸ Fig. 3.16: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, “Perseus en Andromeda (RP-P-OB-10.130),” <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.438396>. Last accessed 15 July 2016. Niessen, *Cornelis van Haarlem 1562-1638*, 55. “It has been said that with this painting, Cornelis established a canon for human proportions for Dutch mannerists. Adam and his muscular torso atop an exaggeratedly slim waist

Eve's change in pose is not only of interest from a stylistic point of view, but it also connects the painting to Van Heemskerck's *Annunciation to the Virgin*. Cornelisz refers back to the wings of his *Massacre* triptych by contrasting Eve's head, inclined upwards and sideways to the right to listen to the serpent, with the Virgin's demure downward gaze to the left. Whereas Eve is in motion, the Virgin sits at her lectern, and whereas the former is about to defy God's only commandment by eating the forbidden fruit, the latter is about to acquiesce to become the Virgin mother of "him who taketh away the sin of the world," thereby facilitating the rectification of Adam and Eve's Original Sin.⁵⁷⁹ These visual contrasts between the type (Eve) and the antitype (the Virgin Mary) are a further indication that Cornelisz's Prinsenhof paintings were intended to be understood typologically.

Cornelisz has removed the Tree of Life that Dürer had placed adjacent to Adam, but chose to more than triple the number of animals that inhabit the paradisiacal scene. He included: a snake, owl, dragon, elk, hedgehog, brown butterfly, white butterfly, cat, monkey, bear, fox, dog, peacock, turkey, porcupine, stork, deer (?), two geese, two sheep, two slugs and two frogs.⁵⁸⁰ The monkey and the cat, locked in a tight embrace, have been unanimously identified as representing Adam's sanguine and Eve's choleric temperament respectively.⁵⁸¹ Additionally, these animals were known for their stupidity, reflecting the

was made the norm for his followers." ("Er is weleens gezegd dat Cornelis met dit schilderij voor de Hollandse maniëristen de canon van de menselijke proporties vastlegde. Adam met zijn gespierde torso boven de overdreven slanke taille werd bij zijn navolgers tot norm verheven"). (My translation). Luijten and Suchtelen, *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art 1580-1620*, 338.

⁵⁷⁹ John 1:29.

⁵⁸⁰ The animal depicted under the shadow of God I have tentatively identified as a porcupine. The creature next to the turkey to me seems to resemble a deer.

⁵⁸¹ See for instance: P.J.J. van Thiel, "Marriage Symbolism in a Musical Party by Jan Miense Molenaer," *Simiolus* II (1967/68): 95-99.

“stupidest act mankind ever committed” by Adam and Eve – their tasting the forbidden fruit that condemned humankind in perpetuity to a life of hardship.⁵⁸²

Various sources, including medieval bestiaries, Karel van Mander’s 1604 *Van de wtbeeldingen der figueren*, and Cesare Ripa’s 1593 *Iconology (Iconologia)*, have been consulted to explain the meaning of some of the animals. For instance, the hedgehog behind Eve’s foot may allude to the devil and his seductive powers, the slugs and frogs to earthliness. For other animals, like the turkey, fox, geese, stork or peacock, no analysis has yet been hazarded. The symbolic interpretations available for many of the animals depicted is varied and sometimes conflicting. Presumably, contemporary viewers would have known how to connect these animal motifs to the narrative depicted. In any case, Panofsky’s interpretation of animals representing the four temperaments proves inadequate to explain the symbolism of all the creatures in Cornelisz’s *Fall of Man*.

The presence of the sheep offers the first clue to our understanding of the scene in the background, where Adam and Eve are shown in conversation with God the Father under a cloud-like guise. Various scholars, such as McGee, Van Bueren and Biesboer, have interpreted this constellation as the *Expulsion from Paradise*. Since this scene seems to precede rather than succeed the Fall, and since Adam and Eve show no signs of distress and wear no fig leaves, an *Expulsion from Paradise* is rather unlikely.⁵⁸³ Van Thiel also rejected this identification when he described the scene as “God leading the first couple into paradise” and rightly concluded that “God, who raises his right hand

⁵⁸² Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen*, 432. “de domste daad die de mens ooit beging.” Thiel, “Marriage Symbolism in a Musical Party by Jan Miense Molenaer,” 98.

⁵⁸³ The dragon in the far right background stands for the devil and functions as God’s counterpart. Where God told them not to eat the fruit, the dragon seduced Eve into tasting it anyway.

with two fingers outstretched, seems to be using this gesture of blessing to point out to the first couple the trees, especially the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil with the forbidden fruit [...].”⁵⁸⁴ Since sheep were generally used to represent the ignorant or innocent, the two sheep depicted alongside Adam and Eve buttress the identification of the scene as God warning Adam and Eve not to eat the forbidden fruit.⁵⁸⁵

These sheep in the background scene also draw attention to the duality present in this painting: heavenly bliss in paradise contrasted with earthly sinfulness. Paradise, depicted in subdued and serene colors, is bathed in a soft, heavenly light. The left-side of the painting contains the figures of God, the still innocent Adam and Eve and a collection of domesticated animals such as one might find around a farm: geese, sheep, a turkey and a peacock (that could be eaten by man). The boundary between the back- and foreground of the painting is marked by a more vibrant color palette and guarded by predators, carnivores (that could eat man): the bear, dog and fox. Through Adam and Eve’s defiance of God’s only commandment, the calm world on the left side of the painting has succumbed to darkness and shadow on the right side, the domain of the devil.

However, as Isaiah foretold a kingdom of peace in the *Massacre of the Innocents* triptych, he prophesied also: “the people that walked in darkness, have seen a great light: to them that dwelt in the shadow of death, light is risen.”⁵⁸⁶ The evangelist Matthew refers to this prophecy when describing the advent of Christ’s ministry. In Cornelisz’s

⁵⁸⁴ Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 103, 213. Zandvliet subscribes to Van Thiel’s reasoning. Zandvliet, *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, 46n67.

⁵⁸⁵ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 129r. Van Mander explains: “The sheep or multiple sheep, are comparable to common, ignorant folk.” (“Het Schaep, oft Schapen, worden geleken de ghemeen onwetende Luyden”). Ripa interprets sheep as representing stupidity, usefulness, ignorance, and the common people. Hessel Miedema, *Beeldespraeck, Register op D.P. Pers' Uitgave van Cesare Ripa's Iconologia (1644)* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1987), 332.

⁵⁸⁶ Isaiah 9:2.

Fall the hope for salvation is present in the form of the elk, enveloped by shadow behind the Tree of Knowledge. As Paul Smith has pointed out in his study on Dürer's images of the *Fall*, the elk was considered to be a symbol of Christ.⁵⁸⁷ The messiah, "light of the world", is still hidden in the shadow in Cornelisz's painting, but at the appointed time would do battle with the devil in the desert, commence his ministry, and ultimately redeem mankind.

Cornelisz emulated Albrecht Dürer's 1504 *Fall of Man* as he emulated Van Heemskerck's wing panels. The composition is clearly modelled after his predecessor, but the figures are softer and more elegantly depicted, more fluid in their movement. Furthermore, the presence of triple the number of animals clearly signals an added richness in symbolism, variety and detail. Cornelisz hereby positions himself as continuing the lineage of the great Dürer, who, according to Karel van Mander, at one time visited Haarlem while a journeyman.⁵⁸⁸ The changes Cornelisz made to the composition – the adaptation of Eve's pose (visually relating her to the Virgin Mary), contrasting the light of Paradise and the darkness of sin and death, as well as the hope of restoration by Christ – signal the painting's typological content and connect it to the other Prinsenhof paintings. Finally, the embracing monkey and cat indicate that lust entered the world with the *Fall*, a theme that will be further explored in the *Monk and the Beguine* and the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, the other two paintings that made up the Prinsenhof commission.

The "contrefeytsel van eenen monick en[de] baghyn" or the *Monk and the Beguine* (fig. 3.02) was delivered and paid for at the same time as the *Massacre of the*

⁵⁸⁷ Smith, "Rereading Dürer's Representations of the Fall of Man," 311-15.

⁵⁸⁸ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 206v.

Innocent triptych (fig. 3.02).⁵⁸⁹ The painting, described by McGee as “the most perplexing of all the paintings completed by Cornelis for the Prinsenhof,” depicts a tonsured monk in a greyish habit, squeezing a beguine’s exposed breast with his left hand.⁵⁹⁰ The beguine wears a light grey robe and white head dress, and seems altogether not averse to what the monk is doing. Both figures are seated behind a small table laden with fruit and a delicate glass of wine. In the scholarly literature, three different hypotheses have been brought forward to explain the unusual subject matter.

The story of the ‘Miracle of Haarlem’ was first recounted in the 1872 catalogue of the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, and was probably invented by its curator, a Mr. A.J. Enschedé (1829-1896).⁵⁹¹ According to this ‘legend’, a nun was suspected of breaking her chastity vow and had become pregnant. A monk was sent to investigate. Upon squeezing the nun’s breast, the monk found that not milk but wine (and in some versions fruit as well) spouted forth, miraculously proving the nun’s innocence.⁵⁹² This legend offered a comparatively chaste interpretation of a lurid picture, which accounts for the legend’s lingering appeal.⁵⁹³ However, there are no creditable historical sources to substantiate the existence of an actual or legendary ‘Miracle of Haarlem’ before the

⁵⁸⁹ Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 224.

⁵⁹⁰ A beguine was a member of a lay religious community who took vows of chastity.

⁵⁹¹ *Catalogus der Schilderijen op het Museum der Stad Haarlem*. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 214. Niessen, *Cornelis van Haarlem 1562-1638*, 60.

⁵⁹² Some recount that not only wine but also the fruit on the table had miraculously spouted forth from the nun’s breast: Friedrich Wedekind, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem* (Leipzig: Sturm & Koppe, 1911), 21. Wilenski, *An Introduction to Dutch Art*, 36, note 1. P.P.W.M. Dirkse, “Een Onmatige Monnik en Non, door de Paus Bepied,” in *Geloof en Satire Anno 1600*, ed. R.P. Zijp (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent 1981), 45.

⁵⁹³ Karel van Mander’s omission of this painting from his discussion of Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem’s Prinsenhof paintings has been interpreted as proof that the painting was considered either insignificant and/or too vulgar. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 103. Niessen, *Cornelis van Haarlem 1562-1638*, 60. Despite the fact that this ‘legend’ and the actual scene in Cornelis Cornelisz’ painting do not correspond very well, in addition to the lack of any creditable source material, strangely, the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem still enumerates the story in its audio tour and museum guide.

nineteenth century, and as there is no wine (or fruit) depicted pouring forth from the beguine's breast either, this interpretation is untenable.⁵⁹⁴

The second interpretation identifies the painting as a portrait of Cornelis Adriaensz Brouwer (1521-1582), a Franciscan monk who lived mainly in Bruges. He was famous for his spirited sermons and known to be consulted by the courts in suspected cases of heresy. In 1566-1567 he was even employed by the Spanish inquisition, which added to the animosity against him.⁵⁹⁵ His fierce preaching for the Catholic cause resulted in the publication of various pamphlets as well as the booklet: *History of Cornelis Adriaensen of Dordrecht, Monk in the City of Bruges (Historie van B. Cornelis Adriaensen van Dordrecht, Minrebroeder binnen die Stadt van Brugghe)* in 1569. This anonymous, satirical document contained a biography of 'Brother Cornelis' as well as a substantial collection of imaginary sermons he supposedly preached. These sources relate his preference for looking at his female devotee's bare bottoms as well as his practice of whipping them for penitential purposes. The language in these sermons is very coarse and the views attributed to him are at times absurd.⁵⁹⁶ A second volume of material on Brother Cornelis was published in 1578, and at least fifteen editions of this book, published until 1714, testify to its lingering popularity.⁵⁹⁷

Various artistic depictions of Brother Cornelis have survived: a number of title pages and pamphlets feature his portrait, usually with his favored attribute of penance (a

⁵⁹⁴ Van Thiel adds compellingly that it is highly unlikely that the depiction of a miracle would be accepted as decoration for the Prinsenhof. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 214n84.

⁵⁹⁵ Karel Bostoën, "Broer Cornelis en zijn Historie: een Politieke Satire," *Literatuur: Tijdschrift over Nederlandse Letterkunde* 1 (1984): 257.

⁵⁹⁶ In 1566 he claimed that denying purgatory was worse than committing incest with one's mothers, sisters and daughters, murdering one's entire family, and committing acts of sodomy. *Ibid.*, 256.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 254.

scourge) and sometimes accompanied by one or more of his female devotees in various states of undress (fig. 3.17).⁵⁹⁸ A painted portrait, ascribed by biographer Karel van Mander to publisher and painter Hubertus Goltzius (second cousin to the famous painter and engraver Hendrick Goltzius), currently belongs to the municipal museum of Bruges.⁵⁹⁹ Pieter Langendijk (1683-1756) first suggested in his *Description of the Prinsenhof (Beschrijving van het Prinsenhof)*, that Cornelis Cornelisz's *Monk and the Beguine* might depict Brother Cornelis. Many scholars, like Van Bueren, have accepted this suggestion; others remain in doubt or, like Paul Dirkse and McGee, conclude that "there is no convincing reason to believe we are concerned here with Brother Cornelis."⁶⁰⁰ Van Thiel first was of the opinion that the Prinsenhof painting represented Brother Cornelis, but later changed his mind, noting the absence of the scourge, and that Brother Cornelis's *modus operandi* was alleged to be whipping his followers' buttocks, rather than fondling their breasts.⁶⁰¹

The third and most likely interpretation of Cornelisz's *Monk and the Beguine*, advocated for instance by Biesboer and recently by Van Thiel, is that the painting depicts a more general example of the sinful behavior of the Catholic clergy that was so severely criticized throughout the sixteenth century. Such wrongful practices were not only condemned in official treatises and pamphlets, but also ridiculed in public plays and in a

⁵⁹⁸ Fig. 3.17: DBNL: Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren, "Historie van Broer Cornelis," http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_his002broe01_01/_his002broe01_01_0002.php. Last accessed 16 July 2016. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, fig. 82.

⁵⁹⁹ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 248v. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 216, fig. 83.

⁶⁰⁰ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 168. Dirkse, "Een Onmatige Monnik en Non, door de Paus Bespied," 43-47.

⁶⁰¹ Thiel, "Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem - His First Ten Years as a Painter, 1582-1592," 83. *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 217. Köhler, *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850, the Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, 429. Dirkse, "Een Onmatige Monnik en Non, door de Paus Bespied," 46.

series of rather cheeky protest songs. This opening verse of one such a song, for example, was written shortly before the iconoclasm of 1566:

“Father, gather your courage,	“Pater, grijpt doch eenen moet,
And kiss your Abbess,	En kust eens u Abdisse,
Even though we are now lying underfoot,	Al liggen wy nu onder de voet,
We still hear Mass every day,	Wy hooren noch dagheycks Misse, We
hope, we shall,	Wy hopen, wy sullen,
Fill our bellies yet,	Ons buycksken noch vullen,
Feast on something tasty,	Wat lekkers doen smullen,
On papal letters and bulls,	Deur brieven, deur bullen,
Even though we have been chased away,	Al zijn wy nu verjaecht,
Your cabbages, melons,	U kappers, meloenen,
Your chicks and capons,	U kieckxkens, capoenen,
Have not been nibbled.”	En zijn niet al ghknaecht.” ⁶⁰²

Another song reveals that not only male monastics were suspected of improper behavior. A priest described as a short, round, fat little father (“een kort, dick, vet paterken”) inquires of the nuns under his tutelage whether they have been contaminated by the radical ideas of the resistance (“oft sy niet besmet en waren met Geuserijen”).⁶⁰³ To his dismay several nuns would be quite happy with a change of governance, for under

⁶⁰² Lummel, *Nieuw Geuzenlied-Boek, Waarin Begrepen Is den Gantschen Handel der Nederlanden, Beginnende Anno 1564 uit Alle Oude Geuzenlied-Boeken Bijeenverzameld*, 17, Geuzenlied XI. (My translation) In a later couplet, the singer promises to pamper the father: “Your loin cushion thoroughly warmed, a stove for under your feet, Early in the morning, before you dress, I will come to greet you, And say, as you mother did, Goodmorning, dear father! Do you care for some water, to wash your mug? What else should be done? Than to say, with a bow, Would you like to gulp, An egg, freshly laid?” (“U lendekusken wel gheheet, Een stoofken onder u voeten, ‘s Morghens vroeg, eer ghy u kleedt, Sal ick u koomen groeten, En segghen als mater, Goeden dach, lieve pater! Blijft u wat water, Te wasschen uw snater? Wat dient er dan meer gheseydt?, Te seggen, met stuypen, Blijft u te suypen, Een eyken versch gheleydt?”).

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 20, Geuzenlied XIII. (My translation)

the new regime they would be allowed to marry. Christ, they repeat, was present at their wedding with him, but he never visits them in their nunnery (“dat Christus ter bruiloft was en noyt in geen profes”). Sister Claerken reveals:

“Am I a virgin, father? You’re joking, you’re lying,
 I have lost it, but not to a young fellow,
 I was confessing to our chaplain Brother Cornelis,
 At night, after dark, in our chapel,
 Then he took my confession, more than once, in my room,
 That had been lovingly scattered with scented herbs,
 He promised me faithfully, and swore with quickness,
 That Christ was at the wedding, but never at the nunnery.”

“Ben ick maegt, Pater? Bone spaeyns, ghy liegt,
 Ick ben die al quyte, maer met geen jong gheselle,
 Ick was van broer Cornelis ons capellaen gebiegt,
 ’s Avonts alst donker was, in ons capelle,
 Dan heeft hy dicmael gebiecht in mijn celle,
 Die lieffelyck gestroyt was met kruydekens en ges,
 Hy geloofde my trouwe, en swoer als de snelle,
 Dat Christus ter bruyloft was en noyt in geen profes.”⁶⁰⁴

Other nuns are quite satisfied being in the nunnery under the political and religious *status quo*, as they can have the benefits of male company without having to deal with drunk and abusive husbands. When the shocked father finally asks “how many virgins are there among you lot?” (“hoeveel maegden datter warenin alde bende?”) he

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid. (My translation)

finds that there are only three left: two deaf nuns and one who turns out to be blind. All three nuns, however, swear by Saint Francis that:

“It was not their fault that they were still virgins,
 Because there never was anybody in all our lives,
 Who wanted to kiss us on the mouth,
 But we are quite willing to marry,
 If anybody wanted us, we would consent instantly.”

“T’en was haer schult niet dat se maegt waren bleven,
 Want daer was noyt niemant in al ons leven,
 Die eens begeerde te kussen onsen mondt,
 Nochtans willen wy ons oock wel ten huwelicke begheven
 Begeerde ons iemant, wy consenteerden terstont.”⁶⁰⁵

A painting from the early eighteenth century reflects such an interpretation as well (fig. 3.18).⁶⁰⁶ Here the beguine or nun seems to sit on the monk’s lap. He touches her breasts while she holds a glass of wine and reaches for some grapes with her right hand. The fruit on the table represent sensual pleasure, in particular the melon, which visually refers to the nun’s genitals (as does the stitched up opening in her skirt).

The unusual subject matter and its controversial nature convinced Judith Niessen that the *Monk and the Beguine* was in fact not part of the iconographical program devised for the Prinsenhof at all.⁶⁰⁷ Van Thiel, however, convincingly argues that since all the

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., 22, Geuzenlied XIII. (My translation)

⁶⁰⁶ Fig. 3.18: Frans Hals Museum, "Bachanaal van een Monnik en een Non (Os I-684)," <http://www.franshalsmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/zoeken-de-collectie/bachanaal-van-een-monnier-en-een-non-664/>. Last accessed 16 July 2016.

⁶⁰⁷ Niessen, *Cornelis van Haarlem 1562-1638*, 59. She identifies the painting’s subject matter as “anti-catholic propaganda, as a general satirical comment on supposed sexual abuse within the Catholic Church”

canvas for Cornelisz's commission was bought as one purchase and for "eenige schilderye" ("some paintings"), it is likely that "the choice of subjects was a deliberate, programmatic one."⁶⁰⁸ The argument that it would have been inappropriate to show the misconduct of catholic clergy in a city where there were still many influential Catholic families, has been countered convincingly by the assumption that many Catholics themselves would have disapproved of the unlawful practices of those who ought to provide them a spiritual example.

Two clues buttress the suggestion that the painting of the *Monk and the Beguine* was in fact intended to be a lurid picture of monastic impropriety: the painting's intended location and the apple on the table in the foreground of the picture. The Prinsenhof was located in a remodelled Dominican monastery, formerly belonging to the Catholic Church but repossessed and given to the city of Haarlem by the States of Holland as a partial recompense for the damages sustained during and after the Spanish siege. Depicting a monk and a beguine tasting the for them forbidden fruits of lavish food (especially inappropriate considering the destructive famine in the city's recent past) and sexual pleasure, might have functioned as a justification for the repossession of the monastery and its conversion into a building with a secular and political purpose by the Calvinist city council.

("Waarschijnlijk is het schilderij echter eerder bedoeld als antikatholieke propaganda, als een algemene satire op de vermeende seksuele misstanden binnen de katholieke kerk").

⁶⁰⁸ Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 34, 223, 337. He furthermore adds that "the clarity of the programme's message would not be furthered in any way by the presence of a painting whose subject had nothing to do with it." Ibid., 219. Zandvliet notes that the programmatic approach of the Haarlem ensemble is evident, but that its contents must have lost its poignancy fairly soon ("De programmatische aanpak in het Haarlemse ensemble is evident, al moet de inhoudelijke betekenis spoedig haar grote nadrukkelijkheid hebben verloren"). Zandvliet, *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, 149.F

Although the *Monk and the Beguine* is clearly not intended as a portrait of Brother Cornelis (no source, no bare buttocks), the popularity of the circulating pamphlets, booklets and portraits of the monk suggests that contemporary viewers would certainly have thought of the preacher from Bruges when examining the painting. Over time, Brother Cornelis became the embodiment of religious intolerance and persecution. In political prints published in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, at least, the monk has ascended from being a local preacher to being included as part of Alva's governance in the Low Countries (fig. 3.19-3.20).⁶⁰⁹

As with the *Massacre of the Innocents*, where Cornelis Cornelisz chose to forego any direct references to the city of Haarlem as the location of Spanish atrocities, in the *Monk and the Beguine*, the painter avoided a concrete identification with the infamous Brother Cornelis. However, as the slaughter instigated by the tyrant Herod depicted in the *Massacre of the Innocents* would have sparked immediate associations with the military domination by the Spanish in the Low Countries, the monk in the *Monk and the Beguine*, reminiscent of Brother Cornelis, functioned as an acknowledgement of the religious

⁶⁰⁹ Fig. 3.19: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "De Verdrukking van de Nederlanden onder Alva (RP-P-OB-79.016)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.444760>. Access date 23 August 2016. Brother Cornelis is identified by the letter 'F' and stands on the left-hand side of Alva's throne on the second row, looking out at the beholder. Also see the preparatory drawing: RP-P-BI-6930A, two other editions: RP-P-OB-79.000 and RP-P-OB-79.001, and a partial painting: SK-C-1551, in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Ebben, Lacy-Bruijn, and Van Hövell tot Westervliet, *Alba: General and Servant to the Crown*, 20. Fig. 3.20: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Tirannie van Alva (RP-P-BI-6930b)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.336158>. Access date 23 August 2016. Brother Cornelis is identified by the number '10' and stands to the far right in the door opening, right behind Alva. Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*, 59, 62-63. A satirical print issued in 1618, probably by Pieter Feddes van Harlingen, compares the governance of Johan van Oldebarnevelt (once a political ally of Prince Maurits) with the tyranny of Alva. When the top half of the print is folded over, the council of Van Oldebarnevelt is revealed to be Alva and his blood council, including cardinal de Granvelle and Brother Cornelis. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Spotprent Waarin de Regering van Johan van Oldenbarnevelt Wordt Vergeleken met de Tirannie van de Hertog van Alva (RP-P-OB-77.307)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.359036>. Access date 23 August 2016.

oppression suffered under the tyrannical rule of Spain. Both of these paintings together also function as a message to the Prince of Orange, urging him to continue to fight tyranny and religious intolerance during his rulership of the Low Countries.

The discerning viewer might also have noticed that Corneliz added a playful reference to his close friend and collaborator Hendrick Goltzius.⁶¹⁰ Various scholars have noted that the hands of both protagonists in the *Monk and the Beguine* closely resemble the famous drawings and engravings of Goltzius's burin hand (fig. 3.21).⁶¹¹ According to Van Mander, this hand was disfigured due to a childhood accident which meant that he could never fully open it.⁶¹² A further connection made by Van Mander, who attributed both the aforementioned painted portrait of Brother Cornelis as well as the publication of his (satirical) sermons to Hubertus Goltzius, reinforces this notion. Again, Cornelisz is artistically (and playfully) in conversation with another celebrated artist, this time his friend and contemporary Goltzius.

The shiny and tempting red apple visually connects the *Monk and the Beguine* to the *Fall of Man* and the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*. In the *Fall*, the forbidden fruit has the shape of an apple and is the means by which Adam and Eve commit the first sin. In this sense the *Fall* functions as a type to the *Monk and the Beguine*, where the red apple represents the transgression of their vows of chastity and moderation. As in the *Fall* and the *Massacre of the Innocents* triptych, the viewer is confronted with the worst examples of wrongdoing, this time more explicitly sensual in nature. Again, the heavenly ideal of

⁶¹⁰ A fair share of the visitors to the Prinsenhof will have realized that the painter's name is similar to the name of the infamous monk from Bruges.

⁶¹¹ Fig. 3.21: Wikipedia, "Goltzius's Drawing of his Right Hand (Teylers Museum, Haarlem)," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hendrik_Goltzius#/media/File:Goltzius%27s_right_Hand.jpg. Last accessed 16 June 2016. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 282r. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 82.

⁶¹² Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 282r.

piety and obedience to God are contrasted with the earthly reality that shows mankind to be susceptible to the temptations of the flesh and the abuse of power. Finally, in the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, the golden apple of discord, addressed ‘to the fairest’ and thrown in the middle of a wedding party, ultimately leads to the Trojan War.

The earliest surviving inventory of the Prinsenhof dates to 1622 and records that Cornelis Cornelisz’s *Massacre of the Innocents* triptych, the *Fall of Man*, and the *Monk and the Beguine* were all hanging in the so-called ‘Middle Room’ of the Prinsenhof. They would stay in that room for at least 150 years, as Langedijk’s description of the Prinsenhof reveals. Originally, the fourth painting, the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, hung in the Prince’s bedroom.⁶¹³ It is still recorded in that location in 1667, but by ca. 1750 it had been moved to the dining hall. In any case, these historical sources indicate that Cornelisz’s four paintings for the Prinsenhof were never placed in one room together. Considering the impressive size of the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, which measures almost 2.5 meters in height and is well over 4 meters wide, this is not surprising.⁶¹⁴ This also explains why the *Wedding* is a more self-contained picture than the other three designed by Cornelis Cornelisz.

The fourth painting Cornelisz made for the Prinsenhof depicts the wedding of the mortal hero Peleus with the sea nymph Thetis (fig. 3.04). The large banquet hosted in honor of the occasion is chaired by Jupiter, seated at the head of the table in the far

⁶¹³ Köhler, *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850, the Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, 57.

⁶¹⁴ The painting measures 246x419 cm. Niessen, *Cornelis van Haarlem 1562-1638*, 56. Wouter Kloek notes it is: “no doubt the largest painting of a profane subject up to its time in the Northern Netherlands.” Luijten and Suchtelen, *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art 1580-1620*, 19. According to Lisa Rosenthal, the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* was “the largest mythological painting of its time in the Northern Netherlands.” Lisa Rosenthal, “Political and Painterly Virtue in Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem’s *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* for the Haarlem Prinsenhof,” *Netherlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek: Virtue, Virtuoso, Virtuosity in Netherlandish Art 1500-1700* 54 (2003): 177.

background, near the bride and groom. In the left foreground, the god Pan embraces a nymph while next to him the smith Vulcan empties his tankard. Just left of the center, Venus takes a stroll with Cupid, approaching Bacchus and Ceres who are reclining on a small hill.⁶¹⁵ To the right, several nymphs are singing and playing music together, guided by Mercury, while Ganymede ensures all cups remain filled. In the far right background the *Judgement of Paris* is depicted. In the upper left corner, Eris, the goddess of discord, flies away.

The narrative of the wedding does not originate with Ovid but derives from a variety of classical sources, such as the poets Catullus and Lucian, and was transmitted mainly via the *Ovide Moralisé*.⁶¹⁶ Karel van Mander includes it in his *Wtleggingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ouidij Nasonis*, in the life of Thetis.⁶¹⁷ According to the story, all the gods were invited to the banquet except Eris. Angry over her exclusion she throws a golden apple amidst the wedding party, engraved ‘to the fairest’.⁶¹⁸ The goddesses Juno, Minerva and Venus each felt they deserved the apple, but Jupiter decided to delegate the task of choosing between them to the human shepherd Paris. In order to persuade him, Juno offered him riches, Minerva pledged wisdom and Venus promised him the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris chose Venus “for which the beautiful city of Troy suffered ruination and paid dearly” (“t’welck namaels de schooner stadt Troyen met

⁶¹⁵ Lisa Rosenthal identifies this couple as a second depiction of Peleus and Thetis. "Political and Painterly Virtue in Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem's *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* for the Haarlem Prinsenhof," 179. Their attributes (the abundant fruit at the woman's feet and the wine cup held by the man) suggest that this couple represents Bacchus and Ceres.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 177-78. Sluijter, "De 'Heydensche Fabulen' in de Noordnederlandse Schilderkunst, circa 1590-1670. Een Proeve van Beschrijving en Interpretatie van Schilderijen met Verhalende Onderwerpen uit de Klassieke Mythologie," 198.

⁶¹⁷ Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck, Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave*, fol. 90v-fol. 91r.

⁶¹⁸ Van Mander rhymes: "Desen gulden Appel schoon, zy de schoonste hier te loon." Ibid., fol. 90v.

grondigh verderf heeft moeten goet doen, en jammerlijck becoopen”).⁶¹⁹ Paris eloped with Helena, causing her husband King Menelaus of Sparta to start a war with the city state of Troy in an effort to win her back.

The harmony that is still in place in the painting is expressed through the musical party in the left foreground, but also in the way the figure of Bacchus is depicted, young and attractive. According to Van Mander, the god of wine can appear in two guises: as a bearded, older man or a young, cheerful and handsome fellow. The former indicates excessive drinking, resulting in anger and arrogance, while the latter stands for temperate drinking that leads to cheeriness, pleasantness and good health (“t’eerste gestalt (als gheseyt is) omdat hy den Menschen, overdadigh wesende gedroncken, met torn ontsteeckt, en onbescheyden maeckt: maer al hy matigh ghebruyckt is, maeckt vrolijk, gheneuchlijk, en ghesont, en daerom was hy jongh uytgebeelt”).⁶²⁰ Eris flying away and the *Judgement of Paris* depicted to the upper right, however, show that discord and disharmony are imminent.

The lush landscape setting recalls Karel van Mander’s description of the paradise on Mount Olympus during the Golden age: “At the beginning of the world ruled by Saturn, it was the Golden age. This means, that because of genuine, wise Kings and Lords, in the lands they ruled, the people enjoy a quiet, cheerful life, since they uphold good laws and infallible justice [...]” (“In den aenvangh der Weerelt onder de heerschinghe Saturni, was de soete gulden Eeuwe. Dit can verstaen worden, dat door oprechte wijse Coningen en Heeren, in Landen daer sy heerschen, de Menschen een

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., fol. 92r.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., fol. 24r.

gherust, stille, en vrolijck Leven ghenutzen, om datter goede Wetten gheoeffent worden, en ongherboghen gherechticheyt [...]”).⁶²¹

Van Mander interprets the moral of the story as follows: “Discord, altercation and disagreement are the seeds of destruction. Countries, states and cities, as well as any particular body, are also subject to these accidents because nothing causes decay or makes things miserable more easily than black ugly discord who throws daily an apple of strife [...] Because it is intolerable for many to see those who are ignorant and inexperienced in wisdom rule over those who are more understanding, the rich over the poor, the mischievous and rash over the steadfast and temperate. It is not easy to find someone who is simultaneously rich, wise and temperate” (“[...] tweedracht, twist en gekijf [zijn] beginselen des verderfs. Deser toevallen zijn oock onderworpen Landen, Steden, en Staten, soo wel als elck besonder lichaem: want daer is geen dinghen dates lichtlijcker doet vervallen, en ellendigh maeckt, als de swarte vuyle tweedracht, welcke daeghlijcx den twist-appel [...] werpt: want het valt menigen onlijdlijck ghenoech, te sien heerschen d’onwetende, en die in wijsheyt onbesocht zijn, over die veel verstandiger zijn: de arme over de rijcke: d’ondeughende en lichtveerdighe over de ghestadighe, en ghematighde: want te vinden yemant die te samen rijck, wijsen matigh is, waer soo licht niet te doen”).⁶²²

In light of these comments by Karel van Mander, scholars have interpreted the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* by Cornelis Cornelisz as a warning to Prince Maurits of Orange and his successors to maintain harmony and peace in the lands and to avoid

⁶²¹ Ibid., fol. 3v.

⁶²² Translation: McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 195.

discord through good rulership and wise judgement.⁶²³ After the *Fall*, the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Monk and the Beguine*, which all paint a grim picture of the dangers of lust and power, the Golden Age depicted in the *Wedding* offers a more positive note; The only black woman in the painting wears a gown embroidered with the Greek word *praxeis*, which means something like “you shall achieve,” suggesting that the mythological Golden Age can in fact become a reality under the new governance of Prince Maurits and his successors.⁶²⁴ This woman, furthermore, is seated right behind the singers, and touched by Mercury’s caduceus, which implies that just rulership will also enable the arts to blossom.

The choice of a mythological scene in a typological ensemble might strike the viewer as odd. However, Van Heemskerck’s *Strong Men* series is only one example of how mythological imagery could be incorporated seamlessly into the typological discourse. By combining scenes from the Old and New Testaments with a scene derived from sixteenth-century life, Cornelisz argues that the biblical patterns of (good and) bad judgment are pertinent to contemporary events, that these are part of the divine patterns in history that they reveal God’s guidance of his people. The parallel between the Israelites from the Bible and sixteenth-century Netherlanders is a sign of their special

⁶²³ Köhler, *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850, the Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, 431. Niessen, *Cornelis van Haarlem 1562-1638*, 58. Rosenthal, "Political and Painterly Virtue in Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem's *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* for the Haarlem Prinsenhof," 180. “As a parable of the necessity of good government the Peleus and Thetis has been seen in specific contrast to Cornelis’s *Massacre of the Innocents*, also for the Prinsenhof, which displays the excessive cruelties of tyranny. But even as the painting exhorts Prince Maurits and the magistrates of Haarlem to exercise good rule, the judgment scene in the right background underscores the picture’s admonitory function, reminding viewers of the fragility of harmony and how readily ill-judgment will lead to war.”

⁶²⁴ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 201. Sluijter, "De 'Heydensche Fabulen' in de Noordnederlandse Schilderkunst, circa 1590-1670. Een Proeve van Beschrijving en Interpretatie van Schilderijen met Verhalende Onderwerpen uit de Klassieke Mythologie," 203. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 212.

position as God's new chosen people. By including a mythological scene, Cornelisz stresses the all-encompassing nature of God's divine plan for mankind. McGee remarks: "Just as Hebraic iconography was used by the Dutch to illustrate their sufferings, Discord (Tweedracht) became synonymous with the state of the Republic under the control of the Spanish or malevolent rulers."⁶²⁵ The presence of Discord and the *Judgement of Paris* show that even the gods can make mistakes; however, when one trusts the guidance of God, who promised an end to war (in the *Annunciation*) and sent his only Son (depicted in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Adoration of the Magi*) to remedy the Fall of mankind and restore man's relationship with God, a new Golden Age of peace and prosperity can be achieved.⁶²⁶

The earliest Northern depiction of the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* was painted by Haarlem artist Jan Mostaert (ca. 1475-1556), known today only through a brief description by Van Mander. Then there is a 1589 print engraved by Jacques de Gheyn (1565-1629) after Crispijn van den Broeck, Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem's enormous rendition of the subject, after which depictions became more frequent.⁶²⁷ Paul Grootkerk has suggested that this somewhat sudden interest in the story should be understood in light of a poem written by Antwerp poet Jan van der Noot (1539-1595). This poem was

⁶²⁵ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 197.

⁶²⁶ Cornelisz was influenced by Goltzius's engraving after Bartholomeus Spranger, the *Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* of 1587. His divergence from the cloud-like scenery to a landscape can be seen as further evidence that he considered an era of peace and prosperity to be an actual possibility. For the print, see: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Bruiloft van Cupido en Psyche (RP-P-1881-a-4866x)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.339347>. Access date 24 August 2016.

⁶²⁷ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 175. "Cornelis van Haarlem's Wedding of Peleus and Thetis for the Prinsenhof is the earliest known (extant) painting of the theme in the Netherlands. Ibid., 181. For an image of the engraving by Jacques de Geyn and Crispijn van den Broeck: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Godenbanket Tijdens de Bruiloft van Peleus en Thetis (RP-P-OB-9967)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.446404>. Access date 23 August 2016.

written in 1589 in memory of the marriage between William of Orange and his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon, on 12 June 1575:

<p>“Ah, in the Golden Age the marriage Between Peleus and sweet Thetis, Two souls who were so amiable and good, Was truly a godly event. So it was also in those golden years of Charlotte and Wilhelmus; Who like Peleus and Thetis Loved each other so sweetly.</p>	<p>O in die Gulden Tijdt de verbinten Tusschen Peleus en Thetis so suet, Twee sielen soo lief en goet, Was wercklick Godlyc gebeurtenis. So was oock in die golden Jaeren Van Charlotte en Wilhelmus; Welcke als Peleus en Thetis Elkaer so suet beminden.”⁶²⁸</p>
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Grootkerk argues that William’s marriage to Charlotte, who was a former nun, was an attempt to unify Protestants and Catholics, and inaugurated a short period of religious peace. He reads Van der Noot’s poem as “[...] a future hope for the reconciliation of Catholics and Protestants.”⁶²⁹ There are numerous reasons why this theory has not found support, specifically in the context of Cornelisz’s *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*.⁶³⁰ For instance, there was a substantial interval between the wedding (1575) and the composition of the poem (1589), and by that time, both William and Charlotte

⁶²⁸ Paul Grootkerk, "The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis in Art and Literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance" (PhD: Case Western Reserve University, 1975), 58, 86. There are two more couplets: "Cupid shot an arrow of love, so that both souls were raised to great goodness, thus it happened to Wilhelmus and the young noble Charlotte; The heart of Charlotte was filled with joy, and Wilhelmus' love was fully virtuous, Whereby both truthfully become one" ("Cupido scenckte een scheut soet, so dat beide sielen warden geresen tot vele goet, dat geschiede aen Wilhelmus en Charlotte de schone jongvrouw; 't hert van Charlotte waes vol van vreughden, En Wilhelmus liefde was vol deughden, Waerdeur beide een warden in goytrouwe").

⁶²⁹ Ibid., 61.

⁶³⁰ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 181n82. Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen*, 471n152. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 212n69.

had died (in 1584 and 1582 respectively).⁶³¹ The poem itself does not discuss the marriage in terms of a religious union, there is no mention of a banquet or the apple of discord. Also, as Van Bueren correctly notes, Protestants and Catholics were not the only religious groups that the city council had to contend with.⁶³² Grootkerk's analysis also does not take into account the specific context of Cornelisz' painting in the Prinsenhof and disregards the fact that there are no pictorial cues in the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* that refer to the high-born couple.⁶³³ In fact, the choice of this subject matter is appropriate in the context of the Prinsenhof quartet, without reference to this poem.

For the Prinsenhof commission, typology was chosen as the background against which past atrocities were framed as a meaningful part of a salvific historical pattern that authorizes the rejection of the tyrannical ruler and inaugurated a time of peace, prosperity and religious tolerance under just rulership. The all-encompassing nature of God's divine plan for mankind is reflected in the choice of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, and from mythology and the sixteenth century. The significance of the apple of discord in the wedding of Peleus and Thetis connected it to the *Fall*, the snares of lust that reveal

⁶³¹ Charlotte de Bourbon was not prince Maurits's mother, William of Orange's second wife, Anna van Saksen (1544-1577) was. His father had himself divorced from Anna van Saksen on grounds of adultery, but this divorce was controversial and not generally accepted. His subsequent marriage to Charlotte was a matter of great controversy because of this. Zandvliet, *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*. Grootkerk also fails to argue convincingly why the marriage of William and Charlotte (who converted to Calvinism after fleeing the convent) would still have such political relevance twenty years later that it rather abruptly sparked an interest in the subject then.

⁶³² Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen*, 471n152. "Zeker, een harmonieuze samenleving was wat het stadsbestuur op het oog had, maar daarbij had men niet alleen te maken met de relatie katholiek-protestant."

⁶³³ In the case of Cornelisz's *Massacre of the Innocents*, there was a lively literary and pictorial tradition that compared Herod with Alva, as has been seen. In the case of the *Monk and the Beguine*, there was a similar widespread discourse securing the association of a licentious monk with Brother Cornelis, and the attached reference to religious oppression and persecution. Although, high-born couples were occasionally compared to Peleus and Thetis (as McGee points out), there is no reason to assume that viewers would have made the connection between the Prinsenhof *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* and the marriage of William and Charlotte. McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 181n82.

their harmful consequences in the story of the *Choice of Paris* linked to the *Monk and the Beguine*, the political dangers of discord and bad leadership reflected ideas about rulership expressed in the *Massacre of the Innocents* and finally, the subject matter of feasting gods offered the painter a magnificent opportunity to showcase his mastery of the nude, and large-size landscape- and history painting.

Unity between the four paintings is achieved both through conceptual and visual patterns; the lush paradisiacal setting of both the *Fall* and the *Wedding* feature scenes of tranquillity and harmony, about to be disrupted by means of an apple that provoked a (bad) choice with disastrous consequences.⁶³⁴ The heads of Adam and Eve from the *Fall* are included in the *Wedding*, next to the black woman's face and right below the sheep that surround the *Choice of Paris* above them; a warning, unheeded by Jupiter or Paris, but suggestive to the viewer.

The reclining figures of Bacchus and Ceres visually relate the *Wedding* to the *Monk and the Beguine*. In both cases, the male figure is seated slightly higher, and to the right of his female companion, the wine glasses are similar in shape and there is fruit on display directly in front of the couple. The white headdress of the beguine has some unusual folds above her right shoulder, which could hide the right hand of the monk (not depicted) posed as Bacchus's hand rests, somewhat awkwardly, on the shoulder of Ceres. There is even a certain resemblance in the faces of both couples. These similarities underscore the difference between heavenly peace and earthly reality; in paradise the

⁶³⁴ Grootkerk, "The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis in Art and Literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance," 17. In the *Ovide moralisé*, the story was interpreted in light of Christian values: "The disruption of the great wedding feast by Discord was symbolic of the destruction of spiritual harmony by evil, which can only be remedied by divine grace. Discord represented the Devil, who destroyed the paradise of man on earth by tempting Adam through the apple, causing his disobedience to God." McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*.

sensual pleasures of food, drink and physicality can be enjoyed, but earthly reality is bound by different laws.

At first glance, the vicious murder of innocent children in the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the paradisiacal tranquillity of feasting gods in the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* might suggest an antithetical relationship. And indeed, the dramatic violence in the triptych is framed as a prelude to a kingdom of peace on earth, while the peaceful wedding celebration is a prelude to the Trojan war. Both paintings, however, show instances of bad rulership: Herod had innocent children murdered in a futile attempt to thwart God's plan, and Jupiter excluded Eris from the celebrations, but then accepted (and delegated) the challenge posed by the apple she threw, which ultimately led to the Trojan War and division amongst the gods as they chose sides in the conflict. Visually, the motif of the soldier holding down a woman with his foot in the right foreground echoes the pose of Ganymede refilling the cup of the lady reclining next to him, located in a similar place in the picture plane.⁶³⁵ The pose of Vulcan reflects the pose of the soldier in the left foreground of the *Massacre*, his left leg stretched out behind him, the right leg bent in shadows.

In the large *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, Cornelis Cornelisz shows off his considerable skills in arranging a pictorial composition by organizing his many figures in groups spread evenly throughout the paradisiacal garden. He further embellished the environs with small still-life details that he learned from his teacher Pieter Pieterz.⁶³⁶ Lisa Rosenthal summarizes succinctly that: "[...] Cornelis here displays his mastery of the new idiom and its premium upon the rendering of the figure while also showing his

⁶³⁵ Niessen, *Cornelis van Haarlem 1562-1638*, 58.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*

‘artful’ command of diverse genres including still-life and landscape. Moreover, Cornelis’s subtle grisaille rendering of the banquet table and judgement scenes, which imitate the look of both sculpture and printmaking proclaim Cornelis as a protean virtuoso who incorporates these other media into his art.”⁶³⁷ The visual references to a number of other artists throughout the Princenhof quartet situate Cornelisz firmly in the late sixteenth-century artistic discourse; he shows himself emulating his illustrious predecessors and competing with his prominent contemporaries.

Besides conceptual and iconographical reasons for incorporating the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* in the Prinsenhof quartet, there was a practical reason to chose such a subject (a banquet scene, at least). Throughout the year, the Prinsenhof was used for special occasions and a variety of civic functions. Important visitors, like the Earl of Leicester (1532-1588), who was the governor general of the Netherlands for a short time, were entertained there.⁶³⁸ In 1594, after Cornelisz’s paintings were installed in the Prinsenhof, Maurits came for a visit. He was honoured for a military victory in Groningen by an elaborate triumphal entry, rhetorician’s plays, songs, fireworks and banquets.⁶³⁹ Seen in this context, decorating the Prince’s bedroom with a large banquet scene is a way of honouring him personally as it is reminiscent of actual celebrations that would have taken place even within the same building. In this way, the Prinsenhof quartet addressed the Prince in a very personal way. The black woman sporting the text “you

⁶³⁷ Rosenthal, "Political and Painterly Virtue in Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem's *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* for the Haarlem Prinsenhof," 185.

⁶³⁸ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, 189.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, 191-92. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 220. “There as well a magnificent reception awaited him, complete with banquets, fireworks, and performances given by the rhetoricians. No other city [...] had been able to offer him such splendid and edifying accommodation as Haarlem. The newly furnished and decorated Prinsenhof was a magnificent residence (at least by Dutch standards) in which to rest and reflect upon the high hopes the young Republic nourished of him”

shall achieve”, the only figure looking out directly at the viewer, adds a positive note of encouragement to the Prince, placing the arts under his protection and urging him to maintain the prosperity that allowed for honorary banquets to be celebrated in the future.

For the artist, the Prinsenhof assignment was also personally very important, aside from the size of the commission and its prestigious target audience. Cornelisz, who was from a drapers’ family, would have appreciated the opportunity to reinstate the wings of the former drapers’ altar, painted by an artist he greatly admired.⁶⁴⁰ Furthermore, the *Massacre of the Innocents* in particular allowed him to frame the suffering of his fellow citizens and countrymen under the cataclysmic rule of the Spanish crown, which he himself had experienced and witnessed first hand, in its salvific historical context. They were a sign of their special relationship with God and promised an impending era of peace and prosperity under just rulership. In order to achieve this, contemporary officials are admonished not to succumb to the temptations of lust and power so as to make this new age an imminent reality.

Many of the paintings confiscated from churches and convents after the Spanish were permanently ousted from the city of Haarlem ended up in the Prinsenhof (Maarten van Heemskerck’s 1532 *St. Luke painting the Virgin* among them), perhaps even while Cornelis Cornelisz was working on his commission. The Prinsenhof thereby became a public art gallery, as it was opened up for visitors. As early as 1603, the city council cautioned the Prinsenhof’s door-warden to admit the public without exacting an entrance

⁶⁴⁰ *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 96-97. “This worshipful attitude towards his predecessor turned into an outright confrontation in 1591 when, at the height of his academic capabilities, Cornelis received a commission to paint his second massacre as the central panel of a triptych, the wings of which had been painted by Heemskerck in 1546 for the Drapers’ Altarpiece.” *Ibid.*, 97.

fee, indicating that the Prinsenhof art-gallery had become quite a local attraction, admired by locals and visitors alike.⁶⁴¹

The four paintings that Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem was commissioned to paint for the newly constructed Prinsenhof in Haarlem represented an early high point of his artistic career; never again would he have the opportunity to devise such large paintings, visually and conceptually interconnected, for such a wide audience of local dignitaries and citizens as well as visitors as important as the new stadholder Prince Maurits. Perhaps this is why, when the painter, together with Hendrick Goltzius and Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom (1566-1640) was asked by the city burgomasters in June 1603 to design another painting for the Prinsenhof “in commemoration of their art” (“tot memorie derzelve conste”), nothing ever came of it.⁶⁴² He may have felt, and not unreasonably so, that he had already achieved this feat.

When the council of Haarlem wanted to convince the world at large that they had overcome the vicissitudes of war and were a viable political and economic partner once more, they decided to commission four paintings of Haarlem’s rising painter Cornelis Cornelisz. This once-in-a-lifetime opportunity allowed the artist to show off his skills of invention, composition and painting to large audience. By choosing to depict narratives from the Old and New Testaments, mythology and his own time, Cornelisz revealed a pattern of heavenly perfection versus the earthly reality of human weakness. But, as the *Massacre of the Innocents* most clearly articulates, there is always divine guidance to be

⁶⁴¹ Bueren, *Tot Lof van Haarlem. Het Beleid van de Stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de Kunstwerken uit de Geconfisqueerde Geestelijke Instellingen*, 291-92. Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 36. “With his completion for the Prinsenhof, which he worked on from 1590 until late 1593, Cornelis had created a veritable monument for himself, which remained one of Haarlem’s major attractions until the beginning of the nineteenth century.”

⁶⁴² *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 228. Köhler, *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850, the Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, 131.

relied on. The four paintings admonish the Netherlandish ruling class to judge wisely and thereby to create the antitype to Paradise and the paradisiacal Mount Olympus, and a type to the heavenly kingdom of eternal harmony promised by Isaiah in the *Annunciation to the Virgin*. By themselves as well as placed among the works of many other great local masters past and present, these paintings immortalized Cornelis Cornelisz and at the same time put the city of Haarlem squarely on the map politically, economically and artistically.

Chapter 4 – Marten de Vos: the Wedding at Cana

On Monday 9 September 1585, a mere day after the resignation of Antwerp's Calvinist burgomaster Filips van Marix van Sint-Aldegonde (1540-1598), the newly installed Catholic city council ordered the repair and refurnishing of Antwerp's Church of our Lady.⁶⁴³ However, after years of war and economic decline, many guilds lacked the financial means to comply immediately and on a large scale. Instead, they recycled old altarpieces and used cheaper materials, improving the altars and their furnishings as more funds became available over time.⁶⁴⁴ Sometimes they pooled their resources, like the guilds of the coopers and the winetaverners, who shared an altar and the costs for its construction and maintenance.⁶⁴⁵ In 1596, apparently still disappointed with the response, the city government issued a second order for the restoration of the cathedral.

The council of the winetaverners' guild had already been considering a major overhaul of their place of worship within the church. They convened a meeting on 26 October 1595 and requested the advice of leading painter Marten de Vos regarding the commission of a new altarpiece.⁶⁴⁶ In the eight months that followed, the winetaverners decided to levy a temporary tax of "twee stuyvers" per "ame wyns" (a little over 150

⁶⁴³ The reconstruction of local churches and the reinstatement of catholic worship was actually one of the conditions of capitulation between the city and Spanish commander Alessandro Farnese (1545-1592). Frans Badouin, "Schilderkunst na de Val van Antwerpen," *Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen* 23, no. 4 (1985): 134.

⁶⁴⁴ When the Calvinists came to power in Antwerp, they had ordered the clearance of the Cathedral's altars and their furnishings. Ria Fabri and Nico van Hout, *From Quinten Metsijs to Peter Paul Rubens* (Antwerp: De Kathedraal VZW & BAI Publishers, 2009), 45, 48.

⁶⁴⁵ Floris Prims, *Antwerpiensia 1939: Losse Bijdragen tot de Antwerpsche Geschiedenis* (Antwerp: De Vlijt, 1940), 431.

⁶⁴⁶ Armin Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980), 376. "[...] soe zyn de rendanten met henne oudermans vergadert int schermers huys, aldaer sy hen ontboden hadden Mr Mertten de vos schilder, om met hem te spreken van eene nieuwe taeffele opten Aultaer ende van hem te hooren de ordonnantie der selver, doen nae der besoigne der selver metten selven by dekens ende ouders verteert."

liters) to fund the new altar (“[...] de dekens ende oudermans vergadert met Pauwels vermeulen, Collectuer vande wynassyse, om met hem eenen voet te nemene van op elck ame wyns te mogen vercrygene twee stuyvers om daermede te becostigen het maecken vanden nieuwen aultaer [...]).⁶⁴⁷ Possibly the pressure from both ecclesiastical and secular authorities, the alluring prestige of having their own altar and increasing business revenues contributed to the winetaverners’ decision to cease sharing with the coopers and to entrust De Vos with the design of their new altarpiece in June 1596.⁶⁴⁸ Their records further indicate that almost a year later, on 16 July 1597, a large delegation consisting of the choir dean Silvester Pardo and other members of the church chapter, as well as the deans and elders of the guild, visited the painter’s studio to grant their official approval to the new altarpiece before it would be moved to the *Salve Regina* chapel of the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp.⁶⁴⁹ Within ten days, carpenter Andries van Eertvelt succeeded in safely transporting the “Bruyloft van Cana galileen” to its intended location.⁶⁵⁰

Marten de Vos’s 1597 *Wedding at Cana* depicts the first miracle performed by Christ, which inaugurated his ministry (fig. 4.01).⁶⁵¹ The Virgin Mary, Christ and some

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid. One unit “ame” was the equivalent of four “ankers” (about 39 liter per unit). M. de Vries and A. Kluyver, “Anker,” in *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (The Hague & Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, A.W. Sijthoff, 1898).

⁶⁴⁸ Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 376. The first recorded altar of the winetaverners was severely damaged in the iconoclasm of 1566. A second was dedicated in 1569 but removed from the church when Calvinists took over Antwerp in 1581. When Alessandro Farnese recaptured the city in 1585, the winetaverners shouldered the expense of an altar together with the guild of the coopers (who had refused a similar request in 1567) from 1586 until 1596, when the winetaverners decided to set up their own altar in the *Salve Regina* chapel right behind the choir of the church. Prims, *Antwerpiensia 1939: Losse Bijdragen tot de Antwerpsche Geschiedenis*, 431.

⁶⁴⁹ The visit of church officials to the painter’s studio was part of a larger trend originating in a decree from the council of Trent that bishops ensure that nothing profane or disgraceful should appear in churches. Badouin, “Schilderkunst na de Val van Antwerpen,” 142.

⁶⁵⁰ Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 377.

⁶⁵¹ John 2:11 “This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee; and manifested his glory, and his disciples believed in him.” Fig. 4.01: ArtStor, “Maerten de Vos: Wedding at Cana (0090017),” www.artstor.org. Access date 17 July 2016.

of his apostles attended a wedding in Cana, Galilee (John 2:1-11). When there was insufficient wine, Mary alerted her son. He answered: “Woman, what is that to me and to thee? My hour is not yet come.” Nevertheless, she instructed the waiters “whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye.”⁶⁵² Christ then ordered six water pots used by the Jews to purify themselves to be filled up from the well and sent them over to the steward, who pronounced them to contain excellent wine. Not knowing that Christ had miraculously changed the water into wine, the steward told the bridegroom: “Every man at first setteth forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse. But thou hast kept the good wine until now.”⁶⁵³

The winetaverners’ account books indicate that the *Wedding at Cana* was conceived of as a single painting. However, in 1748 a certain Jacobus de Wit (1695-1754) described two wing panels (“twee stucken laterael”), one depicting the story of Balaam (“Balaan op den Esel met den Engel”) and the other the Promised Land (“Lant van Belofte”). François Mols (1767-1845), who prepared de Wit’s notes for publication, seems to have had difficulty deciphering the name of the artist reported by De Wit and speculated that a member from the Francken family of painters may have been responsible for their design.⁶⁵⁴ Tantalizingly, De Wit is our only source for the existence of these two panels. In 1841 Th. van Leries published a description of the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp before the second French invasion of 1794, in which he reports “I don’t

⁶⁵² John 2:4-5.

⁶⁵³ John 2:10.

⁶⁵⁴ Jacobus de Wit, *De Kerken van Antwerpen (Schilderijen, Beeldhouwwerken, Geschilderde Glasramen, enz. in de XVIIIe Eeuw Beschreven door Jacobus de Wit)* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1910), 21. Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 307.

know what became of the wings, on which one could see the *History of Balaam and the Promised Land*.”⁶⁵⁵

Since the unusually comprehensive documentation on Maarten de Vos’s *Wedding at Cana* mentions remuneration curtains (“Item noch betaelt voor de gardyne diemen inde kercke voorde schilderije schuyft...1 gulden iiiii st”), which would not have been needed if the altarpiece could be shuttered with wing panels, it seems that if there ever were any wings, they were a later addition.⁶⁵⁶ The choice of subject matter of these mysterious wings, however, would have fit very well with Marten de Vos’s 1597 winetaverners’ altarpiece because it underscores its typological content. Balaam was an Old Testament prophet who, after encountering an angel on his path, could no longer fulfil his task to curse the Israelites and could only bless them (Num. 22-24). In his prophecy he envisioned the advent of the messiah and the inauguration of the New Testament. Maarten van Heemskerck depicted Balaam’s vision in his large 1554 *Balaam and the Angel* print by juxtaposing a landscape filled with ruins with a landscape populated by elegant palatial buildings, representing the existing Old and the envisioned New Dispensation respectively (fig. 1.12).⁶⁵⁷ Christ’s miracle of changing water to wine at the wedding in Cana was traditionally understood to signal the advent of his ministry and the transitional moment when the Old Covenant was replaced by the New.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁵ Th. van Lerijs, *Notre-Dame d'Anvers, avant La Seconde Invasion Française en 1794* (Antwerp: n.p., 1841), 20. “Je ne sais que sont devenus ses volets, sur lesquels on voyait ‘l’histoire de Balaam et la terre promise’.”

⁶⁵⁶ Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 377.

⁶⁵⁷ See chapter 1, p. 74-75 of this dissertation.

⁶⁵⁸ Marcel Gielis seems to be the only modern scholar to accept the existence of wing panels attached to Marten de Vos’s *Wedding at Cana* by the wine taverners. He suggests that the story of the prophet “[...] was interpreted by the Wine Taverners in relation to the idea that the Promised Land, shown in the giant bunch of grapes that the scouts brought back with them from Canaan, not only abounds with milk and honey, but also with wine.” The image of Numbers 13:24, in which scouts return from the holy land with a

The interpretation of the miracle at Cana by Augustine of Hippo (354-430) set the tone for medieval exegesis in the West: "It was necessary that all things should be fulfilled in Christ which were written of him: those Scriptures were the water. He made the water wine when he opened unto them the meaning of these things, and expounded the Scriptures; for thus that came to have a taste which before had none, and that inebriated, which did not inebriate before [...] Now if he ordered the water to be poured out, and then introduced the wine from the hidden recesses of creation, He would seem to have rejected the Old Testament. But converting, as he did, the water into wine, He showed us that the Old Testament was from himself; for it was by His order that the water pots were filled. But those scriptures have no meaning, if Christ be not understood there."⁶⁵⁹ The church father here describes the changing of water into wine as a figure of biblical exegesis; through Christ's ministry, through his actions and teachings following the inaugural miracle at Cana, the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures was revealed.

Erasmus follows a similar line of reasoning: "[...] Jesus was foreshadowing for us what he was on the point of undertaking, as if in a sort of image. For it was now time for us to drink the fine wine of the gospel instead of the tasteless and watered-down letter of the law of Moses, with Christ changing for the better what was powerless and useless to

large cluster of grapes, indeed has a long typological tradition in which it represents the change from the Old Testament to the New, and could be read as prefigurative of the miracle at the wedding in Cana very well. However, there are many ways in which the Promised Land could have been depicted that do not include direct references to the spies carrying the grapes. Without the actual panels, if they even existed, there is no way of knowing their iconography. Fabri and Hout, *From Quinten Metsijs to Peter Paul Rubens*, 209. In this same catalogue, the full entry on Marten de Vos's *Wedding at Cana* by Stefaan Grieten includes the tentative suggestion that the two panels, instead of wing panels, were in fact the paintings recorded to have been ordered from Joos de Momper around 1618-1619 and hung in the chapel of our Lady on each side of the large altarpiece. Stefaan Grieten, "Altarpiece of the Wine Taverners," in *From Quinten Metsijs to Peter Paul Rubens: Masterpieces from the Royal Museum Reunited in the Cathedral*, ed. Ria Fabri and Nico van Hout (Antwerp: De Kathedraal vzw & BAI Publishers, 2009), 146.

⁶⁵⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels: Collected out of the Works of the Fathers*, trans. Mark Pattinson, J.D. Dalgairns, and T.D. Ryder (Oxford: J. Parker, 1841), 87.

us. [...] Those who have not believed in the gospel still drink the water of the law of Moses; those who have believed in Christ grow blessedly warm towards the love of heavenly life and flourish on the new vintage of spiritual teaching.”⁶⁶⁰ The story of the miracle at the wedding in Cana foreshadows Christ’s ministry, during which he revealed how the scriptures were to be understood. This long hermeneutical tradition is reflected in De Vos’s 1597 *Wedding at Cana*, which includes pictorial references to key moments of Christ’s ministry, such as the Crucifixion and Resurrection, as well as to his institution of the Eucharist and, more particularly, his institution of the marriage sacrament.

In his altarpiece for the winetaverners’ guild, Marten de Vos employs typology to adduce the sacramental nature of marriage. By combining traditional typological references with visual clues such as the elaborately decorated water vessels and a variety of hand gestures, he provides a visual answer to contemporary concerns surrounding the marital state and the sacramental nature of the marriage bond. These concerns found textual expression in the decree on marriage promulgated by the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and are reflected in numerous contemporary Netherlandish sermons. By presenting the wedding at Cana as part of a historical pattern of marriages, the painter suggests that to partake in the marriage sacrament in the proper way will call forth the blessing and grace of Christ.

Marten de Vos has incorporated various narrative moments into his painting: in the left foreground, the Virgin Mary instructs the servant, while beside her Christ orders six magnificent water vessels to be filled. To the right a servant is filling them with water, and behind him the steward mirrors his posture while serving the water-made-wine to the

⁶⁶⁰ Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Paraphrase on John*, trans. Jane E. Phillips (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 40.

wedding guests. The diagonally placed dining table is covered with a variety of dishes and surrounded by groups of guests, some dressed in biblical or eastern garments, others in more contemporary clothes. The bride is clothed in an elaborate white dress and wears a golden crown. Beside her a young man wearing a laurel wreath on his head, presumably the groom, points at her. A vase filled with beautiful flowers, a richly decorated baldachin that frames the bridal couple, an elegant display of precious kitchenware against the back wall, and an ensemble of four musicians complete the festive scene.

The rich quality of the clothing and furnishings of De Vos's *Wedding at Cana* reveal the artist's indebtedness to the Venetian school of painting, notably to Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594) and Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), who both made large-scale paintings of the theme (figs. 4.02-4.03).⁶⁶¹ Compositionally, however, he probably drew more inspiration from his Northern contemporaries. Closely related to his 1597 *Wedding at Cana*, for instance, are two prints by Gerard van Groeningen of the same subject (figs. 4.04-4.05).⁶⁶² The 1574 *Wedding at Cana* was the first print of a *Miracles of Christ* series of engravings and shows the main table oriented diagonally, with a crowned bride seated in front of a flowing baldachin. On her left sits a man wearing a laurel wreath and a

⁶⁶¹ Fig. 4.02: Wikimedia Commons, "Jacopo Tintoretto - Marriage at Cana." Access date 17 July 2017. Fig. 4.03: Louvre, "The Wedding Feast at Cana/Les Noces de Cana (142)," <http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/wedding-feast-cana>. Access date 17 July 2016. Art historian Carl van de Velde even concluded that: "the painting does not want to inspire reflection on the religious background of the theme. It is primarily intended as a piece for viewing, where the beholder can admire the festive splendour of the interior, the picturesque details and the attractiveness of the coloring." ("Het schilderij wil niet aanzetten tot bezinning over de godsdienstige achtergrond van het thema. Het is in de eerste plaats een kijkstuk, waarop de toeschouwer de feestelijke pracht van het interieur van bewonderen, de verscheidenheid van de pittoreske details en de aantrekkelijkheid van het koloriet." My translation) Carl van de Velde, "Maarten de Vos: de Bruiloft te Cana," *Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen IX* (1971): 14b.

⁶⁶² Fig. 4.04: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Bruiloft te Kana (RP-P-OB-103.301)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.513184>. Access date 17 July 2016. Christiaan Schuckman and Ger Luijten, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Gerard van Groeningen* vol. 1 (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1997), 103, fig. 66/II. Fig. 4.05: *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Gerard van Groeningen*, vol. 2 (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1997), 99, fig. 323/I.

woman who might represent the Virgin Mary. Christ is standing in the center foreground next to six decorated vessels, while a servant pours the wine into a glass to be sent to the steward. Finally, in the background two figures playing horns are providing musical entertainment. The 1573 engraving, part of the *Christi Iesu Vitae Admirabiliumque Speculum (Mirror of the Life and Admirable Deeds of Jesus Christ)* published by Philips Galle and Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598), consists of largely the same pictorial elements, but the table is oriented diagonally from right to left and Christ is seated facing the wedding party with Mary at his right hand.⁶⁶³

The fourteenth plate from the *Beatae Intacta Semper Virginis Maria (Blessed Virgin Mary Untouched)*, designed by Joannes Stradanus and published by Adriaen Collaert (1560-1618) in Antwerp around 1589 also depicts the *Wedding at Cana* (fig. 4.06).⁶⁶⁴ Christ and the Virgin Mary are seated at the bottom of the diagonally placed table in the foreground of the image. The bride is seated in the background while a young man on her left addresses her. In the right background, some kitchenware is displayed on shelves, and the figure in the door opening has the silhouette of a violinist. Finally, a drawing by Denys Calvaert (1540-1619), now in the British Museum in London, depicts Mary and Christ seated side by side at the bottom of the table, and a group of musicians entertaining the wedding guests out of an upstairs window (fig. 7).⁶⁶⁵ Although elements found in these images also appear in Marten de Vos's 1597 *Wedding at Cana*, so far not

⁶⁶³ Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 147-48.

⁶⁶⁴ Fig. 4.06: British Museum, "Beatae Intacta Semper Virginis Mariae (Nn,7.4.2)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=176152001&objectId=1617061&partId=1. Access date 17 July 2016

⁶⁶⁵ Fig. 4.07: Todd M. Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 100, fig. 3.16.

one definitive source has been identified. Rather, it seems these artists all drew from a similar set of motifs.

Elisabeth Bracke has rightly pointed out that Marten de Vos recycled many of his own pictorial motifs, such as baldachins or curtains to frame a banqueting scene, a pouring servant, and a servant entering through a darkened door opening.⁶⁶⁶ Elements that reoccur in the 1597 *Wedding at Cana* can be found, for instance, in the *Magdalen Washing Christ's Feet*, dated to 1592. It has a similar composition with a diagonally oriented table, Christ is seated at the bottom of the table pointing downwards, a pouring servant stands behind him and a view to the kitchen in the background is also included (fig. 4.08).⁶⁶⁷ Another composition that contains elements later found in the painted *Wedding at Cana* is the *King Casting out the Badly Dressed Wedding Guest* (fig. 4.09).⁶⁶⁸ While in the foreground the badly dressed guest is bound at the orders of the King, in the background the banqueting scene includes the Last Supper. The servant bending over to pour out liquid is familiar as are the hand gestures of the woman seated at the table to the far right, which resemble those of the bride.

⁶⁶⁶Elisabeth Bracke, "Situering van de 'Bruiloft van Kana' (1597) door Maarten de Vos in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal te Antwerpen in de 'Portrait Historie'-Traditie," *Kunstwetenschappen* (Catholic University of Leuven, 2008-2009), 4-10. Unfortunately, most of the prints Bracke used for comparison are dated after he painted the *Wedding at Cana* or have an unknown date. Marten de Vos designed over thirty banqueting scenes, including: *The Last Supper*, *The Wedding at Cana*, *The Magdalene Washing Christ's Feet*, *The Wedding of Tobias and Sarah*, *The King Casting out the Badly Dressed Guest*, *Christ Predicting Judas's betrayal*, *Christ Predicting Peter's Betrayal*, *Belshazzar's Feast*, *Nabal's Feast* and a variety of profane scenes like *The Good Household* and *The Rich Man Feasting*. A certain repetition of pictorial elements is therefore to be expected.

⁶⁶⁷ Fig. 4.08: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Maria Magdalena Wast de Voeten van Christus (RP-P-1980-20)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114763>. Access date 17 July 2016.

⁶⁶⁸ Fig. 4.09: "Bestraffing van de Man Zonder Bruiloftskleding (RP-P-1939-232)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.331569>. Access date 17 July 2016 Behind Christ the five wise virgins are depicted (Matth. 25:1-13). The caption quotes three biblical passages: Isa 61:10, Matt. 22:2 and Rev. 19:8.

Of the four *Wedding at Cana* prints known to have been designed by Marten de Vos, only one predates the 1597 altarpiece: it was engraved by Raphael Sadeler and published in the mid-1580s (fig. 4.10).⁶⁶⁹ In this print, the artist has placed the six water vessels in prominent positions at the front of the image, but they are not very lavishly decorated. A servant is depicted bending over the vessels but looks up towards Christ, who is seated at the corner of the table next to the Virgin Mary. From a darkened door opening, a server is carrying in a plate. Interestingly, only a year after de Vos painted the *Wedding at Cana* he designed another print of the theme (part of a *Vita, Passio, et Resurrectio Iesu Christi* series), which includes elements of both the mid-1580s print and the 1597 painting (fig. 4.11).⁶⁷⁰ Similarities to the Sadeler print include the table which is positioned parallel to the picture plane, and the figure of Christ, who has merely been moved closer to the center foreground but largely retains his pose. The print published in 1598 resembles the painting in the elaborate decoration on the water vessels, a more prominent role for the Virgin Mary, who addresses a servant, the position of the woman receiving her refilled glass from the steward, the groom wearing a laurel wreath and sitting beside the bride, and the presence of a kitchenware display.

A drawing dating from 1583 has been identified as a possible preparatory drawing for the 1597 painting (fig. 4.12).⁶⁷¹ The lay-out of the room and the position of the table are identical. Also, the baldachin, the servant in the lower right foreground, six decorated water vessels, and many of the hand gestures have been retained. However, the pictorial

⁶⁶⁹ Fig. 4.10: Dieuwke De Hoop Scheffer and K.G. Boon, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, Ca 1450-1700. Volume Xxii Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler II* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & co, 1980), 186, fig. 17.

⁶⁷⁰ Fig. 4.11: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Bruiloft te Kana (RP-P-1885-a-9635)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.collect.96749>. Access date 17 July 2016.

⁶⁷¹ Fig. 4.12: Fabri and Hout, *From Quinten Metsijs to Peter Paul Rubens*, 144, fig. 9a.

space in the painting is more crowded and confined despite being populated by fewer figures, and flowers, musicians and the kitchenware display have been added in the painting. Furthermore, in the drawing the wedding party seems mostly oblivious to what is passing in the foreground, while in the painting many of them contribute to the narrative through their glances, hand gestures and clothing. Finally, the positions of the Virgin Mary and her son Christ have been reversed, fundamentally shifting the focus from the Virgin alerting her son to the shortage of wine to Christ performing the miracle of changing the water into wine. These important differences show that the drawing was not intended as direct preparation for the *Wedding at Cana* altarpiece. Rather it shows that Marten de Vos was exploring a number of compositional elements and ideas, almost fifteen years before he painted the winetaverners altarpiece, and many of those ended up in the painted composition in some form.⁶⁷²

Comparing compositions of the wedding at Cana by the artist himself as well as by his contemporaries, it becomes clear the artist employed a variety of motifs common to late sixteenth-century versions of banqueting scenes generally, and of the *Wedding at Cana* specifically. However, the way Marten de Vos has combined and adapted these elements offers clues to how the altarpiece can be understood: particularly remarkable are: the six large vessels that appear in both the 1583 drawing and the 1597 painting, Christ's clear orientation towards the viewer, Mary's more prominent role, the way the wedding guests are organized around the dinner table, and the general lavishness of the scene. These elements will be discussed roughly in this order to show how the adaptation

⁶⁷² Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 213-14.

and combination of these elements contributed to de Vos's agenda to adduce the sacramentality of marriage.

Firstly, the six water vessels are markedly larger and more elaborately decorated than contemporary renditions, and also compared to their biblical description: "six water pots of stone according to the manner of the purifying of the Jews."⁶⁷³ Sixteenth-century sermons preached on the miracle at Cana elaborated on this succinct description. For instance Flemish priest Martinus Baccius († 1609) notes in his collected sermons (which, incidentally, incorporated no less than fifteen engravings designed by Marten de Vos) that: "They were not able to be fetched, or to be carried, or to be poured, but to stay in one place, and were wide at the top so that one could scoop from them" ("Sy en waren dan niet bequaem omte halen, oft te dragen, noch oock om te schencken, maer om te blijven staende, ende waren bouen breet open om datmen daer wt scheppen soude").⁶⁷⁴ Jesuit theologian Franciscus Costerus (1532-1619), a prolific author and founder of the Jesuit chapter in Antwerp and an influential proponent of the Counter-Reformation in the Low Countries, assents that: "They were not narrow but wide open at the top, like the water vessels in which wine pots are left to cool" ("Sy en waren niet engh, maer bouen wijdt open, gelijk de water-vaten daermen de wijnpotten in stelt om te vercoelen").⁶⁷⁵

Through such descriptions, these preachers invited their audience to make a mental

⁶⁷³ John 2:6.

⁶⁷⁴ Martinus Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermoenen: Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Gheloofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondaghen ende Heylighe Daghen, vanden Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijcken Sin Neerstelijck Wtghelyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1597), fol. 81v. (All translations of the sixteenth-century sermons (Baccius, Adrani, Costerus) quoted in this chapter are my own.

⁶⁷⁵ Franciscus Costerus, *Catholische Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iar* (Antwerp: Joachim Trognaesius, 1656), fol. 122v. Hans Storme, *Die Trouwen Wilt Voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en Moralisten over de Voorbereiding op het Huwelijk in de Vlaamse Bisdommen (17e-18e Eeuw)* (Louvain: Universitaire Pers, 1992), 26.

picture of the six water pots from the biblical narrative. And while they are described in utilitarian terms, within the sermon they function as great carriers of meaning.

For Baccius, these six vessels stand for the trials and tribulations the couple intending to wed could expect during their married life, such as a bad character or bad behaviour in a partner, the difficulties of childbearing and raising children, sickness, and poverty. In his sermon he explains that “[...] all these six jugs of water, that is, these six types of sadness in the marital state, Jesus changes into wine, which is to say, into joy and into good wine, into precious joy if one has invited him to the wedding, that is, if one has accepted the marital state in the fear of Christ. Because he [...] gives sincere love, chastity, prosperity. And to those who are blameless for the absence of such virtues he gives help to bear the suffering without resorting to evil, and after that he crowns meekness and patience with his eternal joy and peace. This means changing into delicious wine. This is why marriage should be treated as a holy thing by Christians” (“Alle dese ses cruycken met water, dat is, dese ses manieren van droefheden in den houwelijken staet, verandert Jesus in wijn, dat is, in vreucht, ende in goeden wijn, dat is, in costelijcke vreucht als men hem ter bruyloft ghenoodt heeft, dat is, als men met zijnder vreesen, den houwelijcken staet aenghenomen heeft. Want hy [...] geuende oprechte liefde, reynicheyt, vruchtbaerheyt, voorspoet, of ommers den ghenen wiens schult dat niet en is, datter sulcke deuchden niet en sijn, hulpe om het lijden sonder quaet doen te verdragen, ende daer na croot hy die lijdtzaamheyt ende verduldicheyt met zijn eeuwige vreucht ende ruste. Dat is veranderen in costelijcken wijn. Daerom moet dat houwelijk als een heylige sake vanden Christenen heylighlyck gehandelt wesen”).⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁶ Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermoenen: Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Gheloofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondaghen ende Heylighe Daghen, vanden*

Costerus follows the interpretation of abbot Bernhard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), who identified the six water vessels from the wedding in Cana as six phases to cleanse oneself from sin: repentance, confession of sins, giving alms to the poor, forgiveness of suffering imposed upon us, chastisement of our bodies and perfect obedience to God's divine will. Costerus continues to say that: "people can be understood by these stone vessels, which are very fragile, especially our physical bodies, that can be killed easier than a stone vessel can be broken: in this fragile vessel we have a cold nature full of evil passions, which, when changed in the love of God [...] is like the water changed to wine. Pray to God that he works this miracle also in you" ("Wy menschen moghen door dese steene watercruycken verstaen worden, die in alles broosch zijn, besonder in ons lichaemelijck leuen, dat lichtelijcker can gedoodt worden dan een steene cruycke ghebroken: in dit broosch vat hebben wy de coude nature vol quade passion, de welcke als sy verandert wordt in de liefde Gods [...] dan wordt het water in wijn verandert. Bidt God dat hy u dit miraeckel oock wercke").⁶⁷⁷ Flemish priest Henricus Adriani (†1607), pastor at the St. Elizabeth hospital in Antwerp, does not mention the vessels particularly, but he draws on the same imagery as Costerus, namely that Christ's miracle of changing water to wine can represent a change within the believer: "Also change, o Lord, the water of my weak devotions into wine of fruitful compassion, that I may become drenched and inebriated [...]" ("Verandert oock, o here, alle het water van mijnder flauwicheyte der

Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijcken Sin Neerstelijck Wtghelyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen, fol. 83r.

⁶⁷⁷ Costerus, *Catholische Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 136v.

devotion, in wijn van vruchbarich leetwesen, daer ick mede ghedrenckt ende droncken worden mach [...]”).⁶⁷⁸

In the *Wedding at Cana*, Marten de Vos has taken great care to paint magnificently elegant ewers, with very narrow openings at the top; in almost every way the very opposite of the water vessels described above and depicted by contemporary artists in renditions of the wedding at Cana. For their design, De Vos will have drawn inspiration from ornament prints and drawings, which were mostly based on Roman examples; motifs like the lobster and other sea creatures, the chariot, the eagle’s claws and serpentine handles form a part of their repertoire (fig. 4.13-4.16).⁶⁷⁹ These elaborate decorative patterns, sometimes published in book-form, were frequently used as models for artisans serving the increasingly wealthy merchant class.⁶⁸⁰ Two surviving sixteenth-century examples from Antwerp convey something of the splendour and richness of such

⁶⁷⁸ Henricus Adriani, *Catholycke Sermoenen op Alle de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondagen ende Heylighe Daghden vanden Gheheelen Iare* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1620), 105. Henricus Adriani’s sermons were very popular towards the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century but after that seemingly almost forgotten. Storme, *Die Trouwen Wilt Voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en Moralisten over de Voorbereiding op het Huwelijk in de Vlaamse Bisdommen (17e-18e Eeuw)*, 26. Henricus Adriani and Martinus Baccius used the same publisher: Hieronymus Verdussen (ca 1553-1653).

⁶⁷⁹ Fig. 4.13: British Museum, "Design for Ewer, with Body Decorated with Satyr Masks and Crayfish (1849,0210.335),"

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=93765001&objectId=1426697&partId=1. Fig. 4.14: "Design for Ewer, with Round Body Decorated with Scene Representing Neptune on his Chariot (1849,0210.261),"

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1519131&partId=1&searchText=1849,0210.291&images=true&page=1. Fig. 4.15: "Design for an Ornamental Vase, with Nymphs and Sea-Monsters and a Snake for a Handle (1849,0210.287),"

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3216991&partId=1&searchText=1849,0210.287&page=1. Fig. 4.16: "Design for Ewer, with Body Decorated with Nude Female Figures and Cherubs' Heads (1849,0210.253),"

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1426699&partId=1&searchText=Monogrammist+SE&images=true&page=1.

Access date 17 July 2016.

⁶⁸⁰ Janet S. Byrne, *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981), 17, 19. "Successful artisans – goldsmiths for example – who were competent smiths but were unable to design could by pattern books by Hans Brosamer, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Paul Flindt, Georg Wechter, Jonas Silber, and Mathias Zünd." *Ibid.*, 19.

vessels, especially when compared to more common decorated tableware of the period (fig. 4.17-4.18, 4.19-4.21).⁶⁸¹ According to Janet Byrne, these exceptionally lavish ewers were generally intended as show pieces, although those with matching basins were sometimes used for hand-washing.⁶⁸² Considering, however, that their decoration was often figurative (generally featuring mythological figures and narratives), they were likely also intended as conversation starters at dinner parties. As Claudia Goldstein notes, the decoration in dining rooms – ranging from paintings and tablecloths to drinking vessels and tableware – reflected the host's taste, wealth and education.⁶⁸³ Her description of decorated drinking jugs also would have applied to such ewers: "Whether in use or on display, the objects helped to mark dining spaces and banquets, and invited discussion of their imagery and debate over the significance of their subjects, which could be variously interpreted."⁶⁸⁴ Sixteenth-century viewers, then, were ready to examine and reflect on the decoration and meaning of the sumptuous ewers in the *Wedding at Cana*.

⁶⁸¹ Fig. 4.17: British Museum, "Silver Ewer; Rape of Helen after Raphael (Wb.93)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=33812&partId=1&searchText=WB.93&page=1.

Fig. 4.18: "Ewer, Silver-Gilt; Spout in Form of Goat's Head, Handle Rising from a Figure of Pan and Terminating in a Goat-Like Monster, Neptune and Amphitrite (Wb.89)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=33037&partId=1&searchText=WB.89&page=1. Access date 17 July 2016.

Fig. 4.19: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, "Anonymous, Jug (F 2391)," <http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/object/50429/jug/Anonymous>. Fig. 4.20: "Anonymous, Jug (F 3300)," <http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/object/51230/jug/Anonymous>. Fig. 4.21: "Anonymous, Pewter Jug (Om 30)," <http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/object/97718/jug/Anonymous>. Access date 17 July 2016.

⁶⁸² Byrne, *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings*, 106.

⁶⁸³ Claudia Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel and the Culture of the Early Modern Dinner Party* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 2. "Dinner parties were crucial to the construction and maintenance of both social and professional identity among Antwerp's professional elite, including merchants, land speculators, and employees of the mint. As a result, the 'eetkamer', or dining room, emerged in the most elite Antwerp houses as a separate, highly decorated space centered around conspicuous consumption and even more conspicuous display." *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 102. Also see: Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands*, 25-29.

In the painting, the elegant form and decoration of the ewers indicate the superiority of the New Dispensation over the Old. The narrow openings signal more specifically that the transition from Old to New has already taken place; the Jewish purification rituals are now obsolete. Furthermore, the pitchers are divided into pairs and distributed evenly along the foreground rather than being grouped together to the side, half hidden by a servant or a tablecloth. For the viewer, they demarcate the picture plane, offering both visual and conceptual access to the image. Analogous to the strategy of the preachers, the artist employs them to signal the typological content of the painting and to highlight Christ's salvific authority.

Stefaan Grieten has identified Marten de Vos's six vessels in light of a long-standing typological tradition in which they represent the six ages of the world.⁶⁸⁵ Augustine identified the first age as beginning with Adam, the second with Noah, the third with Abraham, the fourth with King David, the fifth with the Babylonian exile and the sixth with John the Baptist, lasting until the end of the world.⁶⁸⁶ However, on examining the six beautifully shaped ewers in De Vos' *Wedding at Cana* it becomes clear that the artist is not drawing from this tradition directly. Rather, the ewers represent types of Christ which allude to his death, Resurrection and Ascension, visually expressing that the miracle at Cana prefigured Christ's ministry. The ewers further exemplify the act of

⁶⁸⁵ Grieten, "Altarpiece of the Wine Taverners." The Pictor in Carmine records two prefigurations for "Mutat Christus aquam in uinum": "Allegorica intelligentia de sex ydriis per sex etates seculi" (the six ages of the world) and "Tropologica intelligentia de sex ydriis per sex gradus etatis humane" (the six ages of man)." These two types accompany the *Wedding at Cana* in one of the typological windows in Canterbury Cathedral (nr. 14, panel 18). Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 72.

⁶⁸⁶ Aquinas, *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels: Collected out of the Works of the Fathers*, 87. Stefaan Grieten suggests the following eras: Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, Jeremiah and, stragely, Zeus. Grieten, "Altarpiece of the Wine Taverners," 141.

exegesis as the viewer examines them and discovers their meaning in light of Christ's ministry on earth for the Salvation of mankind

The snake curled up atop the first ewer to the far left does allude to Adam, an identification strengthened by the fact that Christ (the new Adam) is pointing directly at it. The third vessel from the left has several intertwined snakes on top of it, reminiscent of the story of Moses and the Brazen Serpent, in which the murmuring Israelites were attacked by snakes (Num. 21:5-9). The brazen serpent raised up by Moses, granting healing, was a common figure of Christ's future salvific death on the Cross.⁶⁸⁷ The fourth ewer is decorated with a variety of sea-creatures, which probably allude to the prophet Jonah, who spent three days in the belly of a whale, a prefiguration of Christ's three days "in the heart of the earth" after his Crucifixion (Matt. 12:40). The sixth vessel on the far right depicts the prophet Elijah taken to heaven in a fiery chariot (2 Kings 2:11-13), which has been interpreted as a type of Christ's Ascension.⁶⁸⁸

Unfortunately, the detailing on the second (white) pitcher is unclear. There seem to be two embracing putti on the neck of the vessel; perhaps they represent the young Christ and John the Baptist embracing (popular iconography at the time), and thereby refer to Christ's baptism. The faint cartouche on the vessel perhaps depicted some sort of scene (like a rainbow) that referred to Noah, the first man to become intoxicated by wine and, in the context of the deluge, a figure of Christ's baptism as well.⁶⁸⁹ A third signal that a reference to renewing qualities of baptism comes from the eagle's claws that

⁶⁸⁷ The depiction of multiple serpents rather than just one (the brazen serpent) probably serves to distinguish that particular ewer from the one with the single serpent that refers to Adam. For some viewers the tangled snakes may have reminded them of the story of Laocoön, the Trojan priest who functioned as mythological type of Christ's Passion.

⁶⁸⁸ Grieten, "Altarpiece of the Wine Taverners," 141.

⁶⁸⁹ The vessel's white color might reflect innocence, being cleansing of sins.

support this vessel. They might have brought to mind Psalm 102:5: “[...] thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle’s.” The Physiologus entry on the eagle (which cites this psalm) describes that when eagles have grown old, they fly into the sun to burn away the heaviness of their wings and the dimness of their eyes. Then the eagle dives into a fountain, bathes himself three times and is renewed. The reader is admonished: “Be baptized in the everlasting fountain, putting off the old man and his actions and putting on the new, you who have been created after the likeness of God [...] as the Apostle said.”⁶⁹⁰ Coming after Adam but before Moses, a baptismal theme would be appropriate for this white ewer.

The only identifying elements on the red vessel are decorative flowery motifs and a shell on the top. Perhaps this vessel represents the Red Sea; the parting of the Red Sea by Moses, when God delivered his people from slavery in Egypt, traditionally prefigures Christ’s Baptism. Since it is likely that the white vessel already embodies baptism, the meaning of the red ewer must be sought elsewhere. The *Pictor in carmine* offers an alternative reading, presenting the *Crossing of the Red Sea* as a type to the *Apostles baptizing believers* (“Baptizat Christus Manibus Apostolorum”). In other words, the baptism of all Christians, not just of Christ.⁶⁹¹ Since the ewer is placed at the far right, just below the servant dispensing the water Christ had changed into wine, this suggestion does not seem farfetched. Seen from this perspective, this vessel may have reminded viewers how Christ’s ministry, death and Resurrection allowed people to be delivered from sin and death.

⁶⁹⁰ Michael J. Curley, *Physiologus. A Medieval Book of Nature Lore* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), 12-13.

⁶⁹¹ Baker, "Pictor in Carmine uel Adaptatio Rerum Gestarum in Veteri Testamento ad Nouum: A Critical Edition," 32, 46-47, 396, 402. This reading is based on 1 Cor. 10:1-4 and 1 Pet. 3:20-21).

Taken together, these six vessels embody the change from the Old to the New Dispensation, not only because the water they contained was changed into wine by Christ according to the biblical narrative, but also because in the painting, their decoration reveals them to represent Old Testament types of Christ. In turn these Old Testament types prefigure the salvific events that would culminate in Christ's death and Resurrection, and thereby redemption for mankind. The six elaborate vessels underscore Christ's messianic authority, not only to change the era *sub legem* to the era *sub gratia* and to reveal the spiritual meaning of the Law, but also his authority to institute the seven sacraments of the New Law through which divine grace could be conveyed to believers (just as the water-made-wine was distributed to the entire wedding party).⁶⁹² Christ's presence at the wedding in Cana, as well as the fact that he performed his first miracle there, were seen as clear signs of his approval and blessing of the marital state, and also thereby taken to be the moment when he instituted the sacrament of marriage.

Contrary to many contemporary depictions of the wedding at Cana, in De Vos's painted rendition Christ is oriented prominently towards the viewer, indicating that the miracle he performed and the grace thereby bestowed upon the newly wed couple at Cana was also attainable for sixteenth-century viewers through the marriage sacrament. His eyes are cast downwards and focus on the six vessels and the servant. Christ points at the first water vessel, indicating that he has changed the water to wine According to the

⁶⁹² A fourteenth-century handbook for priests, the *Manipulus Curatorum*, which was published well into the sixteenth century, says "Know that all the sacraments of the New Law were directly instituted by Christ, which the doctors prove this way: To whom belongs the giving of any law belongs the institution of the sacraments. Since Christ was the direct founder, institutor, and giver of the New Law, as the Apostle amply proves in the epistle to the Galatians, and is given by Isaiah, saying 'the Lord is our King, the Lord is our Lawgiver; He himself will come and save us', therefore it belongs to Christ alone to institute the sacraments of the New Law." Anne T. Thayer and Katharine J. Lualdi, *A Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry* (Washington DC: Catholic University Press of America, 2011), 9.

biblical story no gesture or spoken word accompanied the change, suggesting that this gesture can be interpreted as Christ instituting the sacrament of marriage. In the second half of the sixteenth-century the exact nature of the sacrament of marriage and the appropriate circumstances under which to contract a marriage to obtain the divine grace bestowed by the sacrament were hotly debated topics in the Netherlands.⁶⁹³

Franciscus Costerus's thinly veiled disapproval for the marital state leads him to contemplate why Christ's ministry should begin at a wedding at all, when Christ himself chose the virginal state.⁶⁹⁴ He answers his own question, suggesting that it had to be so because God's first act after creating Adam and Eve was to marry them (Gen, 2:22-24): "[...] therefore Christ also had to start his first works with marriage [...]" ("Dus moest Christus oock sijn eerste werck vanden houwelijcken staet beghinnen [...]"). By attending the wedding festivities and performing his first miracle there, Christ was showing the people that he would not force them to adhere to his own sacred state (virginity) and that marriage is the "fountain of the holy Church" ("fonteyne der heyligher Kerke") as it produces children. Furthermore, Christ came to reform this "old, necessary and honest state" of marriage as "proof that he did not come to destroy the Law and his Father's work but to perfect them" ("Eensdeels oock om desen ouden, nootsaeckelijcken, en eerlijcken staet te reformeren, ende metter daedt te bewijzen dat hy de Wet ende sijns vaders wercken niet en quam bederuen, maer volmaecken").⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹³ Jongh, *Portretten van Echt en Trouw: Huwelijk en Gezin in de Nederlandse Kunst van de Zeventiende Eeuw*, 30.

⁶⁹⁴ Although the sermons discussed here shared many elements in their treatment of the story, Franciscus Costerus is the only one to ask this question.

⁶⁹⁵ Costerus, *Cathollicke Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 123r. Costerus here references Matthew 05:17: "Do not think I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am come not to destroy but to fulfill."

Of the seven sacraments, marriage was the last to be canonized. On the basis of St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians, marriage was generally accepted to be a sacrament: "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh. This is a great sacrament; but I speak in Christ and in the church."⁶⁹⁶ However, opinions varied on the exact nature of this sacrament; many theologians felt that it was a *figura* of the marriage between Christ and his Church, but that the conditions of church sacraments such as baptism and the Eucharist (instituted by Jesus Christ and conferring grace) were not fulfilled. They often regarded marriage as a barely legitimate way to channel "carnal lust", a long way away from constituting an institution that could convey divine grace.⁶⁹⁷ Furthermore, since the first marriage was between Adam and Eve in Paradise, the sacrament could hardly be said to have been instituted by Christ.⁶⁹⁸ The only consensus within the western Church was that the freely given consent of bride and groom constituted a marriage.

Although it had long been customary for couples to receive a blessing from their parish priest upon marrying, this was not a requirement for a legally valid Catholic marriage.⁶⁹⁹ Spanish priest Guido de Monte Rochen explains in his *Manipulus curatorum* (*Handbook for parish priests*), composed around 1330 but reprinted well into the sixteenth-century: "[...] as is the case with other sacraments, some things belong to the

⁶⁹⁶ Eph. 5:31-32.

⁶⁹⁷ Cathaoir S.O Duibhdhiorma, "The Tridentine Canon on the Sacramentality of Marriage (Canon 1, Session Xxiv, 1563): Its Elaboration, its Teaching and its Scope" (Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1978), 85. "Overwhelmed by the opinion that saw marital intercourse as an act which, so to say, was the very act of concupiscence itself, whose evil was only diminished to a venial fault by the institution of marriage, many could not accept that such an institution could be a cause of grace."

⁶⁹⁸ Storme, *Die Trouwen Wilt Voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en Moralisten over de Voorbereiding op het Huwelijk in de Vlaamse Bisdommen (17e-18e Eeuw)*, 380. Thayer and Lualdi, *A Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, 11, 130.

⁶⁹⁹ Petra Boheemen et al., *Kent, en Versint Eer Datje Mint* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1989), 91-99.

sacrament by necessity, but some belong only to its solemnity. So too in marriage some things pertain to the substance of marriage, like consent expressed in words in the present tense, and this alone makes the marriage. But other things belong to its solemnity and decorum, like the aforementioned solemnities, without which a marriage is true and lawful with respect to validity, although not with respect to integrity.”⁷⁰⁰

The Church held that marriage was a “remedium propter fornicationem” (a remedy against fornication), and for that reason they advocated an easy way to contract a marriage: consensualism (both partners agree to marriage to each other in words in the present tense).⁷⁰¹ As a consequence, so-called clandestine marriages, where couples wed at balcony windows to avoid disapproving parents or in front of in-keepers who would refuse to lodge unwed couples, were endemic.⁷⁰² Conflicts arose when these marital unions without parental consent or proper notice were accepted as valid and indissoluble by the church but had legal consequences in the secular realm, related to dowries and inheritances. Furthermore, because these clandestine marriages were often conducted secretly and without witnesses, it was sometimes unclear whether somebody had already been married or not.⁷⁰³ Throughout the fifteenth- and sixteenth century theological doctrine increasingly conflicted with societal demands and practices.

⁷⁰⁰ Thayer and Lualdi, *A Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, 131-32. Of this manual for parish priests, around 60000 copies have been published between 1470 and 1550; it outsold Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei* six times. Michael Milway, "Forgotten Best-Sellers from the Dawn of the Reformation," in *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History. Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday*, ed. Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 117.

⁷⁰¹ Reinier Leushuis, "The Mimesis of Marriage: Dialogue and Intimacy in Erasmus's Matrimonial Writings," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (Winter, 2004): 1282.

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, 1283.

⁷⁰³ Leendert Brink, "De Taak van de Kerk bij de Huwelijksluiting: een Onderzoek naar de Geschiedenis van de Kerkelijke Huwelijkszegening, Vooral onder het Aspect van de Sacramentaliteit" (University of Amsterdam, 1977), 156. P.J.M Huizing S.J., *De Trentse Huwelijksvorm: Rede Uitgesproken bij de Aanvaarding van het Ambt van Gewoon Hoogleraar in het Kanonieke Recht aan de Katholieke Universiteit van Nijmegen* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Paul Brand, 1966), 12-13.

Erasmus was not the first to express concern regarding the Church's stance on consensualism. He advocated a more pragmatic approach, in which marriage follows after an engagement of some duration and depends on parental consent and the presence of witnesses and a priest. This might negate human impulsivity in choosing a partner to an extent, and would increase the social status of the marital bond. Furthermore, Erasmus questioned the exact nature of the marriage sacrament, and was not convinced of the very strict indissolubility of marriage advocated by the Church.⁷⁰⁴ The criticism from Erasmus and many of his contemporaries was amplified by attacks from reformers such as Martin Luther and by other writers who wished to secularize the institution of marriage.⁷⁰⁵ This ultimately forced the Catholic Church to put marriage squarely on the agenda of the Council of Trent.

After lengthy debates in 1547, some consideration in 1552 and further discussions in the Fall of 1563, finally on November 11th of that year the Church's decree on marriage was ratified and promulgated.⁷⁰⁶ For this solemn occasion they chose to read the gospel passage of the wedding at Cana, the biblical narrative that was one of the foundation stones of the Church's recognition that marriage was indeed a full sacrament of the New Law, instituted by Christ through the conferring of grace.⁷⁰⁷ The decree further held that marriage should always be conducted before the couple's parish priest and in the presence of at least two witnesses (parental consent was still not a requirement). Priests had to keep records of those marriages to help them determine

⁷⁰⁴ Leushuis, "The Mimesis of Marriage: Dialogue and Intimacy in Erasmus's Matrimonial Writings," 1284-85.

⁷⁰⁵ Duibhdiorma, "The Tridentine Canon on the Sacramentality of Marriage (Canon 1, Session Xxiv, 1563): Its Elaboration, its Teaching and its Scope," 94.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁰⁷ Juraj Kamas, "The Separation of the Spouses with the Bond Remaining: Historical and Canonical Study with Pastoral Applications" (Pontificia Universitate Gregoriana, 1997).

whether a man or woman who wished to enter the state of matrimony had been married before or not. Although clandestine marriages were condemned as sinful, they still counted as valid, indissoluble unions in the eyes of the Church. Via sermons the Church attempted to impress upon parents and youngsters of marriageable age the dangers of clandestine marriage, and the benefits of following the proper, now canonized procedure of obtaining God's grace to help in bearing the many difficulties and hardships they could expect to encounter after their nuptials.⁷⁰⁸

Sermons on the wedding at Cana generally made a point of reiterating the popular consensus that virginity is superior to the marital state.⁷⁰⁹ Hendricus Adriani is exceptionally positive when he remarks: "And also the marital state is such a high and worthy holy Sacrament, that there is a need for much education, teaching and comfort, although there are many who do not think of this" ("Ende oock so is den houwelycken staet eenen alsulcken hoogen ende weerdighen heylichen Sacrament, dat daer wel behoeft ende van doene heeft veel onderwijs, leeringhe ende troost, hoe wel datter veel sijn die dit niet en bedencke").⁷¹⁰ The fact that he had been married and fathered two children

⁷⁰⁸ Storme, *Die Trouwen Wilt Voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en Moralisten over de Voorbereiding op het Huwelijk in de Vlaamse Bisdommen (17e-18e Eeuw)*, 18. Jongh, *Portretten van Echt en Trouw: Huwelijk en Gezin in de Nederlandse Kunst van de Zeventiende Eeuw*, 30.

⁷⁰⁹ Storme, *Die Trouwen Wilt Voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en Moralisten over de Voorbereiding op het Huwelijk in de Vlaamse Bisdommen (17e-18e Eeuw)*, 67. "All authors consulted were in agreement that the virginal state *in se* was happier, worthier and more beatific than marriage." ("Alle geraadpleegde auteurs waren het er roerend over eens dat de maagdelijke staat *in se* gelukkiger, verdienstelijker en zaliger is dan het huwelijk"). My translation.

⁷¹⁰ Adriani, *Catholycke Sermoenen op Alle de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondagen ende Heylighe Dagen vanden Gheheelen Iare*, 103. Adriani is dismayed at contemporary wedding practices; he remarks: "And it seems that when we attend awedding, we should not mind there redemption of our soul and put it aside for the time being, as if the only things to be done are eating, drinking, dancing and jumping. I leave other things at are worse and much more evil, be" ("Ende het schijnt als wy ter Bruyloft sijn, dat wy so lange moeten onser sielen salicheyt onbedacht laten, ende aen d'een zijde stellen, als ofter niets anders op de Bruyloften en behoorden gehandelt te worden, als eten, drinken, danssen ende springen, ic laet andere dingen die noch quader ende booser sijn, blijven.")

before he became a widower and joined the church probably influenced his outlook.⁷¹¹

Martinus Baccius concludes that: “[...] the marital state is good and praiseworthy.

Because Jesus, by his presence, has approved and adorned it, and honored it with a

wonderful sign, but still better and lovelier is the virginal state, because Christ Jesus

elected the virginal state above marriage” (“[...] den houwelijcken staet is goetende

lovelijc. Want Jesus heeft hem door zijn tegenwoordicheyt goet getoogt ende verciert,

ende geeert met een wonderlijck teecken, maer beter ende lieflijcker is den

maeghdelijcker staet. Want Christus Jesus heeft den maegdelijcken staet voor den

houwelijckce verhoort.”⁷¹²

The most extreme point of view is expressed by Franciscus Costerus. He concedes that marriage may have some benefits to the couple and to the Church (such as providing an outlet for the “desires of the flesh” and producing children who might grow up to become priests or saints), but then continues with a rather strange and unsettling analogy: “The work of marriage can take place without sin, nevertheless it has an inherent filthiness which brings shame, even in speaking or hearing, as does the work of the hangman who murders somebody, which is good for the virtue of justice, but nevertheless is gruesome in itself and gives the executioner a bad name” (“Het wreck des houwelijcks can sonder sonde geschieden, nochtans heuet heen natuerlijcke vuylicheyte, de welke brengt schaemte, oock int spreken oft horen, ghelyck het werk des hang-diefs die iemanden doodt, is goet voor de deught der iustitie, nochtans ist grouwelijck in hem

⁷¹¹ Storme, *Die Trouwen Wilt Voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en Moralisten over de Voorbereiding op het Huwelijk in de Vlaamse Bisdommen (17e-18e Eeuw)*, 26.

⁷¹² Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermoenen: Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Gheloofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondaghen ende Heylighe Daghen, vanden Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijcken Sin Neerstelijck Wtghelleyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen*, fol. 82r.

selven, en maeckt den scherprechter infaem”).⁷¹³ Later on in his sermon he compares the selection of a life partner for oneself or one’s children to selecting a good horse: “because for that you do not look for a stallion that is a beautiful color, but one that is dutiful [...] and has the properties of a good and generous horse” (“Int kiesen van mans oft huysvrouwe voor u oft voor uwe kinderen, en behoordy nietmin te doen, dan ghy pleegt als ghy u peerdt doet berijden: want daer toe en soeckt ghy geen en hengst die schoon is van couleur, maer die vroom is [...] ende die de proprieteyten heeft van een goetd generous peerdt”).⁷¹⁴ Both Baccius and Costerus, incidentally, vehemently deny the opinions of those like Marcion of Sinope, the Manicheans and “other old heretics” (“en andere oude ketters”) that marriage comes from the devil.⁷¹⁵

Should a couple express the wish to get married despite all these objections, they are urged by the preachers to invite the Virgin Mary, Christ and his disciples to their wedding feast, following the couple in Cana.⁷¹⁶ Adriani describes the Virgin Mary’s role as “a mirror of virtue and honor” (“Maria de moeder Jesu is aldaer eenen spiegel alder deuchden ende eerbaerheyt gheweest”), while Christ was invited as “a teacher of truth” who had come to comfort and to instruct the other wedding guests (“Jesus Christus [...] is daar genoot gheweest als een Leeraer der waerheyt, allen den andere gasten tot eenen

⁷¹³ Costerus, *Catholische Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 123v. This statement is followed by a long list of royal and saintly couples through the ages who refrained from marital intercourse and were saintlier and holier because of it.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 128v.

⁷¹⁵ Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermoenen: Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Gheloofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondaghen ende Heylighe Dagen, vanden Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijken Sin Neerstelijck Wtgeheleyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen*, fol. 82r. Costerus, *Catholische Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 123v. Adriani here does not discuss heretical opinions on marriage.

⁷¹⁶ Storme, *Die Trouwen Wilt Voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en Moralisten over de Voorbereiding op het Huwelijck in de Vlaamse Bisdommen (17e-18e Eeuw)*, 34.

troost ende salicheyt, en sonder twijfel of hy en heeft aldaer oock gheleert ende gepredikt”).⁷¹⁷ Baccius treats the matter more elaborately: inviting the Virgin Mary to one’s wedding means “[...] accepting the marital state in the fear of Christ and God, to become mother and father and have children and raise and teach them in the faith and fear of God [...] because Mary, mother and virgin stands for fertility and chastity” (“[...] dat is, met een Christen ende Godt vreesende opset, den houwelijcken staet aenueerden: te weten om moeder ende vader te werden, ende kinderen te hebben ende die op te voeden ende tonderwijsen inden geloove ende vreesse Gods [...] want Maria die moeder ende maghet beteeckent wel die vruchtbaerheyt en reynicheyt”).⁷¹⁸ Inviting Christ to one’s wedding means that “the man and the woman marry from their own free will, without force or deceit” (“[...] als de man ende vrouwe wt haerlieder vrijwen ende eyghenen wille daer toe ouer een draghen, niet bedwongen oft door leugentale bedroghen”). They should also remember to consult with their parents, but only “as long as they use good reasons” (“soo verre sij goede redenen gebruycken”), on their intended choice of life partner, because, as Baccius warns, “youngsters are generally blind to what’s good for their wellbeing, due to concupiscence” (“aenghesien dat de ionghers ghemeynlyck blindt sijn ende haerlieden eyghen welvaert niet en sien door begeerlijcheyt”).⁷¹⁹

Finally, Baccius explains, inviting Christ’s disciples to a wedding means “[...] to follow the precepts of the Priesthood, who are in the place of the Lord’s disciples” (“[...]

⁷¹⁷ Adriani, *Catholycke Sermoenen op Alle de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondagen ende Heylighe Daghen vanden Gheheelen Iare*, 104.

⁷¹⁸ Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermoenen: Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Gheloofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondagen ende Heylighe Daghen, vanden Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijcken Sin Neerstelijck Wtghelyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen*, fol. 82r.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 83r.

den dienst ende het beuel volghen van den Priesterlijcken staet, die de plaetse van des Heeren discipelen heeft”). A couple’s parish priest should investigate any impediments to the marriage, hear confession of the couple’s sins to prepare them for the reception of the divine grace conferred by the marriage sacrament, and offer his benediction upon the marriage. The couple is further urged “[...] the first night, after an old custom of Christians, to stay chaste in honor of the holy Sacrament and the grace conferred on the marriage,” (“[...] ende den eersten nacht, naer dat oude ghebruyck der Christenen in reynicheyt te blijuen tot eerweericheyt vanden H. Sacramenten, ende vade gebenedijdinge des houwelijc”), following the example of the biblical couple Tobias and Sarah (Tobias 8:4-6).⁷²⁰

These sermons on the story of the wedding at Cana were preached traditionally on the second Sunday after Epiphany (6 January) according to the liturgical calendar.⁷²¹ Guido de Monte Rochen warns his readers: “[...] while engagement and even marriage, which are contracted by consent only, can be contracted during festival seasons, but the transfer of the wife, the wedding solemnities, and carnal copulation are prohibited [...] from the Advent of the Lord to the octave of Ehipany [...].”⁷²² After Epiphany, then, many weddings would have taken place.⁷²³

⁷²⁰ Ibid. Originally, newlyweds were urged to abstain for three nights, like Tobias and Sarah, but since the fifth century this was reduced to one night. Boheemen et al., *Kent, en Versint Eer Datje Mint*, 91.

⁷²¹ Storme, *Die Trouwen Wilt Voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en Moralisten over de Voorbereiding op het Huwelijc in de Vlaamse Bisdommen (17e-18e Eeuw)*, 33.

⁷²² Thayer and Lualdi, *A Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, 154.

⁷²³ In fact, about nineteen to twenty weeks per year it was not possible to solemnize a marriage in church. In the late fourteenth century, a council under John Colton (ca. 1320-1404) the Archbishop of Armagh (Ireland) attempted to extend the period in which church ceremonies for marriage were available, but apparently with limited success. Philip L. Reynolds and John Witte Jr., eds., *To Have and to Hold, Marrying and its Documentation in Western Christendom 400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 343.

Costerus offers another reason why it is appropriate to preach about the wedding at Cana and marriage on the second Sunday after Epiphany: the marriage at Cana figures two earlier marriages celebrated at Christmas and Epiphany. “[...] because in the two preceding feast days Christ held two kinds of weddings, which are figured by this physical wedding (so St. Paul says), because in his holy birth or conception he has united himself into one person with his bride, human nature, and on Epiphany he married his holy Church, as we read in the divine liturgy of that day: today the holy Church has joined with the heavenly bridegroom: that is, she has been given to him in marriage on this day” (“Om dat Chrisus in de twee voorgaende feestdaghen twee soorten van bruyloften ghehouden heeft, die door dese lichaemelijcke bruyloft beteeckent worden (soo S. Pauwels seght), want in sijn heylige geboorte oft ontfanckenisse heeft hy de menschelijcke nature sijn bruydt met hem in eenen persoon vereenicht, ende op dry Coninghen dach heeft hij sijn heyliche Kercke ghetrouwt, soo wij in den dienst Godts op dien dach lesen: Heden is de heyliche Kercke t’samenghevoeght met den hemelschen Bruydegom: dat is, sy is hem heden ten houwelijck ghegeven”).⁷²⁴ Costerus identifies a salvific pattern of marriages that begins with the union of Adam and Eve conducted by God, and proceeds via marriages of Old Testament figures like Tobias and Sarah, through Christ’s incarnation and union with his bride the Church, to the wedding in Cana. All of these in turn form the basis for his discussion of marriage practices in his own day, which is heavily informed by the decree on marriage published by the Council of Trent.

In his 1597 *Wedding at Cana* Marten de Vos employs a similar strategy: he has included a pattern of marriages through which he stresses the sacramental nature of

⁷²⁴ Costerus, *Catholische Sermoenen of D’epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 123r.

marriage to his contemporary audience, and the divine grace it can bestow. In the painting, Christ pointing at the water vessel with the snake curled at the top identifies him as the second Adam and alludes to the institution of marriage in paradise, when God created Eve and Adam said: “This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man. Wherefore a man shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they shall be two in one flesh.”⁷²⁵ In his letter to the Ephesians, Saint Paul repeated those words, and connected them with the relationship between Christ and the Church (Eph. 5:31-32).

In his *Manipulus Curatorum*, Guido de Monte Rochen, like Franciscus Costerus, distinguishes between the spiritual union of man and wife, which completes the marriage “in holiness”, and their physical union, which completes marriage “by outward sign;” the former signifies Christ’s mystical union with the Church, the latter signifies Christ’s hypostatic union through which he could physically perform his ministry and undergo the passion for the redemption of mankind: “[...] know that marriage can be considered in three ways – in one way as it is an office of nature; in the second way as it is a remedy for carnal lust [...] in the third way as it is a sign of the union of certain things, namely of Christ and the Church, which the union of the souls of man and wife signifies, and the union of human and divine nature in the person of the son of God, which the union of bodies signifies.”⁷²⁶

The mystery of Christ’s Incarnation, when his divine and human nature united in the womb of his mother, also offered an explanation for a problematic passage in the story of the wedding at Cana: Christ’s rebuke of his mother. After she alerted him to the

⁷²⁵ Gen. 2:23-24.

⁷²⁶ Thayer and Lualdi, *A Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, 11.

wine shortage, he answered her, “Woman, what is that to me and to thee?” (John 2:4). In sermons this perceived disrespect was traditionally understood as Christ distinguishing between his divine and human nature: “[...] his wonderful works of miracles must be done after the will of God, his heavenly father, and through the power of his divine nature, and she who was the mother of his human nature had nothing to do with the matter” (“[...] zijn wonderlijcke wercken oft mirakelen moisten gedaen sijn near den willen van Godt zijnen hemelschen vader, ende door die cracht van zijnder goddelijcker nature, ende dat zy in dier sakemethem niet te doen en hadde, die zijn moeder was, maer near zijn menschelijcke nature.”)⁷²⁷ Costerus has Christ explain: “[...] woman, you know that when it comes to miracles I do not relate to you, nor you to me. Because the power to do miracles I do not have from you, but from my heavenly Father: and for that reason I did not call you mother, but woman, because in this matter you are not my mother [...]” (“[...] vrouwe, gy weet wel dat ick in saecken van mirakelen niet aen en gae, noch gy my. Want de macht om mirakelen te doen en hebbe ik van u niet, maer van mijn hemelschen Vader: ende daerom en naem ick u gheen moeder, maer vrouwe: want hier in en zijdy mijn moeder niet [...]”).⁷²⁸

The first marriage of Christ that Costerus refers to, the hypostatic union, is represented in the painting via the clothes of the bridegroom. His garments unite the blue worn by the Virgin Mary with the red worn by Christ. In the context of the story of the marriage at Cana, where Christ was seen to distinguish rather sharply between his earthly

⁷²⁷ Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermoenen: Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Gheloofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondaghen ende Heylighe Daghen, vanden Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijcken Sin Neerstelijck Wtgeleyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen*, fol. 81r.

⁷²⁸ Costerus, *Catholiicke Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iare*, fol. 122v.

and heavenly natures, the combination of both colors identify the bridegroom as a type of the Bridegroom from the Song of Songs, marrying the Church figured in his bride. She points to herself in a manner similar to the Virgin, who is traditionally a figure of the Church. Furthermore, while the wearing of crowns was customary for brides, the crown worn by the bride in Marten de Vos's painting looks very elaborate and costly, and may be understood as a reference to the Virgin Mary's future as Queen of Heaven.⁷²⁹ Finally, although white was not yet a customary color for brides, the color symbolized purity and perhaps intended to evoke St. Paul's admonition that husbands should love their wives as Christ loves his church: "That he might present [the Church] to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy, and without blemish" (Eph. 5:27).⁷³⁰

The bride and the bridegroom here function as types of the Virgin Mary and Christ respectively, confirming a salvific pattern of marriages that began with the union of Adam and Eve in paradise (before sin) and continues through Christ's hypostatic union and marriage with his Church to the bride and groom at the wedding in Cana (there are no clear references to Old Testament marriages in the painting). With the institution of the sacrament of marriage by Christ at the wedding in Cana, this pattern extends all the way into the sixteenth century, when young couples contemplating entering the marital state could obtain divine grace bestowed by the holy sacrament if they adhered to biblical examples of chastity and obedience to Church procedures.

⁷²⁹ J. Weyns, "Twee Bruiloften uit de Oude Tijd," *Noordgouw* XVI (1976): 180.

⁷³⁰ Jongh, *Portretten van Echt en Trouw: Huwelijk en Gezin in de Nederlandse Kunst van de Zeventiende Eeuw*, 310.

The bride's white clothing further strengthens her close association with the Virgin Mary and signals both her virginity before marriage as well as her purity in marriage.⁷³¹ Franciscus Costerus warns couples who think that once they are married they cannot commit unchaste acts any more ("Sy meynen dat den man met syn huys-vrouwe gheen sonde van oncuyscheyt en can bedrijven"): "these and similar abuses Christ has transformed at this wedding: because when he made marriage a sacred and important Sacrament, he wanted to teach us and command us to seek all holiness in marriage and to mirror ourselves to many holy men and women who have come to great excellence in the marital state" ([...] Dese ende dierghelijcke abusen ende misbruycken heeft Christus in dese bruyloft ghereformeerd: want als hy van het houwelijck een heylich ende groot Sacrament maeckthe, wilde hy ons leeren ende beuelen alle heylicheyt int houwelijck te soecken ende ons te spieghelen aen veel heylighe mans ende vrouwen, die in den staet des houwelycks tot groote volmaetheyt gecomen sijn").⁷³²

In the painting, some of the other guests help elucidate the typological pattern of marriages by their clothes and hand gestures: the woman in the blue dress to the upper left, for instance, points to the bridal couple, while the man next to her in the red shirt and black cap points both to the newlyweds and to Christ, strengthening the visual association between the couple, the Virgin Mary and Christ. The female figure dressed in green and seated on the bride's right side (tentatively identified as the bride's mother), inclines her head toward the bridal couple as if drawing their attention to something.⁷³³ She holds up a

⁷³¹ Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Pan Books, 1985), 133. "For the union of Mary and Christ was consummated in heaven, and was thus a love deferred."

⁷³² Costerus, *Cathollicke Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 130v.

⁷³³ Grieten, "Altarpiece of the Wine Taverners," 141.

full wine glass in her right hand and with her left hand she points across the dining table towards some round loaves of bread. The woman on the opposite side of the table, also dressed in green garments, in turn seems to receive this gesture, but she herself gestures to Christ. Their gestures associate the wine and bread with (the blood and body of) Christ, pointing to the institution of the Eucharistic sacrament at the Last Supper (an antitype to the miracle at the wedding in Cana) and his salvific death on the Cross for the redemption of mankind.⁷³⁴

The Virgin Mary has a much more prominent position in the 1597 *Wedding at Cana* than in many contemporary depictions of the narrative. Throughout the centuries, she has been identified as the new Eve, which is expressed visually in the painting by her position next to Christ, while the ewer with the snake that identifies him as the new Adam stands between them on the ground.⁷³⁵ This strengthens the typological allusion to the first marriage in paradise and Christ's messianic authority as Redeemer of the Fall. Various commentators on the passage of the wedding at Cana also recognize the Virgin as a figure of the earthly synagogue, wishing for a miracle ("it was customary for the Jews to ask for a miracle").⁷³⁶ However, her role in the winetaverners' altarpiece is not just as a subsidiary to Christ. Although she is seen to address a servant, the Virgin looks

⁷³⁴ The institution of the Eucharist was thought to have taken place during the Last Supper, when Christ "[...] gave thanks, and brake; and gave to them, saying: This is my body, which is given for you. Do this for a commemoration of me. In like manner the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you." (Luke 22:19-10). Matt. 26:26-29, Mark 14:22-25 and 1 Cor. 11:23-25.

⁷³⁵ Costerus, *Catholische Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 132v. "[...] omdat sy in het nieuw Testament in de plaetse van Eva is, thelyck Christus den tweeden Adam is."

⁷³⁶ Aquinas, *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels: Collected out of the Works of the Fathers*, 81. Also see: Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Paraphrase on John*, 40-41.

directly at the beholder and holds her finger up in an admonitory gesture: “Whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye.”

The story of the wedding at Cana was of great consequence for the development of Mariology throughout the centuries.⁷³⁷ In sixteenth-century sermons, her attendance at the wedding of her “poor and low friends” in Cana was understood as a sign of her great compassion, as was the discrete hint to her son that the wine had run out.⁷³⁸ Thereby, Costerus explains, the Virgin “[...] wanted us to learn what we should do when we pray for her help, namely, to fulfil God’s commandments: because her office is to lead us to God” (“Sy wilde ons hier leeren wat wy behooren te doen als wy haer om hulpe bidden, te weten, Godts geboden te volbrengen: want haer officie is, ons tot Godt te leiden”).⁷³⁹ After Christ’s initial refusal to address the problem, Mary still instructed one of the servants to comply with her Son’s wishes, an important part of the narrative that Baccius seizes to reflect that: “Truly it happens to us often, that we make ourselves unworthy of the Lord’s grace and mild gifts, if we do not want to do what he commanded, because we cannot understand, what purpose it serves. Therefore, let us obey God sincerely, and we shall by the prayer of the worthy Virgin Mary obtain God’s grace, and through the use of the Holy Sacraments, and God’s ceremonies” (“Waerlyc het gebeurt ons ooc dicwils, dat wy ons onweerdich maken des Heeren gratie ende milde gauen, als wy niet en willen doen tgene dat hy ons bevolen heeft, omdat wy niet en connen verstaen, waer toe dattet

⁷³⁷ Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 16.

⁷³⁸ Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermoonen: Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Ghehoofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondaghen ende Heylighe Daghen, vanden Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijcken Sin Neerstelijck Wtgeleyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen*, fol. 81r. “[...] nochtans en verachten sy haerlieder schamele ende slechte vrienden niet.”

⁷³⁹ Costerus, *Catholiicke Sermoonen of D’epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 134v. He also says: “In all your need, find refuge with Mary, the Holy Mother of God” (“[...] in allen uwen noodt tot de heylighe Moeder Godts Mariam uwe toevlucht te nemen.”) Fol. 132v.

dient. Daerom laet ons oprechtelijc God gehoorsaem syn, ende wy sullen door het gebet van die weerdige maghet Maria Godts gaven vercrijgen, ende door het gebruycken van die H. Sacramenten, ende Goddelycke seremonien”).⁷⁴⁰ The Virgin Mary’s intervention at the Wedding at Cana illustrates not just her qualities as “a mirror and a patron of all virtue and honor,” but even more so her intercessory power with Christ.⁷⁴¹

The prominence of the Virgin Mary in Marten de Vos’s 1597 *Wedding at Cana* is not surprising given its location in the *Salve Regina* chapel, taken over from the old Saint Martin’s guild in 1597.⁷⁴² As was customary, this chapel was located directly behind the high altar, one of the most prestigious locations within the church. Ria Fabri speculates that the craft guilds who were allotted the high-status chapels surrounding the choir, such as the schoolmasters, cabinetmakers and tailors, and the painters and sculptors of the guild of Saint Luke, obtained their places of worship because they “[...] supported the clergy in the execution of their liturgical tasks.”⁷⁴³ The acquisition of the *Salve Regina* chapel by the winetaverners (providing the liturgical wine), seems to support this theory.

The wedding at Cana was not just important because it inaugurated Christ’s ministry and saw the institution of the sacrament of marriage, but it also prefigured the institution of the Eucharist. In the painting, both the figure of the bride’s mother and the

⁷⁴⁰ Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermoenen: Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Gheloofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondaghen ende Heylighe Daghén, vanden Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijcken Sin Neerstelijck Wgheleyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen*, fol. 81r.

⁷⁴¹ Adriani, *Catholycke Sermoenen op Alle de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondagen ende Heylighe Daghén vanden Gheheelen Iare*, Cij. “[...] om dat dese bruyt aen haer soude hebben eenen speigel ende patroon alder deuchden en eerbaerheyt.” Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 16, 287.

⁷⁴² Prims, *Antwerpiensia 1939: Losse Bijdragen tot de Antwerpsche Geschiedenis*, 429.

⁷⁴³ Ria Fabri, “The Triptychs in Situ. An Open or Closed World?,” in *From Quinten Metsijs to Peter Paul Rubens, Masterpieces from the Royal Museum Reunited in the Cathedral* (Antwerp: De Kathedraal VZW&BAI Publishers, 2009), 39.

woman sitting across from her at the table draw attention to wine and bread and point to Christ who has just changed water to wine. Costerus explains this analogy when he compares the miracle from the wedding at Cana with the miracle of the transsubstantiation: “[...] that after the words of consecration a similar miracle happens in the holy Sacrament of the Altar, as happened at this wedding: namely that as by the mightiness of Christ the water changed into wine, and did not remain water, similarly by Christ’s words and power the bread changes into the body of Christ, and the wine into his blood, so that after the sacred words, there is no more bread or wine, but the body and blood of Christ, with only this difference, that with the physical miracle at the wedding one could smell and taste the wine with one’s external senses, but [with the Sacrament of the Altar] one sees and tastes only with the internal senses of faith the body and blood of Christ” (“[...] dat naer de woorden der consecratie alsulck een miraeckel geschiedt in het heylich Sacrament des Autaers, als hier geschiedde in dese bruyloft: te weten dat, ghelijck hier door de almoghentehydt Christi het water in wijn veranderde, niet meer water blijuende, also door Christi woorden ende cracht het broodt verandert in het lichaem Christi, ende den wijn in sijn bloedt, soo dat naer die heylighe woorden daer geen broot noch wijn meer en is, maer het lichaem ende bloet Christi, alleen met dit onderschil, dat men in dit lichaemelijck mirakel van dese bruyloft het de wtwendighe sinnen den wijn riecken ende smaecten conde, maer hier sietmen ende smaectt men alleen met de inwendighe sinnen des geloofs het lichaem ende bloet Christi”).⁷⁴⁴

Baccius draws a parallel between the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist to explain the importance of the marriage sacrament: “Because it was instituted in the

⁷⁴⁴ Costerus, *Catholische Sermoenen of D'epistelen ende Evangelien der Sondaghen van het Gheheele Iaer*, fol. 136v.

earthly Paradise for the multiplication of the chosen people of God, and it is a holy Sacrament and sign of great mystery, when the woman created out of the side of the man, is also physically united with the man; because the Christian community by the blood of Christ and the water flowing from his side, is reborn in holy baptism, and united with the Lord by his worthy body in the Sacrament of the Altar. That is why marriage is good and worthy” (“Want het is ingesteld in dat eertschen Paradijs tot vermenichfuldinghe van die vercorene Gods, ende het is een h. Sacrament ende teecken van groote verholenthey, als de vrouwe wt die zijde vanden man geschapen, oock vleeschelyc met den man vereenicht wort, om dat die Christen vergaderinghe door dat bloet Christi ende den water wt zijnder zijden vloeyende, in dat heylich doopsel herboren, met den Heere in dat h. Sacrament des Outaers vereenicht wort door zijn weerdich lichaem. Daerom is dat houwelijc goet ende weerdich”).⁷⁴⁵

Finally, Marten de Vos’s 1597 large *Wedding at Cana* has been noted for the lavishness of the scene’s decorations. The water pitchers are beautifully shaped and elegantly decorated, the servant pours in water from a special wine pitcher (this was only customary at luxurious dinners), the baldachin has an elaborate decorative pattern, the bride wears a golden and bejewelled crown and large pendant, the table is laden with food, there is a bouquet of flowers in a delicate vase placed in a niche, no fewer than four musicians provide the musical entertainment and there is a display of elegant kitchen ware against the back wall. This is particularly remarkable, as sixteenth-century sermon makers agree that the bride and groom from the wedding at Cana must have been poor:

⁷⁴⁵ Baccius, *Den Schadt der Catholicker Sermooenen. Waer inne Vertoont Worden de Verholentheden des Christen Gheloofs, met de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondaghen ende Heylighe Daghen, vanden Gheheele Iare, Ghelijck die daer toe van de Christen Kercke Gheuoecht Sijn, na der Lettere ende den Gheestelijcken Sin Neerstelijck Wtghelleyt ende Ghedeelt in Vier Delen*, fol. 81v.

how else could they run out of wine well before the end of the festivities? (“want dat dese [schamele ende slechte vrienden] schamele waren, blijkt wt den gebreke van wijn, die in die lande overvloedich was”).⁷⁴⁶ Henricus Adriani’s views suggest an answer: the richness of the scene is a sign of spiritual prosperity conveyed by the blessings of the marriage sacrament.

Adrani first admonishes his audience: “these nonsensical weddings that people nowadays (God help us) mostly hold, are all conceit, ostentation and frivolity, without thought that the state of marriage is a holy sacrament instituted by God” (“dese onsinnige bruyloften, also men se nu hedendaechs (Got betert) meest hout in alle hooverdij, overdaet ende lichtveerdicheydt, sonder te dencken dat dien staet een H. Sacrament is van Godt inghestelt”), but he later remarks: “one should also remember that the blessing of God bestows more riches than do gifts and presents [...] and where the blessing of God is not, temporary goods vanish, and one does not know where they disappeared to” (“het dient oock wel bedacht, dat den segen Gods meer doet tot rijk worden, als giften ende gaven [...] Ja daer den seghen Gods niet en is, daer verdwijnt het tijdelijck goet, ende men weet niet waer dathet verstoven is”).

Ultimately, though, he does urge that “we should think on those who seek to advance us and to bring us perpetual joy and everlasting riches” (“maer wy behorente dencken op degene die ons soecken te voorderen ende te brengen tot een eeuwig-duerende vruecht en tot eenen onverganckelijken rijckdom”).⁷⁴⁷ So, although the

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., fol. 81r. “Nochtans en verachten sy [Mary and Christ] haerlieder schamele ende slechte vrienden niet (want dat dese schamele waren, blijkt wt den gebreke van wijn, die in die landen overvloedich was) maer eere ende bystant hebben zy henlieden gedaen.”

⁷⁴⁷ Adriani, *Catholycke Sermoenen op Alle de Epistelen ende Evangelien vande Sondagen ende Heylighen Daghen vanden Gheheelen Iare*, 103, 04.

sacrament of marriage first and foremost conveys spiritual richness, this does not preclude the possibility of temporal prosperity for the bride and groom, as a sign of grace. In the painting, the artist has visualized the spiritual richness of divine grace conveyed through the marital sacrament by surrounding the bride who has her eyes cast down modestly, and whose white clothes indicate her virginity before marriage and chastity in marriage, with rich furnishings. They are the physical sign of the couple's holiness, analogizing the two components of the sacrament: outward signs and inward grace.

A viewer's exploration of the *Wedding at Cana* begins with the elaborately painted and prominently placed ewers. Analogous to contemporary sermon makers, who employed these six vessels to discuss the hardships of married life or to identify steps to cleanse oneself from sin, Marten de Vos used his six painted vessels important as carriers of meaning: they signal the transition from the Old to the New Dispensation, and exemplify the act of biblical exegesis as the viewer examines each of them in light of Christ's future ministry. The ewers further signal the typological content of the painting as a whole and Christ's messianic authority to institute the sacraments of the New Law.

Both Christ and Mary are oriented toward the viewer, but where Christ is engaged with the water vessels, performing his miracle and instituting the marriage as a sacrament, the Virgin Mary makes eye contact with the viewer. Her role in the story of the wedding at Cana, as well as in the painting, is to show her intercessory power with her son. She also functions more generally as the saint engaged couples and newlyweds could pray to about their marital concerns. Mother and Son are mirrored by the figures of the bride and the bridegroom, who by their clothes and gestures allude to Christ's role as the Bridegroom from the Song of Songs, and the Virgin's role as his Bride the Church.

The guests seated around the table between Christ and the newly wed couple strengthen these connections.

By including visual allusions to Adam and Eve, Christ's hypostatic union and his mystical marriage to the Church into a painting of the wedding at Cana, a salvific patterns of marriages is established which reaches into the viewer's own time (as the sixteenth-century clothes of some of the guests indicate). The viewer is asked to consider the nature and power of the sacrament of marriage as well as the proper circumstances for contracting a marital union.

The Antwerp winetaverners' choice for the wedding at Cana as the subject matter for their new altar was appropriate, as it simultaneously referred to their profession as well as addressed contemporary concerns surrounding the nature and importance of the marriage sacrament. When the guild was considering an overhaul of their place of worship in the cathedral, they wanted to impress. They completely refurbished the prestigious *Salve Regina* chapel, which was located right behind the high altar in the choir. Subsequently they commissioned their new altarpiece from the most prominent painter in the city, and had it duly approved by the choir dean and a delegation of local clerics. Through the many layers of meaning contained within the painting, the winetaverners promulgated the Church's stand on the marriage sacrament while at the same time implicitly identifying themselves as close readers of Scripture and accomplished users of typology. Furthermore, the lavishness of the painting that represents its subject's spiritual richness by extension suggested that the funds provided by the winetaverners for the refurbishment of the chapel could be construed as a sign of spiritual acuity and divine favor.

After the restoration of the Catholic service in Antwerp cathedral, many wanted to show their support for the Catholic faith by including portraits of themselves in the paintings that would adorn the refurbished church.⁷⁴⁸ In fact, in the first altarpiece that was installed after 1585, *Christ among the Scribes* (sponsored by the guilds of the schoolmasters and soap boilers), painter Frans II Francken (1542-1616) has included a great number of portraits.⁷⁴⁹ These comprise various guild members, local canon Reynier van Brakel, and, apparently, Luther, Calvin and Erasmus (fig. 4.22).⁷⁵⁰ The altarpiece of the smiths, painted by Ambrosius Francken (1544-1618), depicting *The Preaching of Saint Eligius of Noyon*, likewise displays a great variety of individualized protagonists.⁷⁵¹ Certain figures in De Vos's *Wedding at Cana* have led some scholars to suggest this painting is also a part of this *portrait historié* tradition.⁷⁵²

Elisabeth Bracke makes a strong argument against this hypothesis when she points out how many of the figures, such as the pouring servant and the four musicians, as well as pictorial elements like the baldachin and the fancy kitchenware on display, belonged to a repertoire of motifs that De Vos, but also other artists, drew from.⁷⁵³ She

⁷⁴⁸ Rudie van Leeuwen, "Het Religieuze *Portrait Historié* in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden," *Desipientia: Zin en Waan* 11, no. 2 (2004): 50.

⁷⁴⁹ Natasja Peeters, "Altarpiece of the Schoolmasters and the Soap Boilers," in *From Quinten Metsijs to Peter Paul Rubens: Masterpieces from the Royal Museum Reunited in the Cathedral*, ed. Ria Fabri and Nico van Hout (Antwerp: De Kathedraal VZW and BAI Publishers, 2009), 119.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., 117. F. Jos van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1883), 347.

⁷⁵¹ Fig. 4.22: Wikimedia Commons, "Christ among Scribes (Frans Francken)" [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christ_among_scribes_\(Frans_Francken\)_September_2015-4a.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christ_among_scribes_(Frans_Francken)_September_2015-4a.jpg). Peeters, "Altarpiece of the Smiths." Bracke, "Situering van de 'Bruiloft van Kana' (1597) door Maarten de Vos in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal te Antwerpen in de 'Portrait Historie'-Traditie," 13.

⁷⁵² "Situering van de 'Bruiloft van Kana' (1597) door Maarten de Vos in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal te Antwerpen in de 'Portrait Historie'-Traditie," 2. Grieten, "Altarpiece of the Wine Taverners," 142. "Some men in the company are dressed in contemporary Brabantian bourgeois fashion, such as the figure to the far left behind the servant, and the two guests near the head of the table. These persons are clearly intended as individual portraits, more specifically of the committee members of the Wine taverner's craft."

⁷⁵³ Bracke, "Situering van de 'Bruiloft van Kana' (1597) door Maarten de Vos in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal te Antwerpen in de 'Portrait Historie'-Traditie," 4-14. Other contemporary artists used a similar arsenal of pictorial motifs. Ibid., 9-10.

rightly argues that the features of the figures in the *Wedding at Cana* are too generic to be considered portraits.⁷⁵⁴ However, Stefaan Grieten does make a compelling case for the older man with the red shirt and black cap who points at Christ, at least. He suggests that this figure rather resembles Quinten Metsijs (1466-1530), considering the physical similarities to an engraved portrait of that painter, published in 1572 (fig. 4.23).⁷⁵⁵ So far, this example has been the only compelling identification of a portrait in the winetaverners' altarpiece.

There are only two other figures whose individualized features warrant further investigation: the older man to the far left with the wrinkly face and brown collar, and the bearded man with the yellow shirt and blue cape depicted to the far right, behind the servant pouring the drink. If the former was indeed modelled after a specific person, the lack of comparative material makes it very unlikely that his identity will ever be discovered. As for the latter, he might tentatively be identified as the painter himself, following the example Frans Francken, who included his own self-portrait in a similar location in his *Christ among the Scribes* (fig. 4.24).⁷⁵⁶ Even if Marten de Vos did include the likeness of an artist he admired personally, as well as his own face, that still makes these individuals personal insertions of the artists rather than commissioned portraits.

Marten de Vos was not unfamiliar with the *portrait historié* concept; in fact, he painted several such compositions some twenty years earlier.⁷⁵⁷ The most remarkable of

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁵⁵ Fig. 4.23: The Courtauld Institute of Art, "Picturing the Netherlandish Canon: Quentin Matsys," <http://www.courtauld.org.uk/netherlandishcanon/lampsonius/image-tombstone/12.html>. Grieten, "Altarpiece of the Wine Taverners," 143.

⁷⁵⁶ Natasja Peeters, "Altarpiece of the Schoolmasters and the Soap Boilers," *ibid.*, ed. Ria Fabri and Nico van Hout (Anwerp: De Kathedraal VZW and BAI Publishers), 117.

⁷⁵⁷ In 1568, Marten de Vos painted a set of five paintings for the dining room of Gillis Hooftman, of which three have survived: *Paul in Ephesus*, *Paul in Malta* and *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra*. Zweite, *Marten de*

these is the so-called *Panhuys* panel (rarely known under its full title: *Moses and the Tablets of the Law, Surrounded by the Antwerp Panhuys and Hooftman Families*) painted in 1574-75 (fig. 4.25).⁷⁵⁸ The *Panhuys* panel, which was clearly commissioned as a group portrait, shows De Vos's long-standing familiarity with multi-layered typological patterns, as well as the close identification of sixteenth-century patrons and audiences with the Israelites from the Old Testament.

When Moses returned from Mount Sinai for the second time carrying two stone tablets inscribed with God's commandments, he called upon the Israelites to donate precious materials for the construction of the tabernacle according to God's instructions. The Israelites gathered together their riches so that the tabernacle could be built.⁷⁵⁹ In the painting Moses is seated in the center, offering the stone tablets to be read. He is surrounded by a large group of figures, some of whom wear sixteenth-century clothing and look out towards the viewer. A number of these figures are identified by inscriptions on their clothing as family members of Peeter Panhuys (1529-1585) and his wife, Margaretha Hooftman (1540-1585). Others have been tentatively identified by modern scholars as members of his wife's family (her father Bartholomeus Hooftman and his wife Barbara Daelberg, her uncle Gillis Hooftman and his third wife, Margaretha van Nispen) and family friends (Christopher Plantin and his wife Jeane Riviere, Johan Radermacher, Joris Hoefnagel, Lucas d' Heere and Justus Lipsius).⁷⁶⁰ Traditionally, the

Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, 267-69, cat. 14, fig. 17; 69, cat. 15, fig. 18; 69, cat. 16, fig. 19.

⁷⁵⁸ Fig. 4.23: ArtStor, "Maerten de Vos: Wedding at Cana (0090017)". Access date 22 July 2016.

⁷⁵⁹ Exod. 34 and 35.

⁷⁶⁰ J.W. Zondervan, "Het Panhuys-Paneel van het Mauritshuis, Beeld van een Snel Vervlogen Droom," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconografisch Bureau* 36 (1982): 89-105. Elisabeth Eyl, "Het Panhuys-Paneel van Maarten de Vos," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen: nieuwe reeks* 17 (1991): 191-93.

patron and his family members would appear as secondary figures within a religious scene, clearly separate from the biblical protagonists. In the *Panhuys* panel, however, the donor's friends and family are depicted as Israelites themselves, actively participating in the sacred narrative.

The presence of sixteenth-century figures portrayed participating in a biblical narrative has led several scholars to believe, and not unreasonably, that the *Panhuys* painting was intended as a comment on certain specific sixteenth-century events.⁷⁶¹ So far, none of their suggestions has found wide acceptance among art historians. Recently, a typological reading was offered by Jos Hanou, who suggests that the painting reflects payments made by the citizens of Antwerp to satisfy mutinying Spanish troops who threatened to loot the city in 1574. According to Hanou, Panhuys and company outwardly complied with the request from their Spanish overlord, while the painting shows they actually provided funds solely out of obedience to God's divine Law "[...] and consequently their legal rejection of the unlawful, heretical and idolatrous tyranny of

⁷⁶¹ Zondervan, "Het Panhuys-Paneel van het Mauritshuis, Beeld van een Snel Vervlogen Droom," 79-81. W. Martin speculates that the Panhuys family may have had the painting made in commemoration of a gift to a (catholic) church. W. Martin, *Musée Royal de Tableaux Mauritshuis à La Haye. Catalogue Raisonné des Tableaux et Sculptures* (The Hague: Ministère de l'Instruction des Beaux-Arts et des Sciences, 1935), 389. Armin Zweite argued that the painting was made in memory of the establishment of a reformed church. Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 161-62, 289. In a Mauritshuis catalogue, Ben Broos suggested that like the Israelites under Moses, Panhuys and company wished to remain true to their Calvinist convictions and therefore had to leave the city of Antwerp. However, Broos fails to mention that the family did not leave Antwerp until several years after the *Panhuys* panel was painted. Ben Broos, *Liefde, List en Lijden: Historiestukken in het Mauritshuis* (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zn, 1993), 24. Also see: Victor A. Dirksen, *Die Gemälde des Martin de Vos* (Berlin: Parnim, 1914), 53ff. H. L. Ph Leeuwenberg, "De Religie Omstreeks 1559," in *De Kogel door de Kerk? De Opstand in de Nederlanden 1559-1609*, ed. S. Groenveld (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1991), 62. Unfortunately, at the time of writing Rudie van Leeuwen's article on the *Panhuys* panel was yet to be published: Rudie van Leeuwen, "Moses an the Israelites by Maerten de Vos (1532-1603): New Insights on the *Portrait Historié* of the Panhuys Family of 1572," in *Example or Alter Ego? Aspects of the Portrait Historié in Western Art from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. V. Manuth, A.M. Koldewij, and R. van Leeuwen (Leiden: Brill Publishers, Forthcoming).

Spanish rule and its rebel soldiers.”⁷⁶² Hanou reads the painting as a Calvinist critique on idolatry and as covertly supportive of William of Orange and the Dutch revolt.

There are many problems with Hanou’s argument, most of which can be traced back to his assumption that the painting’s patrons were Calvinists and that Calvinist Johan Radermacher was the *inventor* of the composition.⁷⁶³ Of particular interest here, however, is the typological analogy he uses to support his hypothesis.⁷⁶⁴ Where the Israelites voluntarily donated their riches for the construction of a tabernacle for the Tablets of the Law, the Antwerp citizens had to be forced by the city council to grant loans to pay soldiers their outstanding wages to avoid city wide looting and murdering. The author also sees a connection between an earlier moment in the biblical story, when the Israelites had a statue of a golden calf erected in Moses’s absence. Hanou compares this to Spanish soldiers who terrorized the citizens of Antwerp and set up an altar in the market square where a Catholic priest said mass while a city magistrate was forced to watch. Both of these analogies do not hold up to scrutiny (the Israelites are first compared

⁷⁶² Jos Hanou, "Mozes, Muiters en Munten. De Wet in Maerten de Vos' *Panhuyspaneel* volgens de 'Methode Rademacher'," *Oud Holland* 127, no. 2/3 (2014): 78.

⁷⁶³ There is no concrete evidence that Radermacher was involved in any way in the commissioning of the *Panhuys* panel. Hanou, however, sees conceptual correspondences between a series of five paintings on the ministry of Paul. These were painted by Marten de Vos in 1568 (three remain today) for Gillis Hooftman and Radermacher was their *inventor* (see note 728). Although there are certain similarities, such as the inclusion of sixteenth-century portraits, these do not provide substantial support to the theory of identical patronage for the *Panhuys* painting. A number of clues actually point to the patronage of Peeter Panhuys himself: the painting came down through the Panhuys family, the Panhuys family members are identified by name and age, and their depiction corresponds with what is known of the Panhuys family tree (according to Zondervan, the children depicted with Hooftman are not entirely in line with the available genealogical information). Zondervan, "Het Panhuys-Paneel van het Mauritshuis, Beeld van een Snel Vervlogen Droom," 95. Zondervan also suggests that the absence of Abraham Ortelius, a close friend of Gillis Hooftman, might be due to his not being a particular friend of Peeter Panhuys. *Ibid.*, 105.

⁷⁶⁴ Although Hanou does not employ the term typology in his article (the English summary at the end speaks of an “allegorical apology”), he does see a pertinent correspondence between biblical and sixteenth-century events and reads this analogy as a religious statement. Additionally, he includes a reference from Calvin to the Old Testament as the shadow (*umbra*) of the “lively colored masterpiece of the Gospel” (“het levendig gekleurde meesterwerk van het Evangelie”, my translation). Unfortunately he fails to integrate this reference into his overall argument. Hanou, "Mozes, Muiters en Munten. De Wet in Maerten de Vos' *Panhuyspaneel* volgens de 'Methode Rademacher'," 67-68.

to mutinying Spanish soldiers and then to Antwerp citizens being terrorized by those same soldiers), possibly because Hanou takes certain sixteenth-century events, rather than the biblical story, as his starting point.⁷⁶⁵

Furthermore, there is little to support the assertion that either Peeter Panhuys or Gillis Hoofman was a converted and committed Calvinist at the time the *Panhuys* panel was painted. Baptismal records indicate that both Panhuys and Hoofman had their children baptized according to the Catholic rites until 1578. Also, the Ten Commandments in the painting are organized according to the Catholic sequence.⁷⁶⁶ Whatever their private concerns, around the time the *Panhuys* panel was painted these men publicly presented themselves as Catholics. Rather than expressing reformed sympathies, the painting incorporates ideas affiliated with the ‘House of Love’ or ‘Family of Love’, founded by German merchant Hendrik Niclaes (ca. 1502-ca. 1580) around 1540.⁷⁶⁷ This group, of which many of the portrayed people were members, encouraged its adherents to observe local religious rites, as all rituals were perceived to contain at

⁷⁶⁵ For instance, according to Hanou: “Rebelling Israelites forced the spiritual leader [Aaron] to collect earrings and other treasures for the construction of an idol, the Golden Calf, in Moses’ absence. The history of Antwerp corresponds with this, when Spanish mutineers extorted the authorities and forced them to condone a papist religious ceremony.” (“Rebellerende Israëlieten dwongen de spirituele voorman tijdens Mozes’ afwezigheid ooringen en andere schatten in te zamelen voor een afgodsbeeld: het Gouden Kalf. De Antwerpse historie correspondeerde daarmee, toen Spaanse muiters de autoriteiten afpersten en hen dwongen een huichelachtige paapse eredienst te gedogen.” My translation). According to the biblical story, however, the people requested Aaron to “make us gods” and he (voluntarily) gathered valuables, made the statue of the golden calf and built an altar. The Israelites “[...] rising in the morning, they offered holocausts, and peace victims, and the people sat down to eat, and drink, and they rose up to play.” (Exod. 32:6) There is no forced observance of idolatry recorded in the biblical narration.

⁷⁶⁶ Zondervan, “Het Panhuys-Paneel van het Mauritshuis, Beeld van een Snel Vervlogen Droom,” 86-87, 108-09. Eyl, “Het Panhuys-Paneel van Maarten de Vos,” 196-97.

⁷⁶⁷ “Het Panhuys-Paneel van Maarten de Vos,” 192. R. P. Zijp, “Spritualisme in de 16e Eeuw,” in *Ketters en Papen onder Filips II: het Godsdienstige Leven in de Tweede Helft van de 16e Eeuw*, ed. S. Groeneveld and Paul Dirkse (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, 1986), 86.

least some element of truth. Additionally, followers were expected to adhere to the values and practices of the House of Love.⁷⁶⁸

The identification of the members of the House of Love with the Israelites as God's chosen people, with whom He communicated through his prophet Moses, appears in the *Ordo Sacerdotis* (written by Niclaes) and the *Chronika des Hüsogesinnen der Lieften* (written by an 'elder Daniel'), both published towards the end of the 1560s.⁷⁶⁹ In the former, Niclaes (identified in the book as *Homo Novus* or HN) transcribed the divine instructions he claimed to have received from God: "And as I once spoke through Moses from Mount Sinai and gave my people good ordinances and exercises [...] So now in these latter days, through HN from Mount Sinai I want to give those of good will my Justice, good ordinances and godly promises [...]" ("Unde gelyck also ick ehrtydes dorch Mosy van dem Berge Sinai, mynem Volcke gode Ordeningen unde Ovingen gegeven hebben [...] Also wil Ick nu oick tor Lestertydt, dorch dy HN van dem Berge Sion, den Goetwilligen to myne Gerechtigheit geode Ordeingen unde godtsalige Ovingen geven [...])."⁷⁷⁰ In fact, one of the reasons members of the House of Love chose to follow another leader (Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt, known as Hiël, ca. 1520-ca.1594) in 1573, was that Hendrik Niclaes claimed for himself a prophetic status equal to Moses and identified closely with Christ.⁷⁷¹ The *Panhuys* panel was completed two years after

⁷⁶⁸ Eyl, "Het Panhuys-Paneel van Maarten de Vos," 193, 94.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., 195.

⁷⁷⁰ Alastair Hamilton, *Cronica. Ordo Sacerdotis. Acta Hn: Three Texts on the Family of Love* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 88. This is part of item 13 in chapter 26 of the *Ordo Sacerdotis*. Alastair Hamilton summarizes the contents of items 10-26 of this chapter as: "Just as in the past He had spoken through Moses, so now he would speak through HN in order to lead the pious to righteousness and obedience, for only the obedient are the true disciples of the Lord." Ibid., 86.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., xvi. "Hendrik Niclaes believed that he would achieve what the death of Christ had failed to achieve: he, the 'godded' man, *Homo Novus*, would follow Christ in the spirit and thus show mankind the way to salvation." Ibid., viii. Also see: "Hiël and the Hiëlists. The Doctrine of the Followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt," *Quaerendo* 7, no. 3 (1977): 243-44. S. Zijlstra, *Om de Ware Gemeente en de Oude*

Hendrik Niclaes was ousted from the group, which indicates that the identification of members from the House of Love with God's chosen people did not hinge on their first prophet's self-identification with Moses but was an integral part of their beliefs.⁷⁷²

Elisabeth Eyl has argued persuasively that the *Panhuys* panel reflects key values of members of the House of Love: obedience to the Law of God (and, by extension, to civic authorities), a spiritual conception of commerce and the importance of the 'spiritual tabernacle' (the relationship between the individual and God), as opposed to worldly goods.⁷⁷³ Unfortunately she does not explore how these values are visually represented, which is vital to our understanding of the painting. Panhuys, his family and friends are enacting the biblical story of Moses expounding the Ten Commandments to the Israelites. They are depicted gathering their valuables for the tabernacle as directed, showing their commitment to observe God's Law. In the painting, Moses's hand points at the fourth commandment: "Honour thy father and mother."⁷⁷⁴ This commandment was seen to decree not only filial but also civic obedience; the authority of rulers and magistrates, after all, was granted by God.⁷⁷⁵ Both Niclaes and later Barrefelt advocated compliance with local governments.

Gronden: Geschiedenis van de Dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531-1675 (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2000), 213. Zijp, "Spritualisme in de 16e Eeuw," 85.

⁷⁷² "There is no evidence of a deep division between 'Niclaesites' and 'Hielists'; there is, if anything, some circumstantial evidence of a constant association in the world of printers, engravers and booksellers between the men who had left Niclaes and those who, if only for motives of personal convenience, continued to believe in him. Even before Niclaes' death the conciliatory aspiration of one type of Familism got the better of the personal rivalry between Niclaes and Barrevelt [...]" Alastair Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 1981), 64.

⁷⁷³ Eyl, "Het Panhuys-Paneel van Maarten de Vos," 194-96.

⁷⁷⁴ Exod. 20:12 and Deut. 5:16.

⁷⁷⁵ N Mout, "The Family of Love (Huis der Liefde) and the Dutch Revolt," in *Britain and the Netherlands, Vol. VII: Church and State since the Reformation. Papers Delivered to the Seventh Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference*, ed. A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (The Hague: Springer, 1981), 79. Hamilton, *The Family of Love*, 39, 60.

The *Panhuys* panel's shows a clear hierarchy: the families of Peeter Panhuys and Gillis Hooftman (plus their wives and children) occupy the foreground of the picture while their friends are depicted among a crowd of figures, with sometimes only their heads visible. This configuration foregrounds the idea that Panhuys and Hooftman were business partners for years and lived in the same house in Antwerp.⁷⁷⁶ The painting represents their 'house' both in the sense of their family home and their place of business. The bundle of papers carried by the woman directly behind Margaretha Hooftman (seated in the right foreground), and the exotic nature of some of the treasure at her feet also point to Panhuys's and Hooftman's mercantile pursuits.

The presence of their family and friends highlights their prominent social circle and might have supported their identification as members of the 'Family of Love'. While spiritual unity with the Oneness of God was the ultimate goal to pursue, adherents were not oblivious to the worldly demands of spreading knowledge of God's riches for the salvation of mankind: "[...] One needs to have or use external things, such as writings and physical things, and those cannot be obtained without having to buy them from people with money" ("[...] men moet daer uthwendijgen dingen bij hebben, ofte gebrucken, so schreften unde creaturlicke dingen, unde die sulve en kan men niet bekennen ofte men moet se met geld van de menschen koopen)."⁷⁷⁷ Although the prosperity of the company is indicated by their dress, the gathered treasure is on the ground at their feet and many figures points to Moses and the Tablets, signalling that true

⁷⁷⁶ Zondervan, "Het Panhuys-Paneel van het Mauritshuis, Beeld van een Snel Vervlogen Droom," 108. Gillis Hooftman owned the house ('Pollenaken') since 1562 and apparently slept at the back of the house. Panhuys's bedroom was on the street-side of the house.

⁷⁷⁷ My translation. Hamilton, "Hiël and the Hiëlists. The Doctrine of the Followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt," 282. This quote is from a letter sent by Barrefelt to Jan Moretus, dated 21 March 1591. Also see: *The Family of Love*, 87.

wealth lies in the observance of God's Law and not in worldly possessions, and that their earthly goods are in the service of the Highest.⁷⁷⁸

By portraying its sixteenth-century subjects as Israelites, the painting activates a typological reading in which Panhuys and his family and friends function as part of a larger salvific pattern. This pattern centers on the tabernacle. Although not yet built, the tabernacle is still present in the composition: the two Tablets of the Law are visually 'contained' by the Israelites. Together they represent the 'spiritual tabernacle' that is central to the beliefs of the House of Love and which stands for the divine presence within the community, their personal relationship with God. From its earliest beginnings, the House of Love aspired only to be a spiritual community: "a church of men whom only the Spirit of Christ could recognize and to whom no human finger could point."⁷⁷⁹ The second reason why prominent adherents of the teachings of Nicolaes turned away from their prophet was his attempts to turn the spiritual Church into a physical reality, complete with priesthood and a system of tithing.⁷⁸⁰

As the Israelites listened to Moses explain the Law, and subsequently built the physical tabernacle to hold the two Tablets, so Peeter Panhuys and his family and friends read God's commandments for themselves (the relevant biblical passage is included on one of the tablets) in order to form a spiritual tabernacle, a community that strives for obedience to the (divine) law and a personal relationship with God. For this reason, it seems natural that they should have had themselves depicted with Moses, who had a

⁷⁷⁸ On the representation of mercantile values in painting, see: Margaret Carroll, "'In the Name of God and Profit': Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*," *Representations* 44, no. Autumn (1993): 96-132.

⁷⁷⁹ Hamilton, "Hiël and the Hiëlists. The Doctrine of the Followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt," 258.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 252. *The Family of Love*, 23, 56-59, 84.

longstanding relationship with God, and was the only biblical figure apart from Christ who spoke face-to-face with Him.⁷⁸¹

While Moses was on Mount Sinai, he was also told of the advent of Christ: “The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a Prophet of thy nation and of thy brethren like unto me. Him thou shalt hear.”⁷⁸² Moses, as Law giver, as well as the Ark of the Covenant containing the Tablets of the Law (the central feature of the tabernacle), both prefigure Christ, who perfected the Law. The tabernacle built by the Israelites prefigures the community of believers that together form the (spiritual) Church after Christ has restored the relationship between Man and God.⁷⁸³ While the story depicted in the *Panhuys* panel shows the transition from the era *ante legem* to the era *sub legem*, the sixteenth-century protagonists, from the era *sub gratia*, look forward to Christ’s Second Coming.⁷⁸⁴ The *Panhuys* panel is a great example of how sixteenth-century citizens of Antwerp had themselves portrayed as law abiding merchants, both in the literal and the spiritual sense;

⁷⁸¹ Exod. 33:18-23, Exod. 34:35. Moses was in the presence of God and spoke to him directly, but did not actually see his face “[...] for man shall not see me and live.” (Exod. 33:20)

⁷⁸² (Deut. 18:25) “As thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, when the assembly was gathered together, and saidst: let me not hear any more the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see any more this exceeding great fire, lest I die. And the Lord said to me: They have spoken all things well. I will raise them up a prophet out of the midst of their brethren like to thee. And I will put my words in his mouth: and he shall speak to them all that I shall command him.” (Deut. 18:16-18)

⁷⁸³ See for instance: Eph. 2:19-22 “Now therefore you are no more strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow citizens with the saints, and the domestics of God. Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief cornerstone: in whom all the building, being framed together, growth up into a holy temple in the Lord. In whom you also are built together into a habitation of God in the Spirit.” Revelations 21:3: “And I heard a great voice from the throne, saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men, and he will dwell with them. And they shall be his people; and God himself with them shall be their God.”

⁷⁸⁴ In the background, Moses receives the Commandments amidst a colossal fire. This scene might have reminded viewers that the Jewish feast of Pentecost that commemorated this event, was the time when the Holy Spirit descended on Christ’s followers. The *Biblia pauperum*, for instance, records: “[...] on the day of Pentecost the New Law was written on the hearts of the faithful when fire appeared over the believers gathered together.” Labriola and Smeltz, *The Bible of the Poor, a Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2*, 134. An image of *Moses receiving the Law* functions as a prefiguration of *Pentecost* (Acts 2:1-6); the other prefiguration here is *Fire from heaven consumes the sacrifice of Elias* (3 Kings 18:21-39).

they are depicted as part of a salvific pattern that continued from the Old Testament into their own time and looked forward to the Second Coming. A typological reading, activated by their depiction as Israelites and the fact that the commandments include the biblical reference further reveals their preoccupation with the spiritual over the physical: their riches are placed in the service of the divine word, which they read and contemplate in order to build a spiritual tabernacle, a personal relationship with God following the prophet Moses and Jesus Christ.

Conclusion

This dissertation has examined a variety of sixteenth-century works of art to show how Netherlandish artists reexamined typology's interpretative potential to invite their viewer's engagement in a visual hermeneutical process, encouraging both a close reading of the Scriptures (increasingly available since the invention of the movable type) and a reflection of the viewer's own place in salvation history. Much scholarly research to date has been hampered by the adoption of a biblical definition of typology to describe its application in works of art, buttressed by the apparent conformation of the popular *Biblia pauperum* and *Speculum humanae salvationis* to such a definition. While aware of the pictorial traditions of these compendia, artists in the Low Countries were visually exploring a broader typological conception of salvation history: God's salvific plan is reflected in and revealed through his Creation, and can be discerned by studying patterns in the Bible, History and Nature. For this reason, this dissertation proposes an alternative definition: typology is an exegetical method that looks for patterns in salvation history as manifestations of the divine will and its purpose for mankind.

The *Allegory of Christ's Redemptive Death on the Cross* contains an interesting amalgamation of elements reflective of typological usage in the sixteenth century as discussed in the introduction of this dissertation: it combines types from Nature and the Old and New Testaments, prophecy and allegory to convey the all-encompassing power of Christ's redemptive sacrifice on the Cross (fig. Con.01).⁷⁸⁵ In the print, Christ on the

⁷⁸⁵ Fig. Con.01: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, "Allegorie op de Opstanding van Christus (RP-P-OB-66.893)," <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.331833>. Access date 08 June 2016. Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman and Marjolein Leesberg, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and*

Cross is accompanied by Moses and King David in the lower left foreground, with Paul and John the Baptist on the right.⁷⁸⁶ Below Moses, an inscription from Numbers (21:9) refers to the story of the Brazen Serpent (depicted in the background); below John the Baptist, the gospel of John is quoted: “Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world.”⁷⁸⁷ King David holds a placard that reads: “Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed, thou shalt wash me [...],” and Paul proclaims: “But God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.”⁷⁸⁸ Four birds (the eagle, pelican, hen and phoenix) comment on Christ’s messianic qualities, each accompanied by a quotation as well.⁷⁸⁹ The phrase placed near the phoenix in the upper left corner is the only one not derived from the bible. It originates in an early Christian poem, *De Ave Phoenixe*, ascribed to a certain pseudo-Lactantibus (ca. 250-ca. 325), or

Woodcuts 1450-1700, Volume LXVI, vol. The Wierix Family, part VIII (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2004), 143-44, cat. no. 1801.

⁷⁸⁶ The dark background probably reflects the evangelists’ statements that during the Crucifixion “Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over the whole earth, until the ninth hour.” (Matthew 27:45, Mark 15:33, Luke 23:44).

⁷⁸⁷ “Moses therefore made a brazen serpent, and set it up for a sign.” (Cited in the print as: “Fecit Moyses serpentem aeneum et posuit eum pro signo.”) For the second quote: “Ecce agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi” (John 1:29).

⁷⁸⁸ Cited in the print as: “Assperges me domine yssopo et mundabor lavabis me.” (Psalm 50:9). The full quote reads: “Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed, thou shalt wash me and shall be made whiter than snow” (“Asperges me hyssop, et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealabor”). The double ‘s’ in the word “Assperges” is one of several small mistakes in the Latin quotations included in the print. One wonders whether the engraver understood the Latin he was incorporating in the design. Letter to the Galatians 6:14 (cited in the print as “Mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostril Iesu Christi”).

⁷⁸⁹ The eagle at the top of the Cross is accompanied by: “As the eagle enticing her young to fly, and hovering over them, he spread his wings [...]” (Deut. 32:11). The Latin in the print reads: “Sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos, suos et super eos volita[n]s expandit alas suas.” To the right, the pelican is depicted with a text from the Psalms (101:7): “I am become like to a pelican in the wilderness” (“Similis factus su[m] pellicano solitudinis”). According to ancient legend, the pelican was thought to pierce its own breast to bring back to life its chicks by their blood. For this reason, the pelican was soon incorporated into the Christian canon as a type of Christ, as described in the *Physiologus*: Curley, *Physiologus. A Medieval Book of Nature Lore*, 9-10. The hen at the bottom of the Cross, protectively spreading its wings over a group of little chicks, is referred to by a quote from Matthew (23:37): “How often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings” (The print reads: “Quoties volvi congregare filios tuos, sicut gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas et nolvisi.” The first letter of filios somehow became an e when engraved in the print).

one of the poem's later incarnations. The quote reads: "For she dies to live, and yet begets herself."⁷⁹⁰

This print was engraved by Hieronymus Wierix after a design by Crispijn van den Broeck and published by Hans van Luyck. The New Hollstein catalogue does not offer a date for this engraving, but curators at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam tentatively suggest sometime between 1563 and 1586. A creation date around 1563 seems rather early, not only because Wierix would have been only ten years old but also because the concept of the print (prophets holding placards with relevant excerpts of their prophecies surrounding a key episode from salvation history), and the figure of King David in particular, suggest that Crispijn van den Broeck was familiar with Federico Zuccaro's *Annunciation* fresco of 1565-66, or with its reproductions in print by Cornelis Cort (1571) and other artists.⁷⁹¹ Additionally, the figure of Moses is practically identical to his counterpart in the *Allegory of the Old Law and the New* (fig. Intro.30), published by the same men around 1586 (his rod changing hands is the only significant difference), suggesting that the *Allegory of Christ's Redemptive Death on the Cross* was probably conceived around the same time.

What makes this engraving such a good example of developments in visual typology in the sixteenth century is that the artist clearly was inspired by both traditional and more contemporary pictorial sources. The birds, for instance, belong to a tradition popularized by the *Physiologus* and medieval bestiaries, although the quotes that

⁷⁹⁰ "Se necat ut vivat se tamen ipsa creat." *Minor Latin Poets, Volume II: Florus. Hadrian. Nemesianus. Reposianus. Tiberianus. Dicta Catonis. Phoenix. Avianus. Rutilius Namatianus. Others*, trans. J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, vol. 434, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1934), 656-57. Also see the introduction, p. 643ff.

⁷⁹¹ See chapter 2 of this dissertation.

accompany them are largely from the Bible. Such elements signifying the salvific patterns in Nature seem to have largely fallen out of use in the sixteenth century and yet are included here. Based on John 3:14-15, the story of Moses and the Brazen Serpent was a traditional prefiguration to the Crucifixion, but this type-antitype pairing gained great currency in the sixteenth century.

Christ on the Cross divides the composition vertically into two columns that juxtapose the Old and New Testament by means of the prophets. This structure is reminiscent of the new iconography of the *Allegory of Law and Grace* (figs. Intro.31-33). Recurring elements in these iconographical programs are the presence of Moses and a depiction of the story of the Brazen serpent to the left, and the figure of John the Baptist pointing to the crucified Savior on the right side of the image. Sometimes, biblical citations are included, as in the engraving of more explicitly Lutheran character by Pieter Nagel (active ca. 1567-84) after Gerard van Groeningen (active ca. 1561-ca.1576), published around 1567 (fig. Con.02).⁷⁹²

Yet contrary to this tradition, in the *Allegory of Christ's Redemptive Death on the Cross* the Old and New Testaments are not juxtaposed to emphasize the supremacy of the New Covenant over the Old; rather, Christ's sacrifice on the Cross is shown as the

⁷⁹² Fig. Con.02: British Museum, "Allegory of Law and Grace (1868,0612.472)," http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3040578&partId=1&searchText=nagel,+van+groeningen&page=1. Only the quote from John 1:29 ("ecce agnus dei") appears in both the *Allegory of Christ's Redemptive Death on the Cross* and the *Allegory of Law and Grace*. Otherwise, the print by Pieter Nagel after Gerard van Groeningen quotes the following bible passages: Romans 3:20, 1 Corinthians 15, Romans 6:23, Isaiah 7:14, Romans 7:24-25, Hosea 13:14, John 1:14/1:17 and John 1:23. The caption reads: "The Law was given by Moses, Grace and Truth by Jesus Christ our Lord" ("Lex per Moisen data est gratia et veritas per iesum Christum Dominum nostrum"). Melion and Clifton, *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, 193, cat. 49. Also see: Friedrich Ohly, *Gesetz und Evangelium. Zur Typologie Bei Luther und Lucas Cranach, Zum Blutstrahl der Gnade in der Kunst* (Munster: Aschendorff, 1985), 24, fig. 10.

culmination of patterns from both the Old and New Testaments, and Nature as well.⁷⁹³

Although Moses and David do not look up at Christ, their positions are mirrored by Paul and John the Baptist, and there are no references to death or the devil, only the story of the Brazen Serpent (which suggests that the physical act of looking can be a salvific act when looking at the body of Christ). They simply come from the time when the veil was not yet lifted and the relationship between God and man, disrupted since the Fall, had yet to be restored. Each bird refers to some quality of Christ, and their locations at the four arms of the cross, perhaps referring to the four cardinal directions, indicate that the divine patterns in the Bible that allow a glimpse of God's divine plan for mankind are also reflected in the Book of Nature.

Additionally, the Apostle Paul, although not a witness to the actual death of Christ according to the biblical narrative, is the only figure actually looking up at the Savior. In this way he figures as an *exemplum* for the viewer, mirroring the desired response to the Crucifixion (as indicated by the quote on his placard: "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ"). Finally, in the right background, the cityscape includes quite clearly a building with a cross on its roof that identifies it as a church and indicates that the importance of Christ's sacrifice remained undiminished for the sixteenth-century viewer.⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁹³ The Weimar altarpiece, painted by Lucas Cranach the Elder and (after he passed away) finished by his son Lucas Cranach the Younger in 1555, is worth examining in this context as well. The iconography relies heavily on the *Allegory of Law and Grace* imagery, but the figure of 'everyman' asked to decide between the Law of Death and the Gospel of Life has been replaced by a depiction of Lucas Cranach the Elder himself. The *Crucifixion* and *Christ Vanquishing Death and the Devil* are foregrounded, and the figure of Luther is presented as the new Moses (the episode of the *Brazen Serpent* is depicted behind him. For a discussion of this altarpiece and further literary references, see: Noble, "The Lutheran Paintings of the Cranach Workshop, 1529-1555," 247-318.

⁷⁹⁴ Through the structural elements of the iconographical program, as well as the focus on Christ's sacrifice, the print has a subtle protestant subtext. On the whole, however, the *Allegory of Christ's Redemptive Death on the Cross* could easily accommodate various denominational readings.

About two decades after its publication, the *Allegory of Christ's Redemptive Death on the Cross* formed the basis for a painting, now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. Con.03).⁷⁹⁵ The unknown painter has elaborated only slightly on the original composition, and achieved great dramatic effect by his dark background and vibrant use of color.⁷⁹⁶ The most notable departures are the faces of Moses and John the Baptist, whose individualized features deviate significantly from the source engraving. The Moses figure, in particular, also diverges from pictorial conventions of the prophet's appearance in general. Without knowing the identity of the portrayed character, one can at least note that he is depicted under the guise of great exegetical authority. As the discussion of Lucas d'Heere's 1559 painting of *King Philip II as King Solomon*, Karel van Mander's *Crossing of the River Jordan*, Maarten van Heemskerck's *Clades Judaeae Gentis* and Marten de Vos's 1574-75 *Panhuys* panel have revealed, including portraits adds another significant layer to the salvific pattern expressed in such images, as they indicate a very personal involvement with the salvific pattern depicted.

Throughout his artistic career, Maarten van Heemskerck proved himself preoccupied with the perpetuation of his own likeness. The most powerful instance of self-portraiture was in his *magnum opus*, the 1569 *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series. The typological series consists of twenty-two prints that present the unfolding of salvific events from the Old Testament; from Noah's new covenant with God after the Flood, through sacrifice and sin, fire and calamity, transgression and punishment, obedience and

⁷⁹⁵ Fig. Con.03: Victoria and Albert Museum, "The Crucifixion with Moses, David, St Paul and St John the Baptist (P.1-1938)," <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78661/the-crucifixion-with-moses-david-painting-unknown/>. Access date 18 June 2016.

⁷⁹⁶ King David, for instance, now looks up at Christ, who has also slightly altered his pose. The scene of the *Brazen Serpent* is much more elaborate than in the original print design, and the painter has added a lush landscape in the middle ground of the composition. In this landscape, a variety of animals are shown along a small spring glade, its floral vegetation subtly extending into the foreground.

victory, justice and murder, idolatry and captivity, all the way to the birth of Christ and the consequence of the Israelites' rejection of him as their Savior: the destruction of the Temple. The ruinous architecture in the scenes embodies the deteriorating relationship between God and his chosen people that never really was rebuilt after the destruction of the Deluge. Not until the advent of the Messiah is there hope for restoration.

In the *Clades* series, Van Heemskerck depicts a salvific pattern of ruination that pervades the Old Testament, in which (the destruction of) man-made edifices functions as the means through which God communicates his approval or displeasure to his chosen people. By extension, the series implicitly suggests that other man-made works could be employed to convey scriptural teachings. The artist's discovery of this pattern in the Bible, his inclusion of rather obscure scenes like the *People Divided between Tibni and Omri*, and his depiction of himself as an avid student of ancient monuments, together make it clear that Van Heemskerck is arguing both for his own exegetical expertise, and for the exegetical authority of art more generally.

For the *Clades* prints, Van Heemskerck relies on serial imagery to visualize the salvific pattern, as he does in the *Strong Men* panels. Unlike the *Strong Men*, however, the images cannot be seen in one glance. Instead, the viewer goes through a process of discovery; with each individual image the salvific pattern gradually unfolds. While each print holds a clue, it is not until the *Adoration* scenes, and then the *Destruction of Jerusalem* at the end, that the full figurative purpose of the series is revealed. The viewer will then naturally turn to reexamine the frontispiece, as well as the series as a whole, with a fuller awareness of its typological format and argument.

Interestingly, a close reading of typological works of art such as the *Clades Judaeae Gentis* print series, corresponds in many ways to how the Scriptures would have been read and studied. The Bible is not usually read cover to cover; instead it is read book by book, chapter by chapter, or even verse by verse. In order to gain an understanding of the narratives, to distill biblical truths, oftentimes verses from different textual places were read concurrently. This practice of reading, codified in hermeneutics and homiletics, would have been adopted naturally by laymen and women as they started reading the Scriptures for themselves. This is why, in the case of typological works of art, one might just describe the process of close viewing as visual exegesis. Vernacular bibles like the Liesvelt and Vorsterman Bibles employed similar methods to engage their viewers with the biblical narrative and to provoke an exegetical response.

Like Maarten van Heemskerck, artist-biographer Karel van Mander included his own portrait in a large scale work of art, made towards the end of his life: the *Crossing of the River Jordan* (fig. 2.14). By depicting one of the Levites who carries the Ark of the Covenant with his own likeness, the artist made a statement about the authority of the artist to promulgate biblical teachings visually. As the Levites read from the Tablets of the Law to educate the Israelites, so Van Mander illuminated Scripture through his art for the edification of his viewers. He also included the portraits of his patrons, Isaac Gerwen and Duyfje Roch, under the guise of Israelites, the chosen people of God, who are about to enter the Holy Land. Not only does this speak to the relevance of biblical teachings for a contemporary audience, and how the visual arts could have a salvific purpose, but it also reflects ideas that would gain currency in the seventeenth century in particular, namely that the Netherlanders were God's new chosen people.

Karel van Mander's awareness of the potency of typology as an exegetical tool is not only reflected in the inclusion of his self-portrait in the *Crossing of the River Jordan*, but also in his choice for a typological rather than an allegorical framework in his 1588 *Adoration of the Shepherds Surrounded by Six Prophets* (fig. 2.01). Here as well, he chose to condense the typological imagery into a single image. The Old Testament prophets are placed in the same physical space as the adoration scene, to which they function as glosses. The prophecies on their placards invite the viewer to look up the relevant passages and consider their mutual relation, in order to reconstruct the pattern of divine agency enacted in the print. The column that extends out towards the viewer acts as a bridge, calling the viewer to join in adoring the child in the manger. This same invitation is extended in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* he published a decade later. This time the shepherds themselves invite the viewer to proceed (visually) towards the Christ child in the background. In both prints, the artist urges the viewer not only to discover the salvific pattern but to become part of it themselves. Although these compositions could accommodate various denominational readings, they do reflect the artist's Mennonite beliefs, which, among other things, emphasize the responsibilities of church leaders (representatives of Christ on earth) to lead and support believers as shepherds care for their flocks.

Contrary to Van Heemskerck and Van Mander, Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem's *magnum opus* was painted at an early stage of his artistic career. The Calvinist city council of Haarlem commissioned four paintings for the newly built Prinsenhof, intended to put Haarlem firmly back on the map politically, economically and artistically. This

quartet of paintings deliberately operated at the intersection of religious beliefs and secular power characteristic of the Netherlands at that time.

The *Massacre of the Innocents* triptych is the most outspoken example, combining, as it does, two wing panels formerly belonging to the drapers' altarpiece with a scene depicting the violent murder of innocent children. For contemporary viewers, this image would have brought to mind the terrible atrocities of an age of war against their former Spanish overlord, whose emissaries had frequently been compared to the evil Herod from the biblical story. By employing a typological framework, the triptych offered an acknowledgement of their suffering and religious persecution, and justification for the rejection of their rightful but tyrannical ruler. It also recognized that their suffering was part of God's divine plan for mankind, part of a salvific pattern that would ultimately lead to the New Kingdom of peace promised with the advent of Christ (a message buttressed by the *Annunciation* and *Adoration* scenes on the wing panels of the triptych). Additionally, in Calvinist circles at least, analogies between the divine punishment meted out against the Israelites in the Old Testament and the suffering of the Netherlanders indicated divine election, with the Netherlanders featuring as the new chosen people of God. By attaching the wings of a Catholic altarpiece to an image with particular relevance for Reformed viewers, in effect, typology is being used to cross confessional lines. This can be understood as an effort of unification in a divided country, as the wings and the central panel together enact the salvific pattern that promises peace and prosperity.

Typological patterns run through all four of the Prinsenhof paintings, for instance when the pose of Eve in the *Fall* is counteracted by the pose of the Virgin Mary in the

Annunciation scene. The apple that Eve hands to Adam is another example; it is figured in the golden apple that causes strife when Paris is asked to judge the three goddesses in the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, and appears on the table of the *Monk and a Beguine* who similarly give themselves over to sensuality and lust. These paintings together reveal a pattern of human failure, submission to wantonness, and lust for power. They offer a warning to the new governance of the Prince of Orange, for whom the Prinsenhof was originally built, not to succumb to such lascivious desires in order to lead the new nation to peace and prosperity. The *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, by far the largest of the four paintings, was hung in the Prince's intended bedchamber. One of the figures wears a gown embroidered with the Greek word *praxeis*, which means something like 'you shall achieve', offering Prince Maurits and his successors a vision of a glorious future of peace and prosperity under wise rulership and sound judgement. Additionally, this quote signals that the Prince of Orange himself is set up to be the antitype who fulfills the types presented in the four paintings that make up the Prinsenhof quartet.

Around the same time the Calvinist city council of Haarlem commissioned the four paintings for the Prinsenhof, the Catholic city council of Antwerp ordered the repair and refurbishment of Antwerp's Church of our Lady, which had suffered greatly from war and economic decline. In response, the guild of the winetaverners commissioned Marten de Vos to paint a *Wedding at Cana* for their *Salve Regina* chapel in the choir of the church. In this altarpiece, De Vos employs typology to promulgate the sacramental nature of marriage, visually answering contemporary concerns surrounding the marital state and the sacramental nature of the marriage bond. These concerns were reflected in the decree on marriage issued by the Council of Trent and in numerous contemporary

sermons. By presenting the wedding at Cana as part of a pattern of marriage, the painter suggests that to partake in the marriage sacrament in the proper way would call forth the blessing and grace of Christ.

Although at first glance, the *Wedding at Cana* seems to offer an excellent opportunity for historiated portraiture, the typological message about the sacrament of marriage that De Vos was trying to convey to his viewers would likely have been marred by the presence of many contemporary likenesses. That his choice not to turn the winetaverners' altarpiece into a group portrait was deliberate can be deduced from mastery of the concept in the earlier *Panhuys* panel in which Peeter Panhuys and his business partner Gillis Hooftman, their family, and their friends have themselves immortalized under the guise of Israelites from the Old Testament, thereby activating a typological reading of the painting. Together they represent the 'spiritual tabernacle' that is central to the beliefs of the House of Love, which stands for their personal relationship with God. The commandments written on Moses's tablets are written in Dutch, indicating that the protagonists have read the bible for themselves and strive for obedience to the law (both civic and divine). Simultaneously, they invite their viewers to do the same. The *Panhuys* painting is a very early example of a genre that would gain much popularity in the seventeenth century, when prominent citizens portrayed themselves as actors in various biblical stories. How such *portrait historié* iconography developed in the sixteenth century has recently gained attention in scholarship and deserves continued exploration.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁷ See for instance: Friedrich Polleross, "Between Typology and Psychology: The Role of the Identification Portrait in Updating Old Testament Representations," *Artibus et Historiae* 12, no. 24 (1991). Ann Jensen Adams, "The Performative *Portrait Historié*" in *Pokerfaced, Flemish and Dutch Baroque Faces Unveiled*, ed. Katlijne van der Stighelen, Hannelore Magnus, and Bert Watteeuw (Turnhout:

Throughout the sixteenth-century, contemporary events in the Low Countries were analogized to the trials and tribulations of the Israelites in the Old Testament, as has been pointed out by many scholars. The revolt against Spanish rule and resentment towards religious persecution, which eventually turned into a war for independence, fostered seeds of nationalist sentiments that would grow more pronounced in the early seventeenth century. Simon Schama explains that: “[...] the Old Testament was patriotic scripture, the chronicle of a people chosen by God to reveal His light to the world through their history. From their tribulations, victories, captivities, peregrinations and prophecies – related through the printed word of the Bible, the oral culture of the pulpit, the narrative dramatizations of historical theater and the compelling imagery of the print – the Dutch were able to answer those troubling questions about their own identity.”⁷⁹⁸

How these ideas germinated over time, particularly in the visual arts, and how historiated (self-)portraiture played its role, is an avenue of research that certainly merits further analysis.

Brepols, 2010). Rudie van Leeuwen, "The *Portrait Historié* in Religious Context and its Condemnation," in *Pokerfaced: Flemish and Dutch Baroque Faces Unveiled*, ed. Katlijne van der Stighelen, Hannelore Magnus, and Bert Watteeuw (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). At the Radboud University in Nijmegen, art historian Rudie van Leeuwen is currently working on a dissertation about the biblical *portrait historié* in the Netherlands that will undoubtedly offer a significant contribution to the field. Unfortunately, it was unavailable at the time of writing.

⁷⁹⁸ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, 68. Schama continues: “Who were they? They were the new/old Batavians, guardians of the ‘waare vrijheid’ (the true liberty). They were reborn Hebrews, children of the Covenant. Where had they come from? From slavery and idolatry, through ordeal, to freedom and godliness. Whither would they go? To reveal God’s design for the world through their destiny and to dwell in honor, prosperity and glory, so long as they obeyed His commandments.” Also: “[...] it was just because the roots of Netherlandish Hebraism were not exclusively Calvinist, but reached back to an earlier and deeper humanist reformation, that it could exert such broad appeal [...] Moreover, it was a sign of the versatility and inclusiveness of the idiom that opposing political factions could both resort to it to argue their respective positions. This interpenetration with profane history lent Dutch scripturalism its tremendous strength. It was used not in order to swallow up the secular world within the sacred, but rather to attribute to the vagaries of history (with which the Dutch lived, at times, very painfully, the flickering light of providential direction.” *Ibid.*, 97.

The ways in which the artists examined in this dissertation engaged with typology were certainly innovative, and at the same they stood on the shoulders of giants, as one might say; they built on existing foundations when they explored the pictorial possibilities of typological imagery as a means to convey meaning and engage their viewers in a hermeneutical process of close viewing. In their turn, they provided inspiration for their successors in the seventeenth century.

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