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Silent Eloquence: The Rhetorical Pictures of Biblical History
by Hendrick Goltzius and Pieter Lastman

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An abstract of
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Abstract

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By Graham R. Lea

This dissertation focuses on four Biblical history paintings, two by the Haarlem painter Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) and two by the Amsterdam painter Pieter Lastman (1583-1633). Their performances deviate strongly from the visual tradition. Both artists appear to have a preference for depicting scenes in which characters from the Bible talk to each other. The paintings depict rhetorical situations and are thus examples of silent eloquence – hence the title of the thesis: Silent Eloquence. Their effect on the viewer is that they are stimulated to remember or read the text that the characters speak according to the Bible. In the imagination, the viewer puts the text in their mouths, as it were, and thus makes the paintings speak. The inspiration for this representation, it is believed, was derived from the literature, especially the stage, of the rhetoricians. They regarded their poems, but especially their plays, as contemporary manifestations of classical eloquence. To illustrate the parallel with the rhetorical culture of the time, each of the paintings is compared to a rhetoricians' play dramatizing the same Biblical theme. The analysis shows that painters and rhetoricians applied the same rhetorical concepts and strategies. That is not surprising, because Goltzius and Lastman maintained contacts and collaborated with rhetoricians and chambers of rhetoric, the organizations within which they were organized. Rhetorician culture was widespread. Not only artists were familiar with it, but also the patrons and viewers of their paintings. It is therefore quite plausible that these paintings were looked at through the eyes of a spectator, as if they were plays.

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CHAPTER ONE: A DISTINCTIVE KIND OF HISTORY PAINTING

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This book explores the distinctive form and function of paintings depicting biblical narratives by two of the foremost history painters of early seventeenth-century Holland, Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) and Pieter Lastman (1583-1633). While these painters are proficient visualizing mythological history, their paintings of biblical subjects occupy this study primarily because religious subject matter was so prominent in the genre of history painting at the time and the catalogue of visual precedent in the Low Countries was so large. Upon one's initial consideration, it may seem strange to consider these two painters together. Of course, there are some obvious points of departure: the way they understand the canon of proportion and the canon of male and female beauty, as well as the manner in which they apply paint are all quite disparate. As Goltzius is occupied with representing nude beauty and Lastman is concerned with adorning his figures with intricate and detailed costumes, their pictorial interests also vary. However, the priorities of composition in their biblical history paintings are quite complementary. They both depart from the pictorial tradition of representing biblical stories in the Netherlands in that they avoid portraying the protagonists enacting a climactic scene pregnant with intensely felt and clearly legible emotions. Instead, Goltzius and Lastman visualize biblical histories by depicting the protagonists speaking with one another. This shared pictorial interest in showing biblical historical events through depicted conversation demonstrates not only the compositional correspondence between the two painters, but it also

shows their joint interest in rhetorical picture making.¹

Lastman's *David and Uriah* of 1619 serves as an initial example with which to begin thinking about the rhetorical dimension of these paintings, especially the element of verbal exchange upon which they are premised [Fig. 1-1].² Through depicted gestures and expressions, Lastman portrays the meeting between David and Uriah told in 2 Samuel 11, where one finds the juxtaposition between the honorable Uriah and a dishonorable David. While his armies were off at battle against the Ammonites, King David spotted from his rooftop a beautiful woman bathing. Overcome with lust, he sent for her, lay with her, and ultimately conceived a child with her. The beautiful woman was Bathsheba, wife of one of David's soldiers, Uriah, the Hittite.³

Intending to hide his adultery, David summoned Uriah from the battlefield and told him to return home, wash his feet, and enjoy the comfort of his wife, hoping that the two would copulate and justify Bathsheba's pregnancy. Instead of going home, however, Uriah slept the night outside of David's house. He explained himself the next day, saying he could not indulge in the comforts of home while his men and comrades suffered in battle. For the second time, David attempted to orchestrate Uriah's copulation with Bathsheba. He intended to intoxicate Uriah by serving him food and wine, but instead of going home to be with his wife, Uriah again spent the night outside David's house.⁴ The next morning, David wrote a letter to Uriah's

¹ Svetlana Alpers observes that the paintings by the so-called Pre-Rembrandtists, of whom Pieter Lastman was the leading painter, feature conversations rather than actions that epitomize the passions in the manner of Peter Paul Rubens. See Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 207-220.

² Amy Golahny, "Pieter Lastman's Paintings of David's Death Sentence for Uriah, 1611 and 1619," in *The Primacy of the Image in Northern European Art, 1400-1700: Essays in Honor of Larry Silver*, ed. Larry Silver, Debra Taylor Cashion, Henry Luttikhuisen, and Ashley D. West (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 504. Golahny makes the observation that "Lastman's paintings of David and Uriah give voice to these characters...Such consideration for speech and listening is consistent in his paintings. The very vocal and consequential character of exchanges between David and Uriah in the Bible and Josephus lends the episode to dramatization."

³ 2 Samuel 11:2-5 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition).

⁴ 2 Samuel 11:13 (RSVCE).

commander, Joab, and sent Uriah back to the battlefield. In the letter, David instructed Joab: “Set Uriah in the forefront of the hardest fighting, and then draw back from him, so that he may be struck down and die.”⁵ Per David’s orders, Uriah was placed in the frontline, and after having been left stranded by his fellow soldiers, he died at the hands of the enemy.

The image Lastman depicts in his painting is the very moment at which David hands Uriah the letter which precipitates his tragic fate. Through his depiction of gestures and expressions, Lastman portrays the meeting between David and Uriah as the unfolding of a dialogue, the topic of the conversation being, presumably, that Uriah must deliver the letter to his commanding officer. Purportedly written on the paper is Uriah’s own death sentence, and Uriah accepts the letter and the instructions for its delivery without knowing its fateful contents or consequences. Featured with his head tilted, gazing piercingly at his dutiful servant, David is posed in a manner evocative of speech and one that responds to Uriah’s own performative gesture [Fig. 1-2]. Kneeling in devoted service at the far left, Uriah responds by raising his right hand, suggestive of both his verbal response to David’s words and his willingness to take the letter. An even more emphatic referent to this verbal exchange is the fact that Lastman represents Uriah with parted lips, so that he is seen in the moment of conversation [Fig. 1-3]. Although the biblical account informs its reader of the contents of the letter in David’s hands, it does not reveal what the two might have said to one another during its transfer. In his representation of the story, Lastman inventively explores the rhetorical potential of the unexamined and unaddressed aspects of the biblical narrative.

Lastman portrays the scene and conceives of his figures as though they were actors in a performance engaged in a kind of staged dialogue. The dramatic nature of the meeting is

⁵ 2 Samuel 11:15 (RSVCE).

heightened as Lastman incorporates into his composition the biblically-informed viewer in the guise of the figure at the far right [Fig. 1-4]. This figure is likely David's scribe who, like the knowledgeable viewer, watches the conversation that accompanies the transfer of the letter. It would certainly be logical to understand this figure as David's scribe, but if he is not the one who has written the letter, he is certainly one of David's attendants who likely knows the letter's contents and its ramifications. Like the viewer, he knows how the story unfolds, and he is capable of judging and condemning David's moral failure in light of Uriah's virtue. Such a place of privileged knowledge, however, is only accessible to the scribe-attendant and David — and for the viewer, it requires something that the *oeuvre* of Goltzius and Lastman's paintings consistently demand, which is the consultation and reconsideration of the biblical text in an effort to understand the motivations and intentions of the characters involved.

After such consideration in light of how Lastman poses and positions his figures, one discovers that he employs the rhetorical figure of *litotes*, where less is being said than what is meant. As the dialogue unfolds, David says one thing while intending to say something else: he expresses gratitude for Uriah's service, worthy of rest and recuperation at home with his wife, while he intends for Uriah to return to combat and die. In response, Uriah hears praise and gratitude while failing to perceive that David condemns him to death. It is only because Lastman chooses to represent this biblical history as a verbal exchange that one is compelled to consult Scripture (as well as rhetorical sources informing his ingeniously plausible portrayal of the conversation that might have happened) in order to comprehend the subtleties and ambiguities of the dialogue, that is, what is communicated and what is not, what is received and what is not.

Active in neighboring towns and overlapping in years of artistic production, Goltzius and Lastman produced notably different types of biblical history painting. As painters, each

composed in a different style, a different figural canon, and a different method of applying paint. Scholarship routinely discusses Goltzius in reference to Dutch Mannerism which features a figural canon heavily informed by the prints and drawings of Bartholomeus Spranger and characterized by elongated figures and dramatic movements.⁶ Lastman, on the other hand, favors non-idealized figures with contouring and broad proportions. This representation of the human body is far from serpentine poses conspicuous in much of Goltzius' *oeuvre*, and while their visualization of the human figure is not closely comparable in terms of style, the two painters conceive and stage their biblical histories in similar ways. With reference to rhetorical figuration, both Goltzius and Lastman are committed to the synecdochic image in that they prefer to depict critical scenes within lengthy narratives, demanding that the viewer recall or consult the preceding and subsequent scenes in the biblical source.⁷ Moreover, there are great similarities in how they position, pose, and organize their figures, the ways in which their figures interact, and the manner in which they visualize the moral or theological argument put forth by the biblical episode they depict. In short, there is something distinct about their paintings of scriptural history. The manner in which they characterize interactions between figures constantly communicates to the viewer a performative dimension of their paintings — what they portray in the image is not the depiction of the actual event as if viewed through a window (the model of the *istoria* codified by Alberti and historicized by Vasari) or divinely inspired in one's mind. Rather, one witnesses the biblical event tangentially or, perhaps better, by means of circumlocution, as a rhetorical interpretation of the episode that insistently calls to mind a certain kind of performance practice.

⁶ See notes 84-87.

⁷ Amy Golahny, *Rembrandt's Reading: The Artist's Bookshelf of Ancient Poetry and History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 71. Golahny makes this observation regarding Lastman's paintings, but it is no less applicable to the biblical history paintings by Goltzius.

As the example of *David and Uriah* previews, the biblical history paintings by Goltzius and Lastman are highly dramatic and rhetorical because they visualize moments of heightened conversation which involve crucial decisions amidst complex dilemmas. This study seeks to explain the unique appearance of these pictures as inventions of these painters' distinct employment of rhetoric. To do so, I do not follow a model of comparing art and rhetoric where rhetorical elements of a painting are explained by arguing their correspondences to rhetorical theory as codified in classical rhetorical treatises recovered during the Renaissance. I do not seek to explain how Goltzius and Lastman assimilate the *rhetorices partes*, such as *inventio*, *dispositio*, or *elocutio*, directly from antiquity, for example.⁸ Moreover, I do not explore the relationship between Dutch art and theater by comparing Goltzius and Lastman's paintings to the tragedies by Joost van den Vondel, a towering figure of seventeenth-century Dutch literature who has occupied the attention of many. Rather, I examine a particular literary manifestation of rhetoric, memorialized in dramatic, biblical-historical plays written by contemporary, local, and vernacular poets and playwrights, and I compare the rhetorical strategies discernible in these plays with the manner in which Goltzius and Lastman compose their paintings of the same biblical subjects.

These local vernacular playwrights are known commonly as rhetoricians (*rederijkers*), as they were organized into local socio-civic groups called chambers of rhetoric. The chambers of rhetoric were literary societies which served their respective municipalities by offering informal rhetorical education and orchestrating private and public performances of drama and poetry. A principal initiative of the chambers was the critical engagement of the day's topical concerns,

⁸ See Stijn Bussels, *Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power: The Triumphal Entry of Prince Philip of Spain into Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012) and Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For the divisions of rhetoric, see Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 3-5*, trans. D. A. Russell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), III.3.

and they sought to address and resolve pressing social, religious, ethical, and political dilemmas through rhetorical argumentation lyricized in their poetry and dramatized in their plays.⁹ One may have the impression that the biblical plays of the rhetoricians do not arise to the level of serious examination as they are sometimes left out of consideration in discussions of humanist biblical dramas, primarily because they are not considered standard sacred comedies or tragedies.¹⁰ However, there are sixteenth-century biblical dramas in the vernacular that can be called humanist, and I consider the biblical plays by the rhetoricians to be just that. Moreover, as a wealth of research in seventeenth-century Dutch art has gravitated towards Rembrandt, so a wealth of research in literature of the Low Countries of the seventeenth century has gravitated towards Vondel and other authors of tragedy. For obvious and understandable reasons in the exploration of word-image relations in the early modern Dutch Republic, there has been a concentration on considering Rembrandt and Vondel together.¹¹ This gravitation of attention, however, has led to some neglect of considering other painters and playwrights, and this study seeks to give more attention to artists and playwrights less considered.

My dissertation offers a unique contribution to the scholarship as it considers the dramatic work of the rhetoricians alongside two early seventeenth-century Dutch history painters in

⁹ Walter S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 9; Ilja M. Veldman, "Maarten van Heemskerck and the Rhetoricians of Haarlem." *Hafnia: Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art* (1976): 98–102; For recent studies on the rhetoricians in the Netherlands, see Arjan van Dixhoorn, *Lustige Geesten: Rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480-1650)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009) and Arjan van Dixhoorn, Samuel Mareel, and Bart Ramakers, eds. "The Knowledge Culture of the Netherlandish Rhetoricians." *Renaissance Studies* 32, no. 1 (2018).

¹⁰ See James A. Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition: Christian Theater in Germany and in the Netherlands, 1500-1680*. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

¹¹ The exchange between Gary Schwarz and Marije Meijer Drees illustrates this attention, see Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991) and Marijke Meijer Drees, "Rembrandt en het Toneel in Amsterdam Kanttekeningen bij de nieuwste Rembrandt-biografie," *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 78 (1985): 414–21. Also see, Albert Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol: (1616-1680), Rembrandt's Pupil* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1982), 34–36 and Eva Schuss, "De Relatie tussen Rembrandt en Vondel in Historisch Perspectief," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 22 (2006): 225–46.

Goltzius and Lastman. My focus on this comparison is not merely because the rhetoricians were the dominant and popular form of rhetorical theater immediately preceding and during the production of Goltzius and Lastman's paintings or because Goltzius and Lastman would have been familiar with their local practice of rhetoric. It is also because the works of the rhetoricians are worthwhile expressions of rhetoric in the classical sense, as the rhetoricians conceived of their art as the contemporary equivalent to classical rhetoric, aspiring to reach the sophisticated level of rhetorical discourse practiced in antiquity but now adapted into a contemporary, vernacular guise. As the rhetoricians, Goltzius, and Lastman share a close proximity of production in time and place, a correspondence in their subject matter, and intellectual ambitions in their work, the rhetoricians provide the closest application of the principles of rhetoric to which one can look when discerning the rhetorical character of Goltzius and Lastman's paintings of biblical history.

It is important to realize that the rhetoricians' plays of biblical history which I analyze not only dramatize the same stories which Goltzius and Lastman visualize in their paintings, but they also comprise a representative sample of rhetoricians' plays in the Netherlands during the latter half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. They come from different regions: the Principality of Liège, Zeeland, and North Holland; they were written by rhetoricians active in a major commercial and artistic center, in a relatively small provincial city, and in a tiny coastal village on the periphery of the Netherlands; and they were all written between 1550 and 1610. The plays, while diverse in their communities of origin, however, are all based on the same dramaturgical principles and participate in the same performance culture cultivated by the chambers of rhetoric throughout the Low Countries. Because of this interregional uniformity of rhetorical practice and culture of performance, a comparison between a painting from Haarlem

and a play from Hasselt (the Principality of Liège), for example, becomes a fruitful endeavor. It also allows for a more compelling comparison between the paintings and plays in that I am able to examine plays which have yet to be thoroughly analyzed. Because they are only mentioned in W.M.H. Hummelen's *Repertorium van het Rederijersdrama* and few other publications, there is a demand to thoroughly examine these works by the rhetoricians. The degree to which I look at these plays is not featured in any other scholarship, and in that sense, this study offers a contribution to the theater history as well as the art history of the Low Countries.¹²

In comparing this local, contemporary manifestation of rhetoric to how Goltzius and Lastman compose their biblical histories, I assert that these painters and their beholders approached the viewing of these paintings not only from a position of familiarity with the Bible, but also from a position of knowing rhetoric – not in the sense of having the formal distinctions of classical rhetoric in mind but rather having a working knowledge of rhetoric derived from the local performance practice discernible in the rhetoricians' plays. The gestures and expressions with which Goltzius and Lastman describe their figures as they participate in dialogic exchange amidst dramatic moments of conflict evoke the rhetoric and performativity characteristic of rhetoricians' theater. Goltzius and Lastman, as well as their patrons, were likely very familiar with this specific practice of rhetoric, and an analysis of this work provides a closer and more potent comparison between a particular rhetorical practice and specific visual artworks. As I look at the rhetoricians' biblical-historical plays and compare them to Goltzius and Lastman's biblical history paintings of the same subjects, I discern the correspondences between how each use similar rhetorical strategies to tell the story.

¹² W.M.H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van Het Rederijersdrama 1500-ca. 1620* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968); Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé, eds. *For Pleasure and Profit: Six Dutch Rhetoricians Plays, with Facing-Page Translation* (Lancaster: Medieval English Theatre, 2006).

The insistence of a performance practice evident in Goltzius and Lastman's paintings is especially apparent in paintings where Goltzius and Lastman mediate emotions through conversation, and that same strategy of visualizing biblical history in terms of verbal exchange, driven and informed by complex emotions, is found in the performative practices of the local rhetoricians' theater. Emotion that one experiences in an actual event is sometimes internalized, manifested in subtle and sometimes barely perceptible gestures, and at other times, the emotion is demonstrated in overwhelming and dramatic shows of expression. Where emotions are expressed through dialogue, however, the recipient, as well as the onlooker, gain insight into the causes and the complex motivations and intentions that underlie those emotions. The visual depiction of emotion mediated through dialogue serves as a persuasive example of the performative aspect of Goltzius and Lastman's biblical histories. Their paintings are not simply representations of the biblical event. Rather, they allude to a staged version of the event by way of visualizing the dialogic exchange characteristic of the event's reenactment. By describing biblical events through a portrayal of emotion mediated by conversation, Goltzius and Lastman insist that one not only consider the biblical text that informs their pictures but also the local performance practice analogous to the production of their inventive images. It stands to reason that the closest source of *comparanda*, of a performance practice where biblical stories are portrayed through visualized speech, were the dramatic works of the local rhetoricians. The aim of this study is thus to demonstrate that the performance practices which Goltzius and Lastman assimilated into their compositions of biblical history give evidence of a shared conceptual approach to rhetorical storytelling as one finds it in the dramatic works produced by these local rhetoricians.

The plays of the chambers of rhetoric are deeply visual. Regardless of whether their play-

texts were ultimately performed on the stage, they are rhetorical texts that generate images. At some level, the visual impact of a performance is only speculative, but the inherent nature of these rhetorical texts forces one to use the imagination. Throughout the diverse body of work produced by the chambers of rhetoric, the rhetoricians' inclination to use allegory and personification indicates their visual propensities. Rhetorically their work can be described as *prosopopoeic*, in that the rhetoricians are concerned with giving speech to that which is abstract or absent of voice; they want to give form and expression to inert forces and tacit concepts. In light of the enterprise of posing and investigating topical issues of the day, a rhetoricians' play consisted of actors, adorned in costume and equipped with props, arriving on a stage furnished with elements of scenery and beginning to speak, gesture, and express emotion. Through verbal and visual aids, they put forth their arguments in organized debate, conveying their commitment to rhetoric as a means of persuasion and to the affective power of visual images to elucidate the complex interactions between characters on the stage. Within the paradigm of *ut pictura poesis* (as in poetry so as in painting / as in painting so as in poetry), it is theater that provides the basis for the analogy between painting and poetry, as it is the theater that offers both the visual image and the spoken verse.¹³

To the extent and in the manner that the rhetoricians visualize speech *prosopopoeically*, their work offers the closest parallel whereby one can understand the rhetorical nature of Goltzius and Lastman's paintings of biblical subjects. Their paintings are, as the title of this dissertation claims, examples of silent eloquence, meaning that Goltzius and Lastman are like dramatic poets in the sense that they conceive of and pictorialize spoken dialogue, and through their inaudible

¹³ Bart Ramakers, "Sophonisba's Dress: Costume, Tragedy, and Value on the Antwerp Stage (c.1615-1630)," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 64 (2014): 304. For a study on *ut pictura poesis* and the humanistic theory of painting in the Renaissance, see Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: Norton, 1967).

visualizations of speech, they convey emotions according to the character of the figures, the nature of the circumstances, and the content of what is discussed. In rendering the passions to the beholder through depicted conversations, they enable one to perceive what is being said and the manner in which it is being spoken and heard. The aggregate of which convinces the beholder of the argument's merit, which is put forth in the portrayed conversation and/or represented in the totality of the painting. Reflective of Simonides' characterization of paintings as mute poetry, Goltzius and Lastman's paintings are silent, but to the extent that they mobilize the rhetorical efficacy of the rhetoricians, their paintings are also eloquent.¹⁴

1.2 DIALOGUE, DISPUTATION, AND *PROSOPOPOEIA*

Goltzius and Lastman portray their biblical subjects in a manner that departs from pictorial convention by primarily focusing their storytelling on complex rhetorical situations. In order to analyze how Goltzius and Lastman conceive of their biblical pictures, I will make frequent reference to rhetoricians' theater with which Goltzius and Lastman must have been familiar. Netherlandish rhetoricians' theater offers the best comparative material with which one can discern the pictorial choices these painters make in composing their biblical histories. The shared enterprise of *prosopopoeia* and visualizing speech compels an examination of the stagecraft and performance practice of the local rhetoricians. The theater of the rhetoricians derived from local Netherlandish and classical traditions and used dramatic forms adapted from late-medieval morality plays and farces, and, later in the sixteenth century, it eventually incorporated elements of classical comedies and tragedies. In the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, the rhetoricians actually began to write comedies and tragedies, identifying

¹⁴ Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, 3.

their work with those classical genres. The *zinnespel*, however, the quintessential type of dramatic work produced by the rhetoricians, derived from traditions of medieval practice. The *zinnespel* is certainly informed by the medieval morality play where the dramaturgy relied almost exclusively on dialogue and disputation. Although rooted in the Middle Ages, the rhetoricians' practice of the dialogue and disputation was not, restricted to medieval conventions. In the humanist and university-education context, dialogue and disputation remained important as it evolved from the medieval, scholastic exchange of pro and contra arguments that leads to a definitive and certain outcome to the Ciceronian notion of an open discussion unburdened by the mandate for certainty. The humanist practice of dialogue and disputation allowed for the staging of debates on issues where multiple arguments offered differing and viable solutions and permitted ambiguity amidst the complexities of the given problem.¹⁵ As Marijke Spies notes, *zinnespelen* were essentially plays wherein arguments were exchanged and visualized by personifications.¹⁶ Certainly, in the guise of the medieval morality play, *zinnespelen* featured personified virtues and vices who, through argumentation, attempted to convert or seduce a Mankind character who represents humanity. A representative plot is the Mankind character choosing and then navigating either the narrow path populated by personified characters of Virtue, ultimately leading to heavenly bliss and union with God, or the broad path populated by personified characters of Vice who oppose their counterparts and attempt to lead Mankind to hell.¹⁷ With such a play delivering a final answer to the question at hand, usually in favor of the

¹⁵ For discussions on dialogue and disputation in the Renaissance, see Peter Burke, "The Renaissance Dialogue," *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989): 1–12; Anita Traninger, *Disputation, Deklamation, Dialog. Medien Und Gattungen Europäischer Wissensverhandlungen Zwischen Scholastik Und Humanismus* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012), 237–241; 256–270; Anita Traninger, "Taking Sides and the Prehistory of Impartiality," in *The Emergence of Impartiality*, ed. Kathryn Murphy (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 31–63.

¹⁶ Marijke Spies, "Op de Questye... Over de Structuur van 16-Eeuwse Zinnespelen," *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 83 (1990): 139.

¹⁷ Bart Ramakers, "Sight and Insight: Paul as a Model of Conversion in Rhetoricians' Drama," in *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, ed. Lieke Stelling, Harald

arguments presented by the virtuous characters, the rootedness of the *zinnespel* in medieval dialogue and scholastic disputation is clear. The practice of dialogue and disputation, however, remained important throughout the sixteenth century, and in the humanist guise of *in utramque partem disserere*, it was governed by the rules and purposes of rhetoric, and it was employed to debate more complex and ambiguous issues.¹⁸ Significantly, the rhetoricians were familiar with and followed Ciceronian rhetoric in which truth is not determined by what is right but by what is *judged* to be right.¹⁹ Such evaluation depends upon the plausibility of the argument the actors present on stage, as well as the degree to which the audience judges the characters to be credible and/or virtuous. The visual elements of a character's performance prove most persuasive in assessing the truth of one's argument, and such assessment relies on the crucial observation of the character's appearance, the posing and positioning of the body and the expressive cast of the face, as well as the character's physical and verbal interactions with their surroundings and other characters on stage, including exchanges of dialogue.²⁰

Many *zinnespelen* demonstrating this humanist practice of dialogue and disputation were written for competitions wherein questions about social, pedagogical, theological, and ethical dilemmas were dramatized and discussed in a competitive context. Competition festivals were held throughout the Low Countries and were organized around a central question. The notable festivals in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries included Ghent in 1539 (What is the

Hendrix, and Todd M. Richardson (Boston: Brill, 2012), 345; Bart Ramakers, "Dutch Allegorical Theatre: Tradition and Conceptual Approach," in *Urban Theatre in the Low Countries, 1400-1625*, ed. Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 134; For a comparative description and analysis of two *zinnespelen*, see Bart Ramakers, "Eloquent Presence: Verbal and Visual Discourse in the Ghent Plays of 1539," in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Celeste Brusati, K.A.E. Enenkel, and Walter S. Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 217-261.

¹⁸ Traninger, "Taking Sides and the Prehistory of Impartiality," 46-48.

¹⁹ Bart Ramakers, "The Work of a Painter: Willem van Haecht's Apostle Plays, 1563-1565," in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicising the Popular, Popularising the Classic (1540-1580)*, ed. Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 234-235.

²⁰ Ramakers, "The Work of a Painter: Willem van Haecht's Apostle Plays, 1563-1565," 234-235.

greatest comfort for man at the hour of his death?),²¹ Antwerp in 1561 (“What incites Mankind most to the arts?”),²² Haarlem in 1606 (“What reward awaits those who comfort the poor with love, what severe retribution awaits those who mercilessly scorn the poor?”),²³ and Vlaardingen in 1616 (“What necessary measures should be taken for the common good of the people and the country?”).²⁴ Because these plays were written for specific occasions and intended to address particular complex dilemmas, the audience would have perceived them as presenting more advanced rhetorical dialogues and disputations, having matured from the *zinnespel*’s medieval and scholastic roots, and intending to provoke discussion and address practical concerns. Demonstrating the rhetoricians’ authority in the cultural and public sphere, these rhetorical festivals established a network among poets, playwrights, visual artists, musicians, and their audiences that not only perpetuated an interregional literary and visual culture responsive to the social and political concerns of the day, but also prompted and presented to a Dutch-speaking audience the integration of performative art and learning, whether it be informed by a medieval, local/vernacular, or Latinate/humanist tradition.²⁵ As serious practitioners of rhetoric, the rhetoricians employed poetry and drama that epitomized the most persuasive and sophisticated methods of rhetorical argumentation.²⁶

²¹ Ramakers, “Eloquent Presence: Verbal and Visual Discourse in the Ghent Plays of 1539,” 218.

²² Jeroen Vandommele, “Mirroring God, Reflecting Man: Shaping Identity through Knowledge in the Antwerp Plays of 1561,” in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicising the Popular, Popularising the Classic (1540-1580)*, ed. Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 176.

²³ Arjan van Dixhoorn, “Chambers of Rhetoric: Performative Culture and Literary Sociability in the Early Modern Northern Netherlands,” in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch (Leiden : Brill, 2008), 120.

²⁴ Joke Spaans, “Public Opinion or Ritual Celebration of Concord? Politics, Religion and Society in Competition between the Chamber of Rhetoric at Vlaardingen in 1616,” in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. A. C. Duke, Judith Pollmann, and Andrew Spicer (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 191.

²⁵ Dixhoorn, “Chambers of Rhetoric: Performative Culture and Literary Sociability in the Early Modern Northern Netherlands,” 122-123.

²⁶ Todd M. Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 195. See also, Bart Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren: toneelkunst en processiecultuur in Oudenaarde tussen Middeleeuwen en Moderne Tijd* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

1.3 THE RHETORICIZATION OF CULTURE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF RHETORICAL HABITUS

One might ask whether Goltzius and Lastman painted their pictures because of their familiarity with specific biblical plays of the rhetoricians. That is not the position taken by this study. Instead, what is argued here is that they were familiar with the practices of the local, vernacular rhetoricians' theater (of course, not excluding the possibility of their familiarity with specific plays). That is, the rhetorical practices exemplified by the rhetoricians are important to viewing and reading these paintings. In most cases, these practices involved principles adapted from classical rhetoric, but I do not here pursue the evaluation of classical rhetoric and its application to the pictorial choices Goltzius and Lastman make. Rather, I look at a particularly local genre practiced in a particular time and in a particular place, that is, Netherlandish rhetoricians' theater of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in which the rhetorical concepts and devices employed derive from classical rhetoric and are practiced in ways that Goltzius and Lastman would have known well and applied in their paintings. Even in cases where the two painters were not familiar with specific plays relevant to their pictorial subjects, the devices and principles of vernacular rhetoric employed by the local rhetoricians are immensely useful in understanding how a painter visualizes a rhetorical situation—more accurately, how such a painter construes a biblical subject *as* a rhetorical situation. A significant benefit to using rhetoricians' theater as a *comparandum* for Goltzius and Lastman's paintings is the fact that many of the rhetorical performances presented in this study dramatize the *same* subject matter portrayed in the paintings. The rhetoricians incorporate visual images alongside spoken words, offering a paradigm of dialogue conjoined with visualized action, in the same time period, geographical area, and artistic community in which Goltzius and Lastman worked.

Moreover, an analysis of their paintings, by considering them alongside contemporary rhetorical plays, can help us to understand how a contemporary viewer would have looked attentively and discerningly at such paintings.

It is important to recognize that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the rhetoricization of culture was so pervasive in the Netherlands that rhetorical concepts were applied to varying aspects of life, creating a rhetorical *habitus* that was prevalent throughout society. Beginning with literature, Renaissance poetry became rhetoricized through the assimilation of rhetorical concepts from antiquity and its division into the five great arts of *inventio* (pertaining to the invention of a position or argument), *dispositio* (pertaining to the arrangement or organization of the position or argument for the purpose of presentation to an audience), *elocutio* (pertaining to the process of articulating the argument), *memoria* (pertaining to the degree to which the argument is committed to memory), and *actio/pronuntiatio* (pertaining to the use of gesture and voice in the delivery of the argument).²⁷ Poetry's very conception and practice was informed and structured by rhetorical principles. It was further rhetoricized through the assimilation of additional rhetorical goals, such as *enargeia*, *evidentia*, *ekphrasis*, tropicity, *epideixis*, and an appeal to the passions. As a result, rhetoricized poetry had the aim of visualizing its respective arguments by means of vividly descriptive and lifelike representational means (i.e., *enargeia*), pictorializing evidentiary support for that argument (i.e., *evidentia*), thereby allowing such representational means to operate in literal and metaphorical registers and facilitating a variety of interpretative modes whether historical, moral, philosophical, or theological (i.e., tropicity), publicly practicing aesthetic demonstrations of praise or blame (i.e., *epideixis*), and employing representations of the passions as a method of persuasion (i.e.,

²⁷ Heinrich F. Plett, *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 87-97; George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 4-9.

affectus). This affective dimension of rhetoricized poetry was derived from Cicero's third goal of rhetoric, *movere*, of the triad *docere* (to teach), *delectare* (to delight), and *movere* (to move) as well as from Aristotle's *pathos* featured in his triad of *ethos* (persuasion by the credibility and good will of the speaker), *logos* (persuasion by means of reason), and *pathos* (persuasion by appealing to the passions).²⁸

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this rhetoricization was not limited to poetry. Such rhetorical concepts were applied to the sister arts of dramatic poetry (i.e., theater), picture-making, and music, as well as to religious, legal, commercial, and political practices such as preaching, juridical advocacy, trade negotiation, and diplomacy. This rhetorical *habitus* operating throughout society permeated the production of ideas, objects, and images that were created by and interpreted with the tools and goals of rhetoric. The prevalence of this *habitus* is reflected in the popularity of the chambers of rhetoric, evident by the number of rhetoricians in small fishing and farming villages as well as in cities both large and small throughout the Netherlands, where representatives of all types of professions participated in the exercise of versified dialogue governed by the rules and goals of rhetoric.²⁹ As a heterogeneous mixture of people across social classes and professions who all submitted to a democratizing literary culture, the chambers of rhetoric were a pervasive and undeniable force of social cohesion and mobility in Netherlandish society.³⁰ From the popularity of these organizations came an

²⁸ Plett, *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture*, 97-107. As to how tropicity is applied to the visual arts in the Netherlands, see Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1981); Wolfgang J. Müller, *Die Sprache Der Bilder: Realität Und Bedeutung in Der Niederländischen Malerei Des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton-Ulrich-Museum, 1978). Pertaining to *epideixis*, one may immediately think of elegies and eulogies produced for the celebratory occasions at court, but this concept would also apply to the blazons carried by chambers of rhetoric during the processions preceding dramatic contests. For a study on renaissance praise poetry, see O.B. Hardison, *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973).

²⁹ Dixhoorn, "Chambers of Rhetoric: Performative Culture and Literary Sociability in the Early Modern Northern Netherlands," 125-126; 152-153.

³⁰ See Dixhoorn, *Lustige Geesten: Rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480-1650)*, 110-119.

enormous production of literature, both poetry and dramatic plays, as well as the public occasions during which this literature was recited and performed. This abundance of rhetorical literature, produced and received by a diverse population throughout the whole of the Low Countries, is at the least symptomatic of how pervasive rhetoric was during this time and in this place, and at the most provides an *exemplum* of the phenomenon.

To this point of a rhetoricized culture, it is fair to conclude that among other professionals, Goltzius and Lastman did not assimilate rhetorical concepts into their compositions superficially. Rather, being well-versed in rhetoric and immersed in this culture steeped in rhetoric, by means of formal and informal education and through relationships with learned friends and colleagues, they must have intentionally employed rhetorical principles in their pictorial decision-making, and it is therefore inescapable to conceive of their image-making as rhetorical.

In Goltzius and Lastman's paintings of biblical subjects, one can discern a concern for rhetoric evidenced by an emphasis on scenes of verbal exchange in which the figures externalize the action of speech and react in an emotionally complex fashion to what they are saying and hearing. Rather than exclusively using dramatic action to enliven their figures and project the passions, Goltzius and Lastman usually pose and position their figures in a dialogic relation to each other as if they were about to speak and respond discursively to the circumstances which they face. In this way, the figures appear to operate outside a canonical or conventional frame of pictorial reference. Instead, they mobilize certain key rhetorical strategies derived from local rhetorical culture. Action and emotional response are mediated by speech — not so much “speech acts” as “activated speech” whereby Goltzius and Lastman remind the viewer that their biblical scenes are not merely illustrative but, rather, staged versions of the stories being told. Their paintings do not literally speak, of course, and there is no auditory expression, nor is there

embedded text within the image, which would allow one to read the figures' speech. Nevertheless, Goltzius and Lastman are able to indicate speech by depicting the very moment within a biblical episode where speech is activated. They are able visually to represent speech, and through that visualization, they mediate action and emotion instead of reducing a narrative moment purely to action or emotional expression. Moreover, their conspicuously discursive frame of reference invites exploration of and exegetical engagement with circumstantial details and dilemmas pertaining to what one should believe and how one should think or act, which are left unaddressed or unexamined by the biblical text itself. Similarly, when one views the performance of a play on the rhetorical stage, one is always aware that it is a rhetorical performance; it does not merely bear witness to the event itself, but instead engages the audience in a performative re-enactment of the event in which unexamined details and problematic circumstances are dramatized and explicitly interrogated. In their inventive images of biblical history, Goltzius and Lastman compel their audience to draw an analogy between their paintings and the rhetorical practices these paintings index. Consequently, there is a meta-discursive quality to their historical subjects that always calls to mind a certain kind of performance.

1.4 HUMANISM, VIRTUE ETHICS, AND THE POWER OF RHETORIC

Of course, the interest in confronting and weighing dilemmas should be understood in the larger context of humanism and the importance humanism places on virtue ethics. Humanism was committed to a moral philosophy of virtue ethics that aspired to promote public and private virtue in the general body politic, and in their efforts, humanists heavily relied on rhetoric, as the art of persuasion, to present solutions to ethical dilemmas. Distinct from deontological ethics which asserts that there are general rules to be applied to *all* ethical situations, virtue ethics

proposes that each ethical situation is unique, and each unique problem demands a critical evaluation of the potential courses of action, based on the particular circumstances, in order to resolve a dilemma ethically. In other words, there are concrete situations occurring at particular times, involving particular people, implying specific consequences, and demanding individualized resolutions. Asserting that every ethical dilemma is different, virtue ethics exhorts the moral person to consider how he ought to behave in a particular situation and, implicitly, how others should respond under the same conditions. Such a framework for moral evaluation implies thought, discussion, and debate about how to weigh the circumstances of a morally complex situation and what course of action one should pursue to resolve it. Naturally, rhetoric becomes the most effective tool for practicing virtue ethics as it too involves discussion and debate wherein there is a weighing of circumstances and the resolution of a problem.

Fundamental to the humanist interest in promoting private and public virtue under the model of virtue ethics was the notion that the average citizen could reflect on and discuss with his fellow citizens relevant factors of an ethical quandary that would lead to a moral course of action.

Rhetoric flourished in the sixteenth century because it was the primary method used to present arguments as to how one should act or what one should consider given the circumstances of a particular moral situation – that is, rhetoric was seen as the most effective tool with which one could solve ethical dilemmas.

It is not surprising that the rhetoricians organized their competition festivals around dilemmas formulated as questions to be discussed and debated in the participating plays. Whether in *zinnespelen* or biblical plays, the rhetoricians' protagonist is confronted by a moral predicament, and through the course of the play, the protagonist wrestles with that dilemma by engaging in conversation with other characters. These moments of dialogic exchange exemplify

the problem – the doubt, the weighing of what to do or how to respond to the circumstances – and it is through these conversations that the playwright employs rhetoric to argue for a particular moral resolution. It is not dissimilar to how Goltzius and Lastman compose their biblical history paintings wherein they concentrate their visualizations of the story on moments of conversation, which exemplify the moral dilemma facing the biblical characters. They too mobilize rhetoric in their depictions of dialogic exchange in order to explore the particular predicament of the biblical story and present the inherent choice between virtue and folly which the protagonist faces in responding to the dilemma. In the spirit of humanism’s promotion of the individual’s private and public virtue, the discursive nature of Goltzius and Lastman’s paintings compels the beholder to assess, evaluate, and discern for themselves the appropriate resolution to the moral dilemma presented.

1.5 THE CONVIVIUM TRADITION

Recognizing the discursiveness of these paintings, leads to an understanding that surely, given the private ownership of many of Goltzius and Lastman’s biblical paintings, these pictures likely participated in the tradition of the *convivium*. As a literary genre dating back to antiquity, the *convivium* tradition included dialogic texts by the likes of Plato, Cicero, Macrobius, and Xenophon, and enjoyed a resurgence in the sixteenth-century among Christian humanists like Erasmus. The dialogues presented in works written in this genre feature decorous conversation unfolding over a meal, but as Erasmus’ *Godly Feast* demonstrates, conversations occurred beyond the dining room and into other areas of one’s private dwelling, such as the garden or other domestic spaces set aside for entertainment. Moreover, the content and exchange of conversation in the *convivium* texts was more than just entertainment or a complement to one’s

sensorial enjoyment of a meal. It provided aspirational models of conversation in which its participants could cultivate their minds through intricate analysis of and debate over diverse subjects. Similar to the above-mentioned evolution of the humanists' practice of disputation and dialogue as distinct from the medieval practice, the goal of the *convivium* tradition was not to arrive at certain resolution of a given topic but, rather, to offer and evaluate multiple interpretations or reasonably plausible conclusions with which the participants could better approach the truth of the matter at hand.³¹

Informed by the example of Erasmus' *Godly Feast*, we can presume that the visual arts provide stimulation for such topical conversations.³² There, the host, Eusebius, welcomes his guests to his home by introducing them to two images outside his front door. The first is an apotropaic image of St. Peter which is accompanied by texts quoting Matthew 19:17, Acts 3:19, and Romans 1:17. Eusebius converses with his guests to explain that St. Peter, in his role as porter of the house, speaks to all who enter and exhorts them to repent and seek godliness, arguing that the true Christian life is attained through gospel faith and that eternal life is found by obeying the commandments of the gospel. Before moving on to address the second image at the door, Eusebius poses a rhetorical question to his guests—does Peter seem like an uncivil porter?

The second image to which Eusebius directs his guests' attention features a representation of Christ on an altar looking up to God the Father and God the Spirit in heaven. With one hand, the figure of Christ points to the other two persons of the Godhead, and with his other hand, he implores the viewer to follow him. As this image is also accompanied by scriptural citations

³¹ For a discussion on the relationship between the convivium tradition and sixteenth-century Netherlandish art, particularly the work of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, see Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands*, 63-81.

³² See Claudia Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel and the Culture of the Early Modern Dinner Party* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

from John 14:6, Revelation 1:8, and Psalm 34:11, Eusebius argues that the image is not silent, stating that it shows Christ speaking through these scriptural citations and proclaiming that he is the way through whom one attains salvation in heaven with God the Father. One of Eusebius' guests, Timothy, also responds to the image and complements Eusebius' comments by remarking that Christ welcomes them with a warm invitation, to which they both respond with reverence and prayer before passing the image and entering the gardens. Eusebius interprets the image further by stating that he understands the image not so much as a protector of his gardens, as the Roman fertility god, Priapus, was accustomed to do, but rather as the image of Christ who acts as the protector of his body and soul. Erasmus uses this dialogic exchange as an example of how one can understand and discuss an image that portrays speech and refers to texts, and he offers a model of how a group should engage in conversation, in response to their surroundings.³³

Similar exchanges of dialogue unfold as Eusebius entertains his guests by walking through his gardens where he directs the conversation towards works of art, as well as the cultivated flora and fauna. Upon their arrival at a painted grove covering an entire loggia wall that borders the garden, Eusebius and Timothy discuss the representation of a number of elements featured in the painting:

TIMOTHY

A wonderful variety; nothing inactive, nothing that's not doing or saying something. What does the owl that's almost hidden under the branches tell us?

EUSEBIUS

An Attic owl, it speaks the Attic tongue: 'Be prudent,' it says, 'I don't fly for everyone.' It bids us act advisedly, because unadvised rashness brings misfortune to some. Here an eagle rends a hare, a beetle protesting in vain. Beside the beetle stands a wren, the deadly enemy of the eagle.

TIMOTHY

³³ Desiderius Erasmus, "The Godly Feast," in *Colloquies*, trans. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 177-178.

What does the swallow carry in its mouth?

EUSEBIUS

Swallowwort, for by this she restores the sight of her blind fledglings. — Do you recognize the shape of the plant?

TIMOTHY

What new kind of lizard is this?

EUSEBIUS

It's not a lizard but a chameleon.

TIMOTHY

This is the chameleon, famous for its long name? I thought it was a bigger beast than a lion, whom it surpasses even in name.

EUSEBIUS

This chameleon here is always open-mouthed, always hungry. Here's a wild fig tree. Only when near it is he fierce: at other times he's harmless. But he does have poison; don't scorn a gaping creature so small.³⁴

A similar conversation unfolds after they finish lunch and Eusebius directs their attention to the paintings hanging on the walls. Not only do they enjoy the visual pleasure of the paintings displayed there but their didactic function as well provides stimulation. After Eusebius identifies several paintings of biblical episodes, Timothy redirects the group's attention to another series of paintings about which he lacks understanding. Eusebius identifies the paintings as scenes from classical history, *Cleopatra and Antony*, *The Fighting Lapiths*, and *Alexander the Great Piercing Clitus with a Spear*, and he explains that the depiction of these stories reminds their viewers to avoid extravagance and overindulgence. The arguments these paintings put forth and the conversations among viewers which they solicit perform the appropriate function of advising Eusebius and his guests to enjoy their meal according to the liberties licensed by the Christian gospel, and to avoid gluttony and drunkenness.³⁵ What this *convivium* text demonstrates is an

³⁴ Erasmus, "The Godly Feast," 180.

³⁵ Erasmus, "The Godly Feast," 205.

ethos and *habitus* practiced and promoted by a Netherlandish humanist and popularized throughout northern Europe, in which inquiry, varying interpretation, and conversational exchange about pictures function as spiritually and morally edifying tools used to stimulate one's intellect and provide one with spiritual nourishment.

The owners of Goltzius and Lastman's paintings of biblical histories, including such men as Jan Govertsz van der Aar, Boudewijn de Man, Robbert van der Hoeven, Reiner van der Wolf, and Jan Six, no doubt used their paintings to prompt pleasurable and stimulating conversation.³⁶ Like the characters of Erasmus' dialogue, these individuals, though well educated, were not professional scholars. Van der Aar was likely a wealthy cloth merchant, having grown up in a prominent textile family in Leiden, and by 1602, he was living in Haarlem. His international business relationships and his investments in the Dutch East India Company were the source of a substantial fortune, allowing him to own a house and property in Amsterdam.³⁷ Boudewijn de Man, after studying law at Heidelberg and Leiden, became the Receiver General in Delft as well as the Captain of the White Banner in the Civic Guard. In addition to his patronage of the local school and of the visual arts community, having one of the most celebrated art collections in Delft during the seventeenth century, De Man also enjoyed close ties with the theater.³⁸ The playwright, Gerrit van Santen, dedicated a play to De Man in the 1620s.³⁹ Van Santen was quite

³⁶ Jan Govertsz van der Aar likely owned Goltzius' *Lot and his Daughters* (1607). Boudewijn de Man likely owned Goltzius' *The Fall of Man* (1616) and *Adam and Eve Lamenting the Death of Abel* (1613); Robbert Verhoeven and Reinder van der Wolf are known to have owned works by Pieter Lastman, though which ones specifically remain unknown. Jan Six owned Lastman's *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (1614). For more, see Lawrence Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné* (Doornspijk: Davco, 2013) and Christian Tico Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk: Mit Einem Kritischen Verzeichnis Der Werke Mit Themen Aus Der Antiken Mythologie Und Historie* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2011).

³⁷ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617*, 170.

³⁸ Marten Jan Bok, "Society, Culture, and Collecting in Seventeenth-Century Delft," in *Vermeer and the Delft School* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 207-208.

³⁹ John Michael Montias, *Vermeer and His Milieu: A Web of Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 77; Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617*, 86; 90; 191-192; 212.

sensitive to painting, and, as John Michael Montias points out, his plays offered counterparts to similar scenes by Delft painters including Hendrick van der Burch and Anthony Palamedes; he even used his proficiency in the theatrical arts to engage thoughtfully with the craft of painting.⁴⁰

Robbert van der Hoeven was a physician in Amsterdam, and one learns from the celebrated playwright Joost van den Vondel in the preface to his play, *Jonathan in Dothan*, that Van der Hoeven was a highly learned individual who owned several paintings by Pieter Lastman.⁴¹

Reiner van der Wolf was a brewer and prominent citizen from Rotterdam with a large collection of primarily Italian paintings as well as a collection of antiquities, but he also owned a resurrection of Christ by Lastman as well as Lastman's *Orestes and Pylades Disputing at the Altar*.⁴² He was the addressee of Joachim Oudaans' poem *Lastmans offer-stryd tusschen Pylades en Orestes: Aan den Heer Reinier van der Wolf*, which celebrates the skill of Lastman as a painter and a story-teller by dramatizing Lastman's subject in verse and highlighting details of Lastman's painting.⁴³ Jan Six, perhaps the most notable of the group, came from an affluent family who had made their fortune in the textile industry. He was educated at Leiden University, where he studied law and the liberal arts, and also traveled extensively in Italy (1639-1640). In Amsterdam, he was a member of the patriciate, a collector, and a minor poet, and he became a notable patron of Lastman's student, Rembrandt van Rijn.⁴⁴ He owned Lastman's *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* of 1614, which was also celebrated in poetry. Serving as a model for

⁴⁰ John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 321; For a discussion of Gerrit van Santen's references of paintings in his plays, see Adrianus Cornelis Crena de Iongh, *G.C. van Santen's Lichte Wigger En Snappende Siitgen: Zeventiende-Eeuwse Gesprekken in Delfts Dialect* (Assen: Gorcum, 1959), 27; 35.

⁴¹ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 130; Amy Golahny, "Pieter Lastman in the Literature: From Immortality to Oblivion," *Dutch Crossing* 20 (1996): 90.

⁴² Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 87-88; Amy Golahny, "Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings: Vondel and Oudaan Interpret Lastman," in *The Eye of the Poet: Studies in the Reciprocity of the Visual and Literary Arts from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Amy Golahny (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1996), 163.

⁴³ Golahny, "Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings," 168-171.

⁴⁴ See, G. J. Möller: 'Het album Pandora van Jan Six', *Amstelodamum*, 76 (1984): 69-101.

Oudaan's celebration of Lastman's mythological history painting, Vondel's *Lastmans Offerstaatsie van Lystren. Aan Joannes Six* is dedicated to Jan Six and praises Lastman by comparing the painter to Apelles, proceeding to recount the biblical subject by interpreting details of Lastman's painting rather than sourcing details primarily from the scriptural text.

There is little doubt that these owners of paintings by Goltzius and Lastman would have conversed about them with family and friends, discussing how the biblical subjects were portrayed, perhaps even considering them alongside dramatic representations of the same or similar narratives written for the rhetorical stage. Given his apparent familiarity with Gerrit van Santen's work, Boudewijn de Man likely adopted this approach to viewing such paintings. Moreover, the examples of two literary reflections by the poet-dramatists Joachim Oudaan and Joost van den Vondel, specifically addressing details of Lastman's paintings, demonstrates the central position these types of images enjoy in the tradition of the *convivium* and their unique capacity to stir literary responses.

1.6 CLASSICAL RHETORIC IN A CONTEMPORARY AND VERNACULAR GUISE

As educated and professional members of society and lovers of the arts, these patrons would have also appreciated the fact that Netherlandish rhetoricians conceived of their art as the contemporary equivalent to classical rhetoric. Such a conception of the rhetoricians' activities is persuasively put forth in the personification of rhetoric originally painted by Frans Floris in 1557 and reproduced in an engraving by Cornelis Cort in 1565 [Fig. 1-5].⁴⁵ In this image, Rhetoric is

⁴⁵ For a discussion about Frans Floris' painting, which at one point was thought to be lost but is now held in a private collection, and its relationship to the Netherlandish practice of rhetoric, see Stijn Bussels, "Lady Pictura and Lady Rhetorica in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Antwerp: Upgrading Painting and *Rhetorijcke* by Linking Them to the Liberal Arts," in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicising the Popular, Popularising the Classic (1540-1580)*, ed. Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 157-172.

portrayed as a female figure, wearing classical dress and sitting in a chair featuring a baldacchino over her head. She leans to her left and gazes down at a figure busily writing, who sits in the lower right of the image. Presumably, this writer is composing a rhetorical text which the figure of Rhetoric evaluates, offering further instruction. At her feet, suggesting the sources which inform her counsel, are texts of notable orators and theorists of rhetoric from antiquity: Cicero, Quintilian, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Hortensius, and Aeschines. Upon this foundation of classical rhetoric, she counsels the young writer; with her left hand, she uses the caduceus of Mercury, the tool of eloquence and wit, to direct the writer's attention to the vignette seen through the aperture at the left of the image. There, the writer, along with the image's beholder, see a public performance of a theatrical play [Fig. 1-6]. The play is performed on a makeshift outdoor stage, supported by scaffolding that raises the height of the stage to accommodate viewing by a large audience. It features a curtained area that can be segmented into multiple compartments offering diverse interiors relevant to the play's plot, as well as multiple entrances and exits to a forestage onto which actors can walk and where they can speak and interact with one another. The actor at the far end of the stage demonstrates this as he has just walked through the curtains onto the forestage, precipitating the address of the other two actors already present. This representation of a theatrical stage references sixteenth and seventeenth-century Netherlandish stagings of rhetoricians' theater, as practiced by the local chambers of rhetoric. It is not terribly dissimilar from a representation of a stage featured at the rhetorician contest held in Haarlem in 1606 [Fig. 1-7]. According to W.M.H. Hummelen, a similar stage was used for a performance of the *Assumption of our Lady* in Zeeland in 1565.⁴⁶ Moreover, it was traditional

⁴⁶ W.M.H. Hummelen, "Types and Methods of the Dutch Rhetoricians' Theatre," in *The Third Globe. Symposium for the Reconstruction of the Globe Playhouse, Wayne State University, 1979*, ed. C. Walter Hodges, S. Schoenbaum, and Leonard Leone (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), 166-169.

for chambers to identify their work by incorporating their blazons into their stage design. A small protuberance in the middle of the upper register of the stage in Cort's engraving suggests the location where the chamber's blazon would be featured during a performance.

A blazon was essentially a chamber's coat of arms, which derived from the devotional practice of the chamber either honoring a patron saint or the Virgin Mary or glorifying the Passion of Christ. Typically, the blazon featured an image of the saint, Mary, or Christ accompanied by flowers, shrubs, or trees, which refer to characteristics of the specific saint, the virginity of Mary, or the wooden cross of Christ's crucifixion, and also incorporated the chamber's motto that encapsulated the guiding ideals of their rhetorical work.⁴⁷ The blazon carried in the 1606 competition festival by the Haarlem chamber, *The Pelican (De Pelicaen)*, was the third blazon for the chamber designed by Goltzius, and serves as a fitting example [Fig. 1-8].⁴⁸ The blazon's central image, framed within a diamond pendant, features Christ crucified on a living tree which grows forth from the chamber's namesake image of the mother-pelican vulning herself for the nourishment of her chicks. Flanking Christ on either side are two putti who display a banderole showcasing the chamber's motto: "Loyalty must show" (*Trou Moet Blijcken*).⁴⁹ The incorporation of a chamber's blazon in Cort's engraving after Floris' painting is a significant element of the image's argument. Essentially, Floris' figure of Rhetoric visualizes the assertion that classical rhetoric is foundational to the contemporary practice of local rhetoricians' drama, and that it provides a basis for the eloquence and argumentation of the playwright. Implicit in this argument and put forth analogically in Floris' image is the notion that the art of the local rhetoricians arose to the position held by the art of rhetoric in classical

⁴⁷ Arjan van Dixhoorn and Benjamin Roberts, "Edifying Youths. The Chambers of Rhetoric in Seventeenth-Century Holland." *Paedagogica Historica* 39 (2003): 330.

⁴⁸ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 34-35.

⁴⁹ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 34-35.

antiquity, whose source material lies at the foot of Rhetoric and informs the creative production of the contemporary playwright.

This conception of classical rhetoric in its renaissance guise is further underscored by the notable sixteenth-century Netherlandish rhetoricians whose works derive from or refer to specific texts and principles of classical rhetoric. Jan van Mussem's *Rhetorica*, published in 1553, was the first Dutch handbook on classical rhetoric, providing an exclusive focus on *première rhétorique* that concerned itself with the traditional categories of rhetoric laid out in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, namely *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*.⁵⁰ In his *De Const van Rhetoriken*, published in 1555, Matthijs de Castelein joined *première rhétorique* with *seconde rhétorique*, or the poetic art of versification. *De Const* offered the first and only sixteenth-century rhetorical manual written in Dutch and attempted to align the poetic forms of the Netherlandish rhetoricians with those of classical authors, exhorting students of rhetoric to a committed study of classical literature.⁵¹ In effect, what De Castelein accomplished in his manual was the equation of poetry and rhetoric. What is reflected in De Castelein's work is the humanist idea that the purpose of rhetoric is merged with that of the poet. The goal of the orator, in his practice of rhetoric, is persuasion, and certainly in the context of humanist thought, it is persuasion, enlisted for the cultivation of moral virtue, that attempts to civilize, repair, and, from the spiritual perspective, redeem society as a whole. The rhetorical practice of the orator aims to oppose the corruptions of humanity and to lead persons toward moral rectitude and even salvation through learning and argumentation. It functions, therefore, as an antidote to social, political, and spiritual corruption, and is one of the foremost

⁵⁰ Marijke Spies, "Developments in Sixteenth-Century Dutch Poetics," in *Renaissance-Rhetorik*, ed. Heinrich F. Plett (New York: De Gruyter, 1993), 74-76.

⁵¹ Reinder P. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries: A Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1978), 74-75.

tools for the implementation of virtue ethics and the advancement of society. Unique to the humanist position, however, is the recognition that poetry also endeavors to accomplish this same task. Since antiquity, the epic poets contributed to the moral and political ideals of society, and one need not look further than Virgil's *Aeneid* as a quintessential example.

Where rhetoric and poetry share eloquence as a tool, poetry distinctively achieves a higher degree of eloquence through its use of harmonious and melodic verse. It is, therefore, supremely positioned to persuade its audience and reform society.⁵² The merging of poetic form and the rules of rhetoric was epitomized by the rhetorician Cornelis van Ghistele, who, as the factor of The Marigold (*De Goudbloem*), one of the chambers in Antwerp, produced his own translations of Terence's comedies in an effort to present the concepts from classical drama in the vernacular language.⁵³ It is De Castelein's *De Const*, however, that guides the reader through several model strophes, offering examples of contemporary poetry and public speaking which pertain to biblical, historical, or mythological material and which are governed by the classical rules of rhetoric as specified in Cicero's *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.⁵⁴ In so doing, De Castelein, much like Floris' image of *Rhetorica*, argues that the rhetorical practice of Dutch literature, drama, and poetry is the contemporary execution of the classical standards of rhetoric.

Such an argument additionally expressed the ambitions of the humanist enterprise which

⁵² O.B. Hardison, "The Orator and the Poet: The Dilemma of Humanist Literature," in *Poetics and Praxis, Understanding and Imagination: The Collected Essays of O.B. Hardison, Jr.*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 37-41.

⁵³ Bart Ramakers, "As Many Lands, As Many Customs: Vernacular Self-Awareness Among the Netherlandish Rhetoricians," in *The Transformation of Vernacular Expression in Early Modern Arts*, ed. Joost M. Keizer and Todd M. Richardson (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 127. See Femke Hemelaar, "For the Illustration of Rhetoric: Cornelis van Ghistele, Virgil and the Ideology of Learned *Rhetorijcke*," in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicising the Popular, Popularising the Classic (1540-1580)*, ed. Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011) and Alisa van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages: Forging Dutch and French in the Early Modern Low Countries (1540-1620)* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

⁵⁴ Bart Ramakers, "Between Aea and Golgotha. The Education and Scholarship of Matthijs Castelein (c. 1485-1550)," in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Koen Goudriaan, J. J. van Moolenbroek, and Ad Tervoort (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 187.

aspired to revitalize human knowledge and society by returning to, emulating, and even surpassing the wisdom and eloquence of classical antiquity.⁵⁵ Other rhetoricians, such as Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert and Hendrick Laurensz Spiegel, advocated the development and refinement of the Dutch language in an effort to equate or surpass the eloquence of Latin, and the chambers of rhetoric played a crucial role in this development, functioning as an alternative educational program to the Latin schools and universities, through which one could refine the vernacular language, making it suitable for poetic expression.⁵⁶ This very enterprise was explicitly proclaimed in the 1587 handbook on rhetoric, *Rederijk-kunst*, published by the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric, The Eglantine (*De Eglantier*):⁵⁷

“Do we desire fully to fulfill our task and be a credit to our names? Then it is our duty to study diligently the chambers’ original purpose: it will be seen that they were instituted as schools using the country’s common language for all art-loving adult persons to practice knowledge delightful and useful for the country.”⁵⁸

While it is true that some rhetoricians like Spiegel and Coornhert attempted to distance themselves from the traditional practice of the rhetoricians, their work was not contradictory to it. Although Coornhert was not a member of a chamber of rhetoric, he wrote in the vernacular language and composed work in the genres popularized by the rhetoricians, notably the *zinnespel*.⁵⁹ Spiegel was an active member of The Sweet Briar (*De Eglantier*) and participated in

⁵⁵ Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries*, 76-77; George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric & Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 197-198.

⁵⁶ For a consideration of the chambers of rhetoric and the aims of the humanists to elevate vernacular language, see Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*.

⁵⁷ See Arjan van Dixhoorn, “Writing Poetry as Intellectual Training. Chambers of Rhetoric and the Development of Vernacular Intellectual Life in the Low Countries between 1480 and 1600,” in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens*, edited by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Koen Goudriaan, J. J. van Moolenbroek, and Ad Tervoort (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 201-222.

⁵⁸ Dixhoorn, “Writing Poetry as Intellectual Training,” 205. Van Dixhoorn quotes from Geert R.W. Dibbets, ed. *Twe-Spraack vande Nederduitsche Letterkunst, 1584* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985).

⁵⁹ For an extensive study discussing the dramaturgy and the rhetorical set-up of Coornhert’s plays, see Anneke C. G. Fleurkens, *Stichtelijke lust: de toneelspeelen van D.V. Coornhert (1522-1590) als middelen tot het geven van morele*

the competitive culture of the rhetoricians until the early decades of the seventeenth century.

And while their works evince a rhetorical-argumentative method, the mere fact that they used this method to write rhymed plays, indicates that the musical-poetical approach practiced by traditional rhetoricians and characteristic of *seconde rhétorique*, was not so divorced from the rhetorical-argumentative practice characteristic of *première rhétorique*. The poetry of the rhetoricians is not exclusive of sophisticated rhetorical argumentation and *vice versa*. As they conceived of poetry, and especially dramatic poetry, as rhetoric, the rhetoricians' dramatic work had to comply not only with the rules of poetry but also with the rules of rhetoric, including rhetoric's purpose as the art of persuasion.

What these rhetoricians demonstrate, and what is implicit in Cort's engraving after Floris' painting, is that Dutch literature, poetry, and drama, could compete with and eventually transcend classical drama and poetry if they could refine the Dutch language following the example of classical languages, primarily Latin, and if Dutch literature were to imitate the genres, themes, and motifs originating in classical literature.⁶⁰

1.7 THE CONTINUITY BETWEEN *ZINNESPELEN* AND BIBLICAL-HISTORICAL PLAYS

The quintessential genre of the rhetoricians was the *zinnespel*, which was the sixteenth-

instructie (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994).

⁶⁰ Ramakers, "As Many Lands, As Many Customs," 133. For a discussion about how Netherlandish rhetoricians cannot be separated from the humanist approach to rhetoric and the purification of the Dutch language, see Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*.

century equivalent of the medieval morality play.⁶¹ Characteristic of the genre is the use of personifications operating within an allegorical plot and engaged in disputative dialogue, evocative of debates conducted in the schools and universities where argument was met with counter-argument.⁶² The purpose of these visualized arguments was didactic as they intended to offer possible solutions to crucial questions.⁶³ Typical of a *zinnespel* is a central Mankind character who is confronted by an essential question or a moral dilemma and whose spiritual status evolved in relation to his handling of worldly temptations and his response to the dilemma.⁶⁴

Consider, for example, the late sixteenth-century play, *Vanden afval vant gotsalige weesen*, written by Lauris Jansz for the Haarlem chamber of rhetoric, *The Grapevines (De Wijngaertrancken)*. In this play, one finds an entertaining and didactic portrayal of the human journey through one's spiritual life, featuring a narrative structured around dialogic exchanges between the character, Mankind, and evil as well as holy characters, who either attempt to facilitate Mankind's spiritual demise or ascendancy. The evil characters, whom the playwright

⁶¹ W.M.H. Hummelen, "The Dramatic Structure of the Dutch Morality," *Dutch Crossing* 8 (1984): 17–26; Merle Fifield, "The Community of Morality Plays," *Comparative Drama* 9 (1976-1975): 332–49.

⁶² Dixhoorn, "Writing Poetry as Intellectual Training," 207-208; for a discussion of oratorical exercises in the Amsterdam schools, see Marijke Spies, "Amsterdam School Orations from the Second Half of the 17th Century," *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and Its Sources* 22 (1995): 99–118.

⁶³ Ramakers, "Dutch Allegorical Theatre," 132. See Spies, "'Op de questye...' Over de structuur van 16e-eeuwse zinnespelen," 139-150.

⁶⁴ Elsa Strietman, "Show and Tell: Entertainment and Persuasion Tactics in Lauris Jansz. of Haarlem's *Vanden Afval Vant Gotsalige Wessen*," *Mediaevalia* 27 (2006): 227–55; Elsa Strietman, "All Human Life Is Here: Relationships in *Het Spel van Sinnen Lazarus Doot*," in *People and Texts: Relationships in Medieval Literature; Studies Presented to Erik Kooper*, ed. Thea Summerfield and Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 175–85.

has named, Longing for High Status and Own Will, are known as *sinnekens*, figures who prominently feature in many of the rhetoricians' plays and are uniquely characteristic of the *zinnespelen* genre. As *sinnekens* personify the propensity of human beings to sin, they figure evil desires, motivations, and intentions, and, through their mischievous acts, they persuade the narrative's protagonist(s) to make choices that inevitably lead to their doom or despair. In *Vanden afval*, the *sinnekens* are opposed by other allegorical figures representing holy and virtuous concepts, called Grace of God, Law of Moses, and God's Goodness, who encourage Mankind to practice a devout life of obedience to God. Appealing to explicative and persuasive effects of sight, Lauris Jansz complements the strategy of calling the allegorical characters by explicit names with the visual element of clothing, indicating the nature of each character.⁶⁵ This visualization of the characters is particularly effective for Mankind, whose fluctuating spiritual status corresponds with the various changes of his wardrobe occurring throughout the course of the play. Of course, the rhetoricians employ verbal elements, including the naming of characters and spoken dialogue, but visual elements, including costume, stage setting, and the positioning and gestural posing of the characters are also crucially important to their efforts to visualize abstract concepts and give voice to those things which are resistant to representation and devoid of speech. The rhetoricians pursue this type of dramaturgy to portray argumentation and complex verbal exchanges embedded in the narrative's plot. In a particularly dramatic scene of

⁶⁵ Strietman, "Show and Tell," 234-235.

Vanden afval, the *sinnekens* persuade Mankind to take off the clothes given to him by God's Goodness. Mankind begins to remove his Gown of Innocence, his Belt of Perfection which is Love, and other similar garments:

MANKIND

*U rate gae ick volgen. Dus als die bekenden
scheijt ick uuijt dit eerste cleet van onnoselheijt,
twelck Godt in den beghinne mijn hadden bereijt.
dattet slechs niet en wert bescreijt, tot eenijger
keer.*

I'll follow your advice and, as someone who is quite eager,
I divest myself of this first Gown of Innocence,
Which God had prepared for me in the beginning.
May it not be cause for tears, at some other time.

LONGING FOR HIGH STATUS

*En dees bant deze Lijfden moet oick sijn afgeleijt
Daer ghij u mee omgort. Dus smacte om veet,
Met dees rock van Eenvoudicheijt een quad toe keer;
Sij maecten u thooft maer seer, dats al haer virtuijt
En die reedelickheijt werpt die oick daer neer:
Tis ons een valsch geweer, dat gans niet en sluijt.*

And this Belt of Love, with which you gird yourself,
Also needs to be taken off. So throw it away.
It is, just as this Gown of Simplicity, a bad thing,
All they do is hurt your head, that's all their virtue,
And so throw away that Reasonableness:
That's a bad piece of equipment for us and has no use.⁶⁶

Mankind must wrestle with the arguments put forth by the *sinnekens* and decide ultimately whether he will succumb to sinful impulses and pursue the soul-destructive path of the *sinnekens* or heed the counter-arguments of his saintly advocates and comply obediently, practicing a holy

⁶⁶ Strietman, "Show and Tell," 235. Strietman quotes *Vanden Afval vant gotsalige weesen*, lines 565-571, translation by Elsa Strietman.

life and glorifying God. At one point in the play, Mankind stands on stage completely clothed in garments provided by the *sinnekens*, which visualize his moral failure. Ultimately, however, Mankind becomes aware of his sin, and God's Goodness redresses him with garments signifying moral virtue, completing Mankind's spiritual journey through the temptations of the *sinnekens* and reflecting the grand Christian narrative of creation, fall, and redemption.⁶⁷

While there may be some differences between *zinnespelen* as represented in *Vanden afval* and the rhetoricians' biblical plays, the elements of dispute, persuasive conversation, and debate characteristic of *zinnespelen* are certainly present in the interaction between characters of biblical plays. The spiritual conflicts, the incongruity of loyalties, and the moral dilemmas which the Mankind character faces in the *zinnespelen* are the same intrigues of the biblical characters in the scriptural plays.⁶⁸ Of course, the main characters in a biblical play are not personifications like those featured in a morality play; rather, they are the biblical-historical figures found in Scripture. Moreover, because a biblical play follows historical subject matter in reference to a scriptural text, it does not present a *prima facie* allegorical plot, and yet, because of the similarity of the narrative scheme, one can still approach a biblical play from the perspective of the *zinnespel*.

A quintessential example illustrating how a biblical narrative corresponds with the tradition of the *zinnespel* is the story of Abraham's sacrifice of his son, Isaac. Like the Mankind character in the *zinnespelen*, Abraham is faced with a conflict of loyalty and a spiritual imperative to choose the righteous path. The play, *Abraham's Sacrifice (Abrahams Offerhande)*, written in

⁶⁷ Strietman, "Show and Tell," 237.

⁶⁸ For an example of how a rhetoricians' biblical play employs the same elements of a *zinnespel* in analogizing the Mankind character to a biblical character, see Bart Ramakers, "Sight and Insight: Paul as a Model of Conversion in Rhetoricians' Drama," in *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, ed. Lieke Stelling, Harald Hendrix, and Todd M. Richardson (Boston: Brill, 2012), 339–72.

Haarlem in the late sixteenth century, represents the story of Abraham and Isaac featuring the biblical characters of God, Abraham, Sara, Isaac, Hagar, and Ishmael as well as the personified figures of Good Education (*Goet Onderwijs*), Desire to Know (*Lust om Weten*), Temptation of Belief (*Temtatij des Geloofs*), and Doubt of Promises (*Twijfel der Beloften*).⁶⁹ Apart from the appearance of the personified characters, the playwright follows the scriptural account of the story very faithfully. The play consists of an outer-play, which begins in the prologue and concludes in the epilogue. In the outer-play, Desire to Know stops to witness the biblical story which will unfold in the inner-play, and Good Education joins him to provide explanation and exegesis of what they will see. The inner-play follows the scriptural narrative of Isaac's birth, Abraham's expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, and God's command to Abraham to sacrifice his long-awaited offspring, Isaac. Throughout the course of events, the *sinnekens*, Temptation of Belief and Doubt of Promises, attempt to corrupt and undermine Abraham and God's ordained plan. The efficacy of the *sinnekens*' work comes when God tests Abraham's faith by commanding him to sacrifice Isaac.⁷⁰ Much like the *sinnekens*' relationship to the Mankind figure in the *zinnespelen*, Temptation of Belief and Doubt of Promises are delighted with the opportunity to undermine and corrupt the protagonist's soul. They attempt to shake Abraham's faith and sow doubt in his mind about God's promise to bless him with a son who will father many nations.⁷¹

Overwhelmed with distress and with eyes full of tears, Abraham is conflicted with the dilemma of whether to obey the command of God and sacrifice his son or disobey God and

⁶⁹ Hummelen, *Repertorium van Het Rederijkersdrama 1500-ca. 1620*, no. 1 OA 4. For a discussion of the play, see Geert R.W. Dibbets and W.M.H. Hummelen, "Abrahams Offerhande, Tekstuitgave met inleiding en aantekeningen door G.R.W. Dibbets en W.M.H. Hummelen," in *Jaarboek De Fonteine. Jaargang 1993-1994* (Gent: Koninklijke Soevereine Hoofdkamer van Retorica "De Fonteine," 1996), 9–73.

⁷⁰ Dibbets and Hummelen, "Abrahams Offerhande," lines, 492-508.

⁷¹ Genesis 17 (RSVCE).

preserve his son's life.⁷² Seeing Abraham's moment of human fallibility and doubt, the *sinnekens* quickly remind Abraham that without his son, Isaac, God cannot fulfill his promise that Abraham's descendants will grow into a mighty nation, nor, they argue, does God intend to bless him with additional offspring if Abraham chooses to carry out the sacrifice. Unlike the Mankind character in *Vanden afval*, whom the *sinnekens* manipulate easily, Abraham resists the corrupt scheme of Temptation of Belief and Doubt of Promises and chooses to obey God's command to sacrifice his son, only to be stopped by God's angel at the very last moment.⁷³ What one clearly sees is that the biblical character, Abraham, although in a completely different context, faces a spiritual and moral dilemma similar to those encountered by the Mankind character in the *zinnespelen*. It stands to reason that because of similarities in plot, intrigue, and character type, the sixteenth and seventeenth-century rhetorician and his audience would have approached the writing, performing, and viewing of *zinnespelen* and biblical plays in a very similar way.

In the following chapters, one will encounter several biblical characters, featured both in plays and paintings, who face similar spiritual journeys and moral dilemmas in narratives that abound in rhetorical situations: the story of Susanna and the Elders, found in Daniel 13, where Susanna must either succumb to the Elders' wish to sleep with her and sin against God and her husband or resist their assault and accept false accusations of adultery and a certain death; the story of Lot and his daughters, found in Genesis 18-19, where Lot's daughters, believing there is no other option to continue their family line, must decide whether they will commit incest with their father to preserve the future of the human race; the story from Tobit 6-12, telling of Tobias and the angel, Raphael, who orchestrates and delivers God's restorative grace to those who have

⁷² Dibbets and Hummelen, "*Abrahams Offerhande*," lines, 509-556.

⁷³ Dibbets and Hummelen, "*Abrahams Offerhande*," lines, 781-818.

pursued a righteous life; and the story of Paul and Barnabas' ministry in Lystra, recorded in Acts 13-14, where the apostles choose to risk life and limb by resolving their mistaken identities as Greek deities and preaching the gospel of Christ. All of these stories from the Bible feature human characters who travel on a spiritual journey and encounter moral dilemmas, providing an analogue to the Mankind character of the rhetoricians' *zinnespelen*. Moreover, and crucial to this study, each of these narratives is represented in a rhetoricians' play *and* in paintings by Goltzius or Lastman, affording the closest correspondence possible with which to discern how these two painters assimilated local rhetorical practice in their biblical history paintings.

An additional correspondence between biblical plays and *zinnespelen* is the carry-over of the *sinnekens*. In the biblical plays, *sinneken* figures not only represent abstract expressions of sin, they simultaneously figure demons, who, as evil supernatural creatures and associates of Satan, routinely appear in Scripture. Through their activity in the plays, not only do *sinnekens* exacerbate the emotions inherent to the circumstances the characters face, but they also provide commentary and explication of those circumstances.⁷⁴ Just as *sinnekens* undermine the holy aspirations of the protagonist in a morality play, they are present and perform a similar role in many biblical plays in which they interact with the biblical historical characters. It is no wonder why playwrights and their audiences, who clearly enjoyed *zinnespelen*, found biblical stories appealing: both genres offer plots with characters who face spiritual and moral dilemmas pertaining to the tension between holiness and sinfulness, made conspicuous in and through highly rhetorical situations.

⁷⁴ Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries*, 60-61; Strietman, "All Human Life Is Here," 176; Dirk Coigneau, "Emotions and Rhetoric in Rederijker Drama," in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th Century): Les Émotions Au Coeur de La Ville (XIVe-XVIe Siècle)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure van Bruaene (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 247-253; W.M.H. Hummelen, "The Drama of the Dutch Rhetoricians," in *Everyman & Company: Essays on the Theme and Structure of the European Moral Play*, ed. Donald Gilman (New York: AMS Press, 1988), 179.

A further element connecting the genre of the *zinnespel* to the biblical plays by the rhetoricians is the use of *tableaux vivants*. Typical of the *zinnespelen* performed during competitions in which the characters, as personifications, would argue or explain an immaterial concept, the rhetoricians would employ a *tableau vivant* to illustrate the argument visually, usually at the end of the play.⁷⁵ *Tableaux vivants* consisted of characters, sometimes speaking and other times silent, arranged motionless on stage to compose a living image, accompanied by painted text on a panel or canvas, as a visual illustration of the argument's desired moral or spiritual resolution.⁷⁶ For example, in a *zinnespel* found in the collection of the Haarlem chamber of rhetoric, *The Pelican (De Pelicaen)*, sometimes known by its motto, *Loyalty must show (Trou Moet Blijcken)*, there is a long dialogue between allegorical figures, including Mankind, Insatiable Desire, and Avarice, wherein the playwright inserts two *tableaux* featuring biblical stories.⁷⁷ The first is a scene of Lazarus and the Rich Man, taken from Jesus' parable found in Luke 16:19-31. After a dialogue concludes between the allegorical figures, and the curtains are drawn on the stage, the curtains are then reopened, revealing to the audience a *tableau* of Abraham holding Lazarus, accompanied by four angels playing music, as well as three men blowing bellows that stoke the fires of hell surrounding the Rich Man. The second *tableau* occurs the same way with curtains reopening after the conclusion of a dialogue, this time revealing a scene of Christ sitting in judgment, surrounded by children and angels, one of whom blows a trumpet.⁷⁸ The rhetoricians often inserted *tableaux vivants* into their *zinnespelen*, and

⁷⁵ Ramakers, "Dutch Allegorical Theatre," 139-140.

⁷⁶ Elsa Strietman and Lynette R. Muir. "The Low Countries," in *The Medieval European Stage: 500 - 1550*, ed. William Tydeman, Michael J. Anderson, and Glynne Wickham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 520; Strietman, "Show and Tell," 227-55; Ramakers, "Dutch Allegorical Theatre," 139-140.

⁷⁷ Strietman and Muir, "The Low Countries," 516-517.

⁷⁸ Strietman and Muir, "The Low Countries," 516-517.

frequently, they depicted scenes of biblical history.⁷⁹ Along with the obvious correspondence to the pictorial arts, *tableaux vivants*, especially those depicting biblical material, indicate that the contemporary playwright and his audience would have perceived biblical narrative as *loci* of rhetorical argument. By referring to biblical stories as figural arguments visualized in their *zinnespelen*, both in word and also in the image of *tableaux vivants*, the rhetoricians were able to incorporate the same disputative elements into their biblical plays. It is no wonder that in the biblical plays to which the rhetoricians gravitate there are scenes within particular narratives where conversational and disputational moments arise. As these types of episodes of biblical history provide rhetorical circumstances that would typically appeal to the playwright composing a conventional *zinnespel*, these scenes naturally become the focus of their biblical plays. In the same way that it appealed to the rhetoricians, exactly this dynamic, as we shall see, also appealed to painters like Goltzius and Lastman who routinely concentrated on these rhetorical moments in the biblical narratives they portrayed.

To consider how a biblical history painting reflects the rhetorical situations favored by the rhetorician playwright, let us return to Lastman's *David and Uriah* [Fig. 1-1] and the discussion of *Vanden afval vant gotsalige weesen*. In the play, the *sinneken*, Longing for High Status, has persuaded Mankind to divest himself of the spiritual virtues, represented by the Belt of Love and his Gown of Innocence. At this moment in the narrative, the playwright grants the audience a privileged perspective by clearly divulging the intentions and motivations of all the characters involved. Figures like The Goodness of God actively embody the attributes of God, which function as vehicles for the salvation of Mankind, whereas the *sinnekens* act on the sinister impulses of the devil, aiming to divest Mankind of God's presence and thwart his sanctification

⁷⁹ For an additional discussion of rhetoricians incorporating *tableaux vivants* depicting biblical subjects into their *zinnespelen*, see Ramakers, "Eloquent Presence: Verbal and Visual Discourse in the Ghent Plays of 1539."

and salvation. Whereas the playwright informs the audience of the attributes, motivations, and intentions of the characters, especially those of the sinister *sinnekens*, Mankind yet fails to perceive the comprehensive and complex peril he faces: he is “deaf to what he hears and blind to what he sees.”⁸⁰ Despite the explicit naming of his partners in conversation and his holy attire, Mankind fails to discern the surreptitious agenda of his spiritual combatants.

The dramaturgy found in *Vanden afval* is not unlike that which one finds in Lastman’s 1619 painting of the biblical story featuring David and Uriah. Similar to the playwright, Lastman organizes his composition of the narrative moment around the device of dramatic irony, wherein the biblically-informed viewer is permitted to know much more than the other characters. Recall the discussion of the painting above, observing that Lastman represents a conversation between King David and his loyal soldier, Uriah, which transpires after David has twice failed to conceal his adultery with Bathsheba. The scriptural text lacks a full account of David’s scheme, reporting only that he writes a letter to Uriah’s commander with the explicit instructions to abandon Uriah to the enemy on the field of battle.⁸¹ Without additional information from the text, Lastman is left to his own invention as to how the delivery of the letter and the attendant conversation transpired. Not only does his visualization of this integral scene allow Lastman to create a wholly unique image, it permits him to picture a highly rhetorical situation not unlike the one to be seen in a rhetorical play like *Vanden afval*. Like the playwright organizing a scene around the interaction between Mankind and Longing for High Status, Lastman composes his image around a dialogic exchange, wherein he is able to probe the complexity, ambiguity, and subtlety of a conversation about hidden agendas. Like Mankind, Uriah is also “deaf to what he

⁸⁰ Strietman and Muir, “The Low Countries,” 236.

⁸¹ 2 Samuel 11:14-15 (RSVCE).

hears and blind to what he sees.”⁸² David gives one instruction: honor your king and serve him by delivering this sealed letter to your commander. He intends, however, something else: deliver your own death sentence so that my sin and betrayal are not revealed. Uriah hears his king’s command but fails to discern the deceit that will ensure his death.

The rhetorical exchange between Lastman’s figures is analogous to Longing for High Status’ deceitful dialogue with Mankind, wherein he intends to bring about Mankind’s despair by persuading him to abandon his spiritual virtues. Just like the audience of the play who has heard the *sinnekens* explain their scheme to undermine Mankind, Lastman’s biblically-informed viewer, who corresponds to the scribe-attendant figure in the painting, is conscious of the true motivations and intentions of all the narrative’s characters. It is this rhetorical strategy of verbal exchange that combines the understatement of David’s words and the privileged knowledge of the audience to enhance the drama of the narrative. Similar to the conceptual rhetorical approach demonstrated by the playwright in telling the story of Mankind, Lastman employs dialogic exchange and dramatic irony to represent the morally ambiguous dilemma found in the biblical history of David and Uriah.

The rhetorically and emotionally complex circumstances of the conversation between David and Uriah shows just how rich and stimulating a pictorial representation or a rhetoricians’ staging of this and similar narratives would be for beholders of biblical history pictures and for audiences familiar with *zinnespelen* or biblical plays. In their comprehensive portrayals of these rhetorically and emotionally complex moments, Goltzius, Lastman, and the rhetoricians were compelled by Quintilian to convey events by visualizing them in their mind’s eye, converting them into heightened rhetorical moments that can be inhabited and experienced as if at first hand.

⁸² Strietman and Muir, “The Low Countries,” 236.

From this experience, they acquire the appropriate knowledge with which persuasively to convey the dilemmas, high stakes, and the emotions at play in the stories they represent.⁸³ In the manner that Goltzius and Lastman visualize these moments in their pictures, they require their viewers to do the same. This is to say that the way Goltzius and Lastman compose their pictures and position their figures interacting in these rhetorically and emotionally complex situations requires the viewer to inhabit and experience the scene themselves. As their pictures depend on a subtle degree of pictorial detail, gesture, and expression, they are neither melodramatic nor brash; the drama in their pictures is neither patent nor superficial. The way Goltzius and Lastman depict their histories requires the beholder to slow down the viewing process, figuratively to inhabit the scene and walk around the figures, all the while demanding discernment of motive and rationale, as well familiarity with and attention to the picture's textual source. It becomes clear, when one practices this type of viewing, that Goltzius and Lastman consistently utilize rhetorical concepts and devices in their picture-making, which correspond to the local practice of the rhetoricians.

1.8 A CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE

To make full sense of what Goltzius and Lastman do, however, one must certainly acquire familiarity with the local, vernacular rhetorical practices that explain the full rhetorical valence of these pictures. For this reason, in the following chapters, I pursue lengthy, ekphrastic examinations of the biblical narrative, the rhetoricians' plays, and Goltzius and Lastman's biblical history paintings, intending to take account of the subtle complexities and details of the biblical story and what corresponding choices the painters and the rhetoricians make in their

⁸³ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 6-8*, trans. D.A. Russell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), VI.2.29-36.

visualizations of the narrative. As mentioned above, what makes the rhetoricians' material the perfect *comparanda* for examining the biblical histories by Goltzius and Lastman is the fact that there are so many instances of overlapping conditions, both in practice (both the painter and the playwright are challenged to visualize rhetorical situations presented in a biblical text) and in circumstance (both the painter and the playwright create their representations in a similar time, place, and culture). Offering an even closer parallel between the rhetoricians' plays and the biblical histories by these painters is the fact that there are examples where the rhetoricians and either Goltzius or Lastman portray the very same moment from the very same narrative. These instances are the focus of this study, and they provide an opportunity to see clearly, in the closest possible terms, the correspondence between what rhetoricians do on the stage and what Goltzius and Lastman do in their paintings.

The approach of this study, to the extent that it closely examines Goltzius and Lastman's biblical histories alongside corresponding rhetoricians' plays, has few if any precedents in the scholarly literature, neither in that on Goltzius and Lastman's paintings nor in that on the Netherlandish rhetoricians. There is essentially very little research that directly addresses and closely examines the analogies on which this dissertation is premised.

Known predominantly as a draftsman and printmaker, Goltzius has garnered many investigations into his work with the stylus and burin, from studies of his skill and virtuosity in the delineation of line to the way in which he rhetorically deploys his artistic prowess alongside his protean character to portray artisanal virtue.⁸⁴ Scholars have also explored how Goltzius uses

⁸⁴ Walter S. Melion, "Cordis Circumcisio in Spiritu: Imitation and the Wounded Christ in Hendrick Goltzius's Circumcision of 1594," *Prentwerk* 52 (2001): 31–77; Walter S. Melion, "Self-Imaging and the Engraver's Virtù: Hendrick Goltzius's Pietà of 1598," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1996): 105–43; Walter S. Melion, "Memorabilia Aliquot Romanae Strenuitatis Exempla: The Thematics of Artisanal Virtue in Hendrick Goltzius's Roman Heroes," *Modern Language Notes* 110 (1995): 1090–1134. For an examination of Goltzius' drawings, see Huigen Leeftang and Ger Luijten, eds. *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617): Drawings, Prints and Paintings* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003); E.K.J. Reznicek, *Hendrick Goltzius: Drawings Rediscovered 1962-1992*,

color and tonality in his drawings and engravings to approximate or even surpass the characteristics of painting, and, in so doing, how he pursues a virtuosic *teyckenconst* (the art of inscribing) by imitating the handling (*handelinghen*) not only of painters but of painting itself.⁸⁵ Because Goltzius turned away from a successful and prolific career as an engraver to take up painting at forty years old, some inquiries have explored his transition from printmaker to painter, seeking some explanation for the transition.⁸⁶ Two important monographs addressing his paintings have been invaluable.⁸⁷ Not only do they compile Goltzius' biographical information, insights into his personality and associations with other artists and members of the Haarlem community, they also explore his development as a painter and the pictorial sources informing his pictures. Apart from the recognition of Goltzius' association, and certainly working relationship with the chambers of rhetoric, the literature neglects the extent to which these relationships and especially the degree to which rhetoricians' local performance practices may have informed Goltzius' image-making and specifically his pictures of biblical history.

The literature on Lastman also allows for deeper inquiry into the correspondences between rhetorical practices of the painter and the rhetorician. Crucially insightful publications have investigated important issues with respect to Lastman's paintings, including the iconography of these images and the foundations they established, along with those by Lastman's circle, for the

Supplement to Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius (1961) (New York: Master Drawings Association, 1993); E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius : Mit einem beschreibenden Katalog* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1961).

⁸⁵ Walter S. Melion, "Vivae Dixisses Virginis Ora: The Discourse of Color in Hendrick Goltzius's Pygmalion and the Ivory Statue," *Word & Image* 17 (2001): 153–75; Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Walter S. Melion, "Karel van Mander's 'Life of Goltzius': Defining the Paradigm of Protean Virtuosity in Haarlem around 1600," *Studies in the History of Art* 27 (1989): 112–133.

⁸⁶ Eric Jan Sluijter, "Goltzius, Painting and Flesh; or Why Goltzius Began to Paint in 1600," in *The Learned Eye: Regarding Art, Theory, and the Artist's Reputation; Essays for Ernst van de Wetering*, ed. Marieke van den Doel and Ernst van de Wetering (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 158–77; E.K.J. Reznicek, "Het Begin van Goltzius' Loopbaan Als Schilder," *Oud Holland* 75 (1960): 30–49.

⁸⁷ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*; Otto Hirschmann, *Hendrick Goltzius Als Maler, 1600-1617* (Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1916).

successes of Rembrandt and his pupils in the middle and latter half of the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ They also address how Lastman's compositions reflect the contemporary rules of history painting, what literary and historical sources directly inspire his compositions, how Lastman concerns himself with historical and biblical fidelity by integrating objects and motifs referring to the ancient near-eastern world, and even how Lastman represents the passions and implements rhetorical ideas in his image-making.⁸⁹ Other works have addressed the sense of staging apparent in Lastman's paintings and have specifically considered poetry and theater as a way to provide context for one's understanding of this theatricality.⁹⁰ Others have even suggested that specific dramatic works underlie Lastman's mythological paintings, arguing that Euripides' dramatization of the meeting between Orestes and Pylades provides the reference for pictorial choices Lastman makes in his painting, *Orestes and Pylades Disputing at the Altar*, of 1614.⁹¹ It is the relationship between the practice of the local rhetoricians and these two painters' biblical histories that this dissertation seeks to investigate.

⁸⁸ Astrid Tümpel and Peter Schatborn, *Pieter Lastman: leermeester van Rembrandt / The man who taught Rembrandt* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991); Albert Blankert, *Gods, Saints, and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 1980); Astrid Tümpel and Christian Tümpel, *The Pre-Rembrandtists* (Sacramento: E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1974); Astrid Tümpel, "Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert," *Oud Holland* 88 (1974): 1–164.

⁸⁹ See Golahny, "Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings," 154–178; Amy Golahny, "Pieter Lastman: Moments of Recognition," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010): 179–201; Golahny, "Pieter Lastman's Paintings of David's Death Sentence for Uriah, 1611 and 1619," 500–514; Lara Yeager-Crasselt, "Pieter Lastman's *David and Uriah*: Storytelling and the Passions," in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. and Lara Yeager-Crasselt (New York, 2020), <https://theleidencollection.com/essays/pieter-lastmans-david-and-uriah-storytelling-and-the-passions/>; B.P.J. Broos, "Rembrandt and Lastman's Coriolanus: The History Piece in 17th-Century Theory and Practice," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 8 (1976–1975): 199–228.

⁹⁰ Golahny, "Pieter Lastman's Paintings of David's Death Sentence for Uriah, 1611 and 1619," 504–507; Amy Golahny, *Rembrandt's Reading: The Artist's Bookshelf of Ancient Poetry and History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 67; Kurt Bauch, *Der Frühe Rembrandt Und Seine Zeit: Studien Zur Geschichtlichen Bedeutung Seines Frühstils* (Berlin: Mann, 1960), 68–73.

⁹¹ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 77; Golahny, "Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings," 161–163.

1.9 GOLTZIUS, LASTMAN, AND THE RHETORICIANS

That the rhetorical performance practices are discernible in paintings by Goltzius and Lastman in a manner analogous to plays by local rhetoricians should not come as a surprise, given that both painters operated within a network of artists, poets, and playwrights. As others have pointed out, such participation in this network was common in the early modern Low Countries.⁹² Recorded in the 1610 inventory of the Haarlem chamber of rhetoric, *The Pelican (De Pelicaen)*, is an engraved copper plate by Jacob Matham made after a design by Goltzius which depicts the chamber's blazon [Fig. 1-9].⁹³ Goltzius was affiliated with *The Pelican* as early as 1596 when he designed costumes and other accoutrements for the chamber's first-prize performance at the competition festival in Leiden that same year. As the oldest of Haarlem's three chambers of rhetoric, *The Pelican* celebrated a prestigious lineage of playwrights, actors, and orators who routinely participated in the festival competitions. Haarlem hosted the 1606 festival, and Goltzius once again participated in the festivities. This time he served as one of the judges charged with evaluating the rhetorical performances and awarding prizes for the best of the chambers' offerings.⁹⁴ Amending his earlier design for the chamber's blazon, Goltzius, along with Frans Pietersz de Grebber, also designed the 1606 blazon to be carried during the opening festivities [Fig. 1-8]. While there is some confusion as to whether Goltzius held official membership in *The Pelican*, it is certain that he had a close relationship with the organization, even if he merely served as an artist on hire.⁹⁵

⁹² Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 426–46; Mark A. Meadow, "Aertsen's Christ in the House of Martha and Mary and the Rederijker Stage of 1561: Spatial Strategies of Rhetoric," in *Spel in de Verte: Tekst, Structuur En Opvoeringspraktijk van Het Rederijkerstoneel*, ed. Bart Ramakers (Gent: Koninklijke Soevereine Hoofdkamer van Retorica "De Fonteine," 1994), 201–13.

⁹³ Léna Widerkehr, "Jacob Matham Goltzij Privignus: Jacob Matham Graveur et Ses Rapports Avec Hendrick Goltzius," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42/43 (1991-1992): 230-231.

⁹⁴ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 34-35; Leeftang and Luijten, eds. *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617): Drawings, Prints and Paintings*, 20-21.

⁹⁵ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 21; Melion,

Pieter Lastman was also connected with the world of the poets and playwrights. Although the specifics of his library remain a mystery, it is known that Lastman was familiar with the work of Daniel Heinsius.⁹⁶ As a professor of poetry at Leiden University, Heinsius was responsible for publishing an edition of Aristotle's *Poetics* in 1611, as well as an addendum to the edition a year later, entitled *De tragoediae consitutione*, which analyzed and simplified Aristotle's notion of tragedy.⁹⁷ It is not only the work of Heinsius with which Lastman was familiar. He engaged with a variety of literary sources from Willem van Nieulandt II to Pieter Cornelisz Hooft to Johan Baptist Houwaert.⁹⁸ Willem van Nieulandt II is of particular note because not only was he a painter, he was also active as a rhetorician and was credited for revitalizing the chambers of rhetoric in Antwerp, writing seven tragedies portraying biblical and classical history for the chambers The Olive Branch (*De Olyftack*) and The Gillyflower (*De Violieren*).⁹⁹ In addition to Lastman's familiarity with Willem's work, he also operated in the same circles as Willem's brother, Adriaen van Nieulandt, who was a painter in Amsterdam. The archives show that Lastman and Adriaen, along with other notable artists in Amsterdam, were called upon jointly to authenticate a painting by Caravaggio. It was also alongside Adriaen that in 1619 Lastman was commissioned by King Christian IV of Denmark to produce paintings for the king's private chapel in Frederiksborg Castle.¹⁰⁰ The artistic bond between the Van Nieulandt family and

"Cordis Circumcisio in Spiritu," 31–77. It was standard practice in certain towns, such as Antwerp, for both painters and rhetoricians to hold memberships of these performance guilds.

⁹⁶ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 62. From the inventory of Lastman's home taken on July 7, 1632, we know that Lastman enjoyed an extensive library numbering approximately 150 books, however the inventory does not list individual titles. For Lastman's specific engagement with the work of Daniel Heinsius, see Golahny, "Pieter Lastman's Paintings of David's Death Sentence for Uriah, 1611 and 1619," 505-506; Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 78; 84; 296; Golahny, "Pieter Lastman: Moments of Recognition," 183.

⁹⁷ Daniel Heinsius, *De Tragoediae Constitutione: On Plot in Tragedy*, trans. Paul R. Sellin and John J. McManmon (Northridge: San Fernando Valley State College, 1971), xiii-xvi.

⁹⁸ Golahny, "Pieter Lastman's Paintings of David's Death Sentence for Uriah, 1611 and 1619," 505-506; Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 120.

⁹⁹ See Ramakers, "Sophonisba's Dress," 299–346.

¹⁰⁰ Astrid Tümpel, "Het Leven van Pieter Lastman/The Life of Pieter Lastman," In *Pieter Lastman: leermeester van*

Lastman is only reinforced when one learns that Willem's and Adriaen's father, Willem van Nieulandt I, inspired Lastman's change in style during his journey through Italy between c. 1603 and 1607.¹⁰¹

As further context for the nature of the relationships between Goltzius, Lastman and the rhetoricians, it is informative to consider their association from the perspective of the rhetorician-poet. Three works allow insight into how rhetoricians appreciated the two history painters: Lucas Gijsbertsz's elegiac poem mourning the passing of Goltzius (1617), Theodore Rodenburgh's poem lauding Amsterdam painters in which Lastman is praised (1617/1618), and finally Balthasar Gerbier's memorialization of Goltzius, in which Lastman is also mentioned (1618/1620).

In his poem, entitled "Elegy, or mournful poetic dialogue, on the death of the most artistic Master Hendrick Goltzius, in his life [a] skillful painter, draftsman, and artful engraver. Taken by our Lord [in Haarlem] on the second of January 1617" (*ELEGIA Ofte KLAGH-DICHTSE TWEE-SPRAECK, Over de Doot des Alder-konst-rijcksten Heer HENRICVS GOLTZIVS, in sijn leven kloeck Schilder, Teeckenaer, ende konstigh Plaet-snijder. In den Heere ontslapen (binnen Haarlem) op den tweeden Januarij Anno M.DC.XVII.*), Lucas Gijsbertsz, who was a rhetorician in the Haarlem chamber, *The Vine Tendrils (De Wijngaertrancken)*, demonstrates the collaborative relationship that Goltzius enjoyed with local rhetoricians. Celebrating Goltzius' artistic skill and honorable character, the poem features a conversation between the allegorical figures Art-Loving Heart (*Konst-lievigh hert*) and Diligence Toward Art (*Yverigh tot Konst*), in

Rembrandt = the man who taught Rembrandt, ed. Astrid Tümpel and Peter Schatborn (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991), 12-13.

¹⁰¹ Peter Schatborn, "Tekeningen van Pieter Lastman/Drawings by Pieter Lastman," in *Pieter Lastman: leermeester van Rembrandt = the man who taught Rembrandt*, ed. Astrid Tümpel and Peter Schatborn (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991), 133.

which Goltzius is referred to as Apelles and is awarded four crowns of laurel, each one commemorating his successes in painting, drawing, engraving, and glass-painting. The allegorical figures tell us that it is not just the citizens of Haarlem who mourn the passing of Goltzius, but it is the gods who also weep.¹⁰² Significantly, it is Gijsbertsz, as a Haarlem rhetorician, who elegizes Goltzius immediately following his death and does so by employing typical motifs found in rhetorician performances. He uses allegory manifested through personifications and dialogic argument to mourn and celebrate the life and artistic legacy of Goltzius.¹⁰³

Theodore Rodenburgh was a member of the Amsterdam chamber, *The Sweet Briar* (*De Eglentier*); his celebratory verses praising Amsterdam painters come from the prelude to his rhetorical play, *Melibéa* (1617/1618). Not only does Rodenburgh's poem offer a defense of rhetorical plays as practiced in the chambers of rhetoric, it also indicates the close collaborative relationship among poets, playwrights, artists, and art connoisseurs. Like Gijsbertsz's poem, Rodenburgh's poem features a conversation between allegorical characters, Beloved Sweet Briar (*Eglentier-Lievert*) and Flourishing in Love (*In Liefd' Bloeyende*), who, in the course of their conversation, praise poets, playwrights, artists, and art connoisseurs who have brought fame to The Sweet Briar. They praise Hendrick Laurensz Spieghel and Roemer Visscher who were advocates and practitioners of vernacular poetic and dramatic compositions; they praise Cornelis Ketel, to whom Van Mander referred as a poetic painter (*Poeetlijcken Schilder*); and they praise the notary and publisher, Jacques Razet, and the notary and secretary of the city, Gideon Fallet, who were supporters and lovers of the fine arts. In his praise of Amsterdam, Rodenburgh gives voice to Flourishing in Love, who specifically highlights the past and current painters of the city

¹⁰² Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue*, 46-47.

¹⁰³ Ramakers, "Dutch Allegorical Theatre," 129-133.

who have brought fame and glory to Amsterdam, from Pieter Aertsen and, again, Cornelis Ketel to Pieter Lastman and the group of contemporary history painters of which Lastman was considered the leader or foremost representative. This group, referred to in the scholarship as the Pre-Rembrandtists or the Amsterdam history painters, included the brothers Jan Pynas and Jacob Pynas, Claes Cornelisz Moyeart, Jan Tegnagel, and François Venant.¹⁰⁴ Rodenburgh mentions all by name in his celebration of Amsterdam painters following his defense of local rhetoricians. Written in the wake of Samuel Coster's, Pieter Cornelisz Hooft's, and Gerbrand Bredero's departure from The Sweet Briar in 1617 to establish the *Nederduytsche Academie*, as the site of a more professional dramatic practice, Rodenburgh's poem operates as a defense of the amateur rhetoricians of The Sweet Briar and a eulogy to the city of Amsterdam, including her painters and among them Pieter Lastman specifically.¹⁰⁵

Gerbier's epideictic poem, written in 1618 but published in 1620, follows Gijsbertsz's poem in the sense that it celebrates the life and work of Goltzius, but inventively does so by rhetorically presenting a fictitious funeral procession to the grave of Goltzius.¹⁰⁶ The poem, entitled *Eer ende Claght-Dicht Ter Eeren van lofwaardighen Constrijcken ende Gheleerden Henricvs Goltivs*, essentially speaks about Goltzius' artistic legacy and progeny, and defends the reputation of the masterful artist. Among those in the procession is the Amsterdam painter, Frans Badens, who is thought to have taught Goltzius when he began painting in 1600 and with whom Goltzius was friends and in close contact.¹⁰⁷ Following in the procession are the other Amsterdam painters, all of whom pay him tribute. As might be expected, Gerbier offers special

¹⁰⁴ For more information on the Pre-Rembrandtists, see note 88.

¹⁰⁵ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 63-65.

¹⁰⁶ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 40; Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 65-67.

¹⁰⁷ Eric Jan Sluijter, "Goltzius, Painting and Flesh," 168.

mention of Pieter Lastman. Gerbier expresses great esteem for Lastman, delighting in his own viewing of his paintings, and imploring all art-lovers to engage in attentive, close looking when viewing these works:

*Lastman, d'eer d'Amstels voet, die wil ick heir aen voeghen,
Op wiens Const 't weeld'rigst oogh moet sterren met genoegen.
Liefhebbers sit vry neer, en met aendacht eens siet
Oft niet der Consten mergh Pictura u daer biet.*¹⁰⁸

Lastman, the pride of Amsterdam, whom I want to add here
On whose art the sensuous eye must stare with pleasure.
Art-lovers, sit down and look with attention
Whether in Lastman's work Pictura offers you the best of art.

1.10 CONCLUSION

While considering the relationships among Goltzius, Lastman, and the world of poets and playwrights is useful, such evidence is merely circumstantial to the task of exploring how local poetic and rhetorical activities may have informed the biblical histories produced by these painters. Locating correspondences between local rhetorical performance practices and pictorial choices evidenced in Goltzius and Lastman's paintings is more persuasive. In the following chapters, I examine four specific narratives portrayed by either Goltzius or Lastman that correlate to stage texts written for a performance by a particular chamber of rhetoric; each of these texts visualizes the same biblical story portrayed in the respective painting(s). In order to explore how Goltzius and Lastman pursue and employ rhetorical choices in their biblical compositions, I engage in close readings of these rhetorical plays, showing how they offer insights into the paintings' distinctive staging and scenography. I demonstrate that the manner in which Goltzius and Lastman visualize their biblical histories, even while diverging in style,

¹⁰⁸ Otto Hirschmann, "Balthasar Gerbiers *Eer Ende Claght-Dight Ter Eeren van Lofweerdighen Constrijcken Ende Gheleerden Henricus Goltius*," *Oud Holland*, 1920: 111.

makes common cause with rhetorical concepts and strategies codified in local rhetorician practice.

In the next chapter, I discuss Lastman's *Susanna and the Elders* of 1614 and Goltzius' two paintings of the subject dated to 1607 and 1615. I focus primarily on Goltzius' pictures where instead of picturing the narrative moment as a pure expression of the passions, he poses and positions his figures in dialogic relation to each other, as if Susanna were speaking, verbally and discursively responsive to the circumstances perpetrated by the Elders. Goltzius' representation of debate, persuasion, and compulsion allows for his employment of the rhetorical figures of *apostrophe* and *enthymeme* in his visualization of the episode. I argue that a similar strategy is found in the play, *Tspeel van Susanna* written by the chamber of rhetoric in Hasselt, where these figures are used to a similar persuasive effect. In the following chapter, the analysis considers the challenging story of *Lot and his Daughters*, painted by Goltzius in 1616 and dramatized by the chamber of rhetoric in 's-Gravenpolder. Inventively, Goltzius diverges from pictorial tradition and, like the play, focuses on the dialogic exchange between the daughters. By implementing a complementary dramaturgy, Goltzius and the playwright take a similar exegetical approach that departs from previous pictorial representations.

The following chapter takes the reader to Amsterdam where I consider three of Lastman's paintings depicting the story to Tobit and Tobias: *Tobias Catches the Fish* (1613), *Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah* (1611), and *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son* (1618). I argue that Lastman's concern for *elocutio*, and specifically its components of *energeia* and *enargeia*, manifest a rhetorical practice seen on the rhetoricians' stage as analyzed in *De Oude Tobijas*, written for The Pelican in Haarlem. In the final chapter, I argue that Lastman builds on his use of *energeia* and *enargeia* to employ the rhetorical concept of *peripeteia*, where

the depicted narrative moment is characterized by a sudden reversal of events that leads from fortune to misfortune or vice versa. By examining the play, *Paulus ende Barnabas*, also written for The Pelican in Haarlem, I demonstrate that Lastman's representation of the narrative comports with the rhetoricians' strategy of visualizing exasperated speech as the primary means whereby the narrative moment of peripety is portrayed.

CHAPTER TWO: THE STORY OF SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There are instances in his biblical history *corpus* where Goltzius repeats the depiction of a narrative, and in the case of Susanna and the Elders, he paints the subject twice in 1607 and in 1615 [Figs. 2-12 & 2-13]. Presumably Goltzius found the story compelling, and it may reflect his desire for narratives he describes as *schilderachtich*, a narrative quality about which he contacted the goldsmith Jan van Wely in his letter of June 10, 1605, requesting suggestions of Old Testament narratives which are both cheerful and suitable for painting.¹⁰⁹ Despite the particularities of the specific story portrayed, the two representations of Susanna and the Elders feature elements of Goltzius' paintings that are common among many of his biblical histories. They demonstrate Goltzius' propensity to compose a history painting comprised of only two or three figures positioned in the shallow space of the immediate foreground and arranged around a central focal element, all of which foregrounds a receding landscape into which Goltzius incorporates narrative elements relevant to the main foreground scene. By employing this compositional strategy, Goltzius focuses intensely on a precise narrative moment, incorporating efficacious and subtle details often omitted in prior representations and situating the event within a broader contextual frame of reference.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 64; 295; Irene Van Thiel-Stroman, "Painting in Haarlem, 1500-1850: The Collection of the Frans Hals Museum," in *Painting in Haarlem, 1500-1850: The Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, ed. Neeltje Köhler and Pieter Biesboer (Ghent: Ludion, 2006), 158. In his letter to Van Wely, Goltzius writes: "*Soeckt eenighe oude testamentische historien uijt die schilderachtich sijn, daer sal ick myn pleijsier uijt soecken, ende daer van wat int werck leggen. Wilt al vrolijcke historien zoeken die in schilderie lieflijck staen* [Find some Old Testament stories that are suitable for painting; from these I shall select the ones that appeal to me and portray them. Pick cheerful stories that lend themselves well to painting]."

¹¹⁰ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 63-65.

As one will see in the exploration of the biblical narrative, a moral crisis arises when two Elders attempt to coerce Susanna into marital infidelity, and it is the Elders' coercive speech and Susanna's response that are the focus of Goltzius' paintings. The primary component which Goltzius uses to organize his paintings of Susanna and the Elders is conversation and by extension, the rhetorical concept of *pronuntiatio*, which refers to the delivery of persuasive speech through gesture and expression.¹¹¹ Explicit in the Elders' proposition is their desire to persuade Susanna that she must acquiesce to their demands, and the rhetorical nature of Goltzius' paintings lies in his visualization of persuasive speech as well as the response of a recipient who must be persuaded – that is, after weighing critical factors of a complex moral dilemma, Susanna must choose a course of action. Similar to other biblical stories with which this study is concerned, the dialogic exchange in this particular story offers Goltzius and the beholder the opportunity to contemplate, discuss, and resolve a specific moral dilemma. And as the discussion of virtue ethics in the prior chapter asserted, the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw rhetoric as the most effective tool with which to understand and solve such dilemmas.

To better understand how Goltzius employs rhetoric in his paintings, this chapter will investigate comparative strategies practiced by contemporary rhetoricians in their play *Tspeel van Susanna*, which was performed during a competition festival on September 24, 1607.¹¹² It is one of several plays comprising a collection written by the chamber of rhetoric, The Red Rose (*De Roode Roos*) in Hasselt, including several other Old Testament plays, which in 1611 the

¹¹¹ For more on *pronuntiatio*, see Frank Rebmann, "Pronuntiatio," in *Historisches Wörterbuch Der Rhetorik*, ed. Gert Ueding, Gregor Kalivoda, Franz-Hubert Robling, Thomas Zinsmaier, and Sandra Fröhlich (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 7:212–47.

¹¹² Hummelen, *Repertorium van Het Rederijkersdrama 1500-ca. 1620*, no. 1 S 3; Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé, eds. "*Tspeel van Susanna*," in *For Pleasure and Profit: Six Dutch Rhetoricians Plays, with Facing-Page Translation* (Lancaster: Medieval English Theatre, 2006), 121.

chamber categorized as both biblical-historical plays and *zinnespelen*.¹¹³ This dual categorization reflects the similarity between the two types of plays and the degree of synonymy with which the rhetoricians conceived of the genres. What one will find in the following analysis are numerous correspondences between Goltzius and the rhetoricians in how they visualize and describe the highly rhetorical confrontation between Susanna and the Elders. Notably the way the dilemma is dramatized in the play and visualized in the painting is through exchanges of dialogue, as these moments of conversation exemplify the conflict and lend themselves specifically to rhetoric as a means to resolve the dilemma.

2.2 THE NARRATIVE

The narrative of Susanna and the Elders is found in the thirteenth chapter of the apocryphal Old Testament Book of Daniel and tells the story of a beautiful woman who was sexually assaulted, falsely accused of adultery, and subsequently condemned to death. The tale tells the story of Susanna, who, having been raised by her parents to observe Mosaic law, feared the Lord and pursued a devout and righteous life. She was married to Joachim, a rich and honorable man who administered adjudicatory proceedings among the people at his stately home. During the adjudications, Joachim was aided by a group of community elders who were appointed as judges, and it was during the service of their duties, that two of these elders took notice of Susanna during her daily walks in the garden.¹¹⁴ As the two Elders continued to watch Susanna on her walks each day, their minds were overcome with lust, and they began to desire her. They were so overwhelmed by their temptations that they intended to possess her, and yet each Elder was so ashamed of his lust that neither knew of the other's torment. "And they watched eagerly, day

¹¹³ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," 121.

¹¹⁴ Daniel 13:1-6 (RSVCE).

after day, to see her.”¹¹⁵ On one occasion at midday, the two Elders independently informed the rest of their colleagues that they would return home for their midday meal, but upon meeting one another on their way, each inquired of the other the reason for their departure. Both Elders confessed their lust for Susanna and agreed to a collaborative scheme where they would approach her the next time they found her alone.¹¹⁶

One afternoon, unaware that the Elders were hidden in the garden watching her, Susanna decided to take her bath outside. She instructed her two maids: ““Bring me oil and ointment and shut the garden doors so that I may bathe.””¹¹⁷ Once her maids left her, Susanna presumably unclothed herself and began to bathe. Upon seeing Susanna alone and, what is more, unexpectedly naked, the Elders rushed from hiding and approached her. They addressed her by saying, ““Look, the garden doors are shut, no one sees us, and we are in love with you; so give your consent, and lie with us. If you refuse, we will testify against you that a young man was with you, and this was why you sent your maids away.””¹¹⁸ The apocryphal account only briefly characterizes Susanna’s response, indicating that she sighed deeply and replied “I am hemmed in on every side. For if I do this thing, it is death for me; and if I do not, I shall not escape your hands. I choose not to do it and to fall into your hands, rather than to sin in the sight of the Lord.”¹¹⁹ Without providing much detail of what happens next, the story continues by reporting that Susanna cried for help which was followed by the Elders’ accusation of Susanna’s adultery. Responding to the calls, the household servants rushed into the garden, listened to the

¹¹⁵ Daniel 13:12 (RSVCE).

¹¹⁶ Daniel 13:7-14 (RSVCE).

¹¹⁷ Daniel 13:17 (RSVCE).

¹¹⁸ Daniel 13:19-21 (RSVCE).

¹¹⁹ Daniel 13:22-23 (RSVCE).

accusations made by the Elders, and were filled with shame upon hearing of Susanna’s alleged infidelity.

The following day, the Elders presented their case against Susanna to an adjudicatory assembly: “Then the two Elders stood up in the midst of the people, and laid their hands upon her head. And she, weeping, looked up toward heaven, for her heart trusted in the Lord.”¹²⁰ The Elders claimed that as they were walking in the garden, they saw Susanna fornicating with a young man, and when they tried to arrest him, the young man overpowered them and escaped. Based on the reputation and credibility of the Elders, the assembly believed the allegation against Susanna and condemned her to death.¹²¹ Upon her sentencing, Susanna cried out to God, saying: “O eternal God who dost discern what is secret, who are aware of all things before they come to be, thou knows that these men have borne false witness against me. And now I am to die! Yet I have done none of the things that they have wickedly invented against me!”¹²²

Just as Susanna was led away, God inspired Daniel to shout from the crowd: “Are you such fools, you sons of Israel? Have you condemned a daughter of Israel without examination and without learning the facts? Return to the place of judgment. For these men have borne false witness against her.”¹²³ After condemning the adjudication as corrupt, Daniel gave instructions that the Elders be detained and separated, after which he proceeded to cross-examine each of their accounts. Daniel rebuked the first Elder for his past wrongdoings, alleging that as a judge he has rendered unjust decisions which have condemned the innocent and freed the guilty. Daniel proceeded to cite God’s law, which prohibits the condemnation of a righteous and innocent person to death, and he inquired “Under what tree did you see them being intimate

¹²⁰ Daniel 13:34-35 (RSVCE).

¹²¹ Daniel 13:34-41 (RSVCE).

¹²² Daniel 13:42-43 (RSVCE).

¹²³ Daniel 13:48-49 (RSVCE).

with each other?””. The first Elder replied, ““Under a mastic tree.”” After summoning the second Elder, Daniel posed the same question to which the second Elder responded, ““Under an evergreen oak.”” With the discrepancy of testimony from the Elders’ own mouths, Daniel proved the Elders testified falsely against Susanna, compelling the assembly to adhere to the Law of Moses, convict the Elders, and sentence them to death.¹²⁴ In a dramatic twist of fate, the righteous Susanna received just deliverance while her unjust condemnation was transferred to the unrighteous Elders. As a result of their concupiscent coveting of Susanna, their deceitful scheme to solicit sex, the concomitant perpetration of sexual assault, and their corrupt abuse of power to cover it up, the Elders, in the end, justly relieved Susanna of her condemnation and became her substitution.

2.3 THE PICTORIAL TRADITION

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Low Countries, the story of Susanna and the Elders was one of the most popular representations of biblical history. Not only did it afford artists the opportunity to demonstrate their pictorial prowess in depicting the female nude, it also paired such an image with a celebration of the lauded female Christian virtues, chastity and its sister-virtue, marital fidelity among them. Implicit in the visualization and viewing of the female nude in the context of the Susanna and the Elders narrative is the conscious position of both artist and beholder which allows each to act as a proxy Elder figure who confronts the same temptation and dilemmas faced by the Elders portrayed in the narrative. No other painting calls attention to this point quite as emphatically as Rembrandt’s painting of 1636 where the Elders are so well concealed in the bushes that it is almost as if they are absent [Fig. 2-1]. Instead of directing her

¹²⁴ Daniel 13:56-62 (RSVCE).

startled response to the Elders, Susanna addresses the viewer directly with surprise and fear.¹²⁵

Preceding Rembrandt's painting, of course, is a whole host of northern representations including those by Goltzius and Lastman. Undoubtedly, it is the moral architecture of the story and its self-reflexive nature, encountered by the artist visualizing the narrative and by the beholder viewing it, that made the story popular in the Low Countries — and not only for its moral didacticism but also for the visual stimulation it provided art lovers.¹²⁶

2.3.1 VIEW OF THE VOYEUR

Given its popularity, the pictorial tradition comprised many precedents for portraying the story of Susanna and the Elders, some of which Goltzius surely consulted. Because the typical representations of the story are organized around the interaction between figures, the numerous examples from the pictorial tradition lend themselves to categorization based on the description of how the figures relate to one another. One type of representation can be categorized as largely voyeuristic. These examples portray Susanna as unaware of the Elders who lurk with lustful anticipation. In some examples of this type, the artist conveys great distance between the Elders and Susanna, as Lucas van Leyden demonstrates in his print of c. 1506-1510 [Fig. 2-2]. In Lucas' image, the Elders are situated in a shallow foreground space described as a wooded outcropping located high above the garden of Joachim's palatial estate. From their vantage point, they are comfortably able to view Susanna sitting at the water's edge, innocently soaking her feet in the water. The narrative moment which Lucas portrays occurs early in the story when

¹²⁵ See Eric Jan Sluijter, "Rembrandt's Early Paintings of the Female Nude: Adromeda and Susanna," in *Rembrandt and His Pupils: Papers given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, 2-3 October 1992*, ed. Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1993), 31-54.

¹²⁶ Eric Jan Sluijter, "Susanna and the Elders," in *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 113.

the two Elders begin to plot their scheme as they lust after Susanna from afar. Susanna remains clothed and unaware of the Elders' plotting, and there is quite some distance to be covered before a threat of physical confrontation is imminent. Absent is the overt sexual tension facilitated by an emphatic, nude Susanna who occupies the immediate foreground, directly confronting the viewer with sexual temptation. In the example by Lucas, the focus is on the Elders and the plotting of their deceitful scheme.

Similar elements may be found in Jan Massys' painting dated to 1564 [Fig. 2-3]. While Massys closes the distance between the figures, a similar separation between Susanna and the Elders continues. Susanna, who sends away her maid-servants and begins to remove her clothes, remains unaware of the Elders' presence. Massys depicts the Elders hiding behind a single tree, representative of the concealing foliage indicated in the narrative text while also alluding to Daniel's line of questioning during his conviction of the Elders. Massys follows Lucas' lead in representing the Elders watching and plotting from their hiding spot, but he combines this voyeuristic scheming with the source of their affections, a beautiful and innocent Susanna who unclothes as she prepares to bathe. Nevertheless, the interaction between Susanna and the Elders cannot be described as physical or dialogic.¹²⁷

2.3.2 A PHYSICAL ALTERCATION

A primarily physical confrontation between the figures characterizes a different image type found in other representations of the story. In images of this type, artists choose to depict a narrative moment subsequent to the Elders' plotting in the bushes. What is portrayed is the moment after Susanna has denied the Elders' solicitation of sex in which the Elders now attempt

¹²⁷ While the voyeurism demonstrated by the Elders in these images has an inextricable implication of the physical, there is no actual physical contact between the figures.

to subdue her by force. While the artist incorporates some conversational elements in how he characterizes the interaction between figures, these dialogic elements are incidental to the physical confrontation. This dynamic is seen most notably when Susanna screams as she pushes away the Elders who attempt to grab her. There are several examples of this type, including prints by Antoon Wierix (II) (1579-before 1604 and 1579-before 1611), a design by Maarten de Vos engraved by Hans Collaert (I) (1579), and a composition designed by Frans Floris and engraved by Pieter van der Heyden (1556) [Figs. 2-4 – 2-7]. The prints by Antoon Wierix are the most dramatic iterations of this type and provide an example of just how distinctive this representation of the narrative can be.

In his print of sometime between 1579 and 1604, Antoon Wierix exclusively focuses his visualization of the story on the Elders' physical assault of Susanna [Fig. 2-4]. The garden fountain in which Susanna bathes occupies the foreground, with the garden itself placed in the middle ground and Joachim's palatial estate located in the background. Running from the garden is one of Susanna's maid-servants who gestures emphatically to her colleague already approaching the back entrance of the house. Presumably she knows what Antoon visualizes in the foreground: the Elders are physically assaulting Susanna. Antoon shows both Elders, having entered from the left, now grabbing and restraining Susanna. One of the Elders grasps Susanna's right wrist and the other clutches his arm around her torso.¹²⁸ Antoon describes the Elder closest to the viewer with an open mouth, presumably speaking to Susanna and instructing her to submit and remain silent. Antoon's placement of the Elder's mouth, however, suggests that the Elder also intends to orally stimulate Susanna's breast. In her effort to free herself, Susanna arches her body away from them and leans her head backward, releasing an exasperated cry and attempting

¹²⁸ For a study on how the representation of bound wrists indicate sexual assault and rape, see Diane Wolfthal, "'A Hue and a Cry': Medieval Rape Imagery and Its Transformation." *The Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 39–64.

to pry off the Elder's hand around her abdomen. She writhes and contorts her upper body in the struggle. Distinct from the other examples representing this story, Antoon characterizes the interaction between Susanna and the Elders as a purely tactile and physical action where speech and expressions of emotion are merely incidental.

2.3.3 A PRESENTATION OF ARGUMENT

A third representational type was produced almost exclusively in Haarlem and visualizes the story by portraying the figures engaged in conversation. While speech was incidental to the physical confrontation in the preceding type of representation, in this type, it is the visualization of speech rather than physical activity that conveys a rhetorical relationship between Susanna and the Elders. This characterization of the story is found notably in prints and paintings by Maarten van Heemskerck, Hendrick Goltzius, and Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem. In Heemskerck's design engraved by Dirk Coornhert of 1551, the focus of the image is purely directed towards the dialogue shared between Susanna and the Elders [Fig. 2-8]. The manner in which Heemskerck describes the conversational element, however, is revealed in how he treats the physical interaction between the figures.

His treatment of Susanna diverges from the pictorial tradition in that he positions Susanna sitting on the fountain's wall and turning her unclothed body away from the viewer. Despite the sensual nature of a nude female back, this positioning of the figure offers less distraction than an unclothed and reclined Susanna whose face and exposed breast face the viewer.¹²⁹ Moreover, he does not portray the Elders as physically aggressive, but rather he describes them in the process

¹²⁹ Ingeniously, Heemskerck includes a fountain sculpture informed by classical antiquity, justifying the inclusion of such overt nudity while also providing the viewer with a more seductive view of the female body, which the Elders currently enjoy of Susanna.

of delivering their proposal. The Elder on the right stands with his right foot firmly planted while his left rests on the ball of his foot. His right hand hangs on his chest and clutches his garment with his index finger pointing towards his heart. His left hand features an open palm positioned towards the ground, directing one's attention to his resolute stance. Heemskerck describes this figure with a declamatory posture. With firm conviction, the Elder proclaims his desires which he argues generate from his heart. The Elder on the left acts as a promoter. He leans towards Susanna with a stern gaze and dramatically points to his associate, imploring Susanna's close attention to his declaration of affection. It is to this dialogic prompt that Susanna turns and directs her attention. A similar iteration of this conversational confrontation occupies the background of his print engraved by Philips Galle c. 1560-1570 [Fig. 2-9]. In much the same way, the Elders approach Susanna with hands extended in speech, while Susanna turns, directs her attention to their pronouncements, and extends her own hand in dialogic response.

This mode of visualizing the story through conversational exchange pioneered by Heemskerck is followed and modified by Goltzius and his friend and colleague Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem. In c. 1600-1625, Jan Saenredam engraved a design by Goltzius depicting a similar emphasis on the dialogue between the figures, but this example by Goltzius features a composition that uniquely emphasizes the complexities of what the Elders say and what Susanna hears [Fig. 2-10]. Goltzius positions the three figures so that their faces are aligned on a strong horizontal axis with all three looking to their left. Susanna sits on a grassy bank of the garden fountain basin. Facing the viewer, who is also positioned on the bank, she demonstrates a pose evocative of the Medici Venus, grasping her garment between her legs with one hand and covering her breast with the other. With a serene and meditative demeanor, she casts her gaze away from the Elders and upward toward the sky. Goltzius' Susanna is not the

unaware Susanna of Jan Massys, nor is she the flailing and screaming Susanna of Antoon Wierix. She is a composed Susanna whose response is informed by the Elders who lean over the wall behind her. Goltzius represents the Elders' lustful arousal as he describes the Elder on the right with wide-open eyes and a piercing gaze directed intensely at Susanna. The Elder on the left leans in front of his associate and, with his right hand over his heart, his head tilted to the left, and his lips parted, he extends his right hand to capture Susanna's attention and deliver his argument. In positioning the Elder's left hand extending past Susanna's body, Goltzius is keen to emphasize the Elder's rhetorical aspiration. At the particular narrative moment which Goltzius depicts, the Elder is neither engaged in grabbing Susanna's body nor in binding her wrists. Instead, as Goltzius has described him, the Elder wishes only to put forth his argument, namely that he and his colleague are so overwhelmed by Susanna's beauty that they urgently desire intimacy with her. The rhetorical nature of Goltzius' representation of the story, which demands consideration of what the Elders say and how Susanna responds, offers a more complex and thorough telling of the biblical history than the preceding examples. Moreover, it improves on Heemskerck, who merely incorporated conversation, and instead attempts more fully to explore the rhetorical nature of that conversation as it is informed by the motivations and intentions of the parties involved.

Undoubtedly, this print was a touchstone for Goltzius' two paintings of 1607 and 1615, which will be discussed in detail later, but it also reveals a collegial exchange with the Susanna images by Cornelis van Haarlem made around the same time. In a composition painted by Cornelis in c. 1600-1602 and engraved in a corresponding print by Jacob Matham in 1599, one sees several common elements featured in Goltzius' print [Figs. 2-11]. Similar to Goltzius' composition, one sees the same horizontal axis on which Cornelis organizes each face of the

three figures. Similarly, Cornelis gives Susanna the pose of the Medici Venus and places her closest to the viewer. Arranging each Elder behind and on either side of Susanna, Cornelis also shares Goltzius' interest in equipping one Elder with an unwavering lustful gaze and characterizing the other as rhetorically attempting to persuade Susanna of the merits of their solicitation. Visualizing the speaking Elder making his argument by literally enumerating his points, Cornelis describes the Elder pointing into the palm of his hand as if physically to locate the evidence supporting his argument. In response to the Elders' presence and their proposal, Susanna is unable to look at them. Instead, she looks heavenward and weeps. All of these elements feature in both Goltzius' and Cornelis' depictions of the story and indicate their commitment to a mode of image-making characterized by a dependency on rhetoric and a demand for consultation with the biblical text. To understand this mode of image-making and especially the approach Goltzius demonstrates in his paintings of the subject, one must consider how local rhetoricians contemporary with Goltzius treated this same rhetorical situation in their versions of the biblical narrative.

2.4 THE RHETORICIANS' PLAY *TSPEEL VAN SUSANNA*

Offering a unique portrayal of Daniel chapter 13 is the rhetoricians' play *Tspeel van Susanna* which was performed during a competition in Hasselt on September 24, 1607, the same year as Goltzius' first painting of the subject.¹³⁰ In order to consider the analogous elements between this drama by the rhetoricians and the paintings by Goltzius and Lastman, a paraphrase of the play is required. As in any staging of a narrative, plot development and dramatic decision-making are mutually determinative; because this particular play centers on the same narrative

¹³⁰ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," 184. The play was performed again in 1637.

moment in the same biblical story as the paintings, it provides an excellent point of comparison for evaluating dramatic construction in word and image. The pictorial decisions made by Goltzius and Lastman are directly comparable to those made by the playwright. To understand the rhetoricians' approach more fully and draw parallels to Goltzius and Lastman's methods of depicting the story, I will discuss at length the progression of significant scenes in the play. This will serve as a preface to a fuller consideration of how Goltzius and Lastman pursue a similar approach. Before continuing, however, it should be reiterated that a portrayal of narrative steeped in rhetoric unfolds sequentially, and in the analysis of the rhetoricians' play, I provide a detailed ekphrasis to demonstrate the progressive effect of the playwright's use of rhetoric in the context of his dramatic storytelling. In both the plays and paintings highlighted in this dissertation, one encounters rhetorical discourse that unfolds in time and space, and it requires a moment-to-moment analysis. The way the rhetorical process unfolds is as important as the argument it puts forth.

2.4.1 STANDARDS FOR MARRIAGE: FORESHADOWING THE MORAL ARGUMENT

During the performance of *Tspeel van Susanna*, the stage would have been organized with several compartments representing different locations relevant to different moments in the narrative, such as Joachim and Susanna's garden, the dungeon where Susanna is kept prior to her trial, the courthouse where the trial occurs, and other such venues. The play begins with the two Elders, named Achas and Sedechias, joined on stage by Joachim, and a chamberlain. In this opening scene, both Achas and Sedechias speak to Joachim with exhortations, celebrating the institution of marriage by asserting its joys, burdens, and virtues, as well as its demand for honesty, integrity, and fidelity.

Achas

*Myn heeren, aengesien dat why na u playsantie
met Gode aenvert hebt, na slans usansie,
die hauwelycke ordonantie voor een joeushyt,
soe onderhoud eerlycke aliantie
en set rechtverdich als een balansie.
Goy accordantie hebt duer u hueshyt,
scout alle quaede aventureushyt,
geen curieushyt en laet u bevangen,
eert den hauwelycken staet met reyn amorueshyt.
...
scout quay eeden, wilt doch niet sweren,
metter rechtverdichyt wilt u generen.*

My lords, since it has pleased you to accept
Before God, according to the custom of the country,
The ordinance of marriage as a joyous burden,
So maintain an honest alliance
And be scrupulous as a balance.
Let your moral sense inspire harmony;
And avoid all bad, erroneous impulses;
Do not let yourself be led astray by curiosity,
Honor the state of matrimony with pure love.
...
Shun false oaths and do not swear.
Conduct yourself according to justice.¹³¹

These are the very first words spoken on stage, indicating the playwright's intent to remind the audience that a marriage covenant demands a certain standard of conduct. While Achas' introductory exhortation is a conceptual explanation of what marriage requires, Sedechias' admonition is more specific. He warns Joachim, "*Gheen maechden en wilt ontreenen, / want een vercleenen waer u nakende.* [Do not violate virgins, / because you will risk humiliation.]"¹³² Out of the very mouths of the Elders, who will later violate these standards, the playwright

¹³¹ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 1-15.

¹³² Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 26-27.

establishes the moral standards advocated by the play, the subversion of which will facilitate the plot's conflict.

Joachim responds to the advice of his judges by acknowledging the wisdom of their words and explaining that his wife, Susanna, is so beautiful and virtuous that his marriage is free from such concerns.¹³³ Joachim then asks the chamberlain to summon Susanna who joins the group on stage. With the Elders and the chamberlain observing, Susanna and Joachim declare their love for each other. Susanna displays her humility in expressing her feelings of unworthiness in being the wife of such a virtuous man. Joachim responds by recognizing her own virtue which spurs him on to love and honor her all the more.¹³⁴ Concluding the first scene, this dialogue is a profession of love that complements the Elders' expository standards of a marriage covenant.

2.4.2 INTRODUCTION OF THE *SINNEKENS* AND THEIR CONSPIRACY TO UNDERMINE SUSANNA

Following this conversation between Joachim and Susanna, the play indicates that Susanna and the chamberlain have exited the stage and Joachim and the Elders have entered the courthouse to carry out their duties. After the clearing of the stage, the next scene begins with the arrival of the *sinnekens*, Evil Suggestion [*Quaet ingeven*] and Carnal Desire [*Vleeschelycke begertte*], who begin to discuss their devilish plot. Employed frequently throughout the play, the playwright uses *parenthesis* to emphasize that the nefarious nature of these creatures necessitates Susanna's downfall. The playwright often uses *parenthesis* to make explicit what is otherwise left implicit, and it is a way to direct the audience's attention and emphasize a point. It functions here to emphasize the nature of the *sinnekens* and the correspondence between their behavior and their names. As Susanna embodies virtue, piety, and marital fidelity, Evil Suggestion,

¹³³ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 20-46.

¹³⁴ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 49-78.

embodying the lustful temptation that persuades the Elders, and Carnal Desire, embodying the Elders' base desire for sexual fulfillment, are irresistibly compelled to destroy her. By interrupting their speech with asides of emphasis, the playwright uses *parenthesis*, imploring the audience to discern the correlation between their names and the actions for which they advocate and perform.

Evil Suggestion [*Quaet ingeven*]

*In dit huys, siet,
Daer woent een die scoenste creature:
Soe jent, soe fray, soe net van statuere.
Ter werelt en machmen vinden haers gelycke.
En omdat ick heet — hoort dees practycke! —
Quaet Ingeven, brocht icxse gern te valle,
By uwen rade.*

In this house. See,
There lives the most beautiful creature,
So charming, so lovely, with such a neat figure,
There's no one like her anywhere
And because I am called — don't miss this —
Evil Suggestion, I'm all for bringing her down,
If you'll help me.¹³⁵

By means of *parenthesis*, Evil Suggestion alerts the audience to his sinister proposal to ruin Susanna. Of course, as evidenced by the *sinneken*'s name, it is unsurprising that the details of the deviant scheme derive from Carnal Desire.

Carnal Desire [*Vleeschelycke begertte*]

*Laetet bolleken drayen!
Ghy weet wel hoe sy dagelycx coemt roseren
In haeren hoff en alle vruecht ordineren
Daer sy uut raept alle solaeceringe.
Dus als sy coemt, hoort myn imagineringe,
Dan sullen wy iemanden vast omgorden*

¹³⁵ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 90-96.

En gespen die muts.

Let's set the ball rolling.
 You know how she comes every day
 Into the garden to enjoy herself,
 Which gives her lots of pleasure:
 Well, when she comes — listen to my scheming —
 Then we'll set about sewing her up
 And closing the trap as well.¹³⁶

Again, by the playwright's use of *parenthesis*, the *sinneken* alerts the audience to his intentions and aspirations to fulfill his bodily appetites. The best plan to destroy Susanna, Carnal Desire suggests, is to allow the image of her beauty to seduce and arouse wicked and unholy desires in anyone who would see her. In response, Evil Suggestion is eager to know who might be an appropriate candidate for such a plot and impatiently enquires about the matter. Carnal Desire explains that the two Elders, who the audience has previously seen on stage, could stumble upon her taking a bath in the garden. During such a moment, Evil Suggestion would encourage the Elders' indulgence of impure thoughts and sexually immoral desires.

At this point, Sedechias appears again on stage, having come out of his house. While the *sinnekens* are hiding in the bushes, he launches into a monologue expressing his love for Susanna, at the end of which Achas arrives on stage and launches into his own profession of love. With all four characters remaining on stage, the playwright intends the audience to understand the *sinnekens* as embodiments of the vices they personify – just as their names indicate. As they externalize these sinful propensities as visual images to the audience, they also impress these images on the minds of Sedechias and Achas. After confessing to one another that they both desire Susanna, the Elders agree to collaborate and arrange to hide in the garden where they wait for Susanna to bathe:

¹³⁶ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 105-111.

Achas

*Al goet. Wy sullen die saeck tsamen met sorgen dryven,
malcanderen hulp doen en aenleggen wysselyck,
opdat wy in ons eer blyven prysselyck.
Sy mueghen wel tsamen loten, fyn,*

All right, we'll do it, organize this carefully together;
We'll help each other, and wisely,
So that our honor won't be in doubt.
We may well throw our lot in together,¹³⁷
...

Sedechias

*Wy sullen stillekens in den bomgaert wandelen,
haer daer verbeyen als sy haer gaet wassen.
Die rest sullen wy na gelegthyt passen.
Cost was can: wy sullense bewelmen.*

We will stealthily hang around in the orchard
And wait for her when she comes for her bath.
And the rest we will make up as we go along.
Come what may, we'll take her by storm.¹³⁸

As they hide in the bushes, Evil Suggestion and Carnal Desire express pleasure that the Elders will execute their scheme, but Evil Suggestion speculates the plan will fail because of Susanna's moral and devotional virtue: "*Ick vrees, dat hun niet en sal gelucken: / Susanna is soe eerbaer en rein van herten... Sy loept terstont tot Godt haer gequel stacken, / Hem dienen en bidden, dit mocht wel quaet spel maken.* [I'm afraid they won't be in luck. / Susanna is much too honorable and pure of heart...She'll instantly appeal to God with her lament, / Serving him and praying: that'll do us down.]¹³⁹ Carnal Desire encourages Evil Suggestion not to worry: "*Ke! En ben ick niet vol van quaeder perten? / Ick sal tvier stocken met myn geveerte / en vullense totten*

¹³⁷ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 167-170.

¹³⁸ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," ll. 173-176.

¹³⁹ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," ll. 183-184; 190-191.

caecken met vleeschelycke begeerte [Well, I have only just started. / I will heat up the fire with my bellows, / And fill them up to the eyeballs with carnal desire.]¹⁴⁰

2.4.3 THE APPROACH OF THE ELDERS

A stage direction indicates that a *pausa* occurs next. This dramaturgical feature is a small pause in the play during which the stage was likely cleared and a musical interlude was played before the introduction of the next episode.¹⁴¹ The following scene begins with Susanna speaking to her two servants, expressing her wish to bathe in the garden and instructing them to fetch the bath oil and close the doors to the garden. Once these services are accomplished, the two Elders, still hidden in the garden, verbalize and presumably visualize their fervid lechery.

Achas

Siedyse wel sitten?

Look at her sitting there.

Sedechias

Hebt u handen!

Let's get our hands on her!

Achas

Het sal nu juyst vitten.

Now's the right moment.

Sedechias

Wy hebben broot in die tanden!

¹⁴⁰ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," ll. 185-187.

¹⁴¹ For a discussion about the *pausa* as a typical feature in rhetoricians' plays, see W.M.H. Hummelen, "*Pausa and Selete in the Bliscapen*," in *Urban Theatre in the Low Countries, 1400-1625*, ed. Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 53-76.

We've got bread between our teeth!¹⁴²

Indicated by the dialogue, the audience would have likely witnessed an image on stage that recalls several examples from the northern pictorial tradition where the Elders are depicted viewing and lusting from afar. Recall Lucas van Leyden's print of c. 1506-1510 and Massys' painting of 1564 [Fig. 2-2 & 2-3]. Suggested by the reference to bread between one's teeth, the playwright has effectively described the Elders' burning passion as a ravenous and gluttonous appetite that cannot be restrained or satiated.

Under the visual influence of the vices as, embodied by the *sinnekens*, the Elders develop the next phase of their plan. They agree to follow Sedechias' proposal who suggests "*Wy sin haer te sterck: / die minste van ons tween soudse alleen dwingen* [We are too strong for her. / The weaker of us could force her.]"¹⁴³ What occurs next is the Elders' approach towards Susanna, her recognition of their presence, and the ensuing dialogic exchange wherein the Elders propose their implacable dilemma. As will be discussed later, this scene of the Elders' arrival and their initial verbal engagement of Susanna is the moment around which Lastman organizes his painting of 1614 [Fig. 2-29].

A stage direction indicates that the Elders come out of hiding. After conversing briefly with one another, they approach Susanna, surprising her as they speak.

Sedechias

Nu, voert ghy dwort.

Now you do the talking.

Achas

¹⁴² Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," ll. 211-214. The translation, "We've got bread between our teeth!", deviates from the published translation "We've got the bit between our teeth!"

¹⁴³ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," ll. 216-217.

*Ick salt bestieren.
Dus wensch ick, dat wy mogen hebben behouwen reyse.
Godt gruet u, vrouwe.*

I'll manage it.
And I wish that things will go our way.
God bless you, madam.

Susanna

*God loont u met peyse.
Myn herte beswyct met desen aenscauwen.
Hoe coemdy doch hier?*

God send you His peace.
My heart stops seeing them there.
Where did you spring from?¹⁴⁴

Naturally, Susanna is startled by their presence. Although her first instinct is to respond decorously, deferring to the Elders' authority and greeting them with politeness, she is very startled. The sudden appearance of the Elders has affected her to such a degree that the playwright uses the hyperbolic, analogical image of her heart collapsing to describe the heightened degree to which the Elders have frightened her. Her mind is so occupied by their unexpected indeed implausible presence that she has yet to question what purpose they might have.¹⁴⁵ Without providing any explanation, Ahas, who is so blinded by his lust and so eager to have Susanna, immediately launches into praising her beauty and proclaiming his love.¹⁴⁶ To this, Susanna retorts, "*Ghy syt verdoelt!* [You must be mad!]," but Sedechias supports his friend by earnestly pleading with Susanna, declaring how her beauty possesses them: "*Aenhoort ons kermen. Den noot dwinct ons verre boven natuere.* [Listen to our groaning. Our passion forces

¹⁴⁴ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," ll. 220-224. The translation, "My heart stops seeing them there," deviates from the published translation which says "My heart is in my mouth seeing them there."

¹⁴⁵ The image suggested from the playwright's dialogue suggests the 1614 painting of the story by Pieter Lastman, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

¹⁴⁶ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," ll. 225-231.

us to act unnaturally.]”¹⁴⁷ By reflecting on the nature and degree of this enchantment, Sedechias underscores Aachas’ proclamation of love, and he expresses his acknowledgement of and regret for their unnatural actions, almost petitioning her to release them mercifully from their misery. The dialogic nature of this encounter heightens the distinction between Susanna’s innocent but anxious sight of the Elders and the Elders’ lustful sight of Susanna. Having recovered only slightly from her initial shock, Susanna indirectly questions the propriety of their confession, proposing the rhetorical question, “*Waer meyndy doch te syne?*” [Where do you think you are?]”¹⁴⁸ It is certainly not the reply for which the Elders wished, and it forces them to present their desire more actively and directly.

In Lastman’s 1614 painting of the subject, as will become more apparent later in the chapter, the visualization of the story focuses on this scene in which the Elders arrive and offer their flatteries. Like the playwright, Lastman refrains from characterizing the scene as a moment of unbridled emotion and chaotic action wherein the Elders rush out and attack Susanna. Like the playwright, he visualizes the moment as a dialogic exchange: the Elders and Susanna speak, responding to one another, and in so doing they reveal their respective states of mind under the present circumstances. Some of the most significant correspondences that one will see in the subsequent close examination of the painting involve Lastman and the playwright’s appeal to decorum, the deference practiced by both parties to the exchange, and more significantly, the attention paid to how Susanna is caught off guard by the Elders’ arrival and her heightened sense of alarm at their presence.

¹⁴⁷ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” ll. 232-233.

¹⁴⁸ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” l. 234.

2.4.4 THE CONFRONTATION: THE ELDERS' PROPOSAL AND SUSANNA'S RESPONSE

What follows in the play is the playwright's escalation of the confrontation between Susanna and the Elders. First, the Elders present their lecherous scheme, followed by Susanna's response, including a reasoned deliberation of their proposal, her decision, and finally her exasperated shouts of "*Moort!* [Murder]" and "*Cracht!* [Rape!]," all of which are routinely interrupted by Susanna breaking away from the conversation and directly appealing to God. The playwright portrays the Elders' proposal as follows:

Achas

*O schoone creature!
Aengesien dat ghy hier alleen syt,
soe begeren wy — en om dat ghy soe reen syt —
met u, schoon lieff, ons genuchte heden.*

O, beautiful creature,
Seeing that you are here alone
We desire — and because you are so pure —
To have our will with you, you beautiful thing.

Susanna *staet op.* stands up.
Ist dat u meeninghe?

Is that what you are after?

Sedechias

*Jaet, soetste van seden.
My en raet wat ons in dende costen sal.*

Yes, my virtuous sweet,
And I don't care a damn what it will cost us in the end.

Achas

Doeget doch willichlyck!

You've simply got to give in

Sedechias

*Ja, sonder gescal.
Oft neen, wy sullent dan met fortsen crygen!*

Yes, and quietly too;
If not we'll take it by force.

Achas

*Oft wy cocken u noch bitter vygen
en seggen openbaerlyck — hoort ons vermonden —
dat wy u hebben in overspel gevonden.
Soe suldy met allen u vrinden bescaempt syn
en tot een scandelycke doot gepraemt syn.
Ghy weet wel — Wat? Wildy als die dove sneven? —
dat men ons, mannen, sal geloeve geven.
Maer wildy onsen wille te desen keere dryven,
soe suldy gerust en in u eere blyven.
Wat segdy?*

Or else we shall cook you even more bitter figs.
And say publicly — listen to our revelation —
That we caught you out in adultery.
So then you, with all your friends, will be disgraced
And dishonorable death will be inflicted upon you.
You know very well — do you want to die a fool? —
That people will believe us men.
But if you yield to our demands
Then you will be left in peace and honor.
So what's it to be?¹⁴⁹

Achas and Sedechias propose two options to Susanna: she can indulge the Elders' passions and fornicate with them, supposedly escaping foolish humiliation and death, or subject herself to the Elders' credible and public accusations that she has been unfaithful to her righteous and doting husband Joachim, as a result of an adulterous affair.

What one will find in both of Goltzius' paintings is a similar mode of pictorial organization to what one would have seen on stage [Figs. 2-12 & 2-13]. In the later examinations of the paintings, one will learn that like the playwright, Goltzius fashions his Elders in the mid-action of presenting their indecent proposal and attempting to persuade Susanna of its merits while also

¹⁴⁹ Strietman and Happé, "Tspeel van Susanna," ll. 235-251.

making threats against her. Again, corresponding to both Lastman and the playwright, Goltzius represents the moment as a dialogic exchange instead of a scene of unmitigated emotion or chaotic physical action. Goltzius follows the playwright's dramaturgy and represents a complex moral dilemma by visualizing the conversation wherein the dilemma is presented. Both the playwright and Goltzius are motivated to parse this highly rhetorical situation: upon hearing the Elder's solicitation, Susanna must weigh the information received and make a crucial decision.

After the playwright has Sedechias and Achas make their proposal and threaten extortion, Susanna must now formulate a reasoned response. What does one do in such a situation? Over the previous twenty-eight lines, the playwright charts the development of Susanna's awareness and its attendant emotions. As the revelation of her new reality dawns on her, she moves from a position of deference and respect to a recognition of the Elders' intent to extort her for sex. She can either acquiesce, willingly commit adultery against her husband and God, and subject herself to horror of rape, twice, or she can refuse the Elders by exercising her virtue and evading sin before God – almost certainly, however, she would suffer public humiliation, the destruction of her reputation, the disgrace of her family, and a painfully brutal death. It is an emotionally complex moment in the narrative, and the playwright characterizes it as follows. Responding to Achas' question, "*Wat segdy?* [So what's it to be?]," the playwright uses *apostrophe* to begin Susanna's reply.¹⁵⁰ Instead of directly answering the Elder's question, Susanna breaks from the conversation and addresses God. So overcome with angst and terror, Susanna must, for a moment, remove herself from the unthinkable reality of these two old men extorting and sexually assaulting her. So overwhelmed by the futility of her predicament, she must look outside of her immediate sphere of existence for remedy. In both of Goltzius' paintings of the subject, as one

¹⁵⁰ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," l. 251.

will see, Susanna demonstrates this *apostrophe* by turning her attention from conversing with the Elders to directing her prayers toward heaven. Over the course of her six-line response, she addresses God twice, petitioning His aid, and her husband once, wishing he would know the truth of such injustice.

Susanna

*O hemelsche vader, u hulpe doet my verwerven.
Ick moet God vertornen oft scandelyck sterven.
Maer liever heb ick menschelycke scande
dan als overspelster te vallen in Gods handen.
O God, syt myn hulpe in dees benauthyt!
Och Joachim, lieff man, wist ghy die stouthyt
aen u eerbaer vrouwe van dese boeven!*

O heavenly father, please grant me your help.
Either I anger God, or I die shamefully.
But I prefer to incur human condemnation
Rather than submit to God's wrath for adultery.
O God, be my aid in this anguish!
O Joachim, beloved husband, if you knew of this malice
Inflicted upon your honorable wife by these villains!¹⁵¹

After Susanna denies the Elders, choosing to honor God and remain faithful to her husband, a stage direction, as well as the subsequent line which Achas speaks, indicates that the Elders physically restrain Susanna by her arms. The Elders remind her of the futility in her screaming as she cries out “*Moort! Moort! Moort!* [Murder! Murder! Murder!]” and “*Cracht! Cracht!* [Rape! Rape!]” They even encourage her to continue.¹⁵² Having failed to dissuade the Elders in their physical assault, Susanna returns to her apostrophic appeal to God: “*O God, wilt doch die erde ontphuycken, / Liever dan ick tegen u gebot doe.* [O God, please let the earth swallow me, /

¹⁵¹ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” ll. 252-257.

¹⁵² Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” ll. 259-265.

Rather than I break your commandment.]”¹⁵³ The invocation of God upsets the Elders who, in response, convey to Susanna their serious intentions by detailing their plan with additional specifics.

Achas

*Ja, sluytet slot toe!
Ick wedde, men sal u anders regeren.
Wy sullen seggen, hoe ghy hebt gaen roseren
met eenen jongelinck van xx jaren
en hy u verfortseerde — dit sullen wy verclaren —
op dees plaetse, alst nu wel is blyckelyck.
En doen wyen saghen met u gelyckelyck
soe hadden wy hem gerne gebrocht ter scanden,
maer hy ontliiep ons uuten handen.
Dit sullen wy elcken te kinnen geven.*

Shut your mouth!
Or else it will be worse for you afterwards.
We shall tell people how you’ve been dallying
With a young man, twenty years old;
And how he forced you — we’ll explain it so —
On this very spot, as is now quite obvious.
And when we saw him with you in that way,
We would willingly have brought him to trial,
But he slipped through our hands:
We will make this clear to everyone.

Sedechias

Hoordyt, segt, vuyle?

Do you hear that, you bitch?¹⁵⁴

Susanna realizes that the Elders have complete control over her body. She recognizes that resistance would be futile and accepts that she, herself, cannot defeat them. It is in this moment of desperation that she extends to God her third and final plea of the scene.

¹⁵³ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” ll. 266-267.

¹⁵⁴ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” ll. 269-278.

Susanna

*O hemelsche vader verheven,
die elcken dleven hebt gegeven,
coemt my beneven eer ick verlast sy.
Ick sien, ten baet al niet gekeven.
Dus werd ick liever ter doot gedreven
en genoemen tleven — hier op past vry —
dan ick mesdoen soude.*

O heavenly Father above,
Who has given life to everyone,
Come to help me before I am hurt.
I can see it's useless to resist.
I would rather be brought to my death
And lose my life — hear my plea —
Than I should do wrong.¹⁵⁵

2.4.5 FALSE ACCUSATIONS AND PLEAS OF INNOCENCE

On the heels of Susanna's supplication, the Elders escalate their assault as a spoken line accompanied by a stage direction that indicates that they throw Susanna to the ground. She continues to scream which by this point has caught the attention of a servant standing outside the garden. At this moment in the play, the story transitions from the Elders' proposition and assault to the Elders' false accusation and Susanna's plea for her innocence. The Elders proceed to tell the servant how they were both passing the garden around midday and spotted a young man with Susanna "*doende als amoreuse pleghen* [doing what lovers like doing]."¹⁵⁶ Although the young man escaped, they argue, Susanna ought to be punished for violating her marriage covenant, and they proceed to place Susanna in the dungeon until Joachim is summoned to confront her.

What follows is a soliloquy which Susanna delivers while imprisoned. Presumably leaving Susanna alone in the dungeon, Achas and Sedechias return to the other compartments on stage,

¹⁵⁵ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," ll. 279-284.

¹⁵⁶ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," l. 317.

representing their respective homes. In order to intensify the drama of the moment, the playwright uses the rhythmic pattern of a refrain over the course of the next forty-two lines. The refrain (*refrein*) was the most popular and the highest regarded poetic form practiced by the rhetoricians, and it was frequently incorporated into rhetoricians' plays as narrative passages consisting of a collection of stanzas featuring the repetition of spoken lines.¹⁵⁷

In a posture of prayer, Susanna delivers the refrain to articulate and visualize her pious and righteous character amidst the desperate nature of her circumstances.¹⁵⁸ Again, the image of Susanna apostrophically appealing to God in prayer as an externalization of Susanna's piety and innocence is a feature both that the playwright and, as one will see, Goltzius use emphatically in their representations of the story. This instance is the fourth time the playwright has characterized Susanna looking towards heaven for deliverance. Indicative of her faith and submission to the Lord, Susanna begins her prayer by saying, "*O Adonay, God [O God Adonai].*"¹⁵⁹ Adonai is one of the Hebrew names for the Lord which primarily refers to God's sovereignty and describes the Lord's authority as a free exercise of His will in accomplishing His eternal purposes. She recognizes the Lord's authority in directing the outcome of her plight, and she implores both His mercy and justice. Twice, she invokes His merciful nature: "*die Godt der ontfermhertichyt syt [thou art God of mercy]*" and "*Weest myns ontfermich, aenhoort myn crairen [Have mercy on me, hear my prayer].*"¹⁶⁰ The playwright accompanies Susanna's

¹⁵⁷ Dirk Coigneau, "Poetry Onstage: The *Refrein* in Rederijker Drama," in *Controversial Poetry 1400-1625*, ed. Judith Kessler, Ursula Kundert, and Johan Oosterman (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 183-184.

¹⁵⁸ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 334-376. For a discussion on how the rhetoricians used rhyming techniques and rhyming patterns to merge lyricism and drama, see Dirk Coigneau, "Strofische vormen in het rederijkerstoneel," in *Spel in de Verte: Tekst, structuur en opvoeringspraktijk van het rederijkerstoneel, Bijdragen aan het colloquium ter gelegenheid van het emeritaat van W.M.H. Hummelen (Nijmegen, 25 Juni 1993)*, ed. Bart Ramakers (Gent: Koninklijke Soevereine Hoofdkamer van Retorica "De Fonteine," 1994), 17-25. and Coigneau, "Poetry Onstage: The *Refrein* in Rederijker Drama."

¹⁵⁹ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," line 334.

¹⁶⁰ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 335; 367.

recognition of God's mercy with ten instances of Susanna using a variation of the verb *troosten*: “*Vertroest my, erme, hout my bevryt. / Vertroest my nu, wantick bin benyt* [Console me, poor thing, sustain my liberty. / Console me now because I am beset by envy.]”; “*troost den mestroostighen in snyder noot* [Console the disconsolate in time of need]”; “*Troest den bedruchten, hoochste van rade* [Console the oppressed, you Spirit of Wisdom]”; “*Geeft my troost duer u milthyt groet* [Give me consolation through your great benevolence]”; “*troost den mestroestigen in snyder noot* [Console the disconsolate in time of need]”; *Troest my, arme gevanghene vrouwe* [Console me, wretched woman in prison]”; “*troest den mestroestigen in snyder noot* [Console the disconsolate in time of need]”; “*Ick bidts u, wilt my troest nu geven / want om troest soe roep ick ter uuterster noot* [I pray you now give me consolation / Because I call for consolation in my extremity.]”¹⁶¹ She acknowledges His merciful nature and then asks Him to demonstrate that mercy by granting her consolation. The playwright uses the repetition of her appeal rhetorically to emphasize her desperation and anxiety as she faces certain death precipitated by false testimony. Not only is the Lord merciful, as Scripture claims, He is also just, and so following her appeal for mercy, the playwright has Susanna appeal to the Lord for justice. In successive lines, Susanna repeatedly implores God to free her from this groundless charge:

Susanna

*Verlost my van desen bloedighen ghieren.
Verlost my, God, schoon van aenschouwe.
Verlost my uut desen tot mynen behouwe.
Verlost my van dees valsche dieren.*

Liberate me from these bloody vultures.
Liberate me, God, who art beautiful to behold.
Liberate me from this my salvation.

¹⁶¹ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 336-337; 346; 347; 357; 359; 360; 372; 375-376.

Liberate me from these false creatures.¹⁶²

Knowing her innocence of the alleged adultery, and knowing God knows of her innocence, Susanna petitions God to exercise His justice and free her from this adversity. In the meantime, however, she concludes her prayer in the dungeon by reiterating her need for mercy and consolation.

Following Susanna's soliloquy, the playwright includes a conversation between the *sinnekens*. Unfortunately, there are no stage directions indicating that they enter the stage, and it is unclear whether they have been watching Susanna deliver her prayer in the dungeon. The last moment the *sinnekens* are undoubtedly seen on stage is before the *pausa* at line 195, immediately preceding the scene where Susanna bathes in her garden. As is typical for the role of *sinnekens*, Evil Suggestion and Carnal Desire, reflect and comment on the events unfolding since they last spoke on stage – and in this way, they occupy the same position and articulate the same perspective as the audience who watch these events take place. They are very pleased by the success of their scheme. While they revel in the sufferings of Susanna, however, they concede that she is too pure to fall victim to their plan completely. They acknowledge that since the Elders will likely be exposed and condemned for their nefarious scheme, they should instead direct their efforts towards ruining the Elders.¹⁶³

2.4.6 SUSANNA'S TRIAL OF ADULTERY

Shortly thereafter, the Elders find Joachim and explain that his wife is locked in the dungeon because she has committed adultery.¹⁶⁴ Distressed and betrayed, Joachim is eager to speak with

¹⁶² Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 361-364.

¹⁶³ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 377-408.

¹⁶⁴ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," line 435.

Susanna, and while he, the Elders, and a crowd of people wait at the courthouse, the *sinnemens*, now serving as aides to the Elders, retrieve her from the dungeon and present her before the tribunal. As the *sinnemens* fetch her for the trial, Susanna speaks three times. Again, she extends a prayerful petition heavenward:

Susanna

*O godelycke secreten,
die hemel en erde gemaect hebt van nyt,
weest myns gedachtich in dit verdriet.
Den tyt die naect, cort is die uure.*

O divine mystery,
Which has made heaven and earth out of nothing,
Have pity on me in my sorrow.
The time is near, the hour is brief.¹⁶⁵

...

Susanna

*O geminde vrinden, wilt myns genadich wesen.
Ontfermt u mynder creatueren mits desen
want aders en pesen my nu verstyven.
In my is nu sulken rouwe geresen,
dat icx en mach in geenen dagen genesen,
duer tvalsch bedryven.*

O dearest friends, show mercy on me.
Have pity on my mortal state,
For my veins and muscles are stiffening.
Such sorrow is rising up in me,
That I shall not be cured of it in all my days,
Because of this cruel plot.¹⁶⁶

...

Susanna

Ick volge u nu; Godt moet my geleyen.

¹⁶⁵ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 483-485.

¹⁶⁶ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 488-493.

*Gode beveel ick my, dies al is machtich.
Ick bidt U, God, weest myns gedachtich.*

I'll follow you; may God now guide me.
I commend myself to almighty God.
I pray you, God, have mercy on me.¹⁶⁷

At each instance, the audience witnesses a distraught Susanna who periodically acknowledges and addresses her immediate physical surroundings while consistently apostrophizing God. Her incessant pleading annoys the *sinnekens* to the point that they respond by saying “*Nu, maket corts!* [Now hurry up!]” and “*Ja, stect u duere! U en sal niet baten popelen oft lesen.* [Go on, get a move on! / Praying or reading won't help you at all.]”¹⁶⁸

The choice by the playwright to utilize the repeated nature of the refrain in addition to the repeated apostrophic appeals delivered by Susanna reflect what one will see later as Goltzius' intentional pictorial choice to organize his version of the story. It will be argued later that Goltzius composes his portrayal of the narrative moment by representing a distraught Susanna appealing to God, while the Elders, motivated by sin (e.g., evil suggestion and carnal desire), attempt to persuade and chastise Susanna in a dialogic exchange similar to what the audience sees unfolding on stage. What is more significant, however, is that the playwright, by this point in the play, has arranged for Susanna to use *apostrophe* five times in her prayers to God, each time breaking away from her conversation with the Elders or just from her general surroundings. As these instances are interspersed with scenes of the Elders or the *sinnekens* deriding Susanna, the repetition of the prayers themselves as well as the repetition within the prayers create a repeated image on stage in which Susanna looks to heaven while the Elders stand nearby and

¹⁶⁷ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 498-500.

¹⁶⁸ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 486-487.

threaten her. This image, made emphatic by the playwright, provides the lynchpin for Goltzius' compositions of 1607 and 1615.

After the *sinnemens* escort Susanna to the courthouse, a trial begins before Joachim and the Elders. A reluctant Joachim listens to Susanna explain how the Elders surprised her while she prepared to bathe in the garden, how they attempted to rape her, and how, when she refused with screams for help, they concocted these false accusations of adultery against her. Then, frequently swearing on all that is holy and castigating Susanna as deceitful and wicked, Ahas and Sedechias both testify before Joachim that they caught Susanna fornicating with a young man while alone in the garden. The crowd present at the trial, represented on stage by the character Common People [*Tgemeyn volck*], responds intermittently amidst the Elders' testimonies, escalating the intensity of the scene by calling for Susanna's death: "*Sy moet gesteent worden!* [She should be stoned!]; "*Sy moet sterven!* [She has to die!]"¹⁶⁹ Immediately following these declarations, the play-text features a stage direction instructing Susanna to respond by weeping piteously on stage and Joachim to deliver his final verdict: "*Ja, tis verloren gepepen: ick geloove haer bat dan u alleene* [Yes, it's no making a song and dance; I believe them, rather than you on your own.]"¹⁷⁰

2.4.7 SUSANNA RESPONDS TO HER FATE

After the sentencing, Susanna's mother and father appear on stage. Over three long exchanges with her parents, the audience witnesses Susanna say her goodbyes, declare her marital faithfulness, and accept her death. Again, the playwright offers an image of a speaking Susanna who responds to her unjust circumstances as the focus of the audience's attention. In

¹⁶⁹ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 549; 558.

¹⁷⁰ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," line 559.

the first response to her mother, she attempts to quiet her mother's grief, assuring her that the accusations against her are false, that she is innocent, and that neither she nor her mother should accept the tribunal's worldly rebuke: "*Al moetick voer die werelt geblaemt dryven, / die op Godt betrou en sal nyt bescaemt blyven.* [Even though I may continue to be blamed by the world, / Those who trust in God shall not remain shamed.]"¹⁷¹ Susanna's mother prays that God would advocate for Susanna following Sedechias' instructions that Susanna be bound to the stake for her stoning. Susanna follows this prayer with her second response, delivering a twenty-three line speech wherein the first two-thirds she condemns the false judgment made against her and then describes her physical and emotional response to her fate:

Susanna

*hoe hebby by valsheden gegeven raet,
dat ick moet sterven in desen staet,
sonder myn schult oft sonder mesdaet!
Des my verdwynt alle myn gelaet
en alle vruecht my van den hertten slaet
duer die sententie die my int herte gaet,
want ick totter doot toe nu bin versmaet
onnoselycke by twee verraders quaet,
die in valscheden syn soe intrecaet,
dat men niet vinden mach haers gelycke.
Want sy syn in valshededn soe abstinaet,
wachtende na myn doot als een gierich fraet.
Des my die tranen loop en verre buyten dycke.*

How you have given a judgment by falsehood,
So that I must die in this condition
Without guilt and without crime!
All my composure disappears
And all joy slips away from my heart.
Now I am condemned to death
And innocently, by two evil traitors.
They are so intricate in their falsehood
That no one can find their like anywhere.
They are so obstinate in falsehood,

¹⁷¹ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 625-626.

Waiting now for my death with ghoulish desire.
So my tears now burst all bounds.¹⁷²

The playwright visualizes this moment in the narrative by having Susanna directly refer to the Elders who stand on stage next to her. She condemns them directly, and although she accepts her impending death, she loses her composure and weeps. Not only will one see Goltzius compose his version of the story by describing Susanna in a posture reflective of her repeated apostrophic appeals and responses to the Elders' verbal address, but he will also fashion his figures in a manner evocative of how the rhetoricians choose to stage this heart-wrenching scene. Goltzius positions the Elders on either side of Susanna as she accepts her fate with tears running down their face. In both his 1607 and 1615 compositions, Susanna is placed between the two Elders whom Goltzius describes as delivering their proposition and their threat of false accusations against her. Corresponding to Susanna's speech in the play, Goltzius' Susanna responds to these falsehoods by accepting death and bursting into tears.

True to the playwright's characterization of her graceful character, Susanna concludes her speech in the play by declaring her love and forgiveness to Joachim: "*Maer nochtans, so hout hy den hoochsten graet. / Al verlaet hy my als oneerbaer vuyl verwaet, / ick vergevet hem al, den soeten graenaet...* [But I hold him in greatest respect, / Even if he deserts me as if I were an outcast. / I forgive him everything, who is sweetest to me...]"¹⁷³ Her third response is a comparatively shorter ten-line speech in which she bids farewell to her parents. After her mother asks, "*O dochter, moety sterven?* [O daughter must you die?]," Susanna, resolved to her fate, answers "*Jaick, moeder, sonder myn scult...myn hert is soe cleyn geteest... Adieu vaeder, adieu moeder, syt droefhyt stakende: / God sal myn troost syn.* [Yes, mother, without being guilty...My

¹⁷² Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 643-655.

¹⁷³ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 659-661.

heart is now destroyed...Adieu, father! Adieu, mother! Cease your sadness; / God will be my consolation.]”¹⁷⁴

What is fascinating about the three addresses Susanna delivers to her parents are the responses by others present on stage. Unsurprisingly, Sedechias and Achas are impatient and continue their condemnation, saying things like “*Ten baet geen screyen, noch suchten, noch kermen, noch kussen* [It’s no use crying, nor sighing, nor groaning, nor kissing],” but interestingly one of the *sinnekens*, Evil Suggestion, addresses Susanna, pleading “*Ick bid u, wilt my doch die doot vergeven / die ick u aendoen moet voer u mesdaet* [I pray you, forgive me for the death / I must inflict on you for your crime.]”¹⁷⁵ Remarkably, in the midst of her unjust accusation and condemnation and in anticipation of her brutal death, Susanna forgives Evil Suggestion succinctly and gracefully, immediately replying, “*Ick vergeeft u gerne* [I gladly forgive you.]”¹⁷⁶ The stage image recalls the criminal crucified next to Christ who proclaims the innocence of Christ and asks Christ to remember him when he enters heaven.¹⁷⁷ “Truly, I say to you,” says Jesus, “today you will be with me in paradise.”¹⁷⁸ It is an image the playwright undoubtedly intends to raise in one’s mind as Susanna performs such an act of grace in her moment of unjust suffering. Not only has the playwright portrayed Susanna as a figure in distress, having lost her composure as she weeps, he also portrays her as a faithful wife and Christ-like saint, full of grace as she quickly forgives.

¹⁷⁴ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 667; 668; 673; 676-677.

¹⁷⁵ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 685; 690-691.

¹⁷⁶ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” line 692.

¹⁷⁷ Luke 23: 39-43 (RSVCE).

¹⁷⁸ Luke 23: 43 (RSVCE).

Ultimately, Susanna is bound to a stake, and while servants are seen on stage filling baskets with stones intended for her execution, she offers one final exhortation and prayer prior to the twist of the narrative.

Susanna

*O vrouwen, wacht u voer dees ipocryten!
Weechse van u, die u eere verbyten
want sy verwyten meer dan hun is kinlyck.
Weest doch versinlyck.
Benauthyt begint myn hertte te beryden,
den moet wilt my nu sincken.
Die doot begint my te bestryden.
O God, wilt mynder doch gedincken
want thertte sal verdrincken metter natueren.
Dus bevel ick myn siele U, God, als vuere.
Doet op die duere
van Uwen hemelschen rycke.*

O women, be on guard against such hypocrites!
Send away those who destroy your honor
Because they accuse you with no evidence.
Therefore be sensible.
Fear begins to take hold of my heart,
My courage begins to sink.
Death begins to overwhelm me.
O God, remember me in your thought,
Or else in the way of nature my heart will perish.
Thus I commend my soul to you, God, as before.
Open the door
Of your heavenly realm.¹⁷⁹

She begins by addressing the women in the crowd, represented by Common People (*Tgemeyn volck*), as well as those in the audience, imploring them to beware of and protect themselves against those with nefarious intentions. This admonition is uttered as her strength ebbs, and she admits to them and to herself her faltering resilience and courage. Yet, with one

¹⁷⁹ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 703-714.

last effort, she musters a final plea to God that He save her lest she die, and with that, she again commends her soul, accepts her fate, and longingly awaits her entrance through the gates of heaven.

2.4.8 THE INTERVENTION OF DANIEL AND THE SUMMARY OF MORAL ARGUMENTS

At the moment Susanna finishes her speech, the playwright directs Daniel to enter the stage for the first time, and in a matter of fourteen lines, Daniel arrests the Elders, alleging their corruption and Susanna's innocence. The remainder of the play unfolds with efficient alacrity. While Daniel listens to the court's account of Susanna's crime, the Elders are detained separately, and Joachim provides a succinct report of how the Elders discovered Susanna "*met oncuysht was gebonden / secretelyck met eenen jongelinck int preel* [behaving unchastely / Secretly, with a young man in the bower.]"¹⁸⁰ To this, Daniel responds immediately, advocating Susanna's innocence and summoning the Elders individually for interrogation before the court. Using his familiar and effective tool of *parenthesis* to draw specific attention to Daniel's strategy, the playwright has Daniel ask each Elder the probing question: "*onder wat boom saechdy, segt voort nu, / dese vrouwe haer besondighen?* [Under what tree did you see — tell me now — / This woman defile herself?]"¹⁸¹ The first to answer is Achas who replies, "*Ick sachse bey, moet ict reveleren, / onder eenen crieckeboom...* [I saw them both, as I must reveal, / Under a cherry tree...]"¹⁸² To the same question, Sedechias independently responds "*Onder een eycke ist gebuert. Dus ongetruert was ict aenschouwelyck* [It happened under an oak; Fortunately I

¹⁸⁰ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 750-751.

¹⁸¹ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 780-781.

¹⁸² Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 785-786.

witnessed it.]”¹⁸³ With this cross-examination, revealing the Elders’ false testimonies, Daniel concludes his case:

Daniel

*want deerste sprack, hoort haer nequitie,
soe ghy allen gehoort hebt certeynlyck:
onder eenen crieckeboom waren sy gemeynlyck.
En dese seyt vileynlyck,
twas een eycke claer.
Nu wordy wel huer valschyt gewaer.
Dus, vrinden eerbaer,
laetse ter doot verwysen.*

For the one claimed — listen to this evil
As you’ve all clearly heard —
That they were together under a cherry tree.
And this scoundrel tells us
It was definitely under an oak.
Now you understand their treachery.
So honorable friends,
Let’s put them to death.¹⁸⁴

It is important to note that during the scene of the Elders’ arrival in the garden, Susanna’s frightened response to their presence, and the dialogue which follows, there would likely have been scenery on stage that would have indicated a particular type of tree against which the audience could evaluate the Elders’ testimonies. Similarly, as one will soon see, Goltzius and Lastman are keen to incorporate such a tree in their paintings, alluding to Daniel’s rectifying interrogation.

What follows next is the resolution of the play. Having been persuaded of his mistake, Joachim delivers an eighteen-line speech in which he expresses his gratitude for Daniel’s conviction of the Elders. He apologizes to Susanna, asks for her forgiveness, and concludes by

¹⁸³ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” line 812.

¹⁸⁴ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 825-832.

instructing Daniel “*wilt verjaghen / van my dees quay partye* [rid me of this evil pair.]”¹⁸⁵ Daniel complies with Joachim’s instruction by ordering the stoning of the Elders, and in a reversal of fate, the Elders now receive the punishment with which they condemned Susanna. Ironically, it is the *sinnekens*, now serving as jail-servants and executioners, who perform the Elders’ execution, heckling them throughout.

As the audience watches, Daniel and Susanna summarize the moral arguments of the play. In his effort vigorously to emphasize the importance of the first moral, the playwright employs *stichomythia* by having Daniel and Susanna alternate speech in their articulation of the play’s primary lesson.

Daniel

Dus sullen sy al varen,

So perish all those —

Susanna

*die doen oneerbaerhyt.
oft eenighe vrouwen nemen haer eere.*

who indulge in lust
Or destroy a woman’s honor.¹⁸⁶

This moral is immediately underscored by Evil Suggestion’s persistent taunting of the Elders as stones are continually hurled at them: “*Hout dat en datte! Ten baet geen beven.* [Take that, and that! No use trembling.]”¹⁸⁷ Shortly thereafter, the Elders are dead and Daniel turns to Joachim, imparting the narrative’s second moral argument: “*Vrindt uutvercoren, God en heft noyt syn*

¹⁸⁵ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 856-857.

¹⁸⁶ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 874-875.

¹⁸⁷ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” line 877.

dienaers verlaten...Vreest altyt God en hebt in aenschouwenisse / die duecht die Hy u heft bewesen. [My noble friend, God has never deserted his servants...Fear God always and keep before you / The virtue which he has revealed to you.]¹⁸⁸ The playwright orchestrates the visceral image of the Elders' execution performed in front of the audience to illustrate and emphasize his first lesson, a negative moral imperative which he associates with the Elders: lest one suffer a horrific demise, one ought not succumb to concupiscent enticements nor steal another's moral integrity. Associated with the Susanna, the second lesson is presented as a positive moral imperative only a few lines later: one should always direct devotion to God, pursuing and practicing the virtue which He has revealed, because God never abandons those who are faithful to Him.

This positive moral imperative is particularly emphasized in the following scene where the playwright has Susanna's mother and father join Susanna, Daniel, and Joachim in extending praise to God for his consolation and his deliverance. Susanna's father echoes Joachim's gratitude for Daniel's arrival and advocacy and her mother declares her consolation which is followed by Joachim initiating epideictic praise verse.¹⁸⁹ For the next forty-six lines, these characters deliver a refrain to God which incorporates some conjugation of the verb *loven* (to praise or glorify) twenty-six times, with Susanna using it more frequently than any other character on stage.¹⁹⁰

Susanna

*Loff, die Hester en Mardocheum bewaerde
en aen Amon duer tverdienen syn straffe naerde.
Loff, die my verlost van die schandelycke doot.*

¹⁸⁸ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 880; 886-887.

¹⁸⁹ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 888-893.

¹⁹⁰ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 894-940.

*Loff vader, loff soene, loff heylich geest soot.
 Loff, myn eenige toevlucht in der noot.
 Loff, levende fontyne, die voer die dorstighe vloet.
 Loff, werste hoochste God uutvercoren.
 U seg ick loff, vader, want ict ock seggen moet:
 die in U betrouwen en laety niet verloren.*

Praise him who guarded Hester and Mardocheus
 And made Haman suffer just deserts.
 Praise him who saved me from a shameful death.
 Praise Father, praise Son, praise gracious Holy Ghost.
 Praise my only refuge in need.
 Praise the living fountain which flows for the thirsty.
 Praise God who is most worthy and excellent.
 I give you praise, Father, because I must also say:
 Those who trust in you, you would not let perish.¹⁹¹

Again, as the playwright has shown many times on stage, and as one will see in Goltzius' paintings, the description of Susanna is one who repeatedly directs her prayers and attention towards heaven.

Following these verses of praise, the playwright has Daniel, Joachim, Susanna, and her parents directly address the audience, lest they fail to discern the rhetorical argument of the narrative's performance. The playwright very clearly unpacks two *exempla* to which the audience must give their attention. Daniel begins by directing the audience's focus specifically to Susanna, imploring the audience "*Neempt alle hier een exempel, met eerbaerhyt, / aen Susanna, den spiegel van eerbaerhyt / om te volgen naer.* [Let all here take an example and a lesson / From Susanna, the mirror of chastity, / And follow it closely.]"¹⁹² Joachim immediately follows Daniel, directing attention to the second example, saying "*Aen die oude boeven spiegelt u ock, voerwaer, / aen hun valshyt en straffe openbaer / om te schauwen.* [Also take example

¹⁹¹ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 903-911. Susanna references the story of Mordecai in the Book of Esther where Haman, like the Elders, was punished for his deceitful scheme.

¹⁹² Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 941-943.

from those old villains, / In their falseness and public punishment / As something to be shunned.]”¹⁹³ The explication of these *exempla* is followed by the condemnation of adultery, delivered by Susanna’s father, who addresses men and women in his exhortation against unfaithful marital practices, and the condemnation of deceit, delivered by Susanna, herself, who encourages the crowd to beware of those who destroy honor with fraud. The final lines of the play are delivered by Susanna’s mother who expresses the purpose and hope motivating the performance: “*Tgetal van die boeven sou wel haest minderen. / Syt God bevolen, heeren, mannen, vrouwen, en kinderen.* [The number of those villains should now decline. / Be commended to God, lords, men, women, and children.]”¹⁹⁴ It is worth taking note that this admonitory conclusion of the play’s performance evokes a possible explanation for why Goltzius may have fashioned one of the Elders in the guise of the painting’s owner, as one will see.

2.5 GOLTZIUS’ PAINTING OF 1607

Goltzius’ paintings of 1607 and 1615 both transcend the conventions of the pictorial tradition and assimilate the concerns, priorities, and rhetorical strategies reflected in the dramatic performance of the rhetoricians’ play *Tspeel van Susanna*. In both of his paintings, Goltzius visualizes the same moment of the narrative, focusing primarily on Susanna’s response to the Elders’ indecent proposal, which is first attempted through flattery and persuasion and then through threatening extortion. As does the playwright in *Tspeel van Susanna*, Goltzius chooses to deal with the nuances of the complex dilemma facing Susanna. Following the narrative plot, the Elders present two options that result in an emotionally complex moral dilemma which Susanna must analyze and evaluate: the Elders demand that she fornicate with them in secret,

¹⁹³ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 944-946.

¹⁹⁴ Strietman and Happé, “*Tspeel van Susanna*,” lines 953-954.

and if she does not comply, they will publicly accuse her of fornicating with another man. Susanna must weigh the choice to acquiesce and willingly commit adultery against God and her husband under duress and coercion, submitting herself to the horrors of rape, or alternatively, to resist and exercise her virtue and marital fidelity but ultimately subject herself to public disgrace and a certain brutal death. In both of Goltzius' paintings, one sees Susanna, flanked on either side by Elders who speak in each of her respective ears [Figs. 2-12 & 2-13]. Attempting to persuade Susanna of the merits of their proposed infidelity, each Elder makes his argument and anticipates sexual fulfillment as each cautiously attempts physical contact. Susanna reasons her way to a response, ultimately concluding, as the biblical account reports, "I am hemmed in on every side. For if I do this thing, it is death for me; and if I do not, I shall not escape your hands. I choose not to do it and to fall into your hands, rather than sin in the sight of the Lord."¹⁹⁵

In his first painting of the subject, Goltzius follows the example found in his own print of c. 1600 as well as in compositions by Cornelis van Haarlem [Figs. 2-10 & 2-11]. Following these examples and as featured in most of his painted *oeuvre*, Goltzius positions the figures of Susanna and the Elders in the foreground where they fill the frame. He places them in a familiar setting, arranged around the edge of the bath upon which Susanna sits. Having emerged from the bushes, the Elders arrive on either side, with the Elder on Susanna's right even sitting next to her on the fountain bench. Over his right shoulder, one sees the garden's entrance gate, adorned with flowers and leading out to Joachim's palatial home, and to a building described as a medieval northern European church in the far-left background [Fig. 2-14].

As in many northern pictorial examples, Goltzius' Susanna is nude. Party to the approach pursued exclusively by his colleagues in Haarlem, however, Goltzius emphasizes her modesty by

¹⁹⁵ Daniel 13:22-23 (RSVCE).

positioning Susanna's hand covering her breast and including a garment and a transparent veil which conceals her pudendum [Fig. 2-15]. Goltzius inventively positions Susanna in a demonstrative s-curve which formally suggests her back-and-forth movement between each Elder. This posing of the figure visualizes the Elders alternately bombarding Susanna with persuasive arguments as to why she ought to give into their demands while simultaneously visualizing her attempts to evade their assault. She leans on a jewel box which alerts one's attention to the smattering of other objects found in the foreground [Fig. 2-16]. Directly below the Elder on the left is a sponge and a comb placed on the final step of the bath next to a mirror and its case. On the other side of Susanna, the same step features a half-empty jar of oil, suggesting its use at prior, presumably peaceful, baths. Goltzius includes a bowl of fruit as the image's most immediate foreground object; it operates as an allusion to Susanna's sensual suppleness that compels the Elders' licentious scheme. In addition to using the bowl of fruit to visualize the Elders' compulsions, Goltzius tilts the bowl toward the viewer, addressing one's attention and enticing one's eyes to inhabit the painting.¹⁹⁶ Not far away from the fruit bowl and the ensemble of the comb and mirror are stones Goltzius places just at the edge of the fountain. Littering the path connecting the garden to the rest of the palatial estate, these stones allude to the heinous punishment with which the Elders threaten Susanna, but which *they* will ultimately suffer. The path is lined with red roses and leads past a tulip-adorned fence and through a *berceau* that exits into Joachim and Susanna's home over which the church steeple towers. These elements are associated with Susanna's virtue and piety with the roses and tulips signifying her purity and fidelity and the church corresponding to her devotional commitment. To emphasize the sacred position which Susanna occupies, Goltzius analogizes the pious

¹⁹⁶ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 100.

Susanna with the persecuted church which had suffered at the hands of pagans and Jews.¹⁹⁷ This correspondence is further elucidated as the pestering Elder on the left dons a hat that was commonly associated with Jews living in medieval Europe.¹⁹⁸

A sculptural assemblage of a shell resting on the backs of two dolphins provides the source of water for Susanna's bath [Fig. 2-17]. The choice to utilize dolphins is not strange considering that most of the images coming out of Haarlem also feature this motif. Van Mander associated the dolphin with speed, and in this context it may suggest the alacrity with which lust can subdue one's virtue.¹⁹⁹ Recall that the Elders in the story are judges with reverential status in the community, and that in the play from Hasselt, the playwright begins the first scene with the Elders celebrating and advocating for virtue and righteous living. The notion that lust can quickly corrupt righteous men is underscored by Goltzius' characterization of the Elder on the right. Associated with the description of this figure is the peculiar inclusion of the shell in the design of the fountain. Operating as an allusion, the shell refers to the patron of the painting and one of Goltzius' friends, Jan Govertsz van der Aar, who was an avid shell collector living in Haarlem and the subject of a portrait painted by Goltzius in 1603 [Fig. 2-18]. In Goltzius' 1607 painting of *Susanna and the Elders*, he includes Govertsz's likeness as a *portrait historié* portraying him in the guise of the Elder on the right wearing the turban [Fig. 2-19].²⁰⁰ Govertsz

¹⁹⁷ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 100.

¹⁹⁸ See Naomi Lubrich, "The 'Wandering Hat': Iterations of the Medieval Jewish Pointed Cap." *Jewish History* 29 (2015): 203-244.

¹⁹⁹ Karel van Mander, "Uvtbeeldinge der Figueren: waer in te sien is, hoe d'Heydenen hun Goden uytghebeeldt, en onderscheyden hebben: hoe d'Egyptische yet beteyckenden met Dieren oft anders, en eenighe meeninghen te kennen gaven, met noch meer omstandigheden," in *Het Schilder-Boeck (Facsimile van de Eerste Uitgave, Haarlem 1604)* (Utrecht: Davaco, 1969), fol. 132r; Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 100.

²⁰⁰ I. Jost, "Goltzius, Dürer et Le Collectionneur de Coquillages Jan Govertsz." *Revue Du Louvre et Des Musées de France* 18 (1968): 58; Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 100. Nichols says that there is no use identifying the Elder on the left, saying he is a type; see Susan Urbach, "'Sacra Nos Monet, Docetque Historia': An Unknown Susanna and the Elders by Willem Key," in *Shop Talk: Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive: Presented on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Seymour Slive, Cynthia P. Schneider, William W. Robinson, and Alice I. Davies (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995),

was likely a cloth merchant and a registered member of the United East India Company working in Haarlem, having been born into a family active in the textile industry in Leiden.²⁰¹ He also likely played a central role in the patronage of the Haarlem arts community as his activity as a print publisher and his inclusion in Cornelis van Haarlem's painting, *Allegory of the Arts in Time of Peace* (1607) attests [Fig. 2-20].²⁰² What is equally compelling to this study, however, is his participation in Haarlem's community of rhetoricians. It has been claimed, with some caution, that Govertsz was a member of The Grapevines (*De Wijngaertrancken*), one of the chambers of rhetoric operating in Haarlem.²⁰³ From 1610-1611, he was a *Beminnaer* in the chamber, a camerist from 1612-1614, a *vinder* in 1612, the prince in 1614, a *beminnaer*, again, from 1615-1619, and a *Vinder van Het Tweede Lid* in 1620.²⁰⁴ Based on this identification, Ingrid Jost speculated that the unflattering but amusing inclusion of Jan Govertsz as one of the Elders may potentially refer to a rhetoricians' play; in passing, she mentions the play written for The Red Rose in Hasselt, which I have discussed in detail above.²⁰⁵

250. Goltzius produces several drawings featuring Govertsz's likeness. See Reznicek, "Het Begin van Goltzius' Loopbaan Als Schilder," 39–49 and, E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius: Mit einem beschreibenden Katalog* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1961), 361-362. Following Reznicek's work in discerning Govertsz's likeness, Jost van Tatenhove was the first to recognize Govertsz in Goltzius' *Susanna and the Elders* (1607), see Lawrence W. Nichols, "Jan Govertsz. van der Aar: On the Identification of Goltzius's Patron." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 38 (1987): 241 and I. Jost, "Goltzius, Dürer et Le Collectionneur de Coquillages Jan Govertsz," 57–64. Also, this inclusion of a portrait historié as one of the elders in the Susanna story has a precedent in Cornelis' painting c. 1601-1602.

²⁰¹ Nichols, "Jan Govertsz. van der Aar: On the Identification of Goltzius's Patron," 244-247.

²⁰² Nichols, "Jan Govertsz. van der Aar: On the Identification of Goltzius's Patron," 249; Jost, "Goltzius, Dürer et Le Collectionneur de Coquillages Jan Govertsz," 59.

²⁰³ Pieter J. J. van Thiel, "Frans Hals' Portret van de Leidse Rederijkersnar Pieter Cornelisz. van Der Morsch, Alias Piero (1543-1628)," *Oud Holland* 76 (1961): 169; Jost, "Goltzius, Dürer et Le Collectionneur de Coquillages Jan Govertsz," 59; Nichols, "Jan Govertsz. van Der Aar," 243. Nichols advises caution to accepting any reference to Jan Govertsz in the archival record without additional corroborating sources. He asserts that Jan Govertsz is a popular name and may not refer to the Jan Govertsz. known to Goltzius.

²⁰⁴ Thiel, "Frans Hals' Portret van de Leidse Rederijkersnar Pieter Cornelisz. van Der Morsch, Alias Piero (1543-1628)," 169, note 62.

²⁰⁵ Jost, "Goltzius, Dürer et Le Collectionneur de Coquillages Jan Govertsz," 59, note 13.

2.5.1 SUSANNA'S *APOSTROPHE* AMIDST ENCROACHING ELDERS

By virtue of including the patron as one of the figures engaged in the confrontation between Susanna and the Elders, Goltzius calls attention to how he portrays the interaction between the figures, turning this exchange into the most significant feature of the painting. A number of depictions in the Netherlandish pictorial tradition do not portray any conversational interaction between the figures, especially not like the dialogic exchanges featured in the play written for *The Red Rose*. In Lucas van Leyden's version, for example, the Elders are positioned far off from Susanna, lurking and lusting from their hillside perch. If not separated by distance, Susanna is characterized as unaware of an imminent threat, as in Jan Massys' painting of 1564, [Figs. 2-2 & 2-3]. Goltzius' contemporary, Peter Paul Rubens incorporated aggressive physical action fueled by unrestrained emotions in his versions of the story, even resisting the suggestion of verbal exchange as one of Rubens' Elders from his 1607 painting covers his mouth with his index finger and instructs Susanna to not only avoid screaming but also speaking [Figs. 2-21—2-23].

In the earlier pictorial examples which combine the physical aggression of the Elders with a conversational element, the exchange of dialogue is only incidental to the physical altercation. The images by Maarten de Vos, Frans Floris, and Antoon Wierix portray speech as precipitated by the Elders' assault and physical restraint of Susanna. The precedent for depicting the story with figures engaged in rhetorical dialogue comes from Haarlem. Maarten van Heemskerck, Hendrick Goltzius, and Cornelis van Haarlem all describe the interaction between Susanna and the Elders as primarily one of dialogic exchange [Figs. 2-8—2-11]. While Heemskerck's Susanna directly engages face-to-face with the Elders as they present their salacious demand, Goltzius and Cornelis portray Susanna breaking away from direct confrontation with the Elders

and directing her attention elsewhere. It is this distinct motif that Goltzius incorporates in his painting of 1607, and it is one that is seen repeatedly in the rhetoricians' play, *Tspeel van Susanna*, discussed above.

Beyond the Haarlem artists, only De Vos positions the Elders on either side of Susanna. It was far more popular to portray both Elders approaching from one side. Goltzius, along with Heemskerck and Cornelis, positions the Elders on either side of Susanna, but unlike De Vos, the nature of the interaction is, again, primarily a verbal confrontation rather than a physical one. Showing the Elders in this way, Goltzius depicts a specific narrative moment. Having just emerged from their garden concealment, the Elders have approached Susanna and, currently, they flatter her with affirmations of her beauty and, ultimately, they will importune and place her in a dilemma.

2.5.2 GOLTZIUS' CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ELDERS

The Elder on the left casually sits down next to Susanna, his right foot firmly planted on the ground, his left leg propped up on the bench upon which they sit, and his torso titled toward Susanna [Fig. 2-12]. He wears colorful clothes visually highlighted by a large yellow conical hat, an iteration of the *pileus cornutus* which was a motif that visually distinguished Jews in the northern territories of the Holy Roman Empire.²⁰⁶ This characterization is particularly relevant to this narrative because Susanna was often understood as a figure representing both the saved soul and the Christian Church, which was frequently portrayed as a victim of persecution.²⁰⁷ Goltzius suggests that the Elder has casually and gingerly slid along the bench next to Susanna

²⁰⁶ Lubrich, Naomi. "The 'Wandering Hat': Iterations of the Medieval Jewish Pointed Cap," 226.

²⁰⁷ Nichols, Lawrence. *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 100; Jost, "Goltzius, Dürer et Le Collectionneur de Coquillages Jan Govertsz," 57.

so as to mitigate whatever threat she might perceive. His close proximity to her allows him to speak earnestly and yet softly.

This cautious yet ardent approach is reinforced by the manner in which Goltzius has positioned his torso, described his facial expression, and represented the gesture of his right hand. Goltzius places the Elder's left arm around the back of Susanna and his right arm projecting out in front of her towards the viewer. The placement of the Elder's arms opens his torso so that he directly faces Susanna's body. This positioning allows for the Elder's embrace of Susanna, a physical engagement between these characters which is often employed in Netherlandish representations of the story. While Goltzius suggests this physicality, he mitigates it by equipping the Elder with a tilt of the head, open lips, and a slight knit of his brow. Instead of embracing her, or physically acting on impassioned desires, he speaks to Susanna, attempting to reason with her about, and in effect rationalize for himself, the necessity of Susanna's sleeping with him and his accomplice. His right hand is positioned so that his open palm and the underside of his fingers face the viewer. This hand gesture, in concert with Goltzius's other descriptive elements of the figure, mitigates the threat of surprise and the imminence of physical contact. The Elder's hand does not reach out to touch her; it does not try to silence her; nor does it try to intimidate her; it is rather the innocuous hand that suggests argument for consideration. In this narrative moment, Goltzius depicts the Elder offering his words rather than a threatening physical gesture that suggests an attack on her body. Notably, Goltzius' departs from the pictorial tradition of representing the moment as a physical altercation in which Susanna defends herself from the impassioned attack of the Elders. Instead, he offers an image of the Elders deploying argumentation to persuade Susanna, demonstrating Goltzius' alignment with the practices of the rhetoricians as seen in the play written for *The Red Rose*. What is all the more

surreptitious and horrifying about this appeal to reasonable consideration and rhetorical persuasion, however, is the viewer's awareness that the Elder fully intends to take her body by force.

The Elder, in the guise of Jan Goyttsz van der Aar and standing on the right of Susanna, wears a fur-lined cloak and a turban [Figs. 2-12 & 2-19]. With his right shin supporting his weight on the back edge of the fountain bench, he leans towards Susanna. Describing the Elder with this leaning posture, which is complemented by the arch in his back, Goltzius emphasizes that he is approaching the vulnerable Susanna from behind. His left hand is raised towards his mouth as if to guide his words into Susanna's ear. Exercising the same caution and hesitancy with which the first Elder slides next to Susanna, this Elder's right hand extends gingerly to touch Susanna's arm. Although a somewhat ambiguous gesture, it suggests that the Elder intends to either express affection by attempting to hold her hand, bind her wrist in an effort to physically dominate her, or to steal her proverbial treasure. By positioning the Elder's hand in this manner, Goltzius insinuates all three readings, and the ambiguity of the gesture and these plausible interpretations allow Goltzius to imbue this liminal moment of dialogic exchange with a heightened sense of suspense and drama.

2.5.3 GOLTZIUS' CHARACTERIZATION OF SUSANNA

One's understanding of the Elders and their motivations and intentions is only clarified by how Goltzius has positioned and described Susanna [Figs. 2-12 & 2-15]. Goltzius was, of course, not the first northern artist to represent Susanna as a full-length nude. It has been suggested that while Susanna was typically portrayed as a modestly-dressed female figure in medieval visualizations of the narrative, northern representations of Susanna as a full-length

nude came about in Flanders with Quentin and Jan Massys.²⁰⁸ Following that tradition, Goltzius also depicts Susanna as a full-length nude, emphasizing her body by positioning her with an open and exposed posture. By avoiding, for example, a completely closed posture, such as one that Rubens employs later in his version from c. 1636-1638 [Fig. 2-23], Goltzius confronts the viewer with Susanna's beautiful nude body. As in most of Goltzius' history paintings, he heightens this emphatic confrontation by pushing the figure to the immediate foreground, underscoring the inescapability of her nudity and sensual beauty. Goltzius underscores Susanna's sensuality by describing her body with a sweeping s-curve as she avoids the first Elder by leaning to her left. The positioning of her hands further elaborates the nature of her response. As she leans away from the first Elder, she rests the weight of her body on her left forearm which directs one's attention to her left hand protecting a box of jewels. Read in combination with the reaching hand of the second Elder, it becomes clear that Susanna's left hand protecting her jewel box metaphorically visualizes her intent and effort to protect her own spiritual treasure, that is, her chastity and moral purity.²⁰⁹ This emphasis on Susanna's chaste character corresponds closely with the playwright's description of Susanna as the mirror of chastity and the *exemplum* of godly virtue who is resistant to the deceptive arguments propounded by the Elders.

A comparison to representations of Venus is suggested by Goltzius' positioning of Susanna's right hand. As she recoils from the Elder sitting next to her, shifting the weight of her body to one side, Susanna raises her right hand to cover her breast, her fingers intertwined with the ringlets of her hair. This gesture is not a reference to the Cnidian Venus who uses her right hand to cover her pudendum; Goltzius has Susanna clinch her robe and a transparent veil

²⁰⁸ Urbach, "'*Sacra Nos Monet, Docetque Historia*,'" 250.

²⁰⁹ Goltzius' inclusion of the jewel box is also informed by the medieval iconographic tradition that depicted Mary Magdalene as a wealthy courtesan. Later in this discussion, it is argued that Mary Magdalene is a biblical heroine who informs how Goltzius has described Susanna.

between her legs in her effort to protect her lower half. The gesture of her right hand does, however, recall the Medici Venus who shifts her standing weight to her left side and uses her right hand to conceal her breast.²¹⁰ In this guise, Susanna protects her modesty but also operates as the paradigm of sensual female beauty that arouses the lust of those who see her, both the Elders situated in the narrative as well as the beholder who views the painting. This tension between the seductive image of a beautiful, nude female figure and the female's communicative gestures, which indicates such viewing is transgressive, is further complicated by another source informing Goltzius' Susanna.

Between the faces of the speaking Elders, one finds Susanna's expressive response to the dilemma she confronts. Unlike the few examples in the Netherlandish pictorial tradition from Haarlem which depict some notion of a conversational exchange, Goltzius' Susanna does not directly address the Elders. In both categorical examples of the pictorial tradition where the story is visualized as a purely physical confrontation or where a conversational exchange accompanies a physical assault, the artist typically depicts Susanna responding directly to the Elders. In Goltzius' painting of 1607, however, Susanna breaks away from her conversation with the Elders, and with an assured and calm composure she directs her eyes heavenward. Her departure from the dialogue, her appeal towards heaven, and not only the placement of her hand over her breast but specifically the placement of her fingers intertwined in the ringlets of her hair suggests that one source from which Goltzius drew inspiration was an engraving of Mary Magdalene dated 1566 by Cornelis Cort after a painting by Titian [Fig. 2-24].

²¹⁰ For a discussion of how Venus informs a Susanna figure by Willem Key, see Urbach, "Sacra Nos Monet, Docetque Historia," 249. For a study on the Medici Venus as a *locus classicus* during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, see Phyllis Pray Bober, Ruth Rubinstein, and Susan Woodford, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) 59-61.

2.5.4 ASSIMILATING MARY MAGDALENE AS A SAINTLY FIGURE OF GRACE

Mary Magdalene was a popular subject for Goltzius. He painted this figure from sacred history three times subsequent to his 1607 painting of *Susanna and the Elders*, and yet it is in this painting that he effectively marshals the attributes and the characteristics of the Magdalene to describe his figure of Susanna and suggests to the viewer her saintly pedigree. To understand this relationship a brief digression into the story of Mary Magdalene is required. Where she is mentioned specifically by name in Scripture, she is featured as a significant figure of biblical history, but Mary Magdalene is also associated with the nameless sinful woman who appears during Christ's meal with Simon the Pharisee.²¹¹ To this meal, she brought with her an alabaster flask of ointment and proceeded to wash Christ's feet, wetting them with her tears and wiping them dry with her hair. Immediately following, she repeatedly kissed Christ's feet and anointed them with the ointment. This particular story is referenced directly in Goltzius' painting, *The Magdalene* of c. 1612-1615, in which Goltzius represents Mary Magdalene holding the alabaster flask [Fig. 2-25]. At the beginning of the very next chapter in Luke, Mary Magdalene is mentioned by name along with a woman named Susanna as some of the women accompanying Christ on his ministry in Galilee.²¹² The Magdalene is also present at Christ's crucifixion and his entombment, and she is first to discover Christ's empty tomb and witness the Lord resurrected. All of these stories in aggregate portray a faithful disciple who is humble in spirit, pure in heart, and the perfect example for Goltzius to model his Susanna.

During the meal with Simon the Pharisee, Christ's words are particularly revealing. When Simon bristles at this sinner washing the feet of a prophet, Christ responds by telling him a story

²¹¹ Luke 7:36-39 (RSVCE).

²¹² Luke 8:1-3 (RSVCE).

of a moneylender who forgives the debt of a debtor owing five hundred denarii and one owing fifty. When he asks Simon which debtor loves the moneylender more, Simon correctly answers the debtor with the larger debt. Christ then proceeds to analogize the degree of sin this woman has committed to the large debt of the debtor in the story. Just as the greater debtor in the story loves the forgiving moneylender, so too the very sinful woman loves her forgiving Lord. Christ finishes his illustration by distinguishing the sinful woman from Simon, explaining that because she knows her sins are many, she has loved much, and because Simon is blind to his sins, he is not compelled to love:

“Then turning toward the woman, he said to Simon, “Do you see this woman? I entered your house; you gave me no water for my feet, but she has bathed my feet with her tears and dried them with her hair. You gave me no kiss, but from the time I came in she has not stopped kissing my feet. You did not anoint my head with oil, but she has anointed my feet with ointment. Therefore, I tell you, her sins, which were many, have been forgiven; hence she has shown great love. But the one to whom little is forgiven, loves little.”²¹³

Christ emblemizes Mary Magdalene as the figure of forgiven, grace-compelled love, and Goltzius’ distinctive assimilation of the Magdalene figure in his portrayal of Susanna amplifies his representation of her as a saintly figure. This description of Susanna corresponds to the playwright’s characterization in *Tspeel van Susanna* where Susanna is portrayed as a saintly figure, extending grace-compelled love to Evil Suggestion moments before her execution. Even in the face of a brutal death, the playwright’s Susanna is faithful and forgiving, externalizing the Christian virtues which Goltzius incorporates into his representation of Susanna as Mary Magdalene.

While Mary Magdalene is certainly a relevant source for Susanna, as she is a female biblical heroine who demonstrates devotion and faithfulness to God, the iconographical tradition of representing the Magdalene as a nude sitting in a forested landscape was an even stronger

²¹³ Luke 7:44-48 (RSVCE).

inspiration for Goltzius. The sixteenth-century Netherlands features many nude and eroticized depictions of Mary Magdalene as the repentant saint with a sexually sinful past.²¹⁴ Consider, for example, the painting *St. Mary Magdalene in a Landscape*, attributed to Jan van Scorel dating to the first half of the sixteenth century, where the Magdalene is depicted as a sensual nude silhouetted against a large tree and a receding landscape background [Fig. 2-26]. She sits next to her identifying flask of ointment and, exposing her breasts to the viewer, she twists her upper torso in order to read Scripture. She turns the pages with her right hand and ambiguously covers (or uncovers) her body with a white garment held in her left hand. It is this type of pictorial source that Goltzius assimilates into his figure of Susanna who, in the narrative context of her bath interrupted by the Elders' salacious demand, is also nude and eroticized. Like the Magdalene, Susanna is a heroine of biblical history who pursues righteousness through pious faith and devotion and who seeks deliverance amidst the threat of sexual sin. As the Magdalene makes her plea to the Lord and is granted grace and deliverance, so too Susanna looks to the Lord for liberation, ultimately receiving salvation.

Like the Magdalene attributed to Jan van Scorel, the heavenly-appealing face of Goltzius' Susanna, her eyes gazing heavenward, is also silhouetted against a tree in the background. This placement is even more emphatic in Goltzius' painting because of the concentration of forms comprised by the speaking face of the Elder on the right, a knot on the tree's trunk, and Susanna's exposed ear [Fig. 2-19]. In fact, this juxtaposition of forms suggests some formal correspondence between the shape of Susanna's ear and the shape with which Goltzius has described the tree's knot. In effect, Goltzius personifies the tree as a true witness who hears not

²¹⁴ Michelle Moseley-Christian, "Marketing Mary Magdalene in Early Modern Northern European Prints and Paintings," in *Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, ed. Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 411-415.

only Susanna's plea to God for help but also the demand spoken by the Elder on the right, who presumably threatens that if she does not comply with their wishes, they will rape her and publicly claim they caught her fornicating with her lover in the garden. This placement of the ear-shaped knot in the tree, flanked by a speaking Elder and a listening Susanna, operates as Goltzius' sophisticated allusion to Daniel's exposure of the Elders' guilt. Recall that it is through Daniel's cross-examination of Elders' account of under which tree the alleged affair occurred that he proves the Elders' false witness.

2.6 GOLTZIUS' PAINTING OF 1615

In his second painting of 1615, Goltzius includes the elements already discussed, and yet he distills them into a concentrated visualization of the same narrative moment [Fig. 2-13]. He fills the entire pictorial field with the three figures, again, placing Susanna in the middle as a full-length nude reclining on the bathing-fountain's bench and flanking her with the two Elders standing behind her. Goltzius no longer features the garden setting in the background, except for the few tree branches emerging from the shadows behind the Elder on the left. No longer is he interested in the background context furnished by Joachim's house, nor in the analogy between Susanna as someone sorely persecuted and the persecution of the Church, or in the correspondence between her and church building in the distant landscape. Although Goltzius reduces the collection of Susanna's *accoutrements* in number and visual interest, he retains the pose of Susanna who leans over an open jewelry box (sans the sponge, comb, mirror, and case). The jar of ointment, so closely connected to the figure of Mary Magdalene in Goltzius' 1607 Susanna, is also absent, although he does include simple elements of bathing ware, with the two vessels and basin placed to the left of Susanna. Essentially, Goltzius removes or reduces all

other visual interest that could distract the viewer from contemplating the complex nature of his positioning and placement of the three figures and their conversational interaction. Just as it is present in Goltzius' painting of 1607, the subtle and complex inter-relational dynamic between the figures is of crucial importance to Goltzius, and because of his compositional priorities in the 1615 painting, this prejudice becomes all the more clear.

2.6.1 THE DISTILLATION OF NARRATIVE AND THE DEMAND FOR CLOSE LOOKING

In focusing almost exclusively on the nature of the figures' conversational interaction, he prioritizes the motivations and intentions of each character. The mindset of the figures is the focus of his painting, and it is because of this complexity that the picture compels the viewer to look, contemplate, converse with others, return to the biblical text, and evaluate the choices verbalized by each party. Comprised of what the Elders intend to accomplish, what they say to achieve this objective, and in what manner they deliver these utterances, combined with what Susanna perceives is happening, herself discerning what she sees and hears, and how Susanna physically and verbally responds, this complex dynamic of dialogic exchange portrayed in Goltzius' picture demands the viewer's critical visual discernment. Such viewing is further problematized because the beholder is confronted by the same circumstances: the temptation of the unclothed, beautiful Susanna. Not only does Goltzius fill the entirety of the frame with his figures and reduce this narrative moment down to the interaction between the characters, he also compresses the depth of field in the image. The effect of this compositional strategy is twofold. It both projects the anxiety and intensity of the moment towards the viewer, and it also intensifies the perception that the Elders physically impose themselves on Susanna, which only emphasizes her vulnerability and escalates the sense of dread caused by the Elders' threats.

Assigning specific roles to the Elders is a priority for Goltzius in this painting as well. Recall that in the 1607 painting it was argued that each Elder had a specific intention based on how Goltzius positioned them individually and with what gestures he equipped them. In the 1607 painting, the Elder to the left of Susanna is the one who attempts to rationalize their desire and persuade Susanna of the merits of their case, while the other Elder threatens physical consequences to her refusal. A similar reading may be applied in his 1615 painting although reversed. While both Elders reach over the parapet of the fountain in this iteration, it is the Elder on the left who suggests the physical consequences of Susanna's refusal. He leans in close to whisper something in her ear, presumably speaking words that are visually supplemented by the gestures of his hands. Goltzius positions the Elder's left hand reaching out toward Susanna, and he places it in such close proximity that the Elder's third and fourth fingers cast a shadow on Susanna's exposed hip and his fourth finger even grazes her skin ever so slightly [Fig. 2-27]. The Elder's right hand, placed considerably farther away, projects out towards the viewer and is balled into a fist. It is a threatening gesture that, given the context of the narrative moment, can only be understood as a display of force intended to intimidate and coerce Susanna. It is this Elder who functions as the enforcer. In accordance to Goltzius' visual description of the figure, the Elder on the left embodies the effect of their causal argument: if their rhetoric fails to persuade Susanna, then they will take what they want by force.

The Elder on the right, therefore, is the negotiator. He positions one hand on either side of Susanna and, like his accomplice, he leans in close to whisper in her ear [Fig. 2-28]. It is this Elder who functions as the mediator and who presents the Elders' proposal. With a furrowed brow and flushed cheeks, he earnestly and ardently attempts to rationalize his desire to sleep with Susanna and persuade her of the benefits of his request. His left hand projects outward and

perpendicular to the picture plane, as if to touch the beholder. It operates as a visual sign corresponding to the content of his speech and formally complements the balled fist featured on the opposite side of the painting. Goltzius uses the relationship between these two hand gestures to offer a more detailed synopsis of the narrative moment than in his 1607 painting: Susanna must acquiesce to the Elders' reasoning or suffer the physical consequences.

2.6.2 THE SEQUENTIAL UNFOLDING OF THE NARRATIVE

Inherent in the relationship between the Elders' hands is a sequential unfolding of the narrative, and Goltzius organizes the entirety of the painting with this in mind. He begins the sequence by using the projected hand of the Elder on the right just discussed [Fig. 2-13]. Using this hand figuratively to pull the viewer into the scene, Goltzius didactically intends the beholder of the painting (no longer exclusively a specific individual such as Jan Govertsz) to consider the dilemma confronting Susanna. Beginning one's encounter with the image here and seeing that Goltzius orients Susanna's body toward this Elder, one discerns that Goltzius has emphasized the conversation between this Elder and Susanna. The Elder on the left participates in a secondary conversation. Having established a sequence within Goltzius' representation of the narrative, one discovers that a formal pattern of movement emerges. Beginning with the Elder's hand that addresses and grabs the viewer, one might then follow a circular movement that leads to the Elder's face, which, in his speaking to Susanna, then leads one to Susanna's face, down her right arm to her elbow and up to her hands, which are in the process of being clasped together. This circular pattern demands repeated contemplation of the Elder's proposal and Susanna's response.

Unlike his 1607 painting, Goltzius positions Susanna in a completely prone position, but he similarly depicts her as a full-length nude, revealing her body to the beholder. She maintains the

same rhetorical posture as in the 1607 painting, as she diverts her attention away from the dialogue with the Elders and looks up towards heaven with tears in her eyes. In many ways, this Susanna operates similarly to his previous representation, although it is Susanna's hands that are different. In this painting of 1615, Susanna is seen in the process of prayer. Her hands are not yet fully clasped, but they begin to coalesce into a fold. As with the Elder on the left, her fingers cast shadows on the surfaces which they touch, in this case the fingers of each hand respectively. The subtlety with which Goltzius characterizes her hand positioning demonstrates the spontaneous moment of her response which occurs contemporaneous to the corresponding hand gestures and facial expressions delivered by the Elders. One finds her in the midst of initiating prayer to God. In other words, it is the *very* moment of *apostrophe* that Goltzius is interested in capturing, and it is this subtlety in his depiction of Susanna that persuasively conveys to the viewer the specific narrative moment as it unfolds. Moreover, this definitive aspect of Goltzius' description of Susanna, which he portrays as a performance of apostrophic prayer, is the very same image the playwright of *Tspeel van Susanna* routinely puts before his audience. The playwright from The Red Rose insistently shows Susanna responding to the Elders' propositions and threats by turning away and appealing to God. By having Susanna consistently break conversation to deliver eloquent appeals to God six times, and often in the immediate presence of the Elders chiding her, the playwright emphasizes Susanna's apostrophic prayers as the definitive expression of her innocence and faithfulness. In his painting of 1615, Goltzius highlights the same rhetorical potency of the situation by focusing on little more than the same interaction between Susanna and the Elders and specifically on Susanna's prayerful response. To emphasize what the playwright accomplishes with repetition, Goltzius visualizes the performance of

Susanna's apostrophic prayer by portraying it unfolding contemporaneously to not only the Elders' propositioning but also to the viewing of the beholder.

Importantly, Goltzius does not pictorially isolate this instantaneous moment of Susanna clasping her hands, but rather, he positions it within a circular and lemniscatic pattern of touching, therefore paradoxically fixing the finite moment within the perpetual movement of the pattern. The arrangement of the hands and faces of Susanna and the Elder on the right directs one's viewing to follow a circular path wherein the hands and faces perpetually relate to one another. By arranging these features in this circular movement, Goltzius directs our focus to this interaction as the primary conversational exchange. This circular movement extends beyond its boundaries, however, to the secondary conversational exchange. After following the Elders' right arm and hand, one is led to the Elder on the left who touches Susanna's hip. From here, Goltzius uses a strong diagonal shadow to connect the form of the Elder's hand which touches Susanna to that of his other hand which is balled into a fist. While foreshortened and projected outward, the fist is angled towards the Elder's face which aligns the intimidating hand gesture with the Elder's speech and, in effect, visualizes the Elder's words, articulating that Susanna will be raped or condemned of adultery lest she acquiesce to their demands. Following this pattern of movement, Goltzius leads the viewer to consider the secondary conversation. What begins as a circular pattern ends as a lemniscate with the Elder's gaze directing the viewer back to Susanna, completing the figure-eight pattern and beginning the process over again with the primary conversation. This endless movement through a lemniscate which revolves around Susanna's face emphasizes the heightened degree to which she is "hemmed in on every side."²¹⁵ It is an inventive compositional strategy which corresponds to the playwright's emphasis of the Elders'

²¹⁵ Daniel 13:22 (RSVCE).

verbal coercion and the circumstances of duress which they perpetrate. Susanna is so overwhelmed with fear and anxiety, Goltzius argues in his composition, that she must mentally remove herself from conversing with the Elders and apostrophically address God.²¹⁶

2.7 LASTMAN'S PAINTING OF 1614

A contemporary painting to both of Goltzius' images and the rhetoricians' play from Hasselt is *Susanna and the Elders* by Pieter Lastman [Fig. 2-29]. Dated to 1614, Lastman's image follows some of the conventions of the pictorial tradition, but like Goltzius, he uniquely focuses on the conversational exchange between the figures. While Lastman familiarly positions Susanna at the edge of the garden bath, equipped with a traditional sphinx fountain, her relationship to the viewer is exceptional compared to more traditional models. More often than not, a Netherlandish artist composing the scene of Susanna and the Elders positions Susanna in such a way that her posture frontally faces the viewer. One certainly thinks of Goltzius' paintings discussed above but there is a myriad of other examples, including Heemskerck's designs engraved by Philips Galle of c. 1560-1570, Antoon Wierix's prints of 1579-before 1604 and 1579- before 1611, Maarten de Vos' design engraved by Hans Collaert of 1579, and Frans Floris' composition engraved by Pieter van der Heyden of 1556 [Figs. 2-4 – 2-7 & 2-9].

In his 1614 painting, Lastman chooses a different way of positioning Susanna [Fig. 2-30]. On the back of the sphinx fountain, she sits to the left of the center axis of the image which is established by the imposing tree situated behind the figures. Her knees and shoulders face the entrance to the fountain basin where steps recede into the left foreground of the painting. The manner in which Lastman has positioned the figure of Susanna suggests that, similar to the

²¹⁶ Daniel 13:22-23 (RSVCE).

Elders who are placed in the right half of the image, the viewer approaches her from behind. Despite the contortion of Susanna's body, which will be addressed momentarily, Susanna is placed to the left of the painting's central axis, and she is positioned facing the entrance to the basin at left of and perpendicular to the picture plane. In some ways, the picture recalls Cornelis van Haarlem's design engraved by Jan Saenredam of 1602-1659 [Fig. 2-31]. In this print the Elders also approach a sitting Susanna from behind, but Cornelis positions Susanna so that the viewer encounters her from the front. Recognizing this orientation only highlights Lastman's choice to emphasize the Elders' approach from behind, the vulnerability of Susanna's placement, and her corresponding response of alarm when the Elders (and the viewer) arrive to alert her attention. Lastman features the Elders walking towards Susanna, having emerged from the foliage that heavily occupies the right side of the image [Fig. 2-32]. With both arms stretched out to the sides, the Elder on the right can be understood either to be walking gingerly, attempting to keep his balance while slowly approaching Susanna or, having already startled Susanna, to be calming her fears gesturing with an ostensibly benign intent. The Elder on the left reinforces this innocuous attitude as he obsequiously attempts to make eye contact with Susanna and as he offers words of explanation or flattery, gesturing with his right hand extended. With his left hand over his chest, he visually indicates the sincerity and reasonable intentions of his arrival.

Although Lastman's Susanna manifests a different response than that of Goltzius' Susanna in the 1607 and 1615 paintings, Lastman also assimilates rhetorical concepts from the rhetoricians' play in how he positions and poses the figure. As was just discussed, the fact that Lastman's painting emphasizes Susanna's surprised and vulnerable response, suggests that Lastman represents a different moment in the narrative. Because Lastman places the Elders

approaching Susanna from behind, positions the viewer from a similar vantage point, and characterizes Susanna's posture with a general sense of alarm, it is fair to assume that Lastman depicts the very moment of the Elders' arrival and not Susanna's response to hearing the Elders' indecent proposal. Nevertheless, the narrative moment which he depicts allows Lastman to assimilate rhetorical strategies practiced by local rhetoricians. As one is alerted to these rhetorical strategies, it is important to remember that it is only by being familiar with the biblical text and with plays like *Tspeel van Susanna* that we are able to see how carefully painters like Lastman and Goltzius chose to depict specific narrative moments.

Keep in mind that the biblical narrative states that as soon as Susanna dismissed her maids, the Elders emerged from their hiding places, ran to Susanna, and delivered their ultimatum, to which Susanna responded by weighing the merits of her options and deciding to reject the Elders, honor God, and accept the consequences. The episode, considered situationally, is deeply rhetorical, as the analysis of Goltzius' paintings has shown. The situation sets up a complex, subtle, and nuanced predicament about which the biblical text provides few explanatory details. In his painting of 1614, Lastman chooses one sequence of the episode to unpack, and he does so rhetorically. Because the biblical account does not specify the nature of the Elders' arrival or Susanna's reaction to that particular moment, Lastman utilizes rhetoric in order to infer, speculate, and supplement the details in his representation of the omitted moments of the story.

As in the Goltzius paintings, Lastman and the rhetorician playwright pursue a similar conceptual strategy in representing a specific narrative moment. As was discussed above, Lastman positions the Elders as well as the viewer of the painting entering the pictorial space behind Susanna. Merely the placement of the figures and the viewer's relationship to them characterize the nature of the dialogic exchange, but the manner in which Lastman describes his

figure of Susanna is quintessentially distinct. No other example in the pictorial tradition focuses on this ambiguous moment of the Elders' arrival and the presumed surprise with which Susanna is seen to acknowledge them. Prior to hearing their solicitation, Susanna is startled merely by the Elders' presence.

The direction of her knees indicates that her body is oriented away from the viewer and towards the entrance steps to the fountain's water basin. It is reasonable to believe that at this private moment, having undressed and dismissed her servants, Susanna eagerly anticipates the tranquility and peace of mind that a private bath in her garden would bring. However, Lastman's Susanna is not so disposed. Her shoulders and torso no longer face her intended destination of the bath but rather turn to the left, revealing her exposed breasts to the painting's beholder. Her head and neck follow the same movement, but it is with Susanna's face and especially her eyes that Lastman visualizes Susanna's response. She looks with suspicion over her left shoulder, directing her gaze to the Elder wearing the dark red cloak and standing in front of the tree trunk behind her. Lastman emphasizes the direction of Susanna's line of sight by visualizing its path along the acute diagonal of the Elder's gesturing hand and arm culminating at the Elder's own eyes. Given the position of Susanna's head, she must be catching sight of the Elder in her peripheral vision only. Nevertheless, her dawning awareness rouses her instinct to flee. In the manner that Lastman describes Susanna's sight-line toward this Elder, it is certain that she would have already seen and acknowledged the other Elder with white hair creeping in from the right. Presumably Susanna's awareness of the white-haired Elder arriving occurs in the moment prior to what he represents in the painting. By describing Susanna contorting her body to look all the way behind her, Lastman alludes to this prior moment without explicitly representing it.

As Susanna peers over her shoulder to find a second intruder and one whose proximity is frighteningly close, she becomes even more distressed. Lastman visualizes her response by positioning her body leaning away from the Elders and clutching garments between her legs, attempting to cover and protect herself.²¹⁷ In her efforts, she is not left flat-footed. Rather, she is in the process of shifting her weight from sitting on the back of the sphinx-fountain to resting it on the balls of her feet, which are ready to propel her into flight. Her right hand is raised in surprise, defense, and protest, as she opens her mouth to verbally contest the presence of the Elders and demand answers. Lastman portrays the figure in tension, attempting to escape out of fear and surprise but turning towards her threat for explanation. Deviating from pictorial convention, what one witnesses in Lastman's picture is the instantaneous moment where the Elders' reveal themselves, startle Susanna, and attempt to justify their presence and desires. The manner in which Lastman visualizes these figures in this moment of exigency reveals the complexity of the moment. He describes Susanna as a complicated figure, responding to the Elders' flattery with surprise and dread. His posing of the figures suggests that Susanna's more rational impulses are compromised and overwhelmed by the instinct to flee. As the informed viewer knows, the Elders intend something far more surreptitious than mere flattery. To parse the complexity of how Lastman composes this situation, the rhetorical play from Hasselt becomes an indispensable resource.

2.7.1 THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH *TSPEEL VAN SUSANNA*

Recall that the playwright intentionally demarcates this scene by introducing a *pausa* immediately preceding it. With the *pausa* allowing for an empty stage and a musical interlude,

²¹⁷ I believe this posing is a variation of the crouching Venus. See Sluijter, "Susanna and the Elders," in *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 125.

he indicates to the audience that what follows is an event of particular narrative significance. Following a brief conversation wherein they refer to their ravenous desire for Susanna, the Elders emerge from their garden hiding. On their approach to Susanna, they continue to discuss and modify their plan. Presumably the actors on the stage would have spoken loudly enough for the audience to hear their lines but likely would have indicated their furtive approach in another way, perhaps by creeping or very softly walking up behind Susanna so as not to alert her. Their intent is to catch her off guard, and the playwright as well as Lastman intends to indicate that intention. The playwright communicates this by having the Elders speak without Susanna taking notice of their presence until a few lines later, indicating that the action or gesture performed on stage would have visualized their surreptitious arrival. Lastman accomplishes this by his placement and positioning of the Elders, describing them creeping or walking softly in hopes to arrive undetected. This correspondence continues as the playwright directs the Elders' speech to Susanna, very politely and deferentially greeting her with the salutation *Godt gruet u, vrouwe* [God bless you, madam]. Lastman pursues the same characterization of the Elder wearing the dark red cloak and standing closest to Susanna. His posture is one of deferential submission and sincere declaration. Lastman fashions his body so that he leans away from Susanna, sheepishly solicits her attention, and, with one hand over his heart, meekly explains his presence and describes his desires. The playwright also uses this same Elder to praise Susanna's beauty and proclaim his love for her. The additional lines with which the playwright gives voice to this Elder could easily accompany Lastman's characterization of the figure:

Aachas

*O schoonste kersouwe
die oyt ter werelt ontfinck leven!*

*Ghy syt die werste in ons hertte gescreven
 boven enighe creatueren die nu leven.
 Dus moet ons hertte u goy jonst geven
 duer u vierige liefde, die ons dus dwinct,
 want thertte is metter doot geminct.
 Dus bidden wy: wilt onser ontfermen.
 Ghy syt verdoelt!*

O you, the most beautiful daisy,
 That ever was created on earth!
 You have made such a deep impression in our hearts
 More than any living thing.
 May our hearts give you great joy
 Because of the burning love which holds us in its grip,
 For our hearts are wounded to death.
 We implore you, have mercy on us.²¹⁸

The correspondence between the frequency with which the playwright has the Elder refer to his heart and Lastman's portrayal of the figure with his hand covering his heart is remarkably compelling. Between the Elder's polite salutation and his proclamation of love, the playwright describes Susanna's initial response. Recall that Susanna is surprised and frightened and that to convey her degree of alarm, the playwright uses an expression that analogizes her response to a cardiac arrest. It is this very same degree of alarm that Lastman visualizes washing over the pale face of Susanna as she initially perceives the unlikely presence of the Elders.

2.8 CONCLUSION

What is clear from the analyses of Goltzius' paintings of 1607 and 1615 and Lastman's painting of 1614 is that both painters are determined to address the uniquely rhetorical character of the biblical narrative. That is, both painters are keen to portray the encounter of Susanna and the Elders by staging it in a way that evokes the viewer's experience of the rhetorical and

²¹⁸ Strietman and Happé, "*Tspeel van Susanna*," lines 225-231.

performative usage codified in the rhetoricians' drama. By primarily depicting the history as a dialogic exchange between figures, they pursue the subtle and complex nuances of what is said and heard, the motivations and intentions which inform the speech of the biblical characters, and the consequences resulting from their confrontation. Goltzius and Lastman portray a rhetorical situation referring to a biblical text which only provides limited detail as to how this history unfolds. One's familiarity with the biblical text provides a sequence of plot and the general conditions under which the characters act, but the painter's artifice attempts to wrestle with the complexities inherent in the visceral interaction between Susanna and the Elders. What the analysis of a rhetorical work like *Tspeel van Susanna* offers is a point of comparison to Goltzius and Lastman's paintings: the painters and the playwright place the figures into dialogic confrontation or, alternatively, into confrontational dialogue where the delivery of persuasive speech and its response is visualized through gesture and expression (i.e., *pronuntiatio*). The rhetorical concepts and representational strategies shared between these painters and the playwright suggest not only a rhetorical *habitus* informing their representations of the story, but it also suggests a range of rhetorical associations that would naturally come to the viewer's mind when looking at the paintings or viewing the performance of the play.

Not only does the painter and the playwright appeal to rhetoric as a means to tell the story, but they do so to convey a didactic message. The narrative of Susanna and the Elders offers one the opportunity to consider a particular moral dilemma, and Goltzius, Lastman, and the playwright from *The Red Rose* all share rhetorical strategies to put across the discursive elements of the story. At the heart of the story is an innocent and faithful woman who must decide whether to acquiesce to the Elders' demand for an adulterous affair, thereby breaking her marriage covenant and sinning against God, or to deny the Elders' demand and face public

humiliation and a brutal death. It is a story about virtue triumphing over vice and by conveying the story through rhetorical means, Goltzius, Lastman, and the playwright can explore the complexities and ambiguities of this moral dilemma. In the case of the representations by Goltzius and the playwright, the figure of *apostrophe* is employed emphatically to express the degree of anxiety and helplessness that Susanna experiences when facing this dilemma. Although in a different moment in the story, the representation by Lastman and the corresponding dramatization by the playwright feature a similar dramatic expression in characterizing Susanna's response to the arrival of the Elders, yet instead of anxiety and helplessness in reply to the Elders' speech, it is surprise and alarm. In each of the examples by Goltzius, Lastman, and the playwright, the confrontation between Susanna and the Elders is characterized not as a physical attack but as a dialogue of persuasive speech and its response. Moreover, they each characterize Susanna as the *exemplum* of chastity and virtue, and in the case of Goltzius and the playwright, Susanna is also seen as a saintly figure who not only exemplifies marital fidelity but unwavering faithfulness to God as well.

CHAPTER THREE: THE STORY OF LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the report of Goltzius' failing health in the second week of October 1616 by the English envoy, Sir Dudley Carleton, Goltzius was able to complete his painting of *Lot and his Daughters* before his death approximately three months later [Fig. 3-1]. As one of his most ambitious history paintings, *Lot and his Daughters* showcases what some have suggested is the zenith of Goltzius' prowess with the brush, and it offers a unique portrayal of a biblical subject that first became popular in the Netherlands around 1530.²¹⁹ Lot's daughters, having escaped the destruction of Sodom in which their husbands perished, feared that they would never produce offspring, and in response to their dire circumstances, they contemplated fornication with their father and ultimately executed a scheme to deceive him into incest.

Compositionally, Goltzius' *Lot and his Daughters* of 1616 is quite similar to his *Susanna and the Elders* of 1607 discussed in the previous chapter: Goltzius positions three figures in the shallow space of the immediate foreground and arranges them around a central axis, foregrounding a receding landscape that includes pertinent narrative details. As was seen in his paintings of *Susanna and the Elders*, this organization allows Goltzius to concentrate his representation of the story on a precise narrative moment (or as one will see in the analysis of the painting, a precisely select group of moments), and once again as with the previous subject matter, he focuses on a moment of conversation. Organizing a representation of the story around dialogic exchange is a stark divergence from a pictorial tradition in the Low Countries that

²¹⁹ See Anne W. Lowenthal, "Lot and His Daughters as Moral Dilemma," in *The Age of Rembrandt: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, ed. Roland E. Fleischer and Susan C. Scott (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1988), 12-27; Pieter J.J. van Thiel, "Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot en zijn Dochters*, 1616," *Bulletin van Het Rijksmuseum* 37 (1989): 124-40; For Sir Dudley Carleton's letter, see Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 310.

routinely portrayed the episode as a consensual and licentious indulgence in carnal desires of the flesh. By framing the story around conversation, Goltzius offers a deeply rhetorical picture in which one can contemplate the dire circumstances the characters encounter, weigh the dilemmas they face, and explore the culpability and innocence of each character's actions, which ultimately leads to an exhortation to pursue a life of virtue and moral resolve. Similar to the dialogic exchange between Susanna and the Elders, the conversations between Lot's daughters exemplify the moral dilemma at the root of their story.

To elucidate the rhetorical nature of Goltzius' picture, this chapter explores the rhetoricians' play *Abraham en Loth* from the chamber of rhetoric, *The Gillyflowers (De Fiolieren)* of 's-Gravenpolder in Zuid Beveland.²²⁰ In 1596, *The Gillyflowers* described themselves as “*vroome scholieren ende eerlicke retorijeurs* [devout students and honest rhetoricians],” reflecting their commitment to the pursuit and practice of rhetoric as an educational endeavor through which they would seek knowledge and pursue moral edification.²²¹ Representative of this pursuit is the their play, *Abraham en Loth*, which dramatizes the same moment of the story featured in Goltzius' painting. As one will see in the discussion of the play, the rhetoricians were interested in the complexities and morally ambivalent nature of the story, and their play demonstrates their commitment to rhetoric as a means by which one can reconcile and understand such complexities. What one will find in the following analysis is that Goltzius departs drastically from the pictorial tradition in the Low Countries of representing this story and instead pursues an approach that corresponds with the practices of the rhetoricians in *Abraham en Loth*. Essentially both Goltzius and the playwright avoid representing the story as a lascivious physical encounter

²²⁰ Hummelen, W.M.H. *Repertorium van Het Rederijkersdrama 1500-ca. 1620*, no. 1 U 5.

²²¹ Dixhoorn, *Lustige Geesten: Rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480-1650)*, 133.

motivated by lust and consensual sexual gratification, and they instead represent the subject as a conversation between the daughters occurring in the presence of their father, who is increasingly intoxicated and unaware that his daughters intend to deceive him into incest.

3.2 THE NARRATIVE

The episode of Lot and his daughters concludes the narrative of God's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah found in the nineteenth chapter of Genesis. In the previous chapter, the Lord accompanied two Angels as they stopped at the home of Abraham and Sarah on their way to investigate the claims of grievous sin committed in Sodom and Gomorrah. After Abraham's hospitality, during which the Lord again promised Abraham and Sarah the birth of a child, the Lord revealed his plan to destroy the cities in the valley.²²² Because the Lord had chosen Abraham to father "a great and mighty nation" and had commanded "his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice," the Lord shared with Abraham his intention to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. "Because the outcry against Sodom and Gomorrah is great and their sin is very grave," said the Lord, "I will go down to see whether they have done altogether according to the outcry that has come to me," meaning that if the Lord judged the cities' sins so grave, he would destroy them. With this instruction, the Lord sent his two Angels to Sodom.²²³

Upon arriving in Sodom, the Angels were greeted by Lot, Abraham's nephew and who, like his uncle, received the Angels with hospitality. He bowed to them with reverence and offered his home as a place where they could rest for the night.²²⁴ After reluctantly acquiescing to Lot's

²²² Genesis 18 (RSVCE).

²²³ Genesis 18:18-21 (RSVCE).

²²⁴ Genesis 19:1-2 (RSVCE).

request, the Angels entered the house, but before they slept the night, the people of Sodom, having heard that Lot was harboring strangers, surrounded the house and demanded that Lot relinquish his guests. In his effort to protect the Angels, Lot rebuked the wickedness of the crowd and offered them his two virgin-daughters, hoping this would satiate their furious appetite. Lot's plan was unsuccessful, however. Intent on seizing the Angels, the crowd attempted to break down the door of the house, but the Angels intervened and struck the crowd blind.²²⁵ With this event demonstrating the grievousness of Sodom's sin and therefore confirming the worthiness of Sodom's destruction, the Angels warned Lot to gather his family and flee the city, explaining that "we are about to destroy this place, because the outcry against its people has become great before the Lord, and the Lord has sent us to destroy it."²²⁶ Under the escort of the Angels, Lot, his wife, and his two daughters fled beyond the boundaries of Sodom, leaving behind the betrothed-husbands of the two daughters who were unwilling to flee. The Angels commanded Lot and his family, saying "Flee for your life; do not look back or stop anywhere in the Plain; flee to the hills, or else you will be consumed."²²⁷ The Lord then "rained on Sodom and Gomorrah sulfur and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and what grew on the ground."²²⁸ During the flight from Sodom, however, Lot's wife disobeyed the command of the Angels and looked back to view the loss of her city. As a result, she lost her life by turning into a pillar of salt.²²⁹

After a short stay in the neighboring town of Zoar, also known as Zegor, Lot and his daughters eventually made their way to a cave in the mountains where they sought refuge.²³⁰

²²⁵ Genesis 19:4-11 (RSVCE).

²²⁶ Genesis 19:12-13 (RSVCE).

²²⁷ Genesis 19:17 (RSVCE).

²²⁸ Genesis 19:24-25 (RSVCE).

²²⁹ Genesis 19:26 (RSVCE).

²³⁰ Genesis 19:30 (RSVCE).

While living in the cave, the elder daughter devised a plan for the posterity of their family and explained it to her younger sister, proposing “Our father is old, and there is not a man on earth to come in to us after the manner of all the world. Come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, so that we may preserve offspring through our father.”²³¹ In the evening, the daughters executed their scheme by overserving their father with wine to the point of his intoxication. That first night the elder daughter slept with Lot, hoping to conceive a child. Presumably Lot was so inebriated that, as Scripture records, “he did not know when she lay down or when she rose.”²³² During the following day, the elder daughter conversed with her younger sister, reporting “Look, I lay last night with my father; let us make him drink wine tonight also; then you go in and lie with him, so that we may preserve offspring through our father.”²³³ Following the same sequence of events as the previous night, the daughters served their father wine, but this time, the younger daughter slept with their father, and just as he had done the night before, Lot neither noticed when she laid down with him nor when she arose.

The biblical narrative concludes by reporting that both of Lot’s daughters became pregnant from the incest. The elder daughter gave birth to a boy named Moab who fathered the Moabite people, and the younger daughter gave birth to a boy named Ben-ammi who fathered the Ammonite people.²³⁴ The kingdom of Moab would be established to the east of the kingdom of Judah on the other side of the Dead Sea, and the kingdom of Ammon would be established just to the north of Moab. Both kingdoms routinely interconnect with the story of the Israelites in the Old Testament, but it is perhaps the Moabites who have the most significance for Christian

²³¹ Genesis 19:31-32 (RSVCE).

²³² Genesis 19:33 (RSVCE).

²³³ Genesis 19:34 (RSVCE).

²³⁴ Genesis 19:35-38 (RSVCE).

biblical history. The family line from Moab leads to Ruth who marries Boaz, and it is through their son Obed and his descendant Jesse that Mary gives birth to the Christ.²³⁵

The story of Lot and his daughters is perplexing and caused great discomfort to the exegetes who read it. A story of incest between father and daughters is complicated and challenging, especially in the context of the Lord destroying one community because of, among other things, their sexual sin, while sparing the righteous Lot and his family only to allow them to commit sexual sin without punishment. The complexities of the biblical narrative certainly raise many questions, some of which are visualized in the pictorial tradition of the sixteenth-century Netherlands.

3.3 THE PICTORIAL TRADITION

In order to engage critically with Goltzius' painting of 1616, one must first consider representative examples in the Netherlandish pictorial tradition with which Goltzius would have been familiar. Certainly, the print representations of the biblical narrative would have been most accessible. The quintessential visualization of the story in the early sixteenth-century Netherlands is found in Lucas van Leyden's engraving of 1530 [Fig. 3-2]. In many ways, Lucas' invention sets the iconographic standard for how artists subsequently represent the story. Featured in the foreground as the main focus of the image, Lot and his daughters sit in a rocky, wooded landscape. Represented in the background, one sees the preceding scenes of the story, including the destruction of Sodom and the escape of Lot and his family. The distinct characteristic of the image is Lucas' description of Lot's interaction with his daughters. An

²³⁵ Joshua Benjamin Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters: An Iconographical Study of the Uses of This Theme in the Visual Arts from 1500-1650, and Its Bases in Exegetical and Literary History*. Doctoral Dissertation Series 67-15, 495 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977), 49.

embellished interpretation, deviating from the biblical account, Lucas' image shows Lot, in the presence of both of his children, consciously engaged in sexual foreplay with one of his daughters. He sits on a stone embankment, mostly nude, and welcomes what is likely his elder daughter onto his lap. As he begins to nuzzle her cheek, soliciting a kiss, he slides his right hand between her legs. Presumably the absence of his inhibitions results from already having consumed too much wine. In her effort to escalate the procreative potential of the affair, the elder daughter turns to her sister to replenish their father's cup. The younger daughter stares at the wine jug which she holds over the cup, focusing intently on her aim. The elder daughter also spies the wine jug out of the corner of her eye, attempting to help her sister's endeavor, but because her father stimulates her, she cannot hold the cup still. At this instantaneous moment, Lucas portrays the wine jug and cup as misaligned. If the younger daughter poured wine from the jug, it would surely fall to the ground. Indicative of this misalignment is Lucas' main emphasis on the sexual engagement between father and daughter, and yet his visualization of sexual foreplay as the defining characteristic of the figures' interaction is narratively incoherent and departs from the biblical story. Despite this inconsistency with Scripture, the print provides the iconographical foundation for many northern pictorial representations. What primarily informs these subsequent interpretations of the scene is Lucas' characterization of a concupiscent, licentious, and sexual interaction between Lot and his daughters.

In 1551 Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert produced a print after a design by Maarten van Heemskerck where, as in Lucas' engraving, Lot and his daughters disport in a rocky setting. In this case, there is more of a suggestion of a cave, while, as in Lucas' print, the background and middle ground depict the destruction of Sodom and Lot's wife turning into a pillar of salt [Fig. 3-3]. One daughter stands and fills their father's cup with wine while the other daughter sits next

to him, cradling his head with one hand and reaching for his genitals with the other. Heemskerck characterizes Lot's reaction as surprise and alarm. In what can be understood as an instinctive reflexive response, Lot directs his gaze towards his daughter with raised eyebrows, and, indicating his discomfort, he lifts his left hand with an open palm. While Heemskerck directs more attention to the role that the food and wine play in Lot's seduction, including a still-life table of victuals, wine jugs, and a cornucopia, the defining characteristic of Lot's interaction with his daughters continues to be sexual. This theme was taken up by other artists, who describe Lot's interaction with his daughters as sexually charged: the sexual aggressor—father or daughters—tend to alternate, with one daughter often portrayed as her father's sexual companion while the other is relegated to a supporting role, usually that of pouring or serving wine.

Philips Galle produced two prints in the mid-sixteenth century, one after Frans Floris in 1558 and another after Heemskerck in 1569 [Fig. 3-4 & 3-5]. Floris' design depicts a very sexually aggressive Lot who grabs one of his daughters from behind, tearing open her blouse and fondling her breast. In her most enabling role yet, the other daughter garners Lot's attention by placing her hand on his shoulder, and as though it were a medicine to propel his sexual frenzy, she pushes a cup of wine in his face. It is only slightly different from Galle's print after Heemskerck, where one finds a more narratively coherent scene depicting Lot and one of the daughters in the cave wherein one witnesses the act of incest as it unfolds. While more faithful to the narrative's sequence of events, Heemskerck's design focuses on a *conscious* sexual interaction between father and one of his daughters while the other daughter operates in a supportive role, here, embodying the despair and anxiety which motivates the daughters' actions. This conventional image of Lot initiating a sexual relation with his daughter is also depicted in Goltzius' own drawing of the subject dated to 1597 [Fig. 3-6]. Similar to Lucas' print, Goltzius' drawing shows

Lot consciously and actively stimulating his daughter: he leans in to kiss her while he fondles her breast and opens her legs. As indicated by the daughter raising a glass of wine and Goltzius' inclusion of red tint to describe Lot's face, Lot is drunk but clearly not incapacitated.

Jan Muller's print from c. 1600, which was formerly attributed to a design by Bartholomeus Spranger, slightly complicates the paradigm with a unique composition and figure arrangement, but it maintains a thematically similar figure interaction as well as similar background narrative elements seen in the previous prints discussed [Fig. 3-7]. In the background, Sodom is destroyed and Lot's wife turns into a pillar of salt while in the foreground Lot receives the physical attention of one daughter as the other monitors the success of the sexual seduction and replenishes his cup of wine. One can even read Muller's representation as magnifying the sexual tension of the scene as he confronts the viewer with the sensual curve of the back of the daughter in the foreground. Moreover, Muller's placement of the daughter's body obstructs one's view of what exactly transpires between her and Lot, thus escalating the speculation of what concupiscent activity remains hidden.

Rubens' painting of c. 1610 offers a similar figure arrangement to that in Goltzius' painting of 1616. If Goltzius did not know of Rubens' composition at first hand, he would have known it through a reproductive print by Willem Isaacs van Swanenburg dated 1612 [Fig. 3-8]. Not only does the arrangement of the figures suggest a relationship between the two paintings, but there are also narrative details shared between Goltzius and Rubens that have led several scholars to draw the comparison.²³⁶ Rubens positioned Lot and his daughters parallel to the picture plane,

²³⁶ E.K.J. Reznicek, "Rapporti Tra Goltzio e Rubens," in *Rubens Dall'Italia All'Europa: Atti Del Convegno Internazionale Di Studi, Padova, 24-27 Maggio 1990*, ed. Caterina Limentani Viridis (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1992), 127-129; Hessel Miedema, "Dageraad Der Gouden Eeuw," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 10 (1994): 248; Christopher Brown, Review of *Rubens, The Old Testament. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, vol. 3, by R.-A. d'Hulst and M. Vandeven. *The Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991): 716-17; Pieter J. J. van Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem: 1562-1638; a Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1999), 130; Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 59; 61.

with each daughter flanking their father on either side. Dominating the middle ground is a still-life of fruit and cheese set atop a linen-covered stone table and a rock face that suggests the opening of a cave. In the background at the far right, one sees God's wrath, represented as rays of light streaking sharply from heaven and fueling the fires that now engulf Sodom. As one will see in the discussion below, all of these elements feature in Goltzius' painting to some degree, and as Rubens first uses them, they set the stage for the composition's main focus, the seduction of Lot unfolding in the foreground.

Rubens' portrayal of the daughters suggests that they are already in midst of executing their plan. One daughter holds a scalloped-shaped drinking cup while the other fills it with wine. With a lascivious look out of the corner of his eye, suggesting a concupiscent motive that is only underscored by his naked torso, Lot attempts to remove his daughter's blouse. The action is a step beyond Muller's visualization in part because the view of his action is unencumbered, his facial expression is unambiguous, and the sensual caressing of the daughter's back seen in Muller's image is now substituted with a forceable disrobing. One will find a closer correspondence to the figure-characterization found in Philips Galle's print after Frans Floris, despite the disparities in compositional organization. Rubens' invention certainly displays a general derivation from Lucas' print where Lot unequivocally acts as the sexual aggressor. What is clear from these examples in the Netherlandish pictorial tradition of representing this biblical history is the demonstrative propensity for depicting the nature of the daughters' seduction as a purely sexually motivated endeavor, playing on the active sexual excitement and lust of an old man for his young, beautiful daughters.

3.4 THE RHETORICIANS' PLAY ABRAHAM EN LOTH

The rhetoricians' play, *Abraham en Loth*, comes from 's-Gravenpolder in Zuid Beveland and offers a very different characterization of this biblical episode. Although the author's name and the first part of the play are missing, the surviving play text provides an excellent example of how rhetoricians would have visualized the story on the stage – and because there is an extant play visualizing the same biblical narrative as Goltzius depicts in his painting, one is provided an excellent opportunity to analyze and compare specific details and compositional strategies which both Goltzius and the playwright share in their storytelling. Despite some minor departures, the playwright follows the biblical text quite closely, depicting not only the scene of Lot and his daughters in the mountains but also the preceding episodes of God's covenant with Abraham in Genesis 17, Abraham's entertaining the Angels and God's revelation of the plan to destroy the cities in Genesis 18, and the actual destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah along with the rescue of Lot and his daughters in Genesis 19.

Notable about this play is its inner play-outer play construction. The playwright begins with an outer play featuring a cast of characters trying to answer a particular question, namely what is a rich man's reward, or phrased somewhat differently, how does humankind find salvation and spiritual comfort? To explore the answer to this question, the outer play's characters consider the example of Lot by witnessing the biblical events from Genesis 17-19, which the playwright has staged as the inner play. At the conclusion of the inner play, the characters from the outer play return to the stage and attempt to answer the question presented at the beginning by reflecting on what they have seen and heard in the inner play. This rhetorical framework of the inner play-outer play construction demonstrates one way that the rhetoricians used biblical history to

explore questions of ethical behavior, which was so closely aligned with humanism's effort to exercise virtue ethics and promote moral rectitude among the larger community.

The playwright includes several personifications as characters in his play, some of whom reflect features of persons in the biblical text. By using personifications, the playwright is able to emphasize particular attributes that indicate a biblical character's primary characteristics.

Rebellious City (*Oproerige Ghemeente*) and Scoffing Heart (*Schoffierich Hert*), for example, represent the inhabitants of Sodom while Hardened Heart (*Versteent Hert*) represents Lot's stubborn sons-in-law who refuse to flee the city with the rest of the family. The playwright uses these personified figures to represent actual characters in the biblical narrative. *Sinnekens*, on the other hand, are also personified figures, but they do not represent actual persons in the biblical text. This figure type allows the playwright to more explicitly discuss and comment on the underlying virtues and vices that the narrative puts forth. Willful Deed (*Moetwillige daet*) and Impure Craving (*Oncuijsch begeeren*) are the *sinneken*s who comment on and reflect upon actions in the play as they unfold while also promoting their own devilish aims, such as the assault on Lot's house.²³⁷ At the end of the play, that is, at the conclusion of the outer play, one finds a conversation between three additional figures, who were presumably introduced in the missing opening of the outer play: Fear of Plagues (*Vreese voor Plagen*), Common People (*t'Ghemeen volck*), and Good Education (*Goet onderwijs*). Fear of Plagues is concerned that the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah also awaits him, and he wonders where he can find comfort and salvation.²³⁸ Common People and Good Education embody two alternative responses to this concern. Common People is similar to a *sinneken* to the degree that he offers faulty advice, but

²³⁷ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth* en Enkele Copieën uit Het Manuscript," in *Enkele Aspecten van Abraham en Loth, een Spel van Sinnen uit de Verzameling van de Rederijkerskamer "De Fiolieren" te 's-Gravenpolder*, t.1-48, lines 345-499.

²³⁸ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 980-991.

he is different in the sense that he intends goodwill, albeit misguided. He argues that salvation and comfort can be found in earthly, material wealth and encourages Fear of Plagues to build up his fortune.²³⁹ Good Education, on the other hand, represents the position that only knowledge of Scripture and the teachings of Christ can provide him with salvation and comfort, and he encourages Fear of Plagues to follow the example of Christ in obeying his teachings.²⁴⁰

Notably, these characters at the end of the play are not part of the biblical narrative; rather, they are comprised by the outer play that began in the missing first part of the play and concludes here at the end, the function of which is to interpret and comment on the inner play, that is, on the biblical story itself. It is likely that the performance of the play commenced with Fear of Plagues arriving on the stage and speaking to the audience or to another character wherein he raised the question that the play attempts to answer. Called a *heijsch*, the question put forth by a rhetoricians' play usually indicates that the stage text was written with the specific intent of a performance in the context of a competition festival. In this particular play, a dialogue between the *sinnekens* even uses the word *heijsch* to refer to the question, "What is a rich man's reward?," asked in the context of Sodom and Gommorah's destruction and the inhabitants' concern for material wealth and worldly living. Willful Deed (*Moetwillige daet*) asks, "*Wat seght ghij van sulke rijcke lijen / Dije nijet dan opt tverganckelijck goet en staet* [What do you say of those rich people / Who care for nothing else than fleeting wealth]."²⁴¹ To which Impure Craving (*Oncuijsch begeeren*) answers, "*Neffens Lucifer in dijen hoogen troon / sullen sij besitten het schoone palleijs* [Alongside Lucifer in that high throne / they shall possess the beautiful palace]."²⁴² Willful Deed (*Moetwillige daet*) responds by identifying this question-and-answer

²³⁹ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 992-1004.

²⁴⁰ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 1005-1126.

²⁴¹ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 939-940.

²⁴² H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 948-949.

dialogue as the solution to the question presented: “*Dat is den heijsch* [That is the question].”²⁴³

Although this conversation occurs in the inner-play, it articulates the concern afflicting Fear of Plagues in the outer-play: what happens to those who seek worldly and material wealth, and how does one avoid the destruction encountered by Sodom and Gommorah. The conversation between Fear of Plagues (*Vreese voor Plagen*), Common People (*t’Ghemeen volck*), and Good Education (*Goet onderwijs*) occurring at the beginning and the end of the play, therefore, frames and contextualizes the material in the inner play.

Apart from the *sinnemens*, the personified figures representing biblical characters, as well as those personified characters found in the outer play, the remainder of the play’s cast reflects the specific figures found in the biblical narrative, and throughout the progression of the inner play, the playwright faithfully follows the biblical account of the story. The inner play-outer play construction, however, facilitates a meta-discursive apparatus with which to consider the biblical story as it unfolds. The destruction of Sodom, for example, operates as an *exemplum* with which the characters and the audience can evaluate worldly living and material wealth alongside a consideration of the characteristics of a holy city. The story acts a warning, exhorting inhabitants of a city to practice virtue and holiness, and it confronts the audience with an image of a sinful city, which is punished for its failure to worship the Lord and follow his Word. Given the nature of the play’s dilemma, the fact that it was intended for a civic or festival performance becomes all the more convincing, especially since the conversations in the outer play advocate for charitable living as the requisite for avoiding the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah.²⁴⁴

For the purposes of discussing Lot and his daughters and considering Goltzius’ visualization of the episode, one ought to analyze the dramatization of the scene in the inner play. In an effort

²⁴³ H.A.P. Loman, “De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*,” line 950.

²⁴⁴ H.A.P. Loman, “De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*,” lines 1135-1142; 1165-1166.

to maintain clarity, it is prudent to organize the following sections of the discussion with categorical designations, reflective of the organization the playwright uses: the exposition, the seduction scene, and the conclusion. These designations will gain clarity as the discussion continues. By following the playwright's structure of the episode, it is useful to consider the rhetorical scaffolding of early modern morality plays, wherein a plot begins with an exposition of the story's characters along with the introduction of an intrigue. An intrigue, in this sense, describes a complication or series of complications that forms the story's plot and drives the narrative.²⁴⁵ Because the episode of Lot and his daughters is only part of the inner play, one ought to consider first the transition scene, in this case an introductory exchange between Lot and his daughters, followed by a consideration of a significant implementation of a strophic form typically practiced by the rhetoricians, called a rondel. Both the transition scene and the rondel serve to expound this episode. As the examination of the play continues, I will point out the precise parallels between the play and Goltzius' 1616 painting, *Lot and his Daughters*, a closer inspection of which occurs later in the chapter.

3.4.1 EXPOSITION: TRANSITION, INTRODUCTION, AND THE SIGNALING RONDEL

Following line 623, one finds the transition section of text in an extensive six-line stage direction that provides a shift from one part of the story to the next. Preceding this moment, the Angels directed Lot and his family to escape the Lord's wrath in their flight from Sodom, precipitating their journey to the town of Zegor. The stage directions read as follows:

*de Engels binnen
hijer sijet Loths wijff omme en dije
stadt vergaet met het vuur ende
Loths wijff verandert in eenen sout*

²⁴⁵ Fifield, "The Community of Morality Plays," 340-341.

*steen en Loth gaet met sijn dochters
in dije stadt dije daer na hijet Zegor*

the angels go inside
here Lot's wife looks back and the
city perishes in fire and
Lot's wife turns into a salt
pillar and Lot goes with his daughters
to the city which is called Zegor

This lengthy stage direction provides an ekphrastic image of the journey from Sodom to Zegor, quickly transpiring between the moments when the whole family stands in Sodom, when Lot informs his daughters that Zegor is no longer safe, and when they proceed to the mountains. In fact, in the space of three lines of speech, the characters have fled Sodom, traveled to Zegor, and have departed from the city to take refuge in the mountains.²⁴⁶ The stage direction indicates a kind of pantomime, where actions and emotions are conveyed primarily through the use of gesture and without speech. One might wonder how this moment was visualized on the stage.

Likely utilizing scenery, props, and other visual elements, the playwright staged the journey of the characters beginning in Sodom at the left or the right opening of the stage and traveling to the opposite opening where the rhetoricians would have indicated the town of Zegor, completing the cause-and-effect rhetorical structure of the flight from Sodom all the way to the moment of incest in the mountain cave. Once Lot resumes the dialogue by saying, "*Ick vrees tot Zegor te blijven binnen / ick wil beginnen mij op tgeberchte te begeven* [I fear to remain in Zegor / I want to proceed to the mountain range]," perhaps the center opening of the stage would have taken on the guise of the mountain refuge, featuring a cave as the biblical text describes.²⁴⁷

It is important to note that this is not a major scene, and it concludes almost as quickly as it begins. Because the stage direction is comparatively long and detailed, the playwright wanted to

²⁴⁶ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 623-625.

²⁴⁷ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 624-625.

create this image quickly and succinctly in order to transition from the episode of Lot and the Angels in Sodom to Lot and his daughters taking refuge in the mountains. Two objectives of this very brief image are dramaturgic efficiency and rhetorical effectiveness.

The efficient transition between scenes suggests that the playwright considers the seduction scene of Lot and his daughters happening in the mountains as the most compelling episode, rich in its own rhetorical potential, and he intends to spend most of his time and care visualizing and crafting how this scene and its attendant conversations unfold. The transitional image described by the stage direction is also effective rhetorically as it develops the intermediary parts of the narrative and provides context for what is about to follow. It offers the viewer the necessary, circumstantial information with which to understand the imminent dialogic exchange between the daughters. By including all the necessary contextual information, the playwright is able to quickly move on to the scene he wishes to highlight, and the pantomime performed on the stage is an effective tool to transition quickly to a more intriguing episode of the biblical narrative, worthy of the audience's attention and consideration. As one will see in his 1616 painting, Goltzius shares with the playwright a concern for and a concentration on this definitive and compelling episode of Lot and his daughters taking refuge in the mountains [Fig. 3-1]. Of all the narrative moments to depict from the story, Goltzius and the playwright focus on this pivotal event, and they both choose to include a frame of context to support their particular focus on how the episode develops and unfolds through a series of conversations.

The playwright's concern of emphasizing the conversations between Lot's daughters is apparent when one considers the initial stage direction indicating the transition scene with others that follow throughout the entirety of the episode. Prior to line 680, one finds the stage direction "*Doutste met Loth binnen* [The older daughter goes inside with Lot]," and immediately following

line 736, one finds the direction, “*Binnen* [Inside]” followed by a *pausa*. These stage directions indicate that the elder and younger daughter respectively leave the stage to lie with their father. These moments of the story are indicated and acknowledged but are not performed on stage. That is to say that while the moments immediately preceding and immediately following the daughters’ conversations are succinctly and only momentarily included, the primary focus of the viewer is directed towards the dialogue between the daughters who plot the seduction of their father. Similarly, as one will find in the close examination of the painting, Goltzius emphasizes the dialogic exchanges between Lot and his daughters in the foreground while relegating the scene of fornication, which is almost imperceptible, to the shadows in the background.

Immediately following the initial, lengthy stage direction that provides the transition from Sodom to Zegor, the playwright introduces the episode of Lot and his daughters in the mountains. Lot begins by explaining that Zegor is in fact an unsafe place, and that they must proceed to the mountains for refuge. His daughters obediently comply and aid their father in the journey.²⁴⁸ Over the next thirty-six lines describing the episode, the playwright uses several rondels, through which the playwright intentionally alters the pace of the play.

A rondel is a distinctive strophic form used by the rhetoricians in many of their plays. The form consists of an eight-line construction in which the first, fourth, and seventh lines not only rhyme but also mirror one another. The same relationship is true for the second and eighth lines. There are a host of rhetorical effects that the playwright seeks to employ with this versification. First of all, one encounters the use of *epimone* with the repetition of the same phrases in the repeated lines, which effectively slows down the progression of the scene. The rondels, and the use of *epimone* therein, allow the playwright to prolong and extend the narrative moment,

²⁴⁸ H.A.P. Loman, “De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*,” lines 624-644.

allowing him to unfold the event slowly and methodically. Second of all, rondels sometimes feature an interior rhyming structure that calls attention to itself as a significantly more complex verse, rhetorically functioning as a flag to the audience that something dramatic is imminent. The rondels, with their use of *epimone* and an interior rhyming structure, therefore, also serve to intensify the successive moment. Exercising this particular rhetorical practice of incorporating poetic lyricism into dramatic narratives, the rhetoricians utilized rondels as a rhetorical tool to ornament and escalate dramatic situations.²⁴⁹

Whereas the preceding stage direction very quickly advanced the narrative from the destruction of Sodom to the transformation of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, and then to the arrival at Zegor, the rondels, beginning with the characters' arrival in the mountains, dramatically slows and prolongs our awareness of the scene as it continues to unfold. In Goltzius' painting, as one will see in the later discussion, a similar effect is accomplished through changes of scale. The contextualizing vignettes, which Goltzius includes in the background of his painting, are much smaller in size, and they allow the viewer quickly to move through prior scenes in the story before focusing on the much larger scene of Lot and his daughters, who, rendered as large-scale figures, occupy most of the painting. Similar to the playwright's use of rondels, Goltzius uses these vignettes to allow the beholder to speed up his viewing of tangential, contextualizing narrative elements and slow down his viewing of the primary narrative moment of Lot and his daughters in the mountains.

In the play's introductory dialogue to this episode, Lot begins, as mentioned above, by expressing his apprehensiveness about remaining in Zegor and his desire to seek refuge in the mountains. His elder daughter replies by acknowledging the problem that will ultimately hasten

²⁴⁹ Coigneau, "Strofische vormen in het rederijkerstoneel," 17.

the episode to its climax: because of the destruction of Sodom and their flight to the mountains, their father's hereditary line will end, as neither she nor her sister will ever again lie with a man to produce offspring.

Lot:

*Ick vreese tot Zegor te blijven binnen
Ick wil beginnen mij op tgeberchte te begeven
Of mij ijemant socht te verslinnen
Soo wil ick met sinnen behouden mijn leven*

I fear to remain in Zegor
I want to proceed to the mountain range
As if someone were seeking to destroy me
So do I wish with good reason to preserve my life

The Older Daughter:

*Mijn lijeve heere en vader verheven
Wij sijn nu alleen hoe sullen wijt maecken
Ick en sije geen man tgaet boven schreven
Dat wij souden mogen an saet geraecken*

My beloved lord and father, elevated in high regard
We are now alone, how shall we make it
She and I are going to meet no man up there
That we should be able to produce offspring²⁵⁰

With its straight-forward rhyme scheme of abab / bcba, this introductory dialogue presents the reason for Lot and his daughters' retreat to the mountains and the consequential dilemma this creates for the daughters. Following this introductory exchange, the playwright employs his first rondel to signal his primary concern in his staging of the episode. As an effective tool of rhetorical verse, the playwright employs a rondel so that he can slow the pace of the story, heighten the atmosphere of the particular moment, and signal to the audience that something significant is imminent. This signaling essentially operates as a flag to draw the audience's

²⁵⁰ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 624-631.

attention, petitioning them to consider and critically discern the impending scene. The first rondel begins with Lot's fatherly imperative to his daughters:

Lot:

- (1) *Betrout Godt dije doorsijet alle saecken*
 (2) *Dije salt wel ten besten voegen*

Trust God who sees through all affairs
 Who shall make everything alright

The Younger Daughter:

- (3) *Mij dunckt dat wij hijer Tgeberchte genaecken*

I think that we approach the mountain range here

Lot:

- (4) *Betrout Godt dije doorsijet alle saecken*

Trust God who sees through all affairs

The Older Daughter:

- (5) *Laet ons hijer wat rusten en tgaen staecken*
 (6) *Want ons vader is out om rusten gaet hij poogen*

Let us stop and rest here
 Because our father is old, he is trying to rest

Lot:

- (7) *Betrout Godt dije doorsijet alle saecken*
 (8) *Dije salt wel ten besten voegen*
 (9) *Ick stel mij tot rusten ongelogen*
 (10) *Want dije sonne heeft doortogen alle mijn leden*

Trust God who sees through all affairs
 Who shall make everything alright
 I am sitting down to rest without doubt
 Because the sun has set all my sufferings²⁵¹

²⁵¹ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 632-641.

As noted earlier, the rondel consists of eight lines, the first eight lines of the section above, wherein the first line is repeated in the fourth and seventh lines, and the second line is repeated in the eighth. The playwright follows the typical distribution of clauses found in rondels where one character speaks the repeated lines and the other character(s) responds with the other verses. In this case, Lot's speech reflects the rhetorical figure of *epimone* in that he repeatedly speaks with the same words and phrases, expressing his faith in and gratitude towards God for delivering their salvation. His daughters' responses preserve a dialogic interaction with their father but do so by adhering to the rhyming structure governing the rondel: cdcc / cdcd. This adherence allows a seamless transition back into the dialogue immediately following the rondel when Lot informs his daughters that he will sit down to rest.

The rondel also serves as a signpost in the story's plot as it signals the conclusion of the characters' travel and introduces a new physical setting in which the episode's primary intrigue will occur. The characters have arrived at the mountains and then, out of solicitous concern for Lot's old age and because of the suffering they have endured, they stop to rest. The rhetorical effect of the rondel is to corroborate this narrative moment, as it slows the narrative's momentum and extends the duration of the scene. That is, it is not only the content of the language spoken, but also the manner in which the playwright gives voice to these characters that activates the moment's rhetorical effect. How the playwright crafts the verse of their speech allows various rhetorical figures of repetition to accompany a rhyming scheme, producing an effect that temporally dilates this moment. As Lot and his daughters have experienced the trauma of the destruction of Sodom and the havoc of escaping God's wrath, so has the audience. As Lot and his daughters slow down to rest and recover from this trauma, so does the audience. This rhetorical effect of suspending and prolonging the moment where the characters end their

journey in the mountains demarcates and delineates what has come before from what will soon follow; it involves the audience to the degree that they identify with the characters, inhabit the scene, and take part in weighing the imminent dilemmas confronting the characters; and it signals a transition in the narrative, whereby the playwright introduces the episode's main intrigue. This rhetorical effect is not unlike viewing Goltzius' painting, as one will see. Similar also to Goltzius and Lastman's paintings depicting the story of Susanna and the Elders, as well as what one will encounter in the paintings by Lastman discussed in subsequent chapters, the rhetorical strategy of suspending, prolonging, and temporally dilating a narrative image allows for and demands that the beholder inhabit the scene, explore the subtleties and complexities of the moment depicted, and personalize the confrontations and dilemmas the figures encounter.

3.4.2 THE INTRIGUE

Following the signaling rondel, the younger daughter voices a complex utterance in response to her father's desire to rest. She directs her words to her father and then to the audience:

*Sit daer mijn vader en slaept in vreden
 Tot deser steden sal ick u decken
 Op dat ghij in Godt weder moecht verwecken*

Sit there my father and sleep in peace
 Until these cities shall I hide you
 So that in God you must beget [offspring] again²⁵²

Along with the signaling rondel, this utterance provides the segue to the intrigue of the plot's narrative, which consists of a series of conversations amongst the characters. It is likely that the first two lines address Lot while the last line is directed to the audience as a foreshadowing of what follows. The younger daughter's aside utilizes the rhetorical figure of *apostrophe*, but not

²⁵² H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 642-644.

in its typical mode of indicating despair or desperation. In this case, the *apostrophe* operates in the same manner as the rondel that precedes it. It signals to the audience what is about to happen, only here it is made more explicit. Its usage reflects the objective of a narrator tasked with providing the audience with more contextual information than what is available to all the characters on the stage. Moreover, the utterance reflects the incongruity between the daughter's intentions and Lot's activity. Regarding her father's rest, the younger daughter intends that her father be capable of producing offspring while Lot only intends to rest his elderly body after his narrow escape from destruction and death. Through this rhetorical utterance, the younger daughter intends something other or more than what she suggests. She empathizes with her father's expressed desire for rest, corresponding with his own speech and action, but she indicates that actually she intends to procreate with him. While this feature of the play is not faithful to the Genesis account nor is it completely coherent with respect to the play's following scene (Scripture says it is the elder daughter and not the younger daughter who proposes that their father should produce offspring), it is a rhetorical device that the playwright uses to provide the audience with privileged narrative information (i.e., the true intentions of the characters informing the trajectory of the plot).

The *apostrophe* also acts as a segue to the following conversation between the daughters. This positioning of a daughter sitting before Lot, alluding to or speaking outright about a scheme to deceive him into incest, is remarkably similar to what one will find in Goltzius' painting where Goltzius depicts both daughters discussing their scheme in Lot's presence. Similar to the playwright, Goltzius also provides privileged narrative information to the beholder while Lot fails to perceive the true nature of his circumstances. In comparing the painting and the play, it becomes apparent that what each character knows, what each intends, and what motivates each

character's actions become factors determinative of what the painting's beholder and the play's audience witness.

The idea that the theater audience would witness the younger daughter reveal her true intentions in the presence of her father without his realizing it, is supported by the fact that in the very next line the older daughter explicitly proposes her scheme that she and her sister should sleep with their father. There are no stage directions indicating that their father has left the stage, but one might assume that because he is so old and weary from his flight to the mountains, he is absent of mind or sleeping, as is suggested a few lines later. The older daughter begins the conversation with her sister by expressing anxiety over their new circumstances:

*Suster wat sullen wij ter handen trecken?
Wij sijn inde weereelt maer met ons tween
En ons vader is out wat mach hem strecken
Om saet te verwerven int ghemeen?
Laet ons hem wijn geven en maecken hem droncken certeen
Soo sal ick mij bij hem gaen leggen
Om generatije te maecken hoort wat ick meen
En hooren wat hij daer tegen sal seggen*

Sister what shall we do about this?
We are in the world all on our own
And our father is old, what may serve him
To receive offspring generally?
Let us give him wine and certainly make him drunk
Thus I shall go to lie with him
In order to make offspring, hear what I mean
And listen to what he shall say in response²⁵³

After explaining their dilemma, the elder daughter proposes a solution, immediately to effect what the younger daughter foreshadowed in her *apostrophe*. The younger daughter responds:

*Dijen raet is goet laet ons verkreggen
En sijen off hij haest wacker wert
En maecken alle dingen ree wijn ende weggen
Soo mogen wij beginnen wt een goet hert*

²⁵³ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 644-652.

This advice is good, let us achieve it
 And see if he has awakened already
 And make all things ready, wine and bread
 Thus, we may proceed with a good heart²⁵⁴

Persuaded by the proposal, the younger daughter complies with her sister's suggestion that they commit incest with their father, and together they proceed to prepare for the execution of their plan. Notably, however, her last line alludes to the moral precariousness of their actions, and she urges that they proceed with good intentions. It is an important line because the characters' state of mind is indicated, as they knowingly and intentionally proceed with incest in hope that their actions will be either excused or justified.

The following moment in the play consists of Lot waking up and rejoining the conversation in which his daughters welcome him, prepare him food and wine, and usher him back to sleep. This section of their conversation, between lines 661 and 679, features a nineteen-line structure that looks and sounds like a rondel but does not quite reflect the technical structure. Often a rondel of nineteen lines begins with a three-line chorus that is repeated two more times. While one does not find this rondel construction here, the playwright has composed this section as an approximate rondel, including several similar lines distributed throughout that evoke a repeated image. In the first, fifth, eighth, and eleventh line of this scene, one finds recurrent speech utilizing the verbs *comen* and *brenghen* to portray a similar picture: "*Vader wij comen u bijgeseten* [Father, we come to sit with you]," "*Ick brenghet u dochter* [I toast you, daughter]," "*mijn suster ick brenghet u weer* [my sister I toast you again]," and "*ick brenghet u vader* [I toast you father]."²⁵⁵ The rhetorical effect of this repetition is the perpetuation of the image on stage where one sees these three characters sitting in close proximity to each other drinking one glass

²⁵⁴ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 653-656.

²⁵⁵ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," line 661; 665; 668; 671.

of wine after the other. The image facilitated by their repeated speech comprises a picture of Lot succumbing to intoxication at the hands of his daughters. One will see that the picture the playwright creates by the repeated use of language and dialogic exchange is similar to Goltzius' painting of 1616, in which, as in the play, one finds Lot and his daughters sitting in close proximity, consuming a great deal of wine, and speaking to one another.

Assuredly drunk, Lot responds to this moment by saying, "*Dats wel mijn behangen* [That pleases me well]," and while his unawareness of his daughters' plan persists, he ironically continues, "*wil ick...gaen slapen sonder vertzagen oft sonder eenich achterdincken* [I want...to go to sleep without being afraid or without any compromises]." ²⁵⁶ The irony lies in the fact that Lot's elder daughter helps prepare his bed, with the next stage direction indicating that they depart from the stage together. The insinuation is, of course, that while they are out of the audience's view, the elder daughter fornicates with her intoxicated, sleeping father. This strategy is not unlike what one will see in Goltzius' composition where he obscures the image of fornication in the shadows of the cave.

After a *pausa*, during which a musical interlude is played and the stage is cleared, the next scene opens with the elder daughter arriving on stage and delivering a report to her sister:

...
Ick soude meenen dat alle dinck is claer
Ick hebbe gelegen bij mijnen vaer
Vanden avont totten morgen
En hij en werde mij nijet ghewaer
Dus hope ick dat wij sijn wt alle sergen

I think that everything is achieved
 I have lain with my father
 From the evening until the morning
 And he was not aware of my being there
 So I hope that we are relieved of all of our anxieties²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 673-675.

²⁵⁷ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 683-690.

She confirms to her sister that she slept with their father, that he is unaware of the conjugation, and that their distress caused by the termination of their family line is hopefully alleviated.

Deviating from the biblical account, the playwright delivers the following suggestion in the younger daughter's response to the elder daughter's report:

*Laet ons Tavont hem weer te drincken vergen
Sonder langer te bergen tdijent nijet verswegen
Op dat ick bij hem me quam gelegen
En wij soo vercregen beijde vruchten
Soo waren wij wt al ons duchten
Ende vant suchten geheel ontslagen*

Let us require him to drink again tonight
Without longer delay, it should not be unsaid
So that I can lie with him
And so we both obtain offspring
In that way we are relieved of all of our fears
And released of all of our sighs²⁵⁸

The younger daughter responds to her sister's hope that their anxieties will be relieved, by suggesting that it is now her turn to sleep with their father and obtain further assurance that the family line will continue. After preparing food and wine as they had the night before, the daughters again proceed to intoxicate their father with alcohol. According to their plan, Lot becomes drunk and sleepy, and the younger daughter, like her sister before her, accompanies their father to prepare his bed and ultimately fornicate with his unconscious body. Again, a stage direction indicates that the incestuous action occurs off stage. It is important to make explicit that although there is some variation, the playwright has essentially repeated the same visual image on stage for the second time, and notably, this image is essentially the one Goltzius offers in his painting of 1616.

²⁵⁸ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 691-696.

3.4.3 THE CHARACTERIZATION OF LOT

Throughout this entire episode, the playwright characterizes Lot as a tender, loving, and virtuous father who consistently and routinely expresses his joy in the company of his daughters while also expressing his faithfulness to God:

Lot:

*Betrout Godt dije doorsijet alle saecken
Dije salt wel ten besten voegen*

Trust God who sees through all affairs
And he shall make everything alright²⁵⁹

Lot:

Daer godt mij doorhijelp door sijn voorweten

But God helped me through his foreknowledge²⁶⁰

Lot:

*Goeden dach mijn dochters daer ick in heb behagen
Ick danke mijn Godt dije mij en u heeft gespaert
En wt verdrijet en ellende heeft ghedragen
En verlost van dije plagen en ons bewaert*

Good day my daughters, there in you I have my delight
I thank my God who has spared me and you
And carried out grief and misery
And he redeems us of plagues and he keeps us

Older Daughter:

*Goeden dach mijn vader wt goeder aert
Godt laet u in vreden lange leven*

Good day my father of better heart
May God let you live long in peace

Younger Daughter:

*Godt dije ons noijt heeft beswaert
Dije wil u oock goeden morgen geven
Op dat wij lange mogen leven*

²⁵⁹ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 632-633; 635; 638-639.

²⁶⁰ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," line 660.

*En dat om onsen vader der eeren
Godt sal ons altijd zijn beneven
En nemmermeer sal hij hem van ons keeren*

God, who has never forsaken us
To whom you also want to give a good morning
So that we are able to live for a long time
And so that in order to honor our father
God shall also be close to us all the time
and he will never turn away from us

Lot:

*...altijt danckbaer sijn den heer
...hem loven tot alder stont
...tijt sijn loff vermeereren
...gheboden useeren wt sherten gront*

...all the time I am always thankful to the Lord
...to praise him always
...always increase my praise for him
...keep his law from the bottom of my heart²⁶¹

Younger Daughter:

*Ick danke u vader door deuchts verstijven
Bij malcander blijven hebbe ick godocht*

I thank you father that through the power of stiffened virtue
We may remain together, this is my opinion²⁶²

These selections from Lot's conversations with his daughters demonstrate that Lot not only has full faith in God despite his hardship, but as an extension of his gratitude towards God, he is also overcome with relief that his daughters have survived this traumatic ordeal. Lot has lost his wife, his sons-in-law, his home, and all of his neighbors with whom he would have had routine, daily contact. The only things he has left are his daughters whom he treasures dearly. He has survived the destruction of Sodom, entirely by God's grace, and now in light of these

²⁶¹ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 697-712.

²⁶² H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 725-726.

circumstances, he cherishes these precious moments with his children. This tenderness and fellowship between a father and his daughters are only interrupted when he suddenly succumbs to inebriation, and he abruptly announces he must go to sleep:

*Nu wil ick gaen slapen metter spoet
Dijet al behoet wil mi bewaren*

Now I want to go to sleep with every haste
He who cares for all things may protect me²⁶³

With these words and their accompanying actions, there is a distinct and abrupt demarcation between Lot expressing his devotion to God and his fatherly love for his daughters and his state of vulnerable, drunken sleep.

What is also evident from the lines included above is that the playwright portrays him as a non-complicit actor — and maybe not even much of an actor at all. In the play, he is certainly a passive agent in his daughters' pursuit of progeny, and he stands further removed from the sexual sin which they commit. The playwright reinforces this characterization of Lot multiple times as Lot proclaims his desire to sleep without fear or threat and that he trusts in God's protection. These phrases allude to his unawareness of the daughters' scheme and his underlying innocence despite his susceptibility to drunkenness, which leads to his deception and his undeniable participation in the incestuous act. It is clear that the playwright is not interested in portraying Lot as a figure who is crazed with lust or even persuaded to succumb to illicit sexual desire for his own children. As the elder daughter states, he is an unknowing participant, and through his ignorance, he remains blameless:

*Ick hebbe gelegen bij mijnen vaer
Vanden avont totten morgen
En hij en werde mij nijet ghewaer*

I have lain with my father

²⁶³ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 730-731.

From the evening until the morning
 And he was not aware of my being there²⁶⁴

As one remembers from the discussion of the pictorial tradition, the playwright's characterization of Lot is quite different from that of Floris, Muller, and Rubens, in whose works Lot either intentionally or even aggressively attempts to arouse his daughters sexually. One will see that between these two characterizations of Lot, Goltzius shares the description visualized by the playwright, which is not only faithful to Scripture but also necessary to a storytelling mode that visualizes conversation.

3.4.4 THE CONCLUDING RONDELS

This episode and the inner play itself ends with a final conversation between the daughters: they express happiness and relief in the success of their plan and the way it remedies their anxieties and sorrows. The younger daughter begins their conversation with the first of two concluding rondels:

The Younger Daughter:

- (1) *Noijt wonderlijcker dinck noijt vremder cuer*
 (2) *Als mij is geschijet tot deser spatie*

Never a more wondrous thing has happened, never a more remarkable event
 Has happened to me in this moment

The Older Daughter:

- (3) *Godt verleen u een goet iaer en een salighe uer*

May God grant you a good year and a glorious hour

The Younger Daughter:

- (4) *Noijt wonderlijcker dinck noijt vremder cuer*

Never a more wondrous thing has happened, never a more remarkable event

²⁶⁴ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 687-689.

The Older Daughter:

(5) *Hoe ist al vergaen seght het mijn puer*

(6) *Isser eenich verdrijet ofte arguatie*

How did it go, tell me honestly
Has there been any grief or argument?

The Younger Daughter:

(7) *Noijt wonderlijcker dinck noijt vremder cuer*

(8) *Als mij is geschijet tot deser spatie*

(9) *Ick sal u vertellen dije fondatie*

(10) *Mijn vader heeft mij nijet vernomen*

Never a more wondrous thing has happened, never a more remarkable event
Has happened to me in this moment
I shall tell you the reason for this:
My father has not noticed me²⁶⁵

The rondel's repeated phrase, voiced by the younger daughter in the first, fourth, and seventh lines, underscores the ambiguity of their remedy. Is the wondrous thing of which they speak the fact that their father did not awaken during intercourse, that they are pregnant with offspring, that they successfully committed incest without God smiting them, or all the above? In their reveling in the wondrous curiosity of how each of them succeeded in sleeping with their father, they acknowledge the unorthodoxy and implausibility of their plan. It is remarkable, they say, that they have become pregnant at their father's doing, and that he still remains unaware.

Following the first concluding rondel, the elder daughter expresses, for the first time, the moral insecurity that underlies the entire episode: "*ick hope geen intresten sullen wij lijden* [I hope we shall suffer no debt]."²⁶⁶ Essentially, in the midst of rejoicing in the success of their plan, the daughters now realize that they have exchanged one anxiety for another. No longer do

²⁶⁵ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 737-746.

²⁶⁶ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," line 750.

they need to worry over the continuation of their father's familial lineage and their own future as mothers, but now they are plagued with the fear of God's punishment for their immorality. Their anxiety over sinning against God like the men of Sodom naturally leads them to fear God's wrath. The younger daughter answers with the final rondel:

The Younger Daughter:

- (1) *Ick hope Godt salt ghebenedijden*
 (2) *En tsal ons nijet gereeckent werden tot sonden*

I hope God shall give his blessing to it
 And it shall not be counted against us as sin

The Older Daughter:

- (3) *Ick hope wij sullen ons noch verblijden*

I hope that we shall continue to be happy

The Younger Daughter:

- (4) *Ick hope Godt salt ghebenedijden*

I hope God shall give his blessing to it

The Older Daughter:

- (5) *Laet ons in Gods Lijeffde strijden*
 (6) *Tot wij vant vleijsch werden ontbonden*

Let us pursue God's love
 Until we are unbound from our flesh

The Younger Daughter:

- (7) *Ick hope Godt salt ghebenedijden*
 (8) *En tsal ons nijet etch*
 (9) *Hijer mede adijeu tot deser stonden*
 (10) *Wije can gods wonderheijt doorgronden?*

I hope God shall give his blessing to it
 And it shall not be counted against us as sin
 Herewith I bid you farewell
 Who can fathom God's mysterious ways?

The younger daughter recognizes the moral failure of their actions as she expresses hope that God will forgive them, despite their incest with Lot. She hopes that God will justify their actions in consideration that the circumstances were so dire that even incest was justified if their lineage, indeed the human lineage, was to be preserved. Additionally or alternatively, she hopes that God may excuse their actions because adverse circumstances had placed the daughters under so much duress. Even though they had committed an immoral act, God would not still forgive them?

The elder daughter accompanies her sister's repeated lines, arguing that the means by which they might obtain God's forgiveness is to strive for his love and petition for his grace. The last line delivered by the younger daughter at the close of the scene evokes the hope that the entire event perhaps occurred under the auspices of divine providence: "*wije can gods wonderheijt doorgronden* [who can fathom God's mysterious ways]."²⁶⁷ The playwright communicates that the act which the audience has witnessed appears to be incest, a violation of God's law, and yet despite this mortal sin, God has foreseen this event and used it to execute His divine plan. To the faithful, what has happened here may seem inexplicable, the playwright argues, but God works in mysterious ways. What the playwright accomplishes through his portrayal of the daughters' expression of their moral insecurity is an emphasis on the complexity and moral ambiguity of the story, a narrative feature which also informs Goltzius' composition. As one will find in the discussion of Goltzius' painting, both the playwright and Goltzius recognize this complexity and ambiguity. In an effort better to reconcile the perplexities, contradictions, and justifications inherent in the story, they depict dialogic exchange as a way to examine and understand the state of mind and degree of culpability of each character.

²⁶⁷ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," line 760.

Following the scene of Lot and his daughters in the mountains, the playwright returns to the *sinnekens*, Willful Deed (*Moetwillige daet*) and Impure Craving (*Oncuijsch begeeren*), who conclude the inner play. The playwright underscores the notion of God's preordained plan and the justification of the daughters' incestuous act:

Impure Craving

*Het was oock wel weerdich om schrijven
Dat hij soo met sijn dochters boeleerden
Door den dronck geschijeden dat bedrijven
Dat hij met sijn dochters soo dommeerden*

It is also well worth writing
That he so fornicates with his daughters
Through his drinking it happened that he committed
That he dozed with his daughters.

Willful Deed

Het was van Godt voorsijn

It was foreseen by God

Impure Craving

*Soo seggen de gheleerden
Nochtans veel verkeerden comen door den wijn*

So say the scholars
Nevertheless many wrongs have come through wine²⁶⁸

Not only do the *sinnekens* acknowledge the mysterious ways of God, but they also identify the ambivalent means by which the daughters' incestuous scheme succeeds. They assert that the mainspring of the entire episode is Lot's drunkenness, without which the daughters do not become pregnant. Moreover, they acknowledge that this episode between Lot and his daughters is a topic of discussion and scholarship, one that solicits questions and demands contemplative consideration. Through this call for analytical scrutiny and for deference to God's mysterious

²⁶⁸ H.A.P. Loman, "De Tekst van *Abraham en Loth*," lines 865-871.

ways, the playwright acknowledges that what occurred between Lot and his daughters in their mountainside refuge is questionable. The complexities of the situation are a topic of conversation among all who encounter the story, and they demand close examination. It is in this spirit of enquiry that Goltzius puts forth his visualization of the episode in his painting of 1616.

3.5 GOLTZIUS' PAINTING OF 1616

In the last months of his life, before his death on January 1, 1617, Hendrick Goltzius memorialized the story of Lot and his daughters in his final painting [Fig. 3-1]. Having already completed two versions of the narrative in print, one in 1582 after a design by Anthonie van Blocklandt depicting Lot and his family fleeing from Sodom, and the other in 1597 depicting the encounter between father and daughters in the wilderness, his painted version is distinctive both in how it departs from his prior inventions and also in how it distinguishes itself from the pictorial tradition in the Low Countries.²⁶⁹ One immediately notices that Goltzius has maintained several of the compositional elements conventional to northern representations of the biblical episode. The three figures of Lot and his two daughters, for example, are resting in a rocky and wooded landscape. With their bodies touching and physically intertwined, they partake in much-needed victuals after their arduous ordeal. While northern artists employ these traditional elements to varying degrees during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Goltzius maintains and emphasizes the relief experienced by the characters as well as their tactile and intimate connection. One can immediately draw comparisons with the compositions by Floris, Muller, and Rubens where Lot is positioned in the middle of the group, flanked by his daughters, as they offer him wine, fruits, and cheese.

²⁶⁹ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 94.

Take Willem Isaacsz van Swanenburg's print after Rubens' painting of c. 1610 [Fig. 3-8]. In both Goltzius' painting and in Rubens' design, one finds Lot flanked by his daughters with a rock face and cave located on the left and a vignette in the right background that reveals the destruction of Sodom. Present in both are still life arrangements of fruit and cheese from which the daughters serve their weary father, albeit positioned in almost diametrically opposite locations in each image. Goltzius and Rubens share similar details in how they position their figures. Each composition represents all three figures seated, and both artists show Lot in between his daughters, sitting with his right knee bent more acutely than his left and with his left leg projected so that the beholder can see the bottom of his foot. In both images Goltzius and Rubens describe Lot's torso twisting to look at the daughter on his right, and they both position the head of the daughter seated to Lot's left in a similar manner despite the different orientation each artist ascribes to the rest of their bodies. What distinguishes Goltzius' version, however, is how Goltzius describes the interactions between Lot and his daughters as well as his inclusion of animals which he uses to elucidate the intentions and motivations of the figures. Further discussion of these elements will follow shortly.

3.5.1 A DISTINCT DEPARTURE FROM THE PICTORIAL TRADITION

Goltzius not only departs from Rubens' composition, however. He also departs significantly from the other examples featured in the Netherlandish pictorial tradition. Most notably, the degree of sexual engagement routinely demonstrated in the works of Lucas van Leyden, Maarten van Heemskerck, Frans Floris, and in his own drawing is conspicuously absent in his painting of the episode. Recall that in his print of 1530, Lucas does not exclusively describe Lot as intoxicated. Rather, Lucas' Lot reaches for his daughter's genitals as he welcomes her onto his

lap. In both Floris' design and Goltzius' version of 1597, Lot is portrayed as the sexual aggressor, fondling his daughter's breast. In his painting of 1616, Goltzius does not describe Lot as sexually aggressive in this way, nor does he describe him as the passive recipient of his daughters' sexual advances, as Heemskerck portrayed him. Goltzius does, however and somewhat ironically, include for the first time the moment of coitus between father and daughter, but he obscures the scene in the left margin of the painting, hiding it in a shadowy cave [Fig. 3-9]. What interests Goltzius more than portraying a sexual interaction between the figures is describing a dialogic interaction unfolding in the foreground scene of his painting.

Goltzius portrays a conversation between elder daughter and younger daughter occurring in the presence of and across from their father. One finds the same compositional focus and characterization of figures in *Abraham en Loth*. Consider that at lines 642-644, the younger daughter addresses her father but finishes her dialogue in an apostrophic address to the crowd. In her *apostrophe*, she announces her true intentions to commit incest with her father, and notably, the audience views the daughter vocalizing her intentions in the presence of her father, who presumably does not comprehend what is being said. Because there are no stage directions indicating otherwise, the arrangement of figures on stage, that is, the daughters in the presence of their father, presumably continues for the conversation between the daughters at lines 644-656, in which they formulate their scheme, and for the approximate rondel which the playwright uses to prolong the image of the daughters intoxicating their father at lines 661-679. This image which the playwright sustains on stage is the same as one sees in Goltzius' painting of 1616.

The elder daughter, seated at the left of the group, directs our attention to a still life of grapes, fruit, cheese, and bread, placed atop a stone table covered with white linen, featuring Goltzius' monogram and the date of the painting [Fig. 3-10]. She tilts the wine jug as if to dispense its

contents, but a conspicuously absent glass suggests she may only intend to position the jug methodically on the table, jostling it among the other elements occupying the table surface. By having the elder daughter maneuver the jug horizontally, Goltzius emphasizes that it is neither full of wine nor at risk of spilling its contents: the action does not require much of the daughter's attention or concern. Clearly, she has already filled or refilled Lot's cup, which is only underscored by the fact that Goltzius positions the elder daughter's left hand formally underneath, but also figuratively raising, the full drinking cup in Lot's hand. Given Goltzius' description of Lot's ruddy, flushed face, this is certainly not his first serving.

3.5.2 JOINT AND SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS

The most significant feature of the elder daughter, however, is how Goltzius renders her left hand. He describes it with a gesture evocative of speech as the hand is open and upward-facing with her middle and index finger directed towards the younger daughter. This expression of speech is only reinforced by her gaze and parted lips which are also directed towards the younger daughter. In the presence of her inebriated father, she converses with her sister, but given the nature of the picture, this depicted speech operates as a multivalent device, jointly and severally representing multiple conversational exchanges in the narrative. Like the playwright of *Abraham en Loth*, Goltzius effectively focuses the beholder's attention on these moments of dialogue. As the playwright uses the transitional stage direction following line 623 and the introductory rondel at lines 632-641 to speed up and slow down the audience's viewing of the play, Goltzius uses scale and compositional arrangement to achieve the same effect. Goltzius uses a smaller, background vignette to allude to Sodom burning and Lot's wife turning into a pillar of salt, and by this means, he accelerates one's viewing of the narrative progression; but

then he leads the beholder to a dominant foreground scene where he slows down and concentrates one's viewing on the primary moment, which, like the playwright, Goltzius identifies as the conversation between the daughters unfolding before their intoxicated father.

The exact narrative moment remains ambiguous, however. It can be interpreted as preceding the scene of coitus in the left background or following it. The conversation could be the older daughter's initial proposal of the incest scheme; it could represent the elder daughter's report of a successful night sleeping with their father; it could be the elder daughter informing the younger daughter that it is now her turn; or it could be a conversation after both of the daughters have slept with their father, wherein they speculate about their prospective pregnancies. Narratively, it is plausible that Goltzius represents any of these conversations, and in this sense, he can be said to represent all of these conversations simultaneously and individually. This allows Goltzius to tell the entirety of the episode in a single, fixed image. By doing so, he accomplishes in painting what Scripture and the rhetoricians' script offer, that is, a temporally sequential unfolding of the event. Remember that the playwright in *Abraham en Loth* uses conversation and rhetorical devices of repetition to compose a prolonged visual image that represents narrative duration on the stage. Lines 661-679 feature an approximate rondel that portrays Lot and his daughters repeatedly toasting one another as Lot becomes increasingly intoxicated. The playwright uses conversation between the characters to stage the protracted seduction of Lot into drunkenness. Through narrative compression, Goltzius achieves what the playwright accomplishes through lyrical dilation: he composes his picture to represent multiple conversations happening over the course of the episode while Lot accompanies them imbibing wine. Just as the theater audience watches the progressive inebriation of Lot, so too does the beholder of Goltzius' painting. There is a clear correspondence and a shared conceptual approach in how Goltzius and the rhetoricians

picture conversation to stage the duration of the narrative and visualize Lot's state of mind and his culpability in their ultimate transgression.

There is no doubt that Goltzius' pictorial representation of the narrative uniquely focuses on this conversation between the sisters. Beginning with the first conversation, one must consider the exchange where the elder daughter proposes the scheme of incest. With her head suggestively tilted towards her father and the extension of her open palm, the elder sister delivers her proposal in an effort to persuade her younger sister of the merits of her plan. The younger daughter returns her sister's proposal with a receptive expression and parted lips evocative of a verbal response, which indicates the degree to which, having been persuaded, she is now not only convinced by her sister's argument but also trustingly compliant. The interaction between sisters demonstrates the elder daughter's rhetorical efficacy, with the younger daughter bearing witness to her sister's powers of persuasion; the scene of coitus in the cave, in turn, becomes a further index to persuasive speech, illustrating the result of the prior dialogic exchange.

3.5.3 STATES OF MIND

Integral to telling the story through depicted conversation is a consideration of the motivations and intentions which compel the speech. To explore the state of mind of each character, Goltzius incorporates animals in his composition which correspond to the intentions, actions, and ultimately the culpability of each figure in the scene. Goltzius has included a fox peering out at the viewer from the woods in the middle ground of the image. In his *Wtbeeldinge der figueren* featured in his *Schilder-boeck* of 1604, Van Mander described the fox as a representation of cunningness or guile, derived from a specific tradition which attributes to

women the unique ability to seduce and manipulate men to their detriment.²⁷⁰ Given that this tradition comes from an *exemplum* found in the Bible as well as antiquity, Goltzius' inclusion of the fox likely acts as a commentary upon the intention behind the daughters' conversation unfolding before the viewer. They simultaneously concoct and execute their seductive scheme in a joint effort to deceive their father and accomplish their aim of bearing children. Importantly, however, one knows from the story that this is not a humiliating, malicious, or even the sexual seduction one encounters in the other biblical histories of Samson and Delilah, Judith and Holofernes, or Salome and Herod.²⁷¹ Exegetes from Origen to Augustine, as well as reformed theologians, including Luther and Calvin, argued that the daughters were not motivated by a lustful desire in their plot to procreate with their father, reflecting Scripture which makes no mention of salacious sexual activity.²⁷² Goltzius, in his close scrutiny of the biblical account, makes a specific distinction in his representation of the narrative.²⁷³ While the daughters exercised cunning in their deception of their father, erotic desire is not what one finds in Goltzius' painting of the story as is found in so many examples in the Netherlandish pictorial tradition. In fact, because this concupiscent aspect is absent from the biblical narrative, Goltzius locates and appropriately concentrates his visualization on the dramatic potency found in the crisis of Lot's family line ending and the daughters' discussion of the indecent remedy of incest. For the daughters' scheme to succeed, some cunningness and deception, as the fox attests, is necessarily required.

²⁷⁰ Thiel, "Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot en zijn Dochters*, 1616," 129; Van Mander, "Uvtbeeldinge der Figuren," fol. 130r.

²⁷¹ Judges 16; Judith 10-13; Mark 6:14-29 and Matthew 14:3-11 (RSVCE).

²⁷² Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters*, 34-85b.

²⁷³ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 64. Nichols notes that Goltzius' paintings faithfully depict narrative events resulting from his close reading of the relevant primary sources, including the Bible.

Completing a parallel dialogue, operating in the symbolic register and referring to the (im)moral character of the sisters' actions, Goltzius includes a dog in the immediate foreground which functions as a moral response to the daughters' cunningness. With a stern glare and sitting in a curious pose with its right paw resting on a stone, the dog also addresses the viewer. Like the fox, the dog is included in *Wtbeeldinge*, where Van Mander states that the dog is "the upright teacher who must bark fearlessly and constantly, and keep watch over the souls of men and punish their sins."²⁷⁴ It has been observed that Lot's left foot, positioned similarly to the dog's and on the same horizontal axis within the image, also rests on a stone in the right foreground [Fig. 3-11].²⁷⁵ Returning to Van Mander, one learns that "a foot resting on a stone...signifies resolve," describing one who is resolute in practicing discipline and self-control.²⁷⁶ While the dog confidently and effortlessly rests his paw on his stone, Lot rests only his heel at the very edge of his. By positioning the two on the same horizontal axis within the pictorial field, Goltzius utilizes the rhetorical device of antithetical juxtaposition to contrast moral laxity and fortitude. If one applies Van Mander's reading, it is fair to interpret Goltzius's precarious placement of Lot's foot as an indication of Lot's indecisiveness, moral frailty, and his susceptibility to the guile of his daughters. Because Goltzius has positioned it teetering very precariously in the stone's edge, one can potentially interpret Lot's foot as imminently or already in the process of slipping and falling to the ground, consequently indicating his loss of resolve and self-control, which is necessary for one to maintain a sober mind. This slipping and falling of Lot's foot corresponds to his contemporaneous capitulation to his daughters' seduction as he

²⁷⁴ Ger Luijten, ed. *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1993), 546-547; Van Mander, "Uvtbeeldinge der Figueren," fol. 128v.

²⁷⁵ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 94.

²⁷⁶ Van Mander, "Uvtbeeldinge der Figueren," fol. 133r.

takes yet another cup of wine. As his foot slips from the stone, his morally righteous state, worthy of the Lord's salvation from Sodom, slips into his sin of drunkenness.

3.5.4 THE INEBRIATION OF LOT

Crucially, Goltzius primarily characterizes Lot in a passive state of inebriation, and in doing so, he diverges from the pictorial tradition and portrays Lot in the same manner as the playwright in *Abraham en Loth*. Goltzius situates Lot in between his daughters, positioned frontally and facing the beholder. The likely progression of events which Goltzius suggests informs his description of Lot's posture. First, the daughter on the left begins to speak, followed by the daughter on the right who responds by twisting her torso, leaning towards her sister with parted lips, and putting her weight on her father's leg. Lot then reacts to the actions of the daughters by placing his hand on the shoulder of the daughter to the right, acknowledging her intimate sense of familial embrace, and pivoting his upper body to direct his gaze in the general area of the daughter on the left.

It is not implausible that Lot would be the initiator of the poses and attitudes taken by the two daughters. Based on what one sees in Goltzius' picture, the daughter on the right would have initially had her back to Lot, and Lot could have reached across her body to grab her right shoulder and pull her to the left so that she faces her sister, as one sees in the painting. Additionally, Lot could have been looking at the daughter on the left prior to her speaking. However, because Goltzius' intentionally portrays a verbal exchange between the daughters, in that he depicts them looking and speaking to one another, understanding Lot as the initiator of and not the respondent to the daughters' actions, while plausible, is an unreasonable reading of Goltzius' composition.

Lot is a somewhat passive figure, in the sense that he reacts to the daughters' orchestration of the event. This is underscored by the red garment Goltzius uses to cover Lot's lower torso and groin. It is the same red garment upon which the daughter on the left sits and upon which the daughter on the right rests her body weight. Goltzius effectively depicts the daughters utilizing the garment to restrain Lot on either side, as though he was a hunted animal caught in a snare. What amplifies Lot's docile submissiveness, however, is his state of intoxication. As mentioned above, Goltzius depicts Lot with a red and flushed face, which not only indicates his physical response to imbibing alcohol, but it also complements the red garment which physically restrains him. Because the appearance of his face shows prior consumption and because one also sees him with a full cup of wine, indicating current consumption, Goltzius describes Lot engaged in a sequence of activity: he drinks wine, his body reacts, his cup is refilled. This sequential portrayal of Lot continually imbibing alcohol complements how Goltzius pictures the conversation between the daughters in his effort to tell the entirety of the story unfolding over a period of time. This pictorial element of Lot's flushed face as a primary attribute of his intoxication, moreover, insists that one understand Lot's role in the daughters' incest scheme as unaware and defenseless. Goltzius' characterization of Lot as intoxicated, passive, and non-complicit corresponds with the character of Lot in *Abraham en Loth*, where the playwright describes him as a tender and compassionate father while insisting on his inebriation, passivity, and non-complicity amidst the circumstances. At lines 730-731, Lot abruptly and submissively falls into an intoxicated sleep in the presence of his daughters.

This reading of Goltzius' Lot as passive and non-complicit is also highlighted by the fact that, in contradistinction to the Netherlandish pictorial tradition, there is no explicit sexual interaction between the figures, and more specifically, Lot is not described with a concupiscent

desire to sexually stimulate his daughters. To the extent that the figures do touch, there is only the suggestion of familial intimacy typical between family members. The figures essentially sit side-by-side with mere contact made by arms, legs, hands, knees, elbows, and shoulders. Again, this is not the Lot of Lucas, Heemskerck, Floris, Muller, and Rubens. Instead, one finds better correspondence with the Lot of *Abraham en Loth*, where the playwright depicts Lot consistently celebrating the familial bond with his daughters. Recall lines 697-712 and 725-726 where the playwright has Lot cherish his daughters and praise God for their refuge together as a family. Because of this characterization of Lot and his daughters, Goltzius departs from the pictorial tradition's representation of the story and joins the rhetoricians' practice of visualizing the daughters' seduction of Lot through the overindulgence of wine rather than the temptation of sexual gratification.

3.5.5 A UNIQUE STORY OF INCEST

The narrative of Lot and his daughters is a unique story of incest, not only because it is the first and most famous example of incest in the Old Testament, it is also the only narrative in which one encounters parent-child incest.²⁷⁷ It is a unique story, only complicated further because the motives and intentions of the perpetrators are absent of any lust, passion, or sexual desire.²⁷⁸ How Goltzius faithfully visualizes this biblical history reveals this story's complex dramatic qualities which directly correspond to the degree of innocence and guilt incurred by both Lot and his daughters; the morally ambivalent character of the episode distinguishes it from other incest narratives as well as from other pictorial depictions of this particular narrative.

²⁷⁷ Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters*," 12.

²⁷⁸ Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters*," 14; 25.

In his study of the biblical episode, Joshua Kind identified two types of incest narratives: one kind illustrates conscious/knowing incest; the other portrays conscious/unknowing incest. An example of the conscious/knowing incest narrative, where the two parties involved in the act of incest are voluntarily and knowingly engaged, can be found in the medieval tale of Apollonius of Tyre. This story tells of King Antiochus whose daughter was very beautiful. He often contemplated “the exquisite loveliness of her face, the delicacy of her form, and...he began to love her with more than a father’s love. He burned with an unhallowed flame, and would have excited a simultaneous feeling in his daughter.”²⁷⁹ The King would only grant his daughter’s hand in marriage to a suitor if he could solve the King’s riddle. Until Apollonius arrived and solved the riddle, King Antiochus and his daughter continued knowingly in an incestuous relationship.

The Oedipus story is the exemplar of incest involving conscious/unknowing parties. Born to King Laius and Queen Jocasta in Thebes, the infant, Oedipus, was left to die of exposure because his father heard a prophecy foretelling that his son would kill him and marry his wife. Oedipus was spared this death by a compassionate shepherd who passed him to another shepherd who in turn passed him on to King Polybus and Queen Merope who raised him in a neighboring kingdom. Oedipus eventually learned of the prophesy about him and, thinking that Polybus and Merope were his true parents and wishing to spare his father’s life, he left home and traveled to Thebes. On his journey, he had an altercation with his real father, King Laius, whom he killed. Eventually upon solving the riddle of the Theban Sphinx, he became the new king of Thebes and

²⁷⁹ Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters*,” 14; 25; Charles Swan and Wynnard Hooper, eds. *Gesta Romanorum: Or, Entertaining Moral Stories; Invented by the Monks as a Fireside Recreation, and Commonly Applied in Their Discourses from the Pulpit: Whence the Most Celebrated of Our Own Poets and Others, from the Earliest Times, Have Extracted Their Plots* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 259.

husband to the widowed Queen Jocasta, his real mother. Both Oedipus and Merope engage in a conscious/unknowing mother-son incestuous relationship.

Found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the story of Myrrha and Cinyras provides a third possibility of the incest narrative, whereby one party is conscious/unknowing and the other party is conscious/knowing. Myrrha was a daughter to King Cinyras and Queen Cenchreis of Cyprus, and she had developed a fervent sexual desire for her father, accompanied by an intense shame if her secret were revealed. Soliciting the aid of her nurse, Myrrha assumed the anonymous identity of a common girl deeply in love with the king and wishing to have an affair. Believing the affair to be innocuous, the king accepted her into his bed where they slept together for several nights, which only increased his interest in the identity of his lover. It is only after he brought a lamp to her face that he learned it was his daughter who had been his paramour. Through deceit and guile, Myrrha, consciously/knowingly engaged in an incestuous father-daughter relationship, while Cinyras, consciously but unknowingly reciprocated.

3.5.6 MORAL AMBIGUITY

The story of Lot and his daughters resembles these types of incest narratives, and yet it resists categorization within any of them. This becomes apparent from the story itself, but it is made all the clearer when one examines Goltzius' painting wherein he magnifies the complexities of innocence and guilt and the associated dramatic effects. The daughters consciously/knowingly concoct and execute a scheme to seduce their father with food and drink, hoping to deceive him into committing incest. Their father, meanwhile, remains unconscious/unknowing of the scheme, and because he remains ignorant to and anesthetized during the entire incest event, his oblivion lessens his culpability. In many ways, the position of

Lot resembles Cinyras, who was deceived by his daughter, Myrrha, to commit incest unknowingly. One can conclude that Lot has retained his innocence, or at least that his guilt is mitigated, by virtue of the fact that he did not knowingly accede to his daughters' scheme and was unconscious during the incestuous act.

His excused incest is reflected in the Christian exegetical tradition of the episode, beginning with Origen who determined that Lot was not guilty of concupiscence because he neither complied with his daughters' intent nor did he, himself, intend to commit incest.²⁸⁰ What the theologians do not excuse, however, is Lot's capitulation to drunkenness. While Origen excused Lot of lust, he determined that Lot was guilty of drunkenness through which he succumbed to the daughters' scheme. It is clear from Goltzius' characterization of Lot that the overconsumption of wine is the principal attribute describing Lot and how he participates in the scene.

Because the evaluation of Lot's capitulation into drunkenness is separate from his complicity in the act of incest, Lot is a complex figure whom one can understand as guilty and innocent simultaneously. Evaluating whether and how Lot succumbs to drunkenness is a different question, although not unrelated, from whether and how Lot is complicit in the act of incest. The analysis of the first question would conclude that Lot is guilty while the analysis of the second question would determine he is innocent. A logical speculation in response to the biblical account of the story presumes that once he is aware of what has happened, Lot experiences a heightened degree of horror, intensified by his ignorance of and innocence in the act of incest. Although the biblical account does not speak of it, and while Goltzius does not address it in his painting, John Calvin, in his exegesis of the episode, speculated that Lot died from horror and grief upon learning of the incest with his daughters.²⁸¹ What is clear in the painting is that

²⁸⁰ Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters*, 47-48.

²⁸¹ Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters*, 18.

Goltzius portrays Lot as a morally ambiguous figure who is both guilty and innocent. Because of this condition in which Goltzius has represented him, one can assume that Lot will later learn of the horror of having fornicated with his own children.

Referring to the biblical account, the daughters are also complex figures who resist a definitive judgment of either guilt or innocence. They are certainly conscious/knowing perpetrators of the incest, but the story deviates from typical incest narratives in that the biblical source and the exegetes indicate that the daughters were motivated purely by a desire to procreate and not by lust for their father. The distinction is important because in the stories of conscious/knowing incest a willful desire for deviancy produces an ineludible eroticism that further elevates the drama of the story. Where a protagonist's lust is the primary driving factor in the incest, the erotic arousal cultivates a tension between sexual norms and forbidden passion that is presented to both the protagonist in the story and the audience outside of it. Where the protagonist is *not* motivated by lust in the pursuit of incestuous relations, that forbidden desire and passion, while not a driver for the protagonist, continues to confront the audience. That is, the powerful eroticism, stimulating forbidden desire, is still present in the narrative of Lot and his daughters, even though it is not a motivation for the daughters' actions.

The sin of the daughters, like their father's, is also ambiguous. Origen asserts that the daughters knew how the end of the world would look, and that the image of Sodom engulfed with fire persuaded them that everything had been or would be destroyed. The only other demonstration of God's wrath on this scale was the Deluge found in Genesis 6-9, after which God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth."²⁸² According to Origen, the daughters must have thought that it would be a great impiety to not

²⁸² Genesis 9:1 (RSVCE).

continue the human race after the destruction of Sodom. Although they were mistaken, it is this desire that Origen identifies as their sole motivation. Moreover, because the daughters did not repeatedly pursue incestuous relations with their father, nor were they driven by lust to do so in the first place, Origen concludes that they are not guilty of “sinful abandon, criminal incest.”²⁸³

Augustine does not conclude that the daughters are free of sin, but only that the sin is less severe because criminal passion did not motivate their actions. Luther asserts that both Lot and his daughters operated under extreme fear and distress and that Lot’s drunkenness as well as the daughters’ decision to commit incest were primarily informed by severe grief and depression. Calvin concurs that Lot succumbed to drunkenness out of grief and depression and that the daughters were not motivated by lust, but he, following the narrative’s traditional exegesis since Origen, concludes that while Lot and his daughters are jointly and severally sinful, their guilt is a matter of degree. They are not as egregiously sinful as they appear to be.²⁸⁴

3.5.7 TO STIMULATE THE SENSES, TO SOBER THE MIND

This moral ambiguity of guilt and innocence is further problematized by Goltzius. In his depiction of the daughters as representatives of sensual beauty, he visually asserts the tension between the dangers of sensual seduction and one’s ability not only to enjoy such pleasures appropriately but also to utilize the sight of sensuality as a guard against the anesthetization of the senses.²⁸⁵ Both the playwright and Goltzius assert rhetorically that Lot’s complicity in the incest with his daughters results from his overindulgence in food and wine, which causes the loss of his senses and compromises his ability to exercise moral virtue. By portraying the daughters

²⁸³ Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters*, 49.

²⁸⁴ Kind, *The Drunken Lot and His Daughters*, 51-55; 77-85.

²⁸⁵ For the dangers of sensual seduction, see Eric Jan Sluiter, *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 120.

as sensual, female nudes, Goltzius offers the beholder the antidote to the anesthesia. That is, although the sight of female sensuality has the capacity to compel a beholder to lust, it equally has the power to stimulate one's senses and equip the beholder with cognitive awareness, which is necessary to detect deceit and avoid the disordering of the senses, which is Lot's downfall.

Despite emphasizing the absence of concupiscent motivations, Goltzius emphatically represents the daughters as two young, attractive nudes, modeling his version of the daughters after his prior representations of seductive beauty: Venus, Pomona, and Eve.²⁸⁶ Goltzius is not subtle about the daughters' nudity, and he offers a comprehensive view of the nude female form in his description. He confronts the beholder with their unclothed bodies by occupying the foreground with an unobstructed view of both the front of the nude female form with the daughter on the left and the back of the nude female form with the daughter on the right. Because of this confrontation of overt nudity, there is, as Nichols describes, "a heightened sensuality" that characterizes Goltzius' visualization of the episode.²⁸⁷ While Goltzius describes the interaction between the figures primarily by means of conversation, the overt nudity of the figures alludes to the subsequent corporeal conjugation while also tempting the beholder to enjoy illicitly a sexual seduction, both of which underscore the carnal trespass that is fundamental to the story.

The nakedness of the daughters, however, does not operate in the same way as in the pictorial tradition. Their nakedness, while alluding to the imminent sexual congress happening in the cave, does not play an operative role in the narrative interaction between the figures in the

²⁸⁶ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 53. Consider the examples of Goltzius' representations of females who embody seductive beauty and the correspondence found in his depictions of Lot's daughters: Eve in his painting *The Fall of Man* (1616), Pomona in his *Vertumnus and Pomona* (1613) and *Vertumnus and Pomona* (1615), and Venus in *Venus and Adonis* (1614).

²⁸⁷ Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, 94.

foreground; or, to the extent that it is operative, it remains latent. The daughters neither explicitly offer their naked bodies, nor does Lot explicitly engage in sexual congress with them. As mentioned above, their interaction is primarily characterized by familial intimacy and Lot's drunken presence at the daughters' conversation. Disarmed, Lot bears witness to this conversation without fully discerning what is said. Yet Goltzius is inconsistent with the narrative moment to which he has been so attentive. As an allusion to the carnal nature of the daughters' incest scheme about which they converse, he represents the daughters' bodies in a sexually explicit way, evocative of what one finds in the prints by Heemskerck and Muller.

Goltzius and his circle in Haarlem placed great importance on depicting female, nude beauty as the embodiment of the powerful seduction of the art of painting through the sense of sight. Painting has the goal of achieving a semblance of what is real in its effort to conquer, capture, and stimulate the eyes of the art lover.²⁸⁸ It is through intently looking at paintings and one's willingness to be deceived by its visual semblances that one finds pleasure in paintings. The pleasure of looking at a painting is derived from the painting's capacity to persuade the beholder of the presence of something that is not present, of a semblance created by the inventiveness of the artist.²⁸⁹ Goltzius' depiction of the daughters, as representatives of sensual, female beauty, is intended not so much as a seduction of Lot's sexual desire, as he has already been seduced by the food and wine, but rather, it is intended to seduce the art lover who beholds the painting, acting as an analogue to Lot's virtual seduction – albeit with a different effect.

What results in *Lot and his Daughters* is an antithetical juxtaposition of seductions, operating inside and outside the picture frame. Through his sense of sight, the tired and exhausted Lot is

²⁸⁸ Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight*, 9; 233-236. This notion is explicitly articulated in Philips Angel's 1641 advice to young painters wherein he asserts that the primary function of painting is to please the art-lover's eyes.

²⁸⁹ Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight*, 13.

seduced into overindulging in food and wine, to the point of losing control over his intoxicated senses. It is only because of his drunkenness that Lot falls victim to his daughters' scheme, and it is only later, once he regains his senses, that he experiences the horror of realizing the incest in which he has participated with his daughters. Like Lot, the beholder of Goltzius' painting is also seduced through the sense of sight. It is not so much the enticement of the still-life of food and wine, but rather, the emphatic display of the daughters' sensual beauty that confronts the beholder.

The rhetorical effect of Goltzius' painting is that, unlike Lot, the art-loving beholder (*liefhebber*) avoids falling prey to sensory intoxication. Instead of dulling the senses, the picture produces the very opposite effect. By virtue of Goltzius' pictorial skill at representing sensual, female beauty, the beholder's senses are enlivened; paradoxically, Goltzius thereby equips the beholder to avoid Lot's loss of sense which proximately results in his participation in the incest, the grief from which, according to Calvin, causes Lot's death. It is through the seductive power of Goltzius' own art, epitomized by his skill at simulating the daughter's seductive nude bodies, that the beholder's senses are awakened. Appreciated in these terms, the picture produces an effect antithetical to Lot's loss of sensorial awareness which facilitates his complicity in the incest. With one's senses stimulated by Goltzius' *handelingh*, the beholder is equipped to avoid the daughters' seduction and Lot's unfortunate outcome.

The daughters' patent, sensual nudity is narratively multivalent to the extent that it alludes to the subsequent corporeal conjugation, but it is ambivalent to the immediate foreground scene. Unlike the biblical histories of David and Bathsheba or Susanna and the Elders, the story of Lot and his daughters does not treat the arousal of forbidden desires resulting from the observation of nude, female beauty. By emphatically depicting the daughters as *exempla* of sensual female

beauty, Goltzius visually argues that by virtue of his own art-making, the beholder, if he views sensual beauty appropriately, can avoid the danger of losing one's senses and the eventual horror of incest of which Lot becomes the *exemplum*. Just as the dog's disciplined resolve acts as a foil to the fox's cunningness and deceit, the stimulating image of the nude daughters operates as a foil to the image of Lot's sense-depriving drunkenness.

Goltzius' *Lot and his Daughters* problematizes the notion of sight and the potential dangers implicated therein. Recall that the previous chapter discussed the story of Susanna and the Elders where the viewing of sensual, female beauty caused ruinous ramifications. In their leering at Susanna's nude body as she began to bathe, the Elders became so intoxicated with lust that they attempted to rape her. For the Elders, the sight of a beautiful female nude became a danger, one that extends to a beholder of its pictorial representation. Like the Elders, one necessarily views Susanna's body as a *voyeur*. As Goltzius' former teacher Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert warned, looking at such images of sensual beauty can lead to lust, unchasteness, and evil desire in men.²⁹⁰

These types of paintings visualize the argument that viewing sensual, female beauty can be dangerous. In *Lot and his Daughters*, however, Goltzius offers a more complex understanding of such beauty. He uses the seductive nature of his physical characterization of the daughters to capture the sensual desires of the *beholder* in order to direct him to consider the stakes of the narrative circumstances and to persuade one of the narrative's moral and rhetorical argument; that is, one must stay alert, vigilant, disciplined, and avoid intoxication, lest it be one's downfall. The moral argument that Goltzius' invention delivers, however, can only be discerned by the art-lover, whose familiarity with and enjoyment of the pictorial, poetic, and biblical tradition as well

²⁹⁰ Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight*, 121. Such images, including those designed by Jacob Cats and Karel van Mander, often came with warnings.

as with Goltzius' own inventive adaptations transforms an interpretation of the beautiful, nude female figure as temptress into a lofty image of sensual beauty with the power to enliven and empower moral resolve. Where the playwright of *Abraham en Loth* merely acknowledges the discomfort and perplexity of the story, Goltzius goes a step further in the rhetoric of his storytelling to offer the beholder his own art-making as a remedial intervention between the daughters' sin and Lot's downfall.

Underscored by the cunningness and deceit to which the fox directs our attention, the emphatic nudity of the daughters continues to be dangerous. By virtue of Goltzius' art-making, however, that danger can be disarmed and transcended by the discerning art-lover. Well aware of the threshold between the dangers and the virtues of depicting sensual female beauty, Goltzius, in addition to modeling his figures of the daughters after other representations of Eve, Venus, and Pomona, offers an invention of two female nude bodies as aids to combat sin. It is a testament to a fundamental aspect of Goltzius' painting in which the *liefhebber* finds great pleasure: Goltzius' artful prowess to harness and control sensual beauty, a beauty that can incite the mind to sinful deeds as in *Susanna and the Elders*, and a beauty that can sensorially awaken and protect one from sinful deeds as in *Lot and his Daughters*.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Goltzius and the playwright of *Abraham en Loth* demonstrate a shared conceptual approach to telling the story of Lot and his daughters. Goltzius composed his picture by arranging his figures and describing their activity of dialogic exchange in a manner similar to how the rhetoricians from 's-Gravenpolder visualize the same narrative moment by means of staged conversations. At the heart of their storytelling is the weighing of a moral dilemma, and by portraying

conversations exemplifying that moral dilemma, both Goltzius and the playwright employ rhetoric as a means to convey the discursive elements of their respective representations and parse the dilemma's moral complexities and ambiguities – and by extension the motivations, intentions, and culpability of all parties involved.

In their moral examination of the story, both Goltzius and the playwright place great importance on the degree to which Lot is unaware of the daughters' plotting despite his immediate presence at their conversation. Lot's lack of awareness not only characterizes him as the deceived and innocent victim, but it also indicates his guilt since his obliviousness is a function of drunkenness, which both the play and the painting signal as Lot's primary sin. Goltzius and the playwright depict Lot in such a drunken state that he is unaware of the conversation unfolding right under his nose (literally, as Goltzius depicts it), and it is this intoxication that facilitates his unknowing participation in nonconsensual incest. The playwright uses Lot's abrupt need for sleep as the result of his intoxication, and he uses the subsequent conversation between the *sinneken*s to articulate that because of Lot's drunkenness and his intoxicated sleep, the daughters' incest scheme was successful. In the painting, Goltzius pictorially shows Lot's sin of drunkenness by describing his ruddy, flushed complexion, his blank stare, and his foot slipping off the stone of moral resolve. In both the play and the painting, the visualization of Lot's drunkenness suggests that through his sinful surrender to the seduction of food and wine, he falls victim to nonconsensual incest.

Goltzius and the playwright also demonstrate great concern for the degree of intention exercised by the daughters in the plotting and execution of their scheme. They act knowingly and purposely in the deceit of their father, both in seducing him into intoxication and in exploiting his inebriated state to carry out nonconsensual incest. Goltzius portrays the intentions

of the daughters by representing jointly and severally multiple conversations in which the daughters design and agree to their plan, assess the progress of their plan, and continue to execute their plan. His representation of the daughters is reinforced in the symbolical register by his inclusion of the fox whose piercing gaze stares out at the beholder and emphasizes the guile and cunning the daughters employ to deceive their father. The playwright achieves a similar rhetorical representation of the daughters' intention through his own portrayal of the daughters' plotting conversation and execution of their deception, but also through several utterances in which they express their desire to alleviate their anxiety of continuing life childless and their acknowledgment that what they are doing is morally precarious.

This degree of exploration into the intention and culpability of the Lot and his daughters is not possible if one follows the pictorial tradition of representing the story as a purely sexual encounter. In line with the practice of virtue ethics in which ethical resolutions are deduced by weighing the totality of specific circumstances under particular conditions, both Goltzius and the playwright utilize rhetoric as a means to parse the moral complexities and ambiguities of this story: Lot is guilty of drunkenness and either innocent of incest or his guilt of incest is severely mitigated, while the daughters are certainly guilty of deception, but their knowing and purposeful perpetration of incest is either excused or justified. Undoubtedly, for both the audience of the play and the beholder of Goltzius' painting who participates in a culture steeped in rhetoric, such a complex story of parent-child incest in Scripture demands discussion and critical engagement – and according to Goltzius and playwright, rhetoric is the best tool with which to probe these questions.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE STORY OF TOBIT AND TOBIAS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Recorded in the inventory of Lastman's estate on July 7, 1632, by the notary Laurens Lamberti, was a picture Lastman kept in his sitting room (*binnecamer*), featuring a landscape depicting the story of Tobias by "Govaert" — potentially Govaert Jansz, who, like Lastman, also apprenticed under Gerrit Pietersz.²⁹¹ The fact that there were only a few paintings of biblical history located in his sitting room, the most public room of a house, should tell us something about the importance Lastman found in this story.²⁹² Over the course of his painting career, Lastman returned to the story of Tobias three separate times, painting *Tobias Catches the Fish* in 1613, *The Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah* in 1611, and *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son* in 1618 [Figs. 4-1, 4-2, & 4-5]. The narrative upon which these paintings are based will be explained thoroughly momentarily, but one can discern even upon a cursory viewing of these paintings that Lastman has engaged with differing moments of the story; and yet he features a similar cast of characters. In fact, this series of images is the only example in Lastman's *oeuvre* of biblical history painting where he treated successive moments of a narrative in multiple paintings. Although he gives repeated attention to certain stories, such as the baptism of the eunuch, the crucifixion, the sacrifice of Manoah, and the ministry of Paul and Barnabas in

²⁹¹ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 23; 44; 55; 65. Seifert notes that Lastman and Govaert Jansz probably knew each other very well through their shared apprenticeship under Gerrit Pietersz. Through the advocacy of Theadore Rodenburgh, Govaert entered service for the Danish king Christian IV, for whom Lastman would help complete a painting cycle for the oratory in the chapel of the king's castle in Frederiksborg.

²⁹² See Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 52. It should be noted that at the time of his death, Lastman was not living in his home. It is noteworthy, however, that this Tobias painting is located in his living room at the end of his life, denoting its importance both in its subject matter and in the fact that it was painted by a friend and cohortian.

Lystra, his representations of the Book of Tobit are intended to address distinct episodes within one biblical narrative.

The aspect of rhetoric on which this chapter focuses is *elocutio* and more specifically on its subcomponents of *energeia* and *enargeia*. The consideration of these concepts featured in the *rhetorices partes* is not out of an interest in directly applying the classical understanding of these concepts to the series of paintings by Lastman. Rather, I look at these concepts of classical rhetorical theory to see how the rhetoricians, who believed their practice of rhetoric was the contemporary equivalent to the practice of classical rhetoric, integrated these ideas into their dramatic poetry. By exploring an example of the local, contemporary assimilation of these ideas, correspondences can then be drawn to Lastman's inventive paintings of the story of Tobias. In this chapter, I use the rhetoricians' play, *De Oude Tobijas*, whose plot corresponds closely to the apocryphal Book of Tobit as well as with Lastman's paintings.²⁹³ Unfortunately, not much is known about the play, including the identity of the author, but the little we do know is that it was written for the Haarlem chamber of rhetoric, The Pelican, in the second half of the sixteenth century.

4.2 ELOCUTIO

Especially in light of the prior discussion of the local rhetorical culture in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, one might again consider the relevance of rhetoric and its intended objective. Rhetoric pursues a tripartite goal of delighting, teaching, and moving the audience, all in an effort to persuade one of a proposed argument.²⁹⁴ In short, rhetoricians seek to move the *pathos* of the audience in an effort to influence the *ethos*. Of course, the

²⁹³ Hummelen, *Repertorium van Het Rederijkersdrama 1500-ca. 1620*, no. 1 OC 7.

²⁹⁴ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 3-5*, III.5.2-3.

question arises as to how the rhetorician goes about the delighting, teaching, and moving — and thereby, persuading. One might understand the rhetorician’s method as the rhetorical concept of *elocutio*, the notion that one, having formulated ideas in one’s mind, materializes those ideas and communicates them to an audience. It is this practice of *elocutio* that extends beyond the classical authors and directly informs the practices of early modern rhetoricians skilled in vernacular usage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Netherlands, rhetoricians pursued the recovery of these rhetorical principles, deriving their ideas and craft of rhetoric from the orators of antiquity, and incorporated classical rhetorical principles into their own conceptual approach to a local poetical practice.

Quintilian aligns this practice of *elocutio* with the enterprise of teaching and asserts that the endeavor of persuading an audience to accept a particular argument will prove fruitless without art — meaning that the practice and strategy of *elocutio* matters.²⁹⁵ The very notion of “with art” or “without art” and the degree of its effectiveness suggests that *elocutio* demands more analysis than may be immediately apparent. In Cicero’s *De oratore*, the ideal example of *elocutio* is examined through a dialogue between Marcus Antonius and Lucius Licinius Crassus. After Crassus praises Antonius for his practice of *elocutio* by which he gives charm, fullness, and invention to what is unattractive, dry, and banal, Antonius distinguishes the effectiveness of presenting one’s argument with only correct grammar from the effectiveness of *elocutio*, “with art”:

...for nobody ever admired an orator for correct grammar, they only laugh at him if his grammar is bad... Who then is the man who gives people a thrill? [Who then deploys the most effective *elocutio*?] ... It is those whose speeches are clear, explicit and full,

²⁹⁵ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator’s Education: Books 6-8*, VIII.praef.15-17.

perspicuous in matter and in language, and who in the actual delivery achieve a sort of rhythm and cadence — that is, those whose style is what I call artistic.²⁹⁶

In his outline of *elocutio*, Cicero presents three of its necessary elements: *evidentia*, *perspicuitas*, and *ornatus* — what Harris Rackham translated above as “clear, explicit and full,” “perspicuous in matter,” and “artistic style”.

4.2.1 EVIDENTIA, PERSPICUITAS, AND ORNATUS

One can also appeal to Quintilian when discerning the meaning of *evidentia*. Referring to Cicero’s *De oratore*, Quintilian explains that when presenting an event for the consideration of a listener, the speaker must not simply state that the event took place, but instead he must show *how* the event took place, through enumerating the components that make up the event. This evidence is a necessary component in the persuasive effectiveness of the orator’s argument. As Quintilian notes, when delivering rhetorical speech, it is not enough to say that “the city was stormed.”²⁹⁷ One must appeal to *evidentia* and make explicit what is only left implicit by such a statement. One must show *how* the city was stormed by appealing to a detailed evidentiary account: flames raced through houses and temples; roofs came crashing down; numerous cries of suffering victims coalesced into one deafening sound; some people fled blindly, some clung to their loved ones in a final embrace; property was vandalized; homes and shops were looted, prisoners escaped from imprisonment; the victors fought one another wherever the spoils were richer.²⁹⁸ By pursuing a rhetorical strategy of *evidentia*, the implicit nature of the statement, “the city was stormed,” is made explicit, and the event is expressed in such a way that it seems to

²⁹⁶ Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Cicero: On the Orator: Book 3. On Fate. Stoic Paradoxes. Divisions of Oratory*, trans. Harris Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), III.XIV.52-53.

²⁹⁷ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator’s Education: Books 6-8*, VIII.3.67.

²⁹⁸ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator’s Education: Books 6-8*, VIII.3.68-71.

unfold in a contemporaneous sequence of episodes, advancing the argument beyond the listener's ears and displaying it to the mind's eye.²⁹⁹

Closely related to the need for evidentiary detail is the need to express the explicit moments of an event in a clear and intelligible manner. This demand of clarity is accomplished through the rhetorical practice of *perspicuitas*. As Heinrich Lausberg notes, "the goal of *perspicuitas* is intellectual comprehensibility," and one only need return to Quintilian for further explanation.³⁰⁰ Referring to verbal language, Quintilian describes *perspicuitas* as the appropriate words arranged in a straightforward manner with no long-delayed conclusions, with every detail relevant to the argument and nothing superfluous. It is this argumentative clarity that persuades both the educated and uneducated, thereby achieving its maximum effect. *Perspicuitas*, moreover, protects the argument against obscurity or disorder as well as indistinctiveness, and thus makes it appealing and ultimately persuasive to a disinterested audience.³⁰¹ The notion that *perspicuitas* requires only what is necessary and nothing more, for fear of disorder and obscurity, is in turn governed by what Cicero demands in his example of the ideal execution of *elocutio* mentioned above. That is, the interest of narrative clarity is strengthened by its artful delivery, or *ornatus*, meaning that the delivery of the argument, while pursuing narrative clarity and evidentiary detail, is also embellished and amplified with rhetorical color: figures of speech and figures of thought. While one must maintain narrative clarity, the rhetorical effectiveness of the argument is bolstered by rhythm and cadence. As Quintilian states, narrative clarity and evidentiary detail are not enough on their own, but it is only with ornament that *perspicuitas* and *evidentia*

²⁹⁹ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 6-8*, VIII.3.61-62.

³⁰⁰ Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, ed. David E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson, trans. Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, and David E. Orton (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 241.

³⁰¹ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 6-8*, VIII.2.22-24.

successfully instruct, delight, and move an audience.³⁰² Thus, the relationship between *perspicuitas*, *evidentia* and *ornatus* is an interdependent one. Especially for Cicero and the participants of his dialogue in *De oratore*, the context of advocating a client's position in a court of law demands the most effective practice of *elocutio* and what such practice requires is *evidentia*, *perspicuitas*, and *ornatus*.

4.2.2 ENERGEIA AND ENARGEIA

These rhetorical ideas, however, are not limited to the orator from antiquity, because they fulfill very fundamental requirements for the painter as well, that is, *evidentia* and *perspicuitas* fulfill the requirement of *energeia*, and *ornatus* fulfills the requirement of *enargeia*. *Energeia* is a broader rhetorical concept that pertains to the composition of a vivid image representing a comprehensive event and concentrated in the singular proximate moment that best defines the event. The degree of vividness is determined by the image's evidentiary detail (*evidentia*) and its intelligibility (*perspicuitas*). The vibrancy of the image, however, is achieved only through its clarity of composition, organized by a simultaneity of these details. This framework of simultaneity presents the event as a whole and allows the spectator of such a depiction to become its eye-witness.³⁰³ It enlivens the event to such an extent that it compels the spectator to figuratively inhabit the space and contemporaneously experience the simultaneity of details, witnessing such things as though unfolding before one's eyes.³⁰⁴ The vivid image that *energeia*

³⁰² Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 6-8*, VIII.3.1-6.

³⁰³ Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 359.

³⁰⁴ See Aristotle, *Aristotle: Art of Rhetoric*, trans. John Henry Freese (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 3.11.1-3; Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, trans. George Alexander Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 222; Monica Westin, "Aristotle's Rhetorical *Energeia*: An Extended Note." *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 20 (2017): 259. This conceptualization of *energeia* is derived from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and reflects Kennedy's translation of term as "actualization" and Westin's understanding of term as "unfolding into presence."

cultivates becomes a constructed world in which one inhabits, facilitated by narrative clarity (*perspicuitas*) and evidentiary detail (*evidentia*).

Enargeia, a term related to *energeia*, refers to the capacity of the vivid image, having been depicted with *energeia*, to affect the beholder along a spectrum of emotions, demarcated by empathy at one pole and terror at the other.³⁰⁵ If *energeia* refers to the comprehensive description of an event concentrated in the proximate moment that best defines that history, *enargeia* refers to the effect of presence whereby the vivid image exercises its compelling hold on the beholder. The vivid image that results from *energeia* allows for what Quintilian calls *enargeia*, which describes the quality of the image by which one's "emotions will ensue just as if we were present at the event itself."³⁰⁶ This dual function of *energeia* and *enargeia* fulfills rhetoric's objective to teach and to move. In short, *enargeia* refers to the affective aspects of the depiction of the event that have been actualized through *perspicuitas* and *evidentia*, the building blocks of *energeia*.

The framework of *energeia* and *enargeia* and their constituent components of *evidentia*, *perspicuitas*, and *ornatus* provide a useful model with which to consider Lastman's paintings. Although his education is not documented, Seifert has shown that Lastman used Latin texts to invent his mythological history paintings. It is likely that he attended the Latin School in the Oudezijds Voorburgwal neighborhood in Amsterdam where he was surely exposed to these rhetorical concepts.³⁰⁷ Moreover, these rhetorical concepts were incorporated into his native language and culture, primarily through the chambers of rhetoric with which he was undoubtedly

³⁰⁵ See Thijs Weststeijn, "Rembrandt and Rhetoric: The Concepts of *Affectus*, *Enargeia* and *Ornatus* in Samuel van Hoogstraten's Judgement of His Master," in *The Learned Eye: Regarding Art, Theory, and the Artist's Reputation; Essays for Ernst van de Wetering*, ed. Marieke van den Doel and Ernst van de Wetering (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 116. An image's vividness is uniquely capable of moving the beholder. This notion of *enargeia* is prominent in Aristotle's theory of tragedy.

³⁰⁶ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 6-8*, VI.2.32.

³⁰⁷ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 22.

familiar.³⁰⁸ After all, the classical orator, the Dutch vernacular rhetorician, and the Dutch painter all share a common pursuit: how does one conjure a vivid image with the power of putting forth an argument and persuading an audience.

The discovery of rhetorical treatises from antiquity along with the invention of the printing press allowed for the dissemination of these ideas throughout Europe; the works of Cicero and Quintilian were printed and disseminated at the earliest around 1470, as incunabula.³⁰⁹ Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* was especially influential as it became the authority in both technical rhetoric and education in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³¹⁰ Drawing heavily on the works of Cicero and Quintilian, Jan van Mussem, who was a member of *De Communicanten* chamber of rhetoric in Wormhout, published the first classical rhetorical handbook in Dutch in 1553, entitled *Rhetorica, dye edele const van welsegghene*.³¹¹ Following Van Mussem's example was the rhetorician of the chambers *De Kersouwe* and *Pax vobis* in Oudenaarde, Matthijs de Castelein, who in 1555 published his own art of rhetoric. His *Const van Rhetoriken* heavily incorporated classical rhetoric, derived primarily from Cicero's *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, in his pursuit of vernacular techniques of rhyme, rhythm, and distinct verse forms.³¹² Foundationally, De Castelein's treatise fused poetics and classical rhetorical principles together with local Dutch rhetorical practice.³¹³

³⁰⁸ See Westin, "Aristotle's Rhetorical *Energeia*," 253; Weststeijn, "Rembrandt and Rhetoric," 116. The transference of these rhetorical concepts from antiquity to the early modern era is not without challenges to precision and accuracy. The distinction between *energeia* and *enargeia* is particularly fraught thanks to Quintilian's use of Aristotle's notion of *energeia* when describing *enargeia*. For most early modern writers, the terms *energeia* and *enargeia* are conflated.

³⁰⁹ Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric & Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, 226.

³¹⁰ Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric & Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, 229.

³¹¹ Alisa van de Haar, "Every Language Has Its Laws – Rhetoricians and the Study of the Dutch Vernacular." *Renaissance Studies* 32 (2018): 133; Spies, "Developments in Sixteenth-Century Dutch Poetics," 74.

³¹² Cogineau, "Emotions and Rhetoric in Rederijker Drama," 244. De Castelein fused together poetics and rhetoric in the local Dutch practice.

³¹³ Spies, "Developments in Sixteenth-Century Dutch Poetics," 77-78.

4.2.3 PROLONGATION

Evident in the discussion of *energeia* and *enargeia* above, is the notion that an image brought before one's mind is a comprehensive representation of an event, in which the narrative elements are suspended, effectively prolonging duration and temporally dilating the singular proximate moment defining the event. When one considers this mode of visualizing an event, that is, of showing how an event occurred rather than merely stating that it occurred, the representation of contemporaneous and simultaneous details makes the implicit details explicit, slowing down the event so that it unfolds, to such a degree that the visualized image appears to dilate temporally, as if suspended. Consider how Quintilian discusses this prolongation:

As for what Cicero calls 'putting something before our eyes,' this happens when, instead of stating that an event took place, we show *how* it took place, and not (merely superficially) as a whole but in detail...that is, the expression in words of a given situation in such a way that it seems to be a matter of seeing rather than hearing: 'He came into the forum, ablaze with criminal madness; his eyes were afire, cruelty showed in his whole expression. We can form a picture not only from the past and present, but also of the future or of what might have happened.'³¹⁴

The orator's explication of detail imbues the vivid image with suspension that allows the detailed visualization of *how* an event unfolds. The listener creates an image in his head, piecing together each detail to create an intelligible picture. Taking Quintilian's example above, the listener produces a mental image of a man entering the very specific physical space of the forum with a particular attitude indicated by his whole expression and with a particular measure of emotion indicated by the visual appearance of his eyes. The explication of these evidentiary details slows the figure's entering the forum to such a degree that it immobilizes him and prolongs his action

³¹⁴ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 9-10*. trans. D. A. Russell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), IX.2.40-41.

within a suspended image, providing the listener the opportunity to examine and evaluate what such an image represents. It is rhetorically effective in the sense that it allows the orator to dwell on specific points and amplify the figure with various ornaments through which the figure's significance is emphasized. Consider Cicero's comments:

For a great impression is made by dwelling on a single point, and also by clear explanation and almost visual presentation of events as if practically going on — which are very effective both in stating a case and in explaining and amplifying the statement, with the object of making the fact we amplify appear to the audience as important as eloquence is able to make it...³¹⁵

If one follows Cicero's advice to dwell on a single point, pursuing *energeia* — that is, describing the particular moment of the event with narrative clarity (*perspicuitas*) and evidentiary detail (*evidentia*) — where it appears as though the event is unfolding before the audience's eyes — one is able to pursue *energeia* by amplifying the scene and its figures with ornament, so as to emphasize the significance of the moment and move the emotions of the audience. Again, Cicero speaks to the value of ornament: “But the highest distinction of eloquence consists in amplification by means of ornament, which can be used to make one's speech not only increase the importance of a subject and raise it to a higher level, but also to diminish and disparage it.”³¹⁶ One of the most effective uses of ornament is put forth by Quintilian when he claims that the deployment of figures of thought and figures of speech provide the means through which the passions can be expressed and emotions can be solicited.³¹⁷

The relationship of all of these rhetorical concepts might be described thusly: *Elocutio*, that is, the formulation, materialization, and presentation of an argument for consideration by an

³¹⁵ Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Cicero: On the Orator: Book 3. On Fate. Stoic Paradoxes. Divisions of Oratory*,” III.LIII.202.

³¹⁶ Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Cicero: On the Orator: Book 3. On Fate. Stoic Paradoxes. Divisions of Oratory*,” III.XXVI.104.

³¹⁷ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 9-10*,” IX.2.2-7.

audience, simultaneously attempts to fulfill both (1) *energeia*, that is, the composition of a vivid image descriptive of the totality of an event, illustrative of the argument, and concentrated in a proximate action, by means of (1a) *perspicuitas* and (1b) *evidentia*, which describe the event in a clear and intelligible manner including all relevant and necessary evidentiary detail, and (2) *enargeia*, the vivid image's capacity to move the spectator, by means of (2a) *ornatus*, that is, the rhetorical figures of speech and thought used to amplify and emphasize the significant components of the argument (Fig. 4-9).

Quintilian goes further to explain the versatility of ornament, making the following analogy: just as linguistic ornament can amplify the argument persuasively to affect the audience, so too can the speaker's physical gesture. The speaker can gesture with his hands or head and perform various bodily movements to express meaning and appeal to the emotions of the audience, for as Quintilian says,

The importance of gesture for an orator is evident from the simple fact that it can often convey meaning even without the help of words. Not only hands but nods show our intentions; for the dumb, indeed, these take the place of language. A dance too is often understood and emotionally effective without the voice; mental attitudes can be inferred from the face or the walk; even dumb animals reveal their anger, joy, or wish to please by their eyes or some other bodily signal.³¹⁸

Importantly, gesture, to the extent that it evokes speech and linguistic ornament, is similarly effective in imparting meaning when it is performed by a speaker as when its performance is depicted in an image created by the speaker. Thus, if the rhetoricians' enterprise is to follow the exhortations of Cicero and Quintilian in dwelling on a single point, describing a moment with *perspicuitas* and *evidentia* while amplifying significant components of the event with ornament, they would visualize scenes similar to what one sees in Lastman's biblical history paintings:

³¹⁸ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 11-12*. trans. D. A. Russell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), XI.3.65-66.

pictures representing events in biblical history, suspended in nature, intelligible with narrative accuracy, full of evidentiary detail, and consisting of figures performing gestures mediating and evoking speech and emotions.

In his explanation of the effectiveness of the orator's gesture, Quintilian even appeals to the art of painting by which he underscores the argument: "Nor is it surprising that these things, which do after all involve some movement, should have such power over the mind, when a picture, a silent work of art in an unvarying attitude, can penetrate our innermost feelings to such an extent that it seems sometimes to be more powerful than speech itself."³¹⁹ Quintilian's analogy proposes that the painter and the rhetorician exercise a shared conceptual approach, utilizing the same set of constructive tools and pursuing the same rhetorical objective, which is to create a vivid image affectively unfolding before the audience and persuasively supporting an argument. Of course this is not the first time the relationship between these rhetorical concepts and seventeenth-century Dutch painting has been discussed, but in an effort to consider Pieter Lastman's visualization of the Book of Tobit, as well as other paintings representative of Lastman's biblical history *oeuvre*, rehearsing the terms of this relationship here is indispensable.³²⁰ Before one can begin to examine Lastman's paintings within this rhetorical framework, however, one must first become familiar with the Book of Tobit upon which his paintings are based.

³¹⁹ Quintilian, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education: Books 11-12*, XI.3.67.

³²⁰ See Weststeijn. "Rembrandt and Rhetoric," 111-130. For studies arguing for a rhetorical reading of the arts, see Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* and Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

4.3 THE NARRATIVE

It is clear from Seifert's analysis of Lastman's mythological history paintings that the painter was a diligent reader of ancient and contemporary texts, and one only need a cursory analysis of his biblical history paintings to know that his concern for narrative fidelity and textual scrutiny carries over into this mode of painting as well.³²¹ Adhering faithfully to the details and sequences of narrative moments, out of interest for both narrative and historical accuracy, Lastman demonstrates a close reading of the biblical text, and time and again, he demonstrates a concern for closely following the progression of the biblical narrative.³²² Not only is he interested in depicting one specific narrative moment, but he is concerned with portraying that moment within the context of the larger story, through which he communicates the magnitude and gravity of the moment depicted, amplifying the image's capacity to move the emotions and, thereby, persuade the viewer of the story's argument. Moreover, as Kurt Freise noted, part of Lastman's success was knowing what interested his audience, mainly that one could identify and read the narrative as portrayed in the painting and compare it with the biblical text. Through one's discernment of Lastman's pictorial sources and narrative references, a contemporary viewer could identify with Lastman's erudition and celebrate his own.³²³ Since Lastman is known to have painted rarely represented histories or, in several instances, painted historical episodes for the first time, it logically follows that his intended audience would not only have been familiar with the underlying textual narratives upon which the paintings are based, but they would also have a working knowledge of Latin as well as classical rhetoric.³²⁴ Owners of

³²¹ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 75-76; Golahny, "Pieter Lastman: Moments of Recognition," 191; Christian Tümpel, "The Iconography of the Pre-Rembrandtists," in *The Pre-Rembrandtists* (Sacramento: E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1974), 132-135.

³²² Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 139.

³²³ Kurt Freise, *Pieter Lastman, Sein Leben Und Seine Kunst* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1911), 133; Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 144.

³²⁴ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 82-83.

Lastman's historical paintings, like Robbert van der Hoeven, Reiner van der Wolf, and Jan Six, demonstrate this intellectual pedigree and license a reading of Lastman's intention as one of prompting the viewer towards a close consideration of the underlying text.³²⁵ In this interest and in light of Lastman's concern for accuracy, as well as the pictorial problems with which he and other artists are confronted in visualizing the story of Tobit and Tobias, it is prudent to give some attention to the story itself.

In the twelfth chapter of the Book of Tobit, Tobias' traveling companion, Azariah, reveals himself as Raphael, one of the seven angels who stands before the glory of the Lord and whom God sent to heal the afflicted Tobit and Sarah, the father and wife of Tobias respectively. In many ways, the story revolves around this revelation, and because the dual identity of Azariah and Raphael is crucial to the story, I will refer to the character as Azariah-Raphael. Such revelation, however, is insignificant without knowing first what precipitates it.

After being captured in the northern kingdom of Israel and deported with his family to Nineveh, Tobit had remained faithful to God by living a righteous life and giving alms, epitomized by his insistent and politically subversive practice of burying Jews who were killed by the Assyrian kings Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. One night after burying slain Jews, Tobit went to sleep by a wall in his courtyard. Nesting in the wall, however, were sparrows whose excrement fell into Tobit's eyes and covered them with a white film that blinded him.

A parallel narrative line to which the apocryphal book transitions following these initial scenes of Tobit is the story of Sarah, a young woman living with her father, Raguel, in the town of Ecbatana located in the region of Media. Sarah had been married seven times, but during each of her wedding nights, the demon, Asmodeus, killed her new husband. Suffering under much

³²⁵ Golahny, "Pieter Lastman: Moments of Recognition, 181; Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 130.

grief and the false accusations of murder, Sarah confronted suicidal thoughts: she wept and prayed that God would end her life. She professed to God that she is “pure from all uncleanness,” but she suffered under such grief that she desperately wanted it all to end.

According to the book of Tobit, the device that unites these two storylines is Azariah-Raphael, the instrument of God’s sovereignty and providence, whom God, after hearing their prayers, sent to resolve the afflictions of both Tobit and Sarah. Azariah-Raphael’s divine mission was to remove the white films from Tobit’s eyes, restore his sight, and capture the demon, Asmodeus, which would relieve Sarah of her grief. It is within this framework that Azariah-Raphael enters the narrative and the storyline of Tobias begins.

Fearing that he was at the end of his life, Tobit remembered he had money to collect from his friend, Gabel, who lived in the town of Rages located in the region of Media. Because of his blindness and old age, Tobit sent his son Tobias to retrieve the money. Although he had equipped his son with an education of wisdom and faithfulness, Tobit also required that Tobias be joined by a companion to protect and guide him along the road to Rages.³²⁶ It is the angel, Raphael, disguised as the traveler-guide called Azariah, whom Tobit selected to accompany Tobias on his journey. On their travels to Rages, Tobias and Azariah-Raphael chose to rest along the banks of the Tigris River where Tobias decided to wash his feet. As he began to do this, however, a large fish leapt from the water and attacked him, causing him to cry out. Azariah-Raphael responded with quick instructions: “...Catch hold of the fish...Cut open the

³²⁶ Tobit 4 (New Revised Standard Version, Anglicised Catholic Edition (NRSVACE). Chapter 4 records several points of instruction that Tobit provides Tobias: worship the Lord, perform righteous acts, give to the poor, choose a wife from your “father’s tribe,” love your brethren, pay an honest wage, behave discreetly, do not become drunk, and give to the poor.

fish and take out its gall, heart, and liver. Keep them with you, but throw away the intestines. For gall, heart, and liver are useful as medicine.”³²⁷

They continued their journey until they had almost reached the region of Media when Tobias inquired about his companion’s earlier instructions: “...Brother Azariah, what medicinal value is there in the fish’s heart and liver, and in the gall?”³²⁸ To which Azariah-Raphael responded:

As for the fish’s heart and liver, you must burn them to make a smoke in the presence of a man or woman afflicted by a demon or evil spirit, and every affliction will flee away and never remain with that person any longer. And as for the gall, anoint a person’s eyes where white films have appeared on them; blow upon them, upon the white films, and the eyes will be healed.³²⁹

Tobias does not inquire further, but Azariah-Raphael’s answer has no direct context or application in the moment. Its significance is revealed only later, and its function here is to foreshadow future events to which Azariah-Raphael and the knowledgeable reader have access but Tobias does not.

Upon arriving in the region of Media, the two travelers arrived first at the town of Ecbatana where Azariah-Raphael informed Tobias they would stay the night before continuing on to Rages where they would collect Tobit’s money from Gabel. Their lodging was provided by a kinsman of Tobias, a man named Raguel whose daughter, as mentioned above, is Sarah, to whom God sent Raphael to rescue. Under his authority and carrying out God’s intentions, Azariah-Raphael encouraged Tobias to take Sarah as his bride, and despite his anxieties over her seven previously deceased husbands, he agreed. In anticipation of the wedding night, Azariah-Raphael calmed Tobias’ fears and provided instructions on what he must do to protect himself and Sarah: “When you enter the bridal chamber, take some of the fish’s liver and heart, and put

³²⁷ Tobit 6:4-5 (NRSVACE).

³²⁸ Tobit 6:7 (NRSVACE).

³²⁹ Tobit 6:8-9 (NRSVACE).

them on the embers of the incense. An odor will be given off; the demon will smell it and flee, and will never be seen near her anymore.”³³⁰ Soon after, Raguel gave Sarah to Tobias as a wife, the two were married, and they soon began their wedding night. Upon entering the bridal chamber, Tobias remembered Azariah-Raphael’s instructions, and he “took the fish’s liver and heart out of the bag where he had them and put them on the embers of the incense. The odor of the fish so repelled the demon that he fled to the remotest parts of Egypt. But Raphael followed him, and at once bound him there hand and foot.”³³¹ With the demon, Asmodeus, having been defeated, Tobias led Sarah in a prayer to God, praising and thanking him for his deliverance.

During the celebrations of the marriage and his survival of the wedding night, Tobias sent Azariah-Raphael to Rages so that he could retrieve the money from Gabel. Only after Azariah-Raphael and Gabel were able to return to Tobias and take part in the wedding celebrations was Raguel allowed to bring the wedding feast to a close, and he handed over his daughter to Tobias one last time along with a dowry of money, servants, clothing, and animals, and he sent them on their return journey to Nineveh. Once they were close to the city, Azariah-Raphael instructed that he and Tobias should advance ahead of the group to greet Tobit and prepare for Sarah’s arrival. As they continued to walk along the road to Ninevah, Azariah-Raphael told Tobias to prepare the gall of the fish in his hands. Once Tobit was informed of his son’s arrival, Azariah-Raphael, again, provided Tobias with instruction: “I know that his eyes will be opened. Smear the gall of the fish on his eyes; the medicine will make the white films shrink and peel off from his eyes, and your father will regain his sight and see the light.”³³² And so he did: Tobias approached his father, stuffed the gall into his eyes and peeled away the white films, restoring

³³⁰ Tobit 6:17-18(NRSVACE).

³³¹ Tobit 8:2-3 (NRSVACE).

³³² Tobit 11:7-8 (NRSVACE).

Tobit's sight. Upon seeing his son, Tobit fell to the ground weeping and offered blessings to God.

So moved by God's mercy in the restoration of his sight and the safe return of his son, his new daughter-in-law, and the money retrieved from Gabel, Tobit desired to compensate Azariah-Raphael for his services. Azariah-Raphael, however, denied the payment and responded with the exhortation that all should pursue righteousness and give alms as a way to deter evil and purge sin. He proclaims that by giving alms one will not succumb to evil but instead shall be fed with life. He then continued to reveal his role as an intercessor, who petitioned God with the prayers of Tobit and Sarah, and the instrument through whom God healed their afflictions. He ends his revelation with this declaration: "I am Raphael, one of the seven angels who stand ready and enter before the glory of the Lord."³³³ It was such a surprising and majestic revelation that Tobit and Tobias "were both troubled, and fell upon their faces; and they were afraid." The episode ends with Raphael assuring them that blessings and fear for him are not required, for he performed his actions by the will of God and it is to God for whom blessings and fear are due. Upon leaving Tobit and Tobias and returning to God's presence, Raphael gave one last instruction: "Write down all these things that have happened to you."³³⁴ And Tobit and Tobias rose from their kneeling and saw Raphael no more.

As one can gather, the narrative is not so much about Tobias collecting money owed to his family, as may seem the case at the beginning of the story. Rather, the story demonstrates God's fidelity to his faithful people who are granted the spiritual sight that allows them to perceive the true identity and promise of God.

³³³ Tobit 12:15 (NRSVACE).

³³⁴ Tobit 12:20 (NRSVACE).

4.4 THE PICTORIAL TRADITION

Lastman's appeal to the pictorial tradition complements his close reading of the narrative text, and one only needs to look to Lastman's appropriations of the Ovidian pictorial tradition as an introductory example. As Seifert has pointed out, not only did Lastman consult the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the first Dutch edition having been printed in 1552 and circulated widely, but he also drew on its pictorial tradition. For his *Apollo and Coronis* of c.1615, Lastman includes a clearly pregnant Coronis, Apollo's laurel wreath and lyre, as well as, the centaur, Chiron, the funeral pyre, and Apollo caring for his rescued son, Asclepius, in the background, all of which derive specifically from a detailed reading of the text. He also includes the white raven, Coronis prone and dying, and Artemis' arrow that pierced Coronis' body, all of which can be attributed to contemporary pictorial treatments of the story.³³⁵ Lastman's inventions are no doubt significantly informed by the pictorial tradition, and its application is not limited to the case of mythological history. He also looks to the pictorial tradition of representing religious stories as well, appealing to inventions by Goltzius as well as to reproductive engravings after the works of Raphael, Mantegna, Titian, and Veronese. Specific examples are found in Lastman's designs for his *Annunciation*, which are heavily informed by Jacob Matham's engraving after Abraham Bloemaert's *Annunciation*, and his *Juda and Thamar* informed by Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert's engraving after Maarten van Heemskerck's design of *Juda and Thamar*.³³⁶ While he utilizes the motifs and compositions of other artists, he inventively develops and varies his own repertoire, practicing the pictorial rhetorical process of *translatio, imitatio, aemulatio*, promoted by Van Mander, and presumably taught in his studio, as his most famous student, Rembrandt, excelled in employing the practice with great skill. In light

³³⁵ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 104.

³³⁶ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 167-172.

of this process and its place in these briefly introduced examples of Lastman's *oeuvre*, it is necessary to consider a few examples of the pictorial tradition visualizing the story of Tobit and Tobias.³³⁷

In c. 1548 and 1556, Maarten van Heemskerck designed two print series representing this biblical history. While the two series depict differing scenes from the narrative, they both feature the narrative moments addressed by Lastman's paintings and demand particular attention. In Heemskerck's earlier woodcut series, likely cut by Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert, one finds the scene of Tobias catching the fish on the banks of the river Tigris [Fig. 4-10]. The image is third in the series, preceded by images of Tobit blinded by the sparrows' droppings and Tobit blessing Tobias and Azariah-Raphael as they depart on their journey. In the print where Tobias catches the fish, there is a similar manner in how Heemskerck describes Tobias' engagement with the fish and his interaction with Azariah-Raphael to how Lastman describes the event in his painting of 1613, as one will see in the discussion later. In Heemskerck's print, one finds the figures pushed to the foreground of the image with a landscape featuring a large body of water separating the viewer from a coastal town at the foot of a mountainous terrain. On the right side, the fish has surfaced from the water, clearly in a moment of desperate exertion, evocative of the text's description of the fish thrashing but also indicative of its effort to free itself from capture. How Heemskerck has depicted such movement through the fish's coiled-serpentine form persuades the viewer of the anxiety and exigency of the moment. Such aggressive movement of the fish demands a proportionate physical exertion from Tobias. He kneels with his right knee on the bank of the river, anchored by his big toe, and stands with his other foot immersed in the river. It is an awkward pose to be sure, but one that persuasively demonstrates the degree of

³³⁷ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 175-176.

effort required for Tobias to control the animal. Such control is further indicated by how Tobias holds the fish. One hand is anchored in the gills while the other hand presumably grasps the other side of its head. While the fish demands Tobias' physical effort, Tobias' neck and head are turned away from the fish. Instead of addressing the fish, he responds to Azariah-Raphael who stands on the riverbank to the left of the image, casually leaning on his travelers' staff, watching the action unfold, and gesticulating with his right hand. This gesture, evocative of speech and corresponding to the biblical narrative, suggests that Azariah-Raphael instructs Tobias to grab the fish and bring it ashore. Lest it go unsaid, Heemskerck has chosen distinctively to represent Azariah-Raphael purely as Tobias' traveling companion, presumably because Tobias remains unaware of Azariah's true identity. Absent are the conspicuous angels' wings seen in most representations of this episode in the story.

Heemskerck's 1556 version, perhaps engraved by Cornelis Cort, differs in the addition and slight modification of elements [Fig. 4-11].³³⁸ Tobias is characterized by a similar pose, although his body is not as aggressively contorted, and one is not able to see his right foot as clearly. The fish is now shown in profile. Its serpentine shape is preserved, but its coiled energy now lost. The position and pose of Azariah-Raphael are also similar, but Heemskerck has modified his portrayal in a subtle yet significant way. While the figure maintains a casual stance of crossing his legs and supporting his weight on the traveler's staff, his gesturing hand, evoking speech, is much more emphatic and intentional. He reaches out away from his body, his fingers purposefully extended with conviction and almost touching Tobias. It is quite different from the c. 1548 image where Azariah-Raphael's arm is bent, retracted close to his body, and showing the

³³⁸ Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 119; Veldman, "Maarten van Heemskerck and the Rhetoricians of Haarlem," 104.

back of his hand. This prior image seems to indicate only a suggestion, while the 1556 image suggests the *gravitas* of a divinely-instructed decree.

This modification of the interaction between Tobias and Azariah-Raphael is not the only change in Heemskerck's design. He has also added the immediately subsequent scene, separated and located in the middle ground of the image. Near a tree upriver from the foreground scene, one finds Azariah-Raphael perched on a grouping of rock parapets. Again, with his hand outstretched toward Tobias, he instructs his companion to gut the fish and remove its heart, liver, and gall. Tobias complies by inserting his hand in the open belly of the fish. Not only does Heemskerck include an additional scene within the image, he also adds additional details to elaborate the scene. Although Tobias' dog is retained in the 1556 image, he is seen here sitting upright and attentive to the action, the empty bag in which the fish organs will be placed laying next to him. He is also included in the middle ground scene eating the remnants of the fish as a playful nod to Azariah-Raphael's instruction to discard the fish's entrails.

This middle-ground scene from Heemskerck's 1556 series is the focus of Karel van Mander's print of c. 1590 [Fig. 4-12]. In many ways, Van Mander's compositional arrangement resembles the interaction between Azariah-Raphael and Tobias seen in the foreground scenes of both the c. 1548 and the 1556 series. Instead of portraying the moment where Tobias struggles to capture the fish, Van Mander shows the fish already brought ashore and Tobias beginning to remove its organs. In this context, Azariah-Raphael's gesture of speech is indicative of his instruction to remove the fish's organs, not his instruction to capture the fish and bring it ashore. Inventively, Van Mander has used the pose and positioning of figures previously associated with one verbal exchange, as seen in Heemskerck's images, for the representation of a different verbal exchange, the result of which is a reference to both conversations.

This invention is all the more evident if one considers Crispijn van den Broeck's version of the scene from his print series of c. 1570-1580. There, one finds two prints separately treating Tobias' encounter with the fish [Figs. 4-13 & 4-14]. The first of the two portrays Azariah-Raphael instructing Tobias to grab the fish and bring it ashore, but there is clearly no sense of anxiety or urgency associated with the fish's attack as described in the narrative text or depicted in Heemskerck's representations. Moreover, there is no animated interpersonal exchange evident in the way Van den Broeck positions the figures. Azariah-Raphael, featuring angels' wings and a traveling hat, stands behind Tobias, and while he extends a hand evocative of speech, his words could very possibly, as far as the picture would describe, fall on deaf ears. Van den Broeck's posing of the figures is neither as clear nor as persuasive as Heemskerck's or Van Mander's. Either coincidentally or responsive to Azariah-Raphael's instruction, Tobias kneels with both knees on the banks of the river, one hand grabbing hold of the head of the fish and his other hand providing leverage on the bank.

In the second print, one finds a similar arrangement. Azariah-Raphael stands behind Tobias, presumably instructing him to remove the fish's organs, but again Tobias directs his attention solely to the gutting of the fish and shows no sign of conversationally engaging his companion. Where Heemskerck included both moments in separate pictorial grounds in his 1556 version and where Van Mander inventively used Heemskerck's pictorial precedent to indicate both moments in one scene, Van den Broeck separates the two moments of Tobias' encounter with the fish in two independent prints while failing to represent persuasively the heightened state of interaction between Azariah-Raphael and Tobias in what could only have been a terrifying and urgent situation.

How these artists visualize the wedding night of Tobias and Sarah is also worth considering before closely examining Lastman's trio of paintings. In the two series by Heemskerck, the wedding night is treated in similar fashion, but as in Tobias' encounter with the fish, the later series of 1556 differs in composition and emphasis [Figs. 4-15 & 4-16]. The c. 1548 print displays the two large figures of Tobias and Sarah pushed to the foreground, kneeling at their marriage bed, and, as the biblical text indicates, praying to God for deliverance from the demon Asmodeus. The event to which they respond is located in the middle ground of the image where Tobias is seen dropping the fish's heart and liver in a traditionally-shaped Dutch fireplace. The smell and smoke produced by the burning of the organs expels the demon through a ceiling aperture. The background scene features yet a different narrative moment in a different narrative space. People are gathered around a table on which food is placed; one figure pours drink from a vessel. This vignette is presumably the wedding feast hosted by Raguel and his family, celebrating not only the marriage of Tobias and Sarah and its consummation but also the mere fact that Tobias survived the night. As seen in Heemskerck's 1556 series, this image is also constructed by scenes occurring at different points in the narrative yet situated physically and temporally together. In this instance, the foreground scene acts an index to the middle and background scenes, while one is to understand the foreground scene in reference to the other accompanying vignettes.

Although the narrative emphasis differs in his print of 1556, Heemskerck pursues a similar compositional strategy [Fig. 4-16]. One finds multiple vignettes placed in a contemporaneous setting but narratively separated in time. In this image, Heemskerck has placed the moment of Tobias setting the fish's liver and heart on the fire's coals in the foreground. In doing so, he further explicates the action than in the c. 1548 image, adding detail and articulating the

execution of Tobias' activity with increased narrative fidelity. Of particular distinction is the presence of Azariah-Raphael who stands behind Tobias advising him of what next to do. While this is temporally unfaithful to the sequence of the narrative, it does represent the conversation occurring prior to Tobias' entering the bridal chamber in which Azariah-Raphael instructs Tobias to place the heart and liver on the coals. The demon, Asmodeus, represented similarly to the c. 1548 print, flees from the rising smoke, this time flying up through the chimney. The middle ground scene features what was the foreground emphasis in the c. 1548 print: Tobias and Sarah in prayer following Asmodeus' defeat. This time, however, Tobias is seen in profile, directing his gaze at his bride. Also added to the 1556 version is Tobias' dog, whose placement is similar to what one sees in Heemskerck's print of Tobias' encounter with the fish. In this print, however, it is sniffing or licking the empty bag which presumably still contains the fish's gall.

Although Heemskerck and Van Mander depict of Tobias' encounter with the fish similarly in some respects, in others their conception notably differs. Van Mander focuses his image on the conversation that occurs before Tobias enters the bridal chamber [Fig. 4-17]. In his print of c. 1590, one finds a group of people huddled together in an entry hall, leading in one direction to the wedding banquet hall and in another direction to the bridal chamber. At the center of this group stands Raguel taking his daughter's hand and joining it together with Tobias'. He directs his gaze towards Tobias and, equipped with a gesture evocative of speech, his pose suggests the words from the biblical text: "Take her to be your wife in accordance with the law and decree written in the book of Moses."³³⁹ Standing behind and between Raguel and Tobias, Azariah-Raphael watches intently, his angels' wings towering above the group and visually framing the

³³⁹ Tobit 7:12 (NRSVACE).

conversation. It is his left wing that appropriately points to the large portal into the bridal chamber where the next narrative moment unfolds.

In Van Mander's print, one does not see the liver and heart placed on the coals, nor does one witness the Asmodeus fleeing or, as the text describes, Raphael's pursuit and binding of Asmodeus. Instead, one simply sees Tobias and Sarah kneeling in profile, praying and making supplication to God after the defeat of the demon. Not only does the image of Tobias and Sarah in prayer signify God's healing Sarah's affliction and Tobias' survival of the wedding night, it also signifies the commencement of the wedding feast indicated by the vignette in the left of the print. Again, Van Mander follows Heemskerck's compositional strategy of multiple vignettes placed in a contemporaneous setting but narratively separated in time.

Crispijn van den Broeck does not follow this compositional strategy. In his print series, he separates the wedding ceremony and the wedding night into two different images [Figs. 4-18 & 4-19]. The first image shows Raguel joining the hands of Tobias and Sarah in marriage accompanied by Azariah-Raphael and his wife, Edna. The second image depicts the expulsion of Asmodeus. In the second image, Van den Broeck portrays Tobias kneeling by a fireplace and placing the fish's heart and/or liver on a grill to be placed in the fire. One can say "and/or" because the reference to time is ambiguous. Instead of representing multiple episodes through multiple vignettes in one image, Van den Broeck compresses the episode by depicting sequential moments simultaneously, both the cause and its effect in the same temporal space. The demon, Asmodeus, again represented in the manner of a Boschian-hybrid demon, is already in the process of fleeing the room, and the angel Raphael, with his sword drawn, pursues him eagerly. Either Tobias has already placed *one* of the fish's organs on the fire, commencing the demon's expulsion, and he now continues with either the heart or the liver, or, more likely based on the

pose and positioning of Sarah, Van den Broeck attempts to show us simultaneously the cause and effect of the scene's action condensed into one image. The rhetorical effect of which is that the viewer has visual access to both the cause and the effect of the action unimpaired by the limitations of time. As indicated, the rhetoric is really made clear by the inclusion and location of Sarah kneeling and praying by the marriage bed, for this is the final moment, the effect and subsequent scene of the two moments depicted in the middle ground. By encountering Sarah in the foreground, the viewer must work back in time to understand what he sees: Sarah offers prayers of supplication because God has delivered her from the oppression of the demon; the demon has been defeated by the angel Raphael because the smell of the fish's organs exposed him; the smell of the fish's organs exposed the demon because Tobias placed the fish's organs on the fire. The ineffectiveness of Van den Broeck's attempt to depict the simultaneity of cause and effect, however, results from the temporal confusion and obscurity intrinsic to his pictorial arrangement of sequential narrative moments.

The final image in each of the four-print series depicts the moment when Azariah reveals his true identity as the angel Raphael and returns to heaven. As in the other images of the series, Heemskerck's print of c. 1548 presents large figures pushed to the foreground [Fig. 4-20]. Framing the artist's monogram, one finds Tobit and Tobias positioned in poses of supplication and reverence. Presumably Azariah has just revealed himself as Raphael, the one whom God sent to heal both Tobit and Sarah from their afflictions. In Heemskerck's representation, he has dispensed with his traveler's clothes and now sports angel's wings. The biblical text describes Tobit and Tobias' response to the revelation as troubling, causing them to "fall on their faces" with fear of the Lord, and this is certainly how Heemskerck has described Tobit. He is positioned toward the viewer, his mouth pressed into his folded hands, bearing the weight of his

whole body as he kneels all the way to the ground, his bottom high in the air and his foot coming out of the heel of his sandal. His posture, accompanied by his furrowed brow, shows the intense degree of his supplication. One can imagine that Tobias was positioned similarly in the unfolding of the moment, but he has now become upright, contorting his body and face to follow Raphael's flight as he departs their company. He rests his weight on his right knee pivoting his torso in the direction of Raphael as he begins to fly away. Because Raphael is already in mid-air, Heemskerck was afforded the opportunity to emphasize the turning of Tobias' neck and the tilt of his head upward, punctuated by his sharp jawline and the emphasized gaze of his eyes. Such a posture indicates his surprise and astonishment as well as his need to visually confirm that his traveling companion, whom he thought was merely Brother Azariah, is really one of the seven angels of the Lord. After having shared with his companion the experience of an arduous journey full of trials and perils, Tobias naturally experiences shock and awe in his realization of his mistaken identification of Raphael.

As in the preceding episodes in the story, Heemskerck's evolution from the c. 1548 series to the 1556 series is one of slight modification and addition. In the 1556 version, Raphael's revelation and his departure is combined with the attempted payment of Raphael located in the background scene [Fig. 4-21]. There one finds Tobit seated, with his eyesight having been restored, attempting to hand Azariah-Raphael a coin. Tobias confidently stands nearby with one foot raised on the platform and his hand directed towards Azariah-Raphael, indicating the final words spoken to his traveling companion: "Take for your wages half of all that you brought back, and farewell."³⁴⁰ As the foreground scene shows, the tenor of the room changes dramatically. Azariah has now revealed himself to be Raphael, his wings outspread as he hovers

³⁴⁰ Tobit 12:5 (NRSVACE).

above the group, directing his blessing, it seems, specifically to Tobit. In a similar pose to the c. 1548 print, Tobit has fallen to his knees and elbows, folding his hands in prayer and staring off into the distance. Tobias has dropped to one knee, perhaps a frozen moment in the process of falling to both. Reverently raising his eyes to him who was once only a friend, Tobias clasps his hands in prayer, responding to Raphael's celestial form. Again, Heemskerck utilizes multiple vignettes in the 1556 series with which to visualize the story.

Van Mander's final image of his print series follows Heemskerck's 1556 print in that it also combines the attempted payment of Azariah-Raphael with the Raphael's winged departure, although Van Mander places Raphael's departure in the middle ground while pushing the attempted payment to the foreground [Fig. 4-22]. There one finds Tobias, standing in the courtyard of his father's home, flanked by Tobit and Azariah-Raphael. Tobit and Tobias tilt their heads toward Azariah-Raphael, offering him payment for services as Tobias' guide and protector, which is further communicated by Tobit's hand gesture pointing to the open chest of coins. Although Van Mander does not depict Azariah's proclamation as Raphael, such revelation has occurred in the time between what Van Mander represents in the foreground and the middle ground scenes. In the middle ground one discovers that Raphael has fully assumed the guise of an angel and proceeds to fly out of the courtyard.

Unlike Van Mander's image and the print from Heemskerck's 1556 series, Van den Broeck again follows a different strategy and separates the scenes in two different images [Figs. 4-23 & 4-24]. The attempted payment is featured in the penultimate print, and the departure of the angel Raphael is depicted in the final image. There, Raphael hovers on a diagonal axis at the center of a revelatory cloud. His arms are outstretched in blessing and his gaze cast downward, smiling at his reverential devotees. While Heemskerck includes Tobit's wife, Hannah, among the figures of

the scene in both of his print series, Van den Broeck includes her in a far more active way. Instead of standing off to the side with expressions of awe, she joins Tobit and Tobias in their posture of reverently falling on their faces. Not only does she respond in a similar fashion to her husband and son, she occupies an even lower space, laid prostrate and pulling her garment over her face, demonstrating her humility in the presence of the archangel. Tobit kneels over her with his hands folded in prayer, head bowed, and eyes closed. Consistent with Heemskerck's representations of the figure, Tobias kneels with his torso upright and his gaze directed toward Raphael. Although in Van den Broeck's execution, it is not entirely intelligible how the figures interact with each other.

Before considering Lastman's paintings, it is worth mentioning one last image type in the pictorial tradition of representing the Tobit story. Related to Heemskerck's series of c. 1548 and 1556 is his representation of Tobit in the *Triumph of Patience* series of 1559 (Fig. 4-25). This print series is composed as an allegorical triumph wherein the triumphant figure, holding a banner featuring symbols of his virtue, rides on an animal and pulls behind him figures representing conflicts that he has overcome. Featured in the background landscape are significant scenes from each figure's story to which the foreground allegorical representation refers.³⁴¹ The series is comprised mostly of Old Testament figures, led by the figure of Patience and features the figure of Tobit in the sixth print. There, one finds Tobit riding on a donkey and pulling behind him his wife and the personified figure of Blind Poverty (*Caeca Paupertas*). Recall that Tobit practiced the charitable act of burying slain Jews in defiance of the Assyrian kings' decree. For this practice, he lost his possessions, was forced to flee his home, and

³⁴¹ Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1977), 63-64; Ilja M. Veldman, *Images for the Eye and Soul: Function and Meaning in Netherlandish Prints (1450 - 1650)* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2006), 55-56.

circumstantially yet consequentially, became blind. While he suffered greatly, he remained faithful to God, practicing charitable works in his honor. These acts are reflected in the banner he carries. In the center of the banner, one finds a nude female figure seated in a fountain. She dons a sheaf of corn on her head and from her breasts flow streams of water. References to the life of toil lived by both Tobit and Hannah are portrayed in the representations of flint and steel that surround the female fountain figure.³⁴² The accompanying inscription identifies Tobit as a model of patience and faithfulness in the face of despair and destitution:

From the books of the Old Testament we learn of the great endurance of old Tobias, and of the bitterness of his life for so long after he had lost his possessions and his sight. But he bore his afflictions calmly; yea more, blind himself he saw in faith him whom the wisdom of the world cannot perceive, and upon him alone he placed his trust for evermore.”³⁴³

Of the three-print series in which Heemskerck treats the story of Tobit, this last series represents the biblical figure alongside allegorical figures in a symbolic situation. Heemskerck composes the Tobit story through allegory and personification in order to present Tobit as an *exemplum* of patience and faithfulness. The narrative scene of Tobit burying a slain Jew in background only serves to explicate his allegorical function as a triumph of patience featured in the foreground.

4.5 THE RHETORICIANS' PLAY *DE OUDE TOBIJAS*

Scholars have shown that Lastman had recourse to the theater when composing some of his paintings. Amy Golahny and Christian Tico Seifert have pointed out the manner in which the drama of Euripides informed Lastman's visualization of the moving episode depicted in *The Dispute between Orestes and Pylades* (1614) [Fig. 4-26].³⁴⁴ Drawing from the event recorded by

³⁴² Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, 66; Veldman, *Images for the Eye and Soul*, 61.

³⁴³ Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, 66; Veldman, *Images for the Eye and Soul*, 61-62.

³⁴⁴ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 77; Golahny, "Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings," 161-

Herodotus in the *Histories*, the Greek playwright Euripides dramatized the moment when the two friends debate about which one of them will be sacrificed as a punishment for their attempted theft of a statue of Artemis from the temple in Tauris. Seifert points out that the way Lastman describes the interaction between Orestes and Pylades closely corresponds with how Euripides dramatizes their relationship [Fig. 4-27]. Because Lastman depicts Orestes standing at the left side of the image, clothed in a white tunic and wearing a sacrificial wreath, one understands that it is Orestes who will be sacrificed. Lastman does not make the viewer privy to Orestes' face, but rather he focuses the viewer's attention on Pylades' reaction as Orestes tenderly rests his hands on Pylades' arms, comforting and assuring him of the decision. It is often the case that moments of emotion, like the interaction between Orestes and Pylades, are left out of an historical record, and it typically falls under the purview of the artist to articulate or visualize how the passions inform or express the subtle details of an historical event.

For the purposes of this study of Lastman's biblical history paintings, the example of *The Dispute between Orestes and Pylades* (1614) is useful because, as Seifert has shown, Lastman's representation of the two friends closely corresponds with Euripides' play where, in a lengthy monologue, Orestes tries to convince Pylades that it is appropriate for Orestes to be sacrificed.³⁴⁵ Thus, this painting offers an example of Lastman depicting a rarely-featured history with no discernible pictorial tradition outside of antiquity, in which he poses and positions his figures in a conceptually similar way to a playscript.³⁴⁶

It reasonably follows that consideration of a dramatic work may aid in our understanding of Lastman and his pictures of biblical history. In order to draw correspondences of rhetorical

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³⁴⁵ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 77.

³⁴⁶ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 69-71;77; Golahny, "Pieter Lastman: Moments of Recognition," 179.

practice between the compositional strategies of Lastman and the rhetoricians, it is ideal to consider a rhetoricians' play visualizing the same biblical narrative found in the Book of Tobit. Although its date and author remain a mystery, the rhetorical drama, *De Oude Tobijas*, is a product of the Haarlem Chamber of Rhetoric, The Pelican (*De Pellicaen*), sometimes known by its motto, Loyalty must show (*Trou moet blijcken*), and it tells the whole story of Tobit, Tobias, Sarah, and Raphael, allowing us to evaluate a staged comparandum for each of the scenes depicted by Lastman. How did rhetoricians choose to craft these scenes, and can an understanding of these choices aid in interpreting Lastman's paintings?

4.5.1 THE FISH ATTACKS

In the analysis of *De Oude Tobijas*, one will find that the playwright has great concern for efficiency and intelligibility. The scene where the fish attacks Tobias on the banks of the river Tigris begins without delay or distraction. One might even characterize it as abrupt. In sequential stanzas, the playwright compresses two distinct moments when Tobias bids his mother farewell as he departs on his journey to Media and when Tobias begins to remove his shoes so that he can dip his feet in the river's water:

Tobias

*Wij sullen ons haesten seer al dat wij mogen
Om u betroeffde herten tsaemen te verhogen
Ick wil mijn voegen met u te spoeyen*

We shall hurry quickly so that we may
lighten our saddened hearts together
I will join you and hurry

Azariah (Raphael)

Broeder wilt u Ontschoeijen
Het waeter begint te vloeyen / van passen

Wij moeten op de zee ons voeten wassen
Wilt u rassen // om int waeter te betten

Brother, remove your shoes
We start sweating from walking
we must wash our feet in the water
Hurry, so that we can dip [them] in the water³⁴⁷

The efficiency is underscored by the fact that in the first two stanzas Tobias directs his first two lines to his mother while the last line of the stanza is directed towards Azariah-Raphael. The very quick transition of time and place helps facilitate the exigent nature of the fish's imminent attack which is amplified through the playwright's use of *exclamatio*, *apostrophe*, and *excitatio* in the following stanza:

Tobias

*Broeder wil ick mij voeten hier setten.
sonder Letten // twaeter en is niet heet
nu wil Ick mijn voeten wassen van dit sweet
hou / daer krijch ick een beet // gewis
o' heer heer Ick en weet niet wattet is
tschijnt een visch aen sijn hoot
besiet hoe hij daer Int waeter root
hij schoot // uuijt het waeter met allen hooch*

Brother, I want to set my feet here.
Without delay // the water is not hot
Now I want to wash my feet from this sweat
Ouch // something bit me // for sure
Oh, Lord, Lord, I do not know what it is
It appears to be a fish by the look of its head
Look there in the water how it thrashes
He shoots up // out of the water suddenly³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ W.N.M. Hüsken, Bart Ramakers, and F.A.M. Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobias," in *Trou Moet Blijcken: Bronnenuitgave van de Boeken Der Haarlemse Rederijderskamer "de Pellicanisten"*. 3: Boek C, 362–437 (Assen: Quarto, 1993), lines 776-783.

³⁴⁸ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobias," lines 785-792.

What begins as a pleasant scene featuring Tobias cooling his tired, sweaty (*sweet*) feet takes a turn to something unexpected. To make this turn, the playwright uses the rhetorical device of *exclamatio* achieved by Tobias' sudden cry, "*hou,*" in order to mark this moment of transition from pleasantry to exigency: "*hou, daer crijch ick een beet.*" Moreover, the use of *exclamatio* signifies the emotional transition of Tobias while it also facilitates *excitatio*, the rhetorical device that catches and excites the emotional awareness of the audience, informing one that conflict has arrived and one should prepare. The initial surprise of Tobias' *exclamatio* is dramatically heightened to fear in his apostrophic appeal to God. For Tobias, the righteous and divinely favored son of Tobit, one can imagine that his appeal to God is neither casual nor flippant. It is more than reasonable to understand this moment in the rhetoricians' dramatization as Tobias genuinely breaking from the physical, tangible reality in front of him to address the intangible, unseen God. *Apostrophe*, as used here, indicates his inability to deal with the situation and the degree to which he is overcome by fear.

The playwright also shows great concern to include explicit visual descriptors in order to visualize the moment as it unfolds. In his apostrophic appeal to the Lord, Tobias exclaims that he does not know what this thing is that bit him, proceeding to describe the creature by its appearance and behavior.³⁴⁹ Based on the shape of its head, he concludes it is a fish. By imploring Azariah-Raphael, and also the audience, to look at it, Tobias further describes its movement as thrashing and ultimately shooting out of the water at a great height. Presumably in a stage performance of the play, these physical details of the scene would be visualized for the audience and correspond with Tobias' spoken words.

³⁴⁹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*De Oude Tobijas*," lines 791-792.

Azariah-Raphael provides further visual evidentiary detail comprehensively to describe the moment when Tobias guts the fish and retrieves its gall, heart, and liver. He tells Tobias, and by extension the audience, to look the fish in the eye and see how it trembles: *vadt hem Int Ooch // hoe staet desen bever*.³⁵⁰ Azariah-Raphael attributes a certain degree of animation to the fish before he tells Tobias to rip open its belly, remove the organs, and place them in his traveling bag. By juxtaposing life and death, such a description provides not only depth of detail to the action of the moment, but also heightens the drama. He emphasizes the life of the fish immediately prior to extinguishing that life. Those vital organs necessary to that life now rest in a bag, and their medicinal value is articulated in the lines that immediately follow.

The playwright is not solely concerned with bolstering his dramatization of the scene with evidentiary detail, he is also occupied with embellishing the moment through allusion and artful language. Azariah-Raphael follows his instruction to stow the organs with a description of their high quality: *“Ick begere dat ghijse inde mael sluijt / die kuijt is goet // daermen hem op Leijt [I desire that you close them in the travel bag / the eggs are good // wherever one places them].”*³⁵¹ First of all, he refers to them as *kuijt*, which might be translated into English as “eggs,” but the use of *kuijt* here is using “eggs” to denote its high value, quality, and preciousness. Tobias’ response to such a description is naturally, *“wije daer aff welvaert [who profits from this]?”*³⁵² Amidst this initial acquisition of the fish’s organs, the playwright inserts a dialogic exchange which occurs later in the narrative. He sees the narrative expediency in compressing the image of the moment to have greater rhetorical effect on the audience. Instead of featuring the conversation in a separate scene occurring later after the two have resumed their journey to

³⁵⁰ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., *“De Oude Tobijas,”* line 795.

³⁵¹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., *“De Oude Tobijas,”* lines 798-799.

³⁵² Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., *“De Oude Tobijas,”* line 802.

Media where Tobias enquires about the particular nature of the fish organs' medicinal value, the playwright inserts this dialogic exchange here, abridging and compressing the story.

As one will see later in the analysis of Lastman's invention of the episode, the playwright's rhetorical strategy of compressing the narrative is the same device that organizes the composition of the painting. Lastman is keenly aware that the manner in which he represents the conversation unfolding between Tobias and Azariah-Raphael allows for multiple readings of exactly which conversation he portrays. While he incorporates elements of evidentiary detail and narrative clarity, he also allows for his portrayal of the conversation to represent Azariah-Raphael's instructions to catch the fish and his later instructions to gut the fish and remove its organs, with both conversations alluding to Azariah-Raphael's subsequent explanation of organs' medicinal value. This rhetorical practice of narrative compression is also evident in Lastman's painting.

In the play, the rhetorical effect of compressing the explanatory conversation with Tobias' retrieval of the organs is the argument that there is a direct connection between the appearance of the fish's organs and their medicinal value, which functions as a visual allusion to their ultimate use in healing the afflictions of Tobit and Sarah.

Tobias

*Broeder Ick bidt u dat ghij seght die waerheijt
en doet mijn bescheijt // wije daer aff welvaert*

Brother, I pray that you speak the truth
and let me know // who profits from this?

Azariah (Raphael)

*Dat wert u verclaert...
het aert // mach die duijvel niet Luchten
met die Lever doe Ickse suchten
hij moet vluchten // van desen roock*

*die galle is goet voor quae Oogen Oock
daer over tlicht een vliese drijft
ist dat ghij met die galle daer op wrijft
hij wort gerijft // vande Oogen bedompt*

That will become clear to you...
the heart // the devil cannot smell
with the liver, I make him gasp
he has to flee // from this smoke
the gall is good also for hurt eyes
over which the light applies a film
it is on that which you rub the gall
he will be healed // of the blurred eyes³⁵³

In alignment with the biblical text, Azariah-Raphael employs the device of allusion in his words when he speaks of the medicinal value of the organs. Every specific healing attribute that Azariah-Raphael assigns to the organs is in direct and specific reference to their ultimate use executed subsequently in the story. The heart, which takes away the breath of a demon, will certainly do so to Asmodeus in Sarah's bridal chamber. The liver, which has the power to expel a demon by the smell of its smoke, will also do this to Asmodeus. The gall, which will heal injured eyes, will also fulfill its medicinal potential later when it remedies Tobit's blindness by removing the film that covers his eyes. Azariah-Raphael describes the nature and utility of these organs with the device of allusion, pointing to their unique application in the narrative's subsequent scenes.

The scene of the fish's attack ends as quickly as it began. The playwright does not leave much concern for dispensable narrative moments that could not simply be compressed into a more pivotal moment in the story — nor is he concerned with artful transitions between scenes. Again, a clear, efficient presentation of the story is a priority. Azariah-Raphael's explanation of

³⁵³ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobijas," lines 804-811.

the medicinal application of the organs is so sufficient that it garners no direct response from Tobias, despite his initial confusion and skepticism. Instead, Tobias responds with an initiation of the next scene, that is, where it is they are going to stay for night and what it is they will eat.

Tobias

Asaria broeder die wech die crompt
den avont compt hadden wij Logijs
bijtijts in een herberge dat ick prijs
die spijs // sou wel smaecten het waer goet voer

Azariah, brother, the road curves
the evening comes; finding lodgings
in time in an inn, I would commend
the food will taste well // if it were good ³⁵⁴

Of course, the abrupt beginning and end of the fish scene compels consideration of the overall structure of the episode, and what one finds is the playwright presenting the sequential unfolding of a narrative moment and its relevant details in a methodical, intelligible manner, avoiding any long-delayed conclusions or details superfluous to the point of the scene. He breaks down the episode efficiently into its constituent parts: Tobias leaves his family, the fish attacks, Tobias catches and guts the fish, Tobias expresses his confusion and skepticism, Azariah-Raphael explains the organs' medicinal value, and then on to the next scene. In short, it is the same *perspicuitas* and *evidentia* to which Lastman appeals in his visual representation of the scene. Moreover, the artful employment of *ornatus* of *exclamatio*, *apostrophe*, *excitatio*, and allusion embellishes and amplifies the drama, exigency, and significance of the scene with rhetorical color. When one considers how the playwright employs *perspicuitas*, *evidentia*, and *ornatus* in the pursuit of a rhetorically persuasive dramatization, full of *energeia* and *enargeia*, the visual

³⁵⁴ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*De Oude Tobijas*,” lines 813-816.

strategy discerned in Lastman's painting comes closer into focus. The correspondence between the playwright's dramatization of this episode and Lastman's painting is only strengthened by the shared strategy Lastman employs of compressing the narrative. As one will see in the later discussion of painting, Lastman employs certain pictorial choices to represent multiple conversations in the way he visualizes the dialogic exchange between Tobias and Azariah-Raphael. By doing so, one will see that Lastman achieves a compression of the narrative akin to what the playwright accomplishes in his own synthesis of dialogues – the effect of which is a representation of the entire story embedded in the episode of Tobias catching the fish.

4.5.2 THE WEDDING NIGHT OF TOBIAS AND SARAH

The play's dramatization of the wedding night of Tobias and Sarah provides further correspondence of a shared conceptual approach to rhetorical image-making demonstrated by Lastman and the vernacular rhetoricians. The most significant tool deployed by the playwright in this scene is the use of rondels, a typical strophic form which the rhetoricians employ to slow the pace a plot's momentum. It is often performed by multiple characters in dialogue where the first, fourth, and seventh lines of the poetic dialogue are repeated verbatim and the second and eighth lines of the conversation are also exactly the same. By slowing the pace and extending the duration of a scene, a rondel allows for the suspension or prolongation of a particular moment in the episode, one that is of particular concern for the playwright. Because of the change in pace and the suspension dialogue and/or activity within a specific set of circumstances, the rondel also alerts the audience to the imminent occurrence of a pivotal moment.

In *De Oude Tobijas*, the playwright employs rondels with specific rhetorical intent. Recall that the demand of *energeia* is the use of *perspicuitas* and *evidentia* to depict an event, enlivened

by the simultaneity of relevant, evidentiary details, organized and put forth with clarity, making the depiction intelligible and persuasive. *Energeia* convinces the viewer of a space to inhabit and witness the event as if it were unfolding before one's eyes. The use of rondels, to which one was first introduced in the previous chapter, is a rhetorical performance practice intended to accomplish just that. It allows the playwright to slow the pace of the event, suspend the narrative in an image on stage, and ask the audience to inhabit and contemplate it in its entirety. In short, the playwright makes use of rondels in the same way the history painter composes his picture. Each acts in an effort to create a prolonged image provoking the audience to perceive, discern, and respond.

The playwright begins the scene of Tobias and Sarah's wedding night in a similar way to the fish scene in that there is an efficient or even abrupt transition from one moment to the next. Following the marriage, Tobias approaches Raguel and Edna, the parents of Sarah, and speaks to them about facing the demon once he has entered the bridal chamber:

Tobias

*Nu wil Ick gaen nae mijns broeders bevel
Ick sal die Lever opt vier doen gloeijen.
daer Ick mee sal verdrijven den vijant fel
hij is Listisch boos in sijn opstel
omden mensch inde hel te cruijen*

Now I want to follow my brother's orders
I shall make the liver glow on the fire
With which I shall expel the fierce enemy
he is cunningly evil in his intention
in order to wheel people into hell ³⁵⁵

³⁵⁵ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobijas," lines 955-999.

He informs Raguel and Edna that he will expel the demon in accordance with Azariah-Raphael's instruction to burn the fish's liver inside the bridal chamber. The repeated language of "*ick sal*" refers to the same language used by Azariah-Raphael approximately a hundred lines prior when he provides Tobias with these instructions. Delivering those instructions and alluding to this later moment in the bridal chamber, Azariah-Raphael's used the same language of the first-person-active and the imperative when he previously said to Tobias, "*ghij sult tsaemen bidden drie nachten en drie dagen...Legt die Lever op die gloeiende colen* [You shall pray together for three nights and three days...Put the liver on the glowing coals]."³⁵⁶

Following Tobias' proclamation is a dialogic exchange between two *sinnekens*, perhaps the most poetic feature of the rhetoricians' dramatizations of biblical narratives. Utilizing *sinnekens* as perhaps the most popular rhetorical device of rhetoricians' morality plays, the playwright of *De Oude Tobijas* personifies two of humanity's devilish compulsions with which to represent the demon, Asmodeus, naming one of the personifications, Envious Freedom (*Benijdende Vree*), and the other, Temporary Happiness (*Tijtelicke Vreucht*). Unlike the typical function of *sinnekens*, where these characters normally provide commentary on past events or explicate their future intentions in undermining the protagonist, the conversation that follows elucidates their contemporaneous perception of and response to Tobias' burning of the fish's liver. In other plays, *sinnekens* would typically be on stage, watching scenes unfold from the side, and respond by commenting on them after the fact. What one sees here, however, is the arrival of the *sinnekens* on stage, wherein they immediately and urgently refer to Tobias' contemporaneous action. In *De Oude Tobijas*, the *sinnekens* are active characters who participate and interact with the other characters in real time. Envious Freedom responds to the sounds of Tobias' building of

³⁵⁶ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*De Oude Tobijas*," lines 842 and 846.

the fire by repeatedly and frantically calling out to Temporary Happiness. Temporary Happiness slowly begins to acquiesce to his companion's panic, and the two of them express their intent to cease Tobias' activity and silence his prayers.

Notably, the playwright constructs the conversation in a series of rondels. Each rondel is comprised of eight lines each, with two rondels in total delivering their conversation:

Envious Freedom (Benijdende vree)

1 *Ghij helsch dier // compt hier // doch ruijen*
2 *metter haest // verbaest // hoort mijn doch spreecken*

You hellish animal // come here // and move fast
heated // delirious // hear me yet speak

Temporary Happiness (Tijtelijcke vreucht)

3 *Wel hout toch manier // dit getier // doet mij spoeijen*

Still hold on to your manners well // this tumult // makes me run

Envious Freedom (Benijdende vree)

4 *Ghij hels dier // compt doch hier // doch ruijen*

You hellish animal // come here // and move fast

Temporary Happiness (Tijtelijcke vreucht)

5 *Compt ghij niet schier // int helsche vier / tsal mij moeijen*
6 *Hij blaest dattet raest // tsijn verloren treecken*

If you will not come fast // in the hellish fire // it will anger me
He blows until it rages // they are lost tricks

Envious Freedom (Benijdende vree)

7 *Ghij helsch dier // compt doch hier // roeijen*
8 *Met haest // verbaest // hoort mijn doch spreecken*

You hellish animal // come here // quickly
heated // delirious // hear me yet speak

Temporary Happiness (Tijtelijcke vreucht)

1 *De saecke waerom // Ick com // u helpen wreecken*
 2 *haer preecken // is verdriet //ende niet dan valsch*

The reasons why // I come // to help avenge you
 his preaching // is evil // and nothing but false

Envious Freedom (Benijdende vree)

3 *Maeckt hem dom // en stom //wilt sijn mont toepeecken*

Make him dumb // and mute // do seal his mouth

Temporary Happiness (Tijtelijcke vreucht)

4 *Die saecken waerom // ick com u helpen wreecken*

The reasons why // I come to help avenge you

Envious Freedom (Benijdende vree)

5 *Treect an // als een man // helse clom thooft staet crom gestreecken*

6 *wilt hem breecken //vliet daert riet hem val als*

Mangle him // like a man // hellish churl, the head is bended
 Kill him fast // now his staff falls fully

Temporary Happiness (Tijtelijcke vreucht)

7 *De saecken waerom // Ick com u helpen wreecken*

8 *haer preecken // is verdriet ende niet dan valsch*

The reasons why // I come to help avenge you
 his preaching // is evil and nothing but false

Envious Freedom (Benijdende vree)

9 *Treect an // als een man breeckt hem den hals*

Pull him towards you // as a man breaks his neck³⁵⁷

The verse becomes significantly more complicated than the preceding dialogue between Tobias and Sarah's parents, and not only are the persistent pleas of the *sinnekens* repeated, but the repetitive use of the same words and phrases has the effect of slowing down the progression

³⁵⁷ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobijas," lines 963-990.

of the scene. The rondels, and the use of *epimone* therein, allow the playwright to prolong and extend the narrative moment, allowing him to unfold the event slowly and methodically.

Moreover, their interior rhyming structure calls attention to itself as a significantly more complex verse, rhetorically functioning as a flag to the audience that something dramatic is imminent.

The rondels, with their use of *epimone* and an interior rhyming structure, therefore, also serve to intensify the successive moment.

At the conclusion of the second rondel between the *sinnekens*, a helpful stage direction indicates that Azariah-Raphael appears on stage. The use of rhetorical language to intensify the narrative moment, therefore, corresponds with the angel's physical arrival, and a third rondel begins with Azariah-Raphael addressing the *sinnekens*:

(Azariah) Raphael

1 *Ghij helsche mooren // tis verlooren veel geschals*

2 *versiet u // als nu // Int wilde foreest*

You hellish moors // it's no use making all that noise

Vanish // immediately // into the wild forest

Temporary Happiness (Tijtelijcke vreucht)

3 *Ick salse verstooren // doorbooren // ghij weet wat mals*

I shall disturb him // pierce them // you'll see how fiercely

(Azariah) Raphael

4 *Ghij helsche mooren tis verlooren veel geschals*

You hellish moors, it's no use making all that noise

Envious Freedom (Benijdende vree)

5 *Meent ghij twee doren te versmoren met wadt gals*

6 *wij sijn te ru // Ick verspu dit tempest*

Do you mean to smother two fools with some gall

We are too rough // I'll disperse this threat

(Azariah) Raphael

7 *Ghij helsche mooren // tis verlooren veel geschals*

8 *versiet u // als nu int wilde foreest*

You hellish moors // it's no use making all that noise

Vanish // immediately into the wild forest³⁵⁸

Azariah-Raphael repeatedly taunts the devils and informs them of their futile actions. Again, one finds the same rhetorical effects present in this rondel as in the previous two. The playwright concludes the rondel that begins Azariah-Raphael's speech, however, in the middle of his dialogue. This transition in the midst of Azariah-Raphael's speech ushers in the climactic moment of the scene, where he smites the demon by rubbing the fish's liver in his face. Azariah-Raphael continues his speech:

(Azariah) Raphael, continued

*dese Lever meest // hebt ghij gebroocken
Ick beveel u geen menschen te tempteren maer
vervloet moet ghij wesen inder hellen swaer
maeckt. geen misbaer // gaet al heen // treen
om dattet dan raet is vanden heijligen geest
door gods wercken moet ghij ruijmen meest
ghij Leelijcke beast // hout daer met u stoocken*

this liver most // you have broken
I order you to tempt no man but
you must be cursed in horrible hell
make no uproar // go away already // walk
because it is the advice of the Holy Spirit
because of God's work you must vanish
you ugly beast // stop there with your poking³⁵⁹

³⁵⁸ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobijas," lines 991-1002.

³⁵⁹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobijas," lines 1003-1011.

The playwright's use of *epimone* cultivates the moment of Azariah-Raphael's exorcism, creating a sense of suspension, slowing down and prolonging the confrontation and altercation between Azariah-Raphael and the devils. What results is an effect similar to the image one sees in Lastman's painting: Azariah-Raphael, according to another helpful stage direction, assaults one of the devils and rubs the fish's liver in his face: "*Hier wrijft hij de Lever int aensicht* [Here he rubs the liver in the face]."³⁶⁰

The rhetorical effect of suspending and prolonging the scene is similar to what one will see in Lastman's painting of the same subject. As the playwright prolongs the scene of Tobias burning the fish's organs and Azariah-Raphael's confrontation with the *sinnekens* by utilizing the strophic form of rondels, Lastman also achieves a prolongation of the narrative moment in his composition of *The Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah*. He achieves this by representing the sequential unfolding of the episode by portraying interdependent actions by the figures contemporaneously: he describes Sarah earnestly watching Tobias who stokes the fire which materializes Asmodeus who solicits Raphael's assault. By doing so, he suspends the unfolding of the narrative in a way that is similar to the playwright's use of rondels. One will also notice in the later analysis of the painting that Lastman describes the physical altercation between Raphael and Asmodeus in a very similar way to the playwright. Lastman portrays Raphael grabbing the demon around its throat with his left hand while his right can be understood to rub gall in its eye.

4.5.3 THE REVELATION OF RAPHAEL

The playwright's strategy of suspension and prolongation through rhetorical figures of repetition continues in his visualization of the final scene. The episode begins with a

³⁶⁰ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*De Oude Tobijas*," line 1011.

conversation between Tobit and Tobias regarding the amount of money they should pay Azariah-Raphael for his services during Tobias' journey. The playwright uses epideictic poetry to color Tobias' exultation of Azariah-Raphael. Tobias praises Azariah-Raphael for how he facilitated his marriage to Sarah, the healing of his father's blindness, and his protection while traveling the road to and from Media. While this epideictic speech reflects Tobias' sentiment found in Tobit 12:3-4, the type of exultate language featured in the play is not found in the biblical narrative. In the play, rather, the playwright uses *anaphora* wherein the same or similar words are used to begin successive sentences in order to amplify and emphasize Tobias' sentiment towards Azariah-Raphael:

Tobias

*Vader doet dat ghij wilt wij hoorent wij sient
 hij heeft mij in allen saecken so trou gedient
 Ick hebbe geen beter vrient in nineve
 hij heeft mij verlost vanden vijant wree
 hij dee dat Ick Sara heb gecregen
 hij Liep tot gabulon in mijn bruijloft mee
 hij compt op dese stee // de gallen dregen
 hij hadse in sijn mael geregen
 hij hietse mij vegen // op u Oogen dicht
 hij compt met mij gaen over die wegen
 hij heeft menige soete Leringe verslegen
 hij heeft te degen onse herte verlicht*

Father, do what you want, we listen, we watch
 he has served me so faithfully in all affairs
 I have no better friend in Nineveh
 he has delivered me from the cruel enemy
 he acted so that I received Sarah
 he walked with me to Gabel for my wedding also
 he came to this place carrying the gall
 he had put them in his travel bag
 he told me to rub them on your eyes
 he came with me on all the roads that I walked
 he has taught me many sweet lessons

he has thoroughly enlightened our heart³⁶¹

The playwright repeatedly begins the lines of this stanza with *hij*, describing the numerous acts of Azariah-Raphael's service. By doing so, he emphasizes the degree to which Tobias cherishes Azariah-Raphael's guidance and fellowship, set off and underscored by his initial line of praise beginning with *hij heeft* and the final two lines repeating the same. Tobit's speech, in response, agrees with Tobias' exultation and follows a similar demonstration of *anaphora* by using *door hem* at the beginning of each of the next five lines:

Tobit

*Door hem heb Ick ontfangen mijn gesicht
door hem Is gewicht // al ons claegen
door hem wordt hier vrede gesticht
door hem dat blijfchap // droeffheijt bevicht
door hem is onschicht // ons droeve daegen*

Through him I have received my sight
through him all of our complaints // have yielded
through him peace was brought here
through him happiness // conquered sadness
through him our days of sadness // have ended³⁶²

In other plays by the rhetoricians where one encounters this type of epideictic language, the speaking characters also kneel, and presumably they do so here, too, as they praise Azariah-Raphael.³⁶³ The visual image achieved through the figures' attitudes further supports the rhetorical effect of *anaphora*, that is, the posing and the use of *anaphora* both signal to the audience that a significant event is imminent. Moreover, as with the use of rondels and *epimone* in the scene with the *sinnekens*, the playwright's deployment of epideictic poetry, *anaphora*, and

³⁶¹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobijas," lines 1664-1675.

³⁶² Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobijas," lines 1677-1682.

³⁶³ Coigneau, "Strofische vormen in het rederijkerstoneel," 23.

kneeling figures all build up and prolong the unfolding of the event at hand. The effect, again, is one of suspension, facilitating a picture by which the audience can process and visually contemplate what is about to follow. It is a similar effect achieved through the practice of *tableaux vivant*, another device popular in Dutch medieval rhetorical theater, where posed characters would voice epideictic speech while a prolonged image is put forth for the audience's visual contemplation. It is not dissimilar to how Lastman poses the figures and depicts the gestures of devotion and praise with which he describes Tobit and Tobias in his painting. Effectively, the playwright has created a sustained and prolonged image on stage, featuring Tobit and Tobias kneeling and speaking words of praise, and the arrangement of the two figures positioned in postures of reverence and gratitude continues during the succeeding revelatory moment in the play.

Before Tobit finishes his speech, Azariah-Raphael appears on stage and quickly responds to the father and son's laudatory musings. While the biblical narrative describes Azariah-Raphael redirecting Tobit and Tobias' praise to God for all of the blessings which He has bestowed upon them, the playwright directs Azariah-Raphael's speech directly towards Tobit and characterizes his response as more stern and direct, using imperatives to impart this message over the next twenty lines, exhorting the following: Be quiet; stop praising me for these things that have happened to you; God is the author of your healing, and praise is due to Him. It is with this preface that Azariah reveals himself as Raphael, one of the seven archangels of the Lord:

Raphael

*Ick ben daer // raphael een vandie seven
 een engel goods die den heer Loven openbaer
 die daegelijckx aenschouwen goods wesen claer
 hebt vrees swaer al stae Ick hier beneven
 want ghij barmhertich sijt / soo is u barmherticheijt gegeven*

I am therefore // Raphael, one of the seven

an angel of God, who openly praise the Lord
 who see God's essence daily and clearly
 do not fear as I stand here next to you
 because you have been merciful / so mercy is given to you³⁶⁴

In his conclusion, at the revelation of his true identity, he propounds the argument of the story: if one is merciful to others, God will be merciful to him. Because Tobit has practiced a life of almsgiving and righteousness, God answered his prayers and sent Raphael to carry out the ordained restoration of his sight. If one reads this argument in conjunction with the biblical narrative, one is made aware that Tobit's physical blindness, as dramatized in *De Oude Tobijas*, is also a figuration of sin and death, per Raphael's speech in the apocryphal text: "...almsgiving saves from death and purges away every sin. Those who give alms will enjoy a full life..."³⁶⁵ Again, the playwright has created a climactic moment by prolonging an image through the use of epideictic speech and *anaphora*, slowing down the pace, suspending the episode, and heightening the drama towards the moment of revelation. Crucial to how the play delivers this rhetorical argument, however, is the manner in which Tobit and Tobias respond to the revelation including their dialogic exchange with the now-revealed Raphael. Tobit speaks first saying, "*O heer mijn Leden beginnen te beven / engel goods verheven // weest godt gebenendijt* [O, my Lord, my limbs begin to shake / angel of God exalted // may God be blessed]."³⁶⁶ Describing his legs as shaking out of fear, he characterizes Raphael as an elevated or lofty angel, perhaps referring to the stagecraft of Raphael actually being suspended in front of them as they kneel. Confirming Tobit and Tobias' posture of prayer, Raphael responds that it is God who is worthy of

³⁶⁴ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*De Oude Tobijas*," lines 1711-1715.

³⁶⁵ Tobit 12:9-10 (NRSVACE).

³⁶⁶ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*De Oude Tobijas*," lines 1717-1718.

their praise, that God sent him to restore Tobit's spiritual sight, and that he now must return to heaven:

Raphael

*Bijdt mij niet aen oft ghij wort bekeven
bidt godt aen so lange als ghij inde werrelt sult Leven
Ick hebt bedreven door hem In dese tijt
Dus siet dat ghij godt van sijn werck danckende sijt
Want hij heeft u bevrijt van alle turbatije
Ick wil weder reijsen ten hemel subbijt
Dat godt u heeft gedaen / voordien menschen belijt
Ghij sijt verblijt // om dat ghij troost den armen natije
Die bedroeffde herten troost / die crijcht goods gratije*

Do not pray to me or you will be criticized
Pray to God so long as you shall live in the world
I have acted through him in this time
So heed, be thankful to God for His works
because he has delivered you from all tribulations
I want to travel back to heaven at once
What God has done unto you / profess to the people
You will be happy // because you comfort the poor
He who solaces saddened hearts / will receive God's grace³⁶⁷

The playwright describes Tobit's amazement at witnessing such a miraculous moment, by employing another rhetorical device of repetition, not where words are repeated as in the use of *epimone*, *anaphora*, or a *rondel*, but rather where sounds are repeated. In the case of Tobit's response, the playwright uses *paromoiosis*, a figure consisting of parallel sounds between words of adjacent clauses of equal or similar length. Not only does this figure achieve repetitive sound, but it also produces a methodical rhythm with which Tobit expresses his awe and devotion.

Tobit

*Ho Lieve soon wadt soeter disputatie
wadt vriendlijcke recreatie // is ons geschiet*

³⁶⁷ Hüskens, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "De Oude Tobijas," lines 1720-1728.

*want den engel goods comende Eijlatije
gereijft uijt goddelijcke comtemplatie
hij heeft onse blamatie // gedaen te niet*

O, dear son, what sweet disputation
what friendly recreation has happened to us
because the angel of God, bringing elation
ensuing out of divine contemplation
He has nullified our suffering³⁶⁸

Paromoiosis, however, operates with the same effect as in the prior figures of repetition, that is, it contributes to the suspension of the moment. Because this rhetorical device structures Tobit's speech, the content of his expression not only describes how the moment unfolds and the nature of and the degree to which Tobit experiences awe, it also presents itself in a temporally-dilated image with which the audience can (visually) process and evaluate their own response to Raphael's revelation and spiritual teaching.

In accordance with Raphael's exhortation, Tobit and Tobias present the final conclusion of the play with Tobias proclaiming that it is God who has restored his father's sight and Tobit saying that it is God who liberates his people from the tricks of the devil, and so it is to Him that one should offer praise. The prolonged image on stage, which the playwright accomplishes through his various rhetorical figures of repetition as well as his positioning and posing of the characters on the stage, is comprised by the epideictic speech both Tobit and Tobias extend to Raphael during their attempts at renumeration and also by Tobit and Tobias' reverential response to the revelation of Azariah as Raphael. One will see later that this is the very same image, compressing the same two successive narrative moments, that Lastman represents in his painting.

³⁶⁸ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*De Oude Tobijas*," lines 1732-1736.

4.6 PIETER LASTMAN'S PAINTINGS OF THE BOOK OF TOBIT

One only need look briefly at his Tobit paintings in order to see that Lastman does not follow Heemskerck's visualization of the story with allegorical figures in symbolic situations. A brief look, however, is certainly insufficient to understand how Lastman approaches the visual representation of biblical narrative. Close looking is obligatory and demanding because so much of interpreting Lastman's paintings depends on subtlety of gesture and supplemented by the viewer's knowledge of the biblical narrative; and yet, the complexity of his images often leaves one confounded. What follows is a close analysis of Pieter Lastman's three paintings depicting scenes from the Book of Tobit: *Tobias Catches the Fish* (1613), *Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah* (1611), and *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son* (1618) [Figs. 4-1, 4-2, & 4-5]. With the sixteenth-century prints of this story in mind, my hope is that the similarities as well as the differences in Lastman's versions will make clear how different his inventions are from any pictorial precedents and the various points of comparison to the rhetoricians' portrayal of the story.

On the journey to retrieve the money from Gabel in Media, Tobias and Azariah-Raphael stopped on the banks of the Tigris River. While washing his feet in the river, Tobias was frightened by a great fish that leapt out of the water and almost swallowed his feet. After Tobias cried out in distress, Azariah-Raphael intervened, instructing Tobias to catch the fish, secure it on the river's bank, and remove and preserve its gall, heart, and liver because of their medicinal value. Compositionally, Lastman's painting of 1613 is reminiscent of Adam Elsheimer's *Tobias and the Angel* of c. 1607-1608 [Fig. 4-28]. As a way of introduction to Lastman's image, one might consider its similarities with Elsheimer's painting.

In both pictures one finds three figures placed in the immediate foreground; behind them recedes a lush landscape following the curve of the river to the left where one finds figures in miniature. While Elsheimer has also depicted Tobias and Azariah-Raphael's journey to Media, he has chosen to depict a moment subsequent to Tobias' catching of the fish, instead depicting a moment after they have resumed their journey. Because Elsheimer depicts Tobias carrying the fish, seemingly in its entirety, however, he seems to compose his picture with narrative incoherence. The moment represented in Elsheimer's painting presumably follows Tobias' catching the fish but subsequent to the recommencement of their travel to Media. The biblical text outlines how, according to Azariah-Raphael's instruction, Tobias "gathered together the gall, heart, and liver; then he roasted and ate some of the fish, and kept some to be salted."³⁶⁹ It is plausible that Elsheimer includes the fish in its entirety to identify these two figures as Tobias and the Angel, but it calls into question what narrative moment Elsheimer portrays exactly. The continuation of their journey to Media following the attack of the fish is quite significant because it is during this period of their travel that Tobias asks Azariah-Raphael, "Brother Azariah, what medicinal value is there in the fish's heart and liver, and in the gall?"³⁷⁰ During the retrieval of the fish prior to this moment, Azariah-Raphael only mentioned the medicinal value of the fish organs but deferred explaining the specifics until this conversation later in the journey. Azariah-Raphael responds with each organ's healing attributes:

As for the fish's heart and liver, you must burn them to make a smoke in the presence of a man or woman afflicted by a demon or evil spirit, and every affliction will flee away and never remain with that person any longer. And as for the gall, anoint a person's eyes where white films have appeared on them; blow upon them, upon the white films, and the eyes will be healed.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ Tobit 6:6 (NRSVACE).

³⁷⁰ Tobit 6:7 (NRSVACE).

³⁷¹ Tobit 6:8-9(NRSVACE).

It is surely this conversation occurring later in their journey, after the attack of the fish, that Elsheimer depicts in this painting, but because Elsheimer describes the fish whole and intact, such a conclusion remains in doubt, and the visualization of the story unfolds in a disjointed and muddled fashion.

By choosing to depict a different moment in the story, Lastman has resolved the incoherence found in Elsheimer's painting while investing his image with inventive qualities necessary to elucidate the whole of the story and, at the same time, focusing on the gravity of the primary narrative moment he represents. Based on how he composes his picture and the way in which he describes the interactions between the figures, Lastman is patently concerned with a clear visualization of the story (*perspicuitas*), filled with evidentiary detail (*evidentia*), scriptural fidelity, and amplifying elements (*ornatus*) intended to bring life and action to a representation of the story.

4.6.1 *TOBIAS CATCHES THE FISH*, 1613

In Lastman's version of the fish attacking Tobias, one sees the moment immediately after Raphael has instructed Tobias to catch the fish [Fig. 4-1]. He shows Tobias bent over, his feet spread shoulder-width apart, fortifying his body as his hands attempt to control the wildly-thrashing animal. In the chaotic moment of confrontation, Tobias grabs whatever part of the fish on which he can put a hand. While it is the same narrative moment Van den Broeck depicts in his print series, Lastman's version shares more features with Heemskerck's design. His right hand grasps a fin while his left is lodged in one of the fish's gills. Lastman shows the fish, itself, in desperation. He describes the animal engaged in a violent motion, indicated through its serpentine shape and punctuated by the fish slapping its tail and frothing the water.

Heemskerck's Tobias demonstrates a convincing physical control over the fish in the c. 1548 and the 1556 series [Figs. 4-10 & 4-11]. The only insecurity one might discern in the figure of Tobias may be found in the c. 1548 image, where he responds with confusion to what Azariah-Raphael says, that is, Tobias ponders without fully understanding what Azariah-Raphael has said. In Lastman's painting, Tobias similarly reveals his insecurity, showing confusion about what Azariah-Raphael says as he struggles to control the fish. It is a precarious situation that Lastman portrays. At any moment the fish could break free and retreat into the water.

Notably, however, Lastman does not depict Tobias focusing his attention on controlling the flailing fish. The source of his distraction is Azariah-Raphael. A distraction like this amidst such a precarious moment adds to the suspense. Corresponding with the narrative account and the rhetoricians' play, Lastman has depicted the figure of Azariah-Raphael in the act of speaking: his gaze is directed towards Tobias, his hands are raised in address, and his lips are parted. He has begun to speak, and Tobias returns his gaze and furrowed brow in response. The question for the viewer becomes what is it that Azariah-Raphael says to distract Tobias' attention from the fish.

Based on how the two figures are described and how these figures may correspond with the textual account, one can read the interaction in two different ways. One reading understands Lastman's Azariah-Raphael as imparting instruction to Tobias and then Tobias responding with a facial expression indicating confusion and panic as he grabs hold of the fish. The other reading refers to a slightly later moment in the story. Tobias is seen with both feet firmly planted on land, having removed the fish completely from the water. It is certainly plausible to read this exchange between Azariah-Raphael and Tobias as not the moment where Azariah-Raphael instructs Tobias to catch the fish but rather when he instructs Tobias to proceed in gutting it and removing and preserving the organs. According to this reading, one might understand Tobias'

response as his listening intently to new instructions during a chaotic situation (and bizarre instructions, mind you, because he does not know for what reasons he would reserve the fish's organs).³⁷² Each interpretation describes two different, although subsequent, verbal exchanges in the narrative. If one notices the subtle choices that Lastman makes in composing his figures, however, the picture does not prejudice either reading, and in fact, both readings exist simultaneously: Azariah-Raphael is instructing Tobias to catch the fish *and* he instructs him to remove and preserve its organs. The rhetorical effect allows Lastman to compress representations of multiple verbal exchanges occurring between the same characters of a narrative text in one pictorial visualization.

Similar images are offered by Heemskerck, but his representations of the event isolate each of these verbal exchanges. As one remembers from the discussion above, Heemskerck exhibits a standing Azariah-Raphael, gesturing and speaking to a crouching Tobias who turns his head and torso to address Azariah-Raphael while also attempting to catch the fish. After considering Lastman's painting, one notices that Lastman likely looked to Heemskerck as a source for his own invention, but there is a subtle yet significant difference. Heemskerck depicts the moment of Tobias still wrestling the fish in the water, whereas Lastman chooses the liminal moment where Tobias is somewhere in between wrestling the fish in the water and securing it on dry land. Because of this choice of moment, Heemskerck's c. 1548 woodcut is likely restricted to Azariah-Raphael's instruction that Tobias catch the fish and bring it ashore, as Tobias is seen with one leg in the river continuing to wrestle the fish in the water. This restricted reading of Heemskerck's c. 1548 print is reinforced by his 1556 image, where Heemskerck depicts Tobias catching the fish in much the same manner as his previous image. Although, the fish's location,

³⁷² Tobit 6:4-5 (NRSVACE).

still thrashing in the river, is emphasized in profile, and a separate scene is included in the background, representing Azariah-Raphael's second instruction to remove and preserve the fish's organs. As was discussed above, Van Mander inventively combines conventions from the narrative in how he visualizes the scene [Fig. 4-12]. He positions his figures to reference the pictorial convention that represents Azariah-Raphael's instruction to catch the fish while depicting the moment where Tobias guts the fish. The moment depicted, however, is void of the drama, precariousness, and exigency with which Lastman imbues his image. Similar to Van Mander's restrictive representation, Van den Broeck also separates these two moments in completely different yet sequential images in his print series of c. 1570-1580 [Figs. 4-13 & 4-14].

Inventively and distinctively, Lastman compresses multiple moments and multiple conversations into one complex, dramatic action. Furthermore, by compressing these two moments of the narrative as a singular, multivalent, dialogic exchange, one of which refers to the fish's organs, Lastman also foreshadows the subsequent exchange that occurs once Tobias and Azariah-Raphael resume their travels. This is the moment that Elsheimer seems to depict in his painting of c. 1607-1608. Sometime later, once the companions are back on the road to Media, Tobias asks Azariah-Raphael to explain why he had to remove and preserve the fish's gall, heart, and liver, specifically requesting clarification of their medicinal value. This third conversation explicates the two prior verbal exchanges and justifies Tobias' activity at the riverbank. Simultaneously, however, it also foregrounds two subsequent verbal exchanges, the first being Azariah-Raphael's instruction to Tobias to place the liver and heart of the fish on the "ashes of incense" which will drive away the demon, and the second being Azariah-Raphael's instruction to Tobias to stuff the fish's gall in his father's eyes upon their return to Nineveh. In this sense,

there is a degree of reflexivity and a self-referential compression in Lastman's image. The dialogic moment featured in Lastman's *Tobias Catches the Fish* acts as an index for these prior and subsequent conversations; Lastman is thus able to tell the entirety of the story through a multivalent image of Tobias catching the fish. Importantly, what one finds in this picture is not merely an illustration of a narrative moment, but rather a rhetorical mechanism through which the entirety of the story can unfold before the spectator's eyes. Lastman represents the narrative moment as a chaotic, dramatic action, mediated through a multivalent, conversational exchange which indicates the necessity of the action and its ultimate purpose: Tobias' marriage to Sarah, Sarah's liberation from the Asmodeus, and the restoration of Tobit's sight. This is precisely the same rhetorical strategy used by the playwright in his portrayal of the same episode. As it was discussed above, not only does the playwright include evidentiary detail, such as the description of the fish and its behavior, as Lastman does, he also combines conversations from successive episodes into one while also alluding to climactic scenes occurring later in the play.

In some ways Lastman's image-making is conceived from the perspective of the divine Raphael who speaks from the omnipotent, godly perspective where time unfolds contemporaneously rather than linearly. His speech and his intended meaning operate outside the limitations of linear time, so that the verbal exchanges between Azariah-Raphael and Tobias are, by their nature, to be understood in terms of prior and subsequent conversations and actions. This interpretation is not only licensed by the identification of the angelic Raphael with the omniscience of God, but also through Lastman's inventive yet subtle composition and arrangement of figures. Raphael claims this divine perspective when he instructs Tobias to join Sarah in the bridal chamber saying, "Do not be afraid, for she was set apart for you before the world was made. You will save her, and she will go with you. I presume that you will have

children by her, and they will be as brothers to you.”³⁷³ This knowledge of past, present, and future events is clarified only later when Azariah reveals himself as Raphael, an angel sent by the authority of God: “I was sent to you to test you. And at the same time God sent me to heal you [Tobit] and Sarah your daughter-in-law.”³⁷⁴

Raphael’s divine nature allows him a perspective from which he can say one thing, such as “catch the fish” and, because of his proxy relationship to God, can actually mean something else. In this case, he is really telling Tobias to heal his father and wife from their afflictions. By Raphael saying one thing while actually referring to something related to it, he employs the rhetorical figure of *metonymy*, and it is a device that Lastman utilizes to characterize the exchange between Azariah-Raphael and Tobias. This use of rhetorical color in pursuit of *ornatus* equips Lastman’s image with *enargeia*. Recall that *enargeia* refers to a vivid image’s capacity to move and therefore persuade an audience of a particular argument. Lastman’s use of rhetorical figure of *metonymy* is not dissimilar to the playwright’s use of *exclamatio*, apostrophe, or *excitatio* in his dramatization of the episode; rhetorical figures have the ability to amplify elements of the argument, and they are uniquely equipped to enhance the persuasiveness of the message. Through this use of *metonymy*, Lastman is able to project into this conversational moment the climactic episode of healing that occurs later in the narrative. Through Raphael’s divine perspective, from which he sees the totality of events, Lastman affords the spectator access to the future healings of Sarah and Tobit, while implanting that knowledge in a much earlier scene. Narratively, Raphael tells Tobias to catch the fish, but how Lastman pictorially represents Raphael, suggests the meaning of his words indicate much more: heal your wife and your father. So, one can see that Lastman’s picture-making turns on a multivalent conversation;

³⁷³ Tobit 6:18 (NRSVACE).

³⁷⁴ Tobit 12:14 (NRSVACE).

his compression of events and his comprehensive storytelling correspond to Azariah-Raphael's divine words, and inversely, Azariah-Raphael's divine words correspond to and license Lastman's picture-making.

What Lastman accomplishes in his representation of the story is quite inventive when compared to prior examples from the pictorial tradition. Heemskerck, for example, utilizes the triumphal processional composition, as seen in his *Triumph of Patience* series, or multiple vignettes displayed in a singular image, as in the 1556 series, in order to represent narrative "in a dramatic and explanatory way (much as the comic strip does today)," as Veldman describes.³⁷⁵ Lastman, however, is able to compress the story into a suspended image instead of using multiple prints, but in doing so, he anchors the dramatic and explanatory elements in subtle compositional details and the posing and positioning of figures that is evocative of the manner in which the playwright stages his dramatization of the same scene.

4.6.2 THE WEDDING NIGHT OF TOBIAS AND SARAH, 1611

In addition to *Tobias Catches the Fish*, Lastman painted the first Dutch versions of two other scenes from this biblical story, the first being the *Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah* of 1611 [Fig. 4-2].³⁷⁶ Not long after Azariah-Raphael explains to Tobias the medicinal value of the fish's organs they arrive in Media, and Tobias is wedded to Sarah. In his *Wedding Night* painting, Lastman represents a scene that unfolds in their bridal chamber where the demon Asmodeus is driven out and defeated. The biblical account states that prior to Tobias' entrance into the bridal chamber, Azariah-Raphael had told him to place the fish's liver and heart on the "ashes of incense"; the resultant smell would expel the demon. Lastman's depiction follows the narrative

³⁷⁵ Veldman, "Maarten Heemskerck and the Rhetoricians of Haarlem", 104.

³⁷⁶ Ger Luytjen, ed. *Dawn of the Golden Age*, 573.

closely. After Azariah-Raphael's instruction, Tobias kneels by the coals upon which he has presumably placed the heart and liver of the fish. The interior of the room, clearly a bridal chamber, contains the necessary accoutrements and various embellishments: notably, the nuptial flowers strewn across the floor and a bridal wreath and dress lying on the bedside table.³⁷⁷

Lastman also includes several objects that allude to the journey from Nineveh to Media, as well as to prior events and conversations pertaining to Tobias and Azariah-Raphael. On the floor next to Tobias, one finds a traveler's staff, the bag in which he has stored the fish's organs, and iron tongs with which Tobias placed the heart and liver on the coals. These objects, aiding Lastman's pursuit of *energeia* and *enargeia*, are included and positioned in the composition to contextualize, clarify, and adorn the action unfolding in the image.

Lastman depicts Tobias crouching over the coals, and with open palms and spread fingers, he stokes the fire so as to accelerate the smell produced from their burning. Faced with the visual challenge of depicting smell, Lastman uses smoke, the ephemeral and appropriate by-product of fire, to represent the smell produced from the burning of the fish organs which ultimately drives away the demon, Asmodeus. Because Lastman has described the shape and movement of smoke in a similar fashion to the serpentine shape with which he describes the demon, one wonders whether it is the smoke that bodies forth the demon, making him visible, but it is the smell, according to the narrative, that actually drives him away.

Distinctive to Lastman's image, one finds Raphael, not in the guise of Azariah, but in full-winged flight, donning the garb of an angel, and battling the ascending demon. The angel's right hand grasps the demon's throat while his left maneuvers its head in order to avoid its spewing fire [Fig. 4-3]. In the print series discussed above, recall that only Van den Broeck visualizes the

³⁷⁷ Ger Luijten, ed. *Dawn of the Golden Age*, 573.

confrontation between Raphael and Asmodeus [Fig. 4-19] while it is Heemskerck who visualizes the appearance of the demon fleeing without including Raphael's pursuit of him [Figs. 4-15 & 4-16]. Lastman seems to appropriate conceptually all of these precedents while devising his own invention. As in Heemskerck's c. 1548 and 1556 series, the demon is fleeing from the room. In Lastman's painting, the demon follows the path to the center of the room as in Heemskerck's c. 1548 print, while the demon is visualized by the smoke of the burning fish organs as in the 1556 print. Heemskerck, however, does not depict the confrontation between Raphael and Asmodeus as intimate as found in Lastman's painting or even in Van den Broeck's image. A closer step towards a physical altercation is seen in Van den Broeck's print as Raphael, with his sword drawn, pursues the fleeing Asmodeus, but no physical contact is made.

Lastman's portrayal of the subject displays the most visceral and dramatic portrayal of the battle between divine power and demonic evil. Raphael, moving along one diagonal axis, and Asmodeus, moving along its opposite, seem to clash in mid-air. Lastman has represented the velocity of the impact by the movement of Raphael's hair, his billowing clothing, and the position of his wings being fully spread for maximum airlift. It is a violent and intense clashing. With the sword of Van den Broeck's Raphael absent, Lastman's Raphael engages in the ferocity of face-to-face, hand-to-hand combat. Given the dramatic nature of the moment and the distinctiveness with which it is represented, the interaction between the figures calls attention to itself. Lastman describes the altercation in a complex manner. The angel's right hand, for example, can be understood in several ways. It is unclear whether Raphael intends merely to restrain defensively the demon at any cost or whether he proactively acts with more offensive intention. Does he aim to prevent Asmodeus from spewing fire, or does he intend to strangle him? Of course, the right hand cannot be considered in isolation from the left. Does his left

hand, again, intend merely to restrain and control or does it attempt to redirect the trajectory of the demon's oral projectile? Perhaps it is even more intentional than meets the eye. For instance, the right hand may act purely defensively while the left functions offensively, that is, Raphael's right hand stabilizes while his left, as the sword in Van den Broeck's image, intends to do damage. It is a curious and complex interaction that demands an explanation outside of the pictorial tradition. In the discussion of the rhetoricians' play, it was suggested that there is such correspondence between how the playwright portrays this moment and how Lastman visualizes it that the painting conceivably could be an actual representation of the playwright's dramatization. The help of a stage direction in the play indicates what the audience would have seen on stage: "*Hier wrijft hij de Lever int aensicht. [Here he rubs the liver in the face.]*"³⁷⁸ Neither Scripture nor the pictorial tradition describe the confrontation between Raphael and Asmodeus as the angel rubbing the liver in the face of the demon. Scripture, in fact, records that Raphael bound the hands and feet of the demon, and yet, Lastman's representation is remarkably similar to how the playwright dramatizes the moment on stage.

Reclining on her bridal bed wearing a nightgown and with her breasts exposed, Sarah watches her husband fan the coals of the fire [Fig. 4-4]. In order to facilitate a better view, she has propped herself upon pillows and peers beyond the boundary of the bed curtains, which have been tied back to the bedposts. Note that Lastman's inclusion of such a bed structure featuring curtains tied to two parallel bedposts formally corresponds to the rhetoricians' theater where the stage would feature a similar curtain arrangement to reveal the actors' performance. This correspondence suggests a certain performativity of the scene and calls special attention to the figure of Sarah.

³⁷⁸ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*De Oude Tobijas*," line 1011.

Lastman's figure of Sarah is intensely attentive. Her knitted brow and her hands, seemingly wrought with the tension of anticipation, indicate her focus and concern. No longer is she praying as seen in the versions of the wedding night by Heemskerck, Van Mander, and Van den Broeck. Because the prayer of supplication sequentially follows the subduing of the demon, Lastman's deviation from the pictorial tradition pursues narrative clarity and fidelity. Moreover, his portrayal of Sarah, emotionally and physically invested in the intense moment at hand, underscores the gravity of the moment unfolding. She braces in anticipation of whatever is about to follow, while the spectator is provided access to the object of her anticipation, the battle ensuing in the pictorial field above. Her right hand and arm provide support by which she elevates her body in order to improve her view, but it also indicates a sense of defensiveness by which she intends to protect herself from whatever may follow her husband's actions. In light of Sarah surviving seven murdered husbands on the nights of her prior weddings, Lastman represents the depths of her anxiety. Her history of suffering from an unknown and unexplained demonic assailant has heightened her trepidation and concern, which is only exacerbated by the actions of her husband, most of which she cannot see. Lastman's portrayal of the moment in its contemporaneous unfolding situates the figures as well as the spectator within the highly exigent situation of exorcism.

It is important to notice that Sarah's attention continues to focus on the action of her husband, whose back likely occupies her field of vision. Does she see the spiritual battle unfolding above? There is no reason to understand the image as comprising separate scenes, as one finds in the Heemskerck series of 1556 [Fig. 4-16]. In fact, Lastman represents the sequential unfolding of the episode by portraying interdependent and contemporaneous actions by the figures. He describes Sarah earnestly watching Tobias as he stokes the fire, which produces the smoke,

which materializes Asmodeus, who then solicits Raphael's attack. Lastman has clearly composed his image with a perpetual circular movement, leading from Sarah's eyes to Tobias' kneeling, to the smoke of the fire, which leads one to the battle between Raphael and Asmodeus, and then from Raphael's foot to the curtain's tassel where once again the beholder arrives at the figure of Sarah. Such a perpetual circular movement through the image accomplishes a contemporaneous and cohesive reading of the episode, and it also offers a suspended image that prolongs the unfolding of the event in the same way that the playwright uses rondels in the previous episode in play where he slows the pace of the action and prolongs the duration of the scene on stage.

The narrative text certainly supports a reading of the image as a cohesive whole. Lastman has posed Sarah as unaware of the spiritual battle unfolding above. In accordance with the narrative text, Sarah remains unaware of the demon's culpability in the deaths of her previous husbands, and visually, her failure to perceive Asmodeus' role in her affliction is communicated through her failure to perceive Raphael's remedy. In this picture, Lastman asserts that the divine occupies a space beyond one's normal faculty of perception and recognition, but for his own art through which such divine revelations are perceived and recognized. While it is not visually apparent to either Tobias or Sarah, Lastman makes the conflict between spiritual forces visually discernible to the beholder; he gives earthly form to that which is unearthly; he makes the unseen seen and makes the spectator privy to exclusive knowledge elusive to the protagonists of the scene.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁹ See Tobit 8:3 (NRSVACE); Exodus 7:11 (NRSVACE); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Tobit," in *The Apocrypha*, ed. Martin Goodman, John Barton, and John Muddiman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 18. The notion of the conflict between Raphael and Asmodeus occurring beyond the perception and recognition of Tobias and Sarah is underscored by narrative's description that Asmodeus "fled to the remotest parts of Egypt. But Raphael followed him, and at once bound him there hand and foot." Egypt was traditionally understood to be the home of magic, that is, the practice of harnessing supernatural forces to create illusions and deceptions which subvert the normal faculty of perception.

4.6.3 THE ANGEL RAPHAEL TAKING LEAVE OF TOBIT AND HIS SON, 1618

Lastman's final painting of the Tobit story depicts the moment where Azariah stands before Tobit and Tobias and reveals himself as Raphael, one of the archangels of the Lord [Fig. 4-5]. As seen in Lastman's visualization of Tobias' encounter with the fish, *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son* (1618) depicts a narrative episode mediated through verbal exchange. After Tobias heals his father's blindness by stuffing the fish's gall in his eyes, Azariah-Raphael privately addressed Tobit and Tobias, exhorting "Do good, and evil will not overtake you. Prayer with fasting is good, but better than wealth with wrongdoing. It is better to give alms than to lay up gold. For almsgiving saves from death and purges away every sin."³⁸⁰ Azariah-Raphael asserts that they who engage in charitable acts instead of hoarding their wealth will be delivered from the bonds of sin and death. He then follows this maxim with the description of Tobit as its *exemplum*:

So now, when you and Sarah prayed, it was I who brought and read the record of your prayer before the glory of the Lord, and likewise whenever you buried the dead. And that time when you did not hesitate to get up and leave your dinner to go and bury the dead, I was sent to test you. And at the same time God sent me to heal you and Sarah, your daughter-in-law.³⁸¹

Azariah-Raphael explains that because of Tobit's righteous acts, through his prayer and burying of unjustly slain Jews, God favored him and Sarah. As he reveals his role as intercessor on behalf of Tobit and Sarah, Azariah-Raphael claims his true identity. Raphael's identity, which remains implicit if left only to discernment, however, is made explicit in his following statement:

³⁸⁰ Tobit 12:7-9 (NRSVACE).

³⁸¹ Tobit 12:12-14 (NRSVACE).

“I am Raphael, one of the seven angels who stand ready and enter before the glory of the Lord.”³⁸²

It is the response to this revelation that primarily interests Lastman. The narrative text reports that Tobit and Tobias fell to the ground with awe and fear, compelling Raphael to assure them:

“Do not be afraid; peace be with you. Bless God for evermore. As for me, when I was with you, I was not acting on my own will, but by the will of God. Bless him each and every day; sing his praises. Although you were watching me, I really did not eat or drink anything—but what you saw was a vision. So now get up from the ground, and acknowledge God. See, I am ascending to him who sent me.” ... Then they stood up, and could see him no more.³⁸³

In both his c. 1548 and 1556 series, Heemskerck was also occupied with representing this moment [Figs. 4-20 & 4-21], and so too was Van den Broeck in his series of c. 1570-1580 [Fig. 4-24]. In light of the discussion above, however, one will notice that Lastman, while retaining some elements from these pictorial precedents, also differs from them in significant ways. Notably, Lastman does not explicitly include a representation of the figures discussing Azariah-Raphael’s compensation as Heemskerck and Van Mander do (as does Van den Broeck, although in a separate image [Fig. 4-23]), although he does employ the rhetorical device of allusion in reference to it. Lastman is primarily focused on the response of Tobit and Tobias which affirms the revelation of Raphael, itself a response to the discussion of compensation, but he intends to provide a comprehensive image of the narrative.

Allusion to the discussion about compensation is found in the collection of gold and silverware strewn across the left foreground of the picture, among which is Adam van Vianen’s silver ewer of 1614 [Fig. 4-6].³⁸⁴ Lastman’s inclusion of these material goods, however, serves a

³⁸² Tobit 12:15 (NRSVACE).

³⁸³ Tobit 12:17-21 (NRSVACE).

³⁸⁴ For a discussion of Adam van Vianen’s ewer and its inclusion in Lastman’s paintings, see Reinier Baarsen, *Kwab: Ornament as Art in the Age of Rembrandt* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2018), 47-65.

dual function. Firstly, it represents the wealth that Tobias and Azariah-Raphael retrieve from Gabel and from which Tobit intends to reward Azariah-Raphael for his services, but it also alludes to the verbal exchange, represented explicitly in the series of prints from the sixteenth-century discussed above, wherein Tobit offers Azariah-Raphael material compensation. Moreover, the collection of wares refers to Raphael's spiritual maxim and praise of Tobit, namely, to his assertion that "it is better to give alms than to lay up gold."³⁸⁵ Not only does the inclusion of these material goods provide narrative coherence and compress the primary revelation scene with these two prior verbal exchanges in the story, it is further underscored by Lastman's description of the wares in toppled disarray and their positioning directly under Raphael as he ascends toward heaven. In both of the prior conversations, it is Raphael who figuratively topples the notion of acquiring material wealth, first in declining compensation and second in discouraging material accumulation in preference of charitable acts.

In *De Oude Tobijas*, the playwright also compresses Raphael's moment of revelation with the prior scene of Tobit and Tobias' attempt at payment. By employing epideictic speech and the rhetorical figure of *anaphora*, the playwright creates a suspended image on stage that prolongs the duration of the episode by compressing the two scenes into one. Through these rhetorical devices, the playwright dramatizes Tobit and Tobias kneeling and proclaiming all the services for which they want to compensate him, after which Azariah-Raphael responds by revealing his true nature. Except for the transformation of Azariah to Raphael, which likely included the actor being hoisted into the air to hover over the stage, the arrangement and posing of the figures remains largely consistent, with Tobit and Tobias continuing to kneel in reverence. In general terms, Lastman's representation coincides with the rhetoricians' practice as well as some

³⁸⁵ Tobit 12:8 (NRSVACE).

elements of the pictorial tradition in how he depicts the figures: Raphael hovers in front of a cloud with arms and wings outstretched while Tobit and Tobias reverently fall to their knees. There are, however, subtle modifications that Lastman employs, further unfolding the totality of the story and emphasizing the gravitas of the episode represented in his painting.

With his right knee almost to his chin, the figure of the elderly Tobit is positioned in a deep kneeling posture; his weight is displaced forward, acknowledging Raphael's divine presence [Fig. 4-7]. Lastman distinctively poses Tobit's head in a complex and strained manner, simultaneously bowing and gazing in adoration with his bending body pulling his head downward while his gazing eyes pull his head upward. The visual effect of this tilt-of-the-head conspicuously emphasizes the piercing highlights of his eyes. The pose of the figure is not unfamiliar in the biblical paintings by Lastman, and, through many of its features, it acts as a composite of other Lastman figures found in his *oeuvre*: the body can also be found in the figure of Adam in *The Lamentation of Abel* (1623) and the head-tilt occurring somewhat regularly in several figures of his narratives from the Bible, including Ruth in *Ruth and Naomi* (1614), Hagar in *Abraham Expels Hagar* (1612), Jephthah in *Jephthah and his Daughter* (c. 1614-1617), Abraham in *Abraham's Journey to Canaan* (1614), Isaac in *The Angel of the Lord Preventing Abraham from Sacrificing Isaac* (1616), and the Canaanite Woman in *Christ and the Canaanite Woman* (1617). In *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son* (1618), Tobit's tilt of the head, emphasized by the whites of his eyes, functions with a specific purpose. Not only does it demonstrate the complex expression of adoration performed by the figure, but it also calls specific attention to Tobit's use of his eyes. Recall that only moments before Tobit suffered from an extended affliction of blindness, but now that Tobias has stuffed the fish's gall into his eyes, Tobit's sight is restored. The moment is not lost on Lastman as he shows great care in featuring

the climactic result of Tobit's healing — but the gravity of the moment is heightened even further when one recognizes that the object of his sight is the apparition of a divine being. Not only is Tobit's physical sight healed, but he has also gained spiritual sight as well. His restored physical sight is, as Raphael claims, a product of Tobit's faith and almsgiving through which he has spiritual access to perceive and recognize the divine Raphael.³⁸⁶

Whereas Tobit displays a posture of reverent supplication, Tobias responds with gestures of surprise and awe. As in the print series of c. 1548 and 1556 by Heemskerck and the c.1570-1580 series by Van den Broeck, Lastman shows Tobias kneeling upright [Figs. 4-20, 4-21, & 4-24]. Similar to the examples in print, Lastman's Tobias kneels as an expression of humility and reverence, but unique to his figure is the angle at which Tobias leans away from Raphael. As if Tobias was physically blown back from Raphael's revelation, he spreads out his arms to steady himself. While this reading is certainly one aspect of understanding the figure, one might also interpret Lastman's posing of the figure as an expression of Tobias' perception and recognition of Azaraius' actual identity. In effect, Tobias' pose can be understood as a complex mixture of his steadying physical balance, reverential beholding, and his psychological and spiritual recalibration of expectations.

Azariah-Raphael and Tobias travelled together for a significant period of time. He counseled Tobias through the fish attack on the banks of the Tigris; he counseled him on whom and how to take a wife; he instructed him on how to survive a demon and how to heal his father's blindness. Throughout the entirety of the journey, Tobias thought it was Azariah who kept him safe and guided him along the road to Media. Characteristic of any good adventure, these are intimate moments of peril and joy that uniquely bond traveling companions. One can imagine the

³⁸⁶ Tobit 12:12-15 (NRSVACE).

destabilizing shock that would occur once Tobias discerns that his traveling companion, Azariah, is actually someone else. For Tobias, the surprise, although shocking as it is, is also welcomed, given the divine favor Raphael brings on behalf of God. Of course, this response is underscored by Lastman's choice to depict Tobias with parted lips, corresponding with the narrative text recording that "they kept blessing God and singing his praises, and they acknowledged God for these marvelous deeds of his, when an angel of God had appeared to them."³⁸⁷

As attributes of Tobit and Tobias, Lastman includes a menagerie of animals exhibiting a plethora of poses and postures [Fig. 4-8]. Distinct from the examples in print from the sixteenth century, these animals add *ornatus* to the scene through their variety (*varietas*) and copiousness (*copia*), a rhetorical strategy advocated by Van Mander by which Lastman amplifies the episode. Of particular significance is the goat in the far-right foreground who, like Tobit, also bows its head in the direction of Raphael. Upon closer inspection, however, one finds that Lastman plays with the formal correspondences between a man bowing in devotion and an animal mundanely eating from the ground. Instead of the display of reverential recognition, the posing of the goat indicates merely its interest in consuming the plant at its feet.

While it is easy for the beholder to take note of Tobit as a protagonist of the scene, the presence and posing of the goat is emphasized by the rooster who conspicuously directs its attention to it. It is perhaps through this juxtaposition between the Tobit-Tobias configuration and the goat that Lastman intends to visualize the practice of false piety. The goat, while performing the same physical posture as that of Tobit, reveals that the purpose of its posture and the object of its attention is not the spiritual truth to which Tobit directs his devotion, but rather it is the mundane foliage that occupies the immediate and obvious space at its feet.

³⁸⁷ Tobit 12:22 (NRSVACE).

As the rooster uses its gaze to facilitate one's contemplation of false piety, several animals amongst the menagerie use their gaze to direct the viewer's discernment of the true nature of Azariah as Raphael. The faculty of seeing is the vehicle through which the painting shows the beholder, not only how Tobit (and Tobias) use physical and spiritual sight, but also how the beholder, himself, uses physical and spiritual sight to perceive and recognize the divine nature of Raphael as one sent by God. The argument becomes whether, following the example of Tobit, one practices a righteous life of almsgiving instead of hoarding material wealth, worthy of God's grace, through which one is endowed with the opportunity and ability to witness the glory of the Lord, or whether, through false piety, one may perform the appropriate actions and postures, but never truly see — and by never seeing, never truly knowing — the divine presence of God.³⁸⁸

4.7 CONCLUSION

As has been demonstrated through the analysis of Lastman's three paintings, *Tobias Catches the Fish* (1613), *The Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah* (1611), and *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son* (1618), Lastman departs from pictorial convention, inventing new ways to narrate episodes from this biblical history. He does not represent the sequential narrative moments through the inclusion of multiple vignettes, as found in Heemskerck and Van Mander; nor does he isolate a singular narrative moment as one finds in Van den Broeck's images. Instead, his compositional strategies reflect the priorities and concerns of the rhetoricians as exemplified in *De Oude Tobijas* written for The Pelican in Haarlem. Both Lastman and the playwright intend to impart a comprehensive representation of the biblical history full of *energeia* and *enargeia*, characterized by intelligibility (*perspicuitas*) and evidentiary detail

³⁸⁸ Tobit 14:11 (NRSVACE).

(*evidentia*) and amplified by affective ornament (*ornatus*). By means of lyrical dilation, primarily through the use of rondels and figures of repetition, the playwright prolongs the duration of the narrative moments in *De Oude Tobijas* that Lastman depicts in his paintings. By Lastman achieves a similar prolongation of narrative scenes by offering an image that suspends the unfolding of the event by compressing different scenes into one and by representing interdependent actions that occur contemporaneous to one another. For the playwright and the painter, this strategy of prolongation allows one to tell the totality of the story with clarity and evidentiary detail, which is amplified by the integration of various ornaments necessary for a comprehensive representation of the biblical history.³⁸⁹ Corresponding to the dramatic poetry of the rhetoricians, Lastman demonstrates novel modes of visualization in his paintings of the Book of Tobit which depict this biblical history with *energeia* and *enargeia*, through which he attempts to persuade the viewer of the spiritual nourishment and maturity that comes with charitable service and devotion to God.

What both Lastman and the playwright demonstrate is the propensity to apply rhetoric to ethical questions. As virtue ethics in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries demanded one's critical inquiry of how to practice virtue under the particular circumstances of a moral dilemma, rhetoric was seen as a proven tool with which one could evaluate and practice such virtue. In these episodes from the Book of Tobit that Lastman and the playwright portray, there is a core concern for instilling and practicing merciful and charitable behavior as a way to glorify and praise God, to whom alone worship belongs. Inspired by the narrative text which states that "it is better to give alms than lay up gold," Lastman and the playwright employ rhetorical means as

³⁸⁹ Golahny, "Pieter Lastman: Moments of Recognition," 182-183. Amy Golahny considers Pieter Lastman a "clever painter," as she says, "A clever painter would invent a scene so that it focused upon a most intense moment of conflict within the narrative, just before the resolution; the knowledgeable viewer would reconstruct earlier and later moments, without violating the unity of time and place."

a way to reference Tobit's charity, to portray Tobias' acts of mercy, and to persuade the beholder of the paintings and the audience of the play that God will reveal himself and make himself known to those who practice mercy and charity to others.³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Tobit 12:8 (NRSVACE).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE STORY OF PAUL AND BARNABAS' MINISTRY IN LYSTRA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I discussed Pieter Lastman's paintings of the Book of Tobit, suggesting that one way to understand his departure from the pictorial tradition was to consider these paintings alongside the rhetorical framework of *energeia* and *enargeia*. I specifically considered how strategies of visualization utilizing these concepts were typical of local performance practices associated with Dutch rhetoricians' theater. I also discussed some of the correspondences between Lastman's paintings and the rhetoricians' play *De Oude Tobijas*, written for the Haarlem chamber, The Pelican. In this chapter, I want to examine how *energeia* and *enargeia* cultivate and facilitate a different aspect of rhetoric, notably *peripeteia*. *Peripeteia* essentially describes the climactic moment in a narrative where the protagonist experiences a sudden and dramatic reversal of fortune which consequentially affects the resolution of the story.

Undoubtedly, the dramatic quality of this rhetorical concept is strongly appealing for both the painter and the playwright of historical narratives. This chapter focuses on Lastman's paintings depicting Paul and Barnabas' ministry in Lystra [Figs. 5-1 & 5-4]. In this story, a moment of peripety occurs when the Lystrans mistakenly identify the apostles as pagan gods and proceed with the preparation of idolatrous sacrifice in their honor. In focusing on Lastman's inventive paintings, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, of both 1614 and 1617, I will examine how his integration of the rhetorical concept of *peripeteia*, as a product of *energeia* and *enargeia*, reflects a similar rhetorical practice seen in a play by the rhetoricians dramatizing the same subject. As in previous chapters, I will consider the paintings alongside a rhetoricians' play, and comparable

to Lastman's paintings is the play, *Paulus ende Barnabas*, likely written by Willem Reyers de Lange for The Pelican in Haarlem. As one will see in both Lastman's paintings and the rhetoricians' play, the visualization and dramatization of dialogic exchange in response to the moment of peripety offers an edifying example of conflict resolution. Notably, both Lastman and the playwright visualize Paul in the throes of exasperated speech in order to describe the apostle's response to the moment of *peripeteia*. By doing so, they both intend to confront their audience with the moral dilemma at issue: whether one is able to discern between true and false religion.

5.2 PERIPETEIA

Peripeteia, as the product of portraying biblical history by means of *energeia* and *enargeia*, refers to the moment of change caused by proximate actions as they unfold during the event depicted, but sometimes it describes a reversal of fortune as perceived and understood in the minds of the story's principal figures. By utilizing a character's perception and comprehension of his or her narrative circumstances, the playwright and the painter employ their descriptions of gesture and expression as persuasive means to dramatize moments of *peripeteia* and, in effect, affect the viewer who witnesses such moments of realization and recognition. In this way, *peripeteia* is often accompanied by a process through which a character perceives and then further recognizes the magnitude and consequences of that change. The process by which the viewer visually scrutinizes such an image allows a certain intimate access to what the artist depicts. By evaluating the elements of *perspicuitas*, *evidentia*, and their combination, having been amplified by *ornatus*, the beholder of such an image is permitted an opportunity to inhabit the scene and act as a witness to the event depicted. Because the artist uses *energeia* and

enargeia to allow the viewer access to the unfolding of the event, the most effective source of rhetorical efficacy and persuasion is the dramatization of the figures' emotional response to the dramatic changes of circumstances. The painter and the playwright similarly manifest these emotive responses through the arrangement of the figures and their interactive gestures.

As Seifert has shown, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, dramatic theory began to move away from the kinds of moralizing drama exemplified by Seneca and promulgated in Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* of 1561, toward an Aristotelian notion of drama as disseminated in Daniel Heinsius' *De Tragoediae constitutione* of 1611.³⁹¹ It is known that Lastman was an attentive reader and maintained a relatively sizeable library, and while most of the titles in his collection have not survived, scholars speculate that he owned or, at least, was likely familiar with Daniel Heinsius' work.³⁹² Through its simple and clear analysis, Heinsius' *Tragoediae constitutione* provided easy access to Aristotle's theory of tragedy, and in all likelihood, it functioned as a mediator between Dutch students of dramatic poetry and Aristotle's *Poetics*.³⁹³ In organizing Aristotle's theory of tragedy in a simpler way, Heinsius was able to emphasize the importance of plot in tragedy and its capacity to arouse corresponding emotions in the viewer. Not only was the treatise useful for its clear formulation of theoretical rules, it also provided a practical guide, combining the Aristotelian notion of tragedy with an account of the typical methods governing plot, episode, unity, peripety, and dénouement. *Tragoediae constitutione* not

³⁹¹ Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 134-135.

³⁹² Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 120, 135.

³⁹³ Jan Hendrik Meter, *The Literary Theories of Daniel Heinsius: A Study of the Development and Background of His Views on Literary Theory and Criticism during the Period from 1602 to 1612* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1984), 28-29. For those seeking high positions in early seventeenth-century Dutch society, a formal education was paramount. At institutions like Leiden University, one would encounter an Aristotelian model of education in the poetic arts. This model sought to equip students with a foundation of philosophy, both theoretical and pragmatic, which would then support a student's more advanced study. After reading Euripides, Seneca, Terrence, and Horace, gleaning moral instruction and wisdom from the poets, students would study law and ultimately history.

only explains the general principles and criteria of tragedy, but also provides detailed applications of these principles to a diverse grouping of ancient and contemporary writers.³⁹⁴ Chief among these principles is *peripeteia*. Both Aristotle and Heinsius are centrally concerned with narrative plots having “an essential tragic effect,” whose most powerful source of emotional interest is *peripeteia*.³⁹⁵ As Aristotle understands the rhetorical concept, *peripeteia* demands that the plot’s course of action reverse course, even while adhering to what is probable or necessary and usually surprising the characters as well as the audience.³⁹⁶ It is through this rhetorical concept that the resolution of the plot’s catastrophe begins, and such path to resolution is made all the more profound because of the sudden and unexpected events that precipitate it.

The idea of applying Aristotle’s notion of tragedy to biblical stories was notably pursued by Heinsius who endeavored to perfect the Christian tragedy. His efforts demonstrate that a localized form of *ethos* was present in the Dutch Republic where spiritual and intellectual life had been jointly pursued in Protestant theology and humanist scholarship; his works, especially *Lofsanck van Jesus Christus* (1616), along with his treatise on Aristotle, testify to his desire to represent this local *ethos* in the vernacular language, organized and amplified with classical rhetorical concepts.³⁹⁷ Heinsius’ efforts are not dissimilar from the enterprise demonstrated by the chambers of rhetoric, where the cultivation and expression of the vernacular language was governed by poetic and rhetorical concepts recovered from antiquity.

In the *Tragediae constitutione*, Heinsius slightly modified Aristotle’s notion of *peripeteia*, providing two meanings of the rhetorical concept. The first is consistently Aristotelian,

³⁹⁴ Daniel Heinsius, *De Tragediae Constitutione: On Plot in Tragedy*, trans. Paul R. Sellin and John J. McManmon (Northridge: San Fernando Valley State College, 1971), xv-xix.

³⁹⁵ Aristotle, “Aristotle’s Poetics,” in *Aristotle’s Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, with a Critical Translation of “The Poetics,”* trans. S.H. Butcher (New York: Dover Publications, 1951), VI.12-14.

³⁹⁶ Aristotle, “Aristotle’s Poetics,” IX.11-12; XI.4.

³⁹⁷ Meter, *The Literary Theories of Daniel Heinsius*, 24-25.

describing *peripeteia* as an unexpected disastrous turn of events which reverses the plot's course of action to its opposite. The second, however, provides a much broader understanding of the concept, which refers to every reversal of events regardless of whether they result in disaster or triumph.³⁹⁸ This broader construal of *peripeteia* provides a ready tool applicable to Lastman, who often employed peripety as a pictorial device.

Both Aristotle and Heinsius argue that *peripeteia* coincides with moments of recognition, during which a character expresses emotions responsive to the plot's change of circumstances.³⁹⁹ One might understand moments of recognition as moments of revelation during which a character perceives, recognizes, and responds to the reversal of circumstances. This sequential experience of a change in circumstances, followed by a character's recognition of the change, and then the character's emotional response to his or her experience of recognition, describes the persuasive effect of *peripeteia*. *Peripeteia* can best be understood through its association with the accompanying rhetorical concepts of *agnitio* and *katharsis*. The playwright and the painter committed to representing *peripeteia* share in the artistic enterprise of portraying characters who experience the instance of recognition (*agnitio*), which leads to the expression of strong, complex emotions that then precipitate a cathartic emotional response from the viewer. Both Aristotle and Heinsius closely align *peripeteia* and *agnitio* in a combined effort to effect the principle objective of tragedy, that is, persuasion through *katharsis*.⁴⁰⁰ In his *Poetics*, Aristotle described *katharsis* as a purgation of emotions. When one witnesses the imitation of an event, which is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude, one experiences a range of emotions along the spectrum between fear and pity, which causes a purgation of emotions that allows for

³⁹⁸ Meter, *The Literary Theories of Daniel Heinsius*, 193.

³⁹⁹ For a valuable discussion on Lastman and his propensity to visualize his figures experiencing recognition (*agnitio*), see Golahny, "Pieter Lastman: Moments of Recognition."

⁴⁰⁰ Meter, *The Literary Theories of Daniel Heinsius*, 166.

spiritual renewal and relief from tension and anxiety.⁴⁰¹ As was discussed in the last chapter, it was an objective for Lastman and the dramatic poets of the chambers of rhetoric to portray events with narrative clarity, evidentiary detail, and artful ornament; that is, by imbuing their visualization and dramatization of the narrative with *energeia* and *enargeia*, they represent biblical historical events in a rhetorical manner that allows the beholder and the audience to experience the unfolding of the event as if they were present and able to inhabit the space. Within this framework and in accordance with Heinsius and Aristotle, if the viewer witnesses the portrayed unfolding of an event at the moment that a character experiences recognition and the responsive emotions, one also experiences those same emotions. There is a sense of personalization through which the viewer adopts the experience as their own, and it is a process through which one purges their own emotions, leading to spiritual renewal and relief, according to Aristotle. This process is the height of the rhetorical efficacy of the event's reenactment, and it depends on the storyteller's ability to portray persuasively the intensely affective states of emotion experienced by the characters, which in turn effects the emotional participation and ultimately the persuasion of the viewer. By means of *energeia* and *enargeia* and the facilitation of *peripeteia*, the beholder of Lastman's paintings and the audience of the rhetoricians' plays are further immersed into the biblical historical events they represent. Because they mobilize these rhetorical concepts in how they tell the story, the viewing experience of their representations becomes more intimate and more personalized, enabling the image to be at its most persuasive and the beholder and the audience to be most receptive to moral insight. One not only witnesses the event unfolding, but through the added effect of *peripeteia* and its associated concepts of

⁴⁰¹ Aristotle, "Aristotle's Poetics," VI.2.

agnitio and *katharsis*, one also experiences the complex emotional valence brought about by the sudden, unexpected turn of events.

5.3 THE NARRATIVE

The Book of Acts recounts the work of the apostles following the ascension of Christ. The thirteenth chapter begins with the Holy Spirit commissioning Paul and Barnabas to leave the church in Antioch located in Syria and preach the Gospel of Christ throughout Cyprus and Asia Minor.⁴⁰² (Fig. 5-6) Along their ministry-journey, they preached the Christian message in the Jewish synagogues, traveling to Seleucia, to the towns of Salamis and Paphos on the island Cyprus, to the towns of Attalia and Perga in Pamphylia, to Antioch and Iconium in Galatia, and then to Lystra, also located in Galatia. While in Cyprus, they converted the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, despite opposition from the magician and Jewish false-prophet, Bar-Jesus, also known as Elymas. According to the narrative account, the Holy Spirit equipped Paul to speak words of condemnation and rebuke against the magician, resulting in his blinding and the conversion of the proconsul to Christianity.⁴⁰³ While in the synagogue at Antioch in Galatia, as well as throughout the city, Paul preached the Gospel of Christ, presenting Jesus as the fulfillment of the Hebrew scriptures.⁴⁰⁴ As in Cyprus, however, the apostles met opposition when Jewish clerics, having seen the popularity of the Gospel message and the number of conversions among both Jews and Gentiles, sought to debate Paul and Barnabas and undermine their arguments. The clerics were not successful and because of their failed attempts at discrediting the apostles, they incited the religious elite of Antioch to persecute Paul and Barnabas, running them out of

⁴⁰² Acts 13:2-3 (RSVCE).

⁴⁰³ Acts 13:9-12 (RSVCE).

⁴⁰⁴ Acts 13:16-41 (RSVCE).

town.⁴⁰⁵ Paul and Barnabas' ministry met a similar outcome in Iconium. There, they converted a number of Jews and Gentiles, but after suffering persecution, they fled Iconium and made their way to Lystra.⁴⁰⁶ Leaving Iconium, Paul and Barnabas had experienced the full range of the godly-imbued power of Paul's rhetorical efficacy, persuading many converts and refuting the opposition.

Upon arriving in Lystra, Paul and Barnabas came upon a lame man, who, since birth, could not use his legs. The lame man listened to Paul's preaching, and Paul looked at him, discerned that he had faith, and restored the use of his legs. Seeing this miraculous event, the people of Lystra rejoiced.⁴⁰⁷ Instead of recognizing it as the work of the Holy Spirit, one of the three persons of the Christian God and made manifest through Paul's preaching, however, they recognized the miracle as the work of their pagan gods and identified Paul as Hermes (Mercury) and Barnabas as Zeus (Jupiter), exclaiming "The gods have come down in the likeness of men!"⁴⁰⁸ The moment of mistaken identity escalated into a priest bringing oxen and garlands to the Temple of Zeus and calling on the crowd to offer a sacrifice to the Greek god. For fear of blaspheming the Christian God in this act of idolatry, Paul and Barnabas tore their garments out of horror and lamentation and rushed into the oppositional crowd, protesting the disastrous turn of events.⁴⁰⁹

In their attempt to clarify and resolve the mistake of identity and the power by which the miracle occurred, the apostles emphasized their humanity, their equal status with the people of Lystra, and the supremacy and grace of the Christian God, citing how He blessed Lystra with

⁴⁰⁵ Acts 13:50-52 (RSVCE).

⁴⁰⁶ Acts 14:1-7 (RSVCE).

⁴⁰⁷ Acts 14:8-11 (RSVCE).

⁴⁰⁸ Acts 14:11 (RSVCE).

⁴⁰⁹ Acts 14:14 (RSVCE).

rains and fruitful seasons.⁴¹⁰ The narrative reports that the apostles' arguments were persuasive enough to give pause to the people of Lystra and halt the sacrifice to Zeus. Their success, however, was only partial and temporary. Disgruntled Jews from Iconium and Antioch in Galatia had arrived in Lystra and persuaded the people to rise up against the apostles, stoning Paul and leaving him for dead on the outskirts of the city. Paul survived the stoning, and the next day, he and Barnabas continued their ministry journey to Derbe, the last stop before their return to Antioch in Syria.⁴¹¹

5.4 THE PICTORIAL TRADITION

As we know from the analysis of his paintings depicting the story of Tobias, Lastman directs a keen eye to the pictorial tradition, and while he derives aspects of his inventions from the pictorial precedents, he deviates from them in significant ways. In the Low Countries, the story of Paul and Barnabas ministering in Lystra was visualized prior to Lastman's paintings of 1614 and 1617. A provocative example of the biblical history's treatment in the North was a response to Raphael's design for a tapestry to be hung in the Sistine Chapel in Rome at the behest of Pope Leo X in 1515. Before discussing the northern example, one ought to become familiar with Raphael's design. Raphael's tapestry series of the *Acts of the Apostles* was woven in Brussels between 1516 and 1521, and it included a depiction of Paul protesting the sacrifice at Lystra [Fig. 5-7].

In Raphael's design, the moment of sacrifice has arrived. A celebrant restrains the bull by holding its horn and jaw while the temple priest, with axe in hand, winds up for the fatal blow. Among the attendant crowd, disciples accompanying the apostles on their ministry journey

⁴¹⁰ Acts 14:15-17 (RSVCE).

⁴¹¹ Acts 14:19-23 (RSVCE).

attempt to intervene, one reaching out to physically obstruct the priest's motion and another pleading with folded hands. At the left side of the frame, the two apostles stand on a step presumably at the entrance of the Temple of Jupiter (Zeus). Barnabas stands in front, and, tilting his head to one side, so as to spare him the sight of the blasphemous offense, he tears his clothes in despair. In part to emphasize the emotional expression of his grief and in part to reflect the narrative's account that he is the one whom the Lystrans believe to be Jupiter and most worthy of the sacrificial rite, Raphael positions him in a privileged position in front of Paul. The highlights indicated on the Barnabas' garment certainly attract one's attention. Paul, on the other hand, is relegated to the shadows cast by the entranceway of the temple. Distraught, he clasps his hands and also gazes away from the scene unfolding before him, presumably petitioning God for his intervention. Raphael conceives of the scene as two completely different occurrences. The apostles' reaction to the sacrifice becomes attenuated because of how Raphael has described the apostles looking away from the sacrificial act and the herm-like altar Raphael uses to physically separate the apostles from the unfolding scene. The two parties do not engage, nor do they interact, and the apostles seem to occupy a purely symbolical role, that is, a symbol of the polemic against idolatry, rather than a narrative one, where they operate and interact within the story.

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, the Flemish painter and tapestry designer, was certainly aware of Raphael's design when he created his own design for a tapestry in c. 1529-1530.⁴¹² Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* were woven in Brussels where copies of the cartoons likely stayed and were later used for subsequent weavings. Guy Delmarcel has noted that Coecke was inspired by many

⁴¹² Elizabeth A. H. Cleland, Maryan Wynn Ainsworth, Stijn Alsteens, Nadine Orenstein, Iain Buchanan, Guy Delmarcel, Nello Forti Grazzini, et al., eds. *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 148-149.

of Raphael's inventions, demonstrating the numerous correspondences between Raphael's and Coecke's compositions as well as the positioning and posing of figures.⁴¹³ In Coecke's preparatory drawing for *Saint Paul Refusing the Sacrifice at Lystra*, however, one finds that Coecke deviated significantly from Raphael's precedent [Fig. 5-8]. The setting is dominated by the middle-ground presence of the Temple of Jupiter which mediates between the stoning of Paul occurring in the left background, the healing of the Lame Man in the right middle ground, and the main event of the sacrifice occurring in the foreground.

The most distinctive feature of Coecke's invention is the manner in which the apostles and the Lystrans reciprocally interact and respond to each other. To the right of the altar, at the foot of which a lamb has already been slain, the apostles erupt with horror. Both Paul and Barnabas emote shock and panic through the expressions on their faces, each running in opposite directions with such velocity that their garments whip in the air. As they run, Barnabas tears his clothes, and Paul flails his arms helplessly in exasperated grief. Interestingly, many of the Lystrans direct their attention in the direction of the apostles, gazing and gesturing either at them or at the preparation of the sacrificial practice. One Lystran points at the apostles, not to condemn or critique but rather to direct the rest of the crowd's attention [Fig. 5-9]. Not only does this figure's pointing also direct the viewer to focus on the apostles' reactions but it additionally directs one's attention to another Lystran. Immediately placed behind the initial Lystran's pointing finger is a bearded figure whose hands and face provide a more specific indication of the temper of the crowd's response. Coecke has described the figure with a furrowed brow, but according to the angle of his eyebrows, it is not out of anger or frustration but

⁴¹³ Guy Delmarcel, "The Life of Saint Paul," in *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry*, ed. Elizabeth A. H. Cleland, Maryan Wynn Ainsworth, Stijn Alsteens, Nadine Orenstein, Iain Buchanan, Guy Delmarcel, Nello Forti Grazzini, et al. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 125.

rather out of concern and thoughtfulness. This demeanor is made all the more apparent as the figure also exhibits a slight shrug of the shoulders as he references with his hands the religious rite taking place. Certainly, in the context of the apostles' outburst of emotion, one can reasonably interpret this figure's posture as well as that of the rest of the crowd as thoughtful concern for any offense that may have been extended towards their guests. Considering the Lystrans believe Paul and Barnabas are Mercury and Jupiter, the potential for offense would be highly distressing to them. Notably, neither the apostles nor anyone acting on their behalf offer physical attempts at intervention, nor is there a dialogic exchange between the parties. It is primarily a representation of purely emotive responses in the face of a blasphemous and idolatrous act.

A print depicting the confrontation between the apostles and the Lystrans by Marten de Vos, dated c. 1591-1600, offers a more intimate interaction between the parties to the conflict [Fig. 5-10]. There, one finds the apostles in the left foreground reacting to the procession of Lystrans who have arrived in the foreground, leading sacrificial bulls, carrying laurel branches, standards, and torches, and playing musical instruments. The primary action depicts a perplexed yet agitated pagan crowd who aggressively points and combatively gestures towards the apostles with incredulous frustration. One Lystran figure on the right side of the frame even raises an instrument resembling cymbals or a tambourine over his head and seems to aggressively bang the instrument while directing an intimidating, piercing gaze at Barnabas. Barnabas, in fact, is the apostle who seems to receive all of the attention. De Vos has figured him prominently in the foreground of the scene and directs the attention of the three primary Lystrans towards him. Instead of distinctively representing the temple priest, De Vos is interested in portraying the

unanimity and monolithic nature of the pagan crowd, emphasizing their impulsive, herd mentality and their propensity towards violence.

Each of the three Lystrans in the foreground describe various modes of reaction towards the apostles' protest. The Lystran in between the bulls leans forward, tilts his head with a furrowed brow, and looks at Barnabas while outstretching his arms. His incredulity is not so innocent as his gesture reveals a combative sense of irritation and even its own sense of heretical accusation. This sense is underscored and amplified by the figure on the right whom De Vos portrays in a more active posture. In the description of this figure, the incredulity of the first Lystran has fully matured into an accusatory pointing of condemnation. He resolutely points at Barnabas to contest and refute his protest. The third Lystran, playing the tambourine-like instrument, incorporates the incredulity of the first Lystran, the condemnatory accusation of the second Lystran, and adds a physical component. As mentioned above, he bangs the two pieces of the instrument together while glaring at Barnabas. The suggestion of a physical threat is unmistakable. This is especially so as De Vos has included, in the upper-left background of the image, the immediately subsequent scene of the Lystrans physically attacking the apostles, stoning Paul, and leaving him for dead beyond the city gates. This practice of uniting temporally separated episodes of a history into one image reflects the customs of the northern pictorial tradition as one remembers from the discussion of Heemskerck's and Van Mander's images portraying the story of Tobias.⁴¹⁴

In De Vos' print the separated scene of the stoning of Paul in the background is somewhat disconnected from the foreground scene, as one finds the primary confrontation in the foreground between Barnabas and the pagan crowd. Such choice to focus on Barnabas, however,

⁴¹⁴ Armin Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980), 78.

most persuasively reveals De Vos' concern in characterizing the purely emotional response delivered by the apostles. It is Barnabas whom Scripture describes as tearing his clothes, expressing the depths of his lamentation at the sight of preparations for the pagan sacrifice, and it is with this visceral emotional expression that De Vos intends to convince the viewer of the grief that such an idolatrous practice brings, as well as the egregious and unjust nature of the imminent, brutal assault carried out against Paul. Paul's attempts at rhetorical efficacy are relegated to the boundaries of the frame. He seems present only out of interest of narrative fidelity. For De Vos, because he is concerned with the subsequent episode of the stoning featured in the background, he relegates Paul as a marginal figure in the foreground where he is described as an ineffectual rhetor, unable to assuage the pagan crowd, much less garner their attention.

Marten de Vos' painting of the subject of 1568, however, provides an interesting comparison [Fig. 5-11]. Because of the several formal and compositional similarities found in his and in Lastman's paintings, it is likely that a knowledge of the work informed Lastman's own choices in visualizing the biblical history. In De Vos' painting of the subject, one finds a dense grouping of figures situated in an ancient cityscape that recedes in space from foreground to background. Notably, De Vos has composed the image so that one finds unequal weight in the foreground composition, heavily dominated by the grouping on the right and juxtaposed with the diagonal procession of Lystrans extending from the temple in the background and arriving at the scene in the foreground. The heterogeneous architecture of towers, columns, obelisks, temples, and other ancient structures that occupies the background landscape in this painting as well as in its companion pieces, *Paul in Ephesus* (1568) and *Paul on Malta* (1568), is evocative of the ancient ruins De Vos witnessed during his time in Rome, and it is suggestive of the ancient landscapes

where these biblical events occurred.⁴¹⁵ In the right foreground, one finds the apostles, Paul and Barnabas, surrounded by a group of Lystrans, each wearing a crown of laurel and two of whom extending their hand over the head of each apostle, intending to honor them with their own crown. Departing from other representations, the sacrificial bull has not yet arrived nor has the temple priest prepared the altar. Much like his print of the story, De Vos does not specifically identify a priest but rather emphasizes the identity of the crowd, which determines a distinctive interaction between the apostles and the pagans with whom they argue.

Paul is dressed in dark color tones and argues with two of the Lystrans. De Vos portrays the apostle with one hand tearing open his tunic and the other hand, with index finger extended, raised in the air [Fig. 5-12]. The figure is a variation of Raphael's Plato from his *School of Athens* (1509-1511), indicating De Vos' concern for portraying Paul as the classical rhetor engaged in Socratic dialogue. Barnabas, a step behind Paul and facing the opposite direction, tears his clothes with both hands as he looks deeply into the eyes of the Lystran attempting to honor him with a laurel crown. While both apostles tear their clothes as an expression of grief in response to the pagan activities, Paul, in the moment that De Vos has visualized, is still in the mode of attempting to reason with the people of Lystra. The characterization of Paul's pose indicates that he neither engages in preaching nor in the fervid state of exasperated speech; rather, he delivers an earnest but measured argument in an effort of Socratic disputation.

In Van Mander's print depicting the bible narrative, one again encounters the practice of uniting temporally separated episodes as is incorporated in De Vos' print [Fig. 5-13]. Van

⁴¹⁵ Armin Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980), 76; David Freedberg, "Art after Iconoclasm. Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585," in *Art after Iconoclasm: Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585*, ed. Koenraad Jonckheere and Ruben Suykerbuyk (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 37-38. It is likely that De Vos' three paintings *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, *Paul in Ephesus*, and *Paul on Malta* comprised a series painted for Gilles Hooftman, a wealthy Protestant merchant in Antwerp.

Mander composes the image so as to direct the viewer's eye along the leading line through the middle of the image to the background where one finds the crowd stoning Paul by the gates of the city. Interrupting this view into the image, however, are the gold and silver wares that accompany the preparations of the sacrifice unfolding in the foreground. Here, Jupiter's priest sets down his thurible and kneels over a basin as he welcomes the arrival of two bulls, the closest of which gazes anxiously at the priest while the other looks out at the viewer. Across from the two bulls and the arriving procession of pagan celebrants stand the healed Lame Man, Paul, Barnabas, and a group of disciples [Fig. 5-14]. Prominently featured among the group is Barnabas who tears his clothes as he directs his attention to heaven. He, along with Paul and the rest of the company, exhibit a similar generic expression of concern and anxiety — most are described with a furrowed brow, denoting the concern and palpable tension of the moment. Paul stands to the left of Barnabas, and with lips parted, he leans forward with his right arm and fingers extended and his palm open, protesting against the action of those bringing the bulls to the altar. His words have captivated the attention of most everyone present, which Van Mander successively emphasizes by the view of the several backs-of-heads which occupy much of the right foreground. Unlike the images by Coecke and De Vos, Van Mander portrays Paul's rhetorical delivery captivating the crowd — the people of Lystra have stopped the preparations to give undivided attention to the counter-arguments presented by the apostle. Not only is their attention given, but by the way Van Mander has characterized their postures and poses, it is suggested that they listen eagerly with open minds.

There are certainly no counterarguments or combative rebuttals represented that would indicate that the people of Lystra categorically refuse the premise of Paul's attempt at clarifying his identity and his preaching of the gospel. In fact, two attendants featured to the left of the

temple priest have halted their preparations for the sacrifice, and, based on the figure who turns to his colleague with a raised hand, they are presumably discussing and considering the merits of Paul's claims [Fig. 5-15]. This moment of consideration is further underscored by the characterization of the priest who is seen engaged in a negative action, as opposed to a positive action, meaning that he is also ceasing his activity instead of being interrupted in the process of performing an action. Paul's words do not interrupt him holding the ewer from which he will fill the basin for the consecration of the sacrifice; Paul's words do not interrupt him standing over the altar welcoming the arrival of the bulls; nor do Paul's words accompany his holding of the axe with which he will perform the sacrifice. In fact, the axe passively lays next him and only within reach. Instead, as a response to Paul's words, the temple priest ceases his activity, sets down the thurible, and considers the apostle's argument. To a receptive crowd, Paul delivers his argument boldly and sternly, indicative of a confidence void of insecurity or desperation. What one will see in the later discussion of Lastman's paintings is the stark departure from the pictorial tradition with which Lastman composes his paintings. In both of his paintings, dated to 1614 and 1617, Lastman characterizes Paul in the heightened state of exasperated speech as he attempts to persuade the pagan crowd of their error – both in their failure to recognize the true nature of the apostles and in their insistence on performing an idolatrous sacrifice. It is a distinction one will see in the following discussion of the rhetoricians' play, and it demonstrates a shared rhetorical approach that both Lastman and the rhetoricians apply to their representations of biblical history.

5.5 THE RHETORICIANS' PLAY *PAULUS ENDE BARNABAS*

In the previous chapter, I discussed the effect of *energeia* and *enargeia* as a conceptual, rhetorical strategy shared by Lastman and the rhetorician playwright in their visual and

performative expressions of the story of Tobias. *Peripeteia* is the rhetorical tool, enabled by *energeia* and *enargeia* and, as the progeny of these rhetorical concepts, it was also employed by both Lastman and the Dutch rhetoricians. In the play *Paulus ende Barnabas*, written for The Pelican in Haarlem, the playwright employs rhetorical strategies to prioritize certain dramatic concerns that are shared in Lastman's own visualization of the biblical narrative.⁴¹⁶

Principal among the rhetoricians' representation of the story and crucial to their mobilization of *peripeteia* is the escalation of the drama provoking Paul's increasingly heightened use of exasperated speech. Initially, the playwright indicates the persuasiveness and success of Paul and Barnabas' ministry by employing verse primarily characterized by harmony and balance. As the events turn against the apostles and as the situation becomes more dire, however, the playwright escalates language, tone, and attitude to describe the apostles' response to the misfortune they experience. As one will see, the playwright's image of Paul suffering in despair, pleading in conversation, and desperately employing exasperated speech is a similar to the image of Lastman's Paul and the surrounding circumstances in his paintings of 1614 and 1617. Because the rhetorical effect of *peripeteia* and exasperated speech is accomplished through a progression of events increasing in exigency and articulated by several exchanges of dialogue, I will proceed by analyzing how this progression of events unfolds and how such analysis anticipates a discussion of what Lastman accomplishes in his paintings of the story.

5.5.1 CALM AND CONFIDENT APOSTLES

The playwright's primary tool for developing the main characters of Paul and Barnabas is speech, and to convey their crisis, it is desperate and exasperated speech. At the start of the play,

⁴¹⁶ Hummelen, *Repertorium van Het Rederijkersdrama 1500-ca. 1620*, no. 1 OB 4.

Paul and Barnabas are featured on the stage, delivering orations. Each delivery presents a complicated rhyme scheme, ababb / cbcc / dcdd / edee, and so forth, sometimes also including inner-rhymes. These speeches begin with Paul appealing to God to reveal Himself to the pagans of Lycaonia, and that the pagans would respond by fleeing from their false religion.⁴¹⁷ Barnabas joins Paul in his prayer and petitions God for the Holy Spirit to aid them in their preaching of the gospel. These opening speeches incorporate a prayer, followed by an exhortation, and conclude with a long refrain. Through the playwright's characterization of the apostles as calm and self-assured, the tone is set for the unfolding of the plot. The story is given a methodical, clear, rhythmic, and lyrical beginning that creates a harmonious and balanced tone and suggests the strength and confidence with which Paul and Barnabas enter their ministry work in Lystra.

Following the initial speeches of Paul and Barnabas is the arrival of the *sinnekens*, Apparent Virtue (*Deuchdelijck schijn*) and Covered Falsehood (*Bedeckte valscheijt*), who, in accordance with this character type, plot to thwart the protagonists' mission. As foils to Paul and Barnabas, they desire that the people of Lystra resist the apostles' preaching and continue their practice of the pagan religion. The way in which the playwright has the *sinnekens* present this desire, however, reinforces his concern and emphasis on Paul and Barnabas' opening speeches. Multiple times, the *sinnekens* present their arguments against the apostles by repeating Paul and Barnabas' critique of the Lystrans' heresy. Covered Falsehood, for example, describes what Paul says of him and his devilish companion, that is, what Paul condemns about their sinister attributes:

*Cousijn weet ghij wadt Ick haer noch heb hooren spreecken
dat wij verleijders sijn hier wel op Ledt*

⁴¹⁷ Note that there are various cues in the play's text that suggest the author is persuaded by the Reform movement and addresses the religious strife in the sixteenth-century Netherlands.

*goods woorden gaen wij versteecken
 en onse consientie is met een brantijser besmedt
 den houwelijcken staet is bij ons verpledt
 en wij verbieden die spijse die godt heeft geschapen
 tot hoerderrij hebben wij onse harten gesedt
 wij sijn / seggen sij / rechte Jesebels paepen // man*

Cousin, do you know what I have heard her say?
 That we are seducers, mark my words.
 We are going to cast away God's words
 and our conscience is marked with a branding iron
 the state of marriages is crushed by us
 and we forbid the victuals that God has created.
 To unchastity we have oriented our hearts.
 We are / they say / certainly Jezebel's priests // you know⁴¹⁸

Apparent Virtue continues and describes their own natures from the critical perspective and with the same condemnatory language as Paul and Barnabas:

*Ick en treck het mij niet / een raepe // an
 maer ick salse inden ban setten // dat Looff ick haer
 ick hoor dat sij noch dat seggen dat vuijle gespan
 dat wij Lasteraers sijn geltgierich en ondanckbaer
 vermetelijck hoveerdich en ongehoorsaem voorwaer
 sonder natuerlijcke Liefft en sonder verbont
 valsche beschuldigers ick segt u claer
 ontmatich deuchdelijck schijnende goet ront
 veraders roeckelijck opgeblaesen ick doe het u cont
 van onse groote schatten maecken wij onsen godt
 maer sij sullen haer beclaegen binnen corter stont
 ick segt u goet rondt dat is het slodt*

I don't care one bit
 but I shall banish them / that I promise them
 I hear that they say, that filthy lot
 that we are slanderers, stingy with money and ungrateful
 presumptive, arrogant, and surely disobedient

⁴¹⁸ W.N.M. Hüsken, Bart Ramakers, and F.A.M. Schaars, eds., "Paulus ende Barnabas," in *Trou Moet Blijcken: Bronnenuitgave van de Boeken Der Haarlemse Rederijderskamer "de Pellicanisten". 2: Boek B* (Assen: Quarto, 1992), lines 145-152.

without natural love and without responsibility,
 false accusers, I tell you clearly,
 indulgent, seemingly virtuous and honest
 traiters, pungently pompous, crowish, I tell you that.
 From our great treasures, we make our god,
 but they shall pity themselves soon enough,
 I tell you honestly, and that's the end.⁴¹⁹

The playwright uses the device of *sermocinatio* whereby one character dramatically speaks in the voice of another character, using language and inflection that is most appropriate to that other character. The effect is that not only are the apostles' arguments repeated but the largest threat to those arguments, i.e., the *sinnekens*, instead are seen rhetorically to bolster, affirm, and validate those arguments, thereby reinforcing and emphasizing the harmonious and balanced tone of the opening speeches as well as the strength and confidence with which Paul and Barnabas begin their ministry in Lystra. The playwright's emphasis on the apostles' arguments is heightened even after Paul and Barnabas finish speaking, as the interlocutory characters of the *sinnekens* refer to and repeat the apostles' words. Moreover, in some instances, the *sinnekens* not only rephrase and repeat the apostles' admonitions, but they are able to do so in a manner that would be inconsistent with Paul and Barnabas' characters. In other words, the *sinnekens* restate the arguments featured in the apostles' opening speeches, but they do so in an unrestrained, impolite, reactionary, and combative tone, thereby embellishing and amplifying the apostles' critique of false religion. By pursuing this strategy of repetition, even from the mouths of the antagonists, the playwright emphasizes his concern for the spiritual power and rhetorical efficacy of the apostles' speech. That power and efficacy being that their preaching has the capacity to proclaim the true religion and convert those practicing Judaism, as in Antioch and Iconium, and now the pagans in Lystra.

⁴¹⁹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 154-167.

In these opening scenes of the play, the playwright is primarily concerned with the rhetorical power of the apostles' speech. He is concerned with their gospel message, which is bolstered by a rhythmic and lyrical delivery that imparts the sense of a clear and confident plan to victoriously preach to the pagans of Lystra. Such power is reinforced and empowered all the more when the playwright contrasts the apostles' speech with the coarse language of the *sinnekens* and yet has them repeat the apostles' message. Despite the arrival on stage of the apostles' adversaries and their combative tone, the harmonious and balanced tone and the strength and confidence Paul and Barnabas demonstrate at the beginning of the play is, nevertheless, perpetuated and reinforced.

5.5.2 AN ANGRY AND VICIOUS OPPOSITION

The play uses the *sinnekens* not only to provide additional clarity and support to the protagonists' arguments, but also to fulfill the very conventional role of the *sinnekens*, informing the audience of events that have already occurred and their intention to undermine the protagonists' objectives in the future. Covered Falsehood, for example, aligns their enterprise with the Jewish leaders, presumably those who expelled Paul and Barnabas from Antioch and Iconium:

*Maer Laeten wij eerst gaen daer onse Overicheijt wonen
Tot onse meesters der sijnagogen ende overste raet
Om van haer te krijgen tot onsen verschoonen
De Coppije uuijt het moordadige placcaet*

But let us first go where our authority lives
to our masters of the synagogue and the superior council
in order to receive from them to our merit
The copy of the murderous placard.⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "Paulus ende Barnabas," lines 207-210.

The *sinnekens* position themselves as servants of the Pharisaical priesthood and plan to obtain a government-sanctioned decree to mandate the prosecution and persecution of heretics, implicating the apostles' alleged heretical ministry activities in Antioch and Iconium.⁴²¹ They state their future intentions without ambiguity when Apparent Virtue proclaims: “...*moorden branden worgen sonder verstrangen / willen wij doen die tegen ons sijn rebel / en oock ons haestich spoen sonder te verlangen / op dat wij mogen volbrouwen dit spel* [...kill, burn, strangle, without fear / we will to those who are rebellious against us / and also [we will] hastily hurry without delay / so that we may finish this game].”⁴²² By killing, burning, and strangling, they must act against those who are persuaded by Paul and Barnabas' preaching. Responding to Apparent Virtue's concern of how they will be able to identify those whom they must persecute, Covered Falsehood distinguishes the heretics from the righteous by explaining that the righteous are lavishly dressed and wealthy, choosing to display their material value, while the heretics are only simple craftspeople.⁴²³

Following a *pausa* where the stage is emptied in preparation of the next scene, characters representing the Pharisaical religious elite, *de schriftgeleerde*, enter and, like the *sinnekens*, they provide the audience commentary on past events and their intentions for the future. Presumably referring to the apostles' prior visits in Antioch and Iconium, they lament over how they attempted to suppress the apostles' teachings but were thwarted once the apostles fled to neighboring cities:

Ja / en haer harten verharden daer in als een stien

⁴²¹ The playwright likely analogizes the Pharisaical priesthood with the Roman Catholic church and the “murderous placard” with the government-sanctioned decree to persecute heretical Protestants in the sixteenth-century Netherlands.

⁴²² Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” lines 217-221.

⁴²³ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” lines 223-243. (note especially *slechte Ambachtslieden*)

*want als wijse wouden vertreden
so ghingen sij strackx also ick mien
en vloden na dese omleggende steeden
want ons dienaers die wij uuijt gesonden hadden met goede reden
om haer persoonen en haer Leringe te niet te doen
daer sij aff ontcomen / met vreden*

Yes / and their hearts hardened therein like stones
because as we tried to trample them
they left immediately, for sure
and fled to these surrounding cities.
And from our servants, who we had sent out with good reason,
to stop them and their teaching
they fled / unharmed⁴²⁴

Consequently, *de schriftgeleerde* pursue Paul and Barnabas in Lystra, employing the *sinnekens* as their representatives and manifestations of their character to subdue them:

*Wel Laeten wij dan hier niet Lang staen
maer vallender aen met moede fijer
en gaen soecken onse dienaers hoort mijn vermaen
en seggen dat sij strackx moeten comen hier
om haer wederom te brengen Int daingier
die so fenijlijck haer Leringe vermonden
om datse niet meer ontsteecken haer vier
maer blussen uuijt in corter stonden*

Well, let us not stand here any longer,
but attack them with fierce courage
and [let us] go seeking our servants, hear my words,
and say that they must come here shortly
in order to take those again into captivity
who so poisonously teach their doctrine
so that they can no longer ignite their fire
but extinguish it quickly⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” lines 288-294.

⁴²⁵ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” lines 305-312.

In describing their intentions to suppress the apostles, *de schriftgeleerde* use language expressing anger and viciousness, suggesting the kind of behavior they would likely have enacted on the stage. Note that such language is quite different than the calm and gentle words spoken by Paul and Barnabas during the opening scene of the play. Moreover, they explicitly characterize their own intentions with the phrase “*onse bedeckte valscheijt ende deuchdlijck schijn* [our covered falsehood and apparent virtue],” emphatically aligning their ambitions with the active intervention embodied by the figures of the *sinnekens* called by the same names: *Bedeckte Valscheijt* and *Deuchdelijck Schijn*.⁴²⁶

As the embodied, personified character traits of *de schriftgeleerde*, the *sinnekens* gladly receive their orders to attack, subdue, and deliver the apostles to *de schriftgeleerde*, and they express their acceptance through the delivery of rondels.⁴²⁷ The rondels serve to advance the plot, and with such verse, the playwright communicates that a significant event is approaching. What is cued through the versification is also performed on the stage. Immediately following the *sinnekens*' rondels is a *pausa*, during which the stage is emptied and the performance transitions to an imminent, momentous event which the rondels have signaled. It is crucial to note that at this point in the play, the playwright has used the content and delivery of language as a means to establish two opposing groups, the apostles and the Jewish clerics with the *sinnekens* as their representatives. They practice two different ways of speaking, indicative of their narrative trajectories inevitably colliding and in conflict.

⁴²⁶ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” line 315.

⁴²⁷ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” lines 323-330. In their opening rondel, the *sinnekens* speak each line of verse together with alternating speech. They receive their assignment to detect the location of the apostles, discern what they are doing, and ultimately attack them.

5.5.3 THE HEALING OF THE LAME MAN

A stage direction featured in the play text provides some indication of what happens next on the stage. “*Die. Crepel /uijt / end. gaet. neder. sitten... Paulus. en. barnabas. uuijt ende de. 2. heijdens aen dander zijde uuijt* [The Lame Man comes out and sits down...Paul and Barnabas come out and the two pagans come out on the other side].” The stage is set; the scene is visually arranged: Paul and Barnabas enter the stage from the left or the right, the Lame Man sits in the middle, and two pagans from Lystra stand on the side opposite to the apostles. As the prior scene ended with a rondel, Paul initiates this scene with a rondel as well. Featuring a fairly complicated rhyming structure, Paul establishes the mood of the narrative moment, introducing the harmonious, balanced, and solemn tone found in his speech beginning the play, and yet, here these characteristics of his speech are intensified. The interaction between the apostles and the Lame Man features a speech consisting of three eight-line rondels, delivered by Paul, followed by a rondel delivered by Barnabas, a rondel given by the Lame Man, and concludes with a dramatic rondel spoken by Paul.

Paul’s first rondel offers two primary points. He declares that the Lord offers peace to those living in Lystra, and he exhorts the people to turn away from the harm produced by the false virtue promoted by their pagan practices. In his second rondel, Paul suggests the alternative to such harmful effects, wishing them knowledge of a cheerful and rejoicing heart that is only procured through the grace of the Lord. He implores the crowd to listen to his words with diligence and heed his message, asserting that the Son of God has called them to eternal joy and that they must liberate themselves from the suffering of false virtue. In the third rondel, Paul declares that this eternal joy is accomplished by the Lord’s work and that the people of Lystra, having been justified in the eyes of the Lord, can come to the Lord with a clear conscience.

Concluding his speech, Paul says that one must receive God's grace in the risen Christ in order to receive this cheerful, rejoicing heart and this eternal joy: *so sult ghij krijgen...de gratije goods van den opersten heere* [so you shall receive...God's grace of the risen Lord].⁴²⁸ To summarize, the playwright uses Barnabas' subsequent rondel to condense and succinctly package Paul's gospel message so as to strengthen the apostle's argument.

*Als ghij ontfangt sijn heilige Leere
sonder versere // sult ghij dan ontfaen
sijn woort in uwe harten na u eijgen begeere
en alle uwe smetten daer ghij mede sijt bekeere
die sal hij deur sijn barmherticheijt affwaen
en vergeven uwe sonden groff ende swaer
dus wilt op u eijgen wijsheijt niet meer staen
maer Loopt tot hem hij is ons middelaer*

As you receive his holy Lord
without fear // then you shall receive
his word in your heart after your own desire
and all your blemishes reformed there
which he shall wash away through his mercy
and forgive your grave and heavy sins
so he wants you to stand no more on your own wisdom
but walk to him, he is our intercessor⁴²⁹

Barnabas makes the point that if God's word is in one's heart, God's mercy will "blow away" the blemishes of sin. He further exhorts the people of Lystra to disregard their own wisdom, their own practices and beliefs, and put their faith in the Lord to whom he refers as the intercessor on behalf of himself and the pagans.

The apostles have been preaching to a crowd of pagans in Lystra, among whom a lame man responds. Paul convicts the man of his sin, and correspondingly, the Lame Man is persuaded by

⁴²⁸ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "Paulus ende Barnabas," lines 418-419.

⁴²⁹ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "Paulus ende Barnabas," lines 420-427.

the apostle's preaching. He first recognizes the apostles as men of honor who know God, and in expressing his belief in their gospel message, he implores Paul to heal him, referring not only to his physical infirmity but his spiritual iniquities as well.

*Och ghij mannen van desen eerbaer
wie dat ghij sijt mogen die gooden weeten
ghij meucht mijn helpen ick seght u claer
want mijn gevoelen opent mij sulcke secreten
ghij meucht het doen gae ick mij vermeten
mijn gesontheit geven tot deser stonden
want tgelooft in mijn heeft dit geheten
dat ghij mij meucht genesen hoort mijn vermonden*

Oh, you honorable men, hereabout,
you, who the gods may know,
you must help me, I say to you clearly
because my feeling opens this secret to me
you may do it, I dare to say
to heal me at this moment
because my faith has commanded this
that you may cure me, hear my words⁴³⁰

In Paul's concluding rondel, the playwright anticipates the events to follow and has Paul articulate once more who he is and with what authority he speaks. He explicitly states that he speaks and acts on behalf of the one, true God and not as a representative of many gods, explicitly underscoring this point with an emphatic and conspicuously direct phrase: "*Tsijn geen goden die ons hebben gesonden* [There are no gods who have sent us]."⁴³¹ Having clarified the authority with which he acts, he concludes his rondel with the proclamation found in Acts 14:10, "*staet op en wandelt op uwe voeten* (stand up and walk on your feet)," announcing that the Lame Man has been healed.⁴³²

⁴³⁰ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 429-436.

⁴³¹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," line 438.

⁴³² Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," line 445.

The play slowly builds anticipation in this series of rondels; the rondels provide clarity of the scene, construct an image of the rhetorical power of the gospel message as Paul and Barnabas speak to the Lame Man, and they set a balanced and harmonious tone for what one expects to be a victory for the gospel. The anticipated event immediately follows Paul's proclamation. In the form of a quatrain, the Lame Man receives his miracle of healing as a reward of faith in the gospel promise.⁴³³ A stage direction helps one visualize what was seen when the man delivered his response: the Lame Man stands up and, for a moment, remains silent and still.⁴³⁴ One can imagine the dramatic effect on the stage, where this rhythmic, lyrical build-up of rondels has led to Paul instructing the Lame Man to do the impossible: to stand up to walk. And now, he rises, as though he was Christ from the grave in whom Paul has rested the entirety of his argument and action, and he stands still and silent. He, himself, and presumably the audience with him, are speechless in awe as they witness the miraculous event unfolding before their eyes. The gospel victory is complete in the delivery of the Lame Man's words:

*Die godt sal ick altijd Loven moeten
 deur wien sij dit werck aen mij hebben gewrocht
 en oock mijn druk dus hebben gaen boeten
 dat Ick oock op sijn wegen mach gaen wel bedocht*

This God I must continually praise
 through whom they have done this work unto me
 and have alleviated my suffering
 that I too may follow his path deliberately⁴³⁵

⁴³³ See Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 549-550: Later in the play, in these lines, Paul analogizes Christ as the medicine that will heal the sickness of those living in Lystra: "*so sal hij u van al u cranckheijden helen / als den oppersten meester en rechte medecijn* [So he shall heal you of your illnesses / as the supreme master and true physician]."

⁴³⁴ A stage direction accompanies lines 447-450: "*Hier staet die Crepel. op ende swijcht een. weijnig stil* [Here stands the Lame Man stands up, remains silent for a moment, not moving]."

⁴³⁵ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 447-450.

At this point in the play, one should be aware that many of the rhetorical concepts explored in the previous chapter are also utilized here. The playwright represents the biblical event with *energeia* and *enargeia*. Although it does not share the same complexities as many of the episodes in the Book of Tobit, this verbal exchange between the apostles and the Lame Man is visualized through the simultaneity of relevant and evidentiary details and presented to the audience with clarity, mimetically creating a space for the viewer to inhabit and witness the power of the gospel and the performance of a miracle. The vividness of the event is further amplified by the versification and organization of rondels which facilitate and culminate in the dramatic healing of the Lame Man. What follows next, however, is the moment of peripety.

5.5.4 THE MOMENT OF PERIPETY

Notwithstanding what appears to be a complete narrative episode that concludes with a victory for the gospel, the story continues and yet departs from this balanced and harmonious tone that characterizes a quite logical sequence of events. Despite the cogent argumentation put forth by Paul and his insistence that he and Barnabas speak and act on behalf of the Christian God, and despite the Lame Man's persuasion of that argument and his correct attribution of his healing to his faith in and devotion to this God, the remainder of the crowd, represented on the stage by the two pagans, fails to recognize the true nature of the moment.

They recognize the miracle — that the Lame Man has been healed — but they mistakenly identify those who performed the miracle and misattribute the justification for and power with which the miracle was performed. What looked like a gospel victory is unexpectedly turned upside down. The tone that was set forth in the very beginning of the play, emphasized in its contrast with the language of the *sinnekens* and the Jewish religious leaders, and which was

continued in the immediately preceding series of rondels is, following this moment of its climax, completely reversed. This reversal is expressed through the transition from balanced, harmonious rondels, prolonging the moment of the silent and still-healed man as an image of gospel victory to then the *staccato*, frenzied, and fragmented language of confusion and misinterpretation voiced by the two pagans.

Despite Paul's appeal that they are not pagan gods nor have they been sent by pagan gods (*Tsijn geen goden die ons hebben gesonden* [There are no gods who have sent us])⁴³⁶, the two pagans respond in unison, exclaiming that the apostles are Jupiter and Mercury, who have appeared in human disguise and have healed the Lame Man. This proclamation, of course, demands that the people of Lystra honor them with a sacrifice:

*Die gooden sijn gecomen... In menschelijcke figure
Laet ons gaen doen... Haer offerhande
Tot onser vromen... Noijt vreemder cuere
Die gooden sijn gecomen... In menschelijcke figure
Jupiter hebben wij vernomen... En mercurius groot van valeur
Doetse sacrificie coen... Binnen onsen warande
Die gooden sijn gecomen... In menschelijcke figure
Laet ons gaen doen... Haer offerhande...*

The gods have come... in human disguise
Let us go do... their sacrifice
to our spiritual benefit... never a stranger choice
The gods have come... in human disguise
We have recognized Jupiter... and Mercury of great value
They do a sacrifice of cows... inside our courtyard
the gods have come... in human disguise
Let us go do... their sacrifice⁴³⁷

Whatever effect the preceding rondels had in slowing the pace of the play, creating a suspended picture for the audience to consider, or reveling in the awe of the power of the gospel

⁴³⁶ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," line 438.

⁴³⁷ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 452-459.

or Paul's rhetorical skill, the response by the two pagans has abruptly undermined such effects. No longer does one witness the slow, balanced, and harmonious build-up of a judicious argument and its successful persuasion. The frenetic fervor and enthusiasm which the pagans exhibit abruptly disrupt and challenge that ideal image. In part, the playwright creates this dramatic shift by alternating between the two characters as they speak their respective lines. He employs the rhetorical device of *stichomythia*, having one character speak the beginning of the line while another character continues the line of speech with his rejoinder. In the first line of their response, one pagan begins by saying the gods have come among them, and because of his overwhelming excitement, the other pagan interrupts by adding that they have appeared in human form.⁴³⁸ This initiation of speech begun by the one and interrupted by the other continues for several lines.

Apart from the structure of their speech in creating this reversal of tone, the playwright also uses the content of their language to suggest the escalating pace and ardor of action that takes over the stage. So convinced is the first pagan that Jupiter and Mercury stand before them, that he informs the other that a sacrifice is immediately required, and they must summon Jupiter's priest:

*Laet ons gaen haelen Jupiters priester hier voorhanden
Om ons goden te offeren al sonder toven
Om die gecroonste offer thaeren eeren verbranden
Ende glorieusselijck haer also te Loven*

Let us get Jupiter's priest present here
in order to sacrifice to our gods without delay
in order to burn the highest sacrifice in their honor
and thus to praise them gloriously⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," line 452.

⁴³⁹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 463-466.

According to the stage directions, before the first pagan finishes his dialogue, the priest has arrived on stage with a calf adorned with a sacrificial crown.⁴⁴⁰ In the space of eleven lines, the audience witnesses the silence and stillness of the Lame Man healed by his faith in Christ, aided by the effective delivery of Paul's rhetorical skill, followed by the misrecognition and frenetic excitement of the Lystran crowd, who then expedite the arrival of Jupiter's priest and a sacrificial calf. It is this expeditiousness of the dramatic reversal of the narrative trajectory that further accentuates the gravity of the pagans' misidentification of the apostles and the power with which they act. Moreover, it creates an exigent and urgent situation to which Paul and Barnabas must immediately respond.

5.5.5 INTERVENTION: REBUKE, EXHORTATION, AND PROCLAMATION

Paul's first of three attempts at intervention begins with a rebuke to cease and reject the impending sacrifice. In an attempt to clarify who he is and with what power he acts, Paul continues his argument by contrasting the impotence of the pagan gods, who are incapable of healing the Lame Man, with the Christian God, who not only has the power to heal but also the capability to remove their suffering. He admonishes them in their idolatrous practice and warns them not to rely on their own wisdom or past religious practices lest they fall victim to the moral failures it produces:

*na u eigen oppijnie met boosheijt bedocht
want het brengt niet voort dan alle wellusticheijt
Met haet en nijt is het doorylocht
Ende beseten met groote giericheijt*

after you angrily consider your own opinion
because it does not bring more than all heavenly joy

⁴⁴⁰ "Binnen ende stackx weer uuijt met Jupiters brengt met een Calf met hoeden Cransen op sijn hoofd [Inside and out anon with Jupiter's priest. He brings a calf with wreaths on its head.]"

With hate and envy it is the escape
 And it is beset with great avarice⁴⁴¹

Concluding his first intervention, Paul argues that because the people of Lystra have suffering in their hearts, they feel compelled to sacrifice to Jupiter and Mercury. He implores the crowd to cease such an idolatrous practice, and, based on the efficacy of his arguments, they should trust in the gospel promise that Christ will liberate them from such sin and suffering, wherein they will find peace:

*Aldus uwe harten daer van doch Leijt
 sonder verbeijt // en hangt hem aen
 die u door sijn Conincklijcke majesteijt
 van alle u sonden bevrijen can
 en verlaet alle het affgodissche gespan
 soo salt u welgaen verstaet mijn rede
 ende u brengen uuijt desen verdoemelijcken ban
 in een plaetse daer rust is ende vrede*

Thus, your hearts there of still suffering
 without prayer // and hang it on him
 who, through his kingly majesty,
 can liberate you from all sin
 and who can forsake all the idolatrous bonds
 so you shall favorably understand my reasoned speech
 and cast out these damn spells
 in their place there is rest and peace⁴⁴²

After a brief interlude by Barnabas who explicitly refutes their identities as the ineffectual Jupiter and Mercury, Paul continues with a second speech of intervention. Much like the first, this oration begins with a rebuke, followed by an exhortation, and ends with the proclamation of the gospel. Again, he implores the pagan crowd to cease the preparations for the sacrifice, insisting that such a rite will bring honor neither to him nor Barnabas. The result of such an act

⁴⁴¹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” lines 495-498.

⁴⁴² Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” lines 499-506.

would be only perpetual pain and suffering as they continue to occupy themselves with such idolatry. Paul exhorts the crowd to remember how the one, true God has blessed them with rains and fruitful seasons of harvests that have filled their hearts with food and cheerfulness. It is to this God, Paul concludes, that the people of Lystra now have an intercessor (*onsen middelaer*) who shows mercy and heals suffering.

5.5.6 THE PAGANS' FAILURE TO DISCERN

Still standing on the stage, the pagans have not responded since their initial mistake about the apostles' identities and their decision to summon Jupiter's priest. Having heard Paul and Barnabas speak for seventy-six lines, the pagans reply but fail to respond to the points propounded by the apostles. In reaction to Paul's rebukes, exhortations, and gospel claims, the pagans return to delivering alternated speech, affirming Paul and Barnabas as Jupiter and Mercury and insisting to expedite preparations for the sacrifice.

*Spoet u toch... want het sijn de goden
Brenge die die stieren... met die cransen*

Hurry up...because they are gods
Bring the bulls... with the wreaths⁴⁴³

They do not engage with anything Paul has said; there is no rebuttal or attempt to disprove Paul's claims; rather, it is almost as if the apostles had said nothing and the preparations for sacrifice continued uninterrupted. Not only do the pagans fail to heed Paul's warnings that he and Barnabas are representatives of the Christian God and that they ought to reject the idolatrous practice of sacrificing to Jupiter and Mercury, they are more emboldened and convicted in their own assumptions. Moreover, they cannot be disturbed or interrupted. Failing to discern the

⁴⁴³ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 557-558.

apostles' true identities, the pagans are so consumed by their own false assumption of the pagan identities of Paul and Barnabas and their deserving of sacrifice that they continually ignore what the apostles say and do. The pagans demonstrate these assumptions and associative behaviors immediately after Paul heals the Lame Man, and they continue now even after Paul and Barnabas have emphatically clarified and explicated who they are and with what power they act. Paul's initial preaching to the crowd, the healing of the Lame Man, and now two long orations of explanation have failed to cease the preparations for the sacrifice and convince the pagans of the apostles' true identities.

Without listening to a word from Paul and Barnabas, the pagans have likely continued to prepare the sacrifice on stage. The playwright is very conscious of the setting and staging of the scene, beginning with the Lame Man rising to use his legs, immediately followed by stillness and silence, and then followed by the subsuming chaos of the pagans' failure to discern the identities or message of the apostles and the pagans' enthusiastic preparations for an idolatrous sacrifice.

A third pagan enters the stage and clarifies the motives and intentions of the sacrificial rite:

*Wilt de stieren met die rammen mengen
Om haer te eeren alsoot behoort
Sij souden anders op ons verstrengen
En grootelickx op ons wesen verstoort*

The bulls want to mix with the rams
in order to honor them appropriately
They should otherwise enslave us
and greatly trouble our beings⁴⁴⁴

The pagan attitude regarding sacrificial worship to the gods resembles a barter-exchange relationship wherein the pagan devotee must offer sacrifice to avoid the gods' displeasure. It is worship motivated out of fear and indicates the suffering in the performance of idolatrous

⁴⁴⁴ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "Paulus ende Barnabas," lines 578-581.

practices to which Paul refers in his two attempts at intervention. The stage has been organized as a *disputatio* with adversarial parties facing off at opposing ends of the stage. What once looked like a glorious victory of the gospel has now reversed course toward blasphemy, perpetually escalating as the pagans insistently ignore Paul's admonitions and fail to discern the apostles' true nature; the events reach their breaking point when priest of Jupiter speaks:

*Met alle naersticheijt wil ick mijn daer toe pijnen
om dat te volbrengen nae mijn vermeugen
siet ick gae mijn spoen recht als den fijnen
ick seght u Certeijn al sonder Leugen*

With all perseverance, I will strive
to accomplish this to the best of my ability.
Behold, I will hurry as best as I can
I tell you, for sure, without a lie⁴⁴⁵

Accompanying the text of the dialogue, a stage direction reveals that the priest has begun to perform the sacrifice.⁴⁴⁶

5.5.7 PAUL'S FINAL ATTEMPT AT INTERVENTION

Having elevated the crisis of the reversal of fortune to its climax, the playwright has Paul deliver his third and final speech of intervention. The apostle's language has changed; his speech is exasperated and desperate; he begins with the exclamation, "*O mannen broeders* [O men, brothers]."⁴⁴⁷ Once more, he advises them that the sacrifice is offered to their detriment, elevating his speech to a stern caution: "*ick waerschou u* [I warn you]."⁴⁴⁸ And he begins to speak both positively and negatively regarding the serious consequences that will potentially

⁴⁴⁵ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 588-591.

⁴⁴⁶ "*Hier bereijtmén om te offeren* [Prepare to sacrifice here]."

⁴⁴⁷ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," line 593.

⁴⁴⁸ Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," line 595.

result from what they decide to do next. Beginning with the positive, he speaks of God's desire permanently to imprint himself on their hearts: "...*met goods woort het sal u wel gerijven / en wilt dat wel vast in u harte schrijven...* [...with God's word, you shall triumph over it well / and he graciously wants to write that permanently in your heart]"⁴⁴⁹ Paul reinforces this love as the impetus for their cessation and rejection of their idolatrous sacrificial rite. In his last-ditch effort to persuade the people of Lystra of the grave importance and consequences of their actions, he argues that while love may be the impetus for not carrying out the sacrifice, the penalty for doing so is extreme. He saves his most harsh and exasperated words for this final appeal.

*dus bid ick u wiltse toch Laeten // vaeren
en aenbidt dien godt hoort dese sentencije
die machtich is met sijn sijentije
u te behouden oft te verdoemen deur sijn stercke hant
maer voor al compt hij u waerschouwen door mijn Eloquencije
Op dat ghij niet en raect in dese schant
Daerom verwerpt doch met groote verstant*

so I pray that you do get rid of them ...
and worship this god [only], hear this verdict,
who has the power through his wisdom
to preserve or damn you by his strong hand.
But he comes especially to warn you through my eloquence
Lest you fall into disgrace.
Therefore, reject this [idolatry] wisely⁴⁵⁰

Before concluding his speech, he specifically addresses the characteristics of their idolatrous practices, specifically naming covered falsehood (*bedeckte valscheijt*) and apparent virtue (*schijnt deucht*), which are embodied by the *sinnekens* who, according to a stage direction, have coincidentally just joined the scene.⁴⁵¹ One can only imagine that Paul points to them as he speaks

⁴⁴⁹ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "Paulus ende Barnabas," lines 596-597.

⁴⁵⁰ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "Paulus ende Barnabas," lines 603-609.

⁴⁵¹ "Hier comen die neefgens. uuijt. met twed. Joden. ende overvallense ende stenigen paulus ende als sij hen

with condemnation. Building to the scene's final crescendo, Paul ends his speech by offering one last exhortation:

*daerom bidt ick u doet doch nae mijn raet
en verlaet desen grouwel groot
voor desen heeren ogen en hout het geen maet
noch oock geenen staet maer tis seer snoot
staet wij vercondigen u de rechte waerheijt bloot
sonder werderstoot meught ghijse nu ontfangen
en doet ghij het oock niet / met die alderwreetste doot
sult ghij gepijnicht worden met groot verstrangen*

therefore I pray that you follow my advice yet
and abandon this great horror
before the eyes of the Lord it is immoderate
and disrespectful, but it is very nefarious
Get up, we proclaim to you, the naked truth.
Without protest you must now accept it,
but if you do not, you will pay for it / with the most cruel death,
you shall be punished for it with great sorrow⁴⁵²

His words have intensified, describing their actions as a “great horror” about which he offers them the “naked truth,” that if they proceed with their blasphemy and idolatry, they will be punished with great sorrow and suffer a most cruel death. Paul claims that through the skill of his rhetorical eloquence, God has warned them to flee from covered falsehood and apparent virtue, the elusive dangers of this idolatrous practice, and they ought to do so lest they be eternally damned.

The verbal confrontation ends abruptly. For a third time the people of Lystra do not respond to Paul's arguments. They do not question nor do they revise their initial mistake of the apostles' identities. Not only do they fail to reevaluate their actions in preparing the sacrifice to Jupiter,

gestenicht hebben slepen sij hem op het ander ent. vant taneel. end laeten hem voor doot leggende [Here, the *sinnekens* come out with two Jews, and they overwhelm them and stone Paul. And after they have stoned him, they drag him to the other side of the stage and leave him for dead].”

⁴⁵² Hüskén, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., “*Paulus ende Barnabas*,” lines 615-622.

they also never slow down nor pause for reflection. It is consistent with how the playwright has constructed the development of the episode that here in Paul's final attempt at intervention, his exasperated speech still finds no responsive engagement.

5.5.8 THE PERSECUTION OF PAUL

At the encouragement and coordination by the *sinnekens* and the Jewish clerics, who are now present among the crowd, Paul is at risk of persecution. Without engaging with Paul's words, the *sinnekens* describe the apostles as seducers, who are angry and who despise the people of Lystra. In the immediately following lines, the playwright employs the rhetorical devices of *stichomythia* and *ellipsis* to dramatically escalate the scene. Between Covered Falsehood, Apparent Virtue, and the two Jewish leaders, the dialogue consists of alternating, short imperatives that incite the crowd to carry out violence against Paul. In contrast with Paul's long, eloquent speeches, one hears these characters follow one another saying, "*Her her her her vangt hem* [Men, men, men, men, catch him]," "*hangt hem hangt hem* [hang him, hang him]," "*bijt hem* [bite him]," "*crapt hem* [scratch him]," "*bestrijt hem* [fight him]," and so on, culminating in one of the Jewish leaders finally saying, "*Laet ons hem gaen stenigen sonder eenige gratije* [Let us stone him without mercy]."⁴⁵³ Covered Falsehood adds that it is because of Paul's eloquence, that is, his preaching, that they intend to kill him:

*Tsa dieff van mijn handen sult ghij sterven
Ende beerven dit voor u preecken*

Ah, thief of my hands you shall die
and inherit this for your preaching.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵³ See Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 627-654.

⁴⁵⁴ Hüsken, Ramakers, and Schaars, eds., "*Paulus ende Barnabas*," lines 660-661.

Not long after these words are spoken, there is a stage direction that indicates the visual image that fulfills the dramatic build-up of the dialogue: “*Hier slepen sij hem wech* [Here they drag him away].” Believing that Paul is dead, his aggressors drag him off the stage.

Since the beginning of the play, Paul delivers five long speeches until he is stoned and left for dead. He opens the play by praying that God reveal himself to the pagans in Lystra, turning them away from idolatry and blasphemy and helping them find faith in God. That prayer is answered in the healing and conversion of the Lame Man. The trajectory of this gospel victory is derailed, however, and the dramatic reversal of fortune occurs when the pagans of Lystra fail to recognize the identity and work of the apostles. Paul’s response to this moment of *peripeteia* requires the delivery of three intervention speeches, imploring the cessation of the sacrifice to Jupiter. The theme of the play is Paul’s rhetorical efficacy in the midst of his recognition that the pagans of Lystra continue in their failure to recognize not only his and Barnabas’ physical identities but also the content of their work and speech. Each time, Paul’s speech becomes more exasperated, more desperate, and each time, the pagans’ response continues to reflect not only their failure to perceive and recognize Paul and Barnabas, but also their complete disregard for anything contrary to what they already believe. The playwright expresses this insistence of *peripeteia* through speech wherein he escalates the mood, creates tension, and cathartically urges the viewer to empathize and suffer with Paul. The playwright characterizes the moment of peripety and its aftermath in terms of a long dialogic exchange between the apostles and the pagans of Lystra, wherein the escalation of Paul’s pleading with the local inhabitants is met with their repeated failure to discern and their persistence in mistakenly identifying the apostles as pagan gods. This tension and anxiety leads to Paul’s recourse to deliver exasperated speech in his protest of their idolatrous sacrifice. In distinguishing Lastman’s paintings from the pictorial tradition, one will

see that it is this rhetorical approach of visualizing conversation and most distinctively, exasperated speech in the face of an unresponsive pagan crowd, that he shares with the rhetoricians and that characterizes his inventive representation of the story.

5.6 PIETER LASTMAN'S PAINTINGS OF 1614 AND 1617

If one considers Lastman's paintings from 1614 and 1617, it becomes clear, even at a cursory and superficial level, that he exhibits profoundly different concerns and priorities that diverge from the pictorial tradition [Figs. 5-1 & 5-3]. In line with the majority of artists, Lastman focuses on the moment of confrontation between the apostles and the people of Lystra, specifically the priest of Jupiter. Moreover, Lastman's pictures do not show the performance of the sacrifice and the apostles' reactions to it as separate and independent actions, as does Raphael's cartoon for one of the Sistine tapestries [Fig. 5-6]. Lastman's paintings instead relate to the images made by Pieter Coeck van Aelst, Maarten de Vos, and Jan Saenredam after Karel van Mander [Figs. 5-7, 5-9 – 5-11]. Like these images, Lastman depicts the confrontation as an interdependent and relationally interactive moment where both parties of the episode act in response to each other. The nature of this interdependent action and response, however, is where Lastman's paintings become most distinct. Van Aelst's *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, for example, prioritizes Paul and Barnabas' purely emotional response to the pagan sacrifice as a chaotic exertion of action where Paul and Barnabas run before the sacrificial attendants in opposite directions, the drapery of their tunics flying in the wind [Fig. 5-7]. The apostles express their horror in response to the imminent blasphemy by the expressions of desperation on their faces and through their frantic actions illustrated by Barnabas tearing his clothes and Paul flailing his arms in the air. It is primarily a representational strategy that seeks to represent emotions

through descriptions of chaotic and frantic action. De Vos's print version of the scene of confrontation emphasizes a direct exchange between the pagans of Lystra and the apostles, but he chooses to prioritize Barnabas' emotional response of tearing his clothes, which he places in the immediate foreground directly in opposition to an emphatically pointing pagan who presents a sacrificial ox [Fig. 5-9]. This composition relegates Paul's attempt at rhetorical intervention to an obscure location close to the frame of the print. Van Mander's, like Lastman's, focuses on Paul's attempt to persuade the priest of Jupiter and the people of Lystra to cease their preparations for the religious rite. Paul makes a rhetorical gesture of speech and positions himself directly across from the pagan priest as he disputes with him. The Lame Man, featured on the left of the composition, and Barnabas tearing his clothes, featured on the right, act as supportive, secondary, and amplifying elements that elaborate upon the primary exchange between Paul and the priest.

What is distinct to Lastman's two paintings, as one will soon see, is that he attempts to visualize the moment of *peripeteia* and the resulting confrontation by means of a composition centered around a verbal exchange. In some ways this is similar to what Van Mander does, but Lastman inventively characterizes that verbal exchange to mediate the degree of horror and urgency, which is almost absent in Van Mander's print and which is explicitly externalized in Van Aelst's iteration of the story as purely circumscribable gestures of the body and motions of the face, absent of any verbal exchange between the apostles and the pagans. The combination of these representational strategies, as an analysis of the correspondence between Lastman's paintings and the rhetorical concepts explored in the rhetoricians' play *Paulus ende Barnabas* demonstrates, is Lastman's unique ability to capture the moment of *peripeteia* in his visualization of the biblical history. He articulates the urgency and the emotional exigency through his

representation of Paul's exasperated speech in response to a disinclined and determined Lystran crowd, and he communicates most effectively the degree to which the narrative plot dramatically reverses and ultimately leads to Paul's near-death. This is to say that Lastman uniquely captures the moment of *peripeteia* whereas other representations of the biblical history have failed to do so persuasively or have neglected to visualize *peripeteia* altogether.

5.6.1 THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN LASTMAN'S PAINTINGS

Both of Lastman's paintings concern the same moment of the apostles' story from Acts, and they depict an episode portrayed in the rhetoricians' play *Paulus ende Barnabas*. Paul has already healed the Lame Man. The inhabitants of Lystra have gathered, and they, along with Jupiter's priest, are preparing to sacrifice an ox adorned with garlands, while Paul and Barnabas protest against the proceedings. Between Lastman's two paintings, there are several shared elements, the majority of which are organized to achieve the rhetorical effects of *energeia* and *enargeia*, and their subcomponents of *perspicuitas*, *evidentia*, and *ornatus*. The narrative offers Lastman the opportunity to depict a plethora of people, each reacting to the depicted event in individual and unique ways. It also offers Lastman the opportunity accurately to represent ancient sacrificial rites that require the inclusion of several historical instruments and practices associated with the ancient city of Lystra.⁴⁵⁵ The manner with which he achieves such clarity in the highly complex compositions featured in both paintings perhaps derives from the works of Adam Elsheimer, particularly his *Il Contento* of c. 1607, with which Lastman may have become

⁴⁵⁵ Adriaan E. Waiboer, "Lastmans Opferdarstellungen und ihre weit reichende Wirkung," in *Pieter Lastman: in Rembrandts Schatten?: Ausstellung Der Hamburger Kunsthalle, 13. April - 30. Juli 2006*, ed. Martina Sitt (München: Hirmer, 2006), 44-45. For a discussion on Lastman's attention to accurately representing ancient sacrificial customs, see Golahny, "Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings," and Amy Golahny, "Lastman: 'Dido's Sacrifice to Juno' Identified," *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1-2 (1998): 39-48.

familiar during his stay in Rome where Elsheimer was based.⁴⁵⁶ His arrangement of figures also applies the precepts codified by Karel van Mander in his chapter on history in *Den grondt der edel vry Schilder-const*, first part of Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* of 1604.⁴⁵⁷ As B.J.P. Broos and Amy Golahny have shown, Lastman followed Van Mander's advice about how to construct a rhetorically persuasive history painting. The following precepts from Van Mander can be discerned in both paintings of Paul and Barnabas in Lystra: (1) the viewpoint of the painting ought to include low and high ground and should not crowd the figures; (2) by reading and re-reading the text, the painter should know well the narrative he depicts; (3) the painter ought to adorn the corners of the composition with figures, architectural features, and other objects in order to achieve a balanced pictorial composition; (4) the historical event should be situated in a landscape populated with figures so as to allow the beholder's line of sight to penetrate the image, moving from foreground to middle ground, and middle ground to background; (5) the primary drama should be featured as the focal point of the painting with attention drawn to it by surrounding secondary figures; (6) the painter must to exercise *copia* and *varietas*, including an abundance of diverse animals, human figures of varying ages, as well as an assortment of ornamental objects; (7) the painter should display such elements of the composition as though he were a merchant displaying his wares on a shelf; and (8) the painter should emphasize the most important characters by placing them higher and situate in a lower place those whom the primary characters address.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁶ Keith Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer: Paintings, Drawings, Prints* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), 28-29; Waiboer, "Lastmans Opferdarstellungen und ihre weit reichende Wirkung," 44-45. Adam Elsheimer's *Il Contento*, dated to c. 1607, offers a similar example to Lastman's composition of a persuasive scene depicting a large crowd whose figures move from both sides of the pictorial field and from background to foreground.

⁴⁵⁷ Golahny, Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings, 156-157; Jonathan Bikker et al., *Dutch paintings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2007), 244.

⁴⁵⁸ B.P.J. Broos, "Rembrandt and Lastman's 'Coriolanus': The History Piece in 17th-Century Theory and Practice," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 8 (1975-1976), 202; Golahny, "Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings," 156; See Karel van Mander, "Over de Ordening en de Inventie van de Figuurstukken. Het Vijfde

5.6.2 THE PAINTING OF 1614

Lastman's painting of 1614 was admired in the seventeenth century, ultimately finding a place in the collection of the famous Amsterdam *liefhebber*, Jan Six, and featured as a worthy object of praise in Joost van den Vondel's "*Lastmans Offerstaatsie van Lystren*."⁴⁵⁹ In this first attempt at visualizing the biblical episode, Lastman placed Paul and Barnabas on top of the sacrificial altar, where they attempt physically to obstruct the performance of the sacrifice [Fig. 5-1]. Capturing the attention of the temple priest and the inhabitants of Lystra, the apostles plead with the crowd to cease their activities. Around the four figures of the apostles, the temple priest, and the Lame Man, now healed and standing immediately below the bearded Paul, Lastman has arranged the focal point of the picture with the figure group forming a columnar structure that resonates with the background column and obelisk that frame it. Such a formal association with these background elements, moreover, allows the beholder to move from the near foreground to the distant background, which is also, and most effectively, facilitated by the procession of celebrants, who follow the winding path from the city in the background to the temple altar in the foreground; this reverse itinerary brings the beholder back to the site of the dramatic confrontation. Such an organization of the composition, adorned with various ornamental elements, accomplishes the simultaneity of evidentiary detail that facilitates the unfolding of the biblical event as a vivid image. It provides the beholder with a vantage point from which to view a multitude of people in various dress and exhibiting a variety of attitudes and actions.

Hoofdstuk," in *Den Grondt Der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker, and Gumbert, 1973): 126-157 and Walter S. Melion, "The Affinity of History and Landscape," in *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1-12.
⁴⁵⁹ Waiboer, "Lastmans Opferdarstellungen und ihre weit reichende Wirkung," 40; Golahny, "Paired Poems on Pendant Paintings," 159-160; 168-171.

The composition has led Adriaan Waiboer to remark that the biblical episode plays a relatively minor role, claiming that attention is mainly focused on the preparations of the sacrificial ritual.⁴⁶⁰ While Lastman certainly devotes considerable attention to the ornamentation and historical detail of the sacrifice preparations, it is intended to contextualize, equip, and amplify the biblical narrative that he concentrates on the four primary figures. In response to the rhetorical requirements of *energeia* and *enargeia*, Lastman includes a variety of celebrants and sacrificial paraphernalia in order to invite the beholder to inhabit the space and witness the event unfolding. As one examines each figure, evaluating their dress, expression, and pose, and as one contemplates the objects brought to the altar, that of the animals, the wine, the gold and silver vessels, the firewood, torches, and flutes, one becomes implicated, by these rhetorical means, in the moment against which Paul and Barnabas vehemently protest. To ensure that *evidentia* and *ornatus* persuade the beholder of his presence within the scene, Lastman also employs the familiar tactic of including a figure who looks out of the picture plane and visually addresses the beholder.⁴⁶¹ In this case, one meets eyes with the celebrant kneeling in the right foreground, who, crowned with flowers and holding a vessel, makes a very intentional gesture of address, having contorted his body in order to return the beholder's gaze [Fig. 5-2a]. The visual address of the kneeling figure, characterized by his turning from the event unfolding before him in order to acknowledge the presence of the beholder, bodies forth the rhetorical figure of *apostrophe*, through which the beholder visually enters the narrative space.

⁴⁶⁰ Waiboer, "Lastmans Opferdarstellungen und ihre weit reichende Wirkung," 44.

⁴⁶¹ Lastman includes the figure who breaks the picture plane and visually addresses the viewer in several of his paintings, including *The Crucifixion of Christ* (1616), *Christ and the Canaanite Woman* (1617), and *Dido Sacrifices to Juno* (1630), which features a celebrant almost identical with the figure in *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (1614). This rhetorical trope has been used since the fifteenth century and is exemplified in Masaccio's fresco of the Holy Trinity at the Basilica of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

As Lastman employed the rhetorical concepts of *energeia* and *enargeia* in his paintings of the story of Tobias, he does so here in his paintings of Paul and Barnabas' ministry in Lystra. Our consideration of these paintings allows us most readily to see to what ends he employs these rhetorical concepts. To visualize the preaching of Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, he depicts a moment of *peripeteia*. *Energeia* and *enargeia* allow the beholder rhetorically to inhabit the image and witness the biblical event as it unfolds. The purpose of the rhetorical devices used by Lastman is to facilitate the beholder's presence at the moment when fortunes unexpectedly reverse, and to enhance the beholder's experience of the attendant emotions mediated through the dialogic exchange between Paul and the pagans at Lystra. Through the representation of the moment of *peripeteia*, the beholder is faced with the rhetorical question of whether they perceive and recognize the apostles and their gospel message.

The dramatic turn of events and the reversal of fortune, as comprised by *peripeteia*, determine the narrative moment that Lastman depicts. As noted earlier, Lastman situates the primary action of his 1614 painting amongst the four main figures of the apostles, the temple priest, and the Lame Man [Fig. 5-2]. Paul and Barnabas are isolated from the crowd of Lystrans, standing atop the sacrificial altar and placed higher than any other figure. Paul directs his gaze aggressively at a sharp angle down toward the temple priest and crosses his arms emphatically. Not only does Lastman describe Paul with this gesture to affirm the cross of Christ in the face of idolatry, he also employs this gesture to supplement Paul's condemnatory speech. Lastman has intentionally composed a particularly acute angle of gaze so as to characterize the earnestness and exasperation of Paul's speech. The degree of his exasperation is corroborated by the manner in which Lastman has described the crossing of Paul's arms. This gesture is no mere crossing of the hands, suggestive of casual displeasure, but rather, articulates the degree to which the

unexpected turn of events shocks Paul, and the level of calamity and catastrophe that may ensue from the Lystrans' mistake and impending performance of a blasphemous religious rite. Paul's body leans slightly forward, exacerbating the acute angle of his gaze; his arms are crossed so as to pinch his shoulders forward; Lastman poses Paul at his physical limit of crossing his arms, indicating the maximum degree of horror and outrage one could express with such a gesture. Not only does Paul's gesture effectively express an emotional state that reflects his condemnatory speech, it also suggests the pregnant energy that will be released momentarily as he uncrosses his arms, demonstratively punctuating his argument's final point. It is no coincidence, I believe, that Lastman portrays Barnabas standing next to Paul and exhibiting some variation of how one would visually express this release of energy. It is likely that Barnabas extends his hands primarily to halt the activity of the arriving procession, verbally to address them with his own speech, or to implore them to listen to Paul. Because Lastman positions the apostles next to each other with such corresponding gestures, however, there is a suggestion that a coinciding interpretation reads the two apostles together performing a single, progressive action of crossing and uncrossing one's arms so as to express the depth of horror and alarm which has overcome them. It is a very effective pictorial solution to the challenge of depicting the nature of their emotional speech in response to the Lystrans' grave misunderstanding and their subsequent damning activity.

The two figures of the now-healed Lame Man and the temple priest stand below the apostles. The temple priest turns away from the beholder at a three-quarter angle. One cannot see his face, but he returns Paul's condemnatory gaze with his own gaze as a means of rebuttal and suggestive of his own counterargument for why he will continue the sacrificial proceedings. The force of such argument is visually underscored by the throng of celebrants behind him, most effectively

represented by the several figures kneeling in adoration, punctuated by the horns of sacrificial bulls, a man standing, and the woman at the far right of the frame who, crowned with a wreath of flowers, processes with incense and is formally linked to the figure of the priest. Lastman confronts the beholder with these figures as an extension of the temple priest, rhetorically posing the question of whether the beholder has additional offerings to bring and whether he, too, presents arguments for continuing the sacrifice, likewise premised upon his own failure to discern the apostles and their gospel message. Of course, this arresting, rhetorical proposal is most explicitly delivered through the apostrophic figure looking out of the picture frame, but it is also supported by the silver vessel he holds, along with other vessels held by celebrants among the crowd, and the familiar liturgical object of the thurible held by the woman at the right of the frame.⁴⁶²

The Lame Man, who can also be designated as the convert, is separated from the crowd and compositionally aligned with the apostles in their opposition to the priest and celebrants [Fig. 5-2]. He stands completely exposed in a frontal posture through which he reveals the full capacity of his legs, suggestively presenting them and pointing to the unused crutch on the ground upon which he stands triumphantly. By the positioning and placement of his body, Lastman features in this figure the proximate cause of the reversal of fortunes. He embodies the liminal space wherein Paul and Barnabas transition from rejoicing over the Lame Man's saving faith in Christ to urgently intervening under exigent circumstances to prevent the blasphemous, idolatrous offense to their God. The Lame Man acts as the catalyst for *peripeteia*, and the problem about which the apostles and the priest argue. He simultaneously represents the gospel victory and embodies the healing miracle upon which the Lystrans justify their identification of the apostles

⁴⁶² For a discussion regarding the type of vessel in the picture as well as other inclusions of silver wares, see Baarsen, *Kwab: Ornament as Art in the Age of Rembrandt* (esp. 47-55).

as gods and their sacrificial rite. Because of this dual nature, he acts as the embodied locus of argument about which both parties dispute.

5.6.3 THE PAINTING OF 1617

In his second painting of 1617, Lastman depicts the same moment of the story, although he significantly alters the composition [Fig. 5-3]. Instead of having the sacrificial procession wind its way along a descending road, traversing the background, middle ground, and foreground, Lastman prefers a much shallower depth of field, gathering all of the celebrants along with the Lame Man, the temple priest, and the apostles in the foreground of the painting. The most significant deviation, however, is the placement of Paul and Barnabas. Retaining a degree of elevation in this painting by placing a group of figures on the steps of Jupiter's temple, Lastman afforded himself the opportunity to feature the apostles standing within the crowd, yet still, because of the tiered arrangement, discernible among the figures. One must look intently at all the figures, examining their attire, facial expressions, gestures, accoutrements, as well as each character's positioning within the overall arrangement in order to discern the identities of Paul and Barnabas.

5.6.3.1 AN IMMINENT SACRIFICE

Adhering to Van Mander's guidance in *Den Grondt*, Lastman has placed the two apostles on the steps as the merchant displays his wares on a shelf, and he elevates their position so as to indicate their importance, but he does not situate them at the peak of his arrangement of figures [Fig. 5-4]. He combines his commitment to narrative fidelity with his own pursuit of narrative invention. As Scripture records that Paul and Barnabas addressed the crowd, Lastman positions

the apostles just below the top of the collected group of Lystrans at the right, but he also incorporates his pictorial decision to surround and overwhelm the apostles with the oppositional and potentially hostile power of the crowd. By outnumbering and surrounding the apostles on all sides, Lastman captures the high tension of the moment, showing how Paul and Barnabas make a desperate appeal against the impending rites offensive to God. It is not only out of fear or threat of hostility, however, that Paul and Barnabas act with this degree of desperation. A more profound impetus for the apostles' actions is the Lystrans' continued failure to listen to their arguments, to identify correctly their miracles as expressions of Christ and the truth of the Gospels, and to cease the preparations for the pagan sacrifice.

Whereas Lastman portrays the apostles in a somewhat similar manner to his painting of 1614, he describes their responses of the Lystrans differently. Lastman places the apostles at the right side of the frame, standing on the same side of the altar as the temple priest. Not only does this change the arrangement of figures, emphasizing Lastman's focus on the conversation between Paul and Jupiter's priest, it converts that exchange into a face-to-face confrontation, heightening the tension and drama of the disagreement. In this version, Lastman maintains the aggressive angle at which Paul looks and speaks to the priest, although there appears to be less range of motion in Paul's crossing of his arms. While the figure of Paul is somewhat maintained in the 1617 painting, the figure of Barnabas is distinctively modified. One finds that the event unfolding before Barnabas has caused him to tear his clothes and disfigure his face. He is not equipped with the rhetorical efficacy of his colleague, and instead of arguing the case against the Lystrans, he emotes his despair and grief. Lastman elects to visualize Barnabas' emotion by employing the oft-used rhetorical figure of *apostrophe*: he cries out to the heavens and addresses his suffering to God.

Relevant to how Lastman portrays Paul and Barnabas is his characterization of the temple priest. In the 1617 painting, the priest stands in an open, frontal posture, facing toward the beholder and slightly turned to engage Paul's protest. While his appearance is quite similar to the 1614 painting — he wears a priestly tunic and a wreathed crown, and he holds a similar sacrificial vessel — his position between Paul and the altar, along with his need to turn away from his sacrificial preparations in order to address Paul, suggest that the performance of the sacrifice is imminent. The impending sacrifice is further emphasized by the presence of the bull that is processing in from the left, decked in a ceremonial headdress, garlands, and sacrificial vestment. No longer is the bull relegated to the processional train in the middle ground of the image; it has arrived and awaits the command from Jupiter's priest.

With these modifications in the position, arrangement, and characterization of the figures, Lastman has decidedly amplified the stakes governing the verbal exchange upon which he focuses the image, and he has heightened the sense of urgency that drives Paul and Barnabas to intervene. The imminence of the sacrifice requires urgent action on the part of the apostles, which results in a chaotic situation wherein the Lame Man is at the mercy of frenetic energy of the crowd. No longer is he featured as the embodiment of the power of the gospel nor as the miracle work upon which both the apostles and Jupiter's priest justify their arguments; rather, the moment of *peripeteia* and the urgency it brings has relegated him almost indistinguishable amongst the crowd. Lastman pictorially amplifies his representation of the episode to describe the degree of urgency produced by the moment of peripety in his effort to achieve a similar effect accomplished by the playwright in *Paulus ende Barnabas* who dramatizes the increasing imminence of the sacrifice and the growing need for Paul's continued and progressively desperate attempts at intervention.

5.6.3.2 RUSHING THE CROWD

The Book of Acts reports that Paul and Barnabas rushed into the crowd to prevent the Lystrans from carrying out the sacrifice. As was mentioned earlier, Lastman was a close reader of the texts upon which he based his paintings, and his propensity for narrative clarity and evidentiary detail in composing a vivid image was discussed in the previous chapter. It will be no surprise that Lastman includes this important detail of the apostles rushing into the crowd in his 1617 version of the story.⁴⁶³ He does so, however, in a way that demands close and discerning attention. He positions Paul and Barnabas, not at the apex of the crowd gathered on the temple steps, but rather surrounded by the crowd, embedded within it. The man wearing a turban standing just behind Paul displays a curious pose. He reaches out his left hand so as to contest Paul's speech while simultaneously conveying his effort to restrict Paul's approach to the temple priest. His right hand corroborates his intent as he extends an open palm and endorses the sacrificial proceedings. Another figure, framed on either side by the two acolytes' candles, stands behind Barnabas and is positioned in a manner that corresponds with the effort exerted by the man wearing the turban. He raises his hands across his chest, a gesture which similarly suggests a rejection of the apostles' petition but simultaneously acts as defensive response of self-protection. By describing the figures that flank the apostles in this way, that is, one attempting to intervene and one exhibiting a defensive reaction, Lastman pictorially suggests that Paul and Barnabas, having suddenly startled these two figures, have just, in this moment, rushed into the crowd to deliver their exasperated and desperate appeal to end their idolatrous activity.

⁴⁶³ See Seifert, *Pieter Lastman: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, 104-106. Seifert persuasively shows Lastman's propensity to include details in his paintings which are taken directly from the source text, and it is not surprising to see that Lastman includes the detail of the apostles rushing into the crowd when his predecessors avoided depicting such a pivotal moment.

This suggestion is further supported by the poses of various surrounding figures. Consider the position of the temple priest. Immediately prior to the arrival of the apostles, the priest was presumably facing the altar, anticipating the arrival of the sacrificial bull. It is only because of the abrupt interruption and exasperated speech delivered by Paul rushing into the crowd that the temple priest suspends his preparatory activities, turning his body in response. What is even more convincing of the dynamism with which the apostles enter the scene is the description of the figures located in the bottom right foreground. There one finds attendants aiding in the preparations for the sacrifice suspending their activities in mid-action. Lastman depicts the figure on the far right, for example, in the midst of lifting a bundle of sticks from the ground. Rather than having him complete the motion and stand upright, Lastman directs the figure's attention towards the confrontation at the altar, leaving the figure bent over, his lower back supporting the weight of his load, and contorting his neck in what can almost certainly be a posture of great discomfort. Given that Lastman chose to depict this figure two-thirds of the way upright, one can understand that the arrival of the apostles has occurred with such urgent desperation that there was no time for this man to bend over, pick up a bundle of sticks, and stand up again. Lastman has visualized an instantaneous narrative moment that reveals Paul voicing his exasperation, and this expression is further corroborated by most of the other figures in the painting who acknowledge the urgency with which the apostles have arrived.

Most other figures in the crowd either direct their attention at the sudden confrontation between Paul and the temple priest, or visually address the beholder. As in the 1614 painting, these figures demand that the beholder face the rhetorical question of whether one can discern the correct identities of the apostles and the power with which they act or whether one will follow the Lystrans and fall into idolatry and falsehoods. Similar to the inhabitants of Lystra, the

beholder is asked to employ his sight in order to recognize the apostles rushing into crowd and to discern the truth and recognize the salvation promise offered through the apostles' urgent and desperate speech. In this story of mistaken identities and the people's failure to perceive and recognize truth, Lastman presents the beholder with the same dilemma: how to discern gospel truth amidst the conflict between true and false representatives of the Word.

5.7 CONCLUSION

Lastman and the playwright pursue the same rhetorical strategy in telling the story of Paul and Barnabas' ministry in Lystra. They both focus on portraying *peripeteia*, and they both do so by mobilizing Paul's use of exasperated speech in his verbal confrontation with the temple priest and the people of Lystra. In pursuing this shared rhetorical approach to portraying this biblical story, however, Lastman and the playwright employ different means to accomplish it. The playwright uses a series of speeches wherein the apostles speak in a harmonious and balanced tone to characterize the calm and confident act of Paul converting and healing the Lame Man. This tone of confidence is abruptly interrupted by the moment of peripety, and it is replaced with an urgent and desperate tone, exemplified by Paul's three attempts at intervention, which only escalates Paul's exasperation as he attempts to rectify the reversal of fortune.

Lastman visualizes *peripeteia* and Paul's delivery of exasperated speech by his posing and positioning of the apostles in his painting of 1614, but he arguably portrays the moment of peripety more effectively in his painting of 1617, where he persuasively emphasizes the imminence of the sacrifice and the instantaneous moment of Paul rushing into the crowd as he implores the priest to cease his activities. In his version of 1614, Lastman does not describe the apostles engaged in the measured delivery of argument as seen in De Vos' painting or Van

Mander's print. Instead, he incorporates pictorial elements that indicate the exigency and urgency of the situation, which does not accommodate measured and reasoned Socratic disputation but rather the desperate, anxious, and immediate plea representative of what the playwright stages in his play. The portrayal of exasperated speech is uniquely suited to mobilize the figure of *peripeteia*, as it externalizes the desperation and anxiety of the reversal of fortune.

Lastman's painting of 1617 adds two inventive pictorial decisions that amplify his depiction of *peripeteia*. Firstly, Lastman describes certain characters, including the temple priest and the celebrants in the lower right foreground, in the process of an interrupted and incomplete action – that is, there is an implication that had it not been for the abrupt interruption of Paul, they would have continued and completed their activity. This description of the Lystrans is distinguished from the images by Coecke, De Vos, and Van Mander, where the inhabitants of Lystra cease their activity in order to give responsive consideration and attention to the apostles – to either their emotional displays or their measured delivery of argument.

The unsolicited interruption of their activity, of course, leads to the second inventive element of Lastman's painting, which is his portrayal of the apostles as having just rushed into the crowd. Although this detail of the narrative is recorded in Scripture, none of the other pictures examined depicts this episode. By incorporating this crucial and consequential detail, Lastman distinctively characterizes the tone of Paul's speech as urgent, desperate, and, similar to the Paul featured in *Paulus ende Barnabas*, exasperated.

This rhetorical strategy of mobilizing exasperated speech and depicting *peripeteia*, which both Lastman and the playwright demonstrate, addresses the moral dilemma implicated in the story. What rests at the core of the Lystrans' mistake of misidentifying the apostles and the power with which they act is the question of whether one is able to discern between true

proponents of the Word from false impersonators; that is, whether one can perceive the truth and miracles of the Word or whether they are left to the suffering and self-deception inherent to idolatrous practices. The effect of rhetorically proposing this question in the manner of Lastman and the rhetoricians is an emphasis on the imminent danger and urgency in resolving this dilemma. The proposition exhorts one urgently to heed Paul's exhortations, and it promotes the assertion that idolatry is corruptive, not only as an offense to God but in the promulgation of self-deception.

By assimilating the strategies seen in the rhetoricians' play, Lastman achieves a rhetorical mode of picture-making that demands close-looking and visual discernment as a way to solve the dilemma in perceiving the true identities of the apostles. As the rhetoricians' play uses auditory and visual elements to dramatize these arguments, Lastman's paintings uniquely emphasize discerning sight and interpretive viewing as the means to answer its rhetorical proposition.

CONCLUSION

This book set out to explore why the biblical histories by Hendrick Goltzius and Pieter Lastman look so distinct to our modern eyes schooled in the rules of narrative construction codified by the modern European Academies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A common and distinctive element of these paintings is Goltzius and Lastman's propensity to arrange their representations of biblical history around figures engaged in dialogic exchange. Given the practice of the local vernacular rhetoricians in the chambers of rhetoric to stage theatrical performances of biblical narratives by having actors present themselves to an audience and engage one another in dialogue and disputation, it was introduced that correspondences exist between the rhetorical practice Goltzius and Lastman utilize in the composition of their paintings and how the rhetoricians stage their plays.

These painters and the rhetoricians of the Low Countries lived and worked in a sixteenth and seventeenth-century culture that was steeped in rhetoric and which understood rhetoric as the most adept and efficient tool with which to solve moral, ethical, and spiritual dilemmas. In painting their pictures and in performing their plays of biblical history, Goltzius, Lastman, and the rhetorician playwrights offered their audience an opportunity to consider specific dilemmas and, given the particular circumstances of respective narratives, they offered potential solutions to these dilemmas, arguing for how one might behave or what one ought to believe. In comparing paintings by Goltzius and Lastman alongside contemporary rhetorician plays which dramatize the same biblical stories, I have shown how these painters assimilated the same conceptual approach and similar rhetorical strategies in composing their inventive paintings as the playwrights demonstrate in their local practice of rhetoric.

Consistent throughout the analyses in this study is the conclusion that Goltzius and Lastman stage dialogic exchange in a way that derives from how biblical stories were staged by the rhetoricians. Routinely, Goltzius and Lastman visualize conversation in a manner similar to the playwright where dialogic exchange is often used to prolong the duration of a narrative moment, suspending an image for the benefit of the paintings' beholder to look closely and consider the subtle and complex nuances of the predicament confronting the narrative's protagonists. Such a strategy often allows Goltzius and Lastman to compress the narrative in a way that departs from the pictorial tradition which often featured temporally separate scenes that are combined as though happening concurrently. By compressing the narrative, Goltzius and Lastman are able to tell a comprehensive version of the biblical story in single contemporaneous scene where their visualization of conversation between the figures represents multiple dialogues unfolding in successive moments within the biblical episode. Goltzius' *Lot and his Daughters* of 1616 and Lastman's *Tobias Catches the Fish* of 1613, for example, are instances where the conversational exchange can be understood to represent multiple moments in the narrative simultaneously. The same prolongation of the narrative moment that the painters accomplish in compressing the narrative is achieved by the playwright through rhetorical figures of repetition and notably through the strophic form of the rondel.

In both plays and paintings, this prolongation of duration lends itself to both the rhetorician playwright and the painter to employ the rhetorical concepts of *energeia* and *enargeia* and their subcomponents of *evidentia*, *perspicuitas*, and *ornatus*. Where the painter visualizes a comprehensive narrative event through evidentiary detail, narrative intelligibility, and artful ornamentation, he produces an image with such vividness that it produces a compelling hold on the beholder, affecting one's emotions to the extent that the image has the rhetorical effect of

figuratively transporting the beholder to the presence of the event where he witnesses it unfolding before his own eyes. As it was argued in the discussions of Lastman's paintings, but as it is no less applicable to Goltzius' paintings, the manner in which dialogic exchange is staged alongside a compositional organization supporting *energeia* and *enargeia*, facilitates the beholder figuratively to inhabit the scene, walk around the figures, confront the dilemma the protagonists face, listen to the arguments presented, and discern for himself the moral resolution to the dilemma.

It is also clear in the analyses of Goltzius and Lastman's biblical histories in comparison to the biblical plays of the rhetoricians that the characters in the paintings mobilize rhetorical figures to persuade or dissuade other characters from certain behavior, similar to how rhetoricians figure the interaction between characters in their biblical plays. Goltzius' figure of Susanna, for example, in his *Susanna and the Elders* of both 1607 and 1615 mobilizes the rhetorical figure of *apostrophe* as a means to escape the Elders and discourage their behavior while the Elders attempt to persuade Susanna to sleep with them by alternating rationalizing and threatening speech. Lastman's figure of Paul in his *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* of both 1614 and 1617, serves as another example, as Paul employs exasperated speech as a means to dissuade the temple priest from performing an idolatrous sacrifice.

What is also clear from this study is the fact that Goltzius and Lastman describe their figures experiencing a range of emotions which are not merely externalizations of circumscribable gestures of the body or motions of the face; rather their emotions are encoded as inflections of rhetoricized speech. Goltzius' Susanna, again offers an example, as she expresses her helpless despair in her apostrophic prayer to God. Goltzius' dramatic representation of Susanna's rhetoricized speech reflects the playwright's persistent characterization of Susanna in the

rhetoricians' play as repeatedly mobilizing *apostrophe* to express her fear and sorrow as she appeals to God for refuge. Lastman's figure of Tobias in *Tobias Catches the Fish* presents a similar case, as Tobias expresses the sudden emotions of fear and confusion when the fish attacks him and Azariah-Raphael instructs him to catch and later gut the fish, evocative of the playwright's use of *exclamatio* and *excitatio* during the same scene in the play, *De Oude Tobijas*.

Because Goltzius and Lastman engage in a rhetorical usage similar to the rhetoricians, their pictures implicitly operate in the register of allegory, especially where there is correspondence between their paintings and the plays by the rhetoricians that feature *sinnekens* who interact with human characters. As the playwright in *Tspeel van Susanna* incorporates the *sinnekens*, Evil Suggestion [*Quaet ingeven*] and Carnal Desire [*Vleeschelycke begrette*], to vocalize and expound on the motivations and actions of the Elders in their plot to sleep with and ultimately ruin Susanna, one can understand Goltzius and Lastman's representations of the Elders as figurations of the sinful impulses which the playwright's *sinnekens* represent. To some extent, this rhetorical reading of the Elders in the paintings allows for a representation that universalizes the Elders as figurations of the human condition, a feature of which is the susceptibility to evil suggestion and carnal desire.

In a similar vein, one can interpret the temple priest and the pagan celebrants in Lastman's paintings, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, as those who generally practice heresy and idolatry. As the playwright in *Paulus ende Barnabas* incorporated Apparent Virtue (*Deuchdelijck schijn*) and Covered Falsehood (*Bedeckte valscheijt*) to endorse the actions of the Lystrans and undermine the apostles as true representatives of the Word, one can understand the figures of the temple priest and the Lystrans as representations of those who promote the superficial practices of religious ritual and the hollow devotion and spiritual deception such practices precipitate. Given

the rhetorical usage in Lastman's painting, there is an implication that Lastman permits a similar understanding of these figures in his paintings as he visualizes a dilemma about discerning true and false religion.

The biblical history paintings by Goltzius and Lastman are highly rhetorical as they visualize moments of heightened conversation amidst confrontations, urgent situations, and complex moral, ethical, and spiritual dilemmas. Considered alongside the practice of virtue ethics and the dramatic poetry of the local, vernacular rhetoricians in the chambers of rhetoric, Goltzius and Lastman's paintings demonstrate a conceptual approach and a rhetorical usage comparable to the local performance practices seen on the rhetoricians' stage. As their paintings reflect the local performance practices of the rhetoricians, Goltzius and Lastman offer their pictures as rhetorical opportunities for the beholder to confront the specific dilemmas operating in the respective biblical stories they depict, to weigh the circumstances specific to the predicament, and to consider the morally, ethically, and/or spiritually just resolution to the dilemmas presented.

Illustrations

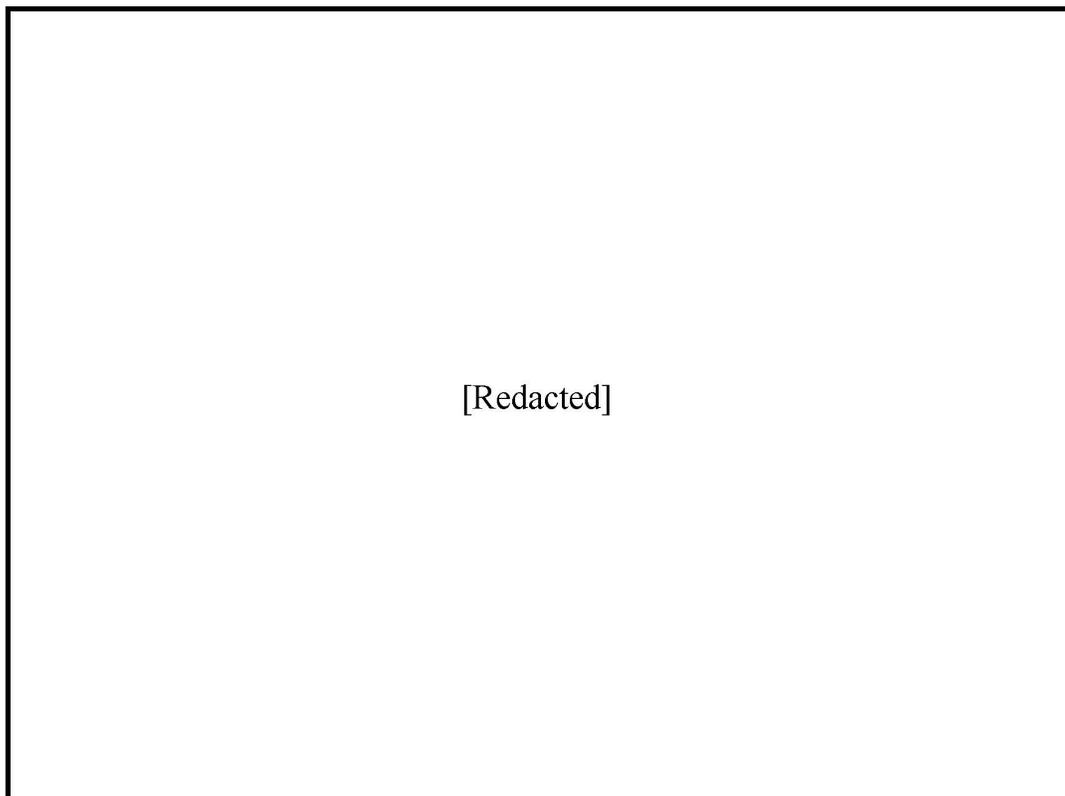


Fig. 1-1 Pieter Lastman, *David and Uriah*, 1619,
oil on panel, 42.8 x 63.3 cm, The Leiden Collection

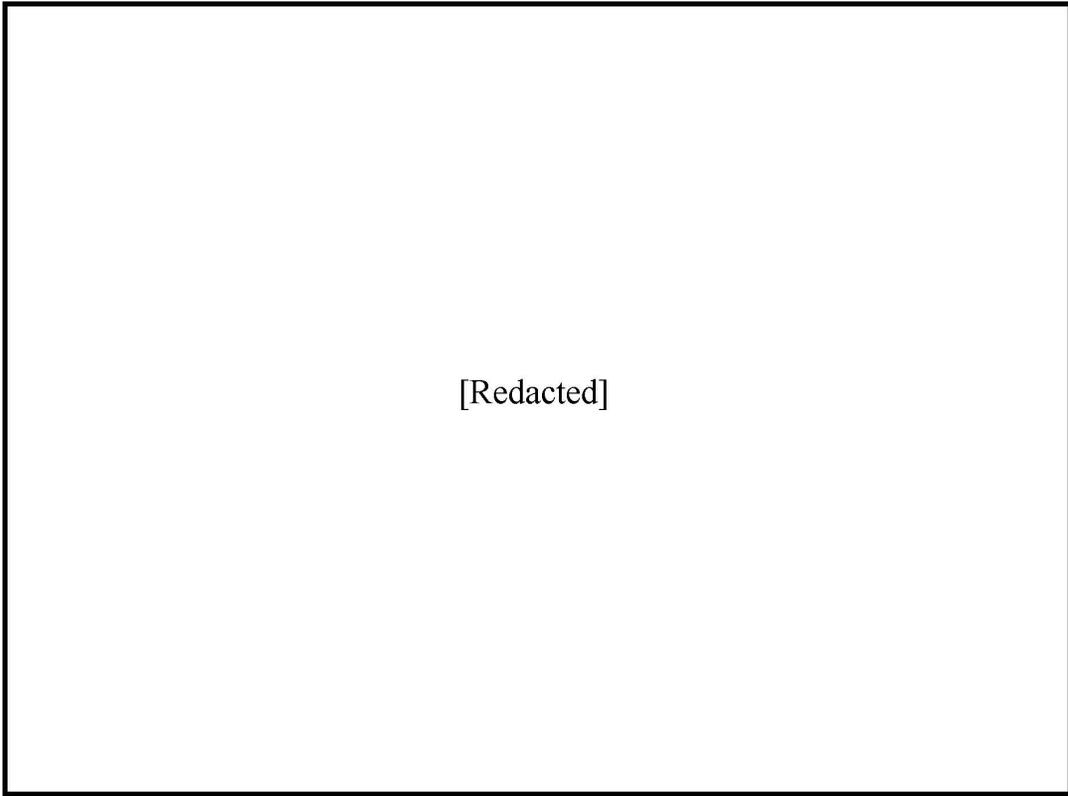


Fig. 1-2 Pieter Lastman, *David and Uriah*, 1619 (detail)

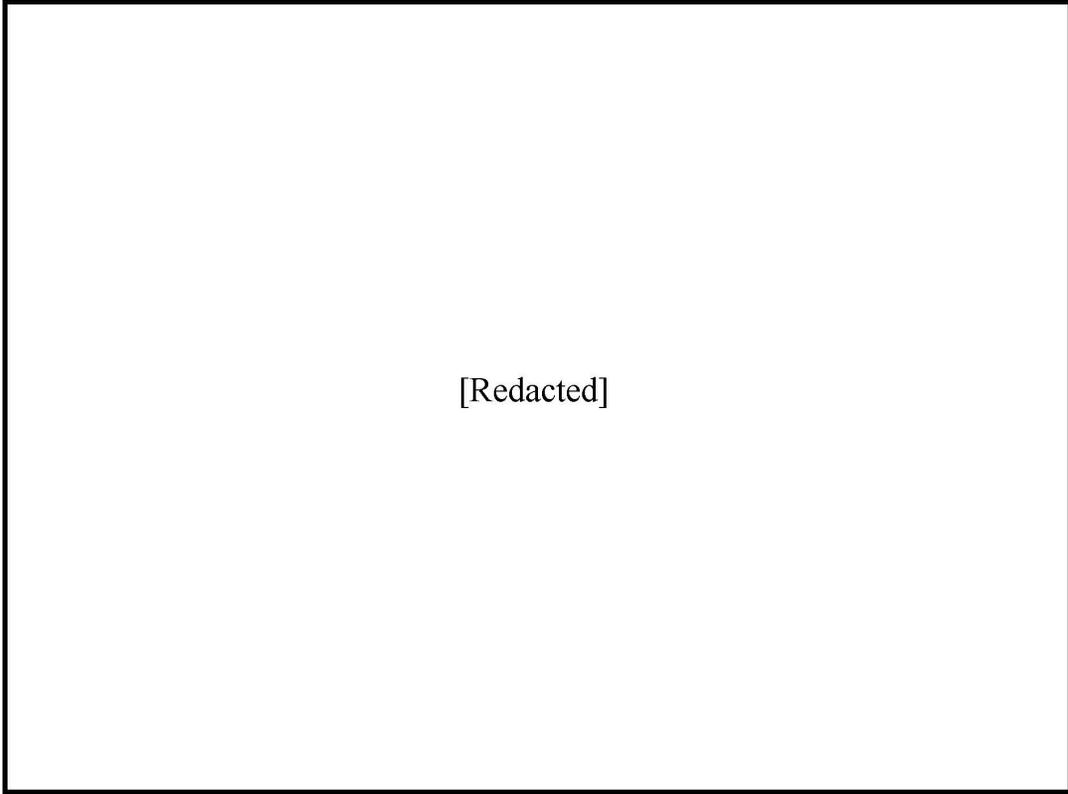


Fig. 1-3 Pieter Lastman, *David and Uriah*, 1619 (detail)

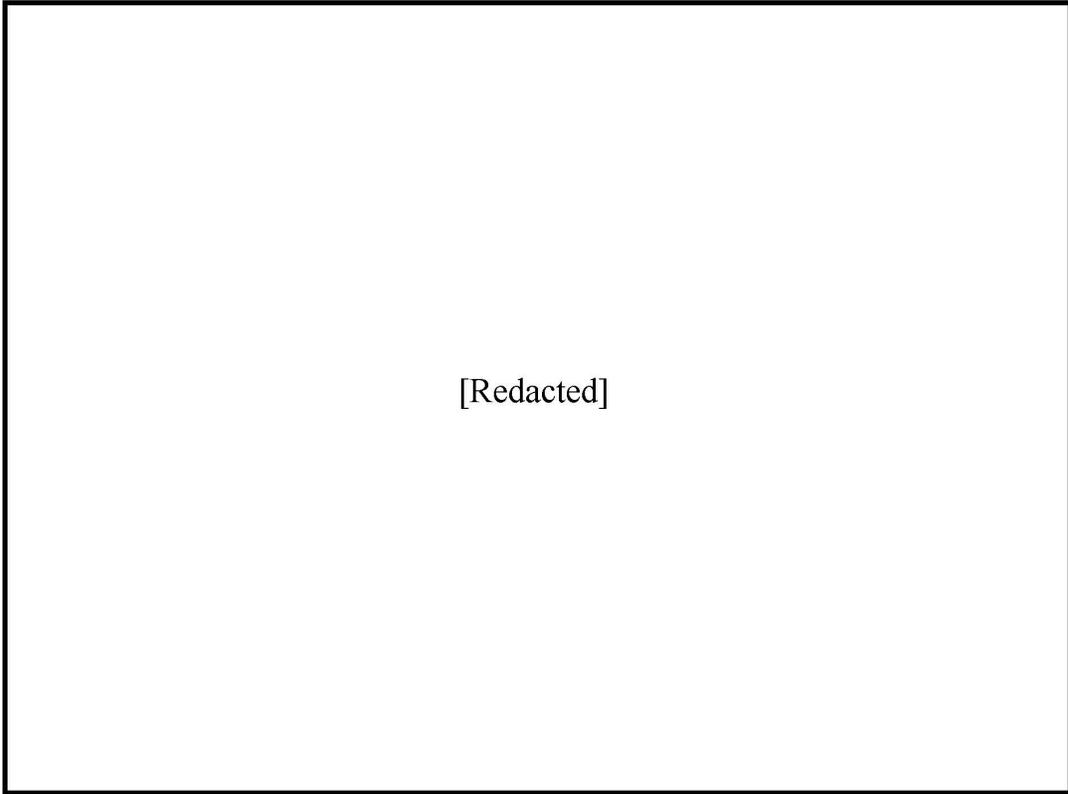


Fig. 1-4 Pieter Lastman, *David and Uriah*, 1619 (detail)

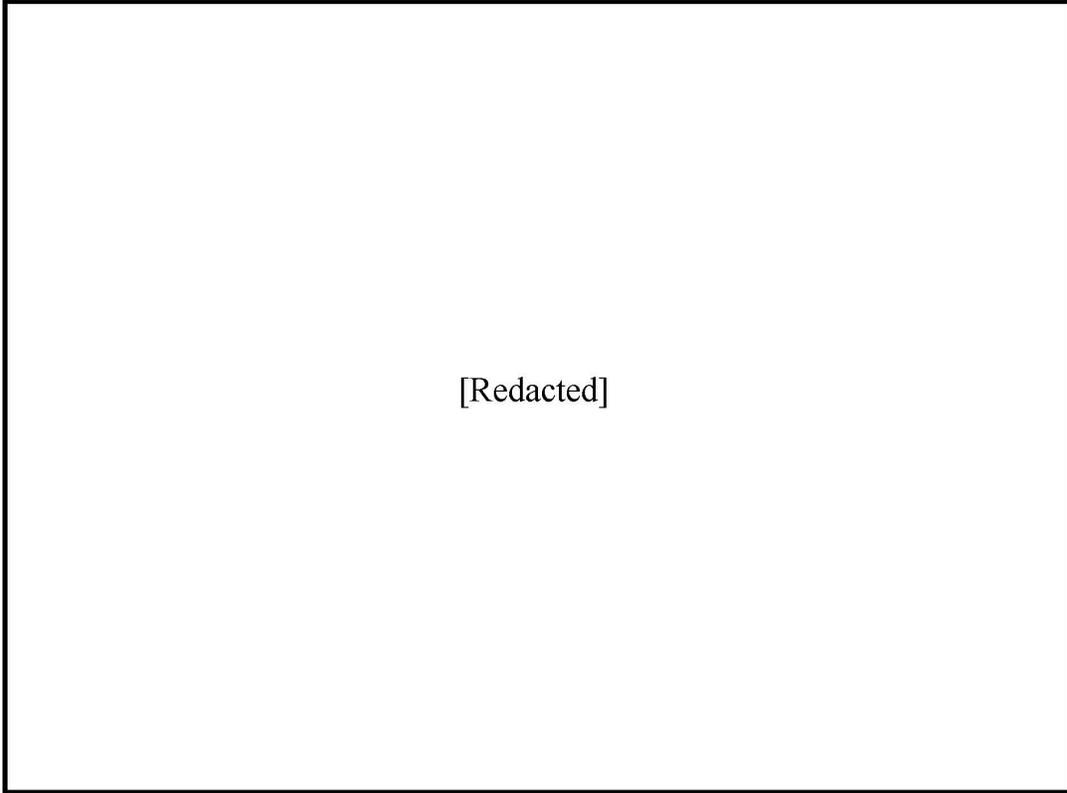


Fig. 1-5 Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris, *Rhetorica*, 1565,
engraving, 252 x 282 mm, Rijksmuseum

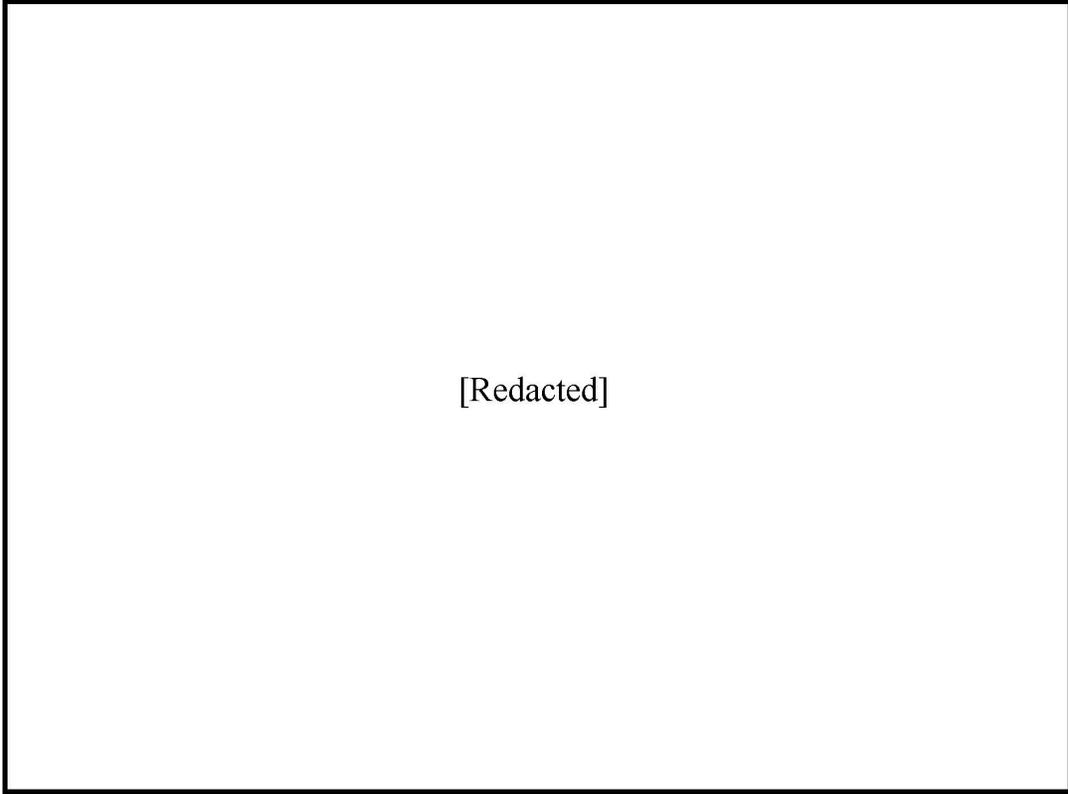


Fig. 1-6 Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris, *Rhetorica*, 1565 (detail)

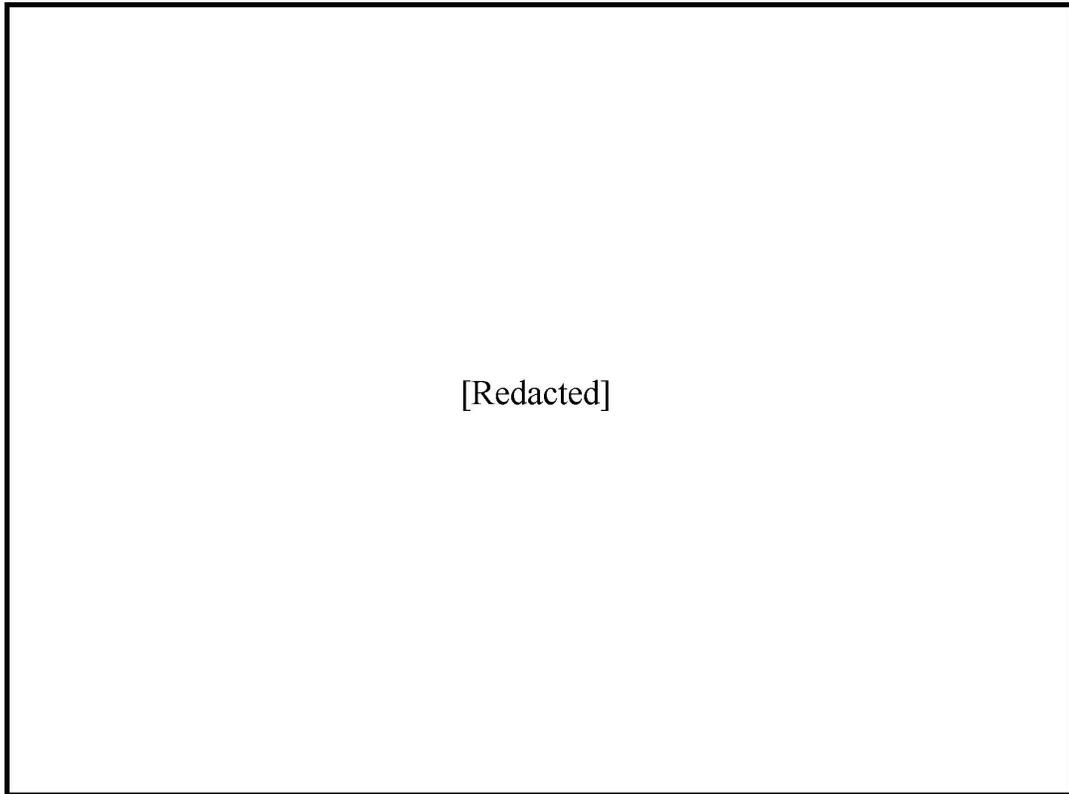


Fig. 1-7 Rhetoricians' Stage from the Haarlem competition festival in 1606⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁴ Hummelen, W.M.H. "Types and Methods of the Dutch Rhetoricians' Theatre." In *The Third Globe. Symposium for the Reconstruction of the Globe Playhouse, Wayne State University, 1979*, edited by C. Walter Hodges, S. Schoenbaum, and Leonard Leone, 164–237 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), 172.

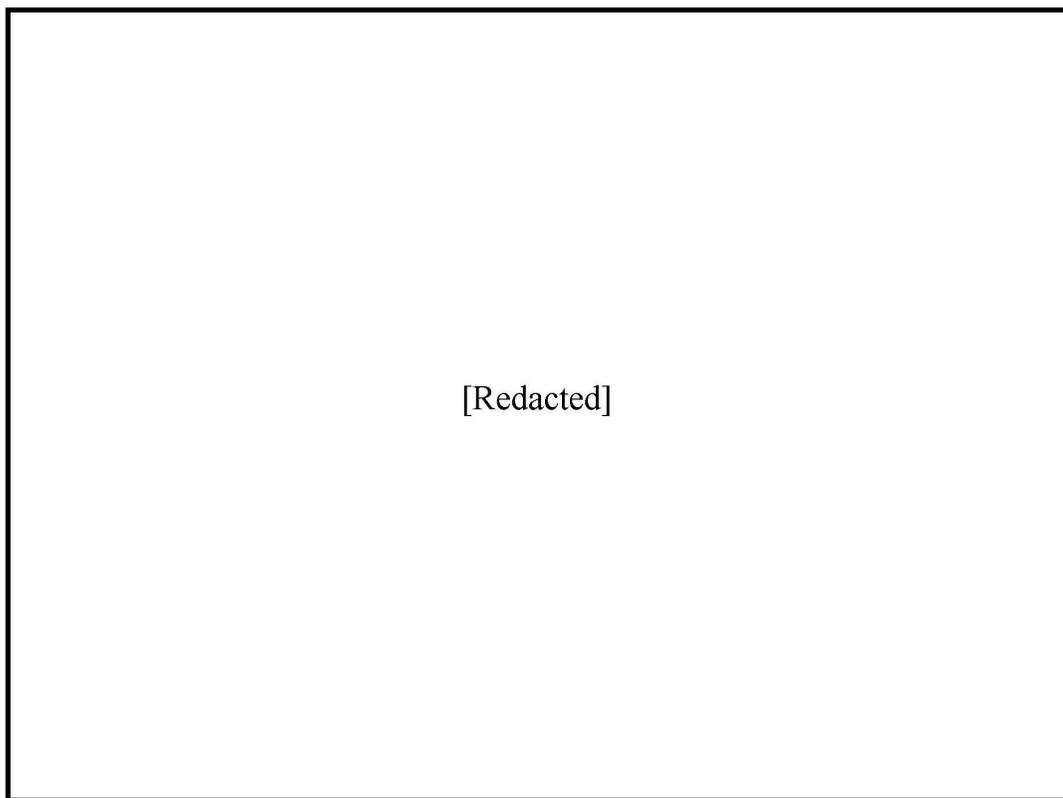


Fig. 1-8 Frans Pietersz de Grebber after Hendrick Goltzius, *Blazon of Trou moet blijcken*, 1606, oil on panel, 125 x 98 cm, *Trou moet blijcken* Haarlem

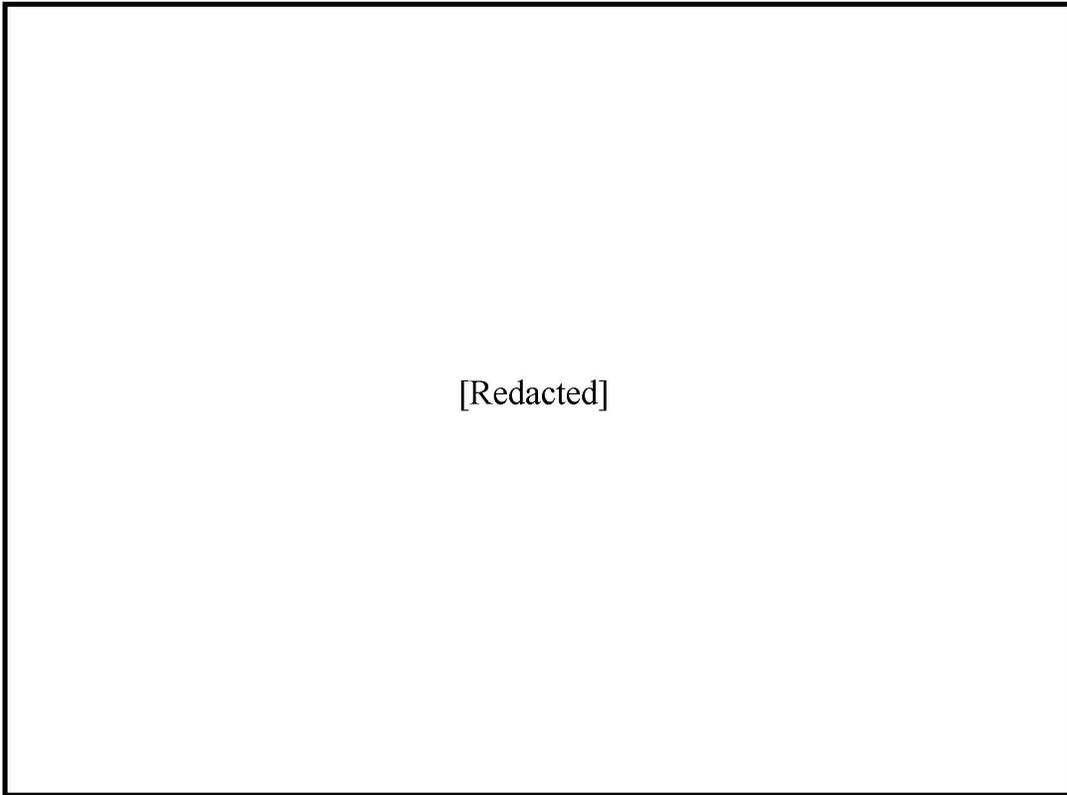


Fig. 1-9 Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Trou moet blijcken Blazon: The Crucified Christ with Two Angels*, 1597, engraving, 307 x 241 mm, Rijksmuseum

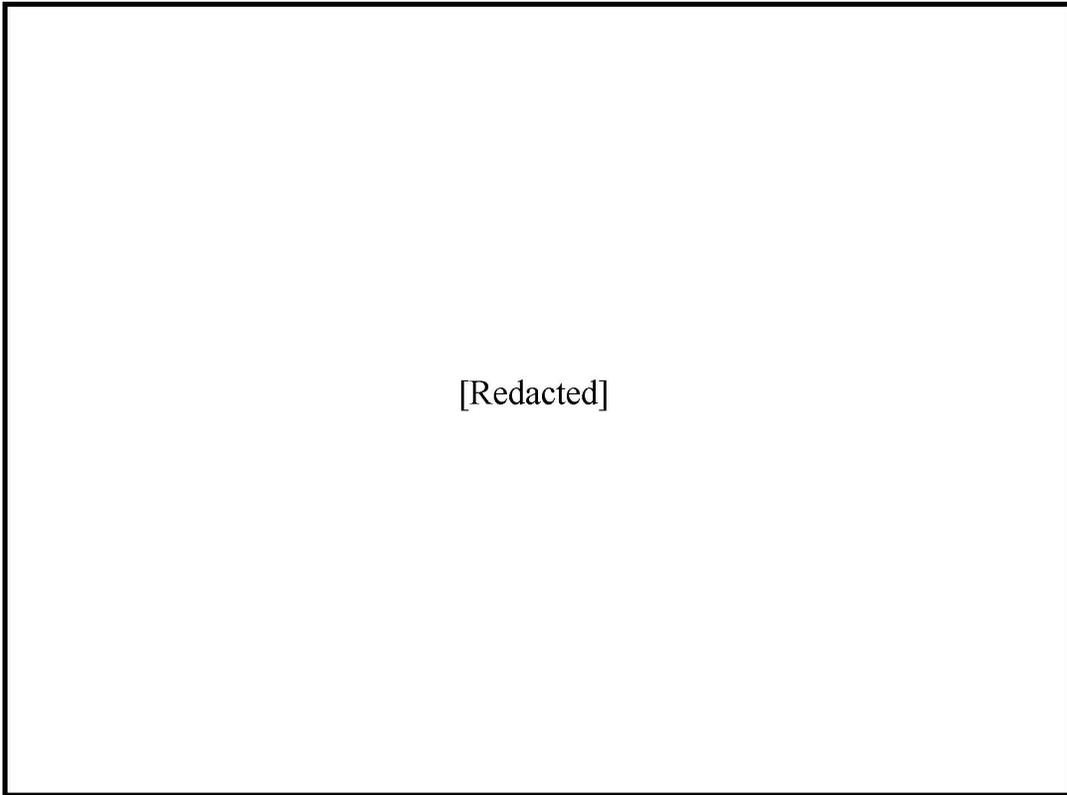


Fig. 2-1 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Susanna*, 1636,
oil on panel, 38.6 x 47.4 cm, Mauritshuis

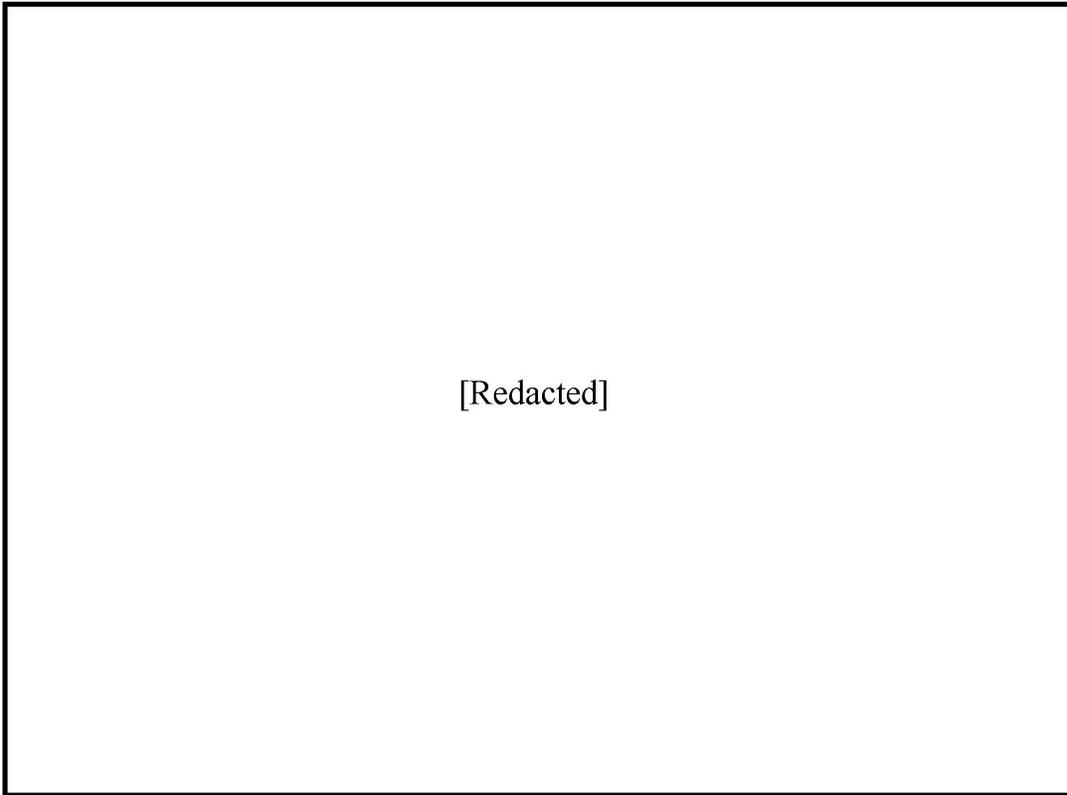


Fig. 2-2 Lucas van Leyden, *Susann and the Elders*, c. 1506-1510
engraving, 199 x 147 mm, Rijksmuseum

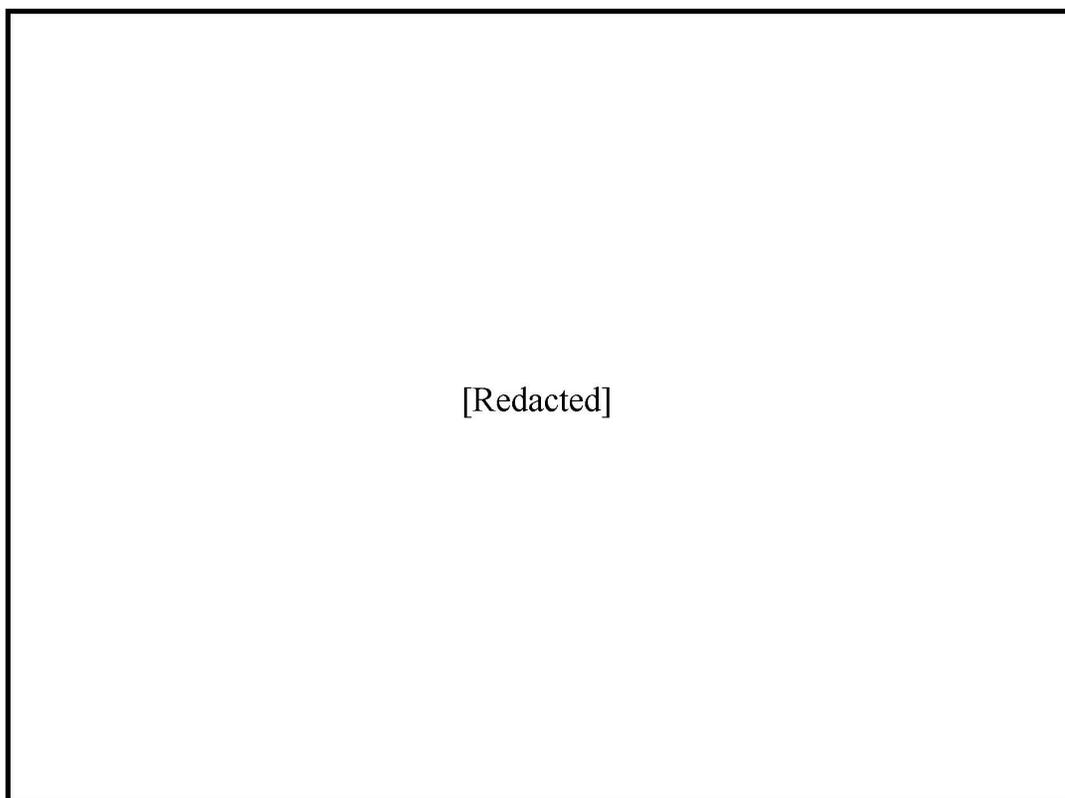


Fig. 2-3 Jan Massys, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1564,
oil on panel, 106.7 x 196.9 cm, Norton Simon Museum

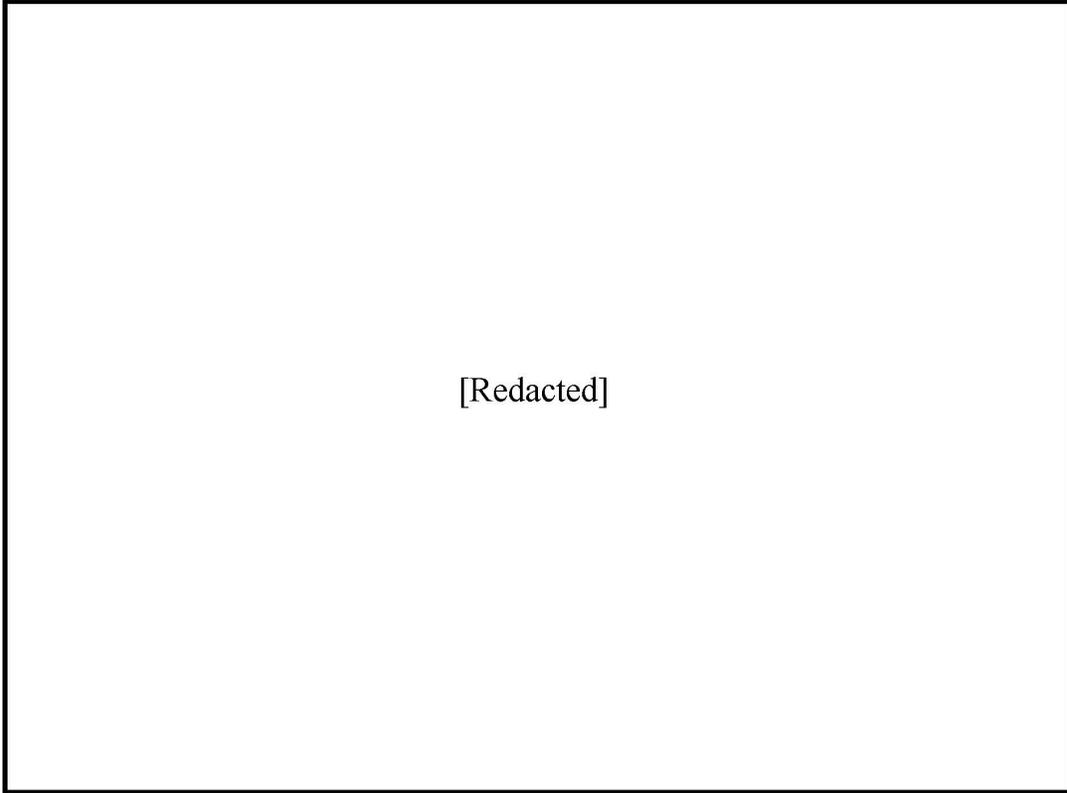


Fig. 2-4 Antoon Wierix (II), *Susanna and the Elders*, 1579-before 1604
engraving, 219 x 160 mm, Rijksmuseum

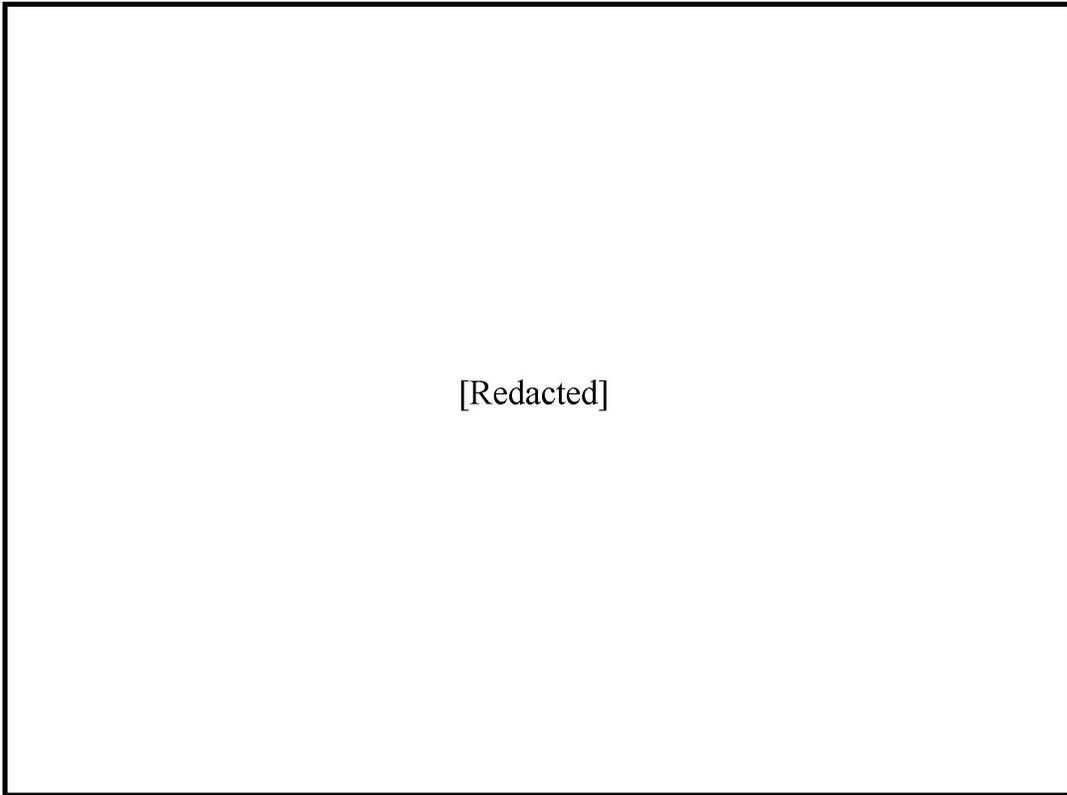


Fig. 2-5 Antoon Wierix (II), *Susanna and the Elders*, 1579-before 1611, engraving, 273 x 199 mm, Rijksmuseum

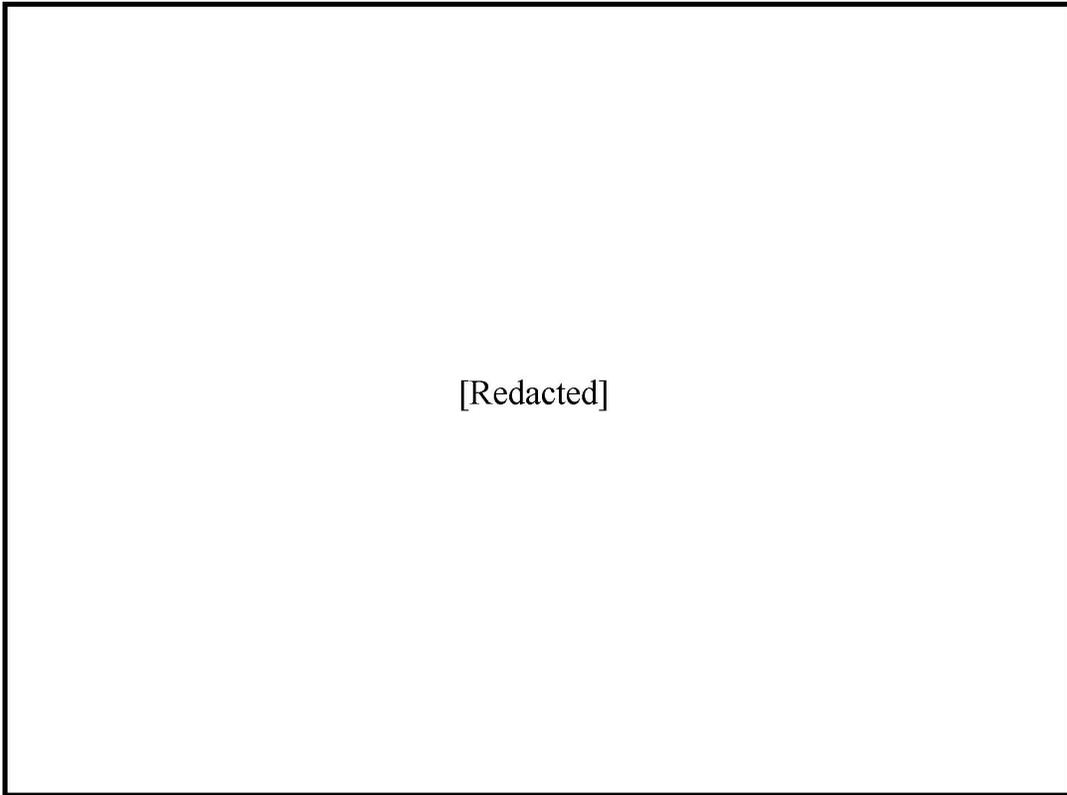


Fig. 2-6 Hans Collaert (I) after Maarten de Vos, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1579, engraving, 202 x 262 mm, Rijksmuseum

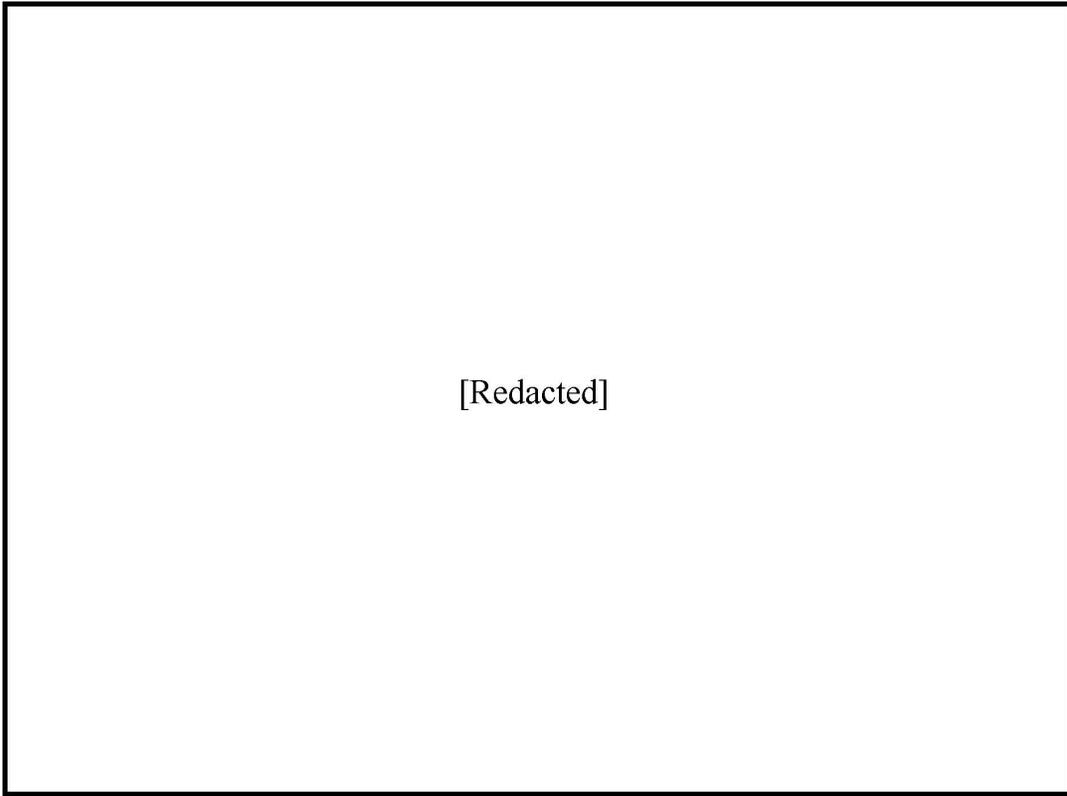


Fig. 2-7 Pieter van der Heyden after Frans Floris, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1556, engraving, 208 x 275 mm, Rijksmuseum

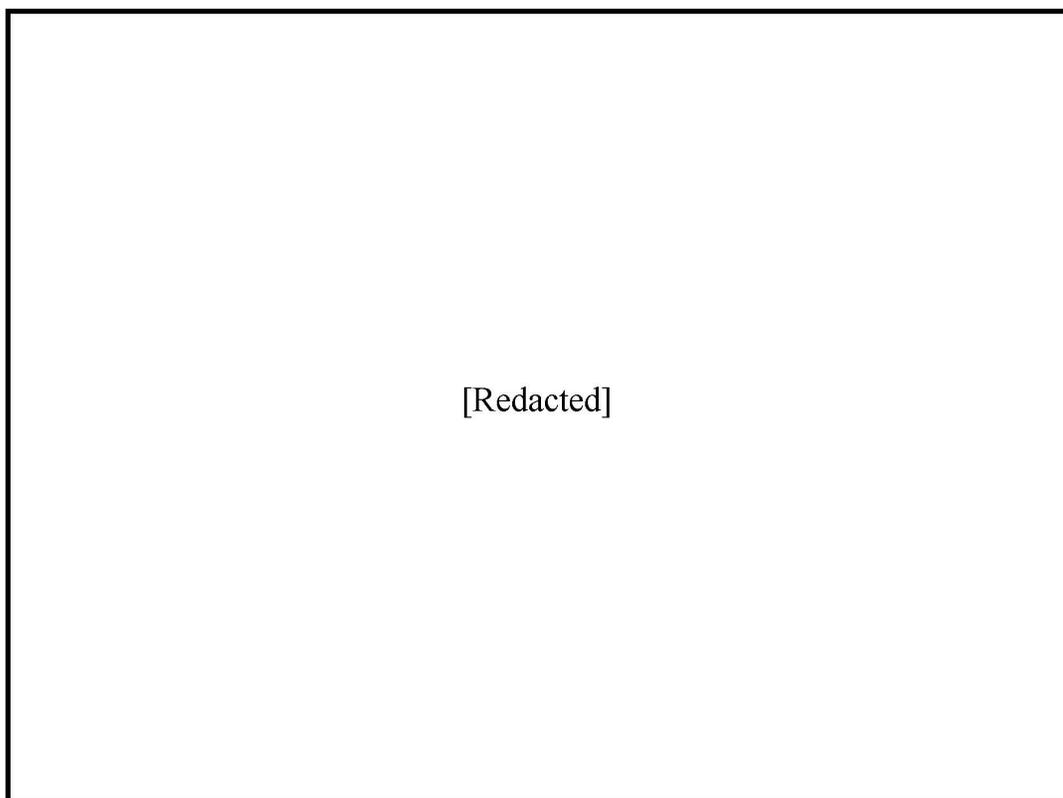


Fig. 2-8 Dirk Volkertsz Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1551, pen on paper, 248 x 195 mm, Rijksmuseum

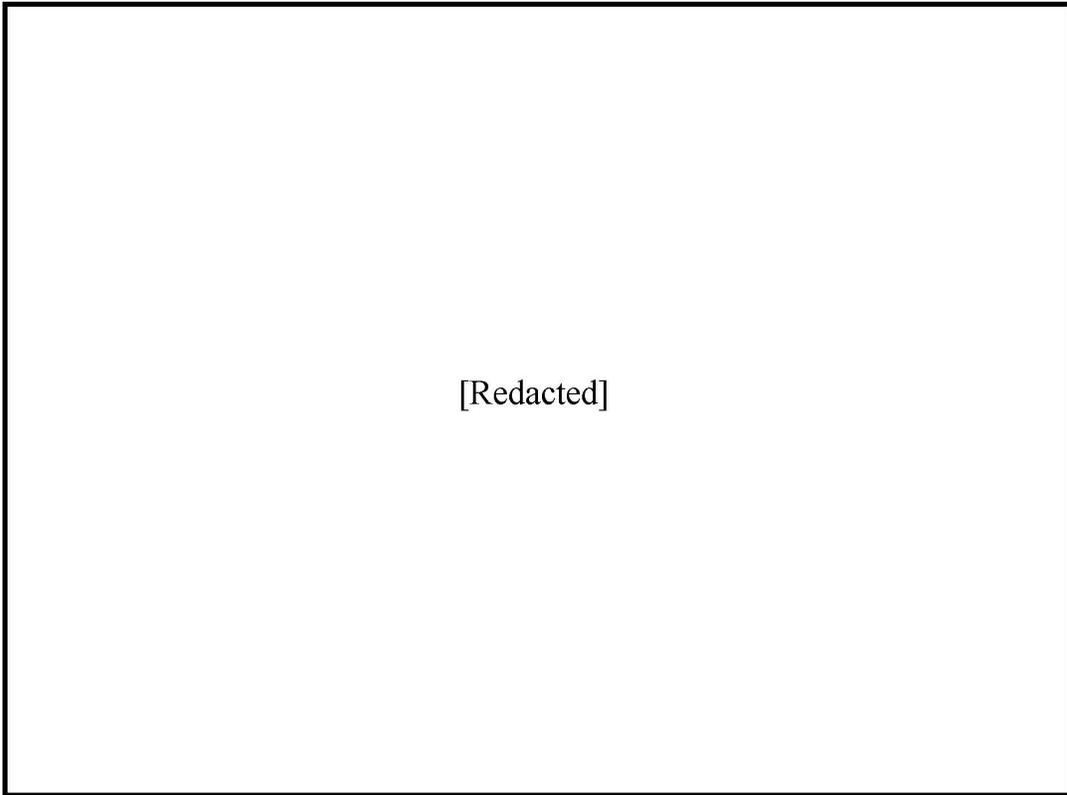


Fig. 2-9 Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Susanna*, c. 1560-1570, engraving, 205 x 248 mm, Rijksmuseum

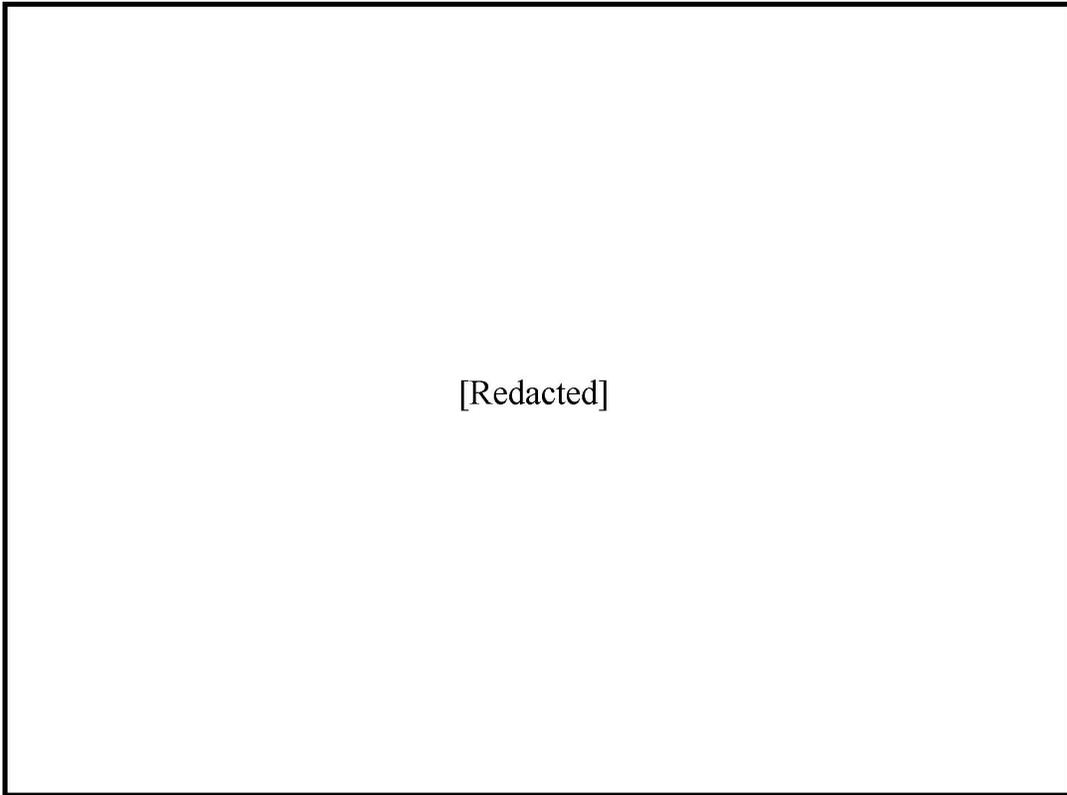


Fig. 2-10 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1600-1625
engraving, 246 x 170 mm, Rijksmuseum

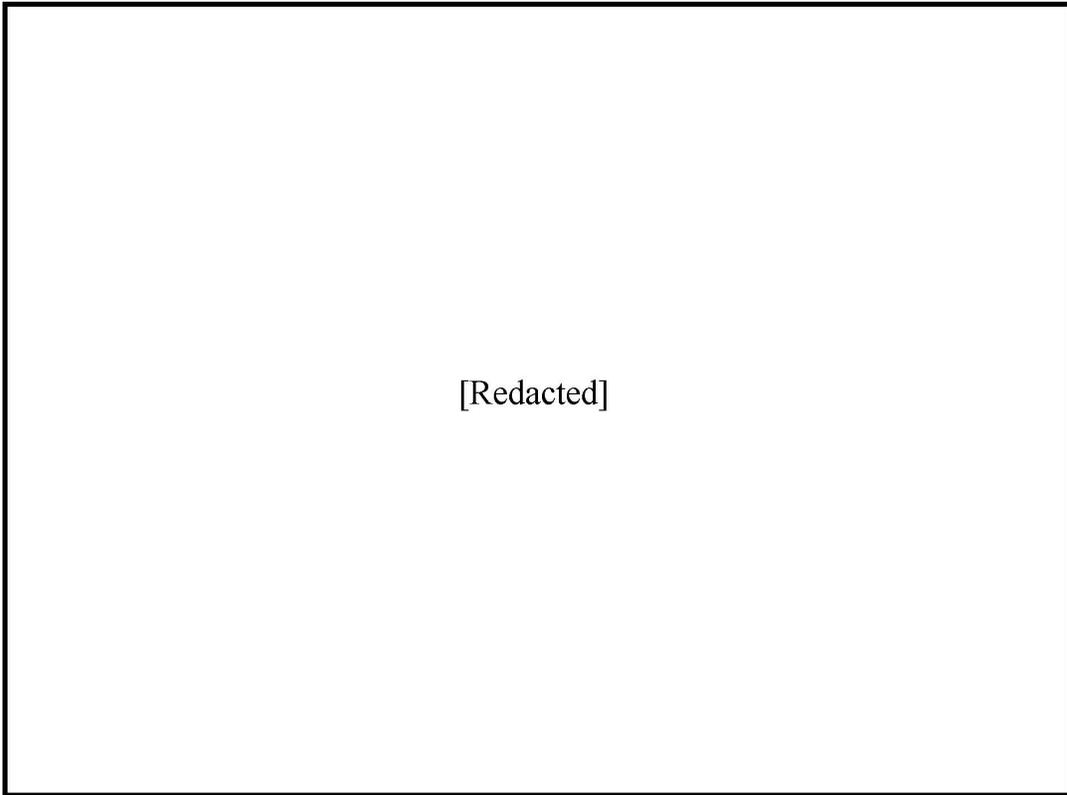


Fig. 2-11 Cornelis van Haarlem, *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1600-1602, oil on canvas, 98.5 x 87 cm, National Gallery of Canada

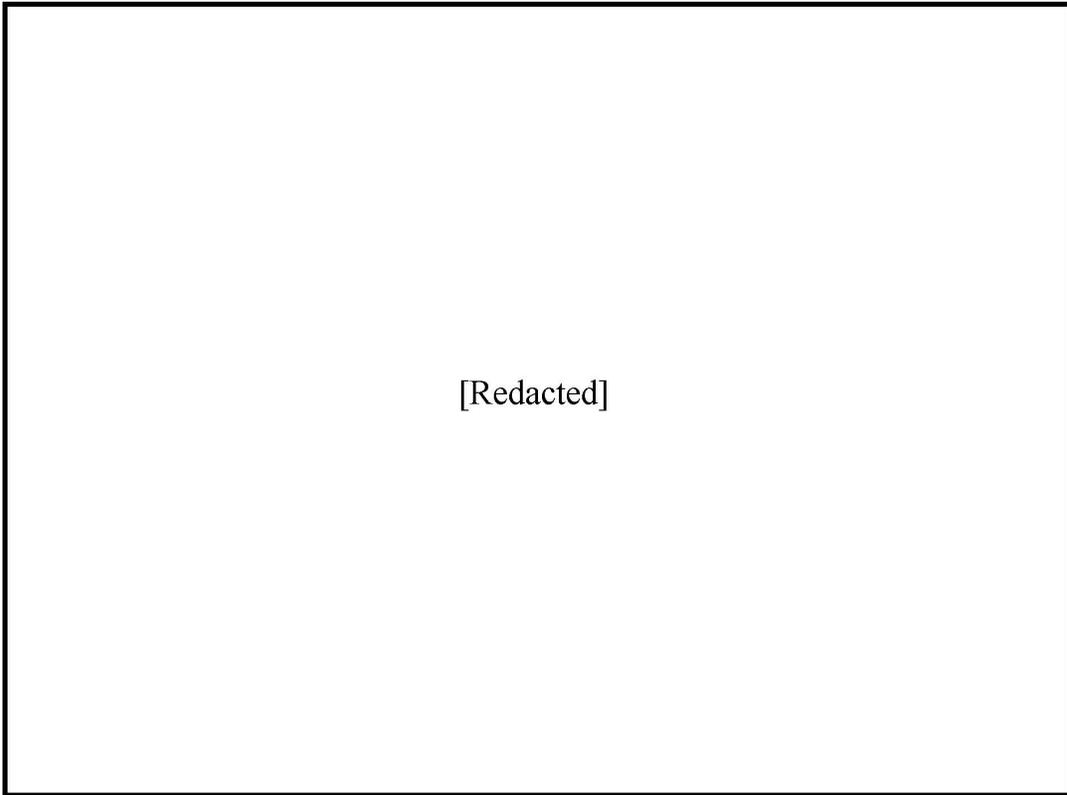


Fig. 2-12 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1607
oil on panel, 67 x 94 cm, Musée de la Chartreuse de Douai

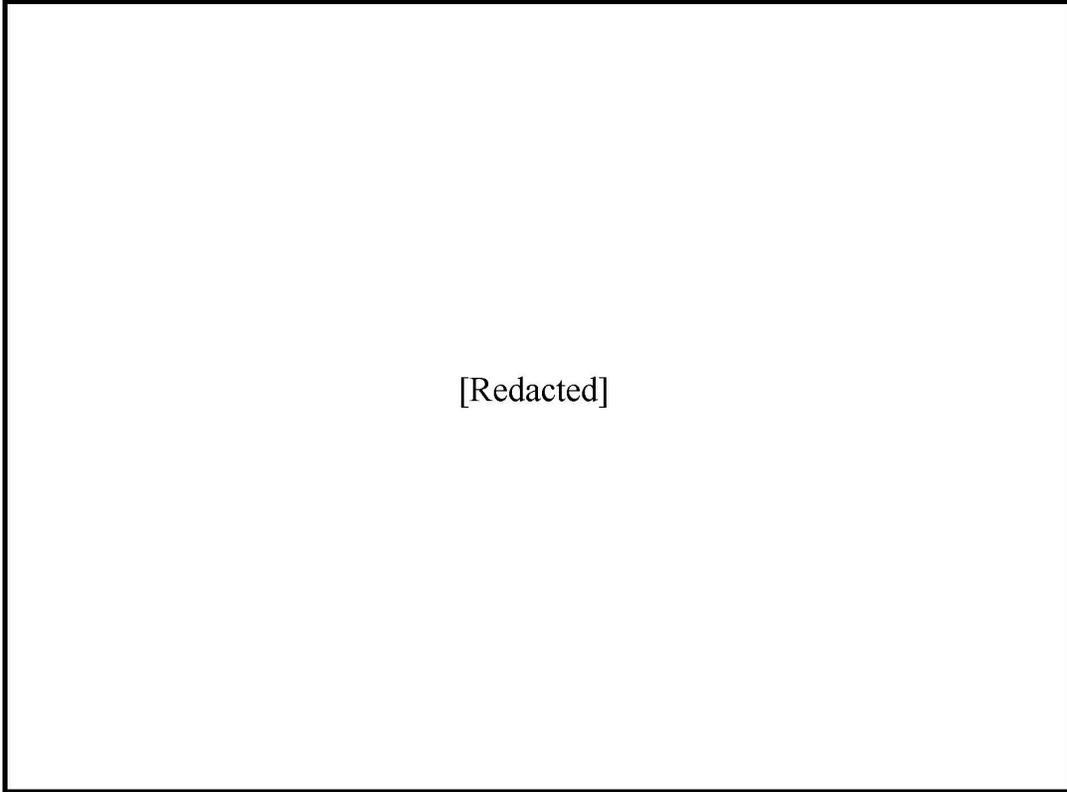


Fig. 2-13 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1615,
oil on canvas, 104 x 138 cm, Museum of Fine Arts Boston

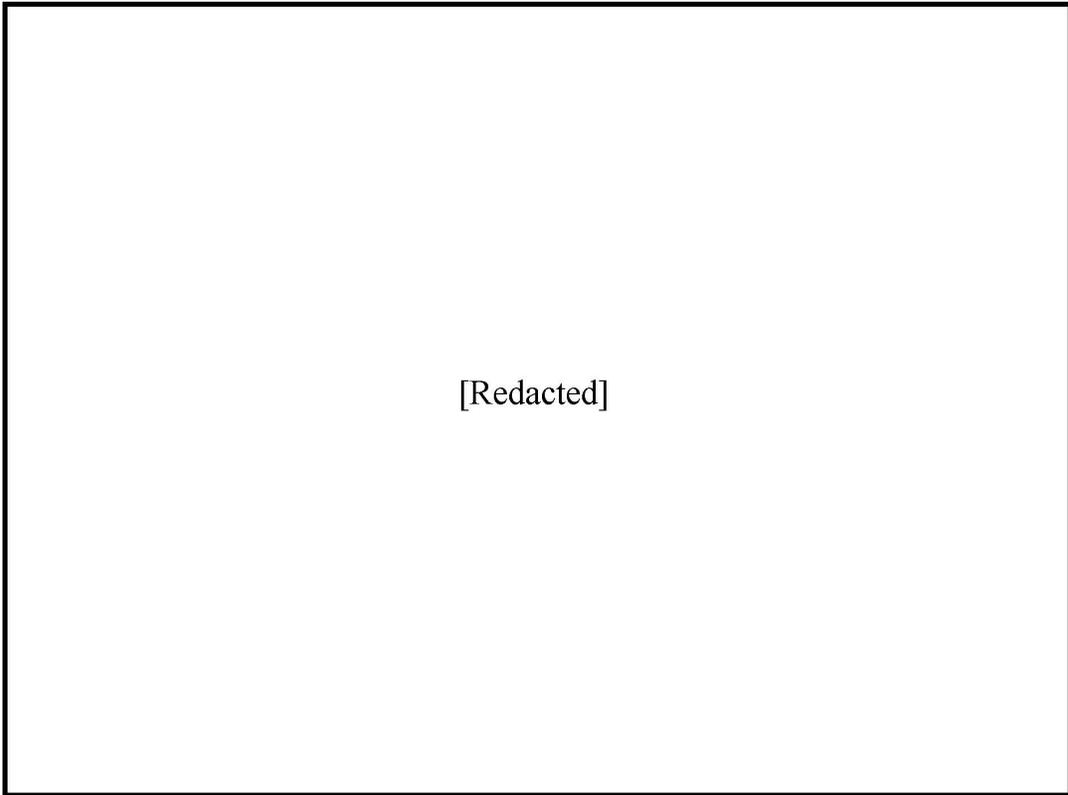


Fig. 2-14 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1607 (detail)

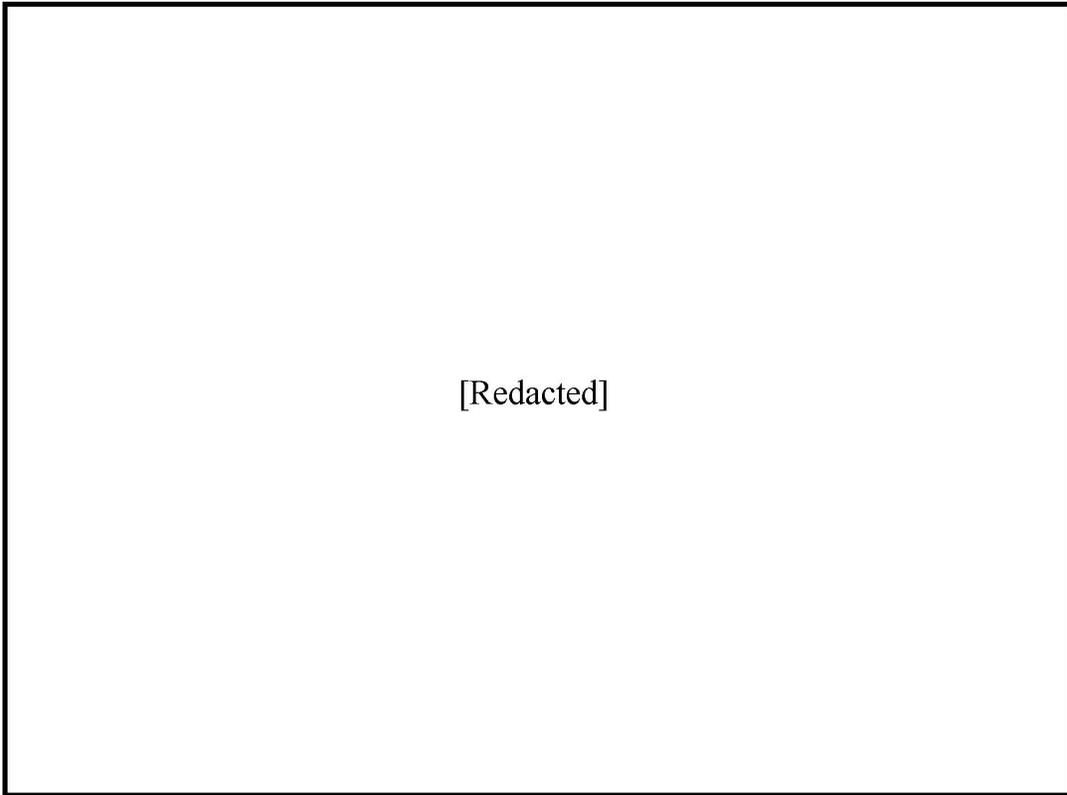


Fig. 2-15 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1607 (detail)

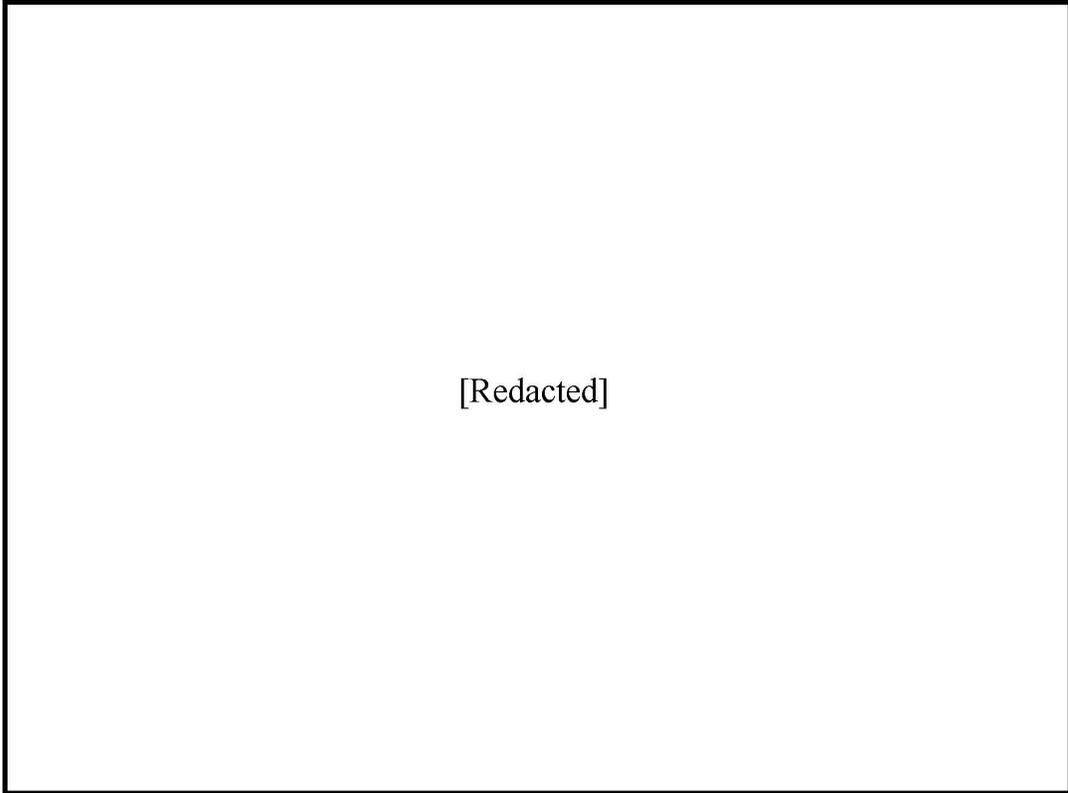


Fig. 2-16 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1607 (detail)

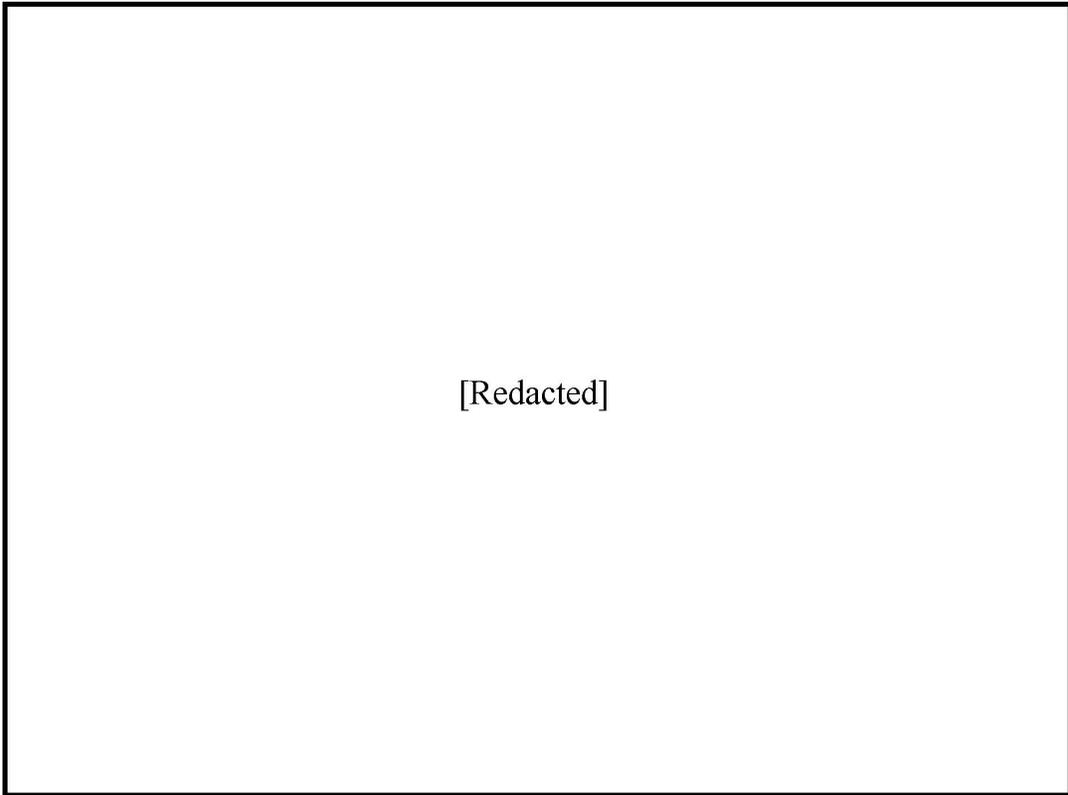


Fig. 2-17 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1607 (detail)

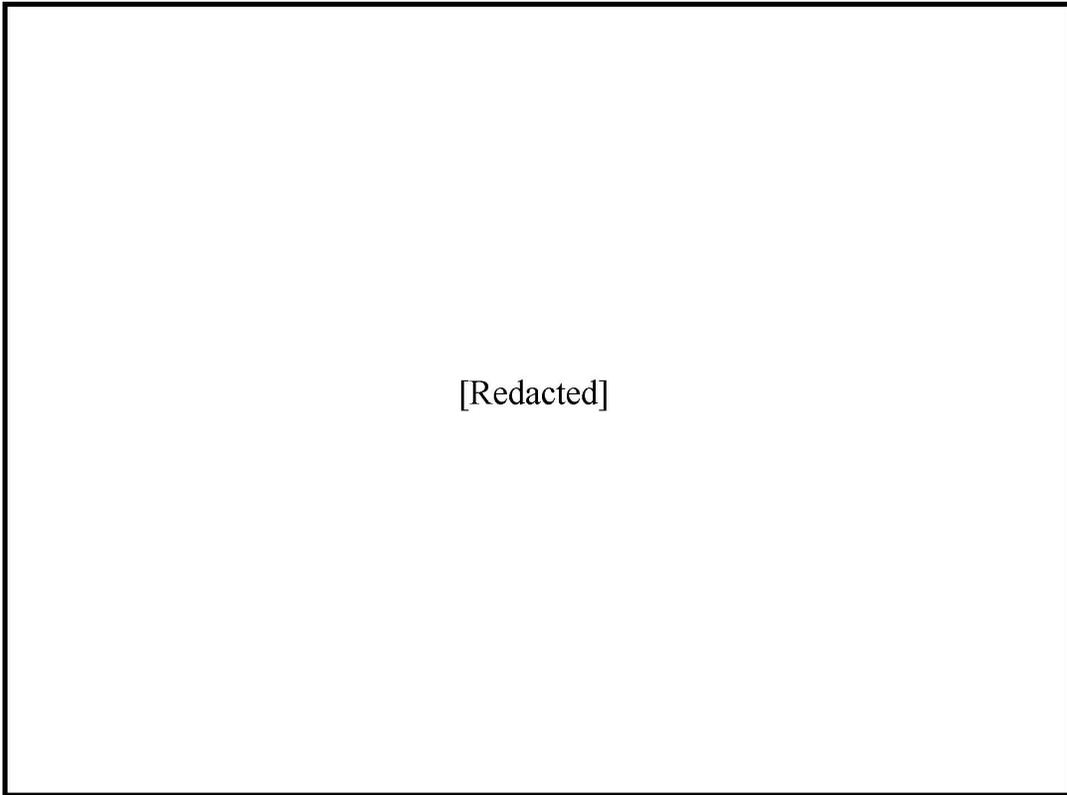


Fig. 2-18 Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Jan Govertsz van der Aar*, 1603, oil on canvas, 107.5 x 82.7 cm, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen

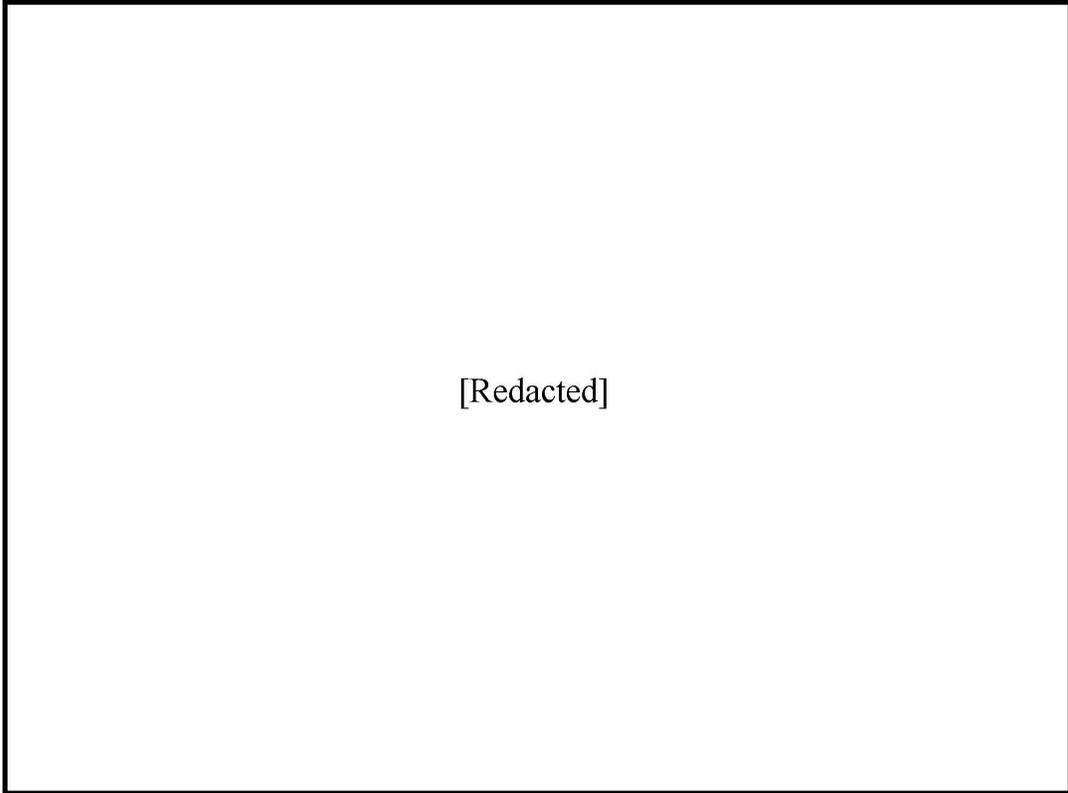


Fig. 2-19 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1607 (detail)

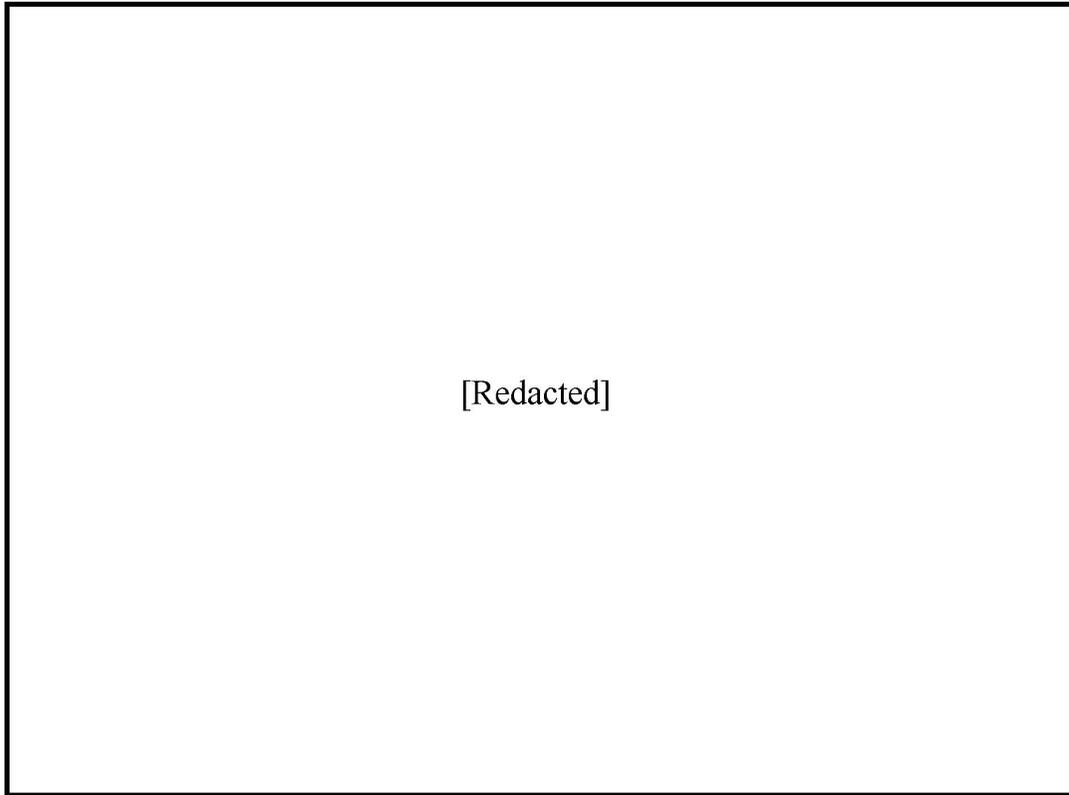


Fig. 2-20 Isaac Seeman after Cornelis van Haarlem, *Allegory of the Arts in Time of Peace*, 1746, oil on canvas, 175.5 x 236.5 cm, National Trust, Lacock Abbey, Fox Talbot Museum and Village

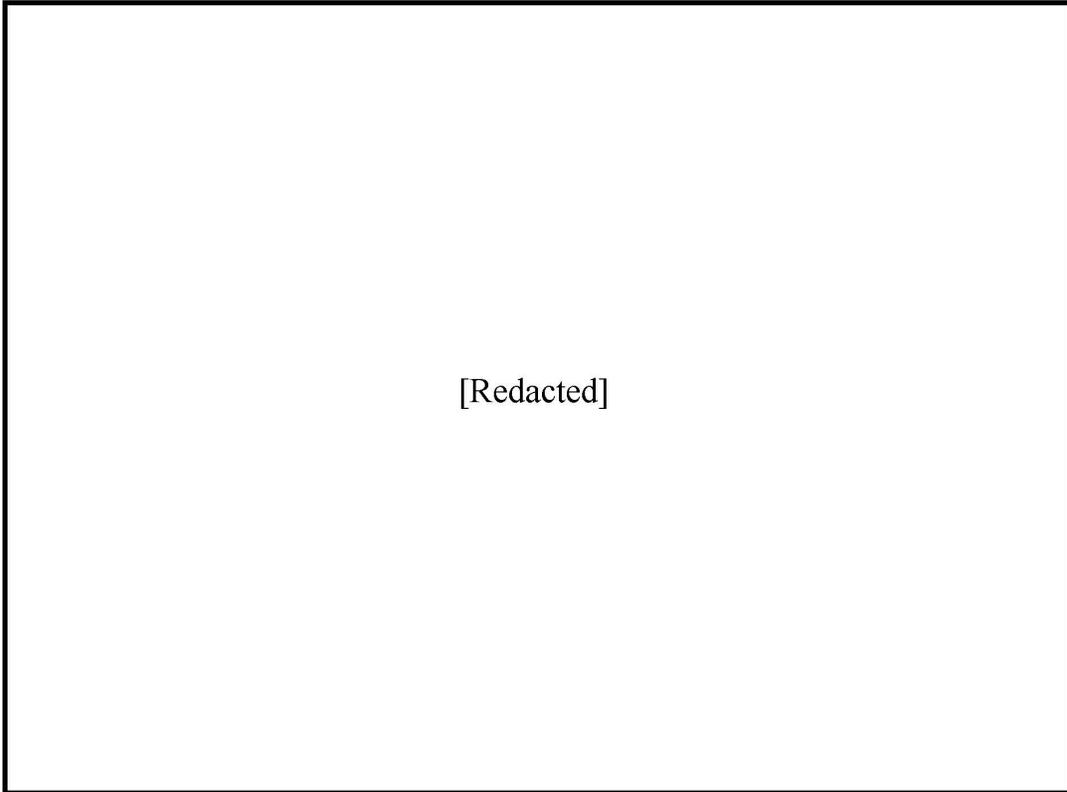


Fig. 2-21 Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1607,
oil on canvas, 94 x 65 cm, Borghese Gallery

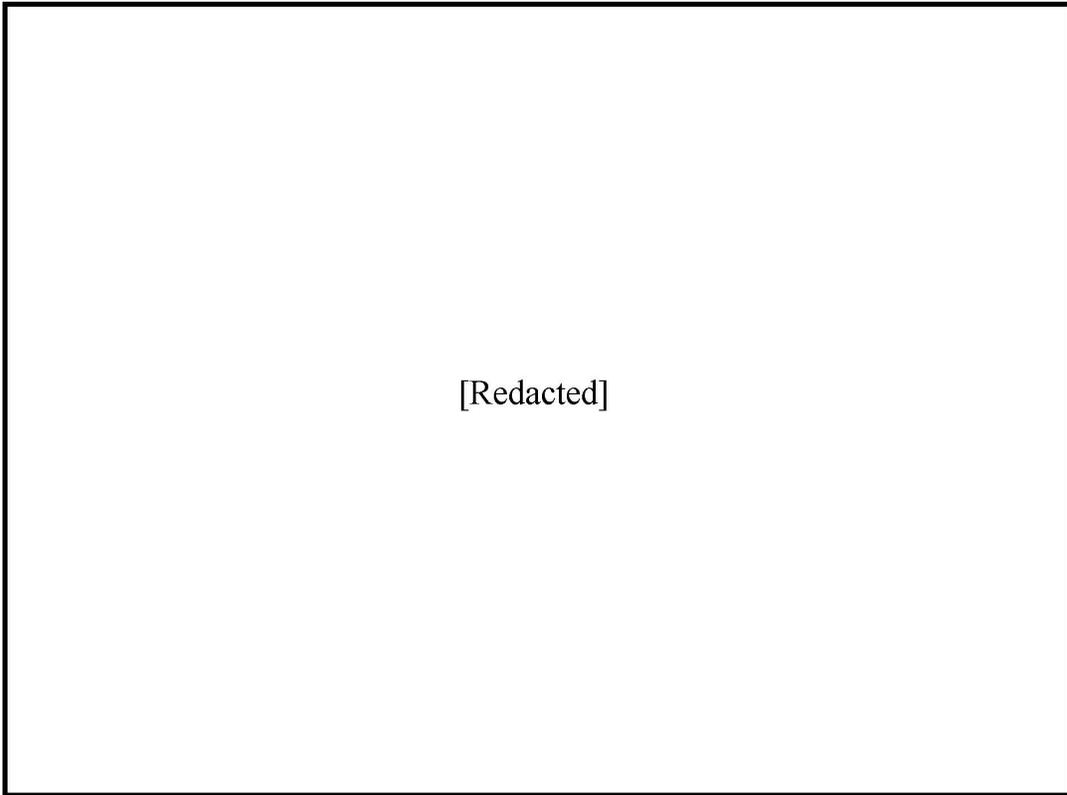


Fig. 2-22 Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1610,
oil on canvas, 190 x 223 cm, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

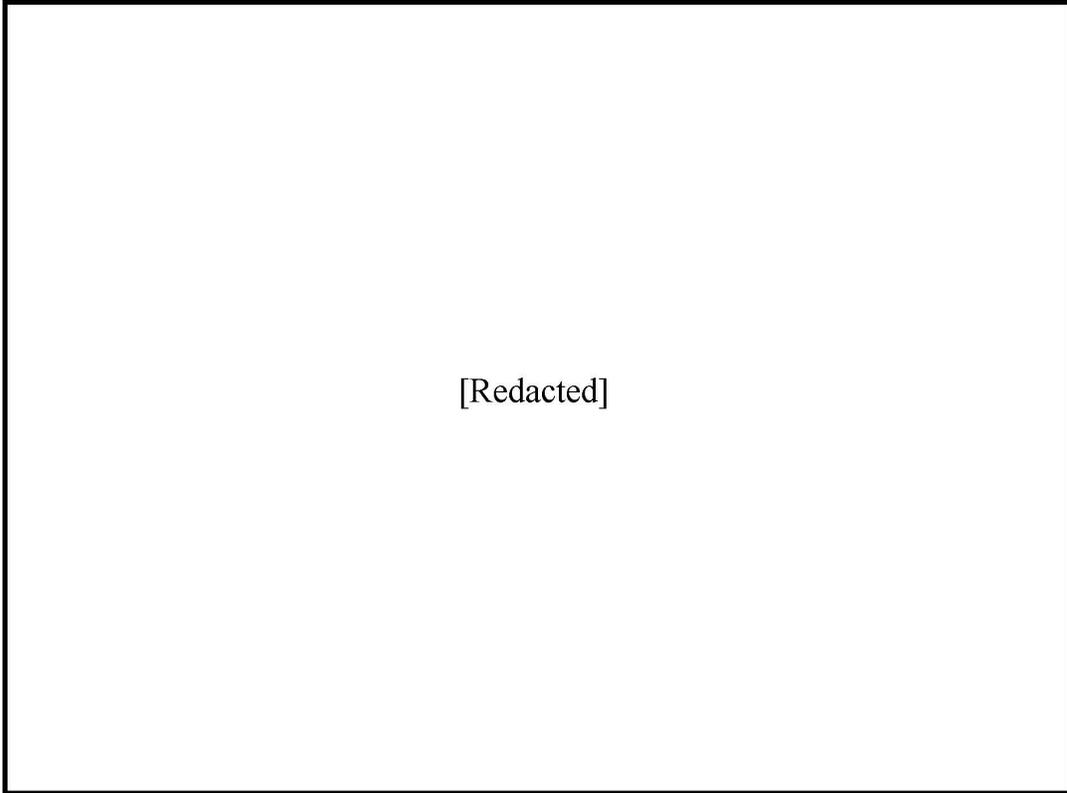


Fig. 2-23 Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1636-1638,
oil on panel, 79 x 109 cm, Alte Pinakothek München

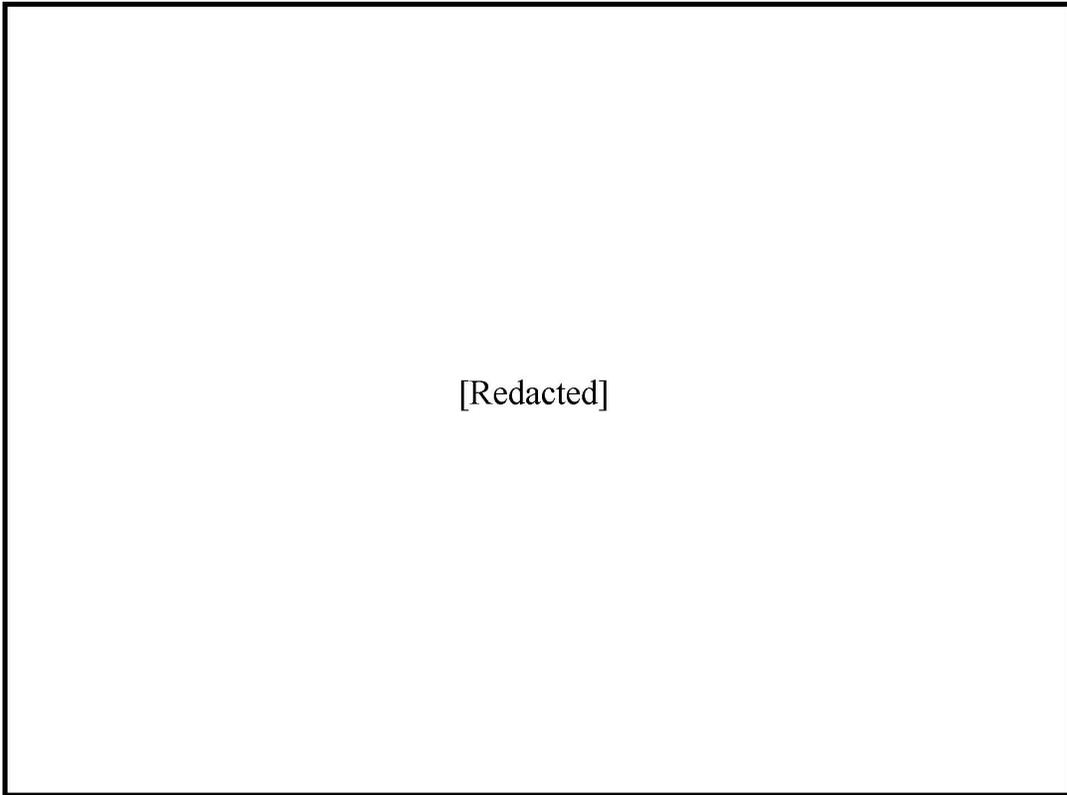


Fig. 2-24 Cornelis Cort after Titian, *Mary Magdalene*, 1566,
engraving, 350 x 280 mm, Rijksmuseum

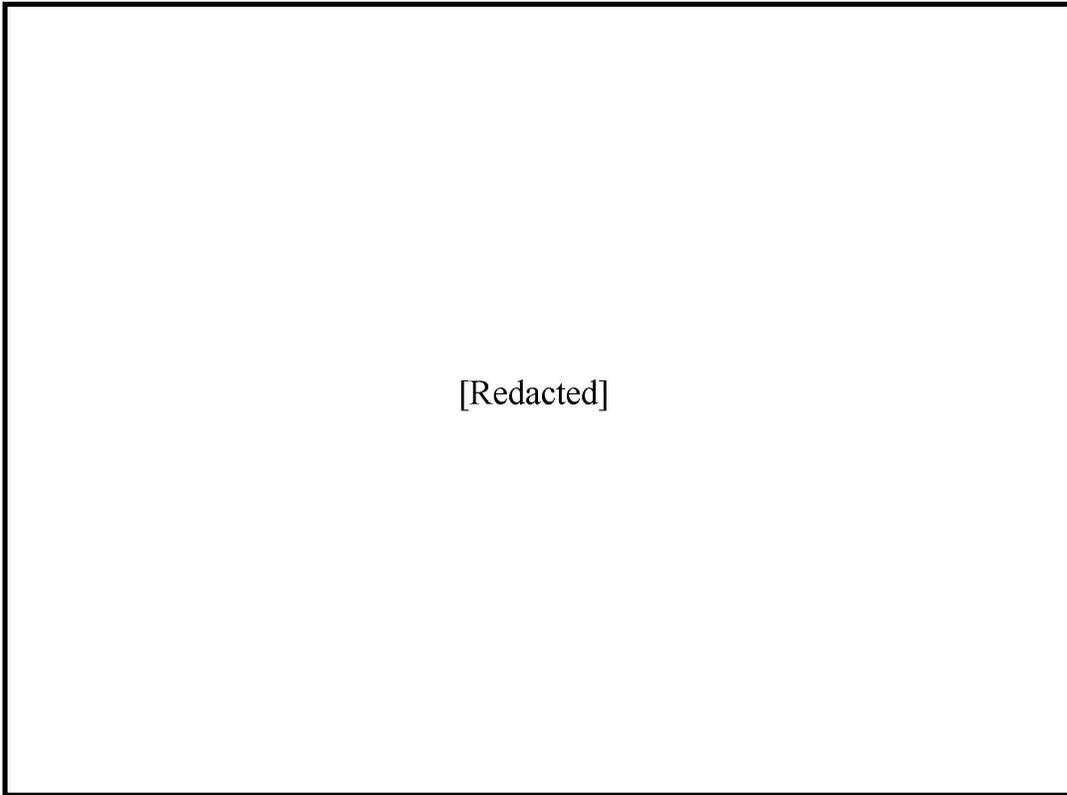


Fig. 2-25 Hendrick Goltzius, *The Magdalene*, c. 1612-1615,
oil on canvas, 61 x 48.9 cm, Lillington Church, Leamington Spa, England

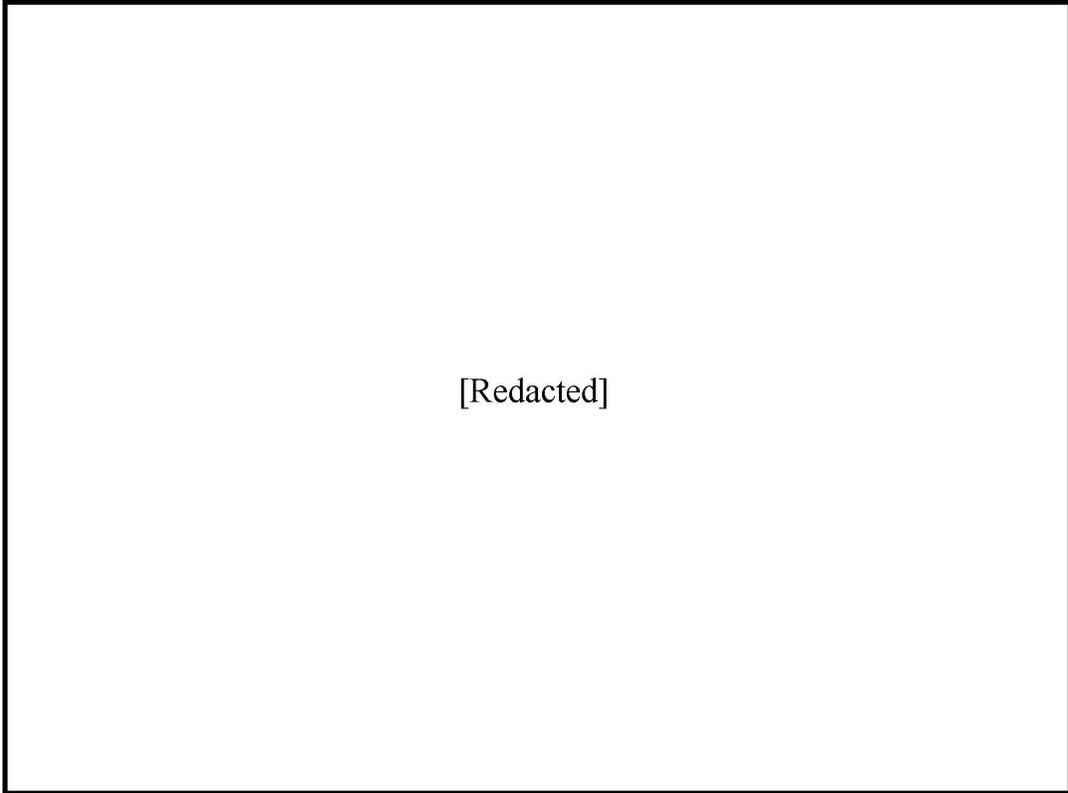


Fig. 2-26 attributed to Jan van Scorel, *St. Mary Magdalene in a Landscape*, c. 1500-1550, oil on panel, 107 x 133 cm, whereabouts unknown

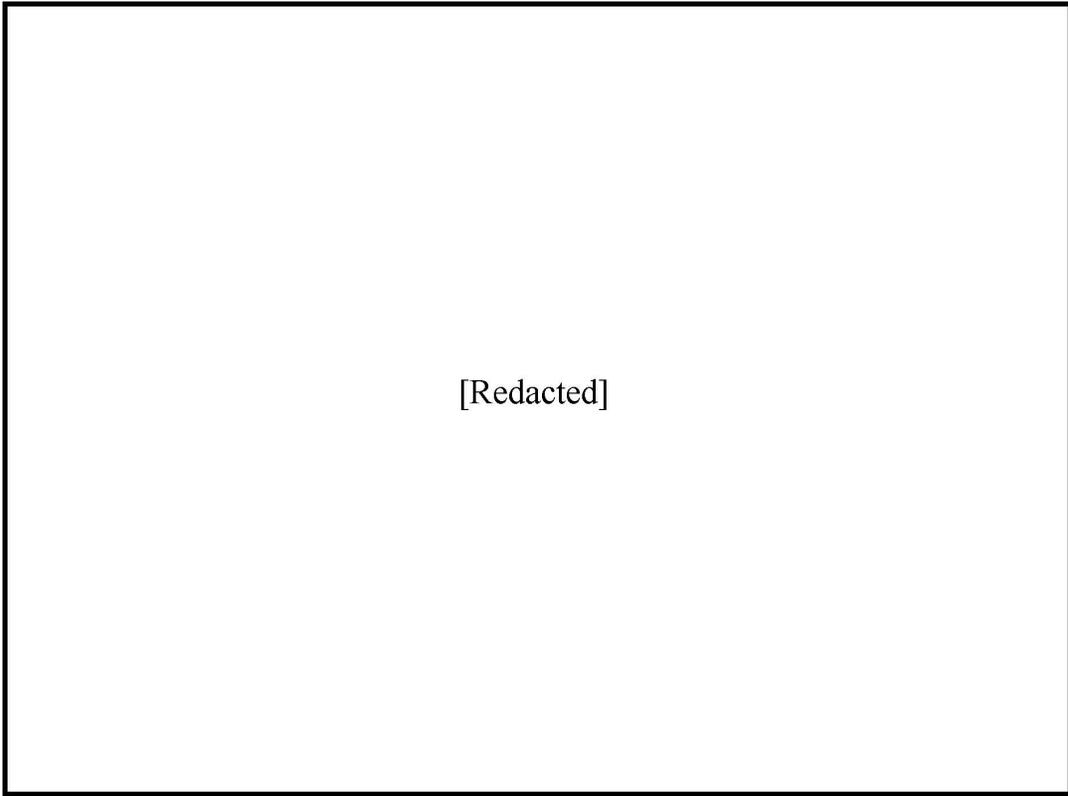


Fig. 2-27 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1615 (detail)

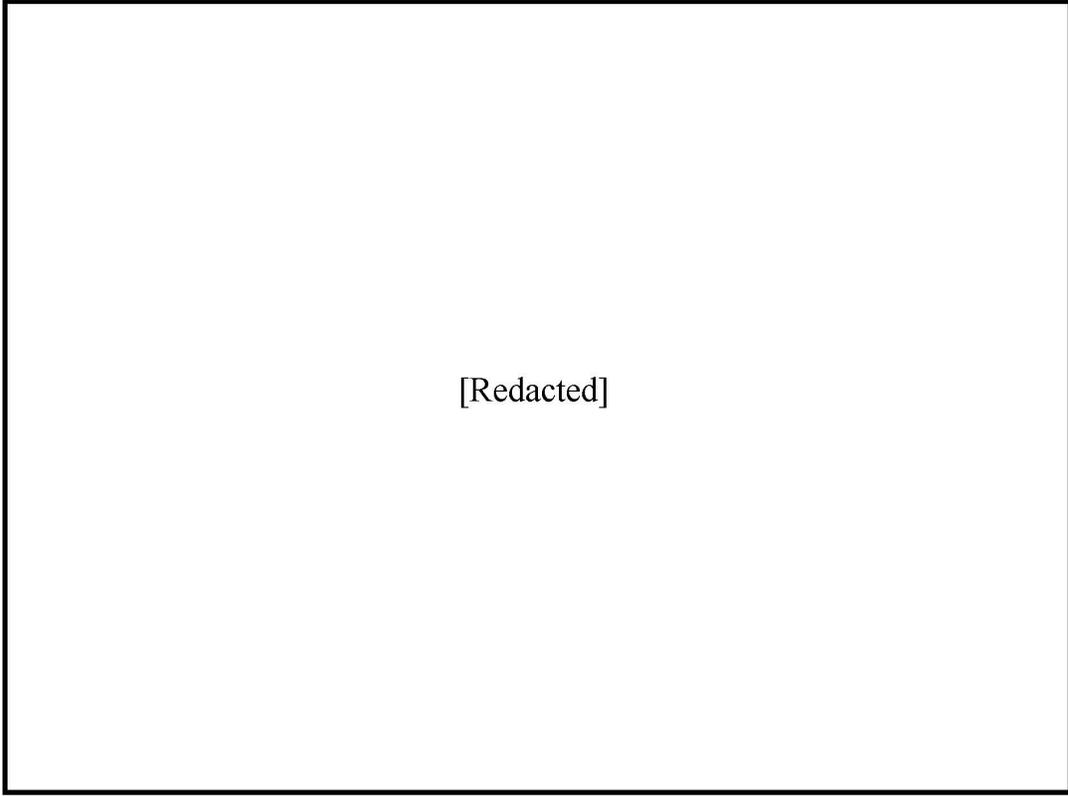


Fig. 2-28 Hendrick Goltzius, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1615 (detail)

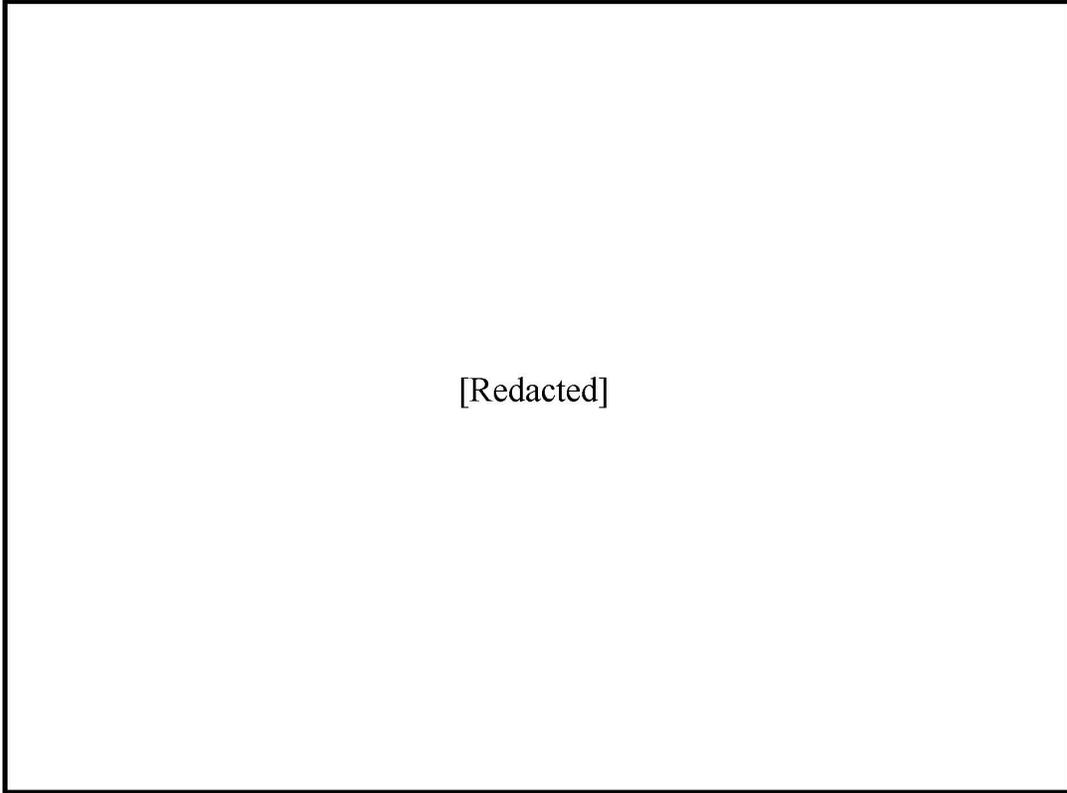


Fig. 2-29 Pieter Lastman, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1614,
oil on panel, 43.1 x 58.7 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

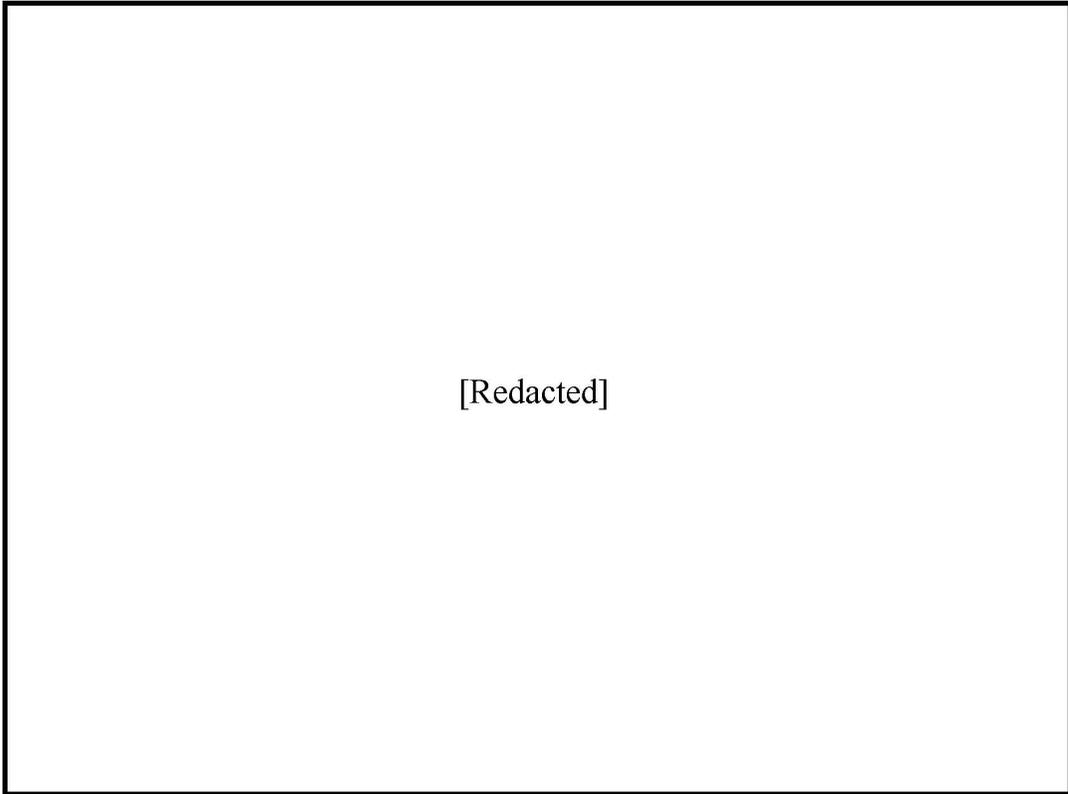


Fig. 2-30 Pieter Lastman, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1614 (detail)

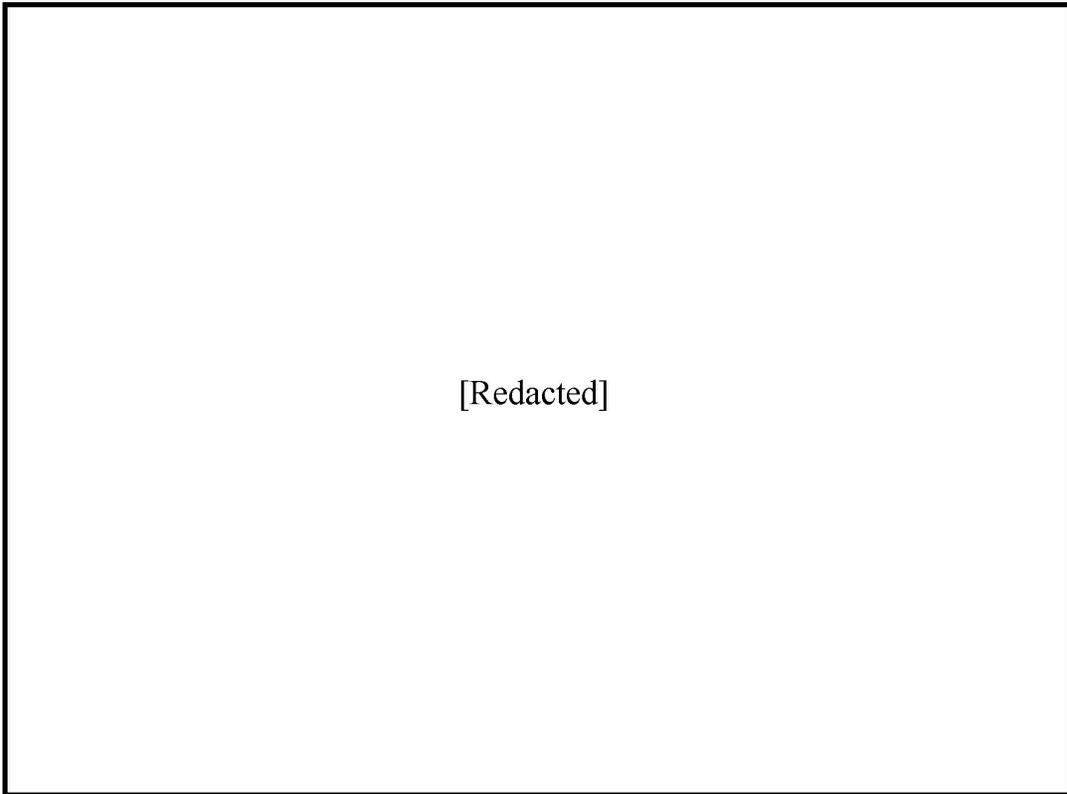


Fig. 2-31 Jan Saenredam after Cornelis van Haarlem, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1602, engraving, 229 x 261 mm, Rijksmuseum

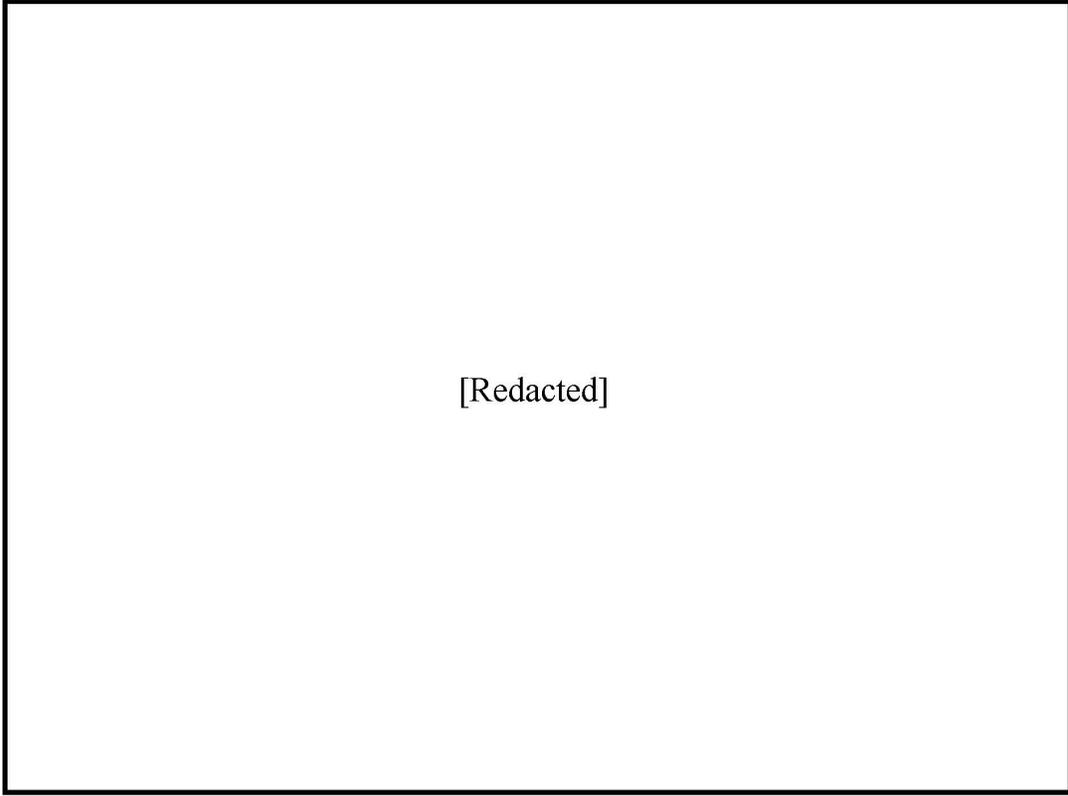


Fig. 2-32 Pieter Lastman, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1614 (detail)

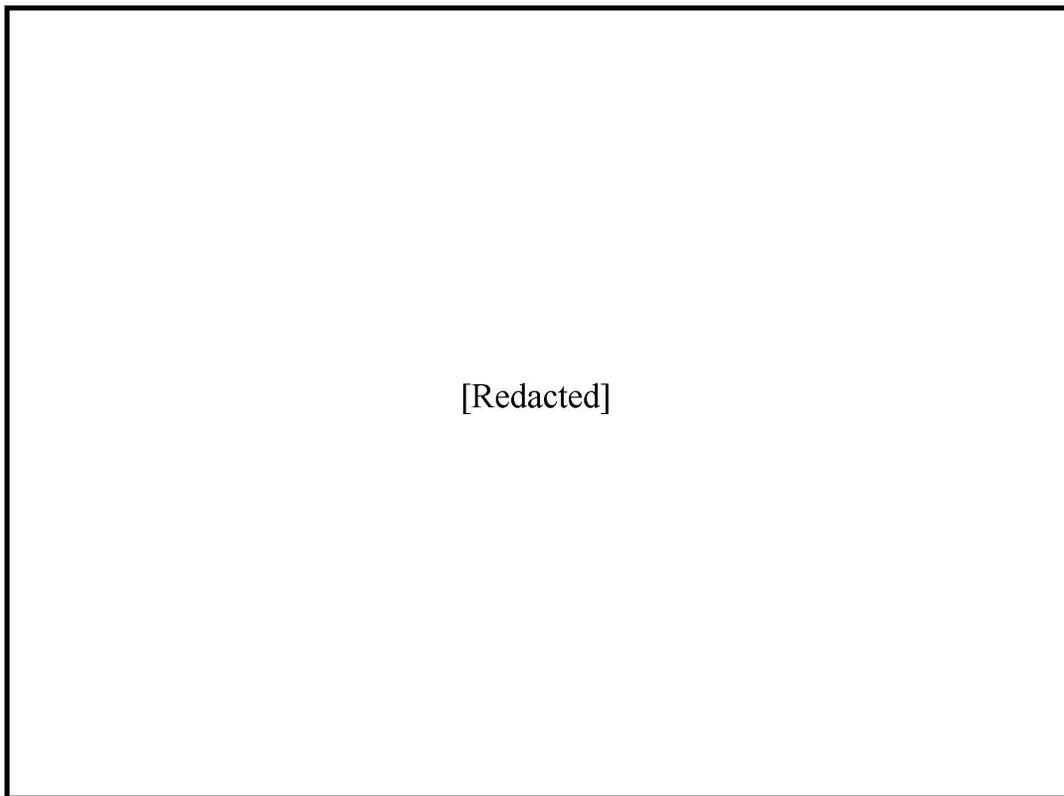


Fig. 3-1 Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1616,
oil on canvas, 140 x 204 cm, Rijksmuseum

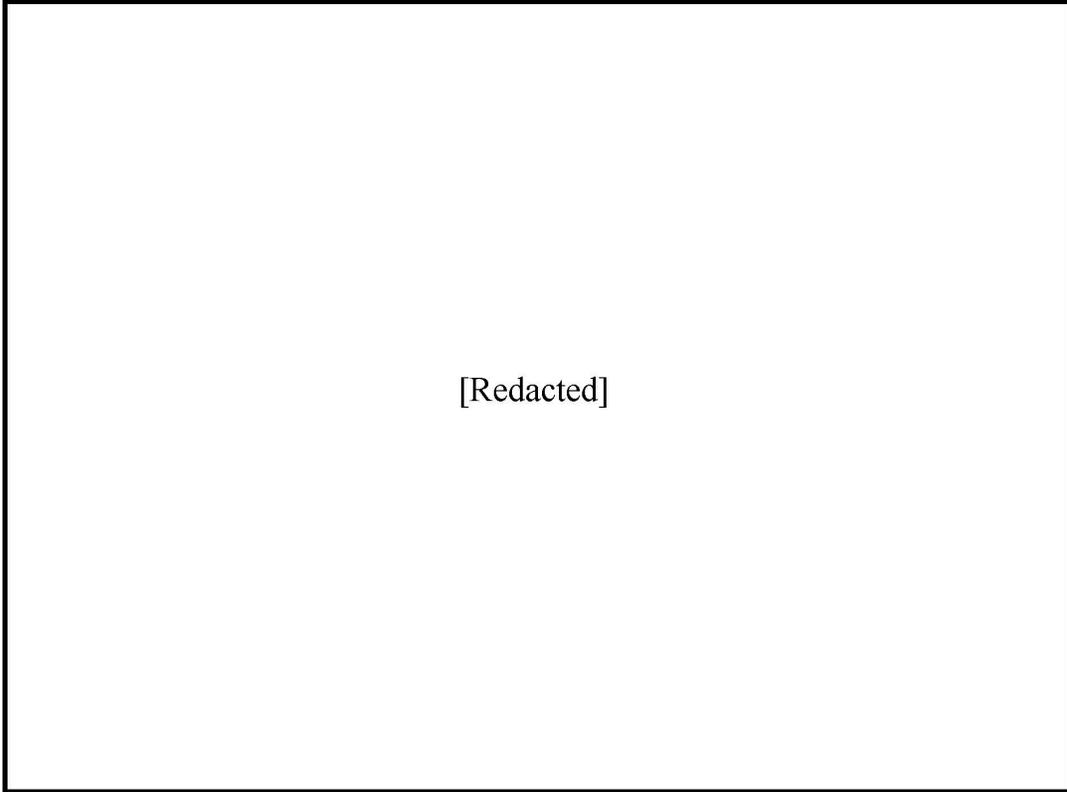


Fig. 3-2 Lucas van Leyden, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1530, engraving, 189 x 244 mm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

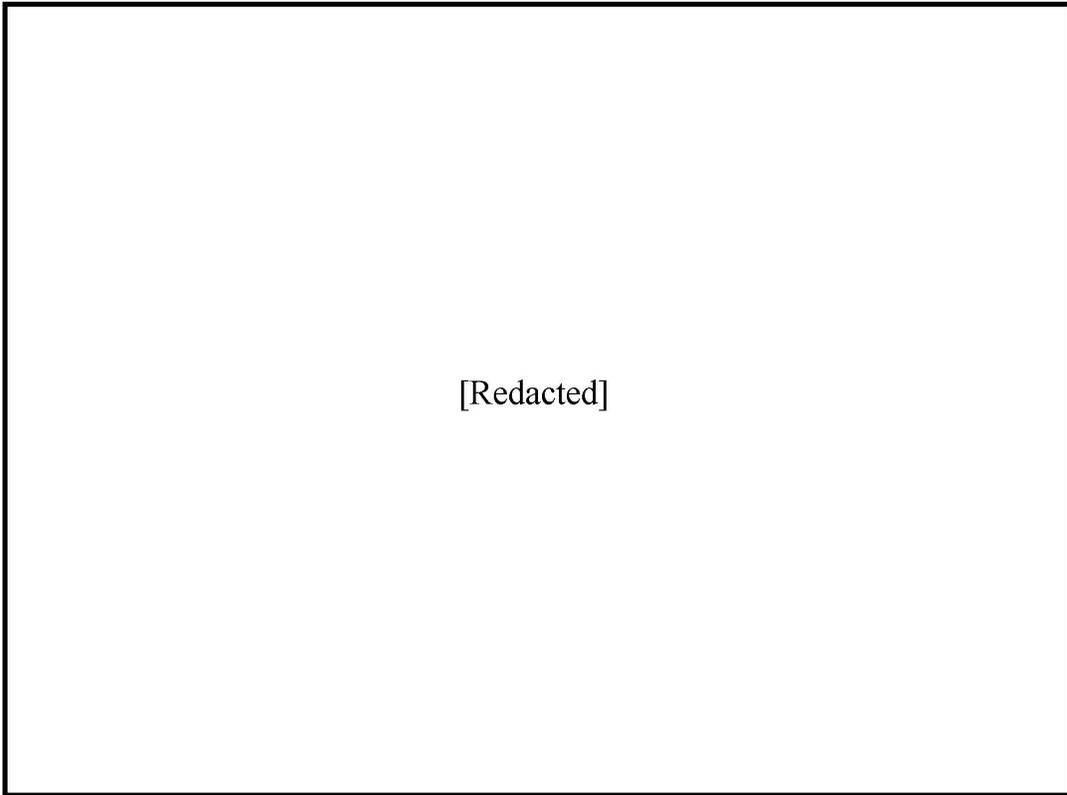


Fig. 3-3 Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1551, engraving, 250 x 196 mm, Rijksmuseum

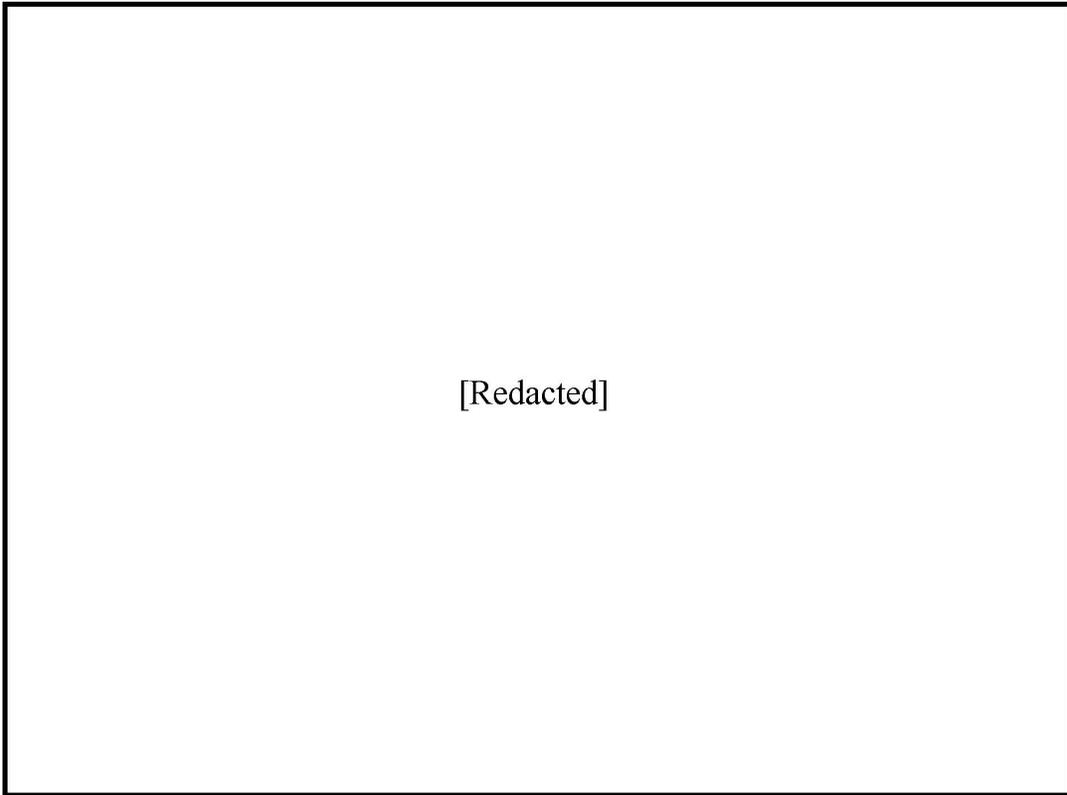


Fig. 3-4 Philips Galle after Frans Floris, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1588, engraving, 270 x 393 mm, Rijksmuseum

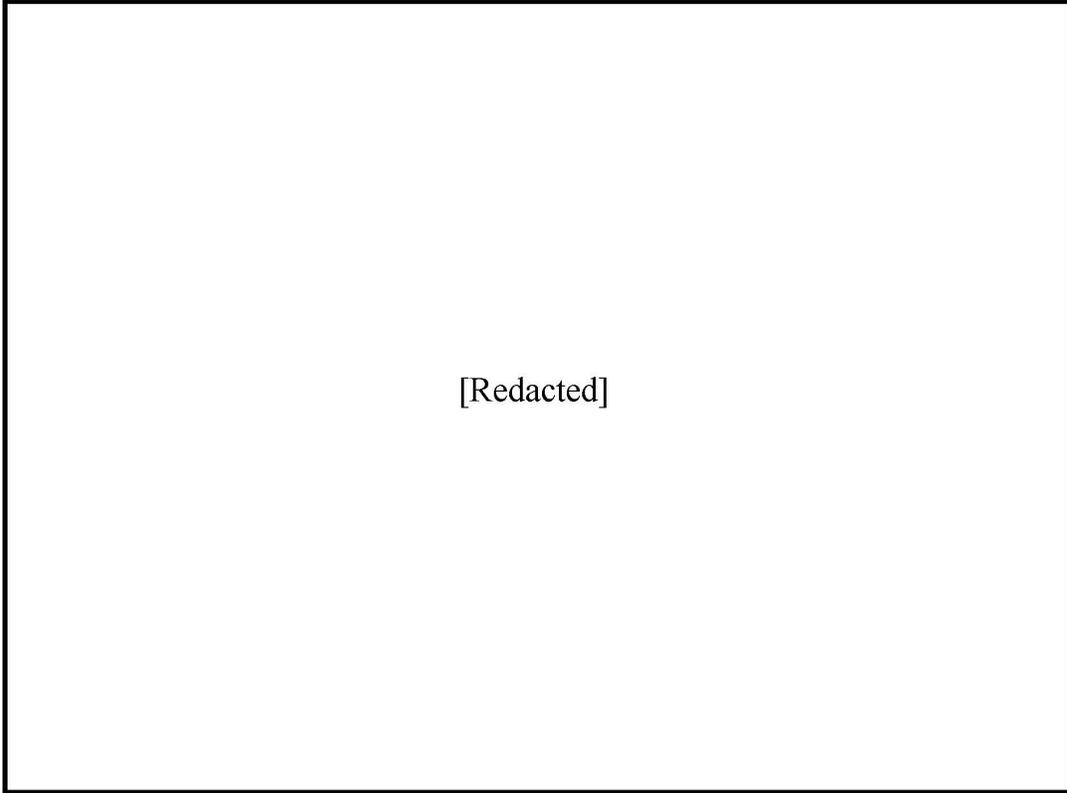


Fig. 3-5 Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1569, engraving, 141 x 201 mm, Rijksmuseum

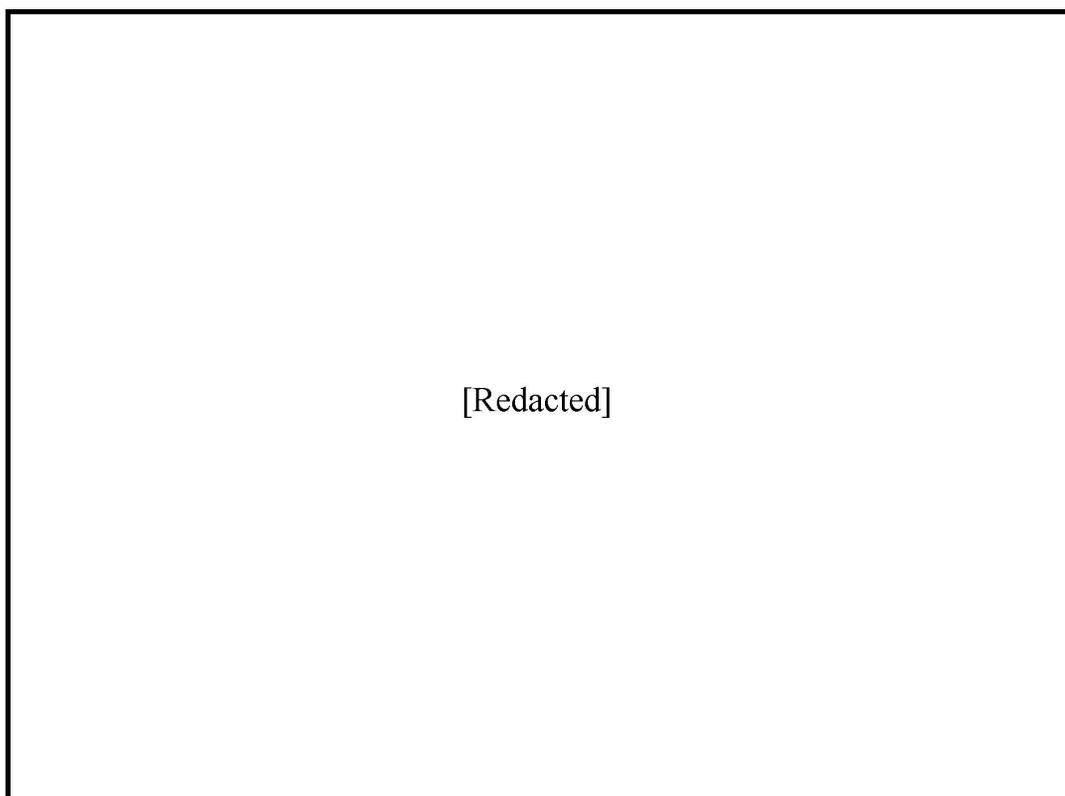


Fig. 3-6 Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1597,
pen and brown ink, 194 x 262 mm, The Victoria and Albert Museum

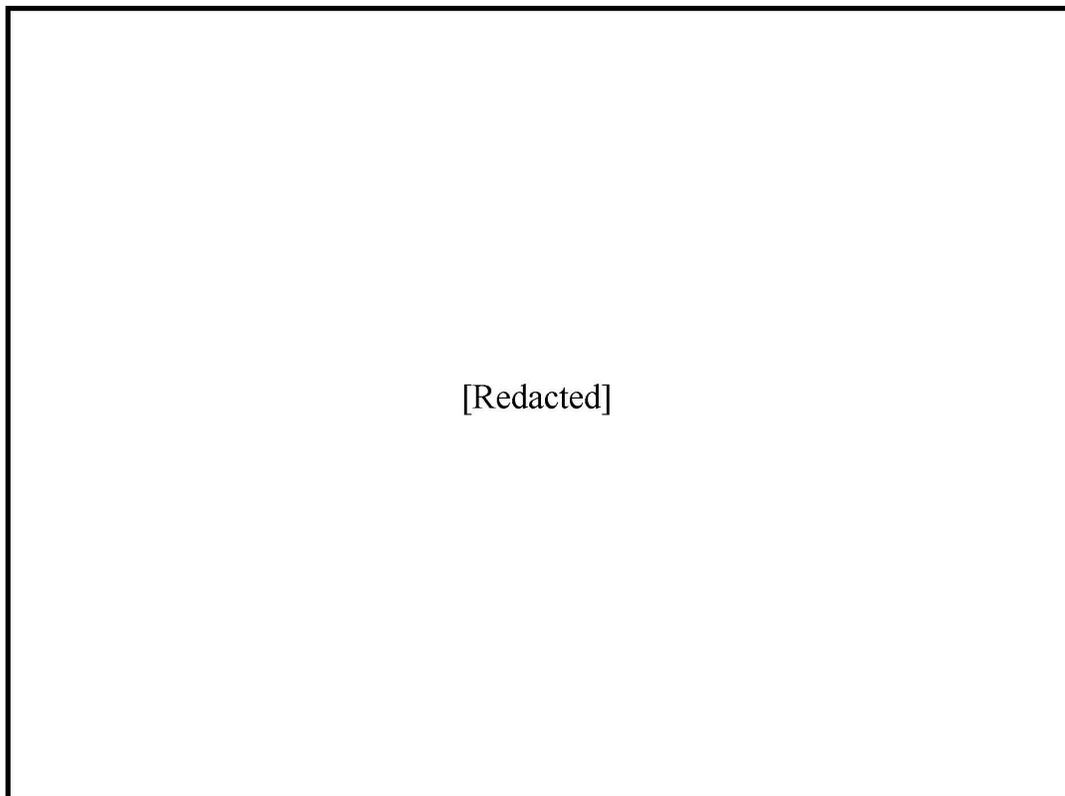


Fig. 3-7 Jan Muller, *Lot and his Daughters*, c. 1600,
engraving, 400 x 452 mm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

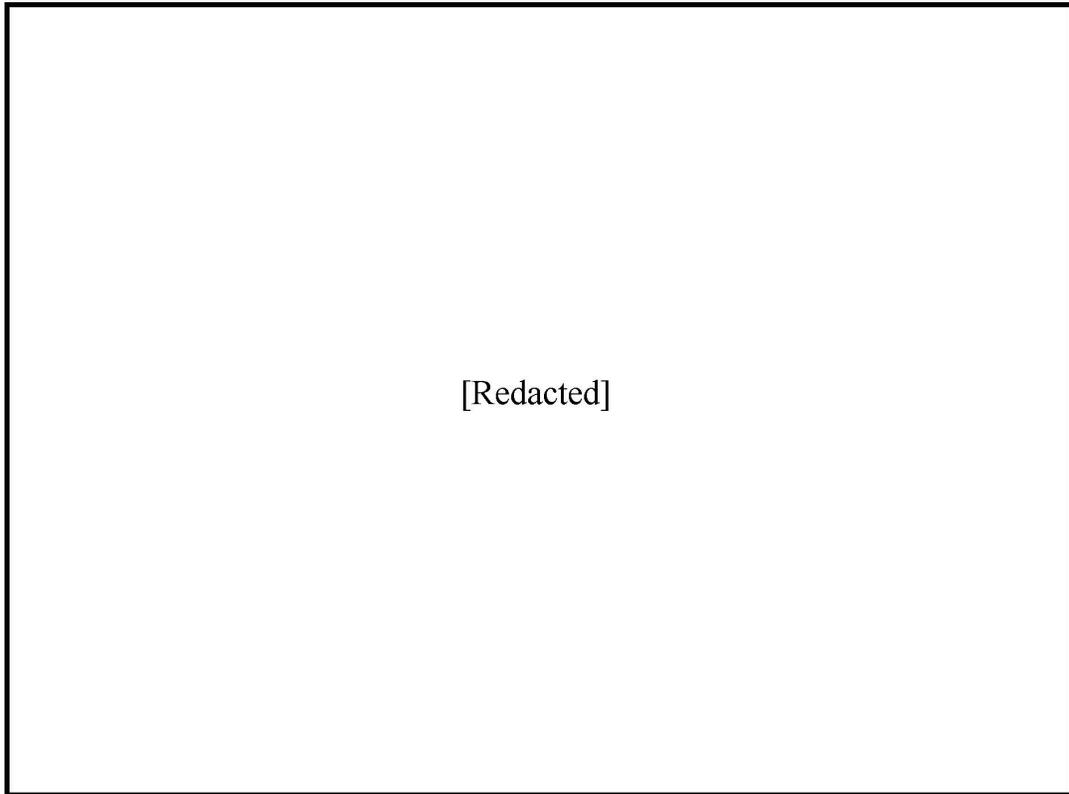


Fig. 3-8 Willem Isaacs van Swanenburg after Peter Paul Rubens, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1612, engraving, 316 x 380 mm, Rijksmuseum

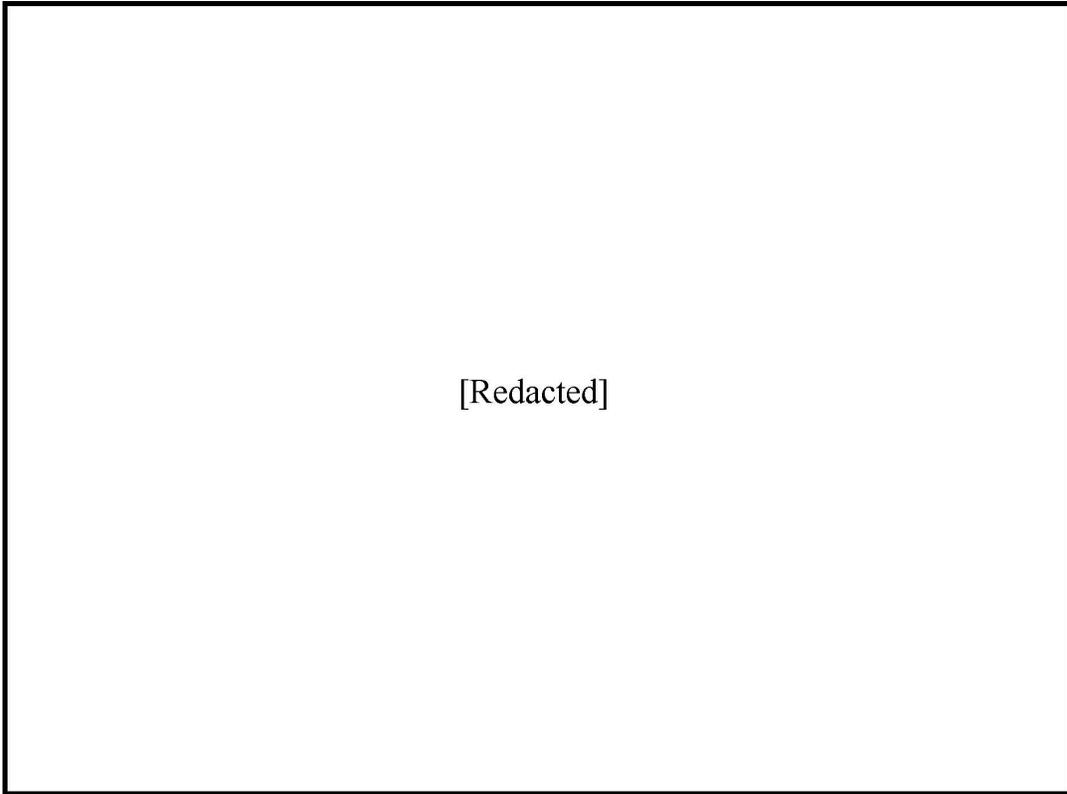


Fig. 3-9 Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1616 (detail)

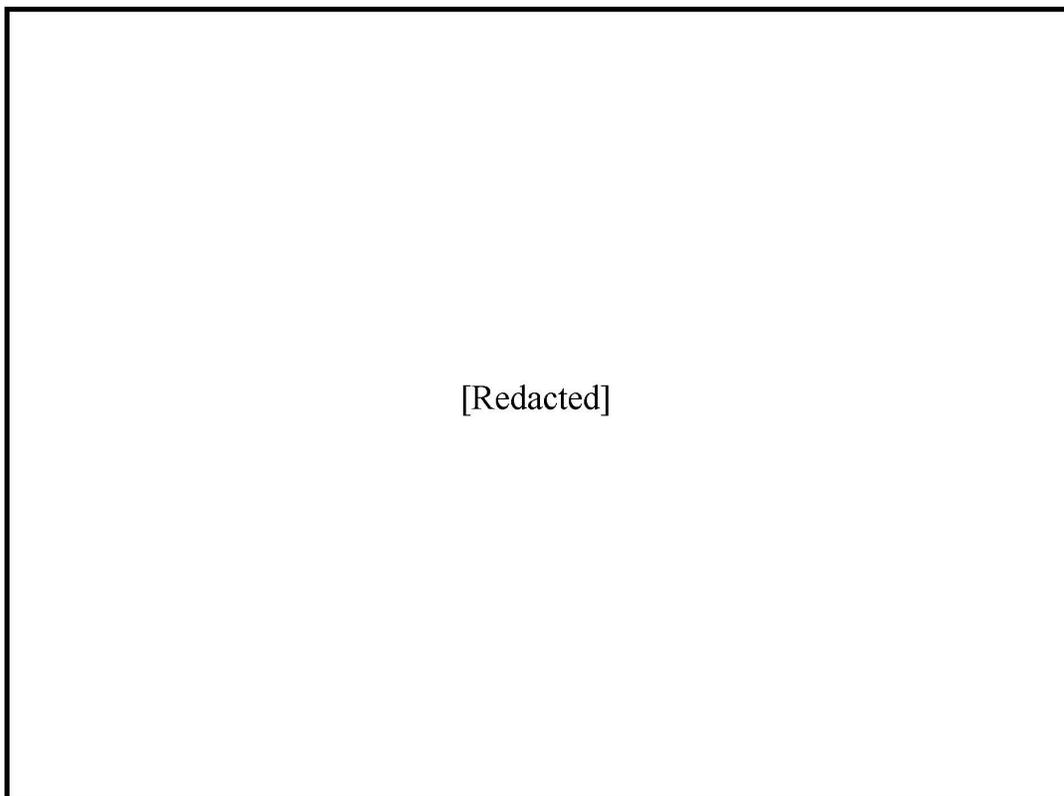


Fig. 3-10 Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1616 (detail)

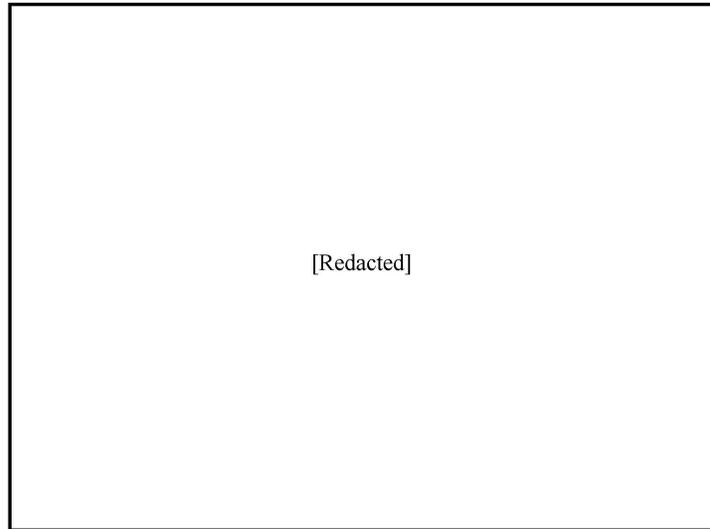


Fig. 3-11 Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot and his Daughters*, 1616 (detail)

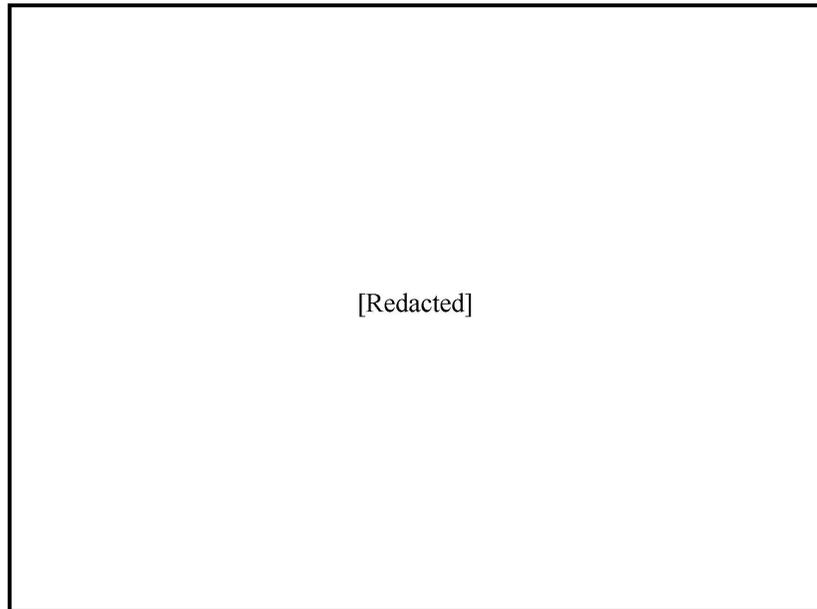


Fig. 4-1 Pieter Lastman, *Tobias Catches the Fish*, 1613,
oil on canvas, 78 x 101.5 cm, Museum Het Prinsessehof-Leeuwarden, Ottema-Kingma Stichting

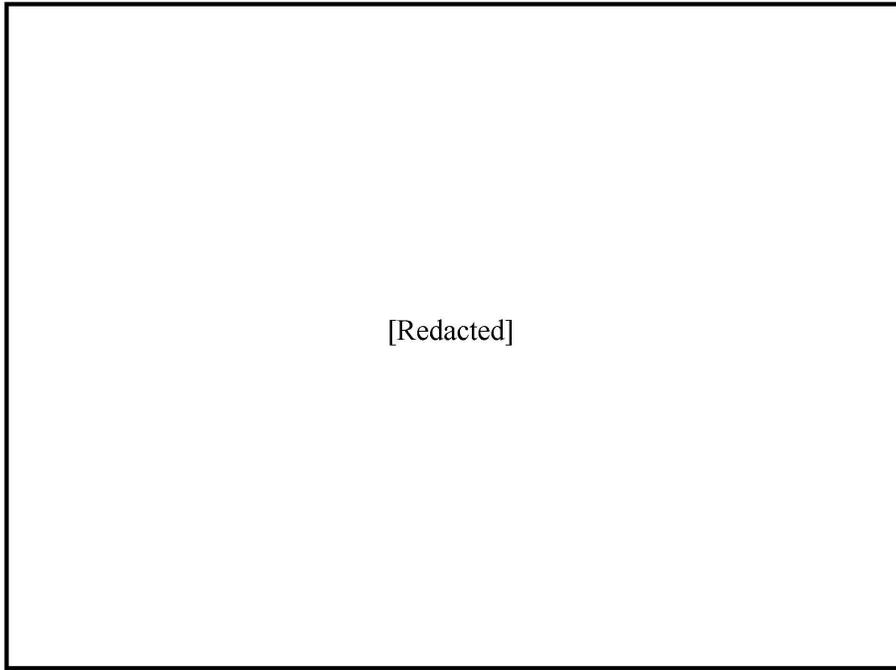


Fig. 4-2 Pieter Lastman, *The Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah*, 1611, oil on panel, 41.2 x 57.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts Boston

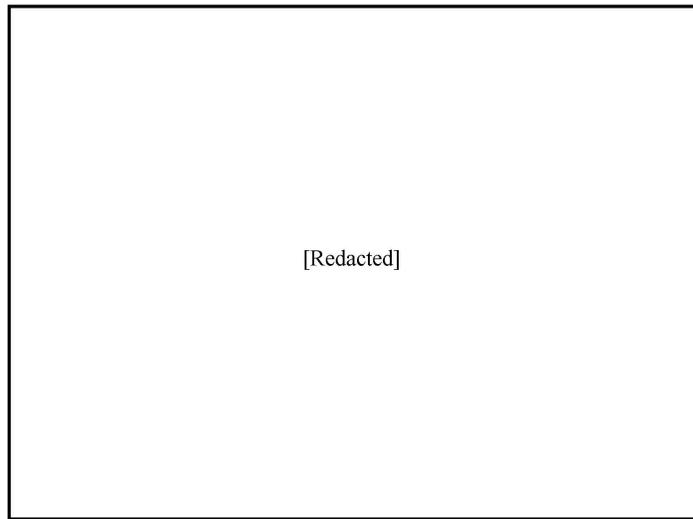


Fig. 4-3 Pieter Lastman, *The Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah*, 1611 (detail)

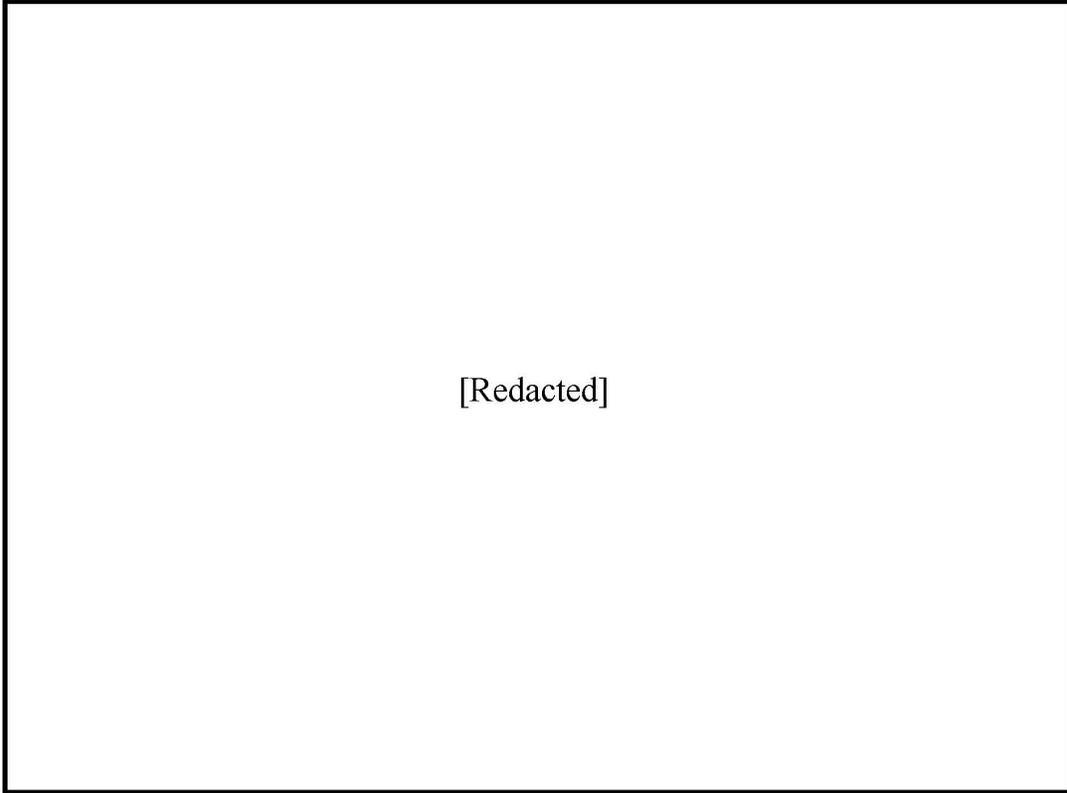


Fig. 4-4 Pieter Lastman, *The Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah*, 1611 (detail)

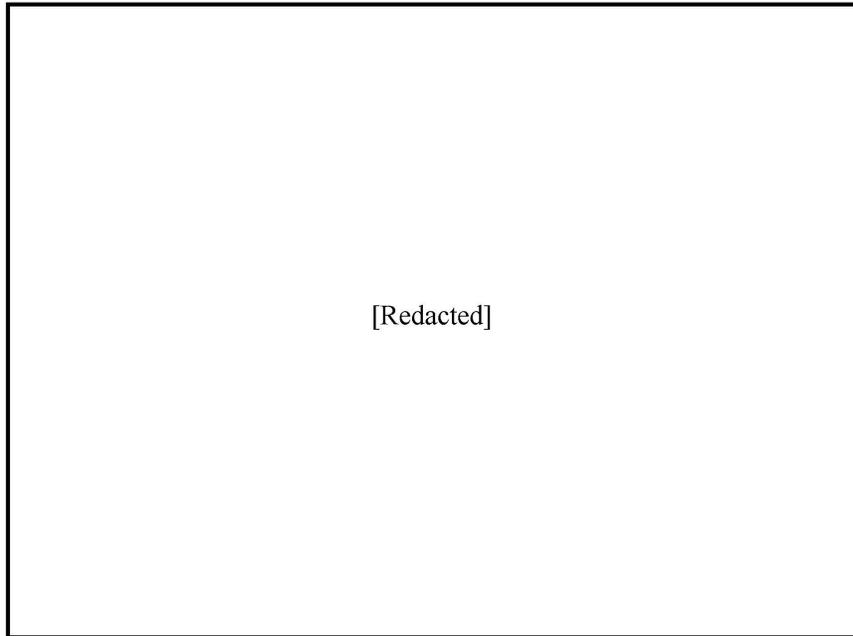


Fig. 4-5 Pieter Lastman, *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son*, 1618, oil on panel, 62 x 93 cm, Statens Museum for Kunst Copenhagen

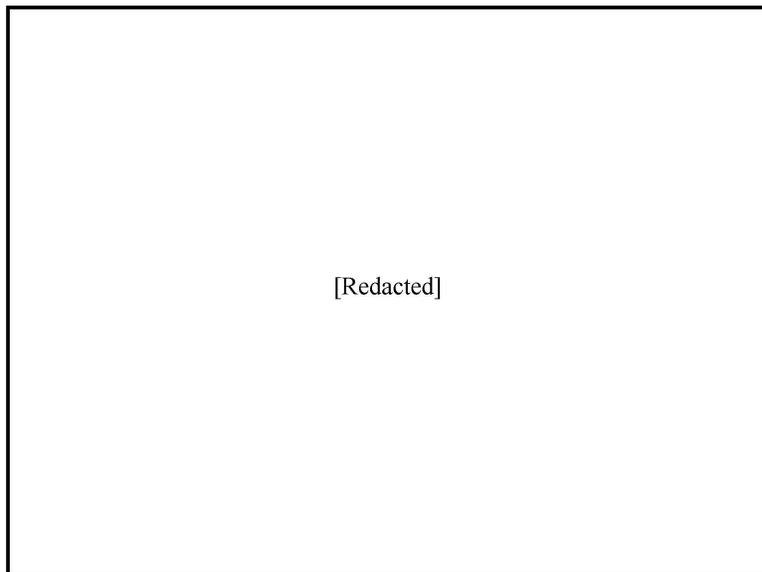


Fig. 4-6 Pieter Lastman, *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son*, 1618 (detail)

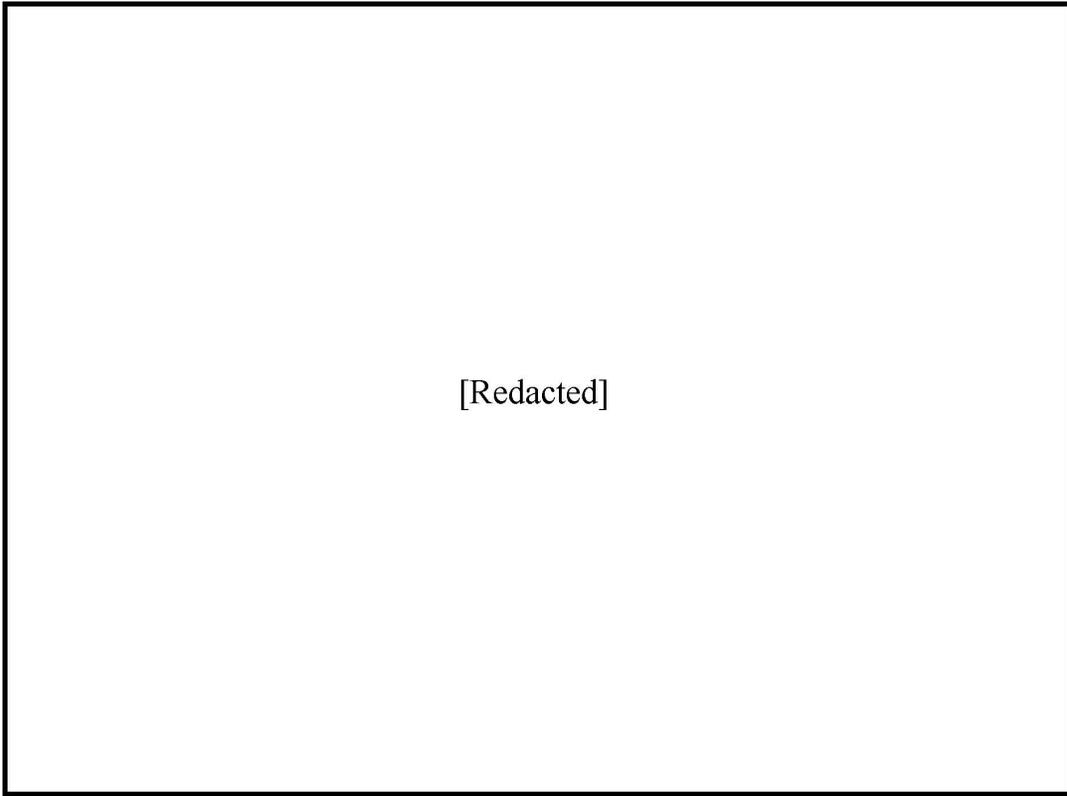


Fig. 4-7 Pieter Lastman, *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son*, 1618 (detail)

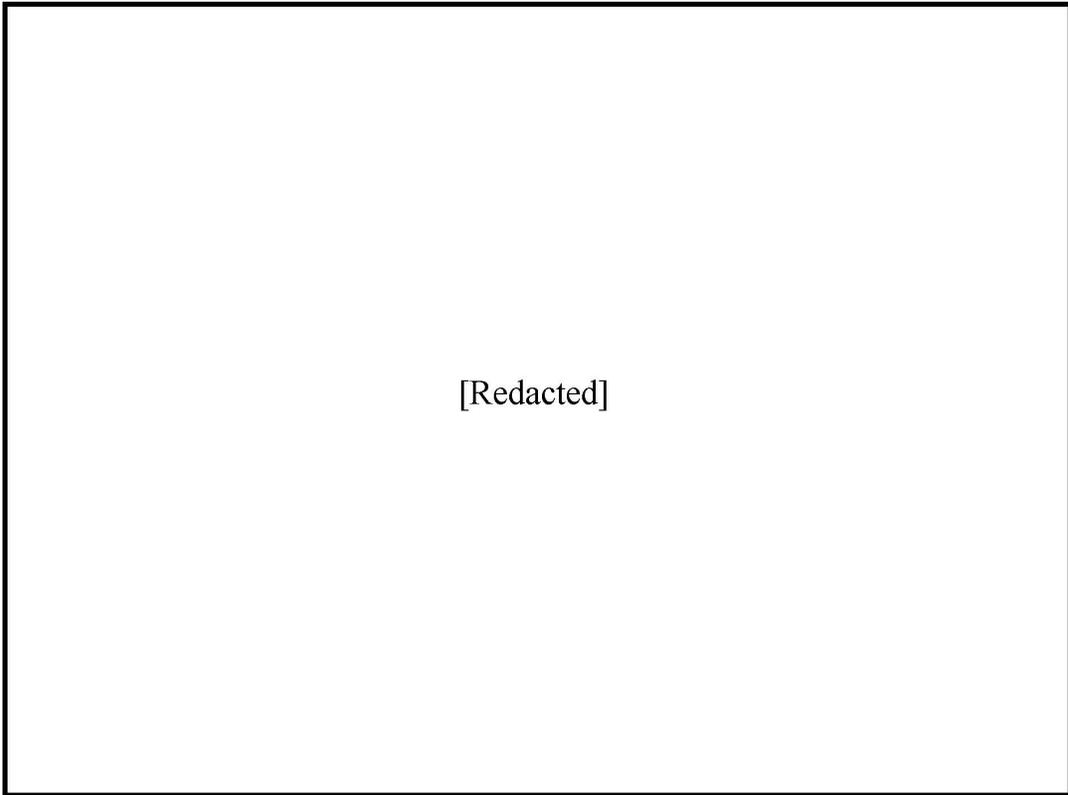


Fig. 4-8 Pieter Lastman, *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son*, 1618 (detail)

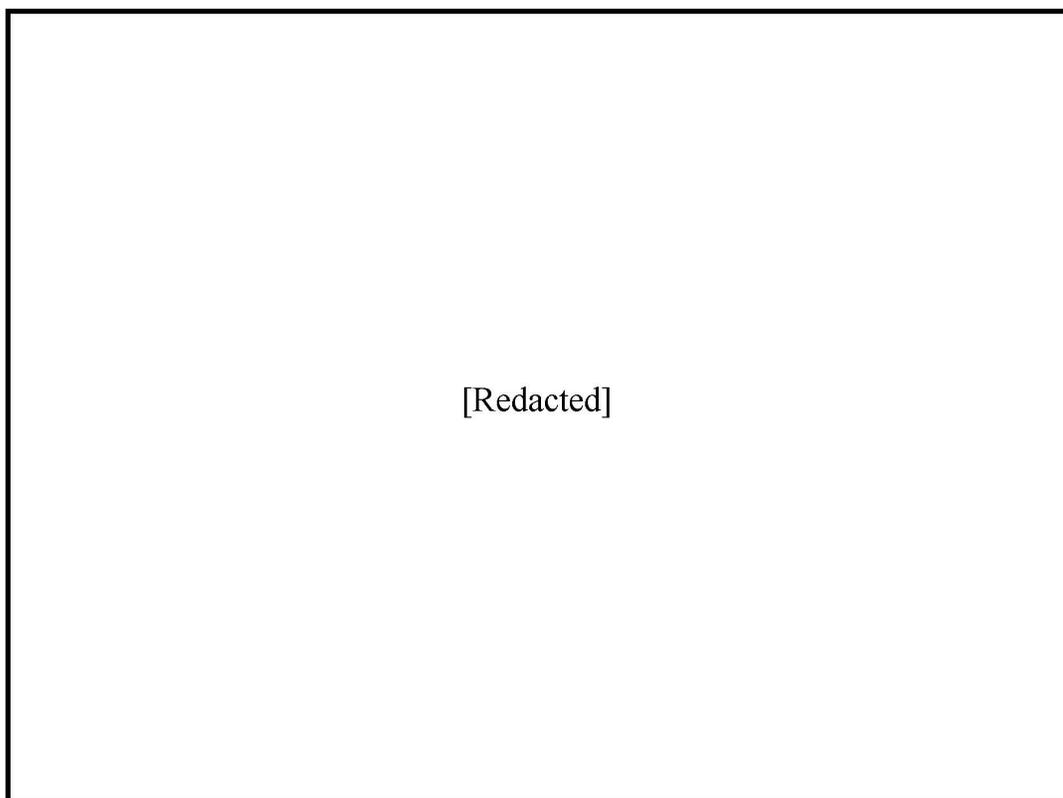


Fig. 4-9 Diagram of *elocutio* and the subcomponents of *energeia* and *enargeia*

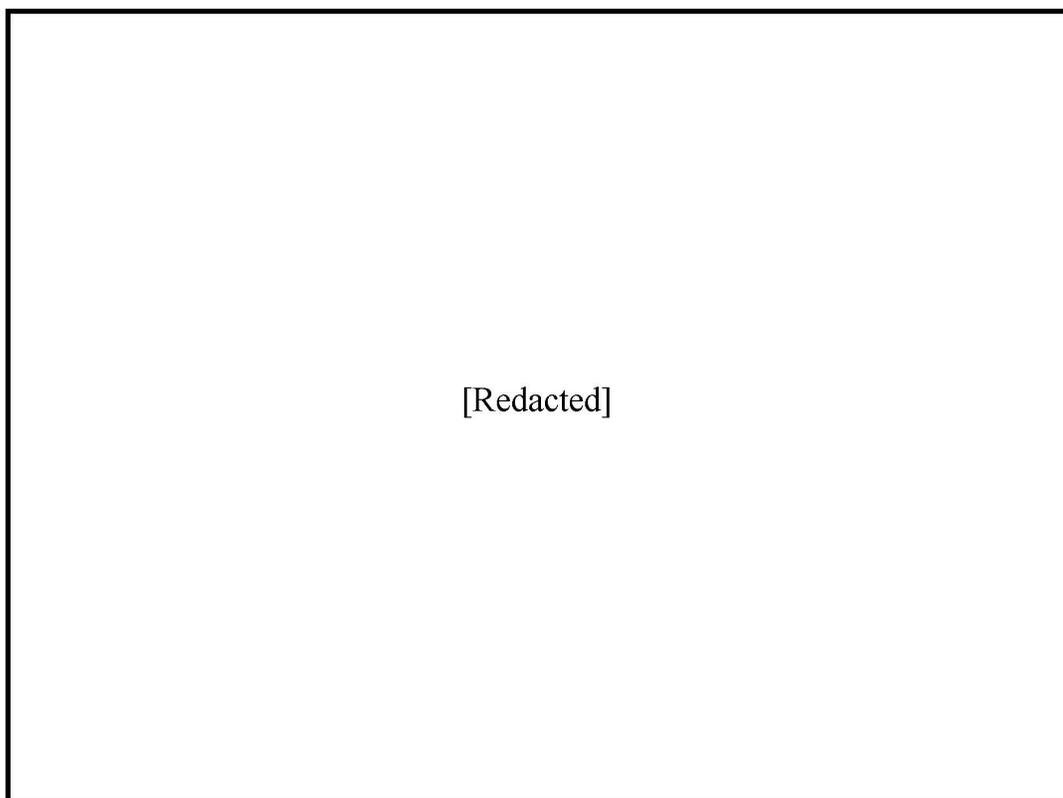


Fig. 4-10 Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Tobias Catches the Fish*, c. 1548, woodcut, 238 x 189 mm, The Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge

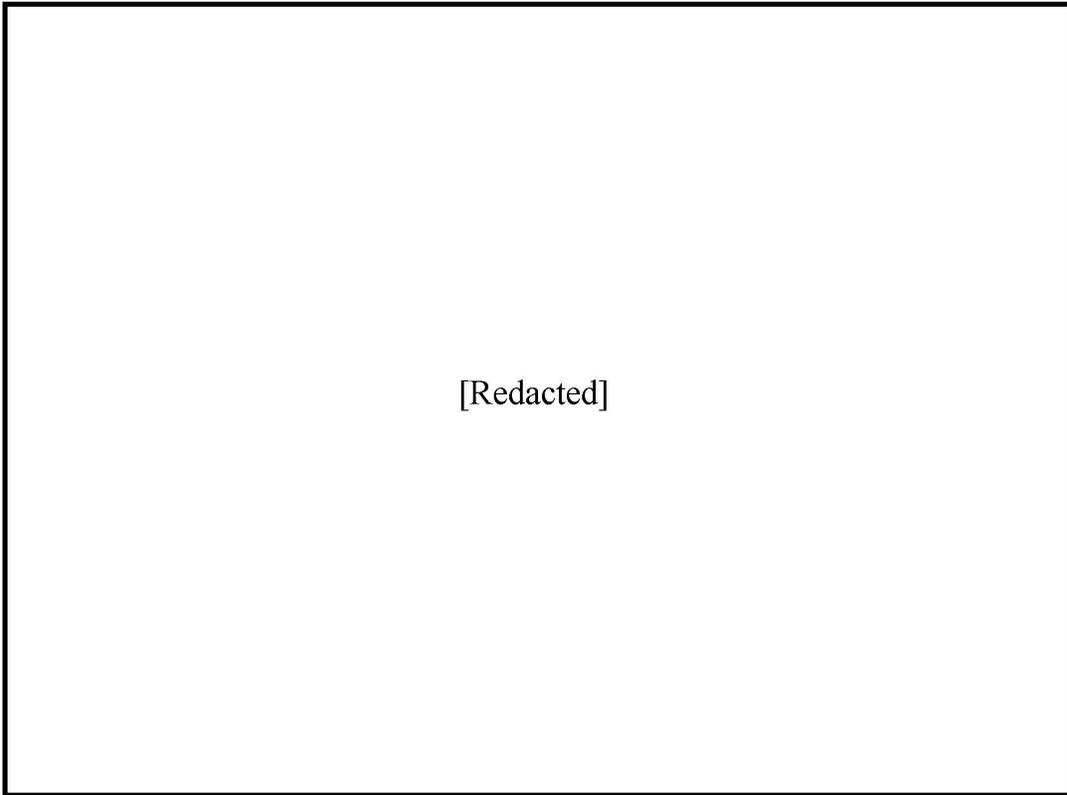


Fig. 4-11 Cornelis Cort after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Tobias Catches the Fish*, 1556, engraving, 200 x 244 mm, Rijksmuseum

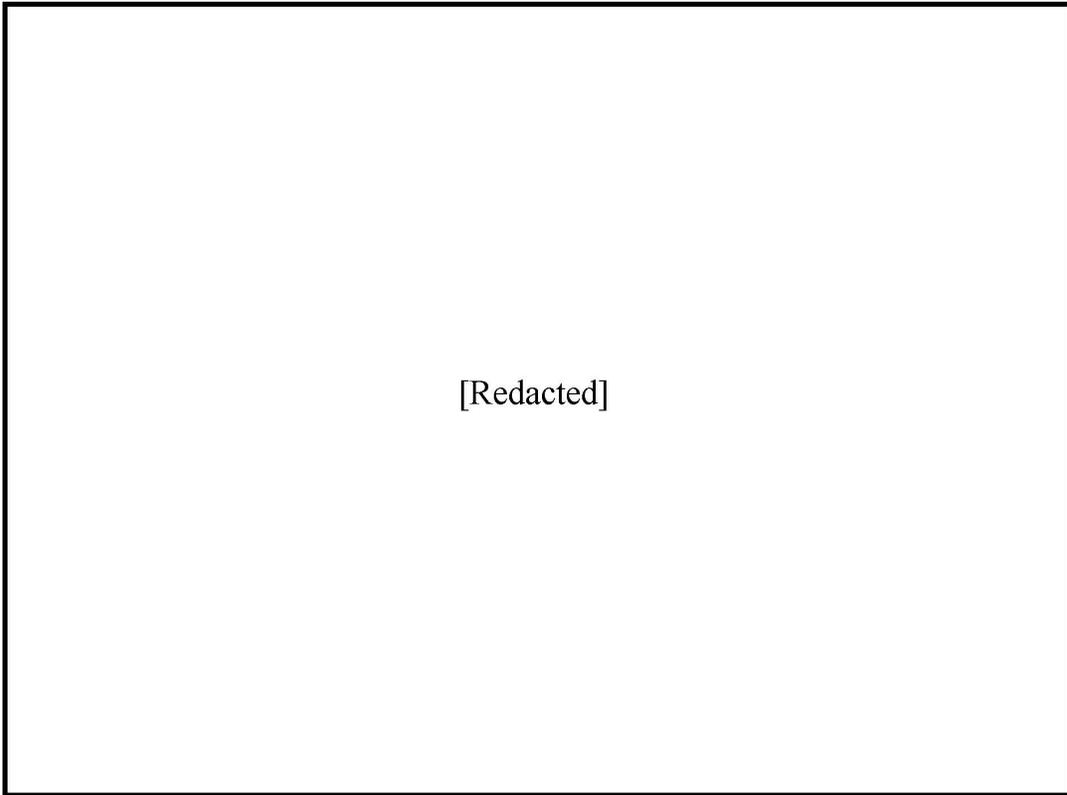


Fig. 4-12 Karel van Mander, *Tobias Catches the Fish*, c. 1590,
engraving, 216 x 229 mm, Rijksmuseum

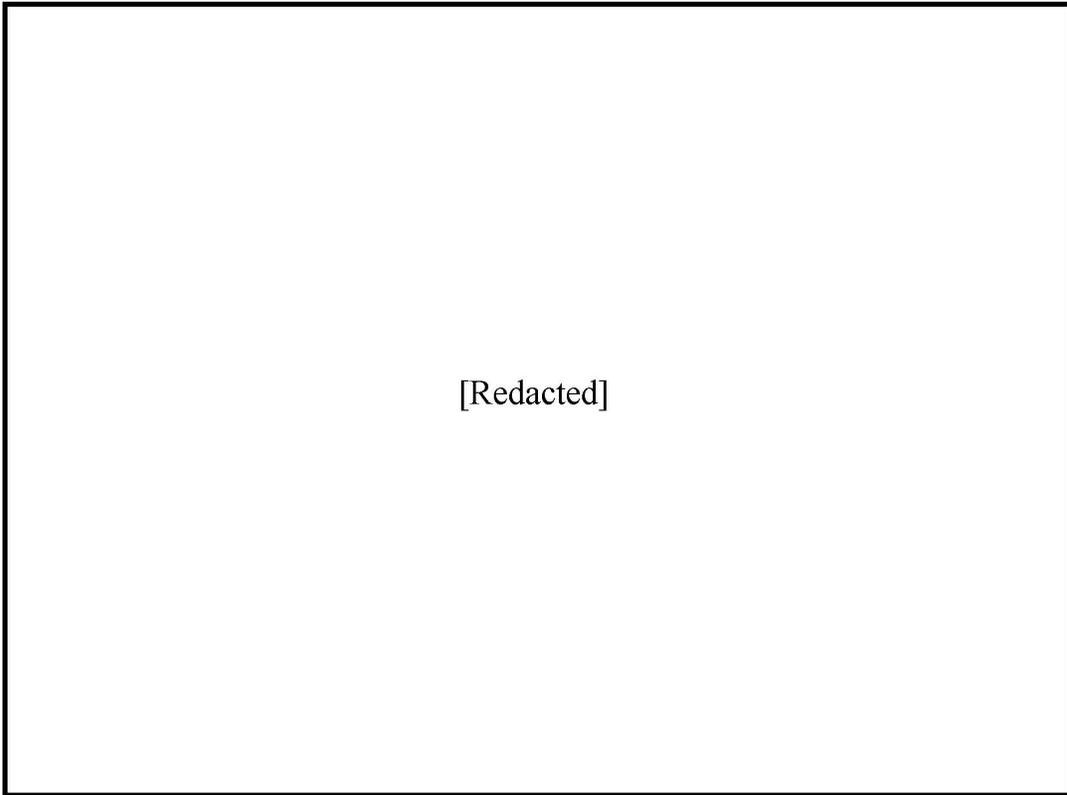


Fig. 4-13 Crispijn de Broeck, *Tobias Catches the Fish*, c. 1570-1580, engraving, 192 x 148 mm, Rijksmuseum

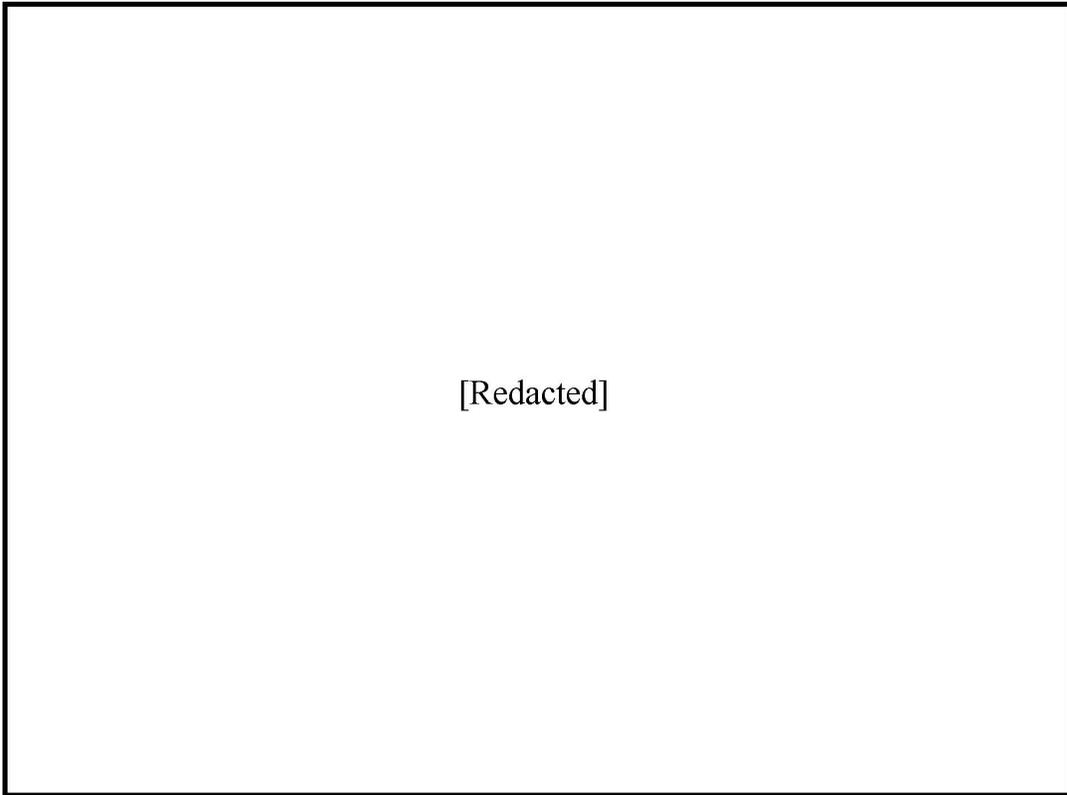


Fig. 4-14 Crispijn de Broeck, *Tobias Cuts the Fish*, c. 1570-1580, engraving, 187 x 145 mm, Rijksmuseum

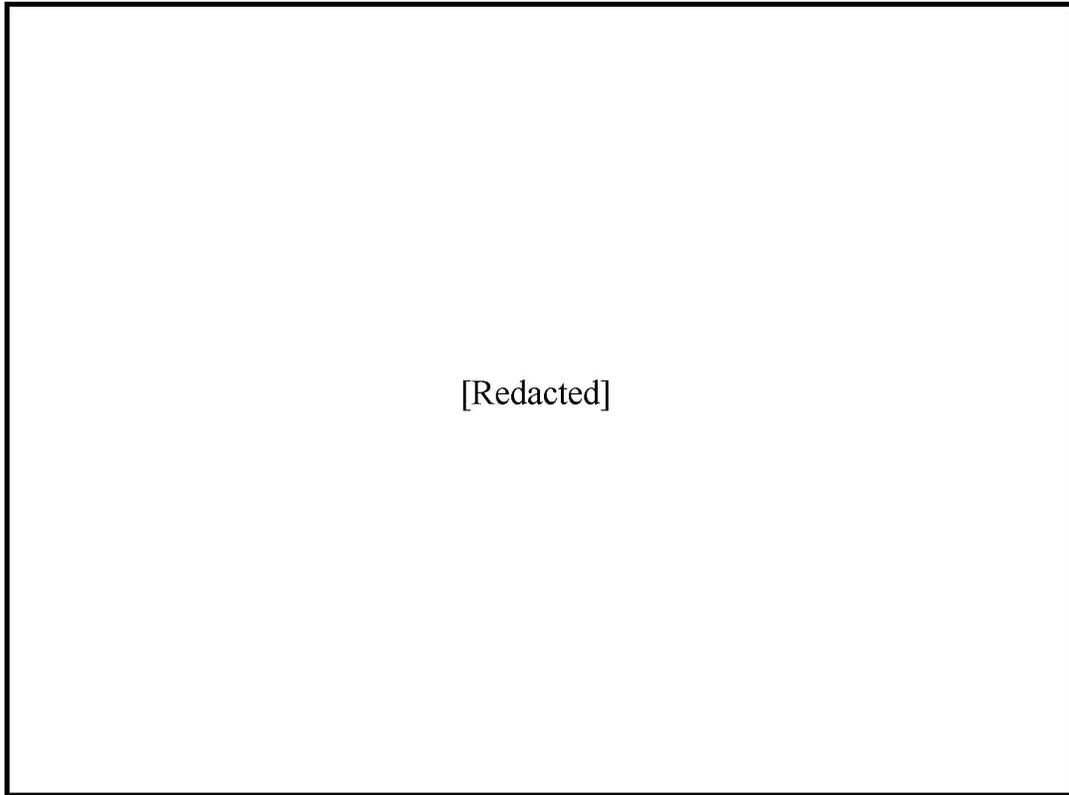


Fig. 4-15 Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah*, c. 1548, woodcut, 241 x 189 mm, Rijksmuseum

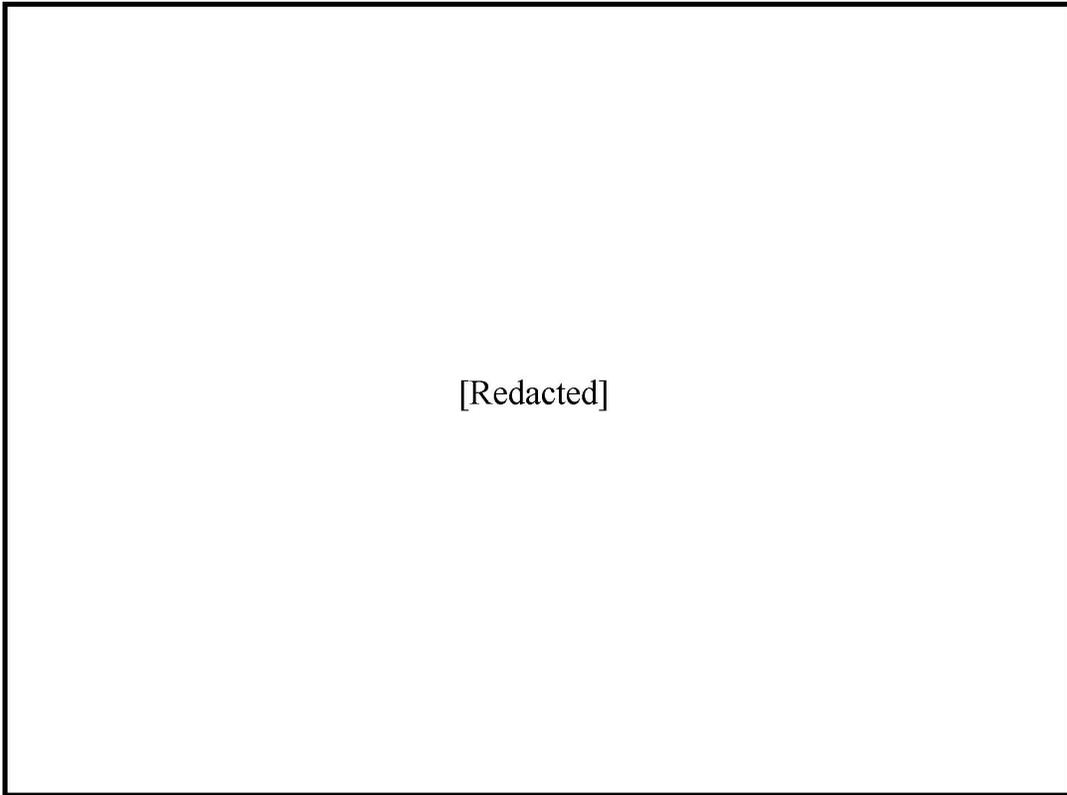


Fig. 4-16 Cornelis Cort after Maarten van Heemskerck,
Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah, 1556, engraving, 200 x 243 mm, Rijksmuseum

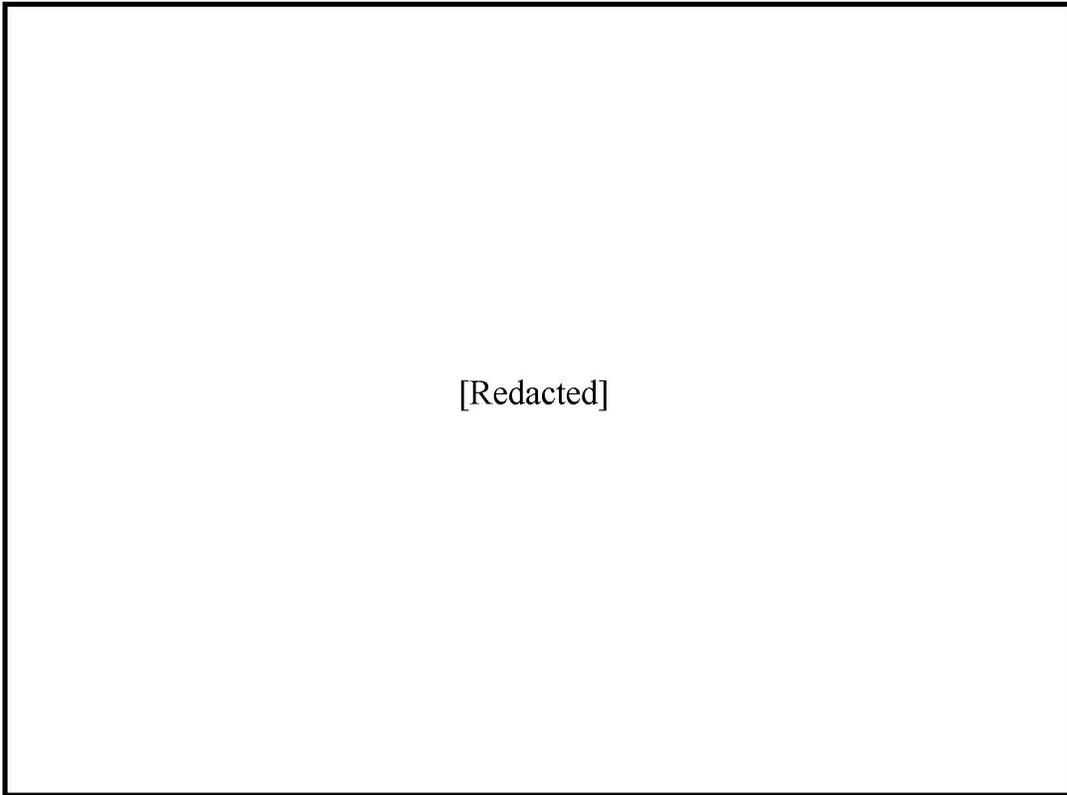


Fig. 4-17 Karel van Mander, *The Marriage of Tobias and Sarah*, c. 1590, engraving, 212 x 227 mm, The British Museum

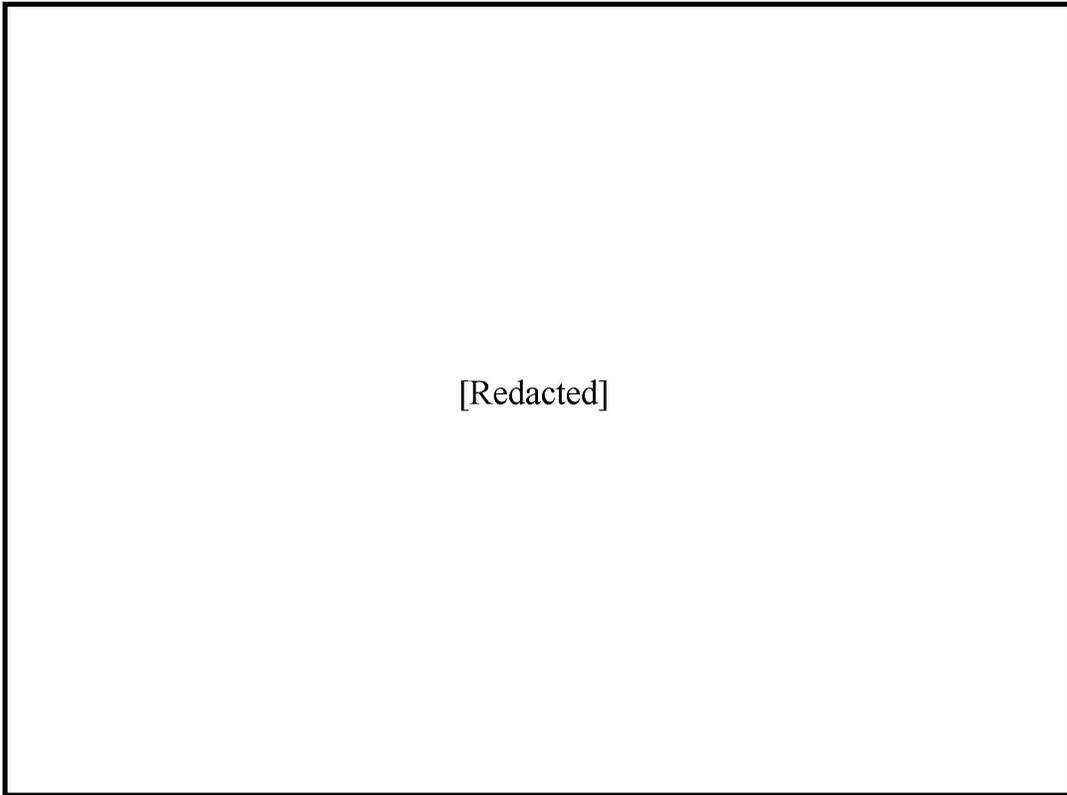


Fig. 4-18 Crispijn de Broeck, *The Marriage of Tobias and Sarah*, c. 1570-1580, engraving, 194 x 147 mm, Rijksmuseum

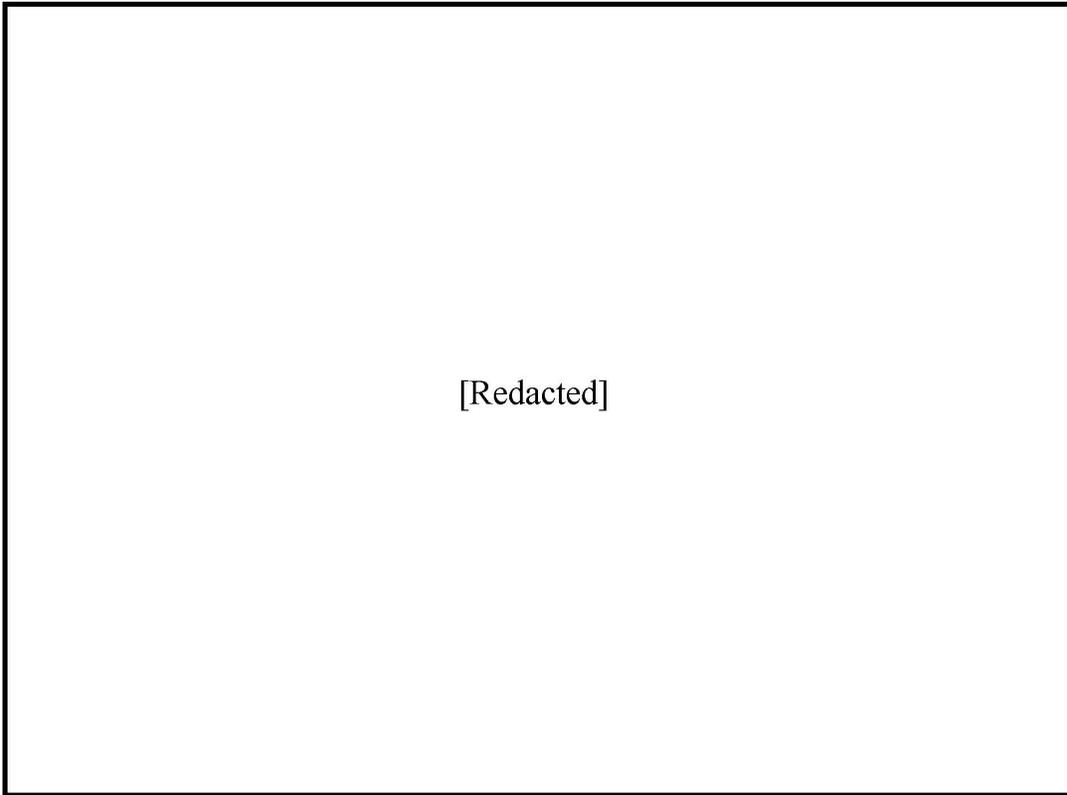


Fig. 4-19 Crispijn de Broeck, *The Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah*, c. 1570-1580, engraving, 195 x 146 mm, Rijksmuseum

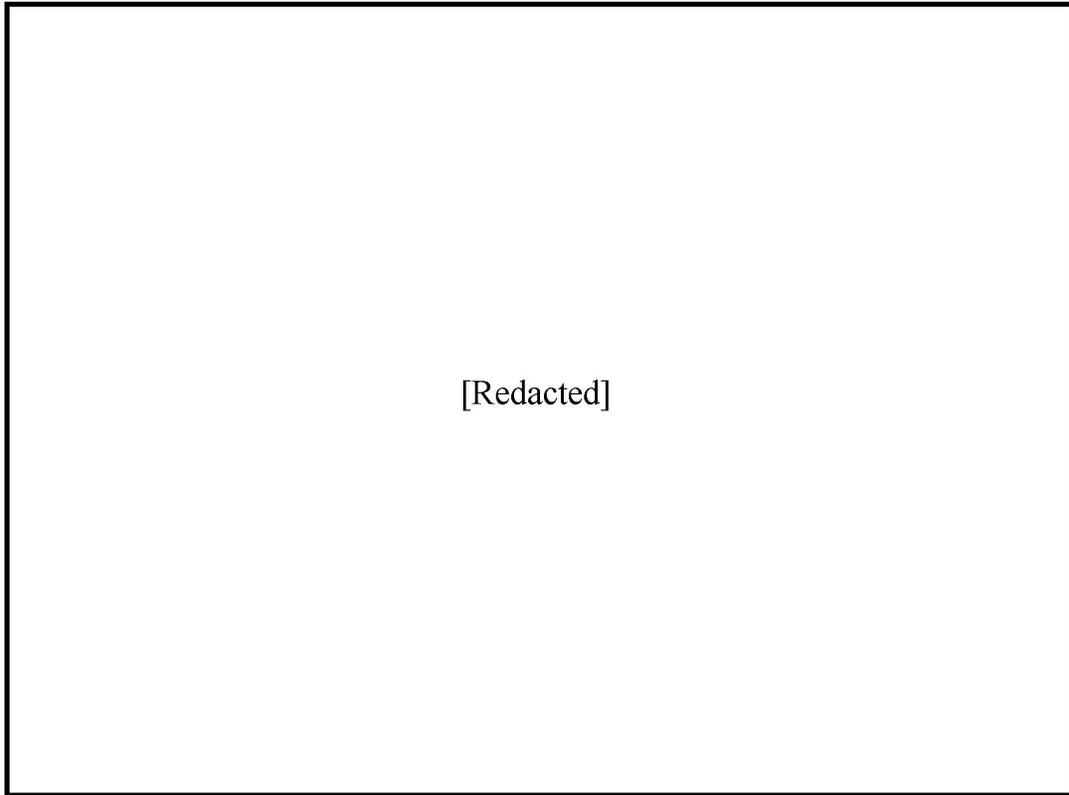


Fig. 4-20 Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck,
The Departure of Raphael, c. 1548, woodcut, 239 x 189 mm, The British Museum

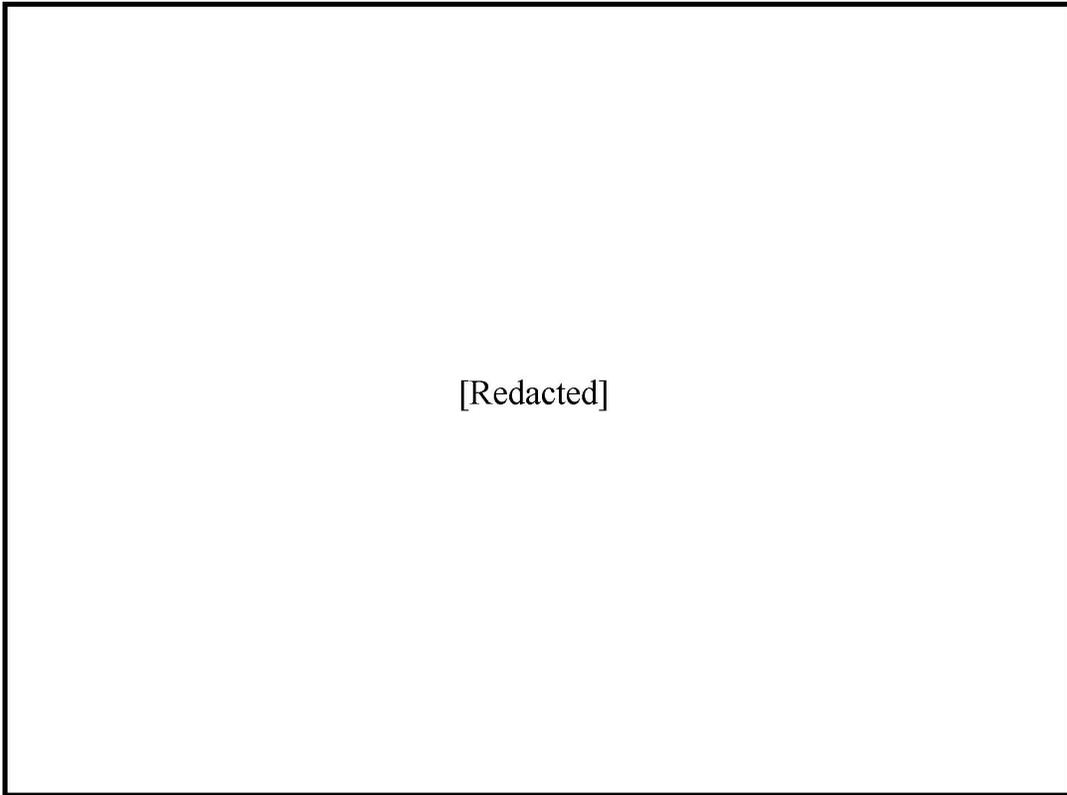


Fig. 4-21 Cornelis Cort after Maarten van Heemskerck, *The Departure of Raphael*, 1556, engraving, 203 x 248 mm, Rijksmuseum

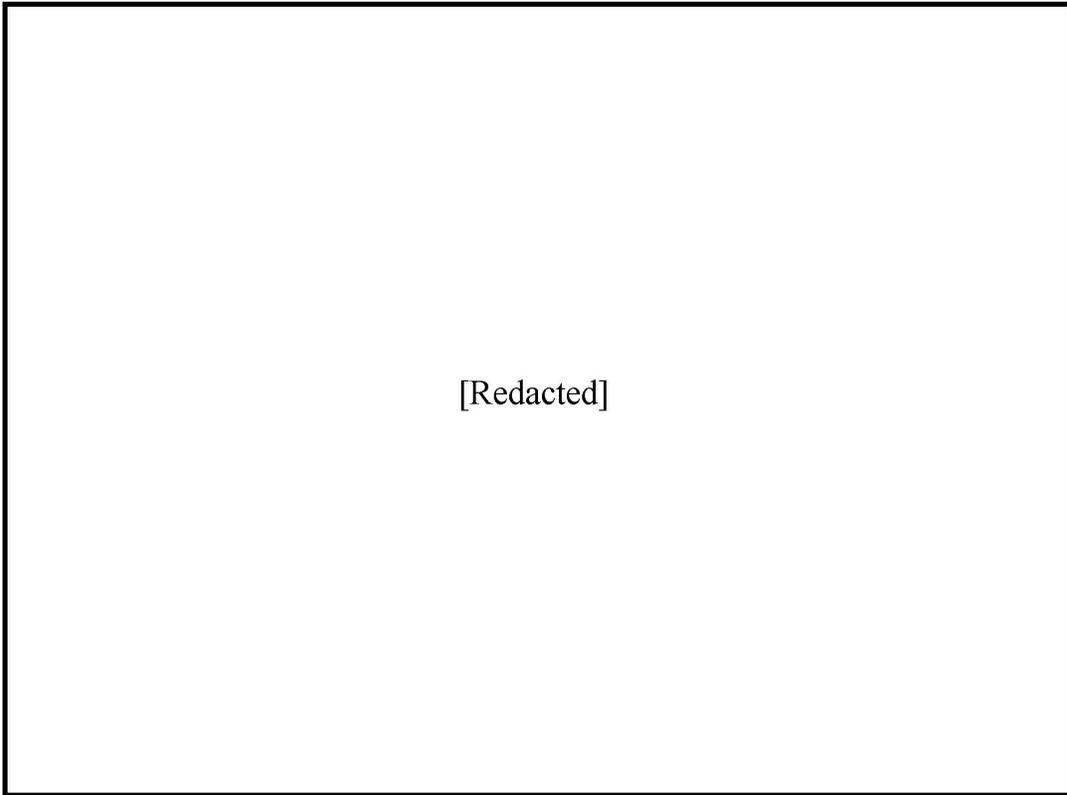


Fig. 4-22 Karel van Mander, *The Departure of Raphael*, c. 1590, engraving, 212 x 226 mm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

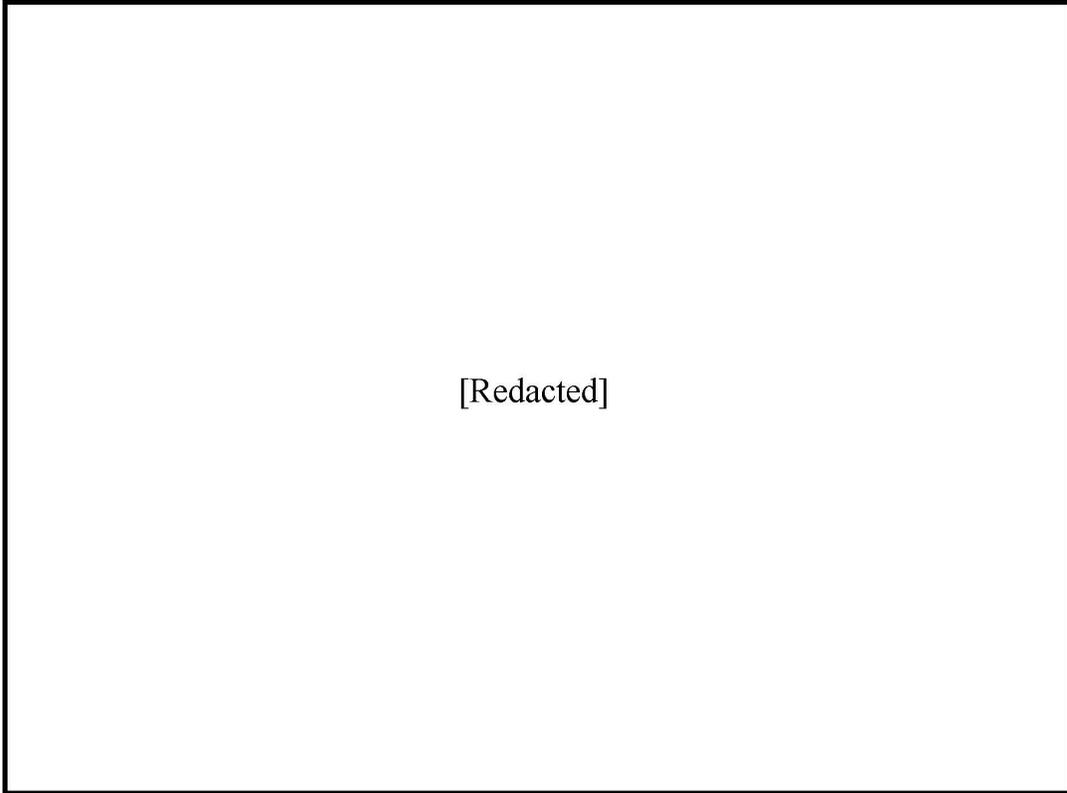


Fig. 4-23 Crispijn de Broeck, *The Payment of Raphael*, c. 1570-1580, engraving, 198 x 143 mm, Rijksmuseum

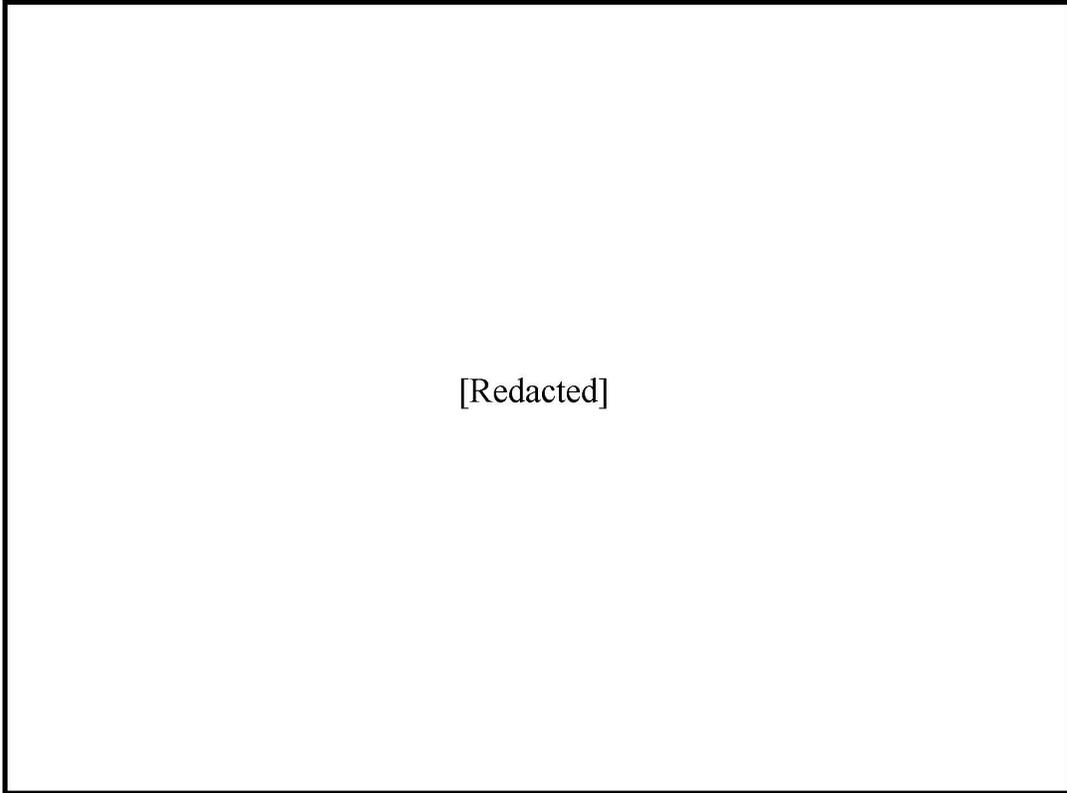


Fig. 4-24 Crispijn de Broeck, *The Departure of Raphael*, c. 1570-1580, engraving, 198 x 145 mm, Rijksmuseum

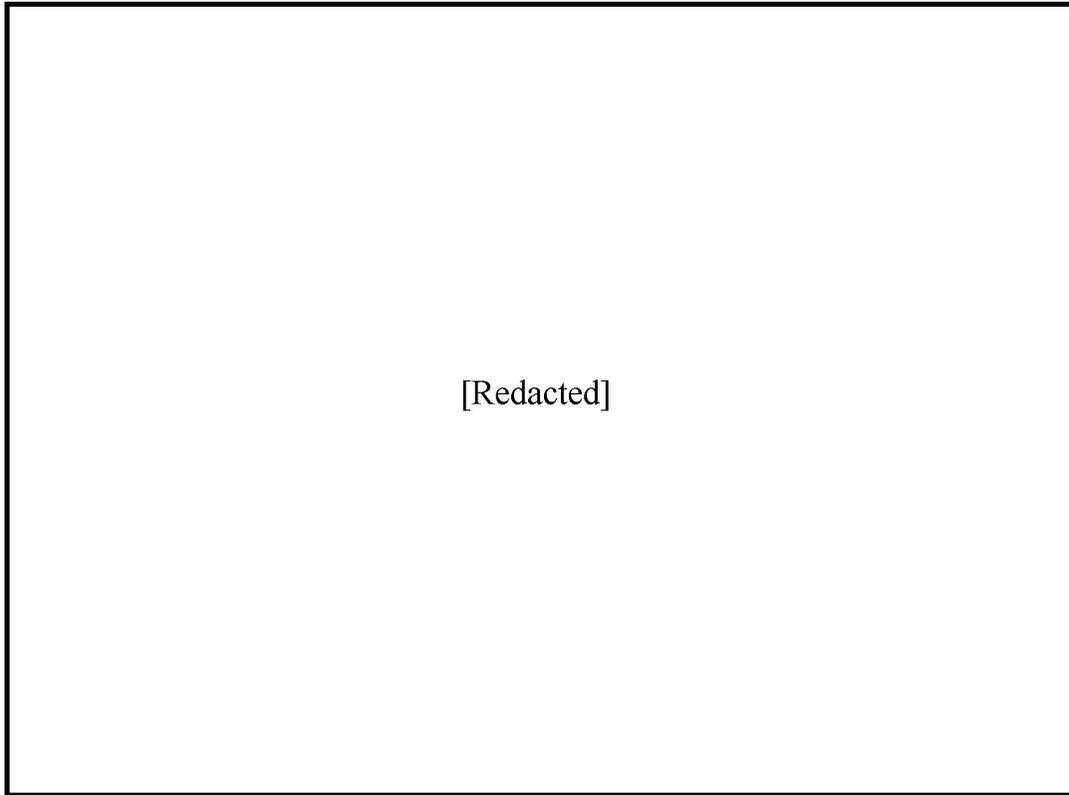


Fig. 4-25 Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, *The Triumph of Tobit* from the *Triumph of Patience* series, 1559, engraving and etching, 205 x 258 mm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

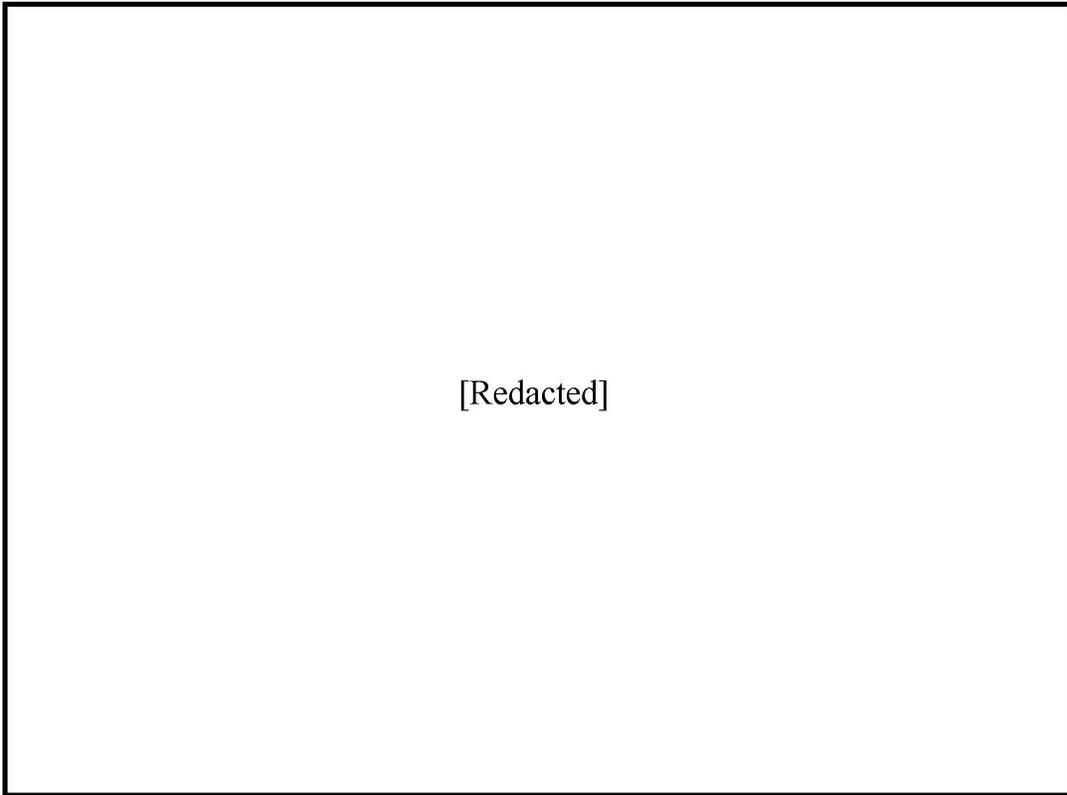


Fig. 4-26 Pieter Lastman, *The Dispute between Orestes and Pylades*, 1614, oil on panel, 83.2 x 126.1 cm, Rijksmuseum

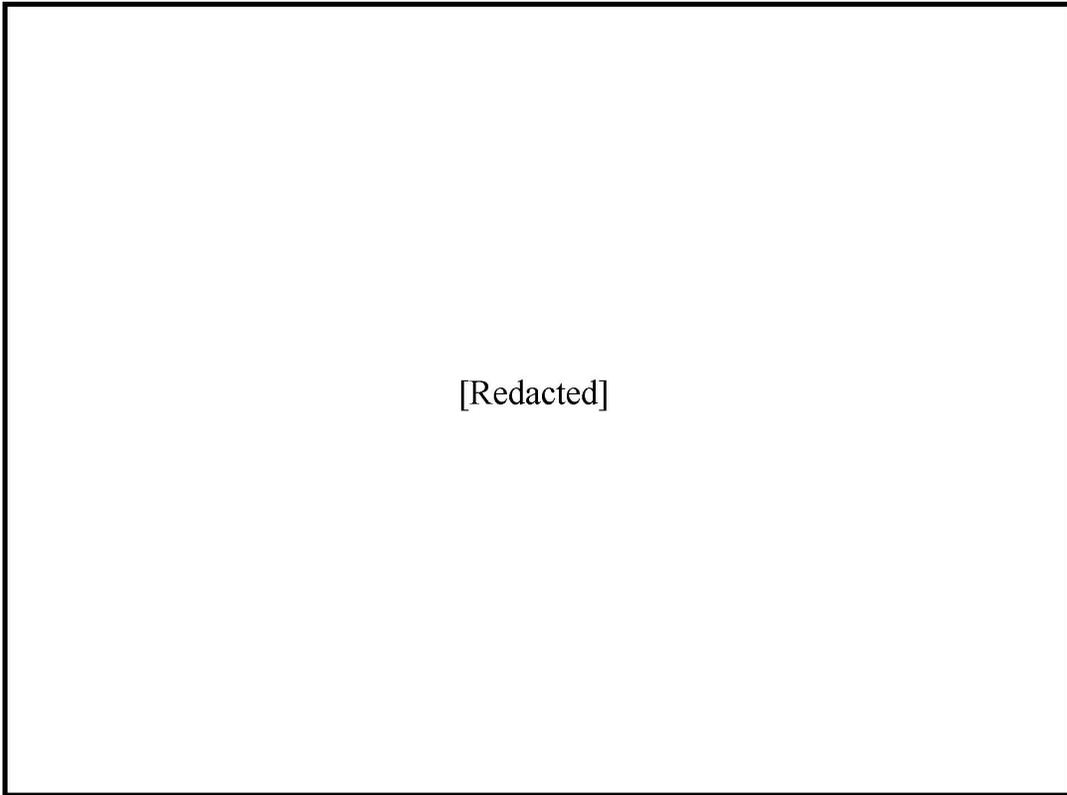


Fig. 4-27 Pieter Lastman, *The Dispute between Orestes and Pylades*, 1614 (detail)

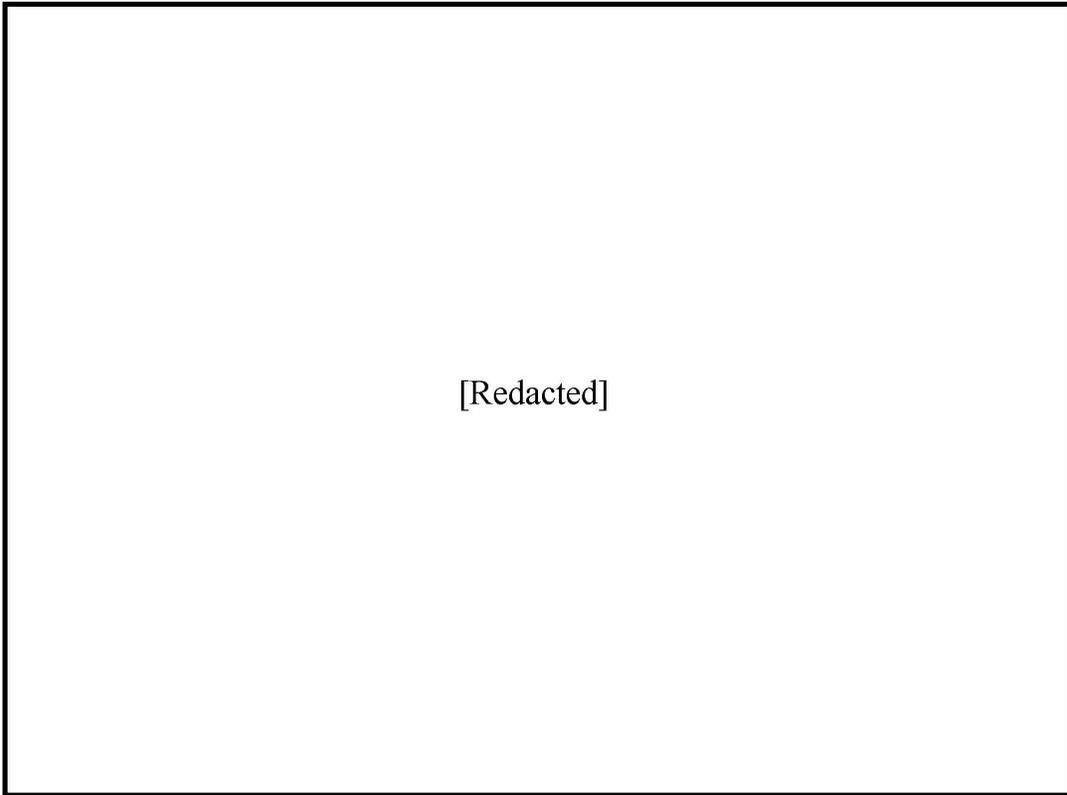


Fig. 4-28 Adam Elsheimer, *Tobias and the Angel*, c.1607-1608, oil on copper, 121 x 190 mm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt

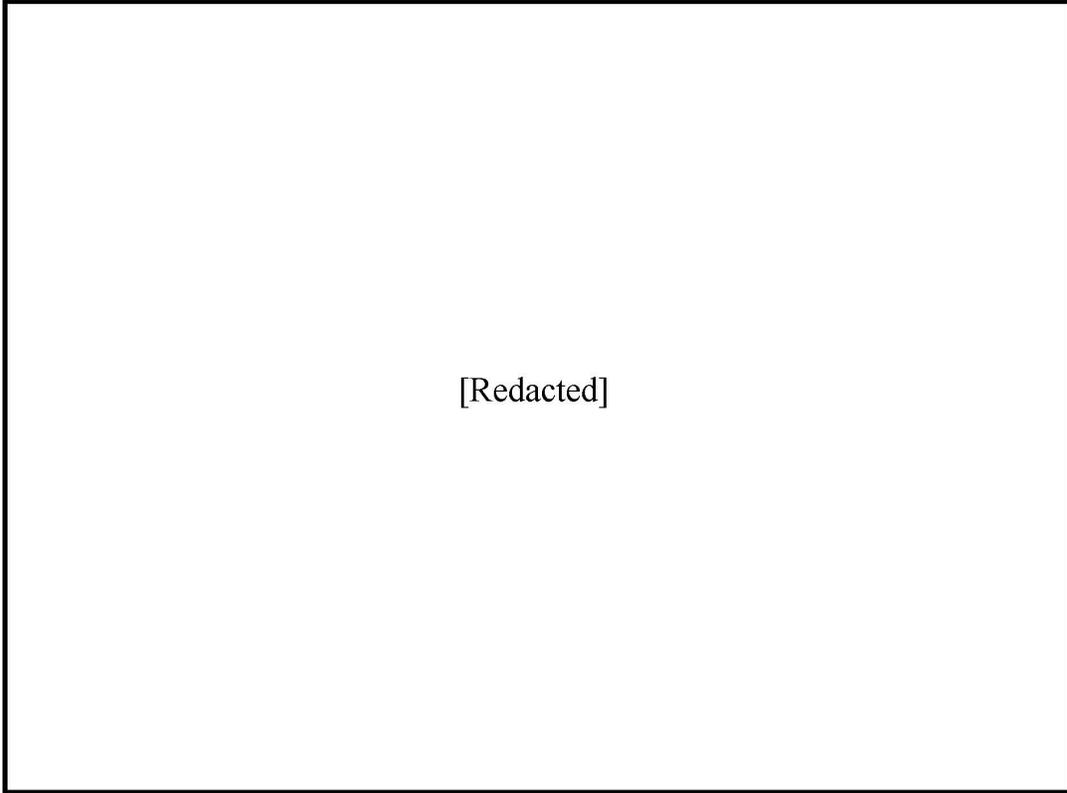


Fig. 5-1 Pieter Lastman, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, 1614,
oil on panel, 74 x 111 cm, whereabouts unknown

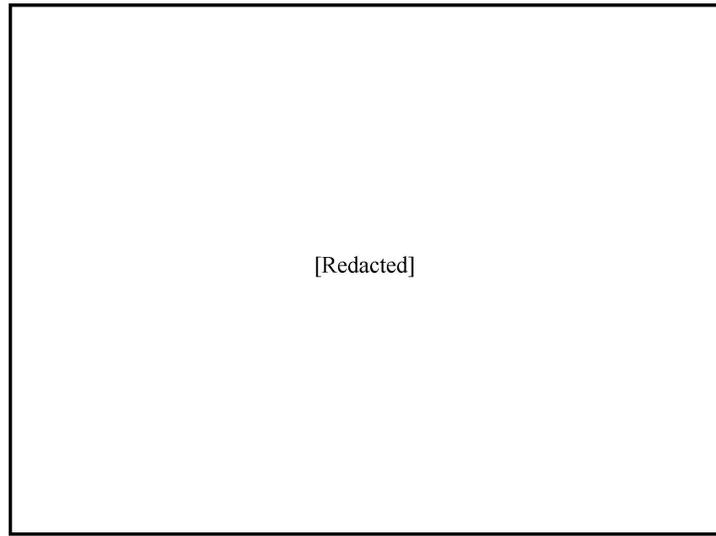


Fig. 5-2 Pieter Lastman, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, 1614 (detail)

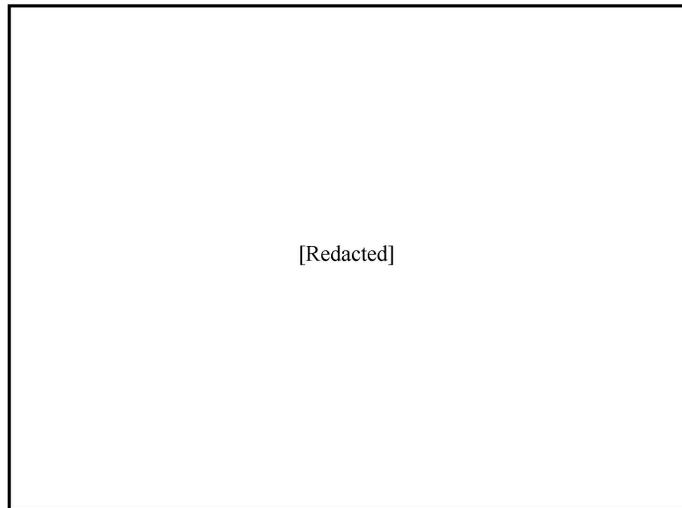


Fig. 5-3 Pieter Lastman, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, 1614 (detail)

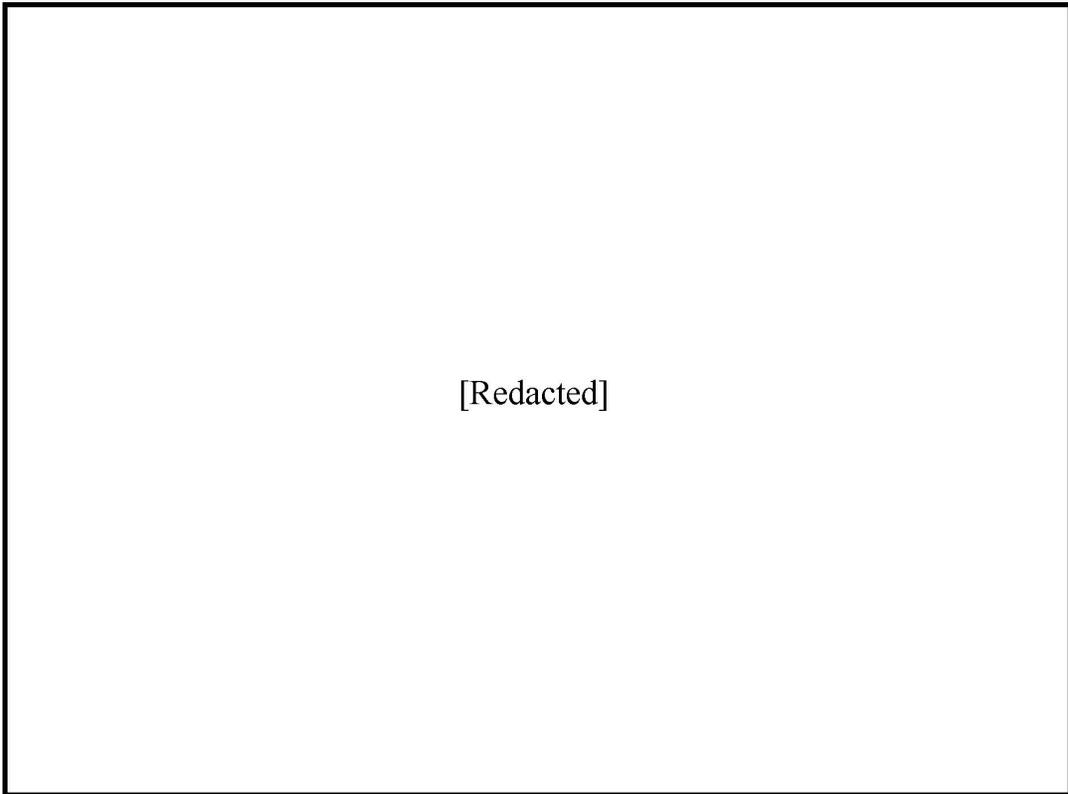


Fig. 5-4 Pieter Lastman, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, 1617,
oil on panel, 76 x 115 cm, Amsterdam Museum

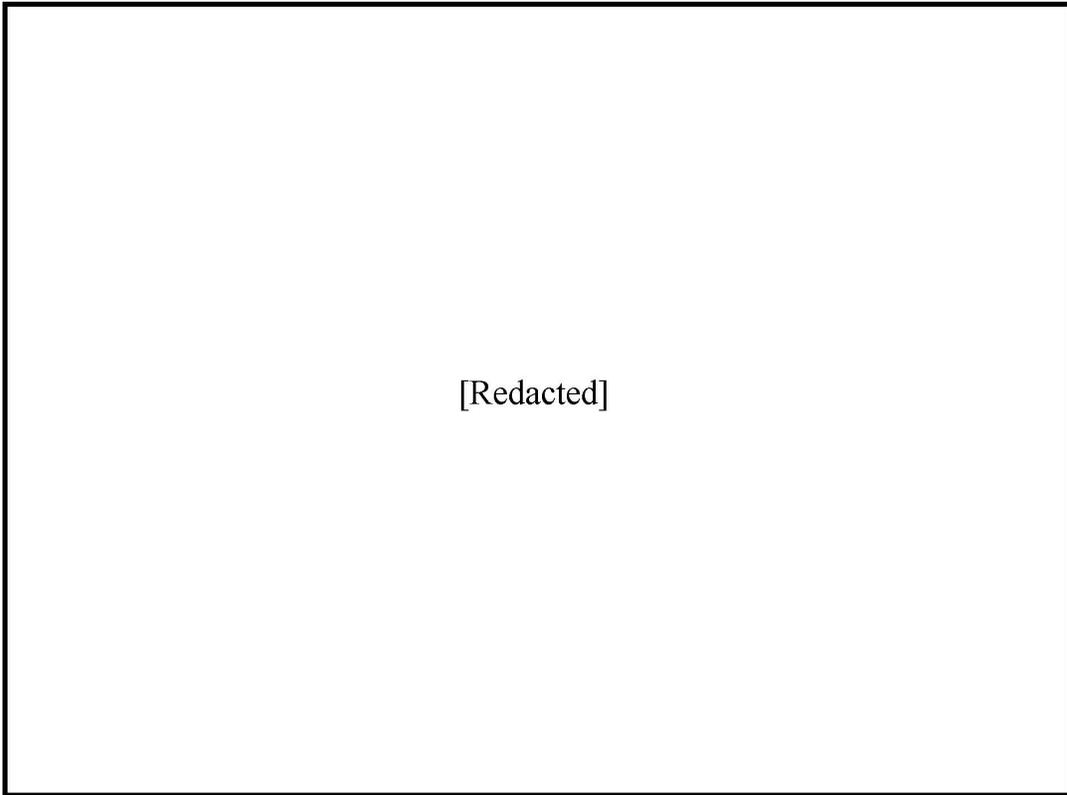


Fig. 5-5 Pieter Lastman, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, 1617 (detail)

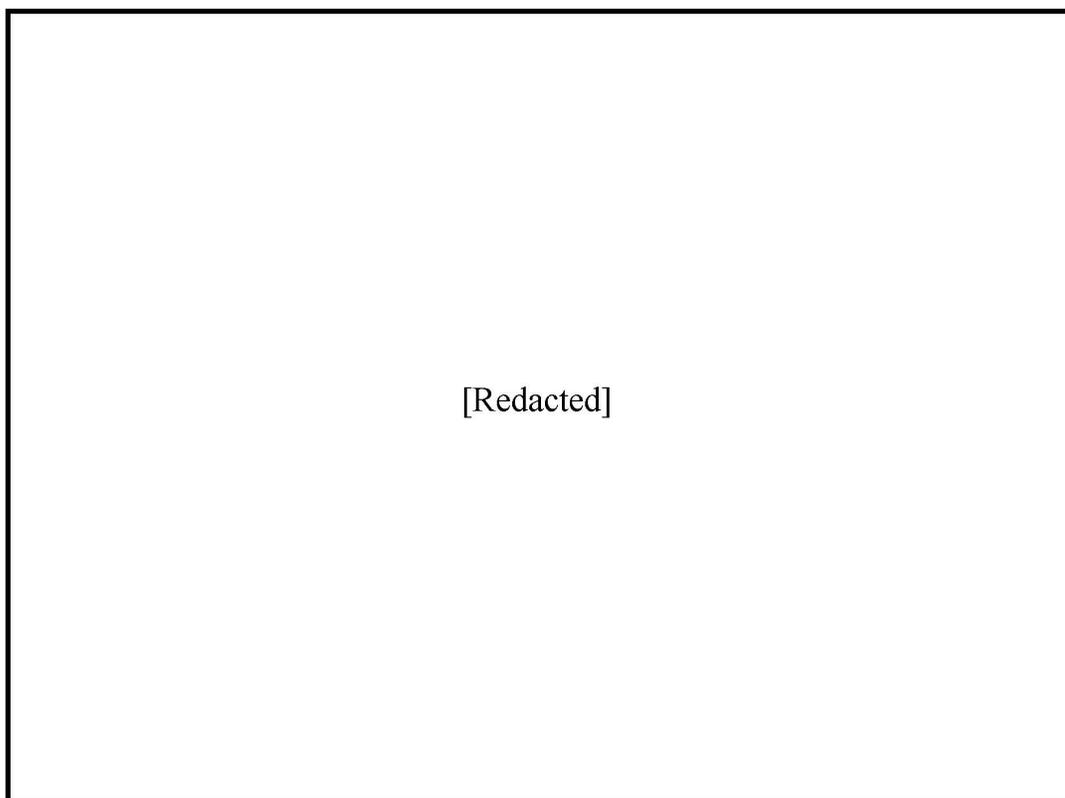


Fig. 5-6 Map of Paul and Barnabas' Ministry in Asia Minor

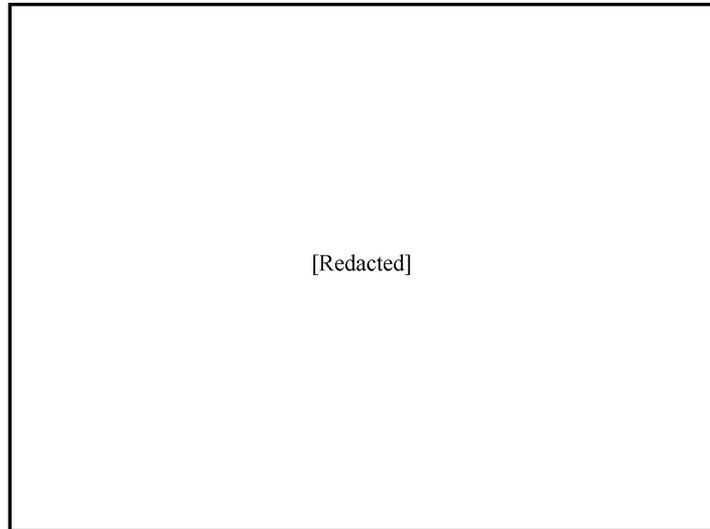


Fig. 5-7 Raphael, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, c. 1515-1516, cartoon for a tapestry, 342 x 540 cm, The Victoria and Albert Museum

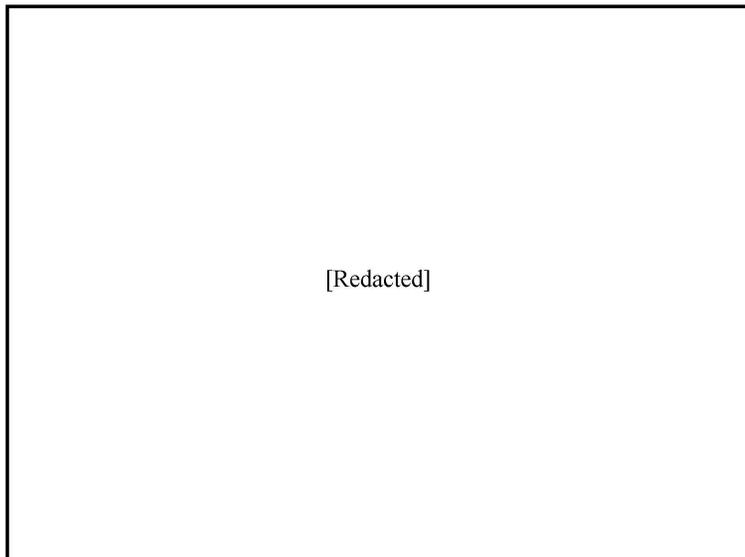


Fig. 5-8 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, c. 1529-1530, pen and brown ink, 295 x 464 mm, J. Paul Getty Museum

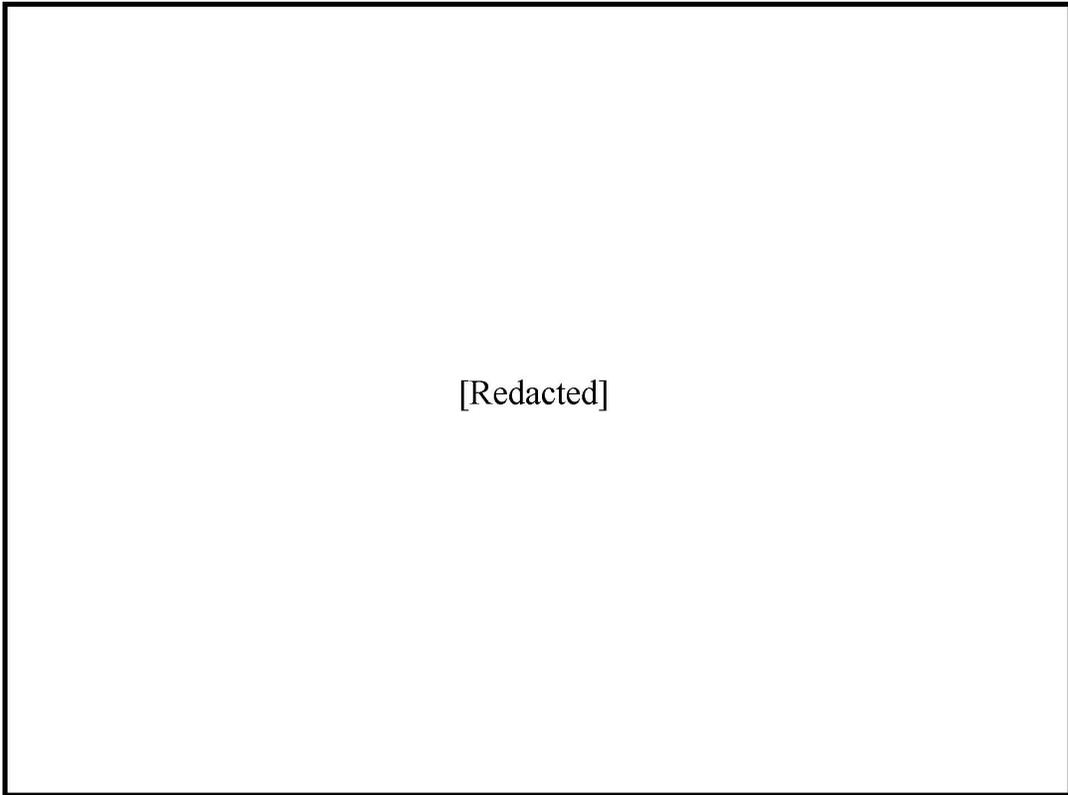


Fig. 5-9 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, c. 1529-1530 (detail)

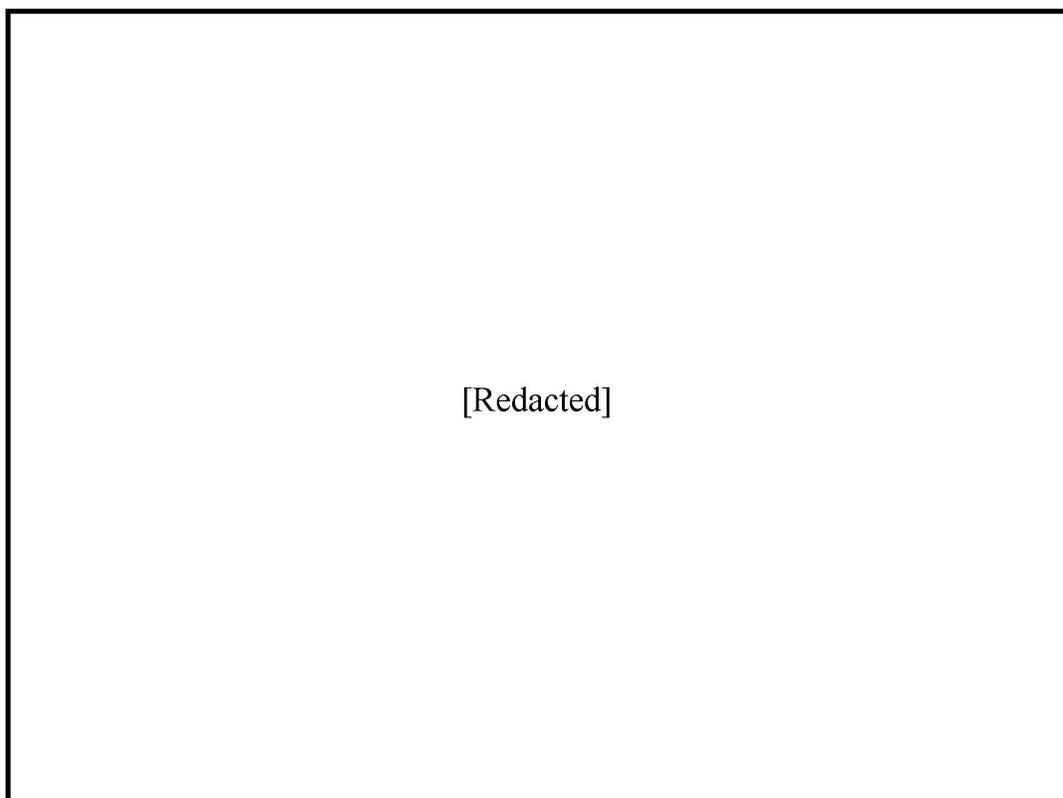


Fig. 5-10 Anonymous after Maarten de Vos, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, c. 1591-1600, engraving, 190 x 130 mm, Rijksmuseum

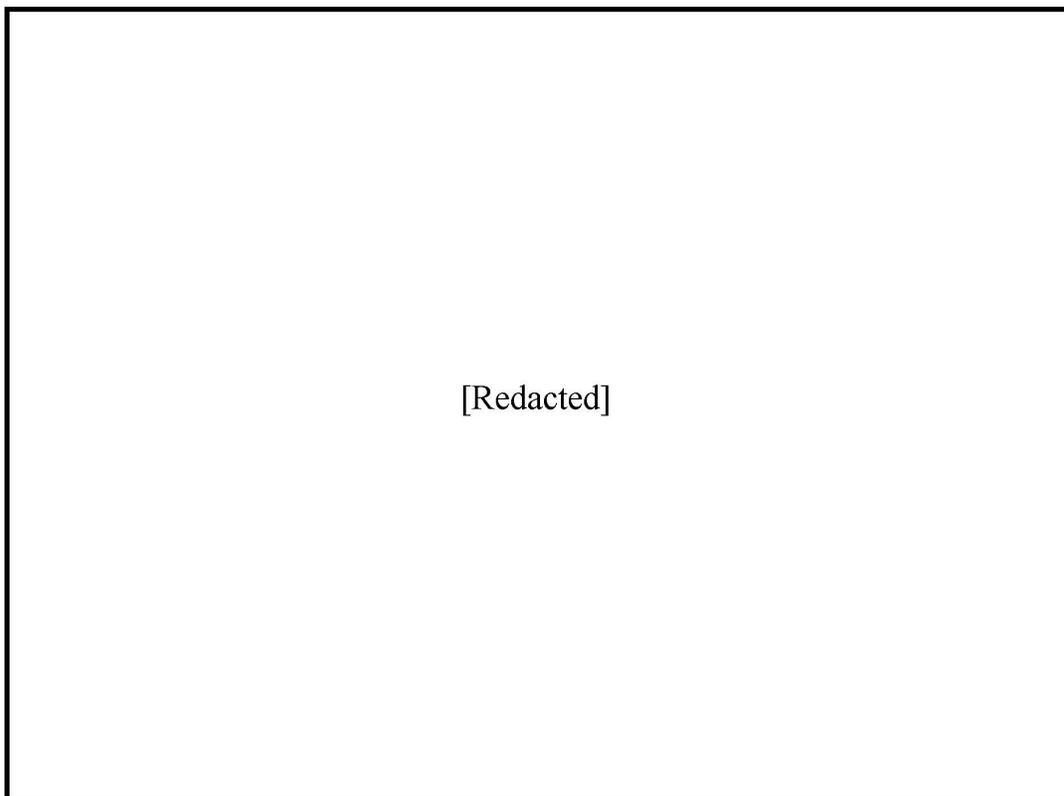


Fig. 5-11 Maarten de Vos, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, c. 1568,
oil on panel, 140 x 185 cm, whereabouts unknown

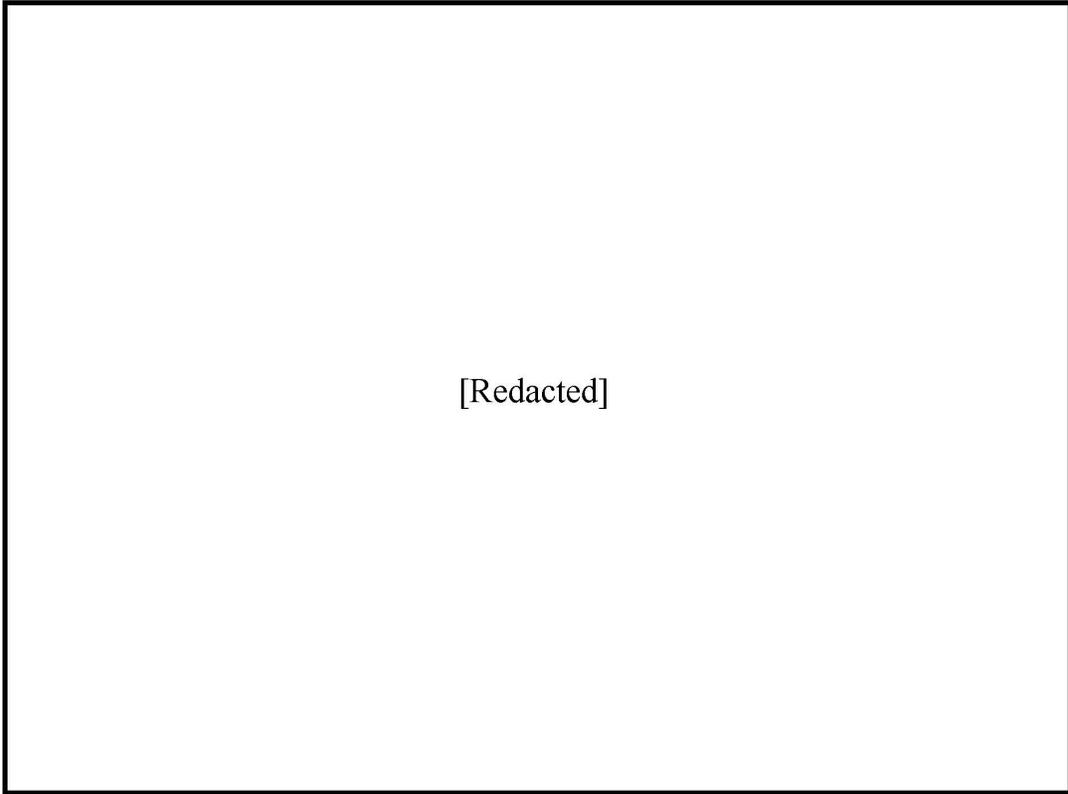


Fig. 5-12 Maarten de Vos, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, c. 1568 (detail)

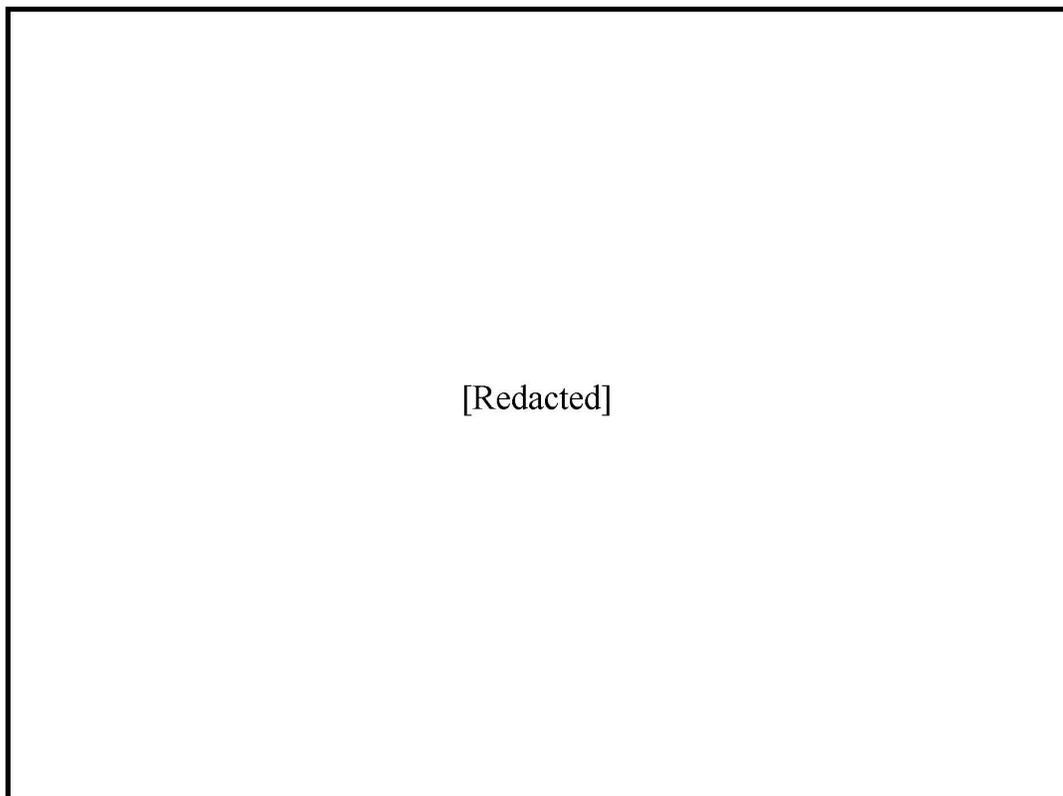


Fig. 5-13 Jan Saenredam after Karel van Mander, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, 1589-1607, engraving, 267 x 410 mm, Rijksmuseum

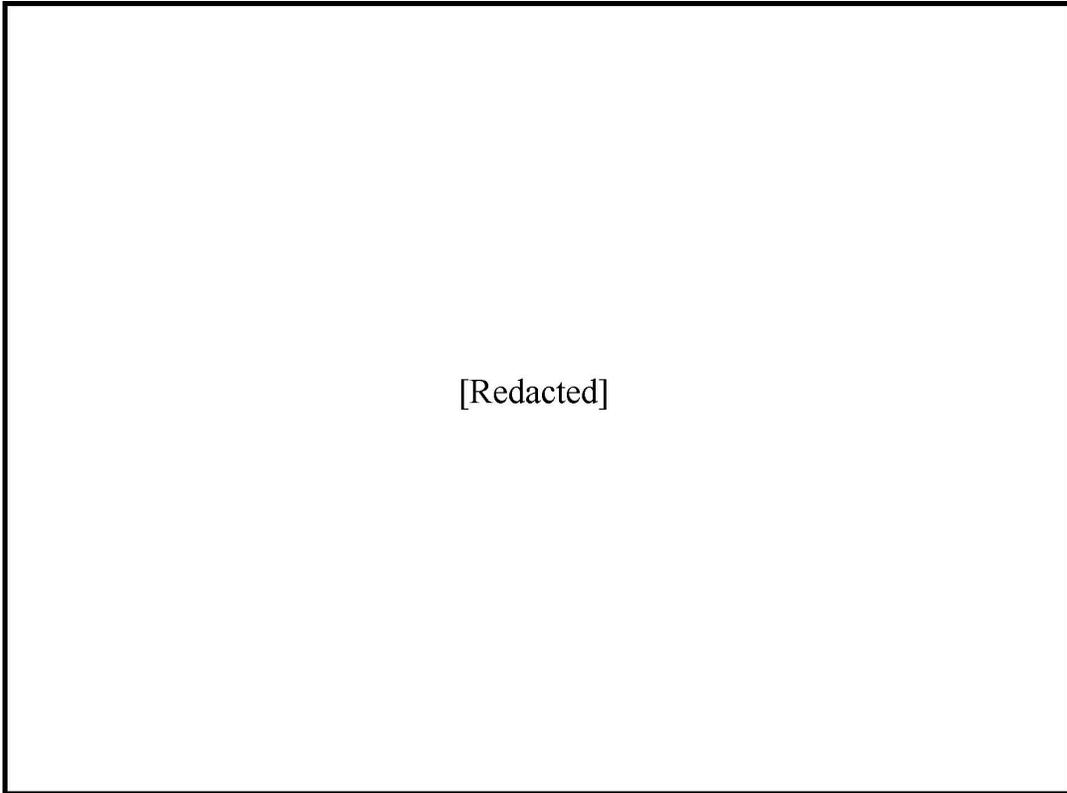


Fig. 5-14 Jan Saenredam after Karel van Mander,
Paul and Barnabas in Lystra, 1589-1607 (detail)

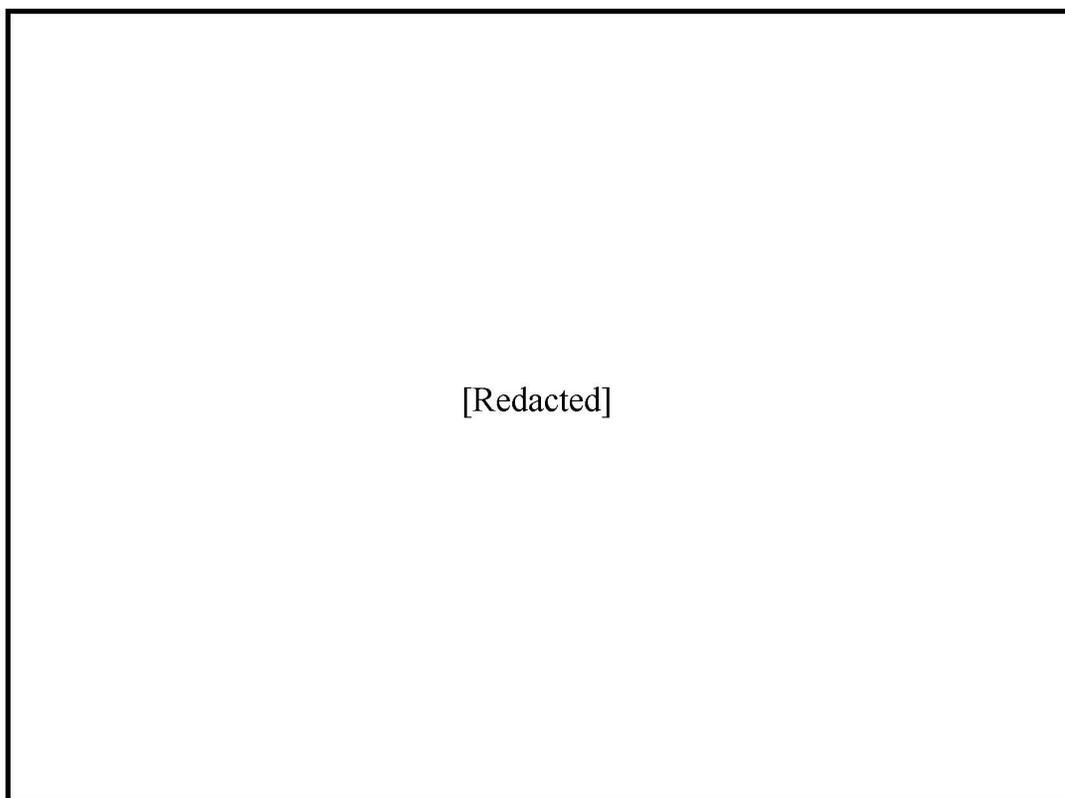


Fig. 5-15 Jan Saenredam after Karel van Mander,
Paul and Barnabas in Lystra, 1589-1607 (detail)

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Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift gaat over de overgangperiode in de Nederlandse historieschilderkunst tussen het hoogtepunt van het Nederlandse maniërisme in de jaren 1580 en de bloeitijd van de Nederlandse schilderkunst in het midden van zeventiende eeuw. Centraal staan de Bijbelse voorstellingen van Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) en Pieter Lastman (1583-1633), de twee belangrijkste historieschilders in het vroeg-zeventiende-eeuwse Holland. De these is dat hun inventieve visualisaties van scènes uit de Bijbelse geschiedenis, die sterk afwijken van de picturale traditie, beter begrepen kunnen worden door ze te vergelijken met de retorische dramaturgie en de opvoeringspraktijk van het toneel van de rederijders, de beoefenaars van de volkstalige literatuur van de zestiende en vroege zeventiende eeuw, die verenigd waren in rederijderskamers. Een reeks schilderijen van verhalen of scènes uit de Bijbel geschilderd door Goltzius en/of Lastman worden vergeleken met vier toneelstukken van rederijders gewijd aan dezelfde onderwerpen. Uit de analyse komt naar voren dat beide schilders hun poëtische vindingrijkheid (*poeterije*) en hun streven naar affectieve morele instructie op vergelijkbare wijze realiseerden in hun schilderijen als de rederijders deden in hun toneelstukken.

Het eerste hoofdstuk gaat in op de nauwe banden die bestonden tussen Goltzius, Lastman en de rederijders, en op het feit dat ze een gemeenschappelijk streven deelden. Het laat zien dat ze leefden en werkten in een cultuur die niet alleen doordrenkt was van de klassieke retorica maar ook van deugdethiek. Bij de bevordering van deze ethiek werd gebruik gemaakt van de contemporaine praktijk om met behulp van de klassieke retorica complexe morele, ethische en spirituele dilemma's aan de orde te stellen. Nadat zo een achtergrond is geschetst voor de overige hoofdstukken, gaat het proefschrift verder met de analyse van de bedoelde schilderijen, waarbij de nadruk ligt op de correlatie tussen Goltzius' en Lastmans werkwijze en die van de (anonieme) auteurs van de vier rederijdersstukken.

Het tweede hoofdstuk is gewijd aan Goltzius' *Susanna en de ouderlingen*, aan zowel de versie uit 1607 als die uit 1615, evenals aan de voorstelling van hetzelfde thema door Lastman uit 1614. De nadruk ligt op Goltzius' schilderijen, waarin hij, in plaats van de nadruk uitsluitend te leggen op de uitdrukking van hartstochten, zijn figuren positioneert en weergeeft alsof zij met elkaar in gesprek zijn, waarbij de nadruk ligt op de figuur van Susanna, die verbaal-discursief lijkt te reageren op de verraderlijke omstandigheden die door de Ouderlingen gecreëerd zijn. Goltzius' weergave van debat, overreding en dwang stelt hem in staat dezelfde retorische stijlfiguren toe te passen als de anonieme auteur van het rederijdersstuk *Tspeel van Susanna*, waarmee ook een vergelijkbaar persuasief effect wordt bewerkstelligd.

Het derde hoofdstuk gaat in op Goltzius' *Lot en zijn dochters* uit 1616. Waar het de inventie betreft, wijkt Goltzius hierin af van de beeldtraditie doordat hij, net als in het rederijdersstuk *Abraham en Loth* gebeurt, zijn voorstelling van het verhaal organiseert rond een gesprek tussen de dochters. In hun toepassing van een complementaire dramaturgie, waarbij opeenvolgende scènes simultaan getoond worden, geven Goltzius en de anonieme toneel auteur blijk dezelfde exegetische benadering te hebben, een die duidelijk afwijkt van die van eerdere visuele representaties.

In het vierde hoofdstuk verschuift de aandacht naar Lastman en komen drie van diens schilderijen aan de orde die het verhaal van Tobit en Tobias verbeelden: *Tobias vangt de vis* (1613), *Huwelijksnacht van Tobias en Sarah* (1611), en *De engel Raphael verlaat Tobit en zijn zoon* (1618). De argumentatie in dit hoofdstuk is dat Lastmans belangstelling voor de derde taak

van de klassieke redenaar, de *elocutio*, in het bijzonder voor de componenten van *energeia* en *enargeia*, in die periode ook aanwijsbaar is in het toneel, zoals blijkt uit de vergelijkende analyse van het rederijersstuk *De Oude Tobias*.

In het vijfde hoofdstuk, ten slotte, wordt betoogd dat Lastman, aansluitend bij zijn gebruik van *energeia* en *enargeia*, het retorische concept van *peripeteia* inzet om een verhalend moment te visualiseren waarin sprake is van een abrupte verandering die leidt tot fortuin of ongeluk. Uit de vergelijkende analyse van zijn twee versies van *Paul en Barnabas in Lystra* – uit 1614 en 1617 – met het rederijersstuk *Paulus ende Barnabas* blijkt dat in alle drie sprake is van (een voorstelling van) geagiteerd spreken om het moment van peripetie weer te geven.

This dissertation examines the transitional period of Dutch history painting between the height of Dutch mannerism in the 1580s and the celebrated age of Dutch painting in the mid-1600s. It focuses on the biblical history paintings of Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) and Pieter Lastman (1583-1633), who were the foremost history painters active in early seventeenth-century Holland. It is argued that their inventive visualizations of biblical history and their stark departures from the pictorial tradition are explained by the manner in which they assimilate local rhetorical dramaturgy and performance practices found in the work of the rhetoricians (*rederijers*), who were vernacular playwrights writing in the local chambers of rhetoric. The dissertation examines four examples of biblical history visualized in paintings by Goltzius and/or Lastman and analyzes these paintings in comparison to stage texts written for the chambers of rhetoric and which dramatize the same biblical narratives. It is argued that Goltzius and Lastman displayed their powers of poetic invention (*poeterije*) and their interest in advancing affective moral arguments by staging their history paintings in the manner that the rhetoricians staged their plays.

The initial chapter establishes the shared enterprise and the close connections between Goltzius, Lastman, and the rhetoricians and argues that they lived and worked in a culture that was not only steeped in rhetoric but one that was also motivated by virtue ethics, which employed the contemporary practice of rhetoric as the most effective means with which to examine complex moral, ethical, and spiritual dilemmas. After establishing the contextual information that undergirds the rest of the chapters, the dissertation proceeds to consider specific examples of correlation between Goltzius and Lastman's biblical history paintings and corresponding plays by the rhetoricians.

The second chapter addresses Goltzius' *Susanna and the Elders* of both 1607 and 1615 as well as Lastman's iteration of 1614. The focus is primarily directed to Goltzius' paintings, where instead of picturing the narrative moment as a pure expression of the passions, he poses and positions his figures in dialogic relation to each other, as if Susanna were speaking, verbally and discursively responsive to the circumstances perpetuated by the Elders. Goltzius' representation of debate, persuasion, and compulsion allows for his employment of similar rhetorical figures one finds in the rhetoricians' play, *Tspeel van Susanna*, where such figures are used to a similar persuasive effect.

In the third chapter, the analysis considers Goltzius' *Lot and his Daughters* of 1616. Inventively Goltzius diverges from the pictorial tradition and similar to the rhetoricians' play, *Abraham en Loth*, he organizes his representation of the story around conversational exchange between the daughters. By implementing a complementary dramaturgy, whereby successive

scenes are simultaneously depicted, Goltzius and the rhetorician playwright take a similar exegetical approach that departs from previous pictorial representations.

The fourth chapter shifts focus to Lastman and examines three of his paintings depicting the story of Tobit and Tobias: *Tobias Catches the Fish* (1613), *Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah* (1611), and *The Angel Raphael Taking Leave of Tobit and his Son* (1618). The chapter argues that Lastman's concern for *elocutio*, and specifically its components of *energeia* and *enargeia*, manifest a rhetorical practice seen on the rhetoricians' stage as it is analyzed in the play, *De Oude Tobijas*.

In the fifth chapter, it is argued that Lastman builds on his use of *energeia* and *enargeia* by employing the rhetorical concept of *peripeteia* to visualize a narrative moment where an abrupt reversal of events leads from fortune or misfortune. By examining the rhetoricians' play *Paulus ende Barnabas* alongside Lastman's two paintings, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* of 1614 and 1617, the analysis demonstrates that Lastman's visualization of the narrative corresponds with the rhetoricians' strategy of dramatizing exasperated speech as the primary means with which to depict this story's moment of peripety.