

The
JOURNAL
OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

Place and Culture in Northern Art

volume 57
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Editors' Preface

We wish to express our appreciation to the members of the editorial board of *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, who kindly agreed to devote a volume to papers generated by the exhibition *Masters of Light, Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (organized by The Walters in partnership with the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco and the National Gallery, London) and related events, including the quadrennial meeting of the Historians of Netherlandish Art, held in Baltimore in February 1998, under the title "Art and Place." Walter Melion's contribution to the theme grows out of a paper first given at the 1998 Sixteenth-Century Studies Conference in Toronto. Our debt to Walters editor Deborah Horowitz is very great indeed.

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“Met geschickter ordenen”: The Rhetoric of Place in Philip II’s 1549 Antwerp *Blijde Incompst*

Mark A. Meadow

Philip II’s Joyous Entry into Antwerp shares many features with other contemporaneous processional forms, especially the annual religious processions, ommegangen, and the entries held at the beginning of secular civic events like the rederijker landjuweel (a rhetorical drama competition). Only by understanding the place of Philip’s Blijde Incompst within the broad range of festive and ritual behavior can we begin to unravel the viewer’s experience, and thereby begin to comprehend how this event functioned.

On August 4, 1561, the factor Richard Clough wrote to his master, Thomas Gresham, then Royal Agent for the English crown,¹ concerning a spectacle he had just witnessed, the great *landjuweel* sponsored by the city of Antwerp on behalf of *de Violieren*, or The Gillyflowers, its leading *rederijkkamer* (chamber of rhetoricians).² This rhetorical drama competition was the most extravagant of its kind ever held, costing by Clough’s estimate the truly enormous sum of “one hondrytt thowsand marks.”³ Among the many events that made up the *landjuweel*, and the ones to which Clough devotes almost the entirety of his description, were a series of processions held by the rhetorical chambers of Brabant as they arrived at Antwerp. His greatest praise is reserved for the processional entry of the chamber from Brussels:

But pryncipalye of all came Brussels; weche methinks was a dreme.

Fyrst, they came in with a wonderfull meny of trompetes, heraulds, footemen, standard-berers [and] caryers of armes; with dyvers other kynd of offysers. After them, came 7 pagents, being carried by 150 men; and the pagents beyng so trymmyd with young chyldren in cloth of golde, silver, and satin of all colours, so embroderyd and wrought, and to such good pourpose, that I cannot tell whatt to wryte of them. And about every pagent [rode] 4 men on horseback, with

torches in their handes; apparallyd in long cotes, after the manner of polle [Poland], of crymsone sattin; imbroderyd and garded with golde and silver; hatts of red, trymmyd as the rest, with wyte fethers; wyte satin doublets, and wyte bouskyns; grette gyrdells of golde taffata, with their swords accordingly. After every of these 7 pagents, came 7 wagones, being all coveryd with red cloth, and gardyd with wyte, and hangyd rownd about with arms. In xxi of these wagons, were very fayre personages; some in harness [armour]; some like nuns; some lyke monks; priests; beshops; cardynells; and all kynde of religyous men; with wonderfull devsys weche I colde nott well perseve, for that ytt was 2 of the clock att aftyer-midnight before they came in: so that colde notte well perseve it by tourche lyght.

The rest of the wagons, beyng att the least in number that came after these pageants 200, (for I told 104), were all coveryd with red, as the other; and in every wagon, 2 men syttyng, and in some 3,—in crymsone satin as the other; holding in ther hands, tourches. All these wagons were made with wyte basketts, as the marchants do youse here, and no common waggons; and in most of the wagons, 4 grett horses, all with wyte harness, draying as lemone hoursys: the wagoners beyng apparallyd in red cloth, and gardyd with wyte.

After the wagons, came 380 on horse-backe, all in cremysone satten, inbroderyd with golde and silver, as the othere wer: after them, ther cappytayne, with 24 footemen, all in crymsone, saten; wyte hose, and doublets accordingly; and after that, at the last, 25 wagons coveryd with red, full of chests and bagage.

In fyne, I do judge to be there, 600 hoursemen, all in crymson satten, and 130 wagons: so that, with them on horseback, and they that dyd

lye in the wagons, and the childrene uppon the
pagents, I judge to be 1000 persons in syllke;
and in hoursys, all together, att the leste, 1000.

Thys was the strangyst matter that ever I sawe,
or I thynke that ever I shall see; for the comyng
of King Fylyppe to Andwarpe, with the cost of all
the nasyons together in apparell, was not to be
comparyd to thys done by the towne of Brussels.
And they shall wyn no more with all, by a skalle
of syllver weying 6 ownsys!—I wolde to God
that some of owre gentyllmen and nobellmen of
England had sene thys,—(I mene them that think
the world is made of ottemell [oatmeal]); and
then it wold make them to thynke that ther are
other as wee ar, and so provyde for the tyme to
come; for they that can do thys, can do more.⁴

For all that Clough plays fast and loose with his arithmetic, he is clearly overawed, and justifiably so, at the grandeur and expense he saw displayed in what was, after all, merely one entry held by one chamber among the sixteen present at the competition. Nor were the entries of the fifteen visiting rhetorical chambers into Antwerp the only such processions held during the festival. Each chamber also staged ceremonial processions to church service in Antwerp's cathedral of Onse Lieve Vrouw, as Clough notes in the continuation of his letter:

Thus the matter endyd yesternyght, between 2
and 3 of the clocke. And thys daye, one party
goyth to the churche, where will be no small ado;
for as they came in order on horseback to the town,
so they must go in order to the church, on foote.

Similar processions would mark the end of the *landjuweel* as the fifteen chambers ceremonially departed from Antwerp.

The processional model chosen by Brussels and all the other visiting chambers was, in part, that of the Joyous Entry of a new sovereign visiting one of his cities. Clough acknowledges this through his final comments, comparing favorably, and with greatest astonishment, the pomp and circumstance of Brussels' procession to that of Philip II into the same city of Antwerp some eleven years earlier, in 1549. The clothing worn by the Brussels *rederijkers*, the crimson and white silks and satins, the embroidery and other embellishments in gold and silver, the white feathers and red hats and cloth of gold, are all suggestive of the apparel worn by the ceremonial retinue of a great prince, especially a Burgundian prince.⁵ The chief officer of a *rederijkkamer* was, in fact, often referred to as its "prince" or even "emperor,"⁶ although Clough here

names the most important person of the Brussels chamber its "cappytayne." Indeed, the leading figure in a chamber of rhetoric could even be a real prince, as exemplified by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, who was honorary prince of the Ghent rhetorical chamber *Jesus metten Balsem* in 1493.⁷

Clough's descriptions of other "prynsypalles" of the attending rhetorical chambers add emphasis to the comparison between royal and *rederijker* pageantry. Melchior Schetz, one of the wealthiest men in Antwerp and Prince of the *Violieren*, and Anthony Straelen, Mayor of Antwerp, were "so imbroyderyd, —both ther aparell and the caparysons of ther hourseys,—that the least of them cost above 300£.; havynge, ether, 6 footemen, all in pourpell, as they were."⁸ Riding in with the chamber from Liere was Conrad Schetz, Melchior's youngest brother, "whome dyd moche passe hys brother Melcher in costylines, beyng so enbroyderyd with golde and syllver, that no prynsse might by any costlyer."⁹ The princely effect was heightened by other elements of the regalia. Mechelen had "112 gentyllmen; and every one of them [had] a grett chene of golde about hys necke."¹⁰ Participants from Brussels and the other chambers wore swords and other knightly arms; they included footmen, heralds, standard-bearers, trumpeters, and other courtly servants in their retinues.

Clough provides us with one of the very few eyewitness accounts we have of such processions in this period, and his comments deserve our attention. One of the goals of this essay is to consider how meaning was constructed for its audience in a particular event, the 1549 Joyous Entry of Philip II into Antwerp, the very same entry that Clough compares with that of the Brussels *rederijker* chamber. Although the Welshman Clough was a foreigner in Antwerp, his view of the ceremonies and festivities he witnessed was not uninformed. He was a permanent resident of Antwerp from 1552, and one of his primary tasks for Gresham was that of observer and reporter. Gresham's interest in Antwerp was economic in nature, and thereby political also. Clough's series of letters helped his master make informed decisions about investments, opportunities, and risks, much as the Fugger newsletters functioned for the Augsburg merchant bankers, and as a matter of course included extensive coverage of social and cultural events as well as financial and political ones.¹¹ The fact that he devotes so much of his letter to the *landjuweel*, and its processions in particular, is therefore quite telling.

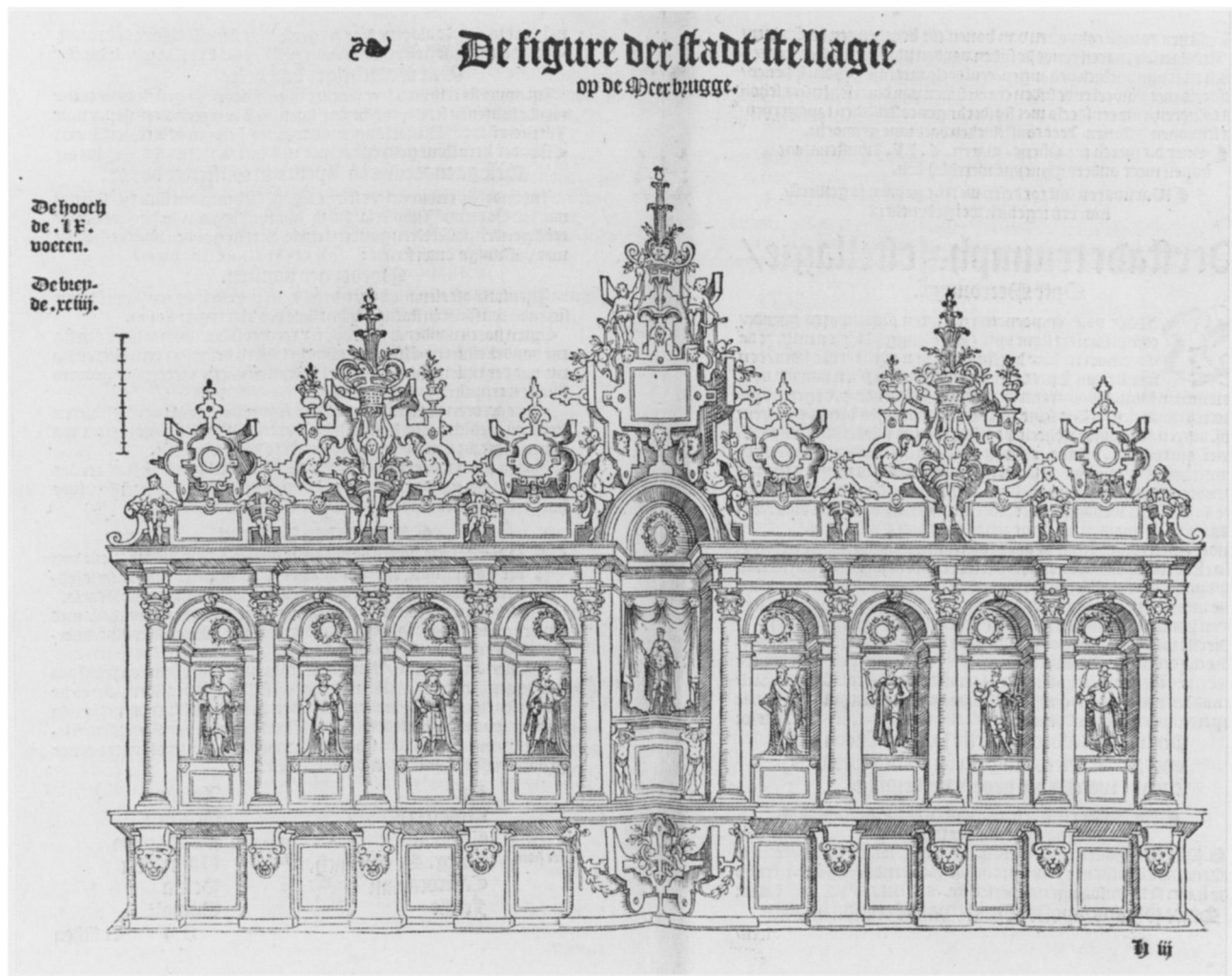


Fig. 1. Cornelius Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst*, Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1550. City stage at the Meerbrugge. Los Angeles, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute.

One has to consider the Antwerp *landjuweel* in terms of expenditure of social and cultural capital. Enormous sums were spent on costumes and pageants (stationary or moveable tableaux), as is clear from the above description. Thousands of people participated in the event, traveling from throughout Brabant. The commune of Antwerp underwrote much of the expense of hosting the festival, and the other chambers must have been similarly subsidized by their municipalities. For the duration of the *landjuweel*, daily life in Antwerp must have been quite substantially disrupted. Clough is fully cognizant that the significance of the event lies somewhere other than in the immediate financial rewards for the competing rhetorical chambers, the largest of which was only “a skalle of syllver weying 6 ounsyls!” The rather grim note upon which Clough ends his description of the event, “and then it wold make them to thynke that ther are other as wee ar,

and so provyde for the tyme to come; for they that can do thys, can do more,” is an excellent example of just how such a public and ostensibly non-political and non-religious festivity could be read by its viewers as having political and economic implications.

Clough attends to much more than just the lavishness of costume in the Brussels entry procession. Foremost is his concern with describing the order of the procession, from the torch-bearers, heralds, and trumpeters at the beginning to the important officials—the “cappytayne” and his officers—of the chamber at the end. If we look to his description as a whole, he is careful to relate the precise sequence of events: how the entourage of the Violieren rode out to meet each of the chambers as they arrived, ceremonially accompanying them into Antwerp and then riding out to meet the next. This, too, is a shared element from other forms of procession, both royal and religious, as we will see below.

The *Blijde Incompst* of Philip II and the Rhetoric of Place

As we now turn our attention to Philip II's *Blijde Incompst* of 1549, we will again be asking how meaning was constructed for and by its audience.¹² This is not just a matter of conveying prescribed messages, although there were several of these, but also how the form of the entry shaped the audience's response based upon their prior experiences. Here we are speaking of the order of the participants in the procession, especially Philip's place in the sequence, and correlating this to other, more frequent processions within Antwerp, the annual religious processions called *ommegangen*. We will also attend to the movement of the procession through the space of the city, to particular places of local significance and communal memory.

In a previous essay on Philip's Antwerp entry, I presented two aspects of "place" as a concept that could be helpful in understanding how the ceremony functioned as an efficacious ritual for the Antwerp community.¹³ The first is related to the rhetorical concept of place—*locus* in Latin and *topos* in Greek—as the site for deriving a form or structure of argumentation, as a place of invention. The Serlian architecture used for the triumphal arches and stages along Philip's entry route served to structure a particular form of argument—*argumentatio ad exemplum*—that presented, in an abstract realm, the idealized persona of Philip and the ideal relationship between him and his future subjects. The elements of that spatialized argument—a sequence of dialectical relationships of near to far, present to past, ideal to actual—would appear, in fact, to be uniquely associated in mid-sixteenth-century Antwerp with Serlian architecture. We find a very similar use of the architecture in the stage designed for the Antwerp *landjuweel* discussed above, and another very compelling example in painted form in Pieter Aertsen's 1553 *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*.¹⁴

We can see such argumentation by example, as mediated by the Serlian architecture, at work in individual arches or stages. In one instance, at the stage on the Meerbrugge, an over-lifesize Philip is himself depicted in the center of a stage erected by the city (fig. 1). To either side of him are a series of famous Philips from history, ranging from saints to emperors and Burgundian dukes. These Philiponyms, as Kuyper termed them,¹⁵ stand as exemplars for the behavior our Philip was to emulate. In a later piece of ephemeral architecture, also erected by the city, Philip would have passed under a triumphal arch again depicting himself, this time surrounded by those of his immediate

ancestry who determined his succession to sovereignty over Antwerp. On a second register, below that of Philip, is depicted Antwerp herself, surrounded by the virtues of Faith, Obedience, and Candor, who present her to her prince. The iconography of this tableau is clearly that of a betrothal between Antwerp and Philip, with the accompanying implications of an abiding affective relationship. The effect of both these tableaux, as of all the others along the parade route, was set in motion through the spectacle of witnessing Philip, Charles, and the collective representatives of Antwerp's civic institutions viewing themselves as abstracted, idealized, allegorized figures.

The second sense of "place" I raised in relation to the 1549 Antwerp entry involved looking at the entry route itself, as it inscribed and derived meaning by moving through the space of the city. The person we can consider the author of the event, the humanist and city secretary Cornelius Grapheus, carefully incorporated sites of great significance to both the residents of Antwerp and to Philip and his father, Emperor Charles V, into the processional route. For example, the very road along which the royal entourage traveled to Antwerp was in part selected because it brought the party to the city gate of St. George, also known as the Keizerspoorte, or Emperor's Gate (fig. 2). Within the context of the entry, the former name calls attention to the association between the gate and the church of St. George just inside it, which itself was closely associated with the St. George's Militia, the most preeminent of the city's military organizations and a crucial index of civic identity. The latter name, again within the entry's context, suggests a particular and intimate relationship between city and Emperor, and hints at the aspirations of Philip to succeed his father to the Imperial throne. The city *locus* of the St. George's gate and church is one to which we will return below.

Just as individual places, and individual tableaux, are constitutive of communal identity and memory, so, too, can the juxtaposition of arches with each other participate in the rhetoric of the event. Grapheus frequently coordinated the installation of the ephemera so as to counterpose an expression of Antwerp's identity with one of Philip's. This is perhaps clearest in a pair of structures erected in the Groote Markt, where Druon Antigone, the giant who was part of the city's founding myth, stood across from an arch upon which Philip and Charles stood personified as Hercules and Atlas, jointly shouldering the weight of the entire world (figs. 3 and 4). Here, one founding myth is placed across from another; one embodiment of power and



Fig. 2. Cornelius Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst*, Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1550. Keyerspoorte. Los Angeles, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute.

identity resonates with another. Again we can speak of a dialectic, in which the thesis and antithesis of Antwerp and its rulers is resolved in the synthesis represented by the ephemeral town hall also built on the market place, in front of the real one. This is where the legal binding of Philip to the city, the consecration of the marriage if you will, takes place and the communal bonds between ruler and subjects are reknit.

Antwerp civic identity is further inscribed in the route as a whole. Based on the descriptions of Grapheus and Calvete, we may reconstruct the original processional route, as seen on this map of Antwerp, with Philip's route juxtaposed (fig. 5).¹⁶ What is particularly interesting is that the route follows along a substantial part of the former city wall to one of its ends, and then, after cutting through the center of town, marks the other end with a city arch. After reaching the Meir, where the stage with the famous Philips was

constructed, the procession moved along the path of the old walls of Antwerp to its terminus at the former Koepoort. After cutting back through the city to the Markt, the procession reached the other terminus of the old walls, at the former St. Janspoort.

What Grapheus has done, then, is to revive the ancient Roman practice custom of processing along the boundaries of the community, a practice known as *circuitio* or *circumambulatio* and associated with such annual lustration rituals as *amburbium* and *ambarvalia*.¹⁷ But he does so along the historical and traditional limits of the city, reinforcing the historicity already shown in the group of Margraves, displayed upon the temple marking Philip's arrival at Antwerp's jurisdictional boundary in the typological models for Philip, and in the sequences of kings, dukes, and so forth found in various of the tableaux. As such, this is the earliest known royal entry in the early modern period, north of the Alps, to employ this ritual-



Fig. 3. Cornelius Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst*, Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1550. Druon Antigon on the groote merct. Los Angeles, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute.



Fig. 4. Cornelius Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst*, Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1550. City triumphal arch at the opening of the Hoochstraten. Los Angeles, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute.

ization of communal space and identity.¹⁸ Grapheus is marking the city's history as a means of confirming its origins and identity; paralleling the genealogies of Philip and the pedigree of its own city charter and privileges.¹⁹

In the remainder of this article, we will return to the processional route, as well as the procession itself, to pursue further the question of how the Antwerp audience for Philip's entry could have understood the significance of the spectacle they witnessed. For all that the arches and other ephemera were fitted with a variety of means for conveying their particular messages, from the tableaux, the often multiple inscriptions, and the locations, we still need to account, as best we may, for the perceptions of the individual viewer along the route. He or she would not have seen the entire sequence of arches and tableaux, at least during the moment of the event itself; he or she more than likely did not read Latin.

Urban Ritual and the Creation of Community

The procession and its route reinforced civic identity in other ways as well. Joyous Entries such as Philip's were comparatively rare events, in principle held only once a generation, and such events as the *landjuweel* could be still rarer in any particular city (the last held in Antwerp was in 1496). But other forms of procession, especially the religious processions known as *ommegangen*, were far more frequent and formed an integral part of the ritual and festive culture of Antwerp.²⁰ That city had an unusually rich assortment of *ommegangen*, with four such processions held annually by the end of the fifteenth century. In these events, ornamented and elaborated as they were with allegorical floats and tableaux (termed *punten* or *pointen*) of both religious and civic natures, the citizenry of Antwerp would have acculturated themselves to viewing and participating in public spectacles. The act of procession itself, the

movement of sacred symbols and persons through the space of the city, thus was a familiar vehicle for the creation of meaning and civic identity.

The oldest and most prestigious of these processions was the *Besnijdenis-ommegang*, in which the city's most prized possession, the relic of Christ's foreskin, was solemnly conducted through the streets of Antwerp.²¹ This "circumcision procession" originated in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and commemorated the arrival in Antwerp of the Reliquary of the Holy Prepuce. The reliquary was reputedly gifted to the city by Godfrey of Boulogne, who sent it from Palestine while he was there during the Crusades. Notably, Godfrey occupied the same title to Antwerp as Philip: Margrave of Antwerp from 1069 and Duke of Lower Lotharingia (which included the territories of the later Duchy of Brabant) from 1089.

Attached as it was to a specific historical figure, this procession served not only as a religious celebration but also as a token of the relationship of ruler to city. Already in 1398, according to the oldest surviving *ordenancie* or program for an Antwerp *ommegang*,²² the procession included among its wagons one representing the Dukes of Brabant.²³ In 1459, additional aspects of local association were added in the form of three *pointen* of Brabantine saints, plus another for St. George with his Dragon, whom we have already seen was of special significance to Antwerp, and in 1470, the procession included Brabant itself as the theme for the second and third floats.²⁴

Antwerp and its civic institutions were also represented in the *ommegangen*. The 1398 *ordenancie* indicates that the procession began with the representatives of the full range of incorporated crafts of the city, beginning with shipmakers and smiths, and ending with the barbers. The *pointen*, on their wagons, came next, followed first by the clergy of cathedral and cloisters, then by the civic institutions: the crossbowmen old and new, the longbowmen old and new, the rather cryptic "society of the straw hats," the guilds, the petty officials of the city, the major officials and lords of the city, the prelates, and, finally, the reliquary itself.²⁵ This basic model, with some variation in the order, was to hold well past the time of Philip's Joyous Entry, and can also be seen in the *landjuweel* processions with which we began.

The processional order of Philip's entry itself was essentially that of the *ommegang*. The procession began with the *gemeynder Burgeren*, "the general citizenry," of Antwerp, riding *met geschickter ordenen*, "in their proper order".²⁶

Very first, in their order, rode ahead the common citizenry of the city: to whit, the honorable and respectable burghers, noblemen, common merchants, trades [and] guilds, with their deacons and elders, all elegantly on horseback, and about 400 in number.

Ahead of all these rode (as the leaders) some of the chief people of the burghers, with some of the district wardens in order thereto. The chief people of the burghers, installed by law are four, and the district wardens, who were also installed by authority of the law, are twelve, to whit two for each [district] (of which there are twelve).

Immediately following the citizenry were the processional groups representing the trading nations, specifically those of Lucca, Milan, England, Spain, the Hansa [Oosterlingen], and the Germans [Hoochduytschen].²⁷ Grapheus provides lengthy descriptions of the costly and extravagant garments worn by each of these trading nations, which need not detain us here.

Next were the petty officials of the city, listed in order as the:

. . . lawyers, solicitors, and underwriters or clerks of the registrar and secretaries, . . . the peacekeepers, masters of the orphanages, the deacons and aldermen of the halls, each with their registrar . . . the messengers, the Short Rods, the examiners, the secretaries, the registrars, the stewards, the pensionaries.

The sequence given here is from the lowest in the hierarchy of the city government up through the ranks of what Grapheus calls "the lower order" of city officials. They are followed, of course, by the "upper order":

. . . the treasurers, the old aldermen (because the council members were riding ahead with the burghers), the 16 aldermen, both of the mayors, the sherrifs, the officers and the Margrave.²⁸

Grapheus uses this section of his account of the entry as, in essence, a brief treatise on the governmental structure of Antwerp. He is careful to explain where the various officials stood in the hierarchy of the city and, to a limited extent, how they were appointed.²⁹

Finally came the entourage of Philip and Charles, who occupied the same last and most honored place as did the reliquary and its attendants in an *ommegang*. The only figures processing behind them were an honor guard made up of the city's militiamen who had

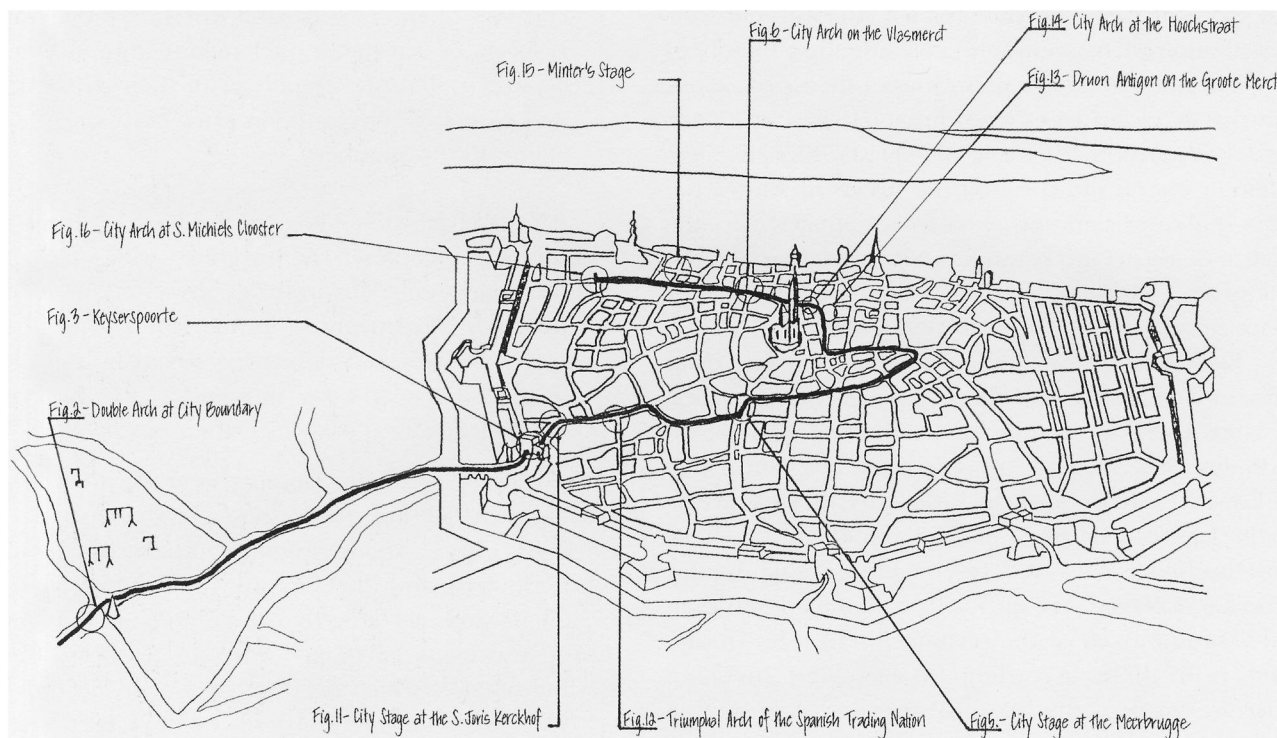


Fig. 5. Map of Antwerp showing Philip's route. After H. Cock, *Antverpiæ civitates Belgicæ toto orbe cogniti et celebrati emporii simulacrum*, ca. 1557, engraved map, and *Beschrijvinghe vande paelen der Vrijheit van Antwerpen*, 1582, engraving. Antwerp Stadsarchief. Drawing by Mieke Strand.

fought a ceremonial battle at the boundary of Antwerp's jurisdiction. Grapheus is seemingly far less concerned with a detailed listing of the members making up the company of Philip and Charles, being content simply to state that there were "uncountable numbers of princes, lords, dukes, counts and noblemen, etc."

In both the *ommegang* and the Joyous Entry, the object or figure occupying the final position was that from which the meaning of the event flowed. Moving through the streets of the city, over bridges, and across market squares, past religious, civic, and domestic buildings, the moving "center" of relic or prince permeated the space of the city with enduring associations.³⁰ By participating in the processions, both through membership in the various corporate bodies that made up the procession, and as spectators to it, the populace reinvented their larger community, in the one case defined as a religious body and in the other as a political one. The division between these two forms of community was certainly not a firm one, especially in the Joyous Entry, where the religious and political, the Christological and the Imperial, were conjoined.

The "moving center" is also to be found, perhaps most typically, in the Corpus Christi procession, which

is the second of Antwerp's *ommegangen*. Instituted in 1246 in response to the ecstatic visions of the beguine Johanna of Liege, the Feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated throughout the German and Netherlandish territories, Antwerp included, by 1252, and papally authorized as a universal feast day by 1264.³¹ Corpus Christi processions developed almost immediately out of the special services, held the Thursday following Trinity Sunday (the day on which the *Besnijdenis-ommegang* was held in Antwerp), as a means of accommodating the enormous numbers of people who wished to view the enshrined host. Just as with the Reliquary of the Holy Prepuce, the Holy Sacrament was carried through the streets of the city during the Corpus Christi procession. The form of the procession, complete with biblical and allegorical *pointen*, and the participation of the corporate bodies that constituted the city, remained consistent with its older counterpart.³²

The third of Antwerp's *ommegangen*, the procession of the Virgin Mary, patroness of the city and patron saint of the cathedral, again follows the pattern we have seen in the previous examples.³³ One interesting aspect of this procession, not necessarily absent from the Corpus Christi procession but unremarked in the

sources, is that the object of veneration (in this case the statue of the Virgin taken from the cathedral) was passed successively from group to group, each of which had the honor to carry her from one site along the route to the next, passing it on in turn to the next. Here is a still more immediate indication of the manner in which the sacred object, the moving center, participates in the reinvention and confirmation of community bonds. The Virgin, as active protector and patroness of the city, again moves through civic space but also through the hands of the full spectrum of communal bodies. Implicit are the same themes of propitiation, submission, honor, and even negotiation that we have already seen at work in Philip's entry. The stress upon personifying Antwerp as a virgin within the entry, mentioned above, here takes on an added significance through the identification of Antwerp with the Virgin.

The last of the Antwerp *ommegangen* was introduced only in 1485, quite late compared with the others, and appears never to have reached the same level of complexity. But it is of special interest to us in relation to the Joyous Entry of Philip II, particularly in our concerns with civic identity. This is the *St. Joris-ommegang*, the St. George's Procession, focused like that of the Virgin Mary on a holy figure and its statue, also solemnly and ritually removed from its church setting and processed through the streets.³⁴ Interestingly, this is the only one of Antwerp's *ommegangen* given a secondary name in the sources, that of the *processie van der stadt*, the procession of the city, so described in the *ordenancie* of the first occurrence. The role of the annual processions in shaping, defining, reinventing civic identity is here finally made quite explicit.

So, too, is the association of St. George with the city as a whole. As mentioned above, the St. George's militia was among the most preeminent of civic organizations, an embodiment of the rights and privileges so carefully garnered and so carefully protected by the Antwerp administration at each investiture of a new ruler. The two poles of the *St. Joris-ommegang* processional route were the St. George's Church and the City Hall, the same as in Philip's entry within the city proper. In the *ommegang* the procession begins on Saturday at the church, with city pipers leaving there and marching to the City Hall, returning with the lords and officials of the commune, the crafts and guilds, the militias in their time-honored order. From the Church, with St. George in tow, the procession moves back to the *stadhuis*, where the city hosts a feast in the saint's honor. The following day, Sunday, the route is reversed and St. George is returned and reinstated



Fig. 6. Cornelius Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst*, Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1550. City stage inside the Keyserspoorte, at the S. Joris kerckhof. Los Angeles, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute.

in the church, the crafts and guilds leading the way. The route taken by this *processie van der stadt* shares much with that of the royal entry. Both begin at the St. George's Church, and visit along their routes the St. Janspoorte, the Hoochstrate, the Melckmerct, the Meirpoorte, and the Stadhuis.

The locus of the St. George's Gate and St. George's Church was especially imbued with multiple layers of association in this Joyous Entry. Not only did this location have particular resonance, through the association with the St. George's militia, but this is where the city erected a stage and tableau to welcome Philip within her walls in the guise of her beloved (fig. 6).³⁵ This is where civic identity and imperial identity are juxtaposed, where Antwerp's religious and secular communities converge for an annual ritual of shared allegiances, where Antwerp's customary privileges and her fealty to her overlords were both celebrated.

In the course of this article, we have considered three types of procession held in Antwerp, those of

the *landjuweel*, the *Blijde Incompst*, and the *ommegangen*. As we have seen, all of them have certain structural features in common, including a clear hierarchy that places the most significant figure—be it person, statue, or a metonymic trace of a holy person in the form of relic or host—in the final position. All of them utilize costly ceremonial garb and accoutrements to signal the importance of the event, to raise it above the quotidian. All of them occur within the fabric of the city, where such sites as gates, walls, markets, churches, streets, and so forth acquire significance and associations through both daily use and extraordinary events. As each procession moves through municipal spaces and past landmarks of one form or another, an interaction takes place between dynamic and static, allowing the two to interpenetrate one another.

I have suggested along the way that one or another of these borrows qualities from the others. The Brussels procession in the *landjuweel* takes over the pomp and circumstance of a royal entry; the royal entry employs familiarity with religious processions to reinforce the Christological nature of the entering sovereign; the *ommegangen* use the time-honored hierarchical sequence of participants to reiterate social order and the place of the divine within it. These borrowings, these resonances, these commonalities are intrinsic to the function of the events. We can think of the audiences for them—multiple both in the sense of the different events, but also in the range of participants within them individually—not merely gaining passive access to their messages by virtue of the skills of viewing that they mutually inculcate, but also thereby becoming active participants in the construction of meaning. It is the audiences' abilities to read the forms and structures of one event into another that allows the process of signification, or perhaps better the efficacy of ritual, to take place. Only by understanding the place of a particular event, such as Philip's *Blijde Incompst*, within the broad range of festive and ritual behavior, can we begin to unravel the viewer's experience.

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Notes

This essay is a continuation of the study begun in my "Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp *Blijde Incompst*," *Hof- Staats- en stadsceremonies, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 49 (1998), 37–67. My thanks to Bart Ramakers for illuminating discussions about religious processions in the period, and to Emily Peters for her help in the writing process.

1. Clough's description of the *landjuweel* is published in J. W. Burgon, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, I (London, 1839), 377–89. Excerpts from Clough are taken verbatim from this edition.

2. See especially E. van Autenboer, *Het Brabants landjuweel der rederijkers (1515–1561)* (Middelburg, 1981) for a description of the phenomenon.

3. Burgon, *Gresham*, 378.

4. Burgon, *Gresham*, 386–89.

5. The attention Clough pays to the clothing worn during the Antwerp processions of Brussels and the other chambers is typical of such accounts. From the earliest surviving accounts of royal entries, considerable space is taken up describing the form, color, embellishment, and costliness of ceremonial apparel.

6. See J. J. Mak, *De Rederijkers* (Amsterdam, 1944), 15–16, for the organizational structure of the *rederijker* chambers.

7. *Ibid.*, 14.

8. Burgon, *Gresham*, 381. Clough's reference to the Schetz brothers had direct significance to Gresham, who resided with another of the brothers, Gaspar, while in Antwerp. See Burgon, *Gresham*, 70, 78–79.

9. Burgon, *Gresham*, 385–86.

10. Burgon, *Gresham*, 384.

11. For the Fugger material, see G. Matthews, *News and Rumor in Renaissance Europe (The Fugger Newsletters)* (New York, 1959).

12. For the Antwerp entry, see C. Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijckel schoone/ Triumpheijck Incompst, van den hooghmogenden Prince Philips* (Antwerp, 1550). I have used the Dutch version of Grapheus' text, as opposed to the original Latin, because I am primarily interested in the local reception of the entry. See also J. C. Calvete de Estrella, *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe Don Phelippe* (Antwerp, 1552; reprint ed., Madrid, 1930); II: 108–217. W. Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1994), reproduces the illustrations from Grapheus and provides an intelligent commentary on the architecture. E. J. Roobaert, "De seer wonderlijckel schoone triumpheijckel incompst van den hooghmogenden Prince Philips . . . in de stadt van Antwerpen . . . Anno 1549 . . .," *Bulletin der koninklijke musea voor schoone kunsten*, 9 (1960), 37–73, compiles much of the data on Grapheus and provides a very helpful appendix of the relevant archival material.

13. M. Meadow, "Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp *Blijde Incompst*," in *Hof- Staats- en stadsceremonies, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 49 (1998), 37–67.

14. M. Meadow, "Aertsen's *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, Serlio's Architecture and the Meaning of Location," in J. Koopmans, M. Meadow, K. Meerhoff, and M. Spies, eds., *Rhetoric – Rhétoriqueurs – Rederijkers* (Amsterdam, 1995), 175–96 and M. Meadow, "Aertsen's *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* and the Rederijker Stage of 1561: Spatial Strategies of Rhetoric," in B. A. M. Ramakers, *Spel in de Verte: Tekst, structuur en opvoeringspraktijk van het rederijkerstoneel* (Ghent, 1994), 201–13.

15. Kuyper, *Triumphant Entry*, 22–26.

16. For the route, see Grapheus, *Triumphelijcke Incompst*, Di v–Niv r and Calvete, *El felicicismo viaie*, 108–217.

17. For circumambulation, see P. J. Davies, “The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan’s Column and the Art of Commemoration,” *American Art Journal of Archeology*, 101 (1997), 41–65. For *ambarvalia* and *amburbium*, see H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (London, 1981), 124–25 and 82–84, and J. Shelton, *As the Romans did: a sourcebook in Roman social history* (Oxford, 1998), 379–80.

18. For an Italian example of processing along the boundaries of the community during a similar event, see the discussion of Giovanna of Austria’s entry into Florence, as part of her wedding ceremonies with Francesco de Medici, in R. Starn and L. Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, 1993), esp. 155–56 and 168–70.

19. For the epistemological role of genealogy in this period, see M. Rothstein, “Etymology, genealogy, and the immutability of origins,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), 332–47. For the inscription of memory in early-modern civic space, see S. Mullaney, *The place of the stage* (Ann Arbor, 1995), esp. 1–25.

20. The *ommegangen* of Antwerp provide valuable contextual evidence for the interpretive skills available to the general public in viewing a procession such as Philip’s entry. For the *ommegangen*, see L. van Burbure, *De Antwerpsche Ommegangen in de XIVe en Xve Eeuw naar Gelijktijdige Handschriften*, (Antwerp, 1878); F. Prims, “De Antwerpsche ommeganck op den vooravond van de beeldstormerij,” *Mededeelingen van de koninklijke Vlaamsche academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schoone kunsten van België: Klasse de letteren*, 8 (1946), 5–21; L. van Hoyer, “De Antwerpse ommegang,” *De toerist*, 27 (1948), 369–73; E. van Autenboer, “De Mechelse ommegang van 1563,” *Volkskunde*, 57 (1956), 110–18; S. Williams, “Les Ommegangs d’Anvers et les Cortèges du Lord-Maire de Londres,” in *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, II of *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, Jean Jacquot, ed. (Paris, 1960), 349–57; S. Williams and J. Jacquot, “Ommegangs Anversoos du Temps de Bruegel et de Van Heemskerck,” in *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, II of *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, Jean Jacquot, ed., (Paris, 1960), 361–88; M. Twycross, “The Flemish *ommegang* and its pageant cars,” *Medieval English Theatre*, 2 (1980), 15–41 and 80–98; J. Cartwright, “Forms and their uses: the Antwerp *ommegangen*, 1550–1700,” in M. Twycross, ed., *Festive Drama* (Cambridge, 1996); B. A. M. Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren: toneelkunst en processiecultuur in Oudenaarde tussen Middeleeuwen en Moderne Tijd* (Amsterdam, 1996); and M. Thøfner, “The Court in the City, the City in the Court: Denis van Alsloot’s depictions of the 1615 Brussels ‘ommegang’,” *Hof- Staats- en stadsceremonies, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 49 (1998), 185–208.

21. For the *Besnijdenis-ommegang*, see Van Burbure, *De Antwerpsche Ommegangen*, 1–11. For the sixteenth-century form of the processions, see the following printed *ordenancien*: *Ordenantie van den Besnijdenis Ommeganck van desen teghenwoordighen Iare M.D. ende LIX*. (Antwerp, 1559); *Ordenancie, Inhoudende de Poincten vanden Heylighen Besnijdenis Ommeganck der Stadt van Antwerpen, gheschiet inden Iare M.D.LXI*. (Antwerp, 1561); *Ordenancie, Inhoudende de Poincten vanden Heylighen Besnijdenis Ommeganck der Stadt van Antwerpen, gheschiet inden Iare M.D.LXII*. (Antwerp, 1562); *Ordenantie Inhoudende de nieu Poincten van den Heylighen Besnijdenis Ommeganck, der Stadt van Antwerpen, gheschiet inden Iare 1564* (Antwerp, 1564).

22. Van Burbure’s publication listed in the note above consists largely of a transcription from a manuscript laying out the *ordenancien* or programs of Antwerp’s *ommegangen* from 1398–1485. The entries at times detail the entire procession concerned, but more often only provide record of significant changes and additions to the program.

Later, printed *ordenancien* seem largely to have served the purpose of recording novelties and innovations in the programs of the processions, especially as they became increasingly lengthy and complex in their allegories. Printed programs for Joyous Entries become customary from the time of Charles V’s investiture, and may similarly be seen to reflect the need for clarification and record-keeping of the increasing arcane and elaborate programs. The distribution of these pamphlets strongly suggests that they were collected by those responsible for planning events of this nature.

23. Van Burbure, *De Antwerpsche Ommegangen*, 4.

24. Ibid. 7–8.

25. Ibid. 1–5.

26. Grapheus, *Triumphelijcke Incompst*, Biii r.

27. Ibid. Biii v–Di v. Grapheus notes that the Portuguese, English, Florentine, and Genoese nations were forbidden by Charles from participating in the entry procession because of the current animosity between the two pairs of native states. This is among the only indications that Charles had a voice in the arrangements for the entry.

28. Grapheus, *Triumphelijcke Incompst*, Ciii v–C iv r. The “Margrave” listed here by Grapheus, was Margrave of Antwerp, a title distinct from that possessed by Philip, the Margrave of the Holy Empire.

29. See F. Prims, *Rechterlijk Antwerpen in de Middeleeuwen: De Rechterlijke Instellingen* (Antwerp, 1936), for a detailed discussion of governmental structure and the particular figures mentioned here.

30. I borrow the term “center” here from Clifford Geertz, “Kings, Centers and Charisma,” in S. Wilentz, ed. *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985), 13–38. I differ from Geertz in understanding this “center” to be an open vessel for the constant reinvention of the social fabric, rather than as the means of imposing an immutable political order from above.

31. See C. Zika, “Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth-Century Germany,” *Past and Present*, 118 (1988), 25–64; M. James, “Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town,” *Past and Present*, 94 (1983), 3–29; E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), 67–70.

32. Van Burbure, *De Antwerpsche Ommegangen*, 6–7, 12. The 1420–1459 *ordenancie* suggests the two processions to be identical, other than the object of veneration placed at the end of each: “In deser manieren so volghen de punten in de processie vander Besnydenissen ende vanden Heylighen Sacramente.” Certainly, given that only three days intervened between the two, it is likely that the same floats would have been used in both events.

33. Van Burbure, *De Antwerpsche Ommegangen*, 13–20. For the later form of the procession, see *Ordinantie van de nieu Punten van onser Vrouwen Ommeghanck half Oogst. 1563* (Antwerp, 1563); *Ordinantie Inhoudende die oude ende Nieuwe Poincten, van onser Vrouwen Ommeganck, der Stadt van Antwerpen, gheschiet inden Iare. 1564* (Antwerp, 1564); *Ordonantie Inhoudende de nieu Poincten vanden Ommeganck halff Oogst, Anno. 1566. Ghe-naempt den Tijd present* (Antwerp, 1566).

34. Van Burbure, *De Antwerpsche Ommegangen*, 21–22.

35. M. Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity,” 53–54, and Kuyper, *Triumphant Entry*, 19–20.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–4 and 6, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute; fig. 5, author.

Proverbial Reframing—Rebuking and Revering Women in Trousers

Martha Moffitt Peacock

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the many Netherlandish representations of the “Battle for the Trousers” proverb earnestly condemned female tyranny. The images’ exaggerated misogyny directly contested another contemporary discourse that celebrated assertive women: the heroines of the Revolt. This significant attention devoted to assertive and mannish females resulted in a reconstruction of gender that increasingly accepted and even applauded powerful women. Consequently, the topos soon began to lose its moralizing urgency.

One of the major shifts in the study of Netherlandish art in recent decades has been the recognition of the significance of popular culture to these studies and, consequently, the influence of proverbs and aphorisms on visual imagery. In most of these discussions, it is assumed that once the identity of a particular proverb is uncovered, one can surmise that the meaning and intent of that proverb is both self-evident and constant. Recent applications of poststructuralist theory in various historical fields, however, increasingly demonstrate that culture is variable and changing. In such a framework, it must be concluded that no fixed meaning can be ascribed to a proverb. Like all words and texts, proverbs are influenced by the specifics of cultural and social context. As the northern seven provinces of the Netherlands became an independent republic in the later sixteenth century, it is clear that the societal discourses re-formed the culture in significant ways. The instability and multiplicity of these discourses are both reflected and signified in the proverbial “Battle for the Trousers” in Netherlandish art. Particularly enmeshed within this “Battle for the Trousers” proverb is the discourse about gender. As this society transformed itself, the proverb was recast, and contributed to the construction of gender in contingent and conflicting ways.

While the subject of “The Battle for the Trousers” is found in earlier fifteenth-century art, there was an efflorescence of these depictions in the Netherlands

in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹ The theme frequently appeared in collections of proverbs, such as a late sixteenth-century anonymous painting with the familiar aphorism, “Here seven women fight over the trousers” (fig. 1).² In the far right background, seven women cluster, fighting with one another over a pair of man’s pants. Several years ago, Aby Warburg pointed out that this all-female “Battle for the Trousers” was related to the biblical passage found in Isaiah 4:1:

And seven women shall take hold of one man in that day, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name; take thou away our reproach.³

This contest for a man was due to a shortage of men in Zion because so many of them had fallen in combat. Isaiah also informs us, however, that Zion was led to this destruction because of the pride of her daughters who ruled over the people and caused them to err. This more thorough reading of the biblical text explains the connection made with the other type of “Battle for the Trousers” scene: the struggle between a man and a woman over a pair of trousers. In this brawl a woman usurps male authority and power by seizing the symbolic trousers.

Evidence that both types of battle were used to moralize against domineering viragoes is found in a proverb print of the early seventeenth century that depicts both struggles and conflates them in the title *Representation of how seven women fight over a man’s pants and how the woman puts on the pants and the man the skirt* (fig. 2).⁴ The latter scene identifies the unnatural and domineering woman as “Bad Griet,” a name often assigned to overbearing shrews. Griet was also associated with the proverbial woman *Dulle Griet*, who was so shrewish that she even dared to enter Hell and tie the devil to a cushion. Furthermore, her violent nature was also vented on her husband, whom she tied to a



Fig. 1. Anonymous, *Proverbs*, oil on panel. Monaco, Private Collection.

sharp-pinned hackle.⁵ Pieter Bruegel incorporated her into both his series of proverbs (fig. 3, lower left corner) and his larger painting of the proverb (fig. 4). In the last example, Griet wears armor, instead of trousers, as a symbol of her manliness.

The seriously didactic purpose of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century “Battle for the Trousers” images is indicated in a number of ways. The first indicator is the context of these representations. Often they occur in overtly moralizing formats, such as the collections of proverbs just mentioned or “Topsy-turvy World” prints. The “Topsy-turvy World,” or “*Verkeerde Wereld*,” prints illustrated a variety of ridiculous situations in which the behavior represented was the opposite of that which was considered “normal.” The struggle over trousers is also used to illustrate moralizing texts such as Adriaen van de Venne’s

Tafereel van de Belacchende Werelt (*Painting of the Ridiculous World*) of 1635. One of the text’s exemplars of the world’s foolish behavior is a “Battle for the Trousers” among seven women (fig. 5). Ridicule of domineering women is reinforced by the accompanying moralizing adage, “Let husbands wear trousers, and wives wear aprons.”⁶

The second indicator of the didactic intent of this theme is the presence of moralizing inscriptions or fools used to censure the represented behavior. As with many “Battle for the Trousers” images, the shrewish wife in a 1607 Phillip Serwouters’ print after David Vinckboons forces her husband to dress her in his trousers (fig. 6). The wife also lifts her thumb for her husband to kiss in deference to her power.⁷ And finally, the familiar placement of her hand above his head is a reversal of the contemporary expression

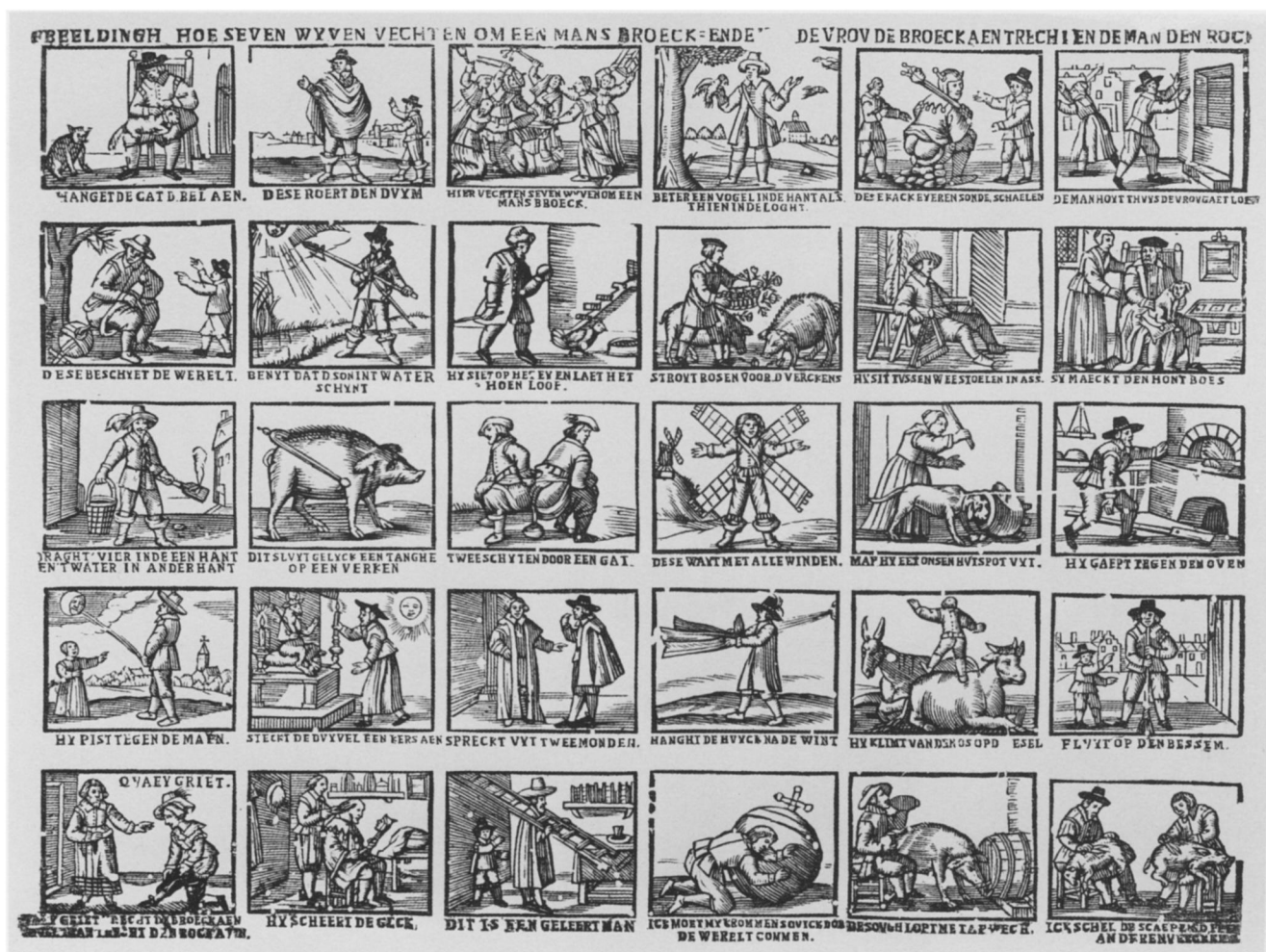


Fig. 2. Published by van der Hagen, *AFBEELDING HOE SEVEN WYVEN VECHTEN OM EEN MANS BROEK ENDE HOE DE VROU DE BROEK AEN TRECHT ENDE MAN DEN ROCK*, woodcut. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

“*Manshand boven*” (or man’s hand above) referring to the proper order of patriarchal authority.⁸ The inscription below clearly indicates the contemporary ethos that men were to rule and control their wives:

That husband is worthy to be mocked
Who puts the pants on his wife.⁹

Other evils associated with battling and domineering women spawned a host of sub-themes in art, such as scolding wives and *pantoffelheden*, or, literally, men beaten with their wives’ shoes.¹⁰ Equally abundant were scenes of women forcing men to perform female tasks such as spinning, cleaning house, or feeling the hen for eggs (the *hennetaster*).¹¹ Such a hen groper can be seen in a turn-of-the-century print by Harmen Jansz. Muller; in the background, the wife puts on the trousers (fig. 7).

Finally, the evil nature of the violent female was signaled by her exaggerated ferocity. In Claes van Breen’s early seventeenth-century engraving of the “Battle for the Trousers” after Carel van Mander, the wife brutally grabs her husband by the hair while trying to force him out of his trousers (fig. 8). Even more overstated is a print depicting an army of viciously caricatured viragoes in a 1590s print published by Bosscher (fig. 9). To the right of the scene, a kneeling man is forced to dress his wife in his trousers under threat of his wife’s bullying upper hand. Other contemporary signs of male subjugation can be seen in the kneeling man at the left giving his wife the kiss of the thumb, or the women in the background who parade the “upper hand” banner, force men to spin, and beat them with tongs. The Dutch word “tang” (tong) was a metaphor for a shrewish woman.¹²



Fig. 3. Pieter Bruegel, *Netherlandish Proverbs*, 1559, oil on panel. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen.

The inscriptions further underscore the violent natures of these battling women:

A woman either loves or hates;
she is said to have no third alternative,
Unless it is a crazed lust for domination
which causes her in her pride
to force her husband to knuckle under.
While she, wearing the pants,
holds up the battle standard, the HAND.

And further:

Where the woman has the upper hand,
and wears the trousers,
There it is that Jan the Man lives
according to the dictates of the skirt.¹³

The political and war-like metaphors used in these inscriptions are conspicuous indicators of an underlying discourse in these images. It is important to note that the "Battle for the Trousers" theme becomes most

popular just at the time of the greatest fear concerning Spanish domination.

Also significant is the fact that many Dutch women actively fought in the Revolt at this time. Female warriors such as Kenau Simons. Hasselaer and Trijn van Leemput achieved immediate and prolific fame for themselves and the women they led into battle in various histories and prints of the era. Not all perceptions of these heroines, however, were positive, presenting their behavior as aggressive and "unwomanly." Indeed, bands of warring women who domineer over men, whether they occur in "Battle for the Trousers" scenes, representations of the evil Griet, or in an image of Dutch women fighting Spaniards, such as in an early seventeenth-century Claes Jansz. Visscher print after David Vinckboons (fig. 10), are frequently connected through references to shrewish, violent women. For example, the inscription in Visscher's print describing the women's violence states, "...



Fig. 4. Pieter Bruegel, *Dulle Griet*, 1562, oil on panel. Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum.

so Griet raech met te tange" (so Griet strike with tongs), referring both to the symbolic tongs used in the scene and to the proverbial tyrannizing Griet. Similar connections between the female soldier and the power-usurping woman are made in an early seventeenth-century print of the "Topsy-turvy World" (fig. 11). One of the most popular scenes in such moralizing prints was that of the trading of tasks between men and women. In this print, the third scene of the first row bears the inscription, "*Het wyf trect na de krych*" (The wife goes to war). Now the wife seizes her husband's weapons, rather than his trousers, to show that she has taken on male roles, while he sits and spins. The third scene of the sixth row has the inscription, "*De vrouwen bestormen thuys*," and depicts a legion of "unnatural" women storming a castle.

In certain scenes of the "Battle for the Trousers," such as a print by Frans Hogenberg of the 1570s (fig. 12) or an illustration to Theodore de Bry's *Emblemata*

Saecularia of 1611 (fig. 13), the depictions of war in the background further link the violence of the women with the revolt against Spain. Whether directed at the Spanish enemy or at domineering women, the message was the same: unbridled ferocity and violence were both to be feared and controlled.

In an anonymous print from 1617, many of these connections between the violence and tyranny of Spain and that of warring women are made explicit (fig. 14). Here a tear-faced man is forced to spin by his scolding and shrewish wife, and the inscriptions relate the misery of the man whose wife, in league with the devil, exercises unrighteous dominion over him. In this instance the woman is clearly identified with *Dulle Griet* by the sharp-pinned hackle hanging on the wall, reminiscent of *Griet's* violence towards her husband. This scene is linked to the tyranny of Catholic Spain through the inclusion of a spider wearing a bishop's miter. With regard to this detail, the print

has been identified as a metaphor for contemporary religious divisions in which ultra-orthodox Counter-Remonstrants were accusing Johan Oldenbarnevelt and the liberal Remonstrants of being pro-Spain papists.¹⁴ In addition, the spider and its web were a well-known symbol of evil-plotting and deceitful women, and in this case the deceit is also applied to Catholicism by the use of the bishop's miter. And finally, deceit is directly related to Spain through a pun on the Dutch "*spin*" or spider as a reference to the contemporary Spanish general Spinola.¹⁵ Thus, through use of the sign of the violent and evil Griet, who deceitfully and unnaturally usurps male power, a paranoia about both female and Spanish domination are expressed.

In order to understand this paranoia it is important to discuss another, more positive, discourse regarding the female soldier. Negative perceptions of women warriors were not so hegemonic as to exclude all other notions. There was another powerful signification attached to the female soldier that glorified her memory and romanticized her heroic deeds. These memorials of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were found in both literature and art, and they can also be seen as a type of "Battle for the Trousers" in which the woman is now applauded for her usurping of male roles. The Haarlem heroine Kenau Simons. Hasselaer was particularly lauded, as demonstrated in an early seventeenth-century anonymous painting of her as a manly warrior (fig. 15). Indeed, the inscription declares:

See here a Woman called Kenau,
Brave as a Man: Who in that time,
Gallantly fought the Spanish tyrant.¹⁶

In several prints, such as examples by Matthias Quad (fig. 16) and Remigius Hoogenberg (fig. 17) dating from the late sixteenth century, Hasselaer is praised for her actions in defense of the Fatherland, pronounced a Dutch Judith, and proclaimed a heroine whose fame is known far and wide. Such images directly contested the structuring of gender inherent in the patriarchal agenda of negatively valued "Battle for the Trousers" images.

The significance of this discourse glorifying the female soldier continued well into the seventeenth century. The Utrecht heroine Trijn van Leemput, for example, is eulogized in an anonymous mid-seventeenth-century painting (fig. 18). Leemput is shown holding her instruments of war while her band of women storms the Spanish fortress in the background. The accompanying inscription declares:



Fig. 5. Adriaen van de Venne, illustration from artist's *Tafereel van de Belacchende Werelt*, 1635, engraving. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk.

This is Trijn Leemput's image, who bravely did what neither burgher nor soldier ever dared do.¹⁷

Furthermore, Johan van Beverwijck eulogizes both Hasselaer and Leemput as well as other female soldiers in his *Wtnementheyt Des Vrouwelicken Geslachts* (*Of the Excellence of the Female Sex*) of 1639. The women of Alkmaar were particularly praised for their bravery in aiding the fight.¹⁸ By the time Petrus van Gelre writes his *Vrouwen-Lof Aen Me Juffrouw* (*Praise of Women*) in 1646, he not only praises Hasselaer and Leemput, but he also asserts that gallant soldiering has been the nature of women for so long in the Netherlands that it no longer seems unnatural.¹⁹ Such opinions directly contradicted normative concepts of women's roles and must have profoundly influenced public perceptions of women's character and capabilities. By usurping the visual tradition of the male warrior, images of heroines posed a challenge to a strict binary system of gender roles and thus significantly affected this newly independent society's future structuring of these roles.



Fig. 6. Pieter Serwouters, after David Vinckboons, *Battle for the Trousers*, 1607, engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, H. 15.

Ironically, the negative imaging of domineering females may also have had this effect to a certain degree. In discussing situations of the upside-down world in early modern society, Natalie Zemon Davis has suggested that such practices may well have been power engendering. She asserts that demonstrations of undermining hierarchy, whether in social rites or in contemporary literature and drama, would have provided examples for the public of possibilities for rebellion.²⁰ This situation would have been particularly possible in the Dutch Republic for several reasons. First, women were already coming from a more powerful position due to their celebrated heroism during the Revolt. Their deeds were equated with those of

men and were praised in the same manner. Second, the Dutch Republic was a society that was redefining itself in a number of ways due to its new independence.

As is evidenced by the discourses, both positive and negative, surrounding the powerful female, the meaning of woman had already been altered during the latter half of the sixteenth century and it continued to be a subject of public discussion in the seventeenth century. As was so often expressed, woman was now seen as capable of manly deeds and as adopting male characteristics once thought impossible for the female sex. Woman, therefore, was no longer



Fig. 7. Harmen Jansz. Muller, *Henmetaster*, engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, H. 125.

seen as the polar opposite of man and in this way could, by some men, also be seen as more praiseworthy.

Returning to the images that criticize women for this manliness, it is significant that they all treat this female power as if it is inevitable, despite the inscriptions that warn men to be on their guard. The women are always depicted in control; it is they who will win the battle. The men never pose any threat to these powerful viragoes and there is never any physical punishment meted out on these women for their unnatural behavior. This is quite different from the German tradition, as discussed by Keith Moxey, in which the shrewish wife is sometimes soundly beaten into submission.²¹ Nothing approaching this nearly homicidal violence towards women is witnessed in Netherlandish images. Instead, what is constantly brought before the public eye is a view of women exercising power over men, thus certainly giving rise at some level to a notion of the existence of actual female power.

The meaningful discussion of the female character contributed to a new sense of woman as possessing a more authoritative presence in Dutch society. Furthermore, the significant public visibility of contemporary women was new in European art and is not present in other early modern societies. The importance of this discourse about women and their roles is attested to not only by visual imagery, but also by the literature of the Dutch Republic.²² Interestingly, this public discussion about women does not decrease during the seventeenth century. It does, however, significantly alter during the second half of the century as the prominence and power of women in the society increases. These changes constantly suggest the pivotal influence of the heroine discourse on general perceptions of women.

I would assert, therefore, that positive and negative assessments of female power in relation to battling for the trousers are contingent on historically specific and contesting discourses about gender roles. What happened, therefore, when these associations were no longer historically relevant and what effect did this transition have on depictions of the proverb? Primarily, "Battle for the Trousers" images become less popular and increasingly benign during the seventeenth century. Jan Miense Molenaer, for example, painted two versions of the theme in which the man rather willingly gives himself over to the power of women (fig. 19). Here the seven women do not fight against one another; instead they pin the man to the ground. Their eager and amused expressions, as well



Fig. 8. Claes van Breen, after Karel van Mander, *Battle for the Trousers*, engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, H. 54.

as the women's obscene gestures, indicate that this is a humorous love battle rather than a vicious struggle for power. It is the women's sexual ploys, rather than their physical strength, that triumph over the man. Gone are the ferocious caricatures, the gesturing fools, and the moralizing inscriptions and symbols.

As has been pointed out, Godfried Schalcken's *Game of Lady Come into the Garden*, is probably connected with the theme also.²³ Here a young man is being undressed by two young women. He shrugs his shoulders and smilingly admits his helplessness to the viewer. Arnold Houbraken informs us that this is a self portrait and that the other figures are also portraits, further emphasizing the comic rather than censoring nature of the painting.²⁴

In addition, the joke of the "Battle for the Trousers" was used in several farces of the later seventeenth century. *De Ontvoogde Vrouw* (The Untamed Wife) of 1693 and *De Broekdragende Vrouw* (The Trouser-Wearing Wife) of 1666 are two such anonymously



Fig. 9. Published by J. Boscher, *The Upper Hand*, engraving. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk.

published plays that describe the antics of couples who fight and scheme against one another for power in the marriage. In another farce, J. Nosemans's *Klucht van Krijn Onverstant*, or *Vrouwen Parlement* (*The Farce of Foolish Krijn, or Women's Parliament*), 1671, the bad wife Trijn tells her friend Neeltje that it is old-fashioned to be obedient to one's husband. Trijn does whatever she wants and goes wherever she pleases.²⁵ While the underlying moral messages of these farces still mock the shrewish wife and the weak husband, comedy is primarily served when the wife gets the upper hand.

Even some of the moralizing literature changes tone. In Johan de Brune's *Bankket-Werk van Goede Gedagten* (*Banquet of Good Thoughts*) of 1660, the advice to a man afflicted with a bad wife was not to beat her into submission.²⁶ Instead, it is suggested that such a man must give up the pants, and change places with the wife if he wants to have any peace at all. This is not to suggest that misogynist literature disappeared during the later part of the seventeenth century, only that tales such as Hieronymus Sweerts' *De Tien*

Vermakelijkheden des Houwelyks (*The Ten Amusements of Marriage*), 1684, or *De Biegt der Getrouwde* (*The Trap of the Betrothed*), 1679, do not censure the physical power and brutishness of women as much as they execrate women's scheming and deceitful wiles. Men are portrayed as naive and helpless, not stupid and weak, in the face of such craftiness. It is as if a sort of inevitability develops around the theme of powerful women: a power that men are helpless to stem.

In addition, the development of children's comic strips during the late seventeenth century exhibits a kind of normalization of the powerful female. The earliest version of a comic strip that came to be known as *Jan de Wasser* represents the traditional "Battle for the Trousers" in which Griet strikes her husband with the symbolic tongs, takes his trousers, and forces him to perform domestic duties (fig. 20). Many of the earlier aspects of the theme are again present—vicious caricaturing, moralizing inscriptions, and metaphors of evil female power. Interestingly, however, this anachronistic type of "Battle for the



Fig. 10. Claes Jansz. Visscher, after David Vinckboons, *Political Print on the Revolt*, engraving. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk, H. 16.

Trousers” appears to have held little interest for the viewer of the late seventeenth century. This is the only version of the theme in which these old-fashioned features are so overtly condemned.

In the later versions of the print, from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, the story is greatly lengthened, and it becomes more of an illustrated comic strip story of the life and career of *Jan de Wasser*, as the title informs us (fig. 21). There is a great deal of emphasis on the many tasks of Jan, who, according to the inscription, does his work carefully and well. Furthermore, we are informed that these domestic tasks suit him. From a child’s perspective, the parents perform the ordinary tasks of marriage together: making a trip to Volewijk to get a baby from the “kinderput” (child-well), raising the child, deciding on the child’s occupation. Sometimes Jan is beaten, but at other times he does the beating. They even end up happily in bed together. Thus, in

later versions of the print, sometimes Jan dominates and sometimes his wife does, but there develops a clear ambivalence to the old theme of the shrewish housewife. The subject gradually loses its severely moralizing emphasis in order to entertain with a narrative tale. Similar types of narrative comic strips can be found in the stories of *Jan Klaaseen en Saartje Jans* or *Jan van Spanje and Trijn Salie*. In such tales, other anecdotes regarding courting and marriage are illustrated.²⁷

The almost complete relegation of the “Battle for the Trousers” theme to comic formats or increasingly less censorious tales for children force reflection on the historical circumstances that effected this change. In relation to this question, it is important to note that scholars generally assume that the upside-down world *topos* has nothing to do with real female power.²⁸ Images connected to such themes are generally presumed to be either tools for inculcating certain attitudes about normative behaviors or a way of venting frustration



Fig. 11. Published by Ewout C. Muller, *De Verkeerde Wereld*, woodcut. Previously, Amsterdam, Van Veen collection. Maurits de Meyer, *De Volks- en kinderprent in de Nederlanden van de 15e tot de 20e Eeuw* (Antwerp, 1962), fig. 12.

for the oppressed member of a society—in this case, the woman. How should the theme be read, however, when it does relate to actual circumstances of women violently domineering over men?

The 1989 research of Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van de Pol has yielded a significant number of cases in which women dressed as males and enlisted as sailors

and soldiers during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the Netherlands.²⁹ Furthermore, they presume that the number of instances discovered only represents a small portion of actual cases in which women were donning the trousers. While the motivations of these women were mixed, many of them claimed patriotic justifications and expressed



Fig. 12. Frans Hogenberg, *Battle for the Trousers*, engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 13. Emblem from Theodore de Bry's *Emblemata Saecularia*, 1611, engraving. Utrecht, Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek.

a desire for glory. Certainly, the contesting opinions regarding female soldiers, particularly those that eulogized the patriotic foremothers of the revolt, must have inspired many women to take on these male roles. As was the case with Hasselaer and her army, these women were called Amazons by their contemporaries and some were even received at court and rewarded by the monarchy. While there were also negative reactions to women soldiers, this phenomenon certainly gave the women involved in cross-dressing a greater degree of freedom and an opportunity to compete with men in their traditional roles. It also publicly raised questions regarding the nature and role of women. Conflicting opinions about female soldiers are evident in a number of writings. While many historians, such as Emanuel van Meteren and Pieter C. Hooft, describe with enthusiasm the deeds of Dutch heroines, others, such as Hugo de Groot, assert that these women forgot the propriety and duties of their sex in doing battle against Spain.³⁰ Even more overt in their condemnation of female soldiers are the pseudo-historical sensationalist narratives of authors like Jacob van de Vivere and Simon de Vries. Furthermore, these texts provide the most overt evidence of



Fig. 14. Anonymous, *Political Print on Oldenbarnevelt*, 1617, engraving. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk.

the connections made in the Dutch male psyche between female soldiers and a fear of tyrannical women.

In Jacob van de Vivere's *De wintersche avonden/ of Nederlantsche vertellingen* (Winter nights/or Dutch tales), 1615, the conflicting discourses about women's roles, as associated with heroines, is expressly laid out.³¹ He begins by asserting that bravery in a man is no wonder, but that manly deeds among the female sex certainly are amazing. Thereafter, he turns to the feats of the "Nederlandsche Amazones" and specifically to the famous story of Kenau Simons. Hasselaer. In a rather praising spirit, he relates that during the siege the women carried on very bravely. He describes how Hasselaer, a courageous and honorable widow of forty-six years

old, used spears, guns, and swords while leading the other women in manly deeds—above the female nature—against Spain. In spite of this, however, he asserts that these women executed these manly deeds in female clothing. His source for this information most likely comes from the many images of heroines, as the other histories and diaries never mention what they were wearing. This, significantly, is a crucial point for Van de Vivere because these heroines did not cross the boundaries he considered appropriate to their sex. Indeed, he goes on to praise these women for their vigilance, bravery, and love for the Fatherland.

This, however, is not the end of his deliberations on manly women. He then states that some women



Fig. 15. Anonymous, *Kenau Simons Hasselaer*, oil on panel. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum.



fight for their own glory and that worse still, they do so in men's clothing. Evoking the Bible, he condemns these dishonorable women who may have won the characterization of "brave," but are without modesty and honor. Furthermore, he relates the stories of two women who were discovered among soldiers wearing men's clothing and disguising themselves as males. Declaring brave women to be ridiculous, Van de Vivere closes with a poem that reveres only courageous women who act with modesty and in the fear of God. Other bold women do not please him because they

threaten his strength. He desires a "not-too-brave" woman for a mate.

The enduring nature of this discourse is attested to by its reappearance in the writings of Simon de Vries at the end of the century. In his *D'edelste tijdkorting der weetgierige verstanden of de groote historische rariteitenkamer* (*The most noble past times for inquiring minds or the great historical museum of curiosities*), 1682, a similar intersection of conflicting views over female soldiers and bold women is found.³² Indeed, De Vries even puts the contradictory opinions in the mouths of debating characters. At the



Fig. 17. Remigius Hogenberg, Kenau Simons. Hasselaer, etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, H. 15.

outset, he criticizes women who go against their sex by dressing in men's clothing and doing battle. If, however, they do so in women's clothing for love of the Fatherland and the defense of their fellow citizenry, they are to be praised. He asserts that there are many examples of such women, but that he will only relate one, the story of Kenau Simons. Hasselaer. Citing Van Meteren's history of the Revolt, De Vries recounts the events of the siege at Haarlem in which Hasselaer led three hundred fully armed women against the Spaniards. With spear, musket, and sword, she wished to help as a man and did execute many manly deeds

above the female nature. He claims that when the Spaniards saw this army of women, they cried that the women had become men. Importantly, even though he also calls Hasselaer a "mannin," he, too, notes that she was dressed in female clothing.

After De Vries's character *Vroom-Aert* relates this history, *Vrolyck-Aert* immediately interjects that he does not think it advisable to talk about the valiant deeds of heroines in front of women. When the character *Vreedegond* asks him why, he responds with a story about a man whose shrewish wife Margriet developed a lust for fighting by listening to tales of women's



Fig. 18. Anonymous, *Trijn van Leemput*, 1646, oil on panel. Utrecht, Centraal Museum.



Fig. 19. Jan Miense Molenaer, *Battle for the Trousers*, oil on panel. The Hague, art dealer, 1960.

heroic deeds. A lengthy discussion ensues in which *Vrolyck-Aert* consistently accuses women of seeking to rule over men while *Vreedegond* denies that this is true and defends the honor of women. At the close of the discussion, they ask the opinion of *Adel-Aert* regarding the rule of women both in the home and in political affairs. Unlike the rather firm patriarchal stand taken in Van de Vivere's early seventeenth-century text, he responds that it is better for a woman to reign in the house than for a divorce to occur. Even more amazing, however, is the response that he gives regarding women rulers. He asserts that sometimes it is better for a country to be ruled by a woman than by a man. Several historically famous women leaders are then cited by *Adel-Aert* as examples of women's suitability for leadership. *Vrolyck-Aert* again seeks to undermine his companions' arguments by contending that he could give a hundred cases in which the rule of women yielded unfavorable results, but instead he decides to change the subject.

The similarities and differences between these two texts are telling regarding the development of the discourse about female power during the seventeenth century. First, in each work there is a discussion that evolves from a history of manly heroines of the Revolt to a polemic on the desire of contemporary housewives to rule over their husbands. The development of these narratives gives evidence of the existence and significance of this important association between women soldiers and overbearing housewives in the seventeenth century. Additionally, according to De Vries's text, wives were encouraged in their lust for power by listening to stories of these heroines. Even though both authors have reservations about women taking on manly attributes and power, they still cannot bring themselves to criticize the heroines of the Revolt. As with almost all other historians, they must admit that these women acted with bravery. It appears that the women's fame was such that it was difficult to disparage their

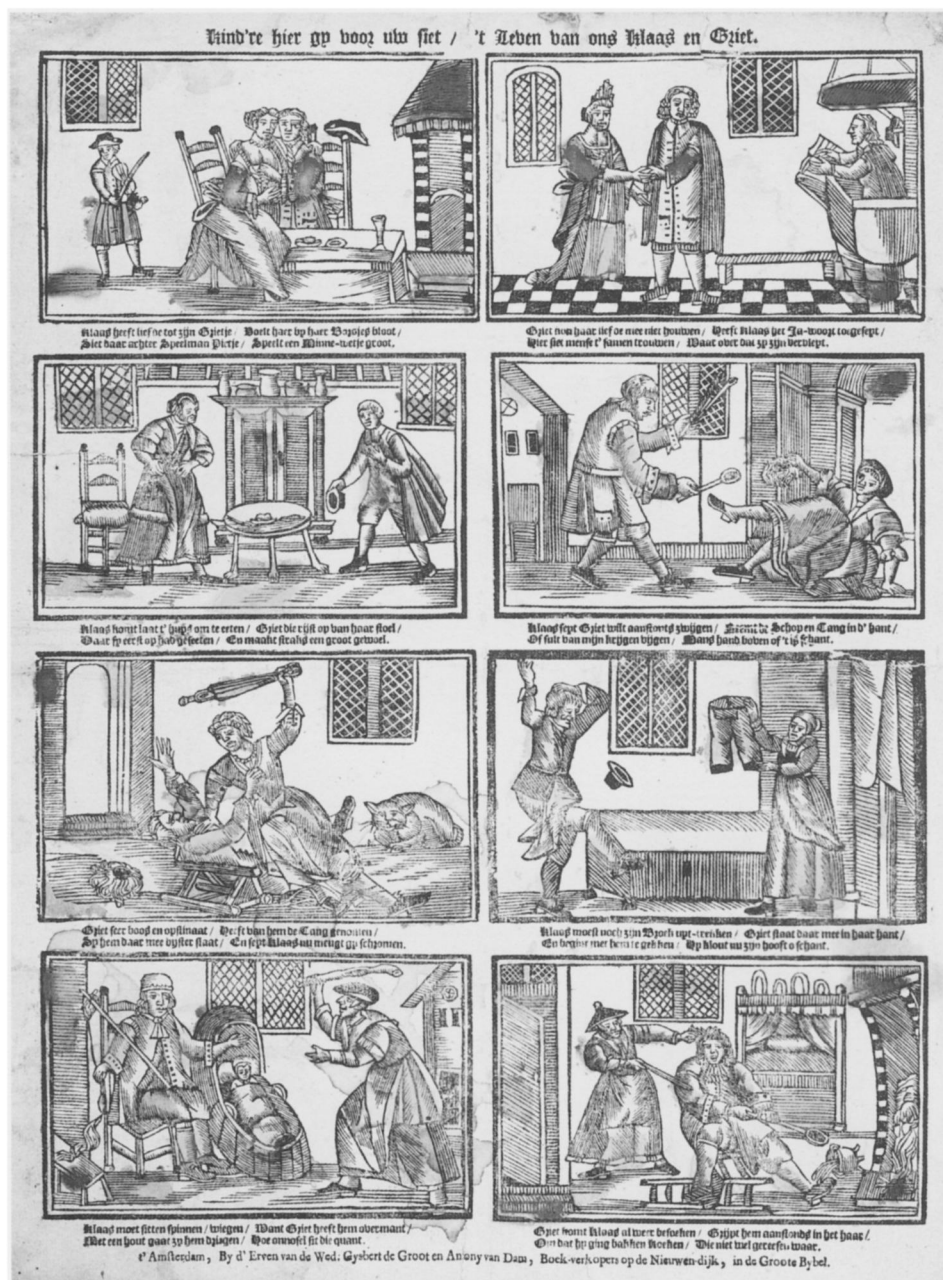


Fig. 20. Published by Gysbert de Groot, *Klaas en Griet*, woodcut. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

actions. In spite of these similarities, a significant difference between the two texts is that De Vries, writing at the end of the century, is much more accepting and even admiring of female power. This changed opinion suggests that during the course of the century the patriarchal point of view had been influenced and altered by a discourse that praised strong women and magnified their deeds.

Furthermore, certain authors even praised women who disguised themselves as men to fight for the Fatherland in the seventeenth century. Beverwijk, for example,

mentions the bravery of three such women in his text on the praise of women.³³ Perhaps even more telling, however, is the inclusion of women in Petrus de Lange's text on Dutch heroes entitled *Batavise Romeyn* (1661). In addition to the praise he devotes to Hasselaer, he also pays tribute to two women who dressed and bravely fought as men.³⁴ There was, therefore, a considerable amount of public attention devoted to women who were actually, as well as metaphorically, wearing the trousers.

It is also significant that most writers and artists emphasize the fact that heroines were, almost exclusively,



Fig. 21. Published by Ratelband and Brouwer, *Jan de Wasser*, woodcut. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

ordinary burgher wives—not royalty, not even nobility. In the images, the heroines are dressed in contemporary women's clothing and the texts all emphasize that it was burgher wives who marched out to save their cities. Authors like Beverwijk intermingle heroines and housewives in their texts and all are praised for their character and contributions. This will be important for Dutch women of the seventeenth century in that they will relate to these women as people like themselves. In other words, the heroines' ability to go beyond the traditional bounds of their sex and achieve public

attention and fame make these types of opportunities seem possible for other burgher women.

In addition to the records of historians, one must not ignore the accounts of numerous awe-struck travelers who related anecdotes of the seeming role reversals of men and women in this society. Many of these accounts asserted that women dominated their husbands, were well-educated, and were adept in the transaction of business.³⁵ Furthermore, the research of Donald Haks reveals that the type of patriarchy asserted in Dutch law and moralizing literature did not exist in actual practice.³⁶

While there has been much debate in recent years regarding the actual power of women in the Dutch Republic, it is becoming increasingly apparent that this was a society in which women did have some power to take on male roles and interject themselves into male domains of education and business.³⁷

It is evident, therefore, that the discourses involved in constructing gender during the seventeenth century increasingly contested traditional roles and perceptions of those roles. Such perceptions appeared in the sixteenth century and became particularly intense at the time of the Revolt with the appearance of images that disrupted patriarchy by praising armed women warriors and equating their bravery and abilities to that of men. The questioning and contesting of gender roles continued through the later part of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, as the society began to define itself, and debates surrounding the character of women raged. Misogynist imagery of this period reveals a strong aversion to what was viewed as an “unnatural” and “evil” reversal of gender roles, and thus this perceived cultural plight could easily be conflated with feared political tyranny. By mid-century, however, positive views of female power had successfully contested the hegemonic discourse to the extent that patriarchy was no longer so monolithic and femininity no longer so powerless. This is not to suggest that those roles were equal, only that at times they overlapped and that at other times women were able to adapt the patriarchal discourse to their own purposes. Thus, to focus insistently on the patriarchy of seventeenth-century Dutch society is to ensnare women in the trap of victimization and to ignore the fact that they also helped to create culture and influence male perceptions.

In this changed societal context, the “Battle for the Trousers” proverb must have seemed archaic and of less relevance to a culture in which gender roles were no longer so bipolar and in which a new importance had been ascribed to women generally. Earlier images were dependent on a strict division of masculinity and femininity for their derisive bite. Increasingly during the seventeenth century this bipolarity was contested, relegating the theme of the “Battle for the Trousers” to an archaic joke that had lost its moralizing urgency. In a society where women had at times won the trousers both experientially and ideologically, a period of relative peace was finally established in the proverbial “Battle for the Trousers.”

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Notes

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1. There is a great deal of literature over the general “Power of Women” *topos*, which includes: R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'Art Profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance* (The Hague, 1931–32); D. J. A. Ross, “Allegory and Romance on a Medieval Marriage Casket,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 11 (1948), 112–42; F. Maurer, “Der Topos von den Minnesklaven: Zur Geschichte eine thematischen Gemeinschaft zwischen bildenden Kunst und Dichtung im Mittelalter,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 27 (1953), 182–206; J. C. Hutchison, “The Housebook Master and the Folly of the Wise Man,” *The Art Bulletin*, 48 (1966), 73–78; D. Koepplin and T. Falk, *Lukas Cranach* [exh. cat.] (Basel, 1974), 562–85; N. Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), 124–51; L. Dresen-Coenders, “De strijd om de broeck,” *De Revisor*, 4, pt. 6 (1977), 29–37; H. Pleij, “Wie wordt er bang voor het boze wijf,” *De Revisor*, 4, pt. 6 (1977), 38–42; A.G. Stewart, *Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art* (New York, 1977); N. Z. Davis, “Women on Top: Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe,” in B. Babcock, ed., *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Cornell, 1978), 147–90; W. Gibson, “Some Flemish Popular Prints from Hieronymus Cock and His Contemporaries,” *Art Bulletin*, 60 (December, 1978), 673–81; W. Gibson, “Bruegel, Dulle Griet, and Sexist Politics in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Pieter Bruegel and Seine Welt* (Berlin, 1979), 9–15; E. S. Jacobowitz and S. L. Stepanek, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and His Contemporaries* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 102–21 and 164–83; T. V. Wilberg-Schuurman, *Hoofse Minne en burgerlijke liefde in de prentkunst rond 1500* (Leiden, 1983); W. van Engeldorp Gastelaars, “Ik Sal U Smiten Op Uwen Tant: Geweld tussen man en vrouw in laatmiddeleeuwse kluchten” (Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1984); L. Dresen-Coenders, “De heks als duivelsboel” in *Tussen heks en heilige: Het vrouwbeeld op de drempel van de moderne tijd, 15de/16de eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1985), 59–82; J. P. Filedt Kok, ed., *Livelier Than Life: The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master* [exh. cat.] (Amsterdam, 1985), nos. 54, 89, 95, and 102; L. Dresen-Coenders, “De machtsbalans tussen man en vrouw in het vroeg-moderne gezin,” in *Vijf Eeuwen Gezinsleven*, H. Peeters, L. Dresen-Coenders, T. Brandenburg, eds. (Nijmegen, 1988), 57–98; K. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: popular imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago, 1989), 101–26; S. L. Smith, *The Power of Women: A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995); C. Grössinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Manchester, 1997).

2. *Hier vechten seven wyven om een mans broeck*.

3. A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften herausgegeben von der Bibliothek Warburg*, II (Leipzig, Berlin, 1932), 180.

4. *AFBEELDING HOE SEVEN WYVEN VECHTEN OM EEN MANS BROEK ENDE HOE DE VROU DE BROEK AEN TRECHT EN DE MAN DEN ROCK*.

5. For a discussion of this proverbial character, see Jan Grauls, *Volkstaal en Volksleven in het Werk van Pieter Bruegel* (Antwerp, 1957), 6–41; Nicolaas van der Laan, *Uit Roemer Visscher's Brabbelingh* (Utrecht, 1978), 156; Gibson, “Bruegel,” 9–15.

6. *Laet Mannen by de Broeck, En Wyve by de Doek*, A. van de Venne, *Tafereel van de Belacchende Werelt* (The Hague, 1635), 240.

7. W. Gibson has demonstrated that this was a sign of submission by the husband in, “Cock,” 677–78.

8. A. de Cock, *Spreekwoorden en Zegswijzen over de Vrouwen*, (Ghent, 1911), 60.
9. *Waerdich is dien Man begett/Die syn Vrou de Broec aentrect*.
10. A *pantoffel* was a type of slipper worn by women and the expression “*Onder de pantoffel zitten*” implied that a man was ruled by his wife. Thus, a henpecked husband was called a “*pantoffelheld*.” These sayings are catalogued in F. A. Stoett, *Nederlandsche Spreekwoorden, Spreekwijzen, Utdrukkingen en Gezegden*, II (Zutphen, 1923), 138; also *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, XII, pt. 1 (The Hague), 339.
11. *Woordenboek*, VI, 579–80.
12. Stoett, *Spreekwoorden*, II, 345–46, *Woordenboek*, XVI, 913.
13. As translated by Gibson, “Cock,” 677. *Aut amat, aut odit Mulier, nil tertium/habere Dicitur: insanum ni foret Imperium./Unde superba suum cogit sufflare maritum:/Et braccata, tenet bellica signa, MANUM./Waer de Vrouw d’overhandt heeft, en draecht de brouck/Daer ist dat Jan de man leeft naer aduys van den douck*.
14. A. van Stolk, *Atlas van Stolk: Katalogus der Historie-, Spot- en Zinneprenten Betrekkelyk de Geschiedenis van Nederland*, II (Amsterdam, 1895), 80.
15. *Ibid.* for the reference to Spinola. The meanings of spiders and spiderwebs are discussed in Stoett, *Spreekwoorden*, II, 296–97; also *Woordenboek*, XIV, 2824, 2842.
16. *Siet hier een Vrouw./genaemt Kenou./Vroom als een Man:/Dief alder-tijt, /Vromelijc bestrijt/Den Spaenschen Tiran*.
17. *Dit Is Trijn Leemputts Beeld,/Di Moedig Heeft Gedaan,/Dat Borger Noch Soldaat,/Oyt Derven Had Bestaan*.
18. J. van Beverwijck, *Wtmenetheyt Des Vrouwelicken Geslachts*, (Dordrecht, 1643), II, 356–58, III, 48–51.
19. P. van Gelre, *Vrouwen-Lof Aen Me-Juffrouw* (Leyden, 1646).
20. Davis, *Society*, 97–151.
21. Moxey, *Peasants*, 115–17.
22. M. Spies has noted the large amount of literature devoted to women in, “Women and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Literature,” *Dutch Crossing*, 19 (1995), 3–23.
23. P. Sutton, ed., *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia, 1984), 301.
24. A. Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlandsche Konstchilders en Schilderessen*, III (Amsterdam: 1718-21), 175–76.
25. J. Nosemans, *Klucht van Krijn Onverstant, of Vrouwen Parlement* (Amsterdam, 1671), 4.
26. J. de Brune, *Bankket-Werk van Goede Gedagten*, I (Middelburgh, 1660), 348–49.
27. For numerous examples of such comic strips see M. de Meyer, *De Volks- en Kinderprent in de Nederlanden van de 15e tot de 20e Eeuw* (Antwerp, 1962).
28. See, for example, various essays in B. Babcock, ed., *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Cornell, 1978); Davis, *Society*, 97–151; Moxey, *Peasants*, 101–26.
29. R. Dekker and L. C. van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe*, J. Marcure and L. C. van de Pol, trans. (London, 1989).
30. E. van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie van onsen tijden tot 1598*, IV (1599), 63; P. C. Hooft, *Nederlandsche Histoorien, seedert de Ooverdraght der Heerschappye van Kaizar Kaarel den Vijfden op Kooning Philips zynen Zoon* (Amsterdam, 1642), 286; H. de Groot, *Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis* (Amsterdam, 1658), 133.
31. J. van de Vivere, *De Wintersche Avonden/ of Nederlantsche vertellingen* (Amsterdam, 1615), 117–19.
32. S. de Vries, *D’eedelste tijdorkting der weetgierige verstanden of de groote historische rariteitenkamer* (Amsterdam, 1682), 118–27.
33. Beverwijk, *Vrouwelicken*, II, 358–59 and III, 51.
34. P. de Lange, *Batavise Romeyn ofte alle de voornaemste Heldendaden, Ridderlijke seyten en listige Oorlogs-vonden, in Veld en Zeeslagen, overwinninge van steden en schepen, en in andere gelegtheden, by de Hollanders en Zeeuwen verricht, zedert den Iare 1492 tot 1661* (Amsterdam, 1661), 103 and 174–75.
35. See, for example, C. Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare’s Europe: A Survey of the Condition of Europe at the end of the 16th century, Being unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary* (1617), (New York, 1967), 381–385; F. Moryson, *An Itinerary*, IV (Glasgow, 1908), 468–69; J. N. de Parival, *Les Delices De la Hollande* (Leyden, 1651), 19; J. Jacobs, ed., *Epistolae Ho-Elignae: The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, I, section 2 (London, 1890), 128; W. Letwin, *Sir Josiah Child, Merchant Economist with a reprint of Brief Observations Concerning trade, and interest of money* (1668), (Cambridge, 1959), 42–43; A. Avatt, ed., *Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Resesby*, (London, 1904), 137.
36. D. Haks, *Huwelyk en Gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, (Assen, 1982), 141–57.
37. See various essays in E. Kloek, N. Teeuwen, M. Huisman, eds., *Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-Century Holland, England and Italy*, (Hilversum, 1994).

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 19, Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische documentatie; figs. 2, 6–8, 12, 17, 20–21, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet; fig. 3, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen; fig. 4, Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum; figs. 5, 9–10, 14, Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk; fig. 13, London, Warburg Institute; fig. 15, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum; fig. 16, Haarlem, Municipal Archives; fig. 18, Utrecht, Centraal Museum.

Paris and the Rhetoric of Town Praise in the *Vie de St. Denis* Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 2090–2)

Camille Serchuk

An examination of the Vie de St. Denis demonstrates how rhetoric informed artistic production in the Middle Ages. Designed as a solicitation of the King of France's continued devotion to the saint, the work included an extensive series of innovative images of the city of Paris, which focus on the city's bridges and emphasize its prosperity. These unusual views appear to have been inspired by rhetorical formulas for the description of cities, examples of which are found in the text.

The views of the bridges in the city of Paris in the manuscript known as the *Vie de St. Denis* are regarded by scholars as the first examples of naturalistic representation of the urban environment in the late Middle Ages.¹ From internal evidence in the manuscript, scholars have determined that the work was begun by the monastery of St. Denis as a gift for the French King, Philip the Fair, who died in 1314, before it was completed; it was finally presented to his son, Philip the Tall, in 1317.² The text of the manuscript narrates the life and martyrdom of St. Denis, the apostle to the Gauls, whose importance to the French king and his realm is articulated by a strong emphasis on the Parisian part of his legend. The miniatures in the manuscript, which were produced by Parisian illuminators in collaboration with the Abbey, include distinctive genre scenes that take place on and around the Parisian bridges over the Seine as a kind of *bas-de-page* decoration. These views of the city constitute a radical departure from the established conventions for the representation of towns. I propose that the principle inspiration for this innovation came from Latin rhetorical models for textual description and praise of cities and towns, which would have been well known to the monks of the Abbey of St. Denis who produced the manuscript. While scholars have frequently examined Jean de Jandun's 1323 *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* as a parallel to these images, I will present evidence to suggest that a more likely textual source for these images may be Latin rhetorical formulas employed in the text of the

manuscript itself, both in the *vita* and in supplementary texts that praise Paris and the French. The monks of St. Denis drew upon conventions previously employed only textually in order to initiate a new visual paradigm for the representation of urban space.

By glorifying the beauty and prosperity that the city of Paris (and by extension all of France) enjoyed under the protection of St. Denis, the text and images together form a persuasive program to secure the king's continued patronage of the Abbey of St. Denis and his devotion to its saint. Undertaken not long after the canonization of Philip the Fair's grandfather Louis IX, the manuscript rhetorically attributes the success of the Capetian dynasty and of France to the protection of the established patron saint of the French kings, St. Denis.

The three volumes of the *Vie de St. Denis* manuscript³ include a bilingual text, in both French and Latin. The first volume opens with a dedication by the Abbot Gilles to a King Philip of France. Gilles describes the three parts of the work, the first of which records the legend of Dionysius the Areopagite in Athens (whose legend was confused both with the third century Dionysius, who was the apostle to Gaul, and with the fifth-century Pseudo-Dionysius),⁴ who was known as Denis in French. The second part begins with Dionysius's role as first bishop of Athens, follows him to Rome, and then describes his missionary activity in Gaul along with his miracles and martyrdom. The last part chronicles the succession of the French kings, with particular attention to the role played by the saint in their continued success and achievement. The three volumes that survive today as the *Vie de St. Denis* comprise only the first two parts of this work. The last part appears to have been separated at an early date from the rest of the manuscript and survives independently in another volume.⁵

The three volumes of the *Vie de St. Denis* include seventy-seven full-page miniatures and three half-page



Fig. 1. *St. Denis Preaching*, *Vie de St. Denis*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2091, f. 99.

miniatures illustrating the life and miracles of the saint. They follow him from Athens to Rome and into Gaul, and detail his commission, his preaching, his miracles, and his martyrdom. While most of the miniatures include St. Denis himself, there are also several representing the Dormition of the Virgin, astronomers at work, and the actions of Diocletian, the Roman emperor who ordered St. Denis's death. The vast majority of the images, however, do illustrate his life, and thirty of these represent scenes from the saint's apostolic mission to Paris. Though nothing in the text specifically points to the city's bridges across

the river Seine, most of the Parisian scenes are set in an architectural framework that clearly represents gates, walls, and the Grand Pont and the Petit Pont, with the river below.

These bridge scenes offer a significant perspective on the city, and represent a major innovation in the tradition of urban representation. Instead of the more conventional focus on the walls and gates of the city, they offer a view into the heart of the metropolis. The topography of Paris is defined by the river and its banks and the island in the middle; the three districts of the city are defined by these distinct components.

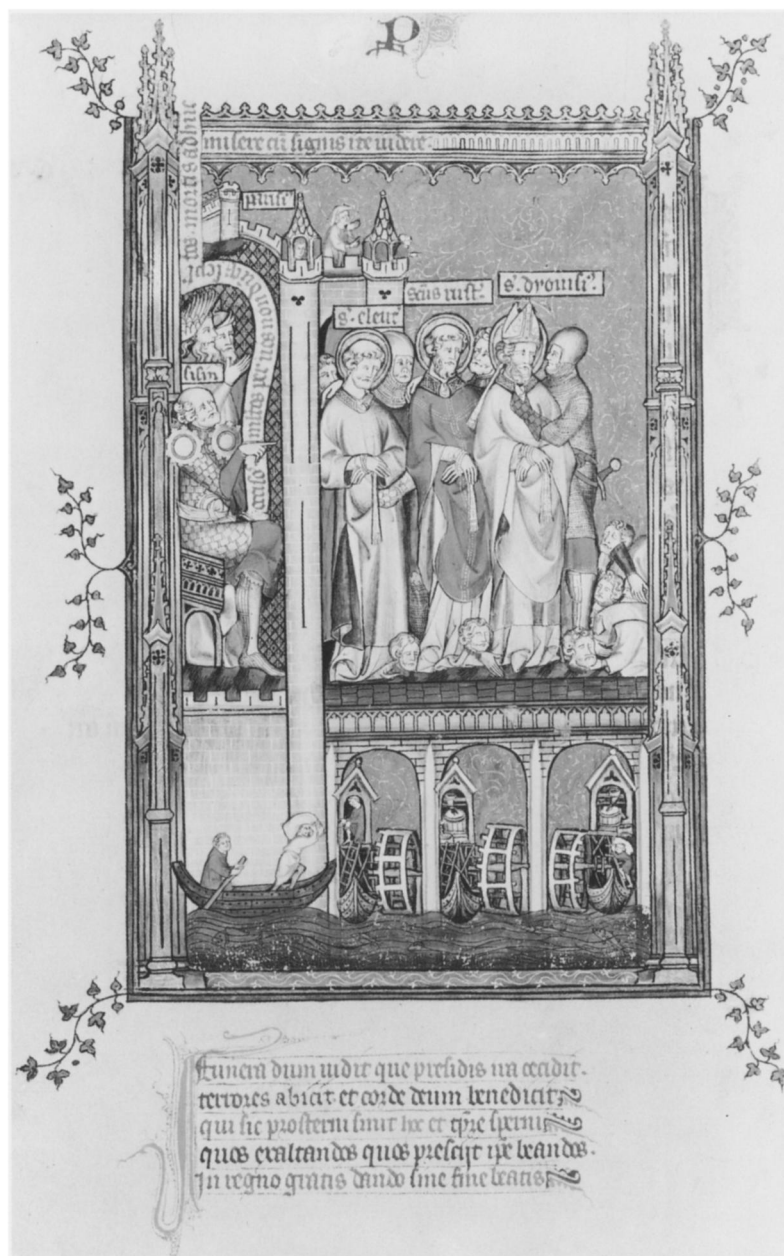


Fig. 2. Sisinnius Shows St. Denis and his Companions the Bodies of the Christians he has had killed
(*The Pont-aux-Meuniers*), *Vie de St. Denis*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2092, f. 37v.

The bridges, which connect the island to both banks, are located at the heart of the city, and here in the miniatures appear to represent the whole Parisian environment synecdochically. While they are emblematic of the city's distinctive topography, they also provided a backdrop for the hum of Parisian water traffic. Indeed, the proximity of the bridges to the city's ports made them a fundamental feature of the Parisian economy. The three bridges pictured in the manuscript, the Grand Pont, the Petit Pont (fig. 1), and the Pont-aux-Meuniers (fig. 2), appear differently

in the miniatures than they did in reality at the time, since when they were destroyed by flood in 1296 they were rebuilt in wood rather than in stone as shown in the miniatures.⁶ The miniatures do, however, convey the function and importance of the bridges to the city in Paris. Simultaneously architectural and topographical, the bridges were at the crossroads of the city's commercial, ecclesiastical, political, and university districts. Above all, the traffic on the bridges was an expression of the dazzling variety of urban life and commerce that characterized the city.

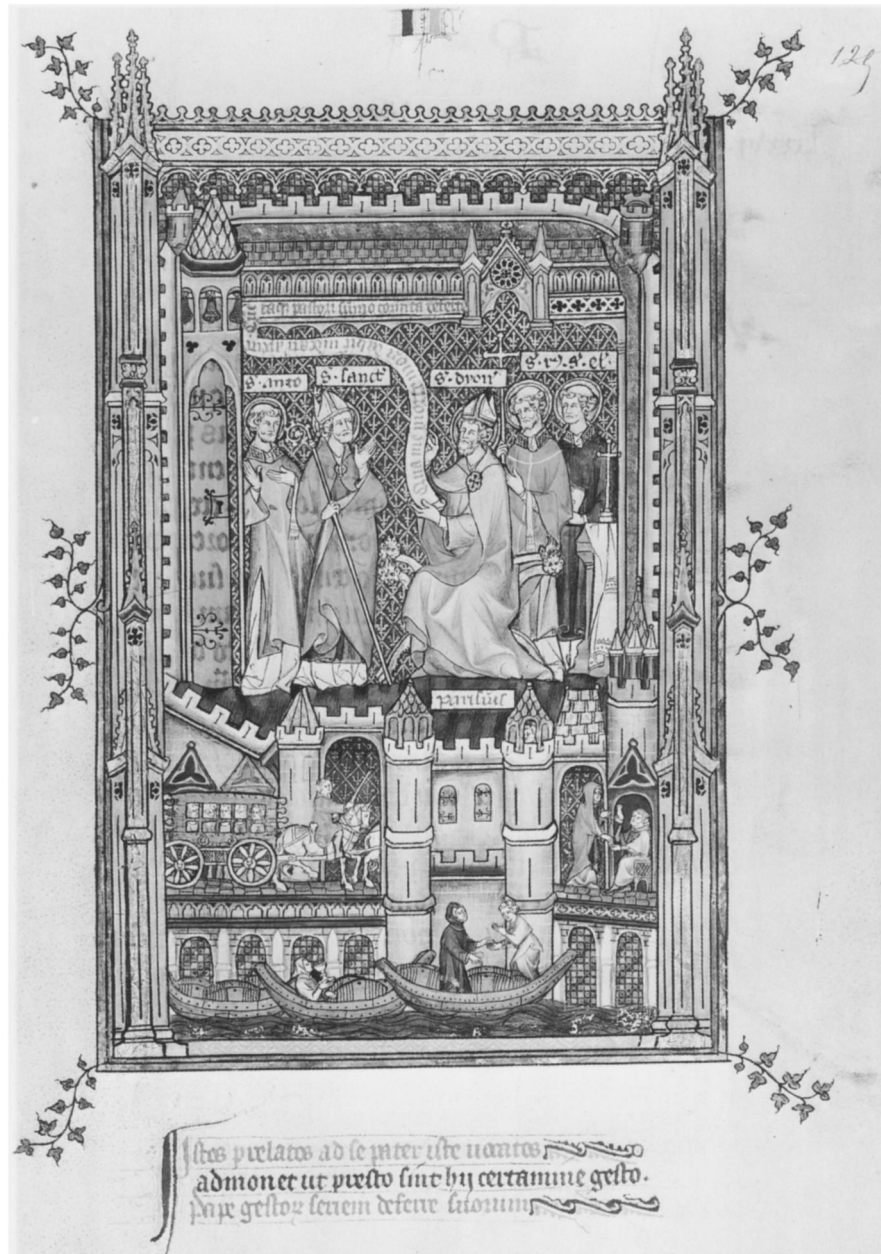


Fig. 3. *St. Denis Charges Sts. Santinus and Antoninus to Write the Story of his Life*, *Vie de St. Denis*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2091, f. 125.

Like the bridges themselves, the bridge scenes in the *Vie de St. Denis* manuscript provide a broad cross-section of daily life in Parisian society. Displayed on the bridges and occasionally in boats on the river are doctors, apothecaries, spinners of wool, knife-sellers, musicians, wine merchants, travelers, masons, shepherds, and students, and some of the more marginal members of the population: lepers, the mendicant, and the infirm.⁷ The inclusion of these latter figures and their function has prompted considerable discussion among scholars. Lacaze characterizes them as an effort to “create a coherent image of city life, a kind of *speculum*

urbis” and linked it to the iconography of “Good Government” in the work.⁸ Michael Camille argues that while the miniatures are not “evidence of a direct sort about the reality of social experience,” he does allow that the inclusion of the poor may be understood as evidence that the depicted society is rich enough to support them through surplus.⁹ While politics and economics certainly inform these scenes, I see the presence of these figures from different social strata as, above all, integral to the ministry of St. Denis as it is described in the text of the *vita*: the author clearly states that St. Denis spoke to all the people in the

realm and to all levels of society. This aspect of the *vita* connects the upper register of the miniatures, depicting the life and death of the saint, with the lower register, displaying the urban society, at least at some thematic level, though they otherwise appear to be independent (fig. 3). The contrasts in scale, content, and tone between the more formal hagiographic components in the upper register and the more inventive genre scenes on the bridges below also find an important parallel in the duality of the textual languages: the Latin and French of the *Vie de St. Denis* also provide a contrast of the secular and the vernacular.¹⁰ There are few precedents for this extensive and thematically consistent *bas-de-page*.¹¹ In the Bayeux Tapestry, marginalia critique the scenes above them but are pictorially distinct.¹² Other examples, such as Jean Pucelle's *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*,¹³ more or less contemporary with the *Vie de St. Denis*, offers a different model for the relationship of main scene and marginalia. Whereas in the *Vie de St. Denis* there is an overarching architectural frame that unites the two seemingly disparate parts, in the book of hours there is no such structure. And yet the ostensibly independent *bas-de-page* scenes in both works do in fact relate to the main scenes above them. Whereas the *bas-de-page* images may have an allegorical function in the work by Pucelle, in the *Vie de St. Denis*, the images of bustling Parisian city life amplify a persuasive program to remind the king of St. Denis's importance to Paris, and, by extension, to France.

While the population of the *bas-de-page* is somewhat unusual, even more unprecedented is the urban structure it inhabits. Existing models for the representation of cities and towns were limited around 1300. The most commonly represented cities were Rome and Jerusalem, and these were conventionally depicted as simplified rings of walls, towers, and gates. Occasionally these essentially symbolic modes of representation were embellished to include actual features of the town itself; however, detailed topographical and architectural information was extremely rare, more commonly found on maps than in views. Indeed, like most imagery of this period, city views are more idealized than naturalistic and rarely include much in the way of anecdotal detail. These idealized conventions appear in the *Vie de St. Denis* manuscript in the context of the images of other cities, including Athens, Heliopolis, Jerusalem, Rome, Arles, Senlis, and Meaux, and reflect established pictorial traditions rather than firsthand observation. But the distinctiveness of the Parisian images cannot solely be attributed to the artists' familiarity with the site, because even though

they depict actual, rather than fictive, monuments in the city, they also conform to clear patterns identifiable from contemporary literary forms.

The Parisian scenes in the *Vie de St. Denis*, with their encyclopedic view of Parisian street life and their attention to topographical detail, represent a dramatic departure from the more formal and symbolic tradition of city depiction. They are not, however, entirely without precedent. Just as the *Vie de St. Denis* contrasts hagiography with the contemporary environment, the *Psalter of St. Louis*, made for Louis IX before his death in 1270,¹⁴ also juxtaposes a contemporary gothic architectural framework, perhaps from Notre Dame de Paris or the Sainte Chapelle, with a sacred story from the past. As for images of Paris that pre-date the *Vie de St. Denis*, there are notably few. Perhaps the best known Parisian images from the thirteenth century are the concise emblems that appear on the itineraries of the English monk Matthew Paris around 1280. The French capital is represented by means of three towers on an island in the Seine (fig. 4).¹⁵ In the center foreground is a slender crossing over the river labeled "Grant pont," and the words "petit pont" appear on the far side of the river framing the city, since the bridge itself would be obscured by the monuments on the Cité. Although not presented in great detail, the importance of the bridges to Paris is noted by the map maker, for they are the only elements that are labeled in the city.

What provided the impetus for this dramatic leap from a simplified sketch to the descriptive genre scenes on the bridges of Paris in the *Vie de St. Denis*? In the absence of a powerful and specific pictorial model or precedent, the designers of the manuscript may have looked instead at textual conventions, such as the guidelines for town description and praise in ancient and medieval rhetorical manuals. Urban encomiastic literature was more common in Italy than in France at this period, but its use was widespread.¹⁶ Both the *vita* and its supplementary texts provide clear evidence that their author was conversant with rhetorical and apologetic formulas, including the *laudes urbium*, the formal praise of cities; the description of Paris in the *Vie de St. Denis* conforms to such conventions. Furthermore, the inventory of the monastic library at St. Denis reveals a modest collection of rhetorical works, which would have provided additional useful models to the monks who directed the Parisian illuminators of the *Vie de St. Denis* manuscript.¹⁷ While ancient authors such as Cicero and Quintilian were read in the Middle Ages along with texts such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and while Priscian and other

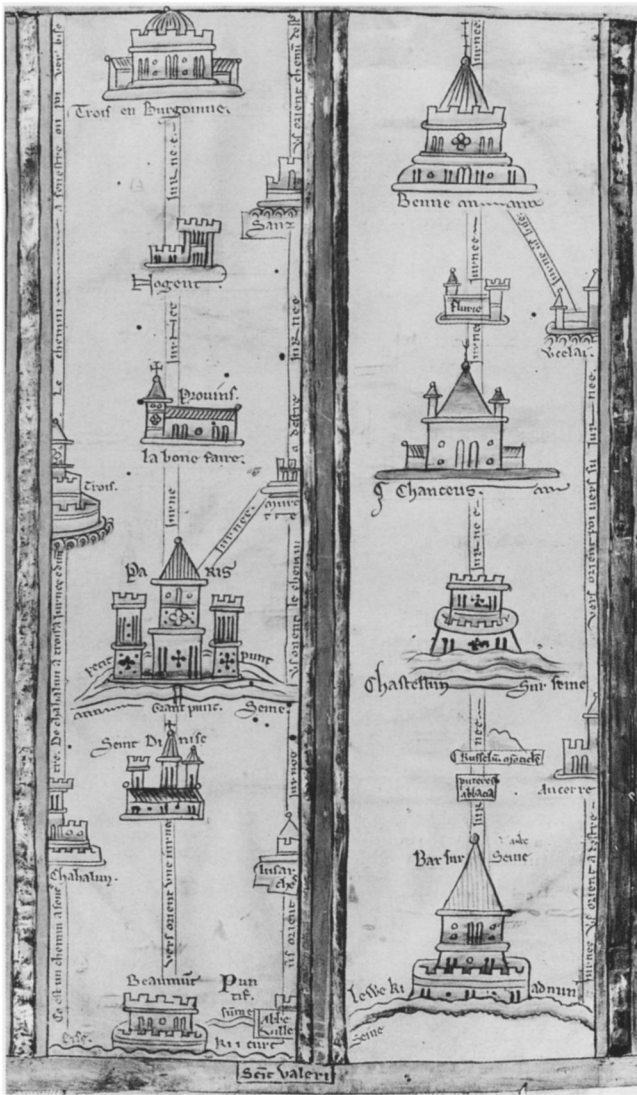


Fig. 4. Matthew Paris, *Itinerary from London to Jerusalem, Historia Anglorum*. London, British Library, Royal 14. C. VII, f. 2v.

grammarians were copied and preserved, it was more likely that the conventions of rhetoric were known to monks of the fourteenth century through the writings of the Church Fathers, such as Augustine and Origen, or through Boethius, Isidore, and Hrabanus Maurus.¹⁸ The literary traditions of Latin antiquity found their way into sermons, letters, and hagiographies such as the *vita*; they are also employed by Abbot Suger of St. Denis in his text *De Administratione*.¹⁹

There is plenty of evidence of familiarity with rhetoric in the text itself. Indeed, like all good rhetoricians, the Abbot Gilles, in his dedicatory letter, protests that the work is “not always elaborated by means of the most refined rhetorical discourse.”²⁰ Yet both his letter and the text of the manuscript function as an extended literary and pictorial campaign for the

continued support of St. Denis by the French monarchy.²¹ He clearly intended for the illuminations to play an integral role in the rhetoric of the work, since the inscription below the dedication miniature (fig. 5) reminds the reader to look carefully at the images: “And after the text, take care to look at the pictures.”²² This caption confirms that the miniatures were not conceived separately from the text and that they work together to convey meaning. That this caption is the only one in the three volumes translated into French²³ suggests that it was particularly important for all readers of the manuscript to understand that the two elements were interrelated, and that both played a role in the message conveyed by the monastery to the king.²⁴

Of all the images in the manuscript, the bridge scenes, in particular, appear to have been conceived as part of its rhetorical apparatus. Unlike the other images in the text, they depart substantially from the existing conventions of townscape representation; this innovation suggests a deliberate attempt to add more detailed content to the pictorial program of the *vita*. This finds an exact parallel in the text of the work itself, since it, too, has an enhanced treatment of the Parisian environment. A brief description of the city can be found in some of the earlier redactions of the *vita*, but the monk Yves clearly expanded and embellished this aspect of the text in the version found in the *Vie de St. Denis*.²⁵ The novel visual emphasis on the fortuitous topography and commercial prosperity of Paris in the miniatures is further evidence of a broader effort to increase the reference to the city in the manuscript. Though the bridge scenes represent the first occasion on which such information was included pictorially, it was typically included in the textual descriptions of cities. The version in the *vita*²⁶ makes specific mention of the power, nobility, and material prosperity of the city as it was before the arrival of St. Denis:

And the same city is esteemed for the court and for the French and German nobility, and because she has salubrious air, a delightful river, fertile soil, shady trees, and fruitful vines. She is crowded with people, filled with goods and various provisions, and surrounded by the flowing waters of the river, which indeed, among many other benefits, provides to the citizens a great abundance of fish from its depths.²⁷

This passage describes all of the city’s fine qualities, abundant resources, and riches. The aspects of the city that the author has chosen are not really unique qualities; instead they represent the conventions of

town praise established in antiquity and preserved in the Middle Ages. In the description of Athens in the manuscript, the author mentions many of the same features, particularly topography and the richness of the local flora.²⁸

But the description of Paris contains components absent from the praise of Athens: after the author catalogues the bounty and luxury in Paris, he quickly changes his eulogistic tone to one of lament for the great pride of the Parisians and for the vanity of their riches without devotion to God: "Oh, how vain, how foolish, what vainglory. . . . But what is the value of earthly pleasures when those who glorify them will be given to torments and tears?"²⁹ This moralizing tone is absent from the earlier versions of the legend of St. Denis that include brief descriptions of Paris.³⁰ The despairing words at the folly of the godless inhabitants were added to heighten the impact of the saint's arrival to the city and his deliverance of the Parisians from an infernal fate. The description of the richness of Paris, qualified with the warning that such abundance is sinful without faith is intended to persuade the king that continued devotion to St. Denis is essential to the true prosperity of the realm. This point is made even more explicit later in the text when the author explains that the Catholic faith represents a wisdom that is more precious than material wealth and that St. Denis brought such faith to the French.³¹

Almost every scholar who has studied this manuscript has sought to connect it with a contemporary textual praise of Paris written by Jean de Jandun, the *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius*.³² And in fact, the *Tractatus* does provide an ample description of the riches of the city of Paris that is in many ways comparable to the pictorial description of the bridge scenes. Yet the texts within the *Vie de St. Denis* are much more closely linked to these images, not only by their proximity, but also because they form a part of the legend of St. Denis.

Although not every miniature includes all of the textual elements, the views of Paris in the manuscript illustrate the city as it is described in the text: they emphasize the abundance of natural and commercial resources, the beauty of the river, the importance of its port, and the great multitude of its citizens. The decision to illustrate all these factors in the context of the bridges is clearly related to the desire to represent both prosperity and variety. The miniature that appears directly after this textual description of Paris represents the entry of the saint into the city and seems to reinforce the themes of the text (fig. 6). Not only do the genre scenes assert the commercial prosperity of the city, but the trees and vines and the emphasis on

the river all recall the text explicitly. These elements, while characteristic of Paris, also conform to the basic formulas found in rhetoric manuals for the *laudes urbium*. While authors took innumerable liberties with the basic form of town praise, they generally included the human or divine founder of the place, descriptions of the site and local topography, the agricultural resources, the customs of the people, the embellishments to the city, its triumphs in peace and war, and its famous and noble people.³³

To varying degrees, each of these features is found in the *vita*, and many of them are found in the miniatures. The author of the description in the *Vie de St. Denis* includes the date of the foundation of Paris—798 B.C. in the Latin version, 788 B.C. in the French—but omits the identity of its founders, though they are mentioned elsewhere in the manuscript. His discussion of the river encompasses both topographical description and praise for the city's abundant agricultural resources. The section on the customs of the people appears as a rhetorical counterpoint to the redemption of the Parisians by St. Denis: before the saint's arrival the author decries their moral condition and complains that they follow false gods and are guilty of the sins of pride and vainglory. This is the only part of the formula that diverges from the generally laudatory tone of the text. The author returns to enthusiastic praise with the celebration of the famous and noble people of the city, who include the king and his ancestors as well as St. Denis.

The textual description of Paris in the *Vie de St. Denis* includes freely interpreted variations of the rhetorical formula for town praise in literature; the bridgescapes in the *Vie de St. Denis* manuscript perform the same exercise pictorially. As a visual formulation, the bridgescapes modify the rhetorical conventions of description and praise. In the miniatures, the traditional first element, the founder of the city, clearly does not appear. The only images of Trojans belong to the chronicle, the separated 4th volume, in which there are no townscares. Yet the *vita* explicitly identifies St. Denis as the founder of Parisian Christianity. Gilles's letter strongly emphasizes the saint's role in the conversion of Gaul and intimates that the Franks owe their civilization to him. And so here St. Denis may replace Francion, Paris, and the other pagan Trojans who were believed to have founded the city.³⁴

The second feature, topography and agricultural resources, is the aspect of the rhetorical formula that most obviously appears in the bridgescapes. The river accounts for some of the additional features of the town praise formula, such as the principal water source,

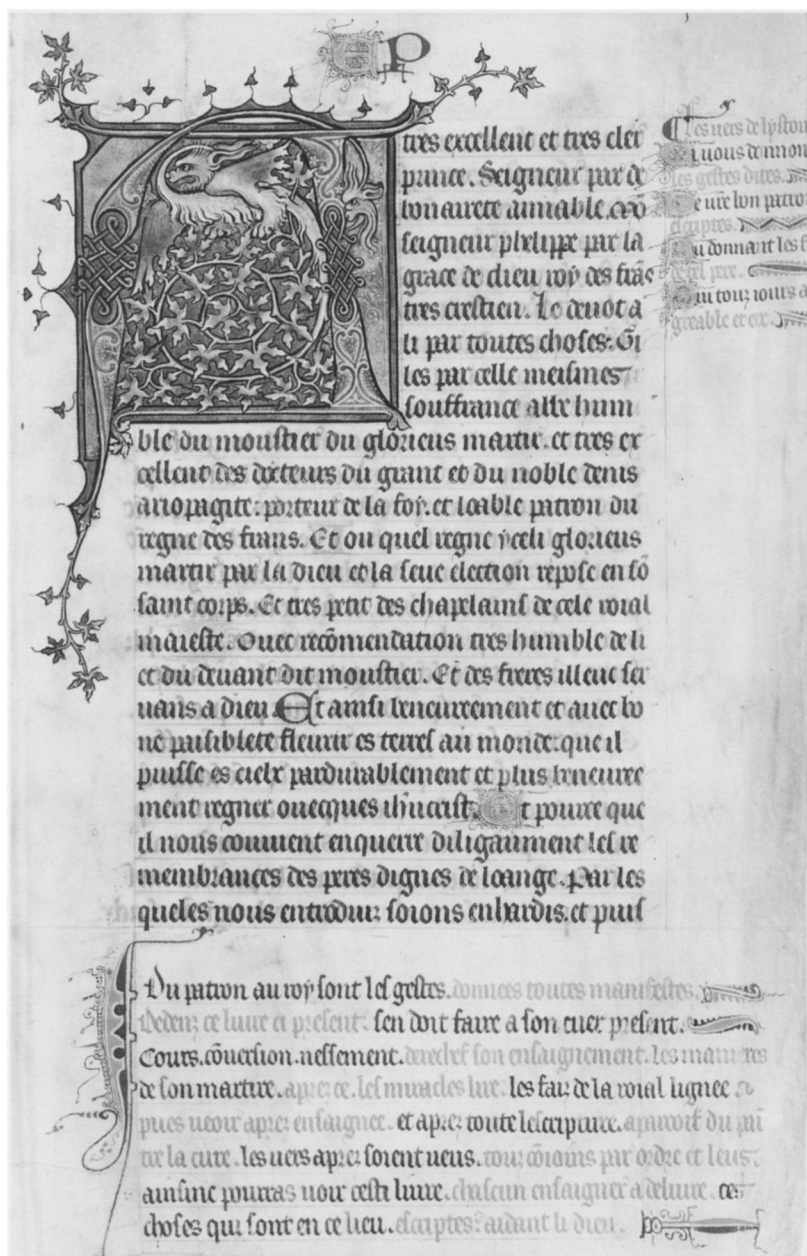


Fig. 5. *Inscription, Vie de St. Denis*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2090, f. 5.

which is occasionally, though not always, included under the aegis of topography and natural resources. The river is also evidence of the city's good fortune in maritime commerce, a factor that is sometimes included in descriptions of prosperity in periods of peace. The wealth of the city is amply displayed by means of the numerous tradesmen and travelers and the money being changed on the Grand Pont.

The extensive pictorial description of the people on the bridge illustrates the moral and physical condition of the Parisians, "the manners of the inhabitants" in the formula. Here the painters diverge from the idealizing formula by including among the craftsmen, merchants,

and travelers a number of lepers and invalids. In the Middle Ages disease was regarded as a direct result of a moral failing,³⁵ so the inclusion of such figures may be a pictorial reminder of the failings of the population before it embraced Christianity.

"The embellishment of the city" must be understood as the Parisian architecture evident in the manuscript, not only in the bridge scenes, but also in other miniatures that include examples of the built environment in less detail. Several gates are included in these scenes (fig. 5) as well as a number of Parisian churches, including the Abbey Church of St. Denis (fig. 3). The Royal Palace on the Cité (fig. 7) appears, as does the prison



Fig. 6. *Arrival of St. Denis in Paris. Vie de St. Denis*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2091, f. 97.

in which St. Denis and his companions are incarcerated (fig. 8). The paved streets of the city shown in the miniatures might also fit under the rubric of embellishments, as they were a great source of Parisian pride and a particular project of Philip the Fair.

The last component of the formula, concerning famous men of the city, is naturally addressed in the extensive cycle of narrative images of St. Denis himself. Chiara Frugoni has observed that an important feature of the Italian examples of the *laudes urbium* in the Middle Ages was the addition of a discussion of the close ties of a city to its bishop,³⁶ and she links these texts to images in which a bishop or saint holds a

model of the city as though to offer it to God.³⁷ This type of image seems related to the themes enunciated in the *Vie de St. Denis*, though the city within it is viewed from outside the walls and therefore takes a considerably different form. The bridge scenes in the French manuscript together offer a much more explicit image of the impact that St. Denis had on the inhabitants of Paris, and not just on the city *per se*.

Although not every one of the thirty Parisian miniatures includes all of the textual elements, the views of Paris do illustrate the city as it is described in the text: they emphasize the abundance of natural and commercial resources, the beauty of the river,

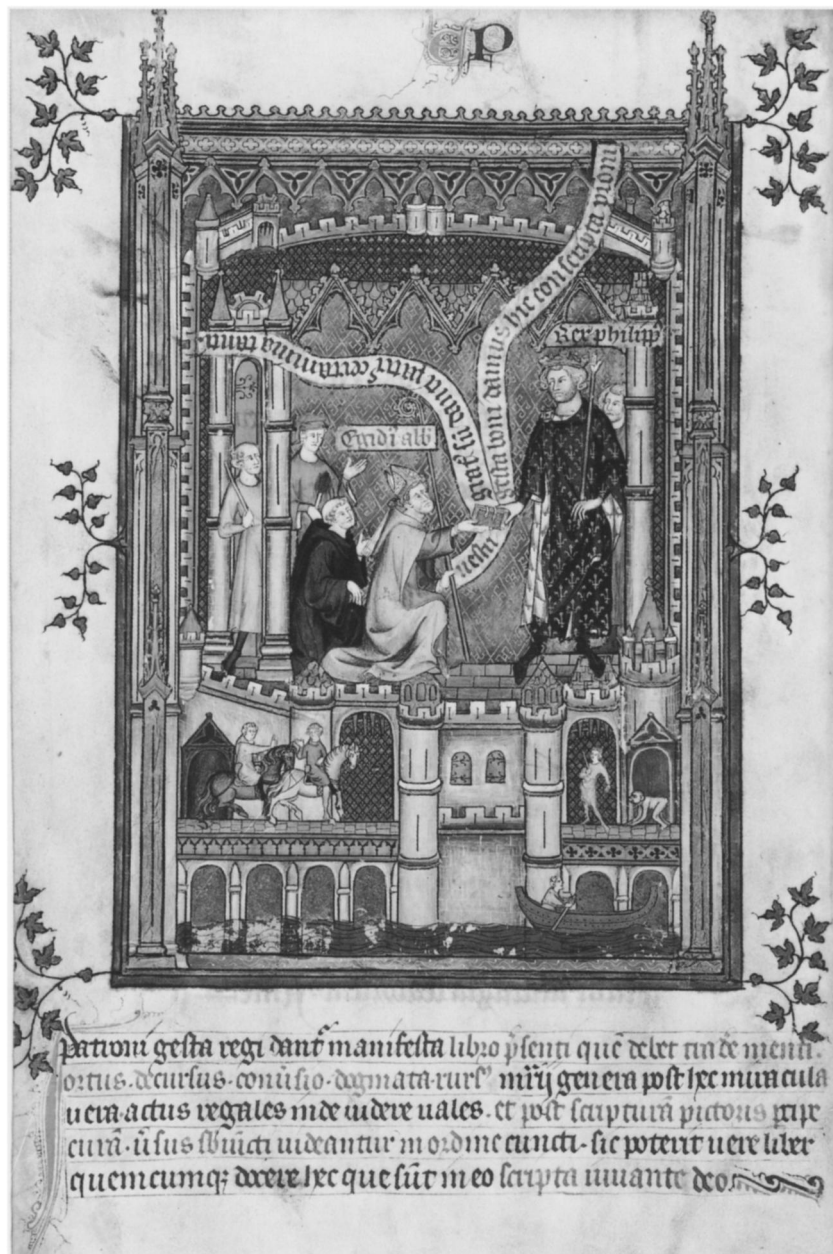


Fig. 7. *Dedication Miniature, Vie de St. Denis*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2090, f. 4v.

the importance of its port, and the great multitude of its citizens. The decision to illustrate all these factors in the context of the bridges is clearly related to the desire to represent both bounty and variety. The *Vie de St. Denis* is not the only text to make note of Parisian commercial prosperity and, in particular, the rich resources of the Seine: the river is also mentioned in contemporary *chansons de geste* (courtly romances) and other texts. The Seine was, for obvious reasons, the principal locus of Parisian commercial prosperity, and the *Vie de St. Denis* sought to remind the king in both text and image of the great riches of his kingdom

and the importance of spiritual dependence on the patronage of St. Denis. After all, as a saintly intercessor, St. Denis provided a spiritual connection between the realms of heaven and earth; he built a bridge, if you will, between God and France.

The views of Paris in the *Vie de St. Denis* are meant to express the identity and prosperity of the city and that of France. The flourishing city beneath the feet of St. Denis illustrates not only an obvious bond between the city and the saint but also intimates a causal relationship between the saint's presence and protection and the security and glory of the first city

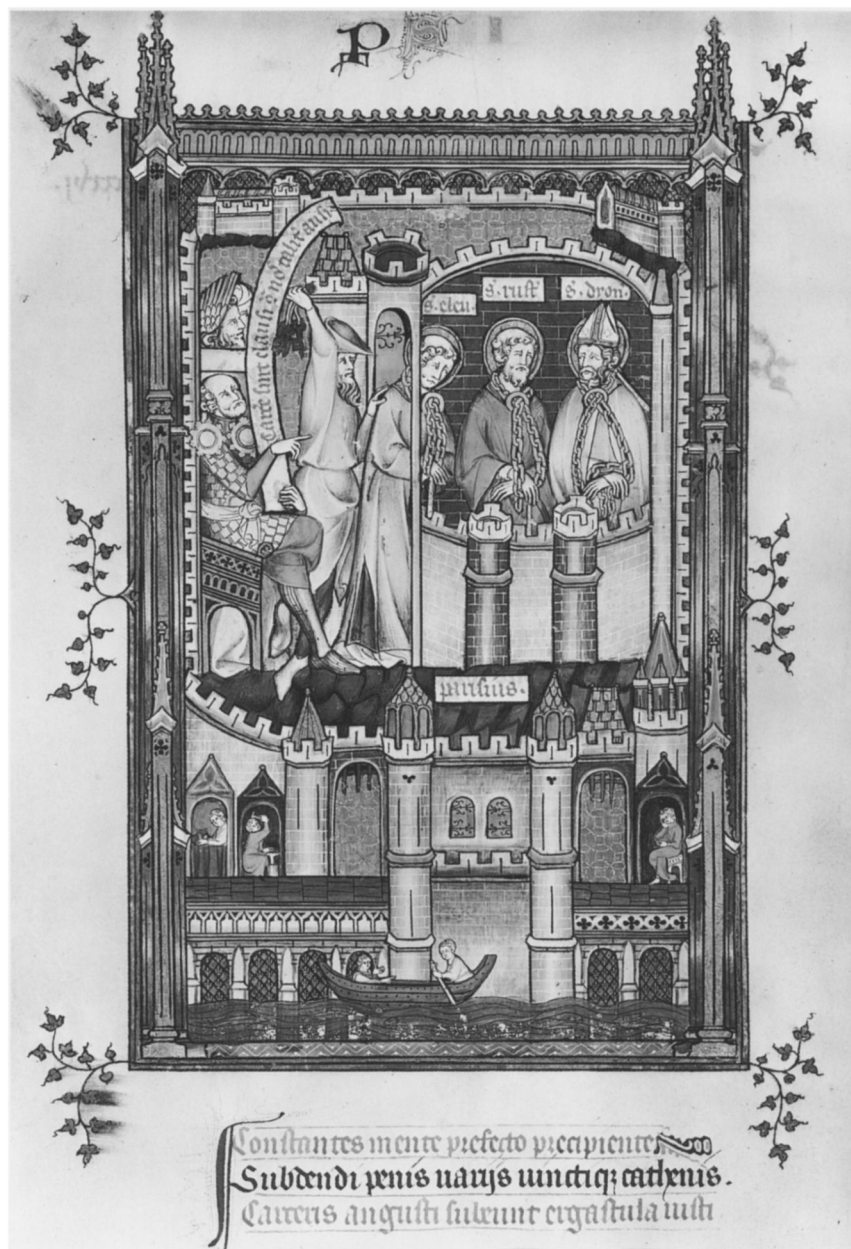


Fig. 8. *St. Denis and his Companions in Prison, Vie de St. Denis*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2092, f. 12v.

of France. St. Denis's efforts "to water the city with the river of salvation"³⁸ assure continued Parisian prestige and prosperity. This connection is made explicitly by the text and is at the heart of the abbey's gift to the king.

The *Vie de St. Denis* manuscript constitutes a solicitation of the king's continued support and patronage of the royal abbey. Both textually and pictorially, it relies on established conventions to sing the praises of the king and his realm and the essential supporting role played by the Saint. The bilingual nature of the manuscript, perhaps representative of a late decision on the part of the designers, seems an appropriate

counterpoint to the duality of the Parisian miniatures, in which hagiography and genre scene stand together. Even the inclusion of the vernacular in the manuscript seems a calculated strategy to connect the life of the saint to the destiny of the French and their kings.

Though many cities are represented in the manuscript, only Paris bears the stamp of the firsthand observer. The characterization of the bridges, which are shown in stone rather than the wood from which they were actually built, suggests a degree of idealization of the place appropriate both to the style of the day and to the purpose of the illuminators to show the

burgeoning and prosperous city under the protection of St. Denis.

These bridge scenes represent a broad spectrum of Parisian and, by extension, French society thriving under the protection of St. Denis. Though the scenes seem to depict only a slender section of the topography of the city by alluding to both banks and the Cité in between, they are able to illustrate the entire metropolis. And while they seem only vaguely related to the modest tradition of views of the city that precede them, they correspond to a significant degree to the conventions for urban description and praise. This persuasive component, combined with textual elements that borrow from the rhetorical tradition, suggests that the manuscript constituted a concerted effort on the part of the abbey to remain in the good graces of the king in light of new competition for his devotion from the new cult surrounding his saintly ancestor, St. Louis. Uniting the written and the pictorial components, the monks of St. Denis made their case while forging a new tradition of visual imagery for the city of Paris.

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Notes

This paper is drawn from a chapter of my dissertation, *Images of Paris in the Middle Ages: Patronage and Politics* (Yale University, 1997). I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Walter Cahn for his helpful editing, his patience, and his support as my thesis advisor. Thanks are also due to my remarkable colleagues David A. Levine and Joseph J. Inganti for their invaluable insights and suggestions, and above all for their support. I am also indebted to François Avril of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, who gave me permission to consult the manuscript itself.

1. The most recent bibliography for the study of the manuscript is found in *L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285-1328* (Paris, 1998), 285-86. Charlotte Lacaze's dissertation provides the most comprehensive study of the work: *The Vie de St. Denis Manuscript* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2090-2) (New York, 1979); also useful are V. Egbert *On the Bridges of Mediaeval Paris* (Princeton, 1974) and I. Bahr, *Saint Denis und seine Vita im Spiegel der Bildüberlieferung der französischen Kunst des Mittelalters* (Worms, 1984).

2. Through careful analysis of the dedicatory letter at the beginning of the text, which names King Philip of France and his son, also Philip, and the Abbot Gilles of St. Denis, L. Delisle deduces that the manuscript must have been begun for the father but completed in the reign of the son. "Notice sur un recueil historique présenté à Philippe le Long par Gilles de Pontoise, Abbé de Saint-Denis," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* 21 (1865), 249-65. Lacaze (*Vie de St. Denis*, 57-65) suggests that the manuscript was initially commissioned by Philip the Fair, but after his death in 1314 the decision to complete the work and offer it as a gift to Philip the Tall was motivated by the abbot's desire to court

favor with the new king, perhaps in conjunction with a crusade, since at that time Philip V was making plans for such an undertaking. Philip the Tall's brother, Louis the Headstrong, who ruled from 1314 to 1316, is not mentioned in the dedication and seems to have played no role in the production of the *vita*.

3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2090-2. For a discussion of the history of the manuscript, see Lacaze, *Vie de St. Denis*, 81-85.

4. The cult of St. Denis in France was originally celebrated by Ste. Genevieve in 475. By 500, he was considered protector of the Merovingians, for which see A. Lombard-Jourdan, "Montjoie et saint Denis!" *Le centre de la Gaule aux origines de Paris et de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1989), 149. The popularity of the cult grew dramatically in the ninth century, upon the compilation of the saint's legend by Hilduin of St. Denis, who conflated legends of two men: the first-century convert, called the Pseudo-Areopagite, and the third-century bishop of Paris and martyr. Lacaze, *Vie de St. Denis*, 5, and idem, "Parisius-Paradisus, an Aspect of the Vie de St. Denis Manuscript of 1317," *Marsyas*, 16 (1972-3), 61. See also F. Avril, *Manuscript Painting in the Court of France. The Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978), 34.

5. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 13836. Scholars recognize that the evidence suggests that this volume was separated from the other three at an early date (see in particular Lacaze, *Vie de St. Denis*, 67-68). It is only modestly illustrated, whereas ms. fr. 2090-2 are abundantly decorated; ms. lat. 13836 is somewhat larger in size than ms. fr. 2090-2, which were probably trimmed at some point; finally, the French translation of the text that is intercalated into the text of ms. fr. 2090-2 is instead found in the margins of ms. lat. 13836.

6. On the archaeological record of the bridges, particularly in reference to the way in which it differs from the miniatures, see M. N. Boyer, *Medieval French Bridges* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 135-39. The wooden Grand Pont was reconstructed from the same location on the Cité, though it met the right bank slightly to the east of the access to the ruined piles of the old bridge. It was refitted with the stalls for money changers and goldsmiths who had occupied the bridge before the flood. The remnants of the old Grand Pont were gradually transformed into the Pont-aux-Meuniers because mills that had long operated under its arches were reinstalled in its ruined stone piers; despite the evidence of the miniatures it was not used for foot traffic (Egbert, *On the Bridges*, 21, 80).

7. Interestingly, the undesirables included in the Parisian population were generally banished from the city. Legislation against vagrancy was stepped up following the Black Death, B. Geremek, *Les marginaux parisiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1976), 32. See also Camille, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 130-31.

8. Lacaze, *Vie de St. Denis*, 129.

9. Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 131.

10. Both Philip the Fair and Philip the Tall read both Latin and French, so there was no technical need for both languages in the manuscript. It would appear that the bilingual text serves another purpose. Lacaze, *Vie de St. Denis*, 59.

11. L. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966), 3-20; Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 11-55; see also Bahr, *Saint Denis*, 157-58.

12. D. Bernstein, *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Chicago, 1987).

13. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters. See L. Randall, "Games and the Passion in Pucelle's *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*," *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 246-57.

14. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 10525; R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley, 1977); M. Thomas, *Der Psalter Ludwigs des Heiligen*, S. Debains, trans. (Graz, 1985).
 15. London, British Library, Royal 14.C.VII, f. 2v.
 16. C. J. Classen, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim, 1980); H. Kugler, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1986).
 17. D. Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1985).
 18. J. J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1974); idem, ed. *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley, 1971); idem, ed. *Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric* (Berkeley, 1978); G. A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, 1980).
 19. Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures, E. Panofsky, ed. and trans. (Princeton, 1946).
 20. Lacaze, *Vie de St. Denis*, 349. "Precens igitur opusculum et si non usque quaque rethorico polito sermone descriptum," ms. fr. 2090, f. 4. R. J. Loenertz suggests that the rhetorical tradition is clearly in evidence throughout the *vita*. "La légende parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 69 (1951), 219–20.
 21. Philip the Fair's devotion to the saint and the abbey was not without its modest lapses. Following the canonization of St. Louis in 1297, Philip the Fair dedicated considerable energy to establishing the cult of his saintly grandfather. E. Hallam, "Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis," *Religion and National Identity. Papers Read at the Nineteenth Summer Meeting and the Twentieth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, S. Mews, ed. (Oxford, 1982), 201–14. Numerous works, including chapels, sculpture, and stained-glass windows, were commissioned that honored and represented St. Louis, for which see A. Longnon, *Documents Parisiens sur l'iconographie de S. Louis* (Paris, 1882). Yet the king had by no means neglected the Abbey of St. Denis, or the importance of the saint himself, see M. Felibien, *Histoire de l'Abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), 262. Nonetheless, Philip the Fair's relationship with the abbey may have become somewhat strained, and his dedication to St. Denis may have waned in favor of his more recently canonized ancestor; C. Beaune, by contrast, believes that the Abbey of St. Denis functioned as a cult site for St. Louis, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), 124. In fact, the *Vie de St. Denis* manuscript may have been an effort on the part of the abbey to reinforce the relationship between the king and the patron saint of France. This is also suggested by Lacaze, *Vie de St. Denis*, 64; and Bahr, *Saint Denis*, 197. It is certainly the only edition of the text to place so great an emphasis on the relationship between the saint and the French kings.
 22. "Et post scripturam, pictoris percipe curam," ms. fr. 2090, f. 4v.
 23. "Et après toute l'escripture, aparçoit du paintre la cure," ms. fr. 2090, f. 5.
 24. It appears that the French translation was not part of the original plan for the manuscript, and that it was added later, although before the work was presented to Philip the Tall. The French text is not integral to the Latin *vita*, but is intercalated with it on a chapter-by-chapter basis. The quiring of the manuscript, as well as the imprints of miniatures on several Latin text pages that are not adjacent to miniatures in the current state of the manuscript, indicate that at one time the Latin quires were either bound without the French text or that the pages were somehow tightly pressed together for these imprints to result. (Lacaze, *Vie de St. Denis*, 35–46; Delisle, "Notice sur un recueil historique," 254.)
 25. Compare the text cited by C. Liebman, *Etude sur la vie en prose de saint Denis* (Geneva, NY, 1942), 164–65.
 26. Ms. fr. 2091, ff. 93v–94v (Latin), ff. 95–96v. (French).
 27. *Eadem namque civitas, ut sedes regia, et conventu Gallorum ac Germanorum et nobilitate pollebat, quia erat salubris aere, jocunda flumine, fecunda terris, arboribus nemorosa et vineis uberrima, constipata populis, referta commertius ac variis commeatibus, unda fluminis circumfluente. Que siquidem, inter multimoda commoditatum genera, etiam alveo suo magnam piscium copiam civibus ministrabat.* Ms. fr. 2091, f. 93v.
 28. Ms. fr. 2090, ff. 20–254v.
 29. "O quam vana. o quam stulta. o quam fallax gloriatio. . . . Sed et carnalium deliciarum petulantia quid proficit quia quantum unusquisque in deliciis fuerit gliatus tantum tormenti sibi dabitur atque luctus." Ms. fr. 2091, f. 94v.
 30. Liebman, *Etude*, 119, 140, 164.
 31. Ms. fr. 2092 f. 109v. Liebman suggests that the principle differences between the *Vie de St. Denis* and earlier redactions are its emphasis on the mission of St. Denis and the presence of the text of his works, *Etude*, XXXV.
 32. A. Le Roux de Lincy and L. Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1861), 32–79.
 33. For a discussion of how the *laudes urbium* informs some Italian images of the Middle Ages, see C. Frugoni, *A Distant City*, W. McCuaig, trans. (Princeton, 1988); on the *laudes urbium* more generally, see J. D. Hyde, "Medieval Descriptions of Cities," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48 (1965–66), 308–40; R. Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991); E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, W. R. Trask, trans. (1953; reprint ed., Princeton, 1990); G. Fasoli, "La Coscienza civica nelle 'laudes civitatem'" in *La Coscienza cittadina nei comuni italiani del duecento* (Todi, 1972), 11–44; and H. Kugler, *Die Vorstellung* (see note 16). The most commonly cited rhetoric manual is the *Praeexercitamina* of Priscian, published in K. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1863), 551–60.
 34. On the medieval debates surrounding the mythological founders of Paris, see Beaune, *Naissance*, 25–74.
 35. Geremek, *Marginaux parisiens*, 205.
 36. Frugoni, *Distant City*, 65.
 37. Frugoni, *Distant City*, 76–81.
 38. Ms. fr. 2092, f. 94v.
- PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, 5–8, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; fig. 4, London, British Library.

Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam: Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon*

Walter S. Melion

Published as an addendum to Abraham Ortelius's Theatrum orbis terrarum, the Parergon sive veteris geographiae aliquot tabulae consists of historical maps that trace the journeys of famous men and peoples of the ancient world. The maps devoted to sacred history constitute a subset characterized by their meditative format and function. They describe the peregrinatio of Old and New Testament figures who fulfilled their sacred vocation by undertaking arduous pilgrimages, upon whose nature and scope the maps and their corollary texts invite the viewer to reflect. My essay examines how Ortelius's maps serve as templates for meditative prayer: they establish a precise itinerary composed of loci, the sacred places through which holy men such as Abraham, Moses, and Paul passed, retraced by the viewer who embarks on an imaginative pilgrimage in their footsteps; the loci are also prompts to scriptural places, biblical passages that trope the notion of peregrinatio, explicating the divinely mandated journey in terms of conversion and vocation.

Published as an appendix to Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (*Theatre of the World*) (fig. 1), the *Parergon sive veteris geographiae aliquot tabulae* (*Additional Ornament, or Several Images of Ancient Geography*) (fig. 2) consists of historical maps that trace the journeys of famous men and peoples of the ancient world.¹ The sequence comprised three maps in the *Additamentum* (*Supplement*) of 1579 and continued to expand in the *Addimenta* of 1584, 1590, and 1595, collections of new maps that Ortelius issued regularly as addenda to his magnum opus.² The *Parergon* received its own title page in 1592, appeared as a separate publication in 1595, and reached a full complement of 39 maps in 1598.³ My paper examines how the maps of sacred history serve as templates for meditation in the *Theatrum*: they describe the *peregrinationes* (journeys, pilgrimages) of Old and New Testament figures who fulfilled their sacred vocation by undertaking arduous voyages. Corollary texts invite the reader-viewer to reflect upon the nature and scope of the journeys mapped

by the images. These maps chart precise itineraries composed of *loci*, the places sanctified by the passage of holy men such as Abraham, Moses, and Paul, whose steps the viewer retraces by embarking on imaginative pilgrimages; the *loci* are also prompts to scriptural places, biblical passages that trope the notion of *peregrinatio*, explicating the divinely mandated journey in terms of conversion and vocation. The spur to Ortelius's meditative maps, I shall argue, was Benedictus Arias Montanus's *Humanae salutis monumenta* (*Monuments of Human Salvation*) of 1571, a collection of biblical images and poetic texts that invites reflection on key moments in the history of human salvation, in which Montanus depicts the act of mapping to figure his redemptive theme (fig. 14).⁴

The five maps devoted to sacred history constitute a subset of the *Parergon*, characterized by their meditative format and function. The *Peregrinationis divi Pauli typus* (*Image of the Pilgrimage of Saint Paul*) (fig. 11) first appeared in 1579, the *Abrahami Patriarchae peregrinatio* (*Pilgrimage of the Patriarch Abraham*) (fig. 10) and the *Typus chorographicus locorum in Regno Iudae et Israhel* (*Chorographical Image of Places in the Kingdom of Judah and Israel*) (fig. 12) in 1590 (the latter based on Tilemann Stella's Palestine map of 1552), the *Palaestinae sive totius Terrae Promissionis nova descriptio* (*Palestine, or New Description of the Whole Promised Land*) (fig. 13) in 1595, and the *Geographia Sacra* (*Sacred Geography*) (fig. 9) in 1598. These maps are historical counterparts to the *Terra Sancta* (fig. 8), the geographical map of the Holy Land first issued in the *Additamentum III* of 1584 and incorporated into all subsequent editions of the *Theatrum*. Based on Christian Sgrothen's map of the Holy Land of 1570, the *Terra Sancta* is accompanied not by the usual descriptive commentary, but by a liturgical text that distinguishes it from its fellow geographical maps; in editions of the *Theatrum* published after 1592, it serves to adumbrate the meditative theme of the sacred maps in the *Parergon*.⁵ Whereas the geographical maps



Fig. 1. Abraham Ortelius, *Title-Page of the Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570; reprint ed., 1601), engraving, folio. London, British Library Maps C.2.d.10.

derive primarily from models by cartographers such as Aventinus, Gastaldi, and Mercator, the historical maps were based on models by Ortelius himself, who compiled them from numerous sources, both geographical and historical, using his own *Synonymia geographica* (*Geographical Synonyms*) of 1578, a comparative study of ancient and modern nomenclature, for the place names.⁶ His historical atlas, though unprecedented in scope, emulates earlier programs of historical cartography, especially Stella's plan of the 1550s to publish a series of maps that would facilitate reading of the Old Testament (*ut lectio librorum prophetarum sit illustrior*).⁷ Having studied geography with Philipp Melancthon at Wittenberg, Stella composed maps of Palestine and the Exodus, and also aimed to map the voyages of St. Paul.

The title *Parergon* signifies "accessory" and connotes the supplementary status of the historical maps; the term derives from Pliny, who says that it was coined by painters to designate subordinate elements in their

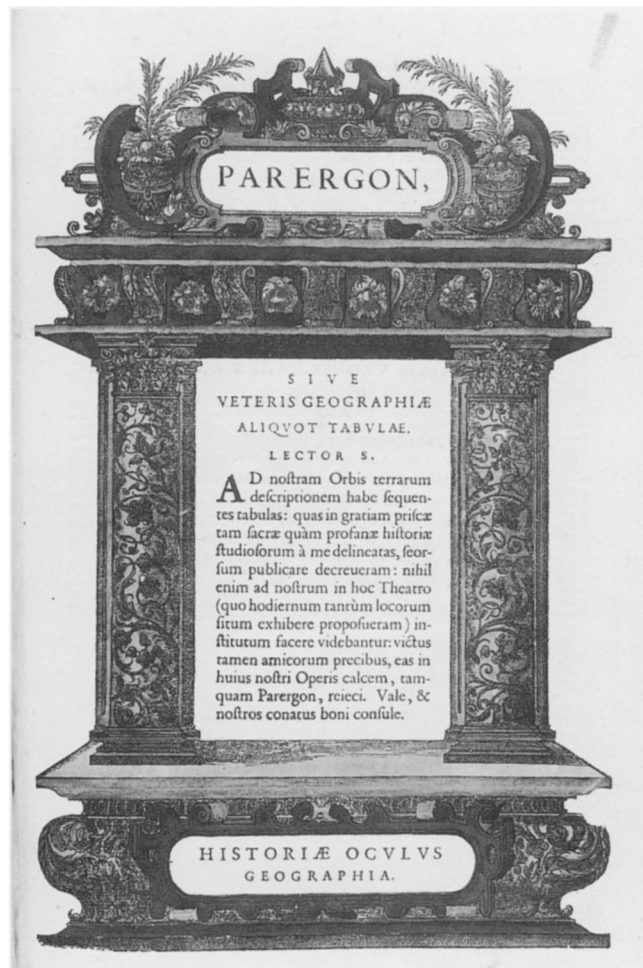


Fig. 2. Abraham Ortelius, *Title-Page of the Parergon sive veteris geographiae aliquot tabulae* (Antwerp, 1592; reprint ed., 1601), engraving, folio. London, British Library Maps C.2.d.10.

pictures.⁸ By the mid-sixteenth century, *parerga* had also come to denote the genre of landscape painting. Just as the Flemish term *landschap* could describe a map, picture, or actual site, so the title *Parergon* suggests that the maps function like landscapes into which the viewer's eyes may roam.⁹ Ortelius underscores both the pictorial status and devotional function of the historical maps in the epigraphs that follow his short preface: having declared that they record both sacred and profane history, he then avers that "geography is the eye of history" and that "he has fashioned a work fit to be entered by the pious."¹⁰ These apothegms characterize the maps as thresholds that the eyes cross to engage in sacred history.

If geography is the eye of history, maps are the primary source of the *cognitio geographiae* (*knowledge of geography*), a point Ortelius makes in the general preface to the *Theatrum*.¹¹ They are essential to the *cognitio historiarum* (*knowledge of history*) because many historical

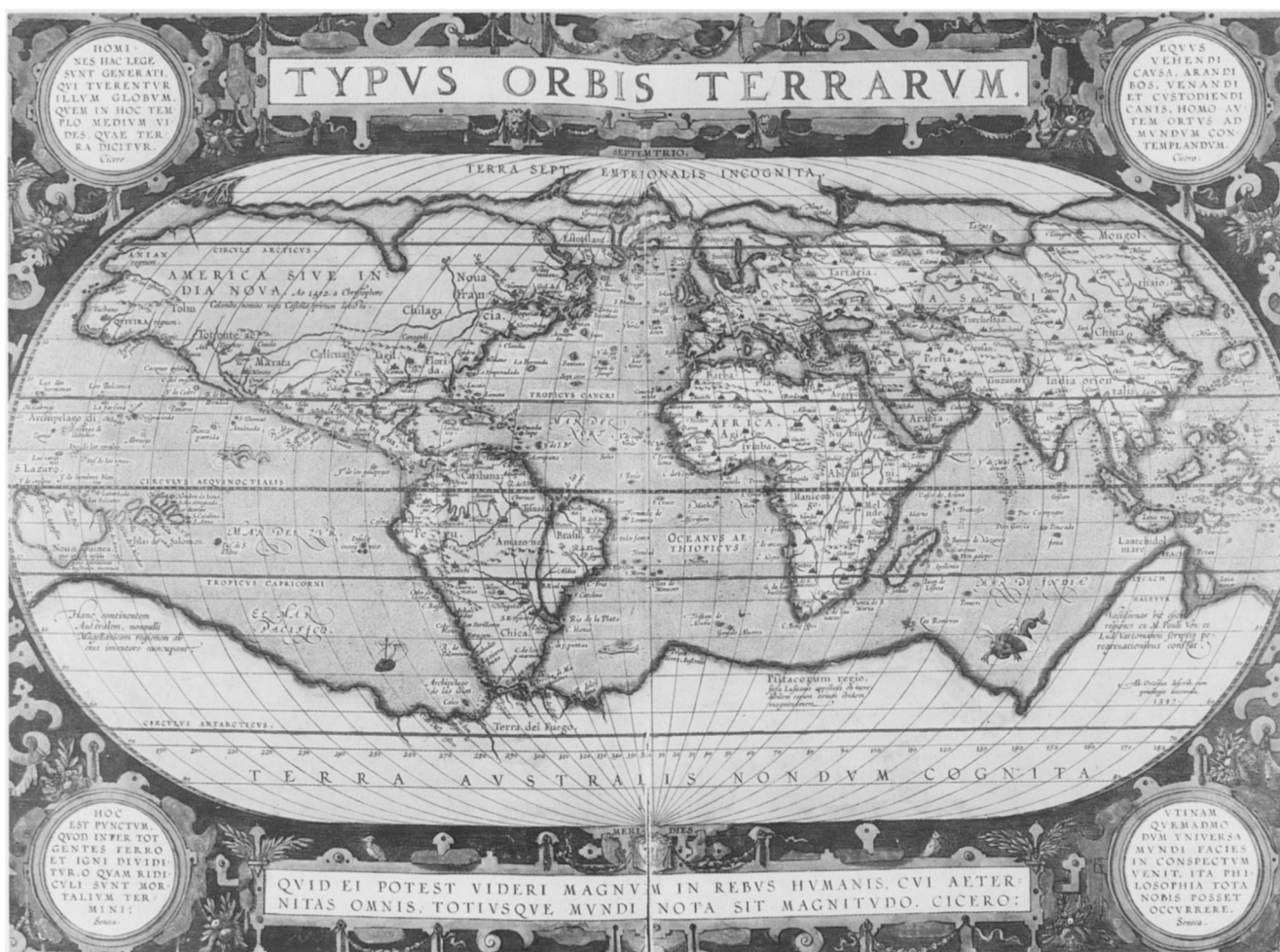


Fig. 3. Abraham Ortelius, *Typus orbis terrarum*, 1587, engraving, 358 x 492 mm., in *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1589; reprint ed., 1601). London, British Library Maps C.2.d.10.

events cannot be understood without a knowledge of place. Ortelius refers in particular to the “expeditions of kings and emperors, the migrations of people, and the journeys and pilgrimages of famous men.”¹² Like mirrors placed before the eyes, maps make these voyages present by allowing us to view the places where historical events transpired, making them vivid and memorable.¹³ Ortelius conceives of these events as itineraries, as is evident from the example he adduces: “For we are greatly served when, having read in Scripture of the Israelites’ journey out of Egypt through the Red Sea, we witness this deed as if we were ourselves present. . . . It is clear that students of history are hindered, delayed, and even arrested in that very voyage (*in ipso cursu*) when they have no access to such maps.”¹⁴ Ortelius describes the scholar’s progress as a retracing of the expeditions, migrations, and pilgrimages he had identified as the matter of historical study. The preface concludes by comparing

the student who peruses the *Theatrum* to a wayfarer or pilgrim (*viatori similes, vel peregrinanti cuiusdam*) who, having embarked on a long and arduous voyage, returns finally to the place whence he departed. Ortelius is the guide with whom the student has gone forth (*prodeunt*), betaken himself to (*petimus*), navigated (*navigavimus*), looked through (*perspeximus*), descended (*descendimus*), crossed over (*quo trajecto*), disembarked (*egressi*), arrived (*pervenimus*), and departed (*exierat*).¹⁵

The notion of transit, upon which these verbs elaborate, originates in Paul’s Epistle to the Hebrews 11:13–16 and 13:14, where the faithful are urged to acknowledge that “they are strangers and pilgrims on the earth” (*peregrini et hospites sunt supra terram*) who have no fixed abode and should therefore embrace life as a ministry of journey.¹⁶ Implicit in the preface to the *Theatrum*, pilgrimage becomes the principal theme of the five maps that record sacred journeys in the *Parergon*. Here the *cognitio historiarum* involves



Fig. 4. Joachim Patinir, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1520, oil on panel, 121 x 177 mm. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

direct participation in the sort of divinely mandated voyage that Ortelius had invoked by reference to the Exodus. The scholar-pilgrim not only travels the routes traced by Abraham, Moses, and Paul, but, more importantly, considers why they were impelled to depart from their fixed abodes, and, in the words of Paul, “to seek a homeland . . . [desiring] a better country, that is, a heavenly one.”¹⁷

The participatory nature of the journeys recorded by the sacred historical maps, their call to the viewer to retrace the voyages of holy men by projecting himself imaginatively into their pilgrimages, distinguishes these maps from the geographical maps of the *Theatrum*. I want to underscore this distinction before embarking on a close analysis of the meditative format and function of the maps of the Holy Land in the *Parergon*. In the preface to the *Theatrum*, as we have seen, Ortelius invites us to enter his maps, to cross their borders and betake ourselves to their pathways, and yet, the emblematic world map of 1587 (*Typus orbis terrarum*) that inaugurates the atlas warns against the impulse to engage with the mundane world, counseling philosoph-

ical detachment as the appropriate response to the *theatrum mundi*, the blandishments and travails of the terrestrial life (fig. 3).¹⁸ The texts that gloss the world map constitute a neo-stoic moral program and derive, as J. Müller Hofstede has shown, from Ortelius’s reading of the neo-stoic canon: Seneca’s *Naturales quaestiones* (*Questions on Nature*) and *Ad Lucillum epistulae morales* (*Moral Epistles to Lucilius*) and Cicero’s *Tusculanae disputationes* (*Tusculanian Disputations*), *De re publica* (*On the Republic*), and *De natura deorum* (*On the Nature of the Gods*).¹⁹ Ortelius quotes from these sources to emphasize that the *res humanae* (*human affairs*), being contingent and transitory, are fit to be eschewed, whereas the *orbis terrarum*, being part of the divinely ordained and ordered cosmos, is susceptible to, indeed requires, philosophical contemplation. For example, the passage from the *Tusculanae disputationes* (lib. IV, cap. 17:37) that functions as the world map’s superscript poses the rhetorical question: “How can human affairs seem great to those who discern the immortality (*aeternitas*) and magnitude (*magnitudo*) of the whole world?”²⁰ The conjunction of citation and world map

emblemizes the discernment of God-given *aeternitas* and *magnitudo* that issues from speculative viewing of the *typus orbis terrarum*, the image of the world. If the world map can thus signify the scope of divine creation, it remains an ambivalent figure that can also connote human preoccupation with the trivial domain of worldly affairs. Ortelius cites Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* (lib. I, praef. 8): "Is this the mere speck that so many nations have parceled by sword and fire? How laughable are mortal boundaries (*mortalium termini*)!"²¹ To these disputes over property that apportion the world, subdividing it into political commodities, Ortelius opposes the search for universal truth. The world map that exemplifies the cosmographer's art now signifies the cosmologist's goal of universal knowledge. Ortelius quotes from Seneca's *Ad Lucullum epistulae morales* (lib. XIV, ep. 89): "Just as the globe of the world offers itself entirely to our gaze, would that the whole of philosophy would reveal herself to us."²²

Ortelius develops the antithesis between the emblematic meanings of the *typus orbis terrarum* in two further quotes from Cicero that resonate with the passages from Seneca. According to Cicero's *De re publica* (lib. VI:15), absorption in the world's affairs defines the human condition: "Men are compelled by birth to regard (*tuerentur*) that globe known as the earth, which is seen in the midst of the firmament."²³ And yet, the human gaze can encompass its object of sight, converting the world to which the eyes are bound into an object of contemplation whose divine order and beauty are grasped by the mind. Ortelius paraphrases Cicero's *De natura deorum* (lib. II:37): "The horse was made to haul and carry, the ox to plough, the dog to guard and hunt, but man was born to contemplate the world (*ad mundum contemplandum*)."²⁴ Just as Ortelius used Seneca to distinguish between investment in the world of commodities and attachment to the world of ideas, so he uses Cicero to set forth both the limitation that constrains and the capacity that elevates our view of the world.

By structuring the world map as an emblem comprised of title, image, and gloss, and assimilating our viewing of this map to his emblematic program, Ortelius exemplifies his neo-stoic ideal of engagement with (and disengagement from) the *theatrum mundi*, showing the ideal viewer, a scholar familiar with the principles of neoplatonic and neo-stoic moral and natural philosophy, how he should view the geographer's maps. Derived from Lucretius and Epictetus, as well as Cicero and Seneca, these principles acknowledge that the wise man must be indifferent to mundane affairs, the vicissitudes of fortune, the

contingencies of death, pain, and disease, focusing instead on the universal unity and order that are the chief manifestations of Divine Providence, contemplation of which will deliver him from the *res humanae* that threaten to hold him hostage, bound by the web of *mortalium termini* (mortal constraints). Implicit in this philosophical position is the figure of the *scaena vitae* (the stage of life) or *theatrum mundi* (theatre of the world), to which the very title of Ortelius's atlas alludes. The history of this venerable figure has been traced by E. Robert Curtius, and more recently by G. Mangani in his book on the religious and philosophical culture of Ortelius.²⁵ Codified by the Stoics and deployed by the Church fathers, the figure encapsulates the notion that human life is performative, comprised of roles assumed in response to external forces; just as stage actions last only as long as the performance that contains them, so human affairs are protean, subject to the divine will that directs them. The realization that these roles are factitious liberates the wise man from their effects: Epictetus admonishes his followers to accept their lives, which are mere parts assigned by Divine Providence;²⁶ John Chrysostom, in his homily on the parable of Dives and Lazarus, explains that kings and paupers are playing parts that will be cast off when, having left the theatre of this world, they are judged at the end of time.²⁷ Plotinus's *De providentia* (*On Providence*), made famous in the translation by Ficino, characterizes as feigned (*ficti*) the weeping and wailing of men who are seen to be mere actors; Plotinus advises that human suffering be regarded as a theatrical fiction, one phase in a series of figurative changes rung upon the stage.²⁸ The awareness that life is led as if on the stage insulates the beholder from the reversals of fortune, reducing them to the status of a distant spectacle without the power to shock. The metaphor that opens Book II of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* (*On the Nature of Things*) provides the most famous account of life so conceived and experienced: he portrays the feeling of security enjoyed by a spectator who observes a distant shipwreck and contrasts his own safety with the destruction seen from afar.²⁹

Like witnesses ensconced upon this metaphorical shore, Ortelius's humanist admirers launched themselves abroad, using the *Theatrum* to embark on virtual voyages from the safety of their studies, secure in their purely specular relation to the *theatrum mundi* mapped in all its richness of geographical incident.³⁰ Janus Dōusa the Elder, for instance, paid homage to Ortelius by contributing to his *Album amicorum* (*Album of Friends*) a long account of such an imaginative itinerary:



Fig. 5. Jan and Lucas van Duetecum after Pieter Bruegel, *Hieronymus in deserto* from the *Great Landscapes*, ca. 1555, etching and engraving, 322 x 422 mm. London, British Museum.

I seem to ascend the Nerean cataracts and discover the source of the Nile. While he offers guidance, I have the courage to swim the northern seas . . . beyond the arctic ocean, Nova Zembla is mine, as is the course of the Ganges, and the columns bestrid by Bacchus past the Tagus, and the ocean by the Scythian shore. I would follow your steps to distant India, so long as you [Ortelius] served as pole star to my raft . . . until you should prefer to go west. Thither as well the winds in their long tunics will carry me, and I will cease to fear the terrible reefs where the Halcyons nest. With you I will go fearlessly to the cannibals' tables, to the shores of the Brazilian wilderness. . . . Whence sailing boldly across the Pacific, I will travel beyond the border of New Guinea, not in search of cinnamon, spices, and other flavors, of fruit of cloves and aromatic nuts squandered with impunity by the

rich Moluccans, but rather to attain the holy refuge of Astrea, the refuge she herself preferred to heaven, and thence to see Ceylon, neighboring Java, or Borneo where everything but peace is to be found. Ah! Why am I granted no hearth in this world? Adieu, coastal downs and Dutch beaches and fields cultivated by the genius of the place, the local Lares. . . . What have I to do with Belgium; I prefer to be kinsman to the Ganges, or to that place where the scales regard from on high the sunburnt Ethiopians. . . . This is thanks to you, Abraham, who compels us to travel the globe.³¹

Dousa continues by invoking Spain, driven by cupidity and immersed in the *res humanae*, whose imperial ambition the world itself cannot satisfy. By contrast he delights in indulging his desire to know the world, content to follow Ortelius whose cartographical art is an act of devotion that confirms his faith in God:



Fig. 6. Jan and Lucas van Duetecum after Pieter Bruegel, *Magdalena poenitens* from the *Great Landscapes*, ca. 1555, etching and engraving, 322 x 422 mm. London, British Museum.

How good it is to be able to measure the great world contained within these small maps! Henceforth we will conduct ourselves safely on land and sea; no tempest will menace us. . . . You who desire to know the world's order and the customs of men, have no need of unfamiliar stars or of seas untried by any barque; merely regard Ortelius's theatrical stage. That at least is without danger, whereas every other way is obscure. . . . Be increased in your faith [Ortelius] . . . and if you wish, go in search of Utopia; you will find it.³²

Unlike the acquisitive Spanish who claim property over the world, Dousa wields the trope of exile to suggest that he is attached to no shore, held hostage neither by the desire for wealth nor dominion. The reference to Utopia suggests the fictive nature of his voyages: following the trail blazed by Ortelius, he is free to travel anywhere since his transit is an artifice,

a fiction enacted on the stage of the cartographic *theatrum mundi*. In his pursuit of various and entirely optical trajectories, his distant vantage point insulates him from the panoramic vista explored by his eyes, so that he encounters no obstacles, senses neither heat nor cold, feels neither fear nor greed.

The meditative maps of the *Parergon* demand a level of engagement that is different in kind and degree. Rather than wandering freely, the viewer follows precise itineraries set by holy personages, the events of whose lives he retraces by visiting the sites where those events transpired and adhering to the sequence in which they occurred. He aims to participate fully in the terrestrial lives of these saints, for their earthly trials bear witness to their religious vocation. The emblematic device that structures these maps is the pilgrimage of life (*peregrinatio vitae*) that supplants the figure of the *theatrum mundi* fundamental to the geographical maps.

The pilgrimage of life theme, as R. Falkenburg has demonstrated in his important study of Joachim Patinir, descends from Hebrews 11:13–16 and unites Augustine's concept of man as citizen of the *civitas Dei peregrinans* (city of God in exile) with the biblical metaphor of the two paths (Matthew 7:13–14), the one narrow and difficult leading to salvation, the other wide and easy leading to perdition, between which the faithful must choose as they journey through this world.³³ Patinir codified the pilgrimage theme in paintings such as the *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight*, composed of a devotional image of the Virgin of Humility whose attributes include the pilgrim's staff, scrip, and basket (Joseph also wears pilgrim's garb) and who suckles the Christ child at the juncture between two landscape zones—at the right an inviting river valley dotted with farms that extends toward the distant horizon, at the left a forbidding tor that rises from hills and rocky escarpments punctuated by a walled city and fortress—that elaborate upon the two paths the pilgrim must negotiate (fig. 4).³⁴ Contemporary meditative texts, such as *Tboeck van den leven ons liefs Heeren Jhesu Christi* (*Book of the Life of the Dear Lord Jesus Christ*), characterize the flight as a model of pilgrimage to be imitated by the Christian pilgrim who wanders piously through this vale of tears.³⁵

Disseminated widely in panoramic landscape prints such as Pieter Bruegel's *Hieronymus in deserto* (*Jerome in the Wilderness*) (fig. 5) and *Magdalena poenitens* (*Penitent Magdalene*) (fig. 6) from the *Great Landscapes* series, engraved by Jan and Lucas van Duetecum ca. 1555, the format of Patinir's pilgrimage landscapes provides the direct antecedent to Ortelius's meditative maps of the Holy Land.³⁶ Entitled *parerga*, these maps were appreciated, as I have indicated above, as *landschappen* (landscape images). In their cartographic precision, however, they differ from the models by Patinir and Bruegel. By their wealth of descriptive detail and multiplicity of routes, Patinir and Bruegel's landscapes appeal to the viewer's *curiositas*, his tendency to be distracted, expressed in *evagatio*, an aimless wandering from place to place. This difficulty of keeping to the pilgrim's route corresponds to the difficulty of choice made manifest in the theme of the two paths. Ortelius, on the other hand, by juxtaposing geographically accurate maps with commentaries that explain the significance of the historical journeys made in and through the Holy Land, supplies a *ductus*, a structured way through the places he has mapped. The rhetorical term *ductus*, like its antitheses *evagatio* and *curiositas*, derives from the mnemonic art of meditation, as Mary Carruthers has recently argued.³⁷ *Ductus* refers

to dispositive flow, the way that compositional order is experienced as a series of motions, varying in velocity and emotional tone, through a sequence of places. This mobile order activates the subject at hand, making it vivid and memorable. As Carruthers puts it:

The rhetorical concept of *ductus* emphasizes way-finding by organizing the structure of any composition as a journey through a linked series of stages, each of which has its own characteristic flow (its 'mode' or 'color'), but which also moves the whole composition along. And the 'colors' or 'modes' are like the individual segments of an aqueduct, carrying the water, yes, but changing its direction, slowing it down, speeding it up, bifurcating, as the water moves along its 'route' or 'way.' For a person following the *ductus*, the 'colors' act as stages of the way or ways through to the *skopos* or destination.³⁸

The stages through which Ortelius moves us are the sites visited by Moses, Paul, and Christ, the *loci* (topics, i.e., places) through which they passed as pilgrims in this life. These *loci*, as we shall see, are also inhabited by scriptural places, Old and New Testament passages that color the sites, invest them with life, and encapsulate the principles of faith instituted by these holy pilgrims. By applying the rhetorical *ductus* to his maps of the Holy Land, Ortelius made them a worthy object of *sollicitudo*, that attitude of alert mindfulness most conducive to memory and meditation.³⁹ He also distinguished them from more loosely structured meditative maps, such as the cordiform world map of 1564 that launched his own career as cartographer (fig. 7).⁴⁰ Compiled from the most up-to-date geographical sources, the map contains a register of commodities (at lower left) identified with the cities and regions that supply them. The heart-shaped projection draws an implicit parallel between the circulation of life-giving blood and the circulation of life-enhancing goods, the physiology of the healthy body and the economy of the mercantile world, both to be appreciated as gifts of the Creator, appreciation of whose beneficence must then be imprinted on the heart.

Let us turn now to the *Parergon*. The maps of the Holy Land constitute a set, as the commentary to the *Geographia Sacra* makes clear (fig. 9). Ortelius explains that this map of Palestine contains fewer place names because it is situated within a universal map of the ancient world, and so he directs the viewer to seek more detailed information in the *Abrahami Patriarchae peregrinatio* (fig. 10) and the *Peregrinationis divi Pauli* (fig. 11), as well as in the two maps that copy originals

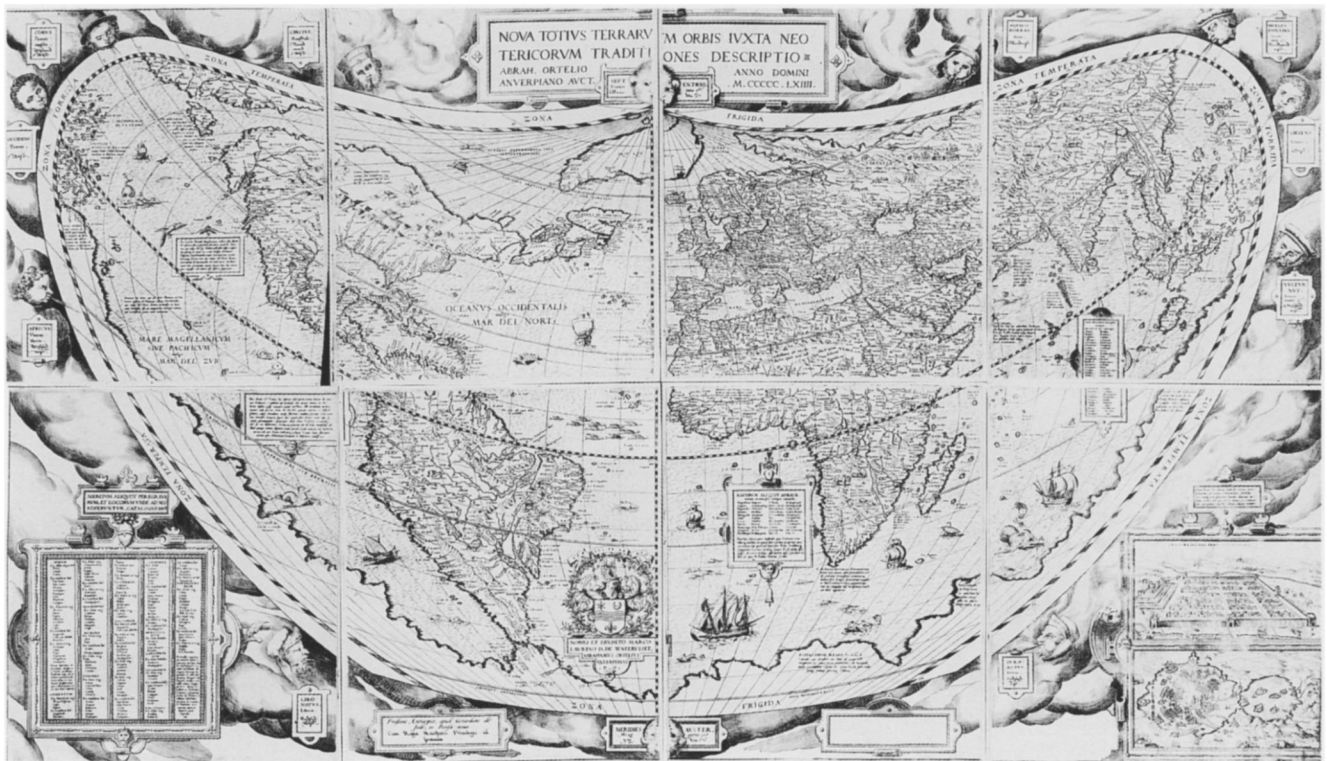


Fig. 7. Abraham Ortelius, *Nova totius terrarum orbis iuxta neotericorum traditiones descriptio*, 1564, engraving, 880 x 1500 mm. London, British Library Maps C.2.a.6.

by Tilemann Stella, the *Typus . . . Iudae et Israhel* (fig. 12) and *Palaestinae . . . nova descriptio* (figs. 13).⁴¹ The five historical maps incorporate geographical data supplied by the *Terra Sancta* (fig. 8) within the *Theatrum* proper, while the commentary on this map first expounds the pilgrimage theme central to the allied maps.⁴² Ortelius opens his account by certifying the accuracy of the *descriptiones* he has consulted, all of which rely on information acquired by various authors on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Impelled by devotion (*devotionis ergo*), they have visited the shrines guarded by knights of the Franciscan order, chief among them the Holy Sepulchre.⁴³ (Christ's resurrection appears in a roundel above the map's title cartouche, accompanied by scenes of his crucifixion and his nativity that allude to Calvary and Bethlehem, the other major *loca sancta* placed by the map.) Ortelius, whose interest in another order, the Knights of Malta, is well documented, now supplies excerpts from the service of ordination by which a novice becomes Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.⁴⁴ The long text consists of a series of liturgical prayers that implicates the reader, inviting him to assume the role of an aspirant who prepares to profess his vocation. The ceremony proceeds by stages: the novice prepares himself for prayer (*ad devotionem*) and receipt of the grace of knightly office, having confessed, heard Mass,

and taken Holy Communion; he then enters the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where he responds to the ritual interrogation of a guardian father, who asks him why he has come, what he hopes to achieve, and enumerates the responsibilities of a virtuous knight; finally, he obtains his spurs and sword, the weapons with which he must defend the faith in imitation of Christ. Having been consecrated, the new knight offers his sword to be blessed, calling on God to help him wield it in defense of the theological and cardinal virtues: "As he has advanced from minor rank to military honor, so let him put on the new man, putting away the old by his actions, that he might fear and cherish you truly, Lord, shunning the society of faithless men, loving his neighbor, obeying his prefect and fulfilling his office in all things."⁴⁵ The goal of pilgrimage to the Holy Land is *reformatio*, spiritual conversion expressed in an active life of Christian service at the sites that enshrine the relics of Christ's incarnation, passion, and resurrection. The map locates these sites, at which the viewer-reader is encouraged to imagine himself as a pilgrim who takes up residence, reforms body and spirit, and vows to defend the faith. The instructions that punctuate the ordination liturgy, such as the jussive *oremus*, direct him to envision himself fully engaged in a public act of worship that consecrates his vocation.

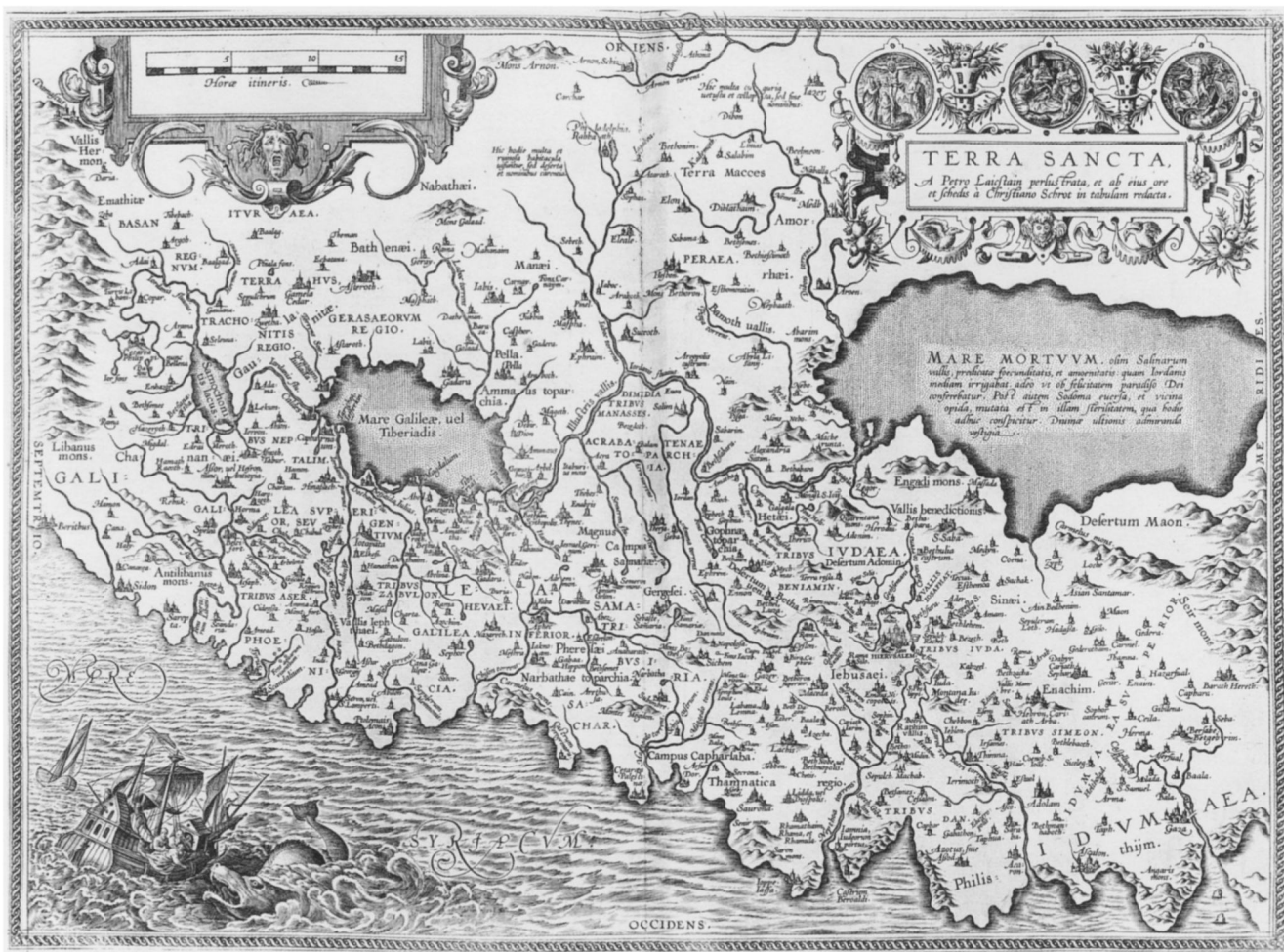


Fig. 8. Abraham Ortelius, *Terra Sancta*, ca. 1584, engraving, 369 x 504 mm., in *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1584; reprint ed., 1601). London, British Library Maps C.2.d.10.

The *Geographia Sacra* (fig. 9) develops the conversion theme by using geographical place as biblical metaphor.⁴⁶ The map and its commentary presume a learned viewer-reader, immersed in Scripture, whom Ortelius calls *theologiae candidatus*.⁴⁷ The legend that enframes the world map (inset at the base of the image) proclaims God's possession of the fullness of the earth and all its inhabitants.⁴⁸ The caption inscribed on the Atlantic Ocean (at the upper left), an excerpt from 4 Esdras 7, derives from a famous prophetic text that expands upon the notion that God is steward of all he surveys: "There is a sea set in a wide place so that it is broad and vast."⁴⁹ The passage is descriptive of the Atlantic, but it also alludes to Scripture, where it serves as an exemplum of God's design for his chosen people in an angelic admonition delivered by Uriel.⁵⁰ The angel answers the question, posed by the unnamed seer of Esdras, why God creator of the world has allowed its true inheritors, the children of Israel, to languish. The full text contrasts the wide sea to the narrow and difficult channel that leads to it, and

there follows the corollary exemplum of a great city built on a height and accessible only by a dangerous path bordered by water and fire.⁵¹ Uriel explains that the narrow channel stands for the tribulations of this life, the wide sea for the life to come for those few who have endured the world's hardships and kept God's strict commandments.⁵² He adjures the seer to consider how God will remake the world at the end of time and how he had prepared it for judgment even at its creation.⁵³ At the end of time, when the Messiah comes to judge humankind, the saved shall "see the straits and toil from which they have been delivered, and the spacious liberty which they are to receive and enjoy in immortality."⁵⁴ The *mare altum et immensum*—a geographical place, scriptural prompt, angelic exemplum, and millennial metaphor—is the wide place at the end of the difficult path, the reward of "spacious liberty" that awaits the faithful who have voyaged through the toilsome world. 4 Esdras 7 underlies Paul's figure of the pilgrim in Hebrews 11:13–16 and 13:14, which Ortelius here deploys to recast the world as a figure of the difficult



Fig. 9. Abraham Ortelius, *Geographia Sacra*, ca. 1598, engraving, 363 x 482 mm., in *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1598; reprint ed., 1601). London, British Library Maps C.2.d.10.

journey toward salvation. The maps of Palestine in the days of Abraham and Paul set forth in great detail two such journeys made at God’s behest.

The *Abrahami Patriarchae peregrinatio et vita* consists of a fictive wall map hung from two nails and surrounded by twenty-two roundels that portray important events from Abraham’s life as God’s chosen servant (fig. 10).⁵⁵ The term *peregrinatio* recalls that Abraham exemplifies the good pilgrim in Hebrews 11:8–16, the Scriptural *locus* that undergirds all the sacred maps in the *Parergon*. Paul avers that Abraham “by faith . . . obeyed when he was called to go out to a place which he was to receive as an inheritance; and he went out, not knowing where he was to go.”⁵⁶ God’s command to Abraham to enter into Canaan appears at the top and bottom of the wall map that charts his itinerary: “Abraham, depart from your land and people, and enter into the land which I will have shown you. And I will give into your possession and that of your seed all the land of Canaan, the land of your pilgrimage (*terram peregrinationis*), in perpetuity.”⁵⁷ Ortelius’s com-

mentary describes the events chronicled in the roundels, beginning (upper right) with the voyage to Mesopotamia, prescribed by God, and concluding (upper left) with the burial of Abraham in Sarah’s tomb at Hebron.⁵⁸ Ortelius demonstrates how prayer has governed and sanctified every aspect of the patriarch’s life. In roundel three, for example, he prays to God who orders him to leave Mesopotamia for the land of Canaan. In roundel four he prays at an altar erected to memorialize God’s promise that he and his seed will inherit Canaan, while in roundel five, having returned from Egypt, he invokes God’s name at the altar he had built between Bethel and Haim. Whereas these scenes, like roundel eight showing Abraham kneeling before the royal high priest Melchisidek, portray liturgical prayer, other scenes depict actions that result from meditative prayer. In roundel nine, Abraham prepares to sacrifice a bull-calf, having “reflected upon God’s justice” and power to fulfill any pledge, even his compact that the aged Abraham would beget progeny as numerous as the stars in heaven and the grains of sand on the shore.⁵⁹



Fig. 10. Abraham Ortelius, *Abrahami Patriarchae peregrinatio et vita*, 1586, engraving, 352 x 457 mm., in *Additamentum IV* (Antwerp, 1590) and *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1592; reprint ed., 1601). London, British Library Maps C.2.d. 10.

By insisting that the wall map is an image within the image, Ortelius underscores its connection to the pictorial roundels, thus emphasizing that the pilgrim, whose route the map charts, negotiates his journey in and through prayer. The reference to Hebrews implicit in the term *peregrinatio* alludes to Paul's insight that the promised land was but a pledge of salvation: "These all died in faith, not having received what was promised, but having seen it and greeted it from afar, and having acknowledged that they were strangers and exiles on the earth."⁶⁰ The map, being pictorial, appeals to sight, representing Canaan as a sight to be seen and placing the viewer in the subject position of Abraham, the pilgrim who glimpses the promised land as a mere image of salvation. In turn, by implying that the land of Abraham foreshadows rather than embodies journey's end, Ortelius responds to the prophecy of the messianic kingdom in 4 Esdras

7: "And why have you not considered in your mind what is to come, rather than what is now present? . . . For behold, the time will come, when the signs which I have foretold to you will come to pass, that the city which now is not seen shall appear, and the land which now is hidden shall be disclosed."⁶¹

The *Peregrinationis divi Pauli typus corographicus* (fig. 11) is a summa of the pilgrimage themes that inform the *Terra Sancta* and *Abrahami Patriarchae peregrinatio*.⁶² The roundels that bracket the title narrate two conversion scenes showing the cause and effect of Paul's journey of faith. At left he is converted to Christ, who confronts him on the road to Damascus; at right he convinces the inhabitants of Malta that he is a man of God when, having been shipwrecked, he proves immune to a viper's bite. The cartouche below quotes 2 Corinthians 5:6–8, making a distinction between corporal and spiritual pilgrimage, pilgrimage in and from the body:



Fig. 11. Abraham Ortelius, *Peregrinationis divi Pauli typus corographicus*, 1579, engraving, 352 x 502 mm., in *Additamentum II* (Antwerp, 1579) and *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1579; reprint ed., 1601). London, British Library Maps C.2.d.10.

We know that while we dwell in the body we travel away from the Lord (*peregrinamur a Domino*), for we walk by faith, not by sight. We are of good courage, and we would rather travel away from the body (*peregrinari a corpore*) and dwell with the Lord. So whether we be at home or abroad (*sive peregrini sumus, sive incolae*), we make it our aim to please him.⁶³

This passage employs the figure of pilgrimage to develop the fundamental distinction between the physical and the spiritual body, outlined in 1 Corinthians 15:42–50. Ortelius's commentary is a detailed itinerary of Paul's constant travels, presented in chronological order, which are seen to exemplify the antithesis between *peregrinatio a Domino per visum* (travel by sight away from the Lord) and *peregrinatio a corpore per fidem* (travel by faith away from the body).⁶⁴ He states at the outset that his map is less copious than other maps of Palestine because he has included only those place names that promote reading of the New Testament (*ad novi Testamenti lectionem*). He

has observed the rule of decorum, incorporating a variety (not *copia*) of places suited to sacred study (*ad hoc studium sacrum*). Collating information from Acts and the Epistles, Ortelius lists the cities, towns, and regions traversed by the apostle from his conversion at Damascus to his arrival in Rome, where he established Christianity as a world religion. Sequences of places are punctuated by brief accounts of crucial events that function as prompts to key passages. These passages consist of important speeches that themselves dwell on the relation between flesh and spirit. As we trace Paul's peregrinations, we are to imagine him at the places mapped by the image and enumerated in the commentary, places inhabited by scriptural *loci*, the inspired oratory of his ministry of the Word.

Ortelius begins by paraphrasing Paul's testimony in Galatians 1:15–19, that he waited three years after his conversion before visiting Jerusalem, where he stayed fifteen days with Peter. The passage serves to emphasize that Paul's commission comes not from the apostles, but directly from God. Ortelius accentuates this point, noting

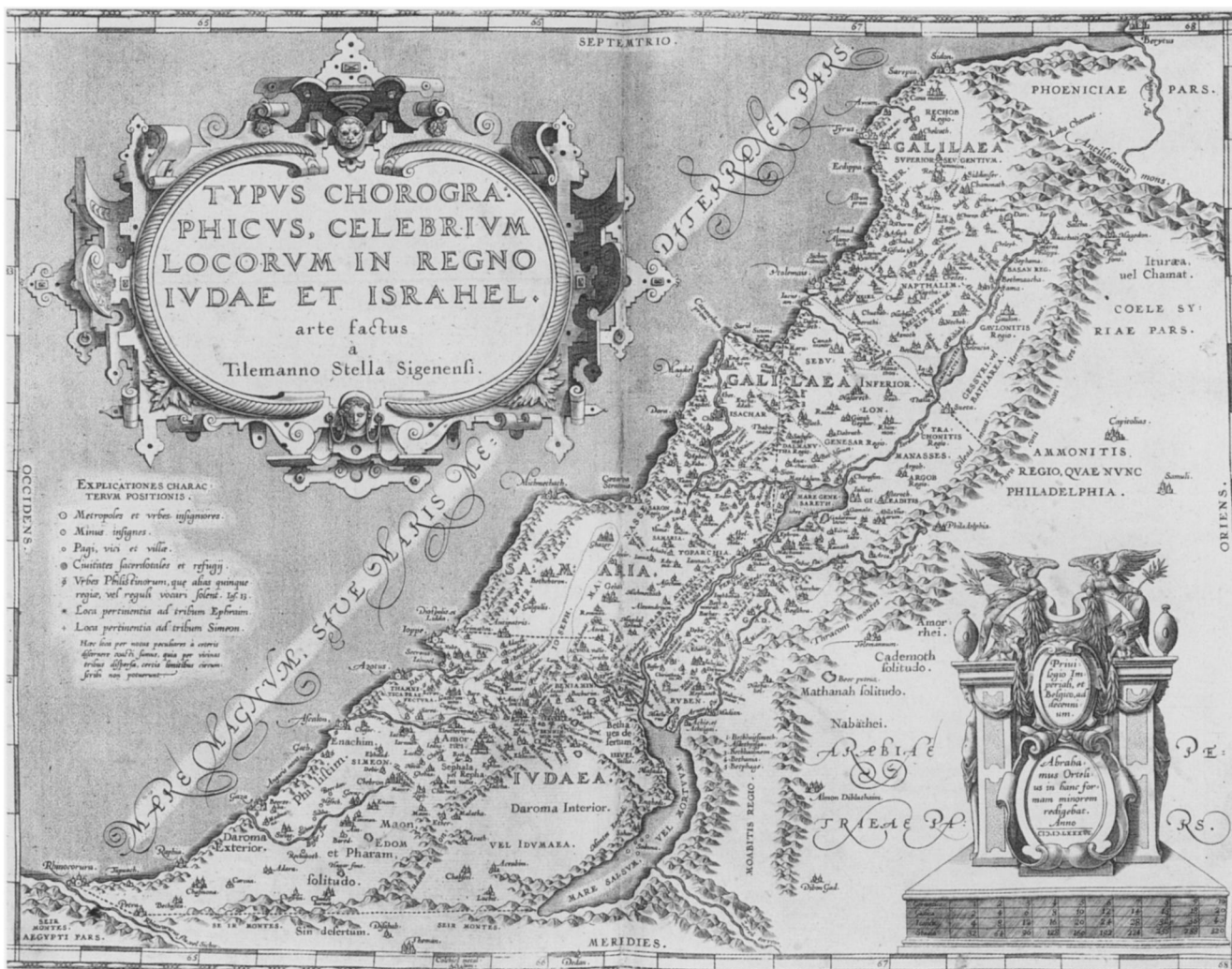


Fig. 12. Abraham Ortelius, *Typus chorographicus, celebrium locorum in regno Iudae et Israel*, 1586, engraving, 356 x 461 mm., in *Additamentum IV* (Antwerp, 1590) and *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1592; reprint ed., 1601). London, British Library Maps C.2.d.10.

that Paul then resided in Antioch for a year, where he censured Peter for acquiescing to the circumcision party. Chronicled in Galatians 2:11–21, the episode turns on Peter's adherence to Jewish ritual law, which Paul opposes in a great speech that affirms his ministry to the Gentiles and the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ. Ortelius also mentions the church council of 48 A.D., convened when Paul and Barnabus, having preached to the uncircumcised, resolved to make their case in Jerusalem. In Acts 15:3 and 12 we learn that they reported the "signs and wonders God had done through them" as they wandered among the Gentiles.⁶⁵ Among the later events in Paul's ministry, Ortelius cites his valedictory address to the elders of Ephesus, delivered before his final trip to Jerusalem. The speech in Acts 20:18–35 proclaims Paul's willingness to go wherever the Holy Spirit sends him, at whatever cost to himself, whom he accounts of no value except as an instrument of the gospel of grace. At Caesarea he

is approached by the prophet Agabus, who predicts his arrest in Jerusalem. Paul's friends, fearing for his life, beg him to stay, but he demurs, declaring in Acts 21:10–14 his readiness to die at Jerusalem in Jesus's name. Brought before the provincial governor at Jerusalem, Paul appeals to Caesar. In Acts 24:11–21 and 26:2–23 he delivers a series of forensic speeches to Felix, governor of Judea, and King Agrippa, expounding his beliefs and testifying that from the moment of his conversion God has ordained his many journeys to Damascus and Jerusalem, to Jews and Gentiles. The speeches delivered in the places visited by Paul recount his *peregrinationes* to chronicle his ministry, attest his faith, argue his conviction that the gospel is for Jews and Gentiles, and confirm the fulness of his vocation, his apostolic mission that issues from justification by the Spirit. By rehearsing his journeys, Paul portrays himself as a pilgrim without fixed abode, bearing witness to the admonition delivered

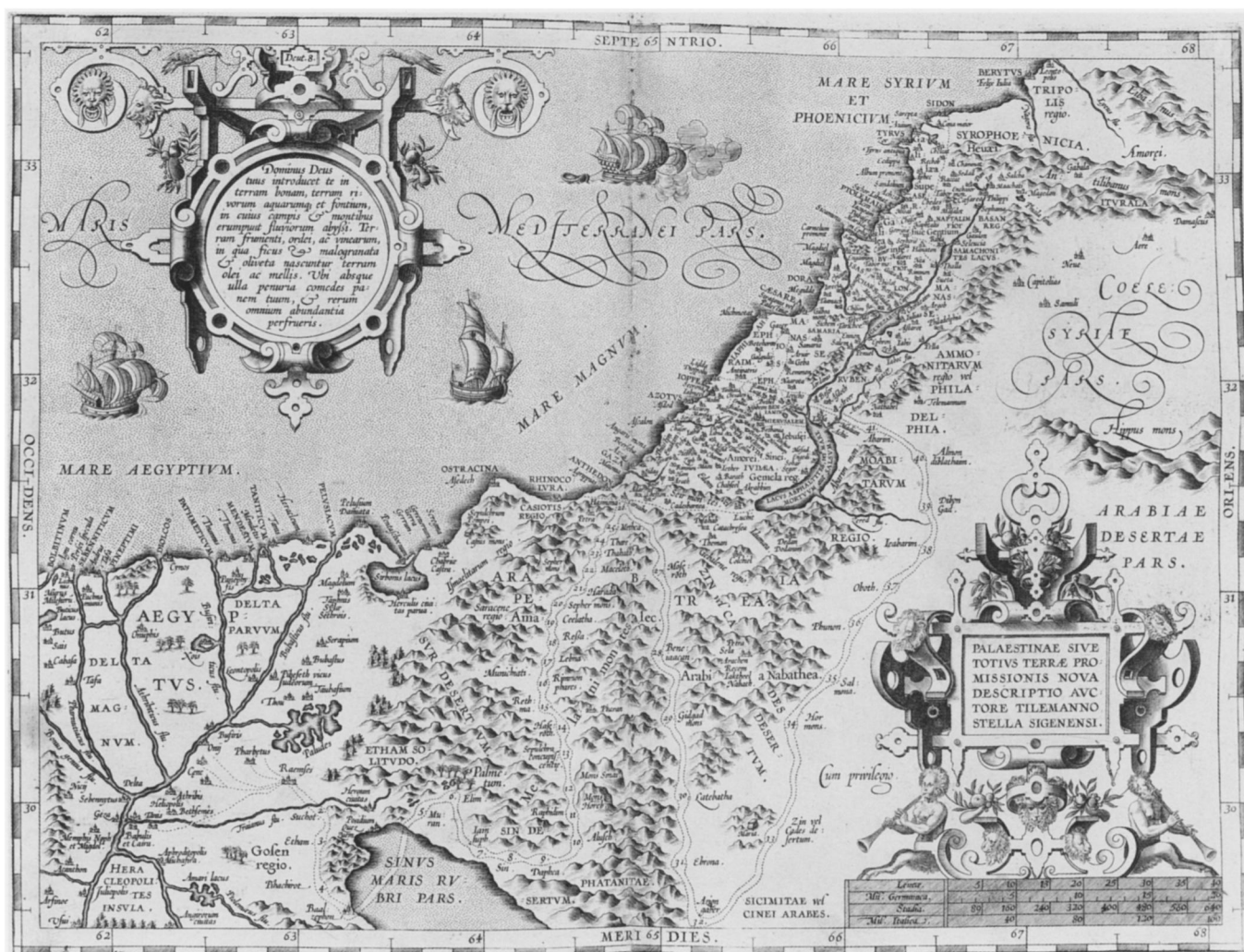


Fig. 13. Abraham Ortelius, *Palaestinae sive totius terrae promissionis nova descriptio*, ca. 1595, engraving, 342 x 452 mm., in *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1595; reprint ed., 1601). London, British Library C.2.d.10.

in Hebrews 11:13–16 and 13:14. Ortelius's chorographic image and text illustrate the scope of Paul's travels, following the apostle's lead in making pilgrimage the very figure and epitome of *reformatio* (spiritual conversion).

The *Palaestinae sive totius Terrae Promissionis nova descriptio*⁶⁶ (fig. 13) and *Typus chorographicus celebrium locorum in regno Iudae et Israhel*⁶⁷ (fig. 12) contain more places than the other maps, and the commentaries, rather than focusing on a single itinerary, examine the individual sites as places of pilgrimage through which many Old and New Testament figures have passed. With regard to the *Typus . . . Iudae et Israhel*, for example, Ortelius explains that Beersheba signifies "well of obligation and confirmation" (*puteus iuramenti seu confirmationis*) because it was here that Abraham, having journeyed to Canaan at God's behest, swore an oath with Abimelech, King of Gerar.⁶⁸ Beersheba is where Abraham dwelt after the sacrifice of Isaac. Here again Abimelech swore an oath with Isaac,

acknowledging him as blessed of the Lord, when Isaac, driven by famine, wandered through Canaan. At Beersheba, God renewed his covenant with Isaac, promising to bless and multiply his descendants, as he had Abraham's; at the same place, God spoke to Jacob, commanding him to go into Egypt and promising to make of him a great nation. Beersheba is also known as the "fountain of plenitude" (*fons saturitatis*) since at this well God succoured the exiled Hagar and Ishmael. Like the other sites listed in alphabetical order in the commentary, Beersheba is a *locum sanctum*, visited for generations as an object of pilgrimage and made holy by the passage of men and women sanctified by God. The etymology of place enshrines their many visits.

The *Palaestinae . . . nova descriptio* (fig. 13) focuses on the Exodus, especially the route comprising forty-two encampments (*mansiones*) from Raemeses in Egypt and Etham by the Red Sea to the banks of the Jordan (fig. 13). The commentary explains that these stations,

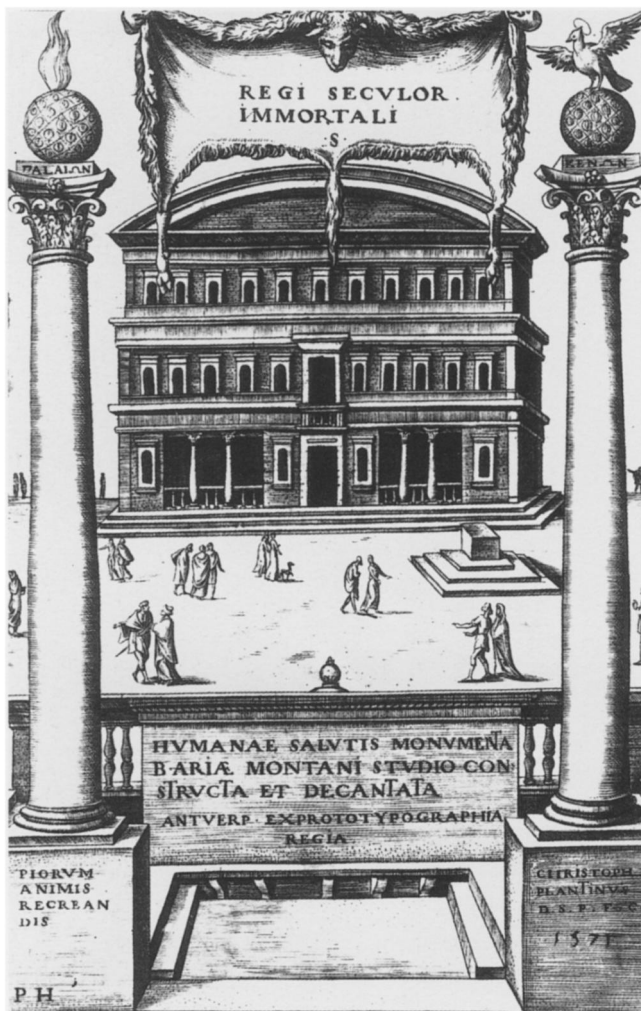


Fig. 14. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Title-Page of the Humanae salutis monumenta* (Antwerp, 1571), octavo. London, British Library C.125.c.22.



Fig. 15. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Tabula exitus ex Aegypto*, ca. 1571, engraving, ca. 112 x 74 mm., in *Humanae salutis monumenta* (Antwerp, 1571). London, British Library C.125.c.22.

diagrammed and numbered on the map, are supplied to guide the viewer as he journeys with the Israelites (*ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam*).⁶⁹ The cartouche above (upper left) quotes Deuteronomy 8:7–9, Moses’s valedictory on the promised land, delivered at the border of Canaan. Moses describes Canaan as the reward of forty years of wandering, during which God has humbled the Israelites, testing their hearts to see whether they would keep his commandments:

The Lord your God is bringing you into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and springs, flowing forth in valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive trees and honey, a land in which you will eat bread without scarcity and enjoy an abundance of all things.⁷⁰

Ortelius’s commentary situates the Exodus within an etymological account of scriptural sites in Egypt,

Palestine, Arabia, and Syro-Phoenicia in the Old and New Testaments. Once again he expounds regional sites as places of pilgrimage, directing the reader to scriptural loci: Judea is where the Magi journeyed to acknowledge Christ’s kingship in Matthew 2:1–12; Samaria is where Christ first journeyed to reveal his divine mission to the Gentiles in John 4:7–30. Within this expanded brief, the *mansiones* that constitute the Exodus, “made illustrious by the passage of the Israelites and God’s many miracles” (*Israëliitarum transitu et multis admirandisque Dei operibus*), function as a collective figure of pilgrimage and also a rubric, a sort of commonplace head under which Ortelius collects other journeys conducted by the grace of God.⁷¹ Ortelius signals this reading by citing Deuteronomy 10, as well as Numbers 33, in his précis of the journey out of Egypt. Deuteronomy 10:11–22 interprets the Exodus as an enactment of God’s injunction to walk in the ways of the Lord; it signifies obedience, fear, and love of the Lord, and is



Fig. 16. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Tabula maris rubri*, ca. 1571, engraving, ca. 115 x 74 mm., in *Humanae salutis monumenta* (Antwerp, 1571). London, British Library C.125.c.22.

itself metaphorized as spiritual circumcision: “Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no longer stubborn.”⁷² Moses further enjoins the Israelites to “love the stranger” (*et vos ergo amate peregrinos*) since they were themselves strangers in Egypt (*quia et ipsi fuistis advenae in terra Aegypti*).⁷³ The Israelites were *peregrini* whose pilgrimage stands for circumcision of the heart, interpreted by Paul in Romans 4:9–12 and Colossians 2:11–14 as righteousness by faith rather than by the law. The *Palaestinae . . . nova descriptio* maps the Holy Land under the sign of pilgrimage: as the Israelites traveled through Suchot, Etham, Pihachiot, Muram, Elim, and the other *mansiones* en route to the promised land, so the Christian voyager, reading the map, retraces their journey as a mode of spiritual circumcision, i.e., a change of heart that converts the spirit to love of God.

I want to turn now to a crucial source of the program set forth in Ortelius’s sacred maps, Benedictus Arias Montanus’s *Humanae salutis monumenta* of 1571 (fig. 14).



Fig. 17. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Tabula Israëlitarum Iordanem transeuntium*, ca. 1571, engraving, ca. 112 x 74 mm., in *Humanae salutis monumenta* (Antwerp, 1571). London, British Library C.125.c.22.

The Spanish theologian befriended Ortelius during his residence in Antwerp (1568–75), where he had been sent by Philip II to supervise the editing of the polyglot *Biblia Regia* (Royal Bible or *The King’s Bible*).⁷⁴ The *Humanae salutis monumenta* contains seventy-one images that chronicle the history of human salvation from the fall of Adam and Eve to the Last Judgment. Engraved by Abraham de Bruyn, Pieter Huys, and the Wiericx brothers after modelli by Pieter van der Borcht, the images were devised by Montanus, who also supplied two genera of text: the *genus architectonicum* includes the captions, dedications, and epigrams that support the image; the *genus poëticum* consists of odes that dwell on subjects that pictorial artifice can only suggest—words, orations, movements of the body and soul, and all forms of intellectual activity (*voces, orationes, animorum corporumque motus omnes, and cogitationum studiorumque formae*).⁷⁵ In addition, annotations by the book’s publisher Christopher Plantin gloss the



Fig. 18. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Tabula terrae distributae*, ca. 1571, engraving, ca. 112 x 74 mm., in *Humanae salutis monumenta* (Antwerp, 1571). London, British Library C.125.c.22.

texts and elucidate their relation to the images. The novel publication compounds the format of the picture bible with the text-image apparatus of the emblem, in a hybrid construction devised to appeal to the learned reader-viewer as a source of *otium* (leisure, repose), even while serving a serious devotional and didactic function.⁷⁶ I shall dwell at length on Montanus because he affords such a full treatment of the meditative theme of journey. The program of the four *monumenta* invites the learned reader-viewer to reflect on the meaning of pilgrimage in the scheme of human salvation as he wanders with the Israelites. Scriptural paraphrases and Plantin's supplementary annotations function as prompts to Old and New Testament passages that refer to the nature and

aims of Christian mission, exemplified by the voyage of the Israelites to the promised land. As we have seen, these are themes that were to preoccupy Ortelius in the *Parergon*, which also utilizes Montanus's meditative format—his combination of various genera of text that both underwrite and develop the argument implicit in the pictorial image.

Montanus explores the theme of pilgrimage in a series of four *monumenta* (XIII–XIV, XVII, and XIX) devoted to the Exodus and the voyage into Canaan: *In tabulam exitus ex Aegypto* (*On the Image of the Exodus Out of Egypt*) (fig. 15), *In tabulam maris rubri* (*On the Image of the Red Sea*) (fig. 16), *In tabulam Israëliitarum Iordanem transeuntium* (*On the Image of the Israelites*

Crossing the River Jordan) (fig. 17), and *In tabulam terrae distributae* (*On the Image of the Distribution of Land*) (fig.18). *The Exitus ex Aegypto* (fig. 15) depicts Moses and Aaron among the Israelites who depart in rank and file beneath a sinuous cloud that marks the Lord's presence (fig. 15). The caption describes the scene as an "exemplum of salvation" (*Evangelii exemplum*), while the dedication declares the image "sacred to God's efficacious word" (*verbo efficaci sac.*). The epigram avers that everything is given to those whose piety and faith follow quickly wherever God leads.⁷⁷ Plantin explains in his annotations that the caption presents the image as a figure of spiritual salvation (*illius spiritualis salutis figura*), the liberty of the spirit granted to the faithful,⁷⁸ while the dedication affirms the power of the divine Word to save those who obey it.⁷⁹ The ode is a figure of exhortation (*exhortationis figura*) that speaks directly to the departing Israelites, urging them to hasten from the house of slavery and accept the rich gifts offered by divine mercy.⁸⁰

Whereas the *Exitus ex Aegypto* (fig. 15) represents pilgrimage as an embrace of Christian liberty, the *Maris rubri* (fig. 16) portrays it as the fruit of spiritual discernment, admonishing the pilgrim to remain alert to the signs that encode God's will. The image depicts the Israelites on the further shore of the Red Sea, in whose roiling waters Pharaoh's army is drowned. The caption calls this an "argument of hidden salvation" (*arcanae salutis argum.*), while the dedication is to "God victorious, the avenger" (*Deo victori vindici sac.*). The epigram proclaims that nature is benign to those whom God desires to help, but implacable toward his enemies.⁸¹ Based on the song of thanksgiving sung by the Israelites in Exodus 15:1–18, the brilliant ode describes the forces of nature (*maxima mundi corpora*) as instruments of divine justice: God's soldiers are the billowing waves of the Red Sea, whose retreat swells the shores of Ethiopia, Egypt, and Arabia, and the winds whose exhalation releases the gathered waters.⁸² But whether nature behaves normally (*assiduo spirantes agmine venti aërios repelent tractus*) or abnormally (*maris undisoni longo sinuata recessu*), her prodigies are signs to God's elect (*suum populum promissa ad regna vocatum*), showing them the road they must take (*monstrata sequi fatique viaeque signa*). Moreover, these *signa* are enduring monuments of "divine triumph" and "secret salvation" (*arcanaeque monumenta salutis*).⁸³ Plantin explains the reference to secret salvation by citing 1 Corinthians 10:6, Paul's account of the *figura facta* by which God communicated with the Israelites.⁸⁴ Their salvation, he notes in his gloss on the caption, was entirely comprised of mysteries and symbols of human salvation.⁸⁵ Guided

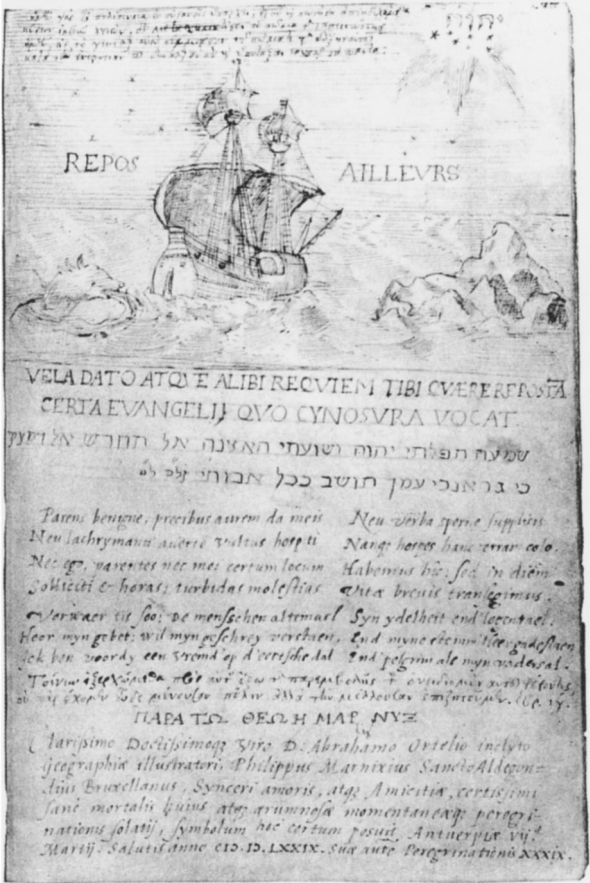


Fig. 19. Philip Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, *Repos ailleurs*, 1579, pen and ink, ca. 160 x 110 mm., in *Abrahami Ortelii album amicorum*, 1574–96. Cambridge, Pembroke College.

by signs, their pilgrimage itself adumbrates the liberty of spirit that abrogates the law, as the *Exitus ex Aegypto* has shown.

The *Israëliitarum Iordanem transeuntium* (fig. 17) depicts the pilgrims receiving their reward for having discerned the signs of God's will. The image shows the crossing of the river Jordan by the Israelites, who gather stones for a monument to God's miraculous parting of the waters. Joshua and Caleb, the only members of their generation to have reached Canaan, stand on a headland in the middle distance. The caption describes the crossing as "the fruit of constancy" (*constantiae fructus*), a reference to Joshua and Caleb's unswerving trust in God, their firm conviction that he had guided his people in all their "going through the great wilderness."⁸⁶ The dedication pays homage to "the faithful God" (*fideli Deo s.*), while the epigram states that only those who have heeded his benign admonitions will possess a fatherland.⁸⁷ Plantin interprets these texts by citing Hebrews 2:2 and 3, Paul's warning that just as the generation of Moses fell in the wilderness, having rebelled against God, so the

sinner who betrays his faith in Christ will never find his rest.⁸⁸ The ode underscores the theme of constancy, declaring that the faithful must persevere in the journey mandated by God (*quamque contento repetenda cursu munera dia*) if they are to obtain the kingdom of peace (*quietis regna beatae*).⁸⁹

The *Terrae distributae* (fig. 18) depicts the fulfillment of God's promise to those who journey in his name. Heeding the argument of the previous *monumenta*, they will embark with alacrity, trust firmly in God's promises, and regard his signs. The image illustrates Joshua 18:2–10: encamped at Shiloh, Joshua summons representatives of the seven tribes who had yet to receive land, charging them to “set out and go up and down the land, writing a description of it with a view to their inheritances.”⁹⁰ The men return to Joshua, having “set down in a book a description of [the land] by towns in seven divisions,” and on this basis he apports lots to the seven tribes who must conquer their allotted lands.⁹¹ Montanus portrays the book as a large map, subdivided into the seven territories distributed by Joshua, who instructs a scribe to demarcate them with dotted lines. Dedicated “to the powerful and true God” (*Deo veraci potenti s.*), the scene is captioned “the result of perseverance” (*perseverantiae exitus*), while the epigram asks, “Who but the man who believed and strove should declare that so much could be so quickly subdued?”⁹² Plantin cites two scriptural passages that bear on the caption.⁹³ In Matthew 10:22 Christ sends forth his twelve disciples to journey through Palestine spreading the gospel; he compares them to soldiers who put the land to the sword, thus implying that he is like Joshua who despatched the Israelites to conquer Canaan. In 2 Timothy 2:5 Paul admonishes his disciple to endure in Christian mission like a good soldier on a campaign. God's mercy and truth await the traveler at journey's end, Plantin asseverates in his paraphrase of Psalm 24:10 and Isaiah 55:10 that expounds the dedication.⁹⁴ The ode sings the praises of the divine judge, whose counsel no mortal powers can withstand: his astonished followers are made lords of kingdoms that are conquered even before they can be surveyed by the eyes.⁹⁵

This conceit of a conquest faster than sight articulates with the scene in the image that shows Joshua and the tribal elders viewing a map of Canaan before embarking to subdue it. The map represents the promised land they are destined to possess, and as such, it is one of the *signa arcanae salutis*, invoked in the *Maris rubri*, by which God signals his designs to the faithful (fig. 16). The map records the itinerary of the men sent by Joshua to survey the land, and that

itinerary demarcates their inheritance, the *constantiae fructus* that goes to those who persevere in their divinely sanctioned journey. The map also figures the themes set forth in the ode—the power of divine counsel to guide the pilgrim and the bounty of divine mercy and truth that awaits him at his destination. These themes resonate in both the Old and New Testaments, as Montanus's poetic paraphrases and Plantin's annotations indicate, so that the map functions, too, as an *exemplum evangelii*. Finally, it depicts the goal toward which the Israelites have processed in the previous three *monumenta*, the *perseverantiae exitus* that is their divinely mandated vocation. Montanus offered Ortelius an example of the way that a map of the Holy Land could engage the rich thematic of pilgrimage. He afforded a *copia* of verbal and visual conceits, not least the representation of the map as an image in an image, that must underlie the emphatically pictorial map in Ortelius's *Abrahami Patriarchae peregrinatio* (fig. 10). And he showed how images of sacred history executed by “the most experienced designers . . . and engravers” (*exercitatisimis pictoribus, et tabellarum . . . caelatoribus*), combined with captions, inscriptions, and other kinds of learned text, could serve to promote good letters and sacred theology by calling upon learned men to meditate on sacred journeys.⁹⁶

Who were the learned men to whom Ortelius hoped to appeal? In closing, let us examine three of his friends, all signatories of his *Album amicorum*. Michael van der Hagen, *custos* (warden) at the archducal court in Brussels, supplied one of the poems that preface the *Parergon*. He pays homage to the divinely inspired Ortelius (*entheum*) who, being a microcosm created by divine artifice (*parvus quasi mundus . . . mirandi fabrica tanta Dei*), yet encompasses the whole world in this volume (*terrarum maximus orbis a te comprehendi*), having subdued its changes to his divine ingenuity (*divino ingenio*).⁹⁷ The repeated use of the term “divine” acknowledges the religious aspect of the *Parergon*, which opens with the five sacred maps.

Georg Braun, the celebrated co-author of the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, theologian, archdeacon of Dortmund, and dean of the cathedral chapter of Cologne, examines the topographical function of *peregrinatio* in his preface to the third volume of the *Civitates* (1581).⁹⁸ He begins by asserting that journeys made for the purpose of art and virtue are entirely praiseworthy.⁹⁹ The topographer's art consists of verbal and visual records of such journeys (*urbium and oppidorum delineationes and enarrationes*) that complement cosmographical works such as Ortelius's *Theatrum*.¹⁰⁰ The *Civitates* in particular can prepare travelers to familiarize themselves with places they plan to visit, and, further, can ensure that they

come to know these places more amply and precisely. Indeed, so powerful is the knowledge of place instilled by the topographer, that he transforms the *peregrinus* into an *hospes* (native), imbuing the foreigner with all the privileged information held by the local inhabitant. Braun gives the example of Franciscus Dumsdorffius who, having consulted the *Civitates*, seemed as knowledgeable of Cologne as any citizen, even on his first visit.¹⁰¹ Braun, who considered the history of religion an essential component of topographical study, testifies to the power of the mapped *peregrinatio* to engage the reader-viewer, to set him traveling to unknown places that become as familiar as home.¹⁰²

Philip Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde, author, diplomat, soldier, and Protestant polemicist, responds to Ortelius's handling of the pilgrimage theme in his heartfelt contribution to the *Album amicorum* (fig. 19). Like the other signatories, he praises Ortelius's accomplishments as geographer, but he evokes the sacred maps from the *Parergon*.¹⁰³ The emblematic page includes the image of a ship on a turbulent sea navigating toward God, portrayed by the radiant Hebrew letters for Adonai, in whom rests the storm-tossed vessel's repose. The polyglot text consists of a series of prayers that aver that true rest can be found only in Christ and his gospel, whose help Marnix entreats as a voyager on this earth without fixed abode (*lachrymanti hospiti*).¹⁰⁴ He further characterizes himself as a stranger on this earth (*een vremd' op d'eertsche dal*) and pilgrim like all his forebears (*end' pelgrim als myn vaders al*).¹⁰⁵ Marnix emblemizes the figure of pilgrimage, turning it into an elaborate *impresa* of his life's vocation as suppliant and ratifying the message of Hebrews 11:13–16 and 13:14. Although Marnix was a staunch Calvinist, his reference to himself as pilgrim in a prayer text was not strictly denominational. In a standard Catholic handbook on prayer, Franciscus Costerus's *Libellus Sodalitatis: Hoc est, Christianarum institutionum libri quinque* (*Little Book of Sodality: That is, Five Books of Christian Institutes*) of 1588, the first step to composing oneself for meditative prayer is to imagine that one is a pilgrim (*peregrinus*); the things of this world to which we are so attached become as if the mere incidentals encountered at a roadside inn where the pilgrim stops on his way (*rebus diversorij, in quo una nocte versatur*).¹⁰⁶ Having organized his sacred maps as *peregrinationes*, Ortelius designed them with a view to both Catholics and Protestants, whom he invites to consider how all men of God are "strangers and exiles on the earth."

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Notes

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1. On the *Theatrum*, see E. Brandmair, *Bibliographische Untersuchungen über Entstehung und Entwicklung des Ortelianischen Kartenwerkes* (Munich, 1914); R. V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers* (London, 1952; reprint ed., 1962), 29–30; C. Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius and his Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Lausanne, 1964); L. Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, R. A. Skelton, ed., D. L. Paisey, trans. (London, 1966; reprint ed., Chicago, 1985), 179–80; W. Waterschoot, "The Title Page of Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum*," *Quaerendo*, 9 (1979), 43–68; P. H. Meurer, *Fontes cartographici Orteliani: Das "Theatrum orbis terrarum" von Abraham Ortelius und seine Kartenquellen* (Weinheim, 1991); R. W. Karrow, Jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570* (Chicago, 1993), 1–31; and M. P. R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps: An Illustrated Guide* (Westrenen, 't Goy, 1996). On the *Parergon*, see Brandmair, *Untersuchungen*, 152–56; C. Koeman, *Allantes neerlandici: Bibliography of Terrestrial, Maritime and Celestial Atlases and Pilot Books Published in the Netherlands up to 1880*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam, 1967–72; vol. 6, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1985), 3: 69–70; B. Vuylsteke, "Het Theatrum orbis terrarum van Abraham Ortelius (1595): Een onderzoek van de decoratie en haar bronnen," in H. van der Haegen et al., eds., *Oude kaarten en plattegronden: Bronnen voor de historische geografie van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Brussels, 1986), 363–80; Meurer, *Fontes Orteliani*, 21–24; Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 16, 18–22, 24–26; W. A. Goffart, "Breaking the Ortelian Pattern: Historical Atlases with a New Program, 1747–1830," in J. Winearls, ed., *Editing Early and Historical Atlases* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1995), 49–81, esp. 49–50; and Van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 17–20, 229–89.
2. On the *Addimenta*, see Meurer, *Fontes Orteliani*, 28–29, 32–34; and Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 10, 14–16, 20–25.
3. The 1598 French edition was the last to be edited by Ortelius himself. I have consulted the 1601 Latin edition, which contains the full complement of sacred maps gathered as a set according to Ortelius's instructions (see note 41 below); see Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum Abrahami Ortelii. Quod ante extremum vitae suae diem, postremum recensuit, novis tabulis et commentarijs auxit atque illustravit*. (Antwerp, 1598; reprint ed., 1601). Further references to the *Theatrum* and *Parergon* are to this edition, on which, see Meurer, *Fontes Orteliani*, 29, 33; and Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 26.
4. B. Arias Montanus, *Humanae salutis monumenta B. Ariae Montani studio constructa et decantata* (Antwerp, 1571). On the *Monumenta*, see L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses: The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1969), 1: 69; M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1978–83), 3, part 1: 438–65, nos. 2172–2226; Voet, *The Plantin Press: A Bibliography of the Work Printed and Published by Christophe Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam, 1980–83), 1: 182–88, nos. 588–90; S. Hänsel, *Der spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) und die Kunst* (Münster, 1991), 68–90; and W. S. Melion, "Ego enim quasi obdormivi: Salvation and Blessed Sleep in Philip Galle's *Death of the Virgin* after Pieter Bruegel," *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 47 (1996), 15–53, esp. 36–41.
5. On Sgrothen, see Meurer, *Fontes Orteliani*, 237–40, esp. 239. The 1592 edition of the *Theatrum* contained the *Typus . . . Iudae et Israhel*, the *Peregrinationis divi Pauli*, the second version of the *Palestinae . . . nova descriptio*, and both versions of the *Abrahami Patriarchae peregrinatio*; see Van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 232, no. 180; 233, no. 181; 222, no. 171; and 234, nos. 182–83.

6. On the *Synonymia*, see Meurer, *Fontes Orteliani*, 19–20; and Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 14, 25.

7. Quoted from Stella's map of the Exodus, *Itinera Israelitarum ex Aegypto loca et insignia miracula diversorum locorum et patefactionum divinarum descripta* (Wittenberg, 1557). On Stella, see Meurer, *Fontes Orteliani*, 244–47, esp. 245; and Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 500–509, esp. 501.

8. On the term *parergon*, see E. H. Gombrich, *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1966; reprint ed., Chicago, 1985), 107–21, 148–51, esp. 114–15.

9. On the term *landschap*, see J. Müller Hofstede, "Zur Interpretation von Pieter Bruegel's Landschaft: Ästhetischer Landschaftsbegriff und Stoische Weltbetrachtung," in O. von Simson and M. Winner, eds., *Pieter Bruegel und seine Welt* (Berlin, 1979), 73–142, esp. 120–21, 128–29. On the criteria applied to landscape viewing, see *ibid.*, 123–27; and W. S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago and London, 1991), 11–12, 175–76.

10. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fol. aj recto: "Historiae oculus geographia." Fol. aj verso: "A sacris itaque auspicandum hunc nostrum laborem ducimus."

11. Ortelius, *Theatrum*, [unfoliated] iv recto: "quam necessaria sit ad eas recte intelligendas, geographiae . . . cognitio."

12. *Ibid.*: "tum potissimum in Regum, Imperatorumque expeditionibus, in diversis gentium migrationibus, et in clarissimorum virorum diversarum Regionum perlustrationibus, peregrinationibusque."

13. *Ibid.*: "quaecumque leguntur, tabulis his quasi rerum quibusdam speculis nobis ante oculos collocatis, memoriae multo diutius inhaerent."

14. *Ibid.*: "Quae cum ita sint, quantopere impediuntur, retineanturque, imo retrahantur etiam saepe in ipso cursu, historiarum studiosi, facile est videre, cum vel omnes Regionum descriptiones non possint haberi."

15. *Ibid.*: [unfoliated] fol. iv verso-v recto.

16. *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, B. Fischer et al., eds. (Stuttgart, 1969; reprint ed., 1994). Further biblical references are to this edition, unless otherwise noted.

17. *Ibid.*, Ad Hebraeos 11:14 and 16: "se patriam inquirere . . . nunc autem meliorem appetunt id est caelestem."

18. On this map, which replaced the versions of ca. 1570 and 1586 and was first published in 1589, see Van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 43, no. 3.

19. Müller Hofstede, "Ästhetischer Landschaftsbegriff," 129–37.

20. "Quid ei potest videri magnum in rebus humanis, cui aeternitas omnis, totiusque mundi nota sit magnitudo." On this passage, see *ibid.*, 131–32.

21. "Hoc est [illud] punctum, quod inter tot gentes ferro et igne dividitur. O quam ridiculi sunt mortalium termini." On this passage, see *ibid.*, 132–33.

22. "Utinam quemadmodum universa mundi facies in conspectum venit, ita philosophia tota nobis posset occurrere." On this passage, see *ibid.*

23. "Homines enim [sunt] hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum, quem in hoc templo medium vides, quae terra dicitur." On this passage, see *ibid.*, 133–34.

24. "Equus vehendi causa, arandi bos, venandi et custodiendi canis, homo autem ortus ad mundum contemplandum." On this passage, see *ibid.*

25. E. Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, W. R. Trask, trans. (Princeton, 1953; reprint ed., 1973), 138–44; G. Mangani, *Il "mondo" di Abramo Ortelio: Misticismo, geografia e collezionismo nel Rinascimento dei Paesi Bassi* (Ferrara, 1998), 38–84.

26. On Epictetus, see *ibid.*, 39, 41.

27. On Chrysostom, see *ibid.*, 40.

28. On Plotinus, see *ibid.*, 40–41.

29. On Lucretius, see *ibid.*, 38, 42.

30. On these specular voyages, undertaken in the cause of peace, see Melion, *Netherlandish Canon*, 174–77; and Mangani, "Mondo" di Abramo Ortelio, 234–42.

31. See J. Puraye, ed., *Album amicorum Abraham Ortelius* (Amsterdam, 1969), 64–67, fols. 83r–83v: "Tam mihi nunc videor catharactas scandere Nerei;/ Pandere iam fontes abdite Nile tuos:/ Te ductore ferox, cuius dum copia fiat,/ Haud fugiam Arctois credere corpus aequis;/ . . . / Vel (Nova qua Cronium trans mare Zemla iacet)/ Ad Gangem affectare viam, Bacchique Columnas;/ Per Tabin, et Scythici littoris Oceanum;/ Et tua ad extremos vestigia persequar Indos,/ Ipse meae tantum sis Cynosura rati:/ . . . / Ni magis Occiduos visere cura tibi est./ Huc quoque me sectae rapiunt talaribus aerae;/ Nec metum infames Halcyonium scopulos;/ Tecum ego Canibalum mensas securus obibo;/ Tecum desertae littora Brasiliae;/ . . . /Hinc per Pacificum velis audacibus aequor/ Ire Novae Guineae finibus ulterius;/ Haud casiam, costumque, et odoramenta parave;/ Cum caryophyllo, cum nuce aromatica;/ (Cuius apud diles minima est iactura Moluccas);/ Finitimamve Iavae visere Taprobanam; Aut Pornem, praeter Pacem nullius avaram;/ Hei, cur non illo Lar datus orbe mihi?/ Littorei tumuli, ac Batavae valeatis arenae;/ Et genio, et patrio condita rura Lari;/ . . . / Quid mihi cum Belgis? Gangis fieri accola malo;/ Aut, ubi Libra ustos despicit Aethyopas;/ . . . / Gratia, Abrame, tibi: tu nos volitare per orbem."

32. *Ibid.*, fol. 84r: "O bene, quod brevibus immensum hoc omne tabellis/ Emensum ductu iam licet ire tuo;/ Securi licet hic terris iactemur, et alto:/ . . . / Vos igitur, quotquot posituram discere mundi,/ Et mores hominum nosse cupido tenet;/ Nil opus, ut toties caeli mutetis amictum;/ Aut pinu ignotas sollicitetis aquas;/ Ortelicae tantum scenae lustrate Theatrum. / Hactenus est tutum; caetera caeca via est;/ . . . / Macte fidem . . . : / Et quaeras ipsam tu, licet, Utopiam/ Invenies."

33. R. L. Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir: Landscape as an Image of the Pilgrimage of Life* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1988), 72, 76–81, 85–90.

34. On the *Rest on the Flight*, see *ibid.*, 16–51, 64–65, 97–103; and W. S. Gibson, "Mirror of the Earth": *The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, 1989), 5, 9, 13.

35. On this meditative text, see Falkenburg, *Patinir*, 98–103.

36. On the *Hieronymus in Deserto*, see L. Lebeer, *Catalogue raisonné des estampes de Bruegel l'ancien* (Brussels, 1969), 29–33, 34, no. 2; on the *Magdalena Penitens*, 29–33, 38, no. 3. On the *Great Landscapes*, see Müller Hofstede, "Ästhetischer Landschaftsbegriff," 116–27; and C. Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, 1994), 17–33.

37. On *evagatio*, see M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998), 77; on *curiositas*, 82–84. On rhetorical *ductus*, 77–81, 116–17.

38. *Ibid.*, 80–81.

39. On *sollicitudo*, see *ibid.*, 99–101. On pilgrimage and, specifically, the journey to Jerusalem as a meditative scheme based in the art of memory, see *ibid.*, 40–44.

40. On Ortelius's cordiform world map, see R. W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700* (London 1984; reprint ed., 1987), 130–33, no. 114; Meurer, *Fontes Orteliani*, 20; Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 2; and Mangani, "Mondo" di Abramo Ortelio, 255–56. On the emblematic significance of the cordiform projection, see *ibid.*, 247–74.

41. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fol. j recto: “*Possumt autem haec peti ex tabulis, quas huic subiunximus, duabus Tilemanni Stellae, et tertia quae Peregrinatio D. Pauli inscribitur, quartaque quae Abrahami Patriarchae.*” Although two of these maps (*Abrahami Patriarchae peregrinatio* and *Typus . . . Iudae et Israel*) are absent from the 1598 edition, this passage indicates that Ortelius considered them a set. They were published together in the Latin editions of 1592 and 1595 (see note 5 above) and with the *Geographia Sacra* in the 1601 Latin edition; see Van den Broecke, 222–23, no. 172; 230, no. 178; 232, no. 180; 233, no. 181; and 234–35, nos. 182–83.

42. Ortelius, *Theatrum*, fols. 111v-facing [unfoliated] recto; see Van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 224, no. 173.

43. Ortelius, *Theatrum*, fol. 111r.

44. On Ortelius and the Knights of Malta, see G. Denhaene, “Un témoignage de l’intérêt des humanistes flamands pour les gravures italiennes: Une lettre de Philippe van Winghe à Abraham Ortelius,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 62 (1992), 85, 94–95, 125–26.

45. Ortelius, *Theatrum*, fol. 111r: “*et sicuti ipse de minori gradu ad novum militarem provehatur honorem, ita veterem hominem deponens cum actibus suis novum induat hominem, ut te timeat et recte colat, perfidorum consortia vitet, et suam in proximum charitatem extendat, praeposito suo in omnibus recte obediat, et suum in cunctis iuste officium exequatur.*”

46. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fols. j verso-facing [unfoliated] recto; on the versions of this map, Van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 230–31, nos. 178–79.

47. *Ibid.*, fol. j recto.

48. “*Domini est terra et plenitudo orbis terrarum et universi qui habitant in eo.*”

49. “*Mare positum est in spaciolo loco, ut esset altum et immensum.*”

50. *Liber IIII Ezrae* 7:3.

51. *Ibid.*, 7:3–9.

52. *Ibid.*, 7:10–16, 19–24.

53. *Ibid.*, 7:25–44, 70–74.

54. 2 Esdras 7:96 in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, H. G. May and B. M. Metzger, eds. (New York, 1962; reprint ed., 1977). *Liber IIII Ezrae* 7:96: “*adhuc autem videntes angustum et labore plenum quo iam liberati sunt et spatiosum incipiunt recipere, frutescentes et immortales.*”

55. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fols. v verso-facing [unfoliated] recto. On the two versions of this map, see Van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 234–35, nos. 182–83; see also Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Estampes des Wierix*, 3, part 1: 486–87.

56. Hebrews 11:8 in *New Oxford Annotated Bible; Ad Hebraeos* 11:8: “*fide qui vocatur Abraham oboedivit in locum exire quem accepturus erat in hereditatem et exiit nesciens quo iret.*”

57. “*Abraham egredere de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et veni in terram quam monstravero tibi. Et dabo tibi, et semini tuo post te, terram peregrinationis tuae, omnem terram chanaan, in possessionem aeternam.*”

58. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fol. v recto.

59. *Ibid.*: “*His rebus gestis, apparuit illi iterum Deus, promittitque prolem haeredem, et inde progeniem, instar caeli stellarum, et maris arenarum, numerosam. . . . et exploratum habens, eum [i.e., Deum] qui promisisset, etiam praestare posse, contra spem spe credidit, eique iustitiae reputatum fuit. Atque in veritatis testimonium, vitulum . . . dissecuit.*”

60. Hebrews 11:13 in *New Oxford Annotated Bible; Ad Hebraeos* 11:13: “*iuxta fidem defuncti sunt omnes isti non acceptis repromissionibus sed a longe eas aspicientes et salutantes et confidentes quia peregrini et hospites sunt supra terram.*”

61. 2 Esdras 7:16, 26 in *New Oxford Annotated Bible; Liber IIII Ezrae* 7:16, 26: “*Et quare non accepisti in corde tuo quod futurum, sed quod in praesenti? . . . Ecce enim tempus veniet, et erit quando venient signa quae praedixi tibi, et apparebit sponsa et apparens civitas et ostendetur quae nun subducitur terra.*”

62. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fols. iiij verso-facing [unfoliated] recto; see Van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 233, no. 181.

63. “*Quoniam igitur scimus et persuasum habemus, quod quamdiu in corpore habitamus, peregrinamur a Domino; per fidem enim ambulamus, et non per visum; propterea confidimus et peroptamus peregrinari a corpore, et esse apud Dominum nostrum. Satagimus autem sive peregrini sumus, sive incolae, ut illi placeamus.*” *Ad Corinthios II*: “*scientes quoniam dum sumus in corpore peregrinamur a Domino, per fidem enim ambulamus et non per speciem, audemus autem et bonam voluntatem habemus magis peregrinari a corpore et praesentes esse ad Deum, et ideo contendimus sive absentes sive praesentes placere illi.*”

64. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fol. iiij recto.

65. *Actus Apostolorum* 15:12: “*tacuit autem omnis multitudo et audiebant Barnaban et Paulum narrantes quanta fecisset Deus signa et prodigia in gentibus per eos.*”

66. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fols. ij verso-facing [unfoliated] recto. Based on Stella’s map of the Exodus and originally part of the *Theatrum*, the *Palestinae . . . nova descriptio* was re-engraved and moved to the *Parergon* in 1595; see Meurer, *Fontes Orteliani*, 22; Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 25; and, on the three versions of this map published between 1570 and 1595, see Van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 221–23, nos. 170–72.

67. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fols. iij verso-facing [unfoliated] recto; see van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 232, no. 180.

68. Ortelius, *Parergon*, fol. iij recto; the reference is to Genesis 21:22–32.

69. *Ibid.*, fol. ij recto.

70. “*Dominus Deus tuus introducet te in terram bonam, terram rivorum aquarumque et fontium, in cuius campis et montibus erumpunt fluviorum abyssi. Terram frumenti, ordeï, ac vinearum, in qua ficus et malogranata et oliveta nascuntur terram olei ac mellis. Ubi absque ulla penuria comedes panem tuum, et rerum omnium abundantia perfrueris.*”

71. On the commonplace book and its system of headings, see A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996), 101–214.

72. Deuteronomy 10:16 in *New Oxford Annotated Bible. Liber Deuteronomii* 10:16: “*Circumdile igitur praepitium cordis vestri et cervicem vestram ne induretis amplius.*”

73. *Ibid.*, 10:19.

74. On the Polyglot Bible project, see B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)* (London and Leiden, 1972), 45–69; and Hänsel, *Montano und die Kunst*, 24–53. On Montanus and Ortelius, see Rekers, 72, 74–76, 81, 98, 100, 120–21. Ortelius’s *Album amicorum* includes an entry by Montanus; see Puraye, ed., *Album amicorum*, 24, fols. 16v–17r.

75. On the architectonic and poetic genera, see the publisher’s second preface: “*Christophorus Plantinus lectori s.,*” in Montanus, *Monumenta*, 2. On this passage, see Hänsel, *Montano und die Kunst*, 76–77; and Melion, “*Galle’s Death of the Virgin,*” 37–38. On the engravers of the *Monumenta*, Hänsel, 69.

76. On the compound status of the *Monumenta*, see *ibid.*, 75–77; and Melion, “Galle’s Death of the Virgin,” 38 and 52, n. 116.

77. “*Nil non posse datum iis quorum pietasque fidesque! Prompta sequi cedit, qua vocat usque Deus.*”

78. Plantin, “Tabul. XIII. Argum.,” in Montanus, *Monumenta*, 8.

79. Plantin, “Dedicatio,” in *ibid.*

80. Montanus, “In tabulam exitus ex Aegypto. Ode dicolos distrophos. XIII.,” in *Monumenta*: “*Maturate laboribus/ Exire, atque humili servitij domo./ . . . / Summi consilium Dei/ Vos iam magnificis tollite laudibus/ Faustas spes hilares capite/ Et sentite, fluant et levius dies.*” On this ode, see Plantin, “Odae XIII. Argum.,” in *ibid.*, 8.

81. “*Queis voluit prodesse Deus, Natura benigna est! Omnis, at ultricem fert inimica cohors.*”

82. Montanus, “In tabulam maris rubri. Hymnus hexameter XIII.,” in *ibid.*: “*Qua maris undisoni longo sinuata recessu/ Littora, diductas propulsant margine rubro./ Illic Aethiopum terras, Nilique vagantur/ Irriguos campos; Arabum spirantia thure/ Arua bono, et gemmis illinc palmisque decora./ Divini praefixa olim monumenta triumpho/ Perpetuo stabilita manent, semperque manebunt./ Dum lux, dum caelo constant radiantia puro/ Sidera; et assiduo spirantes agmine venti/ Aërios repetent tractus, pelagoque tument/ Constabunt liquidas non irrita iura per undas./ His etenim populos quondam saevumque tyrannum./ . . . / Militibus Deus evertit, furibundaque fudit/ Consilia . . . / Contento studio summis et viribus ausos/ Iudicium temerare Patris, cui maxima mundi/ Corpora concordia parent variantia lege.*”

83. *Ibid.*: “*Signa, revertentes grate memoranda per annos./ . . . / Liberaque exultat plebes, laudatque potentis/ Acta Dei, arcanaeque canit monumenta salutis.*”

84. Plantin, “Tabul. XIII. Argum.,” in *ibid.*, 8–9.

85. *Ibid.*

86. *Liber Deuteronomii* 2:7: “*novit iter tuum quomodo transieris solitudinem hanc magnam.*”

87. “*Felix qui monitisque Dei verbisque benigni/ Audiit, ille sacrae compos erit patriae.*”

88. Plantin, “In Tab. XVI. [sic] Argum.” and “Dedicatio,” in Montanus, *Monumenta*, 9–10; see *Ad Hebraeos* 2:2–3 and 3:7–19.

89. Montanus, “In tabulam Israëliitarum Iordanem transeuntium. Ode sapphica XVII.,” in *Monumenta*: “*Tunc probat sortis memor et prioris/ Digna quam multis fuerint periculis/ Quamque contento repetenda cursu/ Munera dia./ Sic et Aegypti miseris redempta Vinculis felix manus, advocanti et/ Osequens verbo, tenuit quietis/ Regna beatae./ Hinc inaccessos trepidare montes/ Hinc opes visa est solito prioris/ Largius turbae venienti in usum/ Fundere tellus.*”

90. Joshua 18:4 in *New Oxford Annotated Bible*; *Liber Iosue* 18:4: “*ut mittam eos et pergant atque circumeant terram, et describant eam iuxta numerum uniuscuiusque multitudinis.*”

91. Joshua 18:9–10 in *New Oxford Annotated Bible*; *Liber Iosue* 18:9–10: “*ustrantes eam in septem partes diviserunt scribentes in volumine . . . divisitque terram filiis Israel in septem partes.*”

92. “*Quis tam multa brevi dicat potuisse comari/ Tempore, vir nisi qui credidit et studuit?*”

93. Plantin, “Tabul. XIX. Argum.,” in Montanus, *Monumenta*, 10–11.

94. *Ibid.*, 11.

95. Montanus, “In tabulam terrae distributae. Ode tricolos tetrastrophos. XIX.,” in *ibid.*: “*Haec ipse nullis indigus arbitri/ Novo colono dividit, et bonos/ Commendat exercere in usus/ Non propriae referenda laudi./ Valde stupenti tam cito plurimum/ Cessisse regnorum imperium sibi./ Et ante quam possent obiri/ Cuncta oculis, potuisse vinci.*”

96. See Plantin’s first preface, “Christophorus Plantinus lectori s.,” in *ibid.*, [unfoliated] 3r: “*adhibitis ad eam rem exercitissimis pictoribus, et tabellarum, quibus sacrae historiae aptissime repraesentantur, caelatoribus, summis laboribus, ac sumptibus, quibus profecto, hac potissimum in parte, ut videre est, non peperimus.*” On this preface, see Hänsel, *Montano und die Kunst*, 76–79; and Melion, “Galle’s Death of the Virgin,” 36–37.

97. “Ad Abrahamum Ortelium entheum geographorum principem, Michaelis Vander Hagen Antverpiani epigramma,” in Ortelius, *Parergon*, [unfoliated] aj verso: “*Orteli cum sis parvus quasi mundus, ut omnis/ Est homo, mirandi fabrica tanta Dei/ Miramur merito, terrarum Maximus Orbis/ A te comprehendi qua ratione queat/ Omnes tu mundos complecteris hosce minores/ Caelum ipsum capit haec enthea mensque tua/ Et miramur adhuc, te immensa volumina Mundi/ Divino ingenio supposuisse tuo?*” On Van der Hagen, see Puraye, ed., *Album amicorum*, 26; his entry appears on fol. 20r–v.

98. “Georgius Bruin, Agrippinas, benevolis lectoribus s. d. Praefatio,” in G. Braun and F. Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum liber tertius* (Cologne, 1581), [unfoliated] 2r–3r. On Braun, see Puraye, ed., *Album amicorum*, 76–77; his entry appears on fol. 99r.

99. Braun, “Praefatio,” in *idem* and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, [unfoliated] 2r: “*Peregrinationem, lectores benevoli, quae non lucri, cum negotiatoribus, sed artium ac virtutum causa, suscipitur, permagna, ad sapientiam, ad rerum usum et experientiam, adiumenta praebere, nemo est, qui unquam negabit.*”

100. *Ibid.*: “*Ut nimirum, nunquam satis laudato, Cosmographico Abrahami Ortelij Theatro, quo iam pridem ipse tam Belgis suis, quam exteris etiam nationibus innotuit, Topographicas Urbium et oppidorum delineationes coniungerem, eo, quod argumentum hoc nostrum; cum Geographia tam arcta sit societate coniunctum, ut nova quadam, et mutua eam luce perfundat. . . . Id Topographus, separata certarum mundi partium, puta urbium, oppidorum, insularum . . . etc. enarratione, historice explicat, et spectantium oculis, quasi oppidum, aut locum ipsum coram intuerentur, proponit.*”

101. *Ibid.*, [unfoliated] 2v: “*D. Franciscus Dumsdorffius, non maiorum tantum imaginibus, sed scientiarum etiam, virtutumque splendoribus, vere nobilis . . . ad Ubiorum Metropolin Agrippinam Coloniae quam nunquam ante viderat, animi gratia, deveniens, ea, quae exteris ad urbis commendationem exhiberi, et visu iucunda esse solent, iam annotata, et quasi sibi perspecta habens, designare potuerit, ut mihi non peregrinus, sed notus in patria hospes, videretur.*”

102. On religion and geography, see “Georgius Bruin, Agrippinas, candido lectori s. d. Praefatio,” in Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum liber secundus* (Cologne, 1575), [unfoliated] 4r–5v.

103. See Puraye, ed., *Album amicorum*, fol. 42r; on Marnix, 39.

104. *Ibid.*, fol. 42r: “*Parens benigne, precibus aurem da meis/ Neu lachrymantis avertit vultus hospitil/ Nec ego, parentes nec mei certum locum/ Solliciti et horas; turbidas molestias/ Neu verba sperne supplicis/ Nanque [sic] hospes hanc terram colo.*”

105. *Ibid.*: “*’Ick ben voordy een vremd’ op d’eertsche dal/ End’ pelgrim als myn vaders al.*”

106. *Libellus Sodalitatis* (Antwerp, 1588), 73: “*Primum est, ut cor atque animum suum rebus nullis huius mundi apponat, sed iis utatur, ut peregrinus rebus diversorij, in quo una nocte versatur.*” In support of this device, marshalled to check the onset of *evagatio*, Costerus paraphrases 1 Corinthians 7:29–31: “*Reliquum est, ut qui habent uxores, tanquam non habentes sint; et qui emunt, tanquam non possidentes; et qui utuntur hoc mundo, tanquam non utantur.*” On Costerus, see A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1926–28), 2:324–25.

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Luxury and Calvinism/Luxury and Capitalism: Supply and Demand for Luxury Goods in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

Jan de Vries

This article offers an interpretation of luxury consumption in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. The traditional concept of luxury emphasized its moral and social dangers. This remained influential in the Dutch Republic, but economic development brought with it new forms of consumption: a "New Luxury" emerged to stand beside the traditional "Old Luxury." Practice changed in advance of theory, and a new, more positive, understanding of the role of luxury consumption emerged only later. The article closes by considering the limits to the Dutch development of a consumer society, and to the special role played by the city of Utrecht in this development.

Luxury was a "hot button" topic in Early Modern Europe. In an economy where the toil of millions of peasants supported—usually through coercive means—the privileged classes of temporal and spiritual rulers, warriors, churchmen, and landowners, it was the desire for luxury among those groups that was very nearly the sole support for the craftsmen, artists, and performers who produced the non-quotidian goods and services of society. This sector, usually resident in cities, was not so much a "middle class" standing between the elites and the peasantry as it was a dependent class, a creature of the elites and of the institutions that sustained their inordinate hold on society's meager surpluses. It was luxury production that supplied the elites with the markers of their status and authority, and that established the definitions of refined taste and elegant design. In short, luxury production was the material embodiment of high culture: the fitness for rule of Europe's traditional rulers was visibly justified by their patronage of the suppliers of luxurious goods and services.

Luxury was associated with power, but at the same time the consumption of luxury was universally understood to be fraught with moral danger. Terrible vices, including most of the seven deadly sins, were implicated in it: gluttony, lust, avarice, malice, anger, greed, vanity, sloth, pride. Only a thin line separated

the noble patron of the arts from the vain, prideful self-aggrandizer; the refined palate easily slid into gluttony; the admiration of a fine garment easily turned to lust. The pursuit of luxury could bankrupt one's family, undermine one's health, and submerge a healthy personality in debauchery.

Nor were the dangers of luxury purely personal. An elite given over to luxury set the stage for the downfall of the state, as the comforts and pleasures of a luxurious life left men unfit for military service and averse to taking the hard decisions needed to defend the state. The study of ancient history made these lessons accessible to every educated European. The "Dance to the Music of Time" led society through a seemingly unavoidable cycle leading from poverty via fortitude and hard work to riches, and from the luxury supplied by riches to decadence and back to poverty.

This rich complex of associations, between luxury and high culture and between luxury, personal decadence, and societal ruin, drew upon both the Christian and Classical traditions. It took shape in the pre-capitalist society of feudal Europe, when luxury was associated with—indeed, largely defined by—princely and episcopal courts. But even in later centuries, as a far more complex society, commercialized and urbanized, emerged in western Europe, the leading role of court culture in defining what "civilization" meant, via the cultivation of luxury, long remained dominant. In his influential study, *The Process of Civilization*, Norbert Elias presented civilization (polite manners, elevated tastes, etc.) as flowing, via emulation, from the princely courts to the aristocracy and gentry, and from them to the bourgeoisie.¹

Werner Sombart, in his *Luxury and Capitalism* of 1913, saw capitalism emerging not from frugality, savings, and investment (as Max Weber had it) but from luxury spending: a spending incited by the example of the court and by the "rule of women" in such environments, which led men into the reckless pursuit of sensuous



Fig. 1. The luxury still life was a popular genre, displaying every manner of costly food, drink, and decoration. Abraham van Beyeren, *Still-Life with a Lobster and Turkey*, ca. 1660, oil on canvas. Oxford: The Ashmolean Museum.

pleasure, all those things which “charm the eye, the ear, the nose, the palate, or the touch.”² In short, in these interpretations, the “Old Luxury” of the pre-capitalist society lives on to influence, perhaps even to shape, the more commercial society of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This type of luxury lives on today, most obviously in the high-fashion apparel and accessories of designers whose authority and influence is secured by the patronage of elite—preferably non-bourgeois elite—customers. It remains associated with ruinous expense and moral questions. Indeed, it would not impress us if these dangerous associations were absent.

There is another kind of luxury, let me call it the New Luxury, for which there was no place in the pre-capitalist economy, but which is dominant today. Rather than being defined by a royal court, it is generated by urban society. Rather than presenting a

coherent style and hegemonic cultural message, it consists of heterogeneous elements. The Old Luxury, striving for grandeur or exquisite refinement, could be emulated only by distinctly inferior adaptations, sometimes called “populuxe goods.” The New Luxury, striving more for comfort and enjoyment, lent itself to multiplication and diffusion. Where the Old Luxury served primarily as a marker, a means of discriminating between people, times, and places, the New Luxury served more to communicate cultural meaning, permitting reciprocal relations—a kind of sociability—among participants in consumption.³

The New Luxury was a product of the commercial and urban societies that Europe possessed by the sixteenth century and which grew in size and influence in the following centuries. Its promise and its dangers differed from those of the Old Luxury. The

New Luxury was accessible to a much larger portion of society, which created the potential for new dangers of social confusion and for the erosion of established hierarchies as diffusion and emulation subverted the marker function of luxury consumption. In response, governments repeatedly promulgated sumptuary laws regulating dress, but these could not restore the old patterns. Moreover, because the New Luxuries had a broader reach, their aggregate consumption supported larger groups of producers who formed significant industries. In many cases, the luxury products were imported, and on such a scale that they visibly affected the balance of trade. This attracted the attention of the state and the development of mercantilist doctrines, which linked luxury with imports, and imports with the shipment of gold and silver abroad to pay for the luxuries. A drain of coin abroad to pay for needless luxury, the theory went, struck directly at the economic health of the state. Thus, in the seventeenth century, the old arguments about the moral and social dangers of luxury came to be joined by new ones.

Luxury consumption had much to answer for, and yet, the experience of the most advanced economies of the time—and here is where the Dutch Republic comes into the picture—spurred a succession of philosophers from the 1690s to the 1770s to raise a fundamental challenge to the arguments against luxury I have just rehearsed, with their ancient pedigrees and godly endorsements.

The “great luxury debate” of the eighteenth century exercised some of the best minds of the time and led to the fundamental new insights in political economy of Adam Smith. At its heart was the new understanding, based on experience rather than theory, that consumer aspirations—the desire for luxury—formed a powerful wellspring of economic improvement. In fact, it led to what we would call economic development. In 1691 Sir Dudley North wrote, in his pamphlet *Discourses upon Trade*,

The main spur to trade, or rather to industry and ingenuity, is the exorbitant appetites of men, which they will take pains to gratify, and so be disposed to work, when nothing else will incline them to it; for did men content themselves with bare necessities, we should have a poor world.⁴

The “appetites of men,” aren’t these the seat of the vices: of lust and gluttony, pride and vanity? Could the unashamed indulgence in these vices lead to the social good of economic prosperity and growth? The Dutch emigrant to England, Bernard de Mandeville, argued precisely this in his scandalous poem of 1705,

The Fable of the Bees. He describes there a human society disguised as a beehive, in which the self-seeking, vain, envious, lustful behavior of individuals has the net effect of producing a productive, prosperous society.

The Root of evil Avarice
That damn’d ill-natured baneful Vice,
Was slave to Prodigality,
That Noble Sin; whilst Luxury
Employed a million of the poor
and odious Pride a million more.

He concludes:

Thus every part was full of Vice,
Yet the whole Mass a Paradise.

This is not the place to pursue the development of these new insights into the foundations of modern economics. What I want to do here is examine the place of luxury in the most advanced economy of the seventeenth century. The Dutch Republic shared with the rest of Europe the traditional views about luxury introduced above. But it was in the forefront of the development of the New Luxury. Since a new discourse of luxury came only after the end of the Dutch Golden Age, we are examining a time when, I will argue, a large gap opened between theory and practice, discourse and human behavior: what people thought about luxury and the practice of luxury consumption became two different things.

Besides the general European views on luxury, was Dutch society not also influenced by the specific message of Calvinism? For most people today, access to Calvin’s thought is mediated by Max Weber, or by a potted version of Weber’s argument in the *Protestant Ethic*. So it may not hurt to go directly to the source. A survey of Calvin’s observations on material goods and consumption in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* does not yield numerous fulminations against materialism and luxury. In fact, Calvin shared with the Christian Humanists of his age a “relativistic” view on the subject. In his discourse on Christian Liberty, Calvin writes: “Let all men live in their respective stations, whether slenderly, or moderately, or plentifully, so that all may remember that God confers his blessings on them for the support of life, not for luxury.”⁵ As our means increase, more of the things of this world that God foresees to be beneficial are brought within reach. We are not forbidden to use and enjoy these things. Nor should we worry endlessly that we *could* live more simply. He who “hesitate[s] respecting good wine, will afterward be unable with any peace of conscience to drink the most vapid; and he will not presume even



Fig. 2. Jacob Backer, *Regentesses of the Burger Orphanage*, 1633–34, oil on canvas. Amsterdam Historisch Museum.

to touch purer and sweeter water than others.” Such thinking leads the Christian into a “snare, [into] a long and inextricable labyrinth. . . .”

Calvin reasoned that the enjoyment of material goods was a matter theologically indifferent. This is not to say there was no danger:

[I]n the present age . . . there is scarcely any one, whom his wealth permits to be sumptuous, who is not delighted with luxurious splendour in his entertainments, in his dress, and in his buildings; who does not strangely flatter himself on his elegance.

The argument that such consumption can be defended as a matter of “things indifferent” does not impress Calvin.

This [argument] I admit, provided they be indifferently used. But where they are too

ardently coveted, proudly boasted, or luxuriously lavished, these things, of themselves otherwise indifferent, are completely polluted by such vices.

To summarize, Calvin did not counsel other-worldliness, an escape from the temptations of prosperity. Nor did he demand what we would call “Puritan abstemiousness.” Such a course was playing it safe—staying far away from the line separating proper from improper enjoyment of material goods. Calvin actually recommends something much more difficult to implement: station or income-specific moderation, i.e., keeping material goods in proper perspective.

Calvin’s specific views on luxury were not really exceptional. It is more likely that the *indirect* influence of Calvinism rather than its *specific teachings* on luxury had the greater impact on consumer behavior, and perhaps the best place to look for this influence is in



Fig. 3. Adriaen Backer, *Regentesses of the Burger Orphanage*, 1683, oil on canvas. Amsterdam Historisch Museum.

Figs. 2 and 3. These two paintings display the female regents of the Burger's Orphanage of Amsterdam. Some of those sitting for the 1683 painting may have been daughters or relatives of those in the painting of 1633–34. The painter, Adriaen Backer, was the nephew of Jacob Backer. The change in costume and hairstyle over this fifty-year interval lends itself, perhaps too easily, to the view that Dutch society had become culturally over ripe, or decadent.

Calvin's emphasis on what we might today call the examined life. The beginning of Christian knowledge was to know one's true self, that is, one's own sinfulness and one's dependence on God's grace. It is here where the Heidelberg Catechism—the introduction to the faith used by the Reformed churches—began with its first questions and answers. The Christian was to achieve authenticity, in the psychological sense, and this raised a vigorous objection to a “culture of appearances” such as would be fostered by a fashion industry, or even the theater, where the whole intention is to pretend to be what you are not. The use of luxury goods to project power, wealth, or status one does not possess, to exploit the anonymity of urban society to fool strangers as an actor fools a (willing) audience, was anathema.

At the mundane level, this aversion to illusion and deception, to theatrics and the grand gesture, is

expressed in the saying (which in my experience is universal to Dutch society and not confined to a particular confession) that every child hears from his mother: “Doe toch gewoon; dat is al gek genoeg.” [Just act normally; that's crazy enough already.]

So, what was the nature of luxury consumption in seventeenth-century Dutch society? We can turn to written records—primarily the observations of foreign visitors—and these are nearly unanimous in their verdict that the Dutch as a whole were prodigious savers and frugal consumers. But, in interpreting these documents we must be mindful of the heavy ideological baggage attached to this subject, and the propagandistic purposes for which the “Dutch Example” was paraded before foreign readers.

We can also turn to visual images to gain information about this society. And Dutch paintings easily



Fig. 4. Pieter de Hooch, *Two Women beside a Linen Chest, with a Child*, 1663, oil on canvas. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

seduce us into believing that they offer framed views of society, where we employ a historian's gaze, poking about the paintings for evidence as an amateur sociologist today might by walking down a Dutch street and glancing into the uncurtained front windows of the houses. Already more than fifty years ago, Johan Huizinga opened his celebrated essay, "Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century," with the observation:

Were we to test the average Dutchman's knowledge of life in the Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century, we should probably find that it is largely confined to odd stray notions gleaned from paintings.⁶

And those notions, he went on to say, would be very different from the impressions gained from the written record, and not so much supplementary as contradictory.

The writings of contemporary visitors were unanimous in celebrating what Constantijn Huygens called "Holland's glorious simplicity." The *Observations* written by Sir William Temple, English ambassador in the years 1668–70, has often stood as a definitive account of Golden Age society, if for no other reason than that so many later writers corroborated, or simply imitated, his views. Temple was concerned with explaining the amazing economic power and prosperity of the Republic to his envious English readers, and he placed great emphasis on



Fig. 5. Pieter de Hooch, *Portrait of a Family Making Music*, 1663, oil on canvas. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Hanna Fund, 1951.355.

The simplicity and modesty of their magistrates in their way of living, which is so general, that I never knew one among them exceed the common frugal popular air.⁷

He described every social class in turn, and except for the small corps of noblemen, whom he regarded as poor imitations (of French fashion) rather than good originals, he concluded with the observation:

There are some customs and dispositions that seem to run generally through all these degrees of men among them; as great frugality and order in their expense. Their common riches lye in every man's having more than he spends;

or to say it more properly, in every man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will.⁸

Of course, a rich person could save a good deal and still have plenty left to indulge in extravagance, but Temple thought that such luxury expenditure in the Republic

. . . is laid out in the fabrick, adornment, or furniture of their houses; things not so transitory, or so prejudicial to Health and to Business as the constant excesses and luxury of tables; nor perhaps altogether so vain as the extravagant expenses of clothes and attendance.⁹



Fig. 6. Cornelis van Poelenburch, *Feast of the Gods*, ca. 1635, oil on copper. The Hague, Mauritshuis.

Here is an observation, insightful, in my opinion, of the character of the New Luxury relative to the Old, to which we will return. But, for the most part, Temple stressed frugality to the point of self-denial:

By this we find out the foundation of the Riches of Holland. . . . For never any Country traded so much and consumed so little. They buy infinitely, but this to sell again. . . .

They are the great masters of the Indian spices, and of the Persian silks; but wear plain woollens and feed upon their own fish and roots. Nay, they sell the finest of their own cloath [sic] to France, and buy coarse out of England for their own wear. They send abroad the best of their butter . . . and buy the cheapest out of Ireland . . . for their own use.

In short, they furnish infinite Luxury, which they never practice, and traffique in Pleasures which they never taste.¹⁰

Now, no one who has spent an afternoon viewing Dutch genre paintings or still lifes, such as Abraham van Beyern's sumptuous *Still-life with a Lobster and Turkey* (fig. 1), can lend full credence to Temple's observations. Did they really "traffique in Pleasures which they never taste," and then, for added measure, hang on their walls paintings of those very pleasures, just to remind themselves of what they were missing?

Temple's words alert us to a special feature of Dutch society: it was more than ordinarily frugal and sober in the face of a more than ordinary access to all the world's luxuries and pleasures. As Dutch trade expanded, her ports filled with the precious cargoes brought from the Levant, Russia, Africa, Asia, and the New World. Amsterdam, the foremost port, could be described by 1648 as:

"The warehouse of the world, the seat of opulence, the rendezvous of riches, and the darling of the gods."¹¹

This unique accessibility to the goods of the world was paired with a growth in the productivity of domestic agriculture and industry, raising the purchasing power of broad segments of society as well as making many merchants, investors, property owners, and industrialists very, very rich. Here, for the first time—on such a scale and on so enduring a basis—was a society in which the potential to purchase luxuries extended well beyond a small, traditional elite. A substantial tranche of society was now in a position to exercise choice, to enter the market and spend money to fashion a consumer culture.

Choice gives freedom; and freedom exposes one to moral dilemma. Now these dilemma's were faced by large numbers who earlier, and in other societies still, had their consumer choices constrained by the heavy hands of scarcity and custom, and whose extravagances were channeled narrowly into well choreographed displays of excessive eating and drinking.

Simon Schama, in his celebrated investigation of Dutch culture, *Embarrassment of Riches*, draws on the venerable arguments about the moral pitfalls that surround luxury consumption—which he, wrongly, in my view, ascribes to Calvinist preaching—to evoke a society caught on the horns of a dilemma, where its very virtues, which produce prosperity, lead inexorably to the vices of luxury. His evocation relies heavily on paintings and other visual images, which themselves relied, in turn, on the traditional themes of luxury's dangers that derived from pre-capitalist, pre-market societies: the Old Luxury.

An ally in his project was the view of many historians of earlier generations that the Republic's decline after the 1670s was closely associated, if not caused by, the onset of a cultural over-ripeness: a decadent generation accustomed to luxury and, therefore, without the character and determination of its forefathers. Certainly some burgher families succumbed to the

blandishments of aristocratic lifestyles and French fashion did indeed find many devotees by the 1670s, as this telling comparison of two paintings (figs. 2 and 3) depicting the Regentesses of the Municipal Orphanage indicate. That of 1633–34 is by Jacob Backer, while the 1683 painting is by Adreaen, his nephew. However, this was hardly the whole story. This argument owes far more to the contemplation of the fall of Rome than to seventeenth-century Dutch history, and was once uncritically embraced by historians eager for simple explanations of a difficult subject.

Rather than simply seeing Republican society in the grip of the discourse of the Old Luxury, we should attempt to see the new consumer culture being constructed by the innumerable options of an enlarged population possessed with discretionary income. In making its choices, the old discourse remained influential, to be sure, but the reality of its behavior brought into being a distinctive material culture in which the luxuries were directed toward the home more than the body, and adorned the interior, of both home and body, more than the exterior. They tended to achieve comfort more than refinement.

De Mandeville, that notorious champion of prodigality as the road to wealth, rejected the conventional wisdom about the sources of Dutch prosperity. "The Dutch may ascribe their present grandeur to the virtue and frugality of their ancestors as they please," he wrote in the early eighteenth century.¹² In fact, he claimed with characteristic hyperbole, "In pictures and marble they are profuse, in their buildings and gardens they are extravagant to folly."¹³ He conceded that there were no great palaces and courts, but:



Fig. 7. Cornelis van Poelenburch, *Susanna van Collen*, ca. 1626, oil on copper. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 38.227.

Figs. 6 and 7. Both of these paintings feature multicolored silk scarves that were a specialty of Utrecht's silk weaving industry.



Fig. 8. The ambitious expansion plan for Utrecht was designed to make the city an attractive place for rich families to settle. The hope was to turn Utrecht, which had once been a center of luxury consumption by the Episcopal court, into a center of luxury consumption sustained by a large population of wealthy bourgeois families. Expansion plan of Burgomaster Moreelse, 1664. Utrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, C2.949.

. . . in all of Europe you shall find no private buildings so sumptuously magnificent as a great many of the merchants' and other gentlemen's houses in Amsterdam and in some of the great cities of that small province.¹⁴

The Papal Nuncio to Cologne, Pallavicino, made similar observations during his visit of 1676. After visiting Amsterdam, where the system of concentric canals around the old medieval city was nearing completion, he noted that "only a nation that does not squander its wealth on clothes or servants could have succeeded in doing all this with so little fuss."¹⁵ "All this," of course, was the erection of many thousands of comfortable bourgeois homes, restrained by a thirty- to forty-foot exterior frontage from blatantly advertising the occupants' wealth, but endowed by a 190-foot depth with ample opportunity to achieve a new form of private domestic comfort.

Exotic luxuries from the four corners of the world found their way into these homes. Indeed, when Peter

the Great of Russia traveled to Holland in 1697, one of his objectives was to acquire a fabulous collection of *precosia*.¹⁶ These dwellings also contained costly products of high craftsmanship such as tapestries and furniture. These often came from the Southern Netherlands, where craft traditions of long standing were sustained by the patronage of local and Spanish courts.

What the cities of Holland themselves offered were New Luxuries, products requiring real skill, to be sure, but products capable of multiplication, or capable of being offered in a gradated range of qualities and prices. The canal houses, like more humble abodes, were tiled with Delft tiles of varying qualities, just as their kitchens and tables made use of the Orient-inspired Delft faience. What the Dutch could *not* do was follow Meissen, Vienna, Copenhagen, Sèvres, or Worcester in the production of porcelain. The technical skills were not lacking; rather, the missing element was the court associations essential to design and market a new "Old Luxury."

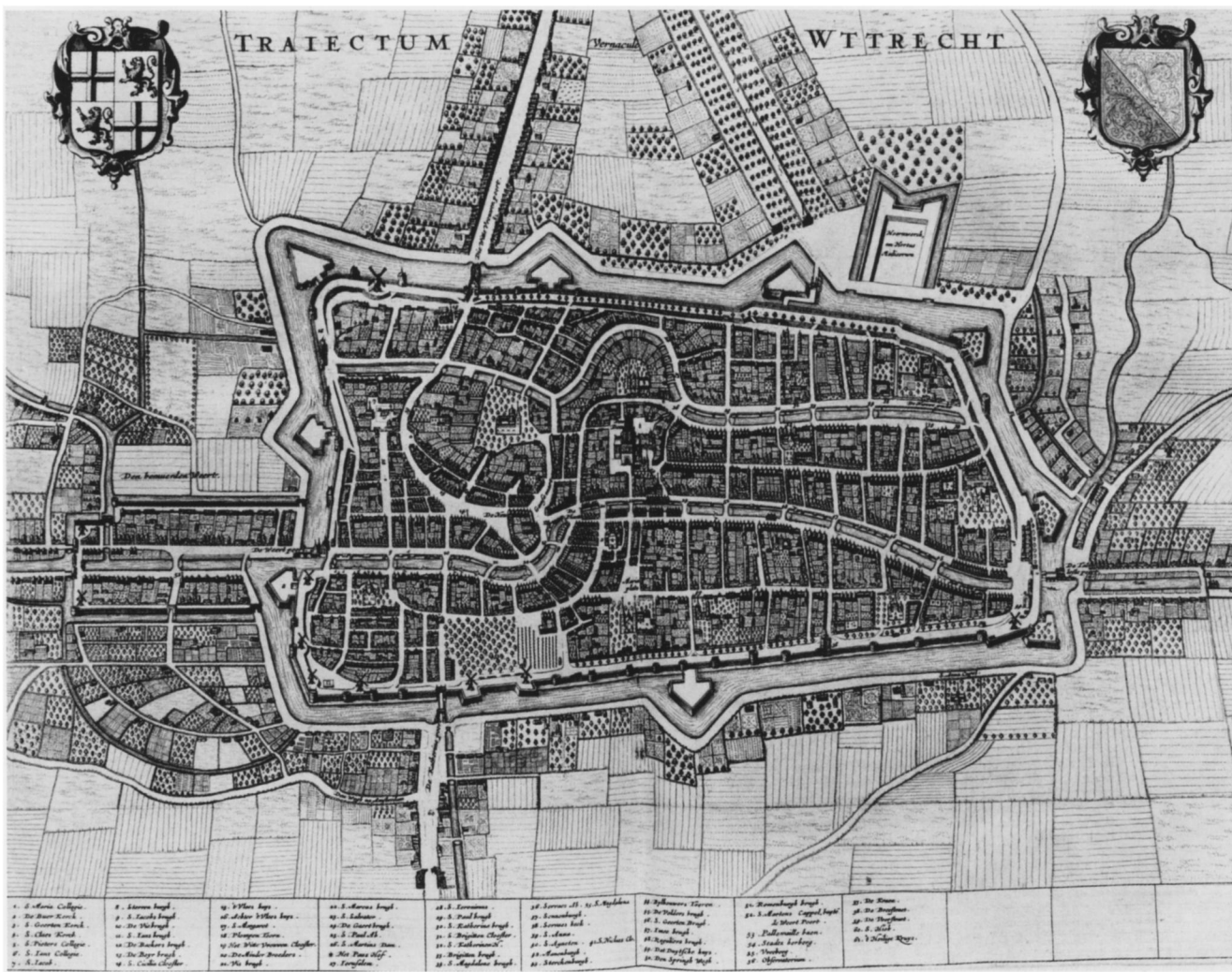


Fig. 9. Joan Blau, map of Utrecht, 1649. From *Toonnel der Steden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden, Met hare Bechrijningen*. Berkeley, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

The canal houses were filled with the work of cabinetmakers, such as wardrobes and linen chests, as represented in two paintings from 1663 by Pieter de Hooch, *Two Women beside a Linen Chest* and *Family Making Music* (figs. 4 and 5). Here again, the great pieces were the highest expression of a furniture tradition that came up from below, for even farmers had, albeit more modest, versions of these same items.

Then we come to painting. This art, as is well known, was reconstructed after the Reformation from an Old Luxury to a New one, as elite patronage gave way to a market economy. By developing both product and process innovations (new themes in the paintings and new techniques of painting) painters opened new markets, allowing by mid-century some 700 to 800 masters to be active simultaneously, producing over the course of the century many millions of paintings ranging in price from thousands of guilders to the

“dozijnwerk” (work by the dozen) that fetched a guilder or two at the fair. Indeed, if the possession of paintings in Delft can be generalized to all of the province of Holland, then something like three million paintings must have hung on the walls of Holland’s houses by the 1660s.¹⁷

One could go on to discuss clock and instrument makers (by 1700 a solid majority of Friesian farmers had pendulum clocks hanging on their walls); book publishing (the Republic had 781 printers and sellers in operation by the 1660s, a far higher density than elsewhere in Europe); popular luxuries like tobacco pipes, decorative, and utilitarian silver. In contrast to the exotic extra-European objects, or the most refined material possessions from Brabant or further afield in Europe, the New Luxuries were usually produced in the Dutch cities. Some were imitations and adaptations of foreign luxuries, such as Delftware, responding to

Chinese porcelain, others were cheaper versions of European luxuries, such as Delft and Gouda's tapestry works, or Amsterdam and Utrecht's silk industry. Reminders of the latter are found in two paintings by the Utrecht painter Cornelis van Poelenburch: his *Portrait of Susanna van Collen*¹⁸ (fig. 6) in which a multi-colored silk scarf contributes to the sitter's fanciful "shepherdess" attire, and a *Feast of the Gods*¹⁹ (fig. 7), in which a similar scarf graces the figure of Ceres, goddess of Abundance, who sits with her back to us.

Craft production everywhere in Europe depended on specific skills that could be transferred successfully only by the migration of artisans. Thus, the Republic's new crafts and industries inevitably find their origin in diffusion from abroad. Still, in their new home they developed a particular form, shaped by the nature of Dutch demand—urban, *burgerlijk*, broad-based—and by the prevailing cultural imperatives. These imperatives might be stamped with the label Calvinist, but it might be better to invoke the concept of "Confessionalization."²⁰ Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics—every Christian denomination—was concerned in the era of the Dutch Golden Age with consolidating its projects of religious revitalization and penetrating the broad base of society with programs of education, institutionalization, and greater social control. The cultural dimension of this multi-centered movement left a deep mark on the design of everyday articles, on accessible luxuries, on interior decoration, and on clothing.

This movement was European rather than specifically Dutch, but it resonated with the Republic's social and economic structures more fully and more creatively than elsewhere, which caused the output of Dutch ceramics, paintings, prints, maps, books, furniture, glass, and the dyeing and printing of textiles to be seen as particularly well suited to the temper and purpose of the Confessional era. The integrating rather than differentiating impact of these New Luxuries is revealed in the broader study of material culture. By the late seventeenth century the striking feature of Dutch material culture is its uniformity. The basic forms of expressing status and achieving comfort were remarkably similar between city and country, and between rich and poor. It was the cost and specific quality, rather than the types of objects and their general form, that differed.²¹

From the perspective of the outsider, Dutch society seemed to eschew luxury altogether. The Old Luxury was thin on the ground and hidden from view. But a New Luxury, one we might call modern, or proto-modern, was in fact taking shape, but could not be easily "read" by the cultural outsider.

Its modernity was, however, premature. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century a new cultural movement spreads across Europe, emanating from royal courts, associated with aristocracy and featuring classical and rococo forms, idealizing gallantry and refinement. It affects the Republic, too. Its outward manifestations in the Netherlands are often held up as evidence of decadence (the inevitable consequence of a prosperity-fueled addiction to luxury), but that can only be argued if the Netherlands is studied in complete isolation from the Europe in which it nestled. It remains true, however, that the Republic was poorly endowed—whether in social structure, craft skills, mentality, or life style—to offer much that was original to this new cultural project. A European movement that had interacted with Dutch society to create something original and powerfully appealing gave way after the 1670s to another European movement that interacted weakly and derivatively with that same society. Luxury consumption was not the undoing of the Dutch; instead, Dutch strengths in luxury production were ahead of their time.

In this Republic of New Luxury, one city stood apart. Utrecht had been the one Dutch city that had functioned as a major medieval center of the Old Luxury catering for the Prince Bishops, the canons of the cathedral chapters, and the provincial nobility. By the seventeenth century the Reformation had abolished the bishop and the episcopal political regime; Utrecht had no choice but to adapt to the new social and economic structures of the Republic.²² Thus, when seventeenth-century Utrecht is set beside the cities of Holland for comparison, the generalizations I have made in this paper need not be abandoned, but they do need to be nuanced to take into account the preservation into the Republican period in the city and province of Utrecht of a social elite—noble or patrician—whose income was based on land, and on antique institutions that preserved their hold over the province's landed wealth. The pendant of this society of luxury consumers was an old, guild-organized panoply of luxury producers that continued throughout the Republican era to serve that market. The fact that Utrecht drew its migrants largely from similar "old fashioned" towns in the east of the Netherlands and in Germany, reinforced this regime. Thus, in Utrecht more than in the Holland towns, one found all types of metal workers (which became a Utrecht specialty), coach builders, silk weavers, wig makers, wood carvers, etc.

Of particular interest to me is the city's consciousness that, within the Dutch urban system, genteel life and luxury production were where its comparative

advantage lay. Thus, the city's efforts to participate in the commercially based economic prosperity of the larger society took the form of:

1. attracting luxury industries via financial inducements and the offer of space in its numerous decommissioned churches;
2. establishing a university intended to appeal particularly to the foreign and well born scholar;
3. launching a grandiose—but aborted—plan to attract well-healed residents by building a large residential zone designed to appeal to the rich rentier, as reflected in this map of an expansion plan dated 1664 (fig. 8). It can be compared with an earlier map of the city dated 1649 (fig. 9), and which, given the city's slow growth, still remained valid at the time of the planned expansion. The plan also provided for zones in the newly expanded city to accommodate crafts and industries that would cater to the enlarged demand. In short, Utrecht's development strategy was based on a conscious effort to differentiate itself from the cities of Holland by offering superior facilities for the rich and the well born: to offer a modified type of Old Luxury. This is the context in which the artists of Utrecht lived and worked.

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Notes

Paper presented to the Walters Art Gallery Seminar, 31 January 1998: Dutch Painting from 17th-Century Utrecht: Imagination and Reality.

1. Norbert Elias, *The Process of Civilization*, E. Jephcott, trans. (London, 1981; first ed., 1939).
2. Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism* (Ann Arbor, 1967; first ed., 1913), 2–5, 60. Max Weber, author of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1992, first ed., 1904–05), is well known for arguing that Western capitalism is the product of an aesthetic impulse reinforced by Protestant theology that made possible the continuous, systematic accumulation of capital.
3. These are the two cultural purposes of consumption proposed in Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (New York, 1978).
4. Sir John Dudley, *Discourses upon Trade* (London, 1691), 27.
5. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Philadelphia, 1936; from the last edition of 1559). The quotations are all taken from Book III, Chapter 19, 81–84.
6. Johan Huizinga, *Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1968; first ed., 1941), 9.

7. Sir William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, Sir George Clark, ed. (Oxford, 1972; first ed., 1673), 86, 87.
 8. Ibid.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Ibid., 119.
 11. Quoted in Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 3, The Perspective on the World* (New York, 1984; first ed., 1979), 189.
 12. Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (Oxford, 1924, republication of 1732 edition), Remark Q, 185–89.
 13. Ibid.
 14. Ibid., Remark Q.
 15. Quoted in Huizinga, *Dutch Civilization*, 62.
 16. See Renée Kistemaker, Natalja Kopaneva, and Annemiek Overbeek, eds., *Peter de Grote en Holland. Culturele en wetenschappelijke betrekkingen tussen Rusland en Nederland ten tijde van Isaar Peter de Grote* (Bussum, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1996). See also E. Bergvelt and R. Kistemaker, eds., *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rareitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735* (Zwolle, Amsterdam Historisch Museum, 1992).
 17. Ad van der Woude, "The Volume and Value of Paintings in Holland at the Time of the Dutch Republic," in Jan de Vries and David Freedberg, eds., *Art in History, History in Art* (Santa Monica, Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), 285–330.
 18. For a discussion of the costume, see Joaneath A. Spicer with Lynn Federle Orr, eds., *Masters of Light. Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (New Haven and London, 1997), catalogue nos. 60 and 61.
 19. Spicer with Orr, *Masters of Light*, no. 53.
 20. On confessionalization, see Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire," in Heinz Schilling, ed., *Religion, Political Culture, and the Emergence of Early Modern Society* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 205–46; Philip S. Gorski, "The Protestant Ethic Revisited: Disciplinary Revolution and State Formation in Holland and Prussia," *American Journal of Sociology*, 99 (1993), 265–316.
 21. Hans van Koolbergen, "De materiële cultuur van Weesp en Weesperkarspel," in Anton Schuurman et al., eds., *Aards geluk. De Nederlanders en hun spullen, 1550–1850* (Amsterdam, 1997), 152; Jan de Vries, "Peasant demand patterns and economic development: Friesland, 1550–1700," in William N. Parker and Eric L. Jones, eds., *European Peasants and their Markets* (Princeton, 1975), 234–36.
 22. Jan de Vries, "Searching for a Role: The Economy of Utrecht in the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic," in Spicer, *Masters of Light*, 49–59.
- PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; figs. 2–3, Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum; fig. 4, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; fig. 5, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art; fig. 6, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; fig. 7, The Hague, Mauritshuis; fig. 8, Utrecht, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst; fig. 9, Berkeley, The Bancroft Library, University of California.

The Rhetoric of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Portraiture

Emilie E. S. Gordenker

Like rhetoricians, seventeenth-century artists were bound by rules and expectations for proper decorum, even in matters of dress. This paper presents several examples of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish portraits or portrait-like paintings in order to demonstrate how the rhetoric of dress operated and how costume was carefully chosen to suit the ideals of a particular culture or individual sitter.

Clothing has the power to speak and to convey a multitude of meanings. Knowledge of its associations and the history of costume can be crucial to the interpretation of any figural painting, and is certainly essential for portraiture. This article presents several examples of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish portraits or portrait-like paintings in order to demonstrate how the rhetoric of dress operated, to illustrate what rules dictated the choice or invention of clothing, and to show how costume was carefully chosen to suit the ideals of a particular culture or individual sitter.

Since the 1960s, Roland Barthes and cultural historians drawing on his work have been concerned with the semiology of contemporary clothing.¹ While this article does not intend to construct a semiotic theory about seventeenth-century dress, it is concerned with the ability of dress to speak a language that supplements, illuminates, and sometimes even provides the key to understanding an image.²

There are parallels to be drawn between the representation of costume and the concepts and structure of rhetoric, to which art theorists from the sixteenth century onward owe an important debt.³ The three main structural components of rhetorical theory, *inventio* (the choice of arguments to be used), *dispositio* (the arrangement of the material), and *elocutio* (the final polishing of the speech and its adornment with antitheses, metaphors, and rhetorical figures) have analogies in artistic concepts of invention (choice and amplification of subject matter); composition; and personal style.⁴ The choice of dress, like that of words

in rhetoric, amplified the subject matter, contributed to the composition, and could be a vehicle for the expression of an artist's individual style. The requirement that artists observe *decorum*, that they adapt to the rules and requirements of time and space, and that they must avoid any subject that is objectionable, also had its analogy in the *decorum* or etiquette of dress.

The analogy of dress to language was already clearly articulated in the sixteenth century. Julius Caesar Scaliger, in *Poeticis libri septem* *Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, his seven books on poetics, chose dress as a metaphor for the use of language:

Then the usefulness and effectiveness of language were increased by rules governing construction, dimensions, as it were, being given to a rude and formless body. Thus arose the established laws of speech. Later, language was adorned and embellished as with raiments, and then it appeared illustrious both in form and in spirit. . . . To speak figuratively, such cultivation afforded the soldier his necessary armor, the senator his useful toga, or the more elegant citizen his richer pleasure-robe.⁵

In his second volume, Scaliger included a short chapter devoted to the proper description of attire.⁶ Quoting liberally from ancient texts, he showed how the conventions for clothing and armor were precisely calculated in order to reflect a person's character more generally. Costume, according to Scaliger, was a crucial component in the proper description of a person, but one subject to the rules of rhetoric.

Similarly, references to costume in seventeenth-century art theory reveal that dress was highly prescribed, and was expected to conform to the nature and subject of the image as well as to the particular character or quality of the figure represented. Elaborate rules for the wearing of dress in daily life were already in place.



Fig. 1. Paulus Moreelse, *Portrait of Sophia Hedwig, Countess of Nassau Dietz, as Caritas, with her Children*, 1621, oil on canvas. Apeldoorn, Paleis Het Loo, Nationaal Museum, inv. no. RL451. Photograph: A. A. W. Meine Jansen.

A long history of sumptuary laws bears witness to the presence of a codified etiquette. Instruction manuals on appropriate dress also began to appear from the sixteenth century, originating with Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, or *The Courtier*, first published in 1528.⁷

Karel van Mander's didactic poem on the art of painting, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderkonst* (1604), provides evidence that there was also a certain etiquette for the representation of dress in history paintings, that *decorum* must be observed not only in the choice

and exposition of subject matter, but in the manner of clothing the figures. Van Mander noted: "Clothing should be according to each figure's standing—that is, in keeping with the person's aspect: kings in purple, decorated with crowns; and the high-spirited youth demands to be decked out cheerfully, in select, bright, glowing colors. White, for instance, suits virgins well. In this regard, painters must be especially alert to represent each according his state."⁸ Other Dutch writers on art, such as Willem Goeree and Samuel



Fig. 2. "Favorita del Turco," engraving, from Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo* (Venice, 1598). Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

van Hoogstraten, also make clear that there was a set of expectations about how to clothe figures according to their stations or roles, even though it was a set of rules that remained largely unwritten.⁹ The use of antiquated or exotic clothing, or both, was almost always a requirement for historical figures.¹⁰

While antique or exotic costume might be expected to appear in a history painting, where it could contribute to the setting and narrative, it was also introduced into portraiture in the seventeenth century. In fact, the power of clothing to speak emerges most clearly in portraits that present the sitter in fantastic or antiquated dress. This occurs in pastoral portraits,¹¹ allegorical portraits, and *portraits historiés* (portraits that depict actual people who play a role as historical or mythological personages).¹² In such representations, it is not only the background, pose, or attributes, but also the



Fig. 3. Robert Boissard after Jean-Jacques Boissard, "Permisit tetricum virtus austera Catonem / Florales hilari fronte videre jocos," engraving, from *Mascarades...* (1597), plate 4. New York, Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

costume that places the sitter within a narrative, an allegory, or a fictional realm. In the seventeenth century, artists also began to introduce fancy dress into figural paintings that had no recognizable background or into portraits without the attributes of a history or allegory. In doing so, they used costume to speak the high-flown language of history.

The most obvious use of costume to bring out the content of a portrait can be found in *portraits historiés*. For example, Paulus Moreelse used exotic attire to invite an allegorical reading of his *Portrait of Sophia Hedwig, Countess of Nassau Dietz, as Caritas, with her Children* (fig. 1).¹³ Sophia Hedwig appears surrounded by her three children against a fantastic architectural backdrop. Consistent with the traditional iconography for *Caritas*, Sophia Hedwig displays one bared breast.



Fig. 4. Rembrandt, *Man in Oriental Costume* ("The Noble Slav"), 1632, oil on canvas. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bequest of William K. Vanderbilt, 1920. 20.155.2.

Dressed in historical or exotic attire, the figures in the foreground participate in this representation of Sophia Hedwig. Their clothing serves to distance them from their own time and locates them in the allegorical fiction. Sophia Hedwig wears a bright red and blue satin outfit. The headdress would have been understood as being of Eastern origin. This type of headgear, with its distinctive curl, has been called a "Phrygian cap."¹⁴ At the same time, the decoration at the forehead and the long veil resemble a sixteenth-century costume print of Turkish dress, such as Cesare Vecellio's print of 1598, entitled *Favorite of the Sultan* (fig. 2).¹⁵ Such costume prints were not necessarily truthful illustrations of actual dress. More importantly,

they were accessible to Dutch painters in the seventeenth century and were clearly labeled by country and, frequently, occupation.¹⁶ There could be no doubt of the Eastern associations with Vecellio's *Favorite of the Sultan*, and such designs were later used for fantastical images, such as Jean Jacques Boissard's or Jacques de Gheyn II's print series called *Masquerades* (fig. 3).¹⁷ Sophia Hedwig's headgear, like the rest of her costume, is meant to evoke the exotic Orient without necessarily being an accurate representation of regional or historical dress.

The two eldest children in Moreelse's portrait wear pseudo-Roman attire, characterized by flaps at the shoulders that imitate the square strips that usually



Fig. 5. Jan Lievens, *Man in Oriental Costume*, ca. 1628, oil on canvas. Potsdam-Sanssouci, Gemäldegalerie.

accompany Roman armor (*pleruges*).¹⁸ The eldest boy, standing to his mother's right side, appears in a shirt with smocking at the neck and a doublet with slashing at the elbows, features that betray a sixteenth-century Northern European origin. The Roman attributes of the shoulder flaps and the cloak with its prominent jeweled clasp have been superimposed over the sixteenth-century dress. The younger boy, standing to the right of the composition and holding a bowl of fruit, wears a different type of pseudo-Roman dress, one that does not have the sixteenth-century features of his older brother's costume, but which seems a more accurate reflection of Roman military garb. Even so, the soft fabrication and the flowing skirt depart from

the stiff metal *cuirass* that would have been a part of real Roman armor. The costume worn by Sophia Hedwig's younger son may have derived from theatrical costumes, which were sewn from rich fabrics to imitate the *cuirass*.¹⁹ The baby, sitting on a pillow in the foreground of Moreelse's portrait, wears little but pearls and loose drapery. Finally, in the background, the nurse emerges with the youngest of the four children, both dressed in proper attire for the 1620s.

The precise origins of the exotic costumes in Moreelse's *portrait historié* did not seem to be as important as the colorful effect. The mixing of historical and classical motifs in the eldest son's garb or the sudden intervention of seventeenth-century

dress on the nurse in the background demonstrates this amply. The exotic costumes did help to place the sitters within the context of the allegory and excused what would otherwise be a terrible breach of decorum, the baring of the breast.

Rembrandt also frequently introduced exotic attire into paintings which, unlike *portraits historiés*, did not include a clear indication of a historical theme.²⁰ In 1632, shortly after his arrival in Amsterdam, Rembrandt painted an unknown man in Eastern costume, often known as “*The Noble Slav*” (fig. 4).²¹ The work is not strictly a portrait, but rather a *tronie*, not intended to represent a specific individual.²² Nevertheless, the manner in which he used exotic attire is typical for Rembrandt. Furthermore, its large scale, composition, and the sharp characterization of the face are comparable to Rembrandt’s straightforward portraits in the years 1631–32.²³ In fact, there is a clear discrepancy between the recognizably Dutch features of the man and the exotic costume. Constantijn Huygens, Prince Frederik Hendrik’s secretary, described a similar portrait by Jan Lievens as: “. . . the likeness of a so-called Turkish potentate, done from the head of some Dutchman or other” (fig. 5).²⁴

In spite of the painting’s nickname, there is no evidence the costume is Slavic. The precise origin of the dress in Rembrandt’s painting is, in fact, not easy to determine, particularly since the artist frequently mixed different types of clothing to form a unique costume. The round turban, the staff, and the long robes resemble another costume print by Cesare Vecellio, showing a Sultan of Turkey (fig. 6). Indeed, the outfit is close to surviving garments worn by the Ottoman Turks, although it is also close to Persian dress of the time.²⁵ Moreover, Rembrandt, apparently unconcerned with the origin of the costume, presented Belshazzar, the King of Babylon, in *Belshazzar’s Feast*, in a comparable outfit (fig. 7).²⁶ The form of the turban in both paintings is identical, although for Belshazzar Rembrandt switched the tassel to the other side of the head and added a crown. The caftan, too, is of a similar fabric and also fur-lined. Rembrandt rarely depicted the same costume twice, and the differences between the “Noble Slav’s” and Belshazzar’s costumes are evident: Belshazzar’s inner caftan (*fustan* or *dolma*) has rows of decorative frogging, while the earlier “Noble Slav’s” does not; in addition, the jewelry differs. The medallion worn by the “Noble Slav” reappears in other contexts in Rembrandt’s *oeuvre*, such as with a military gorget and a sixteenth-century beret in the *Old Man with Gorget and Black Cap* (fig. 8).²⁷ More important than the origin of the costume, then, seems



Fig. 6. “*Sultan a Murhat*,” engraving, from Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo* (Venice, 1598). Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

to have been the accumulation of rich garments that emphasized the exoticism and Eastern character of the dress.

In “*The Noble Slav*,” and in the many portraits of men and women wearing Eastern or historical garb that Rembrandt and his pupils executed in the seventeenth century, the costume does not indicate a specific nationality or a particular role. Nevertheless, by clothing a Dutchman in the type of costume that might appear in a large history painting like *Belshazzar’s Feast*, Rembrandt stepped away from the depiction of the everyday into a more ambitious mode of historical representation. He thus used costume to locate the figure in a fictional realm, very much of his own invention, neither recognizably Dutch nor even of a specific Eastern location, without adding any reference in the background of the picture.



Fig. 7. Rembrandt, *Belshazzar's Feast*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas. London, The National Gallery. Inv. No. 6350.

In England, Anthony van Dyck introduced an entirely new form of exotic dress into portraits that are in all other respects straightforward and conventional. Unlike Rembrandt, however, who frequently portrayed elaborate historical or foreign garb in detail, Van Dyck created a hybrid of actual dress and fictional additions, resulting in a costume that was entirely original and specific to his portraits.

Van Dyck created a subtle variation on contemporary dress for many of the female portraits he painted in England after 1635. He did this in two ways: he simplified current dress styles by stripping away fashionable accessories and he added fantastic embellishments such as exaggeratedly large jewels, lush drapery, and fluttering sleeves. The result, in the words of a contemporary writer, was a “careless romance” in his ladies’ dress.²⁸

One version of this costume is worn by *Mary Villiers as St. Agnes* (fig. 9).²⁹ At the time of her sitting, Mary Villiers had recently been widowed and was on the verge of her second wedding, to James Stuart, the Duke of Lennox. This explains her guise as St. Agnes, the patroness of those about to be married. Mary Villiers is accompanied by the traditional attributes of the saint: she rests her right arm on a lamb at her side and holds a palm branch in her left hand. Since the picture is a *portrait historié*, it would be entirely appropriate to find Mary Villiers dressed in fanciful attire. However, she does not appear in the overtly fictional drapery or classical robes that characterize Van Dyck’s portraits with a clearly expressed allegorical theme, such as *Venetia Stanley, Lady Digby as Prudence* (fig. 10).³⁰ Mary Villiers’ garments retain the silhouette and construction of current fashions, like



Fig. 8. Rembrandt, *Old Man with a Gold Chain*, ca. 1631, oil on panel. The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Kimball Collection. 1922.4467.

that in Van Dyck's *Henrietta Maria* (fig. 11).³¹ But in Mary Villiers' portrait, Van Dyck has omitted any lace around the neckline or at the cuffs, which would have been *de rigueur* at the time, thereby indicating a partially undressed state. The construction of Mary Villiers' sleeve allows the chemise to peek out along the shoulder and at the lower arm, further strengthening the impression of loose and casual attire. Van Dyck also added fantastic details to Mary Villiers' costume, such as the scalloping of the skirt, improbably large pearls, and a swag of blue drapery that would appear more

at home in one of Van Dyck's pastoral paintings.³² Some details seem implausible, especially the unclear rendering of the waistline and the unconvincing sleeve, consisting of a bulge of fabric that swings around the elbow and is precariously attached to a pin.

Similar attire appears in Van Dyck's portrait of *Lady Frances Cranfield, Countess of Dorset* (fig. 12).³³ Even though Lady Frances is not accompanied by the attributes of a saint or an allegory, her dress, like the costume worn by Mary Villiers as St. Agnes, is characterized by a stripped down and simplified version



Fig. 9. Anthony van Dyck, *Lady Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox*, ca. 1637, oil on canvas. Windsor, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

of contemporary attire and by the addition of fantastic details. Van Dyck has again omitted the lace collar and cuffs, added a scalloped hem,³⁴ and altered the sleeves from the currently fashionable silhouette. As was the convention for any portrait in fancy dress, Van Dyck painted the sitter's head and neck without embellishing on the truth. Lady Frances wears her hair according to the fashion of the time: it curls freely around the side of her head and loose curls dart out over her forehead, while the rest of the hair is coiled on the back of her head with strands of

pearls.³⁵ Her costume thus occupies a middle ground between pure fantasy and conventional dress.

While this type of costume, with its fictional additions, was evidently appropriate for a representation of a saint such as Agnes, it was now also adopted for a portrait that did not have such clear allusions to an allegory or history. The costume also removes the sitter from the everyday into an idealized world, just as the background of this picture, with its rocky landscape and gloomy trees, evokes the Arcadian settings of plays and poetry popular at the Caroline court.



Fig. 10. Anthony van Dyck, *Venetia Stanley, Lady Digby as Prudence*, 1633, oil on canvas. London, National Portrait Gallery. Inv. no. 5727.

At times, Van Dyck manipulated male costume in a similar manner. In his *Self-Portrait with Endymion Porter* the artist appears in a simple black garment that stands in stark contrast to his friend's luxurious clothing (fig. 13).³⁶ Van Dyck's black satin doublet is almost entirely obscured by the swath of his cloak. His shirt barely peeks out above the doublet's high collar with its gold buttons; just the hint of lace emerges from beneath the glove at his wrist.

The apparent simplicity of Van Dyck's costume in most of his self-portraits seems to contradict contemporary descriptions of his own clothing. Having grown up the grandson of a haberdasher, Van Dyck must have been quite aware of the fine points of

dress and of the importance of accessories.³⁷ Giovanni Pietro Bellori tells us that while in Italy, Van Dyck made an impression of grandeur, due in no small part to his beautiful clothes, feathered hat, and gold chain.³⁸ In England, he was known for his lavish spending on pictures, but probably also on his household and appearance.³⁹ Van Dyck's sleek but simple costume in this self-portrait is not an accurate record of the artist in his finest formal dress. By contrast, Van Dyck lavishes attention on the latest finery in his *Portrait of the Lords John and Bernard Stuart* (fig. 14). The costume in this portrait conveys the same sort of relaxation and "undress" that appear in Van Dyck's portraits of English women, such as that of Lady



Fig. 11. Anthony van Dyck, *Henrietta Maria*, 1635, oil on canvas. New York, private collection.



Fig. 12. Anthony van Dyck, *Lady Frances Cranfield, Countess of Dorset*, 1635–36, oil on canvas. Knole, Kent.

Frances. A type of carelessness—and even restlessness—emerges from the bulges of linen and the dramatic swag of the cloak.

The looseness and nonchalance of Van Dyck's attire evokes Baldassare Castiglione's concept of *sprezzatura*, which he introduced in *The Courtier*.⁴⁰ *Sprezzatura*, which Castiglione believed to be an essential characteristic of the courtier, and one which could allow him to achieve grace (*grazie*), is (in Hoby's translation): "to cover art withall, and seeme whatsoever he doth and sayeth to do it wythout pain, and (as it were) not myndyng it."⁴¹ Van Dyck's paintings epitomized the easy grace so prized by Castiglione. As Muller has shown, Van Dyck's paintings captured the concept of grace as defined by early writers on art.⁴² Like a rhetorician, Van Dyck followed the rules of *decorum* and achieved grace without losing his personal style and invention.⁴³

Van Dyck's own effortless dress, which was casual but not sloppy, accords perfectly with Castiglione's prescriptions for the proper attire of a courtier:

Therefore I judge it no lesse vyce of curiosyte to be in Reckelesness [Translator Hoby's term for *sprezzatura*] (which in it selfe is prayse worthy) in lettynge mans clothes fal of his backe, then in Preciseness (which likewise of it selfe is praise worthy) to carie a mans head so like a malthorse for feare of ruffling his hear, or to keepe in the bottome of his cappe a looking glasse, and a combe in his sleeve, and to have alwayes at his heeles up and down the streetes a page with a sponge and a brushe: for this maner of Preciseness and Reckelesness are too much in the extremitie, which is alwayaies a vice and contrarie to that pure and amiable simplicitie, which is so acceptable to mens mindes.⁴⁴



Fig. 13. Anthony van Dyck, *Self-Portrait with Endymion Porter*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Inv. no. 1489.

By calling *sprezzatura* to mind, Van Dyck lends his own image the dignity and grace of a courtier—an “amiable simplicité,”—to use Castiglione’s own words. This simplicity differs significantly from court portraiture until Van Dyck’s day, which emphasized the richness and intricacy of formal dress.

The contrast between Van Dyck’s simply constructed garments and the elaborately paned doublet worn by Porter in the double portrait have led at least one writer to suppose that Van Dyck was dressing according to his station, i.e., in subordination to the other sitter.⁴⁵ The rich materials and gleaming gold buttons of Van

Dyck’s doublet, however, hardly convey the impression of modesty.⁴⁶ His simple black costume should not be seen in the light of social rank, but as an expression of his wish to identify himself as an intellectual and a man occupied in the arts. Sir Kenelm Digby wears an identical garment in his portrait with an armillary sphere, also by Van Dyck. The original is now lost, but it is known from a print by Robert van der Voerst as well as from several painted copies (fig. 15).⁴⁷ Digby appears in a variant of the painting, also by Van Dyck, in which a sunflower has been substituted for an armillary sphere (fig. 16).⁴⁸ Bellori’s account of Van

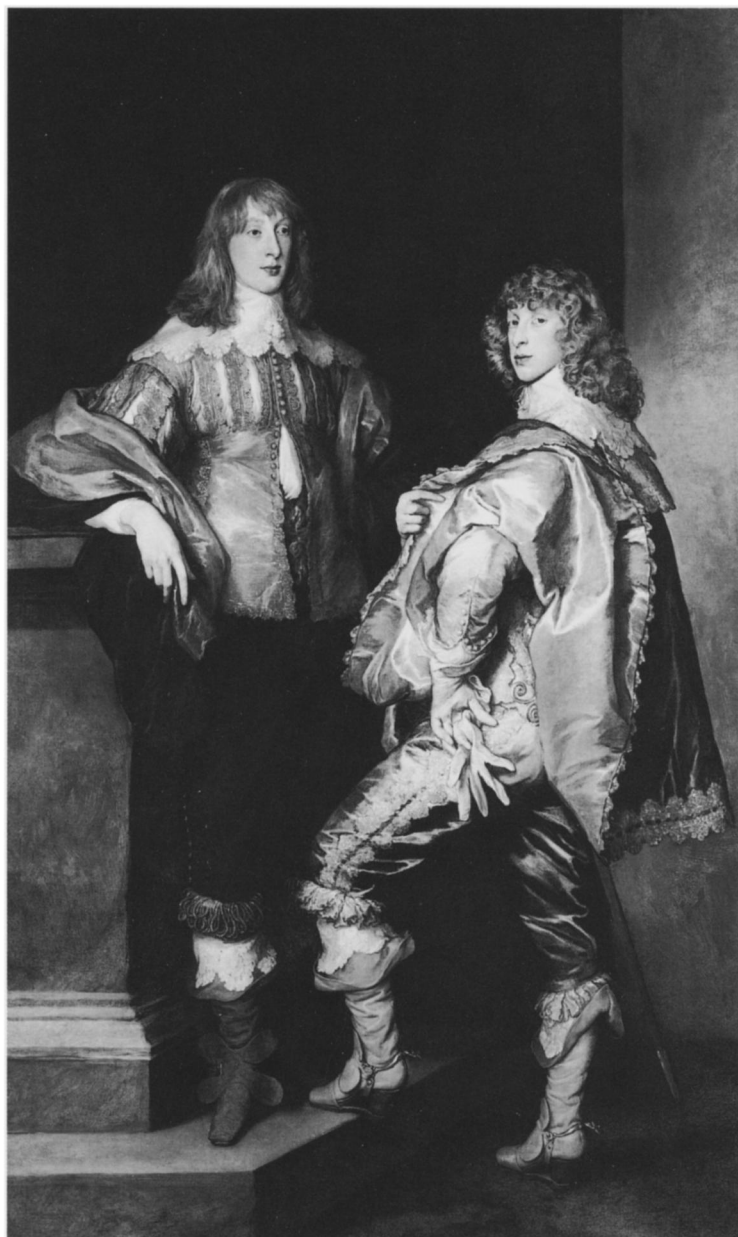


Fig. 14. Anthony van Dyck, *Lords John and Bernard Stuart*, ca. 1638, oil on canvas. London, The National Gallery. Inv. no. 6518.

Dyck's portrait, which could well have come from Digby himself, is as follows: "in the dress of a philosopher with the symbol [*l'impresa*] of a broken armillary sphere."⁴⁹ Van Dyck had also portrayed other sitters who were occupied in artistic and intellectual pursuits wearing this type of dress before.⁵⁰ The simplicity and soft flow of the garments would, therefore, more likely have associated Van Dyck with men of letters and the arts than with modesty.⁵¹ In the double portrait with Endymion Porter, Van Dyck underscores his identity as a thinking, learned man, by dressing in the manner of a philosopher. Van Dyck's biographers,

including Bellori, emphasized the artist's love of luxury and finery, creating the long-lasting impression that Van Dyck, while hard-working, was also a vain and socially ambitious character.⁵² His way of dressing conveys his desire to be regarded as an honorable and serious painter, and yet one who epitomized the easy grace of a courtier.

In Van Dyck's hands, costume helped to elevate portraits from the pedestrian rendering of the everyday to a lofty genre more akin to history painting. The hierarchy of the genres of paintings, as expressed by theorists from the time of Alberti, is well-trodden



Fig. 15. Robert van der Voerst after Anthony van Dyck, *Sir Kenelm Digby with an Armillary Sphere*, ca. 1636, engraving. London, British Museum.



Fig. 16. Anthony van Dyck, *Sir Kenelm Digby with a Sunflower*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas. England, private collection.

ground.⁵³ Van Dyck must have been aware of the superiority of the history-painter over all others and the inferiority of the portrait-painter, ideas that major art theoretical texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries articulate clearly. De Lairese, for instance, disparaged those who chose to paint portraits rather than histories, stating that he could not understand “how someone could surrender his freedom to make himself a slave, and turn away from the perfection of this noble art [of painting] to submit himself to all the imperfections of Nature.”⁵⁴ And yet, portraiture could be regarded on a par with a range of genres, depending on the social level of the sitter and on the sophistication of the portrait itself. Thus, De Lairese considered Van Dyck to be on a par with Titian in the field of portraiture.⁵⁵ He praised the artist for his ingeniousness in pose, light effects, and, significantly, also in costume. Van Dyck’s portraiture reached the top rung of the hierarchy of painting because, through his embellishments, he did more than convey outward appearance

precisely. Van Dyck earned the grudging respect of those enamored of history painting, in part because of his innovative costume. It is not insignificant that he introduced a new form of dress at the Caroline court, a place that offered a sympathetic venue for the display of grandeur and lofty aspirations.

Costume was, for the seventeenth-century artist, a valuable tool that could help articulate the themes or ideals of a portrait. Nevertheless, like rhetoricians, artists were bound by rules and expectations for proper *decorum*, even in matters of dress. In *portraits historiés*, costume was chosen carefully to complement the narrative. In other works, artists with originality and ambition, such as Rembrandt and Van Dyck, brought their *inventio* to bear on the representation of dress. They used costume, either antiquated, exotic, or fantastic, to speak the language of history painting, thereby elevating the work from a straightforward representation of an ordinary person to a more eloquent display of ideals or aspirations.

Notes

The section of this paper on Van Dyck derives from my dissertation, which will be published by Brepols Publishers in 2000. My thanks to Mariët Westermann, who encouraged me to submit a paper to her panel and who helped frame the issues in terms of rhetoric.

1. Roland Barthes concentrates on contemporary language used to describe clothes, and constructs a rather rigid set of correspondences between the terms and their possible meanings. See R. Barthes, *The Fashion System*, M. Ward and R. Howard, trans. (New York, 1983; originally 1967). In recent years, writers on fashion have tended to take an interdisciplinary approach, often blending sociological, psychological, feminist, and semiotic theories in an attempt to understand fashion within a broad cultural and political context. Among these publications are: A. Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York, 1981); E. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London, 1985); J. Ash and E. Wilson, eds., *Chic Thrills: A Fashion Reader* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992); J. Craik, *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion* (London, 1994); F. Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago and London, 1992); R. P. Rubenstein, *Dress Codes: Meanings and Messages in American Culture*, (Boulder, San Francisco, and Oxford, 1995); various articles in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture*. John Harvey, a literary historian, examined the symbolism of black clothing in *Men in Black* (Chicago, 1995).

2. There is no doubt that choice of dress could play a key role in establishing the meaning of a work of art; we know that Jan Steen, for instance, used outdated costume in order to convey the comic content of his genre paintings, a device we now recognize thanks to the research of art historians such as S. J. Gudlaugsson and more recently, Mariët Westermann and H. Perry Chapman. See S. J. Gudlaugsson, *Ikongrafische Studein über die holländische Malerei und das Theater des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1938); S. J. Gudlaugsson, *De Komediante bij Jan Steen en zijn tijdgenoten*, (translated into English: Soest, 1975; originally The Hague, 1945); M. Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (Zwolle, 1997); M. Westermann, "Steen's Comic Fictions," in Washington, National Gallery of Art and Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*, catalogue by H. P. Chapman, W. Th. Kloek, Arthur K. Wheelock (1996), 53–68; H. P. Chapman, "Jan Steen, Player in his own Paintings," in Washington, *Jan Steen*, 11–23, esp. 20–21.

3. The seminal article on the connection between rhetorical and artistic theory is: J. R. Spencer, "Ut Rhetorica Pictura: a Study in Quattrocento Theory of Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 26–44. For a clear summary and further references, see M. Westermann, "Jan Steen, Frans Hals, and the Edges of Portraiture," in *Beeld en Zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse Kunst, 1550–1750*, R. Falkenburg, ed., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 46 (1995), 299–331, esp. 306–307 and 310–11. Mark Meadow also discusses rhetorical processes lucidly, and makes a clear connection to the construction and choice of a painting's composition in "Aertsen's Christ in the House of Martha and Mary, Serlio's Architecture and the Meaning of Location," in *Rhetoric—Rhétoriqueurs—Rederijkers: Proceedings of the Colloquium, Amsterdam, 10–13 November 1993*, J. Koopmans, M. A. Meadow, K. Meerhoff, and M. Spies, eds. (Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, Tokyo, 1995), 175–96.

4. For these definitions, I have drawn on Allan Ellenius' discussion: *De Arte Pigendi: Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and its International Background* (Uppsala and Stockholm, 1960), 60–71; and Westermann, "Jan Steen, Frans Hals, and the Edges of Portraiture." For a further discussion of these terms, see M. Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence: Rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva, 1980).

5. Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poeticis libri septem Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, I, Book I, L. Deitz and G. Vogt-Spira, trans. and annotators, (Stuttgart-Gad Cannstatt, 1994; originally Lyons, 1561), 58–60. Translation from: F. M. Padelford, *Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics* (New York, 1905), 1.

6. *Ibid.*, II, Book 3, Chapter 22, 272–77.

7. As Norbert Elias and others have shown, proper etiquette became an expression of inclusion in the political elite. Elias demonstrates that the rules of "civility" articulated the norms and expectations of the highest social stratum, and were spread through courtesy books to the upper middle class. N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, I (New York, 1978), 53–59. In her study of prescriptions for deportment in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century courtesy books, Anna Bryson shows that good manners were a means by which "the landed élite expressed and justified their power and authority." A. Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status: Gesture, Demeanour and the Image of the Gentleman in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," in L. Gent and N. Llewellyn, *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540–1660* (London, 1990), 145. For a survey of books on good manners, etiquette, or courtesy (as it was called in the seventeenth century), see H. Nicolson, *Good Behavior Being a Study of Certain Types of Civility* (London, 1955).

8. *Elck na zijnen staet/dats na de personen
In eeren zijn/wil de cleedinghe wesen:
Coninghen ghepurpert/ghecierte met Croonen/
En de blijde Jeught lustigh haer verschoonen
Wil met blinkend' verwen schoon uytghelesen/
Magheden wil oock t' wit wel voeghen: in desen
De Schilders wel moeten op alles letten/
Elck soo nae den staet ghecleedt uyt te setten.*

K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, Hessel Miedema, ed. (Utrecht, 1973; originally Haarlem, 1604), fol. 42v.

9. Willem Goeree provides a list of exotic garments with which he states the artist should be familiar in *Inleyding tot de practijck der Al-gemeene Schilder-konst* (Middelburg, 1670), 94. Samuel van Hoogstraten discusses the appropriate attire for specific historical figures in *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilder-Konst anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* (Rotterdam, 1678), 147–53.

10. For a discussion of the concept of the "antique" in dress, see my article: "En rafelkragen, die hy schilderachtig vond'. Was Rembrandt een voddendraper?" *Kostuum verzamelingen in beweging. Twaalf studies over kostuumverzamelingen in Nederland & inventarisatie van het kostuumbezit in Nederlandse openbare collecties* (Nederlandse Kostuumvereniging voor Mode en Streekdracht, 1995), 21–32, esp. 22–23.

11. Pastoral portraits insert the sitter—usually playing the role of a shepherd or shepherdess—into the idyllic world of Arcadia. The pastoral is first of all a literary tradition, stemming from Virgil. In the seventeenth century, works such as Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* and Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* were popular, as was the Dutch author P. C. Hooft's *Granida and Daifilo*. Pastoral portraiture can include narrative, when a sitter plays the role of a particular literary character. For the most part, however, the person portrayed is placed in an idealized setting and accompanied by attributes that indicate the Arcadian theme. Alison McNeil Kettering defines the category, reviews the literary basis for the visual tradition, and discusses Arcadian dress in detail in *The Dutch Arcadia. Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair, NJ, 1983). Pastoral painting, including some portraiture, was also the subject of a recent exhibition: Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Het Gedroomde Land: Pastorale schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, catalogue by P. van den Brink et al. (1993). Marieke Tiethoff-Splithoff includes some discussion of "role-playing" portraits in her essay on portraiture in: "Role-Play

and Representation. Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia,” in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, M. Keblusek and J. Zijlmans, eds. and compilers (The Hague, Historical Museum, 1997), 161–227. Arcadian painting is also discussed in Joaneath A. Spicer with Lynn Federle Orr, eds., *Masters of Light. Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (New Haven and London, 1997), esp. cat. nos. 46–64.

12. I understand the *portrait historié* to mean any portrait in which the sitter or sitters play a role in a narrative, such as a history or a mythology, or have been lifted out of such a narrative. The concept of a *portrait historié* was first defined by A. Pigler, “Gruppenbildnisse mit historisch verkleideten Figuren und ein Hauptwerk des Joannes van Noordt,” *Acta Historiae Artium*, II (1955), 169–88. In her dissertation, Wishnevsky expanded on Pigler’s article by mapping out *portraits historiés* in the Netherlands. See R. Wishnevsky, *Studien zum ‘portrait historié’ in den Niederlanden*, Ph.D. dissertation, Munich, 1967. A more recent discussion of some *portraits historiés* can be found in E. de Jong’s exhibition catalogue, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum *Portretten van echt en trouw* (1986), under the chapter “Rollenspel,” 312–31. A fashion for portraits of people dressed as mythological figures also arose in France in the seventeenth century. For a thorough review of this trend in France, see F. Bardon, *Le portrait mythologique à la cours sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris, 1974). More recently, Sheila Ffolliot has written shorter studies about *portraits historiés* showing Catherine de’ Medici and Diane de’ Poitiers: “Catherine de’ Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Woman,” *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1986), 227–41; “Casting a Rival into the Shade: Catherine de’ Medici and Diane de’ Poitiers,” *Art Journal*, 48 (Summer 1989), 138–43. Emily Bakemeier, a Ph.D. candidate at Princeton University, is currently preparing a dissertation on the *portraits historiés* of Henry IV.

13. For a recent discussion of the iconography, including bibliographic references, see Haarlem, *Portretten van Echt en Trouw*, cat. no. 78.

14. Marieke de Winkel identifies the curled shape with the Phrygian cap, and notes it was often understood as Persian by Rembrandt and his school. See her article “Eene onbedenkelyke verandering van dragten, en vrennde toestellingen omtrent de bekleedingen...” het kostuum in het werk van Arent de Gelder,” in Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, Keulen, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, *Arent de Gelder (1645–1727): Rembrandts laatste leerling* (1998), 93–94.

15. Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo* (Venice, 1598). The peaked headdress with veil and the pointed cap is not unique to costumes understood as Turkish. See also the Karamanian (in Anatolia) noblewoman in Vecellio’s book. Lady Shirley wears a similar headdress in Van Dyck’s portrait of her in Persian dress of 1622 (Petworth). On Turkish dress in Dutch paintings, see M. Breukink-Peeze, “Eene fraaie kleeding van den turschen dragt ontleent. Turke kleding en mode à la turque in Nederland,” in *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-nederlandse ontmoetingen sinds 1600* (Amsterdam, 1989), 130–39.

16. For a clear instance of an artist using such costume books as a source, see B. du Mortier, “...Hier sietmen Vrouwen van alderley Natien...; Kostuumboeken bron voor de schilderkunst?,” *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 39 (1991), 401–13. On the accuracy of the costume prints and for an extensive bibliography, see M. A. Ghering van Ierlant’s discussion in The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, *Mode in Prent 1500–1914*, 2 volumes (1988).

17. Jacques de Gheyn II, *The Masquerade*, 1596–97; Jean Jacques Boissard, *Macarades: recuillies & mises en taille douce par Robert Boissart, valentinois* (Strasbourg, 1597). On the De Gheyn series, see Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art 1580–1620*, G. Luyten and A. van Suchtelen, eds. (1993), cat. no. 44.

18. On this type of pseudo-Roman dress, see D. de Marly, “The Establishment of Roman Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture,” *Burlington Magazine*, 117 (1975), 443–51.

19. For instance, in Crown’s masque *Calisto*, produced at the Whitehall Palace in 1675, the Roman habits for the six Roman Combatants were made of taffeta and satin. See De Marly, “The Establishment of Roman Dress,” 449–50.

20. Marieke de Winkel is currently writing a dissertation on costume in Rembrandt’s works. Some of this material appears as “Costume in Rembrandt’s Self Portraits,” in London, National Gallery, The Hague, Mauritshuis, *Rembrandt by Himself* (1999), 60–74.

21. See *Corpus* II, A 48, 151–57.

22. *Tronie* is an archaic term meaning “head,” “face,” or “facial expression.” The figure may be invented, borrowed, or painted from life. The model in this painting also appears in several works by Jacob Backer. See *Corpus* II, A 48, 156. On *Tronies*, see J. van der Veen, “Faces from Life: *Tronies* and Portraits in Rembrandt’s Painted Oeuvre,” in Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria; Sydney, Art Exhibitions Australia Limited, *Rembrandt: A Genius and his Impact*, catalogue by A. Blankert (1997), 69–80.

23. Such as the *Portrait of Nicolaes Ruys*, 1631 (Frick Collection, New York), *Corpus* I, A 43; *Portrait of Joris de Caullery*, 1632 (San Francisco Museum of Art), *Corpus* I, A 53.

24. Cited in Berlin, Gemäldegalerie SMPK; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; London, National Gallery, *Rembrandt: The Master & his Workshop* (1991–92), cat. no. 9.

25. For terminology and comparable garments, see *The Topkapi Saray Museum: Costumes, Embroideries and other Textiles*, J. M. Rogers trans., expanded, and ed. from the original Turkish by Hülye Tezcan and Selma Delibas (Boston, 1986). On Rembrandt’s use of Eastern dress, see H. Goetz, “Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting II,” *Burlington Magazine*, 73 (September, 1938), 111–15; B. A. Stone Perry, *The Eastern Motif in the Works of Rembrandt*, Ph.D. dissertation (Syracuse University, 1980), esp. chapters V and VI. Leonard Slatkes demonstrates that Rembrandt used images of contemporary Persian and Turkish costumes for his own biblical paintings in *Rembrandt and Persia* (New York, 1983), 17–25, 40, 53–57, 66–78.

26. See *Corpus* III, A 110, 124–33; Berlin, *Rembrandt*, cat. no. 22.

27. See *Corpus* I, A 42, 391–97.

28. The reference is from W. Sanderson, *Graphice or the use of the Pen and Pensill in Designing, Drawing, and Painting: with an exact Discourse of each of them* (London, 1658), 39. For a more extended discussion, see my dissertation (1998, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University).

29. For more information on the portrait, see O. Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection at Windsor Castle* (London, 1963), cat. no. 159.

30. This painting is a smaller version of the original, larger version of the portrait. For more about the provenance and the circumstances of the commission, see Washington, National Gallery of Art, *Anthony van Dyck*, A. K. Wheelock, Jr., ed. (1990), cat. no. 64.

31. This picture was sent to Cardinal Barberini in Rome, probably to thank him for his part in commissioning Bernini to carve a bust of Charles I. For more information on the portrait, see E. Fahy and Sir F. Watson, *The Wrightsman Collection*, Volume 5: *Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture* (New York, 1973), 298–308.

Unlike Irene Groeneweg, I believe this type of costume was actually worn in England in the 1630s. In several articles, Groeneweg puts forth the opinion that all of the costumes Van Dyck painted in England were fictional, although she has not yet provided a thorough explanation for her opinion. She did discuss Van Dyck's English portraits at length in a lecture of February 16, 1994 as part of a course entitled *Het Europese kostuum in de 17de en de 18de eeuw*, Spring 1994, at Leiden University. She plans to include a chapter on women's costumes in Van Dyck's works in her forthcoming dissertation. See I. Groeneweg, "Kanttekeningen bij een 18de eeuwse nederlandse vrouwenportret in 'antique kleding'," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, IV (1985), 420–21; "Regenten in het zwart: vroom en deftig?," *Beeld en Zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse Kunst, 1550–1750*, R. Falkenburg, ed., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 46 (1995), note 19, 240, note 60, 242, and in the English summary on 238; "Court and City: Dress in the Age of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," in The Hague, *Princely Display*, 212–16.

32. The history of jewelry, is, like that of costume more generally, incomplete, because of the small number of actual pieces that have survived. While the forms of the jewels in Mary Villiers' portrait accord with what were probably fashionable at the time, their sheer size and number suggests that Van Dyck enhanced them. On jewelry in England, see D. Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain, 1066–1837: A Documentary, Social, Literary and Artistic Survey* (Wilby, Norwich, 1994), esp. chapters 5–6; For Henrietta Maria's jewelry in Van Dyck's portraits, see D. Scarisbrick, "For Richer for Poorer," *Country Life* (October 4, 1990), 136–39. An exhibition catalogue that deals with the period before Van Dyck's arrival in England is nevertheless useful for understanding the function and making of jewelry in England. See London, Victoria & Albert Museum, *Princely Magnificence: Court Jewels of the Renaissance 1500–1630*, cat. by A. Somers Cocks (1980). I am grateful to Mrs. Scarisbrick for her advice on this point.

Mary Villiers' rich brooches and large pearls in this portrait call to mind the often-quoted letters of the Lady Sussex, who wrote to her son about her portrait commissioned from Van Dyck: "I have sene [seen] sables with the clasp of them set with dimons—if thos that i am pictuerde in wher don so i think it would look very wel in the pictuer." Letters of 1640, in F.P. Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Civil War*, Vol. 1 (London and New York, 1892), 257. She also notes that the finished portrait was "to rich in ihuels [jewels] i am suer, but it tis no great mater for another age to thinke me richer then i was." (258) Also cited by L. Cust, *Anthony van Dyck: An Historical Study of His Life and Works* (London, 1900), 175–77; C. Brown, *Van Dyck* (Oxford, 1982), 215.

For dramatic swags of drapery, see Van Dyck's own pastoral paintings, such as *Rinaldo and Armida*, 1629 (The Baltimore Museum of Art); *Amaryllis and Mirtillo*, 1631–32 (Graf von Schönborn, Pommersfelden).

33. For a recent discussion, see London, National Gallery, *In Trust for the Nation: Paintings from National Trust Houses*, catalogue by A. Laing (1995), cat. no. 3.

34. This appears to have been a last-minute addition to the costume, since it was created by applying a wavy line of dark pigment over the straight edge of the white skirt.

35. Although pearls are not always worn in the hair, they should not be considered out of the ordinary. For one example, see Jonson's 1630 portrait of a woman wearing a strand of pearls and ribbons in her knot of hair. See London, The Tate Gallery, *The Age of Charles I, Painting in England 1620–1649*, catalogue by O. Millar (1972), cat. no. 34. The dangling pearl earrings and necklace are standard issue for women at this time. For the value of pearls and inventory entries, see I. Groeneweg, "Court and City," 205–206. E. de Jongh interprets pearls from an iconographical point of view in: "Pearls of virtue and pearls of vice," *Simiolus*, 8, 2 (1975–76), 69–97. His conclusions cannot be supported, particularly in portraits that do not have an evident single "meaning."

36. Endymion Porter, a member of the court of Charles I, was well versed in the arts and also a close friend of Van Dyck and Rubens. For more on Porter, see G. Huxley, *Endymion Porter* (London, 1959) and W. Vaughn, *Endymion Porter and William Dobson*, Tate Gallery (London, 1970). For the most recent discussion of this portrait, see Washington, *Anthony van Dyck*, cat. no. 73.

37. On Van Dyck's family background, see K. van der Stighelen, "Young Anthony: Archival Discoveries Relating to Van Dyck's Early Career," in *Van Dyck 350: Studies in the History of Art*, 46, Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., eds. (Washington, 1994), 17–46; by the same author, "Cornelia Pruystinck en Lynken Cuypers: over de grootmoederlijke erfenis van Anton van Dijk," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen* (1995), 243–87.

38. G. P. Bellori, *Le vite de pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (Genoa, 1672; reprinted Rome, 1931), 255.

39. See Millar in London, National Portrait Gallery, *Van Dyck in England* (1982), 22–23; A. K. Wheelock, "The Search for 'The Central Orb': Van Dyck and His Historical Reputation," in Washington, *Anthony Van Dyck*, 11–16, esp. 12.

40. *Il Cortegiano* was first published in 1528; it was translated into English by Thomas Hoby, and published as *The Courtier* in 1561. A recent edition of Hoby's translation contains an excellent introduction and a useful chronology: Count Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, V. Cox, ed. (London and Rutland, VT, 1994).

41. Ibid., Book I, XXVI, 53. For an explanation of *sprezzatura* and the related concept of grace, see J. R. Woodehouse's study of *Il Cortegiano: Baldesar Castiglione: A Reassessment of The Courtier* (Edinburgh, 1978), esp. 76–80. E. Saccone, "Grazia, Sprezzatura, Affettazione in the Courtier," in Castiglione, *The Ideal and the Real*, Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand, eds. (New Haven and London, 1983), 45–67. While Castiglione had published his book nearly a century before Van Dyck painted his first self-portrait, it remained much-read and admired, and also was of fundamental importance to later tracts on courtly behavior and etiquette. For a splendid discussion of *Il Cortegiano* in its own time and its effect on later courtesy books, see P. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge, 1995).

42. J. M. Muller, "The Quality of Grace in the Art of Anthony van Dyck," in Washington, *Anthony van Dyck*, 27–36.

43. Van Dyck was, apparently, quite aware of the rules of *decorum*. Susan Barnes has shown how he adhered to the ideas expressed by Lomazzo in the Genoese portraits. See *Van Dyck in Italy*, Ph.D. dissertation (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, New York, 1986), 82–137; see also her essay "Van Dyck a Genova," in Genoa, *Palazzo Ducale, Van Dyck a Genova: Grande pittura e collezionismo* (1997), 64–81, esp. 68.

44. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Book I, XXVII, 55.

45. For example, Arthur Wheelock writes: "Van Dyck's costume . . . is simple and restrained, perhaps in recognition that he should not dress beyond his station, particularly in the company of so close a confidant to Charles I." In Washington, *Anthony van Dyck*, cat. no. 73, 281.

46. In his book on black clothing, John Harvey comments about Van Dyck's black costume: "His [Van Dyck's] black [costume] . . . has formality, importance: and of course the likely main value of the black clothes artists painted themselves wearing was precisely the serious impersonality of black, signaling their subservience to the high impersonal demands of an art. They were at once priests and doctors of art." Harvey, *Men in Black*, 117. While I agree, as argued below, that Van Dyck's costume refers to his role as an artist, I am not sure the color necessarily implies subservience. The self-portraits to which Harvey refers—by Vélazquez, Hals, Vermeer, Poussin, and others—all postdate Van Dyck's English period. Furthermore, Harvey never questions the "reality" of the costumes represented in any of the paintings he discusses.

47. Robert van der Voerst (after Anthony van Dyck), ca. 1636 (British Museum). A copy is in the collection of Sir Felix Cassel, Luton, Putteridge Bury. On the print, see Dulwich Picture Gallery, *Death, Passion and Politics. Van Dyck's Portraits of Venetia Stanley and George Digby*, A. Sumner, ed. (1995), cat. no. 36.

48. See Dulwich, *Death, Passion and Politics*, cat. no. 35.

49. Translation in C. Brown, *Van Dyck*, 147. Bellori, *Le vite*, 260. Sir Kenelm Digby, a close friend of Van Dyck's, provided Bellori with much of his information. There is every reason to suppose he described his own portrait to Bellori as well.

50. See, for example, several portraits of artists and musicians executed during Van Dyck's second Antwerp period (1627–32): *Gaspar de Crayer*, a successful painter who worked for the court in Brussels and in Madrid (Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz); *The Organist Heinrich Liberti*, (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), who also wears a chain slung several times around one shoulder; *Karel van Mallery* (Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet); *The Sculptor Georg Petel*, (Munich, Alte Pinakothek); *Lucas Vorsterman the Elder* (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Art Antiga). In addition, the portrait *George Gage and Two Men*, 1622 or 23 (London, National Gallery), shows the art dealer wearing a simple collar over a plain doublet with gold lining, visible at the cuff. During his English period, Van Dyck painted *Eberhard Jabach*, ca. 1636–7 (St. Petersburg, Hermitage), in the sort of relaxed attire found in his earlier self-portraits.

51. The portraits in Van Dyck's print series, the *Iconography*, rarely include this type of "philosopher's dress," but Digby's portrait is copied directly from his *Portrait with an Armillary Sphere*. In other cases, the loose and simpler garb was changed to include a ruff collar or more formal dress. Indeed, in her article on the preparation of the *Iconography* Joaneath Spicer notes: "Many of the drawings for which related paintings exist are very close to the paintings, especially around the head, but include costume details that supersede the paintings and anticipate the engravings, as with the new formality of De Mallery's collar, which is preserved in the oil *modello* and engraving." See J. Spicer, "Anthony van Dyck's *Iconography*: An Overview of Its Preparation," in *Van Dyck* 350, 336.

52. See Bellori, *Le vite*, 254. For Van Dyck's critical reputation, see Wheelock's essay, "The Search for 'The Central Orb': Van Dyck and His Historical Reputation," in Washington, *Anthony van Dyck*, 11–16.

53. On the hierarchy of genres in art theory, see R. W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis. The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York and London, 1967), 7–8, 17–19. Blankert discusses the hierarchy of genres in the Netherlands specifically in his "General Introduction" to the catalogue Washington, National Gallery of Art; Detroit Institute of Arts; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Gods, Saints & Heroes. Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (1980), 16–18. See also Westermann, "Jan Steen, Frans Hals...", 307.

54. "Wat deze stoffe belangt, het heeft my menigmaal vreemd gedacht, hoe iemand zyne vryheid kan verlaaten om zich tot een slaaf te maken, en van de volmaaktheid dezer edele Konst afwyken om zich zelven aan alle de gebreken der Natuur te onderwerpen. Ik spreek van zulke groote en doorluchtige Meesters als van Dyk, Lely, van Loo den ouden en jongen Bakker, en andere die zodanig een vermogen in de Konst bezaten, dat, zeg ik, zy het hoffelyke achter het burgerlyke stelden." G. de Lairese, *Groot Schilderboek*, waar in de schilderkonst in al haar deelen grondig werd onderweezen (Amsterdam, 1707), II, 5. Translation in Blankert's introduction to Washington, *Gods, Saints & Heroes*, 16.

55. *Ibid.*, 17–18.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Apeldoorn, Paleis Het Loo, Nationaal Museum; fig. 5, Potsdam, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg/Bildarchiv; fig. 7, London, National Gallery; fig. 8, Chicago, © 1999, The Art Institute of Chicago. All rights reserved; fig. 9, Windsor, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II; fig. 10, London, by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery; fig. 11, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. All rights reserved; fig. 12, London, National Trust Photographic Library/John Hammond; fig. 14, London, National Gallery; fig. 15, London, British Museum.

The Role of Printmaking in Utrecht during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

Joaneath A. Spicer

The blossoming of the art of painting in Utrecht in the years 1600–50 carried this city of 30,000 to its apogee of artistic prominence, as explored in the exhibition Masters of Light, Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age (San Francisco, Baltimore, London, 1997–98). Benefiting from the growing demand for artistic imagery, printmaking came into its own as a sister art in Utrecht during this period. Teasing out the evolution of its role expands our sense of the complexity of the artistic environment in Utrecht. It also provides a complement to the traditional focus among specialists on Netherlandish printmaking to developments in the province of Holland, especially in Haarlem and Amsterdam.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, when the city of Utrecht was at its apogee as a center for the visual arts, the role of printmaking as an artistic discipline was closely tied to the extraordinary blossoming of painting in the city, recently explored by the present writer joined by Lynn Orr and other authors in the catalogue of the exhibition *Masters of Light, Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*.¹ Benefiting from the growing demand for artistic imagery, printmaking came into its own as a sister art in Utrecht during this same period. Teasing out its intriguing evolution, entwined as it is with that of painting, results in a rather different pattern of relationships than in the province of Holland, especially in the cities of Haarlem and Amsterdam. In those centers, printmaking evolved in a more consistent and independent pattern, reflected, for example, in the early and sustained interest in etching for direct creative expression, epitomized by the masterpieces of Rembrandt and Hercules Seghers. In consequence, I have couched the present tentative first sketch of the evolving role of printmaking in Utrecht in terms of the relationship between the two disciplines, rather than with reference to the better studied² and more innovative tradition in Haarlem and Amsterdam.

In the years 1590 to 1610, as the character of painting in Utrecht was taking shape in the hands of Abraham Bloemaert, Joachim Wtewael, and Paulus Moreelse in response to the potent Mannerism dominant in Haarlem and Amsterdam, the absence of sophisticated professional printmakers in the city meant that these painters worked with engravers elsewhere, again chiefly in Haarlem and Amsterdam, to produce prints after their designs. A consequence of this lack of professional printmakers was that in 1598 the Utrecht city fathers' commission for a combination panoramic profile and bird's-eye view of the city went to the Utrecht silversmith Adam van Vianen.³ The resulting etching does honor to its maker and the city, and is not Van Vianen's only print, but his real talents lay elsewhere.

Abraham Bloemaert, considered the father of the Utrecht painting school not only because of his own productive career but because of his importance as a teacher of so many painters of the following generation, owed his influence as well to his understanding of the importance of prints. They served as a way to give widespread circulation to his artistic designs and to communicate religious ideals that were important to him as a devout Catholic in a country where public discourse was firmly in the control of Protestants. While working in Amsterdam in 1591–93, Bloemaert began a lifelong association with a succession of printmakers, at first engravers, but subsequently also etchers and at least one woodcutter. His subjects encompassed many chosen from nature, a few from the daily life of peasants and Greco-Roman mythology, but first of all from religion, often explicitly Catholic. The actual model Bloemaert provided these printmakers was a pen drawing, that in many cases had been, or would be, used for a painting; and the compositions, exemplified by the magnificent *Annunciation*⁴ (fig. 1) engraved by Jacques de Gheyn the Younger in 1593, are generally very "picturelike." Bloemaert's goal, as

judged from the results, was to achieve equivalents for the texture, plasticity, detail, and color of his paintings through the linear play of black and white. In the first two decades of these collaborations, the engravers were, for the most part, pupils of the Haarlem engraver Hendrick Goltzius, or their pupils, beginning with De Gheyn⁵ in 1591, followed by Jan Saenredam,⁶ Jacob Matham,⁷ the engraver of *The Parable of the Tares*⁸ (fig. 2), and Willem van Swanenburg.⁹ The most astonishingly pictorial results were achieved in the engravings of Jan Muller.¹⁰ A few of Bloemaert's designs were engraved as far away as Cologne and Antwerp,¹¹ major centers of printmaking and publishing.

Moreelse¹² and Wtewael¹³ were much less involved in collaborative ventures with printmakers. It is not impossible that the social prominence they each enjoyed was a factor here. Wtewael's interest in printmaking was apparently limited to projects expressing his loyalty to the political fortunes of the House of Orange. *Thronus Iustitiae*¹⁴ (*Images of Justice*), a series after Wtewael's drawings on justice throughout history, engraved by Swanenburg in 1606–07, was followed around 1609 by plans for a more overt declaration of support for Prince Maurits in a series of at least ten drawings designed to be published as a print series, *The Subjugation and Salvation of the Netherlands*.¹⁵ The latter was never engraved, very likely because it would have undercut diplomatic relations with Spain just as the twelve-year truce was declared. Characteristic of the relatively few prints after Moreelse at this period are companion engravings of 1606 after the artist's grisaille studies¹⁶ of *Diana and Callisto*,¹⁷ executed by Saenredam, and *Diana and Acteon*,¹⁸ by Matham.

Alongside these three figure painters, the landscapist Gillis de Hondecoeter was active in producing drawings for engravings both in Utrecht and Amsterdam where he moved in 1610, possibly to be nearer his engraver, Jan van Londerseel.¹⁹ While his paintings from the period demonstrate a typically mannerist love of vegetal complexity, in the designs for engravings, exemplified by *Landscape with the Disobedient Prophet Eaten by a Lion* (fig. 3), we find an even more elaborate play of interlaced branches, suggesting that De Hondecoeter was keen to exploit the linear possibilities of printmaking for its own aesthetic.

In 1610–11, significant shifts took place that indicate an increasing appreciation of the importance of printmaking and resulted in its gaining, at last, a real foothold in the city. Two sophisticated, professional printmakers—Hendrik Goudt and Crispijn van de Passe—settled in Utrecht at least in part in response to the founding of a St. Luke's guild for artists in the



Fig. 1. Jacob de Gheyn the Younger, after a drawing by Abraham Bloemaert, *Annunciation*, 1593, reissued in 1599, engraving, 338 x 278 mm. Baltimore Museum of Art, Garrett Collection. BMA 1946.112.11903.

city in 1611; in addition, a few painters, including the ever-resourceful Bloemaert, experimented with making prints themselves. However, before pursuing these shifts, a few words must be said outlining Bloemaert's exclusive and fertile collaboration (resulting in over a hundred prints) with the talented Amsterdam publisher and printmaker Boetius Adam Bolswert, aided by his brother Schelte Adam Bolswert, which provided a kind of *continuo* during these years. Following on the last illness of Willem van Swanenberg, Bloemaert's relationship with the firm began in 1611, extending beyond their move ca. 1618 to Antwerp to escape persecution as Catholics. The brothers' subtle modeling and clear linear structure was surely a factor in the effectiveness of the large number of their prints intended as aids to Catholic meditation, such as Schelte's *Virgin of Sorrows with the Holy Face*²⁰ (fig. 19), recently elucidated by Walter Melion, or Boethius' series *Sacra Eremus Ascetarum* (hermit saints),²¹ engraved in 1612, though not issued until 1619 in Antwerp, and then as a book with texts by the Jesuit Joannes Ryser. As Marcel Roethlisberger makes clear, this series, Bloemaert's most widely published print set, notable for its emphasis on the emo-



Fig. 2. Jacob Matham, after a drawing by Abraham Bloemaert, *Parable of the Tares*, 1605, engraving, 383 x 492 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

tional fervor of the subjects articulated by Bolswert's remarkably plastic modeling, is an important indicator of the artist's growing cooperation with the Jesuits. Bolswert applied these same skills as well to a delightful series based on Bloemaert's studies from life that celebrate the simple pleasures to be enjoyed on countryside rambles around Utrecht: a 1611 series of domestic animals²² and, in 1613–14, one of rural vignettes, such as this *Farmyard* (fig. 4),²³ creating an artistic vehicle for a category of pleasing but unpretentious imagery that Bloemaert would not have considered worthy of being the sole subject of a painting.

Against this background, we find, around 1610–11, the first examples of Utrecht painters beginning to experiment themselves with printmaking as a vehicle for self-expression. The first securely dated original etching by a Utrecht painter is *Carousing Beggars*²⁴ (fig. 6), dated 1610 and signed by the genre painter Joost Droochsloot as the maker (*fecit*) in the second state.²⁵ It is etched in a purposefully scratchy, raw, angular style that takes advantage of the bite of the acid and pointedly calls attention to the coarseness of the subject matter. As Clifford Ackley and more recent authors

have proposed, Droochsloot may have been inspired in his endeavors by the handful of similarly scratchy, if more superficially disciplined, etchings of the poor by the Amsterdam painter David Vinckboons from 1604–09.²⁶ Droochsloot's two etchings may in turn have prompted the etching efforts of his pupil Jacob Duck²⁷ and possibly the etchings of carousing peasants and rough hermits made in Italy by the young Andries Both.²⁸ Peasants in Droochsloot's etchings, like those in his paintings, are normally represented as comical or morally objectionable. It is remarkable to observe that the fascination with the morally objectionable is typical as well of the overwhelming majority of genre subjects in Utrecht prints and paintings; the delight in the depiction of the work-a-day world of the middle class and peasantry that is so characteristic of seventeenth-century art in Holland is just not found in Utrecht.²⁹

In contrast, the etching of *Juno*³⁰ (fig. 7), bearing an inscription claiming Bloemaert as the etcher, *A. Bloem fecit*, datable to 1611–13, takes advantage of another quality of the etcher's needle, the freedom of handling characteristic of the pen sketch, to create airy clouds and drapery lifted as if by a breeze; nevertheless, the



Fig. 3. Jan van Londerseel, after a drawing by Gillis de Hondecoeter, *Landscape with the Disobedient Prophet Eaten by a Lion*, ca. 1602–10, engraving, 370 x 470 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 4. Boetius Adam Bolswert, after a drawing by Abraham Bloemaert, *Farmyard*, 1613, from a series of *Rural Views* (1614), etching, 147/53 x 232/41 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

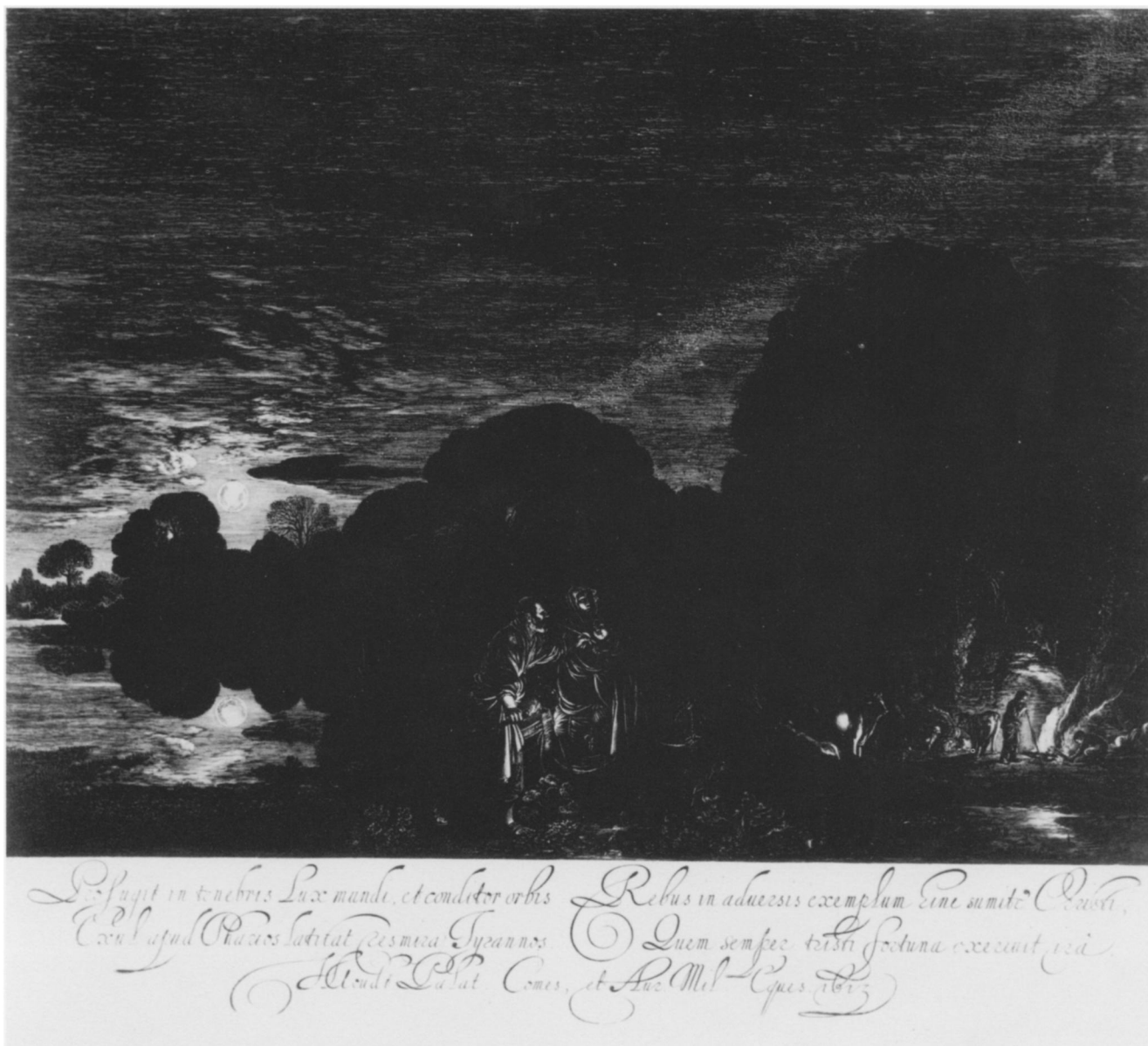


Fig. 5. Hendrik Goudt, after a painting of 1609 by Adam Elsheimer, *Flight into Egypt*, 1613, engraving and etching, 300 x 418 mm. Baltimore Museum of Art, Garrett Collection. BMA 1946.112.4886.

undisciplined shading reflects an inexperienced hand. The calligraphic style of Bloemaert's etching is very close to Bloemaert's drawing of Venus³¹ (fig. 8), which, however, was engraved with a full complement of dense, structured cross hatchings by Boetius Bolswert, as was the third plate of the series representing Minerva. Bolswert was also the publisher of the three plates. Though the timing of this experiment must have followed closely on Droochsloot's, it is hard to imagine a connection. Bloemaert's hand in this apparently unique experiment was very likely guided by Bolswert, who, during the same period, made single-figure etchings of female saints after Bloemaert in a similar style.³²

*The Death of Lucretia*³³ (fig. 9) is one of two crudely cut chiaroscuro woodcuts dated 1612 after designs by Paulus Moreelse.³⁴ Although the use of the abbreviation *in.[venit]* in the signature explicitly claims only the invention of the design, as distinct from *fecit* on Bloemaert's etching that claims the execution, the awkwardness of the execution, in conjunction with the unusual choice of medium (surely a response to Moreelse's preference for making chiaroscuro oil studies as models for prints), point to the distinct possibility that these two woodcuts are in fact by Moreelse. The thinness of the black lines may indicate a desire to suggest a combination of etching and wood block, as Susan



Fig. 6. Joost Droochsloot, *Carousing Peasants*, 1610, etching and drypoint, 128 x 172 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 7. Abraham Bloemaert, *Juno*, ca. 1611–13, etching, 149 x 118 mm. Baltimore Museum of Art, Blanche Adler Memorial Fund. BMA 1987.91.



Fig. 8. Abraham Bloemaert, *Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1611–13, brown ink and wash, heightened with white gouache, 139 x 113 mm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



Fig. 9. Paulus Moreelse? (or anonymous woodcutter after), *The Death of Lucretia*, 1612, woodcut, 256 x 326 mm. Baltimore Museum of Art, Blanche Adler Memorial Fund. BMA 1997.153.

Dackerman has observed.³⁵ A source of inspiration or instruction might have again come from Bolswert, who was then experimenting with the use of a tone plate for various etchings after Bloemaert,³⁶ a combination that was further explored by Frederick Bloemaert decades later in prints after his father Abraham's designs, for example the *Title Page* (fig. 39) of *Artis Apellae* (*The Art of Apelles, The Drawing Book of Abraham Bloemaert*) published around 1650–55. While there is no evidence of Bloemaert himself trying his hand at a woodcut, in the early 1620s he worked with the German woodcutter Ludolf Büssinck to produce a handful of chiaroscuro woodcuts.³⁷

That more experiments by Utrecht painters did not soon follow may be due to the relocation to Utrecht of two successful professional printmakers. In 1611, Hendrik Goudt,³⁸ who probably received early training

as a printmaker in The Hague, settled in Utrecht, having returned from Rome with a papal knighthood and a collection of paintings by the Frankfurt painter Adam Elsheimer. He entered the guild as a nobleman (a special status) and engraver. In Rome from 1604, he was first the pupil and then the patron of Elsheimer, who died in 1610. In the brief period from 1611 to 1613, in which the wealthy Goudt remained active as a printmaker, his finest works were five astonishing, exquisitely executed prints after Elsheimer's landscape paintings, prints that he signed with only his own name. The quality and impact of these prints were recognized by contemporaries. "Incomparable" is how they were described by the German painter and writer Joachim von Sandrart, who trained in Utrecht in the 1620s.³⁹ One might say that, whereas Dutch artists had focused on the trees, as in the earlier

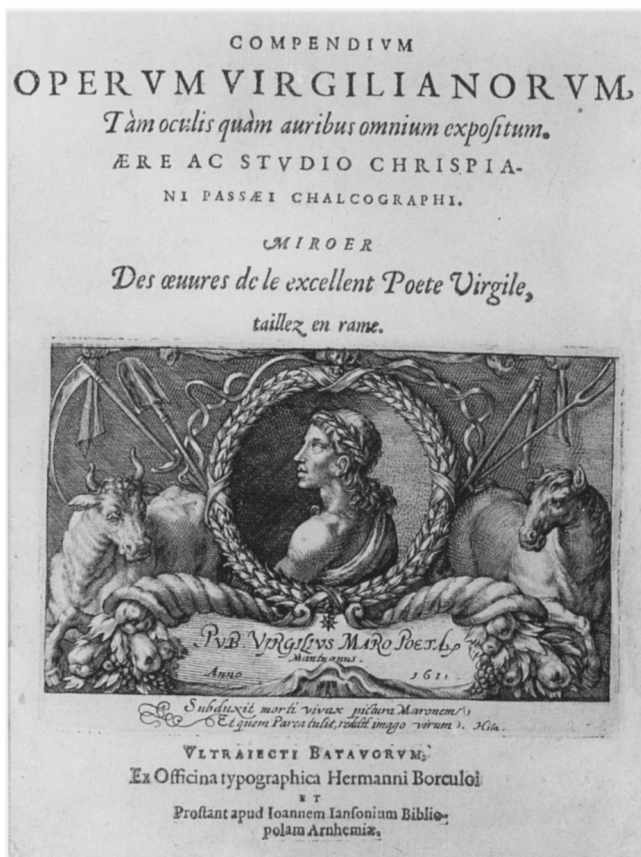


Fig. 10. Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, *Title Page with the Portrait of Virgil*, from *Compendium Operum Virgilianorum* (Utrecht 1612), engraving, 84 x 128 mm. New York Public Library, Spencer Collection.

engravings after De Hondcoeter and Bloemaert (figs. 2 and 3), Elsheimer evoked the mystery of the forest, of elemental forms in nature. In Goudt's print *Flight into Egypt*⁴⁰ (fig. 5), dated 1613, after a painting of 1609 that Goudt brought back to Utrecht,⁴¹ the flexibility of expression possible with etching and the control characteristic of engraving are combined to convey the possibilities of velvety shadow and the serene power of underlying geometric form. At this period, interest in landscape as an independent subject for paintings and prints was focused in Haarlem and Amsterdam and it was there that the impact of these prints was most immediately felt, especially in the prints of Jan van de Velde.⁴²

Also in 1611, Crispijn van de Passe,⁴³ originally from Zeeland but then active in various cities including Antwerp (1584–88) and Cologne (1589–1610),⁴⁴ settled in Utrecht with the intention of founding a school of printmaking as an adjunct to the new guild. Although this did not materialize, he produced a number of students who would become productive engravers, including Abraham Bloemaert's son Cornelis and four



Fig. 11. Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, *Amor Docet Musicam* (Love Teaches Music), from Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum* (Cologne 1611, Utrecht 1613), engraving. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

of Van de Passe's own children: Crispijn the Younger, Willem, Simon, and Magdalena. Along with Goudt, the Van de Passe family and Cornelis Bloemaert were all highly praised as reproductive printmakers by Sandrart,⁴⁵ who had been a student in the late 1620s along with Cornelis in the academy for young artists run by Gerard van Honthorst.⁴⁶ Among Van de Passe's friends could be numbered not only the leading contemporary painters but also the humanist and art lover Arent van Buchel,⁴⁷ who wrote many of the Latin inscriptions for Van de Passe's prints. The importance of the prodigiously productive Van de Passe is due first of all to his print series and books featuring prints rather than to single plates, though he issued the latter also. Many of the publications, especially from his first years in Utrecht, are based on his own drawings, although he also worked with various local artists as well as a few from farther afield, such as Maerten de Vos in Antwerp.⁴⁸ The task of engraving was often shared with Crispijn the Younger and his siblings. After the death of the father, and also of Willem and Magdalena ca. 1637–38, and with Simon working



Fig. 12. Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, *Rosa Alba*, *Rosa Rubra*, from *Le Jardin de fleurs* (Utrecht 1614), engraving, 143 x 218 mm. Upperville, Virginia, Mrs. Paul Mellon.

in Copenhagen, Crispijn the Younger moved the business to Amsterdam; nevertheless, his publications would continue to respond to the artistic environment of Utrecht.

Even a sampling of the titles from Van de Passe's first years in Utrecht makes us aware of the remarkable degree to which they signal themes that would be favored in Utrecht painting, especially subjects attractive to the leisured classes (and those who aspired to them): for example, pastoral themes, the merrymaking of leisured youth, horticulture, and portrayals of the nobility.

Van de Passe was assiduous in publishing portraits of Dutch nobles as well as of closely related noble houses in Germany and England, particularly during his first decade in Utrecht when he was establishing himself. These included single plates, such as that reproducing Paulus Moreelse's *Portrait of Ernst Casimir*, Count of Nassau, engraved by Swanenburgh in 1612,⁴⁹ and series such as *Afbeeldinge des machtigen Frederick V*,⁵⁰ 1613 (representations of the young Palatine Elector Frederick V, a close cousin to the Prince of Orange and hailed as the hope of Protestant Europe); *Nassouischen Oraignien-Boom*,⁵¹ 1615 (portraits of the Orange-Nassau

family); *Heroologia Anglica*,⁵² 1620 (noble English "heros"); and a series of Emperor Matthias and the Imperial Electors,⁵³ 1615. A later distillation of this overt celebration of the nobility, together with the much loved conceit of pastoral romance, is found in Crispijn van de Passe the Younger's popular publication *Les vrais portraits de quelques unes des plus grandes dames de la Chrestienté, desguisées en bergères* (*The True Portraits of Some of the Greatest Ladies in Christendom Disguised as Shepherdesses*; Amsterdam 1640), of which one of the most charming is *Portrait of the Shepherdess "Amolosa"* (fig. 21) based on the painting *Catharina Elisabeth von Hanau as a Shepherdess*⁵⁴ by Gerard or Willem van Honthorst.

Noble ideals of the sovereignty of love and beauty, fostered by a leisured lifestyle, found expression in books of plates illustrating Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, *Compendium Operum Virilianorum*,⁵⁵ 1612, with a portrait of Virgil as a shepherd on the title page (fig. 10), and the *Aeneid*, *Speculum Aeneidis Virilianae*,⁵⁶ 1612, and a volume of Homer, *Speculum Heroicum Homericum*,⁵⁷ 1613. In the same vein were the illustrations Van de Passe contributed to one of the most influential books of Dutch



Fig. 13. Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, *Students in a Brothel*, from *Academia sive Speculum Vitae Scholasticae* (*The Mirror of Student Life*; Utrecht 1612), engraving, 105 x 141 mm. New York Public Library, Spencer Collection.

pastoral poetry, Daniel Heinsius's *Poemata*,⁵⁸ published in Amsterdam in 1616. Perhaps the Van de Passe family's best-known single pastoral image is Crispijn the Younger's famous "portrait" of the shepherdess Galathea,⁵⁹ for Jacob Cats's poem *Galathee ofte harder Minne-Klachte* (*Galathea, or the Herder's Complaint*) published in 1627. The theme of the pursuit of love underlies two important emblem books he published in these years, the second volume of Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus Emblematicus*⁶⁰ in 1613 (fig. 11), and *Thronus Cupidinis*⁶¹ (*Emblems of Love*) in 1618. His engraving *Cephalus and Procris*,⁶² 1616, after a chiaroscuro study in oil on paper by Paulus Moreelse is one of the individual plates published to appeal to the same market.

The cultivation of nature for its aesthetic value, a permissible pursuit for the nobility (as opposed to the cultivation of a crop for profit, which was not) is celebrated in one of the most exquisite books of botanical prints of all time, *Den Bloemhof*⁶³ (*The Flower*

Garden), engraved by the youthful Crispijn the Younger after his own drawings and published in 1614, with editions appearing thereafter in English, Latin, and French. Illustrated here is the plate *White and Red Rose* (fig. 12), of which the former species often served to anchor many of the beautiful bouquets painted by Ambrosius Bosschaert, Roelandt Saverij, and Balthasar van der Ast in the following years.⁶⁴

The license of the leisured life is indulged in a volume of plates on the pleasures and escapades of student life (then largely reserved to the wealthy), *Academia sive Speculum Vitae Scholasticae*⁶⁵ (*Mirror of the Student Life*) of 1612, represented here by *Students in a Brothel* (fig. 13), that anticipates the paintings of such subjects by the Utrecht Caravaggisti of a decade later. Manly disciplines would be subsequently addressed in books on dressage in 1623⁶⁶ and on swordsmanship in 1628,⁶⁷ to which Crispijn the Younger contributed illustrations while in Paris teaching drawing to the sons of the nobility.



Fig. 14. Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, after a painting by Dirck van Baburen, *Ira*, from the series *The Four Temperaments*, ca. 1620s, engraving, 210 x 146 mm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen.

Van de Passe’s taste for idealized pastoral subjects and the improving lessons found in nature does not seem to have extended to an appreciation for the Dutch countryside, and there are no series to compare with *Bolswert’s* after Bloemaert’s rural vignettes. However, landscape is not entirely missing; Van de Passe published various series engraved in the 1620s by his daughter Magdalena after paintings by contemporaries. One series of four landscapes illustrates the story of Elijah, based on dramatic paintings of mountains and coastlines by the prominent Utrecht landscapists Adam Willarts and Roelandt Saverij. *Landscape with Elijah Receiving Bread From a Raven*⁶⁸ (fig. 23) is based on a painting by Saverij, *Mountain Landscape with Travelers*,⁶⁹ done in 1613 shortly after the artist returned to Amsterdam from the court of the Emperor in Prague, and therefore years before he moved to Utrecht in 1618.

Fig. 16. Gerard van Honthorst, *Soldier with a Girl Holding a Burning Coal*, ca. 1622, oil on canvas, 82.6 x 66 cm. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.



Fig. 15. Theodor Matham, after a painting by Gerard van Honthorst, *Woman Playing a Violin*, 1626, engraving, 198 x 155 mm. Baltimore Museum of Art, Garrett Collection. BMA 1946.112.3245.





Fig. 17. Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, after a painting by Jan van Bijlert, *Sylvia*, from *Van t licht der teken en schilderkonst*, part IV (Amsterdam 1644), pl. [51], engraving, 215 x 148 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 18. Cornelis Bloemaert, after a painting by Abraham Bloemaert, *St. Jerome*, ca. 1625–30, engraving and etching, 170 x 135 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Finally Van de Passe, a Mennonite (Baptist), published a number of series and some individual plates (but apparently no books) on religious themes, such as *Liber Genesis*⁷⁰ (Book of Genesis), a series of 60 plates that he engraved and published in 1612. Some offer an interpretive perspective that would speak more directly to Catholics, again responding to the market for private images as aids to Catholic devotion in a city where Catholicism remained an important, if unofficial force, and in a country in which one third of the inhabitants remained Catholic. While some of the prints are after the drawings of other artists, such as Bloemaert, many are based on his own designs. A striking example is the 1615 single sheet *Christ the Redeemer*,⁷¹ showing Christ's blood flowing directly from his wound into a chalice, illustrating the doctrine that the eucharistic wine is indeed Christ's blood, not simply in symbol but in substance.

In the mid-1620s, there was a marked shift of emphasis in the role of printmaking, apparently sparked by the return to the city of the Utrecht painters who

had been to Rome⁷² and influenced there by the works of Michelangelo da Caravaggio. It was a challenge to reproduce paintings whose appeal lay first in their immediacy and intense physicality and in the dramatic use of warm, golden light set against deep shadow. In addition, the Caravaggisti made little use of drawings that could serve as autograph working models for the printmaker. Remarkably few of the major paintings by these Caravaggisti were reproduced. Those that were reproduced—primarily by Van de Passe, the young Cornelis Bloemaert, and also Theodor Matham in Amsterdam—are first of all genre, more specifically “lowlife,” subjects. The elder Van de Passe, seemingly more interested in the potential for a moral interpretation of an image than in its aesthetics,⁷³ is represented here by his engraving titled *Ira*⁷⁴ (*Anger*) or the sanguine temperament (fig. 14) after a painting, *Backgammon Players*, by Dirck van Baburen, for a series of engravings of *The Four Temperaments*. While Van de Passe preferred multi-figured compositions, Cornelis Bloemaert and Matham generally made engravings after single figures,



Fig. 19. Cornelis Bloemaert, after a painting by Abraham Bloemaert, *The Vision of St. Ignatius*, 1622–25, engraving, 442 x 340 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

the more clearly and plastically modeled the better, as represented by Matham’s *Woman Playing a Violin*⁷⁵ of 1626 (fig. 15) after a painting by Honthorst. It is not surprising that printmakers shied away from attempting to reproduce Honthorst’s paintings, which depend on subtle gradations of warm glowing color and light playing off figures emerging from shadow, such as his remarkably sensuous *Soldier with Girl Holding a Burning Coal* (fig. 16). Crispijn van de Passe the Younger’s reproduction of a lost painting by Jan van Bijlert of an alluring shepherdess, entitled *Sylvia*⁷⁶ (fig. 17), included along with the engraving of its companion painting, *Coridon*,⁷⁷ in his manual for young painters (discussed below), may function as an example of the pastoral subjects that a young artist should be ready to paint, but it hardly conveys the warm sensuousness that characterizes such paintings. In like manner, I know of no prints that are successful in conveying the intense physicality of Hendrick Terbrugghen’s paintings;⁷⁸ indeed, there are very few prints after his paintings at all.



Fig. 20. Schelte Adam Bolswert, after a drawing by Abraham Bloemaert, *Virgin of Sorrows with the Holy Face*, ca. 1611–15, engraving, 359 x 293 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

In the later 1620s, the printmaker most sensitive to the pictorial properties of paintings executed in the Caravaglesque style was Cornelis Bloemaert. His most successful engravings/etchings in this vein are after paintings by his father, in particular his small religious works, such as *St. Jerome*⁷⁹ (fig. 18), where the play of light suggests the mysteries of faith (rather than the sensuousness of the flesh, which not even Cornelis could evoke successfully). In the five years before Cornelis left the city in 1630 to pursue his fortunes in Paris, he made sixteen engravings after his father’s paintings,⁸⁰ including the more traditionally composed and lit altarpiece *The Vision of Saint Ignatius* (fig. 19) of 1622, commissioned for the Jesuit church in ‘s-Hertogenbosch. A comparison of these with Schelte A. Bolswert’s *Virgin of Sorrows* (fig. 20) after a drawing by Bloemaert demonstrates the effectiveness of different approaches for different ends. Bolswert’s subtle modeling of detail wonderfully articulates the meditational program of Bloemaert’s design by giving each passage a distinct, pictorial solidity; the emphasis



Fig. 21. Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, *Coridon and Sylvia*, from *Le Miroir des plus belles courtisanes de ce temps* (Amsterdam 1635), engraving, 112 x 151 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 22. Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, after a painting by Gerard or Willem van Honthorst, *Portrait of the Shepherdess "Amolosa" (Catharina Elisabeth von Hanau as a Shepherdess)* from *Les vrais portraits de quelques unes des plus grandes dames de la Chrestienté, desguisées en bergères* (Amsterdam 1640), engraving, 110 x 70 mm. New York Public Library, Spencer Collection.

on evoking the atmospheric play of light and shadow in Cornelis Bloemaert's *St. Jerome* emphasizes the saint's meditation as an example to the viewer, so that the viewer hardly focuses on the nature of the engraver's model; while in Cornelis's engraving after *The Vision of Saint Ignatius*, the uniform attention to pictorial values in which detail is articulated but subordinated to the whole, reminds us that this last print was explicitly a reproduction of a specific painting, one honoring the recently canonized saint and which itself was instantly famous.

In 1630, just as Cornelis Bloemaert set off for Paris, Crispijn van de Passe the Younger returned from the French capital to rejuvenate the family business. In the following years the family's ambitions focused on major projects rather than on individual prints. His *Miroir des plus belles Courtisanes de ce Temps* (*Mirror of the Most Beautiful Courtesans*), represented here by his illustrations of the archetypal shepherd lovers *Coridon and Sylvia* (fig. 21), addressed the taste for sexually provocative images, veiled in the contemporary fashion for the pastoral, which also generated his engravings after Van Bijlert's *Coridon and Sylvia* (fig. 17) noted above, as well as such socially sanctioned images as the portraits of the aristocracy reflected in Crispijn the Younger's popular *Les vrais portraits de quelques unes des plus grandes dames de la Chrestienté, desguisées en bergères* (*The True Portraits*

of Some of the Greatest Ladies in Christendom Disguised as Shepherdesses; Amsterdam 1640; fig. 22) cited above.

An immense edition of illustrations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was planned by Crispijn the Elder in these years (only published in 1677 in Brussels),⁸¹ and many individual plates were engraved by Crispijn the Younger and Magdalena van de Passe, among others. While the ultimate sources are largely pre-existing paintings, they are generally from decades earlier, such as Wtewael's *Venus and Adonis* of 1607–10.⁸² Another project that never quite got off the ground was a proposed volume of engravings illustrating the heroic deeds of the kings of Denmark.⁸³ Many painters then active in Utrecht, including Gerard van Honthorst, Jan van Bijlert, Adam Willarts, and Nicolaus Knupfer, contributed drawings to the project, commissioned in 1637 by Christian IV from Simon de Passe, who was then working in Copenhagen for the Danish king, in collaboration with his brother Crispijn the Younger. The prints were never executed, but in 1639 Honthorst and others received commissions for monumental paintings on the same themes for Christian IV's Kronberg Castle.

For the evolving role of printmaking in Utrecht, 1636–38 constitutes almost as meaningful a pivot point as did the years 1610–11. On the one hand, the activities of the Van de Passe family in Utrecht came to an end



Fig. 23. Magdalena van de Passe, after a painting of 1613 by Roelandt Saverij, *Landscape with Elijah Receiving Bread from a Raven*, ca. 1620–25, engraving, 208 x 264 mm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



Fig. 24. Frederik Bloemaert, after a drawing by Abraham Bloemaert, *Pastoral Landscape*, ca. 1635–40, etching, 93 x 150 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

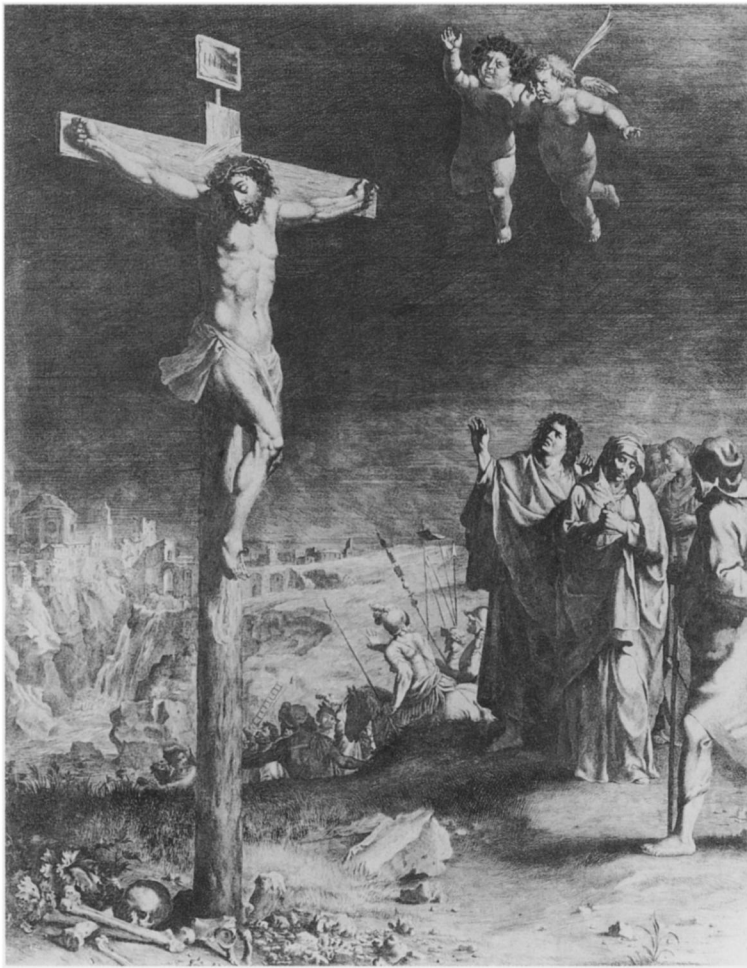


Fig. 25. Jan Gerritsz. Bronchorst, after a painting by Cornelis van Poelenburch, *Calvary with a View of Tivoli*, ca. 1636–37, engraving, etching, and stippling, 385 x 300 mm. Baltimore Museum of Art, Garrett Collection. BMA 1946.112.10955.

with the deaths of Crispijn the Elder, Magdalena, and Willem, the failure of Simon de Passe's massive project for the King of Denmark, and Crispijn the Younger's relocation of the family business to Amsterdam. On the other hand, in the mid-1630s, indeed, just about the time that the activities of the Van de Passe family in Utrecht were winding down, a remarkable shift took place with the development of a new aesthetic based on the properties of etching. Perhaps it was the success of Cornelis van Poelenburch's Italianate landscape paintings, suffused with the soft but intense light of the Roman campagna, which prompted Jan Gerritsz. van Bronchorst, in etchings after Poelenburch, and Carel de Hooch, in etchings of his own compositions, to experiment with a new aesthetic based on the capacity of etching, especially if combined with stippling or drypoint, to evoke atmospheric effects in nature. Around 1636, Bronchorst produced several etchings combined with engraving and stippling that reproduce religious and mythological paintings by Cornelis van Poelenburch,⁸⁴ such as *Calvary with a View of Tivoli* (fig. 25).⁸⁵ Here, however, there is the same challenge as in reproducing

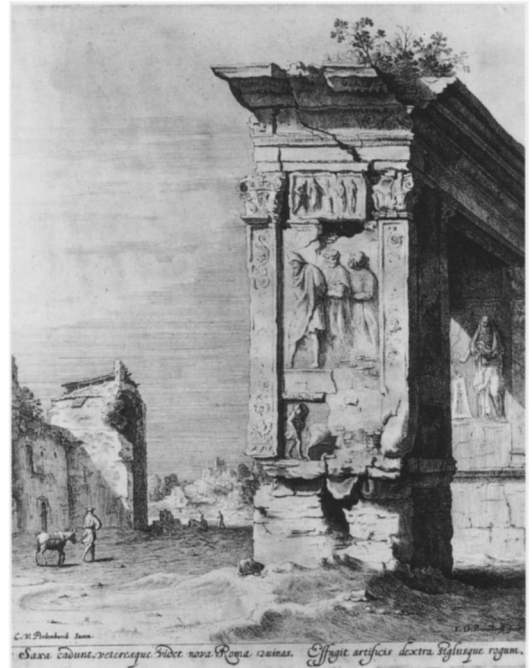


Fig. 26. Jan Gerritsz. Bronchorst, after a drawing by Cornelis van Poelenburch, *Arch of the Goldsmiths in Rome*, ca. 1636–37, etching, 355 x 298 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 27. Carel de Hooch, *Grotto with Roman Ruins*, ca. 1633–38, etching, 311 x 193 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 28. (Above) Jan Both, *Landscape with the Ponte Molle*, 1642–45, etching, 192 x 270 mm. Baltimore Museum of Art, Garrett Collection. BMA 1946.112.363.



Fig. 29. (Left) Jan Both, *Italian Landscape with Two Mules*, ca. 1642–45, etching, 270 x 200 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Caravaggesque figure paintings: though the use of etching and stippling can suggest some atmospheric effects, imitating the qualities of a painting that depends on color is very difficult.

In 1637, Bronchorst also executed a series of undated etchings, including the haunting *Arch of the Goldsmiths*⁸⁶ (fig. 26) after Poelenburch's pen and wash drawings of Roman ruins made in Utrecht on the basis of his own studies from nature made in Italy in 1617–25. Although these prints lack the compositional cohesiveness of Poelenburgh's paintings of ruins, they are striking in their attempt to translate the intense light of the Roman campagna. In the same years, the painter Carel de Hooch, who settled in Utrecht in 1633



Fig. 30. Jan Both, *Peasants with Mules and Oxen on a Track near a River*, 1642–43, oil on copper, 39.6 x 58.1 cm. London, National Gallery.



Fig. 31. Willem Heusch, *Italian Landscape with a Man Leading a Mule*, ca. 1650, etching, 252 x 228 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 32. Herman Saftleven, *Wooden Hillside with Hunters*, 1644, etching, 272 x 227 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

and died there six years later, tried his hand at a few etchings based on his reminiscences of Italy. *Grotto with Roman Ruins*⁸⁷ (fig. 27) is carefully composed around cavernous spaces, as are De Hooch's paintings, although here the ruins do not carry an overt allegorical message as they often do in the paintings. Rather than the sensuous, almost melted, look to the rock walls of his paintings, here the bite of the plate gives a scored, rough surface. A comparison of these two etchings with Frederick Bloemaert's etching, also from the later 1630s, *Pastoral Landscape*⁸⁸ (fig. 24), from a series after his father's drawings of three decades earlier, is very telling. It is not only the sinuous trees that make this lovely composition look so conspicuously dated. Just as Magdalena van de Passe's engraving of *Landscape with Elijah Receiving Bread from a Raven* (fig. 23) is very much a reproduction of a painting, so Frederick Bloemaert's etching is very much a reproduction of a drawing. Bronchorst's etchings, while responding to drawings, don't look like them; in Bronchorst's and De Hooch's etchings, the artists seem to be working towards a new aesthetic, an aesthetic based on the capacities of etching.

In the 1640s this new role for etching in Utrecht crystallized in the landscapes of Jan Both and then Herman Saftleven, both of whom saw etching as a medium for the direct interpretation of experience rather than the interpretation of pre-existing works of art. While in Italy, Both⁸⁹ worked on a painting commission with Claude Lorrain, who was then active as an etcher,⁹⁰ and the landscape etchings of the great French painter may have encouraged Both's interest in the medium. Nevertheless, the immediate inspiration for the Italianate landscape etchings Both made after returning to Utrecht in 1641 was likely the startling etchings evoking Roman ruins made by the Amsterdam painter Bartholomeus Breenbergh, dated 1639–40⁹¹ on the basis of his own past studies in Rome. Breenbergh created highly expressive images by combining a strong sense of composition, based on the effective use of oblique angles, with the intense light in Bronchorst's etchings after Poelenburch. These qualities were adapted by Jan Both.

Both, however, has the honor of being the first Netherlandish painter-etcher to celebrate through his landscape etchings not only the romantic remnants of



Fig. 33. (Above) Herman Saftleven, *The Wittevrouwenpoort*, 1646, etching, 275 x 321 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Fig. 34. (Below) Herman Saftleven, *Panorama of Utrecht*, 1648, etching on three plates, 310 x 136.9 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Italy's past grandeur, but the sensate delights of its present. Just as it was Northerners, with the zeal of the converted, who produced the major print series of Roman ruins in the sixteenth century, so it was the Dutch painter-etchers, nostalgic for Italy, rather than those who made their homes there, who first sought ways to capture the effects of intense light, shimmering heat, and limpid atmosphere so foreign to their homeland. Both's eight etchings of Italian landscapes, exemplified by *Landscape with the Ponte Molle*⁹² (fig. 28) and *Italian Landscape with Two Mules*⁹³ (fig. 29), are not dated, but are entirely consistent with his Italianate paintings of the early 1640s, for example *Peasant with Mules and Oxen on a Track near a River*⁹⁴ (fig. 30). While paintings and etchings share consistent use of roadways and tracks along clear oblique angles to facilitate the viewer's access, in the etchings, the broken, irregular lines sponge up the penetrating, refracted light, providing an effective equivalent to the atmospheric effects of warm color in the paintings.

The Utrecht artists most immediately influenced by Both were his former pupil Willem de Heusch and Herman Saftleven the Younger. Heusch's pleasant Italianate views,⁹⁵ represented by *Italian Landscape with Man leading a Mule*⁹⁶ (fig. 31), etched about 1650, shortly after his return from Italy, rely heavily on Both's etchings, though without their compositional

force and linear variation. While Saftleven⁹⁷ never visited Italy, he was already an accomplished etcher, having produced two series of tiny landscapes while still living in Rotterdam and, in 1640, after settling in Utrecht. However, his finest etchings are from the 1640s, following the epiphany that Both's Italianate etchings and paintings offered. The lessons of Both's light-filled etchings are perceptively reinterpreted in the essentially Dutch idiom of Saftleven's *Wooded Hillside with Hunters*⁹⁸ (fig. 32) dated 1644. In the artist's most arresting etching, *The Wittevroutenpoort*⁹⁹ of 1646 (fig. 33), the walls of Utrecht are dramatically backlit with the intense light suggestive of an early summer evening in Italy. In addition, this etching is one of the few works by a painter in Utrecht that genuinely responds to the fascination with the geometry of architecture that so absorbed Dutch painters in other centers, such as Pieter Saenredam in Haarlem. From this point of departure, Saftleven developed an increasing interest in topographical etchings, long so popular with printmakers in Amsterdam and Haarlem.¹⁰⁰ His many studies of the city's fabric were capped by two etched panoramic profiles of Utrecht, from the northeast in 1648¹⁰¹ (fig. 34) and from the west in 1669.¹⁰² They respond to the popular tradition of city profiles¹⁰³ represented by Adam van Vianen's 1598 etching as well as other atlas-based profiles. However, that of 1648 was the first



Fig. 35. Dirck Stoop, *Peasants Leading a Horse to Water*, ca. 1651, etching, 143 x 188 mm. Baltimore Museum of Art, Garrett Collection. BMA 1946.112.13778.

created by a gifted etcher who was also a gifted landscape painter, and the portrayal of the city owes much to the Dutch tradition of painted city views; thus the city's churches and other major buildings barely poke their spires over an outskirt of trees, while the foreground is graced by a filigree of underbrush that reflects the fluidity of the etching needle.

Complementing the Italianate landscape views of Both and others is an intriguing group of Italianate animal etchings by Jan Baptist Weenix and Dirck Stoop, both returned from Italy in 1647. Inspired by the enormously influential etchings of scruffy, somnolent domestic animals in simple landscape



settings made by their countryman Pieter van Laer¹⁰⁴ in Rome shortly before his 1639 return to the Dutch Republic, Weenix's Bulls¹⁰⁵ and Stoop's 1651 series of Horses¹⁰⁶—illustrated here by his *Peasants Leading a Horse to Water*¹⁰⁷ (fig. 35)—are presented in dramatic foreshortening, isolated in space by strong side-lighting and minimally defined settings meant to evoke the Roman campagna.

In these same years, 1642–52, in which Utrecht landscape painters experimented so brilliantly with etching, three important books of illustrations published then serve to exemplify a very different perspective on the state of the art: whereas Crispijn van de Passe's publications from his first years in Utrecht anticipated artistic trends, these publications are beautifully executed summations. *Van 't Licht der Tekenen Schilderkonst*¹⁰⁸ (*The Light of the Art of Drawing and Painting*), published by Crispijn the Younger in 1643–44 (by installments) in Amsterdam, the first Dutch manual for young painters, is in many ways a fitting summation of the endeavors of the Van de Passe family as printmakers and publishers. It is a paean to painting. Dedicated to the city council of Utrecht, it celebrates Utrecht painters and also those of Italy (so important for the character of Utrecht painting). The absence of any reflection of the art of Amsterdam is striking. The allegory of artistic inspiration and eloquence on the title page (fig. 36) is composed of an imaginary group portrait of prominent Utrecht artists¹⁰⁹—Abraham Bloemaert, Gerard van Honthorst, Cornelis van Poelenburch (?), Jan van Bijlert (?), Jan van Bronchorst, Roelandt Saverij, Joachim Wtewael, and Paulus Moreelse—standing in a circle around Minerva, patroness of artistic eloquence and learning who sits on a raised dais, with two young boys practising drawing below. That this is the only contemporary group portrait of worthy Utrecht citizens presented as models for imitation is not only a reflection of a local portrait tradition that differed from that in other centers in the Dutch Republic, but also of the high status of painting in the city. The contents—based largely on the provision of examples of drawings and paintings of types and by masters that the young should imitate—highlight the work of only two painters active in the five years prior to publication—Jan van Bijlert, represented by various engravings after his paintings, such as *Sylvia* (fig. 17) discussed above, and Jan van Bronchorst, who had only late in life turned to painting and to whom the drawings for the models studied from life, such as *Reclining Nude*¹¹⁰ (fig. 37), drawn from a willing prostitute, can be



Fig. 36. Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, *Title Page with Minerva Surrounded by Famous Utrecht Artists*, from *Van 't licht der teken en schilderkonst* (Amsterdam 1643), engraving, 320 x 218 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

attributed. They are competent painters, but not the harbingers of a renewed thrust to painting in Utrecht; in any case, about this time, Bronchorst moved to Amsterdam in search of better opportunities.

Perhaps the most telling portion of Van de Passe's manual is section V, on the representation of animals.¹¹¹ The unprecedented prominence of this section within the book and the range of Van de Passe's models reflect the prestige of animal painting in Utrecht, due first of all to the popular animal fantasies of Roelandt Saverij.¹¹² Based on drawings and paintings by Saverij, Wtewael, De Hondecoeter, Van de Passe himself, and perhaps others, the parade of animals begins with the horse, traditionally thought closest to man in nobility. A number of these are seen in poses reflecting the author's earlier dressage illustrations made at the time he was teaching drawing at the royal riding school in Paris. Indeed the impetus to put together a



Fig. 37. Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, after a drawing by Jan Bronckhorst, *Reclining Nude*, from *Van 't licht der teken en schilderconst*, part III (Amsterdam 1644), pl. 12, engraving, 195 x 300 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

manual may stem from that experience, as may his purpose, declared in the dedication, of creating a manual that might serve for the education of poor youths. That the horse is followed by the mule and cow, both accompanied by written instructions, before getting to the noble lion (which is not) brings to mind Karel van Mander's *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst* of 1604 with its poetic appreciation of not only the noble horse but its sweetly patriotic celebrations of the attractions of the Dutch cow.¹¹³ But Van de Passe then continues with an extraordinary range of exotic beasts such as the dromedary or the elephant and common domestic creatures such as the pigs, cats, cows, birds, even insects (!). The injunction to study one's subject from life as well as from these convenient models is complemented in many cases by "easy" construction diagrams, including for animals, such as the elephant, that few would have reason to

paint, though those that did would have even fewer opportunities to view from life. This exploitation of graphic means for the didactic purposes of a manual made up chiefly of models implies a very different sense of the creative potential of the young artist than that implied by Van Mander's explicit decision to eschew models¹¹⁴ and rather to encourage the imagination and the intellect by relying on powers of observation.

This celebration of the didactic character is shared by the other two important publications of around 1650: Frederick Bloemaert's and Christiaan van Vianen's model books for the young reproducing the works of their respective illustrious fathers. Frederik Bloemaert's *Artis Apellae... (The Art of Apelles; The Drawing Book of Abraham Bloemaert)*¹¹⁵ published about 1650–55, is a drawing manual compiled from his etchings after his father's drawings, which exemplify some of the exercises involved in learning



Fig. 38. Frederick Bloemaert, after a drawing by Abraham Bloemaert, *Title Page with Student Sketching*, from *Artis Apellae . . .* (*The Art of Apelles, The Drawing Book of Abraham Bloemaert*; Utrecht, ca. 1650–55), engraving, etching, and woodcut, 208 x 166 mm. Baltimore, Michael Abromaitis.

to draw that were encouraged in the elder Bloemaert's drawing academy. While the handsome title page, executed in a combination of etching and chiaroscuro woodcut (fig. 38), shows an elegant youth sketching an array of plaster casts, the 120 etchings within represent Abraham's own studies of heads¹¹⁶ (fig. 39) and limbs from life, invented single figures, and compositions as models for imitation. A striking parallel is provided by Christiaan van Vianen's *Constighe Modellen*¹¹⁷ (*Artistic Models*) dated 1650. The plates were etched by Theodor van Kessel, then working in Utrecht, based on drawings for objects in silver, such as this fanciful *Ewer*¹¹⁸ (fig. 40) by Christiaan's father, the great silversmith Adam van Vianen, who died in 1627. Van Kessel's superb job in bringing out Van Vianen's undulating

forms does not alter the fact that by 1650 these models were dated.

By the early 1650s, printmaking in Utrecht had lost its vitality, reflecting the earlier decline in the vitality of painting in the city. Jan Both was dead, Saftleven was losing his momentum as an etcher as well as a painter, and there was no one in Utrecht to take their places. These books by Van de Passe, Bloemaert, and Van Vianen were published for the benefit of young artists, and the art they celebrate is indeed of the finest, but these publications are essentially retrospective, chiefly of interest today as reflections of major movements of an earlier time when Utrecht was at the height of its influence.

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Fig. 39. (Top) Frederick Bloemaert, after a drawing by Abraham Bloemaert, *Three Heads of a Peasant Woman*, from *Artis Apellae . . .*, fol. 14, ca. 1650–55 [1740 edition], etching, 206 x 166 mm. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

Fig. 40. Theodor van Kessel, after a drawing by Adam van Vianen, *Ewer*, from Christiaan van Vianen, *Constighe Modellen* (Utrecht 1650), no. 6, etching, 214 x 163 mm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen.

Notes

This essay was initially conceived for inclusion as one of the introductory essays in Joaneath Spicer with Lynn Orr, eds., *Masters of Light, Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (1997) but was dropped to keep that publication from becoming unwieldy. The delay has allowed needed reflection and a more generous set of illustrations. Comments by Ilya Veldman, Fronia Simpson, Elizabeth Wyckoff, Susan Dackerman, and Walter Melion were much appreciated.

1. Joaneath A. Spicer with Lynn Federle Orr, eds., *Masters of Light. Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (New Haven and London, 1997). Although the present essay, conceived for that catalogue, was dropped for the sake of space, comments on prints were integrated into the "Introduction to Painting in Utrecht, 1600–1650," which includes a basic chronological overview of Utrecht painting in these decades, other essays, especially that of M. J. Bok, "Artists at Work: Their Lives and Livelihood" on reproductive printmaking in Utrecht (94–95), and many of the entries. The best single, general interpretive source for individual Utrecht prints remains the entries in C. Ackley, *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1981). See more recently E. de Jongh and G. Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life, Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550–1700* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1997).

2. Besides numerous recent monographic studies on individual printmakers, some of the most informative, recent studies on print culture in the province of Holland have been those on the business of publishing. They include N. Orenstein et al., "Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620," in G. Luijten et al., *The Dawn of the Golden Age* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1993), discussing publishers in The Hague, Haarlem, and Amsterdam (thus in the province of Holland); a related essay by Orenstein appears in B. Bakker and H. Leeftang, eds., *Nederland naar 't leven, landschapsprenten uit de Gouden Eeuw* (Museum het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 1993). Other interesting studies on landscape and print culture in the province of Holland, particularly in Haarlem—as those in Bakker and Leeftang, *Nederland naar 't Leven, Landschapsprenten uit de Gouden Eeuw*, and Catherine Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, 1994)—have tended to blur the lines between Holland-the-province and Holland as a traditional way of designating the Dutch Republic as a whole, thus obscuring the fact that the circumstances and art of Utrecht are not included in the discussion. E. de Jongh and G. Luijten's introductory essay to *Genreprints* is a very useful overview, although again, it does not address regional differences.

3. F. W. H. Hollstein's *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, 1947–87; Roosendaal, 1988–94; Rotterdam, 1995 [hereafter Holl.]), Adam van Vianen, no. 1; Luijten et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age*, under no. 198. For the prints of Adam van Vianen (1568/69–1627), see J. R. ter Molen, *Van Vianen, een Utrechtse familie van zilversmeden met een internationale faam* (Rotterdam, 1984), no. 603.

4. M. G. Roethlisberger, *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons: Paintings and Prints*, (Doornspijk, 1993), no. 35; Orenstein in Luijten et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age*, no. 33.

5. For the engravings by Jacques de Gheyn the Younger (1565–1629) after Bloemaert, see Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, 540; J. P. Filedt Kok, "Jacques de Gheyn II: Engraver, Designer and Publisher," *Print Quarterly* (1990), nos. 3, 248–81; nos. 4, 370–96.

6. For the engravings of Jan Saenredam (1565–1607) after Bloemaert, see Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, 543, 22–23.

7. Jacob Matham (1571–1631) did sixteen engravings after Bloemaert, of which nine were done from 1599 to 1610 (Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, 544–12).

8. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 84.

9. Swanenberg (1581–1612) did eleven prints after Bloemaert's designs from 1608 to 1611, thus after Saenredam's death (Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, 544).
10. For example, the engraving by Jan Muller (1571–1628) of the *Raising of Lazarus* (Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 31, ill.; see further J. P. Filedt Kok, "Jan Hermansz. Muller as Printmaker-III, Catalogue," *Print Quarterly* (1995), nos. 1, 3–29.
11. For example, Nicolaes de Bruyn's 1604 splendid engraving *The Golden Age* (Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 70, ill.).
12. For Moreelse (1571–1638) and printmaking, see C. H. de Jonge, *Paulus Moreelse: portret-en genreschilder te Utrecht (1571–1638)* (Assen, 1938).
13. For Wtewael (1566–1638) and printmaking, see the comments on specific prints in A. Lowenthal, *Joachim Wtewael and Dutch Mannerism* (Doornspijk, 1986) and the following note.
14. Holl., Swanenburg, nos. 49–62, published by Christoffel van Sichem in Amsterdam. See Luitjen et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age*, no. 232; S. Helliesen, "Thronus Justitiae: A Series of Pictures of Justice by Joachim Wtewael," *Oud Holland*, 91 (1977), 232–66.
15. For this important series, see the discussion by Spicer in *Master Drawings from the National Gallery of Canada*, (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1988), no. 33, and E. McGrath, "A Netherlandish History by Joachim Wtewael," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 38 (1975), 182–217.
16. De Jonge, *Moreelse*, under nos. 11a, ill. (oil on paper, location unknown), 12 (oil on paper, lost.).
17. Holl., Saenredam, no. 78.
18. Holl., Jacob Matham, no. 202.
19. Jan van Londerseel was working in Amsterdam 1600–14, during which time he engraved five landscapes with biblical subjects after Hondecoeter (Holl., Londerseel, nos. 3 [dated 1614], 5, 11, 14, 29). Stylistic similarities with dated paintings strongly suggest that at least some of these were engraved in the years 1602–10 when Hondecoeter was active in Utrecht.
20. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 263; see also the excellent study by W. Melion, "Pictorial Artifice and Catholic Devotion in Abraham Bloemaert's *Virgin of Sorrows with the Holy Face*, ca. 1615," in H. L. Kessler and G. Wolf, eds., *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Villa Spelman Colloquia, 6 (Bologna, 1998), 319–40.
21. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, nos. 163–214.
22. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, nos. 135–48, ill.; see further Spicer, "Introduction," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 44.
23. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 231 from the series nos. 230–49, ill.; see Bakker and Leeftang *Nederland naar't leven*, under no. 7, with comments on possible locations. The similarity to Claes Jansz. Visscher's etching series *Plaisante Plaetsen* (pleasant places in the surrounding of Haarlem), datable to 1612–13 (see Luitjen et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age*, no. 327; Bakker and Leeftang, *Nederland naar't leven*, no. 8), though without the sense of particularity, suggests that this is one of the printmaking ventures by a Utrecht painter that was specifically prompted by a project in Amsterdam.
24. Holl., Droochsloot, no. 1; Ackley, *Printmaking*, no. 60; De Jongh and Luitjen, *Genreprints*, no. 113, also no. 31, as reflecting the influence of Vinckboons.
25. Issued by the Haarlem publisher Berendrecht.
26. Ackley, *Printmaking*, nos. 21, 22, ill. Vinckboons' paintings of peasant life were equally important for Droochsloot's own early paintings; for Droochsloot's paintings, see Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, under no. 31.
27. For prints by Jacob Duck (d. 1667), see, for example, Ackley, *Printmaking*, no. 83.
28. Holl., Duck, no. 110. The possible connection with Droochsloot is noted in passing by Ackley, *Printmaking*, 175 no. 2. See also De Jongh and Luitjen, *Genreprints*, under no. 48.
29. See my observations on this in "Introduction," Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 26–30.
30. Holl., Bloemaert, no. 4; Ackley, *Printmaking*, no. 18; Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 122; De Jongh and Luitjen, *Genreprints*, no. 226.
31. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, inv. 8139; Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, under no. 121. A third engraving represents *Minerva* (Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 120, ill.).
32. For example, his *Penitent Magdalen* (Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 126, ill.).
33. Holl., Moreelse, no. 2; De Jonge, *Moreelse*, no. 17; see also Ackley, *Printmaking*, under no. 52; Luitjen et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age*, under no. 242.
34. It is unlikely that the monogram near the signature that has been read as *H* refers to the sophisticated Amsterdam printmaker and publisher Hendrick Hondius either as woodcutter or as publisher.
35. Label copy for *Prints from Utrecht*, an exhibition held at The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1998, curated by S. Dackerman to coincide with *Painters in Utrecht* at the Walters Art Gallery. There was no catalogue.
36. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, nos. 123–26, ill.
37. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, nos. 270–74, ill.
38. For Goudt (1580/85–1648), see K. Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer: Paintings, Drawings, Prints* (New York, 1977); K. Andrews, "Hendrik Goudt," *Dictionary of Art*, 13 (London, 1996), 222–23.
39. A. R. Pelzer, ed., *Joachim von Sandrart's Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675* (Munich, 1925), 180.
40. Holl., Goudt, no. 3; Ackley, *Printmaking*, no. 44.
41. Munich, Alte Pinakothek; Andrews, *Elsheimer*, no. 77.
42. See, for example, Van de Velde's etching *Night* (from a series of the *Four Times of Day*) after his design (Bakker and Leeftang, *Nederland naar't Leven*, no. 22, or his engraved *Fire* (from *Four Elements*) in which he introduced Goudt's compelling use of a receding wedge of impenetrable woods as well as the latter's inky blackness to give drama to a drawing by Willem Buytewech (De Jongh and Luitjen, *Genreprints*, no. 32 and fig. 5).
43. For Crispijn van de Passe the Elder (1564–1637) and for his children, we await I. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564–1670): A Century of Print Production* (Rotterdam, 2000, forthcoming). For the purpose of identifying specific prints, I have found it more efficient to cite the ordering in Hollstein than that in D. Franken, *L'Oeuvre gravé des van de Passe* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1881).
44. I. M. Veldman, "Keulen als toevluchtsoord voor Nederlandse kunstenaars," *Oud Holland*, 107 (1993), 34–58.
45. Peltzer, *Sandrart*, 165, 248–49 (C. Bloemaert), 242 (Van de Passe family).
46. For Honthorst's academy, see most recently Bok, "Artists at Work," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 93–94.

47. Most recently on Van Buchel, see Bok, "Artists at Work," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 86–87, 95. For a letter of 21 June 1612 from Johannes de Wit to Aernt van Buchel referring to the arrival of Van de Passe in Utrecht, see Bok, "The Life of Abraham Bloemaert," in Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, 625.
48. Responsible, for example, for the designs for the series of *The Seven Wonders of the World*, engraved and published in 1614 (Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, nos. 72–78ad, ill.).
49. Holl., Swanenburgh, no. 35.
50. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 124ad. For Frederick, see further B. Gaetgens's entry on *Frederick V, King of Bohemia, as a Roman Emperor* in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, under no. 27; M. Keblusek and J. Zijlmans, eds., *Princely Display, The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms* (Historical Museum, The Hague, 1997–98).
51. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, nos. 125–39ad, ill.
52. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, nos. 162–227ad, ill.
53. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, nos. 140–54ad, ill.
54. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; for which, see Spicer, "Introduction" Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 38–39. This connection was first made and illustrated by A. Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and Its Audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair, 1983), 76.
55. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 231ad, ill.
56. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 232ad, ill.
57. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 857.
58. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 234ad.
59. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, no. 180, ill.
60. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 856 ill.
61. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 235ad, ill.
62. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 71ad. For the drawings, see De Jonge, *Moreelse*, no. 19a and b, ill.
63. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, no. 171; Ackley, *Printmaking*, under no. 55. On the interpretation of the author's intent, see Spicer, "Introduction," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 45. The plate *White and Red Rose* figured most recently in *From Botany to Bouquets: Flowers in Northern Art* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1999) by A. Wheelock, who kindly arranged for me to obtain the photo.
64. See, for example, Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, no. 75, Bosschaert's *Bouquet of Flowers on a Ledge* of 1619.
65. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 233ad.
66. A. de Pluvinel, *Maneige Royal* (Paris, 1623); Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, no. 175.
67. Girard Thibault, *L'Academie de l'espee* (Paris, 1628); Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, no. 181, ill.
68. Holl., Magdalena van de Passe, no. 19.
69. Location unknown; Christies, London, 7 July 1995, lot 25, Thomas DaC. Kaufmann, *The School of Prague* (Chicago, 1988), no. 1963, ill.
70. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 855, ill.
71. Holl., Simon de Passe, no. 2, ill. It is accompanied by verses by Arent van Buchel.
72. See L. Orr, "Reverberations: The Impact of the Italian Sojourn on Utrecht Artists," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*.
73. The function of inscriptions on seventeenth-century prints and their reliability for the interpretation of contemporary paintings is addressed by E. McGrath, "Rubens's *Susanna and the Elders* and Moralizing Inscriptions on Prints," in H. W. J. Jekeman and J. Müller Hofstede, eds., *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Erfstadt, 1984), 73–90, and P. Ackermann, *Textfunktion und Bild in Genreszenen der niederländischen Graphik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Alfter, 1993). See also De Jongh and Lujten, *Genreprints*, 32–39.
74. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, no. 94ad.
75. Holl., Theodoor Matham, no. 41; De Jongh and Luijten, *Genreprints*, no. 38.
76. P. Huys Jansen, *Jan van Bijlert 1597/8–1671, Catalogue Raisonné* (London, 1998), no. P6.
77. Jansen, *Van Bijlert*, no. P5; also Spicer, "Introduction," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 34–35, fig. 14.
78. The process comes closer to success in depictions of old men, as Willem de Passe's *St. Jerome* (Holl., Willem de Passe, no. 6) after a lost painting by Terbrugghen, than it does in depictions of young women.
79. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 286, after the painting in the Bader collection, Milwaukee (Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, no. 14, entry by G. Seelig).
80. According to an estimate by Roethlisberger (*Bloemaert*, 25) of the twenty-eight prints from Bloemaert's lifetime that reproduce paintings by him, sixteen were engraved in 1625–30 by Cornelis.
81. P. du Ryer, *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide* (Brussels, 1677), for which see J. van der Waals, *De Prentschat van Michiel Hinloopen* (Amsterdam, Rijkprentenkabinet), 1988, 79–102, though the interpretation of the role of the preliminary drawings could be reconsidered.
82. P. van den Brink and J. de Meyere, eds., *Het Gedroomde Land: Pastorale schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Centraal Museum, Utrecht), 1993, no. 57; Lowenthal, *Wtewael*, no. A47, adapted for the print in a drawing by Crispijn the Younger in a Canadian private collection.
83. For this series, see H. D. Schepelern and U. Houkyaer, *The Kronberg Series: King Christian IV and His Pictures of Early Danish History* (The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen, 1988).
84. For the etchings of Bronchorst (1603–61) after Poelenburch, see A. Chong, "The Drawings of Cornelis van Poelenburch," *Master Drawings*, 25 (1987), 41, 57–59; Holl., Bronchorst, nos. 16, 10, 1214, 2021, 2230 (landscapes series), 31, 34, 36; Thomas Döring, *Studien zur Künstlerfamilie Van Bronchorst: Jan Gerritsz. (ca. 1603–1661), Johannes (1627–1656) und Gerrit van Bronchorst (ca. 1636–1673) in Utrecht und Amsterdam* (Alfter, 1993), 25, 199 (list of Bronchorst's etchings). Bronchorst's etching, *Young Man before a Grotto*, 1637 (Holl., Bronchorst, no. 35, Döring, *Van Bronchorst*, fig. 16), does not bear Poelenburch's signature and Döring does not address the issue of the invention, but the style is obviously Poelenburch's.
85. Holl., Bronchorst, no. 2; Döring, *Van Bronchorst*, 199.
86. Holl., Bronchorst, no. 31; Döring, *Van Bronchorst*, 25 (for date of series), 199.
87. Holl., De Hooch, no. 1.
88. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 256, from series nos. 250–59, ill.
89. For the etchings of Jan Both (d. 1652), see J. D. Burke, *Jan Both: Paintings, Drawing, and Prints* (New York, 1976), esp. 298–300; Holl., Jan Both, nos. 1–8. Holl nos. 9–10, with the same dimensions as Holl. nos. 5–8, are not accepted as autograph by Burke, *Both*, 287, followed by Ackley, *Printmaking*, under no. 118. For Both's Italianate landscape paintings, see most recently Spicer, "Introduction," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 41–42, no. 70–72.

90. For Claude's etchings, see, for example, H. D. Russell, *Claude Lorrain 1600–1682* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982), 299–414, and S. Welsh Reed and R. Wallace, *Italian Etchers of the Renaissance and Baroque* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989), 167–73.

91. For Breenbergh's etchings, see Ackley, *Printmaking*, under nos. 115–17.

92. Holl., Jan Both, no. 5.

93. Holl., Jan Both, no. 4.

94. National Gallery, London; Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, no. 70.

95. For the etchings of Heusch (ca. 1625–92), see Holl., Heusch, no. 114; D. Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (British Museum, London, 1980), fig. 123; I. de Groot, *Landschappen. Etsen van de Nederlandse meesters uit de zeventiende eeuw*, (Maarssen 1979), figs. 188–91. The related paintings can be represented by *Italian Landscape*, Detroit Institute of Art (G. Keyes, "Collecting Utrecht Painting in the United States," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 123, fig. 3, or *Italianate Landscape with Shepherds*, Henry H. Weldon, New York, ill. in N. Minty and J. Spicer, *An Eye for Detail: 17th-Century Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Collection of Henry H. Weldon* (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1999), no. 23, ill. in color).

96. Holl., Heusch, no. 2.

97. For the etchings of Saftleven (1609–85), see W. Schulz, *Herman Saftleven 1609–1685, Leben und Werke mit einem kritischen Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Berlin, 1982); Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints*, 63–65; Ackley, *Printmaking*, under no. 132; Bakker and Leeftang, *Nederland naar't Leven*, under no. 47. For the most recent discussion of Italianate landscape paintings, see Spicer, "Introduction," to Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 42–43 (and fig. 22), and no. 73.

98. Holl., Herman Saftleven, no. 31; Schulz, *Saftleven*, no. xiii, based on an incised drawing in the Graphische Sammlungen, Munich, which in turn appears to be based on a study in London (Schulz, *Saftleven*, nos. 1092 and 663).

99. Holl., Herman Saftleven, no. 19; Schulz, *Saftleven*, no. xv, ill. with the drawing in reverse in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; Ackley *Printmaking*, no. 114.

100. For Dutch topographical prints, see Bakker and Leeftang, *Nederland naar't Leven*; Luijten et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age*, under no. 327; Levesque, *The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity*.

101. Holl., Herman Saftleven, no. 17; Schulz, *Saftleven*, no. xxvii.

102. Holl., Herman Saftleven, no. 18; Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints*, 64–65, fig. 128; Schulz, *Saftleven*, no. xxx.

103. Another profile of the city based on a drawing by a painter is that of 1634 (issued only in 1642) based on Joost Droochsloot's drawing of 1625 by the little-known Utrecht printmaker Jan Hendrkz. Verstralen (active ca. 1622–34), Holl., Verstralen no. 2; Lowenthal, *Wtewael*, fig. 1.

104. For etchings of Van Laer (1599–1642), see Ackley, *Printmaking*, nos. 75–77; A. C. Steland-Stief, "Zu Graphik und Zeichnungen der 'Bamboccianti,'" in D. A. Levine and Ekkard Mai, eds., *I Bamboccianti: niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock* (Walraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne/ Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1991–92), 100–101.

105. For Weenix (1621–ca. 61) and printmaking, see Ackley, *Printmaking*, under no. 119. For Weenix's Italianate painting, see most recently L. Orr's entry in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, no. 74.

106. For Stoop (ca. 1618–81?) and printmaking see Holl., Stoop, no. 112; L. Stone-Ferrier, *Dutch Prints of Daily Life* (Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas, 1983), under no. 62; A. Walsh, E. Buijsen, and B. Broos, *Paulus Potter: paintings, drawings and etchings* (Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1994), under no 48.

107. Holl., Stoop, no. 2. The central motif reappears in the artist's *Peasants leading Horse to Water in an Italianate Landscape* (with Willem Hoogsteder, The Hague), painted in collaboration with Jan Both; see Spicer, "Introduction," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 43, fig. 21. The differences in emphasis between the painting and etching parallel those between Both's paintings and etchings.

108. Holl., Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, no. 191. See further J. Bolten, "Introduction" to Crispijn van de Passe, *'t Light der Tekenen Schilderkonst*, Soest 1973; J. Bolten, *Method and Practice: Dutch and Flemish Drawing Books, 1600–1750* (Landau, 1985), 26–47; M. J. Bok, "Nulla dies sine linie, 'De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw,'" *De Seventiende Eeuw*, 6 (1990), 58–68; and most recently by the same author, "Artists at Work," 93–94, and Spicer, "Introduction," 17, 26, 44, in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, also under nos. 44, 67.

109. For the identification of these and the interpretation of the group portrait, see Spicer, "Introduction," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 25–26. See also Bok, "Artists at Work," 94.

110. See the discussion of my attribution of this and others studies from models used in Van de Passe's manual to Bronchorst in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, under no. 44. Bronchorst's cooperation in this fashion would justify his inclusion in the ideal portrait of great Utrecht artists on the title page. Döring (who had not considered the possibility that the nude models were after Bronchorst's studies, supposes that Bronchorst's activity as a teacher earned his inclusion (*Van Bronchorst*, 26); however, his earliest dated painting is from 1642 and he cannot have had much of a workshop as yet.

111. Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 273–78.

112. See most recently Spicer, "Introduction," in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, 42–43, and under no. 67.

113. For a discussion from another perspective of Van Mander's "Van Beesten, Dieren, and Voghels," Ch. IX of *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst*, see H. Miedema, *Karel van Mander, Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, 2 (Utrecht, 1973) 558–69. For Van Mander's musings on the Dutch cow, see J. Spicer, "'De Koe voor d'aerde (statt)': The Origins of the Dutch Cattle Piece" in A. M. Logan, ed., *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to E. Haverkamp Begemann* (Amsterdam, 1983), 251–56.

114. Van Mander, "Van Beesten...," fol. 39.

115. Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 792, all plates ill.

116. For the relationship of this *Study of a Peasant Woman* (Roethlisberger, *Bloemaert*, no. 792–T14) to the artist's oeuvre, see further G. Seelig's entry, *Head of an Old Woman*, in Spicer with Orr, *Painters in Utrecht*, no. 33.

117. Ter Molen, *Van Vianen*, nos. 672–719; *Zelzaam Zilver uit de Gouden Eeuw, De Utrechtse edelsmeden Van Vianen* (Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1984–85), nos. 94–101.

118. *Constighe Modellen*, no. 6; Ter Molen, *Van Vianen*, no. 677.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 5, 7, 9, 15, 25, 28, 35, Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art; figs. 2–4, 6, 17–21, 24, 26–27, 29, 31–34, 36–38, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet; figs. 8, 23, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina; figs. 10, 13, 22, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection; fig. 11, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek; fig. 12, Upperville, Virginia, Mrs. Paul Mellon; figs. 14, 41, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen; fig. 16, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; fig. 30, London: National Gallery; figs. 39–40, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

Securing Space in a Foreign Place: Peter Paul Rubens's *Saint Teresa* for the Portuguese Merchant-Bankers in Antwerp

Christine Göttler

This paper presents new evidence on the religious patronage of a close group of wealthy Portuguese merchant-bankers in Antwerp who were suspected of Judaizing. Rubens's altarpiece for the chapel of Doña Felipa Mendes Borges in the church of the Discalced Carmelites reflects the ambivalent meaning of gifts to the church by conversos, serving both as a means to secure space for individual religious needs and to convince Old Christian neighbors of the donors' commitment to Catholicism.

In the many theological treatises on art that followed the Council of Trent, efforts were made to purify religious imagery of "abuses" and to create a unified and universal visual language that would educate, stimulate, persuade, and convert audiences from various social groups. The reform of sacred rhetoric (speech and gesture) provided a model for a regulated visual imagery that served the moral discipline of the "Reformed" Catholic Church. As a result, religious authorities and, in particular, the new orders sought to regain control over family chapels and their decorations. The new emphasis on traditional, more conventional models of salvation conflicted with the interests of individual patrons and donors who invested in chapel decorations to "privatize" salvation, in an attempt to enhance both their families' social prestige and their prospect of being redeemed.

The bishops' and theologians' ideal, however, was to create a hierarchically organized sacred space that reassessed the liturgy of the church, especially the efficacy of the mass for the living and the dead.¹ By this effort, the church sought to suppress ostentatious representations of property rights by lay patrons. Bishop Carlo Borromeo, for example, stated that funeral monuments of lay people must be permitted by the bishop and kept away from prestigious places in close proximity to the altars.² Gabriele Paleotti, in his treatise on sacred and secular paintings, specifically opposed the use of heraldic devices in private chapels. In his view, donations to the church were intended

only for God and therefore should display no worldly coats of arms. But, becoming more pragmatic in his approach, he finally allowed the placement of family coats of arms in inconspicuous spots "in order that people do not stop decorating churches."³ In the Netherlands, provincial councils and synods instructed bishops to prevent the inclusion of portraits of living persons "in the middle" or "in the base" of new altarpieces.⁴ In existing altarpieces, portraits in the predella of living or otherwise well-known persons were to be either destroyed or, while celebrating mass, covered by curtains.⁵ According to the *Trattato della pittura e scultura* by the Jesuit Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli (1652), an appropriate church interior was achieved through interaction among all groups participating in the production or reception of religious art: by the painters or sculptors who created the artworks (chapter three); the patrons who commissioned them (chapter four); the viewers who were expected to proceed from the outward figures to the sacred persons or events represented by them (chapter five); and the religious authorities or other high-ranking men entrusted with supervising the creation of art, as well as the viewing process, to ensure that no heretical thoughts would be induced while gazing at the images (chapter six).⁶

Curiously, the still influential accounts of the iconography of the Counter Reformation by Emil Mâle⁷ (1932/1951) and John B. Knipping⁸ (1939–40) are consistent with the views of such post-Tridentine ecclesiastical writers on art as Giovanni Andrea Gilio (1564),⁹ Joannes Molanus (1570),¹⁰ Carlo Borromeo (1577),¹¹ Gabriele Paleotti (1582),¹² Antonio Possevino (1593),¹³ Federico Borromeo (1624),¹⁴ and Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli (1652),¹⁵ among others. Religious art after the Council of Trent has generally been described and interpreted from the point of view of the official institutions, the bishops, the synods, and the ecclesiastical writers, as an authoritarian visual language with transparent, self-evident meaning, comprehensible to all persons regardless of

nation, profession, gender, or age.¹⁶ While the rules and recommendations implemented by theological writers, and their consequences for the visual arts, have been well researched for a variety of geographical areas, studies have not, until relatively recently, examined how individual lay or clerical persons or social groups in different regions responded and adjusted to changing visual standards.¹⁷ How, for instance, did wealthy émigrés and citizens of foreign nations interact with local church officials, urban elites, and the local populations when they built chapels and commissioned altarpieces to decorate their altars?¹⁸ Did foreign merchant families, for example, attempt to introduce elements of their own religious traditions in the decoration of their chapels in order to transform sacred space into a familiar and meaningful place?¹⁹

In this paper I will discuss aspects of religious patronage by a wealthy cultural minority, the Portuguese merchant families, in early seventeenth-century Antwerp. How did the Portuguese merchant-bankers, who differed from the local population in their ways of communicating and in their social and private lives, establish themselves on the religious scene in a city that had become increasingly hostile toward foreigners? Peter Burke has suggested the terms “guest cultures” or “embedded cultures” to describe “the cultural minorities who neither accept nor reject the values of the culture around them, but try to go on living as if they were still in Punjab (say) rather than in the English Midlands, or in Turkey or Morocco rather than in Antwerp or Berlin.”²⁰ Representing the city’s mercantile elite, the Portuguese merchant-bankers in Antwerp were indeed a rather closed group separate from the surrounding city.²¹ Their strong family networks helped them to open up new markets in overseas trade and contributed to their economic success. Some of them cooperated with the Brussels court of the Infanta Isabella and the Archduke Albert in financial matters; since 1626, Portuguese bankers served as *asentistas*, or merchant-bankers, (so-called because they entered into loan contracts, or *asientos*) of the Spanish crown.²² Because of their considerable wealth they were granted privileges by Brussels’ government and exempted from taxation. Most of the Portuguese merchant families had for generations remained apart from the local population, residing in their own neighborhoods, preferably in the parish of Saint Jacob.²³ They commonly spoke Portuguese, married amongst themselves, and had commercial dealings with each other. Most of them, as Hans Pohl has shown, enjoyed a lavish lifestyle and aspired to behave like nobles. The Portuguese merchant-bankers were generally identified with the rich colonial

commodities they traded, including diamonds, silks, sugar, spices, and tobacco, and had a reputation for spending a significant part of their wealth on luxury goods and displaying lavish hospitality. From inventories, testaments, and other documents, we know that they enjoyed acquiring tapestries, textiles, carpets, household furnishings, silverware, and jewelry. Many of them owned horses and coaches for private transportation. A number of the households included black domestic servants.²⁴ The Portuguese dressed in fashionable Iberian style and showed a lively interest in Iberian literature and culture. Some of them acquired titles of nobility either by lending large sums of money to rulers or by buying property with titles attached.

Portuguese merchant families played an important role in the religious life of Antwerp and their patronage is reflected in a number of altarpieces commissioned for chapels in old and new churches. Significant among these were the Carmelite convent, the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites, the Franciscan Friary, where the chapel of the Portuguese colony was located, and the Saint Jacobskerk, which was the parish church for most of the Portuguese nationals.²⁵ For the Portuguese merchant-bankers, in particular, donations of family chapels, where private, often daily, and often indulgenced masses were read, could serve as visible proof that these families strictly adhered to the Catholic faith. In contrast to the views of Calvinists, who were deeply suspicious about the efficacy of rituals, ceremonies, and images, post-Tridentine Catholic culture emphasized the spiritual value of visible rites. Donations to churches and monasteries, for masses as well as decorations, came to be promoted as significant acts of Catholic piety. They were also gestures that required considerable wealth. Most of the Portuguese merchant-bankers were *conversos* or *cristãos novos*. They were of Jewish descent and their ancestors had been baptised under the threat of the Inquisition. Some of them had fled religious persecution and were drawn to Antwerp by economic opportunities. Although the Portuguese colony in Antwerp had no common religious identity and certainly included profound Catholics, crypto-Jews, and men and women who were ambiguous in their practices and beliefs, the foreigners were constantly suspected by their Old Christian neighbors of being secret Jews.²⁶ Were the often lavishly decorated chapels of the Portuguese merchants and the costly ritual practices they requested a means to dissimulate their Jewish identity, to display their “Iberian” nature, to imitate aristocratic religious attitudes of the Spanish court, or to expiate the “sins” of their Hebrew ancestors?



Fig. 1. Peter Paul Rubens, *Saint Teresa of Avila interceding for the souls in purgatory*, oil on canvas. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

These issues can best be explained by concentrating on the decoration of the chapels founded by Portuguese merchants in the church of the Discalced Carmelites, which began to be ornamented at the beginning of the 1630s. I will focus especially on an altarpiece by Peter Paul Rubens commissioned for the “privileged” altar (*altare privilegiatum*) of the chapel of the Portuguese noblewoman Doña Felipa Mendes Borges (fig. 1).²⁷ The altarpiece introduced Teresa of Avila, the founder of the reformed branch of the Carmelites, as intercessor for the souls in purgatory. It thus reflected the liturgical program of the chapel and illustrated the official church teaching that perpetual masses at indulgenced altars and intercessory prayers to certain saints could

rescue suffering souls from purgatory. It made claims for the efficacy of prayer directed to the recently (1622) canonized Teresa and for this reason encouraged investments in church buildings of her religious order.

Moreover, a closer look at the historical context of Felipa Mendes’s donation will reveal that the patron and her relatives must have been concerned to ensure that neighbors and other churchgoers would recognize the orthodox religious meaning of the painting. The convent and church of the Discalced Carmelites in Antwerp were mainly supported by a group of related Portuguese merchant-bankers who were suspected of secretly practicing Jewish beliefs at home. Was it faith in the efficacy of intercessory prayers (of the priest,

confraternities, relatives, neighbors, and friends), fear of hell, purgatory, or the Inquisition that caused these merchants to lavish vast sums on the building of their chapels and the church? Did the Portuguese merchant-bankers consciously or subconsciously transform local rites and iconographic traditions to negotiate their own religious style? In what ways was the image of Saint Teresa refashioned to fit both the needs of the Discalced Carmelites and the interests of the patron? It will emerge that Rubens's painting allowed for a variety of audience responses.

Rubens's *Saint Teresa* can best be examined in the context of the very specific liturgical program performed at the altar it decorated. Rubens's altarpiece provided a backdrop for the indulgenced masses read daily by a priest for the soul of the patron. It was, therefore, as part of a sacred spectacle that it made its appeals to contemporary beholders. To interpret the painting created for the chapel of Felipa Mendes, we need to know more about its social context and historical location. Who were the Portuguese merchant-bankers who chose the church of the Discalced Carmelites as a resting place? Why did they decide to spend their money on donations to this church? What position did the church of the Discalced Carmelites hold within the city's sacred topography, and how did the Discalced Carmelites interact with their rivals, the Calced Carmelites? At this point, I would like to refer to a passage in an autobiographical account that may provide an explanation of Felipa Mendes's and other Portuguese patrons' intentions. This account allows us to reassess the Portuguese community from the point of view of a *converso* merchant who had returned to Judaism.

Ecclesiastical Donations and Dissimulation

When Manuel Alvares Pinto, a Portuguese physician living in Antwerp, died in April 1635, his body was buried in the newly built church of the Discalced Carmelites. The burial place had been recently acquired by his son, Gil Lopes Pinto, one of the most prominent royal financiers or *asentistas* in Antwerp at that time.²⁸ Manuel Alvares Pinto, according to his will, regarded the church of the Discalced Carmelites in Antwerp as only a temporary resting place. Publicly he had ordered that his body should be sent by his sons to Lisbon to be buried in the vault of his ancestors in the church of the Augustinian monastery. But Manuel Alvares Pinto, who in fact died as a professing Jew, had also made arrangements to be interred in a Jewish burial ground. His request was realized only after 1647. By then, the Pintos had fled from Antwerp to Rotterdam

and adopted Judaism. Isaac de Pinto (1629–81), born Manuel Alvares Pinto and named after his beloved grandfather, tells us that he himself had urged his family to reclaim the bodies of Manuel Alvares Pinto, his wife Violante Henriques (who had died in Antwerp in October 1639), and Isabel Henriques (Isaac de Pinto's mother-in-law). They were brought at enormous expense to Rotterdam and interred in the *Bet Haim*.²⁹ By emptying their Christian mausoleum in the church of the Discalced Carmelites, the Pintos wiped out the memory of their Catholic past—a past that, according to Isaac de Pinto, belonged to the domain of appearances and sham.

Isaac de Pinto's account is included in his autobiographical work from 1671, which was addressed to members of the family and never intended for publication. By 1671, Isaac de Pinto had been living as a pious Jew for nearly twenty-five years and held the highest office in the Portuguese Congregation *Talmud Tora* in Amsterdam.³⁰ He had grown up in the spacious house of his grandparents and, as he notes, had from them "acquired the knowledge of God, and what it meant to be a Jew." He had also learned at an early age to simulate Catholicism and dissimulate Judaism. He recalls that, as a child, when they took him to church "for their sins," he "used to recite there the words of the *Shema* which my grandfather had taught me. This might have caused disaster had I not observed the lesson of never saying them aloud, for fear that someone might hear them."³¹ Isaac uses the word "feign" (*fingir*) when he refers to the fact that his family had to attend masses "for their sins."³² Similarly, according to Isaac, his grandfather had ordered a Christian burial only because he was forced to dissimulate in a city where Judaism was forbidden.³³ Indeed, we know from archival sources that in 1616 Isaac's grandfather became a secret member of the *Dotar* confraternity in Amsterdam, which accepted non-practicing Jews in other cities as members as long as they kept a basic attachment to Jewish beliefs.³⁴

A main aim of Isaac de Pinto's work was to show how Judaism had been transmitted in his family through generations, ultimately going back to the time of the forced baptisms of Portugal's Jews in 1497. The grandfather of Isaac de Pinto's grandfather, Rodrigo Alvares Pinto, was thought to have been baptized at this time.³⁵ For Isaac de Pinto, as Miriam Bodian puts it, religious beliefs "were an inheritance, an ancestral obligation, closely linked to lineage and ethnicity."³⁶ Isaac relates that Rodrigo Alvares Pinto's son, Gil Lopes Pinto, a physician to the grand-inquisitor Cardinal King

Henrique (1512–80), “always professed [Judaism] in secret,” although he was “timorous and cautious” about it. He waited until his favorite son, Manuel Alvares Pinto, Isaac de Pinto’s grandfather, had reached adulthood before he risked telling him, while on a walk in the countryside, that he was a Jew.³⁷ Manuel Alvares Pinto, who also became a royal surgeon in Lisbon, married “out of love” Violante Henriques, many of whose relatives were persecuted by the Inquisition. She herself was arrested because her sisters had denounced her.³⁸ The family fled in 1607 to settle in the prospering trading city of Antwerp after their sixteen-year-old son, Henrique, begged them on his deathbed to flee, prophesizing that “in another land much wealth was awaiting them.”³⁹ In Antwerp, two of their sons, Gil Lopes (Isaac’s father) and Rodrigo Alvares Pinto (Isaac’s uncle and future father-in-law), made a fortune as merchants and crown bankers. The trading and banking firm under their name “acquired much credit and celebrity not only in Antwerp [. . .], but also in the other trading centers of Europe,” as well as at the Royal Court in Brussels. Yet, as Manuel Alvares Pinto adds, “these gentlemen were arranging their affairs with a view to giving them up within a brief time in order to be able to go over to Judaism at an opportune moment.”⁴⁰ The Pintos left Antwerp for Rotterdam in 1646. At about the same time, another important merchant family, the Teixeiras, fled to Hamburg where they reverted to Judaism.⁴¹ Both families had been outwardly living as Catholics in Antwerp for many years (the Teixeiras had settled in Antwerp in 1619). As late as 1643, Diogo Teixeira, perhaps the wealthiest of all major Portuguese *asentistas*, had succeeded in obtaining a certificate from Madrid which proved that he belonged to the Old Christian aristocratic family Teixeira de Sampayo and allowed him to use its coat of arms.⁴²

In scholarly literature, a variety of economic and religious motives have been brought forward to explain why these and other merchant-bankers sought their fortune elsewhere and emigrated to places where they could be openly practicing Jews.⁴³ With Olivares’s fall in 1643, the circumstances for the Portuguese merchants had become uncertain. In 1646, some important *asentistas* were seized in Madrid and, as a result, there was an outbreak of hostilities towards the leading financiers in Antwerp. By the mid-1640s, it had become obvious that the Spanish army would lose the war against Holland, and there was an imminent danger that Antwerp would come under siege by Dutch and French forces. By that time Antwerp, once an “example of

religious cosmopolitanism,”⁴⁴ had become a bulwark of the Counter Reformation where both Protestants and Jews were considered heretics and had therefore virtually disappeared.

Interestingly, the Pintos still found it necessary to “feign” Catholicism during their flight. They even attended mass in the Calvinist city of Zevenbergen, “which was held in a house which looked like a stable, since the church, which is a fine one, belongs to the Protestants.”⁴⁵ Also, in Rotterdam, relates Isaac de Pinto, “although we were in a land of liberty and in a land where Judaism was tolerated [. . .], we did not expose ourselves in the matter of religion, not adopting any outward signs of new customs.”⁴⁶ It was only after the male members of the family had been circumcised that the Pintos publicly observed Jewish precepts.⁴⁷ Cut off from rabbinic teaching for generations, the Pintos’ knowledge of Jewish precepts and rituals had decayed. They might have observed fasts and Sabbaths, and recited some Jewish prayers, but they were familiar with neither dietary laws nor all the holidays.⁴⁸

Isaac de Pinto’s account gives some insights into the religious and cultural attitudes of the Portuguese *converso* merchants in Antwerp. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the city councils of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Hamburg guaranteed Portuguese merchant-bankers the right freely to practice Judaism, while, only one-hundred miles away in Antwerp, men and women, often from the same families, had to live outwardly as Catholics. Up to the late sixteenth century, no draconian actions were taken against international merchants, who brought wealth to the city. However, although the Inquisition never firmly took root in the Spanish Netherlands, in the first half of the seventeenth century so-called “heretics” were more closely scrutinized. The bishops Joannes Malderus (1611–33) and Marius Ambrosius Capello (1654–76) were especially known for hunting Protestants and Jews. According to Marie Juliette Marinus, in the episcopal records between 1608 and 1633, twenty-eight persons are mentioned who were suspected of practicing Judaism.⁴⁹ Some of them were interrogated, fined, or arrested; some had their goods confiscated. The Pintos, even while refraining from “outward signs,” had difficulty fully concealing their religious commitment from their Old Christian neighbors. An episcopal record from June 22, 1630 lists,⁵⁰ under the heading “names of those suspected of Judaizing,” the following persons: Miguel Gomes with his son, living in the Huidevetterstraat;⁵¹ Simão Dias Vaaz, living in the Lange Gasthuisstraat next to the house of Dr Luis Núñez;⁵² António de Paz, living

in the Lange Gasthuisstraat, and his brothers [in reality: in-laws] João de Paz and André d' Azevedo,⁵³ whose son Miguel de Paz had left Antwerp for Hamburg and there publicly adopted Judaism); and Fernando Lopes living in the Clarenstraat. The document especially focuses on some members of the Pinto family: Manuel Alvares Pinto with his two sons [Rodrigo Alvares Pinto and Gil Lopes Pinto], "one of them [Gil Lopes Pinto] presently second consul of the nation," and their sister [Sara Lopes Pinto who was married to Abraham Soares].⁵⁴ "It is said," according to the document, "that the whole family of the Pintos is suspect of Judaizing and that they have clandestine gatherings among each other on Sabbaths, sometimes in the house of the father, sometimes in the house of the daughter where they presumably perform Jewish exercises." Manuel Alvares Pinto was further suspected of lodging the secret Jewish community's rabbi. Moreover, Pinto's wife always cooked his food, preventing the servants from knowing what he actually ate.

In the 1630s, Gil Lopes Pinto and Rodrigo Alvares Pinto, Simão Dias Vaaz and António de Paz, together with Diogo Teixeira de Sampaio⁵⁵ and Francisco Lopes Franco y Feio,⁵⁶ were Antwerp's leading correspondent bankers who, in cooperation with the *asentistas* in Madrid, provided credit for the Spanish crown.⁵⁷ It is certainly no mere coincidence that these very rich foreign merchants in prominent positions drew a growing resentment from the local population. Therefore, the donations to the church of the Discalced Carmelites may be interpreted as forced gifts.

Gil Lopes Pinto must have acquired the vault in the church of the Discalced Carmelites for a family grave shortly after these accusations were made. If we believe his son, he purchased the burial place not because he trusted in the intercessory power of the saints of the Discalced Carmelites, but as a public gesture that would assert the family's Catholicism, convincing the family's Old Christian neighbors (who most probably had denounced them or spread vile gossip) that the *converso* family faithfully conformed to Catholic norms. Among the wealthy merchant families in Antwerp, it was a social convention to purchase a burial place in a monastery, the cathedral, or the parish church, and to request a certain number of masses be said to free their souls. The Pintos were not the only "suspicious" family, who chose to support the newly established religious house in Antwerp. Simão Dias Vaaz (died July 26, 1650), who was also suspected of practicing Judaism in the above-mentioned record, acquired a burial place in the northern nave.⁵⁸ Beatris Vaaz, widow of João Paz do Brasil,⁵⁹ and

Miguel Gomes Vitoria (who was perhaps identical with the episcopal record's "Michael Gomes")⁶⁰ were also buried in the same church.

Similarly, the donations of the wealthy Portuguese merchant Manuel Nunes d'Evora (died May 8, 1636) and his wife Justa Henriques (died December 8, 1637) were most probably motivated by the troubles they encountered with the religious authorities. Justa Henriques, the daughter of Manuel Frances, was born into a family of crypto-Jews, many of whose members were persecuted by the Inquisition.⁶¹ Together with his father-in-law, Manuel Nunes d'Evora built the so-called "Court of the Portuguese," a large country house in Borgerhout, a suburb of Antwerp. At this place, clandestine gatherings of "Judaizers" allegedly took place, which were reported for the first time in 1617. Episcopal records established that these recurred in 1627.⁶² However, Estevan de Ares de Fonseca who, in 1630, denounced, among others, Simão Dias Vaaz and António de Paz as Jews, characterized Manuel Nunes d'Evora as a sincere Catholic.⁶³

The new monastic house of the Discalced Carmelites seemed to be a welcome opportunity for the Portuguese merchants to disprove suspicions they encountered and express their Catholicism by founding chaplaincies. Manuel Nunes d'Evora and Justa Henriques financed the high altar and the equally prestigious adjacent chapels in the choir that faced the main chapel. At the high altar perpetual masses were said each day of the year for the donors' souls.⁶⁴ They secured for themselves the right to use one of the chapels in the choir as their burial space and dedicated it to a devotion that coincided with the celebration of the Jewish Sabbath. The altarpiece represented the famous visionary experience of Simon Stock, a Carmelite monk, who in the thirteenth century lived as a hermit in a hollow tree stump near Cambridge, England. The Virgin appeared before him and promised him that she would descend to purgatory every Saturday and release all the Carmelites, as well as the laity who wore the Carmelite scapular, a short cloak that hangs from the shoulders (fig. 2).⁶⁵ This so-called *privilegium sabbatinum* became increasingly popular in the late Middle Ages, but was officially approved by the Roman church only in 1577. In Antwerp, a confraternity of the scapular was erected by the Calced Carmelites in 1631 and, most likely, Manuel Nunes d'Evora and Justa Henriques were members.⁶⁶

Another important benefactor was the Portuguese lady Felipa Mendes Borges (died January 26, 1629). Felipa Mendes Borges was married to the Portuguese

merchant Simão Dias, who was perhaps identical with Simão Dias Vaaz.⁶⁷ From legal documents, we know that Felipa Mendes's will was notarized on October 23, 1624, by Leonhard de Halle, an Antwerp notary who helped a number of Portuguese merchants to write their testaments. She designated Manuel Nunes d'Evora and Francisco Gallo de Salamanco as her executors. Furthermore, in her will, Felipa Mendes disposed of the enormous sum of 100,000 florin.⁶⁸ Since, according to an inscription next to the altar in her chapel, Felipa not only "built this chapel, decorated it and endowed it with the chaplaincy for a daily mass," but "also gave generously for the building of the whole church,"⁶⁹ we may assume that a considerable part of the 100,000 florin was spent on a pious bequest.

Felipa Mendes, too, had a *converso* family background. Diogo Mendes, banker of the Spanish and Portuguese crown, who came to Antwerp in 1512, was perhaps the most important *converso* merchant in Antwerp. Accused of practicing Judaism in secret in 1532, he was imprisoned, but later was released in return for the payment of a large sum.⁷⁰ Although Felipa Mendes was several generations removed from her famous *converso* ancestor, the memory of his "lapse" into Judaism must still have been present in Portuguese circles at Antwerp.

Teresa of the Portuguese Merchants

In early seventeenth-century Antwerp, especially after the conclusion of the Twelve Year Truce (1609), local and foreign elites became very active in founding and endowing monastic houses and chaplaincies and in rebuilding and refurnishing old, destroyed, and neglected churches and chapels. The great number of new convents and monasteries often led to bitter competition. It became increasingly difficult for religious institutions to find suitable houses and to secure basic donations. In the case of the Carmelites, the Calced Carmelites turned against the Discalced monks and nuns who followed the primitive Carmelite rule (and, as a sign of their commitment to poverty and asceticism, were barefoot, that is, wore sandals). A group of Discalced friars had arrived in Antwerp in 1611, and seven years later, upon intervention of the archdukes, they gained permission from the municipality, the bishop, the cathedral chapter, and the remaining clergy to found a monastic house. They first bought a house in Jodenstraat, but the Calced Carmelites successfully opposed the founding of a competing monastery so close to their own. In 1621 they purchased a site rather near Rubens's house at the Wapper (fig. 3),



Fig. 2. Gerard Seghers, *The Virgin presents the scapular to Saint Simon Stock*, oil on canvas. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

and the new church building was consecrated in 1626. Its main patron was Saint Joseph, Saint Teresa's personal patron. Secondary patrons were Teresa of Avila and her most famous disciple, John of the Cross.⁷¹

Most of the Discalced friars in Antwerp were of Portuguese or Spanish descent—from 1580 to 1640 Portugal was united with Spain—and they were mainly supported by Portuguese nationals who provided capital in exchange for perpetual and frequent daily masses. The Portuguese lady Felipa Mendes Borges was perhaps the most generous benefactor. It was for the altar in her burial chapel that Rubens's altarpiece was commissioned. No children are mentioned in the documents concerning Felipa, and so, if childless, she may have taken great care to prepare the journey of her soul to heaven.⁷² She was buried next to an altar, where, by means of a special type of perpetual mass said every day of the year, souls were rescued from purgatory. The altar in her chapel was a so-called "privileged altar for the dead" (*altare pro mortuis privilegiatum*), that is to say an indulgenced altar at which one soul of the patron's own choosing, in this case that of the patron herself, could

out Franciscans or members of Franciscan confraternities with his cord,⁷⁵ and both scapular and cord confraternities promised their members miraculous protection against the terrifying elements of the other world. The Discalced Carmelites, therefore, went to great effort to obtain the right to distribute the desired scapulars, which was granted to them by Pope Paul V only in 1617.⁷⁶ At the same time, they promoted Saint Teresa as an intercessory saint. As Francisco de Quevedo relates in *His Sword for Santiago* (1628), the Discalced Carmelites liked to spread the story that their saint, Teresa of Avila, had successfully urged God to release King Philip II from purgatory in only eight days.⁷⁷ By introducing Teresa as a powerful intercessor for the souls in purgatory, Rubens's *Saint Teresa* supported the position of the Discalced Carmelites, who competed fiercely with the Old Carmelites in the neighborhood for publicity and gifts from the wealthy population.

In the teaching of early modern Catholicism, purgatory was the beginning of the future life for most people, with the exception of saints. To encourage donations, Rubens's painting displayed the efficacy of Teresa's intercession (fig. 1). However, it not only served the interests of the Discalced Carmelites, but also provided an individualized commemorative image. In the context of the sacred space of the chapel, it expressed the hopes of the Portuguese patron that her own pious gestures would preserve her soul from damnation and accelerate her redemption. Rubens depicted Teresa as an elderly nun in her ordinary religious habit, kneeling before the resurrected Christ, who displays his wounds. Below, at the base of the image, purgatory is imagined as a fiery abyss, where two male and two female souls are burning. Teresa points to the penitent souls. While the two souls on the right are still deeply engulfed in the flames, the couple on the left (below Christ) will soon be released. One *putto* is already freeing the dark-haired man from the flames, while another moves toward the penitent woman to pull her from the fire.

Shortly after completion, Rubens's painting was engraved by the Antwerp printmaker Schelte à Bolswert (ca. 1586–1659) (fig. 4).⁷⁸ The Latin inscription at the bottom of the print helps to explain the theme. It emphasizes the redemptive value of good works: its first part relates to an incident described in Teresa's *Book of Foundations*, written after Teresa ran into difficulties with the Inquisition, as an attempt to demonstrate her obedience to the teachings of the institutional church: "Christ urges the saintly Mother Teresa to assist the soul of Don Bernardino de Mendoza retained in the

flames of purgatory; his soul has been redeemed with the help of Saint Teresa. *The Book of Foundations* by Saint Teresa, chapter 10."⁷⁹ The second part of the inscription is a quotation taken from the *second Book of the Maccabees* in the Old Testament which, in medieval and early modern theological treatises, was perhaps the most important biblical reference in support of the doctrine of purgatory. While Roman Catholic theologians included it in the Old Testament canon after the Council of Trent, Protestant scholars argued that the history of the Maccabees was apocryphal. It reads: "It is a holy and pious thought to pray for the dead, that they shall be freed from their sins (2 Maccabees 12:45)."⁸⁰

The story of the young Don Bernardino de Mendoza was undoubtedly the subject given to Rubens either by the patron, or her relatives, or by the Carmelites themselves. Although Alvaro de Mendoza, Bishop of Avila, was perhaps her most important supporter and friend, the entire Mendoza family played a crucial role in Teresa's reform. Alvaro's sister, Doña María de Mendoza, sponsored the foundation of a Discalced convent in Valladolid in 1568.⁸¹ Bernardino de Mendoza, their younger brother, was, according to Teresa's account, "deeply engulfed in the vanities of the world."⁸² However, before his sudden death he was clever enough to give Teresa and her companions a house for the foundation of a new monastery, thus buying commemoration, as was customary with the landed feudal nobility. This donation restored his prospect of salvation and prevented him from going straight to hell after death. Instead, he was allowed to go to purgatory, but was not required to stay for long. When the first mass was read in the newly built church, he was immediately released and entered heaven, as Teresa learned in a vision while taking communion.

The male soul set free by an angel can therefore be seen as Bernardino de Mendoza, who will soon rejoice in the fruits of his generous gift. However, Rubens's painted version deviates from Teresa's written account. There are four souls suffering in the flames. Much more than the young man, it is the beautiful woman in tears who catches the eye of the spectator, and—more importantly—of the priest when he looks up to say the "memento." It is this woman rather than Mendoza, whom Teresa seems to recommend to Jesus Christ. For the user of the print, the story of Bernardino de Mendoza might have served as an example for the efficacy of prayers for the dead. The altarpiece, however, has a more "private" meaning that must be linked to the Portuguese patron herself.



Fig. 4. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Saint Teresa of Avila interceding for the soul of Bernardino de Mendoza and other souls in purgatory*, engraving, Hamburg, Kunsthalle.

The inscription at the left side of the altar commemorated the generous donation made by Felipa Mendes Borges:

Felipa Mendes, a Portuguese noblewoman, immortalized through piety, built this chapel, decorated it and endowed it with the prebend for a daily mass. She also gave generously for the building of the whole church. On the twenty-sixth of January, 1629 she began to enjoy a better life.⁸³

As became obvious from my study of the notarial records in the Antwerp archives, Felipa Mendes Borges

spent a considerable amount of money on the building of the new Carmelite church. It therefore seems probable that the second soul to be released from purgatory in Rubens's painting was meant to be a kind of allusive or hidden donor portrait. Rubens gave this already rescued woman the features of a penitent, weeping Mary Magdalene who, as a result of her generosity toward Christ, ascended from sin to sanctity (fig. 5).⁸⁴ Felipa Mendes bought commemoration by building a chapel and contributing largely to the structure of a church, and, therefore, hoped similarly to be released quickly from purgatory.



Fig. 5. Cornelis Cort, after Titian, *The repentant Mary Magdalene in a landscape*, engraving. Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet.

Did Felipa Mendes's Jewish ancestry have an impact on her sponsorship of religious architecture and art? Was the generous support she gave the Discalced merely a social strategy, a necessary survival tactic in an environment that was highly inhospitable for *conversos*? The fervently Catholic aspect of her patronage—the foundation of a chapel with a privileged altar for the dead—might have helped to allay doubts about the sincerity of her own faith. Rubens's altarpiece was a visible demonstration of her religious fervor that combined concern for social esteem with a wish to purge what her Catholic neighbors would have considered the "sins" of her Jewish past. It is interesting that Felipa

Mendes sought assistance from a saint who was also of Jewish descent, a fact that was successfully suppressed with Teresa's canonization in 1622.⁸⁵ It is perhaps even more striking that this new image of Teresa as intercessor replaced her earlier official image, based on the visionary experience of the transverberation (the transfixion of her heart by the golden spear of an angel).

From archival documents I was able to reconstruct the original decoration of the church of the Discalced (fig. 6). The high altar, sponsored by the Portuguese merchants Manuel Nunes d'Evora and Justa Henriques, was dedicated to Saint Joseph, and the altarpiece by

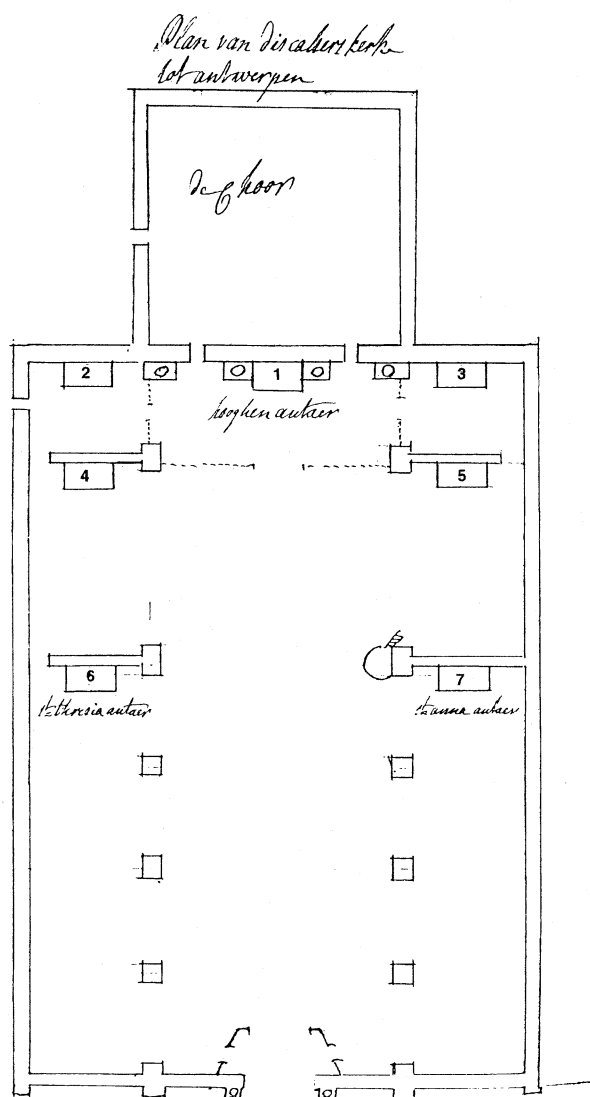


Fig. 6. Plan of the church of the Discalced Carmelites, Antwerp 18th c.). Reconstruction with the original designation of the altars: 1 Joseph; 2 Cross; 3 Simon Stock; 4 Teresa of Avila (*Transverberation*); 5 John of the Cross; 6 Teresa of Avila (*Intercession for the souls in purgatory*); 7 Anna. Antwerp, Stadsarchief.

Gerard Seghers recorded the Marriage of the Virgin and Joseph.⁸⁶ The transept altars originally presented the main saints of the Discalced, Saint Teresa (fig. 7)⁸⁷ and Saint John of the Cross (fig. 8),⁸⁸ experiencing their primary visions. However, most probably in the early 1630s, the altar of Saint Teresa in the north transept was rededicated to Saint Joseph, and the main altar dedicated exclusively to the Virgin. Gerard Seghers's altarpiece of the *Transverberation* was removed from the transept altar and set up near the entrance of the church, with no connection to an altar.⁸⁹ In the church of the Discalced at Antwerp, it was Saint Teresa as

intercessor who gained the favor of the *converso* merchants and not the official image of the saint acknowledged by the Counter Reformation.

Located on the gospel side of the church, Felipa Mendes's chapel was the first on the left (fig. 6). From a distance, the churchgoer would first see the interchange between Christ and Teresa and may have been struck by the powerful position of the new saint. Erwin Panofsky has related the iconography of Peter Paul Rubens's *Teresa* to a group of paintings that represented Christ's appearance to his mother in limbo.⁹⁰ In the sixteenth century and especially after Pope Gregory XIII legalized the *bullā sabbatina* in 1577, the Carmelites appropriated these representations of the apocryphal story of Mary's descent into limbo in order to "prove" that Our Lady of Mount Carmel did indeed descend every Saturday into purgatory to release the clerics and laypersons who had placed their confidence in the means of grace offered by the Carmelite order. In the church of the Discalced Carmelites in Antwerp, Teresa was promoted as a saint who, like the Virgin, could accelerate the purification process in purgatory.⁹¹

Moving closer to the chapel, the viewer would then contemplate the life-size half-figures of penitent souls. These figures protrude into the space of the chapel, enhancing the vitality of the image and the beholder's affective response. Guidebooks of the time describe the souls in purgatory as by far the most interesting motifs in Rubens's altarpiece. Their bodily gestures and facial expressions represent mental states ranging from desperation to hope. Images of suffering souls were communicative images, intended to evoke compassion and pious "performances" by the faithful for their dead relatives and friends. As a backdrop to the actions of a priest, Rubens's painting promoted masses that were thought to be the most efficacious suffrages, especially when said at indulgenced altars.⁹² Approaching the chapel from the central aisle, the viewer would "enter" the painting through the woman who is turning her back toward us and would visually follow the progress of the souls in the process of salvation. His or her attention was directed to the sensuality of the weeping woman in penitence, whose reddish hair barely covers her breasts. Rubens rendered her release from purgatory in a manner similar to the conversion of Mary Magdalene, another wealthy woman from a noble family who changed her life from sinful to holy.

Approaching the railings of the sanctuary, churchgoers would see an inscription above the painting proclaiming that this altar was "privileged during all



Fig. 7. Gerard Seghers, *Transverberation of Saint Teresa*, oil on canvas. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

days of the whole year.” They would, therefore, be aware of the high value of masses said in this chapel. To the left of the altar, they would see a white marble tablet commemorating the donation. The inscription, as was customary in epitaphs of the time, emphasized the noble status, the piety, and the generosity of the female donor, as well as the fact that she was Portuguese; curiously, a whole line was reserved to characterize her as “Lusitana—Portuguese.” In the episcopal records “Lusitani” is synonymous with “Judaei,” and in the vernacular “Portuguese” was interchangeable with “Hebrew.” This suggests that by 1630 in Antwerp to be Portuguese raised suspicions of practicing Judaism. Felipa Mendes’s

chapel was thus publicly and prominently identified as a chapel built and endowed by a woman of Jewish ancestry, and it was in this context that the emphasis on penance, sin, and expiation took on a special meaning. The chapel documented the actual conversion of a *conversa* and at the same time invited other Portuguese families to do the same, i.e., to expiate the “stain” of their Jewish lineage by building family chapels and founding chaplaincies in this monastery. Like the Jesuits, the Discalced Carmelites were open to donations from *converso* families, who became their strongest supporters. The Portuguese donations would have rescued the monastery from any financial crisis. In exchange for

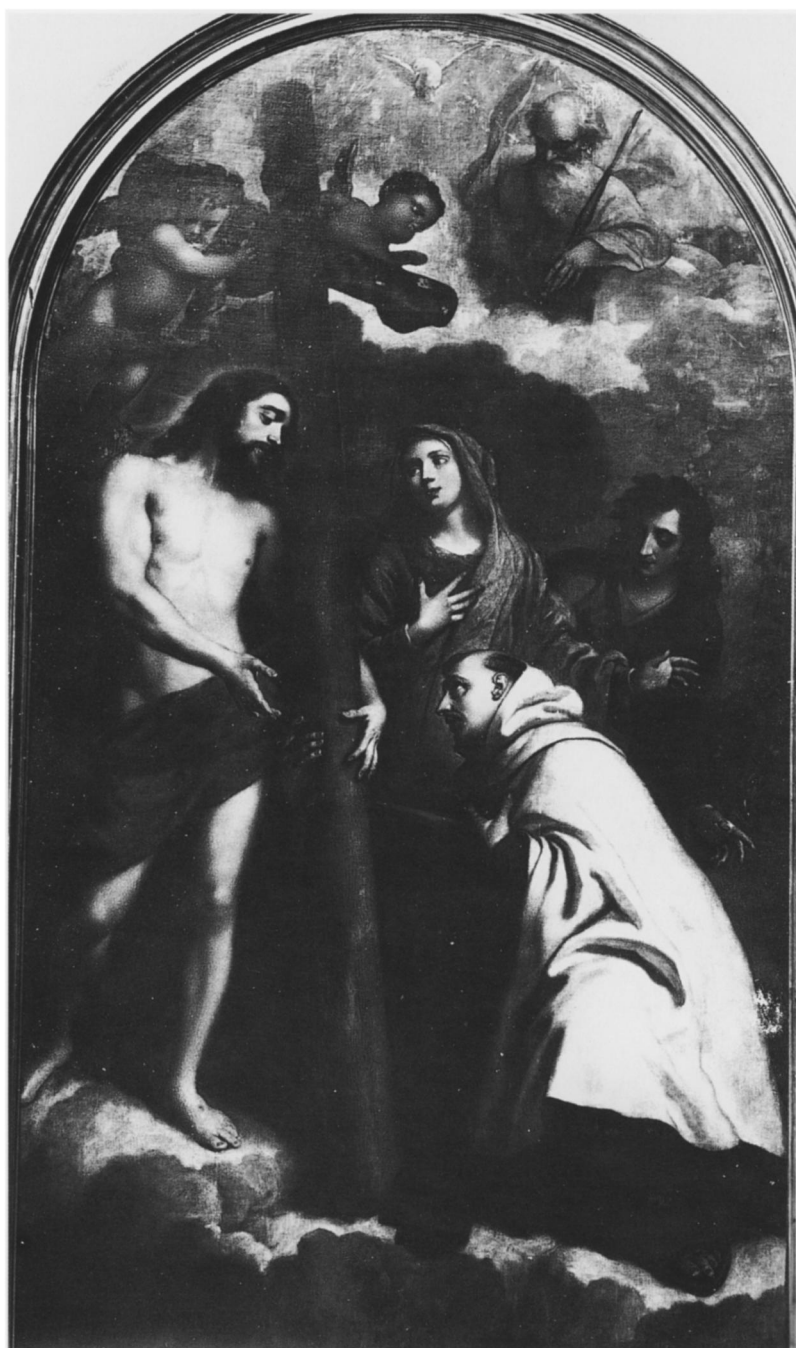


Fig. 8. Peter Thys, the Elder, *Visionary experience of Saint John of the Cross*, oil on canvas. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

these donations the monks offered masses and intercessory prayers for the souls of their patrons and thus helped to allay the suspicions of the Old Christian community, convincing the churchgoers that the converts were sincere Christians.

In Antwerp, paintings were often reproduced in close collaboration with clerics who were responsible for the Latin inscriptions. Thus, prints after paintings were also a means to exert clerical control over religious

imagery intended for a lay audience. In some cases the inscriptions on the prints transformed the messages that had been conveyed by the paintings in their original settings. It is not surprising that a painting emphasizing the intercessory power of the new saint, rather than Gerard Seghers's *Transverberation* (i.e., Teresa's official image since her canonization in 1622), was chosen for reproduction. Rubens's depictions of male and female nude souls in a variety of gestures and positions must



Fig. 9. Schelte à Bolswert, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Saint Teresa of Avila interceding for the soul of Bernardino de Mendoza and other souls in purgatory*. Hamburg, Kunsthalle (detail of fig. 4).

have provoked the viewers' and art critics' aesthetic pleasure.⁹³ Perhaps more importantly, purgatory was a most effective subject to encourage viewers to pray and make charitable donations. By definition, portraits of suffering souls in purgatory were meant to attract the attention of the beholder and to cause him or her to pray for a quick release. We can assume that Discalced Carmelites, who were in need of money, used Rubens's pictorial invention to find sponsors among the wealthy Portuguese nationals. The print was thus not addressed to a broad anonymous audience for didactic purposes (as it is generally assumed in the case of Counter Reformation prints), but to a close circle of Portuguese merchant-bankers, primarily Felipa Mendes's relatives and friends. Rubens most probably knew friars of the Discalced and certainly had friendships with Portuguese merchant-bankers.⁹⁴ He shared the same neighborhood with Felipa Mendes, Simão Dias, and other Portuguese nationals as well as the Discalced Carmelites. The friendships that linked them might well have been one of the reasons for Rubens's commission.

The print is an almost exact reverse copy of Rubens's pictorial invention—with one small but significant exception (fig. 9). At the lower left margin of the print,

behind the woman who is turned away from the beholder, a tiny male head can be distinguished. It stares out of the picture, lips slightly parted as if addressing the viewer. The figure may have been meant as a hidden self-portrait of the engraver, most probably added as an afterthought. Painters often represented themselves in marginal and liminal places of their narratives, looking out of their compositions, thus playfully blurring pictorial and "real" space and eliminating the frontiers between this world and the life to come. It is unusual for such an image to be included in the print version of a religious image, and this figure may, therefore, represent the printmaker. By including what seems to be a portrait of his own soul in an imaginary purgatorial scene, the engraver encourages the owners and users of the prints to include him as "maker" in their prayers for the penitent souls. These prayers would eventually hasten the cleansing of his own soul in purgatory after death. The engraver thus fashioned himself in purgatory, appealing to the viewers not only to free his soul, but also to pay attention to his work.⁹⁵

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Notes

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1. See A. D. Wright, "The Altarpiece in Catholic Europe: Post-Tridentine Transformations," in P. Humfrey and M. Kemp, eds., *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1990), 243–60.

2. G. Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius*. Toronto Studies in Religion, 14 (New York, 1992), 127.

3. G. Paleotti, "Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane [1582]," in P. Barocchi, ed., *Trattati d'Arte del Cinquecento fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, 2 (Bari, 1961), 481.

4. P. F. X. de Ram, *Nova et absoluta Collectio Synodorum tam Provincialium quam Dioecesanarum Archiepiscopatus Mechiliensis*, 1 (Mechelen, 1828), 387 (Provincial council in Mechelen, 1607): "Curentque diligenter Episcopi [. . .] neque in intima altarium tabula vivorum effigies depingantur."

5. P. F. X. de Ram, *Nova et absoluta Collectio Synodorum Episcopatus Antverpiensis* (Louvain, 1858), 143 (Antwerp synod, 1610): "Si in pede altaris personae vivae, aut alioqui viventibus notae, vel si profana ibi depicta sint, illa deleri, aut dum in altari sacrificum missae celebrabitur, cortinula tegi volumus: atque ne in posterum ibi pingantur, vetamus." The Antwerp Bishop Joannes Malderus included this formula in his *Instructions* from August 30, 1633: "An in ea [altaria] non sint indecentes imagines, et ubi effigies saecularium sunt in pede tabulae altaris, cortinis obvelentur, ne in posterum sic fiat." (ibid., 235). Cited by A. Monballieu, "Het probleem van het 'portret' bij Rubens' Altaarstukken," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, 24 (1976–78), 160–61.

6. Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli's *Treatise* was written with the assistance of the painter Pietro Berrettini da Cortona: G. D. Ottonelli and P. Berrettini, *Trattato della pittura e scultura, uso et abuso loro* (1652), V. Casale, ed. (Treviso, 1973). For Ottonelli's treatise, see G. A. Bailey, "The Jesuits and Painting in Italy, 1550–1690: The Art of Catholic Reform," in *Saints and Sinners: Caravaggio and the Baroque Image*, exh. cat., F. Mormando, ed. (Chicago, 1999), 169–71.

7. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVI^e siècle, du XVII^e siècle et du XVIII^e siècle. Étude sur l'iconographie après le concile de Trente. Italie - France - Espagne - Flandres* (2nd rev. ed. Paris, 1951).

8. J. B. Knipping, *De iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden*, 2 vols (Hilversum, 1939–40).

9. G. A. Gilio, "Dialogo, nel quale si ragiona degli errori e degli abusi de' pittori circa l'istorie [1564]," in Barocchi, ed., *Trattati*, 2, 1–115, 569–614.

10. Molanus, *Traité des saintes images* (Louvain, 1570, Ingolstadt, 1594), F. Boespflug, O. Christin and B. Tassel, eds. (Paris, 1996).

11. C. Borromeo, "Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae [1577]," in Barocchi, *Trattati*, 3 (Bari, 1962), 1–113, 425–64. For more on Borromeo's treatise, see S. Mayer-Himmelheber, *Bischöfliche Kunstpolitik nach dem Tridentinum: Der Secunda-Roma-Anspruch Carlo Borromeos und die mailändischen Verordnungen zu Bau und Ausstattung von Kirchen*. Tuduv-Studien: Reihe Kunstgeschichte, 11 (Munich, 1984).

12. Paleotti, "Discorso;" see above, note 3.

13. The Jesuit A. Possevino discusses painting in the appendix of his treatise on rhetoric: *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum*, 2 (Rome, 1593).

14. F. Borromeo, *De pictura sacra*, C. Castiglioni, ed. Collana federicana, 1 (Sora, 1932). See P. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-century Milan* (Cambridge, 1993), 31–32.

15. For G. D. Ottonelli, see above, note 6.

16. For Gabriele Paleotti's conception of painting as universal language, see also P. M. Jones, "Art as Ideology: Gabriele Paleotti's Hierarchical Notion of Painting's Universality and Reception," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650*, C. Farago, ed. (New Haven, 1995), 127–39, 321–23.

17. On the history of scholarship of the Counter Reformation, see the excellent essay by J. W. O'Malley, "A Historiographical Frame for the Paintings: Recent Interpretations of Early Modern Catholicism," in *Saints and Sinners*, 19–27.

18. For further discussion of the terms "cultural interaction" and "cultural negotiation," see C. Harline, "Official Religion—Popular Religion in Recent Historiography of the Catholic Reformation," *Archive for Reformation History—Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 81 (1990), 239–62.

19. M. Richardson points to the difference between place and space. "Place and Culture: Two Disciplines, two Concepts, two Images of Christ, and a Single Goal," in *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, J. A. Agnew and J. S. Duncan, eds. (Winchester, Mass., 1989), 140–56.

20. P. Burke, "Hosts and Guests: A General View of Minorities in the Cultural Life of Europe," in H. Soly and A. K. L. Thijs, eds., *Minderheden in Westeuropese steden (16de–20ste eeuw)—Minorities in Western European Cities (sixteenth–twentieth centuries)*. Bibliothèque: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 34 (Turnhout, 1995), 43.

21. See the foundational study on the Portuguese Nation in Antwerp by H. Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567–1648): Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit*. Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, 63 (Wiesbaden, 1977). For a summary of recent scholarship, see M. Ebben, "Portuguese Merchant Bankers and the Court of the Archdukes, 1596–1633," in *Albert and Isabella*, exh. cat., W. Thomas and L. Duerloo, eds. (Turnhout, 1998), 303–08.

22. In 1626 the diamond merchant Thomé Lopes d'Ulhoa was appointed paymaster general of the army of Flanders. See Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 100; J. C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626–1650* (New Brunswick, 1983), 23.

23. Residences of Portuguese merchants are documented for the Meir, the Lange Nieuwstraat, the Lange and Korte Gasthuisstraat, the Huidevetterstraat, Arenbergstraat, and the area around Tapissierspand. Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 322.

24. Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 309–31. For the opulent consumption habits of the Portuguese *asentistas* at the court of Philip IV in Lisbon, see Boyajian, *Bankers*, 108.

25. Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 335–36.

26. During the first half of the seventeenth century the number of Portuguese merchant-bankers in Antwerp decreased continually. The Portuguese Nation consisted of seventy-five members in 1611, whereas in 1619 only 46 Portuguese merchants were listed as members. No lists of members of the Portuguese Nation are preserved for the years 1619 to 1666, but other documents suggest that around 1650 there were no more than forty to fifty merchants still residing in Antwerp. See Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 69–72. There is a controversial debate in scholarly literature about the religious beliefs of the Portuguese merchant-bankers in Antwerp. According to I. S. Révah (“Pour l’histoire des marranes à Anvers: recensement de la ‘Nation portugaise’ de 1571 à 1666,” *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 4th series, 2 (1963), 123–47) the members of the Portuguese community in Antwerp remained Jews at heart, although they appeared outwardly integrated into Christian society. H. Pohl (*Portugiesen*, 331–53), H. P. Salomon (“The ‘De Pinto’ Manuscript: A 17th Century Marrano Family History,” in *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 9 (1975), 1–8), and K. von Greyerz (“Portuguese conversos on the Upper Rhine and the converso community of sixteenth-century Europe,” *Social History*, 14 (1989), 76–79) argue for multiple religious affiliations stating that often individual members of the same families disagreed on religious issues. For a good overview on scholarship on problems of converso societies, see M. Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, Indianapolis, 1997), ix–xiii.

27. Peter Paul Rubens, *Saint Teresa of Avila interceding for the souls in purgatory*, oil on canvas, 193 x 139 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. I discussed aspects of Rubens’s painting in my *Die Kunst des Fegefeuers nach der Reformation: Kirchliche Schenkungen, Ablaß und Almosen in Antwerpen und Bologna um 1600*. Berliner Schriften zur Kunst, 7 (Mainz, 1996), 179–274. The present essay is based on new archival findings and recent research on religious life in seventeenth-century Antwerp that enabled me to further develop my arguments.

28. Salomon, De Pinto, 23–24. For the Pinto family, see also Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 100–101; J. C. Boyajian, “The New Christians Reconsidered: Evidence from Lisbon’s Portuguese Bankers, 1497–1647,” *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 13 (1979), 151–55; Bodian, *Hebrews*, 38–43.

29. Salomon, De Pinto, 27–28.

30. Salomon, De Pinto, 8.

31. Salomon, De Pinto, 43. The *Shema* is a short prayer (Deuteronomy 6:4: “Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord.”) recited daily in the morning and evening. See Bodian, *Hebrews*, 42.

32. Salomon, De Pinto, 57: “E era nesses[ar]io aynda fingir o que en Anveres e Turenhout e p[or] nossos pecados yr a missa.”

33. Salomon, De Pinto, 23, 51.

34. Bodian, *Hebrews*, 43.

35. Salomon, De Pinto, 10.

36. Bodian, *Hebrews*, 43.

37. Salomon, De Pinto, 13.

38. Salomon, De Pinto, 18–19.

39. Salomon, De Pinto, 20–21.

40. Salomon, De Pinto, 28–29.

41. For the flight of Diogo Teixeira and his family to Hamburg, see Salomon, De Pinto, 6, 29–31. See also Boyajian, *Bankers*, 150–51.

42. Salomon, De Pinto, 6; Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 329; H. Kellenbenz, “Diego und Manoel Teixeira und ihr Hamburger Unternehmen,” *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 42 (1955), 292–93. For more on Diogo’s role as a banker, see Boyajian, *Bankers*, 74.

43. For the controversial debate on whether the Pintos were attracted by economic opportunities or by the possibility of openly practicing Judaism, see Bodian, *Hebrews*, 39: According to H. P. Salomon (De Pinto, 29), and J. C. Boyajian (“New Christians 153) the Pintos fled out of economic and financial considerations; J. Israel argues that they left Antwerp for Rotterdam mainly out of religious convictions (*Empires and Entrepôts: The Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585–1713* (London, 1990), 399).

44. H. Soly, “Social Relations in Antwerp in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis 16th–17th century*, exh. cat., under the direction of J. van der Stock (Gent, 1993), 43.

45. Salomon, De Pinto, 36.

46. Salomon, De Pinto, 39.

47. Salomon, De Pinto, 38.

48. Salomon, De Pinto, 34.

49. M. J. Marinus, *De contrareformatie de Antwerpen (1585–1676): Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad*. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 57, no. 155 (Brussels, 1995), 241.

50. Bisschoppelijk Archief Antwerp (= BAA), A 11, fol. 166 r.

51. We don’t know whether this “Michael Gomes” was the Miguel Gomes Vitoria (died September 11, 1642) who was buried in the church of the Discalced Carmelites. Miguel Gomes Vitoria was married to Felipa Godines. Her brother, Felipe Godines built the main chapel in the church of the Calced Carmelites in Antwerp and requested, in his will dated 1632, a burial next to the high altar “where my blessed ancestors are buried” (F. Baudouin, “Het door Rubens ontworpen hoogaltaar in de kerk der geschoeide Karmelieten te Antwerpen,” *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 51 (1991), 21–60). For Miguel Gomes Vitoria, see Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 92; for his burial place, see *Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen*, 5 (Antwerp, 1856–71), 370. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many Portuguese merchants with the name Gomes lived in Antwerp. In 1608–09 another member of the Gomes family, Maria Gomes, widow of Nicolão Rodrigues d’Evora and sister of Alvaro Mendes alias Salomon Ibn Yaish, was denounced as a “Judaizer”: see also Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 344–45; E. R. Samuel, “Portuguese Jews in Jacobean London,” *Jewish Historical Society of England, Transactions*, 18 (1958), 201. In 1630 Estevan de Ares de Fonseca denounced Paolo Gomes of Judaizing. See Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 345; J. Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, 3 (Madrid, 1961), 334; H. Kellenbenz, *A participação da companhia de judeus na conquista holandesa de Pernambuco* (Paraíba, 1966), 13.

52. Simão Dias Vaaz (born in Lisbon about 1580 and married to Ines Henriques), with his brother Manuel Dias Henriques (who, in 1624, had to flee from the Mexican Inquisition), traded most probably in slaves in Brazil, Mexico, and Guatemala. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Simão, Manuel, and a third brother, João Mendes Henriques, settled in Antwerp and became perhaps the most important importers of diamonds and sugar. For Simão Dias Vaaz, see Boyajian, *Bankers*, 75–76.

53. In 1630 Estevan de Ares de Fonseca also denounced Simão Dias Vaaz and António de Paz for Judaizing. See above, note 51. The cousins of Simão Dias Vaaz, António de Paz (1580–1650) and his brother João Paz do Brasil (1575–1630), traded in sugar and diamonds together with António de Paz's in-laws, the brothers João de Paz and André d'Azevedo. In 1631, João de Paz and André de Azevedo moved to Amsterdam. Boyajian, *Bankers*, 76; Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 345–46; H. J. Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsport, Pa., 1937), 11–12, 175.

54. For Sara and Abraham Soares, who had fled from Antwerp to Rotterdam in 1642, i.e., four years earlier than their relatives, see Salomon, *De Pinto*, 37–38; Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 101.

55. For Diogo Teixeira de Sampaio, see above, notes 41, 42.

56. For Francisco Lopes Franco y Feio's arrest by the Spanish Admiralty Board in 1648 and his release two years later because Philip IV acted on his behalf, see Boyajian, *Bankers*, 131. For Francisco Lopes Franco y Feio's donation to the Franciscan church as a means of recording his gratitude to the Spanish crown, see my "Religiöse Stiftungen als Dissimulation? Die Kapellen der portugiesischen Kaufleute in Antwerpen," in *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten*, M. Borgolte, ed. (forthcoming).

57. Boyajian, *Bankers*, 72–76.

58. For Simão Dias Vaaz, see above, note 52.

59. João Paz do Brasil was the cousin of Simão Dias Vaaz and the brother and associate of the "suspect" António de Paz. See above, note 53.

60. For Miguel Gomes Vitoria, see above, note 51.

61. Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 95.

62. BAA, A 9b, fol. 88 v (1617); fol. 223 r (1627). The documents are mentioned in Marinus, *Contrareformatie*, 241.

63. See above, note 53.

64. *Verzameling*, 5, 363–64 (main chapel); 371–72 (chapel consecrated to Saint Simon Stock), 372 (chapel consecrated to the Holy Cross).

65. Gerard Seghers, *The Virgin presents the scapular to Saint Simon Stock*, oil on canvas, 197 x 138 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. See D. Bieneck, *Gerard Seghers 1591–1651: Leben und Werk des Antwerpener Historienmalers*. Flämische Maler im Umkreis der großen Meister, 6 (Lingen, 1992), 256, cat. C11. Bieneck attributes the painting to a pupil of Rubens. In the same chapel was a triptych representing on the central panel Christ on the cross and on the side wings the kneeling donors (*Verzameling*, 5, 371–72).

66. For a broader discussion of the "privilegium sabbatinum" and the Antwerp confraternity, see my *Kunst des Fegefeuers*, 195–212.

67. On the possible identity of Simão Dias and Simão Dias Vaaz who was (in a second marriage?) married to Ines Henriques, see Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 97. According to the episcopal record cited above (June 22, 1630, BAA, A 11, fol. 166 r, see also note 50) Simão Dias Vaaz resided in a house in the Lange Gasthuisstraat. On September 25, 1629, Simão Dias, widower of Felipa Mendes, gave two houses at the Lange Gasthuisstraat as a surety for the fulfilment of a payment of a debt of 18,000 florin he owned his wife's mortuary house (Stadsarchief Antwerp (= SAA), Schepenregisters, 5, fol. 116 r–v). This would support the assumption that Simão Dias and Simão Dias Vaaz are indeed the same person.

68. Felipa Mendes's testament is lost, but referred to in SAA, Schepenregisters, 5, fol. 92 v, 116 r–v. In their testament (1647), the Portuguese *asentista* Francisco Lopes Franco y Feio and his wife Mariana Franca, who founded and endowed the Portiuncula chapel in the Franciscan church, disposed of 150,000–160,000 florin, 100,000 florin of which were used for a pious bequest. See Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 303, and above, note 56.

69. *Verzameling*, 5, 370. See below, note 83.

70. For Diogo Mendes, see Pohl, *Portugiesen*, 88; *Feitorias: L'art au Portugal au temps des grandes découvertes (fin XIVE siècle jusqu'à 1548)*, exh. cat., Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (Tervuren, 1991), 48; C. Roth, *A History of the Marraonos* (rev. ed. Philadelphia, 1932), 237.

71. J. C. Diercxsens, *Antverpia Christo nascens et crescens*, 7: 1607–1700 (Antwerp, 1773), 105–106; F. Prims, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen: Met Spanje 1555–1715*, 6/B (1927–1948; reprint, Brussels, 1982), 575–77.

72. For a general discussion of church donations of women without children, see J. Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca, London, 1989), 43–45.

73. For more on privileged altars and the effects they had on the iconography of purgatory in Baroque art, see my *Kunst des Fegefeuers*, 54–71.

74. For the rapid increase of masses requested by individual testators in late sixteenth-century Spain, see the excellent study by C. M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge, 1995), 177–88; for seventeenth-century Naples, see R. Scaramella, *Le madonne del Purgatorio: iconografia e religione in Campania tra Rinascimento e Controriforma*. Saggi di storia religiosa, 42 (Genoa, 1991), 247–99.

75. The magic power of Saint Francis's cord is illustrated in an engraving by Agostino Carracci, published on the occasion of the erection of the *Confraternità del Cordone di San Francesco* by the Franciscan Pope Sixtus V in 1586. See also S. Prosperi Valentini Rodinò, "La diffusione dell'iconografia francescana attraverso l'incisione," in *L'immagine di San Francesco nella Controriforma*, exh. cat. (Rome 1982), 172–73, cat. 99.

76. "Confirmatio Concordiae inter Carmelitas Calceatos, et Discalceatos super erectione Confraternitatum B. Mariae Virginis, et concessione sacri Scapularis," in Raphael a S. Iosepho, *Signum Salutis, Salus in Periculis, hoc est Beneficia et Admiranda, Sac. Ordini Fratrum Gloriosissimae Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariae De Monte Carmelo* [. . .] (Linz, 1718), (8)–(9).

77. Francisco de Quevedo, *Su espada por Santiago*. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 48, 438. Cited in Eire, *From Madrid*, 371.

78. Schelte à Bolswert, after Rubens, *Saint Teresa of Avila interceding for the souls in purgatory*, engraving, 468 x 347 mm. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, 3 (Amsterdam, 1951), 85, cat. 277; C. Göttler, "Schelte à Bolswert (nach Peter Paul Rubens): Die hl. Teresa von Avila als Fürbitterin der Armen Seelen im Fegefeuer, um 1635," in *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer: Das Jenseits im Mittelalter*, exh. cat., P. Jezler, ed. (Zürich 1994) 318–20, cat. 117.

79. "Exstimulat Christus Deus S. M. Teresiam, ut opem ferat animae D. Bernadini Mendozii ignibus purgatorii detentae, quae postea ope S. Teresiae liberata fuit. Lib. fund. S. Ter. cap. 10." For Teresa's *Book of Foundations* (written over a period of several years and completed shortly before her death in 1582), see G. T. W. Ahlgreen, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, London, 1996), 75–76; A. Weber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1990), 123–57.

80. "Sancta ergo et salubris est cogitatio pro defunctis exorare, ut a peccatis solvantur. 2. Machabeorum. cap. 12." The passage is cited in the title of a popular chapbook on how to comfort the souls in purgatory by Corn. Columbanus Vrancx, printed in Antwerp in 1601: *Den Troost der Sielen int Vaghevier* [. . .] 2. Machab. 12. *Het is een heyligh ende zaligh ghepeys te bidden voor d'overledene, dat sy soudē werden ontbonden vande sonden.* See also J. Paul, "Judas Makkabäus," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970), 448–49.

81. In her *Way of Perfection* (second, Valladolid version), Teresa describes Alvaro de Mendoza, "the bishop we have now, and under whom we serve," as a person "of noble lineage and very keen on favoring this convent in every way." Cited after Ahlgren, *Teresa*, 94. For the role of the Mendoza family as supporters of Teresa's reform, see Bilinkoff, *Avila*, 147–48.

82. "[. . .] mundi vanitatibus totus immersus fuit." Cited after Teresa de Iesu, *Liber fundationum monasteriorum monialium Discalceatarum*, in *Opera S. Matris Teresae de Iesu Carmelitarum Discalceatorum et Discalceatarum Fundatricis*, M. Martinez, ed. (Cologne, 1626), 357.

83. D.[eo] Q[ui]p[ro]p[ter] M[aximo] D[iv]ina PHILIPPA MENDISBORGES | Lusitana | Genere Nobilis pietate immortalis | Sacellum hoc struxit ornavit | censu ad Quotidianum Sacrum dotavit | in Templi quoque totius structuram | liberalis | meliori vita frui coepit VII kal. | Febr. | CIOCCXXIX. *Verzamelinge*, 5, 370.

84. See, for example, Cornelis Cort, after Titian, *The repentent Mary Magdalene in a landscape*, 1566, engraving, 35 x 28 cm. Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet. See also Hollstein, *Dutch*, 5, 54, cat. 143. For Roman Catholic exegetes, the anointment ritual of Mary Magdalene referred to salvation through good works. For more on this debate, see my *Kunst des Fegefeuers*, 38–41.

85. Bilinkoff, *Avila*, 109–10; Weber, *Teresa*, 8; C. Slade, *St. Teresa of Avila: Author of a Heroic Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1995), 69–70.

86. Gerard Seghers, *The Marriage of the Virgin and Joseph*, oil on canvas, 511 x 341 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Bieneck, *Seghers*, 229–30, cat. A 131.

87. Gerard Seghers, *Transverberation of Saint Teresa*, oil on canvas, 264 x 195 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Bieneck, *Seghers*, 172–73, cat. A 49. For stylistic reasons Bieneck dates the painting between 1627 and 1630.

88. Peter Thys, the Elder, *Visionary Experience of Saint John of the Cross*, oil on canvas, 310 x 175 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, *Catalogus Schilderkunst: Oude Meesters* (Antwerp, 1988), 367, cat. 355.

89. For a detailed discussion of the rededication of the altars in the church of the Discalced, Antwerp, based on documentary evidence, see my *Kunst des Fegefeuers*, 232–41.

90. E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, mostly iconographic*. The Wrightsman lectures, 2 (New York, 1969), 39–41. Rubens was most probably familiar with Titian's painting that represented Christ's appearance to his mother, donated to the collegiate church of Santa Maria in Medole near Mantua.

91. Rubens's composition was reused for an altarpiece in the collegiate church of Sainte-Waudru in Mons (Hainau), however, Saint Teresa replaced by Saint Frances. W. H. Savelsberg, *Die Darstellung des hl. Franziskus von Assisi in der flämischen Malerei und Graphik des späten 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. *Iconographia Franciscana*, 6 (Rome, 1992), 316–17, cat. 162.

92. For an early modern view of the value of different types of suffrages toward salvation, see the chapbook by the Carmelite monk Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, *Il suffragio dell'anime del purgatorio*, trans. F. Serdonati Fiorentino (Venice, 1609); for the efficacy of masses said at privileged altars, see *ibid.*, 49–57: "Quel che dice la Messa in Altare privilegiato, ò dove sono indulgenze per li morti, come in S. Gregorio, etc. oltre al valore della Messa, guadagna il valore del suffragio dell'Indulgenza." In 1609, Gracián became a member of the Carmelite monastery in Brussels.

93. D. Freedberg, "Prints and the Status of Images in Flandres," in *Le stampe e la diffusione delle immagini e degli stili*. Atti del XXIV congresso C. I. H. A., Bologna, 8, H. Zerner, ed. (Bologna, 1983), 42.

94. Rubens, for example, painted a portrait of the humanist physician Dr Luis Núñez (London, National Gallery). See H. Vlieghe, *Rubens: Portraits of identified sitters painted at Antwerp*. *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard, 19/2 (London, New York, 1987), 137–39, cat. 124.

95. In the eighteenth century, the art critic Jacob van der Sanden assumed that Rubens gave the four suffering souls in his *Saint Teresa* the features of himself, his second wife, Helene Fourment, his late brother and his brother's wife. *Oud-Konst-Tooneel van Antwerpen*, 1, Ms. SAA, Pk. 171, 162: "Een uijt het Vagevier verlossen deed de zielen, wie klijn boet-schulden daer tot zuivering vast hielen: Zoo Rubens zig daer in met zijn vrouw heeft verbeld, Zijn broeder en de vrouw, tot geloof voorgesteld [. . .]" For more about disguised self-portraits in Rubens's eschatological scenes, see my *Kunst des Fegefeuers*, 268–74.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten; figs. 2, 7, and 8, Brussels, IRPA-KIK; figs. 3 and 6, Antwerp, Stadsarchief; figs. 4 and 9, Hamburg, Kunsthalle; fig. 5, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet.

