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Bodies of Knowledge: The Presentation of Personified Figures in Engraved Allegorical Series Produced in the Netherlands, 1548-1600

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Abstract

During the second half of the sixteenth century, engraved series of allegorical subjects featuring personified figures flourished for several decades in the Low Countries before falling into disfavor. Designed by the Netherlands's leading artists and cut by professional engravers, such series were collected primarily by the urban intelligentsia, who appreciated the use of personification for the representation of immaterial concepts and for the transmission of knowledge, both in prints and in public spectacles. The pairing of embodied forms and serial format was particularly well suited to the portrayal of abstract themes with multiple components, such as the Four Elements, Four Seasons, Seven Planets, Five Senses, or Seven Virtues and Seven Vices. While many of the themes had existed prior to their adoption in Netherlandish graphics, their pictorial rendering had rarely been so pervasive or systematic.

Focusing on the period from 1548, when Hieronymus Cock opened his influential print publishing house in Antwerp, to 1600, when such series declined in popularity, I focus on the function of engraved allegorical series with personified figures in contemporary Netherlandish culture, particularly in Antwerp but also in Haarlem. Divided according to presentational format, the chapters explore the mental habits and cultural practices that informed contemporary readings of the imagery by an erudite audience of collectors. By considering the relation of form and content and by situating such imagery within the larger social and historical context of the Low Countries, this study elucidates how these images operated within contemporary culture and provides crucial insight into the nature of visual knowledge in the Netherlands during the late sixteenth century. As a form of visual rhetoric linked to other cultural practices, engraved allegorical series played a pivotal role in mediating and schematizing immaterial ideas for an educated elite in the Low Countries.

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BODIES OF KNOWLEDGE: THE PRESENTATION OF PERSONIFIED FIGURES IN
ENGRAVED ALLEGORICAL SERIES PRODUCED IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1548-1600

Geoffrey Shamos

A DISSERTATION

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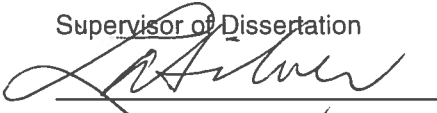
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ABSTRACT

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Introduction

Not long after the establishment of his important print publishing house, *Aux Quatre Vents*, in Antwerp in 1548, Hieronymus Cock issued a series of etchings showing *The Liberal Arts with Apollo, Minerva, and Industry* after designs by Antwerp's preeminent Italianate artist, Frans Floris (**Figures 0.1-0.10**).¹ Published in 1551, these ten prints show monumental female figures – with the exception of Apollo – dressed in classical garments, intended to resemble ancient statuary. Floris's elongated figures are standing in the immediate foreground of each image. Landscapes, some including Roman ruins, appear behind them.² As the earliest Netherlandish print series of allegorical personifications situated in landscapes, the etchings represent an early attempt by Floris and Cock to depict classically derived abstract concepts in an appropriate visual idiom.

The bodies of the Liberal Arts and classical deities exhibit features characteristic of the figural style adopted by Floris during his time in Italy (ca. 1541-5) and in the years immediately following his return to Antwerp.³ The figures in the etchings display the same proportions as many of the figures portrayed in Floris's

¹ Hollstein (Frans Floris), nos. 120-129; Carl van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Leven En Werken*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1975), P107-P116, figs 256-265; Edward H. Wouk, "Standing before Rome: Frans Floris's *Liberal Arts with Apollo, Minerva, and Industry* (1550-1551)," in *De Renaissance Prentkunst in de zuidelijke Nederlanden (La gravure de la Renaissance dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux)*, edited by Godlieve Denhaene (Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèque de Belgique, 2010), 129-59; Edward H. Wouk, "'Uno Stupore ed una Maraviglia': The Prints of Frans Floris de Vriendt (1519/20-70)," in *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700 (Frans Floris)*, edited by Ger Luijten (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, Netherlands: Sound and Vision, 2011), xxxviii-xxxix.

² The inclusion of Roman ruins in some of the background spaces has led some scholars to argue that Cock himself designed the scenic elements. Floris's monogram (*FF.I.V.*) appears on *Grammar*, confirming his role as inventor, but Cock's participation in the design – based on his publication of a series depicting Roman ruins published in 1550 – remains conjectural. Wouk, "'Uno stupore ed una maraviglia'" (2011), xxxviii.

³ Wouk, "Standing before Rome" (2010), 140-41.

“Roman Sketchbook.”⁴ In particular, the elongated bodies, small heads, and flowing drapery that appear in these images typify Floris’s early classicizing style and represent his conception of the “antique” based on his recent encounter with ancient sculptures and works by modern Italian artists.

A decade and a half later, Hieronymus Cock published a second series of the *Seven Liberal Arts* after a group of paintings by Floris owned by the Antwerp merchant, Nicolaes Jongelinck (**Figures 0.11-0.17**).⁵ Shown seated, the female personifications of these varied branches of knowledge instruct pupils in their particular disciplines. In each image piles of books inscribed with the names of ancient authors suggest the breadth of learning that might be expected of Jongelinck and his well-educated, humanist peers in the Netherlands. Below each embodiment appear inscriptions in Latin that indicate the value of the *artes*.

Rhetoric, identified by a cartellino at her feet, carries a caduceus, an attribute of Mercury, god of eloquence. Sitting on a canopied throne, she leans over to instruct a student in the art of oratory, while an older rhetorician looks on from behind. Through the opening in the wall to the left, figures can be seen assembling near a stage erected in the street, likely the venue for a performance by contemporary Netherlandish rhetoricians, known as *rederijkers*. The Latin inscription below the image notes that “Rhetoric adds to speech astute and pleasing tones, so that it flows

⁴ The resemblance can be seen, for example, by comparing the personifications, particularly the depictions of *Industria* and *Musica*, with his drawing of an antique relief from the Cesi collection. Carl van de Velde, “A Roman Sketchbook of Frans Floris,” *Master Drawings* 7, no. 3 (1969): 276 and pl. 7b.

⁵ Hollstein (Floris), 130-136. On the rediscovery of the paintings and their place in the collection of Nicolaes Jongelinck, see Carl van de Velde, “Painters and Patrons in Antwerp in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century,” in *Concept, Design, & Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, edited by Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, and Carl van de Velde (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000), 29-42, esp. 34-37.

more agreeably into the ears.” Floris’s imagery performs a similar role in the realm of vision; by adding astute and pleasing tones, the content flows more easily into the eyes.

Floris’s series of the *Liberal Arts* are archetypal examples of a large body of imagery produced in the Low Countries during the second half of the sixteenth century, when engraved series of allegorical subjects featuring personified figures flourished for several decades before falling into disfavor. Designed by the Netherlands’ leading artists – mostly Romanists, like Floris – and cut by professional engravers, such series were collected primarily by an urban, educated elite who appreciated the use of personification for the representation of immaterial concepts and for the transmission of knowledge, both in prints and in public spectacles. The pairing of embodied forms and serial format was particularly well suited to the portrayal of abstract themes with multiple components, such as the *Four Elements*, *Four Seasons*, *Seven Planets*, *Five Senses*, or *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices*. Many of these subjects were drawn from medieval art and literature, where encyclopedic treatises codified classical knowledge in conceptual groups that could be related according to numerological similarities. While many of the themes had existed prior to their adoption in Netherlandish graphics, their pictorial rendering had rarely been so pervasive or systematic.

Focusing on the period from 1548, when Hieronymus Cock opened his influential print publishing house in Antwerp, to 1600, when such series declined in popularity, this study focuses on the function of engraved allegorical series with personified figures in contemporary Netherlandish culture, particularly in Antwerp

but also in Haarlem.⁶ By considering the relation of form and content and by situating such imagery within the larger social and historical context of the Low Countries, this study elucidates how these images functioned within contemporary culture and provides crucial insight into the nature of visual knowledge in the Netherlands during the late sixteenth century. As a form of visual rhetoric linked to other cultural practices, engraved allegorical series played a pivotal role in mediating and schematizing immaterial ideas for an educated elite in the Low Countries.

Advances in printmaking helped to fuel the proliferation of engraved, allegorical series. Beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century, technological changes in the printmaking process allowed for an immense increase in the output of graphic works. The creation of large workshops, led by Hieronymus Cock's *Aux Quatre Vents* in Antwerp, streamlined production through a division of labor, which included designers, engravers, and publishers in the creation of high-quality prints intended for discerning customers.⁷ Located primarily in Antwerp and Haarlem, publishers typically commissioned designs from artists and employed professional engravers to transfer the drawings to copper plates for printing.⁸ They also financed

⁶ Perhaps not coincidentally, 1600 also marks the death of Cock's widow, Volcxken Diericx, who had managed *Aux Quatre Vents* following her husband's death in 1570.

⁷ On Hieronymus Cock and *Aux Quatre Vents*, see Timothy Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher* (New York: Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, 1977). For a more recent examination and updated bibliography, see Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock, eds., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

⁸ On the division of labor at *Aux Quatre Vents* and other print publishing houses, see Larry Silver and Timothy Riggs, eds., *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540-1640* (Evanston: Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, 1993). On process

the process and managed the sale of the products, assuming a majority of the commercial risk. Such process innovations helped to secure a dominant position for Netherlandish printmaking throughout Northern Europe, with Antwerp leading the way.⁹ Freed from the laborious tasks of engraving and distribution, important artists, including Lambert Lombard, Pieter Bruegel, Maerten van Heemskerck, Frans Floris, Marten de Vos, and Hendrick Goltzius, provided publishers with thousands of designs for prints, including an abundance of allegorical series depicting personified figures.¹⁰

Classicizing style predominates in such works, since the vast majority of the print designers belonged to the so-called Romanist school, the brief flourishing of Italianate style that occurred in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century.¹¹ Beginning with Jan Gossaert, who traveled to Rome in 1508-1509, many Netherlandish painters made excursions to Italy to observe ancient works firsthand and to learn from contemporary Italian masters.¹² Returning to the Netherlands, these artists helped propagate the Italianate style through their drawings, prints, and paintings. Following the examples of Gossaert, Bernard van Orley, Jan van

innovation and product innovation, see John Michael Montias, "Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *Art History* 10 (1987), 455-66.

⁹ Similar streamlining occurred in Italy during the mid-sixteenth century, where publishers like Antonio Salamanca and Antoine Lafreri, among others, managed large workshops. Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Growth and Expansion, Rivalry and Murder* (London: Harvey Miller, 2008); Peter Parshall and David Landau, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 298-309.

¹⁰ For an excellent overview of this body of imagery and the breadth of subject matter it includes, see Hans-Martin Kaulbach und Reinhart Schleier, eds., *"Der Welt Lauf": allegorische Graphikserien des Manierismus* (Ostfildern-Ruit : Hatje, 1997).

¹¹ Nicole Dacos and Bert W. Meijer, eds., *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608* ex. cat. (Brussels: Société des Expositions du Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1995).

¹² On Gossaert's time in Italy, see Stephanie Schrader, "Drawing for Diplomacy: Gossarts Sojourn in Rome," in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance*, edited by Maryann Ainsworth (New York and New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2010), 45-56.

Scorel, and many of their contemporaries, the trend culminated during the second half of the century with artists like Frans Floris and Marten de Vos in Antwerp and Maerten van Heemskerck and Hendrick Goltzius in Haarlem. After their requisite training excursion to Italy, these artists produced works with classicizing qualities based on their own drawings from antique statuary as well as Renaissance paintings by masters like Michelangelo and Raphael.¹³

In addition to their formal training, working directly from models (*'naer het leven'*), Netherlandish artists had access to a wealth of information concerning classical subject matter.¹⁴ Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, knowledge of mythological gods and heroes could be obtained from ancient authors, such as Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, as well as contemporary mythographic treatises, compendia that synthesized information from a variety of sources, both ancient and modern. One of the earliest mythographies was written by the Flemish intellectual, Julien de Havrech, and published in Antwerp in 1541.¹⁵ These guides provided information on mythological narratives and facilitated the symbolic interpretation of ancient deities.

¹³ On the impact of sketching after the antique on theory and artistic practice both north and south of the Alps, see Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹⁴ On the intellectual training of artists and their knowledge of classical antiquity, see Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Rhetoricians as a Bridge between Learned and Vernacular Culture," in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicizing the Popular, Popularizing the Classic (1540-1580)*, edited by Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 200.

¹⁵ On de Havrech, see Karl Enekel, "The Development of 16th Century Mythography: Georgius Pictorius's *Theologica Mythologica, Apotheosis deorum* and Julien De Havrech's *De cognominibus deorum gentilium*," in *Classical Mythology in the Netherlands in the Age of Renaissance and Baroque*, edited by Carl van de Velde (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 211-2. On the Renaissance recovery of Classical mythology, see Jean Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, trans. Barbara Sessions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

The influence of Italian Renaissance art and its ancient heritage challenged the hegemony of the native Flemish tradition, founded by Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, creating a “crisis” of artistic identity in the Low Countries.¹⁶

Presented with stylistic alternatives for the first time, both artists and connoisseurs began to distinguish between classicizing and “vernacular” styles in Netherlandish art.¹⁷ As Joanna Woodall notes, both systems had their advantages:

The classical is imagined as an admired and authoritative system of knowledge originating outside the Netherlands, over the Alps in Italy, Rome and ultimately ancient Greece. The vernacular, meanwhile came to be regarded as a home-grown, contemporary product of the Low Countries: humble and generic but at the same time individual and unique.¹⁸

While many Netherlandish artists pursued local subjects, including landscape, portraiture, and genre scenes, other artists attempted to emulate classical models as well as contemporary, Italian examples rooted in idealized portrayals of the human figure.¹⁹ Despite the status accorded such imagery, however, the new style never replaced popular Netherlandish conventions. The influx of foreign material, in fact, provided an alternative against which the native tradition could be more clearly

¹⁶ Mark A. Meadow, “Bruegel's *Procession to Calvary*, *Æmulatio* and the Space of the Vernacular Style,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996), 196.

¹⁷ For a wide-ranging exploration of the multifaceted relationship between classical and popular, Latin and vernacular, in the culture of the Low Countries during the second half of the sixteenth century, see the collected essays in Bart Ramakers, ed., *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicizing the Popular, Popularizing the Classic (1540-1580)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011). For a discussion of the similar stylistic distinction between *Welsch* and *Deutsch* in early sixteenth-century Germany, see Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980) 135-42.

¹⁸ Joanna Woodall, “Lost in Translation? Thinking about Classical and Vernacular Art in Antwerp, 1540-1580,” in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicizing the Popular, Popularizing the Classic (1540-1580)*, edited by Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 1-24, esp. 3.

¹⁹ On the pursuit of native traditions during the sixteenth century in Antwerp, see Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). On Netherlandish artists working in an Italianate style, see Nicole Dacos, *Les Peintres Belges à Rome au XVII^e siècle* (Brussels: L'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1964) and Dacos and Meijer, *Fiamminghi a Roma* (1995).

defined. For much of the sixteenth century, the two modes continued to flourish alongside one another with practitioners and adherents on both sides.

In certain instances, however, the stylistic distinction between classicizing and “vernacular” artists sparked polemical debate.²⁰ In 1565 the painter and poet, Lucas de Heere, a pupil of Frans Floris, penned an “Invective against a certain painter who scoffed at the painters of Antwerp:”

...The paintings of Frans Floris, and his like,
 You (stupid scoffer) have called sugar-images
 Because they are ornamented, becomingly and richly,
 Not all over, but where it belongs and is befitting.
 It is astonishing that you are not ashamed by this,
 For you are yourself entirely unmannered,
 Since you ornament your paintings like kermis dolls...

...That you have been to Rome, one cannot see
 In your paintings, full of wretched bad strokes,
 That truly look neither Romish, nor antique...²¹

The poem distinguishes between artists like Floris, Antwerp’s preeminent Italianate artist, and an unnamed painter, thought to refer to Pieter Bruegel the Elder.²² The former possessed the restraint to ornament his works “becomingly and richly,” while the latter lacked such decorum, painting instead in a manner fit for carnival decorations. De Heere promotes artists working in a “Roomachtig” or “antijcx” manner.²³ Such a style confers distinction on an artist, whereas the absence of classical features reveals a lack of proper discernment.

²⁰ On the stylistic polemic that existed in the Netherlands, see David Freedberg, “Allusion and Topicality in the Works of Pieter Bruegel: The Implications of a Forgotten Polemic,” in *The Prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, ex. cat. (Tokyo: Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1989), 53-65.

²¹ Lucas de Heere, “Invective, an eenen Quidam schilder: de welck beschimpre de Schilders van Handwerpen,” *Den hof en boomgaard der Poësie*, Ghent: Ghileyn Manilius, 1565, pp. 87-89. Quoted and translated in Meadow, “Bruegel’s Procession” (1996), 181-182.

²² Meadow, “Bruegel’s Procession” (1996), 182.

²³ Freedberg, “Allusion and Topicality” (1989), 63.

Despite de Heere's invective, however, the two styles were far from mutually exclusive. Bart Ramakers has argued that rather than viewing classical/Italianate and popular/vernacular as a rigid binary, they should be considered as part of a dynamic cultural exchange or "reciprocating movement," where each term enhances the other.²⁴ Many artists employed aspects of each mode in their oeuvres, and even Bruegel and Floris, the two artists allegedly contrasted in de Heere's poem, do not fit so easily into the bifurcated model, since each incorporates elements of both the nativist and classicizing traditions.²⁵ Nor did audiences draw such a polemical distinction between the two sides; for example, Nicolaes Jongelincx owned numerous works by Bruegel as well as Floris.²⁶ Instead, the presence of multiple options created stylistic alternatives appropriately applied to different content and situations, a notion of decorum developed from Ciceronian rhetoric.²⁷

By employing a classicizing style, Netherlandish print designers conferred an "elite" distinction to their imagery in accord with its learned content.²⁸ As Mark Meadow notes, the "Latinate" style carried a certain amount of prestige as a result of

²⁴ This was particularly true, according to Ramakers, in Antwerp, where the multiplicity of languages and nationalities represented in the commercial city created a culture of translation. Bart Ramakers, "Understanding Art in Antwerp: An Introduction," in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicizing the Popular, Popularizing the Classic (1540-1580)*, edited by Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), xiii.

²⁵ On Bruegel's Italianism, see Todd Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth Century Netherlands* (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). On nativist tendencies in Floris, see Annette de Vries, "Reformulating St. Luke: Frans Floris on Art and Diligence," in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicizing the Popular, Popularizing the Classic (1540-1580)*, edited by Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 37-52. On similar hybridity in Gossaert, see Larry Silver, "The 'Gothic' Gossaert," *Pantheon* 45 (1987): 58-69.

²⁶ Freedberg, "Allusion and Tolicality" (1989), 55.

²⁷ On the emergence of stylistic alternatives in the Netherlands and their application to monumental sculpture, see Ethan Matt Kavaler, "The Jubé of Mons and the Renaissance in the Netherlands," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 45 (1994): 348-81; "Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 226-51.

²⁸ On the status of the "classical" as both "foreign" and "elite," see Ramakers, "Understanding Art in Antwerp" (2011), xi.

its basis in “the culturally privileged model of the ‘antijcx.’”²⁹ As with Greco-Roman gods, the transcendental nature and ancient origins of personified figures demanded a style rooted in the classical past, one full of grace, harmony, ratio, and proportion based in the canons of Vitruvius.³⁰ Such refined beauty served as an appropriate vehicle for depictions of the otherworldly and divine, “the place of the origin of ideas.”³¹ As Thomas Kaufmann has observed in relation to the art produced at the contemporary imperial court of Rudolph II in Prague, the use of a classicizing or Italianate style was considered an elevated manner for the portrayal of erudite subject matter and essential for the achievement of visual eloquence.³² The return to ancient standards conferred a sense of timeless truth and endowed images with cultural prestige.³³

In many instances, the contrast between Italianate idealism and Northern realism allowed artists to depict various kinds of content within the same image. In some engravings of cosmological themes, Netherlandish artists juxtapose alternative styles in portraying the timeless and idealized realm of macrocosmic concepts alongside, or above, the more immediate sphere of human experience.

²⁹ Meadow, “Bruegel’s Procession” (1996), 196.

³⁰ As Ernst Gombrich notes in his classic essay on the embodiment of abstract qualities in Renaissance art, “The humanists remembered the kinship between personifications and ancient gods, and just as the Olympians were restored to their ancient form and beauty, so the allegorical image had to appear in a classical guise... Both the form and the symbolism of the personification had to bear the stamp of ancient authority.” Ernst Gombrich, “*Icones Symbolicae*,” in *Studies in the Art of the Renaissance: Symbolic Images* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1972), 139.

³¹ On the opposite stylistic portrayal of mythological figures, see Jan Eric Sluiter, “Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danaë from Gossaert to Rembrandt,” *Simiolus* 27 (1999): 4–45.

³² Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “The Eloquent Artist: Towards and Understanding of the Stylistics of Painting at the Court of Rudolph II,” *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1 (1982), 119–148.

³³ For a discussion of the “Renaissance” style in the Netherlands and the distinction between stylistic “purity” and “hybridization,” see the work of Ethan Matt Kaveler: “Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament,” *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000), 226–51; *Ibid*, “The Jubé of Mons and the Renaissance in the Netherlands,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 45 (1994), 349–81, esp. 353ff.

Chapters 1 and 2 explore the deployment of classicizing personifications in settings that, to varying degrees, reflect Northern realist traditions. Compositional structures that divide the images between foreground and background (Chapter 1) or vertically between high and low (Chapter 2) separate the divergent elements while holding them in suspension, like a diagram. These presentational modes compel comparison between spatially and ontologically divergent figures in the interpretation of allegorical meanings.

The elevated – and often complex – portrayals of allegorical subjects appealed to the erudition and sophistication of an elite audience of collectors, who assembled the sets into albums as part of their emerging collections.³⁴ Steeped in classical learning, these discriminating viewers valued the lofty subject matter, calligraphic Latin inscriptions, and Italianate style typical of allegorical engravings. They also possessed the visual competence to recognize the formal devices that distinguished the genre, to discern the identifying attributes of each allegory, and to appreciate the often subtle variations that existed between versions of the same subject. Fueled by the emergence of this discerning audience, which included *rederijkers* (“rhetoricians”), civil servants, and other members of the intellectual elite, the production of engraved allegorical series increased dramatically after the mid-sixteenth century, indicating the elevated status of personification as a shared form of privileged communication among the Netherlandish intelligentsia.

³⁴ On sixteenth-century collecting habits, see the work of Peter Parshall: “Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1998), 19-36; “Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe,” *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 4 (1994), 7-36.

This prosperous and literate urban middle class – typified by the artisans, merchants, and shopkeepers comprising the membership of the Chambers of Rhetoric – were largely responsible for determining civic culture in the Low Countries.³⁵ Steeped in knowledge of the classics – part of a broad, primary pedagogy – this educated, cultural elite represented a tight-knit social network.³⁶ Through their “quasi-monopoly” on urban drama and their central role in the organization of civic rituals, including religious processions (*Ommegangen*), Joyous Entries (*Blijde Inkonsten*), and rhetorical competitions (*Landjuweelen*), they disseminated learning to other segments of society.³⁷ Devised and enacted by the *rederijkers*, personifications of abstract concepts were central features of these cultural practices, appearing in processional wagons, staged tableaux, and in *Spelen van zinne*, morality plays that formed the core of the periodic competitions between

³⁵ On the contributions of the Chambers of Rhetoric to an urban culture distinct from other places in Early Modern Europe, see Herman Pleij, *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511. Literatuur en stadscultuurtussen middeleeuwen en moderne tijd* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988); Gary Waite, *Reformers on Stage: Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V, 1515-1556* (Toronto, 2000), esp 26-48; Anne-Laure van Bruaene, “A wonderful tryumfe, for the wynnynge of pryse’: Guilds, Ritual, Theater, and the Urban Network in the Southern Low Countries, ca. 1450-1650,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 59.2 (2006), 374-405; Arjan van Dinxhoorn, “New Institutions and the Dynamics of Civic Culture: Chambers of Rhetoric in the Early Modern (Northern) Netherlands,” in *Konstruktion der Gegenwart und Zukunft*, edited by Rudolf Suntrup and Jan R. Veenstra (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), 135-180.

³⁶ On education in the Netherlands and the role of the *rederijkers* in the sixteenth-century attainment of knowledge, see Arjan van Dinxhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, “Introduction,” in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literacy and Learned Societies in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Arjan van Dinxhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 1-16; Arjan van Dinxhoorn, “Writing Poetry as Intellectual Training: Chambers of Rhetoric and the Development of Vernacular Intellectual Life in the Low Countries between 1480 and 1600,” in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600*, edited by K. Goudriaan, J. van Moolenbroek, and A. Tervoort (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 201-22.

³⁷ On education in the Netherlands and the role of the *rederijkers* in the sixteenth-century attainment of knowledge, see Arjan van Dinxhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, “Introduction,” in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literacy and Learned Societies in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Arjan van Dinxhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 1-16; Arjan van Dinxhoorn, “Writing Poetry as Intellectual Training: Chambers of Rhetoric and the Development of Vernacular Intellectual Life in the Low Countries between 1480 and 1600,” in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600*, edited by K. Goudriaan, J. van Moolenbroek, and A. Tervoort (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 201-22.

the Chambers of Rhetoric from various cities held every few years during the second half of the sixteenth century. Painted personifications, likewise, covered the triumphal arches and ephemeral architecture erected for civic ceremonies. The repetition of such forms in public spectacle familiarized audiences with allegorical representation and provided interpretive skills that could be applied to printed imagery as well.³⁸

Chapters 3 and 4 explore the relationships between civic rituals and allegorical series, demonstrating the transfer of motifs and compositional structures from ceremonial processions (Chapter 3) and triumphal architecture (Chapter 4) to engravings and vice versa. The reciprocal exchange between printed images and public spectacle suggests the fluidity of cultural forms and the adaptability of figures and frameworks for various contexts. The widespread deployment of personification in the Netherlands during the second half of the sixteenth century indicates its importance as a conveyor of ideas and its central place within forms of visual rhetoric.

The exploration of presentational modes for allegorical figures and analysis of their important role in contemporary cultural practices helps to extend interpretations beyond the decoding of iconographic content, shifting the focus from what the imagery means to include how it functions.³⁹ The publication in recent

³⁸ See Mark A. Meadow, "'Met Geschickter Ordenen:' The Rhetoric of Place in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp 'Blijde Incompst,'" *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999), 1-11.

³⁹ In their discussion of personification in Early Modern art, Cristelle Baskins and Lisa Rosenthal note a trend toward semiotic approaches that offer "a broad and flexible theoretical grounding for inquiry into *how* as well as *what* allegorical images signify. Semiotics, in other words, has importantly opened up questions about visual allegory as a dynamic structure of signification that operates within a multiplicity of cultural codes." Cristelle Baskins and Lisa Rosenthal, eds., *Early Modern Visual Allegory: Embodying Meaning* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007), 3.

decades of additional volumes in the Hollstein series of Dutch and Flemish engravers has provided easy access to quality reproductions of prints by some of the Netherland's most prolific designers, including Maerten van Heemskerck, Frans Floris, Marten de Vos, and Hendrick Goltzius. Despite the ready availability of source material, however, scholarly analysis of the forms used in these allegorical series is still lacking.⁴⁰ For the most part, older iconographic studies of a particular subject represent the most sustained analysis about this body of work.⁴¹ A 1997 exhibition at the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart and the resulting publication, *'Der Welt Lauf': Allegorische Graphikserien des Manierismus* (1998), offer a comparative treatment of numerous series drawn from the museum's permanent collection. Organized according to subject matter, however, the exhibition and catalog focus on the elucidation of content.⁴² As Mark Meadow notes, "The separation of the subject

⁴⁰ One notable exception has been the work of Ilja Veldman, whose many studies of Netherlandish prints provide a wealth of information on a variety of topics: *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, translated by Michael Hoyle (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1977); "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Martin van Heemskerck: Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 11, no. 3/4 (1980), 149-76; "Goltzius' Zintuigen, Seizoenen, Elementen, Planeten en Vier Tijden van de dag: van Allegorie naar Genre-Voorstelling," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42-43 (1991/1992), 307-36; "From Allegory to Genre," in *Images For the Eye and Soul: Function and Meaning in Netherlandish Prints (1450-1650)* (Leiden: Primavera, 2006), 193-22.

⁴¹ These include Sean Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); Klaus R. Popitz, "Die Darstellung der vier Elementen in der niederländischen Graphik von 1565 bis 1630," Dissertation (Munich, 1965); Carl Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600," in *Netherlandish Mannerism: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, September 21-22, 1984*, edited by Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum Stockholm, 1985), 135-54; Michaela Bautz, *Virtutes: Studien zu Funktion und Ikonographie der Tugenden im Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: dissertation.de, 1999); Karen Sabine Meetz, "Tempora Triumphant: Ikonographische Studien zur Rezeption des antiken Themas der Jahreszeitenprozession im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und zu seinen naturphilosophischen, astronomischen und bildlichen Voraussetzungen" (Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 2000).

⁴² See the perceptive review by Nadine Orenstein, "Allegorical Print Series," *Print Quarterly*, 15.4 (1998), pp. 415-417.

matter from the forms in which it is expressed (in Erasmus' terms separating the *res* from the *verba*) is a decidedly non-sixteenth-century attitude."⁴³

This study attempts to redress the lack of comparative analysis of engraved allegorical series through an exploration of the intersections between form, content, and contemporary cultural practices. In looking at compositional structure as an essential component of signification, my approach is similar to Meadow's treatment of Bruegel's *Proverbs* and his explorations of the transfer of structures and motifs between civic ceremonies and the paintings of Pieter Aertsen.⁴⁴ Texts by Catherine Levesque and Martha Hollander also inform the discussion of compositional structure as a conveyor of meaning.⁴⁵ As such authors note, the development of print culture in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries contributed to an increasing reliance on visual modes of presenting knowledge, especially through the spatial arrangement of verbal and pictorial information on the printed page. The "cluster of mental habits" that emerged in parallel to these pervasive, diagrammatic displays has been studied most notably by Walter J. Ong, who elaborated the pedagogic value of such structures and their role in facilitating visual memory during the Early Modern period.⁴⁶ The complicated, schematic organization of much

⁴³ Mark A. Meadow: *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 67.

⁴⁴ Meadow's studies include *Pieter Bruegel* (2002); "Aertsen's Christ in the House of Martha and Mary, Serlio's Architecture and the Meaning of Location," In *Rhetoric — Rhétoriciens — Rederijkers*, edited by Jelle Koopmans, Mark A. Meadow, Kees Meerhoff and Marijke Spies, (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1995), 175-96; and "Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp *Blijde Incompst*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 49 (1998), 37-67.

⁴⁵ Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through the Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

⁴⁶ See several classic studies by Walter J. Ong: *Ramus: Method and the Decay of Logic: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 53-167; "System,

Renaissance imagery – including emblems, maps, frontispieces, and charts as well as allegorical prints and paintings – assumed a trained audience capable of “reading” and understanding the various correspondences contained therein.⁴⁷ Conversely, the proliferation of complex imagery played an important role in developing visual acuity in audiences.

Organizing the chapters according to modes of presenting personified figures allows for a parsing of the “mental habits” and cultural practices that informed contemporary readings of the imagery. Rather than treating subject matter in isolation or abandoning it altogether, the iconographic content of the engravings is discussed in relation to composition and compared to other visual representations in a variety of media. Through an examination of this compelling and under-studied body of imagery, this project identifies the key features, hermeneutic processes, and rhetorical elements that distinguish each of the formal categories and explores how each group emerges from and contributes to the larger Netherlandish cultural milieu of the late sixteenth century, especially in Antwerp.

Chapter 1 examines engraved series that portray classically inspired figures standing in the foreground of deep landscape spaces with ancillary scenes placed in the background. In his rendering of the *Liberal Arts with Apollo, Minerva, and Industry*, described above, Frans Floris included landscape settings for his Italianate personifications, a format he repeated for subsequent depictions of the *Five Senses*

Space, and Intellect in Renaissance Symbolism,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 18.2 (1956), 222-39; and “From Allegory to Diagram in the Renaissance Mind: A Study of the Significance of the Renaissance Tableau,” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 17.4 (1959), 423-40.

⁴⁷ Ong’s pioneering work figures into numerous subsequent studies concerning the diagrammatic display of information in pictorial form. For two examples of studies of Netherlandish art beginning in the late sixteenth century, see Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape* (1994), 7-11; Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes* (2002), 18-9 and 30.

(1561), *Eight Virtues* (1563) and *Four Elements* (1568). In the following decades, other artists adapted these influential engravings through the addition of subsidiary episodes that functioned as vehicles for commentary on the primary, foreground figures. This two-stage format structures relationships both horizontally and in depth, allowing for associations between the two sides of an image and between foreground and background that compel the viewer to make a series of comparisons across multiple spaces. Using the notion of the *doorsien* (literally a “view through” or past) – a formal category elaborated by Karel van Mander – the chapter explores how these series use background elements as rhetorical devices to extend the significance of the foreground figure through analogy, extension, and antithesis.

Chapter 2 focuses on series that show personified figures on clouds. Whereas the landscape format establishes formal and figurative relationships horizontally and in depth, the presentation of figures on bands cloud creates a vertical structure by dividing the picture plane into heavenly and earthly realms. Associations between the two zones were provided by contemporary cosmology, which described the effective correspondence of the macrocosmic universe and microcosmic individual. Developed in particular by Marten de Vos, the most prolific print designer of the sixteenth century, the vertical format was used primarily for depictions of *The Children of the Planets*, *The Times of Day*, and *The Four Winds*, all themes for which the inclusion of multiple registers offered an efficient visual arrangement for portraying cosmological influences on human character and conduct.

Series showing allegorical figures on wagons, the focus of Chapter 3, relate to the early modern rediscovery of ancient triumphs and were heavily influenced by the deeply rooted culture of civic ceremonies in the Low Countries. The creation of triumphal print series, spearheaded especially by Maerten van Heemskerck, was particularly indebted to the allegorical processions described by medieval Italian authors like Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, whose *I Trionfi* was illustrated in a variety of media during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries across Europe. The format and display of processional series, presented as friezes or collected in albums, included a sequential unfolding. This structurally embedded temporality is reflected in many of the themes selected for processional series, including the *Vicissitudes of Human Affairs*, *Triumphs of Petrarch*, *Ages of Man*, and other subjects that emphasize the ephemerality of human experience and the vanity of individual achievement in comparison to the eternity of divine power.

The final chapter explores the depiction of personified figures as statues set within niches. Led by Hendrick Goltzius, the Low Countries' preeminent artist in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the format appears in multiple series showing *The Virtues and Vices* and *The Gods of Antiquity* among other topics. The use of niches as presentational devices occurred in earlier Italian print series and in a variety of grisaille paintings portraying statuary, including Giotto's Arena Chapel *Virtues and Vices* (1305), Polidoro da Caravaggio's Roman façades, and the holy figures included on the exterior wings of fifteenth-century Netherlandish altarpieces by Jan van Eyck and his followers. Like those works, Netherlandish series with figures in niches participate in contemporary *paragone* debates concerning the

primacy of a particular medium over others. In addition, such images engage notions of rhetorical places, both the mnemonic *loci* of memory systems and the rhetorical commonplaces that facilitated *inventio*. Statue-niche series were intended to be “exemplary,” both behaviorally as exhortations to proper conduct, and formally, as models for other artists. Individual images represent units that could be inserted into any number of structures, including the ephemeral architecture of contemporary ceremonies and the imaginary memory palaces of the mind.

Such an examination begins to clarify the reasons underlying the emergence and proliferation of engraved allegorical series with personified figures and demonstrates their collective role as an important signifying system responsible for mediating a broad range of ideas in Netherlandish culture during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Chapter 1

Plus Ultra:

Personified Allegories in Landscape Settings with Subsidiary Scenes

Produced Prior to 1544, when Cornelis Bos was exiled from Antwerp for his radical religious views, the artist produced an engraving representing *Diligence Rewarded and Indigence Punished* (**Figure 1.1**).⁴⁸ The semi-nude personification of Ingenuity ('*Solertia*') stands at the center of the foreground as she gestures to either side, placing a birch rod on a reclining figure of Sloth and holding a cup of ink for an embodiment of Labor, who writes on a tablet held by a companion wearing a laurel wreath. The triangular compositional scheme created by the primary figures comes from a drawing by the Italian artist, Siciolante da Sermoneta.⁴⁹ To this, Bos has added a deep background space with rolling hills and minute scenic elements, including a thief running from a house and a figure hanging from a gallows behind Sloth on the left and farmers gathering wheat and plowing their fields behind Labor to the right.

Bifurcated by the standing figure of Ingenuity, the two sides of the horizontally oriented engraving demonstrate alternatives for behavior. Written in the voice of *Solertia*, the Latin inscription at the bottom of the page indicates that "I

⁴⁸ Sune Schéle, *Cornelis Bos: A Study of the Origins of the Netherlandish Grotesque* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965), 210. The engraving is also discussed by Nina Serebrennikov, "'Dwelck den Mensche, aldermeest tot Consten verwect.' The Artist's Perspective," in *Rhetoric – Rhétoriciens – Rederijckers*, edited by Jelle Koopmans, Mark A. Meadow, Kees Meerhoff and Marijke Spies (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1995), 224-5, fig. 3; and Ilja Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints: The Work Ethic Rooted in Civic Morality or Protestantism?" *Simiolis: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 21, no. 4 (1992), 243-244, Fig. 21.

⁴⁹ The drawing, linked to Bos's print by Ilja Veldman, belongs to the collection of Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence" (1992), 243 n. 72. See M.W. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki italianskoi shkoli (Catalogue of the Italian drawings in the Hermitage)* (Moscow, 1940), p. 119, nr. 344, fig. LII.

am what the praised generations call Virtuous Ingenuity; I despise indolence, but diligence always finds favor with me.”⁵⁰ Idle Sloth, shown laying in the lap of a second figure who strokes his hair, is juxtaposed to Labor, who sits erect as he focuses on the task at hand. The opposition between the two sides is extended, literally and figuratively, by the scenes in the background, which demonstrate the consequences and rewards for their conduct. By bringing the allegory into the realm of everyday experience, the ancillary vignettes reinforce the moral message embodied by the personifications in the foreground.⁵¹

By pairing central, foreground figures with subsidiary scenes placed in landscape spaces in the background, Bos’s engraving draws the eye into the image for the perusal of auxiliary vignettes. The secondary scenes add visual interest and help expand the meaning of the allegory through comparison with the allegorical figures in the foreground, linking familiar, contemporary activities to the timeless and idealized bodies of the personifications. The various elements, harnessed together in a single image, operate diagrammatically by compelling interpretation across the image and in depth.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Netherlandish graphic artists exploited this two-stage format through the pairing of foreground figure(s) and background scenes that comment on one another. Frans Floris played an important role in the widespread adoption of the allegorical-figure-in-a-landscape motif as a

⁵⁰ Translated in Veldman, “Images of Labor and Diligence” (1992), 243.

⁵¹ As Ilja Veldman notes, artists like Maarten van Cleve and Marten de Vos adopted the content and composition of Bos’s engraving in subsequent decades, offering their own versions of *Diligence Rewarded and Sloth Punished*. Veldman, “Images of Labor and Diligence” (1992), 44-5, figs. 22 and 23.

common presentational mode for graphic series in the Netherlands, as demonstrated by his series of the *Standing Liberal Arts with Apollo, Minerva, and Industry* (1551) described in the Introduction above. His series of *The Eight Virtues* (1563), *The Five Senses* (1561), and *The Four Elements* (1568) influenced subsequent portrayals of those subjects as well, particularly in the classical idealization of the personified figures and the selection of their attributes. While he adopted outdoor settings, however, Floris did not always depict deep landscapes, nor did he include subsidiary scenes. Those aspects were developed by Floris's contemporaries and followers, who used the two-stage format for the portrayal of a broad range of allegorical subject matter.

Following an introductory section that explores the emergence of Netherlandish landscape painting and other precedents for the format, this chapter examines depictions of the Virtues, Senses, and Elements, focusing, in particular, on versions that pair personified figures in the foreground with ancillary scenes showing episodes from the Bible. The scriptural events inflect the meaning of the central allegories by extending their significance to the religious sphere, often illustrating the spiritual implications of a concept. By forcing the viewer to consider the correspondence between the various parts of the image, the addition of secondary scenes demands a visual and intellectual commitment. That interpretive investment contributes to the rhetorical effectiveness of the two-stage structure, which offered a versatile scheme for expanding the meaning of an allegorical figure through the addition of scenic elements that function as vehicles for commentary.

The development of landscape painting in the Netherlands in the first half of the sixteenth century contributed to the creation of the two-stage format involving relations between foreground and background.⁵² Joachim Patinir and his followers in the Netherlands, particularly in Antwerp, created so-called “world landscapes” which included sweeping views portrayed from an elevated vantage, resulting in a lowered horizon.⁵³ Despite the nearly infinite recession of the vista, which often moves along a river valley and out to sea, all the various parts are rendered in similarly fine detail, giving such pictures a certain “democratic equality.”⁵⁴

Despite the appearance of naturalism, however, world landscapes typically present an agglomeration of realistically rendered details assembled together into an artificial, pictorial construct. In the early seventeenth century the Netherlandish artist and theorist, Karel van Mander, applied the term *Stellingh* – paraphrased by Walter Melion as “the inventive coordination of topographic features” – to describe the artificial composition characteristic of the Netherlandish landscape tradition of the previous century.⁵⁵ Rather than depicting the topography of a specific place

⁵² Some of the classic studies on the emergence of landscape as a genre include Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into Art* (London: J. Murray, 1949); M.J. Friedländer, *Essays über die Landschaftsmalerei und andere Bildgattungen* (The Hague: A.A.M. Stols, 1947); Otto Pächt, “Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII (1950), 13-47; and Ernst Gombrich, “The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape,” in *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1966), 107-153. On the emergence of landscape in Northern Europe, see the studies by Walter Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth: The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Christopher Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); and Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), esp. Chapter 3, pp. 26-52.

⁵³ On the characteristics, trajectory, and practitioners of the world landscape genre, see Walter Gibson’s seminal study. Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth* (1990).

⁵⁴ Gibson (1990), 13.

⁵⁵ Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 3.

from a particular vantage point, world landscapes present a fictional assemblage of accumulated features that could be used as settings for figures.

The constructed space of these conceptualized landscapes typically includes a significant human presence. Most world landscapes from the first half of the sixteenth century portray religious figures, demonstrating the persistence of late medieval visual traditions. The result, according to Larry Silver, is a “hybrid” category that unites aspects of earlier art making with an increased appreciation of the natural world as an apposite setting for sacred narratives.⁵⁶ In such instances, the presence of religious figures and the enactment of scriptural episodes activates the spaces of the landscape by giving them a symbolic resonance. Treating landscape as more than a mere backdrop for history, Netherlandish artists of the sixteenth century often merged figures and settings into an inseparable whole, where neither part was subordinate to the other.⁵⁷

Rather than providing a neutral setting, landscape served as a vehicle for conveying a wealth of meaning. In his seminal study on the origins of landscape, Ernst Gombrich contended that landscape paintings, like other genres developed in Northern Europe during the sixteenth century, were largely “wedded to the didactic conceptions of medieval art, illustrating proverbs and pointing moral lessons,” particularly in those instances when religious figures or sacred narratives appear amidst topographical features.⁵⁸ Through the accumulation of detail and the presence of multiple perspectives, these works invite close looking and intellectual

⁵⁶ Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (2006), 30.

⁵⁷ This is in contrast to Italian notions of *historia* and the general devaluation of setting, particularly landscape. See further discussion below.

⁵⁸ Ernst Gombrich, “The Renaissance Theory of Art” (1966), 108.

exploration by an active viewer who participates in a “visual journey of interpretation,” as Reindert Falkenburg describes it.⁵⁹ In her study of printed imagery from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Catherine Levesque argues that the “organizational strategies” used to compose landscape pictures encourage viewers to “explore, learn, and judge.”⁶⁰ In such works the setting compels visual investigation and structures figurative analysis.

In Patinir’s *Madrid Rest on the Flight to Egypt* (c. 1520-24), for example, narrative episodes augment the foreground portrayal of Mary nursing the infant Jesus (**Figure 1.2**). The painting is one of several versions of the subject by Patinir that shows the journey of the Holy Family, who was forced to flee Bethlehem ahead of the Massacre of the Innocents (Matthew 2:13-18).⁶¹ In the Madrid painting, Christ and Virgin sit on a grassy knoll that also includes the family’s belongings and a walking stick, while Joseph and his ass occupy the descending space behind. In the distance, tucked away in a village along the right border of the image, is a rendering of the Massacre of the Innocents. Pursuing soldiers can be seen in the adjacent field, where a towering crop of wheat, miraculously grown overnight, obscures the footprints of the Holy Family and hides them from sight.⁶² The farm is balanced on

⁵⁹Reindert Falkenburg, “Antithetical Iconography in Early Netherlandish Landscape Painting,” in *Bruegel and Netherlandish Landscape Painting from the National Gallery Prague*, ex. cat. (Tokyo-Kyoto: The National Museum of Western Art, 1990), 26. Walter Gibson, likewise, argues that world landscape pictures invite the viewer to enter the scene: “In winding our way along Bles’s roads, rivers, and coastlines, or in climbing his mountains, we really make a kind of journey. It is a visual experience very much akin to that of perusing a highly detailed picture map.” Gibson (1990), 13.

⁶⁰ Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through the Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 2.

⁶¹ Another version (ca. 1514-20) belongs to the collection of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.

⁶² Falkenburg notes that the apocryphal Miracle of the Wheatfield had the added advantage of allowing the farmers interviewed by the soldiers to honestly answer that the Holy Family had passed

the left by a depiction of a foreign city with a domed temple, likely a representation of the family's Egyptian destination. The presence there of idolatrous statues references another apocryphal miracle of the *Flight* narrative according to which idols fall when Christ passes.⁶³ The stone pedestal beside the holy figures in the foreground holds an orb with a pair of bronze feet still attached, demonstrating the collapse of the idols and linking the foreground space to the background. As Larry Silver argues,

[Patinir's painting] provides a religious picture in the Flemish tradition of the previous century, replete with inherited natural symbols around the humble and appealing holy figures. These figures are now combined with a new, structured, and encompassing 'world landscape,' where spatial variety is used in the service of narrative while also providing a marked contrast between the familiar 'local' world of cultivated countryside and the explicitly 'foreign' world of dark hills and exotic architecture.⁶⁴

The panoramic landscape offers a space for expanding the significance of the central, foreground figures through the inclusion of additional vignettes that enhance their meaning, creating what Falkenburg describes as a "narrative *Andachtsbild*."⁶⁵

Patinir and his contemporaries often placed an isolated holy figure or small group in the foreground of a work with ancillary scenes in the background.

According to Falkenburg,

The compositional principle of a main figure to which subsidiary scenes are added is derived from Late Medieval devotional paintings. ... This type of painting usually showed the holy figures close-up, in order to promote the beholder's empathetic identification with them, and in addition often contained all sorts of details, including subsidiary scenes with episodes from the life of the protagonist. These subsidiary scenes served as a visual guide for the meditation of the beholder on

the field before the wheat had sprouted. Reindert Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir: Landscape as an Image of the Pilgrimage of Life* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1988), 16.

⁶³ Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir* (1988), 16-17; Silver (2006), 32.

⁶⁴ Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (2006), 33.

⁶⁵ Falkenburg uses the painting as his archetypal example a "narrative *Andachtsbild*," as the work pairs the Holy Figures with scenes from their journey. Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir* (1988), 16-17.

successive episodes in the life of the holy protagonist, which bear upon Christian virtue and mysteries of the faith.⁶⁶

The retention of such motifs within the developing genre of landscape demonstrates the persistence of medieval forms of visual piety, particularly personal, affective devotions centered on close-up depictions of holy figures.⁶⁷ The late medieval *Andachtsbild*, intended to elicit a compassionate response from the viewer, could be augmented by the addition of auxiliary episodes arrayed within a panoramic landscape, creating what Falkenburg describes as "a visual mosaic of mnemograms for reflecting on the life of the main figure."⁶⁸ These *aides-memoire* helped to fuel the viewer's meditation on the holy person portrayed in the foreground.

The two-stage structure pairing foreground figures with ancillary vignettes also occurs in many of the kitchen and market scenes painted by Pieter Aertsen and his nephew, Joachim Beuckelaer, after the middle of the sixteenth century.⁶⁹ Both artists worked in Antwerp, although Aertsen left the city to return to his native Amsterdam in 1559 while Beuckelaer stayed behind. The artists created numerous paintings in which small background vignettes depicting biblical events compete with sensual foreground displays. Like the landscapes painted by Patinir and his followers, the discovery of the small, distant scenes requires a vigilant attention to

⁶⁶ Falkenburg, "Antithetical Iconography" (1990), 27-8.

⁶⁷ On *Andachtsbilder* and their expansion into other visual forms, see the seminal work of Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Åbo : Åbo akademi, 1965).

⁶⁸ Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir* (1988), 41.

⁶⁹ On the development of Kitchen and Market scenes as a genre, Keith Moxey, *Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer, and the Rise of Secular Painting in the Context of the Reformation* (Chicago: Garland, 1974); Elizabeth Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven, CT : Yale University Press, 1998; and Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (2006), esp. 87-101.

details.⁷⁰ By foregrounding the physical and contemporary rather than the scriptural, such works present moral oppositions between the intense corporeality of the figures and the materiality of their consumable wares on the one hand and the spiritual qualities shown in the religious scenes on the other.⁷¹ Discussed at greater length below, the “inverted” paintings by Aertsen and Beuckelaer offer another model for the extension of allegorical significance through the inclusion of ancillary vignettes.

In works like Patinir’s paintings of the *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* or the kitchen and market scenes by Aertsen and Beuckelaer, the auxiliary scenes that appear in the background expand the paintings, both formally and figuratively. In the chapter “On Ordering” from the *Schilderboeck* (1604), Karel van Mander describes the benefits of structuring a composition with both foreground and background figures:

A work enjoys a fine arrangement, delighting the senses, if we allow there a view into a vista [*doorsien*] with small background figures and a distant landscape into which the eyes can plunge. We should take care sometimes to place our figures in the middle of the foreground and let one see over them for many miles.⁷²

⁷⁰ Larry Silver notes the formal similarity between the kitchen and market scenes painted by Aertsen and Beuckelaer and the earlier landscape tradition developed by Patinir and Herri met de Bles. Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (2006), 91.

⁷¹ While most scholars agree that the pairing of kitchen and market scenes in the foreground with biblical events in the background demonstrates moral antitheses in paintings by Aertsen and Beuckelaer, Mark Meadow has shown that in at least one instance, a more nuanced reading yields a different interpretation of the relationship between the two spaces, which he sees as analogical parallels. Meadow’s reading contrasts with earlier interpretations of the same painting by Jan Emmens and Kenneth Craig. See Meadow, “Aertsen’s Christ” (1995); Jan Emmens, “‘Eins aber ist nötig’ – Zu Inhalt und Bedeutung von Markt- und Küchenstücken des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in J. Bruyn (ed.), *Album amicorum J.G. van Gelder* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973), 93-101; Kenneth M. Craig, “*Pars Ergo Marthae Transit*: Pieter Aertsen’s ‘Inverted’ Paintings of *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*,” *Oud Holland* 97.1 (1983), 25-39.

⁷² Karel van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck* (1604), book 5, p. 12. Translated in Christopher Heuer, *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (London/New York: Routledge, 2009), 95. The most extensive study of the concept of *doorsien* and its application in Netherlandish art of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century is Martha Hollander’s *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Berkeley: University of California,

Van Mander's notion of *doorsien* (literally a "view through") calls for an opening in the pictorial composition into which the viewer's gaze can penetrate.⁷³ At its most basic, *doorsien* could simply indicate a view into the distance that added to the visual appeal of a work, but in the work of many Netherlandish artists, it represented a versatile structure for the pairing of spatial recession with the introduction of additional vignettes.⁷⁴ By employing a multi-level format with figures in the foreground and background, an artist could enhance a work both visually and intellectually.

The concept of *doorsien* and its ability to stimulate visual penetration is particularly central to van Mander's understanding of Netherlandish art. It figures prominently in his "competitive rhetoric" with the art of the Italians, who devalue the importance of setting.⁷⁵ With their focus on figural composition and its application to *historia*, Italian artists and theorists like Alberti placed less emphasis on settings generally and landscape settings in particular. In the first chapter of his *Ten Books on Architecture* (1486), Alberti establishes a hierarchical distinction between "history" and "landscape" as genres. He notes the "majestic character" of painting that portrays the "great deeds of great men, worthy of memory" and compares the edifying value of such imagery to the ornamental charm of

2002). Hollander claims that van Mander's was the first reference to a "view or vista" in art literature (p. 8).

⁷³ Both Martha Hollander and Walter Melion note the sexual connotations of van Mander's description of *doorsien*, which employs the word *ploeghen* ("to plow") to illustrate the plunging motion of the gaze. Hollander, *An Entrance of the Eyes* (2002), 8; Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* (1991), 8.

⁷⁴Paul Taylor, "The Concept of Houding in Dutch Art Theory," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), 218; Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes* (2002), 9.

⁷⁵ Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes* (2002), 10.

landscapes: “Our minds are cheered beyond measure by the sight of paintings depicting the delightful countryside, harbors, fishing, hunting, swimming, the games of shepherds – flowers and verdure.”⁷⁶ During the sixteenth century, the valuation of the genres influenced comparisons between Netherlandish artists known for their proficiency in landscape and Italians, appreciated for their ability to depict the human body. As van Mander noted at the beginning of the seventeenth century, “[The Italians] consider the Netherlanders to be experts in landscape. While they perhaps praise us in this, they would nonetheless surpass us in figures.”⁷⁷ With the portrayal of the human body and *historia* as the primary aim of Italian art, praise of Netherlandish achievement in landscape is hardly complimentary. In his well-known assessment of Northern art in comparison to the art of the Italians, Michelangelo – quoted by his friend, Francisco de Hollanda – suggests that

In Flanders they paint...the green grass of the fields, the shadow of trees, and rivers and bridges, which they call landscapes, with many figures on this side and many figure on that. And all this, though it pleases some persons, is done without reason or art, without symmetry or proportion, without skillful selection or boldness and, finally, without substance or vigor.⁷⁸

Michelangelo denigrates the Northerners ability to artfully compose a work, citing what he sees as a lack of thoughtful and selective arrangement

By arguing for the essential importance of setting in the depiction of *historia*, however, van Mander sought to redefine standard comparisons between the art of the Italians and their northern counterparts. Effective ordering (*ordinantia*),

⁷⁶ Leon Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture* (1486), chapter 1. Quoted and translated in Gombrich, *The Renaissance Theory of Art* (1966), 111.

⁷⁷ Karel van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck* (1604), book 5, p. 13. Translated in Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes* (2002), 10.

⁷⁸ Francisco de Hollanda, *Four Dialogues on Painting* (1548), quoted in Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, eds., *Italian Art, 1500-1600: Sources and Documents* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1989), 34.

according to van Mander, required weaving together the constituent elements of a work. He counseled artists to attend to the thoughtful placement of figures within a composition, including their position in a topographical setting, as an essential component of the proper depiction of an *historia*.⁷⁹ Celebrating Netherlandish aptitude in the portrayal of landscapes, van Mander indicates the importance of *doorsien* in opening up plunging views that unite various elements of the composition, noting that some people criticized Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* for its failure to provide an "entrance for the eyes."⁸⁰ Martha Hollander has argued that,

By van Mander's time the two-stage format of large foreground figures accompanied by a small distant view...had become a common landscape formula in Netherlandish art. In the somewhat nationalistic context of the *Schilderboeck*, van Mander implies that not only 'good backgrounds' but also this specific format demonstrates the superior talent of his countrymen.⁸¹

The admirable execution of landscapes distinguishes Netherlandish artists from the Italians, and the effective manipulation of vision through compositional structure is what sets those landscapes apart.

The inclusion of optical pathways invites the eyes to explore the depths of a picture, heightening its formal appeal. Christopher Heuer remarks on the persuasive quality of *doorsien*, noting that "a phenomenon like the *doorsien* (a view or vista)...was presented by van Mander as a painterly device based on rhetoric; the active 'seeing through' worked like a rhetorical gambit, to draw the beholder into a

⁷⁹ Karel van Mander *Grondt*, vol 1, ch. 5, verse 13. Walter Melion paraphrases van Mander's *Ordinanty* as the "format, placement of figures, the elaboration of setting, the optical address (the image's power to seize the viewer's eyes)" or "the social and topographical settings within which figures are positioned, rather than the figures themselves." Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* (1991), 7.

⁸⁰ Karel van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck* (1604), book 5, p. 16. Translated in Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes* (2002), 11.

⁸¹ Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes* (2002), 12-3.

composition.”⁸² The visual appeal of the penetrating gaze enhances the cogency and immediacy of a picture. Walter Melion suggests that in van Mander’s view, the optical address generated by *doorsien* becomes *the* central feature of a landscape painting, arguing that “in his formulation, sight itself, penetrating deep into the landscape, constitutes the history’s action, and seeing displaces the story told as history’s principal event.”⁸³ The stasis displayed by the foreground figures in many Netherlandish landscape paintings is counterbalanced by the active engagement of the viewer, compelled by the composition to enter a work visually.

In addition to its optical allure, the panoramic landscape offered an ideal setting for ancillary vignettes comprised of small figures, providing opportunities to expand the content of a work. In Patinir’s *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, as in Bos’s *Diligence Rewarded and Indigence Punished*, the detailed rendering of background scenes and their staffage compels inspection and encourages comparison both horizontally and in depth. The central, foreground depiction of the Madonna and Child is enhanced by the inclusion of additional scenes of the flight in the background and by contrasts between foreign and familiar, urban and agrarian that are juxtaposed on the two sides of the image. Pictures like Patinir’s represent constructed assemblages of interrelated elements that function as diagrams operating across the composition. The addition of a third dimension provides spaces for subsidiary vignettes arrayed around the primary figure or scene as pictorial glosses. The structure itself compels interpretation and comparison of the mutually qualifying associations between the various parts, forcing one to determine whether

⁸² Heuer, *City Rehearsed* (2009), 78-9.

⁸³ Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* (1991), 8.

ancillary vistas are reinforcing, contradictory, attributive, ironic, etc. By suggesting relationships between and among different spaces, the two-stage setting pulls the various episodes into associative relation while keeping them physically isolated.

Netherlandish artists exploited this compositional formula as a versatile and efficient scheme for rendering complex subject matter in need of elaboration. Hollander suggests that “what van Mander calls a *doorsien* ... is the subdivision of the visual field into separate segments for the purpose of persuasion. The *doorsien* as a secondary picture is essentially a rhetorical device.”⁸⁴ According to Hollander, the presence of distant vistas filled with auxiliary vignettes provided a means for commenting on the foreground scene, a compositional strategy she likens to Erasmus’s notion of *copia*, which involved the expansion of an argument through “examples, comparisons, similarities, dissimilarities, opposites, and other like procedures.”⁸⁵ By providing commentary or elaboration on a primary figure or group, the subsidiary scenes found in many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Netherlandish paintings provided the same kind of abundance, complexity, and variety expounded by Erasmus as an essential component of effective rhetorical style.⁸⁶

Netherlandish graphic artists produced numerous series depicting personified figures in the foreground and ancillary vignettes in the background. This

⁸⁴ Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes* (2002), 18.

⁸⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *De copia verborum* [1512], in *Collected Works of Erasmus*: Vol. 2, edited by Craig R. Thompson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 301. Quoted in Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes* (2002), 18.

⁸⁶ Citing an early seventeenth century example, Todd Richardson contends that “this habit of viewing – of shifting perspectives based on a navigation of foreground and background – was not reserved for the visual arts, but also informed the hermeneutic process for engaging literature.” Todd Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2011), 139.

body of imagery has not been adequately discussed in relation to the compositional strategies elaborated above. In many instances, the engravings include biblical episodes in support of a central, allegorical embodiment. This is particularly true for series of the Virtues and Vices, whose moral content lends itself to religious qualification. The convention also appears, however, in portrayals of the Five Senses and Four Elements, where the subject matter does not align as easily with scriptural events. As in paintings with *doorsien*, the auxiliary scenes help to extend and qualify the imagery by supplying commentary on the allegories. Whereas most paintings are singular and confine comparison to the various components within an individual composition, the seriality of the engravings offers opportunities to develop additional associations across multiple images.

The Virtues and Vices:

As guides to proper conduct, the virtues and vices existed as fluid categories from antiquity. Although various groupings of virtues continued to exist, the standard arrangement of the seven virtues emerged from the writings of the early church fathers.⁸⁷ Comprised of the three Theological Virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity) and the four Cardinal Virtues (Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and Justice), the standard septimal arrangement represents a conflation of Christian and

⁸⁷ For a comprehensive bibliography concerning the virtues and vices, see Colum Hourihane, "Introduction," in *Virtues and Vices: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, Colum Hourihane, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 8-10 n. 8; Richard Newheuser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 18-53.

classical sources. St. Paul enumerated the Theological Virtues in his first Epistle to the Corinthians:

When I was a child I spoke like a child, I reasoned like a child: when I became a man, I gave up childish ways. For now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face. Now I know in part, then I shall understand fully, even as I have been fully understood. So faith, hope, charity abide, these three; but the greatest of these is charity (I Corinthians 13:13).

He describes the triad of virtues as part of a progression of divine comprehension that uses mirrored sight as an analogy for one's encounter with God. In the fourth century St. Ambrose adapted the four Cardinal Virtues – Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and Justice – from Plato's *Republic*, where each was assigned to a different segment of humanity (Book IV, 426-435).⁸⁸ The Cardinal Virtues were thought to be natural to man as a foundation for moral living, in contrast to the Theological Virtues, which humanity receives only through the grace of God. In subsequent centuries, the pairing of these earthly and spiritual virtues became firmly ensconced as the canonical classification in most instances.

The capital vices or seven deadly sins represent mortal offenses to which humanity is prone as a result of its Fall.⁸⁹ Originally described by Pope Gregory the Great in the sixth century, the list includes Pride (*Superbia*), Avarice (*Avaritia*), Lust (*Luxuria*), Wrath (*Ira*), Gluttony (*Gula*), Envy (*Invidia*), and Sloth (*Acedia*).⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Ambrose, *Commentary on Luke*, V, 62. Plato assigned each of the four virtues a different value, creating a hierarchical ranking. The list of Cardinal Virtues is repeated by Cicero, *De Inventione*, II, LIII.

⁸⁹ In his selection, Gregory relied on an earlier system devised by the fourth-century, Egyptian ascetic, Evagrius Ponticus, who enumerated eight "evil thoughts" that required particular vigilance. Newheuser, "Introduction," in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2005), x.

⁹⁰ On the seven capital vices, see the classic study by Martin Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1952). A more recent bibliography on the subject can be found in Newheuser, *In the Garden of Evil* (2005), 477-538.

According to Gregory's scheme, all seven vices derive from pride as the primary source. The notion of "deadly sins" (*peccata mortalia*), in contrast to the less deleterious "venial sins", was enshrined institutionally during the Fourth Lateran Council (1215-6).⁹¹ Despite the existence of alternative groupings created by Augustine and other Church luminaries, the Gregorian classification of the vices predominated in ecclesiastical teachings and became one of the most widespread vehicles for articulating Christian morality during the Middle Ages and in the centuries that followed.

Prior to the formulation of these septiform systems, Prudentius's *Psychomachia* helped to popularize the personification of virtues and vices.⁹² In the late fourth or early fifth century the Spanish author described a series of epic battles between opposing moral forces, with the virtues ultimately triumphing over their dissolute counterparts. The combat scenes recounted by Prudentius offered an engaging means for portraying the internal struggle between contrasting ethical forces. Illustrated in numerous manuscripts, the allegorical narrative promoted the personification of abstract moral qualities in literature and in visual art.⁹³

In contrast to the dynamic portrayal of the virtues and vices in the *Psychomachia*, static alternatives emerged during the later Middle Ages.⁹⁴ Instead of active combatants, the personified virtues and vices often appeared as isolated

⁹¹ Newheuser, *In the Garden of Evil* (2005), x.

⁹² Literature on the *Psychomachia*. For a recent study on Prudentius's use of personification – and additional bibliography – see S. Georgia Nugent, "Virtus or Virago? The Female Personifications of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*," in *Virtue & Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, edited by Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13-28.

⁹³ Most of the surviving manuscripts of the *Psychomachia* date to the ninth century. Hourihane, *Virtue & Vice* (2000), 4.

⁹⁴ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1939), 27.

figures or together in diagrammatic arrangements, like the trees of virtue and vice included in some medieval manuscripts.⁹⁵ Portrayed in illuminations and ecclesiastical sculpture throughout the Middle Ages, depictions of embodied moral values recur in a variety of religious and secular contexts as guides to proper human conduct.

In the Netherlands, Frans Floris's *Eight Virtues* (1560) and Pieter Bruegel's *Seven Virtues* (1559-60) helped to popularize the subject in Netherlandish graphic art during the latter part of the sixteenth century. The two series, both published by Hieronymus Cock, highlight the contrasting styles of the two artists. Floris's series amplifies the antique aspects of his figures, particularly their poses and drapery. His close-up renderings of the personified virtues emphasize their timeless beauty and the eternal importance of the values they represent. Bruegel eschews the classical simplicity of Floris's version, placing his virtues amid scenes of contemporary life. They are surrounded by throngs of figures engaged in activities that illustrate the moral qualities and their relevance to everyday life.

Rather than showing the canonical virtues, Floris's classicizing series, engraved by Cornelis Cort, presents an unconventional grouping of moral qualities comprised of Patience, Memory, Sobriety, Chastity, Concord, Perseverance, Intelligence, and Magnanimity (**Figures 1.3-1.10**).⁹⁶ The collection represents an amalgamation of Christian virtues, including several of the so-called "evangelical" virtues derived from the New Testament as well as qualities related to the cardinal

⁹⁵ On trees of virtue and vice, see Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in the iconography of the virtues and vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1988), Chapter 8, 323-449.

⁹⁶ Hollstein (Floris), 85-92.

virtues. These are paired with subjects like Memory and Intelligence, mental qualities rarely featured in depictions of the virtues.⁹⁷

With the exception of Magnanimity, who adopts a frontal, imperial posture as she looks out of the image, the figures delicately turn their bodies, offering a variety of graceful poses as the bunches and swirls of their flowing drapery are captured in virtuoso relief in Cort's engravings. In several instances, the fabric seems to flutter inexplicably, as with the head-wraps worn by Memory, Intelligence, and Patience. This billowing effect, which Aby Warburg described as "accessories in motion" (*bewegtes beiwerk*), was a hallmark of the Renaissance interpretations of Greco-Roman antiquity.⁹⁸ The portrayal of a column beside Memory and classically inspired buildings behind Magnanimity and Sobriety further enhances the timeless quality of the figures and their settings.

In contrast, Bruegel's series of the *Seven Virtues* places the moral personifications squarely within an updated, local context (**Figures 1.11-1.17**).⁹⁹ Engraved by Philips Galle I, personifications of the seven canonical virtues are shown from an elevated vantage and at a remove, distinguishing them from the close-up portrayals by Floris. They occupy central positions in everyday settings familiar to the artist and his contemporaries. Surrounding the personified virtues are throngs of sixteenth-century figures, who engage in activities that reflect, in

⁹⁷ Based on the inclusion of Magnanimity as the engraving with Floris's signature, Kaulbach and Schleier advance the theory that the series may be a "mirror for princes," an interpretation rejected by Nadine Orenstein in her review of their work. See Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf*, 43; Orenstein "Allegorical Print Series," *Print Quarterly*, 15.4 (1998), pp. 416.

⁹⁸ Warburg developed the concept of the *bewegtes beiwerk* in his dissertation on Botticelli. Engravings of the *Seven Virtues* (1515-8) by Marcantonio Raimundi after Raphael also include prototypical examples of "accessories in motion." For a discussion of that series, see Chapter 4.

⁹⁹ Nadine Orenstein, ed., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), pp. 177-193, nos. 64-77; Larry Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 183-206.

some way, the ethical quality being represented. The subsidiary figures operate as vehicles for elaboration on the central virtues, but the tone of the commentary is ambiguous in some instances, spurring debate among scholars about whether Bruegel intended the ancillary scenes as ironic antithesis or exemplary amplification.¹⁰⁰

In the depiction of Faith, for example, the personified Virtue stands in a church where sacraments are being performed. She wears a crown topped with the Tablets of the Law and points to an open book of scripture in her hands with the dove of the Holy Spirit perched above. To her left, a marriage ceremony occurs beside the administration of Communion, while in the background, a child receives baptism and a woman confesses to a priest. On the right, a large crowd listens with rapt attention to a sermon. Although such scenes seem to link ecclesiastical activities to the embodiment of Faith, they also distract the churchgoers from looking at the objects in the foreground, which represent the *Arma Christi*. The implements of Christ's torture and death, including the open tomb upon which Faith stands, are completely ignored, as is the book held by the personified figure. In selecting a book of scripture as Faith's primary attribute rather than the more typical chalice, Bruegel may have intended to emphasize the Bible over sacrament as the true source of faith.¹⁰¹ By attending to ecclesiastical ritual rather than the

¹⁰⁰ Charles de Tolnay espoused the theory that the scenes were intended ironically. Charles de Tolnay, *The Drawings of Pieter Bruegel* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1952), 26-8. Others, like Manfred Sellink, argue that the ancillary figures represent sincere reflections of the various virtues. Manfred Sellink, "'The very lively and whimsical Pieter Bruegel:' Thoughts on his Iconography and Context," in *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, edited by Nadine Orenstein (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 60-1.

¹⁰¹ Jürgen Müller suggests that the placement of the scriptures and the dove at the exact central axis of the work makes it a particular focus and emphasizes its importance in relation to the sacramental

Word, the ancillary figures may represent negative examples of the personified virtue.

Hope, with shovel and sickle, stands on an anchor amidst a turbulent sea where ships founder and rising waters threaten to engulf a city. At the prison tower to the left, the gates have been lifted, but the prisoners inside remain shackled, preventing their escape from the impending flood. Above, others attempt to lower a pitcher from their barred window in an attempt to gather rainwater and slake their thirst. In the background, others throw water on a conflagration consuming a house. Despite the overabundance of water nearby, however, their attempts to quench the flames prove futile. At the dock, a man casts his lines in the sea but fails to notice the drowning figure nearby. These small ironies suggest a negative view of Hope amidst disaster, although the inscription indicates a level of confidence in redemption: "Very pleasant is the conviction of hope and most necessary for life, amid many and almost unbearable hardships."¹⁰² It remains unclear, however, whether belief in Hope is a virtue or merely a foolhardy solace.

The portrayal of Charity presents a more positive and less ironic perspective of the virtue through the inclusion of the Seven Works of Mercy. The personification appears with a pelican on her head, a bird thought to tear her own breast to sustain her young. She holds a flaming heart, symbol of Christ's love, as two children tug on her skirts. To the left, men distribute loaves of bread from baskets as the needy line

scenes arrayed around the personification. Catalog entry in Nadine Orenstein, ed., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 179-80. Larry Silver notes that the Dove of the Holy Spirit might have been taken as a Lutheran inflection during the period. Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 194.

¹⁰² Translated in Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 190.

up to receive it, including a disfigured cripple on the ground in front of the personified figure. Others get a change of clothes to the right, and a bedridden woman receives care. In the background, men in stocks are visited by a priest, who says a prayer for them. Seemingly without irony, the scenes surrounding Charity reinforce and amplify the virtue by demonstrating charitable behavior.

The depiction of Prudence seems similarly sincere, with scenes showing figures engaged in activities that illustrate wisdom and forethought, including the woman who dampens a fire in the lower left corner and the group salting meat to the right in preparation for winter. Others collect wood for the cold weather ahead and make repairs to a damaged house, and the man on the left receives care from a doctor examining a urine flask. More ambiguous, perhaps, are the two men at the center of the image loading coins into a chest. They indicate a level of preparedness but also resemble contemporary portrayals of Avarice, including Bruegel's own depiction of the vice described below. The personified figure herself appears with a mirror, a standard attribute indicating self-knowledge as well as forethought.¹⁰³ The sieve on her head, used to separate wheat from chaff, indicates wise discernment, and the coffin she holds suggests an awareness of her own mortality.¹⁰⁴

Blindfolded Justice stands on a platform in front of the town hall amidst a bustling throng. Everywhere are scenes of condemnation and punishment, from the administration of torture in the immediate foreground to the bevy of crucifixions

¹⁰³ The mirror is sometimes replaced by a portrayal of Prudence as a Janus-faced figure, capable of looking both backward in time and capable of drawing on previous experience in order to select the proper course of action in light of expected consequences. On Prudence, see David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 266-82; Erwin Panofsky, "Titian's Allegory of Prudence: A Postscript," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 146-168.

¹⁰⁴ Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 189.

barely visible on the distant horizon. A figure, bound by his hands and ankles, hangs from a rope that dangles from the top of the image as another unfortunate soul receives a whipping. A number of figures attend to the imminent beheading of a kneeling figure holding a crucifix as the executioner raises his sword to strike. The brutality of the punishments and the absence of positive judgments demonstrate a level of cruelty and challenge the blind impartiality of Justice. Whether Bruegel and contemporary audiences would have found such treatment excessive, however, or deemed it necessary for the purposes of retribution and deterrence, remains an open question.¹⁰⁵

Standing on the blade of a windmill, Temperance appears with a clock on her head and a bridle between her teeth. The former represents measurement, while the latter illustrates restraint, both central aspects of the virtue. The spectacles in her outstretched hand indicate clarity of sight rather than short-sightedness, as they do in many other contemporaneous images.¹⁰⁶ The various scenes arrayed around the figure represent activities concerned with measure, including mathematics, depicted as a group of children learning from their master on the lower right, and money changing, represented by the figure counting coins on the opposite side. Others build armaments to the right and geographers and astrologers measure outsized depictions of the earth and moon with compasses. Noting that the serpentine belt worn by Temperance resembles the Mercurial caduceus, Larry

¹⁰⁵ Jürgen Müller argues that Bruegel is calling into question contemporary practices, while Larry Silver suggests a more widespread acceptance of such customs among sixteenth-century audiences in Northern Europe. Catalog entry in Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (2001), 177; Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 199.

¹⁰⁶ Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 202.

Silver has argued that the scenes in Bruegel's portrayal of Temperance represent the activities associated with Mercury, as in depictions of the Children of the Planets, which portray celestial influences on mankind (discussed at greater length in Chapter 2).¹⁰⁷ This would help to explain the inclusion of rhetoricians performing on the stage at the back left, as Mercury was the god associated with eloquence. In this instance, the ancillary scenes expand the common understanding of the virtue to include additional associations and occupations.¹⁰⁸

Wearing a breastplate and standing in the midst of a battlefield, Fortitude appears victorious in a Psychomachian encounter with the forces of evil. The anvil on her head, a symbol of force, augments the broken column in her arms, a standard attribute evoking the heroic strength evinced by Samson when he destroyed the Philistine temple by breaking the pillars (Judges 16:26-31).¹⁰⁹ She stands on a chained beast, representing her triumph over the devil, as her army slays demonic creatures emerging from the ground and animals that correspond symbolically to each of the capital vices, including the Gluttony's boar, Sloth's ass, Pride's peacock, Avarice's toad, Envy's turkey, Lust's rooster, and Anger's bear (see the discussion of Bruegel's *Seven Vices* below). In the background, a heavenly citadel remains well-protected. Fortitude's wings, an uncommon and possibly unique feature, connect the personified virtue to angels like St. Michael, who fights the rebel angels in an undated painting by Bruegel. As in the depiction of Temperance, the rendering of

¹⁰⁷ Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 202.

¹⁰⁸ Jürgen Müller reads the image as an ironic commentary, suggesting that the figures fail to recognize the limits of their own disciplines, revealing a lack of temperate restraint. Evidence for such a claim, however, seems to be lacking. Catalog entry in Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (2001), 177.

¹⁰⁹ Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, translated by Marthiel Matthews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 290.

Fortitude includes attributes and ancillary scenes that expand the significance of the virtue beyond its typical associations.

The depiction of Fortitude links Bruegel's *Seven Virtues* to an earlier series of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, published by Hieronymus Cock in 1558 after drawings completed by the artist between 1556 and 1558 (**Figures X-Y**).¹¹⁰ In his portrayals of the capital sins, Bruegel removed the personified vices from the quotidian realm of contemporary experience and placed them, instead, amidst hellish scenes populated by Boschian monsters and tormented human figures.¹¹¹ Accompanied by symbolic animals, the allegorical embodiments occupy the same, central positions as their virtuous counterparts, as chaotic scenes erupt around them. Pride, who admires her own reflection in a mirror, stands beside an ostentatious peacock displaying his lavish plumage. The depiction of naked Lust, shown sitting in the lap of a demon that fondles her breast, includes a plethora of symbolic animals. In addition to the lascivious cock that stands directly above the personified vice, a stag and a mussel shell – considered an aphrodisiac – both emerge from the tree that shelters the lustful pair. On the right, a demonic dog copulates with an earthly companion. Envy watches two dogs compete for a bone as she points to a giant turkey, an attribute unique to Bruegel.¹¹² The turkey, a bird recently imported to Europe from the Americas, resembles the more brilliant peacock but lacks the

¹¹⁰ Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (2001), cat. nos. 42-54. Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 139-161.

¹¹¹ Jürgen Müller argues that Bruegel adopted the Boschian manner for his portrayal of the *Seven Deadly Sins* because contemporary viewers would have “instantly associated [that style] with the world of sin and folly.” Catalog entry in Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (2001), 145.

¹¹² The motif of two dogs fighting over a bone also appears on Hieronymus Bosch's *Seven Sins* tabletop (ca. 1500).

latter's beauty, leading to jealousy.¹¹³ As if to demonstrate the difference, peacock feathers grow from the unsightly tree behind Envy and her turkey. Sloth slumbers against a donkey, considered the laziest of animals, while corpulent Gluttony, drinking directly from a jug, sits on boar. A toad, a medieval symbol of greed, accompanies Avarice, who pulls coins from an open chest nearby.¹¹⁴ Anger is accompanied by a bear and a she-wolf, vicious animals that tear at the flesh of figures lying on the ground. All the animals that accompany the personified vices are slaughtered in Bruegel's portrayal of Fortitude, indicating the triumph of the virtues over the vices.

The subsidiary scenes in Bruegel's series exhibit a broad range of possible categories for commentary. Depending on one's reading of the ancillary figures, they can subvert the central figures, reinforce the values they embody, or extend their significance in new and unexpected directions.

Following Floris and Bruegel, dozens of print series showing embodied virtues and vices were published in the Netherlands during the final decades of the sixteenth century. Some of these are treated more fully in Chapter 4, which explores the portrayal of allegorical personifications as sculptural figures in niches.¹¹⁵ The present analysis concerns series of Netherlandish engravings that show personifications of moral qualities in the foreground of a scenic space, particularly

¹¹³ Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 156.

¹¹⁴ Larry Silver links the figure of Avarice to earlier portrayals of moneychangers, as in Antwerp, as in Marinus van Reymerswaele's *Moneychanger and his Wife* (1539), where the female figure wears a wimple comparable to the one worn by the personified vice. Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (2011), 147.

¹¹⁵ The discussion in Chapter 4 includes visual precedents like the portal sculptures of Notre Dame in Paris and the grisaille paintings in Giotto's Arena Chapel.

examples that include auxiliary vignettes behind the primary figure(s). Drawn primarily from Old and New Testament scripture, the episodes extend the significance of the allegorical embodiments that occupy the foreground. The biblical scenes create associations between the Italianate figures and sacred history, illustrating and qualifying the ethical values on display and, in the portrayal of the Vices, demonstrating the mortal consequences for misbehavior.

One of the earliest series to show personified figures in the foreground with New Testament episodes in the background is Harmen Jantsz. Muller's *Cognition and the Seven Virtues* after designs by Gerard van Groeningen (**Figures 1.18-1.21**).¹¹⁶ Van Groeningen's figures resemble Frans Floris's *Eight Virtues*, particularly in the portrayal of facial features, coifs, and drapery. Rather than showing the figures in isolation, however, each of the four engravings designed by van Groeningen includes a pair of female virtues sitting on male figures, presumably representing negative exemplars of the embodied qualities.¹¹⁷ The presence of auxiliary scenes from the life of Christ in the background and the placement of verses from the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9-13), inscribed in Latin at the bottom of each engraving.

¹¹⁶ New Hollstein (Muller), 79

¹¹⁷ Other than the portrayal of Samson – identifiable by the jawbone in his hand – beneath the personification of Hope, the male figures resist identification. In the New Hollstein volume on Gerard van Groeningen, Christiaan Schuckman gives tentative identities for the figures: *Cognitio*/Saul, *Fides*/Goliath, *Spes*/Samson, *Caritas*/Ismael, *Temperantia*/the drunken king of 3 Esdras 3:20, *Justitia*/Aristotle, *Prudentia*/Eglon, *Fortitudo*/Nebuchadnezzar. Unfortunately, Schuckman does not include justifications for his selections, and many seem to be unlikely counterparts to the virtues with which they are paired. Michaela Bautz agrees that the pairings seem unlikely. Michaela Bautz, *Virtutes: Studien zu Funktion und Ikonographie der Tugenden im Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: dissertation.de, 1999), 342 n. 1330.

The association of the Seven Petitions of the Lord's Prayer and the seven virtues established by Hugh of St.-Victor in the twelfth century extend Augustine's exegesis of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁸ According to the scheme, the first three petitions concern God and the final four address basic, earthly needs. The division corresponds to the categorization of the seven virtues according to theological and cardinal virtues. Van Groeningen adopted the ordering in his pairing of virtues and petitions:

<u>Petition</u>	<u>Verse</u>	<u>Virtue</u>	<u>Engraving</u>
Introduction	Our father in heaven... (Matthew 6:9)	Cognition	1
1	Hallowed be thy name... (Matthew 6:9)	Faith	1
2	Thy kingdom come... (Matthew 6:10)	Hope	2
3	Thy will be done... (Matthew 6:10)	Charity	2
4	Give us this day our daily bread... (Matthew 6:11)	Temperance	3
5	And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us... (Matthew 6:11)	Justice	3
6	And lead us not into temptation... (Matthew 6:12)	Prudence	4
7	But deliver us from evil... (Matthew 6:12)	Fortitude	4
Doxology	For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen. (Matthew 6:13)		

The association between petitions and virtues demonstrates the divine source of morality and enhances the meditative quality of the series, establishing an invocative link between the viewer/reader and God.

Van Groeningen's series opens with a depiction of Cognition and Faith. Although rarely included among the canonical group of seven virtues, *Cognitio* was considered necessary for attainment of proper morality.¹¹⁹ Prior to van Groeningen's rendering, the virtue appeared in a 1557 series of engravings by Hans

¹¹⁸ Hugh of St.-Victor, *De quinque septenis*, in *Six opuscles spirituels*, edited by Roger Baron, Sources Chrétiennes 155 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 155. On Hugh's extension on the scheme, see Jeanne Krochalis and Edward Peters, eds., *The World of Piers Plowman* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), 170-179.

¹¹⁹ On the relation of knowledge and virtue from antiquity through the Early Modern Period, including Northern European Humanist thought, see Maryanne Cline Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Collaert I after Lambert Lombard. That version, discussed at greater length in Chapter 4, shows the personified virtues as statues in niches, with Cognition depicted holding a torch and a book, illustrating mental acuity and scholarly achievement, respectively. In van Groeningen's portrayal she holds a branch as she sits atop a king who clutches a broken scepter and a dagger.

Interestingly, the personified figure of Cognition resembles Floris's depiction of *Magnanimitas* in his series of *Eight Virtues*: both figures are shown frontally; both look out of the image; both wear similar drapery that includes a sash just below the bustline; and both hold attributes in their right hands (scepter for Magnanimity and a branch for Cognition). The overlap serves to further heighten Cognition's regal bearing and importance as a ruler of the virtues. In Albrecht Dürer's *Great Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I* (1522), for example, a personification of Ratio (Reason) drives the emperor's allegorical chariot.¹²⁰ In the background of van Groeningen's image, Christ preaches to a small cluster of figures.¹²¹ It is tempting to read the scene as a depiction of the Sermon on the Mount, where Christ taught his disciples the Lord's Prayer, which appears in the inscriptions at the bottom of each print.

Cognition and her counterpart, Faith, are separated by an open book that includes the engraver's signature, "*Muller fecit.*" Faith holds a crucifix and a chalice, her standard attributes, representing Christian sacrifice and sacrament. She sits on a giant, bearded man who may represent heresy, while behind her, Peter attempts to

¹²⁰ Strauss, *Albrecht Dürer: Woodcuts* (1980), no. 188.

¹²¹ Although Christiaan Schuckman identifies the scene as St. John preaching in the wilderness, Michaela Bautz argues that the figure represents Christ, who appears in all the other background scenes without his nimbus. Bautz, *Virtutes* (1999), 342 n. 1330.

walk to the resurrected Christ during the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, as related in John 21:1-14.¹²² Although the disciples initially fail to recognize the resurrected Jesus, they come to realize that the Lord walks among them. Refusing to ask for conformation, they accept his reappearance on faith aided by vision, a fitting analogy for the engraving itself, which requires a penetrating and pious sight to look beyond the personification of Faith and recognize Christ in the background.

The next engraving shows Hope and Charity, the two remaining Theological Virtues. As in Bruegel's depiction, the former appears with an anchor, a standard attribute originally derived from St. Paul: "We have this hope as an anchor for the soul, firm and secure" (Hebrews 6:19). She also holds a falcon, which rarely appeared in depictions of Hope prior to the final decades of the sixteenth century, when several Netherlandish artists included the bird in engravings of the virtue.¹²³ The selection may derive from Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, which describes the falcon as a hopeful animal.¹²⁴ The embodied figure sits on Samson – possibly intended to represent hopeless despair – who holds the jawbone of an ass, an implement he used to slay more than 1,000 Philistine soldiers (Judges 15:16). In the background, Christ can be seen carrying a triumphal banner as he ushers people

¹²² The portrayal shows the version of the miraculous draught of fishes recounted in John's Gospel rather than the description given in Luke 5:1-11, which results in Peter and Andrew joining Jesus as disciples. The latter is typically depicted with Christ on the boat.

¹²³ There is a description of a falcon held by Hope in a fourteenth-century fresco by Andrea di Bonaiuto for the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, although the work is no longer extant. Claire Vincent, "Painted Enamels," in *Decorative Arts in the Robert Lehman Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 29.

¹²⁴ According to Aquinas, "The internal passions of animals can be gathered from their outward movements: from which it is clear that hope is in dumb animals. For if a dog see a hare, or a falcon see a bird, too far off, it makes no movement towards it, as having no hope to catch it: whereas, if it be near, it makes a movement towards it, as being in hopes of catching it." *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Second and Revised Edition), translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (1920), I-II, 40.3.

through an archway visible just below the falcon on Hope's outstretched hand. The scene represents Christ's Harrowing of Hell, when he brought salvation to the souls trapped there following his Resurrection. Typically portrayed with Christ breaking down the gates of Hell, the episode is typologically related to Samson, who tore the gates from the city walls in Gaza to avoid an ambush. The simultaneous inclusion of Samson as a contrast for Hope and as an antetype for Christ suggests multivalent character of the Old Testament figure.

On the other side of the page, Charity ministers to a pair of children as a winged putto places a crown on her head. The Crucifixion can be seen in the background on a rocky outcropping representing Golgotha. The scene offers a forceful example of charity, as Christ gives himself for the benefit of humanity. Mary, who can be seen standing at the foot of the Cross, corresponds to the foreground figure of Charity with the child on her lap, an grouping that evokes portrayals of the Madonna and Child.

The third engraving shows Temperance and Justice. With her sash flying in an arc above her head, the former resembles Floris's *Intelligentia* and her gravity-defying garments. She pours water from a jug into a goblet of wine, an act of dilution that illustrates moderation. Her human perch, a vomiting king, lacks such restraint. The portion of the Lord's Prayer that appears below Temperance, "Give us this day our daily bread," reinforces the theme of self-discipline in consumption. The pairing of the wine held by the figure and the reference to bread also evokes the Last Supper and the Eucharist, where such items offer spiritual sustenance. The theme is

continued behind the personified figure, where Christ stands on a colonnaded porch and gives to the thirsty to drink.

The image is bisected by the sword of Justice, who also holds the scales, her typical attribute, indicating punishment and deliberation, respectively. In the background, Christ drives the money-changers from the Temple as an illustration of justice. Ironically, the scales would also have been used for weighing coins by the money-changers.

The final image in the series pairs Prudence and Fortitude, two of the four Cardinal Virtues. Prudence appears with a mirror, as she does in Bruegel's version, but rather than a coffin in her other hand, she holds a snake, a common attribute for the virtue derived from Matthew 10:16, "Be wise (*prudentes*) as serpents." She sits on Judas, who clutches his sack of silver, while in the background, Christ and his Apostles sit at the Last Supper. The episode encapsulates Prudence's dual meaning as self-knowledge and foreknowledge, as Christ imparts the Eucharist and prepares for his own sacrifice following Judas's betrayal.

Fortitude holds a broken column, her standard attribute derived from Samson, as she sits on Samson himself, blinded and chained but still strong. Behind her, a triumphant Christ emerges from his tomb in a depiction of the Resurrection. Like Samson, he breaks his bonds and triumphs over his enemies, carrying the Cross banner as a symbol of his victory of death and the devil.

Several features from van Groeningen's *Paired Virtues* reappear in a series of *Seven Virtues* engraved by Hans Collaert I after Crispijn van den Broeck (**Figures X-**

Y).¹²⁵ Published in 1576, the engravings include female personifications of the seven canonical virtues sitting in open, architectural spaces or in classical ruins. As in van Groeningen's series, the figures resemble Floris's virtues in their visages, hair, drapery, and poses. At their feet are negative counterparts, represented by male exemplars from the Bible and Roman history. Visible in the background, often through a framing archway, are scenes from the lives of the immoral figures, which help to reinforce the virtues through antithesis. The inscriptions present a rare combination of languages, with distichs in both French and Dutch describing the negative exemplars as well as Latin distichs that offer more generalized moral aphorisms.

The series follows an unconventional ordering, with the cardinal virtues preceding the theological.¹²⁶ The signature of the publisher, "Adrianus Hubertus ex. 1576," appears on the first engraving, which shows Temperance mixing water and wine. On the floor beside her appears Sardanapalus, the legendary final king of Assyria, who was renowned for his decadence. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle counsils moderation in all things but laments that many indulge in debauchery: "The mass of men show themselves utterly slavish in their preference for the life of brute beasts, but their views receive consideration because many of those in high places have the tastes of Sardanapalus."¹²⁷ For Aristotle, the Assyrian king was the epitome of decadent corruption. According to the ancient Greek historian, Diodorus Siculus,

¹²⁵ Hollstein (Collaert Dynasty), nos. 1077-1083.

¹²⁶ Each of the prints is numbered.

¹²⁷ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, trans. F.H. Peters, M.A. 5th edition (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1893), 1.5,3.

the Assyrian king's life of self-indulgence ended in an orgy of destruction.¹²⁸ Rather than accepting defeat and surrender, Sardanapalus gathered his treasure and his slaves and set fire to his palace. The conflagration can be seen in the background, where buildings burn as the king enjoys a final feast in his pavilion. In the foreground, the abject Sardanapalus stares at a bridle in his hands, a symbol of temperate restraint, as he points toward the personified figure, presumably as a model for appropriate behavior. According to the inscriptions in French and Dutch, "*A king is loved for his wise moderation, but carnal lust put Sardanapalus into a frenzy,*" and in Latin, "*Be it the kind practiced by Ceres, Bacchus, or Venus [i.e. Food, Wine and physical love], useless debauchery is the source and origin of all evil.*" The primacy of "debauchery" amongst the vices in this instance may explain the ordering of the prints.

The next image shows Prudence with a mirror and snake and Sextus Tarquinius, the son of the last Roman king, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus. His rape of Lucretia and her consequent suicide were the immediate causes of the revolution that ended the monarchy and established the Roman Republic in its place.¹²⁹ Through an archway at the center of the image, Sextus Tarquinius assaults Lucretia in a bedroom. Rather than accepting such a stain to her honor, Lucretia stabs herself, an event that takes place on the platform in the background to the left. The agitated crowd that gathers around the dying figure of Lucretia presages the popular uprising that would follow her death. In the foreground, Sextus Tarquinius holds a knife, an implement that links his immoral rape of Lucretia and her

¹²⁸ Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, 2.1-34.

¹²⁹ Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 1.60

honorable suicide. As a paragon of chastity, Lucretia counters the “unbridled debauchery” displayed by Sextus Tarquinius.

Shown with sword and scale, Justice appears alongside Nero, who holds a scepter and wears a crown. With her leg extended and body twisting, she resembles Floris’s depiction of Concordia. The great fire that consumed Rome in 64 C.E. can be seen in the background. Subsequent historians like Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio suggested that fire had been started by the corrupt and tyrannical Nero to clear space for the *Domus Aurea*. According to the inscription, no empire can exist in the presence of tyranny and the absence of justice.

While her companions sit in ambiguous architectural spaces open to outdoor scenes, Fortitude occupies ruins that resemble the crumbling buildings portrayed in *The Large Book of Ruins* (1551) by Hieronymus Cock following his journey to Rome.¹³⁰ Shown bare-breasted, she holds her broken column and fixes her imperious gaze on Holofernes, who wears armor and a helmet and carries a sword and shield (Judith 10-13). In the background, a military encampment sits before a town, a representation of the Assyrian army before the city of Bethulia. Using her cunning and her beauty, Judith seduces and beheads Holofernes, King Nebuchadnezzar’s invading general. In Dante’s *Purgatorio*, Holofernes occupies the “Terrace of Pride” as an example of “pride cast down” (XII.58-60). Rather than condemning Holofernes’ weakness, however, the inscription praises Judith’s

¹³⁰ The complete title is *Praecipua aliquot romanae antiquitatis ruinarum monimenta vivis prospectibus*. Hollstein IV, nos. 22-46. Joris van Grieken, Ger Luiten, Jan van der Stock, eds., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print* (New Haven and London: Mercatorfonds and Yale University Press, 2013), cat. 9-10, pp. 90-99.

strength, which comes from God alone.¹³¹ Although she appears nowhere in the image, her exemplary might aligns her with Fortitude.

Hope, also situated within a ruin, cradles her anchor as she points to the heavens. At her feet, a groveling Judas clutches a sack with his thirty pieces of silver. According to the inscriptions, "*Hope assures you of God's grace through faith. Do not despair, as Judas did. Hope is the heavenly good of man, his sacred anchor. He who loses hope simultaneously loses his life and salvation.*" The background scene, visible as a sliver of space beyond the ruins, shows Judas, bereft of hope, hanging from a tree atop a hill (Matthew 27:3–10).

Holding a chalice and leaning against a wooden cross, Faith glares at Mohammed, who holds his head in despair. The Quran sitting in front of him contrasts with the books of scripture that appear on the bench behind Faith. Through a ruined archway that frames the Prophet, figures can be seen worshipping an idolatrous statue in front of a centrally planned temple. The structure likely represents a mosque on the model of the Dome on the Rock in Jerusalem, which would have been widely known through illustrations and accounts of the Holy Land. The depiction of Mohammed recalls contemporaneous Netherlandish depictions of the Ottomans, as in Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert's engraving of *Suleyman the Magnificent Forced to Lift the Siege of Vienna* (1556), an event that occurred in 1529 (**Figure 1.22**). In Coornhert's portrayal of Suleyman defeated by Charles V, the emperor wears a turban like Mohammed's, and both figures hang their heads in a similar fashion as they appear below the victors.

¹³¹ The sentiment parallels Judith's invocation prior to her decapital assignment, when she prays, "O Lord, God of Israel, give me strength now" (Judith 13:7).

The final engraving shows Charity with her requisite children, including a nursing infant. One of the other children offers Charity an apple, an attribute often held by Christ as a symbol of his redemption of Original Sin. Holding a scepter and a dagger, Herod leans on the floor nearby, while through the arch behind him, soldiers murder infants on his orders. The depiction of the Massacre of the Innocents (Matthew 2:16–18) enriches the potential identification of Charity and her nursing baby with the Madonna and Child – and explains Herod’s murderous countenance as he glares at the personified virtue. The pairing of foreground figures and background events parallels Patinir’s Madrid version of the *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, a journey precipitated by Herod’s orders.

In the series designed by van den Broeck, the inclusion of negative exemplars and depiction of associated episodes presents antitheses to the virtues. The triumph of morality and defeat of sin is represented through the relative positions of the timeless embodiments and their mortal counterparts. The inscriptions reinforce the eternal value of upholding the virtues while indicating the consequences for falling into vice.

The notion of reward and punishment plays a central role in a roughly contemporaneous series of *The Virtues and Vices* (ca. 1578) attributed to Hendrick Goltzius (**Figures 1.23-1.38**).¹³² Published by Philips Galle I, the series opens with a title page that includes information about the series in a roundel set within an architectural frame and flanked by a woman with an oil lamp on one side and a

¹³² The attribution and dating are given by Strauss. Goltzius’s monogram only appears in the second state, which was published in the mid-seventeenth century. Strauss proposes a date of 1578 for the engravings based on Goltzius stylistic development. Strauss (1977), nos. 74-90, pp. 164-181; Hollstein (Goltzius), nos. 96-111.

skeleton on the other side. These representations of life and death highlight the mortal significance of the ethical imagery that follows. Within the roundel, the extended title indicates that the depictions of virtues and vices illustrate the rewards and sanctions for worshippers (*cultores*) as portrayed in examples from scripture. A second Latin inscription at the bottom of the page further emphasizes the alternatives available to the viewer. Rather than the metaphor of the wide and narrow paths, the inscription uses floral imagery, comparing the difficult course to a thorny rose that holds out the promise of eternal life. If, however, one is diverted by vices, likened to softer flowers with pleasing blooms, only perpetual darkness awaits. The divergent options appear in the subsequent engravings, which present moral personifications as single figures sitting in the foreground of landscape settings with biblical vignettes in the background. The episodes are drawn almost entirely from the Old Testament, a marked contrast with the earlier series designed by Gerard van Groeningen, which relied exclusively on the Gospels.

Wearing a cowl and with her eyes downcast, the seated figure of Faith appears demure. She carries a crucifix, as in the depiction by van Groeningen, but her chalice has been replaced by a book of scripture, as in Bruegel's version of the subject.¹³³ The substitution, which recurs in a later series of the *Seven Virtues* designed by Goltzius (see below), may be an indication of the Protestant conviction that the Bible, rather than ritual, serves as the foundation of faith.¹³⁴ Behind the figure to the left, Abraham prepares to sacrifice his son, Isaac, as an angel emerges from the clouds above to stay his hand. The inscription hails Abraham's

¹³³ Bautz, *Virtutes* (1999), cat. no. 42, p. 386.

¹³⁴ Bautz, *Virtutes* (1999), 228.

demonstration of faith and also commends the virtue of Noah. The background space to the right shows several figures on a shore near a fishing boat far too small to represent the ark. The vignette likely illustrates a scene of quotidian life comparable to the travelers that walk along the road to the left, but it should be recalled that van Groeningen paired his personification of Faith with a depiction of Peter approaching the resurrected Christ during the miraculous draught of fishes. The potential ambiguity of the scene and the desire to find meaning embedded in background spaces suggests the level to which the image is activated through the inclusion of representative episodes.

Hope gazes upward toward the night sky with moon and stars. An anchor rests at her feet, and a falcon stands on the post beside her. Behind her, Gideon leads an army into battle against the Midianites and prevails despite being greatly outnumbered (Judges 6-7). Unlike Abraham's sacrifice in the previous engraving, which appeared in the distance, the battle scene occupies the middle ground, allowing for a more detailed portrayal of the two armies. The inscription facilitates the comparison of the personified figure to the scriptural narrative, noting that Gideon demonstrates that Hope is never frustrated.

Charity is joined by her usual retinue of dependents, including a nursing child on her lap, and each of the three children to the left holds a different object with symbolic significance related to Christ: one carries an apple, an allusion to the Christian redemption of the Original Sin; another, with a tear on his cheek, clutches a lily, indicative of Marian purity; and the third offers Charity a goldfinch, an attribute, usually taken to represent the soul because of its wings, held by the Christ

Child in a number of Renaissance paintings of the Madonna, including Leonardo's *Madonna Litta* (1490–1491) as well as Raphael's *Solly Madonna* (1502) and *Madonna of the Goldfinch* (1506). With a diet consisting of thorns and thistles, the goldfinch was associated with Christ's sacrificial death and subsequent resurrection.¹³⁵ The inclusion of the bird in images of the Madonna and Child links the Incarnation to the Passion, spanning the brief life of Jesus. The attributes link the personification of Charity and her nursing infant to the Virgin and Child, a connection enhanced by the portrayal of the Crucifixion in the background. The scene – the only Gospel episode included in Goltzius's series – shows Jesus on the cross between the two thieves, with Mary and a pair of disciples looking on. By coupling Christ's infancy in the foreground with his agony in the background, the compositional framework helps to emphasize the intense pathos of his earthly existence and the incalculable kindness of his charitable sacrifice on behalf of humanity.

Depictions of the cardinal virtues and their accompanying scenes from the Old Testament round out the positive moral qualities in Goltzius's series. Holding her entwined snakes, Prudence is shown as a Janus-faced figure, a common alternative to the mirror as a demonstration of her ability to look both forward and backward. The inscription notes that "Wisdom is the first part of the true knowledge of God, which is nothing without skills (*artes*) or talent (*ingenium*)." *Artes* and *ingenium* were also key attributes of the ideal Renaissance artist, who could display his knowledge of God through virtuous images. In the background, Solomon greets

¹³⁵ On the significance of the goldfinch in Renaissance art, see Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch: Its History and Significance in European Devotional Art* (Washington DC: Pantheon, 1946).

the Queen of Sheba, who travels to meet the king after hearing of his great wisdom and leaves believing that his true wisdom is far greater than even his reputation suggests (1 Kings 10:1-13).

Justice appears with her standard scale and sword, as Solomon rules between two women claiming to be the mother of the same infant (1 Kings 3:16-28). The prudence and wisdom exemplified by Solomon in the previous engraving also make him an ideal judge. Foreground and background are linked visually as Justice's raised sword is reflected in the small vignette, which shows a soldier preparing to divide the infant on Solomon's orders. The raised sword and the staying of the soldier's hand also parallels the portrayal of the Sacrifice of Isaac in the earlier engraving of Faith.

Looking fiercely out of the image toward the viewer, Fortitude holds her usual broken column as well as a gnarled club, a typical attribute of Hercules along with the lion skin worn by the personified figure as a cloak. Aligning classical history with Christian, the background includes a vignette of Samson rending the lion (Judges 14:5-6). The inscription entreats the viewer to be as strong in mind as Samson was in body. The open archway in the middle distance and the broken gates lying beside Fortitude in the foreground allude to Samson's destruction of the gates at Gaza and, by association, Christ's demolition of the gates of hell, as in van Groeningen's depiction of the virtue.

Sitting on a stone bench, Temperance pours water into her goblet of wine, while behind her through an open window, Daniel eats only vegetables (Daniel 1:11-20). Both the personified figure and the scriptural episode illustrate moderation and

sobriety. According to the inscription, “To live soberly, one must eliminate appetite, as Daniel does.” Unlike most of her companions, Temperance occupies an interior space, with a city visible behind the figure through an archway. The setting may reflect the difficulty of maintaining a moderate lifestyle in an urban environment, where temptations abound.

Goltzius contrasts the seven canonical virtues with the seven mortal vices, even though the two groups are not aligned as oppositional counterparts.¹³⁶ Just as exemplary episodes reinforce the positive moral qualities, scenes of depravity and divine punishment accompany the personifications of the vices as cautionary warnings to the viewer. Pride, for example, sits on a throne before a depiction of the Fall of the Rebel Angels, who are thrown from the clouds to a conflagration below (Revelation 12:2-9). Her lavish clothing links the personified figure to the peacock nearby, with its ostentatious display of colorful feathers, as in Bruegel’s rendering. She holds a mirror, but unlike Prudence, she views her own reflection rather than using the mirror for self-knowledge. Although the mirror is pointed directly at the scene of the Fall behind her, Pride’s vanity prevents her from seeing anything other than herself. The viewer, by contrast, can look beyond the foreground and apply appropriate judgment to the sinful figure that resembles Lucifer and his followers in the background.

Shown on a covered porch, Greed sits on top of a chest clutching bags filled with money as coins and assorted treasures are strewn on the floor. Following

¹³⁶ A separate set of virtues serve as antitheses to the deadly sins, as in the series by Crispijn de Passe I described below. That group is comprised of Humility (*Humilitas*), Chastity (*Sobrietas*), English (*Castitas*), Generosity (*Liberalitas*), Patience (*Patientia*), Kindness (*Benignitas*), and Assiduity (*Sedulitas*).

Bruegel's example, Goltzius includes a toad nearby, as well as a donkey. Behind her, Sapphira and Ananias are struck down after withholding money they had promised to share with the community (Acts 5:1-11). On the left Sapphira falls dead after lying to Peter about the money, while to the right, two figures carry away Ananias in a shroud. As in the previous engraving, the episode illustrates both the vice and its punishment.

The armored figure of Anger adopts an aggressive posture as she sits with a lion and a wolf, two animals known for their ferocity. Between the shield and sword held by the personified vice, one can glimpse the slaying of Abel by Cain, the archetypal example of sinful wrath (Genesis 4:1-8). Abel's sacrificial offering burns on the altar to the left, while in the distance, God – portrayed as a tetragram in a cloud – banishes Cain from his presence. The inscription warns the beholder to control his anger if he wants to avoid becoming a fugitive from God, like Cain.

The aged personification of Envy, who bares her wrinkled breasts, gnaws on her own heart. She holds a snake in one hand and wears a crown of snakes in her stringy hair, indications of her poisoned tongue. A lean dog sits at her side, an illustration of constant desire. The emaciation of both the vice and her canine companion is explained in the inscription, which notes that, "Always covetous, Envy leads to perpetual famine," both physically and spiritually. Behind the figure to the left, Joseph's brothers can be seen lowering him into a well before deciding instead to sell him to a caravan of traders, whose camels suggest their eastern origins (Genesis 37:12-28). In the distance, the brothers inform Jacob that Joseph has died.

The beautiful personification of Lust lifts her cloak from her shoulder to reveal a sheer garment underneath. Sitting on a goat, considered a lasciviousness animal, she holds a bird on her finger. Although not particularly common as an attribute of *Luxuria*, the bird possessed additional meaning in the Netherlandish context, where the Dutch word for “birding” (*vogelen*) served as a slang term for copulation.¹³⁷ Eddy de Jongh has demonstrated that portrayals of birds in Netherlandish art of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often insinuate sexual connotations, which would have been apposite in a depiction of Lust. In the background is an encampment where Israelite men couple with Moabite women who induce their companions to pray to idols, raising the wrath of the Lord (Numbers 25). To the right the priest Phineas appeases God’s anger by driving a spear through one of the couples.

The portly personification of Gluttony sits on a vomiting pig with a pitcher in her hand and a platter on her lap. Behind the foreground figure, Nabal dies of a heart ailment after overindulging too much at a feast while denying rations for David and his men in the wilderness (1 Samuel 25:36-7). Yet again, the scriptural episode illustrates the capital nature of the vice portrayed in the foreground.

Sloth, the last of the seven vices, sleeps on the back of a donkey, thought to be a lazy animal. The personification in the foreground is mirrored in the background by a recumbent figure sleeping on an embankment beside a neglected vineyard and dilapidated barn as several well-dressed figures look on from the right, an

¹³⁷ Eddy de Jongh’s pioneering study traced the meaning of the term and revealed a wide-spread use of sexual innuendo in Dutch art and literature, particularly in the seventeenth century. Eddy de Jongh, “Erotica in vogelperspectief: De Dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen,” *Simiolus* 3.1 (1968-9), 22-74.

illustration of Proverbs 24:30, “I went past the field of a sluggard, past the vineyard of someone who has no sense,” a verse paraphrased in the inscription below.

The series closes with a depiction of the *Last Judgment*, the culmination of alternatives presented in the preceding portrayals of the personified virtues and vices. In his rendering of the episode, which follows typical conventions for the scene, Goltzius abandoned the foreground-background structuring of the previous engravings. Instead, the image shows Christ enthroned on a cloud and surrounded by angels as he blesses the virtuous with his right arm and condemns the wicked with his left, gestures repeated in the lower register by a winged angel standing directly below Christ. A foreshortened skeleton lies across the foreground, and a Michelangesque figure with her back to the viewer contorts her body to watch as the blessed rise toward heaven on the left, while the damned descend to the right, creating spatial antitheses that operate both horizontally and vertically. According to the inscription, “The virtuous, made light as air, ascend to heaven and eternal life, while the heavy weight of vice pulls the sinful down into to the earth.” From the title page to the final scene of judgment, the series emphasizes personal responsibility for proper conduct and highlights the eternal consequences of one’s earthly actions, illustrated through the inclusion of exemplary episodes from the Bible.

In pendant series of the *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices* (ca. 1587) engraved by Jacob Matham, Goltzius maintained the personified figures and landscape setting while eschewing the auxiliary vignettes (**Figs.1.39-1.42**). Shown standing rather than seated, the figures occupy elevated positions above receding valleys depicted in the manner of a world landscape. With few exceptions, the personified virtues

and vices carry the same attributes as the figures in the other series by Goltzius. As in most instances, Charity is accompanied by children, but unlike the other version, they no longer hold Christological symbols. In keeping with the gracefulness of her companions, Fortitude's fierce countenance and Herculean accouterments have been abandoned. Instead, she has only her broken column, which she carries easily over her shoulder. The Vices appear with the same characteristic animals and symbols, but in several examples, their aggressive postures distinguish them from their moral counterparts. This is particularly noticeable with Anger, who wildly swings her shield, and Gula, who awkwardly twists her ample body in order to balance her pitcher and platter. The settings, which include clouds above the figures in addition to the peaceful valleys below, offer visual interest without enhancing the meaning of the foreground figure, who remains the primary focus. While each panorama is unique, the absence of narrative content or symbolic details makes it difficult to determine how the vistas may differentiate between the figures or inflect the significance of the allegories.

In an undated series of the *Seven Virtues* engraved by Crispijn de Passe I after Marten de Vos, the artist adds a further layer of complexity as each engraving includes a pair of auxiliary scenes in the middle distance, one on each side of the central figure (**Figures 1.43-1.49**).¹³⁸ Set in a variety of landscapes and buildings, the vignettes represent typologically related stories. In each instance, an event from the Old Testament prefigures a Christian episode drawn from the Gospels, establishing allegorical connections between the two halves of the image. Together,

¹³⁸ Hollstein (De Vos), 1169-75.

the types and their Christological fulfillments augment the significance of the virtues embodied by the figures in the foreground, creating associative comparisons that operate horizontally across the image and in depth.

The numbered series opens with Faith, who holds a chalice and a cross as she steps on a snake, an action that represents the defeat of sin and death. The Tablets of the Law stand next to the figure on the right, with a vignette of Passover dinner celebrated in an enclosure behind. On the other side, Christ and his disciples gather around a table on a portico to the left as they share the “Last Supper,” an event that serves as an antitype for the Passover feast with Christ offering himself as a sacrament in place of the Paschal lamb. As the inscription indicates, Faith, like Christ, provides spiritual nourishment that unites humanity with God, a sentiment that helps to link foreground and background.

The placement of Faith’s attributes further augments the relationship between the two spaces. She holds the chalice directly above the ‘Last Supper,’ establishing a correspondence between the drinking of the wine by Christ’s disciples – “This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many” (Mark 14: 23-4) – and its subsequent ritualization in the sacrament of the Eucharist. On the other side, the Passover dinner occupies the space between the Tablets of the Law and Faith’s cross, which reaches upward toward a burst of heavenly light emerging from the clouds. The placement of the vignette between potent symbols of Judaism and Christianity, respectively, suggests the replacement of the Old Covenant by the New. That irreversible shift included the abrogation of repeated, animal sacrifice in

favor of Christ's singular atonement and the defeat of death and sin for all time, indicated by Faith's triumphal crushing of the snake.

The inscription on the next engraving indicates that Faith begets Hope, which serves as an anchor that opens the gates of Heaven. With an anchor at her feet, Hope stands with her arms outstretched in the orant posture as she gazes upward at a burst of divine light in the upper left corner of the image. To the right, the whale vomits Jonah onto a beach, an event that prefigures Christ's Resurrection on the left. Appearing with a triumphal banner inside a radiant mandorla of cloud, Christ offers a gesture of blessing as a group of Roman soldiers scatter in fright below. Type and antitype demonstrate the necessity of maintaining hope in the possibility of salvation.

Charity appears next with her typical band of diminutive dependents, including two children tugging on her cloak and a pair of infants in her arms, one of whom holds a flaming heart indicating Christ's love. The inscription indicates that Charity, the last of the three Theological Virtues, augments Hope and Faith through love, which the Greeks called Agape. In the background, Isaiah appears to the left, with the prophet speaking to an angel above. Isaiah's prophecies concerning the Messiah are fulfilled by the birth of Jesus, with the "Adoration of the Shepherds" shown on the left. Mary, Joseph, and several kneeling figures pray to the holy infant in a cave beneath the ruins of classical structure.

The personification of Justice holds scales and a sword, her typical attributes. The inscription notes that she is equivalent to Themis, the ancient Greek Titaness responsible for the administration of divine law. On the left an archangel holding a

sword descends from the clouds to an encampment filled with slaughtered bodies. The scene may represent the slaying of the Assyrian King, Sennacherib, who incurred God's wrath after blaspheming the Lord (2 Kings 19:35). The vignette is juxtaposed with an image on the right side of Christ healing a prostrate man, possibly a demoniac who likewise blasphemes the Lord.¹³⁹ Although related as scenes of divine judgment and intervention, the two events represent divergent forms of justice. As in the depiction of Faith, which contrasted the Old Covenant and the New, the portrayal of Justice separates the retributive and vengeful judgment of the Old Testament from the forgiving and restorative intercession of Christ's ministry. The former takes place beneath the sword held by the personified figure – mirrored by the angel's sword in the background scene – while the latter occurs under Justice's scales. The linkage between background scenes and foreground attributes again demonstrates the numerous correspondences that exist along multiple axes.

The theme of justice continues in the portrayal of Prudence, shown with her standard attributes of mirror and snake as she balances on her right leg in a graceful *contrapposto*. The background includes depictions of Daniel proving Susanna's innocence (Daniel 13:45-64) and its typological counterpart, the woman taken in adultery (John 8:1-11), which shows Jesus leaning down to draw a line on the ground before the Pharisees. Both Daniel and Christ demonstrate wisdom by intervening in situations involving the impulsive and unjust condemnation of women.

¹³⁹ There are several instances in which Christ exorcises demons See Mark 1:23-8; Mark 5:1-15; Matthew 8:28-34; Luke 4:31-7; and Luke 8:26-39.

Shown with her broken column, Fortitude stands with her back to the viewer as she gestures to the left, where the Red Sea engulfs Egyptian soldiers as they attempt to pursue the fleeing Israelites (Hebrews 11:29). Above the commotion, a silhouetted angel descends from the heavens in a burst of light. To the right, in the narrow sliver of space between the Fortitude's column and the edge of the image, the devil kneels before Christ, whose sacrifice vanquishes sin and death for all time. Defined in the inscription as the strength and courage that comes from God, Fortitude results in the humbling of enemies to the faith, with victories illustrated in the background and reinforced by the laurel crown worn by the personified virtue in the foreground.

Temperance, also with her back to the viewer, pours water from a carafe into a goblet of wine. According to the inscription, Temperance teaches us to curb the power of enticement. To the left, Noah's ark rests on dry land following the recession of the waters as Noah's family gives thanks to God, who appears in the clouds above. Animals – including a unicorn, elephant, and camels – graze nearby. On the opposite side, John the Baptist can be seen pouring water over Christ at the edge of a river. Both scenes show the initiation of virtuous men by water resulting in a renewed bond with God, who reveals himself following both episodes. The arc of a rainbow, a sign of God's covenant with humanity after the Flood, stretches above the foreground figure and links the two sides of the image. Temperance's use of water unites her with the two episodes in the background, and her dilution of the wine presents an example for Noah, whose subsequent drunkenness leads to incest.

In addition to the series of *Seven Virtues*, Crispijn de Passe I also engraved an undated series after Marten de Vos showing the *Seven Deadly Sins* as female personifications with symbolic animals (**Figures 1.50-1.56**). Beyond the foreground figures, each engraving includes two biblical vignettes in the background, identified by book and chapter. Unlike the series of *Seven Virtues*, however, the scenes are not typologically related. Instead, they each offer additional parallels to the vices, augmenting the significance of the personified figures and reinforcing the negative implications of each image by illustrating the dire consequences of indulging in sinful behavior.

The numbered series opens with a depiction of Pride, shown in contemporary costume, including voluminous skirts, ruffled sleeves, an ornate bodice, and a lace collar. She wears a tiara with peacock feathers, holds additional feathers in her hand, and stands beside a peacock, as in other depictions of the vice. Behind the central figure on the left, a palatial structure opens up to reveal a contorted figure on a throne. The scene depicts the moment when King Herod is struck down by an angel of the Lord after failing to praise God and claiming divine power (Acts 12:20-23). The vignette on the right shows King Nebuchadnezzar living in the wilderness like an animal after being stripped of his power by God (Daniel 4). Following the restoration of his authority, he announces, "Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of heaven, because everything he does is right and all his ways are just. And those who walk in pride he is able to humble" (Daniel 4:37). The inscription notes that the fall of the kings is due to their overweening pride, and it admonishes the viewer to heed their example.

Shown with a bare stomach that bulges from her skirts, obese Gluttony prepares to consume a roasted fowl. In her other hand she holds a goblet of wine, a perverse contrast to the Eucharistic chalice that often identifies personifications of Faith. A pig peeks out from behind her legs. In the background, Lot is seduced by his daughters after consuming too much wine (Genesis 19) and Nabal is struck down following an feast, as in Goltzius's version of *Gula*. According to the inscription, one must be wary of the polished and elegant table, lest he follow such men into perdition.

Lust bares her breasts and gathers her skirt to reveal her leg. Although she holds no identifying attributes, a pair of masks, a reference to the deceptiveness of outward beauty, lies on the ground next to a goat, known for its lascivious behavior.¹⁴⁰ The inscription below de Vos's engraving warns that lust perverts all things and leads one to forsake one's faith and ancestors, leading to dire consequences, as illustrated in the background scenes. In a structure to the left, Amnon rapes his sister, Tamar, leading to his murder by his brother, Absalom (2 Samuel 13). On the right, the priest Phineas drives a spear through the Israelite man seduced by the Moabite woman and by her gods, an episode included in Goltzius's rendering of the vice.

Ironically, perhaps, following Phineas's impetuous punishment of the lustful couple, the next engraving depicts Anger, who carries a sword and shield emblazoned with a Gorgon's head. Wearing armor and a plumed helmet topped with a dragon, she strides aggressively to the right accompanied by a bear. Behind her to

¹⁴⁰ Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 218.

the left Joab murders Amasa as he pursues the traitor, Sheba, at the behest of David (2 Samuel 20). The vignette on the right shows Jacob's sons avenging the rape of their sister Dinah by killing all the men of a Canaanite village, and Jacob condemns their impetuous behavior (Genesis 34). In both stories rage blinds the actors to reason, a transgression noted in the Latin inscription.

Envy is portrayed as a haggard figure in a head-scarf eating a heart. She stands with a dog, whose envious nature incites it to seek what others have, as in Bruegel's depiction of two dogs fighting over a bone. Behind the figure to the left, Joseph's brothers sell him to a caravan of eastern traders visible in the distance, as in Goltzius's depiction of Envy described above. On the right, Salome presents the head of John the Baptist on a platter after King Herod orders his beheading, an act that the inscription links to the king's envy of the Precursor (Mark 6:14-26).¹⁴¹ The vignette resembles a similar scene included in an Israel van Meckenem's engraving of *The Dance at the Court of Herod* (c. 1500), an early example of the *doorsien* format in print (**Figure 1.57**). Both appear to the right in the middle distance, and both include the three figures arrayed around the table in a similar fashion.

With sacks full of coins slung over her shoulder and a platter tucked under her arm, Greed is accompanied by a vicious looking wolf that stands over a dead lamb and holds a limp bird in its mouth. On the right Achan, a soldier in Joshua's army, inspires the wrath of the Lord by stealing plunder that had been devoted as offerings (Joshua 7). The vignette shows him digging up the objects beneath his tent after he confesses and shortly before he is stoned by the Israelites to appease God.

¹⁴¹ Although the daughter of Herodias is often identified as Salome in subsequent accounts, her name is not given in the biblical text.

On the left are two moments from the narrative that describes how Ahab, inspired by his wife Jezebel, deceitfully seizes a vineyard belonging to his neighbor, Naboth (1 Kings 21). The scene in the middle ground shows Ahab asking Naboth for the vineyard, while the vignette in the distance depicts the stoning of Naboth, arranged through Jezebel's trickery, after he refuses to sell. As the inscription indicates, the greedy man is always afflicted and needy, no matter how great his wealth.

The final engraving shows Sloth as a seductive figure in sheer drapery. Standing beside a lazy donkey, as in Bruegel's version, she carries a walking stick as an indication of her inability to move, or even stand, without assistance. The vignette on the left shows David on the roof of his palace, spying on Bathsheba as she bathes (2 Samuel 11). On the opposite side, a prophet is mauled by a lion after ignoring God's commands by eating in a forbidden city (1 Kings 13). Although neither scene relates overtly to the sin of laziness, both involve spiritual apathy. Contrasted with constant assiduity, David's concupiscence demonstrates a lack of moral vigilance against the snares of temptation. The prophet's disobedience, likewise, suggests a willingness to avoid the difficult path. The selection of narratives expands the scope of *Pigritia* to include mental and spiritual failings in addition to the physical laziness generally associated with sloth. Such scenes demonstrate how ancillary episodes can inflect the meaning of the central allegory and emphasize certain aspects above others.

An undated series designed, engraved, and published by Crispijn de Passe I shows *Seven Virtues Opposed to Corresponding Vices* ("septem virtutes vitiis suis

oppositae”) (**Figures 1.58-1.64**).¹⁴² Instead of the more common group of seven, comprised of the three theological virtues and the four cardinal virtues, de Passe’s series presents the “spiritual” or “evangelical” virtues derived from the New Testament: Humility (*Humilitas*), Sobriety (*Sobrietas*), Chastity (*Castitas*), Generosity (*Liberalitas*), Patience (*Patientia*), Kindness (*Benignitas*), and Assiduity (*Sedulitas*).¹⁴³ This alternative set of virtues stands in direct opposition to the Seven Deadly Sins, which do not, however appear in the images. The engravings show female figures with standard attributes and symbolic animals. They occupy elevated outcroppings in front of expansive landscapes that include vignettes of biblical scenes that help to illustrate the Christological morality of the qualities embodied by the figures in the foreground.

The title, *Septem virtutes vitiis suis oppositae*, may refer to de Passe’s selection of the seven spiritual/evangelical virtues rather than the more common depiction of theological and cardinal virtues. As an alternative explanation of the title, Ilja Veldman suggests that de Passe may have intended his series as a pendant to the series of *Seven Deadly Sins* that he engraved after designs by Marten de Vos.¹⁴⁴ Although the two series are never explicitly linked, they do share many compositional features, and the participation of de Passe in both instances makes the connection plausible. In both series mortal sins are embodied by female figures in the foreground with standard, identifying attributes and symbolic animals, and

¹⁴² Hollstein XV, 436-45.

¹⁴³ Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 88-102.

¹⁴⁴ Ilja Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe I and his Progeny, 1564-1670: A Century of Print Production*, translated by Michael Hoyle (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2001), 117-9.

both include biblical vignettes in the background to either side of the central personification. Whether or not de Passe created his series as a direct pendant for de Vos's *Deadly Sins*, the two series could easily operate as a pair.

The numbered series opens with a portrayal of Humility, shown with a book in her right hand and a pair of birds perched on her left arm. A lamb and a lily, symbols of Christ's innocence and Marian purity, respectively, appear to either side of the gracefully posed personification. A dwelling in the background includes a covered porch, where several figures sit at a table as another stoops down to clean their feet. The scene, an illustration of Christ washing the feet of the Apostles at the Last Supper (John 13), typifies the self-effacing behavior that counters the human inclination to pride, one of the seven deadly sins. The Latin inscription at the bottom of the print reaffirms that God looks kindly on those who are humble, as was Christ, who subdues the proud.

With an open book in her arms, Sobriety stands on a rocky hillside beside a ledge holding loaves of bread and a flagon of water to mix with the wine in the jug below. The dilution of wine is a standard activity of Temperance, a virtue closely related to sobriety. To the other side of the figure appear a chameleon and a bird of paradise, two animals thought to survive on air alone.¹⁴⁵ Such moderation, according to the inscription, leads to good health and pleases the Lord. In the background to the right can be seen a military encampment with the first tent open to reveal a group of figures dining and drinking, including one soldier doubled over and vomiting. Behind the series of tents, a silhouetted figure can be seen kneeling

¹⁴⁵ For further discussion of the chameleon and salamander as bestial attributes for Air, see the section below on the Four Elements, which includes additional bibliography.

atop a jagged peak with his hands clenched in prayer with a crescent moon in the sky above. The vignette resembles the scene that accompanies Goltzius's *Hope*, which shows Gideon's defeat of the Midianites following an attack in the middle of the night (Judges 6). The silhouetted figure in the background even resembles Goltzius's personification of *Hope* as she prays with clenched hands and upturned face. In De Passe's print, the defeat of the enemy army, gorged and intoxicated, by the sober Israelites reflects the defeat of *Gula* (Gluttony) by *Sobrietas* in Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, emphasizing the agonistic significance of de Passe's series, even in the absence of personified vices.

The next print in the series shows the personification of *Chastity* holding a book and carrying a scourge and flail, instruments used for the purification of the flesh. According to the inscription, "He who is chaste of mind and body is a lover of all that is holy and pure." At her feet sits a unicorn, medieval symbol of feminine purity, and a stork, an attribute of Hera/Juno appreciated for its assiduous protection of home and associated with the Annunciation as the announcer of spring. Behind the figure to the right appears a Phoenix on a smoldering nest, linked to chastity because it was capable of chaste reproduction on its funeral pyre. On the left, Gabriel descends from heaven toward Mary, who sits reading in a colonnaded hall. The Annunciation offers a compelling demonstration of the Virgin's unsurpassed chastity and aligns the figures in foreground and background as exemplary models for ideal, womanly conduct in opposition to Lust.

The next engraving shows *Generosity* giving water from a bowl to a thirsty man who kneels on a box before her. Unlike her associates, *Liberalitas* does not

appear beside a corresponding, symbolic animal. Instead, the weight of the kneeling supplicant on the box crushes a snake beneath. The crushing of the snake, an animal typically associated with Envy, demonstrates the defeat of that vice by Generosity. The inscription emphasizes the Christ-like nature of providing for those in need, and a vignette to the left shows Jesus feeding a man begging for food. The parallelism of the personification and the background scene creates a mutually reinforcing display of Christian morality that compels comparisons across the depth of the image.

Wearing an armored breastplate and carrying the cross-staff of Christ triumphant, Patience gazes down at the open book in her left hand. As she strides forward on her right leg, she reveals the broken chain around her ankle. A lamb appears beside her, and in the left distance, a shepherd leads his flock across a meadow, further emphasizing the association with Christ. Behind Patience to the right, a group throws stones at a kneeling figure as others look on. As a demonstration of wrath (*Ira*), the stoning presents an antithesis to the virtue of patience. The contorted and aggressive postures of the people throwing stones contrast with the graceful *contrapposto* adopted by Patience, further highlighting the opposition. The condemned man, likely intended to represent St. Stephen, prays with clasped hands and his face turned toward the sky, where a burst of holy light erupts from the heavens (Acts 7). Unlike those who throw stones, his calmness in the face of torment serves as a demonstration of the qualities embodied by the foreground figure. As the inscription indicates, it is better in the eyes of God to accept pain and suffering with silent courage, patiently awaiting eternal reward.

The personification of Kindness holds a flaming heart, a symbol of Christ's love, but unlike most of her companions, she does not have a book. She stands on a riverbank beside a pelican feeding its young from the blood of its breast, emblematic of the divine sacrifice for humanity. The background vignettes show David's mercy in sparing Saul's life despite the conflict that existed between them as a result of Saul's envy, the vice that opposes kindness (1 Samuel 24: 8-22). To the right is the moment when, instead of killing Saul while he defecates, David spares Saul's life and merely cuts away a portion of the king's cloak surreptitiously. To the left, a silhouetted figure of David displays the torn piece of cloak, revealing his merciful act. Moved by David's merciful kindness, Saul responds, "You have just now told me about the good you did to me; the Lord delivered me into your hands, but you did not kill me. When a man finds his enemy, does he let him get away unharmed? May the Lord reward you well for the way you treated me today" (1 Samuel 24: 18-20). Drawing a comparison between David's gesture and Christ's victory over the devil, the inscription indicates that a gentle soul is required to defeat the enemy. The martial context helps to explain Kindness's armored breastplate and her triumphal attributes.

The final engraving in the series portrays Assiduity, the virtue that counters Sloth. Shown at night, she reads an open book with light from a burning lamp, an attribute of the wise virgins, whose conscientious foresight is rewarded in the parable of the Ten Virgins (Matthew 25:1-13). She stands above a group of ants, insects appreciated for their industriousness: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise" (Proverbs 6:6). Nearby, a hen gathers her chicks, an

indication of maternal attentiveness that is repeated in the back right of the image, where a stork returns to her rooftop nest with food for her young. The spinning wheel that sits beside the foreground figure is likewise duplicated in the background vignette to the left, which shows a woman spinning outside a humble dwelling. Her nighttime work demonstrates the diligence that is characteristic of the “noble wife”: “Her lamp does not go out at night. She stretches out her hands to the distaff, and her hands grasp the spindle” (Proverbs 31:18-19). The inscription encourages the viewer to follow her example in attending to one’s proper tasks: “Work diligently in whatever role God has assigned to you, either through manual labor or through the work of the mind.” As the final print in the series, the image suggests that one’s work must include cultivating virtues and combatting vices.

Crispijn de Passe also designed, engraved, and published a series of the three *Theological Virtues* (**Figures 1.65-1.67**).¹⁴⁶ Each of the personified figures appears in an oval frame with biblical vignettes portrayed in the background and additional attributes shown in the corners of the image outside the frame. The Latin inscriptions at the bottom of each page elaborate the links between the virtues and the corresponding scenes from scripture.

Faith holds a crucifix and chalice, attributes that evoke Christ’s sacrificial death. The objects depicted in three of the four corners – loaves of bread, Eucharistic wafers, and a chalice resting on a book of scripture – further emphasize the theme. The fourth corner shows water pouring from a rock, illustrating the moment when Moses brought water from a boulder as a demonstration of God’s

¹⁴⁶ Hollstein (De Passe), nos. 433-435

power (Numbers 20-1-13). Disappointed that the people had doubted him and required confirmation of his divinity, God declares to Moses, “you will not bring this community into the land I give them” (Numbers 20:12). The notion of faith as an acceptance of invisible truths is repeated in the vignettes that appear behind the personified figure. The scene on the left shows an Edenic mountain with a waterfall. On the opposite side God the Father rides on a cloud as he separates night from day, darkness from light. Drawn from Paul’s Epistle to the Hebrews, the inscription notes that only by faith do we understand that Creation was the result of God’s command (Hebrews 11). In that portion of his missive, Paul implores the Jews to consider that true belief is not always based in visible evidence but requires an acceptance of the invisible as well, a lesson they should have learned from Moses’ miracle of the water in the desert.¹⁴⁷ Ironically, de Passe’s engraving makes the argument in visual terms by linking a personification of Faith to a series of attributes and vignettes that function as rhetorical devices with the aim of persuading the viewer that Faith is an essential virtue.

The next engraving shows Hope holding an anchor and a falcon, as in Gerard van Groeningen’s rendering of the virtue. The avian motif links the foreground figure to the pair of doves that occupy the upper corners outside the primary frame and the background scene on the left, which includes the dove of the Holy Spirit as part of a depiction of the Annunciation. Accompanied by the dove, Gabriel descends toward a kneeling Mary as he gestures upward toward the heavens. The Nativity is depicted on the right, with the Holy Family in the manger beneath the star heralding

¹⁴⁷ “Faith is confidence in what we hope for and assurance about what we do not see” (Hebrews 11:1).

the birth of the Messiah. The inclusion of two scenes from the early life of Christ suggests that Incarnation offers hope for humanity.

That latent expectation comes to fruition in the third and final engraving of the series, which depicts the personification of Charity with several children in her care. As in Goltzius's earlier portrayal of the virtue, the attributes, auxiliary scenes, and inscription all indicate the Christian significance of the composite imagery. While the child to the right grasps the folds of Charity's garment, the child to the left carries a flaming heart, a symbol of Christ's love that also appeared in the depiction of Charity for de Passe's series of the *Seven Virtues* after de Vos (described above). With his other hand, he reaches up to offer the personified figure a lily. The flower links Charity to the Virgin and identifies the infant in her arms as the Christ Child, who looks out of the image toward the viewer with a goldfinch in his hand.

Behind the figure of Charity/Madonna to the right, Pontius Pilate presents a tortured Jesus to a mocking crowd in a rendering of the *Ecce Homo*, while to the left, Jesus is crucified along with the thieves. Golgotha rises directly above the head of the foreground child with the flaming heart and lily, offering a visual connection between Christ's death on the cross and his enduring love for humanity. Angelic figures occupy the upper corners, while below, a pelican feeds its young from the blood of its breast, a symbol of sacrificial kindness often employed as a symbolic representation of Christ. In the other corner, a hen tends to her chicks, a reflection of the maternal role of Charity/Madonna. The same birds appeared as symbolic animals in de Passe's series of the *Seven Virtues Opposed to Corresponding Vices*, with the hen appearing alongside *Sedulitas* and the pelican associated with

Benignitas, who holds a flaming heart. The inscription at the bottom of the engraving encourages the viewer to reflect on the triumphal sacrifice made by Christ and by God the Father for the eternal benefit of humanity. The network of associations in de Passe's depiction of *Caritas* highlights the immeasurable charity represented by Christ's altruistic death.

While other series of virtues and vices employ biblical events as narrative enactments of particular qualities, the scriptural vignettes included in de Passe's *Theological Virtues* are not as easily reconciled with the qualities embodied by the personified figures in the foreground. Parallels can certainly be drawn between Charity and Christ's sacrificial death for humanity, but Creation and the Nativity are not obvious qualitative parallels for Faith and Hope, suggesting that de Passe's selection of moments is based on an alternative set of criteria. Rather than serving as illustrations of particular moral characteristics, the background scenes offer an abbreviated portrayal of the history of salvation. Moving from the beginning of time to the initiation of the New Covenant, the engravings represent a visual equivalent to the opening of the Gospel of John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1). Using vignettes to augment personified figures, the series presents a succinct and compelling claim that the three theological virtues represent vital qualities necessary for leading a good life and for attaining eternal redemption, a prospect made possible through God's creative act and Christ's salvific intervention in the affairs of humanity. Like other series involving auxiliary scenes – and augmented by the addition of motifs in the corners of each engraving – de Passe's series enhances its own persuasive argument

through the active participation of the viewer, who gleans a wealth of information from “reading” the diagrammatically structured images.

The widespread use of background narrative episodes in portrayals of the Virtues and Vices extends the significance of the imagery in several ways. In addition to placing the allegorical concepts within the religious context, the inclusion of biblical episodes heightens the visual and metaphorical complexity of the imagery. The portrayal of minute, ancillary scenes demands a more active looking and consideration, compelling a visual journey of interpretation and meditation. Rarely labeled and sometimes obscure, the biblical episodes also require identification by a knowledgeable beholder, who must then decide how the scriptural events relate to the moral quality being represented. Once interpreted, the correspondences between foreground and background provide elaboration, demonstration, highlight a particular aspect, or, as with the vices, illustrate deleterious or deadly effects. The ancillary vignettes contribute to the viewing experience by compelling visual and intellectual engagement, and they extend the significance of the allegories by offering commentary.

The Five Senses

The five senses played an important role the attainment of virtue and the corruption of vice, as perception and sensation were vital conduits for knowledge of the outer world. Aristotle, whose views of the sensorium influenced Western notions in subsequent centuries, set the number of senses at five and established a hierarchy roughly correlated to the relative position of the various sense organs on

the body.¹⁴⁸ Sight was literally and figuratively elevated above the other senses, followed by hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The senses could each operate independently or in cooperation, providing important experiential information that could then be interpreted by higher faculties.¹⁴⁹

Medieval and early modern notions of the senses were ambivalent.¹⁵⁰ Viewed as an interface, the senses played a crucial role in experiencing and communicating the sacred. During the early modern period, philosophers like Juan de Vives argued that humanity could not learn anything except through sense perception.¹⁵¹ Vives' friend, Erasmus, argued that although the numinous world of the heavens is ultimately inaccessible to the senses, one's sensory encounter with the world could still be beneficial, particularly through the application of analogy:

Let us picture to ourselves then, two kinds of worlds: one accessible only to the understanding, the other to the sight. ... Because we are aliens in this visible world, it behooves us never to be idle but by means of some appropriate analogy to refer whatever assaults our senses either to the spiritual world or ... to ethical values ... So it will come about that anything presenting itself to the senses at any time will become for you an occasion of righteousness.¹⁵²

If used properly, the senses could unlock knowledge, garner virtue, and provide pathways to the divine.¹⁵³ As doors or gateways to the world, however, the senses

¹⁴⁸ Aristotle, *De anima (On the Soul)*, trans. intro. and notes H. Lawrence-Tancred (Harmondsworth, 1986), bk. II, chap. 7-11, pp. 173-86.

¹⁴⁹ Alice E. Singer and Siv Tove Kulbrandstad Walker, "Introduction: Making Sense of the Senses," in *Sense and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Practice*, edited by Alice E. Singer and Siv Tove Kulbrandstad Walker (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁵⁰ On the multi-faceted relationship between the senses and the sacred, see Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, eds., *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

¹⁵¹ Juan de Vives, *Opera omnia*, ed. G. Mayans y Siscár, 8 vols. (Valencia: Monfort, 1782-90, reprinted London: Gregg Press, 1964), III, 193 and 378.

¹⁵² Erasmus, *The Enchiridion of Erasmus*, trans. Raymond Himelick (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), section 14, pp. 101-2.

¹⁵³ Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, "Introduction: The Sacred and the Senses in the Age of Reform," in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 4.

required great discipline to prevent corruption.¹⁵⁴ Without constant vigilance, they could become perilous channels to vice and temptation.¹⁵⁵ For better or worse, the senses helped to mediate the physical and metaphysical by serving as vital conduits between body and soul.

Despite their importance as a theme in natural philosophy and religious ethics, the Five Senses was not a particularly popular subject in visual representation.¹⁵⁶ The subject first appeared in the ninth century and recurred only infrequently prior to the thirteenth century, when translations of Aristotle's natural philosophy became widely available.¹⁵⁷ The Five Senses was not a frequent subject in ecclesiastical art of the Middle Ages, despite the inclusion of the theme in numerous commentaries and sermons warning against the dangers of the senses as potential entries for sin.¹⁵⁸ During the fifteenth century the senses were included as peripheral representations in the Unicorn Tapestries and as a secondary theme in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, where they appear as nymphs that bathe with Poliphilus in a celebration of sensuality.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ De Boer and Göttler, *Religion and the Senses* (2013), 4.

¹⁵⁵ Morton Bloomfield notes the role of the Senses as hazardous gateways for the capital sins. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (1952).

¹⁵⁶ The series of articles by Carl Nordenfalk remains the best source for the depiction of the Five Senses: "Les Cinq Sens dans l'art du Moyen Age," *Revue de l'art* XXXIV (1976), 17-28; "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985), 1-22; "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600," in *Netherlandish Mannerism: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, September 21-22, 1984*, edited by Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum Stockholm, 1985), 135-54. Also see Louise Vigne, *The Five Senses: Studies in a Literary Tradition* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1975).

¹⁵⁷ Carl Nordenfalk suggests that the earliest rendering of the *Five Senses* appears on the ninth-century Fuller Brooch, now in the British Museum. Carl Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art" (1985), 1-2.

¹⁵⁸ Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Late Medieval" (1985), 2.

¹⁵⁹ Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Late Medieval" (1985), 19.

Most influential for Netherlandish artists, however, was an innovative set of engravings by Georg Pencz showing *The Five Senses* as an independent theme (Figures 1.68-1.72).¹⁶⁰ The artist portrayed interior spaces with the senses depicted as seated female nudes. As Carl Nordenfalk indicates, the Latin names for the senses are masculine, so the selection of female figures is significant.¹⁶¹ The gendering of the personified figures emphasizes the association of woman and sensuality, but it also aligns the imagery with the treatment of other Renaissance allegorical subjects like the Seven Virtues, all female personifications.¹⁶² With the exception of Sight, who gazes toward the heavens through her window, the other senses appear with identifying attributes: Hearing sits beside a lute hanging on the wall and other instruments lie on the floor near her feet; Smell places her nose above a bouquet of flowers emerging from a cornucopia; Taste samples food on a plate; and Touch spins at a loom. Mostly novel selections by Pencz, the occupations help demonstrate the bodily organs and physical actions of the various senses.

Pencz paired his personified figures with symbolic animals, another original addition.¹⁶³ Comparisons between the acuteness of the human senses in relation to particular animals appeared regularly in discussions of the senses since antiquity.¹⁶⁴ Pliny the Elder, for example, noted that “[a]mong the senses, that of touch in man ranks before all the other species, and taste next; but in the remaining senses he is

¹⁶⁰ Bartsch, nos. 105-109; Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Late Medieval” (1985), 19-21, figs. 8a-e.

¹⁶¹ Nordenfalk notes that the senses were rarely portrayed as women prior 1500 but almost always afterward. Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Late Medieval” (1985), 7.

¹⁶² Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Late Medieval” (1985), 7. On the gendering of allegorical figures, see Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985).

¹⁶³ Nordenfalk suggests that Pencz was the first artist to include both figures and animals in the same representation of the senses. Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Late Medieval” (1985), 19.

¹⁶⁴ Singer and Walker, *Sense and the Senses* (2012), 5.

surpassed by other creatures. Eagles have clearer sight, vultures a keener sense of smell, moles acuter hearing.”¹⁶⁵ In his thirteenth-century encyclopedic work, *De natura rerum*, Thomas of Cantimpré likewise assigns animals to each of the senses in the form of a pithy dictum: “The boar excels us in hearing, the lynx in sight, the monkey in taste, the vulture in smell, the spider in touch.”¹⁶⁶ Pencz followed Thomas’s pairings and includes the maxim, with minor variations, in the inscriptions that appear beneath the images.

Pencz’s prints clearly influenced a later set of engravings designed by Frans Floris (**Figures 1.73-1.77**).¹⁶⁷ Engraved by Cornelis Cort and published in Antwerp in 1561, Floris’s series was the earliest version produced in the Netherlands and inspired multiple adaptations that followed. Like Pencz, Floris pairs female personifications with attributes and symbolic animals, although he differs from Pencz on the particular selections. No longer nude, Floris’s figures appear in classically inspired garments akin to those worn by the artist’s Virtues. Also, rather than occupying the confining spaces portrayed by the German artist, Floris’s figures sit in outdoor settings surrounded by their sensory accessories. Finally, in place of the brief inscriptions from Thomas of Cantimpré, the engravings include Latin texts from the *De anima et vita* of Juan de Vives, who was interested in the cognitive value

¹⁶⁵ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (10 vols., London and Cambridge, Mass. 1937-52), vol. 3 (bks VIII-XI), bk X, pp. 413-15. Quoted in Singer and Walker (2012), 5.

¹⁶⁶ Thomas Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*, ed. Helmut Boese (Berlin, 1973), 106. Translated in Singer and Walker, *Sense and the Senses* (2012), 5.

¹⁶⁷ Hollstein (Floris), 115-119; Carl Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600” (1985), 135-9, figs. 1a-d, 2, and 3.

of the senses.¹⁶⁸ Although similar to Pencz's prints, Floris's version of the subject confers a more elevated status on the Five Senses.¹⁶⁹

In addition to altering several attributes, Floris also created a new sensorial menagerie. Sight's lynx has been replaced by an eagle, and rather than looking at the heavens, the personified figure gazes into a mirror. Hearing strums her lute beside a stag instead of the medieval boar, and a dog jumps up onto Smell's flower vase in place of the vulture. The ape that tries a piece of fruit beside Taste is a holdover from the earlier tradition, along with the spider, whose web spans the branches of a tree next to Touch. No longer at her loom, she instead winces as a bird bites her finger, an illustration of the connection between touch and pain. On the ground at her feet sits a tortoise, an animal that recoils at the slightest touch.¹⁷⁰

Most of Floris's revisions recur in other Netherlandish versions of the theme. Two series by Abraham de Bruyn, for example, seem to quote Floris directly.¹⁷¹ An undated series of engravings by Raphael Sadeler I after Marten de Vos likewise demonstrates the artist's reliance on Floris's formal and iconographic precedent (**Figures 1.78-1.82**).¹⁷² De Vos's personifications sit in settings similar to those used by Floris, and they appear with the same attributes and animals included in the earlier series, often in comparable arrangements. Sight, for example, sits against a

¹⁶⁸ The source for the inscriptions was originally identified by Hans Kauffmann, "Die Fünfsinne in der niederländischen Malerei," *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien*, ed. J. Tintelnot (Breslau, 1943), 137. [133-57]

¹⁶⁹ Carl Nordenfalk characterizes the difference as a shift from "housewives" to "supermundane beings." Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600" (1985), 135.

¹⁷⁰ Nordenfalk notes that the tortoise was a novelty at the time, brought to Europe following voyages to the New World. Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600" (1985), 137.

¹⁷¹ Hollstein, A. de Bruyn, 53-57. Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600" (1985), 140, figs. 6a-e, 7a-d.

¹⁷² Hollstein (De Vos), 1506-1510; Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art" (1985), 140-2, figs. 6a-6e.

column to the right, as she does in Floris's version. In both instances, the figure holds a mirror in her right hand, and a blazing sun appears above. The eagle at her feet opens its wings as it looks at her, just as it does in the earlier rendering. De Vos extends the detail and depth of the background through the inclusion of a boat and a distant cityscape, but in most particulars, he hews closely to the model.

The engravings of the other senses display a similar reliance on Floris's series. Details such as Hearing tuning her lute or the dog jumping up onto Smell's pot of flowers are particularly conspicuous borrowings. As in the depiction of Sight, the elaboration of the backgrounds differentiates de Vos's version of the subject. They are deeper, and some even include figures, like the man climbing a ladder to pick fruit in the orchard behind the personification of Smell. In the portrayal of Hearing accompanied by a sharp-eared stag, a hunter with dogs appears in the field beyond the foreground, presumably looking for deer. Despite the iconographic similarities with Floris's model, the expansion of the space and detail included in the background adds another dimension to the engravings, both literally and figuratively.

The development of the background space becomes particularly evident in four series of the *Five Senses* designed by de Vos that feature biblical vignettes.¹⁷³ The scriptural scenes augment the personified figures and symbolic animals in the foreground. One series, engraved by Nicolaes de Bruyn, shows a succession of moments from the story of the Creation of Man. The other three series, two engraved by Adriaen Collaert and the other by Pieter Cool, pair the same Genesis

¹⁷³ On these series, see Carl Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600" (1985), 139-146.

episodes with events from the life of Christ. The various narratives, selected on the basis of their relation to the allegorical theme, create a network of associations operating in each image.

In the series engraved by Nicolaes de Bruyn, the portrayal of the personifications and their attributes in the foreground adhere to the version engraved by Sadeler (**Figures 1.83-1.87**).¹⁷⁴ Rather than adhering to the hierarchy of the senses established by Aristotle, however, the order of the engravings follows the progression of the scriptural narrative, beginning with man's creation and concluding with his expulsion from the Garden. As a result, the engravings start with Smell and continue with Sight, Taste, Hearing, and Touch. Latin distichs by the Antwerp humanist Cornelis Kilian help to link the senses to the episodes from Genesis.

Each of the five scriptural events was selected for its relation to the sense represented. With flowers and an eager canine companion, the personification of Smell appears before a depiction of the Creation of Man, which shows God breathing life into Adam's nose and animating his recumbent figure.¹⁷⁵ To illustrate the divine exhalation, lines emanate from God's mouth, as from a wind head. Accompanied by her eagle, Sight looks into her mirror. She leans against a tree, while across a stream, God shows Adam and Eve the Tree of Knowledge. In the next engraving of Taste, Eve accepts the forbidden fruit from the serpent, while the personified figure and her ape both sample an apple in the foreground. Hearing plays the Lute for her stag as

¹⁷⁴ Hollstein (De Vos), 1486-1490.

¹⁷⁵ God the Father is shown in the imagery, despite Calvinist prohibitions and Counter-Reformation concerns with decorum. See David Freedberg, "The Hidden God: Image and Interdiction in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 5.2 (1982), 133-153.

God condemns the first couple, who flee from his wrath. The inscription notes that Adam and Eve heard the deceptive words of the serpent, master of evil, prior to hearing the voice of God on that awful day. Finally, the depiction of Touch – shown with a bird, a tortoise, and a scorpion – includes a scene of Adam and Eve being driven from the Garden by the archangel. As the inscription indicates, the expulsion represents the inauguration of physical pain. The biblical scenes augment the placid personifications of the Senses, figures who remain unaware of the events that take place behind them. Taken from the story of Creation, the episodes illustrate some of humanity's first experiences with the senses and the misuse that occurred as they attempted to comprehend their unfamiliar reality.

In the other three series of the *Five Senses* designed by de Vos, the same Genesis scenes are augmented by additional events from the life of Christ according to the following scheme:

<u>Sense</u>	<u>Genesis</u>	<u>Gospels</u>
<i>Smell</i>	Creation of Adam	Mary Magdalene anointing Christ feet
<i>Sight</i>	God showing Eden to Adam and Eve	Christ healing a blind man
<i>Taste</i>	Fall of Man	Multiplication of loaves and fishes
<i>Hearing</i>	Adam and Eve hear the voice of God	John the Baptist preaching
<i>Touch</i>	Expulsion from Paradise	Miraculous draught of fishes

Like the selections from Genesis, de Vos chose the New Testament episodes on the basis of their connection to the senses as demonstrations of the physiological expression of each sense. The anointing of Christ's feet with perfume by Mary Magdalene – shown at a meal on an open portico – illustrates olfactory sensation.¹⁷⁶ Christ, in the company of his disciples, heals the blind man in the depiction of sight (Mark 8:22-26). Juxtaposed with the tasting of the forbidden fruit as a

¹⁷⁶ The event is described by all four evangelists: Matthew 26:6-13, Mark 14:3-9, Luke 7:36-50, and John 12:1-8.

representation of Taste, Christ multiplies the loaves and fishes as a crowd gathers around him with baskets.¹⁷⁷ John the Baptist preaches to a group gathered in the wilderness, including soldiers (Matthew 3:1, Mark 4:1). Finally, The Miraculous Draught of Fishes demonstrates touch, as Christ reaches out for the hand of Peter, who flails in the water (John 21:1-14). Across from the Genesis scenes, these New Testament episodes show appropriate and beneficial applications of the senses by Christ and his followers. They are not intended as typological fulfillments of the adjacent Old Testament scenes, except in the overarching sense that the Fall of Man predicates Christ's life and sacrificial death.

In an undated series engraved by Pieter Cool, the paired scenes appear behind the personified senses riding in chariots drawn by pairs of symbolic animals (**Figures 1.88-1.92**).¹⁷⁸ Eagles, stags, and dogs pull Sight, Hearing, and Smell, respectively, but for the other senses the usual beasts have been replaced by worthier draught animals. Instead of apes, horses accompany the chariot of Taste, while a single elephant pulls Touch in place of a spider or tortoise. The biblical vignettes appear behind, with more space given to the depiction of the Gospel episodes in the middle ground and smaller renderings of the first couple in the background. The chariots that carry the personifications emerge from contemporary triumphal culture popular in Europe, including numerous ceremonies celebrated in Antwerp during the sixteenth century. The depiction of allegorical personifications riding in wagons, the primary focus of Chapter 3,

¹⁷⁷ Like Mary Magdalene anointing Christ's feet, the story appears in all four Gospels: Matthew 14:13-21, Mark 6:31-44, Luke 9:10-17 and John 6:5-15.

¹⁷⁸ Published by Johannes Baptista Vrints. Hollstein(Maarten de Vos), nrs. 1501-1505.

appears in numerous engraved series. In using chariots, de Vos elevates the senses, literally and figuratively, and suggests their dominion in the lives of humanity. When compared to other engraved series that use triumphal motifs, however, including several designed by de Vos himself, the deployment of chariots in the *Five Senses* appears somewhat anomalous. Most triumphal series demonstrate a hierarchical sequence, with each element defeating the one before. In this series, however, de Vos eschews the Aristotelian hierarchy in favor of the narrative ordering supplied by the story of man's creation and expulsion. At the very least, the series offers an experiment in variety within the five versions designed by de Vos.

In the two series engraved by Adriaen Collaert, the Senses appear with their usual attributes and animals (**Figures 1.93-1.97 & 1.98-1.102**).¹⁷⁹ In both series the personified senses lean against trees placed at the center of each composition. In addition to serving as convenient formal devices for dividing the Genesis scenes from the Gospel episodes, the trees may have additional symbolic resonance as representations of one or the other of the two sacred tree in Eden: the Tree of Life (Genesis 2:9) and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. The latter can be related to the senses and their important, epistemological function. The lengthy Latin inscriptions below one of the series describe the role of the senses in the acquisition of knowledge of the divine, which can be gained through analogy to physical perception. The inscription for Sight, for example, notes that light from the sun allows us to see with our eyes just as light from the heavens allows us to see with our mind's eye, dispelling darkness. The inscription below Taste, likewise, indicates

¹⁷⁹ Hollstein (Maarten de Vos), 1491-1495 and 1496-1500.

that pleasant flavors remind the pious of the sweetness of the Lord and the delight of heavenly things. In placing the senses with trees, the images reinforce the edifying value of perception and sensation in relation to the divine.

The central trees, which divide Old Testament scenes from the New, also resemble the motif employed by Lucas Cranach the Elder in his depictions of *Law and Grace* (1529) (**Figure 1.103**).¹⁸⁰ Cranach's bifurcated composition juxtaposes the old covenant, based on the law, with the new covenant, founded on grace. The former leads only to judgment and death, while the latter offers a path to heavenly salvation. The two halves of the image are separated by a tree that is verdant on the side of Grace and barren the side of the Law. In the painted version now in Prague, Cranach places a nude figure directly in front of the central tree (**Figure 1.104**). Forced to choose between the alternatives, his body points toward the Law, but his attention, drawn by St. John the Baptist, is on the crucified figure of Christ. In the two series of engravings designed by de Vos, the inclusion of trees may simply represent an easy formal solution, but the motif certainly has potential for allusion and association to Cranach's tree of life and death, as the senses operate at the threshold of corporeality and spirituality and their proper use requires pious vigilance and application.

Paintings of *The Five Senses* by Jacob de Backer, de Vos's contemporary in Antwerp, served as the basis for a subsequent series of undated etchings (**Figures**

¹⁸⁰ On the composition and meaning of Cranach's *Law and Grace* (or *Law and Gospel*), and for additional bibliography, see Bonnie Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Art and Devotion of the German Reformation* (Lanham, MD: University of America, 2009), esp. 27-66.

1.105-1.109).¹⁸¹ Following Floris's example, de Backer portrayed female personifications of the senses with characteristic attributes and symbolic animals. Rather than scriptural scenes or contemporary activities in the background, however, episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* accompany each nude, reclining figure. Placing the senses in a mythological context not only enhances the classicizing aspect of the imagery, it also creates an alternative set of associations that inflects the series differently.

In de Backer's portrayal of Sight, the figure gazes into a mirror with an eagle at her feet, as in other Netherlandish versions of the subject. Behind the personified figure, a curtain is pulled back to reveal a pedestal holding a sphinx, a lion-bodied hybrid with a human head that may have been intended as a symbol of sharp sight.¹⁸² The presence of the sphinx also links the scene to mythological antiquity, as does the vignette in the background, which depicts Narcissus gazing into a spring, transfixed by his own reflection (*Metamorphoses* II, 399-510). The episode references sight and links foreground and background through the repeated motif of a figure gazing into a mirror.

De Backer's depiction of Hearing shows the personified figure sitting on a deer while strumming a lute. Other musical instruments are strewn at her feet, and the playing of music recurs in the scene beyond the personified figure, where

¹⁸¹ The prints list de Backer as the inventor but omit information about the etcher or publisher. The etchings likely followed the paintings, as the orientation is reversed in the graphic version, suggesting that drawings were made after the paintings and used for the etchings. On this series, see Hollstein, I, p. 52, nos. 1-5; Agnes Czabor, "The Five Senses by the Antwerp Artist Jacob de Backer," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 23 (1972), 317-327; Carl Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art" (1985), 146.

¹⁸² Although Czabor suggests that the sphinx had the eyes of a lynx and was "renowned for her keen sight," such features are not mentioned in most mythologies of the sphinx. Czabor, "The Five Senses" (1972), 321.

Mercury plays on a pipe in order to pacify Argus, the many-eyed guardian of Io assigned to prevent her ravishment by Jupiter (*Metamorphoses* I, 655-717). Hearing the melodious sounds played by Mercury puts Argus to sleep.

Taste holds a knife and an apple as she reclines amongst an abundance of fruit sampled by the mischievous monkey at her feet. In the background, Persephone picks forbidden pomegranates in the orchard of Hades (*Metamorphoses* V, 534-550). Caught in the act by the satyr, Ascalaphus, who serves Hades as guardian of the orchard, she transforms him into an owl. The consumption of fruit links foreground and background, but the selection of the episode also links de Backer's series with the versions designed by de Vos, where the portrayal of Taste includes auxiliary vignettes showing Adam and Eve eating the apple in the Garden of Eden.

Rather than holding an attribute, the personification of Touch extends her arms and fingers, the parts of the body most associated with tactility. As in other Netherlandish versions, a bird bites her finger and a tortoise walks on the ground nearby. In the background Pygmalion embraces his sculpture, a work he created with his own hands and animated through touch (*Metamorphoses* X, 243-297). The inclusion of an artist as an exemplar of touch offers a self-referential demonstration of the manual facet of art making, paired – in de Backer's case – with the intellectual wherewithal to select appropriate episodes from classical literature in the representation of allegorical subjects.

Holding a flower to her nose, Smell sits beside a dog. Beyond the figure, Flora gives a flower to Juno to help her conceive in the absence of Jupiter, a story included

in Ovid's *Fasti* rather than the *Metamorphoses*.¹⁸³ Juno stands beside a peacock, a standard attribute for the goddess in addition to being the posthumous form assumed by Argus, linking the scene to de Backer's depiction of Hearing.

Like de Vos's selections from Genesis and the Gospels, de Backer's Ovidian episodes illustrate the particular senses with which they are paired. While the Creation and Fall of Man provides a coherent, if piecemeal, narrative arc, the stories from Ovid seem to have little relation to one another beyond their individual sensory affinities. One thread that unites several of the images, however, is the role of sight.

In a passage from the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid gives precedence to the eyes based on their literal and figural elevation:

There was as yet no animal which was more akin to the gods than these [the animals], none more capable of intelligence, none that could be master of all the rest. It was at this point that man was born. ... Whereas other animals hang their heads and look at the ground, he [the Creator] made man stand erect, bidding him look up to heaven and lift his head to the stars. So the earth, which had been rough and formless, was moulded into the shape of a man, the creature till then unknown.¹⁸⁴

In Ovid's ocularcentric perspective, humanity's vertical posture elevates the eyes and the mind, spurring an encounter with the heavens.

Ironically, however, de Backer's selection of episodes from the *Metamorphoses* reveals a persistent denigration of vision. In the depiction of Sight itself, for example, Narcissus's downcast eyes and obsessive thrall contrast with the elevated and contemplative gaze that separates man and animal. In the depiction of Hearing, the euphonious sounds of Mercury's pipe subdue the multi-eyed and ever-

¹⁸³ The scene was originally identified by Suzanne Boorsch, "Jacob de Backer's Drawing for the Sense of Smell," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1 (1982), 367-71.

¹⁸⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Mary M. Innes (Harmonsworth, England: Penguin, 1955), 31.

watchful Argus as hearing triumphs over sight. Pygmalion, the representative of Touch, is roused to desire by his statue's unparalleled beauty, an example of the concupiscence of the eyes. Finally, in the image of Taste, the vigilant Ascalaphus is turned into an owl after witnessing Persephone's transgression. Individually, each of the selected scenes relates to the particular sense it accompanies, but collectively, they demonstrate the breakdown of sight, the highest among the senses.

The two series by de Vos and de Backer demonstrate how the use of auxiliary episodes in serial imagery provides opportunities for extended connections. In de Vos's multiple versions of the *Five Senses*, the scenes represent a continuous narrative arc that determines the ordering of the engravings despite appearing in the background as small vignettes. In de Backer's series, the recurring denigration of sight only emerges through comparison across multiple images. Such instances suggest the various webs of correspondence made available through the multiplication of scenic components embedded in landscape settings.

The Four Elements

Beginning in antiquity, the four elements – Earth, Water, Air, and Fire – served as the basis for the correspondence between the macrocosm and microcosm. First elaborated by Empedocles in the fifth century BCE and later adopted and adapted by Aristotle, the elements were considered to be the unchangeable and indivisible constituents of the universe.¹⁸⁵ A different pair of primary qualities

¹⁸⁵ Daniel Garber, "Physics and Foundations," in *The Cambridge History of Science: Volume 3, Early Modern Science*, edited by Katherine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 28.

characterized each of the elements: Earth was cold and dry; Water was cold and wet; Air was warm and wet; and Fire was hot and dry. A secondary set of so-called “motive qualities” assigned each of the elements a relative weight, establishing a hierarchy with the heaviest element, Earth, at the bottom, and the lightest, Fire, at the top.¹⁸⁶ The primary and motive qualities determined the physical characteristics of the elements and governed interactions between them. The elemental system provided a material link between the celestial sphere, where the elements existed in their pure form, and the terrestrial sphere, where the combined elements constituted the raw materials for all things.¹⁸⁷

The four elements appeared in art and literature from classical antiquity, where they were often personified. Earth and Water were typically described as female, while Fire and Air were characterized as male.¹⁸⁸ The gendering of the elements corresponds to the gendering of their names in Latin. Coincidentally, the feminine elements are lower and heavier than their masculine counterparts, which correspond to the lighter elements at the top of the hierarchy. In addition, the Stoics distinguished between the passive elements – earth and water – and the active elements – air and fire.¹⁸⁹ This distinction was further overlaid with notions of gender derived from Aristotelian philosophy and other sources, which described

¹⁸⁶ Garber, “Physics and Foundations” (2006), 28.

¹⁸⁷ Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1964), 5; Klaus R. Popitz, “Die Darstellung der vier Elementen in der niederländischen Graphik von 1565 bis 1630,” (Diss, Munich, 1965), 4. The role of the four elements in Renaissance cosmology is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2, which looks at links between the macrocosm and microcosm.

¹⁸⁸ Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 101.

¹⁸⁹ Popitz, “Die Darstellung der vier Elementen” (1965), 6.

femininity in terms of passivity while equating masculinity with activity.¹⁹⁰ The gendering of the hierarchically ordered elements demonstrates a clear favoritism toward the masculine.

In many instances, the elements were personified in the guise of Roman gods, although numerous variations existed and no single standard prevailed. Neptune and Thetis were both used to embody water, for example, while Zeus could represent fire or air in different instances.¹⁹¹ While later writers and artists could draw on classical precedents, none of the representational traditions was particularly binding, and a fair amount of latitude existed in the depiction of the elements.

The *Four Elements* was not a particularly common subject in Renaissance art prior to the middle of the sixteenth century. Then the theme appeared in various examples of Italian monumental art, including Vasari's frescoes for the *Sala degli Elementi* at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (1555), Paolo Veronese's cosmological frescoes at the Villa Barbaro in Maser (c. 1560) and Arcimboldo's "imperial" interpretation of the theme for Rudolf II in Prague (1568).¹⁹² In addition, Achilles Bocchius depicted the four elements as putti in his *Symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere*, an emblem book published in Bologna in 1555.¹⁹³ The sudden popularity of the subject at midcentury may be attributable to the contemporaneous

¹⁹⁰ Gordon Teskey, *Allegory and Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 15.

¹⁹¹ Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 101.

¹⁹² Popitz, "Die Darstellung der vier Elementen" (1965), 21.

¹⁹³ On Bocchius's emblems, see Elizabeth Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

publication of mythographies by Italian authors, such as Lilio Gregoria Giraldi, Natalis Comes, and Vincenzo Cartari.¹⁹⁴

Despite these scattered examples, however, the theme was not particularly widespread prior to its appearance in Netherlandish graphic art during the final decades of the sixteenth century. Two early series of the *Elements*, one designed by Philips Galle I in 1564 and another by Frans Floris in 1568, represent classically inspired portrayals of the theme. Galle's engravings were the earliest Netherlandish series of the *Four Elements* (**Figures 1.110-1.113**).¹⁹⁵ His version shows each of the elements personified in the form of a classical deity. These mythologically inspired figures appear in their own elemental domains atop various conveyances. As the representative for Earth, Cybele rides a wagon pulled by a pair of lions. With a crown composed of towers, she carries a key and cornucopia and wears a flowing dress that exposes one of her breasts. For the depiction of water, the nude, well-muscled figure of Neptune glides across the waves in a giant clamshell with a flail in his hand. Juno, associated with Air, reclines on a cloud in the heavens, accompanied by her attributes, the Argus-eyed peacock and a rainbow, the latter a symbol of Iris, Juno's messenger. Finally, fiery Jupiter wears a flaming crown while sitting astride a soaring eagle atop a flame. Galle's depiction of the elements as classical gods had several precedents in Italian art from the middle of the sixteenth century, including Veronese's astrological frescos at the Villa Barbaro around 1560.¹⁹⁶ His selection of

¹⁹⁴ Enenkel, "The Development of 16th Century Mythography" (2009), 211-2.

¹⁹⁵ The series may have been the earliest engraved series of any cosmological subject in Netherlandish graphic art. The series predates Heemskerck's *Children of the Planets*, which was published in 1566. Ilja M. Veldman, "Philips Galle: Een Inventieve Prentontwerper," *Oud Holland* 105, no. 4 (1991), 270-272 and figs. 10-13.

¹⁹⁶ Veldman, "Philips Galle" (1991), 270.

gods differs from those examples, however, leading Ilja Veldman to argue for literary rather than visual sources for Galle's series.¹⁹⁷ She suggests that his imagery was likely derived from descriptions in contemporary mythographic works, such as Lilio Giraldi's *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia* (Basel, 1548) and Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini de i dei degli antichi* (Venice, 1556).¹⁹⁸ Following the publication of Galle's series, the association of the elements with classical deities was described by Diogenes Laertius, whose writings were published by the Plantin press in Antwerp in 1566.¹⁹⁹ With the exception of a series of engravings designed by Dirck Barendsz. published in 1587, Galle's engravings of the *Four Elements* had a limited iconographic afterlife in the Netherlands.²⁰⁰

Floris's *Four Elements*, depicted as heroic personifications rather than gods, had a more lasting influence (**Figures 1.114-1.117**).²⁰¹ Engraved by Frans Menton and published by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp in 1568, these works portray two classically dressed female figures (Earth and Water) and two nude male figures (Air and Fire) that typify Floris's Italianate style. The Latin inscriptions below each of the figures were derived from Ovid's description of creation in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*:

So things evolved, and out of blind confusion
Found each its place, bound in eternal order.
The force of fire, that weightless element,
Leapt up and claimed the highest place in heaven;

¹⁹⁷ Veldman, "Philips Galle" (1991), 270.

¹⁹⁸ Charles Hope and Elizabeth McGrath, "Iconographic Handbooks," in *The Dictionary of Art*, edited by Jane S. Turner (London: Macmillan, 1996), 82-83.

¹⁹⁹ Popitz, "Die Darstellung der vier Elementen" (1965), 25. On the wide influence of the Plantin Press in Antwerp, see Karen Lee Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²⁰⁰ On the series by Barendsz., see Veldman, "From Allegory to Genre" (2006), 202; J. Richard Judson, *Dirck Barendsz., 1534-1592* (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1970), pp. 142-143, figs. 72-75.

²⁰¹ Van de Velde, *Frans Floris* (1975), 422, cat. nrs. 103-106 and figs. 266-269.

Below it, air; and under them the earth
 Sank with its grosser portions; and the water,
 Lowest of all, held up, held in, the land (I:25-33).²⁰²

The inscriptions add little information beyond accentuating the classical quality of the imagery.

As in Floris's series of the *Senses*, each of the figures appears with an animal associated with the element. Earth holds a branch in one hand and, with the other, embraces an ox, associated with Earth as a grazing, plow animal. She lies on a patch of grass in a space demarcated by a tree and the corner of a ruined structure, while in the background a fortress-like building can be seen on a cliff. Water occupies an embankment filled with reeds, one of which she holds in her hand. A duck flies nearby as she reclines against a large, capsized jug, from which water flows. The bearded male figure representing Air sits atop an eagle perched on a cloud. Buffeted by the four winds – shown in the form of blowing cherubic heads – the personification stretches a cloth over his head as a visualization of the transparent element. Finally, Fire, depicted as a well-muscled but elderly man, sits on the ground beside a container that spews a blazing conflagration. With his right index finger, he points upward as an indication of the hierarchically elevated position and ascendant movement of fire, which also engulfs, or comprises, his hair. Beside the personification stands a salamander, a symbol of fire due to its purported ability to withstand intense heat and even thrive in it.²⁰³

²⁰² Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I:25-33, translated by Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), 3.

²⁰³ Pliny noted the salamander's ability to withstand the heat of an inferno, making the animal an apt symbol for fire in subsequent bestiaries. Willene B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2006), 200.

Many of the features included in Floris's series as well as the artist's manner of presentation reappear in subsequent depictions of elements produced in the Netherlands during the final decades of the sixteenth century. These include four series designed by Marten de Vos, each cut by a different engraver: Nicolaes de Bruyn (undated),²⁰⁴ Jan Sadeler I (undated),²⁰⁵ Adriaen Collaert (c. 1582),²⁰⁶ and Crispijn de Passe I (c. 1600).²⁰⁷ In the two series engraved by Nicolaes de Bruyn and Adriaen Collaert, de Vos followed Floris in depicting Earth and Water as women and Air and Fire as men. The series by de Bruyn further emphasizes the gendered roles of the personified figures through differences in posture and movement. In that set of engravings, de Vos varied the positions of the male and female personifications, based on the classical distinction between active and passive elements. Consequently, the female elements of Earth and Water appear gracefully recumbent with their nude bodies open and available to the viewer, while the masculine elements are shown in more vigorous and defensive poses.

In several versions of the *Four Elements*, classicizing personifications are paired with recognizable narratives, which appear as small scenes in the background of each print. In his undated series of the *Four Elements*, for example, Adriaen Collaert portrayed the embodiments of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire as semi-nude, idealized figures accompanied by background vignettes portraying biblical

²⁰⁴ Hollstein 1345-1348.

²⁰⁵ Hollstein 1357-1360.

²⁰⁶ Series published by Gerard de Jode. Hollstein 1349-1352; Veldman, "From Allegory to Genre" (2006), 202.

²⁰⁷ Series published by Crispijn de Passe I. Hollstein 1353-1356; *Der Welt Lauf*, 97-100, cat. nrs. 21.1-4; Veldman, "From Allegory to Genre" (2006), 203; Ann Brokken, ed. *Sterren in Beelden: Astrologie in de eeuw van Mercator* (Sint-Niklaas, Netherlands: Stedelijk Museum, 1994), 74-76, cat. nrs. 2.1-2.4.

scenes (**Figures 1.118-1.121**).²⁰⁸ The engravings – designed, cut, and published by Collaert – show two female and two male personifications sitting in the foreground of elementally appropriate landscapes set within ovular frames. Allegorical children, representing miniature versions of the personified figures, occupy the corners of each image. Such details add a layer of compositional complexity to the relatively simple versions of the subject designed by Frans Floris and Philips Galle, which include little scenic elaboration beyond the personified elements. Collaert further differentiated his series through the inclusion of biblical episodes in the background of each scene. In linking the elements to narratives from the Bible, Collaert provided a context for the timeless personifications and augmented the significance of the embodied elements by uniting natural philosophy with sacred history.

The female personification of Earth wears a crenellated garland and holds an overflowing cornucopia and a bouquet. With vegetables strewn at her feet, she occupies an edenic landscape filled with palm trees and exotic animals, including an elephant and a camel. In the corners outside the frame, her diminutive acolytes appear amidst fruit and flowers, examples of the fertile abundance that springs from the ground. The inscription notes that Earth, the heaviest of the elements, provides life-giving sustenance for man and animal alike. Behind her, God the Father breathes life into Adam, whose body he formed from the dust, a reminder that humanity itself is comprised of earthly matter.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Hollstein (2005—Collaert Dynasty), V, 1282-1285; Brokken, *Sterren in Beelden* (1994), 72-74, cat. nrs. 1.1-1.4.

²⁰⁹ In later editions of the series, God the Father is replaced by a tetragram within a mandorla. On the shifting portrayal of God the Father and the influence of the Reformation on such depictions, see Freedberg, "The Hidden God" (1982), 133-153. For a similar substitution, see Freedberg's figures 14

Water rests on a bank of reeds beside a turbulent sea to the right, where storm clouds pour rain over several foundering ships and an immense fish or whale. Wearing a crown of aquatic plants, the female figure pours water and fish from a capsized jug and an enormous shell as squid, shellfish and other sea life lay at her feet. On the left side of the picture, tumult gives way to calm as John baptizes Christ in the River Jordan and the Dove of the Holy Spirit descends from a burst of light. The use of water for sacramental purification makes the episode an apposite selection for the depiction of the aqueous element and extends its significance by demonstrating its important role in religious initiation.

With his head consumed by mist, the male figure of Air sits on a cloud hovering just above the earth. A chameleon, thought to subsist on air alone, perches on his outstretched hand.²¹⁰ In the sky to the left appears a diverse flock of birds that includes several birds of paradise, an animal that, according to European understanding at the time, lacked feet and remained aloft for the entirety of its life.²¹¹ The distant landscape below is rendered in “aerial” perspective, with chromatic values and clarity of detail diminishing as space recedes.²¹² As Leonardo da Vinci wrote in the early sixteenth century,

There is another perspective which we call aerial, because through variations in the air we are made aware of the different distances ... You know that in such air the

and 15, which show alternative versions of *The Creation of Eve* (undated) by Jan Collaert after Marten de Vos and published by Adriaen Collaert.

²¹⁰ The notion that chameleon’s consume only air originated in Pliny’s *Historia naturalis* and was repeated by numerous authors during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, Book 8, Chap. 33, Lines 120ff. According to Vasari, the chameleon is an apt representation for air, since it “lives on air and assumes any color.” Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists* (1568), trans. George Bull (New York: Penguin, 1971), 102.

²¹¹ Villiers (1981), 742.

²¹² This formal detail in the depiction of Air may be coincidental, but the landscape is much deeper in this image than in the rest of the series, and the reference to aerial perspective explains the selection of the motif as an elementally appropriate setting for the personified figure.

furthest things seen in it – as in the case of mountains, when great quantities of air are found between your eye and the mountains – appear blue, almost the color of the air when the sun is in the east.²¹³

Collaert's inclusion of a formal device related to air offered a visible means to portray the invisible element. An alternative pictorialization can be seen in the corners of the image, where the child-like, allegorical figures blow air in imitation of the wind-heads that appear in the corners of contemporaneous world-maps. On the right side of Collaert's engraving, the resurrected Christ emerges from his tomb with a triumphal banner as Roman soldiers flee. His cloudy mandorla and gesture of blessing mirror Air's billowing head and raised left arm, indicating the upward movement of the element. The parallel presentation of the two figures augments the alignment between the foreground personification and background scene as modes for representing Air.

Fire, his head consumed by flame, sits on a rock in a barren, volcano-filled landscape. He rests his foot on the back of a salamander and holds bolts of lightning, which, according to the inscription, represent Jovian symbols of heat and power. The scene to the right shows the miraculous fire that bursts from the sacrificial altar prepared by the prophet Elijah (1 Kings 18:17-40). The fire served as a visible demonstration of God's power that convinced wayward Israelites to turn away from a false god and return to proper worship. As in the other prints in Collaert's series,

²¹³ Translated in Martin Kemp (ed.), *Leonardo on Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo Da Vinci* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 80. What Leonardo codified, early Netherlandish painters and their northern descendants knew by observation, with examples of aerial perspective abundant in northern landscape paintings and in the distant views glimpsed through windows. The blue shift that Leonardo mentions for painting would have appeared as a lightening of value in a monochromatic print, as in Collaert's engraving.

the scene reveals how the elements participate in the physical, or at least visual, manifestation of divinity.

The Four Elements produced by Hendrick Goltzius in 1586 nearly matches the series by Collaert in its pairing of elements and events (**Figure 1.122-1.125**).²¹⁴ Goltzius also followed earlier conventions in the gendering of his personifications, portraying two women (Earth and Water) and two men (Air and Fire). In Goltzius's engravings, however, the vertical compositions are dominated by the standing figures of the elements, whose nude bodies are shown in classical *contrapposto* poses.

The monumental figures occupy foreground spaces with corresponding events from the Bible shown in the middle distance behind them. Earth, whose languid, twisting body embraces a cornucopia, stands on a rocky outcropping with fruit at her feet. Behind her a beam of light representing God forms Adam from the earth. The first man sits in an Edenic setting amidst the animals, including a lion and a lamb. The inscription notes that Earth, being the heaviest element, is weighted down. In the next engraving, the nude figure of Water leans against an immense, overturned jug as she turns to witness the Baptism of Christ taking place behind her. John the Baptist pours water over Jesus's head as the Dove of the Holy Spirit appears above in an aureole. The third image in the series shows the striding, male figure of Air standing on a cloud buffeted at its corners by the four winds portrayed as blowing wind-heads. A chameleon sits on the figure's outstretched right hand, as in Collaert's version, and an eagle – traditionally associated with Jupiter and with John

²¹⁴ Veldman (2006), 202; Veldman (1991-1992), 319-320; British Museum database (images in folder).

the Evangelist – alights on his other arm.²¹⁵ The surrounding space is filled with birds, butterflies, and a spider web.²¹⁶ Deviating slightly from Collaert’s portrayal of Air accompanied by the Resurrection, Goltzius paired the element with a depiction of the Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descended upon Christ’s disciples seven days after Resurrection. Occupying the lower, right-hand corner beneath Air’s billowing cloak, the scene shows the stunned reactions of the distant figures. In the final print, Fire holds a flaming orb and lightning bolts as a salamander sits in a fire at his feet. Behind him, Elijah’s sacrifice miraculously bursts into flame, as in Collaert’s series. The inscription notes that the complete weightlessness of Fire aligns the element with the ethereality of the heavens.

In the engraved series by Collaert and Goltzius, the correlation between heaven and earth is structured as a pictorial relationship between foreground figures and background scenes. By pairing idealized personifications and biblical episodes, the two series relate cosmological themes to Christian narratives, augmenting the significance of the elements by illustrating instances when earth, water, air, and fire played prominent roles in scriptural events. In addition to these analogical connections, each of the episodes included in the two series – the Creation of Adam, the Baptism of Christ, the Resurrection, Pentecost, and the miraculous sacrifice of Elijah – represents a moment when God revealed his

²¹⁵ The Four Evangelists and the Four Elements were overlaid in medieval arrangements of tetrads categories, with Luke and his Ox representing Earth, Mark paired with Water, Matthew linked to Air, and John and his eagle connected to Fire. Anna Esmeier, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Amsterdam; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1978).

²¹⁶ The spider’s web is typically associated with the sense of touch, as in Goltzius’s own series of *The Five Senses* described below, but the motif can also be related to the element of Air through its ethereal nature and its fragile threads that flutter in the wind. See discussion of the spider web in representations of the senses. Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art” (1985), 20.

presence to humanity, thereby uniting heaven and earth. These instances of divine condescension to humankind's limited vision and cognition are facilitated by the Four Elements, which give material form to the immaterial, making the invisible available to sight. The theophanic connection between the otherworldly and worldly parallels the cosmological congruence thought to exist between the celestial and terrestrial realms based on the system of sympathetic correspondences rooted in the elements themselves and the qualitative associations they facilitated between macrocosm and microcosm.²¹⁷

In the years prior to the publication of the engraved series by Adriaen Collaert and Hendrick Goltzius, Joachim Beuckelaer painted a series of *The Four Elements* with background vignettes showing biblical events (**Figures 1.126-1.129**).²¹⁸ Produced between 1569 and 1570, the four paintings portray contemporary market and kitchen scenes with an abundance of goods filling the foreground along with hearty vendors and peasants, many of whom gaze out of the images toward the viewer. Eschewing classicizing embodiments, Beuckelaer instead fills the foreground of each painting with wares corresponding to each of the four elements. One must look past these alluring, corporeal offerings, however, in order to observe episodes from the life and teachings of Christ, which are easily overlooked in the background of each painting.

²¹⁷ For a lengthier discussion of Renaissance cosmology and the associations thought to exist between realms, see Chapter 2 below.

²¹⁸ Lorne Campbell argues that "There can be no doubt that [the four paintings] were created as a series]", p. 40. He notes that the similarity of their size and date of production and notes the popularity of series amongst contemporary patrons, like Nicolaes Jongelinck, who owned Pieter Bruegel's *Months* as well as Frans Floris's *Labors of Hercules* and *Liberal Arts*. Campbell suggests that this series was likely intended for an Italian patron. For additional bibliography on Beuckelaer's paintings, see Lorne Campbell, "Beuckelaer's *The Four Elements*: Four Masterpieces by a Neglected Genius," *Apollo* 155 (Feb. 2002), 40-46.

The portrayal of Earth shows two well-dressed women attending a market stall overflowing with fruits and vegetables, an abundance that recalls the cornucopia carried by personifications of the element in the engraved versions of the subject. Beyond the colorful produce, the Holy Family can be seen crossing a stone bridge in the upper left corner of the painting, a minute rendering of their Flight to Egypt. According to an apocryphal portion of the story, a miraculous growth of corn or wheat helped to conceal the holy family from pursuing soldiers. The miracle crops provide a link between the episode and the produce portrayed in the foreground. Not only do both represent the fertile bounty of the earth, they also hide the fleeing family from sight. Like the tall crops, the sumptuous foodstuffs certainly distract from the tiny scene shown in dull tones in the background. Just as the soldiers must look through the wheat, the astute viewer must look past the finely detailed surface textures and alluring colors to find the fleeing family or risk missing a crucial aspect of the painting.

The fish market in the painting of Water presents an equally captivating scene, with fish piled into overflowing baskets in the foreground. Four peasant figures stand behind the baskets and stare out at the viewer, an interaction that demands attention and further distracts from the episode framed by the arch in the background. In that distant space, Peter attempts to walk across the water during the second Miraculous Draught of Fishes that occurs after the Resurrection (John 21:1-14).²¹⁹ When Christ appears to the disciples and multiplies their catch, they fail at first to recognize him. Peter jumps into the water to approach Christ following the

²¹⁹ The same scene is included in Gerard van Groeningen's depiction of Faith described above.

revelation of his identity. As in the Flight to Egypt, where the bounties of the earth link the biblical episode to the produce offered at market, the miraculous abundance of fish mentioned in the story – 153 to be precise – is reflected in the profusion displayed in the foreground of the painting. In addition, both scriptural events thematize vision. The initial failure of the disciples to recognize Christ demonstrates the disconnection of sight and understanding, a shortcoming the viewer must overcome in his or her appreciation of the painting.

The depiction of Air includes a market scene with fowl for sale in baskets and cages. Several figures occupy the foreground space, including a man to the right showing a bird to a woman passing by. On the left, a peasant woman holds a rooster as she looks out of the painting toward the viewer. A lascivious couple, surrounded by their market purchases, can be seen in middle the thoroughfare that runs through the center of the image. The man holds a bird in one hand as he caresses his companion with the other. Identified as a depiction of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32), the scene accentuates the sexual connotations of the foreground scene, where the notion of *vogelen* (“birding”) as copulation establishes an erotic innuendo, as in Goltizius’s portrayal of *Luxuria* discussed above.²²⁰ A pair of rabbits, animals associated with lust, appears amongst the birds in the central basket, further highlighting the theme. The Prodigal Son represents one ensnared by the temptations on display at the market, while the viewer must look beyond such sensual allurements to avoid moral lassitude.

²²⁰ Lorne Campbell argues that the scene represents the Prodigal Son, Campbell, “Beuckelaer's *the Four Elements*” (2002), 41. As mentioned above, the seminal essay on the subject of *vogelen* is de Jongh, “*Erotica in Vogelperspectief*” (1968-9).

Departing somewhat from the pattern established in the other works in Beuckelaer's series, the painting of *Fire* depicts the preparation of a meal in a well-stocked and well-staffed kitchen. In the foreground a pair of kitchen maids plucks feathers from poultry and trims fat from meat while others light a fire in the middle distance. Through an open door on the left, Jesus can be seen in another room with the sisters Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38-42).²²¹ The former listens attentively to Jesus, while the latter is distracted by preparations for a meal, drawing a rebuke from Christ, who indicates that "Mary has chosen what is better" (Luke 10:41). The episode is often interpreted as an illustration of the contemplative life, represented by Mary, and the active life, epitomized by Martha, an opposition elaborated by the Church fathers. In Beuckelaer's painting, the foreground space is devoted to a portrayal of the active life demonstrated by Martha. The viewer, however, must align him- or herself with Mary and use the painting as a spur to contemplative meditation of the teachings of Christ, which are consigned to the room beyond.

Although Beuckelaer's *Four Elements* predate the graphic series by Collaert and Goltzius, their influence on those later prints seems limited. The paintings differ from the engravings in many important respects. Although both draw their biblical vignettes from the Gospels, there is no overlap in the selection of episodes, and Beuckelaer's portrayal of contemporary market scenes rather than classicizing personifications of the elements distinguishes his paintings from the later

²²¹ The scene recurs in a number of kitchen scenes painted by Aertsen and Beuckelaer. Aertsen portrayed *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* in at least two paintings of 1552 and 1553, now located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam, respectively. Beuckelaer, likewise, included the episode in works of 1565 (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels), 1566 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), and 1574 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

engravings. The paintings and the prints both adopt background scenes as rhetorical devices that inflect the significance of what appears in the foreground, but the engravings structure the relationship as mutually reinforcing, while the paintings suggest antitheses between the two spaces.

In Beuckelaer's painted series, the conspicuous display of worldly goods contrasts with the spiritual meanings contained in the scriptural scenes. As Larry Silver notes, the kitchen and market scenes by Aertsen and Beuckelaer erect a "frieze of desire...beyond which a viewer's gaze must pass in order to discern the religious message of the Gospel narrative."²²² The pious beholder must penetrate temptations presented in the foreground, both visually and figuratively, in order to glean the true content of the work. The antithesis between material and immaterial – present in many paintings by Aertsen and Beuckelaer – becomes particularly relevant in the portrayal of the *Four Elements*, where the allegorical subject is materiality itself.

Although Beuckelaer's paintings diverge from the graphic series described above, the artist's updating and localization of the theme of the four elements was adopted and adapted in several engraved series produced toward the end of the sixteenth century. These series eschew timeless personifications and biblical vignettes in favor contemporary figures and activities, as in Beuckelaer's paintings. Despite the shift in content, however, these series still maintain the foreground-

²²² Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (2006), 91. Silver's arguments concerning the difficulty of penetrating the of the frontal plane filled with sensuous goods and figures builds on Elizabeth Honig's study of kitchen and market scenes. See Elizabeth Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). On the notion of market wares operating as a "frieze," see pp. 43-4.

background structure by placing isolated figures in shallow spaces at the front of the image with titles that identify them as representatives of the four elements.

An undated series of *The Four Elements* designed by Jacques de Gheyn II depicts single, contemporary figures as representatives of each of the elements (**Figures 1.130-1.133**).²²³ The numbered engravings, which begin with Air rather than Earth, include titles but no inscriptions. The first three engravings show three-quarter-length male figures holding animals obtained from hunting and fishing. De Gheyn's rendering of *Air* includes a beardless hunter with a haughty demeanor. He holds a hooded falcon on his right hand, while in his left, a dead fowl hangs from the tip of a spear. The engraving of *Water* portrays a fisherman in a driving rain with an enormous fish in his arms. The cavalier figure in the depiction of *Earth* jauntily displays a club with a rabbit hanging from the end. Additional figures in pursuit of birds, fish, and rabbits appear in the background of each engraving, respectively.

Unlike the other elements, *Fire* is rendered as a kitchen scene that evokes paintings by Aertsen and Beuckelaer. In the foreground, a cook places a fowl and a rabbit on a long skewer, while a fish lies on a table in front of her, an encapsulation of the animals from the previous engravings. Through a door behind her, another servant can be seen holding a pot above a fire. De Gheyn's depiction of *Fire* clearly refers to the earlier depictions like Aertsen's *Cook* of 1559, which shows a single, monumental figure standing before a fireplace with a loaded spit (**Figure 1.134**).²²⁴

²²³ Hollstein (2000), 131-134; Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 104-105, cat. nrs. 23.1-23.4; Veldman, "From Allegory to Genre" (2006), 204.

²²⁴ Larry Silver has described Aertsen's cook as a "paragon of domestic virtue." Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (2006), 95.

By placing the image in a series of the *Four Elements* as a representation of Fire, de Gheyn gives the allegory a more localized context.²²⁵

In a series of the *Four Elements* designed by Marten de Vos, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire appear in the guise of amorous couples wearing contemporary costumes (**Figures 1.135-1.138**).²²⁶ Engraved and published by Crispijn de Passe I around 1600, the series portrays the pairs in the foreground of each image with numerous objects displayed prominently in front of them. In the background of each scene, additional figures engage in various activities in elementally appropriate settings. In showing familiar figures and pursuits, the series removes the elements from the realm of the timeless and eternal and places them squarely within the experience of a late sixteenth-century, Netherlandish audience. The lascivious interactions between the foreground figures and the prominent display of goods evokes the sensuality of Beuckelaer's scenes, but the portrayal of contemporary activities in the backgrounds rather than biblical episodes diminishes the potential for moral contrast between the two spaces of the image.

The depiction of Earth shows a well-dressed couple exchanging a deep glance as the male member of the pair plays a lute for his female counterpart, who holds an open book in her hands and a fiddle in her lap. It is unclear whether the male figure is gazing at the book held by his companion or whether he is staring, instead, at her *décolletage*. They sit behind a table strewn with assorted instruments, a book of

²²⁵ A series of etchings by Johann Israel de Bry after Hendrick Goltzius (1588) and a series of engravings designed by Claes Jansz. Clock (1597) also show single figures engaged in similar activities, although the reliance on Beuckelaer's example is less obvious than in the series by de Gheyn II. For Goltzius series, see Veldman, "From Allegory to Genre" (2006), 204. For Clock, see Veldman, "Goltzius' Zintuigen" (1991-1992), 320.

²²⁶ Hollstein (De Vos), 1353-1356. Also see Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 21.1-4; Brokken (1994), 74-76, cat. nrs, 2.1-2.4.

music, a bowl of fruit, and a dish of seedlings. The collection of items suggests merrymaking and also demonstrates the fertile bounties of the soil. Behind the figures, other couples amuse themselves in a pleasure garden to the right. Musicians play music for a pair of dancers, while others listen and observe from the windows of a raised pavilion. Two embracing lovers enjoy the seclusion offered by a hedge. To the left, figures can be seen climbing a ladder to pick fruit in an orchard, an agrarian juxtaposition to the courtly activities on the other side.

Whether de Vos's image celebrates, condemns, or mocks the behavior displayed by the figures in the image remains unclear.²²⁷ The central couple, the items on the table, and the two background scenes illustrate the fertile and sensual qualities of Earth in a morally ambiguous manner. The obvious sensuality exhibited in foreground and background does not, in itself, seem to carry a negative valence, and little clarification is offered by the inscription, which exalts the abundance created by Mother Nature and exhorts the viewer to avoid wasting or misusing Nature's generous bounty, including the "sweet life" and youth granted to all. What constitutes "misuse," however, is never defined. Likewise, the inclusion of music in the foreground and background highlights the ethical ambivalence of the image. P.J.J. van Thiel has demonstrated that portrayals of musicians in Netherlandish art of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often indicate harmony and measure,

²²⁷ In his study of the "Merry Company" genre – of which de Vos's image might be considered a nascent example – Elmer Kolfin elaborates three primary categories based on the moral perspective of the work: "idealistic," which celebrates the pleasure-seeking and sociability; "moralistic," which censures such behavior; and "satirical," which mocks the participants. Many works, like de Vos's, seem to fall between categories. Elmer Kolfin, *The Young Gentry at Play; Northern Netherlandish Scenes of Merry Companies 1610-1645*, translated by Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005). On the emergence of "merry companies" and their moral overtones, see also Rodney H. Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

representing moderation or temperance.²²⁸ Alternately, music offers only fleeting pleasure, and musical instruments appeared regularly in contemporary *vanitas* images that emphasize the transitory nature of sensory experiences and the ephemerality of human accomplishment.²²⁹ The lizard on the table may offer an indication of the scene's negative implications. As a crawler on the earth, the lizard reinforces the elemental significance of the image, but it could also carry sinful connotations, as in Dürer's *Knight, Death, and the Devil*.²³⁰

Overt sensuality recurs in the portrayal of *Water*, which shows a fisherman and female fishmonger sitting on a rocky outcropping behind a table stocked with whole and cut fish. Additional baskets filled with the bounties of the sea stand nearby. To the right, groups of fisherman spread nets from the coast, while to the left, others cast lines into a river. The background scenes illustrate aqueous occupations that supply provisions for a "well-stocked table," as the inscription notes. The couple in the foreground, whose clothes betray their working-class status, interacts in a more obviously lewd manner than the pair depicting Earth. The female figure reaches suggestively into the pouch resting on her companion's lap as his phallic dagger hangs nearby. With a lascivious grin, he returns the woman's advances by placing his hand on her chin in a gesture of "erotic persuasion."²³¹ The

²²⁸ Such connotations, according to van Thiel, were particularly common in conjugal portraits. P.J.J. van Thiel, "Marriage Symbolism in a Musical Party by Jan Miense Molenaer," *Simiolus* 2 (1967-8), 90-99.

²²⁹ Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Christina Hedström and Gerald Taylor (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1956), 154.

²³⁰ A similar lizard appears in Albrecht Dürer's *Knight, Death, and the Devil* as an indication of sinfulness. Heinrich Theissing, *Dürers Ritter, Tod und Teufel: Sinnbild und Bildsinn* (Berlin: Mann, 1978), 90. Bosch, likewise, portrayed lizards and toad in negative contexts, as in the *Seven Sins* table.

²³¹ On the history of the chin-chuck gesture and its religious and sexual implications, see Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion* (New York: Pantheon,

couple's sensual interaction resembles the amorous pair in Beuckelaer's *Fish Market with Ecce Homo* of 1570 (**Figure 1.139**).²³² In that instance, the couple fails to notice the religious scene taking place in the background.

In the picture of *Air*, a couple in fashionable clothes embraces amidst a multitude of birds, both dead and alive, caged as well as flying. A bird of paradise flies over the male figure to the left, and the requisite chameleon appears on the sleeve of the female figure. On his finger her partner holds a falcon, a sexually charged image during the period.²³³ He straddles her as she plays with the buttons of his doublet beneath his opened vest. The eroticism of their interaction is augmented by the carnal connotations of the birds, which provide a link between the elemental aspects of *Air* and the overtly amorous behavior of the couple.²³⁴ Hunters, some on horseback and others on foot accompanied by dogs, pursue birds in the background.

The portrayal of *Fire* shows an aged alchemist at a makeshift, outdoor workshop absentmindedly stirring the contents of his crucible as he turns to look at the beautiful woman standing behind him. He sits between two stone slabs strewn with various alchemical tools and implements, including bottles, flasks, an alembic, a pair of tongs, and other paraphernalia. A furnace blazes to the left, and fire's

1983), 3-4, 100-116. For an application and extension of Steinberg's pioneering study, see Will Fisher, "The Erotics of Chin-Chucking in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Sex before Sex: Figuring the Act in Early Modern England*, edited by James M. Bromley and Will Stockton (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 141-169.

²³² The painting belongs to the collection of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

²³³ A hoodless falcon often carried lascivious connotations, while a hooded falcon could be a symbol of virtuous restraint. Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 100.

²³⁴ While vogelen imagery as sexual metaphor is typically confined to lower class peasants in markets, it is here upgraded to an upper class couple. De Jongh, "Erotica in vogelperspektief" (1968-9).

destructive powers are on full display in the background, as great conflagrations light up the evening sky. Figures can be seen running from a burning building and an erupting volcano, while others continue to work at a blacksmith's forge visible over the alchemist's right shoulder.

The couple representing Fire differs somewhat from the affectionate pairs illustrating the other elements. The image shows an elderly alchemist temporarily distracted from his work by a beautiful, young woman clutching gold and jewels. The couple represents an ill-matched pair, a convention popular in sixteenth-century painting and graphic art that typically exploited disparities in age or social position for humor as well as moral instruction.²³⁵ The woman's bare breast identifies her as a slattern, and her interest in the alchemist's gold suggests her avaricious nature. Lured by her seductive appearance, however, the alchemist fails to notice such details. The bellows in his lap, a fairly obvious anatomical metaphor, emphasizes the potential enticement of sensual pleasure, and he removes his spectacles as he turns to look at the woman, a sign of his blindness in the presence of temptation. The inequality of the pair and the obliviousness of the alchemist to his own absurdity certainly confer negative overtones to the pleasure-seeking behavior displayed in the final engraving of the series. Ironically, there is little spark between these two figures.

In his portrayal of the *Four Elements*, de Vos draws on the sensuality found in the contemporary market scenes painted by Aertsen and Beuckelaer, where

²³⁵ On the theme of mismatched pairs, see Alison Stewart, *Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art* (New York: Abaris, 1977); Larry Silver, "The Ill-Matched Pair by Quinten Massys," *Studies in the History of Art* 6 (1974): 105-23.

foregrounded figures and wares draw the attention of the viewer. In de Vos's images, amorous couples – two upper-class and two lower – engage in an obvious eroticism. Less obvious, however, is the tone the imagery applies to these overt displays of affection. While biblical episodes contrast with the kitchen and market scenes in Beuckelaer's paintings, the background vignettes in de Vos's series show elemental occupations or simply reiterate aspects of the foreground. Although the text paired with the depiction of Fire includes a condemnation of alchemy, the inscriptions fail to censure the lascivious behavior shown in the images. Instead, they hail the benefits of each element while admonishing the viewer to avoid misuse or waste, leaving the content morally ambiguous.

Conclusion

In many allegorical series produced by Netherlandish graphic artists during the second half of the sixteenth century, subsidiary scenes provide commentary on the personified figures displayed in the foreground. Like paintings that employ the two-stage format, the inclusion of vignettes extends the significance of the primary figures through illustration, antithesis, specification, etc. Unlike singular works, however, serial imagery also allows for additional comparisons across multiple pictures, providing opportunities for larger themes to develop, such as the recurring connection between the terrestrial and celestial in portrayals of the *Four Elements* by Adriaen Collaert and Hendrick Goltzius or the narrative trajectory of de Vos's many depictions of the *Five Senses*. The inclusion of ancillary scenes as background

features augments and extends the metaphorical significance of the embodied concepts.

The notion of *doorsien* as an act of “seeing through” includes its own allegorical implications. In compelling one to look beyond the foreground, the two-stage format prompts a visual action that parallels the mental process of interpretation. In his discussion of Aertsen’s paintings of *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, Kenneth Craig remarks on the analogy between perception and cognition:

These pictures are, in effect, ‘painted metaphors’ in which the eye must function in the same pattern as the mind. Just as the eye is invited to look beyond the front plane to a second level of images, the mind is invited to think beyond the [foreground imagery] to a second level of meaning. The composition itself is a model for the thought processes that the viewer must bring to the painting.²³⁶

The plunging gaze described by van Mander in his definition of *doorsien* is transformed into an intellectual penetration that moves beyond surfaces. Larry Silver makes a similar argument in his treatment of the kitchen and market scenes by Aertsen and Beuckelaer, noting the moral implications of vigilant looking:

[The peasants] and their produce, as well as their associations with fecundity and sexuality, offer a frieze of desire (as Honig argues), beyond which a viewers gaze must pass in order to discern the religious message of the Gospel narrative. ... Here the very market and its linked peasant staff become associated with the material world, past whose literalness a viewer must penetrate to discover deeper concerns and true moral understanding.²³⁷

In such instances, proper perception becomes a form of worldly renunciation as one seeks true meanings. The inverted format of the paintings creates the elision between the visual and intellectual aspects of *doorsien*, where “seeing through” is both a sensory endeavor and an allegorical procedure. This becomes particularly

²³⁶ Craig, *Pars Ergo Marthae Transit* (1983), 35.

²³⁷ Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (2006), 91.

evident in engraved allegorical series that present personified concepts in the foreground. One must look beyond their embodied form to grasp their essential significance, a process facilitated by the inclusion of additional scenes that function as commentary and guide the viewer's interpretation.

Chapter 2

Sub Specie Aeternitatis:

The Use of Clouds as Presentational Devices for Cosmological Allegory

Deviating from the landscape format discussed in the previous chapter, Maerten van Heemskerck employed a vertical layout for his depiction of the *Four Temperaments* (**Figures 2.1-2.4**).²³⁸ Engraved by Harmen Jansz. Muller and published by Philips Galle in 1566, the series shows planetary gods above earthly figures in two registers divided by bands of cloud. Despite the spatial separation of the celestial and terrestrial realms, the two zones remain linked through qualitative similarities. The Olympian deities act as representatives of the various humoral dispositions, while their human counterparts below enact the same personality traits through their behaviors. The inclusion of multiple registers offers an effective visual arrangement for portraying cosmological influences on human character and conduct.

Although nominally devoted to the *Four Temperaments*, Heemskerck's series contains a wealth of cosmological information. In addition to the outsized gods sitting on their clouds, the upper register of each engraving includes three signs of the zodiac and an illustration of one of the four elements. The zodiacal triads, which hover in the spaces above each of the nude or semi-nude deities, represent the so-called "elemental triplicities," which are grouped according to qualitative associations rather than the temporal sequences that often appeared in depictions

²³⁸ Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments" (1980), 169-176; Brokken, *Sterren in Beelden* (1994), 80-84, cat. nrs. 4.1-4.4.

of the *Four Seasons*.²³⁹ While Gemini, Cancer, and Leo signify the months of Summer, for example, Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius are linked by their hot-moist natures, aligning them, respectively, with the element of air, the humor of blood, and the sanguine temperament. These associations are spelled out in various cosmological diagrams produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like the one compiled by Thomas Walkington (London, 1607), which includes the zodiacal triplicities along with the four qualities, four elements, four temperaments, four cardinal winds, four seasons, four ages of man, and a representative deity for each group (**Figure 2.5**):²⁴⁰

Signs of the Zodiac

(elemental triplicities)	Element	Wind	Season	Age	Temperament	Planet
Gemini-Libra-Aquarius	Air	South	Spring	Adolescence	Sanguine	Jupiter
Aries-Leo-Sagittarius	Fire	West	Summer	Youth	Choleric	Mars
Cancer-Scorpio-Pisces ²⁴¹	Water	East	Autumn	Maturity	Phlegmatic	Luna
Taurus-Virgo-Capricorn	Earth	North	Winter	Old Age	Melancholy	Saturn

Such groupings demonstrate the effective correspondences thought to exist between the macrocosmic universe and microcosmic individuals. By including several of these categories in his portrayal of the *Four Temperaments*, Heemskerck provided a pictorial approximation of the cosmological diagrams created by his contemporaries.

²³⁹ The elemental triplicities were discussed in texts by ancient astronomers, including works by Marcus Manilius and Ptolemy. Relying on such texts, Renaissance thinkers likewise adopted the triplicities. They appear, for example, in the work of the sixteenth-century Italian astronomer and natural philosopher, Giordano Cardano. See Cardano, *Opera V*, 73-4. They also appear in various cosmological diagrams produced during the Renaissance. For examples, see S.K. Heninger Jr., *The Cosmographical Glass: Renaissance Diagrams of the Universe* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1977), 109-110, figs. 67-68. On Cardano, see Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

²⁴⁰ Heninger, *The Cosmographical Glass* (1977), 110, fig. 68.

²⁴¹ Walkington's diagram erroneously swaps the triplicities associated with Water and Earth. The chart above includes the correct ordering.

His depiction of *Sanguinity* shows Jupiter alongside Venus and Cupid with their standard attributes: eagle and lightning for Jupiter and bow for Cupid. Venus holds an immense arrow, which points down toward the amorous couples below. The zodiacal signs for Libra, Gemini, and Aquarius appear above the deities, while the vacant space behind them represents the element of Air. Below, their terrestrial counterparts demonstrate traits associated with this most favorable of dispositions, particularly its amorous aspects, with well-dressed couples shown dining, dancing, and bathing in an idyllic landscape. The Latin inscription notes, "he who dances and pursues sweet, secret love cherishes righteous Jupiter and graceful Venus." With his inclusion of Venus and Cupid, Heemskerck deviated slightly from Walkington's concordance, which lists Jupiter alone. The presence of Venus and Cupid corresponds, however, to the portrayal of sanguinity as a temperament associated with love-making and pleasure-seeking, two qualities demonstrated by the human figures in the lower register.

The depiction of the *Choleric* temperament shows Mars on a cloud surrounded by an explosive burst of flame, an indication of his association with the element of Fire. This elemental alignment is reinforced by the zodiacal signs above, which show Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius. Mars, portrayed in full armor and an enormous sword, presides over battles and conflagrations. Two soldiers engage in combat in the foreground as a battle rages in the distance, while in the bottom right corner, a blacksmith hammers at his anvil as an assistant works the bellows. According to the inscription, "The fury of war's weapons, fire, battle and slaughter

belong to the field of Mars, their mournful and bloody master,” a sentiment that reinforces the link between the two halves of the image.

As the representative for the *Phlegmatic* temperament, Luna holds a crescent moon as she sits above a seascape populated by fishermen and fowlers. The concentric circles that appear behind the goddess of the moon represent ripples on water, the predominant element, while the zodiacal signs – Scorpio, Pisces, and Cancer – serve as celestial correlates. The inscription is written in the form of an address: “O moon, in your kingdom one throws his nets for fishing, another sets snares for birds, and yet another dredges the briny sea.” The inscription and the human figures in the aqueous landscape emphasize Luna’s association with Water, rather than her rule over the Phlegmatic temperament, which would be more difficult to represent visually. Instead, the abundance of corresponding categories substitute for the absence of the disposition.

Saturn represents *Melancholy*, which results from a predominance of black bile. The god appears with a scythe in one hand and a child in the other, attributes that demonstrate, respectively, the destructiveness of time and Saturn’s mythological devouring of his children for fear they would overthrow him. The signs for Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn are portrayed above as the zodiacal triplicity for the element of Earth, represented visually by Saturn’s cave-like cloud. The figures below demonstrate the mixed fortunes of those afflicted with Melancholy, a group that includes geometers, astronomers, and farmers as well as cripples, beggars, and a suicide, shown hanging from a tree in the left foreground. According to the inscription, this disparate group is united by their lack of good judgment:

“Surveyors and poets, and those who have not a shred of common sense, they revere scythe-bearing Saturn.” By including the divine embodiment of Melancholy along with earthly figures with melancholic dispositions, Heemskerck expands the depiction of the temperament.

The inclusion of two registers separated by bands of cloud creates a clear distinction between the heavenly space above and the earthly space below. Heemskerck augments this division through other formal features as well. The larger scale of the planetary deities, their classicizing bodies, and their lack of clothing help to distinguish them from the terrestrial figures in the lower register. In addition, the graphic means employed by Heemskerck, or possibly Harmen Jansz. Muller, differ between the two spaces. The curving lines of the clouds have more in common with the muscular and curvaceous bodies of the gods than with the starkly rectilinear representation of the terrestrial scenes and figures. Lighting also reinforces the division between the upper and lower zones. Bright illumination from the top left highlights the sculpturesque bodies of the gods and the tops of their cloudy perches, but leaves the undersides of the clouds in shadow. The human figures below receive a diminished illumination. Such features contribute to the juxtaposition of the transcendent and immediate within the same image.

Heemskerck's *Temperaments* illustrates the invisible correspondences that exist between the universe and humanity through juxtaposition of the celestial and terrestrial realms. By splitting his images into registers, the artist demonstrates the allegorical equivalence of the divine figures and their human counterparts. Despite

their spatial separation, the figures are united by the cosmological associations that bind the celestial and terrestrial spheres and link the macrocosm to the microcosm.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Netherlandish graphic artists frequently adopted and adapted the two-tiered, vertical format for allegorical engravings of cosmological subjects, such as the *Children of the Planets*, the *Times of Day*, and the *Cardinal Winds*. As in Heemskerck's *Temperaments*, such series typically pair mythological gods or personifications of abstract concepts with human figures engaged in worldly pursuits. The inclusion of multiple registers separated by clouds allowed for the juxtaposition of celestial and terrestrial zones. As Netherlandish artists discovered, the two-tiered structure could maintain ontological divisions while demonstrating the harmonious correlation between macrocosm and microcosm. In bridging the otherworldly and the local, such imagery helped to define mankind's place in the universe.

Renaissance Cosmology:

In the late 1580s or early 1590s, Crispijn de Passe I published a series of the *Seven Planets* after designs by Marten de Vos.²⁴² The series is prefaced by a diagrammatic title print with an arrangement credited to Theodorus Graminaeus, a mapmaker and professor of astronomy in Cologne (**Figure 2.6**). The inscription at the bottom of the page identifies the subject of the series as the influence of the seven planets over men, animals, plants, and metals, based on the "*cathena aurea*

²⁴² The body of this series is discussed below in the section devoted to the *Children of the Planets*. Hollstein 1373-1379; Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf*, cat. nrs. 17.1-8.

Platonis,” the Platonic “golden chain” of sympathetic correspondences that links all creation. This metaphorical chain takes on literal form in the schematic rendering of the cosmos, framed by four putti representing elements and liberal arts. God the Father sits at the top with a terrestrial orb in his lap and a pair of geometric squares in his hand, emphasizing his role as creator of the universe. Below, lozenges portray representatives of the nine angelic orders of the celestial hierarchy. The two angels nearest to God hold banners showing an armillary sphere, which functioned as a model of the geocentric universe, and the *Primum mobile* (or “First Mover”), the unmoving origin of planetary motion according to the Ptolemaic system, while the lower orders wave banners depicting the seven planetary deities as nude, recumbent figures.

Man (*Homo*) appears at the center of the image as an outstretched figure inscribed within a circle, emphasizing his perfect proportions according to the canon of Vitruvius. A chain connects him to a lozenge above, marked *Angeli* (“Angels”), the lowest order of the celestial hierarchy and those most like likely to interact with humanity. Chains from man’s hands extend to personifications of the four elements—earth, water, air, and fire—while those from his feet unite him with the three kingdoms: animals, vegetables, and minerals. With diagrammatic clarity, the image portrays Man’s central yet inextricable position at the center of a vast network of relations.

The depiction of the universe presented on the title print of de Vos’s series of the planets conforms to the overarching cosmology of the sixteenth century in Europe. Such views are summarized by S.K. Heninger:

A continuing problem in metaphysics...is to identify the limits of the physical realm and of the conceptual realm, and to describe the interaction between them. During the renaissance the familiar chain of being was an attempt to deal with this metaphysical problem. The physical realm comprised (in ascending order) stones, plants, and animals; the conceptual realm comprised (in descending order) God and the angels. And man was the nexus between them, holding the physical and conceptual together in a single entity and providing a means of intercourse between them. Man is literally the crucial link in the chain. His superiority—what makes him lord of creation—is directly due to his ability to have experience of both the physical and the conceptual levels.²⁴³

Mankind's pairing of corporeal being with an immaterial soul served to unite the physical domain of terrestrial existence with the conceptual realm of the divine and celestial.²⁴⁴ Humanity's possession of elevated mental faculties further bridged the divide between the two spheres. Man, however, was more than a central nexus on the hierarchy uniting heaven and earth; he also represented a universe in miniature.

According to the cosmology of the Renaissance, Man was a microcosmic recapitulation of the macrocosmic universe. Such theories extended back to classical antiquity, when Platonic philosophy adopted and adapted older Pythagorean notions that related the proportions of the human body to the regularity displayed by heavenly bodies.²⁴⁵ Both represented a *discordia concors*, a harmonized diversity of multiple parts constituting a unified whole.²⁴⁶ This structural parallelism was augmented by the material similarity of macrocosm and microcosm, based on the concept of the four elements – earth, water, air, and fire – which existed as pure forms in the celestial spheres and as raw materials in the concrete world, where they were thought to comprise all of physical reality, including the human body.

²⁴³ S.K. Heninger Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1974), 10.

²⁴⁴ For a fuller treatment of the Neoplatonic development of the "Golden Chain" from antiquity through the Early Modern period, see Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936).

²⁴⁵ Heninger, *Touches of Sweet Harmony* (1974); Leonard Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art: The Human Body as Image of the World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975).

²⁴⁶ Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art* (1975), 117.

As Heemskerck illustrated in his series of the *Four Temperaments*, individual traits – both physical and psychological – were thought to be governed by the four humors: black bile, phlegm, blood, and yellow bile.²⁴⁷ An appropriate balance of these fluids was essential for maintaining health, while imbalances could cause illnesses of the mind and body. The enduring predominance of a particular humor determined one's temperament. A prevalence of yellow bile resulted in a choleric disposition, an abundance of blood led to an easy-going cheerfulness, a majority of phlegm created an apathetic personality, and a preponderance of black bile caused melancholy. Each of the four humors corresponded to one element, based on qualitative similarities: yellow bile was hot and dry like fire, blood was hot and moist like air, phlegm was cold and moist like water, and black bile was cold and dry like earth. The correlation between humors and elements established the physical compatibility of the universe and humanity, reinforcing their material association and serving as the basis of their sympathetic correspondence. With macrocosm and microcosm linked through form and substance, the movements of celestial bodies acted upon human bodies and influenced the course of terrestrial events. As a result of the effective associations between microcosm and macrocosm, humanity was bound up in a vast system of interrelated concepts pertaining to the linkage between the universe and human experience.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Hot Dry Men, Cold Wet Women: The Theory of Humors in Western European Art, 1575-1700* (New York: American Federation of the Arts, 1997), 14; Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (1964), 5.

²⁴⁸ Sez nec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1953), 49; Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (1964), 4.

Beginning in antiquity, cosmological categories existed in schematic arrangements, linked together according to theoretical correspondences and numerical associations.²⁴⁹ Particular appreciation was reserved for quadripartite groupings, a residue of the Pythagorean esteem for the balanced qualities displayed by the number four.²⁵⁰ Augustine, for example, aligned the four quarters of the world, four elements, four winds, four seasons, four ages of man, and four times of day.²⁵¹ Such quaternities, according to Augustine, represent the temporal world of creation and man's material body, while the number three denotes divinity in the form of the trinitarian godhead and the tripartite soul of man.²⁵²

Medieval representations of the universe appeared in diagrams displaying correspondences between cosmological categories. While the linkage of the various tetradic groupings goes back to antiquity, Isidore of Seville provided a schematization of these ancient concepts in his *De natura rerum* in the early seventh century CE, showing the alignment of the four elements, four humors, four seasons, and four paired qualities: hot-moist, hot-dry, cold-moist, and cold-dry.²⁵³ The *Enchiridion* of Byrhtferth of Ramsey (ca. 1010) goes even further by adding the four winds, the four cardinal directions, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and twelve

²⁴⁹ Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (1964), 6.

²⁵⁰ For a study of the medieval appreciation of quadripartite categories, see Anna C. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1978).

²⁵¹ For Augustine's writings on such categories, see Esther Gordon Dotson, "An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Part I," *Art Bulletin* 61.2 (1979), 247 n. 126.

²⁵² Augustine associates the number three with the divinity of the trinitarian godhead and the tripartite soul of man. Dotson, "An Augustinian Interpretation" (1979), 247.

²⁵³ Heninger, *The Cosmographical Glass* (1977), 108.

months in a lozenge shaped diagram (**Figure 2.7**).²⁵⁴ The harmony of space, time, and matter was taken as a sign of the divine arrangement of the universe.²⁵⁵

The advent of printing in the fifteenth century led to a proliferation of diagrams and tables that provided simplified models of the universe as a *concordia discors*. The abundance of such schemes during the early modern period helped to disseminate cosmological knowledge to a wider audience.²⁵⁶ Despite occasional variations, the ordering of the categories remained remarkably consistent over the centuries. In his classic study on the place of ancient mythology in the Renaissance, Jean Seznec includes a chart summarizing the correspondences of various tetradic categories as well as signs of the Zodiac:²⁵⁷

<i>Signs of the Zodiac</i>	<i>Seasons</i>	<i>Ages of Life</i>	<i>Elements</i>	<i>Winds</i>	<i>Qualities</i>	<i>Conditions</i>	<i>Humors</i>	<i>Temperaments</i>	<i>Colors</i>
ARIES TAURUS GEMINI	Spring	Childhood	Air	South	hot-moist	liquid	blood	sanguine	red
CANCER LEO VIRGO	Summer	Youth	Fire	East	hot-dry	gaseous	yellow bile	choleric	yellow
LIBRA SCORPIO SAGITTARIUS	Autumn	Maturity	Earth	North	cold-dry	dense	black bile	melancholic	black
CAPRICORNUS AQUARIUS PISCES	Winter	Old Age	Water	West	cold-moist	solid	phlegm	phlegmatic	white

Concordance of cosmological categories (From Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, p. 47)

²⁵⁴ Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 137.

²⁵⁵ Simona Cohen, "The Early Renaissance Personification of Time and Changing Concepts of Temporality," *Renaissance Studies* 14.3 (2000), 307-8.

²⁵⁶ See Heninger, *The Cosmographical Glass* (1977).

²⁵⁷ Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1953), 47. It should be noted that the zodiacal triads included in Seznec's table are the sequential groupings corresponding to the four seasons, not the elemental triplicities discussed above in relation to Heemskerck's *Temperaments*.

A brief look at Seznec's headings demonstrates the network of associations linking humanity to the cosmos. In translating such concepts into visible images, artists helped to define the relationships between the universe and man.

Vertical Composition and the use of Cloud Dividers:

During the second half of the sixteenth century, cosmological categories supplied Netherlandish artists with numerous subjects for serial engravings. Such works maintain much of the classificatory function and spatial clarity found in diagrams while adding visual interest. Some groupings listed above (e.g., Elements, Temperaments, Seasons) were discussed in the previous chapter on personified figures in landscapes and the relation of humanity to nature. The landscape format establishes connections between ontologically different figures through the relation of foreground and background spaces. This chapter explores a second group of categories – the seven Planets, four Times of Day, and Cardinal Winds – concerned with correspondences between the celestial and terrestrial realms and the influences that bind humanity to the universe. In the portrayal of such subjects, Netherlandish artists employed a vertical linkage between registers separated by clouds.

Netherlandish artists relied on this structure for depictions of the *Children of the Planets*, the *Times of Day*, and the *Cardinal Winds*, all themes involving the relation between macrocosm and microcosm. Marten de Vos was particularly drawn to the use of registers separated by clouds, applying the format in no fewer than six

series of allegorical engravings. Similar compositions also appear in the work of Maerten van Heemskerck, Philips Galle, and Crispijn de Passe I, among others. The use of the two-tiered, vertical format for engravings of cosmological subjects allowed for the pairing of the celestial and terrestrial realms and the juxtaposition of ontologically different figures.

Prior to its use by Netherlandish graphic artists, vertical compositions with registers divided by clouds were frequently employed in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century religious imagery as a means to establish relationships, as well as distinctions, between the human and the divine. The scheme appeared with increasing regularity in Italian Renaissance art, where it was used for the portrayal of certain biblical subjects (e.g., Last Judgment, Ascension, Assumption of the Virgin) and for the depiction of the visionary experiences of saints, prophets, and mystics. Raphael's *Ecstasy of St. Cecilia*, for example, portrays a congregation of saints beneath a cloudy caesura filled with angels bathed in light, and his *Transfiguration* (1515-20) also includes a separation between Christ's otherworldly presence and the group of gesticulating mortals below (**Figures 2.8 and 2.9**). In such imagery the inclusion of registers divided by clouds emphasizes the vertical axis linking heaven and earth.²⁵⁸

Despite the prominence of such schemes in Italian Renaissance paintings of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, prints produced by Albrecht Dürer and his German peers likely had a larger influence on the use of clouds in a two-tiered

²⁵⁸ Hubert Damisch, *The Theory of /Cloud/: Toward a History of Painting*, translated by Janet Lloyd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 21.

format by Netherlandish graphic artists.²⁵⁹ Dürer's engraving of *Nemesis*, likely produced around 1501-1502, anticipates the use of the two-tiered format for the depiction of allegorical figures in the Low Countries (**Figure 2.10**).²⁶⁰ The large engraving portrays a winged, female figure standing on an orb above a minutely rendered landscape. In her left hand she holds an ornate goblet, while in her right she carries a bridle. These attributes of reward and punishment, respectively, identify the figure as *Nemesis*, the ancient goddess of retribution, as described in a 1482 poem by Politian, a fifteenth-century Italian poet and humanist.²⁶¹ Shown in strict profile against a blank, white background, the static figure of the goddess is rendered according to the Vitruvian canons of proportion.²⁶² Her strictly measured form hovers over a landscape, identified as Klausen in the southern Tyrol and based on a study produced by Dürer during his first excursion to Italy in 1494-1495.²⁶³ A thin band of ribbon-like cloud separates the supernal space of the goddess from the earthly space below.

In addition to separating divergent realities, the cloud also delineates two different modes of representation; the upper and lower registers correspond to different types of naturalism and concepts of beauty. The rendering of *Nemesis* illustrates the perfection of Nature through idealized measurement. The constructed

²⁵⁹ Originally created as an altarpiece for Narbonne Cathedral in the south of France, Raphael's *Transfiguration* would have been unknown to Netherlandish artists.

²⁶⁰ Erwin Panofsky, "Virgo & Victrix: A Note on Dürer's 'Nemesis'," in *Prints: Thirteen Illustrated Essays on the Art of the Print*, edited by Carl Zigrosser (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1962), 13-38; Reiner Schoch, Matthias Mende, and Anna Scherbaum. *Albrecht Dürer: das druckgraphische Werk. Band I, Kupferstiche, Eisenradierungen und Kaltnadelblätter* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), 95-99, no 33.

²⁶¹ The link between the image and the poem was first recognized by Karl Giehlow in 1902. "Poliziano und Dürer," *Die graphischen Künste* 25, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Künste* (1902), 22-26.

²⁶² Panofsky, "Titian's Allegory of Prudence" (1955), 81-82.

²⁶³ Schoch, Mende and Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürer* (2001), I, 98.

proportionate body of the goddess contrasts, however, with the mimetic realism of the scene depicted below. According to Panofsky, “The view in the *Nemesis* engraving...combines panoramic vastness with a stupendous amount of accurate, identifiable detail and, more important, with perfect measurability... It is a superb piece of cartography rather than a landscape in the ordinary sense.”²⁶⁴ Although both the figure and the landscape are “measurable,” the former represents a harmonic archetype, while the latter relies on direct observation. One seeks to improve on Nature, whereas the other attempts to replicate it.

The pairing of stylistic modes could further enforce the distinction between the timeless and idealized realm of macrocosmic concepts and the more immediate sphere of human experience. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the availability of a stylistic alternative between Italianate and “vernacular” idioms allowed Netherlandish designers to select an appropriate mode of representation.²⁶⁵ While the classicizing style conferred a sense of timeless truth, the native tradition offered a realism suitable to the depiction of contemporary experience. The juxtaposition of the two stylistic modes, particularly noticeable when conspicuously “northern” genres and styles (e.g., world-landscape) appear alongside classicizing figures, provided a particularly apt structure for the portrayal of macrocosmic influences on terrestrial existence. Dürer’s allegical personification occupies the timeless register of Classical harmony with the world of immediate experience laid

²⁶⁴ Panofsky, “Titian’s Allegory of Prudence” (1955), 82.

²⁶⁵ Meadow, “Bruegel’s *Procession to Calvary*” (1996), 182; Freedberg, “Allusion and Topicality” (1989).

out below in finely measured detail. The stylistic pairing creates a hybridity that buttresses the content in bridging the universal and local.²⁶⁶

By splitting the image, the two-tiered format allows the separation of the human and divine while establishing communication between the two domains. The cloud border has long been used as a “pictorial cue” demarcating the boundaries of the heavenly or spiritual phenomena from the merely physical.²⁶⁷ In his discussion of Renaissance altarpieces in Italy, Marc Bayard notes the frequent application of the vertical composition divided into registers:

The tiered structure present in religious paintings for churches raises the issue of temporal and atemporal registers, of the finite and infinite, of the particular and the universal, the Absolute and the Real, all themes that were passionately and persistently debated during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.²⁶⁸

The internal partitions within such works help differentiate figures according to their level of corporeality, leading to a “stratification of sacredness” with immaterial bodies at the top.²⁶⁹ Rather than foreclosing communication, however, the split structure promotes dialogue between otherwise divergent realities.

Victor Stoichita includes a similar observation in his treatment of Spanish mystical paintings created during the Counter Reformation, where he identifies an “anthropology of verticality” at play in the distinction of multiple levels of existence:

²⁶⁶ Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 16.

²⁶⁷ Sixten Ringbom notes the longevity and widespread application of the cloud as a visual divider between realms, suggesting that “the cloud border has enjoyed almost universal validity.” Sixten Ringbom, “Action and Report: The Problem of Indirect Narration in the Academic Theory of Painting,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989), 50.

²⁶⁸ Marc Bayard, “In Front of the Work of Art : The Question of Pictorial Theatricality in Italian Art, 1400-1700 ,” in *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture*, edited by Caroline van Eck and Stijn Bussels (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 75.

²⁶⁹ Bayard, “In Front of the Work of Art” (2010), 75.

The problem of unifying immanence and transcendence was taken up by Counter-Reformation art precisely in this spirit of the dramatic verticalization of the visionary experience. Splitting the levels of reality – as practiced in vision paintings – facilitated the move from one area to the other. The paintings can be divided into two distinct but intercommunicating zones: one terrestrial, the other celestial.²⁷⁰

The use of registers divided by clouds helped address the problem of how to represent the numinous alongside the worldly, providing the spectator with a privileged, simultaneous view of these two divergent spaces.²⁷¹ The solution could be applied to the portrayal of religious scenes and mystical experiences, but it could also facilitate the depiction of cosmological allegories that required the yoking together of two different realities: one immediate and the other transcendent.²⁷²

Clouds often play an important role in such images by helping to hold these two realms in suspension. They occupy the indistinct space between heaven and earth, dividing the two domains while also mediating between them. As Hubert Damisch notes in his *Theory of /Cloud/*, clouds are liminal, nebulous, and imprecise: “[they] arise at the point where the visible meets the invisible, the representable meets the unrepresentable.”²⁷³ This feature, combined with their presence in the actual heavens, made clouds an ideal vehicle for representing the demarcation between the worldly and the otherworldly.

²⁷⁰ Victor I. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art*. Translated by Anne-Marie Glasheen (London: Reaktion, 1995), 28.

²⁷¹ This was a particular issue for an art that “strives to represent only the things that are seen,” according to Alberti’s well-known description of the art of painting. Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans C. Grayson, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1991), 37.

²⁷² It should be noted that the use of vertical registers as a means of relating the earthly and the divine was not a feature of early Netherlandish painting. Craig Harbison stresses the difference between Netherlandish and Italian methods for depicting visionary experiences during the fifteenth century: “It must be emphasized that in early Flemish paintings there is often little clear demarcation between what is earthly, pure and simple, and what is visionary. Visions are rarely set off against stylized cloud formations, and angels almost never trumpet long and long to alert us to an oncoming supernatural occurrence.” Craig Harbison, “Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 15.2 (1985), 99.

²⁷³ Damisch, *Theory of /Cloud/* (2002), 129.

In addition to serving as boundaries or buffers between disparate realms, clouds could signal an otherworldly intrusion into the measured space of terrestrial experience. With their constant metamorphoses, movement, dissolution, and re-formation, clouds resist visual representation within the system of linear perspective elaborated by Leon Battista Alberti and Filippo Brunelleschi in the fifteenth century. Due to their exclusion from the system, clouds introduced “a contradiction into the very heart of the representation by denoting a rift in the human space and a more or less brutal insertion of a dimension of transcendence into the system of depiction that depended upon geometrical coordinates.”²⁷⁴ The disruption caused by the depiction of clouds in an otherwise perspectival work could indicate the presence of divinity or mark the suprasensorial experience of a mystic vision. As Victor Stoichita explains, “painting sees the ambiguity of the cloud as an essential means of visualizing the Sacred.”²⁷⁵ In Renaissance and Baroque paintings, artists exploited the hierophanic significance of clouds as a means to portray the divine, numinous, and visionary in works otherwise concerned with the naturalistic representation of the visible world.

In their formal attributes and symbolic connotations, clouds also provided a fitting analogy for the numinous bodies of divine figures. Like clouds, such figures exist at the threshold of the material and immaterial, visible and invisible. In the Old Testament, the cloud could function as a sign of the physical presence of God. During the Exodus, for example, a pillar of cloud leads the Jews through the desert, and on Mount Sinai, Moses encounters God in the form of a cloud (Ex. 24:15-18). In Lucas

²⁷⁴ Damisch, *Theory of /Cloud/* (2002), 145.

²⁷⁵ Stoichita, *Visionary Experience* (1995), 86.

van Leyden's *Dance around the Golden Calf* (1530), for example, a large grey cloud dominates the central panel, which includes Moses's ascent to the godhead in the background. Paradoxically, the cloud allows for revelation through the concealment of God's blinding glory, as God declares atop Mount Sinai that "no man shall see Me, and live" (Ex. 33:20). Similarly, the *mandorla*, the almond shaped aura surrounding depictions of Christ in medieval art, was intended to represent the *doxa*, the aura of cloud and light enveloping His divinity.²⁷⁶ Clouds played a vital, mediatory role in making God visible to earthly eyes unprepared to encounter the dazzling brightness of a direct encounter. As Stuart Lingo so eloquently describes it, "clouds served as true curtains to the drama of theophany."²⁷⁷

Clouds were also thought to comprise some numinous bodies. In his *Summa Theologica*, Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) compares angelic bodies to clouds. According to Aquinas, angels were incorporeal beings that assumed bodily form for the benefit of mankind through the condensation of air:

Although air, as long as it is in a state of rarefaction, has neither shape nor color, yet when condensed it can both be shaped and colored as appears in the clouds. Even so angels assume bodies of air, condensing it by the Divine power in so far as is needful for forming the assumed body.²⁷⁸

The formation of angelic bodies parallels the formation of clouds, a particularly apposite comparison, since both dwell in the heavens. In their relation to the visible aspects of divinity – and in their spatial elevation – clouds served as perfect vehicles

²⁷⁶ John Shearman, "Raphael's Clouds and Corregio's," in *Studi Su Raffaello* (Urbino, 1987), 663; Robert Deshman, "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 79, no. 3 (1997), 523. Deshman notes that the "nimbus," likewise, has its roots in the cloud: "The literal meaning of the nimbus, which derives etymologically from the combination of *nubis* (cloud) and *imber* (rain), was a storm cloud." (p. 527).

²⁷⁷ Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 55-56.

²⁷⁸ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (Part 1, Question 51, Article 2).
<http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1051.html> (accessed February 12, 2009)

for the presentation of supernal figures, including gods as well as personified allegories.

The Children of the Planets:

In the Netherlands, the use of registers divided by clouds was likely shaped by depictions of the *Children of the Planets*, a popular astrological convention that first appeared in European art at the beginning of the fifteenth century as a means to represent planetary influences over the affairs of humanity. The elaborate correspondences between man and universe were simplified and visualized in depictions of the *Children of the Planets*, which portray such concepts in the form of personified planets ruling over groups of figures susceptible to particular planetary influences. Appearing in aristocratic manuscripts and tapestries as well as popular woodcuts and calendars, the *Children of the Planets* served as a visual source of scientific knowledge during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Rooted in medieval astrology, this convention situated humanity in relation to the cosmos. Beginning in the twelfth century, Latin translations of Arabic scientific treatises led to a revival of classical astrology in the West. The rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Tetrabiblos* established the validity of astrological investigation, and the translation of Abu Ma'shar's 'Introduction to Astrology' provided a wealth of information related to zodiacal and planetary influences over the natural world.²⁷⁹ Like the humors and elements, the seven planets—Mercury,

²⁷⁹ Dieter Blume, *Regenten Des Himmels: Astrologische Bilder in Mittelalter Und Renaissance* (Berlin: Akademie, 2000), 159. For a wide introduction to astrology in western culture, see Franz Boll, Carl

Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Sun, and the Moon—were assigned qualities: the Moon was wet, the Sun was hot, Venus and Jupiter were predominately hot and moist, Mars was hot and dry, Mercury was fairly balanced, and Saturn was cold and dry.²⁸⁰ Due to their correspondence with the elements and bodily humors, planets affected the course of terrestrial events and determined the temperament, complexion, profession, and even the manner of death of individuals.

Series of the *Children of the Planets* portray these invisible influences through the juxtaposition of planetary deities with groups of terrestrial figures imbued with characteristics derived from the presiding planets. The convention typically comprised a series of seven images arranged according to the order of the planets in the Ptolemaic universe.²⁸¹ In most instances, the planetary deities are shown with signs of the zodiac, which represent their planetary “houses.” While most of the planets have two houses, one for daytime and one for night, the sun (Sol) and moon (Luna) have only one each, as they define day and night, respectively.²⁸² The planets usually appear in an upper register with human representatives depicted below.

The various traits ascribed to each of the planetary deities were consistent with the qualities described in mythological narratives about the Olympian gods of the same name. These attributes were then passed on to the planets’ earthly progeny. Regarded as destructive, devouring, and tyrannical, Saturn was associated with the Melancholic temperament, inspired by a predominance of black bile. His

Bezold, and Wilhelm Gundel, *Sternglaube Und Sterndeutung: Die Geschichte Und Das Wesen Der Astrologie*, 5th ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966).

²⁸⁰ *Tetrabiblos* IV.10. See Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 48.

²⁸¹ Series sometimes begin with the most distant planet, Saturn, and other times with the nearest, the Moon. Veldman, “Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments” (1980), 164.

²⁸² Veldman, “Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments” (1980), 164.

afflicted children were typically described as traitorous, greedy, lame, toiling, and condemned to die in sorrow. They included criminals, cripples, farmers, and the destitute. As king of the gods, Jupiter was considered regal, sturdy, and mature. His wards, including judges, courtiers, and scholars, were thought to be modest, virtuous, fortunate, just, wise, well mannered, and well clothed. Mars, the belligerent god of war, presided over soldiers, smiths, butchers, and others who were bellicose, angry, haughty, and proud. The children of the Sun – comprised of rulers and athletes, possessed qualities derived from Apollo. They were generally pious, sporting, and in possession of good beards, long foreheads, and fair bodies. The merry and sensual offspring of Venus – goddess of beauty, love, and pleasure – included courtiers, lovers, and musicians. As the god of eloquence and trade, Mercury’s children were considered smart, probing, and industrious, and generous and included painters, sculptors, clock-makers, organ-makers, scribes, and goldsmiths. Finally, the Moon, the deity linked to the element of water and the phlegmatic temperament, reigned over the inconstant, lazy, jealous, mad, and greedy, as well as those associated with the sea, particularly fisherman and sailors. While particular versions of the convention vary in some particulars, the types associated with each of the planets remained remarkably consistent from the origins of the convention at the beginning of the fifteenth century through its eventual decline two centuries later, when the cosmological worldview shifted away from the pervasive correspondences that had been embraced in the sixteenth century.²⁸³

²⁸³ On the widespread belief in “similitude” during the sixteenth century, see Michel Foucault’s

One could be assigned to a planet based on date of birth, or sometimes by more complex methods involving the letters of one's name. Most often, however, planetary affiliations were simply determined retroactively by considering which planet possessed qualities most closely associated with one's profession or personality. The traits and qualities inspired by each planet did not infringe on free will, however; they merely produced natural tendencies that could be expressed or suppressed by those who possessed them: *Astra inclinant, nun necessitant* (The stars impel, they do not compel).

The pictorial convention of the *Children of the Planets* reduced the complexity of celestial influences by proposing simple, genealogical relationships between particular planets and those under their sway. As an uncomplicated mode for comprehending the operation of celestial influences over the sublunar world, the series held a broad appeal, with some versions aimed at an erudite elite and others likely intended for a semi-literate audience of burghers and artisans.²⁸⁴ This straightforward yet effective scheme appeared in manuscripts, prints, paintings, and tapestries throughout central and western Europe for nearly two centuries (1400-1600). In the Netherlands, several engraved series of the *Children of the Planets* appeared in the final decades of the sixteenth century, with versions designed by Maerten van Heemskerck, Marten de Vos, and Hendrick Goltzius marking the final flourishing of the convention. As a visual distillation of complicated astrological

seminal essay, "The Prose of the World," in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 1966), 19-49; on the shift from allegorical representations to genre scenes in Netherlandish graphic art, see Veldman, "Allegory to Genre" (2006).

²⁸⁴ On the "Children of the Planets" as a popularization of complex astrological concepts during the fifteenth century, see Dieter Blume, "Children of the Planets: The Popularization of Astrology in the 15th Century," *Micrologus* 12 (2004), 549-63.

concepts, the *Children of the Planets* helped to mediate the popular understanding of man's place in the universe.

The pictorial composition that would eventually dominate the European tradition first appeared around 1400 in a French manuscript of Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othéa*, an allegorical work in which Othéa, a fictional goddess, offers advice to a youthful Hector, the Trojan hero.²⁸⁵ The miniatures that illustrate portions of Christine's text portray the planetary deities on clouds above corresponding figures. Luna is pictured above a group of madmen, for example, while bellicose Mars presides over a battle scene (**Figures 2.11 and 2.12**). The other planets appear in similar compositions with their own human cohorts. According to Fritz Saxl and Erwin Panofsky, Christine may have combined her knowledge of Arabic astrology with a compositional scheme borrowed from Christian imagery to create the standard portrayal of the *Children of the Planets*, which shows the planetary deities in the celestial realm and their terrestrial progeny below, often separated by a bank of clouds.²⁸⁶

This format was adopted and adapted in numerous works presented in various media over the next two centuries.²⁸⁷ Published in Florence in 1464, Baccio Baldini's influential suite of engravings shows the planets – identified by floating banderoles – riding in triumphal chariots symbolizing the celestial movement of the

²⁸⁵ Sandra L Hindman, *Christine De Pizan's 'Epistre d'Othea': Painting and Politics in the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of the Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 78.

²⁸⁶ Fritz Saxl and Erwin Panofsky, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 4, no. 2 (1933), 246.

²⁸⁷ Dieter Blume contends that although Christine de Pizan may have been the first to employ such a scheme, her manuscript illuminations had little influence outside her immediate circle. In any case, Christine's imagery predates similar depictions of the *Children of the Planets* in the subsequent decades and centuries. Blume, *Regenten des Himmels* (2000), 161.

planets.²⁸⁸ The deities and their chariots hover in the air above their progeny, who engage in various trades and crafts in settings modeled on Florentine urban spaces and the Tuscan landscape.

These engravings inspired several close copies in Italy and influenced Georg Pencz's sixteenth-century woodcuts of the *Children of the Planets*, published by Albrecht Glockendon in Nuremberg and dated August 1, 1531 (**Figure 2.12**). Pencz's images present updated versions of Baldini's Italian prototypes, but following the model established in Dürer's graphic works, the German artist added bands of cloud beneath the planetary chariots, further separating the planets from their children below. These woodcuts helped to spread the convention farther north, providing models for artists in the Low Countries several decades later.

Maerten van Heemskerck designed the first Netherlandish series of the *Children of the Planets* in 1568, two years after his series of the *Four Temperaments* (**Figures 2.13-2.19**).²⁸⁹ Engraved by Harmen Jansz. Muller and published by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp, the series follows Pencz in showing the personified planets in chariots atop banks of cloud. In comparison to his predecessors, Heemskerck amplified the classicism of his deities, portraying each of the planetary figures semi-nude and well muscled, except for the figure of *Sol*, who wears the vestments of a king, and *Mars*, who dons classical armor. The signs of the zodiacal houses appear behind each of the deities along with arcs of elliptical striations

²⁸⁸ Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 167; Friedrich Lippman was the first to trace the influence of this particular version of the *Children of the Planets*. Friedrich Lippmann, *Die Sieben Planeten* (Berlin: Internationale Chalkographische Gesellschaft, 1895).

²⁸⁹ Dating according to Veldman, "Allegory to Genre" (2006), 207; Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf*, 80-83, cat. nrs. 16.1-16.7; Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 163-169; Brokken (1994), 86-88, cat. nrs. 6.1-6.7.

indicating the planetary orbits.²⁹⁰ In the lower register, the planetary progeny wear antiquated costumes and occupy classical settings, a departure from the contemporary and local portrayals in most versions of the convention, including those by Baldini and Pencz. Heemkerck used horizontal rather than vertical sheets for his engravings, extending the spaces available for the depiction of the planets and their children. The panoramic landscapes in Heemskerck's series not only offer a wider field of influence for the planets; they also align the series of the planets with the artist's many series of engravings portraying allegorical processions (discussed at greater length in Chapter 3 below).

Numbered at the bottom left of each print, Heemkerck's series begins with a rendering of the Moon and her Children. Like the artist's depiction of the *Phlegmatic* temperament published two years earlier, Luna, the planet nearest to the earth, appears in the upper register above a watery landscape. Holding a crescent and a hunting horn, she rides in a chariot pulled by two maidens, a feature explained by the goddess's dual guise as Luna and Diana, virginal goddess of the moon as well as the hunt; the latter thus serves as the protectress of girls until they reach the age of marriage. The sign for Cancer appears nearby as an indication of Luna's zodiacal house. Below, fishermen cast their nets as others bathe in the water, a representation of the kinds of aquatic activities that accord with Luna's role as the planet associated with the element of water and tides.

With his arm extended in an oratorical gesture, a reference to his command of rhetoric, Mercury rides above of the clouds in a chariot pulled by a pair of cocks

²⁹⁰ Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 81.

as the signs for Virgo and Gemini hover nearby. As the herald of the day, the rooster served as an apt symbol for the messenger of the gods. According to the Latin inscription, “Mercury makes intelligent, shrewd, ambitious, and generous children who are skilled in mathematics and whose wishes are fulfilled. They are visionaries, slim of build, pale, with honest eyes, and to be admired for their moderation in drinking.”²⁹¹ Mercury’s assorted progeny comprise scholars, musicians, and artists, including a sculptor with a chisel and a painter at his easel, visible through an arched opening to the right.

Venus comes next in a chariot pulled by doves, a conveyance described in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (14.597ff). As in Heemskerck’s depiction of *Sanguinity*, the goddess holds an arrow as Cupid draws his bow nearby. Taurus and Libra serve as the goddess’s zodiacal houses, while below, Venus’s merry progeny “indulge their whims” by eating, drinking, and love-making in a pleasure garden.

The goddess of love is followed by *Sol*, who carries a blazing staff and wears regal robes in contrast to the other, semi-nude deities. He is pulled by two horses rather than the standard four that typically draw the chariot of the Sun. Leo, the sign of the god’s nighttime “house,” appears nearby. Below, *Sol*’s children enjoy gymnastics and feats of strength to demonstrate the “lively and healthy” disposition imbued by their solar patriarch.

Carrying a banner and a shield, armored Mars adopts an aggressive and confrontational pose in his chariot, which is drawn by a pair of dogs rather than his usual war-horses. The canines were associated with the god of war due to their

²⁹¹ Translated by Veldman, “Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments” (1980), 165.

rapacity and vigilance.²⁹² Scorpio and Ares accompany the bellicose deity, who inspired martial virtues in his offspring as well as murderous inclinations. According to the inscription, "Mars makes powerful, warlike, crafty and strong people, blindly savage, raging and wild, who hurl them-selves into danger on the slightest pretext. They are given to primal reaction, lively, thriftless, hotheaded and tyrannical."²⁹³ The lower register is dominated by conflagrations and battles, while in the foreground a peasant wielding a pitchfork attempts to prevent a soldier from raping a woman.

Jupiter, king of the gods, appears beneath the signs of Sagittarius and Pisces. His chariot is drawn by a pair of peacocks, birds typically associated with Juno as a result of her transformation of Argus following his slaying by Mercury.²⁹⁴ He holds a bundle of lightning bolts and sits astride an eagle, the god's standard attributes. The earthly figures in the lower register represent spiritual and temporal powers, the god's terrestrial counterparts. The supplication addressed to Jupiter by the kneeling figure at his feet is reflected in the obeisance paid to the king on the left and pope on the right, demonstrating the analogical correspondence between rulers in the two realms.

The final image of the series shows Saturn, the unhappy god of the melancholic temperament. His chariot is drawn by a pair of dragons, a selection derived from the *ouroboros*, a serpent or dragon eating its own tail. As a symbol of cyclical or eternal time, the *ouroboros* was associated with Saturn in his role as

²⁹² The phrase "dogs of war" gained currency in roughly the period, as in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: "Cry 'Havoc! and let slip the dogs of war'" (Act 3, Scene 1, line 273).

²⁹³ Translated in Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 165.

²⁹⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk. 1, verses 720-723.

Cronos, the god of time.²⁹⁵ Depicted in the act of consuming his child, Saturn appears beside the signs for Aquarius and Aries. In the lower domain, the sick, crippled, and impoverished receive charity to the left, while to the right a prisoner in stocks receives a priestly blessing. In the background, a swineherd slaughters a pig and farmers till their fields as the body of an executed criminal hangs from the gallows in the distance.

In Heemskerck's series, the two registers are sharply delimited by thin bands of cloud. The depth of the planetary chariots on their cloudy supports defines the shallow space of the upper zone, which is backed by the indeterminate orbital striations that appear behind the planetary deities. By contrast, the spaces portrayed in the lower registers extend into the distance. This spatial disjunction between the celestial and terrestrial realms, heightened by differences in scale between the planetary figures and their human counterparts, recurs in subsequent Netherlandish series of the *Children of the Planets* and in the depiction of other cosmological themes.

Heemskerck's series of the *Children of the Planets* inspired two versions of the theme by Marten de Vos, who provided drawings for series engraved, respectively, by Johannes I Sadeler (1585)²⁹⁶ and Crispijn de Passe I (ca. 1590).²⁹⁷ Both sets adopt the compositional arrangement first employed by Baldini in his

²⁹⁵ See Erwin Panofsky, "Father Time," In *Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper and Row, 1939), 69-93.

²⁹⁶ Hollstein 1380-1387; Ilja M. Veldman, "De Macht van de Planeten over het Mensdom in Prenten naar Maarten de Vos," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 31 (1983), 21-53; Brokken (1994), 88-94, cat. nrs. 7.1-7.8.

²⁹⁷ Published by Crispijn de Passe I. Veldman claims that this series postdates the 1585 series of the planets engraved by Johannes Sadeler I. Hollstein 1373-1379; Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 83- 88, cat. nrs. 17.1-17.8.

fifteenth-century Florentine engravings, with the personified planets shown riding in chariots above their children. The cloudbanks separating the celestial and terrestrial realms adhere to the precedent established by Pencz, and the curved striations that appear behind the planets derive from Heemskerck's series. De Vos diverged somewhat from these artists, however, in his depiction of the planets' children.

While his predecessors showed the various planetary groups from horizontal vantages near to the terrestrial figures, de Vos used distant, elevated views that greatly altered the scale of the earthly figures in relation to their surroundings. De Vos pushes the horizon far into the distance, thereby extending the virtual space for the inclusion of additional landscape features and staffage. His two series include diminutive figures dominated by expansive landscape settings that stretch toward the horizon. Despite the small size of the figures, many conventional activities of the "children" can still be observed, with groups of planetary progeny arrayed along the most proximate foreground spaces at the bottom edge of each image. In the depiction of *Mars* from the De Passe series, for example, the foreground shows a group of soldiers carousing with a pair of female camp-followers on a hilltop as other soldiers kick in a door to the right (**Figure 2.20**). In the background, a phalanx marches near a port, where smoke pours from a burning building. The children of Venus, likewise portrayed in the foreground, play music and dance near a village nestled in a hilly landscape (**Figure 2.21**). By elevating the vantage point for the lower register, de Vos increased the terrestrial area included in each image, a vertical solution that could replace Heemskerck's horizontal panoramas.

The use of elevated viewpoints in de Vos's two series of the *Children of the Planets* accentuates stylistic differences between the celestial and terrestrial realms. Most noticeable, perhaps, is the discrepancy in scale between the planets and their children. The minuscule figures who populate the panoramic landscapes are juxtaposed with enormous planetary deities, who occupy spaces closer to the viewer. In addition, the expansiveness of the lower registers differs from the shallow spaces of the planets, which seem to lack depth. The elevated view affects the observer's perception of the two realms by placing him roughly on a level with the planetary deities. As a result, the planets are seen from an orthogonal perspective, while their children are seen as if from above, further distinguishing between the two groups. As Joseph Koerner notes:

The conceit of a landscape spreading out below an airborne figure...has the effect of reversing the ordinary relation between near and far in a picture, and of raising us as viewers to a place somewhere between the earth and the heavens.²⁹⁸

By placing the viewer on a level with the gods, the image offers a privileged view that includes the celestial space of divinity as well as the terrestrial space below.

This altered vantage was particularly significant in the de Vos series engraved by Sadeler and published in Antwerp in 1585 (**Figures 2.22-2.29**). The title-print portrays a warship carrying a large plaque with the title of the series as well as an encomiastic inscription in praise of Alessandro Farnese, the Habsburg regent of the Netherlands. Farnese served as the leader of the Spanish army that forced the capitulation of Antwerp on August 17, 1585, the same year as the

²⁹⁸ Joseph Leo Koerner, "The Fortune of Dürer's *Nemesis*," in *Fortuna*, edited by Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1995), 259.

engravings were published.²⁹⁹ Sitting on an eagle, the monumental figure of Jupiter, ruler of the gods, appears above the inscription with the arms of King Philip II in one hand and a cosmic diagram in the other.³⁰⁰ The pairing of Philip's blazon with a representation of the cosmos serves as a flattering depiction of the monarch's vast authority and serves to identify the Spanish king with the king of the Olympian gods, and the glorification of the Habsburgs continues in the images that follow.³⁰¹

According to the description of the series included on the title-print, the engravings portray planetary rule over various "provinces, regions, and cities." The lists of towns and districts in the spaces below each of the planetary images include numerous places within the Holy Roman Empire, implying an association between the territorial dominion of the planets and that of the Spanish king.³⁰² Antwerp, newly reacquired (1585) for the crown by Alessandro Farnese, heads the list of cities presided over by Mercury, who appears in his chariot above. The panoramic depiction of Mercury's territory shows a winding river flanked by numerous settlements. In the immediate foreground, figures load and unload wares from docked ships, while merchants, many dressed in foreign costumes, conduct transactions, as befits Mercury's role as god of commerce.

²⁹⁹ Peter J. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 323.

³⁰⁰ Veldman, "De Macht van de Planeten" (1983), 35-36.

³⁰¹ On Habsburg propaganda, see Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas. The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). On the elevation of King Philip II, see chapter VII, pp. 131-145. In the following century, Philip IV (1605-1665) was known as the "Planet King" ('*Rey Planeta*'). Kristiaan Aерcke, "El Rey Planeta: El Mejor Encanto, Amor," in *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse* (Albany: State University of New York, 1994), 139-163.

³⁰² Veldman, "De Macht van de Planeten" (1983), 35-36.

Despite the absence of any recognizable landmarks, it is tempting to view this riverside commercial center as an implied depiction of Antwerp. In addition to serving as the location of the series' publication and the site of Farnese's triumph, the city also formed an important hub for international trade and a valuable part of the Spanish domain. The river links the site in the foreground to a multitude of other towns in the distance, creating an impression of infinite expanse. The topographic presentation of the various planetary territories would have appealed to an earthly ruler. The elevated, and therefore privileged, view allows the observer to see the world as the gods see it, conferring a sense of domination and possession.

In pairing northern landscapes with classicizing deities, de Vos followed the example of Dürer's *Nemesis*, employing stylistic differences for the depiction of macrocosm and microcosm within the same composition. The sweeping vistas employed in the two series designed by de Vos resemble so-called "world landscapes" from sixteenth-century Netherlandish paintings, where elevated vantages allow for the detailed portrayal of comprehensive views that extend to the high horizon.³⁰³ Such works present small figures within vast spaces that often include mountains and valleys dotted with villages and buildings. In many instances, winding rivers lead the viewer's eye to distant estuaries and the ocean beyond, as in de Vos's depiction of Mercury's domain. Despite the appearance of topographic accuracy, most world landscapes portray composite spaces, comprised of multiple features taken from various sources. As a process of compilation, the genre accords well with depictions of planetary children, which are grouped together according to

³⁰³ On world-landscape, see Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth* (1989).

planetary categories rather than actual proximity. In both world landscape and the *Children of the Planets*, the apparent realism of the portrayal is subsumed by the desire to impose order on the world through cataloguing and arrangement.

Cosmological Ethics:

A series engraved by Adriaen Collaert after designs by Marten de Vos and published in Antwerp by Gerard de Jode in 1581 shows the planetary deities on clouds above human figures (**Figure 2.30-2.37**).³⁰⁴ Unlike most depictions of the *Children of the Planets*, however, the series includes representations of the *Seven Ages of Man* and attendant Virtues in place of the typical planetary progeny. The title page of the series includes an ornamental cartouche describing the contents of the engravings. Beneath the capitalized title, *SEPTEM PLANATÆ*, appears a list of the Seven Ages of Man: *Infantiae, Puertiae, Adolescentiae, Iuventuti, Virili Aetati, Senili Aetati, and Senectae et Decrepitae*.³⁰⁵ A Latin text below promises that the planetary deities and the corresponding Ages of Man will be represented in the form of “graceful figures” with their proper attributes and activities. The cartouche also includes two biblical verses: “Man born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries.” (Job 14:1) and “the days of our years in them are threescore and ten years (Psalm 89:10).³⁰⁶ Both selections serve to underscore the brevity of human life, especially in comparison to the perpetual existence of the celestial spheres.

³⁰⁴ Hollstein 1365-1372. Veldman dates the series to 1581. Brokken (1994), 94-96, cat. nrs. 8.1-8.8.

³⁰⁵ Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986).

³⁰⁶ Douay-Rheims, 1889 (American Edition)

The central cartouche is flanked by representations of the four humoral temperaments and the four elements. The temperaments – phlegmatic, sanguine, melancholic, and choleric – appear in the corners of the page as female figures in classical costumes and poses, while the elements are shown as symbolic animals within strapwork frames: a pig for Earth, a dolphin for Water, a chameleon for Air, and a salamander for Fire.³⁰⁷ The inclusion of Temperaments and Elements on the title page of the series establishes the essential correspondence between the terrestrial and celestial realms that underlies the effective power of the planets over human affairs, providing a theoretical foundation for the images that follow.

Collaert's series of the *Seven Planets and Seven Ages of Man* illustrates the interconnectedness of the macrocosm and the microcosm by relating planetary influences to the human life cycle.³⁰⁸

Developed during antiquity and canonized in Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* in the second century C.E., the association between the planets and the seven phases of human life coexisted with the correspondences depicted in the *Children of the Planets* without ever supplanting them.³⁰⁹ Although always under the auspices of

³⁰⁷ The correspondences between elements and animals, established in ancient writings and perpetuated or elaborated in medieval bestiaries, could vary somewhat, but the four animals engraved by Collaert were fairly typical selections. The pig's desire to root beneath the ground and the dolphin's aquatic aptitude made them natural pairings for Earth and Water respectively. The chameleon was thought to survive on air alone, while the salamander's alleged ability to withstand the heat of fire made it an apt symbol for that element in bestiaries. Collaert included the chameleon and the salamander in his own series of *The Four Elements* discussed in Chapter 1 above. Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, Book 8, Chap. 33, Lines 120ff. Willene B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2006), 200.

³⁰⁸ Hollstein 1365-1372. Veldman dates the series to 1581. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 174-75; Brokken (1994), 94-96, cat. nrs. 8.1-8.8.

³⁰⁹ The Ages could also be represented as a tetradic grouping that could be aligned with other quaternities like the Four Seasons or the Four Elements (discussed at greater length in Chapter 3 below). On the tradition of the Ages of Man and its representations during the Middle Ages, see Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986).

one's particular planet, an individual also received secondary influences from other planets, based on his or her age.³¹⁰ According to this system, the progression through life paralleled the ordering of the celestial spheres, beginning with the pairing of infancy, the first stage of life, and the moon, the planet closest to the terrestrial sphere and continuing through the union between old age and Saturn, the most distant planet. The sequential mapping of the Seven Planets onto the Seven Ages actually resulted in a fortuitous alignment of the qualities associated with each, as many of the traits assigned to the planetary deities could also be discerned in the corresponding stages of life.

These correlations are portrayed in Collaert's engravings, which show the planetary deities on clouds above male figures representing the seven ages of man from infancy to decrepitude. De Vos's series augments the portrayal of the various ages through the inclusion of female virtues corresponding to each of the particular stages of life, while the ancillary figures that appear in the background of each scene demonstrate behaviors appropriate to the various planetary dispositions and stages of life. Luna rules over infancy, portrayed as an assemblage of cherubic toddlers engaged in games, while a female figure identified as "Natura" suckles two infants. According to Ptolemy, the physical instability, rapid development, and unperfected soul of infancy could be ascribed to the moon.³¹¹

The figure of Mercury presides over childhood, inspiring learning within the rational soul. The image shows children shown engaged in reading, writing, and

³¹⁰ As Elizabeth Sears has noted, "Ptolemy's detailed descriptions of the phases of life develop on the assumption that the attributes of each age accord with the nature of its ruling planet." Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 49.

³¹¹ Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 49.

archery. In the foreground, a man with an armillary sphere and a compass – symbols of measurement – demonstrates the mathematic aptitude of the children of Mercury. He receives inspiration from a female figure labeled *Doctrina* ('Education').

The depiction of Venus and adolescence shows the goddess with Cupid above a fashionable young man holding a falcon. As the presiding deity, Venus stimulates adolescent sexual desires and passions, illustrated by the pleasure-seeking youth, as well as the courting couple in the background. These figures are contrasted with the personification of *Diligentia*, who sits at a loom beside young girls making lace and playing music.

Sol is paired with adulthood and "self-rule", portrayed as a soldier, and with *Honoraria*, who spins thread nearby. The Sun inspires maturity, sobriety, and social ambition. In the background, soldiers train by sparring and jousting, activities that recall depictions of the *Children of the Sun* like those designed by Pencz and Heemskerck, in which figures engage in sport and exercise.

The depiction of Mars and middle age shows another soldier next to a woman holding a set of scales. She represents *Discretio*, the virtue required of the children of Mars to prevent them from rushing into battle.³¹² The planetary deity instills a sense of apprehension, discontent, and the desire for achievement.³¹³

Jupiter and old age are characterized by *Memoria*, who sits in the foreground beside a distillery with multiple spouts. A similar spout emerges from her headwear. The male figure beside her carries a rod of the court, suggesting his role as a judge, and in the background, judgment is dispensed to the left while an execution occurs

³¹² Brokken, *Sterren in Beelden* (1994), 96.

³¹³ Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 49.

to the right, both scenes that appear in depictions of the children of Jupiter. As the ruler of Old Age, Jupiter releases mankind from toil and confers nobility and wisdom.³¹⁴

Finally, the depiction of Saturn and senescence includes an ancient seer in the company of *Conscientia*, who carries a large book in her hand—likely Scripture—as she points heavenward. Saturn induces feebleness and displeasure. With her upward gesture, *Conscientia* indicates the final release awaiting the elderly figure. Her pointing finger serves as a link, both literal and symbolic, between the two registers of the image. Through her gesture, she indicates the divine realm, and her upraised arm crosses in front of the cloud that marks the boundary between celestial and terrestrial spaces, providing a physical connection between the two zones.

In their portrayal of planets, ages, and virtues, the prints comprising de Vos's series clearly demonstrate the ethical dimension of cosmological subjects. Planetary influences played a role in determining human morality by instilling certain behavioral predispositions. It remained the responsibility of individuals, however, to develop their positive traits and resist their negative inclinations. For this reason, graphic works with cosmological subjects, such as the four elements, four temperaments, and seven planets often appeared in print albums alongside depictions of the seven virtues and seven vices as well as religious allegories and illustrations of biblical events.

³¹⁴ Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 49.

The immense print collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol, for example, assembled between 1565 and his death in 1596, included a broad number of subjects under the heading *Moralia*.³¹⁵ As Peter Parshall observes:

The general classification *moralia* exposes the permeable boundaries that lay between subject matter categories in the late Renaissance, here broadly extending religious illustration and example to include assertions about the natural order underpinning the moral construction of the universe... *Moralia* is a rubric describing a continuum of meaning that assimilates history to genre, and biblical illustration or theological teaching to moral philosophy.³¹⁶

The contemporary categorization of such works as *Moralia* demonstrates awareness among artists and their erudite patrons of the ethical dimension involved in the correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm.

Developing the ethical dimension further, a related series of prints includes personified virtues on clouds with exemplars from Roman history below (**Figures 2.38-2.45**).³¹⁷ Although Gerard de Jode is designated as the publisher, neither the designer nor the engraver is named on the sheets.³¹⁸ The suite includes seven prints as well as a title page, which shows personifications of the seven canonical virtues on clouds arrayed in a U-shape around the outside of the page. The three Theological Virtues – Hope, Faith, and Charity – appear across top, and the four Cardinal Virtues – Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance – occupy the sides. These figures, whose voluminous garments obscure the clouds on which they sit, surround a central personification of *Fortuna*, shown nude and reeling as she

³¹⁵ Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge” (1994), 16.

³¹⁶ Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge” (1994), 18.

³¹⁷ Hollstein (2005 – Collaert Dynasty), Part V, nos. 1114-1121.

³¹⁸ Based on the similarity of the series to the *Seven Planets and Seven Ages of Man*, however, the designs have been attributed to de Vos and the engraving attributed to either Hans I or Adriaen Collaert. Hollstein (2005 – Collaert Dynasty), Part V, nos. 1114-1121.

tumbles into a scallop shell floating on the sea, a symbol of Venusian licentiousness. The image serves as an apt illustration of the epigrammatic text at the center of the image, which indicates that “Fortune yields to virtue” (*VIRTUTI FORTUNA CEDIT*).

Despite the inclusion of the canonical virtues on the title page, the prints comprising the series portray other qualities. The first shows *Innocence* with a lamb and child standing nearby. Shown with her hands clasped to her breast, the virtue resembles the personification of Faith, often shown in a similar manner. Below, the scene of children at play recalls de Vos’s design for the depiction of *Luna-Infancy-Nature* from the series of the *Seven Planets and the Seven Ages of Man*. In the following print, *Piety* presides over Aeneas’s flight from the destruction of Troy with his father, Anchises, on his shoulders and his son, Ascanius, following close behind as the city burns in the background. The image serves as the exemplum for duty, respect, and obedience toward one’s parents. To the right appears another example of filial piety, as Pero secretly nurses her incarcerated father, Cimon, in a selfless act that impresses her father’s jailers and wins his release.

In the following print, *Liberality* disperses coins from a purse, while her earthly representatives, Nerva and Cimon, distribute alms to the poor and destitute. As Roman emperor, (96 – 98 AD), Nerva frequently distributed charity and provided grain to the poor. In his eulogy for Cimon, an Athenian statesman of the fifth century BCE, Plutarch noted his exemplary generosity and hospitality.

In another image from the series, Mucius Scaevola places his hand on the burning altar. The billowing smoke that rises from the flame seems to constitute the cloud on which *Constancy* sits. Mucius Scaevola appeared frequently in Renaissance

compilations of exemplary figures, including Goltzius's series of eight heroes of ancient Rome (1586).³¹⁹ Following his capture by the Etruscans in 508 BC, Mucius demonstrated his bravery and steadfast allegiance to Rome by placing his hand in a fire, a gesture that impressed his captors and secured his freedom.

With doves resting on her fingers, Concord appears above the twins Castor and Pollux. The Dioscuri appear in the moments following Castor's fatal wounding at the hands of Idas, when Pollux decides to share his brother's fate so that they can remain together. The stars on their brows indicate their celestial transformation into Gemini following their deaths.

Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great appear beneath winged Victory, with a warship and soldiers behind. The two great leaders represent martial triumph, while Numa and Solomon serve as exemplars of Peace, personified above as a female figure with a laurel branch in her hand. Through his wisdom Solomon obtained decades of peace for the kingdom of Israel, while Numa, the legendary second king of Rome, secured peace with Rome's enemies. Behind the two kings stands the Temple of Janus with closed doors, an indication of a time of peace.³²⁰

The placement of allegorical virtues above historical narratives – rather than contemporary scenes – alters the relationship between registers, creating a greater equivalence between the figures in the two zones. The personified figures above the clouds are timeless and transcendent, while the exemplary figures in the lower registers have been immortalized as a result of their deeds. The two sets of figures

³¹⁹ Walter Melion, "Memorabilia aliquot Romanae strenuitatis exempla. The Thematics of Artisanal Virtue in Hendrick Goltzius's *Roman Heroes*," *Modern Language Notes* 110 (1995), 1090-1134.

³²⁰ The Temple of Janus, constructed by Numa, was opened during periods of war and closed during times of peace for Rome.

double the allegorical representation of each virtue, providing alternative models for appropriate behavior.

The *Four Times of Day*:

Recognizing the utility of the two-tiered format, print designers adopted vertical compositions for other cosmological themes. Netherlandish artists developed the Times of Day as a pictorial subject by adapting the composition previously employed for the Children of Planets.³²¹ Like depictions of the planetary deities and their progeny, series of the times of day involve celestial influences on human behavior. While the latter illustrates planetary dominion over individual's character and occupations based on the effective correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm, the former demonstrate the celestial regulation of personal routines and societal patterns through the daily movements of the sun and moon and resulting shifts in relative illumination. In both instances, the use of registers divided by clouds allowed for the pairing of mythological and human figures, each occupying clearly demarcated zones.

In Netherlandish depictions of the Times of Day, idealized deities preside over contemporary figures engaged in activities typical of dawn, midday, evening, and night. This daily cycle is intimately bound up with the temporality of human life, binding the eternal movements of the heavens to the fleeting time of terrestrial existence. As a theme, the Times of Day unites the cosmic and the quotidian, and the

³²¹ For the classic study on these works, see Sean Shesgreen, *Hogarth and The Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

two-tiered, vertical structure provided artists with a compositional scheme capable of harnessing these disparate, yet related, realities.

The Times of Day had existed as a subject in art and literature prior to its representation in Netherlandish engravings. The subject occasionally appeared on Roman sarcophagi, typically paired in such instances with depictions of the Four Seasons representing the passage of time and the cyclical regeneration of human life.³²² During the Middle Ages the fourfold division of the day was not a particularly common method for parsing time.³²³ As a symbolic classification, however, the Four Times of Day was occasionally included in compilations of tetradic categories. Augustine, for example, discusses the four times of day together with the four quarters of the world, four elements, four winds, and four seasons.³²⁴ The Times of Day are absent from the comprehensive lists of numerological associations compiled by Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), but they appear again in Alain de Lille's *Plaint of Nature* (ca. 1160), where the times of day and the seasons are used as poignant metaphors for the brevity of human life:³²⁵

When the dawn of man's life comes up, man's early spring morning is beginning. As he completes longer laps in the course of his life, man reaches the Summer-noon of his youth; when with longer life he has completed what may be called the ninth hour of his time, man passes into the manhood of Autumn. And when his day sinks to the West and old age gives notice of life's evening, the Winter's cold forces man's head to turn white with the hoar frost of old age.³²⁶

³²² G.M.A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951).

³²³ The seven canonical hours of prayer – matins, lauds, terce, sext, nones, vespers, and compline – were far more popular as a system for dividing the day, especially within monastic communities. This septiform division also corresponded with the Seven Ages of Man. Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 32.

³²⁴ For Augustine's writings on such categories, see Dotson, "An Augustinian Interpretation" (1979), 247 n. 126.

³²⁵ Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 36-37.

³²⁶ Passage translated by Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 36-37.

Alain overlays the cyclical time of days and seasons with the sequential stages of human life from birth to death, a juxtaposition of Nature's eternity with the transitory existence of humanity.

Drawing on similar themes of permanence and perishability, Michelangelo's well-known statues of the *Four Times of Day* for the Medici Chapel in the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence helped to revitalize the times of day as an allegorical category in the sixteenth century (**Figures 2.46 and 2.47**).³²⁷ Celebrated by contemporaries, the figures of *Aurora*, *Giorno*, *Crepuscolo*, and *Notte* adorned the tombs of the dukes Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici. Although carved in the 1520s, the sculptures were not installed in the chapel until two decades later. These nude embodiments of earthly time – two male and two female – recline atop the sarcophagi of the Medici *capitani* and beneath their effigies. Michelangelo himself never identified the recumbent figures, but several contemporaries, including Benedetto Varchi and Giorgio Vasari, referred to the paired sculptures as “Night and Day” and “Dawn and Dusk”.³²⁸ According to the artist's biographer, Ascanio Condivi, the sculptures represent “Day and Night, and by the two together, Time, which consumes everything.”³²⁹ Within the sepulchral context of the Medici Chapel, the

³²⁷ For the classic studies on Michelangelo's Medici Tombs, see Charles de Tolnay, “The Medici Tombs,” *Michelangelo*, vol. III (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 73-5; Erwin Panofsky, “Neoplatonic Movement and Michelangelo,” in *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 180-2; Frederick Hartt, “The Meaning of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel,” in *Essays in Honor of Georg Swarzenski*, Oswald Goetz, ed. (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1951), 145-155; Leopold Ettlinger, “The Liturgical Function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 22.3 (1978), 287-304; Creighton Gilbert, “Texts and Contexts of the Medici Chapel,” *The Art Quarterly* 34.4 (1971), 391-409.

³²⁸ Varchi identified the paired figures as “Night and Day” and “Dawn and Dusk” in a 1549 letter, while Vasari adopted the same identifications in his *Vite* of Michelangelo the following year. See Edith Balas, *Michelangelo's Medici Chapel: a New Interpretation* (Philadelphia: American Independence Society, 1995), 69-70.

³²⁹ Condivi, *The Life of Michelangelo* (1553). Quoted in Balas, *Michelangelo's Medici Chapel* (1995), 71.

sculptures serve as a reminder of the transitory quality of human existence in the face of eternity.

A pair of reproductive engravings by Cornelis Cort helped disseminate the appearance of Michelangelo's sculptures to a broader audience (**Figures 2.48 and 2.49**).³³⁰ Published in 1570, Cort's depictions of the tombs at San Lorenzo, intended to honor the Medici, propagated Michelangelo's designs by providing visual access for those unable to visit the semi-private chapel. Cort employed a frontal view for his prints, showing the paired figures atop the curved lids of the sarcophagi with sculpted effigies of the dukes in their niches above. While the engravings fail to offer the multitude of potential vantages for the sculptures, Cort did manage to capture the gracefully contorted poses of Michelangelo's reclining figures. In circulating the appearance of the Medici tombs, the prints expanded the audience for the sculptures and enhanced their fame, particularly outside Italy. Cort's work likely contributed to the proliferation of engraved series of the *Times of Day* produced by Netherlandish artists during the final decades of the sixteenth century.

Marten de Vos's *Times of Day* assimilates the existential themes of the Medici Chapel with the realities of daily life in the Low Countries (**Figures 2.50-2.53**).³³¹ Engraved by Adriaen Collaert, the undated series juxtaposes Michelangelesque embodiments of the four times of day with human figures engaged in daily activities

³³⁰ For a discussion of Cort's reproductive prints of Michelangelo's sculptural project for the Medici Tombs, see Bernardine Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print: Reproductions as Response in the Sixteenth Century* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010), 153-7.

³³¹ Shesgreen dates the series to 1562, which is too early. The series was likely produced during the 1570s or 1580s, when de Vos designed most of his allegorical series. Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (1983), 26-36. Hollstein refers to this series as the *Four Times of Day and Four Ages of Man*. Hollstein 1454-1457; Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 134-136, cat. nrs. 35.1-35.4; Brokken (1994), 140-142, cat. nrs. 19.1-19.4.

through the use of the two-tiered structure developed in depictions of the Children of the Planets. As in Alain de Lille's *Plaint of Nature*, the Latin inscriptions at the bottom of each print align the four times of day with the four ages of man, overlaying the cyclical rotation of day and night with the inexorable progression of time and the ephemerality of human existence.

De Vos's series opens with a depiction of *Aurora*, goddess of dawn, with the morning star on her garlanded brow. According to the Latin inscription at the bottom of the page, she "admonishes light and tender childhood to be taught, lest at a late hour it be ashamed to have wasted anything."³³² She reclines on a bowed cloud above a village already bustling with activity despite the early hour. Mothers bring their boys to the primary school on the right, while shepherds lead their cattle and sheep to pasture, and fishermen spread their nets or lower their rods. Above the door to the right hangs a flag marked with a star, presumably the morning star, reinforcing the link between the terrestrial space of the lower register and the celestial realm of the goddess above.³³³ The morning-time activities in the lower register likewise correspond to the time of day, while the presence of children in the image and the reference to childhood in the inscription evoke the dawn of human life.

Sol, shown with a solar halo, stretches out over the representation of midday activities, presented as a juxtaposition between two groups and ways of life. On the left, courtly figures relax near a fountain in the garden of an Italian-style mansion, while on the right, farmers take a midday respite in the shade of a tree. The

³³² Translated in Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (1983), 28.

³³³ Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 134.

inscription contains a warning against youthful idleness: “May youth learn to bear labors, lest it waste time in extravagance and inactivity.”³³⁴ The text suggests a moral contrast between the two sides of the image, but the figures resting beneath the tree seem just as guilty of neglecting their work as their carousing counterparts in the pleasure garden.

The personification of *Evening*, represented through the figure of *Luna*, sits on a crescent sliver above her cloud and shades herself with a cloak as the moon rises behind her. De Vos’s figure seems to be modeled on Michelangelo’s sculpture of “*Notte*” in the Medici Chapel, probably through the mediation of Cort’s reproductive print. Like the Florentine model, *Luna* wears a crescent on her brow, and both figures adopt a similar *contrapposto* position with torsos curved and twisted toward their bent, left legs. De Vos’s *Luna* presides over the end of the day, which includes an elderly couple leading a child from the church on the left, possibly an illustration of the inscription: “Whatever springs forth at sunrise declines at sunset. And he who before was a boy finally becomes an old man.”³³⁵ In de Vos’s rendering, the cyclical *Times of Day* provide a metaphor for the inexorable sequence of human life and its eventual end.

Backed by stars and joined by bats, Saturnine *Night* sleeps with his bearded head on his hand, while below, a merry carnival procession on the left contrasts with the scene on the right, where a minister offers last rites to a dying man in a brightly illuminated room.³³⁶ As the inscription notes, “Everywhere the living bend

³³⁴ Translated in Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (1983), 29.

³³⁵ Translated in Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (1983), 30.

³³⁶ Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 136.

their courses toward the night of death. Together with childhood, youth and old age perish.”³³⁷ The sequential time of human aging is measured out according to the recurring routines of daily life, mediated by the cyclical rotation of the sun and moon, which reside as timeless figures in the eternal heavens.

In Dirck Barendsz.’s *Times of Day*, engraved by Jan Sadeler and published in 1582, the monumental, nude figures of the gods dominate the various scenes and dwarf their human counterparts (**Figures 2.54-2.57**).³³⁸ Placed on dramatic, billowing clouds, *Aurora*, *Meridies*, and *Vespera* hover directly above the ground, almost capable of stepping down and entering the terrestrial spaces below, where figures engage in their daily activities. The winged figure of *Aurora*, the goddess of the dawn, seems to emerge from her perch in an attempt join the hunters and fishermen below. In an attempt to banish the darkness of night and usher in the day, she pushes against the clouds with her right hand. The bearded figure of *Meridies*, described as Phoebus [i.e. Sol/Apollo] in the inscription below the image, dangles a leg over the edge of his cloud as field laborers enjoy a respite from the heat of the noonday sun that radiates from the deity’s head. Rather than laziness, such rest represents a necessary withdrawal from the overwhelming temperatures, allowing the reapers to “revive their bodies with dining and sleep.” The inscription notes that “Nature, our parent, has granted strength to be, and has established a limit, so that all things may keep a steady course.”³³⁹ The female figure of *Vespera*, identified as “the messenger of night,” is shown with a crescent moon on her brow, much like de

³³⁷ Translated in Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (1983), 30.

³³⁸ Judson, *Dirck Barendsz.* (1970), pp. 146-149, cat. nrs. 98-101, figs. 49-52; Brokken (1994), 136-140, cat. nrs. 18.1-18.4.

³³⁹ Translated by Judson, *Dirck Barendsz.* (1970), 147, cat. no. 99.

Vos's *Luna* and Michelangelo's *Notte*. She reclines on her cloud in the treetops as three hunters below attempt to snare some game by the light of a lantern. According to the inscription, *Vespera* urges

...[mortals] to repair their failing strength with the gifts of Ceres [Goddess of Summer], and surrender their limbs to peaceful repose, which the Gods have established as the consolation for grievous labor.³⁴⁰

The text, like the accompanying *Meridies*, emphasizes the nurturing aspects of Nature and the harmony that exists between terrestrial activity and the times of day, themes reflected in the spatial proximity of the personified figures to their human counterparts.

Unlike the other personified times, the sleeping figure of *Nox* in Barendsz.'s series occupies a cave rather than a low-hanging cloud. Attended by bats and owls and illuminated by a burning chandelier, the personification of *Night* exhales a cloud of smoke that floats above the musicians and mummings portrayed to the right. Such figures exemplify the absence of inhibition that occurs during the night, when revelry and licentiousness abound.³⁴¹ The Latin text at the bottom of the image warns against such behavior and cautions the viewer to remain vigilant, "lest by chance he do wrong."³⁴² *Nox*'s position on the ground differentiates him from Barendsz.'s other Times, suggesting, perhaps, that the demarcation between the celestial and terrestrial realms becomes more permeable at nighttime, when sleep and dreams supplant waking consciousness. Although *Nox* occupies the same

³⁴⁰ Translated by Judson, *Dirck Barendsz.* (1970), 147, cat. no. 100.

³⁴¹ On the depiction of nighttime scenes as a time of inhibition and revelry, see K. Renger, "Joos van Winghes 'Nachtbanket met een maskerade' und verwandte Darstellungen," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 14 (1971), 161-93. For the symbolic connotations of the various motifs in Barendsz. image, see Judson, *Dirck Barendsz.* (1970), 148.

³⁴² Translated in Judson, *Dirck Barendsz.* (1970), 148.

register as the human figures to the right, the two-tiered structure has not been abandoned completely, however, as the billowing smoke pouring from the mouth of the personified figure forms a cloud that bifurcates the picture plane.

In comparison to the monumentality and proximity of the deities in the series designed by Barendsz. and de Vos, the personified representatives in the *Four Times of Day* by Egbert van Panderen after Tobias Verhaecht have retreated both upward and into the distance (**Figures 2.58-2.61**).³⁴³ Rather than occupying their own registers, the temporal deities appear in small pockets at the top of each image, providing more space for the representation of terrestrial landscapes and human activities. Likely produced after 1590, when Verhaecht returned to Antwerp from a sojourn in Italy, the series includes features inspired by the artist's travels.³⁴⁴ The personified times resemble the figures portrayed by de Vos, albeit on a smaller scale, and the Latin inscriptions have been lifted directly from the series by Dirck Barendsz. *Aurora*, clearly modeled on de Vos's precedent, appears as a remote figure above an Alpine village, where shepherds and hunters meet on the road at the beginning of the day, while Phoebus presides over figures reaping hay at midday. *Vespera* holds a cloak over her head as farmers return home at the end of the day, and *Nox* sleeps beneath the stars with bats flying nearby. The figures evoke de Vos's personifications of *Vespera* and *Nox*, and in the depiction of *Night*, Verhaecht also appropriates the merry procession from his Antwerp contemporary, although he places the revelers in an Italian city, complete with ruins and Neptune fountain.

³⁴³ The series was published by Theodore Galle. Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-Day Tradition* (1983), esp. 44-51.

³⁴⁴ Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-Day Tradition* (1983), 44.

Despite his borrowings from de Vos, however, Verhaecht's engravings differ greatly from his predecessor's as a result of the retreat of the gods as well as the heightened vantage point, which creates sweeping vistas enhanced by the diminished scale of the personified Times.

In his series of the *Times of Day*, Karel van Mander portrays a far more intimate relationship between the transcendent realm and the immediate spaces (**Figures 2.62-2.65**).³⁴⁵ Engraved by Jacob Matham and published shortly after the turn of the seventeenth century, Van Mander's engravings eschew Verhaecht's distant gods in favor of greater proximity between mythological figures and their human counterparts. The representatives of the various times of day still appear in clouds, but the boundaries between registers appear more permeable, particularly at night and at dawn, when the strict separation of realms seems to dissolve.

In the portrayal of *Dawn*, Aurora enters the composition from the left accompanied by Pegasus. She carries a torch as a demonstration of her light-bringing role, while the overturned plate of roses in her left hand offers a visual rendering of the inscription, indicating that Aurora "sprinkles lands with rosy light," an activity repeated by a pair of cherubs in the background.³⁴⁶ The goddess of the dawn shares the cloudy upper register with other Olympian deities, including Neptune and Venus. The gods preside over a gathering of the Muses below the clouds, where the "learned foster daughters of Helicon" circulate among human

³⁴⁵ Hollstein (1999), nbs. 156-159; Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-Day Tradition* (1983), esp. 37-44; Michael W. Cole, "The Demonic Arts and the Origin of the Medium," *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (2002), 627-629; Christine Göttler, "Vapours and Veils: The Edge of the Unseen," in *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture*, edited by Christine Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber (Leiden: Brill, 2008), xvi-xviii.

³⁴⁶ Translated in Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-Day Tradition* (1983), 38.

figures as they “practice many arts.”³⁴⁷ The Muses are linked to Aurora through their mutual association with Apollo. Two nude Muses appear at the center of the terrestrial space alongside men and women in contemporary costumes engaged in reading, writing, and music. The Muses’ lack of interaction with the terrestrial figures and the failure of the men and women to notice the deities in their midst suggest that the supernal figures may be visible only to the viewer of the image and not to those within the representation.

Phoebus, shown in a chariot with a lyre, presents a more conventional representation of *Meridies*, presiding over figures at work in fields and streams. According to the inscription, “Fiery Phoebus thrusts forth his golden-haired head in the high Heaven. Scattering clouds, he brings back pleasing light to the world. He divides the day into fixed hours, also recalling mortals to accustomed labors.”³⁴⁸ The text summarizes the role played by the times of day in bridging the celestial and terrestrial realms. From his place in “high Heaven,” Phoebus parses the day, allowing humanity to engage in its customary routines. His place in “high Heaven,” however, and his role in “scattering clouds” is belied by the image, which shows the god on a bank of clouds hovering just above the farmers and musicians who populate the lower section of the picture.

The depiction of *Vespera* occurs in a large banquet hall, making the cloudy intrusion of Venus and Cupid in the upper left corner particularly incongruous. Behind the goddess of love, Luna appears on a chariot pulled by white stags, while below, well-dressed figures attend a gathering. The inscription notes that as the

³⁴⁷ Translated in Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-Day Tradition* (1983), 38.

³⁴⁸ Translated in Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-Day Tradition* (1983), 39.

moon makes its way through the evening sky – a movement indicated through the depiction of the lunar chariot – Venus encourages feasting and love. Below, figures in contemporary musician costumes play from the balcony in the upper right corner of the image.

Van Mander's rendering of *Nox* presents a complicated assemblage of figures inspired by Ovid's description of the "House of Sleep" in Book 11 of the *Metamorphoses*.³⁴⁹ Winged Morpheus reclines on a cloud created by the smoke pouring from the head of the personification of *Night* in the lower left corner. This sleeping figure resembles the personification of *Nox* in Barendsz.'s *Times of Day* as well as a chiaroscuro woodcut depicting *Demogorgon in the Cave of Eternity* by Van Mander's friend, Hendrick Goltzius (**Figure 2.66**).³⁵⁰ Putti flit around the upper register, while nude figures slumber below. In the background, nighttime revelers appear in costume. The inscription indicates that Morpheus's billowing horns inspire "phantasms of all kinds of things."³⁵¹ According to Vincenzo Cartari's Renaissance mythography, Morpheus holds a horn in one hand and an elephant tusk in the other; the former creates true dreams, while the latter spawns false dreams. Van Mander's rendering on *Nox* engages with the notion that images – as *phantasia* – reside somewhere between truth and falsity.³⁵²

The fantasies hatched in the minds of the sleeping figures are recreated in the upper register by the cherubic figures. Damisch notes that clouds "lend

³⁴⁹ Van Mander describes "The House of Sleep" the *Wtlegghingh* portion of his *Schilder-Boeck*. Göttler, "Vapours and Veils" (2008), xvi and xvi n. 3

³⁵⁰ Hollstein (Goltzius) 374.

³⁵¹ Translated in Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-Day Tradition* (1983), 38.

³⁵² See the discussion in Göttler, "Vapours and Veils" (2008), xvi-xviii.

themselves to constructions whose constant mutations bring the formal powers of dreaming fully into play.”³⁵³ Clouds resemble dreams in their continual shifting and also in their insubstantiality. In his *Adagia*, Erasmus suggests that a cloud is “similar to nothing or a dream.”³⁵⁴ Dreams, like clouds, exist at the threshold of the material and immaterial, visible and invisible. The airy medium linking clouds and dreams also relates to the creation of images. Two of the *spiritelli* in Van Mander’s portrayal of *Nox* wield paintbrushes. One paints a lion, while another creates a literal “castle on a cloud.” They seem to form images out of the cloud itself, a common topos for art-making and artistic inspiration.³⁵⁵ In van Mander’s print the analogy is given a negative valence of falsity and deception, suggesting an artistic self-critique.

In pairing imagery drawn from the immediate environment with depictions of the supernal realm, series of the times of day merge the eternal with the temporal. They illustrate the parsing of time as a relation between celestial movements and worldly routine, fulfilling a desire to measure and organize human life according to the passage of time. The two-tiered composition allows for these multiple realms to be held in suspension, while admitting the possibility of communication and even interpenetration of these divergent realities. Barendsz.’s and van Mander’s portrayals of *Nox* indicate that the barrier between realms

³⁵³ Damisch, *Theory of/Cloud/* (2002), 19.

³⁵⁴ Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basel, 1520), 788. Quoted and translated in Christine Göttler, “Fire, Smoke and Vapour: Jan Bruegel’s ‘Poetic Hells’: ‘Ghespook’ in Early Modern European Art,” in *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture*, edited by Christine Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 20.

³⁵⁵ On the relation of clouds to Renaissance theories of painting, see H.W. Janson, “The Image Made by Chance in Renaissance Thought,” in *De Artibus Opuscula: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, edited by Millard Meiss, 254-66 (New York: New York University Press, 1961).

becomes most permeable at nighttime, when the sleeping mind generates cloudlike dream images that seem to warn about false perception and misleading creativity.

The *Four Winds*:

Like the times of day, the cardinal directions and four winds appear in several series of Netherlandish engravings produced during the final decades of the sixteenth century. Despite their frequent inclusion in lists of tetradic categories and correspondences, the four winds were rarely featured in Renaissance imagery prior to their depiction in Netherlandish engravings. While swollen-cheeked wind-heads were sometimes included in the corners of cartographic representations, and personifications of the winds occasionally filled auxiliary roles in mythological narratives, the four winds rarely appeared as a category worthy of representation in itself. As in depictions of the Children of the Planets and Times of Day, series of the cardinal winds employ multiple registers divided by clouds, demonstrating the winds' dual presence in the celestial and terrestrial realms and their alignment with other cosmological categories.

Generally regarded as unpredictable atmospheric phenomena of sublunary origins, the winds were considered inferior to the perfection of the celestial spheres, which displayed regular movements.³⁵⁶ Most agreed with Aristotle that the winds originated as earthly exhalations caused by the Sun, although others, including Seneca, argued that sunlight on clouds produced winds.³⁵⁷ In the first book of the

³⁵⁶ Barbara Obrist, "Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology," *Speculum* 72, no. 1 (1997), 37. She cites Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1.1 (338 a 20 ff.).

³⁵⁷ Obrist, "Wind Diagrams" (1997), 36.

Metamorphoses, Ovid describes the separation of the physical world and the heavens according to the elements, noting that the winds occupy the airy zone surrounding the earth and seas, an intermediate space that is “heavier than fire by as much as water’s weight is lighter than earth. There ... the clouds and vapors exist, and thunder to shake the minds of human beings, and winds that create lightning-bolts and flashes” (*Met.* 1.52-68). Like clouds and other meteorological phenomena, the winds were thought to occupy a transitional area between heaven and earth.

From their intermediate position, the winds helped preserve the structure of the universe. Seneca claimed that the winds “maintain the union of sky and earth,” while Theophrastus asserted that, “What happens in the sky, in the air, on earth and on the sea is due to the wind.”³⁵⁸ The prominent role ascribed to the winds in antiquity and during subsequent centuries can be attributed to their ability to traverse the celestial and terrestrial realms and their association with the directional axes.³⁵⁹

As counterbalanced forces, the winds helped guarantee the order and stability of the cosmos. The equilibrium of the geocentric universe – ensured through the winds’ mutual cancellation – is portrayed in numerous medieval diagrams and in Renaissance cartographic depictions, where the four primary winds appear in the corners of the image. In her study of medieval and early modern depictions of the winds, Barbara Obrist suggests that “all diagrams with

³⁵⁸Seneca, *Natural Questions* 5.18.13. Quoted and translated in Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997), 76. Theophrastus, *On Winds* 1 (V. Coutant and V. Eichenlaub, eds. and trans., Theophrastus, *De ventis* [Notre Dame, Ind., and London, 1975], p. 3). Quoted and translated in Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997), 38.

³⁵⁹ Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997), 38.

personifications of winds in their axes represent the cardinal winds as the foremost regulators of spatial and temporal cosmic order.”³⁶⁰ During the Middle Ages, anemographic diagrams often related the winds to the terrestrial sphere by arranging the winds in a circle around a central disc labeled “Mundus” or containing a schematic “T-O” world-map portraying the three known continents.³⁶¹ Later maps likewise include representations of the winds arrayed around the earth, as in the world featured in the Nuremberg Chronicle (1493), which shows twelve wind-heads blowing from the periphery of the terrestrial space (**Figure 2.67**).³⁶² *Sebastian Münster’s “Typus Orbis Universalis” (Basel, 1540)* also features a dozen wind-heads blowing on a cartographic representation of the earth, but Münster’s heads rest atop clouds (**Figure 2.68**). In Netherlandish series of the four winds, this structural function is maintained through the alignment of the winds with the cardinal directions or the four continents.

In addition to their spatial properties, the winds’ role as guarantors of cosmic order was augmented through their special position within the system of correspondences operating between macrocosm and microcosm.³⁶³ Introduced in Aristotle’s *Meteorologica*, the duodecimal classification of the winds – four cardinal

³⁶⁰ Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997), 73.

³⁶¹ On such diagrams, see Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997), particularly pp. 49-53 on diagrams with central maps

³⁶² On Hartman Schedel’s Nuremberg Chronicle, see the edited edition by Stephan Füssel, *Chronicle of the World: The Complete and Annotated Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493* (Köln/New York: Taschen, 2001); Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, 2nd Edition (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1978).

³⁶³ On the Winds generally, and their representation in art in particular, see Thomas Raff, “Die Ikonographie der mittelalterlichen Windpersonifikationen,” *Aachener Kunstblätter* 48 (1978-79), 71-218; Alessandro Nova, *The Book of the Wind: The Representation of the Invisible* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011); Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997).

winds, each with two associated winds – found favor in ancient Rome.³⁶⁴ Despite several competing schemes introduced over the centuries, the Aristotelian scheme was widely accepted during the Middle Ages and maintained its predominance during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Johann Eck's edition of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* (Augsburg, 1519) included an elaborate wind rose showing the cardinal winds, each flanked by two collateral winds (**Figure 2.69**).³⁶⁵ Extending the standard functions of a wind rose, which typically presents spatial or navigational information, Eck's diagram also lists the Qualities, Seasons, Ages of Man, and Humors associated with each of the four primary winds:

South Wind: Hot/Moist, Air, Sanguine, Spring, Youth
 East Wind: Hot/Dry, Fire, Choleric, Summer, Adolescence
 North Wind: Cold/Dry, Earth, Melancholic, Autumn, Maturity
 West Wind: Cold/Moist, Water, Phlegmatic, Winter, Old Age

While such classifications follow the standard correspondences of medieval and Renaissance natural philosophy discussed above (see table above),³⁶⁶ Eck's diagrammatic representation differs from the lists of correlations included in handbooks through its hierarchical arrangement of information and the primacy of the Winds within the scheme.³⁶⁷

Beyond their numerical and qualitative associations with such categories, the winds played a pivotal role in cosmic cycles of regeneration and decay. According to Aristotle's *Physics*, motion, including the movement of the winds, was essential to

³⁶⁴ Aristotle, *Meteorologica* (2.6.363a21-b27). A system of twelve winds was promoted by Seneca, among others, and duodecimal arrangement easily superseded schemes involving eight winds described by Pliny and Vitruvius. For a discussion of the various systems, see Obrist "Wind Diagrams" (1997), 40-1.

³⁶⁵ Heninger, *The Cosmographical Glass* (1977), 109-110, fig. 67.

³⁶⁶ Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1953), 47.

³⁶⁷ Obrist, "Wind Diagrams" (1997), 73.

system of “becoming and perishing” that lead to the cyclical renewal of nature.³⁶⁸

The winds were essential to this system by initiating the association and dissociation of the primary qualities – hot, cold, moist, and dry – resulting in seasonal changes as well as variations in the predominance of the elements and the equilibrium of the humors.³⁶⁹ Such shifts affected terrestrial events and altered corporeal constitution, leading Galen and other physicians to acknowledge the importance of observing the winds, because “they all change bodies.”³⁷⁰ Through their movement the winds were thought to initiate physical and temporal transformations in the world and in humankind.

From antiquity, the winds were frequently imagined and represented as mythological figures. According to Boccaccio’s Renaissance mythography, the *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, Astraeus, Titan-god of the dusk, fathered the Winds with Aurora, goddess of the dawn.³⁷¹ Following Lactantius, Boccaccio notes that Jupiter bound the destructive Winds in caverns and placed them under the control of Aeolus.³⁷² To prevent the Winds from “tearing the world apart,” each was assigned its own particular region, accounting for their different geographical origins and directionality. According to Ovid:

Eurus, the east wind, drew back to the realms of Aurora, to Nabatea, Persia, and the heights under the morning light: Evening, and the coasts that cool in the setting sun, are close to Zephyrus, the west wind. Chill Boreas, the north wind, seized Scythia

³⁶⁸ Aristotle, *Physics*, Book VIII, parts 1 and 4. Translated by R. P. Hardie and R. K. Gaye. Also see Cohen, “The Early Renaissance Personification of Time” (2000), 307-308.

³⁶⁹ Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997), 35.

³⁷⁰ Abraham Wasserstein, *Galen’s Commentary on the Hippocratic Treatise Airs, Waters, Places, in the Hebrew Translation of Solomon ha-Me’ati* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), G 3, p. 15. Quoted in Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997), 73.

³⁷¹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, edited by Jon Solomon (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 563. Aurora’s maternity of the winds was described in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, 378ff.

³⁷² Boccaccio, *Genealogy* (2011), 561.

and the seven stars of the Plough: while the south wind, Auster, drenches the lands opposite with incessant clouds and rain (*Met.* 1.52-68).

Beyond their mythological figuration, the winds represent potent meteorological forces with real effects in the realm of human experience.

In his undated series of the *Four Winds*, Marten de Vos shows the cardinal winds as male personifications on clouds, while the terrestrial spaces below represent the four regions of the ancient world, each dominated by a major river (**Figures 2.70-2.73**).³⁷³ Engraved by Johannes Sadeler I, the series also includes the minor winds, which appear as wind-heads in the upper corners of the image. The twelve winds included in de Vos's prints do not conform to a single duodecimal scheme, and the names represent a mixture of Greek and Latin. The upper register of each image includes a scene of pursuit, with the winds either chasing a female companion or running from one, illustrating the movement of the winds.

In the depiction of the *East Wind*, Aurora pursues Apeliotes, the personification of the wind, who has winged feet as an indication of his speed.³⁷⁴ The positions of the two figures are nearly the same; Aurora's outstretched left arm reaches for Apeliotes as he extends his own arm to distribute rain and flowers.³⁷⁵ Aurora, the goddess of the Dawn and mother of the winds, is paired with the rising sun to the left. In the upper left-hand corner, a wind-head identified as Caecias breathes fire in the direction of the goddess. To the right, Eurus breathes flowers across Apeliotes' hand. As the eastern winds, Apeliotes, Caecias, and Eurus -- the

³⁷³ Hollstein 1361-1364; Brokken (1994), 144-148, cat. nrs. 21.1-21.4. De Vos omits any representation of the New World in this series of engravings.

³⁷⁴ Apeliotes mentioned in Aristotle's *Meteorologica* ii.6.

³⁷⁵ On the Tower of the Winds in Athens (first century B.C.), Apeliotes holds a cloak full of grain and flowers. Nova, *The Book of the Wind* (2011), 31 and fig. 13.

principal East Wind – were considered the winds of the rising sun, making Aurora’s appearance particularly apposite. The Latin inscription at the bottom of the print refers to the colorful flowers and verdant grasses that accompany the spring breeze and notes that the rosy dawn drenches the fields in dew. The lower register shows Arabia, the region between the Euphrates River and the Persian Gulf, which lies to the east of Greece and Rome, the seats of ancient culture. The view includes a distant ship in full sail, an indication of the navigational significance of the winds as a source for maritime exploration. An inscription identifies the land as the “territory of the brothers of Nabath.”³⁷⁶ Twelve tents, each with a single figure at its door, occupy the peninsula between the two bodies of water. These represent the twelve sons of Ishmael, the biblical patriarch of the Arabic tribes.

The depiction of the South Wind shows Ops in pursuit of Auster, a wet, storm-bringing wind thought to originate in Ethiopia. Shown fully nude, Auster – the primary South Wind – blows from his mouth while holding a sieve that rains down water. Ops, the Roman equivalent of Rhea, was the Titan goddess of fertility, the wife of Cronos, the Queen of Heaven, and mother of the gods. Portrayed as a matronly figure with a turreted crown, she carries a scythe, a rake, and a shovel – representing her association with agricultural fertility. The wind-heads in the corners represent Phoenicias to the left, aptly shown with a Phoenix nearby, and Libonotus to the right, blowing pestilence in the form of snakes, scorpions, lizards,

³⁷⁶ According to tradition, Nebaioth was the first son of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, according to biblical tradition (Nabit means first-born in Arabic). Ishmael had twelve sons, a parallel to the twelve sons of his half-brother, Isaac. Just as Isaac’s sons founded the twelve tribes of Israel, Ishmael’s sons were considered founders of dynastic tribes in the region from ancient Havilah to Shur – from Assyria to the Egyptian border (Genesis 25:12-18).

and insects. Phoenicias, according to Aristotle, blew from the South South-East, while Libonotus – omitted in Aristotle – was thought to originate from the South South-West, from the direction of North-Western Africa, or modern-day Libya.³⁷⁷ The inscription refers to the dark storm clouds brought by the South Wind. In the lower register, the Nile cuts across the African landscape, flooding the areas in the background. To the left, a figure with sword and shield attempts to fend off a pair of crocodiles, while to the right, another figure is carried in a litter.

A band labeled “*Via Lactea*” (“Milky Way”) cuts across the upper register, a reference to a myth concerning Ops. To prevent Cronos from consuming their offspring, Ops gave the god a stone in place of her newborn child. Suspicious, Cronos directed her to feed it, and when she did, her milk was splashed across the heavens, creating the Milky Way.³⁷⁸ Behind the gods, nude figures with clasped hands make their way to a round temple flanked by two smaller buildings. The tripartite structure is labeled “*Secreta deorum*” (“Divine secrets”). The depiction of the nude figures may represent the role of the winds in ushering earthly spirits to the heavens. During antiquity the winds were thought to accompany the souls of the deceased during their ascent, a function that accounts for the placement of wind heads on some Roman sarcophagi.³⁷⁹ Citing Pausanias, Vincenzo Cartari noted that Boreas, the North Wind, was carved on the side of the tomb of Cypselus at the

³⁷⁷ Aristotle, *Meteorology*, Bk2, c6. Libonotus is described in the anemoscopic system developed by the ancient navigator (c. 282 BCE), Timosthenes of Rhodes, and adopted by many others, including Pliny. Agathemerus, *Geographia*, Lib.1, Ch.2 p.178.

³⁷⁸ Pseudo-Hyginus, *Astronomica* (2.43). An alternate myth names Juno as the source of the milk, which spilled when Jupiter held an infant Hercules to her breast as she slept. This alternate myth is portrayed in works by Jacopo Tintoretto (“The Origin of the Milky Way,” 1575, National Gallery, London) and by Peter Paul Rubens (“The Origin of the Milky Way,” ca. 1637, Prado Museum, Madrid).

³⁷⁹ Nova, *The Book of the Wind* (2011), 31.

Temple of Juno in Elis. The role of winds in escorting souls demonstrates their mediatory position between the terrestrial world of human experience and the heavenly realm above.

Zephyrus, the West Wind, chases the goddess Flora, who holds a bouquet as flowers spill from her garments. The wind-heads, Libs and Corus, both blow to the left, the direction of Zephyrus' pursuit of Flora, an account of which appears in

Ovid's *Fasti*:

I [the Roman goddess Flora] was Chloris (Flower), nymph of the happy fields [Elysion]...It was spring, I wandered; Zephyrus (the West Wind) saw me, I left. He pursues, I run : he was the stronger... But he makes good the rape by naming me his bride, and I have no complaints about my marriage. I enjoy perpetual spring: the year always shines, trees are leafing, the soil always foddens. I have a fruitful garden in my dowered fields, fanned by breezes, fed by limpid fountains. My husband filled it with well-bred flowers, saying: `Have jurisdiction of the flower, goddess.³⁸⁰

Following her rape and subsequent marriage, the nymph, Chloris, was transformed into Flora, the goddess of flowers, a subject portrayed in Botticelli's *Primavera*.³⁸¹

The lower register of de Vos's images shows a composite of sites from ancient Greece bisected by the Pindus River. The Apollonian Muses appear to the right as Mount Parnassus rises up behind.³⁸² Pegasus rears up on a rocky outcropping in the middle distance. The figures picking flowers on the left represent the Graces and the Hours, mentioned in Ovid's account of Flora in the *Fasti* (V.193ff.).

The final image in the series shows the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas, the North Wind, portrayed with a bow and quiver and wearing a Phrygian cap. The abduction of the Athenian princess from the banks of the Ilissos River was described by

³⁸⁰ Ovid, *Fasti* 5. 197 ff. (trans. Boyle).

³⁸¹ In his *Primavera*, Botticelli portrays Zephyrus as a blue figure with swollen cheeks. His abduction of Chloris and her transformation into Flora is depicted on the right side of the painting, where Zephyrus clutches Chloris in his arms as Flora stands nearby.

³⁸² Unlike van Mander's depiction of *Dawn*, the Muses are not paired with Aurora in this series by de Vos. Instead, Aurora appears in the *East Wind*.

several ancient sources, including Ovid and Apollonius of Rhodes, who noted that Boreas wrapped his victim in a cloud prior to violating her.³⁸³ The wind-heads are labeled Circius and Aquilo, which is the Latin name for Boreas. Both of the collateral winds blow toward the left, where a mass of dark clouds unleash rain and lightning over the battle that rages below.

The lower register shows Thrace bisected by the Hebrus River, which flows to the Aegean Sea in the background. The region, considered the far north by the ancient Greeks, includes parts of modern day Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey, as portrayed in a map of “Ancient Thrace” by Abraham Ortelius, *Thraciae veteris typvs* (1585) (**Figure 2.74**). In de Vos’s depiction, the right side of the print shows Oreithyia reclining in a tent with her two sons, Zetes and Kalais, the winged twins born of her rape by Boreas, referenced in the inscription. The battle scene to the left of the Hebrus River shows the Argonauts’ deliverance of King Phineus, whose palace had been overrun by the Harpies. Zetes and Kalais featured prominently in this episode, as they spurred the Argonauts to engage the Harpies. The destruction of the Persian fleet, a subject later included by Rubens in his Torre de la Parada myths, appears in the middle distance. Herodotus noted that the Athenians claimed kinship to Boreas. The association stemmed from the wind’s abduction of, and subsequent marriage to, Oreithyia, the daughter of the Athenian king, Erekhtheus. As a result the Athenians made sacrifices to the North Wind during the Second Persian War in 480 B.C.E. in the hopes that Boreas would aid their side by sinking the Persian ships, and

³⁸³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (VI.683) and *Fasti* (V.197ff.); Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* (1.212). The abduction of Oreithyia by Boreas appears in a painting by Rubens (ca. 1615-20), now at the Gemäldegalerie in Vienna.

their entreaty succeeded. The incident marks an episode of the winds interfering in human affairs.

In de Vos's series, the billowing garments of the female figures – particularly Aurora, Oreithyia, and Flora – exemplify Aby Warburg's concept of the *bewegtes Beiwerk* ('accessories in motion'), which he described as a central feature of the Renaissance adoption of a classicizing style.³⁸⁴ In de Vos's *Four Winds*, the fluttering cloaks also serve as a phenomenological depiction of the real effects of wind. The artist also demonstrates the meteorological aspects of the winds through depictions of the weather, a feature emphasized more strongly in the series by Philips Galle.

In the series of *Four Winds* engraved by Crispijn de Passe after Philips Galle, the personified winds appear in roundels with wind-heads blowing from the four surrounding corners (**Figures 2.75-2.78**).³⁸⁵ Portrayed as nude males of various ages, the winged figures stand on clouds hovering above landscapes, representing the four quarters of the world as indicated by the cardinal directions inscribed above each scene.³⁸⁶ *Eurus*, the East Wind, strews flowers and leaves on the countryside below. A solar disc with facial features rises behind him as a representation of the dawn, which likewise comes from the east. Water and pestilence stream from the outstretched hand of *Auster*, the destructive southern wind. Depicted as an elderly, bearded man, he releases frogs, lizards, snails, and

³⁸⁴ Warburg developed the concept of the *bewegtes beiwerk* in his dissertation on Botticelli, whose paintings – particularly *The Birth of Venus* (1477-1485) and *The Primavera* (1477-1485) – feature representations of the winds.

³⁸⁵ Hollstein (De Passe), nos. 568-571.

³⁸⁶ Despite the apparent differences in the ages of the personified winds, the figures do not seem to fit with the standard alignment of Four Ages of Man and the Cardinal Winds – Childhood/South, Adolescence/East, Maturity/North, and Old Age/West. See Jean Seznec's chart of correspondences above.

other undesirable creatures onto the landscape below, which contains four deceased figures in the foreground, including a child. In the place of swollen-cheeked wind-heads, skulls blow from the four corners around the central image. *Zephyrus*, the garlanded representative of the West Wind, represents a more benevolent force as he rains down flowers on the cultivated gardens portrayed below. Precariously balanced on his cloud, Boreas, the aged North Wind, pours down snow on the terrestrial space below as a solitary figure in a sleigh attempts to traverse the barren landscape of leafless trees.

In Galle's series the weather serves as a link between the earthly and celestial realms. The meteorological effects produced by each of the winds, shown as conical emanations streaming from the hands of the personified figures, cross the cloud-barriers dividing the upper and lower registers of each image. In addition to breezes, the winds were thought to be responsible for bringing rain, snow, warmth, and clouds, which function here as meteorological features in addition to their typical role as compositional devices. These climatic effects represent the phenomenological experience of the winds within the human domain.

Published in 1604, the series designed and engraved by Crispijn de Passe I employs the *Four Winds* as an organizing principle for the various cosmological correspondences, including the seven planetary deities, four seasons, four quarters of the world, and four times of day (**Figures 2.79-2.82**).³⁸⁷ Depictions of the seven planetary gods on cloudbanks dominate the expanded upper registers. Sol/Apollo appears alone in the representation of the East Wind, while the other prints show

³⁸⁷ Kaulback and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), pp. 111-113, cat. nrs. 26.1-26.4.

the deities in pairs. Blowing wind-heads of the Cardinal Winds emerge from the clouds, while the Times of Day are illustrated through the relative position of the sun and moon in the sky. Below, seasonal gods and goddesses appear within settings representing the regions of the earth in a configuration reminiscent of the portrayal of personified figures in landscapes treated in the previous chapter. In separating the celestial realm from the terrestrial, the vertical format provides a scheme for organizing multiple groupings.

Each image includes an encyclopedic assortment of classifications. In the first engraving the outsized figure of *Sol/Apollo*, his head surrounded by an aureole, sits on a cloud above the *East Wind (Euros)*, whose exhalation produces flowers that fall to the earth. Below, Cupid passes a bouquet to a male embodiment of *Spring (Ver)*, who strides through a landscape labeled "*Asia*," recognizable through the distinctive terraced gardens on the left.³⁸⁸ In the lower, right corner, an "Indian" monarch appears with a small retinue; two figures bow at his feet, the human inhabitants of the East. The rising sun appears to the left of the clouds as an indication of the Dawn, which corresponds to the easterly direction of the wind and the figure of *Sol/Apollo*, who typically serves as the representative of midday rather than dawn in depictions of the four times of day.

The next image shows Mars and Venus locked in an embrace. They preside over a scene showing the South Wind (*Auster*) as well as Summer (*Aestas*), who

³⁸⁸ The male personification of spring resembles the figure portrayed in Goltzius's 1589 series of the *Four Seasons*, engraved by Jacob Matham. In addition to the depictions of the Seasons, the Goltzius series includes the signs of the Zodiac as well as wind-heads representing the four Cardinal Winds., Hollstein, vol 11, p. 230, nrs. 266-269; Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 155; Veldman, "Goltzius' Zintuigen" (1991-1992), 315.

holds a scythe and a cornucopia, the attributes of Ceres – goddess of fertility, agriculture and grain – and Pomona – goddess of fruitful abundance. The figure sits on an embankment in a space marked “*Africa*,” hottest of the continents, with Alexandria labeled in the left background and in Ethiopia to the right. The sun appears overhead as an indication of Midday. As the god associated with summer, Mars fits within the scheme, and Venus appears as his lover.

The West Wind (*Zephyrus*) appears beneath the reclining figure of Luna/Diana, who shares her cloud with Mercury.³⁸⁹ Bacchus, god of wine and frequent representative of Autumn, serves as the seasonal embodiment in the space below, which represents Europe to left, including a field planted with grapevines, and America to the right, where savages dance in a field. The rising moon appears to the left of the cloud, denoting dusk and accounting for the selection of Luna/Diana as the representative deity.³⁹⁰

Finally, Jupiter and Saturn join the cold North Wind (*Boreas*) above a depiction of Winter in a composite landscape variously representing northern locations, including Scythia, Nova Zembla, Norway, and Sarmatia. Portrayed as *Aeolus*, the keeper of the winds, the personification of *Winter* is shown with an exhaling wind-head beneath his right foot, a visual echo of the planetary deities above, who each place a foot on the head of the North Wind. Aeolus carries a torch and a bridle, an indication of his control of the winds and, thus, of clouds and storms as well [*Aeneid* 1.76-80]. In addition to being the keeper of the winds, Aeolus was

³⁸⁹ Mercury here resembles the depiction of the god in De Passe’s series of the Planets after Marten de Vos. See Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), p. 112.

³⁹⁰ The presence of Mercury is more difficult to discern, possibly accounting for his diminished presence at further remove.

the mythological god associated with winter, appearing in several series of the *Four Seasons*, including the 1568 series by Lambert Lombard³⁹¹, the series engraved by Adriaen Collaert after Marten de Vos in 1587-88³⁹², and the series engraved by Crispijn de Passe I, also after de Vos.³⁹³ With the Moon at the center the sky, the scene takes place at Night. The lower register depicts a bear hunt, a witch on a broomstick, and a ship on a turbulent sea. Cold-Dry Saturn was linked to Winter and the North Wind, but the presence of Jupiter is more enigmatic.

Dedicated to the mathematician, Gerardus Stempelius, from whom De Passe derived his complex model of universal correspondences, the series unites an unusually wide assortment of categories that do not fit easily together. Using Stempelius' scheme, De Passe correlated the seasons to the times of day rather than the winds, eschewing traditional tetradic associations based on qualitative similarities (i.e., hot-cold-moist-dry). The Times are linked, in turn, to the cardinal directions, with the dawn associated with the East Wind and the sunset paired with the West. The inclusion of the times of day creates organizational issues by thwarting the standard qualitative correlations between seasons and winds beginning with Spring and the South Wind and progressing through Winter and the West Wind, as presented in Johann Eck's Aristotelian diagram above. Instead, the association between Dawn and East required a realignment of the winds and

³⁹¹ Hollstein, vol. 11, p. 93, nrs. 19-22; Christiane Lauterbach, "Masked Allegory: The Cycle of the Four Seasons by Hendrick Goltzius, 1594-95," *Simiolis: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 31, no. 4 (2004-2005), 314; Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 157.

³⁹² Hollstein 1408-1411; Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 162.

³⁹³ Hollstein 1420-1423; Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 161-62.

seasons. As a result, the seasons in De Passe's series are aligned sequentially with the times of day, rather than qualitatively with the winds.

The inclusion of the seven planets in a series devoted primarily to the winds and other quadripartite categories also causes some organizational confusion. According to some theorists, including Pliny and Seneca, all the planets played a role in the emanation of the winds, not just the sun.³⁹⁴ Such an explanation may account for the presence of the planetary deities, but the reasons underlying the parsing of the gods within each image remains difficult to determine beyond the pairing of Sol/Apollo with the rising sun. The connections between the other planetary gods and the tetradic categories – winds, times, seasons, and regions – are not easy to surmise.³⁹⁵

The intermediary position of the Winds is evinced in De Passe's series, where the Four Winds appear as wind-heads attached to the clouds separating the celestial realm from the terrestrial, and their exhalations provide a physical link between the deities above and the spaces below. In addition to symbolic correspondences based largely on numerical correlations, the various groups were also united physically through the movement of the winds, which served as a source for change at both the macrocosmic and microcosmic levels.³⁹⁶

In their portrayal of the metaphorical, material, and sympathetic correspondences between the transcendental realm of the celestial spheres and the

³⁹⁴ Obrist, "Wind Diagrams" (1997), 36. Pliny, *Natural History* 2.114, 116 (Beaujeu, ed., cf. 2.186 ff. and 2.191 ff.); Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales* 5.1-2.

³⁹⁵ The inscriptions offer little help in determining such connections.

³⁹⁶ Obrist, "Wind Diagrams" (1997), 38 and 65.

concrete world of experience, the numerous series of cosmological engravings produced in the Netherlands during the second half of the sixteenth century provided spaces for the juxtaposition and reconciliation of symbolic oppositions. Collectively – and often individually, as well – the various series pair the supernal with the mundane, demonstrating how celestial movements and natural forces influence the course of human affairs. Such imagery serves to unite the abstract and immaterial realm of theory with the realities of quotidian existence, merging the eternal and timeless with the temporal and temporary.

Chapter 3

Tempus fugit: Processional Series of Allegorical Engravings

On June 1, 1561, Antwerp celebrated the Holy Circumcision relic with an *ommegang* (literally “circulation”), an urban, devotional procession held annually, beginning as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century.³⁹⁷ In addition to participants on foot, the *ommegang* comprised numerous *puncten*, wagons with thematic *tableaux* representing biblical events, allegorical subjects, and local, Antwerp folklore. While many of these wagons reappeared annually, the 1561 procession incorporated a group of new *puncten* depicting topical themes devised by the *Violieren*, Antwerp’s leading chamber of rhetoric.³⁹⁸ According to the official record published by the city printer, Hans de Laet, the new wagons portrayed “the entire course of the world, divided into seven figures or parables representing the seven

³⁹⁷ For discussion of the *ommegangen* in Antwerp and other Flemish cities, see Floris Prims, *De Antwerpsche Ommeganck op den vooravond van de Beeldstormerij* (Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1946); Sheila Williams and Jean Jacquot, “Les ommegangs d’Anvers et les cortèges du Lord-Marie de Londres” and “Ommegangs anversois du temps de Bruegel et de Van Heemskerck,” in *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, edited by Jean Jacquot, (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), 349-88; Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, translated by Michael Hoyle (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1977), esp. 127-141; Meg Twycross, “The Flemish Ommegang and its Pageant Cars: Part 1,” *Medieval English Theatre* 2, no. 1 (1980), 15-41 and “The Flemish Ommegang and its Pageant Cars: Part 2,” *Medieval English Theatre* 2, no. 2 (1980), 80-98; Walter Gibson, “Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel,” *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 3 (1981), 426-46; Larry Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1984), esp. 7-14; and John Cartwright, “Forms and Their Uses: The Antwerp *Ommegangen*, 1550-1700,” in *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre*, edited by M. Twycross (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996), 119-31.

³⁹⁸ Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck* (1977), 133. There were two Chambers of Rhetoric in Antwerp: the *Violieren* and *Olijftak*.

ages or epochs of human life and encompassing all of its states, conditions, and occupations, both good and bad.”³⁹⁹

The sequence of allegorical *tableaux* began with a representation of the *Triumph of the World*, followed by the successive triumphs of Riches, Pride, Envy, War, Want, Humility, and Peace. Shown in procession, the various cars demonstrated the temporary ascendancy of each condition prior to its displacement by the next. Riches begets – and is subsequently supplanted by – Pride, which leads, in turn, to Envy, and so on (the full sequence is described below). *Peace*, the last of the group, creates the necessary conditions for Riches, and the cycle begins anew. During the *ommegang*, banners carried before the wagons explained the content of each allegorical grouping.⁴⁰⁰ The *puncten* ended with a scene of the *Last Judgment*, the traditional conclusion for the Circumcision *ommegang* and the symbolic end of the perpetual cycle of human affairs represented by the wagons.⁴⁰¹

Three years after their appearance in the *ommegang*, the new *puncten* provided subjects for a series of prints after designs by Maerten van Heemskerck and published in Antwerp by Hieronymus Cock in 1564 (**Figures 3.1-3.9**).⁴⁰²

Typically referred to as *The Vicissitudes of Human Affairs*, Heemskerck’s series was

³⁹⁹ Williams and Jacquot, “Ommegangs anversois” (1961), 363. The account may have been written by William van Haecht, the factor of the *Violieren*, Antwerp’s preeminent chamber of rhetoric. See Gibson, “Artists and Rederijkers” (1981), 432-3.

⁴⁰⁰ It is possible that orators were on hand to explain the significance of the *puncten*. Cartwright, “Forms and Their Uses” (1996), 123.

⁴⁰¹ Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck* (1977), 141.

⁴⁰² The drawings for the series have been dated to 1562 and 1563. New Hollstein, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1994), nrs. 482-490; Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck* (1977), pp. 133-141 and figs. 85-93; Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 151-156, cat. nrs. 40.1-40.9. The derivation of the series from the 1561 *ommegang* was first recognized by Sheila Williams and Jean Jacquot. See Williams and Jacquot, “Ommegangs anversois” (1961), 363ff.

likely engraved by Cornelis Cort.⁴⁰³ In translating the spectacle into graphic form, Heemskerck converted each processional *punct* into a single print in a cyclical series. With the exception of the first and last images – depictions of the *Triumph of the World* and the *Last Judgment*, respectively – each engraving shows a triumphal car bearing an enthroned personification of the ascendant quality accompanied by a retinue of figures representing associated concepts. Scenes painted on the sides of the 1561 *ommegang* wagons reappear in the landscape backgrounds of the prints. Shown in profile, the triumphal cars are portrayed moving from right to left, a uniform mode of presentation that establishes the progress of the procession, especially if the engravings were displayed together as a frieze (see the discussion below on the creation of paper processions). The sequential aspect of the theme is further emphasized by the presence in each scene of a miniature figure representing the next ascendant condition in the cycle. A small-scale figure of *Pride*, for example, sits at the feet of *Riches* – a clear demonstration of the filial and temporal relationship between the two figures – before reappearing in the subsequent image as a larger, triumphant figure in her own right. The prints reveal the artist’s detailed familiarity with the 1561 Circumcision procession, either through firsthand experience of the event or, more likely, through the account contained in the printed program (*ordinancie*) that accompanied the *ommegang*.

Like the Circumcision *ommegang*, Heemskerck’s series begins with a depiction of the *Triumph of the World*, which shows a cart bearing a sphere on a

⁴⁰³ Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck* (1977), 133. Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock, eds., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 204-09, no. 48

tripod. Signs of the zodiac encircle a transparent orb that also includes personified figures representing the seven qualities featured in subsequent engravings: Riches, Pride, Envy, War, Want, Humility, and Peace. The sphere is surrounded by female personifications of the four elements: Earth holds a mountain; Water cradles a ship; Air grasps a rainbow; and Fire carries flames. The elements sit on a cart driven by an elderly, bearded figure labeled "*Tempus*" ("Time"), who spurs a pair of winged horses representing Day and Night, crowned – respectively – with a sun and moon. Above, the Cardinal Winds appear in the clouds in the form of swollen-cheeked wind-heads. The blowing of the winds precipitates seasonal changes by shifting the relative balance of the four elements, catalyzing a process of cyclical renewal, described in detail in the previous chapter. In Heemskerck's series, the oscillations of Nature run parallel to the social fluctuations illustrated in the series' subsequent images.

The *Triumph of the World* is followed by a sequence of engravings demonstrating the inevitable progression of human affairs through periods of wealth, poverty, war, and peace, all brought about by the competitive demands of a capitalist economy and the desire for power. Like the *puncten* on which they were based, the allegorical engravings depict the successive triumphs of Riches, Pride, Envy, War, Want, Humility, and Peace, with each ascendant quality creating the conditions necessary for the next. A look at the allegorical figures staffing these wagons – portrayed with standard attributes that had become identifying features by the end of the sixteenth – conveys a sense of how processional tableaux

incorporated multiple personifications in the representation of a concept and how such assemblages could be translated into print.⁴⁰⁴

Riches, the first of the triumphant figures, sits enthroned atop her wagon with crown and scepter, the attributes of a ruler. According to the Latin inscription below the image, she serves as “the mother of Pride,” the next, dominant concept in the sequence. This process of maternity is illustrated by the inclusion, at Riches’ feet, of a miniature figure of Pride, shown gazing into a mirror. They ride on the wagon of Fame, which is driven by the coachman, Guile, who whips two horses representing Fraud – wearing a mantle decorated with masks – and Rapine. Beside the wagon walk Usury, Betrayal, and Lust, who holds a penis in her hand, while False Joy and a group of figures identified as Idle Pleasures follow behind. The background includes a mountainous landscape with figures engaged in dancing, drinking, and playing music. During the Circumcision procession, this pleasure party was painted on the side of the wagon. The assembled figures illustrate the various qualities associated with Riches, offering a negative portrayal of wealth and demonstrating contemporary unease regarding the morality of money, even in the “capital of capitalism,” to use a phrase coined by Larry Silver.⁴⁰⁵ The collection of undesirable characteristics also suggests how Riches brings forth – and is eventually displaced by – Pride, the next ascendant quality in the procession.

Sitting on a canopied throne with a mirror and a peacock feather in her hands, Pride assumes the triumphant position on the next wagon in the series. Her

⁴⁰⁴ See also Williams and Jacquot, “Ommegangs anversois” (1961), 363ff and Cartwright, “Forms and their Uses” (1996), 122-3; Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck* (1977), 136-9.

⁴⁰⁵ Larry Silver, “Pieter Bruegel in the Capital of Capitalism,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47.1 (1996), 124-153.

diminutive progeny, Envy, gnaws at a heart at Pride's feet as Contempt whips the horses, Curiosity and Obstinacy. Pride and her retinue, including Disobedience, Mockery, and Bragging, appear in front of a landscape filled with pyramids, obelisks, columns, and a triumphal arch. An immense statue of a general or emperor, possibly a representation of the infamous Colossus of Nero, stands before an immense, multi-tiered edifice with arcades at each level. The building, which resembles the Roman Coliseum, evokes contemporary representations of the Tower of Babel, particularly those painted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1563 and ca. 1568) in the years immediately preceding and following the publication of Heemskerck's *Vicissitudes* in 1565.⁴⁰⁶ The Tower, a symbol of humanity's overweening pride, illustrates the futility of human accomplishment in the face of divine power.

The next car, the wagon of Inequality, holds the personification of Envy, a wild-haired figure gnawing at a heart. As with's other figures, the personification of Envy resembles typical portrayals of that quality, including several contemporaneous depictions like the one in the series of the *Seven Vices* by artists Hendrick Goltzius (see Chapter 4). Her progeny, War, wears a plumed helmet and carries a banner. Entwined snakes, one of Envy's primary attributes, grace the back of the wagon, which is driven by Hate and pulled by the horses Calumny and Slander. The latter attempts to bite the leg of his partner. Beside the wagon walk Malevolence, Confusion, and Disquiet, as ships founder on the stormy sea in the background.

⁴⁰⁶ Bruegel's paintings are currently at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (1563) and at the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam (ca. 1568). In Babel imagery in contemporaneous Netherlandish art, see Larry Silver, "Bruegel's Biblical Kings," in Walter Melion, *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 791 –831, esp. 795-800.

Bearded War, the only male victor in the series, gazes out of the image toward the viewer with a sword in one hand and a bundle of flames in the other. Banners, spears, and other weaponry adorn the wagon, which is identified as Revenge. The car is driven by Fury, who holds a torch and whips the caparisoned horses, Destruction and Devastation. In addition to the miniature embodiment of Want – a hunched figure with folded arms sitting beneath War – the bellicose entourage includes Famine, holding a cabbage and gnawing on a bone; Blasphemy, pointing her fingers exaggeratedly; and Strife, who lifts her arms toward heaven. Illustrating the destructiveness of war, the background includes a standing figure stabbing a prone figure with a sword to the left and soldiers gathered outside the walls of a besieged town in flames. Following behind the car, Cruelty leads a group of shackled captives and a cart carrying the dead and wounded.

With a bowed head and tattered dress, Want sits atop the next car, a simple cart driven by Sluggishness and pulled to two lean horses, Debility and Sickness. Humility, the daughter of Want, sits at her feet, while Frailty, Patience, and Slavery walk beside the car, the latter in shackles and chains. Patience holds an anvil on which rests a heart and a triple headed hammer, attributes that had appeared in an earlier series of prints by Heemskerck showing *The Triumph of Patience*, published by Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert in 1559 (full discussion of the series below in this chapter).⁴⁰⁷ In the background an impoverished family walks along a road toward a farmhouse where others are begging for food.

⁴⁰⁷ New Hollstein, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1994), nrs. 436-443; Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck* (1977), pp. 62-70, figs. 39-46.

Humility rides in the wagon of Tolerance, which is driven by Fear and pulled, with much effort, by the horses Mildness and Modesty. With her daughter, Peace, at her feet, Humility holds a split heart and a shepherd's staff. The former is a reference to Psalm 51:17, which indicates that a humble man has a "broken and a contrite heart." The staff, a Christological implement, is repeated in the background, which shows shepherds tending their flocks among the hills. The pastoral scene illustrates the serenity of the social conditions and alludes to Christ's own humility as the shepherd of humanity. The religious harmony of the world ruled by Humility is further emphasized by the victor's retinue, which includes the three theological virtues of Hope, with anchor and bird, Faith, with a cross and Eucharistic chalice, and Charity, who carries a child like the Madonna and guides two other children, one of whom carries a staff.

The conditions created by Humility bring forth Peace, the final ascendant quality in the cycle. Carrying a laurel branch and laurel crown, she rides in the wagon of Concord, which is ornamented with the bounties of the harvest. Blindfolded Justice walks beside the wagon with her sword and scales, both typical attributes, as winged Diligence waves a banner nearby and Love gently guides the two horses, Harmony and Utility. Truth removes her cloak on the other side of the wagon, which passes by well-plowed fields and a distant city beneath a rainbow, a symbol of God's covenant with humanity following the Flood. The miniature personification of Riches sits at Peace's feet with a crown and scepter, a reminder, simultaneously, of the bounties brought forth by Peace and the ephemerality of her

domain. With the ascendancy of Riches, the first triumphant figure in the series, the sequence begins again, a perpetual cycle that continues until the end of time.

Following the sequence of human affairs, the series concludes with a depiction of the *Last Judgment*, which also served as the final *punct* in the 1561 Circumcision procession. With each quality creating the conditions for the next, the cycle of Riches, Pride, Envy, War, Want, Humility, and Peace repeats itself continuously until the end of time, when Christ returns in judgment. Heemskerck's rendering of the scene departs somewhat from the processional format by eschewing the wagon in favor of a more traditional presentation of Christ on a cloud, surrounded by saints, personified virtues, and herald angels blowing trumpets. Below, the dead emerge from the ground and join the ranks of the saved to the left or the condemned on the right. The scene represents the end of time, breaking the perpetual cycle of human affairs depicted in the previous engravings.

According to the Latin inscription below Heemskerck's print:

So shall it be seen that Riches, Pride, pernicious Envy, War, Want, Humility and Peace, the begetter of Riches, shall follow each other in turn as in a circular motion until the Final Day shall break upon the world.⁴⁰⁸

As the *ordinancie* for the 1561 procession indicates, God's judgment "makes an end to everything."⁴⁰⁹ The ultimate triumph of divinity supplants worldly accomplishments, revealing the vanity of human aspirations when compared to eternal power of God, a theme that runs throughout Heemskerck's *Vicissitudes* and recurs frequently in other processional print series produced in the Netherlands in the later decades of the sixteenth century.

⁴⁰⁸ Quoted and translated in Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck* (1977), 141.

⁴⁰⁹ Quoted in Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck* (1977), 141.

With its format and details derived almost entirely from the Circumcision procession, Heemskerck's series demonstrates the overlap between contemporary spectacle and other visual media. In addition to the series of *Vicissitudes*, the artist adapted triumphal motifs and sequences for a variety of subjects, including *The Allegory of Good and Bad Music* (1554), *The Triumph of Patience* (1559), and *The Unhappy Lot of the Rich* (1563), and the Petrarchan *Trionfi* (1565), a subject that influenced the themes portrayed in a number of subsequent engravings by other artists. By demonstrating the versatility of the processional form, Heemskerck played a vital role in popularizing the triumphal procession as a compositional framework for the depiction of serialized allegorical engravings in the Netherlands.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Heemskerck and his peers utilized the triumphal procession as a symbolically rich and compositionally flexible means of depicting allegorical content. The format offered a malleable framework for the depiction of topical issues, cosmographical allegories, and religious themes. This was particularly true in Antwerp, where religious processions as well as joyous entries of visiting rulers flourished, and allegorical triumphs proliferated in print series published after midcentury.

As a presentational device for personified figures, the triumphal chariot or wagon provided an elevated position, both literally and figuratively, for an ascendant quality. Such vehicles raise the triumphator above surrounding figures and confer on him or her the exalted status of a victor. The implication of victory – and the complementary presupposition of defeat – suggests that a battle has been

waged and concluded, inflecting each scene with agonistic significance. With the involvement, in many instances, of personified virtues, such martial connotations evoke the battles described in Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, discussed at greater length in Chapter 4 below.

For the depiction of serial allegories, wagons could serve as discrete units, linked together to form a processional chain with each ascendant quality supplanted or displaced by the next, as in the series of *Vicissitudes* by Heemskerck. The format allowed for the portrayal of subjects with multiple components related sequentially and sometimes hierarchically as well. These allegorical chains could progress in a defined, linear sequence – with a defined beginning and end – as in Petrarch's *Trionfi* (discussed below), where the . Alternately, processional groups could represent a repetitive cycle, where the final term of the series leads back to the first, as in depictions of the *Four Seasons*.⁴¹⁰ Viewing a series of images in the processional format, whether displayed as a frieze or collected in the pages of an album, was an experience that unfolded in time.

This temporal element, embedded in the format, is often reflected in the thematic content of such series. Most allegorical triumphs represented in Renaissance literature, art, and spectacle include a tension between the ephemeral realm of human activity and the timeless dominion of spiritual truth. As Heemskerck's series demonstrates, wealth, power, and pleasure were portrayed as impediments to the greatest reward, which was union with God for eternity. In

⁴¹⁰ See the Introduction above for a taxonomy for various kinds of serial engraving, including between "series," "sequences," and "cycles." The categories are based on definition provided by Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 13-4.

comparison to such infinitude, earthly existence is fleeting, and the desire for worldly success or gratification represents mere vanity. In its triumphal associations and sequential development, the processional format provided print designers with an ideal means for depicting the search for ultimate values that could not be displaced.

The Triumph of Antiquity

The proliferation of processional print series was only one example of the popularity of triumphal motifs and sequential allegories in the Netherlands and throughout Europe. Renewal of interest in ancient triumphs during the Renaissance manifested itself in two complementary, yet intimately related, processional forms: historical triumphs intended to commemorate martial victories or to honor contemporary rulers; and allegorical triumphs that treated the ancient model as a philosophical concept. The former served as a means of elevating human accomplishment, while the latter typically illustrated the futility of mortal endeavor, a dichotomy that already existed within the structure of the ancient ceremony. Each influenced the other, and the boundaries became increasingly blurred during the course of the sixteenth century.

In ancient Rome the martial accomplishments of a victorious general were frequently celebrated with a triumphal procession.⁴¹¹ Accompanied by his army, the honored commander rode on a chariot through the capital, displaying the spoils of

⁴¹¹ The literature on Roman Triumph is vast. For a recent treatment and further bibliography, see Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, Mass and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

war, including captives taken during the conflict. The ceremony conferred great honor on the *triumphator*, elevating him to a semi-divine status. Wearing a multi-colored toga, a laurel crown, and red paint on his face, the victorious general looked more like a god than a man. He wore a laurel wreath and held a scepter, the same attributes carried by the cult statue at the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, the final destination of procession.⁴¹² Raised up on his chariot, a vehicle associated with the conveyance of deities, he received the adulation of the crowd while sitting completely immobile, “like the statue of a man” (“*tamquam figmentum hominis*”).⁴¹³ The triumphator became, at least temporarily, a representation of Jupiter on Earth.⁴¹⁴

Despite his resemblance to the immortal gods, however, the victorious general remained subject to changing fortune and the ephemerality of life. The public acclaim directed at the triumphator was tempered by the presence of a slave standing behind him holding a golden crown above his head while admonishing him to remember his own mortality and the limitations of human accomplishment. According to a description written by the Christian monk, Zonarus, the slave told the general to “Look beyond!’ that is, ‘Look at what comes after, in the ensuing years of life, and do not be elated or puffed up by your present fortune.”⁴¹⁵ The slave served as a literal *memento mori*, reminding the triumphator to remain humble in the face

⁴¹² At the conclusion of the procession, the triumphator sanctified his victory by offering a sacrifice to Jupiter in appreciation for his success on the battlefield. Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 158.

⁴¹³ Description according to Ammianus Marcellinus. Quoted and translated in Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 94.

⁴¹⁴ As Sergio Bertelli argues, the “Romans adored Jupiter in him, or rather Jupiter’s *imago*.” Bertelli, *The King's Body* (2001), 94-5.

⁴¹⁵ Bertelli, *The King's Body* (2001), 63.

of adulation. As a moral exemplar and embodiment of Roman virtue, the victorious commander was more than a man but less than a god.

Although triumphal concepts never fully disappeared following the decline of the Roman empire, sustained interest and attempts to rejuvenate ancient processions did not occur with any regularity until the late Middle Ages, when victorious commanders often sought to commemorate their martial success with celebrations modeled on the triumphs of Rome. This was particularly true in Italy, where triumphal forms appeared in processions beginning in the thirteenth century. When the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II entered Cremona following his victory over the Venetians and Milanese in 1237, his procession through the city was intended to resemble ancient antecedents.⁴¹⁶ Castruccio Castracani likewise sought to evoke antiquity by riding a chariot through Lucca after he defeated the Florentines at the Battle of Altopascio in September 1325.⁴¹⁷ Despite these early attempts to replicate the past, however, such entries had more in common with religious processions, modeled on Christ's Advent into Jerusalem, than with the ancient triumphs of Rome.⁴¹⁸

By the middle of the fifteenth century, organizers of triumphal entries sought greater authenticity. The entry of Alfonso V the Great into Naples in 1443, often cited as the first true revival of the Roman triumph, included a permanent triumphal arch in honor of the ruler, designed by Francesco Laurana, and Alfonso entered the

⁴¹⁶ Bertelli, *The King's Body* (2001), 62.

⁴¹⁷ Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen-âge et à la Renaissance*, vol. 2: *Allegories et symboles* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1932), 113; Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages*, translated by Marthiel Mathews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 257.

⁴¹⁸ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Pagan of the Renaissance* (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 2002), 182.

city in a chariot inspired by Roman examples portrayed in visual sources.⁴¹⁹ In Florence, the recreation of the triumphs of Aemilius Paulus, commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici in 1491, followed Plutarch's account in an attempt to replicate the original event as closely as possible.⁴²⁰ The organizers of the military triumphs celebrating the French invasions of Italy – Charles VIII's entry into Siena (1494) and Louis XII's entries into Milan (1499, 1507, and 1509) and Brescia (1507) – increased the authenticity of the processions by modeling them on the antique examples.⁴²¹ Such events demonstrate a greater awareness of Roman precedent and a heightened desire to create processions *all'antica*.

The possibility of historical accuracy resulted from the expansion of antiquarian research concerning Roman triumphal processions during the second half of the fifteenth century. For information about ancient triumphs, humanist scholars relied heavily on Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*.⁴²² In addition, Appian, Plutarch, and Josephus – all with Latin editions published in Rome or Venice between 1469-1475 – offered descriptions of particular triumphs, and passing references appeared

⁴¹⁹ Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collectio of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979), 49.

⁴²⁰ Van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane* (1932), 113; Mâle, *Religious Art in France* (1986), 257.

⁴²¹ Andrew Martindale cites this series of entries as the first to "properly revive" the military triumph in the Roman fashion. Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979), 48. For the broader context of royal, triumphal symbolism in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century France and Italy, see Bonner Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance: A Descriptive Bibliography of Triumphal Entries and Selected Other Festivals for State Occasions* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1979) and the series of studies by Robert Scheller: "Imperial Themes in Art and Literature of the Early French Renaissance: The Period of Charles VIII," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 12.1 (1981-2), 5-69; "French Royal Symbolism in the Age of Louis XII," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 13.2 (1983), 75-141; "Louis XII and Italy 1499-1508," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 15.1 (1985), 5-60.

⁴²² An edition was printed in Rome in 1469. Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979), 56.

in many other ancient texts available to Renaissance intellectuals.⁴²³ These accounts were augmented by visual representations and inscriptions found on triumphal arches, coins, and medals from antiquity.⁴²⁴ Between 1457 and 1460, several authors used such sources to produce compilations of information related to Roman triumphs: Flavio Biondo's *Roma Triumphans* (1457-9) includes a section devoted to classical triumphs with an abundance of ancient literary sources; Roberto Valturio inserted a section on triumphs into his *De Re Militari* (1460), a work on military tactics; and Giovanni Marcanova wrote a treatise (c. 1460), now lost, "concerning the honors of the Romans in triumph and in matters of war."⁴²⁵ These works served as manuals for the creators of entries and other processions, leading to a proliferation of motifs that could be included on such occasions.

Literary Triumphs

Alongside the historical triumphs celebrating military victories and contemporary rulers, the revival of triumphal forms in late medieval Italy contributed to the creation of several so-called "literary" or "allegorical" triumphs during the fourteenth century, when authors such as Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch adopted the triumphal procession as a poetic device.⁴²⁶ While retaining the notion of

⁴²³ Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979), 56.

⁴²⁴ Margaret M. McGowan, "The Renaissance Triumph and its Classical Heritage," in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Golding, (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002), 27.

⁴²⁵ Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979), 50-1.

⁴²⁶ On the emergence of literary triumphs, see Ricardo J. Quinones, "'Upon This Bank and Shoal of Time': Triumph Literature in Dante and Petrarch," in *Time, Literature and the Arts: Essays in Honor of Samuel L. Macy*, edited by Thomas R. Cleary (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1994), 34-45 and Aldo S. Bernardo, "Triumphal Poetry: Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio," in *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle*, edited by Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1990), 33-45.

victory, these allegorical triumphs elevate abstract ideals rather than military commanders. The works of these authors describe processions celebrating Christian virtues and human desires like Love, Fame, and Fortune. The triumphal literature of the Renaissance explores the contest that exists between these conflicting values as humanity seeks those qualities that are most enduring.

The triumphal motif first appeared in Canto XXIX of Dante's *Purgatorio*, which describes the glory of the Christian Church using imagery borrowed from the Roman triumph:

The space amid the four of them [symbolic animals of the evangelists] contained a triumphal chariot with two wheels... Not only did Rome never gladden Africanus or Augustus with so beautiful a chariot; but that of the Sun would be poor beside it.⁴²⁷

The magnificence of the Church Triumphant surpasses the splendors of ancient Rome and even exceeds the mythological chariot of the Sun piloted by Apollo. Dante employs pagan triumphal imagery as a means of demonstrating the superiority of Christianity.

Triumphal forms also appear in Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*, a poem in *terza rima* written between 1342 and 1343.⁴²⁸ While dreaming, the narrator finds in the hall of a castle five enormous murals portraying the triumphal processions of Wisdom, Earthly Glory, Wealth, Love, and Fortune, which he subsequently describes to the reader. These mysterious paintings illustrate worldly values, the rejection of

⁴²⁷ Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, Canto XXIX, lines 106-54 (for full description of the chariot). *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, edited and translated by Robert M. Durling (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 496-501.

⁴²⁸ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Amorosa visione* (Milan: Mondadori, 2000).

which prepares the narrator for a reunion with his beloved Fiammetta, who, like Dante's Beatrice or Petrarch's Laura, embodies Virtue itself.⁴²⁹

In his *I Trionfi*, Petrarch expanded the possibilities of triumphal literature by creating a sequence of triumphs.⁴³⁰ Written in stages between 1340 and Petrarch's death in 1374, the six-part poem describes the successive domination of various personified qualities, with each ascendant figure defeated by the next: Love's initial triumph is halted by Chastity; Chastity succumbs to Death; Death falls to Fame; Fame yields to Time; and Time, finally, surrenders to Eternity. Each procession is filled with an abundance of historical, mythological, scriptural, and allegorical exemplars accompanying the various triumphators. According to Renaissance interpretations of the poem, the sequence from Love to Eternity represents the progression from error to truth and from flesh to spirit as the soul journeys toward salvation.⁴³¹ In using the Triumph as an allegorical framework, Petrarch exploited the residue of Roman glory for the elevation of Christian values.

Rather than promoting for the "mutable glory of the mundane world," the literary triumphs described by Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch structure a morality that eschews earthly achievement in favor of heavenly reward.⁴³² Roman triumphs revolved around the glorification of human accomplishment, but the ancient ritual

⁴²⁹ Bernardo, "Triumphal Poetry" (1990), 34.

⁴³⁰ The literature on Petrarch's *Trionfi* is vast. For a fairly recent bibliography, see Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare Iannucci eds., *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle* (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1990).

⁴³¹ , W.H. Herendeen, "Petrarch's *Trionfi* and the Rhetoric of Triumph," in *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle*, edited by Konrad Eisenblicher and Amilcare A. Iannucci (Toronto: Dovehouse, 1990), 91; Edith Wyss, "A 'Triumph of Love' by Frans Francken the Younger: from Allegory to Narrative," *Artibus et Historiae* 19, no. 38 (1998), 48.

⁴³² Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 27.

also conveyed the ephemerality of such achievement through the humiliation of the victorious commander. This duality appealed to the Renaissance sensibility, which contained its own conflict between acclaim for worldly attainments and a religious outlook focused on the hereafter. According to such a perspective, wealth, power, and pleasure are impediments rather than goals, as the ultimate reward becomes union with God for eternity. In comparison to such infinitude, temporal existence is fleeting, and the desire for worldly success or gratification represents mere vanity. The allegorical processions of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch express a Christian ideology, portraying the victory of virtue and the triumph of Christ as ruler of heaven and earth.

Triumphal imagery

The proliferation of literary triumphs and triumphal processions, particularly in Italy, provided themes and motifs that could be incorporated into pictorial triumphs produced by artists. Processional imagery appeared with increasing frequency beginning in the mid-fifteenth century when Italian artists depicted triumphal themes, especially Petrarch's *Trionfi*, in *casone* paintings, manuscripts, and eventually prints. By the early sixteenth century graphic media facilitated the relatively rapid dissemination of processional themes across Europe, where artists used the format for the depiction of both historical and allegorical triumphs.⁴³³

⁴³³ Larry Silver has explored the emergence of printed processions in graphic media and has traced the trajectory of the genre during the course of the sixteenth century. See Larry Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties: Printed Processions of the Sixteenth Century," in *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the*

Andrea Mantegna's paintings of *The Triumphs of Caesar* and the prints they inspired were highly influential in the popularization of triumphal processions in visual art.⁴³⁴ The nine monumental canvases, likely produced between 1486 and 1492, were originally intended to hang at the ducal palace of the Gonzagas in Mantua.⁴³⁵ Together, they show the Roman martial procession celebrating Julius Caesar's victorious campaign in the Gallic Wars (58-50 BCE) as a continuous frieze with standard-bearers, trophies and spoils, elephants and sacrificial animals, captives, and musicians. In the final painting, Caesar himself appears atop a triumphal chariot at the conclusion of the sequence. The creation of a series of monumental canvases, although rare for the time, evokes the more lavish tapestry series of the period, including some that depicted triumphal processions (see the discussion of Petrarch's *Trionfi* below).

Despite some historical inaccuracies, Mantegna's series reflects considerable knowledge of Roman triumphal processions, with numerous details based on antique literary accounts.⁴³⁶ Mantegna's sources likely included the ancient authorities mentioned above: Appian, Plutarch, Josephus, and particularly Livy, whose *Ab Urbe Conditia* was a major source of Renaissance knowledge concerning the formal details of antique triumphal processions. Andrew Martindale speculates

Age of Dürer and Titian, edited by Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff (Wellesley, MS: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, 2008), 15-32.

⁴³⁴ The principal source on these works remains the comprehensive study by Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979).

⁴³⁵ Acquired from the Gonzagas by Charles I of England, the paintings currently hang at Hampton Court Palace. Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979), 42-46.

⁴³⁶ Mantegna's sources likely included the ancient authorities mentioned above: Appian, Plutarch, Josephus, and particularly Livy, whose *Ab Urbe Conditia* was a major source of Renaissance knowledge concerning the formal details of antique triumphal processions. Andrew Martindale speculates that Mantegna could have gathered much of his source material from the consolidated research in the treatises written by Flavio Biondo (*Roma Triumphans*) and Roberto Valturio (*De Re Militari*), both published in 1472.

that Mantegna could have gathered much of his source material from the consolidated research in the treatises written by Flavio Biondo (*Roma Triumphans*) and Roberto Valturio (*De Re Militari*), both published in 1472.⁴³⁷

In the years following their creation, the paintings were disseminated through various visual adaptations. Mantegna's works were loosely copied in a series of twelve woodcuts by the northerner, Jacopo da Strassbourg, after designs by Benedetto Bordone and published in Venice in 1503 or 1504.⁴³⁸ While Bordone's *Elephants* and *Trophy Bearers* remain close to Mantegna's paintings, the other woodcuts depart from the originals to varying degrees, suggesting that the graphic artist may have worked from preliminary drawings rather than the completed canvases.⁴³⁹ Like the paintings, the woodcuts could be assembled to form an extended frieze. As one of the earliest multi-sheet compositions in the history of printmaking, it expanded the horizons of graphic media, both literally and figuratively.⁴⁴⁰ Jacopo's woodcuts were subsequently adapted by Simon Vostre, a Parisian publisher, and by Hans Holbein the Younger, who painted the *Triumphs of Caesar* on the façade of a house in Lucerne, Switzerland in 1517-8.⁴⁴¹ Such adaptations indicate that Mantegna's works were known and appreciated north of the Alps from an early date. With limited access to the paintings, however, Jacopo's bastardized copies remained the principal source of visual knowledge of Mantegna's

⁴³⁷ For a discussion of what sources would have been available to Mantegna in the Gonzaga Library, see Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979), Chapter 5, esp. 57-8.

⁴³⁸ Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979), 99.

⁴³⁹ Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties" (2008), 16.

⁴⁴⁰ Silver has described it as "the first preserved intact woodcut frieze." Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties" (2008), 16.

⁴⁴¹ Vostre included the designs as marginalia in a printed Books of Hours (c. 1508). Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979), 100.

The Triumphs of Caesar until the end of the sixteenth century, when Andrea Andriani produced a series comprising eleven chiaroscuro woodcuts that more accurately replicated the form and content of the paintings.⁴⁴² Mantegna's multi-image portrayal of an ancient triumph served as an important model, both formally and thematically, for subsequent processional imagery.

Similarly influential was Titian's *Triumph of Christ* (c. 1510-11), a work comprising ten woodblocks linked together to form a processional frieze depicting the progression of sacred history centered on the victorious figure of the resurrected Christ.⁴⁴³ Riding a four-wheeled chariot drawn by the four Evangelical animals – an image drawn from the visions of Ezekiel and from Revelation – Christ appears at the midpoint of the procession, which moves from left to right. Old Testament patriarchs, prophets, and sibyls march ahead, while Apostles, martyrs, saints, and clergy follow behind the triumphal chariot. Whereas Mantegna's paintings glorified the martial achievement of Caesar as a means of promoting the Gonzaga dukes, Titian's *Triumph of Christ* celebrates the power of God and his Church Militant on Earth. In place of triumphal trophies and spoils, the cross symbolizes Christ's victory over death, sin, and the devil.⁴⁴⁴ Titian's printed procession was almost certainly derived from Girolamo Savanarola's *Triumphis Crucis* (Florence, 1497), which describes Christ's entry into the City of God as a

⁴⁴² Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties" (2008), 17.

⁴⁴³ Bury, "'The Triumph of Christ' after Titian," *Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989), 188-97; David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut* (Washington D.C.: The Foundation, 1976), 37-54, nos. 1-2. Vasari dated the work to 1508, but the print was likely published several years later. Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties" (2008), 18.

⁴⁴⁴ On the triumphal language used in Scripture and in medieval religious texts, see Robert W. Baldwin, "'I slaughter barbarians': Triumph as a Mode in Medieval Christian Art," *Kunsthistorisk tidskrift* 59 no. 4 (1990), 225-242.

triumphal procession.⁴⁴⁵ As in the prints after Titian, Christ appears on a four-wheeled chariot, preceded by the heroes of the Old Testament and followed by exemplars from the Gospels and the Church. As the procession demonstrates, Christ's sacrificial victory separates the old order from the new, not only dividing historical time but defeating it entirely. Through His Crucifixion, Christ abrogates the covenant of the Law, thereby conquering death and establishing the possibility of eternal life.

Rather than acclaiming earthly accomplishment, Savonarola's *Triumphis Crucis* exalts Christ as the triumphant Christ as ruler of heaven and earth. The procession recalls the allegorical triumphs described by Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Dante and evokes contemporary Corpus Christi processions in Italy.⁴⁴⁶ A Dominican friar and pious adversary of the Medici in Florence, Savonarola railed against the 'vanities' of the city, which included the Florentine culture of triumphal pageantry.⁴⁴⁷ The Medici promoted processional festivities for a variety of occasions, including religious holidays and the celebration of important family weddings.⁴⁴⁸ It was Lorenzo de' Medici who commissioned the 1491 reenactment of the triumphs of Paulus Emilius. Savonarola, who sought a Christian renewal, used the Roman triumph as a means for representing the victory of Christ, transforming a pagan ritual into a celebration of Christianity.

More than Savonarola's text, however, Titian's *Triumph of Christ* played an integral role in disseminating the theme throughout Europe, inspiring multiple

⁴⁴⁵ Mâle, *Religious Art in France* (1986), 259.

⁴⁴⁶ Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties" (2008), 18.

⁴⁴⁷ Godwin, *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance* (2002), 185.

⁴⁴⁸ Godwin, *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance* (2002), 185ff.

editions as well as numerous copies.⁴⁴⁹ A privilege for the woodcuts was filed by the Venetian publisher, Gregorio de' Gregoriis, in 1516, a five-woodblock version appeared in 1517, and Lucantonio degli Uberti published another version comprised of nine blocks shortly thereafter.⁴⁵⁰ Titian's printed triumph prompted several copies in France and Germany, including stained glass at Brou and Rouen.⁴⁵¹ In subsequent decades the original blocks resurfaced in the Netherlands, where several editions were published. The first, dated 1543, bears the name of Joos Lamprecht in Ghent, and a second, undated version was published in Antwerp by the widow of Cornelis Liefvynck.⁴⁵² Along with the literary triumphs of the early Italian Renaissance, Titian's processional frieze helped spread triumphal imagery as a means of presenting religious allegory.

Italian processional imagery, particularly Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* and its graphic progeny, likely influenced the production of a printed procession dedicated to the Habsburg ruler and Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I (1459-1519).⁴⁵³ During the second decade of the sixteenth century, Maximilian commissioned two monumental projects involving the portrayal of triumphal motifs in graphic media. The *Arch of Honor*, a composite assemblage in the shape of an

⁴⁴⁹ Mâle, *Religious Art in France* (1986), 259.

⁴⁵⁰ Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties" (2008), 18.

⁴⁵¹ Mâle, *Religious Art in France* (1986), 260.

⁴⁵² Bury, "The 'Triumph of Christ'" (1989), 188. The blocks remained in Antwerp, where numerous reprints were issued. Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties" (2008), 18.

⁴⁵³ On the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*, see Strauss, *Albrecht Dürer: Woodcuts and Woodblocks* (New York: Abaris, 1980), pp. 532-9, nos. 187-188; Larry Silver, "Paper Pageants: The Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I," in *All the World's a Stage...': Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, edited by Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 293-330. More recently, the visual propaganda surrounding Maximilian I formed the subject of an exhibition at the Albertina. See Klaus Albrecht Schröder, ed. *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, exhibition catalogue (Munich and New York: Prestel, 2012).

antique triumphal arch, and the *Triumphal Procession*, an extensive woodcut frieze, celebrate the emperor's attributes, antecedents, and accomplishments.⁴⁵⁴ The *Procession* – intended to include 200 woodblocks of which 137 were realized – extends roughly 54 meters, even in its partially completed state.⁴⁵⁵ Both projects involved collaborations between courtly scholars, who conceived the programs, and multiple artists, who designed and executed the imagery. Rendered in modest yet reproducible media, these immense “paper triumphs” were intended as propagandistic instruments to be distributed to notables throughout the empire.⁴⁵⁶ Maximilian demonstrated a keen interest in antiquity and frequently used the classical past as a means of self-promotion.⁴⁵⁷

Maximilian's *Triumphal Procession* was an ambitious and long-running project, initiated in 1512 under the auspices of the emperor's secretary, Marx Treitzsaurwein, who created a program for an allegorical procession honoring the emperor.⁴⁵⁸ Progress was slow, however, as many of the artists involved were also committed to working on Maximilian's *Arch*. Albrecht Dürer created a preliminary drawing of the emperor's *Triumphal Chariot* in 1512, and in 1516 he published a woodcut print of the of the so-called *Small Triumphal Cart*, a tribute to Maximilian's

⁴⁵⁴ Strauss, *Albrecht Dürer: Woodcuts* (1980), “Arch”: 500-7, no. 175 and “Procession”: 532-9, nos. 187-8; Silver, “Paper Pageants” (1990); Larry Silver, “Power of the Press: Dürer's Arch of Honour,” in *Albrecht Dürer in the Collection of the National Gallery of Victoria*, edited by Irena Zdanowicz (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1994), 45-62.

⁴⁵⁵ Silver, “Paper Pageants” (1990), 293; Silver, “Triumphs and Travesties” (2008), 19.

⁴⁵⁶ Silver, “Triumphs and Travesties” (2008), 22.

⁴⁵⁷ On the emperor's propagandistic use of antiquity, disseminated via texts as well as visual media, see Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Larry Silver, “Paper Pageants” (1990); Christopher Wood, “Maximilian I as Archeologist,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 no. 4 (2005), 1128-1174.

⁴⁵⁸ For a succinct chronology of the project, see Silver, “Triumphs and Travesties” (2008), 19-21.

marriage to Mary of Burgundy and to their descendants.⁴⁵⁹ In 1518 Maximilian I asked Nuremberg humanist Willibald Pirckheimer to create a “new chariot of my personality.”⁴⁶⁰ With input from the emperor, Pirckheimer designed an elaborate allegorical chariot, which he described as “no ordinary triumph but one of philosophy and morality.”⁴⁶¹ Following Pirckheimer’s program, Dürer designed and executed the new imperial car for the procession. The resulting work – known as the *Great Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I* – was published in 1522, more than three years after the emperor’s death in January 1519.⁴⁶²

Divorced from the larger *Procession* project, which had stalled, the imperial chariot was executed in eight woodblocks accompanied by an encomiastic text written by Pirckheimer. Two of those eight blocks show Maximilian enthroned on his chariot with scepter and palm. A figure of Victory – with the names of the emperor’s territorial conquests written on the feathers of her wings – stands behind the ruler and holds a laurel crown above his head, adopting the position once occupied by the slave in ancient Roman triumphs. Maximilian is surrounded by personifications of the four Cardinal Virtues – Justice, Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance – each linked to the others by a chain of wreaths they hold in their outstretched hands. According to Pirckheimer’s Latin text on the first sheet, “From these all other virtues spring without which neither king nor lord can be, nor wish

⁴⁵⁹ Dürer’s drawing of 1512 is now in the Albertina Museum in Vienna (W.672). Strauss, *Albrecht Dürer: Woodcuts* (1980), 532. Dürer’s works are related iconographically to the 1515 series of painted miniatures painted by the Regensburg artist Albrecht Altdorfer. See Silver, “Triumphs and Travesties” (2008), 19.

⁴⁶⁰ Quoted in Silver, *Marketing Maximilian* (2008), 25.

⁴⁶¹ The complete, translated letter from Pirckheimer to Maximilian appears in Strauss, *Albrecht Dürer: Woodcuts* (1980), 536.

⁴⁶² Strauss, *Albrecht Dürer: Woodcuts* (1980), no. 188.

to be.”⁴⁶³ These four essential qualities are joined by a number of female figures representing additional qualities, including Reason, who holds the reins of Power and Nobility.⁴⁶⁴ This multiplicity of virtue embodied in the singular figure of the emperor, whose own exemplary morality was exalted – and eulogized – in the encomiastic image designed by Dürer and Pirckheimer.

The size of the procession and the number of figures swelled for the depiction of Maximilian’s *Triumphal Procession*, which was finally published in 1526 with a dedication to Ferdinand, Maximilian’s successor as ruler in Germany.⁴⁶⁵ In its published form, the *Procession* included 137 of the planned 200 blocks, a majority of which were produced in the Augsburg workshop of Hans Burgkmair between 1516 and 1518.⁴⁶⁶ The large retinue comprising the *Triumphal Procession* included knights on horseback with banners showing imperial territories, “statues” representing the emperor’s illustrious ancestors, military triumphs, and a baggage train. The assortment of imagery borrows features from the ancient Roman ceremony without aspiring to the accuracy sought in Mantegna’s portrayal of Caesar’s triumph. Instead the monumental project was intended to rise to achieve an effect similar to actual spectacle, like the Joyous Entries celebrated in cities throughout Europe during the Renaissance.⁴⁶⁷ Through its triumphal associations

⁴⁶³ Translated in Strauss, *Albrecht Dürer: Woodcuts* (1980), 537.

⁴⁶⁴ Each of the other six plates shows a pair of horses with a pair of personified virtues: Velocitas and Firmitudo, Acrimonia and Virilitas, Moderatio and Providentia, Avdatia and Magnanimas, Solertia and Experientia.

⁴⁶⁵ Silver, “Triumphs and Travesties” (2008), 20.

⁴⁶⁶ Silver, “Triumphs and Travesties” (2008), 19.

⁴⁶⁷ This point was raised by Larry Silver in his articles on Maximilian’s triumphal projects. Silver notes that the accompanying text serves a function akin to the handbooks that explained the iconography of ceremonial entries. Silver, “Triumphs and Travesties” (2008), 20.

the procession provided an ideal model for elevating the emperor, but Maximilian's printed parade had the advantage of being portable and semi-permanent.

The proliferation of processions depicted in graphic media at the beginning of the sixteenth century demonstrates the popularity of triumphal imagery. While Mantegna's paintings aimed at some level of historical accuracy, Titian's *Triumph of Christ* and the processional imagery commissioned by Maximilian took advantage of the format as a means of conveying allegorical content. Such representations were hardly novel, however, since depictions of Petrarch's allegorical *Trionfi* frequently appeared in manuscripts, prints, paintings, and tapestries.⁴⁶⁸

Numerous artists represented the successive triumphs of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity. Beginning in the early fifteenth century, Petrarch's poems were portrayed often, first in Italy before spreading to the rest of Europe. The *Trionfi* – particularly the Cassone paintings typically portrayed the “Triumph of Love” or the “Triumph of Chastity” – provided subjects for numerous Italian *cassone* paintings during the fifteenth century.⁴⁶⁹ Illustrations of the various triumphs appear in more than seventy extant manuscripts and in monumental decorations

⁴⁶⁸ The seminal studies on Petrarchan imagery are V. Masséna and E. Muntz, *Pétrarque: ses études d'art, son influence sur les artistes, ses portraits et ceux de Laure, l'illustration de ses écrits* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1902) and Werner Weisbach, *Trionfi* (Berlin: G. Grote, 1919). For more recent studies, see bibliographies in J.B. Trapp, “Illustrations of Petrarch's *Trionfi* from Manuscript to Print and Print to Manuscript,” in *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga*, Martin Davies ed. (London: British Library, 1999), 507-547; Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare Iannucci eds., *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle* (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1990).

⁴⁶⁹ On *cassoni*, see Cristelle Louise Baskins, *Cassone Painting, Humanism, and Gender in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

like fresco and tapestry produced in the period between 1425 and 1575.⁴⁷⁰ The expense and uniqueness of such media largely limited their consumption to a wealthy elite. During the sixteenth century graphic versions appeared in printed editions of the *Trionfi* published throughout Europe, and independent suites of woodcuts and engravings helped spread the imagery widely. The theme also appeared in sculpted reliefs, stained glass panels, and tapestry series produced in Netherlandish workshops. The vast quantity of Petrarcan imagery, its geographical spread, and the wide variety of media used suggest the popularity of the subject among diverse audiences during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Despite the number of visual adaptations of Petrarch's texts, the iconography of the *Trionfi* remained remarkably consistent through the course of the Renaissance.⁴⁷¹ The homogeneity of the imagery is particularly surprising, considering that the visual tradition deviates in many instances from the descriptions found in the poems themselves. Petrarch describes a triumphal chariot only in *The Triumph of Love*, but this did not prevent artists from depicting the other ascendant qualities atop chariots or floats as well. Despite being at odds with the text, the inclusion of chariots was compatible with contemporary festive culture in Florence, where Petrarcan imagery emerged. The triumphal motifs presented in actual processions made their way into the representations of Petrarch's poems and their visual representations. The resulting imagery subsequently influenced the

⁴⁷⁰ J.B. Trapp, "The Iconography of Petrarch in the Age of Humanism," *Quaderni Petrarqueschi* 9-10 (1992-3), 39.

⁴⁷¹ The uniformity of the imagery is noted in the early studies by D'Esseling and Müntz as well as Weisbach and continues as a theme in later scholarship as well.

content and appearance of European ceremonial, demonstrating the close, mutual interaction that existed between Renaissance art and spectacle.⁴⁷²

In the Netherlands, depictions of the *Trionfi* appeared fairly late and were relatively rare in comparison to the vast quantity of illustrations in Italy and France. Although the *Trionfi* were translated into other European vernaculars at a relatively early stage, the poem still had not been translated into Dutch by the end of sixteenth century.⁴⁷³ During the early decades of the sixteenth century, however, Petrarch's triumphs were represented in tapestries, including two incomplete series currently at Hampton Court and the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴⁷⁴ The series, which partially duplicate each other, were produced in the Southern Netherlands between 1515 and 1525. They show the Petrarchan triumphators on chariots, mobbed by hordes of followers. Each of the tapestries includes the waning quality on one side and the newly ascendant victor on the other, an arrangement that emphasizes the sequential character of Petrarch's triumphs.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² The relationships between text, image, and spectacle are discussed in many of the essays included in Eisenbichler and Iannucci, *Petrarch's Triumphs* (1990).

⁴⁷³ Trapp, "The Iconography of Petrarch" (1992-1993), 42-43; Edith Wyss, "A 'Triumph of Love' by Frans Francken the Younger: from Allegory to Narrative," *Artibus et Historiae* 19, no. 38 (1998), 57.

⁴⁷⁴ These works were likely woven in Tournai or Enghien as copies of an earlier series produced in Brussels, suggesting that designs existed in the Netherlands from the early sixteenth century. On these series see Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007), 149-155. See also the earlier articles by Thomas P. Campbell, "New Evidence on 'Triumphs of Petrarch' Tapestries in the Early Sixteenth Century. Part I: The French Court," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 146 (Jun., 2004), 376-385 & "Part II: The English Court," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 146 (Sep., 2004), 602-608.

⁴⁷⁵ The format and content was likely derived from a manuscript version of Petrarch's *Trionfi* illuminated in Rouen ca. 1503. Campbell, *Henry VIII* (2007), 149-150

The six *Trionfi* were also portrayed in stained glass panels designed by Dirck Vellert in 1517.⁴⁷⁶ Miniscule in comparison to the monumentality of the tapestries, the triumphal processions depicted in Vellert's panels were derived from fifteenth-century Italian prints showing the six ascendant qualities on their chariots. Rather than showing the *Last Judgment*, his final scene includes a representation of the Holy Trinity in the *Gnadenstuhl* (Throne of Mercy) configuration atop a wagon pulled by the evangelist's symbolic animals: angel (Matthew), lion (Mark), bull (Luke), and eagle (John). Though limited, such examples suggest an awareness of, and interest in, Petrarch's *Trionfi* and their representation in the Low Countries, beginning in the early sixteenth century.⁴⁷⁷ Petrarchan imagery continued in fits and spurts in subsequent decades, never achieving the same popularity in the Netherlands that it enjoyed elsewhere in Europe. The relative rarity of the *Trionfi* in the Netherlands is somewhat surprising when one considers the longstanding and deeply rooted processional culture of the Low Countries.

Processional Culture in Antwerp

Appropriated from antiquity and popularized in the ceremonies, literature, and art of the Italian Renaissance, triumphal motifs were ubiquitous in sixteenth-

⁴⁷⁶ Examples exist currently in the windows of King's College Chapel in Cambridge as well as the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. H.W. van Os and J.P. Filedt Kok, eds., *Netherlandish Art in the Rijksmuseum, 1400-1600* (Amsterdam: Waanders, 2000), cat. no. 37, pp. 116-117.

⁴⁷⁷ Esther Nyholm notes the relatively late adoption of Petrarchan imagery in the Netherlands. See Nyholm, "A Comparison of the Configuration of the *Trionfi* and their Interpretation in Renaissance Art," in Eisenbichler and Iannucci, *Petrarchan Triumphs* (1990), 235-55.

century Europe.⁴⁷⁸ As Margaret McGowan observes in her study of Renaissance France:

The Triumph had become a topos which conveyed notions of Roman authority and greatness. It constituted both a *model* and an *idea* which embodied a vast repertory of conceits and motifs that could be explored, developed, and made relevant to any occasion.⁴⁷⁹

The Renaissance revival of ancient triumphalism – evident in the historical triumphs of fifteenth-century Italy, in the literary triumphs of authors like Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, and in the imagery produced by Mantegna, Titian, Dürer and others – supplied form and content that could be applied in endless combinations in art, literature and spectacle, including politically motivated urban pageantry as well as religious ceremonial.

Triumphal features were frequently incorporated into sixteenth-century Netherlandish processional culture. In the Low Countries processions occurred with regularity in many urban centers, particularly in Brabant and Flanders, where several forms of civic pageantry predominated: *Blijde Inkomsten* (“Joyous Entries”), ceremonial pageants marking the arrival of new sovereigns into the cities of the Low Countries; processions marking the beginning and end of *landjuweelen*, competitions involving chambers of rhetoric from multiple cities; and *omwegangen*, the annual religious processions held on particular feast days. All three had their

⁴⁷⁸ The literature on Renaissance triumphalism is vast. See Roy Strong’s *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). For a collection of studies on the issue as well as a comprehensive bibliography of material up to 1990, see Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower eds., *“All the World’s a Stage...” Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990). For a succinct account, see Margaret McGowan, “The Renaissance Triumph and its Classical Heritage,” in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance*, J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 26-47.

⁴⁷⁹ Margaret M. McGowan, *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 312.

roots in late medieval practices initiated by the Burgundian Dukes, but such ceremonies truly flourished during the sixteenth century, when the involvement of artists and rhetoricians helped to expand the traditional repertoire of themes and motifs employed on such occasions.⁴⁸⁰

Netherlandish ceremonial culture reached its apogee in sixteenth-century Antwerp, particularly during the decades at midcentury, when the city played a dominant role in European mercantilism and global commerce. The period featured many notable processions in the city, including the famous Entry of Charles V and Philip II in 1549, the festivities surrounding the Antwerp *landjuweel* of 1561, and the increasingly elaborate displays included in the annual *ommegangen*. These ceremonies – the regular *ommegangen* and intermittent entries and *landjuweelen* – helped familiarize the Netherlandish public with triumphal forms and provided inspiration for the abundance of processional print series produced during the second half of the sixteenth century, particularly in Antwerp, where the majority of such works were published.

Blijde Inkomst

Although often applied indiscriminately to many forms of royal entry in the Low Countries, the *Blijde Inkomst* technically refers to the renewal of local charters of privileges granted by the Burgundian Dukes to the individual cities of the Low Countries. The signing of the charter, which first occurred in Leuven in 1356,

⁴⁸⁰ For an excellent account of the history of Burgundian ritual and ceremonies in the Netherlands, see Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

preceded the ceremonial entry of a new sovereign or his representative into a Netherlandish city, mostly in the duchies of Brabant and Flanders in the South Netherlands.⁴⁸¹ With the initial entry into Leuven serving as a model, subsequent entries typically followed a renewed acknowledgement of civic rights or the granting of additional privileges.⁴⁸² The tour through the streets of the city often involved elaborate decorations, including stages for *tableaux vivants* or theatrical performances. During the sixteenth century, arches and other ephemeral structures were erected along the processional route followed by the ruler and other courtly dignitaries, usually on horseback.⁴⁸³

Joyous Entries hardly resembled Roman Triumphs in form or function. Although both forms involved progressions through a city, triumphs celebrated martial victories, while the *Blijde Inkomst* demonstrated a city's allegiance to a new sovereign in return for his recognition of civic rights and privileges. The Roman *triumphator*, seated in a chariot, served as the focus of a triumphal procession along with his soldiers, trophies, and captives. The Joyous Entry, by contrast, involved a ruler on horseback with his cortege making frequent stops to view static points of

⁴⁸¹ On the structure of the Joyous Entry, see Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁴⁸² On the 1356 entry into Leuven as an example for subsequent ceremonies in the Netherlands, see Peter Davidson, Jane Stevenson, and Adriaan van der Weel, "Netherlands: General Introduction," in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, Volume 1, edited by James R. Mulryne (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 466.

⁴⁸³ On the types of structure created for the *Blijde Inkomst*, see Wouter Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands: The Joyeuse Entrée of Philip of Spain into Antwerp in 1549, Renaissance and Mannerist Architecture in the Low Countries from 1530 to 1630*. 2 vols (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1994). On the significance for such architecture in structuring rhetorical arguments, see Meadow, "Ritual and Civic Identity" (1998) and Meadow, "'Met geschickter ordenen'" (1999).

interest.⁴⁸⁴ Only the presence of ruler processing through a city provided a formal link between the Joyous Entries of the Netherlandish Renaissance and the Roman triumphs of antiquity.⁴⁸⁵

Despite such differences, however, the *Blijde Inkomst* was infused with triumphal imagery during the sixteenth century, including the decorations employed for such occasions and the language used to describe the events, leading to what Larry Silver has termed the “Renaissance hybrid procession.”⁴⁸⁶ Between 1520 and 1635, Antwerp staged nine significant entries for notable figures, with an increase following the eruption of tensions during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴⁸⁷ The town secretary, usually a humanist scholar with knowledge of antiquity, typically oversaw the design and execution of the decorations for these ceremonies, often with the assistance of an artist: Petrus Aegidius and Quinten Massys for the entry of Charles V in 1520, Cornelius Grapheus and Pieter Coecke van Aelst for the entry of Charles V and Philip II in 1549, and Joannes Bochius and Otto van Veen for the 1594 entry of Archduke Ernst of Austria and the 1599 entry of

⁴⁸⁴ Ank Adriaans-van Schaik, “Ruben’s Triumphal Chariot of Kallo: Ancient Triumph and Antwerp Festive Tradition” (Utrecht University, 2011), 60.

⁴⁸⁵ The Entries were, in fact, closer in form and purpose to the *Adventus*, the Roman ceremony for welcoming the Emperor into a city as a reaffirmation of his power. On the ritual of the Roman *Adventus*, see Björn C. Ewald and Carlos F. Noreña, eds., *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Stéphane Benoist, *Rome, le prince et la cité: Pouvoir impérial et cérémonies publiques* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005). On the afterlife of the ancient ceremony during the Christian Middle Ages and the use of *Adventus* as a metaphor for the souls arrival in heaven, see the classic study by Ernst Kantorowicz, “The ‘King’s Advent’: The Enigmatic Panels on the Doors of Santa Sabina,” *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1944), 207-231.

⁴⁸⁶ Silver, “Triumphs and Travesties” (2008), 22.

⁴⁸⁷ Charles V (1520), Prince Philip (1549), William, Prince of Orange (1577), Archduke Matthias (1577), Duke of Anjou (1582), Archduke Ernst of Austria (1594), Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella (1599), Maria de Medici (1631), and Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (1635).

Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella.⁴⁸⁸ During the sixteenth century the organizers of these spectacles exploited a readily available stock of triumphal motifs, making such forms available to a broad audience in the Netherlands.

Cornelius Grapheus and Pieter Coecke van Aelst served as the principal organizers for the elaborate decorations employed for the entry of Charles V and Prince Philip into Antwerp in 1549.⁴⁸⁹ The event, often considered one of the grandest ceremonies ever held in the Netherlands, included numerous triumphal arches, stages, and façades displaying allegorical figures and Latin inscriptions promoting the city while honoring the Habsburgs.⁴⁹⁰ More than in previous entries, the ephemeral structures created in 1549 exhibited conspicuously classicizing features clearly influenced by the examples provided in the architectural treatise by Sebastiano Serlio, published in Venice in 1537 and translated into Dutch by Coecke van Aelst shortly thereafter.⁴⁹¹ The inclusion of structures derived from antiquity – a prominent feature in subsequent entries – helped to elevate the content with a Roman overtone, bringing honor to the Prince as well as the city. The classicizing architecture of the ephemeral arches and stages also served to link from Antwerp with ancient Rome, heightening the triumphal connotations.

The conflation of joyous entries and antique triumphs can also be discerned in the titles given to some of the illustrated festival books commemorating the

⁴⁸⁸ Elizabeth McGrath, "Humanism, Allegorical Invention, and the Personification of the Continents," in *Concept, Design, and Execution in Flemish Painting, 1550-1700*, edited by Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis and Carl van de Velde (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 44. On the ephemeral art of the 1599 Entry, see Tamar Cholcman, *Art on Paper: Ephemeral Art in the Low Countries: The Triumphal Entry of Archdukes Albert and Isabella into Antwerp, 1599* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

⁴⁸⁹ For the 1549 entry, see Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture* (1994).

⁴⁹⁰ McGrath "Humanism, Allegorical Invention" (2000), 44.

⁴⁹¹ Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture* (1994).

ceremonies. A publication detailing the entry of William of Orange into Brussels in 1577, for example, bears the title, *Declaratie van die triumphante incompst vanden...Prince van Oraingnien binnen Brussele*, and the text for the Entry of Archduke Matthias into Brussels a year later was published as the *Sommare beschrijvinghe vande triumphelijcke incomst vanden...aerts-hertoge Matthias binnen Brussele*.⁴⁹² Both entries occurred during the early years of the Dutch Revolt, and the celebration of martial success, particularly that of William of Orange, aligned the events more closely with Roman precedents.

The use of triumphal language and imagery is also apparent in the Entry of Archduke Ernst of Austria into Antwerp in 1594 and in the accompanying fête book by Johannes Bocchius.⁴⁹³ As the son of Maximilian II and Maria of Spain, and the brother of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, Archduke Ernst was selected to govern the Netherlands, and the citizens of Antwerp hoped that the new Habsburg representative would restore the city's fortunes, which had been in decline for several decades as a result of revolutionary upheaval and the disruption of maritime trade caused during the Dutch Revolt by the forces of the United Provinces.⁴⁹⁴ Despite Ernst's relatively unimportant status, the decorations and inscriptions – reproduced in a lavishly illustrated volume published by the Plantin Press in 1595 –

⁴⁹² “An account of the Triumphal Entry of the Prince of Orange into Brussels” and “A short description of the Triumphal Entry of Archduke Matthias into Brussels.” See Peter Davidson, and Adriaan Van der Weel, “Introduction: The Entry of Archduke Ernst into Antwerp in 1594 in Context,” in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, edited by J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Margaret Shewring (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 494.

⁴⁹³ Johannes Bocchius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu Sereniss. Princeps Ernesti Archiduci Austriae* (“A description of the public spectacles and games in honor of the arrival of His serene highness, Archduke Ernst of Austria”). Published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, 1595.

⁴⁹⁴ Davidson and van der Weel, “Introduction: The Entry of Archduke Ernst” (2004), 494-5.

demonstrate a desire to flatter the new governor through allusions to antiquity. A painted panel at the city's Caesarian gate, for example, included an encomiastic entreaty to the noble visitor:

Great Leader, may you enter the Caesarian gate with an auspicious omen,
 You who, of Caesarian descent, come with the authority of Philip,
 So that the Belgian state, having been oppressed by wars for thirty years may
 Renew itself with your good omens, Ernst, Glory of Austria,
 May you be the avenger of the Ancient ones, who, whether in peace or in arms,
 Joins Belgian wars to Pannonian triumphs. Who can add anything to our prayers?⁴⁹⁵

The fulsome praise for Ernst includes numerous references to his imperial lineage and the historical link between Holy Roman Emperors and the emperors of ancient Rome. In referencing "Pannonian triumphs," the text employs the Roman name for the province that included much of Hungary, where Ernst served as duke.

Once he entered the city, the honored guest encountered a "triumphal chariot" (*currus triumphalis*) bearing the Maid of Antwerp, the personification of the city who played an important role in Joyous Entries by welcoming the sovereign. As Emily Peters notes, "Her virginal status enacted a symbolic marriage between the [ruler] and the city."⁴⁹⁶ During the 1594 Entry, the chariot also carried female embodiments of Religion, Obedience, Reverence, Fidelity, Benevolence, and Remembrance of Benefits, qualities intended to reinforce the mutual obligation between the city and its ruler.⁴⁹⁷ As Ernst progressed through the city, he also viewed representations of terrestrial and maritime "trophies" (*trophaea*) and

⁴⁹⁵ Johannes Bocchius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu Sereniss. Princeps Ernesti Archiduci Austriae* (Antwerp, 1595). Quoted and translated in J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring, eds., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1 (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 505-7.

⁴⁹⁶ Emily J. Peters, "Printing Ritual: The Performance of Community in Christopher Plantin's *La Joyeuse & Magnifique Entrée De Monseigneur Francoys...D'anjou*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2008), 377.

⁴⁹⁷ Mulryne, Watanabe-O'Kelly, and Shewring, *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1 (2004), 506-7.

experienced “triumphal bonfires” (*ignes triumphales*), which occurred at the conclusion of the festivities.⁴⁹⁸ The imagery employed for Ernst’s entry and the terminology used to describe it in the published festival book demonstrate a conscious effort to exploit the forms of antiquity as a means of flattering the duke and increasing the prestige of the flagging city. In doing so, the ceremony – and other *Blijde Inkomsten* – familiarized a broad audience with triumphal forms and motifs.

Ommegangen

Even more than the *Blijde Inkomsten*, which occurred only infrequently, the yearly *ommegangen* played an integral role in disseminating processional forms in the Low Countries from the late Middle Ages through the early modern period.⁴⁹⁹ An *ommegang*, the middle Dutch word for “going around,” was a cyclical, religious parade that ended at the same church where it started.⁵⁰⁰ These devotional processions became a regular feature of Netherlandish urban life during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, when many cities initiated processions for the celebration of *Corpus Christi*.⁵⁰¹ During subsequent centuries many cities added additional processions for other religious feast days. *Ommegangen* became an

⁴⁹⁸ Mulryne, Watanabe-O’Kelly, and Shewring, *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1 (2004), 566 and 568.

⁴⁹⁹ On the *ommegangen*, see Williams and Jacquot, “Les ommegangs” and “Ommegangs Anversois” (1961); Bart A.M. Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren: toneelkunst en processiecultuur in Oudenaarde tussen Middeleeuwen en Moderne Tijd* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996); Prims, *De Antwerpsche Ommeganck* (1949); Cartwright, “Forms and Their Uses” (1996).

⁵⁰⁰ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, (2008), 23.

⁵⁰¹ The oldest extant account of the event in Antwerp dates to 1324. See Prims, *De Antwerpsche Ommeganck* (1949), 7. For a detailed treatment of the *Corpus Christi ommegang* in Oudenaarde, see Ramakers, *Spelen en Figuren* (1996).

important part of the fabric of civic culture, especially in the Southern Netherlands and in Antwerp in particular.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Antwerp held four religious processions annually, more than most other cities in the Low Countries. Of these, the oldest and most prestigious was the *Besnijdenis-omwegang*, the procession in honor of the Holy Circumcision, which had been initiated in the twelfth or thirteenth century, following Antwerp's receipt of a reliquary containing the foreskin of Christ, reputedly a gift from Godfrey of Boulogne, the first Christian ruler of Crusader Jerusalem.⁵⁰² The procession in honor of *Corpus Christi*, second in terms of age and prestige, was held four days after the Trinity Day procession of the foreskin relic. Originating in Liège, the feast of *Corpus Christi* was celebrated throughout northern Europe by the middle of the thirteenth century.⁵⁰³ The Antwerp *omwegang* for the Virgin (Onze-Lieve-Vrouw) – initiated in 1398 and held on the first Sunday following Assumption Day on August 15 – honored the city's patroness and namesake of the Cathedral.⁵⁰⁴ The *St. Joris-omwegang* – introduced only in 1485 – was the fourth of Antwerp's religious processions. Like the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw *omwegang*, it celebrated the Virgin, but the devotional parade started and concluded at the St. Joris Church rather than at the Cathedral.⁵⁰⁵ When the Calvinists

⁵⁰² Meadow, "Met geschickter ordenen" (1999), 7.

⁵⁰³ The feast received papal authorization in 1264. On origins of medieval Corpus Christi celebrations, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. 164-212.

⁵⁰⁴ In contradiction to Mark Meadow, who claims the preeminence of the Circumcision *omwegang*, Peter Arnade argues that "by the time Albrecht Dürer witnessed its splendor in 1520, the Assumption Day procession of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw was easily Antwerp's most important public religious event." Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots* (2008), 139.

⁵⁰⁵ The Church was badly damaged during the French Revolution but was rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century. Meadow, "Met geschickter ordenen" (1999), 8.

seized the city during the 1570s, *ommegangen* were banned, only to be reinstated following the ultimate reconquest of the city by Spanish forces in 1585.⁵⁰⁶ Such festivities contributed to Antwerp's civic identity by pairing veneration of locally significant saints and relics with esteemed representatives of the city's religious orders and secular society.

With slight variations, the Antwerp *ommegangen* adopted a predictable order. Members of the city's craft guilds came first, followed by wagons displaying *puncten* (sometimes called *figuren*). These were thematic *tableaux* portraying events from scripture or allegorical scenes with moral content.⁵⁰⁷ After the wagons, the secular and regular clergy preceded members of the city's preeminent secular associations: the shooting clubs and the cloth merchants' guild.⁵⁰⁸ Next came civic officers and dignitaries and the ecclesiastical prelates, who typically accompanied an object with special significance for the particular celebration: the consecrated host in an ostensorium (*Corpus Christi*), the relic of Christ's foreskin (Holy Circumcision), or a cult statue of the Virgin (Onze-Lieve-Vrouw and St. Joris).⁵⁰⁹ The strict arrangement of the annual *ommegangen* reified civic hierarchies and reinforced social order.

During the sixteenth century the Antwerp *ommegangen* expanded as a result of the inclusion of new *puncten* alongside some more traditional offerings. The processions had historically included wagons portraying figures and events drawn

⁵⁰⁶ Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels During and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007), 28; Twycross, "The Flemish Ommegang" (1980), Part 1, 18.

⁵⁰⁷ Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys* (1984), 7-8.

⁵⁰⁸ Cartwright, "Forms and their Uses" (1996), 121.

⁵⁰⁹ Cartwright, "Forms and their Uses" (1996), 121.

from Scripture. The *puncten* of the *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Ommegang*, for example, were comprised of important moments from the Life of the Virgin, such as *The Annunciation*, *The Visitation*, *The Nativity*, *The Gifts of the Magi*, *The Seven Sorrows*, and *The Assumption*.⁵¹⁰ In the course of the sixteenth century, the *puncten* began to present more secular content, as elements from local folklore and classical mythology appeared alongside conventional religious scenes. In Antwerp this meant wagons portraying figures related to local tradition, including the Maid of Antwerp, the Giant Antigonus, and Neptune on the Whale, among others.⁵¹¹ The Maid served as a personification of the city itself; Antigonus figured in the legendary foundation of the city; and Neptune represented the city's maritime identity. These wagons and others like them became standard elements in the annual processions, varying little from year to year. According to an inventory from 1571, twenty-two wagons reappeared annually.⁵¹² The repeated use of wagons portraying figures associated with the city's origins and identity made the *ommegangen* locally relevant and a source of civic pride.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, a portion of the procession was set aside for the introduction of new material.⁵¹³ Local rhetoricians' chambers (*rederijkerkamers*) often contributed to the planning of these new *puncten*, which became less focused on biblical events and more topical through the inclusion of civic concerns and contemporary issues.⁵¹⁴ In Antwerp, for example, the depiction of

⁵¹⁰ Twycross, "The Flemish Ommegang" (1980), Part 1, 19; Peters, "Printing Ritual" (2008), 384.

⁵¹¹ Twycross, "The Flemish Ommegang" (1980), Part 1, 19.

⁵¹² Peters, "Printing Ritual" (2008), 387.

⁵¹³ Williams and Jacquot, "Les ommengangs" (1960), 351.

⁵¹⁴ Adriaans-van Schaik, "Ruben's Triumphal Chariot of Kallo" (2011), 27.

allegories concerning maritime commerce, the dangers of wealth, and the hazards of war appeared during the 1560s, when conflict with Spain threatened the city's position as a center for global trade. A variety of figures – biblical, historical, mythological, and personifications of abstract concepts – were used in the portrayal of such themes, contributing to the further secularization of the *ommegangen*.⁵¹⁵

The identification of individual figures and the allegorical significance of the *puncten* could often be elusive. The figures were sometimes identified via texts written on boards carried by the actors or affixed to the wagons during the procession, and orators could provide explanations of the subject matter as the procession passed through the streets.⁵¹⁶ Additional clarification could be found in printed booklets (*ordinancies*) describing the contents of the various scenes presented on the wagons. Six *ordinancies* – most published by Hans de Laet, the city printer during that period – exist from the years 1559-1566.⁵¹⁷ The number of extant *ordinancies* attests to the popularity of the processions and to the complexity of their iconography.

They provide detailed information concerning the wagons presented in the processions, focusing in particular on the subjects portrayed in the topical *puncten*, the most variable aspect of the annual *ommegangen*. Such programs exist for the 1559, 1561, and 1562 Circumcision *ommegangen* as well as the 1563, 1564, and 1566 *ommegangen* in honor of Our Lady. In each case the sequence of *puncten*

⁵¹⁵ For the interaction between biblical, mythological, human, and personified figures in *rederijker* productions, see Elsa Strietman, "God, Gods, Humans, and *Sinneken* in Classical Rhetoricians Plays," in *Urban Theater in the Low Countries, 1400-1625*, Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 169-183.

⁵¹⁶ Twycross, "The Flemish Ommegang" (1980), Part 2, 87.

⁵¹⁷ Peters, "Printing Ritual" (2008), 387.

portrayed a particular topic of contemporary importance: *Peace* in 1559, following the signing of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, marking the end of hostilities between France and Spain; *The Vicissitudes of Human Affairs* in 1561, as portrayed in the series by Heemskerck; *The Ages of Man and the Times of Day* in 1562; *Human Folly and Self Knowledge* in 1563; *Good and Evil Uses of Money* in 1564; and *The Christian Faith as a Means of Averting Civil Discord* in 1566.⁵¹⁸ The selection of such themes for the topical *puncten* reveals the anxieties of that period in Antwerp, including the morality of wealth, social and political unrest, and civic upheaval. According to the allegorical tableaux, these concerns could be countered by individual and collective adherence to Christian values and faith in God.

The topical themes conceived by the rederijkers appeared in several printed series. In addition to Heemskerck's *Vicissitudes of Human Affairs*, the Antwerp *ommegangen* supplied themes for several printed series, including Hieronymus Wierix's *Four Times of Day* and *Four Ages of Man*, derived from the 1562 Circumcision procession and a series designed by Marten de Vos and Gerard van Groeningen based on the *Theatrum Mundi* wagon from the 1564 *ommegang* of Our Lady (all discussed at greater length below). In addition to supplying subject matter for graphic imagery, the *ommegangen* helped inspire the production of processional print series by familiarizing artists and audiences with the processional format as a means of presenting allegorical sequences.

⁵¹⁸ Themes and individual wagons described in Williams and Jacquot, "Les ommegangs" and "Ommegang anversois" (1960).

There is a fundamental, formal difference between the *ommegang* procession, which moves through the spaces of a city as spectators look on, and the royal entry, which involves stationary points of interest – stages and arches – with a privileged view by a mobile dignitary and his or her retinue. Despite their different aims and contexts, however, the various forms of urban ceremonial that occurred in Antwerp shared certain structural features.

Both involved the periodic reaffirmation of oaths and allegiances, one offered to secular rulers and the other to Christ and the Virgin.⁵¹⁹ Processions in Antwerp also shared a hierarchical arrangement that placed the most important feature or figure at the end of the procession. The use of expensive costumes and trappings removed the pageant from the realm of the everyday. Additionally, both processions exploited the symbolic resonances of civic spaces, as *ommegangen* followed a route that traced important paths through the city and the ephemeral architecture of ceremonial entries placed along notable landmarks.⁵²⁰ Such qualities helped to establish links between the quotidian and the ineffable.

In Antwerp, Joyous Entries and religious processions were also linked through the inclusion of many of the same wagons.⁵²¹ Cars originally created for the celebration of *ommegangen* – the Maid of Antwerp, Concord on the Seahorse, the Elephant, the Giant, Neptune on the Sea Monster, and the Mountain of Parnassus with the Cave of Discord – also appeared in *Blijde Inkomsten*, especially for those

⁵¹⁹ Larry Silver suggests that the Joyous Entry should be considered “the secular equivalent of the *ommegang*; its ceremonial veneration of the Emperor was a token of the allegiance of the city, renewed by oaths and vows on that solemn occasion. Whereas the city reconsecrated its devotion to the Virgin in an annual ceremony, the *ommegang* procession, it made its worldly pledges to the prince one time only.” Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys* (1984), 14

⁵²⁰ Meadow, “Met geschickter ordenen” (1999).

⁵²¹ Twycross, “The Flemish Ommegang” (1980), Part 1, 17.

held later in the century.⁵²² The wagon showing the Antwerp Giant, Druon Antigon, for example, which had been designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in 1534, appeared at the Grote Markt during the 1549 Entry of Charles and Philip and appeared again at *Blijde Inkomsten* held later in the century. Familiar through their frequent usage at the yearly religious processions, such decorations inspired a sense of civic identity and pride.

The participation of the Netherlandish *rederijker kamers* ('rhetoricians' chambers') created further commonalities between different forms of civic spectacle.⁵²³ The rhetoricians became increasingly involved in the planning and execution of urban pageantry during the sixteenth century, especially in the southern realms of Flanders (county) and Brabant (duchy). Such groups provided ideas and actors for the programs displayed during joyous entries and annual religious processions, contributing to the allegorical and erudite content displayed on such occasions.

The involvement of the *rederijkers* led to similar themes and motifs across the various forms of Netherlandish spectacle, including the use of *tableaux vivants*, the silent and typically motionless staging of a scene by a group of actors. Allegorical tableaux appeared on the temporary stages erected for Joyous entries and atop the wagons featured during *ommegangen*, the so-called *puncten* described above.⁵²⁴

⁵²² Twycross, "The Flemish Ommegang" (1980), Part 1, 17; Peters, "Printing Ritual" (2008), 384; Adriaans-van Schaik, "Ruben's Triumphal Chariot of Kallo" (2011), 30.

⁵²³ Meadow, "Met geschickter ordenen" (1999); Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers" (1981).

⁵²⁴ For the use of *tableaux vivants* during Joyous Entries, see Stijn Bussels, "Making the Most of Theatre and Painting: The Power of *Tableaux Vivants* in Joyous Entries from the Southern Netherlands (1458-1635)," *Art History* 33, no. 2 (2010), 236-47. For tableaux as a feature of *ommegangen*, see Bart Ramakers, "Dutch Allegorical Theatre: Tradition and Conceptual Approach," in *Urban Theatre in the Low Countries, 1400-1625*, edited by Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé (Turnhout:

They were an important feature of the highly allegorized drama of the Netherlandish rhetoricians.⁵²⁵ Also called *togen*, tableaux were particularly common in the *Spelen van sinne*, morality plays involving a lesson, performed during the inter-city rhetorical competitions known as *landjuweelen*.⁵²⁶ The temporary stages erected for such events included façades with spaces intended for the presentation of multiple tableaux, either simultaneously or in succession.⁵²⁷ Tableaux appeared regularly, for example, in the morality plays performed at the Bruges competitions that occurred during the early decades of the sixteenth century, in Ghent in 1539 and at the famous *landjuweel* held in Antwerp in 1561.⁵²⁸ Laden with edifying content and short on action, *zinnespelen* could amount to little more than “dramatized argumentation” or moral “lectures in dialogue,” to borrow phrases from modern commentators.⁵²⁹ The inclusion of tableaux helped transform these

Brepols, 2006), 127-48, esp. 139; W.M.H. Hummelen, “The Biblical Plays of the Rhetoricians and the Pageants of Oudenaarde and Lille,” in *Modern Dutch Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter King*, edited by M. Wintle and P. Vincent, translated by S. Mellor (London: Athlone Press, 1988), 90.

⁵²⁵ On *rederijker* drama and the inclusion of *tableaux*, see George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); W.M.H. Hummelen, “Het tableau vivant, de ‘toog’ in de toneelspelen van de rederijkers,” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 108 (1992), 93-222; Ramakers “Dutch Allegorical Theatre” (2006); Ramakers, *Spelen en Figuren* (1996), 387.

⁵²⁶ The frequent inclusion of tableaux separated Netherlandish morality plays from English and French examples. Tableaux featured prominently, for example, in the *zinnespelen* created for the competitions at Bruges during the early decades of the sixteenth century and for the major *landjuweelen* held in Ghent in 1539 and in Antwerp in 1561. Ramakers “Dutch Allegorical Theatre” (2006), 139; Ramakers, *Spelen en Figuren* (1996), 387; Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre* (1944), 117; Hummelen, “Het tableaux vivants” (1992), 195.

⁵²⁷ Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre* (1944), 117. Hummelen argues that such complex stage façades were restricted primarily to major *landjuweelen*, like the competitions in Ghent in 1539 and in Antwerp in 1561, and even in those instances, the compartmentalization of the stage space was not always intended to create settings for tableaux, contrary to Kernodle’s contention. Hummelen, “Het tableaux vivants” (1992), 195

⁵²⁸ Ramakers “Dutch Allegorical Theatre” (2006), 139; Ramakers, *Spelen en Figuren* (1996), 387.

⁵²⁹ Ramakers “Dutch Allegorical Theatre” (2006), 139; Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre* (1944), 117.

verbal debates into visual displays, compelling the audience to view the performance and not merely listen.⁵³⁰

As figural instantiations of the dialogue, the *tableaux* were important features of the rhetoricians' performances. Often deployed at critical moments in the play, allegorical tableaux allowed for reflection on the significance of the play's ethical dimensions. By distilling complex meanings into a single, compelling image, a tableau could provide moral insights for the central character(s) on stage and, by extension, the audience.⁵³¹ The tableaux illustrated the core arguments, in addition to providing visual interest and serving as persuasive devices.⁵³² In other words, rederijkers employed tableaux as a form of visual-allegorical rhetoric.

In many examples, playwrights eschewed narratives in favor of sequential allegories presented as a series of linked tableaux.⁵³³ As Larry Silver notes, the rederijker's reliance on *togen* led to a novel dramatic structure: "Unlike the classic dramas of Greece and their progeny, these moralities featured not action and causality, but independent declarations; not an unfolding succession of moments in time, but a series of scenic tableaux loosely joined around the central moral issue."⁵³⁴ By replacing traditional dramatic narratives with sequences of static

⁵³⁰ Ramakers "Dutch Allegorical Theatre" (2006), 139.

⁵³¹ Bussels, "Making the Most of Theatre" (2010), 238; J.J.M Vandommele, "'Come All Ye Artless, Take Pleasure in Learning!' the Role of Education in Allegorical Plays Performed at the Antwerp Landjuweel of 1561," in *Vision in Text and Image: The Cultural Turn in the Study of the Arts*, edited by Herman Willem Hoen and M. G. Kemperink (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 89.

⁵³² Ramakers "Dutch Allegorical Theatre" (2006), 139.

⁵³³ Ramakers "Dutch Allegorical Theatre" (2006), 139-40. W.M.H. Hummelen argues that this type of presentation was limited to the *Spelen van Sinne* produced for competitions. See Hummelen, "Het tableaux vivant" (1992), 197.

⁵³⁴ Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys* (1984), 9. On the character of such plays, see W.M.H. Hummelen, *De sinnekens in het Rederijkerdrama* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1958), 221ff.

images connected through dialogue, the rhetoricians transformed their *zinnespelen* into a series of meaning-laden, visual illustrations.

With their inherently visual quality, the tableaux presented by the rhetoricians were easily transferred to other forms of art. The tableaux created by the rederijkers, particularly the religious *puncten*, provided themes and iconography that could be applied to other visual media, including graphic works. Beyond providing subject matter for prints, however, the yearly devotional processions and intermittent entries acquainted audiences – particularly Antwerp’s broad, urban middle-class – with allegorical devices and processional forms.⁵³⁵ As a result of the involvement of the rhetoricians, sixteenth-century processional culture incorporated figural *tableaux* as crucial conveyors of meaning. The treatment of tableaux as units of meaning within a larger theme would have been familiar to a broad swath of the population through constant repetition during yearly *ommegangen*, occasional entries, and dramatic performances by the rederijkers. The regularity of processional spectacle and the widespread deployment of dramatic tableaux familiarized audiences with complex figural assemblages and allegorical sequences and helped establish interpretive skills that could be utilized across different visual media.

Maerten van Heemskerck

As mentioned above, Maerten van Heemskerck helped establish the popularity of processional series after midcentury by drawing on the wealth of

⁵³⁵ On the intended audience for rederijker drama, see Ramakers, “Dutch Allegorical Theatre” (2006), 133; Elsa Strietman, “God, Gods, Humans, and *Sinneken*” (2006).

available sources, including the classical heritage of triumph, the literary triumphs of the early Italian Renaissance, the woodcut processions of the early sixteenth century, and the contemporary Netherlandish ceremonial culture of joyous entries and religious *ommegangen*. In several series, including the *Vicissitudes of Human Affairs* described above, the artist utilized the extended allegorical sequences of the processional format as a means of presenting morally didactic content on themes of topical interest for the urban and urbane audiences of the Low Countries.

Heemskerck's *Allegory of Good and Bad Music* uses the processional form to demonstrate the dangers of idle pleasure (**Figure 3.10**).⁵³⁶ Likely engraved by Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert and published in 1554, the work comprises two long sheets that form a frieze-like scene of allegorical figures parading from right to left. In addition to numerous standing figures, the work includes two triumphal cars. The first holds Talent and Pleasure, the qualities responsible, according to an inscription, for "bring[ing] forth music."⁵³⁷ Music, in turn, creates Waste of Time (Incuria), False Opinion (Existimatio), Idleness, and Foolish Liberality (Prodigalitas).⁵³⁸ The other car holds Bacchus, representative of Drunkenness, with his companions, Immoderateness and Poverty. An inscription indicates that "Drunkenness is a follower of song, and poverty is a follower of drunkenness."⁵³⁹ The processional format, aided by the accompanying text, allows Heemskerck to relate the personifications to each other in a particular order. Reading from left to right –

⁵³⁶ Title/date according to Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), pp. 74-76 and figs. 51. Called *Idle Music and True Harmony* in New Hollstein (van Heemskerck), nr. 589.

⁵³⁷ Translated in Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), 74.

⁵³⁸ Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), 74.

⁵³⁹ Translated in Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), 75.

against the direction of the procession – the earlier figures often escort, or even engender, those who come later in sequence. The linear arrangement of the figures demonstrates how Music precipitates a causal chain of filiation, leading from Talent and Pleasure to Drunkenness and Poverty.

Heemskerck's *Unhappy Lot of the Rich*, engraved and published by Philips Galle in 1563, offers a similar admonition regarding wealth (**Figures 3.11-3.16**).⁵⁴⁰ The series begins at the end, showing a glimpse of heavenly paradise as a wealthy man attempts to pass through the gates. Behind him, a hand appears from the clouds in order to dangle the eye of a needle in front of a camel, an illustration of Matthew 19:24 (“It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter heaven”). The rest of this series elaborates on the moral peril of wealth, which leads to corruption and decadence. Subsequent prints depict cautionary exemplars from the Bible, mythology, and history. These include “Honest and dishonest ways of becoming rich,” “Notorious examples of wealth from antiquity,” “Dangers and vices accompanying wealth,” “Deceptive effects of wealth,” and “Money is of no avail in the dying hour.”⁵⁴¹ This final scene shows a group of figures as they enter Charon’s ferry, including an emperor being stripped of his regalia by death in preparation for his final voyage. Having seen the front of the procession, we know how difficult it will be for him to enter heaven. By placing paradise at the beginning of the sequence rather than at the end, the series forces viewers to move away from eternal paradise as they follow the sequence of images

⁵⁴⁰ Title/Date according to Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), 85. Series called *The Wretchedness of Wealth* in Hollstein. New Hollstein (van Heemskerck), nrs. 476-481; Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), pp. 84-90, figs. 58-63.

⁵⁴¹ Titles from New Hollstein, (van Heemskerck), nrs. 476-481.

and leaf through the pages. The viewing experience parallels the moral experience of the wealthy, as they move further and further away from heavenly reward.

Heemskerck's *The Triumph of Patience* – published in 1559 with etching and engraving by Coornheert – promotes the virtue lacking in the other two series (**Figures 3.17-3.24**).⁵⁴² The processional sequence opens with a depiction of Patience, triumphant on a cart pulled by personifications of Hope and Longing, with Fortune bound to the back of the cart as a captive. The following images show biblical exemplars of patience: Isaac, David, Job, Tobit, and St. Stephen. Each exemplary figure rides a different animal and carries a banner. Spoils or captives follow in each instance, in echo of the ancient Roman model. The backgrounds include depictions of representative events from the lives of the figures. The final image shows a triumphant Christ sitting on a rainbow above the terrestrial sphere. A pair of lambs pull the chariot, while the Devil, Death, Sin, and the World are shown as vanquished captives. The background shows scenes from Christ's Passion, his Crucifixion, and his Resurrection. The inscription reads: "The almighty Christ, the only hope of mankind, and the true life, was obedient to the eternal father unto death, the abominable death of the cross. Now we see him raised in triumph above heaven and above all name, now that Tartarus [i.e. Hell], the world, the devil, sin and the savage demons have been swept away."⁵⁴³ The inscription speaks to Christ's own exemplary patience in suffering, which allowed him to conquer his enemies and the enemies of humanity in order to emerge triumphant.

⁵⁴² New Hollstein, (van Heemskerck), nrs. 436-443; Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), pp. 62-70, figs. 39-46.

⁵⁴³ Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), 69.

As a virtue *Patience* is concerned with the proper management of time. Patience demands the consistent deferral of judgment or action until a later time, a postponement made easier through hope and faith. As the exemplars portrayed in Heemskerck's series show, one must often endure trials and suffering before receiving one's ultimate reward. The processional format provides the ideal structure for the depiction of *Patience*, since the viewer must defer judgment until he has reached the conclusion of the sequence. In learning about patience, the viewer is forced to demonstrate patience as well.

These three processional print series emerged from Heemskerck's collaboration with Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert, a philosopher, theologian, and engraver. Coornhert engraved the majority of Heemskerck's prints during the 1550s and may have been responsible for conceiving much of the works' content as well.⁵⁴⁴ Ilja Veldman has demonstrated that Coornhert's ethics pervade much of Heemskerck's graphic oeuvre during that time. The vanity of human accomplishment and the earthly desire for money and power are contrasted in these works with the everlasting reward that arises from one's love of God.⁵⁴⁵ Heemskerck's processional series present a morality that eschews the temporal in favor of the eternal and counsel patience in adversity and restraint in temptation.

Although Petrarch's *Trionfi* did not enjoy the same popularity in the Netherlands that it did elsewhere in Europe, Heemskerck did design a suite of prints

⁵⁴⁴ Ilja Veldman traces this productive partnership in her seminal study of Heemskerck as an erudite artist affiliated with humanist circles in Haarlem. See Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), chap. 4.

⁵⁴⁵ Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), 56.

depicting the Petrarchan triumphs (**Figures 3.25-3.30**).⁵⁴⁶ Engraved by Philips Galle I and published in 1565, the series portrays the sequential triumphs of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity with figures and motifs drawn from Petrarch's poems and from the rich tradition of illustration that followed. Heemskerck portrays each of the first five conquering figures riding in a chariot and attended by an entourage of devoted followers drawn from history, mythology, and the Bible. The procession moves from right to left as each new triumphant figure supplants the last, demonstrating his or her victory by taking as a captive the previously ascendant quality.

Heemskerck's *Triumph of Love* depicts a triumphant Cupid, Petrarch's representative of Love. He rides in chariot pulled by white horses in accordance with the textual description provided by Petrarch: "I saw a leader, lofty and victorious, just as one of those who in Campidoglio [the Roman Capitol] was carried to great glory in a triumphant chariot."⁵⁴⁷ Cupid stands on a platform in the midst of a conflagration, blindly aiming an arrow at the captives "who by [Cupid's] hand lost their lives" – a group that includes King Solomon, Hercules, Pyramus and Thisbe, and Jupiter, who appears bound at Cupid's feet.⁵⁴⁸ Ovid and Albius Tibullus, Roman

⁵⁴⁶ Likely published by Philips Galle. New Hollstein, (van Heemskerck), nrs. 491-496; Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 148-151, cat. nrs. 39.1-39.6.

⁵⁴⁷ Quoted and translated in Quiñones, "Upon this Bank and Shoal of Time" (1994), 39.

⁵⁴⁸ Petrarch, *Triumph of Love*, l. 33. According to the Old Testament account, Solomon had 700 wives and 300 concubines, many of them foreigners who turned his heart away from Yahweh and inspired idolatry (1 Kings 11: 3-4). Hercules' death was precipitated by the jealousy of his wife, Deianira, who gave him a shirt poisoned by the blood of Nessus. The forbidden love of Pyramus and Thisbe resulted in their suicidal deaths after Pyramus mistakenly believes that Thisbe has been killed by a lion.

poets known for their amorous verses, lead the entourage toward the Temple of Venus set on the hill to the upper left.⁵⁴⁹

Chastity ("*Pudicitia*") occupies the next wagon, which is drawn by a pair of unicorns, symbols of purity. She sits atop another unicorn at the back of her chariot and carries a unicorn banner. Cupid sits at her feet with his hands and ankles bound. Her followers include Susanna and Judith, Old Testament exemplars of womanly virtue, and Joseph, who resisted the advances of Potiphar's wife. These biblical figures appear alongside personifications of Continence ("*Continentia*") and Temperance ("*Temperantia*"). An army of female adherents with palm fronds, symbols of victory and of Christian martyrdom, follow Chastity's chariot, which passes in front of the Temple of Vesta, the ancient, virginal goddess of hearth and home.

The third wagon, pulled by a pair of rampaging bulls, carries the emaciated figure of Death ("*Mors*") with a scythe. In place of followers or captives, the scene instead shows a mass of bodies trampled by the bulls and crushed beneath the wheels of the cart. The twisted and contorted figures on the ground – and those in the unrelenting path of the wagon – represent a broad cross-section of humanity, including soldiers, a king, a preacher, and a mother with her child at the bottom right. In a *memento mori*, a crown, a helmet, and a bishop's miter litter the foreground, while at the front of pack, a physician with his urinary beaker and the pope in his tiara attempt to flee the upraised hoofs of the rearing bull. Petrarch

⁵⁴⁹ In addition to the many romantic episodes recounted in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid authored the *Ars amatoria*, a guide for both men and woman. Tibullus wrote a series of erotically charged elegies on his unrequited love for a woman known as Delia.

notes the universality of death, which comes for the rich and powerful just as it does the poor and weak:

Here now were they who were called fortunate,
Popes, emperors, and others who had ruled;
Now are they naked, poor, of all bereft.
Where now their riches? Where their honors now?
Where now their gems and scepters, and their crowns,
Their miters, and the purple they had worn?
Wretched who sets his hope on mortal things.⁵⁵⁰

Earthly accomplishment and worldly goods have no value when death arrives. In the background, Charon's ship carries the damned toward the mouth of hell, which expels fire and smoke that consume the landscape to the left. On the right, the blessed march toward the heavenly city on the clouds in anticipation of the divine judgment at the end of time.

Fame – on whose appearance and attributes Petrarch remains silent – blows a pair of trumpets from atop a chariot pulled by a pair of elephants, one of which tramples Death underfoot. Elephants, which also appear on the banner carried by Alexander the Great at the front of the retinue, were often part of the triumphal processions of ancient Rome and appear in Mantegna's canvases of the Triumph of Julius Caesar for the Gonzagas in Mantua. In addition to Alexander, Fame's followers include Julius Caesar, Plato, and Cato the Elder, who was honored with a triumphal procession in Rome in 194 BCE, following his successful military campaigns on the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁵¹ The Roman Colosseum, a monument that van Heemkerck visited and drew during his Italian sojourn in 1532-36, appears to the right as an indication of the fame of the Roman Empire and its most illustrious citizens.

⁵⁵⁰ Petrarch, *Triumph of Death*, translated by Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 56.

⁵⁵¹ Livy, *History of Rome*, xxxiv. 46.

The next wagon holds the personification of Time, portrayed as an elderly, bearded man with wings and crutches, attributes intended to convey time's swiftness and its debilitating effects. Hourglasses and sundials surround the figure of Time, and the wagon's wheels resemble clocks.⁵⁵² In addition to these devices for measuring time, the striations on the sky offer another means of temporal discernment by indicating the courses of the sun and stars. Two antlered bucks, symbols of quickness, pull the wagon, which is accompanied by personifications of the seasons: Autumnus, Hyems, Aestas, and Ver, each portrayed as male figures. The seasonal personifications appear with their traditional attributes: Autumn carries a cornucopia and garland of the harvest, Winter wears a hood and holds a brazier for warmth, Spring clasps a sheaf of wheat, and Summer bears a falcon and bow and arrow for hunting. The four seasons run alongside the speeding wagon as it passes in front of a landscape filled with crumbling buildings and toppled columns and obelisks, demonstrations of the ravages of time. In reducing the great monuments of antiquity to ruins, Time vanquishes the accomplishments of Fame displayed in the previous engraving.

Petrarch's description of the *Triumph of Eternity* provided few concrete images for visual representation, but many artists illustrated the final allegory of the *Trionfi* with a depiction of the *Last Judgment*. Heemskerck followed this tradition, diverging from the processional format of the previous scenes by showing Christ in judgment amidst a heavenly host of saints and angels. Christ sits atop the clouds on a throne comprised of four animals: a lion, an ox, a man, and an eagle. These

⁵⁵² The implements represent different ways of symbolizing time. Hourglasses represent the ephemerality of time, while the sundials and clocks are devices for the measurement of time.

animals, symbols of the four evangelists, are derived from the “four living creatures” described in Ezekiel (chapter 1) and again in the Book of Revelation (Rev. 4:6-9). In Ezekiel’s vision, the four living creatures serve as a chariot for the godhead, which links back to the triumphal aspects of the subject matter. The *Last Judgment*, which occurs at the end of history, serves as a fitting representation of Eternity, the vanquisher of Time.

Heemskerck’s series lacks an obvious Netherlandish precedent, and it failed to inspire subsequent depictions of the subject. The relative dearth of Petrarchan illustration in the Netherlands, however, belies the importance of the model provided by the *Trionfi*. Petrarch’s allegorical use of the processional format and his invention of the sequential triumph had a significant influence on Netherlandish imagery. One need only consider the similarities between Heemskerck’s portrayal of the *Trionfi* and his series of *The Vicissitudes of Human Affairs* published the previous year (1564). Like the *Trionfi*, the *Vicissitudes* series – itself based on the *puncten* of the 1561 Circumcision *ommegang* – portrays a sequential triumph with ascendant figures on chariots drawn by symbolic animals and attended by allegorical figures. In addition, both series end with depictions of the *Last Judgment*, as God triumphs over all at the end of time.

Petrarch’s triumphs reinforced the form and content of Netherlandish *ommegangen* and processional prints, particularly during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁵³ The themes engaged in the *trionfi*, particularly the ultimate

⁵⁵³ On the adoption of the Petrarchan model as a means of portraying “moralizing admonition” in Netherlandish imagery, see Yona Pinson, “Moralized Triumphal Chariots – Metamorphosis of

ephemerality of human experience in the face of divine eternity, were repeated in various iterations in numerous graphic series, and the notion of a cyclical series of qualities where the ascendance of one creates the conditions necessary for the next recurred in prints and in ceremonial culture. Mostly, however, Petrarch's text and Heemskerck's series compellingly demonstrated the adaptability of the triumphal format to a broad range of allegorical topics.

Marten de Vos and Gerard van Groeningen

By adapting the format of contemporary civic spectacle, Heemskerck's series helped to establish the triumphal procession as a compositional framework for allegorical printed series. In subsequent decades several artists adopted the processional scheme popularized by Heemskerck. Chief among these were Marten de Vos and Gerard van Groeningen, both print designers active in Antwerp during the second half of the sixteenth century. Like Heemskerck, the two artists were influenced by Netherlandish processional culture, drawing thematic content from contemporary *ommegangen* and *inkomsten* in their portrayal of the *Four Continents*. In other instances, they expanded the possibilities of the processional format by using the scheme to highlight the triumphal symbolism of their subject matter.

In their series portraying personifications of the *Four Continents* in chariots, de Vos and van Groeningen were likely inspired by a *punct* created for the Antwerp *ommegang* of Our Lady held in 1564. That year the *Theatrum mundi* car, the international entry into the procession, represented the *Triumph of the Four Parts of*

Petrarch's *Trionfi* in Northern Art (c. 1530 – c. 1560)," in *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy (1400-1600)*, Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 203-224.

the World with the continents depicted as four empresses.⁵⁵⁴ Elizabeth McGrath notes that this portrayal of the *Four Continents* represents the first time they appear together as a group.⁵⁵⁵ The procession and the printed program for the event explained that while no land could thrive without utilizing its own resources fully, the time had come for all four continents to benefit mutually from exchange.⁵⁵⁶ The theme surely resonated in the mercantile city of Antwerp, a major hub for international trade and global commerce.

Van Groeningen's *Continents*, published prior to 1572, show the four parts of the world as female personifications enthroned on low-slung chariots, pulled by animals representative of the various continents (**Figures 3.31-3.34**).⁵⁵⁷ Behind the figures, landscapes represent the different lands, while inscriptions appended below indicate what resources can be found there.

The series commences with *Europe*, who wears a crown and carries a scepter, demonstrating her role as empress. Pulled by horses, her chariot rests on wheels marked "Hispania," "Germania," "Italia," and "Gallia." The inscription below notes that Europe's primary resources are the "word of God" and "instruction in the arts." Europe's possession of true religion and the liberal arts as resources thus distinguishes the continent and elevates her above her peers, giving her primacy in the procession.

⁵⁵⁴ Williams and Jacquot, "Les ommegnags" (1960), 352.

⁵⁵⁵ The same car reappeared during the 1566 *Ommegang*. McGrath, "Humanism, Allegorical Invention" (2000), 52.

⁵⁵⁶ Williams and Jacquot, "Les ommegnags" (1960), 353.

⁵⁵⁷ New Hollstein, (van Groeningen), nrs. 199-202.

Asia, who holds a scepter and a string of beads, appears next, behind a pair of camels. According to the inscription, *Asia* is famed for her beautiful gemstones. *Africa's* chariot, pulled by elephants, includes an arched backrest topped with a sun-face. Spices, typically associated with Asia, are listed as Africa's primary resource. Finally, the semi-nude figure of *America* appears in a feather headdress with a bow and arrow in her hands. Behind her chariot, pulled by wolves (?), three figures are shown hunting. Not surprisingly, *America* provides gold and silver, examples of which fill the bags and chests on *America's* chariot. The depiction of the continents as imperial *triumphators* and the emphasis on their natural resources – or in *Europe's* case, religion and erudition – clearly link van Groeningen's series to the mercantile theme on display in the 1564 *Ommegang*.

As in van Groeningen's engravings, de Vos's undated series of *Continents*, engraved by Julius Goltzius, employs triumphal wagons for the depictions of the personified parts of the world (**Figures 3.35-3.38**).⁵⁵⁸ De Vos, however, differs from his predecessor in many particulars. With the exception of *Europe*, shown with a crown, orb, and scepter, the *Continents* appear less regal and more exotic in de Vos's series, particularly *Africa* and *America*, who appear partially nude. Rather than a scepter, *Africa* holds an umbrella and a tambourine, while *America* is armed with an axe and a bow. De Vos's *Continents* also lack inscriptions, thereby obscuring the potential meaning of the series. As in van Groeningen's version, however, the superiority of Europe remains clear.

⁵⁵⁸ Published by Johannes Baptista Vrints. Hollstein, (de Vos), nrs. 1400-1403.

Despite the relative equality of the continents portrayed on the *Theatrum mundi* car of the 1564 *ommegang*, where each Continent is ascendant in its own right without defeating or subverting the others, the portrayals by de Vos and van Groeningen assert the preeminence of Europe, a depiction more in line with other contemporary illustrations of the continents. On the frontispiece of Julius Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (1587), a collection of drawings of ancient coins, *America*, *Africa*, and *Asia* appear as captives.⁵⁵⁹ Within the context of a triumph, personifications of cities and territories were frequently used as a means of representing subjugated peoples.⁵⁶⁰ During the sixteenth century the Habsburg rulers of the Netherlands embraced the imperial ideal, particularly Charles V, whose personal motto, *plus ultra* ("Still further"), expressed a desire for constant expansion. Elizabeth McGrath notes that during the entry of Archdukes Albert and Isabella into Lille in 1600, depictions of the *Four Continents*, based on a series of engravings by Adriaen Collaert after de Vos (c. 1589) appeared around a niche containing a portrait of Charles V.⁵⁶¹ The use of triumphal forms for the portrayal of European imperial domination would have corresponded well to the original intentions of ancient Roman triumphs, which, as a rule, celebrated the defeat of foreign lands.

Gerard van Groeningen employed the processional format once again for a group of engravings showing *The Four Strongest Powers*, published by Philips Galle

⁵⁵⁹ McGrath, "Humanism, Allegorical Invention" (2000), 51.

⁵⁶⁰ On the personification of places, see Janusz A. Ostrowski, "Personifications of Countries and Cities as a Symbol of Victory in Greek and Roman Art," in *Griechenland und Rom: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Entwicklungstendenzen und -höhepunkten der antiken Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur*, edited by Ernst Günther Schmidt (Tbilissi: Universitätsverlag Tbilissi, 1996), 264-72.

⁵⁶¹ McGrath, "Humanism, Allegorical Invention" (2000), 51.

in 1574 (**Figures 3.41-3.42**).⁵⁶² Inspired by a story from the apocryphal third book of Esdras, the four scenes illustrate various answers to the question, “What one thing is strongest?” (3 Esdras 3:5).⁵⁶³ Following a banquet given by the Persian king, Darius, three of the king’s guards propose the riddle among themselves. They decide that the king himself will judge whose response is correct and will reward the victor lavishly. The first guard argues that “wine is strongest,” the second claims it is the king, and the third, identified as Zorobabel, answers, “Women are strongest, but above all things truth is victor” (3 Esdras 3:10-12). They write their answers and place them under Darius’s pillow. In the morning the king summons his court, and after hearing the guards’ answers and their explanations, all those assembled declare, “Great is truth, and strongest of all!” (3 Esdras 4:41). Darius concurs and offers the victor any reward he should desire. Eschewing riches and power, Zorobabel instead asks that the king remember his vow to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

Van Groeningen’s *Four Strongest Powers* was the first of several versions of the theme produced during the final decades of the sixteenth century, including subsequent series designed by Ambrosius Francken, Hendrick Withouck, and Karel van Mander.⁵⁶⁴ As an apocryphal tale, the subject was rarely depicted in manuscript illumination or prints prior to its repeated portrayal by Netherlandish artists during

⁵⁶² Galle also served as the engraver. New Hollstein, (van Groeningen), nrs. 154-157. Despite the absence of identifying information on the prints, the series has been linked to van Groeningen on the basis of similarities to several drawings by the artist in Amsterdam and Leiden. See Ilja M. Veldman, “Who Is the Strongest? The Riddle of Esdras in Netherlandish Art,” *Simiolis: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 17, no. 4 (1987), 225.

⁵⁶³ Veldman, “Who is the Strongest?” (1987) offers a full account of the theme in Netherlandish art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁵⁶⁴ Veldman, “Who is the Strongest?” (1987), 228-234.

the final decades of the sixteenth century. Ilja Veldman speculates that the demand for biblical illustration during that period and the contemporaneous proliferation of serial imagery likely resulted in the depiction of seemingly obscure passages from the Bible.⁵⁶⁵ Despite its apocryphal status, 3 Esdras appeared in most Netherlandish Bibles produced during the sixteenth century, and the account of the “Four Strongest Powers” crossed confessional lines as an easily relatable lesson in morality.⁵⁶⁶

In his version of the subject, van Groeningen depicts *Wine, King, Women, and Truth* as triumphant figures carried on the shoulders of female personifications. Bacchus, who embodies *The Power of Wine*, sits on a wine barrel that rests on the shoulders of Transgression and Abundance. Wisdom and Justice carry the King, who appears in armor and a helmet with a scepter in his hand. Venus and Cupid preside over *The Power of Women* as they are borne aloft by Nature and Abundance, representations of feminine fertility.

The final image depicts *The Power of Truth*, a procession ruled by a nude woman with a radiant solar disk in one hand and an open book, titled “*Verbum domini*,” in the other. The attributes identify the figure as Truth, who was often portrayed as a nude female figure, as in the 1593 edition of Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* (**Figure 3.43**). In addition to the solar disk and open book, Ripa’s Truth holds a palm branch and stands on a terrestrial globe. The text that accompanies the image in Ripa’s work cites the story of the *Four Strongest Powers* as evidence for the superiority of Truth as a virtue. Ripa notes that martyrdom, which involves bearing

⁵⁶⁵ Veldman, “Who is the Strongest?” (1987), 234.

⁵⁶⁶ Veldman, “Who is the Strongest?” (1987), 234.

witness to truth, leads to “glorious victory,” as divine Truth stands above all that is worldly.

The triumphal aspects of Ripa’s portrayal of Truth also appear in van Groeningen’s engraving. The artist shows Truth carried by Fortitude and Eternity, while personifications of Heaven (*Caelum*) and Earth (*Terra*) kneel before her with their celestial and terrestrial spheres, respectively. Life, Splendor, and Honor complete the cortege. The Latin inscription notes the divine origins and eternal power of Truth: “Called by the name of Truth, the virtue sprung from the lap of the Heavenly Father, she alone rules over all, the radiant light of the world, immune to time: she alone is all-powerful.”⁵⁶⁷ The all-powerful figure of Truth represents an antitype for Christ, an identification that transforms the final image into a depiction of the Triumph of Christ, the scene that ends so many processional series.

Following the Petrarchan model, van Groeningen employs the processional format as a means of depicting the hierarchical succession of powers. Each figure is supplanted by the next until Truth triumphs. As Zorobabel claims, “Above all things truth is victor” (3 Esdras 3:12). The guards consider what kind of reward the victor shall have from the king:

To the one whose statement seems wisest, King Darius will give rich gifts and great honors of victory. He shall be clothed in purple, and drink from gold cups, and sleep on a gold bed, and have a chariot with gold bridles, and a turban of fine linen, and a necklace around his neck; and because of his wisdom he shall sit next to Darius and shall be called Kinsman of Darius (3 Esdras 3:5-8).

These honors, particularly the purple clothing and golden chariot, resemble the trappings of a Roman imperial triumph. Zorobabel asks instead that Darius rebuild

⁵⁶⁷ Translated in Veldman, “Who is the Strongest?” (1987), 227.

the Temple in Jerusalem. The destruction of the Temple and the sack of Jerusalem by the Roman armies of Titus provided numerous trophies for display during that general's Triumph through the capital. In eschewing a triumph of his own, Zorobabel's victory allows him to reverse the destruction of defeat. Despite the triumphal aspects inherent to the subject, however, van Groeningen's version of *The Four Strongest Powers* is the only one to include triumphal imagery.⁵⁶⁸

Like van Groeningen, Marten de Vos adopted the triumphal format for an unconventional subject that had not previously been portrayed as a procession. His *Divine Charge to the Three Estates*, a four-part series engraved by Adriaen Collaert, employs wagons as a compositional unit, with representatives of each of the "three estates" portrayed in chariots (**Figures 3.44-3.47**).⁵⁶⁹ Published by Philips Galle shortly after the capitulation of Antwerp to Spanish forces in August 1585, the series presents an alternative version of the social order established and reified in the annual *ommegangen*.

The prints portray the so-called "Three Estates," a system of social order that originated in France during the eleventh century.⁵⁷⁰ The Three Estates divided humanity into three mutually dependent orders, each with a vital role in maintaining social harmony: the clergy were responsible for the care of souls; earthly rulers were charged with maintaining order through the dispensation of

⁵⁶⁸ A version of the subject by Jan Wierix after Ambrosius Francken shows the personified powers as foreground figures in a landscape. See M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale Albert 1er, 1978-83), vol. 2, p. 277, nrs. I516-19; Ilja Veldman (1987), 228-31.

⁵⁶⁹ Published in Antwerp by Philips Galle c.1585-1586. Hollstein (de Vos), 1257-1260; New Hollstein (Collaert Dynasty) pt. V, nrs. 1070-107; Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence" (1992), 235-238. Drawings for the engravings are in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. nos. 20.586-589.

⁵⁷⁰ On the system of the Three Estates, see Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

justice; and the laboring classes were intended to toil for the benefit of all.⁵⁷¹ The three groups – those who pray, those who rule, and those who work – comprised the feudal hierarchy of the later Middle Ages, but the tripartite division of society survived well into the Early Modern period.⁵⁷² Even with the rise of the middle class in places like the Low Countries during the sixteenth century, the Three Estates remained a pervasive theoretical construct overlaying social relations.⁵⁷³

Notwithstanding its prevalence as a means of classifying society, the Three Estates did not emerge as a theme in the visual arts until the fifteenth century and occurred only infrequently after that.⁵⁷⁴ In his rendering of the theme, de Vos adapted an earlier series designed by Maerten van Heemskerck, likely published by Philips Galle sometime between 1565 and 1568 (**Figures 3.48-3.51**).⁵⁷⁵ Despite Heemskerck's proclivity for using the triumphal procession as a compositional framework, he employed an alternate strategy in this instance, relying instead on representative scenes as a means of illustrating the *Three Estates*. The first engraving in the series shows God the Father on a cloud issuing commands to representatives of the *Estates*. He instructs the Pope to pray ("*Tu precare*"), the Emperor to administer justice ("*Tu iustitiam*"), and the Laborer to work ("*Tu labora*").⁵⁷⁶ The subsequent images portray figures executing God's commands. The Pope processes from a church with a monstrance containing a sanctified wafer, the Emperor condemns a man to death, and peasants plow a field and plant seeds. Each

⁵⁷¹ Duby, *The Three Orders* (1980), 63.

⁵⁷² Duby, *The Three Orders* (1980), 63.

⁵⁷³ Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence" (1992), 235.

⁵⁷⁴ Wolfgang Kemp, "Du aber arbeite: die Darstellung der drei Stände im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *Tendenzen* 15 (1974), 49-56; Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence" (1992), 235.

⁵⁷⁵ New Hollstein (van Heemskerck), nrs. 497-500.

⁵⁷⁶ Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence" (1992), 236.

performs the task assigned to him for the harmony of society and the hope of eternal salvation.

Despite the rarity of the theme and the involvement of Philips Galle in both instances, de Vos's *Divine Charge to the Three Estates* preserved very little of the earlier version. Heemskerck's portrayal of God issuing instructions to representatives of the Three Estates is absent in de Vos's series, which shows each of the three estates in turn – the Church, worldly power, and the working class – followed by a depiction of *The Reward for Fulfilling the Tasks*. The four scenes unfold as a procession moving from left to right, a compositional scheme that enhances the sense of progression from one image to the next. This sequencing establishes a temporal dimension that aligns well with the series' moral implication that the fulfillment of one's present, earthly duties helps to ensure future salvation in heaven.

The series opens with the depiction of *The Task of the Church*, which shows a pope in a chariot with an open Bible in his lap. He sits beside a personification of Truth with the Dove of the Holy Spirit between her hands and a solar aureole above her head. A personification of Faith rides at the front of the chariot with a cross in one hand and a chalice and wafer in the other. The cart is drawn by a trio of animals representing Christological qualities: a lamb – a common symbol of innocence and of Christ's sacrifice – along with a snake and a dove, which are mentioned together in the New Testament: "Be thee therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves" (Matthew 10:16). In the background, a priest performs the Eucharist in a domed structure, while another clergyman offers an outdoor sermon. In the middle

distance, a priest baptizes a baby at a font as others perform acts of charity. Such deeds illustrate the duties of the ecclesiastical Estate in tending to the spiritual needs of humanity.

The chariot representing *Worldly Power* carries a king along with personifications of Justice, shown with sword and scales, and Wisdom (*Sapientiae*), who holds a mirror and a snake, attributes typically associated with Prudence. The inscription at the bottom of the page declares that a monarch must surrender his heart to these qualities if he is to protect the people. The ornate car – its side decorated with a depiction of an ancient king riding a chariot into battle – is drawn by two horses labeled “Punishment of the Iniquitous” and “Reward of the Virtuous.”⁵⁷⁷ The former carries weapons and implements of torture, while the latter bears crowns and a scepter. Turning toward Wisdom, the king gestures with his scepter toward a temporary stage in the background, where a coronation and an execution take place – further illustrations of the punishment and reward themes. The gallows that appear in the distance to the left, and the massing of soldiers to the right, also exemplify the role of the worldly power in maintaining order through force and the rule of law.

The Laborer, an exemplar of the third Estate, rides a humble cart accompanied by personifications of Obedience and Patience. The undecorated wagon cart is pulled by a donkey and a bull, labeled Perseverance and Labor, respectively. The animals are laden with a variety of instruments: the bull carries agricultural implements (rake, pitchfork, scythe, shovel), while the donkey

⁵⁷⁷ Veldman, “Images of Labor and Diligence” (1992), 237.

transports artisanal tools (saw, axe, and hammer as well as an architect's square, a chisel, plus a palette and brushes). In an era when Netherlandish artists frequently attempted to align themselves with the liberal arts (see the discussion of Frans Floris's façade the introduction to Chapter 4), the inclusion of painting, sculpture and architecture with farming and other forms of common labor – the manual or “mechanical” trades – seems out of character, especially for an erudite and experienced artist like de Vos.⁵⁷⁸ The artist's willingness to be counted among the “Plebeii” suggests an acknowledgement of his humble place within the social order, possibly as an act of contrition (see below). The link between art and labor need not be demeaning, however, since artists' contributions – along with those who plow, sow, and reap in the background of the image – benefit the greater good of society within the scheme of the Three Estates.⁵⁷⁹

The Reward for Fulfilling the Tasks, the final image in the series, shows the representatives of the three estates together on a wide chariot pulled by personifications of Faith and Hope, the latter portrayed with wings. The chariot approaches a cloud, where God is depicted in the form of a tetragram. Charity, with

⁵⁷⁸ For mechanical arts in relation to the status of the artist, see David Summers, *Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 235-65. De Vos's linkage of artists and farm workers was not unprecedented in processional representations produced in Antwerp. John Cartwright notes that during the 1561 Circumcision *omwegang*, the cycle of *puncten* illustrating the “Vicissitudes of Human Affairs” was followed by “a woman whose horse was hung about with books and other signs of the arts; then follow farm workers with their implements, and the artisans of the town. [In the printed program] this group is called *Geschikte behendigheit* (‘proper’—or ‘fine’—‘skillfulness’) or *Industria*.” The inclusion of the horse bearing symbols of the liberal arts separates this depiction from de Vos's, although the use of “*Industria*” as a common quality certainly applies. See Cartwright, “Forms and their Uses” (1996), 123.

⁵⁷⁹ Pamela Smith compellingly demonstrates the knowledge derived from the artist's manual and bodily labors and their manipulation of materials, a departure from contemporary (and subsequent) preferences for the purely cerebral aspects of the liberal arts. See Pamela Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

the assistance of some cherubs, wraps a heavenly chain around the three human exemplars as they approach their eternal reward. In his detailed study of the Three Estates, Georges Duby notes that charity played a vital role in the medieval system: “[The] key concept of the system was that of mutuality, of reciprocity within hierarchy. [...] The driving force behind the exchange was charity...which wove the whole fabric together and coordinated all its parts.”⁵⁸⁰ Without charity, the system lacked cohesion; charity was the quality that bound each of the three estates to the others, a role indicated by the celestial chain held by the personification of Charity in de Vos’s portrayal. The pelican depicted at the front of the chariot likewise emphasizes the essential value of charity. Feeding its young with blood drawn from its own breast, the pelican symbolizes Christ’s charitable act of self-sacrifice for humanity. The willingness to execute one’s assigned role effectively for the benefit of all lies at the heart of the collective order promoted by the system of the Three Estates. The depiction of the *Rewards for Fulfilling the Tasks* – a scene absent from Heemskerck’s earlier version – demonstrates the eternal benefits of adhering to this divinely ordained social plan.

Produced shortly after the capitulation of the city to Spanish forces in August 1585, de Vos’s series served, at least in part, as a means of mollifying the new regime. As a converted Lutheran, de Vos would have wanted to placate the Catholic authorities in the city and demonstrate loyalty to his new faith. Dedicated to a prominent Spanish bishop, the *Divine Charge to the Three Estates* reflects a largely Catholic perspective, by portraying the privileged role of the clergy, demonstrated in

⁵⁸⁰ Duby, *The Three Orders* (1980), 59.

de Vos's series through the depiction of the pope as the representative of the ecclesiastical estate. The series also promotes allegiance to Church and State and the maintenance of social order, all values that would have been appreciated by the city's new rulers. De Vos's series served as demonstration of personal obedience and an aspirational portrayal of civic order during a tumultuous period in Antwerp.

The Three Estates served as a means of ordering social relations, and order was an essential attribute of the perfect city.⁵⁸¹ Drawing on divine sanction and the promise of eternal reward, the system offered a means of pacifying those who chafed at their allotment. The inscriptions accompanying de Vos's portrayals of *The Task of the Working Class* and *Reward for the Fulfillment of the Tasks* emphasize that "obedience to laws, commands, and statutes" and the "diligent discharge of one's duties" will provide a sure path to heaven. The same themes were included in the 1566 *ommegang* honoring the Virgin, an event held on August 18, two days prior to the eruption of the Iconoclasm in Antwerp. One of the new processional *puncten* included an allegory of "God's Providence," which portrayed a personification of Divine Decree defended by the Spiritual State and Secular Authority.⁵⁸² The tableaux – presented by Antwerp's *Cooplieden* ('tradespeople') just days before the eruption of the iconoclastic conflict – attempted to demonstrate to restless audiences on the streets that the preservation of established structures of power was the will of God and that social disorder and disobedience were contrary to the divine plan.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ Within the Christian world, heavenly Jerusalem served as a model for civic perfection and order. See DUBY, *The Three Orders* (1980), 57.

⁵⁸² Cartwright, "Forms and their Uses" (1996), 125.

⁵⁸³ Cartwright, "Forms and their Uses" (1996), 125.

Rather than adopting themes from a particular *ommegang*, however, de Vos used the processional presentation itself to augment the moral implications of *The Divine Charge to the Three Estates*. The format adopted by de Vos – a departure from Heemskerck’s example – emphasized the ideal arrangement of civic society through its evocation of the *ommegangen*, which had been forbidden when the Calvinists took control of Antwerp during the 1570s.⁵⁸⁴ The yearly devotional processions included members of the Three Estates – ecclesiastical confraternities, secular authorities, and artisanal guilds – all marching within a strictly regimented and divinely ordained formation, which reinforced civic hierarchies and contributed to social stability.⁵⁸⁵ In his series de Vos recapitulated the devotional procession as a model for civic order, now linked to the restored Catholic faith.

The depiction of a chariot moving toward a heavenly space demarcated by clouds and a divine tetragram reappears in de Vos’s *Chariot of the Seven Virtues*, which forms a pair with the *Chariot of the Seven Deadly Sins* (**Figures 3.52 and 3.53**).⁵⁸⁶ The pendant prints, engraved by Pieter Cool and published by Jan Baptiste Vrients, portray alternative ethical paths and their divergent outcomes. Pulled by a pair of angels, the *Chariot of the Seven Virtues* moves from left to right toward a bank of clouds surrounding a radiant tetragram in the upper right corner. According to the inscription, “Great honors await in the remote citadel of heaven for those who dedicate themselves to virtue.” In place of the representatives of the Three Estates, the wide chariot carries the seven canonical virtues. Despite the absence of tituli, the

⁵⁸⁴ Thøfner, *A Common Art* (2007), 28; Twycross, “The Flemish Ommegang” (1980), Part 1, 18.

⁵⁸⁵ Peters, “Printing Ritual” (2008), 384-5; Meadow, “Met geschickter ordenen” (1999), 10.

⁵⁸⁶ Hollstein (de Vos), nrs. 1211-1212.

inclusion of standard attributes facilitates the identification of the female figures. The three Theological Virtues – Faith (cross and chalice with wafer), Charity (heart and child), and Hope (spade and upward gesture) – are arranged along an upper bench, while the four Cardinal Virtues – Justice (sword and scales), Prudence (mirror and snake), Fortitude (column), and Temperance (wine and chalice) – sit below. The figures, organized neatly into rows, and the chariot itself, shaped like the base of a column, contribute to the sense of timeless order and clarity that permeates the scene of heavenly reward for virtuous behavior.

The harmony displayed by *Seven Virtues* contrasts sharply with the chaos that characterizes the *Chariot of the Seven Deadly Sins* as it rushes headlong toward the fires of the underworld. The inscription compares the seven Vices to the Lernean Hydra, the many-headed, serpentine monster of myth ultimately killed by Hercules. Shaped like the Mouth of Hell and pulled by two white horses with dragon's tails, the cramped chariot contains seven jumbled bodies vying for space, including two shadowy figures beneath the canopy. Wearing ruff collars and fashionable dresses, these female personifications of the Vices obscure one another and impede easy identification. At the front of the car, Pride waves her feathers in distress, while behind her Wrath brandishes a sword. The two figures shown eating and drinking likely represent dual aspects of Gluttony, but the positions of the other deadly sins – Greed, Sloth, Envy, and Lust – remain elusive, as do the identities of the masked figure and her companion shown cowering in the lower left corner.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁷ Hummelen notes that during performances of *rederijker* plays, actors sometimes wore masks, particularly for the portrayal of the devil and his followers. See Hummelen, "Het tableau vivant" (1992), 28 and notes 17-18.

Boschian demons whip and prod the personified vices as Charon – shown as a bearded figure with a triton – drives the chariot toward impending damnation.

De Vos's chariots had some precedents in European art and spectacle. The triumphal entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443, for example, included a chariot bearing personifications of the seven canonical virtues as a means of promoting Alfonso's exemplary virtue.⁵⁸⁸ The *Triumphal Procession and Great Triumphal Cart* of Maximilian I, discussed above, also portrayed numerous personified Virtues in representing the Emperor's many attributes. During the same period in Germany, a polemical broadsheet by Lucas Cranach with the Reformer, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, showed two carts, one with a layman bound for heaven and the other with a clergyman travelling to hell.⁵⁸⁹ Produced in Wittenberg around 1520, the work juxtaposes Christ's saving grace with the inherently sinful nature of humanity, a condition exacerbated by the corruption of the Catholic Church. While de Vos may have been familiar with such imagery, the frequent inclusion of Virtues and Vices in contemporary Netherlandish drama likely exerted a greater influence on his depiction of the Virtues and Vices on chariots.

Numerous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish morality plays (*Spelen van sinne*) often presented stories related to the pilgrimage of the human soul and the antithetical influences of virtue and vice.⁵⁹⁰ Such plays often employ a standardized sequence of individual or collective redemption, tracing an individual's

⁵⁸⁸ Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar* (1979), 49.

⁵⁸⁹ Silver, "Triumphs and Travesties" (2008), 27.

⁵⁹⁰ Ramakers "Dutch Allegorical Theatre" (2006), 134-5. For more on the *Psychomachia* and the Netherlandish portrayal of the Virtues and Vices, see discussions in Chapters 1 and 4.

progression from innocence to fall to repentance and, eventually, to mercy.⁵⁹¹

According to Bart Ramakers, the central character in this journey often represents

Mankind as a whole, who

frees himself from a state of sin or ignorance and enters a state of mercy or understanding. While he is helped in his efforts by personifications of good, personifications of evil [*Sinnekens*] attempt to thwart him... Sometimes there are two characters representing Mankind, one of whom takes the path of good and the other the path of evil, to be vindicated and damned respectively.⁵⁹²

Personifications of the Virtues and Vices feature prominently in the pilgrimage of the human soul as it moves toward salvation or damnation. In the allegorical pendants by Marten de Vos, the same spiritual journey is represented by the progress of the two chariots and their occupants, which portray starkly alternative routes.

The Triumph of Nature

During the sixteenth century, the processional format was also adapted for depictions of the Four Seasons, a tradition of cosmological representation that developed in parallel to the morally didactic strain of allegorical procession derived from Petrarch's *Trionfi*. Successive triumphs provided an apposite means for representing the changing seasons, which – along with the transition between day and night – provided the most visible indication of the passage of time as a yearly cycle of renewal, development, and decay. Lucretius describes the “fixed succession” of the seasons as a procession of mythological deities traversing the year from

⁵⁹¹ In some plays, the main character(s) fail to demonstrate the necessary repentance, leading to their damnation. Ramakers “Dutch Allegorical Theatre” (2006), 134-5.

⁵⁹² Ramakers “Dutch Allegorical Theatre” (2006), 134.

springtime through winter.⁵⁹³ Despite the classical origins of such metaphors, however, the theme did not appear in visual art until the sixteenth century in a suite of German prints designed by Georg Pencz in the 1530s. Netherlandish versions followed, including series by the Monogrammist AP (1537) and Anthonis Wierix II (before 1604). As a theme, *The Triumph of the Seasons* reveals the invisible forces underlying cosmic flux and regeneration and demonstrates the cyclical changes characteristic of natural time.

The earliest representations of the of the *Four Seasons* as a series of triumphal processions was a suite of engravings by the German graphic artist Virgil Solis, after designs by Georg Pencz (**Figures 3.54-3.57**).⁵⁹⁴ Solis's engravings – likely produced sometime between 1531 and 1537 – show seasonal representatives in triumphal carts accompanied by classical deities and abstract personifications as they move from left to right.⁵⁹⁵ At the center of each image, a cart carries a classical god or goddess selected for his or her seasonal associations: Flora, the ancient goddess of flowers, represents Spring; Ceres, goddess of grain, appears in the depiction of Summer; Pomona, goddess of gardens and orchards, exemplifies Autumn; and Janus, for whom January is named, triumphs over the scene of Winter.

⁵⁹³ T. Lucretius Carus, „De rerum natura“, V , 737 – 747. Karen Meetz argues that Lucretius' text serves as the “locus classicus” for the representation of the *Triumphs of the Seasons*. See Karen Sabine Meetz, “Tempora Triumphant: Ikonographische Studien zur Rezeption des antiken Themas der Jahreszeitenprozession im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und zu seinen naturphilosophischen, astronomischen und bildlichen Voraussetzungen” (Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 2000), 35-43.

⁵⁹⁴ O'Dell-Franke has identified the prints as copies in reverse after Pencz's designs for glass paintings in Erlangen. Ilse O'Dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis* (Weisbaden: Steiner, 1977), e. 6-9; *The Illustrated Bartsch, 19 (Part 1)*, “German Masters of the Sixteenth Century; Virgil Solis: Intaglio Prints and Woodcuts,” ed. Jane S. Peters (New York: Abaris, 1987), nos. 133 – 136, figs. 5-8; Meetz, “Tempora Triumphant” (2000), 87-148.

⁵⁹⁵ Meetz argues for these dates based on the years when Pencz and Solis are known to have collaborated and antedating the Netherlandish series by Monogrammist AP. Meetz, “Tempora Triumphant” (2000), 89.

In three of the four images – *Autumn* being the exception – the reigning, mythological deities share their chariots with personifications of the seasons, identified according to their Latin names: Ver, Aestas, and Hyems. The processions also include retinues comprised of Olympian deities and personified figures whose qualities help define the character of the various seasons.

In *The Triumph of Spring*, Flora and Ver occupy a cart with a satyr playing a pan flute as Cupid flies above. Mercury leads the procession, while behind the cart walk four of the nine Muses: Euterpe, muse of lyric poetry; Clio, muse of history; Melpomene, muse of tragedy; and Urania, muse of astronomy. Mars and Venus embrace at the rear of the procession. Ceres and Aestas, the latter wearing a garland and holding a leafy branch, preside over Summer's triumphal procession. Their cart also includes Pan, god of shepherds and flocks. Apollo, god of the Sun, walks in front of the cart along with personifications of Heat ('Estus') and Thirst ('Sitis'). Lassitude, portrayed as a weary laborer fatigued by the summer heat, rests against a tree in the background with his rake on the ground nearby. The attendants behind the cart include an assortment of figures: Maturitas, a personification of adulthood usually linked to Autumn as the third of the Four Ages of Man⁵⁹⁶; Pales, Roman goddess of shepherds and flocks; Triptolemus, a demi-god associated with agriculture; and Osiris, Egyptian god of the sun.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁶ Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 10-16; Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1953), 47.

⁵⁹⁷ On Osiris, see Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 115. Osiris was mentioned as a figure for Maximilian I in German imperial panegyrics in the decades prior to Pencil's depiction. See Silver, *Marketing Maximilian* (2008), 39 and 73.

Pomona, goddess of fruit, serves as the principal ruler in the depiction of *The Triumph of Autumn*, but Pencz did not include a seasonal personification at the back of the processional cart as he had for the other seasons. Bacchus, god of wine and vegetation, appears in this position rather than Autumnus. The cart is preceded by Pallas Athena and a personification of Plenty ('Copia'), an indication of the seasonal harvest. The retinue also includes Silenus, god of winemaking, who appears directly behind Bacchus. The procession concludes with Vertumnus, god of seasonal change, patron of gardens and orchards, and the seducer of Pomona, according to Ovid.⁵⁹⁸ He is surrounded by three figures, who likely represent the Horae, ancient goddesses of the seasons and the portioning of time in Nature.

The final engraving shows *The Triumph of Winter* ruled by Hyems, the personification of the season, and Janus, the eponym of January, whose two faces look backward on the year that has passed and forward on the year to come. Saturn, often associated with Autumn, stands on the back of the cart, which is pulled by an ass ridden by a personification of Inactivity ('Ocium'). Aeolus, keeper of the winds, leads the procession, while an elderly couple representing Gout ('Podagra') and Old Age ('Senectus'), bring up the rear.

The engravings by Virgil Solis after Georg Pencz are the earliest representation of the *Four Seasons* as a series of triumphal processions. In adapting the triumphal procession for the depiction of the four seasons, Pencz helped to establish a convention that reappeared several times during the sixteenth century.

⁵⁹⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Bk. 14, 609ff.

The Monogrammist AP, an artist active in the Low Countries during the 1530s, developed a more elaborate version of *The Triumphs of the Seasons* in a series of woodcuts published in 1537 (**Figures 3.58-3.61**).⁵⁹⁹ The use of the processional format and the inclusion of numerous figures from Solis's engravings, including the seasonal rulers, suggest that AP was likely familiar with the German series, which had been published shortly before.⁶⁰⁰ Whereas Solis included a fairly haphazard assemblage of mythological and personified figures related to each of the seasons, AP offered a more comprehensive and encyclopedic portrayal. In the Netherlandish series the seasonal retinues comprise more figures, and the four seasons serve as nodes in a larger network of corresponding categories, including: the signs of the zodiac, the labors of the months, the four ages of man, and the four temperaments. In adopting a more systematic approach, AP alludes to the seasons' cosmological underpinnings and demonstrates their terrestrial impact in the realm of human experience.

AP's chariots include two tiers for figures; mythological deities sit on thrones with seasonal personifications standing on canopies above beside lines of Latin text from Book II of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

Young Spring was there wearing a crown of flowers;
 Summer stood there nude, with a garland of grain;
 Autumn was stained with the juice of trodden grapes;
 And icy Winter bristled with hair white as snow.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹ Meetz, "Tempora Triumphant" (2000), 149-203; Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments" (1980), 156-7.

⁶⁰⁰ While it is possible that the two series share a common iconographic source, or that the Netherlandish series preceded the German, Karen Meetz argues that Solis's engravings almost certainly influenced the creation of the Netherlandish version. Meetz, "Tempora Triumphant" (2000), 149ff.

⁶⁰¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk. II, lines 27-30, translated by Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2010), 33.

The triumphal figures – both deities and personifications – are the same as those portrayed in the German engravings: Flora and Ver for spring, Ceres and Aestas for summer, Pomona and Autumnus for autumn, and Janus and Hyems for winter. The reigning figures are accompanied by escorts that include mythological deities and personifications along with standard-bearers carrying staffs that display the names of the months and banners with corresponding signs of the zodiac.

The landscape spaces in the background of each image contain scenes from the realm of human experience, including figures enacting seasonal activities, many derived from the medieval Labors of the Months, famously portrayed in the Limbourg brothers' spectacular illuminations for the *Trés Riches Heures* of Duke Jean de Berry (ca. 1416) and in numerous printed cycles in Germany and the Netherlands.⁶⁰² AP's background scenes also include representations of the four ages of man. According to the system developed during antiquity, the quadripartite division of the human lifecycle is compared to the annual progress of the seasons: Youth corresponds to Spring, Adolescence to Summer, Middle Age to Autumn, and Old Age to Winter.⁶⁰³

AP's woodcuts also contain depictions of the four temperaments, but rather than depicting characteristic behaviors as illustrations of psychological dispositions, as was common in representations of the temperaments, AP shows figures afflicted

⁶⁰² On the Labors of the Months, see Colum Hourihane ed., *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art* (State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007). The classic study on the subject is Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1938).

⁶⁰³ Sears, *The Ages of Man* (1986), 9.

with various diseases associated with an overabundance of a particular humor.⁶⁰⁴

Humoral imbalances could result from inherent disparities within individuals, but seasonal changes – precipitated by periodic fluctuations of the elements – also affected the humoral composition of the human body, leading to psychological disturbances as well as physical ailments like those portrayed in the series by AP.⁶⁰⁵ With large retinues and populated backgrounds, AP expands the triumphal theme established by Pencz and Solis and also provides a comprehensive demonstration of how seasonal changes influence human health and behavior.

AP's Triumph of Spring includes an entourage that emphasizes creativity and merrymaking. Along with Flora and Ver, the springtime procession comprises Mercury, the three Graces, Orpheus, Pan, and Liber Pater, the Roman god of wine, viticulture, and fertility.⁶⁰⁶ Cupid, Apollo, and the nine Muses – expanded from the four included by Pencz – follow behind the tiered chariot. The Hippocrene spring (labelled “Fons Caballinus”), a site sacred to the Muses, appears in the middle ground near the figures of Dionysius, Osiris, and Triptolemus.⁶⁰⁷ Banners show the zodiacal signs for Aries, Taurus, and Gemini. These cosmological representations of the spring months are reflected in the springtime activities portrayed in the blossoming background: tending the vineyards, plowing the fields, and lovemaking. Such pursuits show how the season enters the realm of human experience and behavior. They are bolstered by representations of Youth and Sanguinity, the latter

⁶⁰⁴ Meetz, “Tempora Triumphant” (2000), 177.

⁶⁰⁵ For a more complete discussion of the humoral system and its relation to seasonal fluctuations, see the sections on “Renaissance Cosmology” and the “Winds” in Chapter 2 above.

⁶⁰⁶ The cult of *Liber Pater* existed centuries before the worship of Dionysius/Bacchus on the Italian peninsula.

⁶⁰⁷ Osiris and Triptolemus as well as Pan appear in Solis’s depiction of *Summer* rather than *Spring*.

represented by figures afflicted with disorders caused by a superfluity of blood, including pleurisy, which often involved coughing blood, and hemophilia.⁶⁰⁸

The *Triumph of Summer*, which follows and supplants the portrayal of springtime, includes numerous figures from the version by Virgil Solis and Georg Pencz. The triumphal figures of Ceres and Aestas are preceded by Thirst and Heat and followed by Maturity, all personified qualities that originally appeared in the German engravings. AP also includes a depiction of Lassitude in the middle distance behind the main retinue, a feature shared with the earlier version and a detail that strengthens the association between the two series. The Netherlandish woodcuts expand on Solis's summer entourage, however, through the inclusion of Phoebus (Apollo in his capacity as the sun), Saturn, Labor, and Pilumnus, the Roman god who taught humanity how to grind grain. The zodiacal banners include the signs for Cancer, Leo, and Virgo, and the corresponding background scenes show sheep-shearing, corn harvesting, and hay reaping. Depictions of the choleric temperament – shown as fever and rabies – also appear in the agrarian landscape.⁶⁰⁹

The autumnal procession centers on Pomona and Autumnus, the only seasonal personification absent from Solis's engravings. Athena, Bacchus, and Silenus appear in both series, and they are joined in AP's woodcuts by Priapus, a minor Greek god of fertility known for his enormous, permanent erection (hidden behind another figure in AP's rendering). Personifications of Cornucopia and Abundance indicate the season's plentiful harvest, while Infirmity, Nausea, and Disease ('Morbus') identify the season as a time of illness. The banners showing

⁶⁰⁸ Meetz, "Tempora Triumphant" (2000), 224.

⁶⁰⁹ Meetz, "Tempora Triumphant" (2000), 224.

Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius – the signs corresponding to the months of September through November – complement the seasonal activities portrayed in the background: apple harvesting, grape picking and wine pressing, and chopping wood.

In the final image of the series, Janus and Hyems preside over *The Triumph of Winter*, which also incorporates Aeolus, keeper of the winds, and Gout ('Podagra') from the Solis-Pencz version. The winter procession, which moves through a barren landscape of leafless trees, is led by Aeolus along with Vulcan, who presided over metalworking, a craft practiced during the winter months when smiths were not needed for labor in the fields. The entourage also includes Anacharsis, a Scythian philosopher in ancient Athens whose association with winter likely derives from his northern origin, and a group of personifications: Sloth and Debauchery, Cold ('Frigus'), Fear ('Horror'), Darkness ('Tenebrae'), Gout, Poverty ('Paupertas'), and Disability ('Defectus'). This maligned group links the qualities of winter, the final season of the year, to the characteristics of old age, the final stage of human life. The zodiacal signs for Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces appear on the processional banners. In the background, figures engage in ice-skating, ice bowling, and ice fishing. Such activities illustrate the more positive aspects of the season, while the turbulent sea and foundering ships portrayed at the back left side of the woodcut represent the dangers. The woodcut also includes a depiction of phlegmatism, thought to be the cause of cough and stroke.⁶¹⁰

⁶¹⁰ Meetz, "Tempora Triumphant" (2000), 224.

The inclusion of multiple, corresponding categories in AP's version of *The Triumph of the Seasons* resulted in a more extensive and systematic portrayal of the theme derived from the earlier German engravings by Virgil Solis. The portrayal of seasonal processions, comprised of classical deities, personified abstractions, and zodiacal triads, illustrates the cosmological and mythological aspects of the four seasons, while background spaces showing seasonal activities demonstrate their experiential qualities. The addition of the four ages of man and the four humoral temperaments – tetradic classifications linked to the seasons through the qualitative and numerological association of macrocosm and microcosm – links the human life cycle to the oscillations of nature. Within such a system, the triumphal depiction of the seasons suggests not only the cyclical progression of time, but also each season's dominion over the lives of individual and communities.

Similar themes and categories reappear in a processional series of the *Four Seasons and Four Elements*, designed by Anthonis Wierix II sometime before 1604, nearly seventy years after the woodcuts of Monogrammist AP (**Figures 3.62-3.65**).⁶¹¹ Published in Antwerp by Eduard van Hoeswinkel, the engravings depict personifications of the Elements and Seasons riding in triumphal wagons driven by embodiments of the winds and pulled by animals suited to the particular elements. Mythological vignettes associated with the triumphal elements appear in the background of each engraving. Whereas AP demonstrated the human impact of the seasons, Wierix emphasizes the cosmological fluctuations that give rise to elemental shifts and seasonal changes.

⁶¹¹ Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 108-110, cat. nrs. 25.1-25. 4.

In the first image, the bare-breasted, winged figure of Air appears atop an eagle with clouds streaming from her head and birds perched on her outstretched hands. She sits behind the garlanded figure of Spring, who holds a cornucopia and a laurel branch. Together they occupy a wagon driven by Zephyr – a personification of the West Wind – and pulled by a pair of enormous eagles. At Zephyr's feet, a seated satyr blows a soap bubble, a common symbol of ephemerality in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century representations of the *Vanitas* theme, but here also a visible sign of exhalation and a container of air. Three shields with zodiacal signs corresponding to spring – Aries, Taurus, and Gemini – adorn the wheels and side of the wagon.

The depiction of Earth and Summer follows a similar pattern, with the two personifications occupying a wagon driven by the East Wind. Wearing a turreted crown, *Earth* carries a spade and points to a sphinx at her side, while the languid figure of Summer leans against Earth's legs with a sheaf of wheat in her arm and fruit in her lap. The winged personification of the East Wind guides a pair of oxen, animals associated with the Earth through their tireless plowing. Cancer, Leo, and Virgo – the signs aligned with the Summer months – ornament the wagon.

Fire and Autumn ride in a wagon driven by the South Wind and pulled by a pair of fiery salamanders, animals thought to be impervious to heat. Shown with torches in her hands and with her head ablaze, Fire rests on the back of Cerberus, the three-headed, canine guardian of the underworld. Autumn sits at the center of the wagon holding a cornucopia in her lap. Below, miniature satyrs crouch beside

shields depicting the signs for Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius. The youthful figure of the South Wind rests his foot on a torch-bearing figurehead.

The final image in the cycle portrays Water and Winter in a boat with a prow shaped like a large aquatic bird. The bare-breasted personification of the element occupies the stern, where she sits on the back of a dolphin. She appears with a billowing cloak and a string of pearls around her neck, and she carries a trident and an urn, from which water flows. In front of her, the two-faced figure of Janus serves as the embodiment of Winter. With one face symbolically facing the past and one looking toward the future, Janus represents the transition from the old year to the new that occurs during the winter months. The crowned figure holds a key and a two-pronged fork, or bident, an implement typically associated with Hades. At the front of the boat, the North Wind – the only one of the four winds to appear without wings – drives a team of four horses with webbed feet and fishtails. Plaques with signs of the zodiac corresponding to winter – Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces – adorn the boat at various points.

In presenting several personifications together in each image, the Wierix cycle demonstrates some of the many interconnections that existed between cosmological concepts. In addition to their symbolic correspondence, based largely on a numerological correlation, the four elements, four seasons, and four cardinal winds were also united physically through the movement of the winds (Discussed at length in Chapter 2 above).⁶¹² Associated with the four cardinal axes, the winds were “guarantor[s] of cosmic order,” but their constant motion also served as a

⁶¹² Obrist, “Wind Diagrams” (1997), 65.

source for change at both the macrocosmic and microcosmic levels.⁶¹³ According to Aristotle's *Physics*, motion, including the movement of the winds, was essential to processes of "becoming and perishing" that led to the cyclical renewal of nature.⁶¹⁴ The winds were responsible for initiating shifts in the combination of the four basic qualities: hot-moist, hot-dry, cold-moist, and cold-dry.⁶¹⁵ With each of the seasons and elements linked to a particular quality, the periodic alterations caused by the winds resulted in seasonal changes as well as variations in elemental and humoral predominance that affected terrestrial events and human constitution.⁶¹⁶ Anthonis Wierix II offered apt depictions of such transformations by showing the four winds at the reins of vehicles carrying embodiments of the elements and seasons.

Mythological vignettes in the background of each image augment the portrayal of the dominant element and contribute to the portrayal of fluctuation and conversion. In Wierix's depiction of Air-Spring, for example, Daedalus and his son, Icarus, appear in the upper left corner as they attempt their aerial escape from Crete on wings made from feathers held together by wax (*Metamorphoses*, VIII: 183–235). Disobeying his father's command, Icarus flies to such a height that the heat of the sun melts his wings, causing Icarus to plunge into the sea and drown. Wierix's engraving shows Icarus falling headlong through the air as Daedalus flies helplessly nearby. In the depiction of Summer-Earth, a sarcophagus and four anthropomorphic trees occupy an outcropping to the left. The grouping represents the conclusion of

⁶¹³ Obrist, "Wind Diagrams" (1997), 38.

⁶¹⁴ Aristotle, *Physics*, Book VIII, parts 1 and 4. Translated by R. P. Hardie and R. K. Gaye. Also see Cohen (2000), 307-308.

⁶¹⁵ Cohen (2000), 307-308.

⁶¹⁶ Obrist, "Wind Diagrams" (1997), 65.

the story of Phaeton, son of Helios, the Sun god (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II: 333-366). After receiving permission from his father to drive the chariot of the sun, Phaeton lost control and plummeted to earth, scorching the plains of Africa before Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt to prevent the complete destruction of the earth. Phaeton's four sisters, known as the Heliades, or the daughters of the sun, mourned his death and refused to leave his side, eventually transforming into poplar trees. The inscription that appears at the bottom of the engraving notes that "All things that have their beginning in the Earth, so to the Earth they shall return after death," an apposite sentiment for Phaeton's fatal plunge and for Wierix's portrayal of the element of Earth.

In the middle distance of the depiction of Autumn-Fire, Aeneas can be seen carrying his father, Anchises, on his shoulders, while his son, Ascanius walks nearby. The figures flee from the burning city of Troy, which appears in the background. The scene demonstrates destructive power of fire but also the possibility of phoenix-like renewal that it can initiate. Behind the foreground group of Winter-Water, an estuary stretches into the background, where a woman on the shore converses with a merman in the water. The scene likely represents the encounter between Glaucus and Scylla, in which the sea-god declares his love for the beautiful Nereid, only to be rebuffed (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIII: 900-967).⁶¹⁷ The enchantress Circe, at Glaucus's request, punishes Scylla by transforming her into a hideous monster.

Despite their relatively small scale, these scenes enhance the theme of cyclical deterioration and renewal, which emerges from the grouping of the

⁶¹⁷ Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (1997), 110.

elements, seasons, and winds. Selected for their elemental associations, the events shown in the background of each image also revolve around issues of metamorphosis and change, often concerning a shift from one element to another. The *Fall of Icarus*, for example, which appears in the engraving for *Air*, depicts the moment when earthbound Icarus plummets through the air and into the water as a result of the burning heat of the sun. He is drawn to earth like all men and cannot survive in water. Phaeton, likewise, falls from the sky, scorching the earth with the fiery solar chariot belonging to his father, Helios. Like the stories of Icarus and Phaeton, the depiction of Aeneas involves the destructive power of fire. The burning of Troy, however, initiates a process of renewal and regeneration, leading eventually to the foundation of Rome. Finally Glaucus and Scylla, included in the depiction of *Water*, were both originally terrestrial beings transformed into creatures of the sea. Like the mourning Heliades, Glaucus and Scylla exemplify the myriad metamorphoses of gods and mortals that occurred in mythological times. Along with numerous hybrid and chimerical creatures portrayed in the prints by Wierix – including a sphinx, a gryphon, and several satyrs – such figures demonstrate the multiplicity of nature as well as the continual process of “becoming and perishing” observed by Aristotle. The emphasis on variability and metamorphosis – rather than elemental stability – is aptly portrayed in the movement and unceasing progression of the symbolic procession depicted by Anthonis Wierix II.

Children of the Planets

The effects of the seasons on human constitution and behavior demonstrate the correspondences between macrocosmic shifts and the terrestrial existence of

humanity. In addition to depictions of *The Triumph of the Seasons*, such influences were portrayed in series of the *Children of the Planets*, described at length in the previous chapter. As discussed above, the dominance of a particular planet determined the appearance and disposition of those under its sway. Planetary authority was rendered in serial imagery showing deities on clouds above their progeny, often in chariots pulled by symbolic animals. The inclusion of planetary chariots – initiated by Baccio Baldini in Florence in the middle of the fifteenth century and continued in the German woodcuts designed by Georg Pencz (1531) – reappeared in most Netherlandish depictions of the *Children of the Planets*, including the series by Harmen Jansz. Muller after Maerten van Heemskerck (1568) and in two series by Marten de Vos (1585; and undated).⁶¹⁸ Placed above the clouds against striated backgrounds intended to represent celestial orbits, the chariots in the Netherlandish versions illustrate planetary movement akin to the mythological chariot of the sun, piloted by Phoebus Apollo as it traverses the daytime sky.

In relation to the print series discussed in this chapter, however, the use of chariots as presentational devices for planetary deities can also be construed within a triumphal context. The *Children of the Planets* provides a visual representation of the dominant position of the celestial spheres in the lives of men. Although each of the planetary deities reigns concurrently over his or her own constituency, the movement of the spheres also leads to a cyclical ascendancy marked by periods of

⁶¹⁸ One notable exception is Hendrick Goltzius's series of the *Children of the Planets* (1596) with planetary deities depicted as statues in civic spaces. Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf*, 88-91, 18.1-18.7; Veldman, "Goltzius' Zintuigen" (1991-1992), 324-326.

heightened influence.⁶¹⁹ This recurring sequence resembles the successive dominion of multiple triumphal figures according to the model established in Petrarch's *Trionfi* and repeated in the allegorical processions they inspired. The Netherlandish versions of the *Children of the Planets* show the dominance of the planetary deities, established primarily through their elevated position in relation to their human offspring, further accentuated by the triumphal connotations of the chariots in which they ride.

Inclusion of the planetary deities in actual processions supports such a reading of their triumphal qualities. The Florentine Carnival celebrations of 1490, for example, featured floats portraying the "Seven Triumphs of the Seven Planets," commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici, who also composed a poem for the occasion, *Canzona de' sette pianeti*, describing the role of the planets in determining human character.⁶²⁰ In 1566 Cosimo I de' Medici – with assistance from Vasari and Vincenzo Borghini, a philologist at the Medici court – organized a procession of mythological gods in honor of the marriage of Francesco I de' Medici in Florence. The spectacle included 21 chariots, each bearing a mythological god, including the seven planetary deities. According to a contemporary account:

[The object] was to represent the genealogy of the principal Gods of the Gentiles, and to show them in their chariots, as the ancients did for their

⁶¹⁹ Although some planetary influences seem more beneficial than others, there is no clear hierarchy in the *Children of the Planets*.

⁶²⁰ Philine Helas and Gerhard Wolf, "The Shadow of the Wolf: The Survival of an Ancient God in the Frescoes of the Strozzi Chapel (S. Maria Novella, Florence), or Filippino Lippi's Reflection on Image, Idol, and Art," in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach eds. (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), 146; Godwin, *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance* (2002), 185.

greater majesty; and thus also to show the rapid course of the heavenly bodies, and the variations of the elements of which those are the cause...⁶²¹

As the author notes, the inclusion of chariots as presentational devices confers dignity on the gods while representing the celestial movements that lead to shifts in the elements and, thus, the seasons. Coincidentally, the quotation appeared in a description of the event penned by Baccio Baldini (no relation to the graphic artist who created the first series of *Children of the Planets*) to portray planetary deities in chariots. Baldini's engravings, published in Florence more than a century earlier, were themselves inspired by the city's culture of festive pageantry and appreciation of triumphal themes. The reuse of the planetary motifs in sixteenth-century Florentine urban ceremonial demonstrates the mutual influence that existed between imagery, particularly graphic imagery, and processional spectacle.

The processional aspects of celestial movements can also be seen in a pair of engravings by Hieronymus Wierix after Maarten van Cleve, portraying *Day* and *Night*, a condensation of the traditional four Times of Day (**Figures 3.66 and 3.67**).⁶²² Clearly inspired by Netherlandish depictions of the Children of the Planets, the pendants show celestial and terrestrial spaces divided by horizontal bands of cloud. In the depiction of Day ("Dies"), the personification of Time – shown with wings, hourglass, and scythe – rides through the heavens in a chariot with Aurora, who disperses seeds from a sack hanging around her neck. Two horses, one white and the other dark, pull the chariot upward toward the sun in the upper left corner.

⁶²¹ Baccio Baldini (no relation to the artist), *La Mascherata della genealogia degl'iddei* (Florence, 1565) and reprinted (New York: Garland, 1976), 5-6. Translation by Godwin, *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance* (2002), 198.

⁶²² Hollstein (Wierix Family), Part 9, nrs. 1980-1981; Williams and Jacquot, "Ommegangs Anversois" (1960), 374-377.

In the space below, farmers plow the fields and tend to their livestock, demonstrating the productive labor advocated in the Latin, French, and Dutch inscriptions at the bottom of the page.

In the representation of *Night* (“Nox”), Time sleeps as the dark figure of Nox lights a torch at the front of a chariot travelling through the starry sky toward the moon. Nox holds a cloak above her head like the figure of Diana/Luna in de Vos’s series of the *Times of Day* (see page X). An owl perches beside Nox, and bats fly alongside as the chariot travels down a sloping cloud toward the earth below, where sleeping figures and amorous couples recline against haystacks.

The activities depicted in the earthly zone show the passage of time, both the daily cycle of night and day and the changing seasons, represented through the shift from sowing and plowing that occurs in the daytime image and the reaping that occurs at night. The simultaneous portrayal of the celestial and terrestrial zones allows for a comparison of the time of Nature and the time of humanity. The former is cyclical while the latter is sequential; while Nature is eternal, human life is impermanent. Despite the potential for destruction, however, the personification of Time, who appears in both of the pendant images, is relatively benign in comparison to other depictions of the temporality of human existence.

The Triumph of Time

The personification of Time reappears frequently in Netherlandish triumphal allegories. As the penultimate *triumphator* in Petrarch’s series, Time lays waste to human desires and endeavors, demonstrating the true vanity of earthly

accomplishment. Time appears in Wierix's *Day and Night*, at the outset of Heemskerck's *Vicissitudes of Human Affairs*, and in his series of *Trionfi*. In each instance, Time is shown with an hourglass on his head and holding a scythe, an attribute derived from the mythological figure of Saturn-Kronos, indicating the destructiveness of time. He also carries a whip for spurring a pair of winged horses representing Day and Night. The introductory print from Heemskerck's *Vicissitudes* series – derived from the 1561 Circumcision *ommegang* – shows Time as the central figure in a depiction of *The Triumph of the World*. According to the Latin inscription below:

Time, the charioteer of the World, tirelessly whips on the winged horses of Night and Day in a cycle. With him he carries the sisters Fire, Air, Earth, and Water and the brothers South, North, East, and West Winds, equal in number. How swiftly do immutable laws on earth engender the rotary motion, which reveals everything in turn.⁶²³

Natural cycles – day and night, the four seasons – run parallel to the ephemeral sequence of human life, revealing the brevity of mortality.

Several other works present similar motifs, placing the ephemeral time of human life against the cyclical renewal of Nature as a demonstration of the vanity of human endeavor. Many of the same features reappear in an engraving of the *Triumph of Time*, likely based on a drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and published by Philips Galle I in 1574, several years after Bruegel's death (**Figure 3.68**).⁶²⁴ At the center of the image, the personification of *Time* sits on an hourglass

⁶²³ Quoted and translated in Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), 136-7.

⁶²⁴ Larry Silver, "Ungrateful Dead: Bruegel's *Triumph of Death* Re-examined," in *Excavating the Medieval Image: Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences*, David S. Areford and Nina A. Rowe eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 265-79; Van Bastelaer (1992), no. 204. The similarities between Heemskerck's *Triumph of the World* and Bruegel's *Triumph of Time* were first noted by Williams and Jacquot, "Ommegangs Anversois" (1960), 367.

atop a humble cart. Portrayed with wild hair and tattered clothes, *Time* lifts a circle in his left hand as he consumes an infant. This Saturnine depiction of *Time* demonstrates the medieval identification of Greek Chronos (*Time*) and Roman Kronos (*Saturn*), an association that imbued time with a particularly destructive valence.⁶²⁵ Beside the personified figure is a sphere ringed with symbols of the zodiac and topped with a tree bearing a clock and scales, both symbols of measure. *Time's* cart is pulled by a pair of lean draft horses representing *Day* and *Night*, as indicated by the sun and moon affixed to their harnesses. Behind, the skeletal figure of *Death* rides on a decrepit mount, while winged *Fame* blows her trumpet from her perch on the back of an enormous elephant, an animal that appeared frequently in Roman triumphal entries.⁶²⁶ Musical instruments, weapons, and tools, including a painter's palette and brush, litter the ground, soon to be crushed by the gruesome procession along with symbols of rank and power, including a crown, a helmet, and a cleric's hat. According to the short text at the bottom of the image, *TEMPUS OMNIA ET SINGULA CONSUMENS* ('Time consumes each and every thing'). A longer inscription below indicates:

The horses of Sun and Moon draw Time, which, borne by the Four Seasons in their annual voyage through the twelve constellations of the Zodiac, brings forth all things. All that Time cannot grasp is left for Death. Immortal Fame astride an elephant follows in their wake, filling the world with her clarion call.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁵ Erwin Panofsky, "Father Time," in *Studies in Iconology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 69-93. More recently, S. Cohen has challenged Panofsky's claims regarding the consistency with which Petrarch's illustrators employed the Kronos-Saturn. See Cohen, "The Early Renaissance Personification of Time" (2000).

⁶²⁶ On the use of elephants in the triumphal imagery of antiquity and during the Renaissance, See Margaret Ann Zaho, *Imago Triumphalus: The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 79-82.

⁶²⁷ *Solis equus, Luneoque, mucetum quattuor Horis./ Signa per extent duodena volubis Anni./ Propriunt Tempus: curru quod proepete secum/ Cuncta rapit: comiti Morti non rapta relinquens/ Pone subit, cunctis rebus Fama una superstes,/ Goetulo bove vecta, implens clangoribus orbem.* Translated in

As the procession moves through the landscape from left to right, it leaves a path of destruction, creating a marked contrast between the two sides of the image. On the left, the foliage is withered and a city burns in the distance, while on the right, the engraving shows a bucolic scene of village life. A peaceful group dances around a maypole set before a church, and an amorous couple walk arm-in-arm down the lane toward *Time* and his retinue, oblivious to the destruction that awaits them.

The same three Petrarchan figures – *Time*, *Death*, and *Fame* – also appear in an engraving of the *Triumph of Death*, which is part of a pendant set that also includes the *Triumph of Life* (**Figure 3.69-3.70**).⁶²⁸ Dated 1568 and signed with the monogram MC, these rarely mentioned engravings show the triumphant figures enthroned atop wagons as their supporters process before them. The bearded figure of *Life* (*Vita*) sits on an overturned jug with a stalk of wheat in his hand as a symbol of fertility. *Temperance* and *Good Administration*, who represent the wisdom and measure necessary for achieving a long and fulfilling existence, drive *Vita's* chariot, which is flanked by personifications of *Food* and *Clothing*, the two most basic needs of life described by Epicurus. The retinue also includes Ceres, the goddess of Summer, and Bacchus, wine god of Autumn. The former carries a sheaf of wheat, while the latter holds a vessel of wine and grape leaves, attributes that suggest the

Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings, and Prints* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2007), no. 175.

⁶²⁸ The engravings were attributed to Michiel Coxcie by G.K. Nadler, *Die Monogrammisten*, 5 vols (Munich: 1858), IV.1698. More recent scholars, however, have omitted the prints from Coxcie's oeuvre. See Koenraad Jonckheere ed., *Michiel Coxcie, 1499–1592, and the Giants of His Age*, trans. Michael Hoyle and Imogen Forster, Exh. cat. (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller in association with Brepols, 2013).

fecundity of their respective seasons. Ahead, *Joy (Lustitia)* plays a lyre for the merry group, as a pair of lovers embrace on the ground beside the marchers.

The happy scene accompanying the chariot of *Life* contrasts sharply with the depiction of *Death* and his grim entourage. Depicted as a skeletal figure, *Death* appears on a throne surmounted by a skull. He carries a bow and arrow as well as a scythe, emphasizing his destructive power. As in Heemskerck's *Triumph of the World* from his series of the *Vicissitudes*, *Time* serves as the charioteer. Wearing an hourglass and a clock on his head, the winged figure brandishes a whip as he drives a pair of horses identified as *Night* and *Day*. Corpses litter the ground beneath the wheels of *Death's* chariot, while at the front of the procession *Old Age* and *Debility* lead a wretched group that includes *War*, *Pestilence*, *Senility*, and *Fever*. Even *Fame's* hovering presence at the rear of the parade offers no solace for the dead and dying. Like Bruegel, the artist (MC) presents multiple Petrarchan figures in a single image. Rather than attempting to supplant one another, *Time*, *Fame*, and *Death* collaborate, to the detriment of humanity. The fertility and renewal represented in the *Triumph of Life* gives way to a barren landscape filled with death and suffering, a demonstration of the ephemerality of human existence.

The same themes reappear once again in a series depicting *Ages of Man*, *Times of Day*, and *Seasons (Figures 3.71-3.75)*.⁶²⁹ Attributed to Hieronymus Wierix, the series displays an iconography similar to carts included in the 1562 *ommegang*. The first chariot, labeled *Dawn*, carries *Peace*, *Innocence*, and *Chastity*, with a number of babies representing childhood. New leaves sprout around the terrestrial

⁶²⁹ Macquoy-Hendricx, *Les estampes des Wierix* (nos. 1550-1554)

sphere above the personified figures. Several children play alongside the chariot, while another receives milk from one of *Nature's* many teats along with numerous animals. Nearby, *Joy* plays music and *Security* lifts her cup. At the head of the procession, a child carries a banner with the symbols for Ares, Taurus, and Gemini, which correspond to the months of spring.

The following scene shows the chariot of *Midday* carrying *Youth* along with *Virtue*, *Folly*, and *Cupid*. The arched branches on the chariot are in full bloom, while the terrestrial sphere tilts to the right. Riding on the horses are *Ambition* with book and caduceus, *Art* with a compass and sphere, and *Rashness* with a mandolin and tambourine. The youths, whose nascent morality forces a choice between *Virtue* and *Folly*, mirror the actions of the various personifications. The boy beside the chariot, for example, holds a tambourine above his head in imitation of *Rashness*, while one of the boys on the chariot measures a sphere with his compass like *Art*. The group is led by a boy whose banner includes *Cancer*, *Leo*, and *Virgo*, the months of summer.

The third chariot, *Evening*, shows a pair of elderly men with personifications of *Discord*, *Avarice*, and *Sickness*, while *Fraud*, *Care*, and *Mourning* ride in front. Youthful virtue and pleasure have been replaced by vice and decrepitude. The discarded objects of earlier years – including tools and musical instruments – will soon be crushed beneath the wheels of the chariot. A blackbird sits on a branch of the barren tree, while the world tilts to the left. A cripple clutches the seasonal banner, which shows *Libra*, *Scorpio*, and *Sagittarius*, the months of autumn.

The fourth chariot, which represents *Night*, carries the three Fates as they cut the thread of life. *Death* and *Time* ride on oxen, destroying all in their path. Two

figures in mourners' hoods (*Pleurants*) flank the chariot, as a wizened man marches in front with the banner of winter. At the back of the cortege, *Fame* sits on the terrestrial sphere and blows her trumpet, immune to the onslaught of *Death* and *Time*, just as she is in Bruegel's depiction of the *Triumph of Time*.

The final image shows a scene of the *Last Judgment*, albeit in an atypical format. To the left, *Hope*, *Faith*, *Charity*, and *Grace* guide a figure labeled *Homo* toward the Holy Trinity, who are perched on a rainbow with their feet resting on the terrestrial sphere. The prostrate figures on the right represent *Cupid*, *Fame*, *Time*, and *Death*, who have been vanquished by the Trinity and the promise of eternal rewards in heaven. The group of vanquished foes resembles the list of defeated characters from the *Trionfi*; only *Chastity* is missing. The allusion, which would have appealed to the series' erudite audience, also demonstrates the indebtedness of so much triumphal imagery to Petrarch's seminal poem. The *Trionfi*, like so many subsequent processional series, ends in eternity. In linking the *Ages of Man* to the *Four Times of Day* and *Four Seasons*, the creator of the original *ommegang* program paired the linear time of human life with the cyclical time of Nature.

With their linkage of multiple wagons or chariots, processional print series display a temporal progression and panoramic unfolding analogous to the development of an actual procession as it moves through the spaces of a city. The formal correspondences between graphic series and ceremonial culture were recognized by artists, who exploited the medium to capture the content of contemporary processions. Viewers, familiar with the format and values embedded

in frequent and pervasive civic ceremonies, could appreciate the preservation and elaboration of such experiences through printed images. Presented as continuous friezes or collected into albums where the turning of pages entailed a process of sequential development, processional print series allowed for personal inspection, interaction, and reflection.

The temporality embedded in the format and display of processional print series is often reflected in their content. The examples described above demonstrate that many allegorical processions represent a search for ultimate values that cannot be undercut. The protracted unfolding of a procession mirrors the relentless progression of time, while the triumphal aspect demonstrates the combative relation between opposing forces and the emergence of a victor. Organizing processions into sequences allows for the representation of a hierarchy of values, where each ascendant quality is vanquished by the next until the final, definitive state is reached. Like Petrarch's *Trionfi*, numerous processional series conclude with a depiction of the *Last Judgment*, a representation of the end of temporal existence and the infinite power of divinity. For those who believe in Christ, God is always at the end of the sequence, triumphing over all.

Chapter 4

Set in Stone: Personified Figures in Niches

In 1562 Frans Floris, Antwerp's leading Italianate painter, moved into a newly constructed house on the Arenbergstraat in the southern part of the city.⁶³⁰ Designed by the artist's brother, Cornelis Floris, the magnificent house included a row of monochrome paintings along the upper story of the long façade. Despite the destruction of the house in the early nineteenth century, the content of the paintings is preserved in brief descriptions and in a pair of visual sources, including a drawing by Jan van der Croes depicting the façade as it appeared in the late seventeenth century (**Figure 4.1**).⁶³¹

The drawing shows a figural composition positioned over the door and seven personified figures set within fictive niches to either side. A series of eight engravings by the Monogrammist TG, published in 1576, reproduce the individual

⁶³⁰ For bibliography on Floris's house and the monochrome paintings on the façade, see Carl van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Leven En Werken*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1975), pp. 34-38 and 307-310; Carl van de Velde, "The Painted Decoration of Floris's House," in *Netherlandish Mannerism (Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, September 21-22, 1984)*, edited by Gorel Cavalli-Bjorkman (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1985), 127-34; Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 16-17 and 31-39; Catherine King, "Artes Liberales and the Mural Decoration on the House of Frans Floris, Antwerp, C. 1565," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52, no. 2 (1989), 239-56; Catherine King, "Artists' Houses: Mass-Advertising Artistic Status and Theory in Antwerp C. 1565," in *Théorie Des Arts Et Création Artistique Dans L'europe Du Nord Du Xvie Au Début Du Xviie Siècle*, edited by Michèle-Caroline Heck, Frédérique Lemerle and Yves Pauwels (Lille: L'Université Charles-de-Gaulle, 2002), 173-89; Ilja M. Veldman, "Kunsten en wetenschappen als het meest zinvolle van het menselijk bestaan." In *Florissant. Bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden (15de-17de Eeuw). Liber Amicorum Carl van de Velde*, edited by Arnout Balis, Paul Huvenne, Christine van Mulders and Jeanine Lambrecht (Brussels: VUB, 2005), 135-47.

⁶³¹ Van der Croes's drawing is dated 1696. Van de Velde, "The Painted Decoration of Floris's House" (1985), 129.

segments of the painted program (**Figures 4.2-4.9**).⁶³² Despite several discrepancies between van der Croes's drawing and TG's engravings, particularly in the gendering of the personifications and the placement of their attributes, the two sources, along with written descriptions, provide ample information concerning the appearance of Floris's façade as it existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Van der Croes's drawing suggests that the large painting over the door was rendered illusionistically to look like a framed panel attached to the outer wall of the house.⁶³³ Four female figures dominate the scene, including two women in laurel wreaths sitting at an easel to the left of the picture and a third carving a small statue on a table to the right. A fourth figure sits atop a sphere with an enormous compass in her hands and a tower-crown on her head. Behind the principal figures stand six older men, including one engaged in mathematical calculations to the far right.⁶³⁴ Some of the other men instruct two cherubic children in sculpting and drawing.⁶³⁵ Deities emerge from clouds above, with a male figure on the left aiming seven arrows at his female counterpart to the right.

⁶³² Carl van de Velde originally identified the content of the engraved series as the façade of Floris's house. See Van de Velde, "The Painted Decoration of Floris's House" (1985), 129.

⁶³³ The illusionistic frame around the central painting was particularly important for maintaining architectural decorum. Serlio, for example, influenced by Vitruvius, warned against violating the structural aspect of a wall when painting a façade: "If a façade is to be painted, openings that simulate the air are inappropriate, as are landscapes. Both undermine the building. They change it, transforming a firm, corporeal edifice into something transparent and insubstantial." Sebastio Serlio, *Tutte le opere d'architettura et propettiva* (Venice, 1619), bk. 4, fol. 191v. Translated in Norbert Huse, and Wolfgang Wolters *The Art of Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, 1460-1590* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 35-36.

⁶³⁴ Edward H. Wouk, "'Uno stupore ed una maraviglia:' The Prints of Frans Floris de Vriendt (1519/20-70)," in *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700 (Frans Floris)*, edited by Ger Luijten, xxxiii-civ (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, Netherlands: Sound and Vision, 2011), lxxiv.

⁶³⁵ Wouk, "'Uno stupore ed una maraviglia'" (2011), lxxiv.

The identity of the figures and the significance of the over-door scene have been the subject of scholarly debate. TG's engraving of the figural composition, a reverse of the original, includes the inscription, "*Humana societati necessaria*," or "Necessities for human society," suggesting that the image serves, generally, as a means of promoting the value of the visual arts. Several decades after the completion of the façade, Karel van Mander described the scene as "*Pictura* accompanied by the Liberal Arts," but such an attribution seems unlikely. Even when one includes the figures in niches flanking the composition, representatives for the various Liberal Arts are lacking, while many of the other figures remain unexplained.

Carl Van de Velde has suggested that the three primary figures should be interpreted as *Pictura*, *Sculptura*, and *Architectura*.⁶³⁶ The painter at her easel and her counterpart with the chisel can almost certainly be identified as personifications of *Pictura* and *Sculptura*, respectively, but the identity of the figure on the sphere is more problematic, particularly since *Architectura* appears already as a niche statue alongside the painting.⁶³⁷ The figure with the compass and tower crown more likely represents *Geometria*, the intellectual domain underpinning the practice of the visual arts.⁶³⁸ More recently, Larry Silver has argued for a broader interpretation of the figure as *Theoria*, the embodiment of theoretical knowledge, which Silver

⁶³⁶ Van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570)* (1975), 309-310.

⁶³⁷ Wouk describes the various attributions of the central figure. See Wouk, "Uno stupore ed una meraviglia" (2011), lxxiv.

⁶³⁸ This interpretation was originally advanced by Jochen Becker, "Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lucas de Heere," *Simiolus* 6 (1972-3), 125-7, and repeated in subsequent literature, including Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp* (1987), 38; and Nina Serebrennikov, "'Dwelck den Mensche, aldermeest tot Consten verweect.' The Artist's Perspective," in *Rhetoric – Rhétoriquers – Rederijkers*, edited by Jelle Koopmans, Mark A. Meadow, Kees Meerhoff and Marijke Spies (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1995), 244.

describes as “necessary learning for true practice of the visual arts.”⁶³⁹ The arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture are united in their dependence on such knowledge, elevating them above the status of mere craft and promoting their practitioners as more than just artisans.

The contention that the painting presents the unification of the arts under theoretical knowledge is bolstered by the sculptural figures in the niches to either side of the panel. Painted in an ochre monochrome to look like bronze statues, the seven male and female personifications in niches were identified by inscriptions above each figure in Latin, the language of erudite humanists who constituted Floris’s primary audience.⁶⁴⁰ From right to left, they represented *Industria*, *Experientia*, *Labor*, *Architectura*, *Poesis*, *Usus*, and *Diligentia*.

As a group, these figures correspond to the skills and qualities possessed by the ideal artist.⁶⁴¹ The selection of Industry, Experience, Hard Work, Practice, and Diligence as necessary qualities for artistic success suggests the high valuation of practical skill and technical achievement, while Poetry and Architecture, the liberal disciplines most closely allied to the visual arts of painting and sculpture, represent the elevated knowledge necessary for learned artists. Together, the figures propose that success arises from the fruitful combination of theoretical understanding,

⁶³⁹ Larry Silver, “Goltzius, Honor, and Gold,” in *Habitus. Norm und Transgression in Bild und Text*, edited by Tobias Frese and Annette Hoffmann (Berlin: Akademie, 2011), 319.

⁶⁴⁰ In the engravings by TG, the inscriptions appear below the figures as short epigraphs rather than simple, identifying labels.

⁶⁴¹ This interpretation was originally advanced by Paperbrochius in the late seventeenth century. See van de de Velde, “The Painted Decoration of Floris’s House” (1985), 128; Wouk, “‘Uno stupore ed una maraviglia’” (2011), lxxii.

practical training, and hard work.⁶⁴² In the TG engraving, the inscription under *Usus* reads “*Non cedit Arti Usus,*” or “Practice yields nothing to Theory.”⁶⁴³ Floris’s façade served as a painted argument for the promotion of the unified visual arts as intellectually and technically demanding professions worthy of liberal arts status.

Similar claims regarding the valuation of artistic skill and achievement were frequently advanced, beginning in the fifteenth century.⁶⁴⁴ In Italy, theorists like Alberti, Lorenzo Valla, Marsilio Ficino, and others argued that, properly applied, the visual arts – particularly painting, sculpture, and architecture – required judgment, discernment, measurement, and other forms of knowledge typically associated with the liberal rather than the mechanical arts. The status of the arts and of artists was also a subject of debate in the Netherlands, particularly after the middle of the sixteenth century, when practitioners of various professions challenged the categories traditionally recognized through the guild system.⁶⁴⁵

The triad of painting, sculpture, and architecture were united as the arts of *disegno*, which comprised the core curriculum of the burgeoning academic curriculum in Italy. The association with architecture, privileged among the arts

⁶⁴² On the relationship of theory and practice in the writings of Rudolph Agricola and his particular valuation of practice as a corrective to theory, see Peter Mack, “Theory and Practice in Rudolph Agricola,” in *Rhetoric – Rhétoriques – Rederijkers*, edited by Jelle Koopmans, Mark A. Meadow, Kees Meerhoff and Marijke Spies (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1995), 39-52.

⁶⁴³ Silver, “Goltzius, Honor, and Gold” (2011), 320.

⁶⁴⁴ For the classic studies on Italian art theory in the Renaissance in support of the liberal status of painting, see Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940); Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts: Collected Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). For more recent literature, see Carl Goldstein, *Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

⁶⁴⁵ On artists’ concern with the relationship between painting and the liberal arts in Antwerp, see Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp* (1987). Filipczak’s account notes that Floris’s façade was used in the proceedings of a court case in Antwerp in support of the sculptors’ claim that they should belong to the Painters’ Guild rather than the Masons’ Guild (p. 16).

according to Vasari, likewise helped to advance the liberal arts status of painting, as both pursuits involve mathematics, particularly geometry.⁶⁴⁶ Portrayed with a set-square, plumb-line, compass, and hammer, Floris's *Architectura* emphasizes the role of measurement. Vasari indicated the utility and necessity of architecture, and Alberti notes its role in the beautification of urban spaces.⁶⁴⁷ The inscription beneath the personification of Architecture read, "*Architectura urbium ornamentum*" ("Architecture is the ornament of cities").

The inclusion on Floris's façade of Poetry, considered since antiquity to be the sister art of painting, also helped to advance the notion of art as a scholarly pursuit worthy of liberal arts status.⁶⁴⁸ The idea that painting constitutes a mute poetry and poetry represents speaking painting was an oft-repeated claim derived from a pronouncement in Plutarch's *De Gloria Atheniesium* (III.346) and further popularized, during the Renaissance, through Horace's well-known dictum, *ut pictura poesis*.⁶⁴⁹ TG's engraving of Floris's Poetry shows Poetry with a book and scroll and includes the inscription, "Let the worthy man be prevented from dying by the praise of the Muse," suggesting Poetry's ability to perpetuate the fame of virtuous men, here, presumably, referring to the artist himself.⁶⁵⁰ As Floris's

⁶⁴⁶ On the link between the three "sister arts" of *disegno* in Italian art theory and the place of architecture in that cluster, see David Cast, "On the Unity/Disunity of the Arts: Vasari (and Others) on Architecture," in *Rethinking the High Renaissance: The Culture of the Visual Arts in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome*, edited by Jill Burke (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2012), 129-46.

⁶⁴⁷ As David Cast notes, Vasari decried German architecture as a "malediction of niches." See Cast, "On the Unity/Disunity of the Arts" (2012), 136.

⁶⁴⁸ Rudolf Wittkower notes that following the death of Michelangelo in 1564, the artist's catafalque at San Lorenzo was graced with allegories of Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, and Poetry. Wittkower (1964), 148-51.

⁶⁴⁹ For the classic study, see Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: Norton, 1967).

⁶⁵⁰ "*Dignum laude virum musae vetat mori.*" Translated in King, "Artists' Houses" (2002), 187.

inclusion of Poetry and Architecture demonstrates, arguments for the liberal arts status of the visual arts revolved around their relation to similar endeavors and the extensive knowledge demonstrated by artists in their assimilation of those fields.

The use of fictive niches for the personified figures facilitated the depiction of simulated sculptures on the flat wall of the façade and augmented the alliance of artistic disciplines. The painted simulation of bronze figures linked the arts of painting and sculpture, while the placement of the statues within illusionistic niches established a similar association with architecture. Floris's use of *trompe l'oeil* paintings of fictive statues in niches demonstrated the fundamental compatibility of the various arts, while asserting the primacy of painting in that *paragone*.⁶⁵¹ On Floris's façade, sculpture and architecture are subsumed by painting, which could capture the three-dimensional effects of the other visual arts through the skillful application of relief. Floris deployed *trompe l'oeil* effects with conspicuous virtuosity, with each of the niche figures depicted as if emerging past the frontal planes of their alcoves and into the space of the viewer.

The façade of Leone Lioni house may have served as a model for Floris. See Kelley di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2011).

⁶⁵¹ There is extensive literature on the *paragone* of the arts, the longstanding Renaissance debate concerning the superiority of one medium over the others. Significant studies include Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1951), 496-527 and 13 (1952), 17-46; David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 203-33; and Claire Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone: A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas* (Leiden: Brill, 1992). For the shape of the debate in the Netherlands, see Rudolph Preimesberger, "On Jan van Eyck's Diptych in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection," in *Paragons and Paragone: Van Eyck, Raphael, Michelangelo, Caravaggio, Bernini* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 23-52; Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp* (1987); Hessel Miedema, "'Ut Pictura Poesis' bij Karel van Mander: Ein relatie op theoretisch niveau?" in *Dans der muzen: de relatie tussen de kunsten gethemitiseerd*, edited by A.C.G. Fleurkens, L.G. Korpel, and K. Meerhoff (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), 73-9.

As an advertisement of the artist's skill and as an argument for the elevated status of painting and the allied arts of *disegno*, the deceptive rendering of the three-dimensional figures offered a remarkable and memorable viewing experience.⁶⁵² The learned content and expert skill displayed on Floris's façade attested to the artist's virtuosity and demonstrated his possession of the artistic virtues personified by the sculptural figures in the niches. The success of Floris's self-styling is evident in a description of the artist by Ludovico Guicciardini, an Italian visitor to Antwerp. In his *Descrittione*, first published in 1567, Guicciardini included a discussion of the art of Antwerp in which he praised Floris:

Frans Floris [is] an outstanding painter in his art, who is not rivaled in the regions behind the mountains, because he is an exceptional master and moreover a quiet and courteous man by nature: this is illustrated by the fact that he brought from Italy the art of painting muscles and bodies well and wonderful.⁶⁵³

In his tribute, Guicciardini draws an association between Floris's character and his artistry.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵² On façade painting as self-promotion, especially in Antwerp during the mid-sixteenth century, see King, "Artists' Houses" (2002), 173-189. Caecilie Weissert has argued that Floris's contemporaries, including Cornelis van Ghistele, posited that deceptive, *trompe l'oeil* painting served as an argument for the liberal arts status of the medium: "Only painting can mislead the viewer in relation to its artistic nature, is capable of creating an illusion which the viewer perceives as real. Also, only painting can unmask this illusion as such in the next moment. It was not its affinity to rhetoric and poetics alone, but rather its capacity for visual deception that was the reason why painting was no longer to be considered one of the simple crafts but was to be raised to the rank of an *ars liberalis*. The ancient Greek topos of the living picture and the *trompe l'oeil* mark a central aspect of the mid-century conception of painting which manifests itself particularly prominently in Antwerp." Caecilie Weissert, "The Annexation of the Antique: The Topic of the Living Picture in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp," in *Classicising the Popular, Popularising the Classic (1540-1580)*, edited by Bart Ramakers, (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 56.

⁶⁵³ Ludovico Guicciardini, *Beschryvinghe* (1567), p. 80b. Quoted and translated in Annette de Vries, "Reformulating St. Luke: Frans Floris on Art and Diligence," in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicizing the Popular, Popularizing the Classic (1540-1580)*, edited by Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 44 and 45 n. 43.

⁶⁵⁴ Writing several decades after Guicciardini and after Floris's death in 1570, Karel van Mander acclaimed Floris as the "honor of our land." He noted, however, that the artist's propensity for drink, even when in the presence of elevated company, demonstrated a lack of diligence that ultimately prevented Floris from realizing his full potential as an artist. Karel van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck*

In connecting personal character to professional production, Guicciardini engaged a recurring topos in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writings about art.⁶⁵⁵

In the third book of *De pictura* (1435), Alberti argued that

The function of the painter is to draw with lines and paint in colors on a surface any given bodies in such a way that, at a fixed distance and with a certain determined position...what you see represented appears to be relief and just like those bodies. The aim of the painter is to obtain praise, favor and good will for his work, much more than riches. The painter will achieve this if his painting holds and charms the eyes and minds of spectators. ... But in order that he may attain all these things, I would have the painter first of all be a good man, well versed in the liberal arts. ... For this reason it behooves the artist to be particularly attentive to his morals.⁶⁵⁶

Alberti's advice for artists resonates with the program of Floris's painted façade. Not only are the figures rendered skillfully, to appear as if in relief when seen from the street below, but the bodies themselves also represent the very qualities Alberti advocates for the praiseworthy artist: one who is as skilled as he is well-mannered and as learned as he is virtuous.⁶⁵⁷ The qualities embodied by the exemplary figures painted by Floris ultimately redounded to the artist, who positioned himself as an

(Haarlem, 1604), 289r ff. For Alberti, *Diligentia* – one of the qualities personified on Floris's façade – represented a particularly crucial virtue for the artist: “all who wish their works to be pleasing and acceptable to posterity, should first think well about what they are going to do, and then carry it out with great diligence. Indeed diligence is no less welcome than native talent in many things.” Leone Battista Alberti, *On Painting (1435)*, edited by Martin Kemp, translated by Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin, 1991), 94, paragraph 61.

⁶⁵⁵ On the association of virtue and virtuosity, which appears in the writings of Alberti, Leonardo, Dürer, Lomazzo, and a multitude of other theorists in Italy and in Northern Europe, see Martin Kemp, “Virtuous Artists and Virtuous Art: Alberti and Leonardo on Decorum in Life and Art,” in *Decorum in Renaissance Narrative Art*, edited by Francis Ames Lewis and Anka Bednarek (London: Department of History of Art, Birkbeck College, University of London, 1992), 15-23. On virtue/virtuosity in Netherlandish art, see the essays collected in Jan de Jong, Dulcia Meijers, Mariët Westermann, and Joanna Woodall, eds, *Virtue, Virtuoso, Virtuosity in Netherlandish Art, 1500-1700, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 54* (2003). In particular, see the useful introduction by Joanna Woodall, “In Pursuit of Virtue,” pp. 7-24.

⁶⁵⁶ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting (1435)*, edited by Martin Kemp, translated by Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin, 1991), 87-8, paragraph 52.

⁶⁵⁷ Joanna Woodall has argued that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, “Elite artists and viewers used their expertise in making and appreciating works of art to lay claim to elevated social, intellectual and spiritual status within expanding economies of virtue.” Woodall, “In Pursuit of Virtue” (2003), 21.

exemplum virtutis, the epitome of the erudite painter and a model for other artists to emulate.

The reproductive engravings made by the Monogrammist TG further expanded the potential audience for Floris's self-referential designs, helping to disseminate the artist's *ingegno* and extend his fame through time and space. The engravings present Floris's façade as a deconstructed series of images that could serve as exemplary designs, either individually or as a group. The figure-niche units provided ready-made models that could be inserted into an actual building, like Floris's façade, or used as the basis of an imaginary edifice constructed in the mind. The engravings mediate between physical and mental spaces, transforming Floris's inventions into a source of rhetorical *inventio* for the viewer.

Like TG's prints after Floris's paintings, the depiction of sculptural figures in niches occurred in numerous engraved series produced in the Netherlands during the second half of the sixteenth century. Multiple artists selected the figure-niche format for depictions of series of elevated subjects: personified virtues and vices, mythological figures, sibyls, and exemplary men and women from history. This presentational mode was particularly popular with Marten de Vos and Hendrick Goltzius, who both used the arrangement for several series. Formally, niches help affirm the three-dimensionality of their contents by providing "dilated stereometrized frames," to quote a term used by Victor Stoichita, meaning that only

items possessing volume can fill the recessed space of an empty niche.⁶⁵⁸ The frequent depiction of cast shadows within fictive niches further emphasized the materiality of the figures in the depth of their spaces. By employing niches as presentational devices, graphic artists effectively transformed their figures into architectural sculptures.

By adopting the language of classicizing sculpture, artists attempted to invoke the cultural status associated with antiquity as a means of imbuing their figures with both a material substance and a dignified significance appropriate to the elevated subject matter. During the sixteenth century, the excavation of ancient statues offered images of leaders, gods, and heroes, while also providing models for artistic imitation.⁶⁵⁹ The idealized beauty of ancient sculptures served as an apposite means of representing abstract and mythological figures, whose elevated status could be communicated through the culturally prestigious style of antiquity.

The placement of figures in niches aligns such imagery with systems of rhetorical “place,” both the mnemonic *loci* of memory systems and contemporary practices concerning rhetorical commonplaces. By giving figures a “place,” niches provided a site for the storage and arrangement of information, particularly of sets. In addition, the visual effect of sculpture, particularly through its virtuoso rendering in another medium, provided the kind of figural imagery that was easiest to

⁶⁵⁸ Stoichita discusses still lifes primarily but notes the importance of simulating recessed penetration behind the plane of a painted picture surface. Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, translated by Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 32.

⁶⁵⁹ On the historical, figurative, and formal significance of the Renaissance rediscovery of ancient statuary, see Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

remember, an especially important consideration in the encyclopedic production of serial imagery that functioned, comprehensively, as a mnemonic system.

In portraying figures as sculptures in architectural niches, the engraved series produced by Netherlandish artists offered units of knowledge that could be assembled into larger structures. In addition to supplying images that could be used to populate memory palaces, such engravings provided a ready supply of figure-niche units for insertion into actual buildings, including tomb monuments, ecclesiastical structures, the ephemeral architecture of ceremonial spectacle, or even domestic façades, as Floris demonstrated. Engraved series depicting figures in niches were inspired by such structures and provided ready-made figure-niche motifs for insertion into future designs. Series of engravings, which could be collected in large numbers, supplied the constituent elements for real and imagined edifices, mediating between the visible and invisible, material and immaterial, external and internal. In their capacity as rhetorical receptacles for information, moralizing personifications in niches served as visual models for artistic emulation and personal conduct.

Rhetorical *Loci*:

The structuring of persuasive argument according to spatial logic was an important part of rhetorical theory, where the notion of “places” (*topoi* in Greek and *loci* in Latin) existed in two different yet interrelated forms: mnemonic *loci* and

commonplaces, or topics of invention.⁶⁶⁰ These places were sites for the storage of various kinds of information, which was collected and arranged for easy retrieval. Mnemonic *loci* were imagined places containing mental pictures intended to facilitate the ordered recollection of an oration, while commonplaces (*loci communes*) were topically ordered rhetorical sites for quotations or examples that formed the basis of future arguments. The depiction of figures in niches participates in aspects of both forms of rhetorical places.

Frequently described by authors during the sixteenth century, the art of memory was initiated during antiquity and continued in various forms throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance.⁶⁶¹ During later centuries, knowledge of the system was based almost entirely on three Roman texts: Cicero's *De oratore*, the *Ad Herennium* by an unknown author – long thought to have been written by Cicero as well – and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.⁶⁶² Cicero describes the art of memory in the following terms:

Persons desiring to train this faculty (of memory) must select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store those images in the places, so that the order of the places will preserve the order of the things, and the images of the things will denote the things themselves.⁶⁶³

At its most basic level, the art of memory involves the pairing of images and places (*imagines* and *loci*) in an ordered arrangement. In moving from place to place within this mental structure, one can view the images stored in each location, triggering

⁶⁶⁰ For a useful introduction to rhetoric as it existed in the Renaissance, see Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380-1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁶⁶¹ The classic studies on the art of memory are Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966) and Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁶⁶² Yates, *Art of Memory* (1966), 2.

⁶⁶³ Cicero, *De oratore*, II, lxxxvi, 351-4. Quoted in Yates, *Art of Memory* (1966), 2.

memories represented by each of the pictures. This mnemonic system preserves the content (*inventio*) as well as the order (*dispositio*) of an oration or body of knowledge.

As Cicero's description indicates, the art of memory relies on mental spaces for recollection. In a majority of examples, architectural settings offered models for the selection of *loci* and the ordered spaces in which they were organized. According to the author of the *Ad Herennium*,

Artificial memory depends on places and images. What we call places (*loci*) [should be] such as may easily be grasped and embraced by the natural memory: for example a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch, or the like.⁶⁶⁴

These noetic *loci* represent familiar architectural places that lend themselves to repetition or seriation, providing numerous sites for the placement of imaginary pictures, which could then be retrieved sequentially according to the path one selected in moving through the mental space.

The ancient authors also supplied rules for the formation of mnemonic images to be placed in the *loci*. The author of the *Ad Herennium* observes that

Ordinary things easily slip from the memory while the striking and the novel stay longer in the mind. ... We ought, then, to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in memory. And we shall do this if we establish similitudes as striking as possible; if we set up images that are not many or vague but active (*imagines agentes*); if we assign to them exceptional beauty or singular ugliness; if we ornament some of them, as with crowns or purple cloaks, so the similitude may be more distinct to us.⁶⁶⁵

To function as effective mnemonic instruments, images must depart from the ordinary appearances of everyday life. The author of the *Ad Herennium* includes

⁶⁶⁴ *Ad Herennium*, III. xvi. 29. Translated in Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 8.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ad Herennium*, III, xxii. Quoted in Yates, *Art of Memory* (1966), 10.

“exceptional beauty” as a potential means of creating “striking,” and therefore memorable, imagery. In his discussion of mnemonic imagery, Cicero indicates that

The most complete pictures are formed in our minds of the things that have been conveyed to them and imprinted on them by the senses, but that the keenest of all our senses is the sense of sight, and that consequently perceptions received by the ears or by reflexion can by most easily retained if they are conveyed to our minds by the mediation of the eyes.⁶⁶⁶

Cicero seems to suggest that the most effective mnemonic images are those perceived by the sense of sight rather than those simply created in the mind. As Yates notes, the “inner techniques” described by the classical sources seem to rely on outward “visual impressions” for their stock of imagery.

Series of engravings depicting figures in niches could provide a stock of images ready for insertion into memory structures. The depiction of idealized, sculptural bodies provided the kind of salient imagery that was easiest to remember, and the placement of figures in niches provided them with a place (*locus*), offering ready-made units for arrangement in a mnemonic edifice. As St. Augustine claims in his *Confessions*, “It is clear that [abstract notions] do not have access to memory: it is only their images that are seized with marvelous speed and put away in niches no less marvelous, and in a way just as wonderful are made newly present in the act of recollection.”⁶⁶⁷ By placing images of abstract notions in niches, Netherlandish artists created visual renderings that could be absorbed through the sense of sight and stored in the mind’s imaginary spaces for later recollection.

⁶⁶⁶ Cicero, *De oratore*, II, lxxxvii, 357.

⁶⁶⁷ Augustine, *Confessions*, 10.9.16. Quoted in Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, translated by Jeremy Parzen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 239.

As sites for the storage and retrieval of widely accepted ideas, figures in niches might also be considered as a form of rhetorical commonplace. Commonplaces, also called topics of invention, are places for finding persuasive arguments, providing orators a stock of familiar material that could be used in a variety of contexts.⁶⁶⁸ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the use of commonplaces offered a system for organizing information gleaned from the reading of Classical literature.⁶⁶⁹ Examples, passages, events, and figures representing accepted truths were organized according to standardized topical headings, allowing for easy storage and retrieval.⁶⁷⁰ The collected material supplied authoritative illustrations for commonly held beliefs and social standards, providing orators with ready-made sources of invention.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, humanists developed note-taking techniques that relied on a system of commonplaces for organization.⁶⁷¹ While Petrarch and others culled useful information from ancient literature, the methodical organization of those extracted fragments was codified and disseminated by northern European humanists, such as Rudolph Agricola and Desiderius Erasmus. Agricola suggested placing authoritative passages and other examples under various headings, which he called *capita*, a process developed from medieval *florilegia* used by preachers for the construction of sermons.⁶⁷² As

⁶⁶⁸ Zachary Schiffman, *The Birth of the Past* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 201), 173.

⁶⁶⁹ Schiffman, *The Birth of the Past* (2011), 173.

⁶⁷⁰ Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 66.

⁶⁷¹ Comprehensive studies of commonplace books and systems of notetaking include Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books* (1996) and F. Goyet, *Le Sublime du 'lieu commun': l'invention rhétorique dans L'Antiquité et à la Renaissance* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996).

⁶⁷² Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 86.

examples, Agricola listed topics representing oppositional pairs: “virtue, vice, life, death, wisdom, ignorance, sympathy, aversion and suchlike concepts.”⁶⁷³ The topical headings provided “places,” both on the page and in the mind, where an orator could find support for an argument.⁶⁷⁴

Agricola’s recommendations were expanded and popularized by Erasmus, whose *De copia*, first published in 1512, encourages students to keep a *liber locorum rerum* (“book of the places of things”).⁶⁷⁵ By ordering knowledge according to standardized, thematic headings, humanist notebooks facilitated the retrieval of illustrative examples and commonplace arguments from ancient literature. Similar categories could be applied to other material, including collections of proverbs and aphorisms. The notebook system was employed in schools throughout northern Europe during much of the sixteenth century, ensuring a widespread familiarity with the method amongst the educated classes in the Netherlands.⁶⁷⁶ As Mark Meadow has argued,

The notebook system was widely implemented throughout northern Europe, and provided not merely a convenient method for assembling illustrative materials, but also served as the basis for a specific habit of mind that perceived of the world in associative ways inculcated by the notebook’s structure. Thus, we should expect to find traces of the system at many different levels of cultural production.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷³ Agricola (1528), Alardus Edition (reprinted 1978), 192-201. Quoted in Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 87.

⁶⁷⁴ Ann Blair discusses the invention of printing press as a cause for an overabundance of new information needing organization in the early modern period and various methods devised to allow for easy reference and retrieval. See Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know. Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)

⁶⁷⁵ Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 84; Schiffman, *The Birth of the Past* (2011), 176.

⁶⁷⁶ Ann Moss, “Emblems and Commonplaces: The Anthologies of Josephus Langius,” in *Mundus Emblematicus: Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, edited by Karl A.E. Enenkel and Arnoud S.Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 2; Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 20.

⁶⁷⁷ Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 74.

The inculcation of a particular habit of learning amongst a segment of the population led to a shared structuring of thought, through which particular examples were placed under categorical headings. In addition, this broad fluency with commonplace books and the notebook system established a “collective memory” for the cultural elite that allowed for the recognition of shared references.⁶⁷⁸

Commonplace books aspired to universal knowledge, but in practice much of the information contained in such collections pertained to ethics. “Virtue” and “Vice” were recommended as primary headings (*capita*) in Agricola’s elaboration of the notebook system, and Erasmus urged his readers to keep a *liber locorum rerum* (“book of the places of things”) divided into three groups of *loci*, with the first comprised of paired virtues and vices.⁶⁷⁹ That section, according to Erasmus, should “consist partly of the main types and subdivisions of vice and virtue, partly of the things of most prominence in human affairs, which frequently occur when we have a case to put forward.”⁶⁸⁰ Such recommendations indicate the moral emphasis of the material collected in such notebooks, which was intended to provide support for a variety of arguments.

⁶⁷⁸ Ann Moss argues that the educated elite admired recognizable imitation and were bonded together through a shared knowledge of common texts. I would argue that the same is also true of visual references familiar to an erudite audience of connoisseurs. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books* (2003), 3.

⁶⁷⁹ Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 84; Schiffman, *The Birth of the Past* (2011), 176.

⁶⁸⁰ For Agricola, see Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 87; Desiderius Erasmus, ‘Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style’ [*De duplici copia verbore ac rerum commentarii duo*], ed. Craig R. Thompson, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 86 vols. (Toronto, 1978), vol. XXIV. 636. On the preponderance of ethical material in Erasmus’s commonplace system, see also Lyndan Warner, *The Idea of Man and Woman in Renaissance France: Print, Rhetoric, and Law* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2011), 14.

The ethical thrust of the commonplace books and the notebook system led to a particularly moralizing form of knowledge and rhetoric. Ann Moss has suggested that confessional differences existed in the commonplace headings selected by Protestants and Catholics.⁶⁸¹ While the former preferred the Ten Commandments as organizing categories, the latter often favored the moral qualities enumerated by Thomas Aquinas. Both, however, were particularly fond of the seven canonical virtues and seven deadly sins as classifications. This preference, I will argue later, helps establish a link between the commonplace system and the numerous Netherlandish print series showing personified virtues and vices in niches. Like notebook compilations of illustrative material, depictions of Virtues and Vices in niches represent rhetorical *loci* for use in mnemonic structures or as sources of argumentative invention.

Rhetorical *loci* existed in the mind and, with the advent of the humanist notebook, on the page as well. Increasingly, however, Renaissance thinkers began to locate such places within the world itself. As Mark Meadow contends,

The abstract 'places' of classical rhetoric, were taken increasingly literally in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the eventual result that these 'locations' for rhetorical arguments and tropes could be perceived as existing within the physical world.⁶⁸²

⁶⁸¹ Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books* (2003), 2. On confessional variations in moralizing print series, see Veronika Thum, *Die Zehn Gebote für die ungelehrten Leut': der Dekalog in der Graphik des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006), 134-45. Thum's discussion of printed versions of the Decalogue includes Netherlandish print series, although not in the statue/niche format currently under discussion here.

⁶⁸² Meadow, "Aertsen's Christ" (1995), 178.

Mnemonic loci and *loci communes*, both pervasive mental systems during the Renaissance, escaped the mind and entered into the world of experience, where actual places could be used for the storage and retrieval of knowledge.⁶⁸³

Such thinking can be seen, for example, in a short treatise on the art of rhetoric by Francesco Sansovino, son of the Venetian architect and sculptor, Jacopo Sansovino.⁶⁸⁴ In his discussion of the Venetian Loggetta designed by his celebrated father in 1537, Francesco notes the significance of the four bronze statues in niches that decorate the structure (**Figures 4.10-4.12**). In addition to providing allegorical interpretations for the depictions of Apollo, Minerva, Mercury, and Peace, Francesco observes that the statues in their niches represent *imagines agentes* within mnemonic *loci*:

We can say that they are like the places of memory because, just as soon as a man lays his eyes on the image of Minerva, he understands through that sign all the things that according to the poets have been taken from her...The same happens when we see Apollo: we are immediately reminded what the ancients said of him; the same for Mercury and the others.⁶⁸⁵

The sculptural depictions of the Roman deities and the personification of Peace stimulate the memory for viewers familiar with the attributes of such figures, who

⁶⁸³ Like Meadow, Lina Bolzoni notes the multiple meanings of *locus* in the sixteenth century and the movement from mental to material places and back again. She remarks on “the growth of that network of superimpositions, of similarities between interior and external experience, between mental and material dimensions, between the invisible and visible.” This network creates “a series of mirroring relationships among material places, topical places (from which the *inventio* of the text is derived), and places of memory. The rhetorical need for an ordered *disposition* perfectly coincides with the mnemonic need for the construction of an ordered route of places.” Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory* (1995), 188-9.

⁶⁸⁴ Francesco Sansovino, *L'arte oratoria secondo I modi della lingua volgare* (Venice, 1546). For further discussion of the Loggetta, see Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory* (1995), 227ff.

⁶⁸⁵ From the 1561 edition of Francesco Sansovino's rhetoric treatise, which has a different title than the original 1546 publication: *In materia dell'arte libri tre ne' quali si contien l'ordine delle cose che si ricercano all'oratore* (Venice, 1561), 32. Quoted and translated in Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory* (1995), 232.

were described in mythological narratives as well as allegorical interpretations (a longer discussion of the portrayal of mythological deities in niches occurs below). Placed in niches within the larger structure of the Loggetta, these sculptural distillations of Classical literature occupy physical *loci*, serving as repositories of rhetorical argument. Francesco elucidates the persuasive topicality of his father's bronzes when he suggests that, in her present context, Minerva signifies the wisdom of the Venetian Senate or Mercurial eloquence that is particularly valued in free republics like Venice.⁶⁸⁶ According to Sansovino, such figures, placed within the structured order of an architectural framework, encapsulate memory, inspire invention, and provide flattering portrayals of the Venetian elite.

A similar actualization of the commonplace system can also be seen in the scheme devised by Samuel Quiccheberg for the arrangement of the Munich library and curiosity cabinet belonging to Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria. Quiccheberg, a doctor born in Antwerp in 1529, outlined a plan in a short treatise titled *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* [...] (*Inscriptions and Titles for the most splendid theater...* (Munich, 1565), where he describes the arrangement of an ideal collection of nearly universal scope.⁶⁸⁷ In the introductory text, he compares the

⁶⁸⁶ Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory* (1995), 227.

⁶⁸⁷ Samuel Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones; vel, tituli theatri amplissimi...* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1565), edited and translated by Mark Meadow and Bruce Robertson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013). On Quiccheberg's treatise, see Mark Meadow, "Introduction," in *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg's Inscriptiones, 1565* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), 1-41; Elizabeth M. Hajós, "The Concept of an Engraving Collection in the Year 1565: Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones Vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi*," *Art Bulletin* 40, no. 2 (1958): 151-56; Peter W. Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 4 (1994), 24-5. Also see Harriet Roth, ed., *Der Anfang der Museumslehre in Deutschland: das Traktat "Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi" von Samuel Quiccheberg* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000).

merits of collecting to the value of rhetoric, as both represent the quest for complete knowledge and inspire further inquiry and investigation:

It has been necessary here to describe everything in full...not because I think that the lifetime of any man is sufficient for collecting everything that could be broadly gathered into these classes but because I wanted, with this most complete and universal enumeration, to add these things to the considerations of men just as Cicero did with regard to the complete orator. Thus, on the basis of these classes, they might measure the magnitude of their knowledge of all things, and they might be stimulated to imagine and investigate other matters in turn.⁶⁸⁸

Quiccheberg applies such notions to the wise ruler, who must aspire to useful knowledge through his princely collection, which represents a microcosmic reflection of the macrocosmic universe.⁶⁸⁹

Within his broad program, printed images provide an instructive example of Quiccheberg's system. He gave prints a prominent place in his scheme, as the variety of imagery available in graphic media mirrored the larger collection in miniature. He suggests placing the engravings on three shelves, each with roughly ten topics that could be further subdivided as needed.⁶⁹⁰ The first shelf, for example, included "Bible; New Testament; Apostles and Evangelists; Saints, Studies in Theology; History of Christianity; Miracles; Warfare; Portraits; and Genealogy."⁶⁹¹ The second shelf was to hold everything from "Naturalia" to depictions of the "Spectacles and Triumphal Processions of Antiquity" to "Heraldry." Despite the somewhat heterogeneous character of the groupings, the attempt to find "places" for printed imagery in the scheme – both topical and actual – indicates that such imagery

⁶⁸⁸ Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones* (Munich, 1565), D2r. Translated in Meadow and Robertson, *The First Treatise on Museums* (2013), 73.

⁶⁸⁹ Meadow and Robertson, *The First Treatise on Museums* (2013), 14.

⁶⁹⁰ For a full list of topics, see Hajós, "The Concept of an Engraving Collection" (1958), 153.

⁶⁹¹ List according to Hajós, "The Concept of an Engraving Collection" (1958), 153.

participated in the quest for universal knowledge embraced by humanist collectors.⁶⁹² Within their thematic *loci*, prints served as sources of memory and inventive inspiration.

The numerous series of allegorical subjects and personified figures produced in the Netherlands during the second half of the sixteenth century offer further examples of the same organizational principle, with specific concepts categorized according to broader topics and classifications. The Netherlandish print publishing houses played a pivotal role in the rise of print collecting during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁹³ Such firms not only inspired the accumulation of printed images, but they also influenced the way in which imagery was understood and organized by collectors. Unlike works in other media, such as painting or sculpture, relatively inexpensive graphic images could be acquired in large numbers requiring organization. By producing prints in series, often accompanied by texts in Latin, publishers facilitated the topical arrangement of printed imagery by providing ready-made groupings, which were often assembled together in albums. Peter Parshall has shown how such practices managed to transform “the print into an important arena for humanist literary invention, such that putting together a print collection could be a useful exercise in moral rhetoric.”⁶⁹⁴ As potential sites of “literary invention,” print collections were closely aligned with commonplace

⁶⁹² It should be noted that most Roman libraries used niches for the storage of scrolls. In such instances, niches served as receptacles for the storage and retrieval of ordered information. For more information regarding the shape and measurements of such spaces, see Lora Lee Johnson’s unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, *The Hellenistic and Roman Library: Studies Pertaining to their Architectural Form* (Brown University, 1984).

⁶⁹³ On the history of collections and the role of prints, see Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge” (1994).

⁶⁹⁴ Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge” (1994), 13.

collections, which offered “places” for rhetorical *inventio*.⁶⁹⁵ Both forms of collecting, motivated by a similar desire for comprehensive knowledge, provided repositories for easy retrieval of information, arranged according to topical places.

The layout of commonplace compilations resembled the arrangement of large print collections assembled during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁹⁶ In addition to the ideal arrangement outline by Quiccheberg, the print collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol was also arranged according to a topical scheme, including two albums described as *Moralia*, containing theological and exemplary subjects.⁶⁹⁷ The prints assembled in these albums, which included series showing the Virtues and Vices, were concerned with proper conduct and morality.⁶⁹⁸ Like commonplace books, collections of images arranged under topical headings could emphasize the ethical dimension of experience by promoting social and moral norms.

The Virtues and Vices in Niches:

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Netherlandish artists produced an abundance of engraved series depicting personifications of virtues and vices in niches. The representation of moral qualities in human form – discussed at greater length in Chapter 1 above – had a particularly long history, stretching back to antiquity. The martial conflict between opposing ethical values described in

⁶⁹⁵ Peter Parshall argues that collections of prints were motivated by the same “quest for universal moral propositions represented in earlier collections of maxims such as Erasmus’s *Adagia*.” Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge” (1994), 14.

⁶⁹⁶ For a discussion of these organizational principles, see Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge” (1994).

⁶⁹⁷ Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge” (1994), 17.

⁶⁹⁸ Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge” (1994), 16.

Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, written in the late fourth or early fifth century C.E., further popularized the personification of the virtues and vices in both literature and visual art.⁶⁹⁹ In subsequent centuries such figures were portrayed singly or in groups in a variety of media, particularly manuscript illumination, sculpture, and tapestry.⁷⁰⁰

Most relevant to the series under discussion in this chapter is the portrayal of such figures as architectural sculptures, which occurred on the portals of French churches beginning in the thirteenth century. At Notre-Dame in Paris, for example, the central porch included a series of relief statues showing *Twelve Virtues and Vices*.⁷⁰¹ Lining the plinths of the jambs to the left and right, the *Virtues* sit on benches within tri-lobed arches flanked by columns, while the corresponding *Vices* appear below in tondos. Each of the *Virtues* holds a circular shield with a depiction of her/his representative attribute. The armor-clad figure of *Fortitude*, for example, displays a lion on his shield, while *Faith* has a cross on hers. In their tondos, the *Vices* can be identified through characteristic behaviors, as in the depiction of *Fear*, who drops his sword as he flees from a pack of lions. The Parisian sculptures influenced the portrayal of the *Virtues* and *Vices* at other sites, including the west porch of the Cathedral at Amiens (ca. 1230) and at the south porch of Chartres Cathedral (ca. 1240).⁷⁰² At all three sites, the statues appeared at the threshold

⁶⁹⁹ J. Bergman, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina* CSEL 41 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1926), 165ff.

⁷⁰⁰ For an exhaustive list of personified virtues and vices in medieval art, see Colum Hourihane, ed., *Virtues and Vices: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 2000).

⁷⁰¹ On the portrayal of personified virtues and vices as architectural sculpture in France, see Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices* (1939), esp. 75ff.

⁷⁰² For the influence of the Notre-Dame cycle on subsequent examples, see Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices* (1939), 82-84; Mâle, *Religious Art in France* (1986), 111.

delineating the worldly realm of everyday existence and the sacred space of the church, indicating the necessity of adopting virtue and spurning vice as a means of achieving eternal salvation.

Such examples may have inspired the opposed series of *Seven Virtues and Seven Vices* painted by Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua (ca. 1305), where the personified figures are rendered as fictive statues set within illusionistic niches (**Figures 4.13-4.26**).⁷⁰³ Commissioned by Enrico Scrovegni, allegedly in expiation for the sins of his father, the elaborately decorated walls of the chapel depict several narrative cycles with scenes from the *Life of the Virgin*, the *Life of Christ*, and the *Passion of Christ*. *The Last Judgment* occupies the wall above the entrance to the chapel, and *The Annunciation* appears over the chancel arch at the other end of the barrel-vaulted space. Beneath these biblical scenes, the *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices* run along the walls at the viewer's eye level. The Virtues, which are comprised of the three Theological Virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity) and the four Cardinal Virtues (Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance), appear along the left hand wall of the chapel as one enters the space. Rather than the *Seven Deadly Sins*, the seven Vices that appear along the right wall are the direct counterpart to the Virtues, creating pairs of opposed qualities facing one another: Hope and Despair, Charity and Envy, Faith and Idolatry, Justice and Injustice, Temperance and Anger, Fortitude and Inconstancy, Prudence and Folly. The spatial juxtaposition of

⁷⁰³ The literature on Giotto's Arena Chapel frescoes is extensive. See G. Basile, *The Arena Chapel Frescoes* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993); Sabine Blumenröder, "Andrea Mantegna's Grisaille Paintings: Colour Metamorphosis as a Metaphor for History," in *Symbols of Time in the History of Art*, edited by Christian Heck and Kristen Lippincott (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 41-55.

contrasting virtues and vices creates a *Psychomachia* within the space of the chapel. The viewer is caught between the two warring sides, as s/he walks down the central aisle toward the altar, a position indicative of the choice one must make regarding the virtuous or sinful path through life.

In contrast to the colorful narrative paintings portrayed throughout the Arena Chapel, the Virtues and Vices were rendered in grisaille with the occasional addition of other pigments. Portrayed within niches intended to look like white marble, the figures are presented as imitations of sculpture, an appropriate medium for the space of the dado, which often included stone reliefs, especially in northeast Italy.⁷⁰⁴ The personified Virtues and Vices appear in front of a fictive dado created by painted surfaces that resemble various forms of colored stone and marble, including their characteristic colors and grains.⁷⁰⁵ The nearly monochrome figures stand out against these colorful panels.

Rendered as statues in niches, Giotto's Virtues and Vices evoke the sculptures at Notre-Dame as well as the sculpted pulpits produced in Tuscany by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano.⁷⁰⁶ By painting the figures to look like statues, the artist established the supremacy of painting over sculpture, an early, visual example of the *paragone* that would occupy theorists in subsequent centuries.⁷⁰⁷ Giotto's figures in the Arena

⁷⁰⁴ John Osborne, "The Dado Programme in Giotto's Arena Chapel and Its Italian Romanesque Antecedents," *The Burlington Magazine* 145 (2003), 362.

⁷⁰⁵ The illusionistic effect was achieved through a technique known as *secco su fresco*, in which a painted surface is covered with an oily substance and then polished with a hot iron. Basile, *Giotto: The Arena Chapel Frescoes* (1993), 319.

⁷⁰⁶ The pulpit in the cathedral at Siena, in particular, includes the same seven virtues. In their attributes and presentation, the figures also resemble the virtues on Giovanni's pulpits at Pistoia and Pisa. Osborne, "The Dado Programme in Giotto's Arena Chapel" (2003), 362.

⁷⁰⁷ On the *paragone* in Giotto's *Virtues and Vices*, see Marco Collareta, "From Color to Black and White and Back Again: The Middle Ages and Early Modern Times," in *The Color of Life: Polychromy in*

Chapel, credited as the first important example of the grisaille technique in Italian painting, was roughly contemporaneous with Petrarch's claim for the superiority of contemporary painters to sculptors, one of the first, substantial examples of a *paragone*.⁷⁰⁸ Despite their resemblance to statues, many of the *Virtues and Vices* engage in actions or adopt poses not commensurate with sculpture.⁷⁰⁹ The off-balance posture and flying garments of *Inconstancy*, for example, or the seeming levitation of *Hope*, violate the physical limitations of sculptural figures. The movement and weightlessness of these figures defy their status as sculptures and suggest the advantages to painterly representation.

Giotto's virtuosic representations also engrain themselves onto the mind of the viewer, forming memorable images that could function as *imagines agentes*. In *The Art of Memory*, Frances Yates argues that the Arena Chapel *Virtues and Vices* represent a mnemonic system. In portraying striking and unusual figures in variegated settings (*loci*), Giotto was following the advice set out in numerous manuals of oratory, from Cicero and Quintilian to his own time in the early fourteenth century.⁷¹⁰ Figures like *Envy*, shown with a snake emerging from her mouth and biting her own eye, create a memorable impression. Georges Didi-Hubermann suggests that the fourteen *trompe l'oeil* figures, who appear near eye-level, possess a "pure visual intensity" that impresses the images into the mind of

Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present, edited by Roberta Panzanelli, Eike D. Schmidt, and Kenneth Lapatin (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 67.

⁷⁰⁸ Collareta, "From Color to Black and White and Back Again" (2008), 67.

⁷⁰⁹ Reinhard Steiner, "Paradoxien Der Nachahmung Bei Giotto: Die Grisailen Der Arenakapelle Zu Padua," in *Die Trauben Des Zeuxis: Formen Künstlerischer Wirklichkeitsaneignung*, edited by Hans Körner (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1990), 74-75.

⁷¹⁰ Yates, *Art of Memory* (1966), 93.

the viewer along with their location, thereby providing a mnemonic path to salvation.⁷¹¹

Giotto's use of grisaille for the portrayal of his *Virtues and Vices* had a formal parallel in the Netherlands, where the use of fictive niches as settings for sculptural figures occurred with regularity on the closed wings of altarpieces during the fifteenth century.⁷¹² The earliest examples occur in several works ascribed to Robert Campin (Master of Flémalle), including his "Throne of Mercy" representation of the *Holy Trinity* from around 1410 (**Figure 4.27**).⁷¹³ Following Campin, painted grisaille figures in niches reappeared in the works of fifteenth-century luminaries, such as Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, and Hans Memling, among others. This was particularly true after the middle of the fifteenth century, when the use of grisaille became a nearly ubiquitous feature of the exteriors of painted altarpieces in the Netherlands until the rise of polychromy around 1500.⁷¹⁴

The use of monochrome and the depiction of illusionistic niches emphasize the sculptural quality of the figures in those works. In Rogier's *Beaune Altarpiece*,

⁷¹¹ Georges Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 64.

⁷¹² On the use of grisaille for the outer wings of Netherlandish altarpieces, see Molly Teasdale-Smith, "The Use of Grisaille as Lenten Observance," *Marsyas* 8 (1959): 43-54; Paul Philippot, "Les Grisailles et les 'degrés de réalité' de l'image dans la peinture flamande des XVe Et XVIe siècles," *Bulletin musees royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique* 15 (1966): 225-42; Steiner, "Paradoxien der Nachahmung" (1990); Preimesberger, "On Jan van Eyck's Diptych" (2011); Marjolein Leesberg, "Karel van Mander as a Painter," *Simiolis: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22, no. 1/2 (1993-1994): 5-57; Charlotte Schoell-Glass, "En Grisaille – Painting Difference," in *Text and Visuality*, edited by Martin Heusser, Michèle NHannoosh, Leo Hoek, Charlotte Schoell-Glass and David Scott (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999), 197-204; Lynn Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2011), 66ff., 152ff., and 224ff.

⁷¹³ The panel, currently in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt, was likely part of a retable, where it would have appeared on the closed wings, visible to worshippers, except on feast days when the wings would have been opened. See Philippot, "Les Grisailles" (1966), 230. On Netherlandish altarpieces, see Lynn F. Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Alterpieces, 1380-1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁷¹⁴ See Jacobs, *Opening Doors* (2011), 120ff.

the inclusion of struts and the depiction of veining and chipping further reinforce the petrous appearance of the figures (**Figure 4.28**). In the absence of such identifying features, however, the stone-like figures cannot immediately be identified as statues, since contemporary sculpture was typically painted.⁷¹⁵ In several instances, painters juxtaposed grisaille figures with pedestals and niches that include colored stone, suggesting an intentional differentiation of material and the desire to portray sculpture.⁷¹⁶ In other examples, the illusionistic rendering of the figures is disrupted by details that violate the conventions of sculpture or the laws of physics, as in the hovering presence of the Dove of the Holy Spirit in the *Annunciation* scene portrayed on the outside of Hugo's *Portinari Altarpiece* (**Figure 4.29**). Manipulation of sculptural limitations served as to demonstrate painting's ability not only to replicate sculpture's effects, but even to surpass them. Like Giotto's *Virtues and Vices* in the Arena Chapel, Netherlandish grisaille panels provided a visual argument for the superiority of painting to sculpture.

By establishing a *paragone* comparison, the grisaille figures on fifteenth-century Netherlandish altarpieces created a heightened awareness of media and materials.⁷¹⁷ About van Eyck's grisaille panels, Preimesberger has argued that

Painting, which used its own means to create a deceptively real impression of the alien medium of three-dimensional sculpture—entered into competition and a mutually comparative relationship with the other genre [sculpture]; painting became conscious of its own, long-ago-formulated advantages, its means and limits, and proclaimed its greater worth.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁵ Teasdale-Smith, "The Use of Grisaille as Lenten Observance" (1959), 50.

⁷¹⁶ Preimesberger, "On Jan van Eyck's Diptych" (2011), 27.

⁷¹⁷ On grisaille as a demonstration of greater artistic self-consciousness, see Jacobs, *Opening Doors* (2011), 63.

⁷¹⁸ Preimesberger, "On Jan van Eyck's Diptych" (2011), 29.

The representation of one medium in another sharpens the understanding of both.

Bret Rothstein follows Preimesberger by suggesting that details like Hugo's

hovering dove

offer a succinct pictorial account of the contrast between painting and sculpture, with the salient characteristics of each medium seeming to be set off against the other. Grisaille emphasizes the materiality and physical presence of sculpture, while the delicacy and illusionism of painting capitalize on its ability to dematerialize the picture plane.⁷¹⁹

The transposition of one medium into the other increases tensions between sculptural and pictorial modes and draws attention to the act of representation itself.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, monochrome portrayals of sculptural figures took on added meaning. Not only did the use of grisaille continue to engage the *paragone* debate concerning the superiority of painting versus sculpture, as Floris's façade suggests, but by drawing attention to media and materials, painted depictions of statues were also implicated in the debate regarding images that followed the Netherlandish Iconoclasm of 1566, when church statues were pulled from niches and pedestals and destroyed in an effort to cleanse Netherlandish churches.⁷²⁰ In a depiction of the destruction wrought by the *Beeldenstorm*, an engraving by Frans Hogenberg shows iconoclasts attacking a church (**Figure 4.30**). The image portrays a group of men using ropes to pull down statues from columns, while others dismantle tombs and smash sculptures with hammers and clubs. Some even climb ladders to reach statues in niches along the

⁷¹⁹ Bret Louis Rothstein, *Sight and Spirituality in Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 146.

⁷²⁰ On the use of grisaille in the decades following the iconoclasm as a challenge to reformed views concerning ecclesiastical art, see Koenraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: Experiments in Decorum, 1566-1585* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), Chapter 6, pp. 198-226.

wall. As Hogenberg's engraving indicates, the iconoclasts directed much of their violence to statues, ironically elevating the importance of such objects through the vehemence of their response. Koenraad Jonckheere has recently argued that those two debates – *paragone* and post-iconoclastic – were intricately interwoven, particularly in Antwerp in the years between the Iconoclasm and 1585, when the city capitulated to the Catholic Spanish forces led by Alexander Farnese.

During those decades, choosing to paint *trompe l'oeil* statues in grisaille would have been interpreted as an allusion to the image controversy, which attached special significance to statuary and its potential for idolatry. When Marten de Vos created an altarpiece in 1574 for the chapel of the Furrier's Guild at the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp to replace a work destroyed in the iconoclasm, he painted the exterior with grisaille figures that resemble sculptures (**Figure 4.31**).⁷²¹ In depicting St. Martin (left) and St. Stephen (right) as grisaille sculptures, de Vos – himself a Lutheran who converted to Catholicism – presented a charged image that challenged the iconoclastic preoccupation with material as the container of meaning. The continued refurbishment of the Cathedral following the capitulation of Antwerp in 1585 included additional paintings with sculptural figures in grisaille. Ambrosius Francken's depiction of *Four Evangelists* on the exterior wings of his *St. Luke Triptych*, for example, and Jacob de Backer's *St. Christopher* and *St. John the Baptist* for the Epitaph of Christopher Plantin reaffirmed the use of images as

⁷²¹ Armin Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mann, 1980), 285-6.

devotional objects.⁷²² As Koenraad Jonckheere argues, “Experimenting with the decorum of grisaille, [painters] tested the possibilities of transcending the debate and confronting viewers with their own conscience.”⁷²³ The portrayal of sculptural figures in other media challenged the post-iconoclastic audience by heightening their awareness of materiality and the nature of representation. At the same time, such works raised the status of their makers by evoking the tradition of early Netherlandish painting and aligning the artists with their great, fifteenth-century predecessors.

The Virtues and Vices in Print:

Burgkmair

Around 1510 the German artist Hans Burgkmair produced woodcut series showing the *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices* as personifications in architectural frames (**Figures 4.32-4.45**).⁷²⁴ The artist placed the sculptural figures within arched spaces flanked by columns, and the Vices stand above decorated friezes, while the Virtues are surrounded on all four sides by foliate arabesques populated by hybrid creatures. The personified Virtues stand atop pedestals placed beneath arches, while the Vices appear within framed spaces between columns topped by an entablature. This difference in presentation distinguishes the Virtues as statues and

⁷²² For Francken, see Natasja Peeters, “A Corporate Image? Decoration for the Saint Luke’s Altarpiece for the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp (1589-1602),” in *Florissant: Bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiednis der Nederlanden (15de-17de eeuw), Liber Amicorum Carl van de Velde*, edited by Arnout Balis, Paul Huvenne, et al. (Brussels: VUB Press, 2005), 239-252. For De Backer, see Dirk de Vos, “Het ‘Laatse Oordeel’ door Jacob de Backer: een problem van oorspronkelijkheid,” *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schonekunsten van België* 22 (1973), 59-72.

⁷²³ Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm* (2012), 224.

⁷²⁴ A third series of the *Seven Planets* includes similar settings for the figures. All three series have been treated most fully in Ashley West, “Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473-1531) and the Visualization of Knowledge” (University of Pennsylvania, 2006), Chapter 2.

the Vices as paintings, suggesting a *paragone* of materials that elevates the Virtues in relation to their peers.

Within the ornate settings, the figures are presented in a manner that includes classicizing features interspersed with the local and contemporary. The costumes worn by the Virtues and Vices indicate an attempt to portray antique garments, although period details like Charity's ruffled sleeves, Prudence's bodice, and Justice's tights appear together with the cascading folds of classical drapery. A similar fusion occurs with the naming of the figures. The Vices are labeled with their vernacular, German names – *Die Hofart, Die Geitikait, Der Zorn*, etc. – and the personifications are gendered accordingly, so that Anger and Avarice are portrayed as men. The Virtues are labeled by their German names, but their Latin titles also appear on fictive placards below the figures. Nevertheless, Faith is portrayed as a female figure even though the quality is masculine German (*Der Glaub*).

Despite the absence of archeological accuracy, the figures and their settings were likely intended to evoke antiquity.⁷²⁵ Such imagery would have appealed to an audience of educated humanist collectors in Germany who appreciated didactic content presented in the prestigious style associated with the ancient past.⁷²⁶ Burgkmair's inclusion of grotesquerie, for example, along with the columns flanking the figures and the repetition of features like candelabra, were all part of the contemporary vocabulary of classical motifs.⁷²⁷ The architectural settings created a

⁷²⁵ Ashley West argues that Burgkmair's series were useful to artist's contemporaries by making "elements of antiquity available in a readily useable form." West, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder" (2006), 55.

⁷²⁶ On the audience for Burgkmair's prints, see West, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder" (2006), 56.

⁷²⁷ West, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder" (2006), 59.

uniform presentation across the series that allowed for multiple options for presenting the prints. The woodcuts could be enjoyed singly, collected in albums, or strung together to form longer friezes.⁷²⁸ The latter arrangement is encouraged, particularly in the series of *Seven Virtues*, through the bisection of the grotesque designs at the borders of each print, creating divisions that could be resolved by placing multiple images adjacent to one another. Burgkmair's series demonstrates an early, Northern European interest in moral personifications as subjects worthy of depiction in graphic media.

Among the earliest non-narrative graphic cycles produced in northern Europe, Burgkmair's woodcuts inspired numerous imitations. Ashley West notes that Burgkmair's series of the *Seven Planets* served as the basis for a series of prints produced in Antwerp ca. 1515 and may have copied for the painted façade for the Fugger residence on the Weinmarkt in Augsburg, while the artist's portrayal of the *Seven Virtues* was the source for the stained glass windows created for the Upper Castle of Füssen in 1520.⁷²⁹ For contemporary artists the woodcuts provided a useful source of visual information, with figures and motifs that could be adapted for a variety of contexts and settings.

In addition to these examples of wholesale adoption, Burgkmair's prints also influenced several series of woodcuts produced in the Netherlands in subsequent decades. Burgkmair clearly inspired the personified virtues and vices inserted into a series of the *Sibyls*, a composite work organized by the Amsterdam printer Doen

⁷²⁸ West, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder" (2006), 55-7. On the origins of multipart print-series that could be joined together to form larger images, see Larry Silver, "Paper Pageants" (1990).

⁷²⁹ West, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder" (2006), 70.

Pietersz. around 1530 (**Figures 4.46-4.59**).⁷³⁰ Using an elaborate, architectonic structure like Burgkmair's settings for his series of *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices*, Pietersz. created a framework for a complicated pictorial program featuring images of the twelve Sibyls plus female personifications of the Old Testament Law and *Ecclesia* in arched frames. Above these figures appear devotional images and scenes from the life of Christ prophesied by the Sibyls. Running along the central axis of each print, smaller figures of the personified Virtues and Vices occupy spaces between the other images. For the project Pietersz. solicited contributions from Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, who created the narrative scenes, and Lucas van Leyden, who portrayed the Sibyls.⁷³¹

The personified Virtues and Vices, also attributed to Lucas van Leyden, resemble those created by Burgkmair roughly fifteen years earlier.⁷³² Even though the latter are full-length while the former are only half-length, Lucas's figures evoke the German series in their attributes, presentation, and gendering. The correspondence between the two groups includes features that were not particularly common in other versions of the Virtues or Vices, like the selection of male figures for the personifications of Anger and Envy. Other similarities include the representation of *Lust*, where both versions show a kissing couple with the

⁷³⁰ New Hollstein (Lucas van Leyden), nos. 311-324. For a discussion of this series, see the exhibition catalog by Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie Loeb Stepanek, eds., *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and His Contemporaries* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1983), cat. nos. 92-3, pp. 228-31.

⁷³¹ Jacobowitz and Loeb, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden* (1983), 228. Pietersz. had used the same artists and a similar frame for an earlier series of woodcuts created as a *Biblia Pauperum*. Such "Bibles of the poor" juxtaposed images from the Old and New Testament as a form of visual exegesis. See Jacobowitz and Loeb, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden* (1983), cat. nos. 83-4, pp. 214-7.

⁷³² Jacobowitz and Loeb argue that the personified Virtues and Vices are closer to Lucas's style than to that of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen. Jacobowitz and Loeb, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden* (1983), 230. The attribution in Hollstein, edited by Ger Luijten, attributes the Virtues and Vices to Cornelisz. rather than Lucas. New Hollstein (Lucas van Leyden), p. 238. Also see *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (ca. 1475-1533): de renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), 264-67, no. 49.

female half of the pair looking out of the image toward the viewer. The two series also show of *Fortitude* as a figure in full profile looking to the left and wearing a helmet with a long, protruding visor, and both include attributes like a cornucopia for Charity, a compass for Prudence, and a blindfold for Avarice. Such similarities extend throughout the series, suggesting that Lucas based his Virtues and Vices on those of his German predecessor.

Burgkmair's prints also clearly inspired the design of Cornelis Anthonisz.'s *Misuse of Prosperity*, a series published by Jan Ewoutsz. in 1546 (**Figures 4.60-4.66**).⁷³³ Anthonisz.'s seven woodcuts present pairs of personified Virtues and Vices in intercolumnar spaces above lengthy texts in Dutch. As in Burgkmair's series, the figures are labeled in the vernacular – Dutch rather than German, in this instance – and they display a similar fusion of classicizing and contemporary features in the costumes. The personification of Wealth, for example, wears a rich, brocade dress and a fancy hat that suggest sixteenth-century fashions rather than the antique draperies worn by Diligence and Patience. In their ordering, the prints show a progressive sequence: *Concord and Peace, Wealth and Vanity, Gluttony and Luxury, Envy and War, Poverty and Patience, and Joy and Christ Triumphant*.⁷³⁴ According to the inscription running along the top of the fourth and fifth sheets, "With figures it is

⁷³³ New Hollstein (Muller Dynasty), Part 1, 2-8; Armstrong, Christine Megan, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 60-9.

⁷³⁴ In its theme, the series is closely aligned with the *puncten* of the *ommegang* of the Holy Circumcision from 1561. The processional imagery from that event was captured in Martin van Heemskerck's *Vicissitudes of Human Life* (1564), a series of engravings showing a sequence of triumphal chariots followed by a depiction of the *Last Judgment*. On Heemskerck's *Vicissitudes*, see the opening pages of Chapter 3 above. New Hollstein, (van Heemskerck), nrs. 482-490; Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1977), pp. 133-141 and figs. 85-93. Kaulback and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf*, 151-156, cat. nrs. 40.1-40.9. The derivation of the series from the 1561 *ommegang* was first recognized by Sheila Williams and Jean Jacquot, "Ommegangs Anversois" (1960), 363ff.

shown / how a man often misuses his prosperity / and so is punished by God / and suffering patiently / is again pitied by God.”⁷³⁵ Through an ordered progression of personified figures, the series demonstrates the cyclic nature of human experience and its conclusion in divine salvation.

In the woodcuts by Anthonisz., the architectural settings provide a framework for the operation of the series. In addition to structuring the individual comparisons between the paired figures, the spaces also help to establish the allegorical sequence that runs from prosperity to strife and back again. As in Burgkmair’s series of the *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices*, where the decoration at the truncated decoration at the borders of each print encouraged completion through assembling the series as a frieze, the sequential woodcuts of Anthonisz.’s series include halved columns at their edges. In order to complete the pictures, the viewer must assemble the series, an exercise that could help one learn and commit to memory the proper order of the personified allegories. The figures inhabit *loci* that could be incorporated into a larger mnemonic structure, offering a means of remembering not just the virtues and vices (*inventio*) but also recalling the structured progression of the series (*dispositio*). As Ashley West has argued in relation to Burgkmair’s series, “[The] framing devices create intercolumnar spaces particularly constructive for an artificial memory system. They could be stored and recalled, both tangibly as prints on paper or figuratively, as impressions in the imagination.”⁷³⁶ In Anthonisz.’s series as in Burgkmair’s, the placement of personified figures within architectural settings facilitated the transition from

⁷³⁵ Quoted and translated in Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints* (1990), 60-9.

⁷³⁶ West, “Hans Burgkmair the Elder” (2006), 70.

printed spaces to mental *loci*, providing an effective means for transmitting instructive content and categorizing experience for later recollection.

Raphael

Even more influential, perhaps, than Burgkmair's series of the *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices* were Raphael's various portrayals of the Virtues in niches, including an undated series of engravings executed by Marcantonio Raimondi (**Figures 4.67-4.73**).⁷³⁷ Produced in Rome sometime between 1515 and 1518, Raphael's *Virtues* wear flowing garments evocative of antique draperies. Viewed from a slight elevation, the classically-inspired figures display a variety of poses, with several seen from behind or in profile; most of them are shown striding and twisting.

Temperance, for example, spirals around in her niche in a classic *figura serpentinata*.⁷³⁸ With her weight on her right foot, she turns her body to the left as she glances back over her shoulder. The animated movements of the figures and their billowing tunics and hair belie their representation as statues, much like Giotto's figures in the Arena Chapel. Such features also exemplify the *bewegtes Beiwerk*, the "accessories in motion" identified by Aby Warburg as a central characteristic of the Renaissance response to the art of antiquity.⁷³⁹

Raphael evinced an interest in the personified virtues, both in his frescoes for the Vatican Stanza della Segnatura (completed 1511) and in his designs for a series

⁷³⁷ Corinna Höper, ed. *Raffaël Und Die Folgen: Das Kunstwerk in Zeitaltern Seiner Graphischen Reproduzierarbeit* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2001), cat. nos. 45.1-45.9.

⁷³⁸ David Summers, "Maniera and Movement: The *figura serpentinata*," *Art Quarterly* 35.1 (1972), 269-301.

⁷³⁹ Warburg first introduced the notion in his thesis on Botticelli. See Forster, Kurt W. "Introduction," in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 1999), 13-15.

of tapestries showing the *Acts of the Apostles* (1515-16). The former featured an over-door lunette depicting three of the four Cardinal Virtues, while the latter included borders portraying the seven Virtues in niches, among other subjects. Completed in 1511, Raphael's painting in the Stanza della Segnatura portrays *Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude* as female figures sitting on a parapet and attended by putti. Together with *Justice*, who appears in a *tondo* on the ceiling of the room, the figures represent the four Cardinal Virtues. Prudence, who occupies the central position in Raphael's composition, is shown as a Janus-faced figure looking into a mirror held by a winged putto, while Temperance holds a bridle while gazing at a seated putto who points upward. On the left, Fortitude bends the trunk of a sapling while stroking the neck of a lion.

Although access to the papal apartments at the Vatican was relatively restricted, Raphael's paintings were widely known through reproductive engravings. Two of the Virtues, for example, were captured in engravings by Agostino Veneziano, who isolated the individual figures of *Prudence* (1516) and *Temperance* (1517) after Raphael's fresco (**Figures 4.74 & 4.75**). Veneziano, who produced numerous reproductive engravings after Raphael's works during the second and third decades of the sixteenth century, offers relatively faithful reproductions of the poses, costumes, and attributes of the two virtues, but rather than showing them against the sky, as they appear in the original painting, he presents the figures in front of niches flanked by columns. Veneziano's version shows Prudence sitting on a bench in her niche with her right leg dangling below. The sole of her foot is visible, as it is in the painting, but in the engraving, it hangs

over the front edge of the niche and projects into the viewer's space. Temperance and her putto sit on a ledge located slightly below the bottom of a niche. Illuminated from the left, the personified figure casts a shadow in the curved recess behind her. Such engravings would have increased the audience and broadened the geographical reach for Raphael's designs.

Around 1515-16, Raphael and his workshop also portrayed the personified Virtues in niches for the borders of his tapestry series of the *Acts of the Apostles*, which were commissioned by Pope Leo X to hang in the Sistine Chapel.⁷⁴⁰ The borders for the *Acts of the Apostles* series include depictions of the Liberal Arts, the Fates, the Hours, the Seasons, the Elements, the Labors of Hercules, and the seven Virtues, which were affixed to tapestries showing *The Sacrifice at Lystra* (Acts 14:8) and *The Blinding of Elymas* (Acts 13:6-12).⁷⁴¹ John Shearman has argued that the borders should be interpreted as referring to the life of Pope Leo X, who commissioned Raphael's tapestries for the Sistine Chapel.⁷⁴² Shearman notes that similar imagery had been deployed during earlier processional spectacles, including the Lateran Procession of 1513 and a 1515 triumphal entry into Florence, with Leonine associations on both occasions. The Virtues, for example, had appeared in niches as part of an arch that also included depictions of event from Leo's *vita*.⁷⁴³ In the entries as in the tapestry borders, the personified figures promote Leo as the

⁷⁴⁰ On Raphael's influential tapestry series of *The Acts of the Apostles* for the Sistine Chapel, see Thomas Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York and New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2002), 187-223.

⁷⁴¹ John White and John Shearman, "Raphael's Tapestries and Their Cartoons," *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958), 210-2, 219.

⁷⁴² John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 89.

⁷⁴³ John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons* (1972), 89.

protector of the arts and virtues.⁷⁴⁴ It should be noted that, in this instance, the presentation of personified virtues in niches emerged from a processional source.

Woven in Brussels, the tapestries and their cartoons influenced Netherlandish tapestry designs in subsequent decades. In the primary scenes, Raphael's monumental figures and clarity of action gradually replaced the crowded and visually busy representations favored since the late Middle Ages.⁷⁴⁵ The borders, too, provided examples for Netherlandish artists and weavers. The borders of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* were reused, in whole or in part, for the weavings of other subjects, including *The Bridal Chamber of Herse*, woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker around 1550 (**Figure 4.76**).⁷⁴⁶ That tapestry shows the three Theological Virtues and Justice in niches, portrayed twice as mirror images on both sides of the main subject, which, ironically, portrays the illicit love of Mercury and Herse, the daughter of King Cecrops of Athens. The portrayal of virtues in niches by Raphael and his workshop, both in print and in tapestry, influenced Netherlandish depictions of the subject, particularly during the second half of the sixteenth century, when series of the Seven Virtues proliferated in the Low Countries.

Netherlandish Engravings of the Virtues and Vices in Niches:

In an undated series of the *Eight Virtues* engraved by Hans Collaert I, the personification of Perseverance walks from the banks of a pond into a niche

⁷⁴⁴ Shearman and White, "Raphael's Cartoons" (1958), 212.

⁷⁴⁵ See Campbell, ed., *Tapetstry in the Renaissance* (2002), 292-6.

⁷⁴⁶ On the influence of Raphael's borders, see Edith Standen, "Some Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries Related to Raphael's Workshop," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 4 (1971), pp. 109-121, esp. 116-121.

(**Figures 4.77-4.83**).⁷⁴⁷ Half of the stone structure has dissolved to show the outdoor setting, complete with reeds and a flying duck behind the figure, who holds a fish as she strides into her new domain. With figures derived from Floris's series of *Eight Virtues* (1560) in landscape settings discussed in Chapter 1 above, Collaert's engravings demonstrate a shift in presentational mode (for Floris's series, see **Figures 1.3-1.10**). Unlike Perseverance, the other virtues stand within complete niches, accompanied by their animal companions. Chastity, for example, holds a lily as she does in Floris's version, and the crane that had appeared in her lap now stands nearby. With her flowing headdress and armillary sphere ringed by zodiacal signs, Intelligence likewise resembles Floris's version. In both instances, a snake appears at the figures' feet as a representation of cunning. Memory, with her canine companion, writes in a tablet in both versions. Crowned Magnanimity holds a scepter and stands with her lion, which had been her throne in Floris's series. Sobriety stands above a giant fish and holds an enormous key, similar to the key in held by her counterpart down to the opening at the bottom of the handle. In Floris's series, Concord points upward as she grasps a branch near a hawk. In Collaert's version, the personified figure points to a fissure in the arch, which opens up to admit the bird. The series brings Floris's classicizing figures into the architectural realm and aligns them with the exemplary engravings designed by Raphael earlier in the century.

Hans Collaert I also served as the engraver for a series of the *Eight Virtues* after Lambert Lombard, who likewise used niches as settings for his personified

⁷⁴⁷ In the collection of the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, nos. 2010.598-2010.604. The series is missing an engraving of Patience.

figures (**Figures 4.84-4.91**).⁷⁴⁸ Published by Hieronymus Cock in 1557, the prints predate the series described above, as Floris's landscape virtues were available only after 1560. This earlier set of engravings portrays female personifications of the seven canonical virtues as well as Cognition. The sculptural figures stand on pedestals set within niches topped with scalloped canopies and surmounted by blank medallions of various shapes. As in Burgkmair's series of *The Seven Virtues*, the inclusion of pedestals elevates the figures and helps to identify them as statues. Strong illumination from the right side creates cast shadows that accentuate the materiality of the personified figures, whose Latin names are inscribed below in large, block capitals, a further accentuation of the Classical intentions of the imagery.

In addition to the standard pairing of the three Theological Virtues and the four Cardinal Virtues, Lombard included a personification of *Cognitio* ('Knowledge'), which serves as the first print in the series. Unlike the virtues that follow, *Cognitio* appears on a throne rather than standing on a pedestal. She carries a torch in her left hand while pointing to a book with her right, attributes of mental illumination and scholarly erudition respectively. The relationship between knowledge and virtue was well established during the Renaissance. Gabriel Biel, a fifteenth-century German philosopher read by Luther, argued that rather than faith, "knowledge is at the root and foundation of all virtue" (*Cognitio est radix et fundamentum omnium*

⁷⁴⁸ Hollstein (2005 – Collaert Dynasty), Part V, nos. 1086-1093.

virtutem').⁷⁴⁹ A similar sentiment pervaded Renaissance humanism, which aimed at personal improvement through the acquisition of knowledge.⁷⁵⁰ One need only consider the centrality of Virtue and Vice as topical headings in Erasmus's commonplace system of note-taking to understand the fundamental relationship that existed between knowledge and proper ethical conduct. In Lombard's depiction, *Cognitio*'s foot rests on a block, inscribed with the name of the publisher, Hieronymus Cock, as well as the date of publication, 1557. The placement of Cock's signature suggests that as the publisher of the series he claims to be the purveyor of knowledge, and therefore virtue as well.

In addition to his *Eight Virtues*, Lombard likely designed an undated series of engravings depicting a diverse group of eight figures from the Bible, mythology, and ancient history (**Figures 4.92-4.99**).⁷⁵¹ Produced by Hans Collaert I, the prints show David, Judith, Vulcan, Flora, Jason, Proserpina, Mucius Scaevola, and Lucretia in niches. The figures are portrayed nude or semi-nude, and each is identified by an inscription on the lower ledge of the recessed frame alongside Collaert's monogram. Despite the apparently heterogeneous assemblage of gods and heroes, the group is united by its shared status as exemplary figures: noteworthy individuals from the past who epitomize particular qualities intended for emulation in the present. The four male figures embody martial prowess, wisdom, and courage – all aspects of

⁷⁴⁹ H.W. Biel, *De Gabriele Biel celeberrimo papista anti-papista* (Wittenberg, 1719), S II 39 C. Quoted and translated in Heiko A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Thought: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963), 66.

⁷⁵⁰ In Northern Europe, particularly, the "Erasmian ideal of virtue through knowledge" inspired numerous adherents, including John Calvin. See Quirinus Breen, "St. Thomas and Calvin as Theologians: A Comparison," in *The Heritage of John Calvin*, ed. J.H. Bratt, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), 33.

⁷⁵¹ Hollstein describes the series as *Designs for Eight Famous Persons from the Bible, Mythology, and Ancient History*. New Hollstein (Collaert Dynasty), nos. 1591-1598.

masculine *virtú* – while the four women in Lombard’s series are paragons of feminine decorum, representing virtues such as chastity, faithfulness, and modesty.⁷⁵²

David, for example, appears as a military leader in Lombard’s series, with his sword drawn and shield on his back. David was considered a paragon of wisdom throughout the Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period.⁷⁵³ His life was the subject of an illustrated treatise by Benedictus Arias Montanus: *David, hoc est virtutis exercitatissimae probatum Deo spectaculum* (David, or the spectacle of well-exercised virtue pleasing to God).⁷⁵⁴ Published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp in 1571, the work includes 48 engravings by Philips Galle showing scenes from David’s life, each accompanied by a textual explanation by Montanus of the moral significance. In his dedication of the book to Philip II, Philips Galle expresses the hope that David’s deeds and character, “expressed and embellished by the diligence and industry of the art of engraving,” will help those who “wish to learn and recognize what in life is honest and pious, what is fit to be done privately and

⁷⁵² On the portrayal of exemplary women in Netherlandish prints, see Yvonne Bleyerveld, “Chaste, Obedient and Devout: Biblical Women as Patterns of Female Virtue in Netherlandish and German Graphic Art, ca. 155-1750,” *Simiolus* 28.4 (2000-2001), 219-50. It should be noted that Flora’s inclusion in the series is somewhat puzzling. Although she is the goddess of flowers and gardens, and often is associated with the fertility of spring, she can hardly be considered an exemplar of feminine virtue. Whether as Zephyr’s eroticized consort, she is often linked to Venus, while in Boccaccio’s euhemeristic account of the goddess’s origins, Flora once served as a famous Roman courtesan. See Julius Held, “Flora, Goddess and Courtesan,” in *De Artibus Opuscula XI: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, edited by Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 201-18.

⁷⁵³ During the Middle Ages David belonged to the so-called “Nine Worthies,” an esteemed group of exemplary princes and soldiers. On the Nine Worthies, see Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildener Kunst* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1971).

⁷⁵⁴ See Walter Melion, “Benedictus Arias Montanus and the Virtual Studio as a Meditative Place,” in *Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism*, edited by Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 74-90.

publicly, and lastly, what is useful and opportune to the salvation of souls.”⁷⁵⁵

Through engraving, David’s deeds could provide edifying instruction.

Lucretia, to take another example from Lombard’s series, is shown nude, holding a dagger to her breast. A legendary figure in the history of the Roman Republic, Lucretia’s rape and her subsequent suicide helped propel the dismantling of the monarchy in favor of the Roman Republic. Having killed herself rather than living in disgrace, she was considered a model of chastity and faithfulness.⁷⁵⁶ She became a fixture in medieval and Renaissance literature and imagery, including Petrarch’s *Triumph of Chastity* and its many derivative illustrations.⁷⁵⁷ She also appeared as a reference in contemporary, Netherlandish commonplace books under multiple headings, including modesty, chastity, physical beauty, and death.⁷⁵⁸ As in Lombard’s print, most Renaissance portrayals of Lucretia show the heroine with a dagger to her breast. A drawing by Dürer from 1508 shows the heroine on a platform projecting from a darkened, niche-like recess, and a painting (ca. 1520-25) attributed to the Master of the Lille Adoration includes a *trompe l’oeil*, arched frame around the half-length figure (**Figure 4.100 & 4.101**).⁷⁵⁹ In Lorenzo Lotto’s *A Lady as Lucretia*, for example, a piece of paper writing indicates “*NEC ULLA IMPUDICA LV*

⁷⁵⁵ “*Davidi Regum praestantis. Benedicti Ariae Montani dedication*,” unfoliated. Quoted and translated in Melion, “Benedictus Arias Montanus and the Virtual Studio” (2005), 77.

⁷⁵⁶ Mary E. Hazard, “Renaissance Aesthetic Values: ‘Example,’ for Example,” *Art Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1979), 24.

⁷⁵⁷ For examples, see Hazard, “Renaissance Aesthetic Values” (1979), 24-26; Wolfgang Stechow, “*Lucretiae Statua*,” in *Essays in Honor of Georg Swarzenski*, edited by Oswald Goetz (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1951), 114-24.

⁷⁵⁸ Agricola used Lucretia as an illustration of how to use examples within the commonplace, notebook system. Agricola (1528), Alardus Edition (reprinted 1978), 192-201. See Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel* (2002), 87.

⁷⁵⁹ For Dürer, see Stechow, “*Lucretiae Statua*” (1951), 122-3. For the painting by the Master of the Lille Adoration, see Maryan Ainsworth, “The Painter Gossart in his Artistic Millieu,” in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart’s Renaissance*, edited by Maryann Ainsworth (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), p. 25 and fig. 27.

/ *CRETIA EXEMPLO VIVET*,” (“No woman shall lead a life of shame in the future if she recalls Lucretia’s example”).⁷⁶⁰ Isolated from the narrative context of her story, Lucretia was treated as an exemplar of the virtues demonstrated by her actions.⁷⁶¹ Individually and collectively, Lombard’s figures represent edifying examples of proper conduct.

In addition to serving as moral archetypes for viewers, Lombard’s series of *Virtues* and *Exemplary Figures* provided formal models for other artists. Praised by contemporaries, Lombard developed his classicizing style during a journey to Rome in 1537-8, where he witnessed firsthand the numerous statues unearthed in previous decades.⁷⁶² In his *Vita Lombardi*, Dominicus Lampsonius described Lombard as a “true prodigy in erudition” (“homine eruditarum linguarum praesidio destituto”) and argued that he represented the epitome of Northern art.⁷⁶³ Lampsonius claimed that the artist drew varied influence from his illustrious predecessors and assimilated Netherlandish traditions with the art of the ancients.⁷⁶⁴ In a letter to Vasari, Lombard asks the Italian artist to send drawings by

⁷⁶⁰ Quoted and translated in Hazard, “Renaissance Aesthetic Values” (1979), 25.

⁷⁶¹ For representations of Lucretia as exemplar, see Hazard, “Renaissance Aesthetic Values” (1979); Cristelle L. Baskins, “Corporeal Authority in the Speaking Picture: The Representation of Lucretia in Tuscan Domestic Painting,” in *Gender Rhetorics: Postures of Dominance and Submission in History*, edited by Richard Trexler (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994), 187-200.

⁷⁶² On the importance of Lambert Lombard to the art of the Netherlands during the second half of the sixteenth century, see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* (1991), 143-59; Godelieve Denhaene and Franz Bierlaire, eds., *Lambert Lombard: Peintre de la Renaissance, Liège 1505/06-1566*, ex. cat (Liège: Musée de l’Art Wallon, 2006); W. Kemp and E. Kemp, “Lambert Lombards Antiquarische Theorie und Praxis,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1973), 122-52; Edward Wouk, “Reclaiming the Antiquities of Gaul: Lambert Lombard and the History of Northern Art,” *Simiolus* 36 (2012), 35-65.

⁷⁶³ Wouk, “Reclaiming the Antiquities of Gaul” (2012), 35.

⁷⁶⁴ D. Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi apud Eburones pictoris celebrime vita* (Bruges, 1565), 13-15; Hubaux and Puraye, eds., *Lombardi...Vita*, 71.

Italian masters so that he might learn from their translations of antiquity.⁷⁶⁵ For Lombard the proper interpretation of the ancients represented not only the height of artistic excellence, but also the achievement of personal virtue through the acquisition and application knowledge through artistic practice.⁷⁶⁶ The material remains of the ancient past provided material for Lombard's art, and his successful absorption of these admirable models made his own work exemplary for future generations of artists, particularly through the medium of reproductive engraving.⁷⁶⁷ Just as ancient statues informed his own work, his engraved "sculptures" in niches would enhance the art of others.

Lombard's contemporary and brother-in-law, Lambert Suavius, also depicted sculptural figures in niches in two series of engravings, one portraying *Four Virtues* and the other showing *Twelve Sibyls*.⁷⁶⁸ Born around 1510, Suavius received his early training from his father, Henri Zutman, a goldsmith in Liège. He may have received additional training in the workshop of Lambert Lombard, and during the 1550s he too traveled to Italy, where he produced drawings of ancient ruins and antique sculptures.⁷⁶⁹ In addition to working as a painter and architect, Suavius executed engravings based on Lombard's designs as well as his own inventions, often cutting his plates with a diamond-pointed stylus rather than the more

⁷⁶⁵ For Vasari's letter, see Wolfgang Stechow, ed., *Northern Renaissance Art, 1400-1600: Sources and Documents* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1986), 41-3.

⁷⁶⁶ On Lombard's pursuit of the *via virtutis* through the interpretation of the ancients, see Wouk, "Reclaiming the Antiquities of Gaul" (2012), esp. 37.

⁷⁶⁷ Lampsonius, *Vita*, 34-5; Hubaux and Puraye, eds., *Lombardi...Vita*, 76; Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* (1991), 297 n. 19.

⁷⁶⁸ Hollstein, vol. XXVIII, Suavius nos. 25-36 and 38-41.

⁷⁶⁹ Suzanne Boorsch and Nadine M. Orenstein, "The Print in the North: The Age of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 54, no. 4 (1997), 12.

common burin.⁷⁷⁰ The uniformly fine lines produced by this tool allowed the artist to build up networks of hatching to create chiaroscuro effects, including strong figural relief and subtle passages between light and dark.⁷⁷¹

Such features enhance Suavius's engravings of statuesque figures in niches. The first series portrays *Four Virtues*, which includes engravings of the three Theological Virtues and Fortitude (**Figure 4.104-4.105**).⁷⁷² Faith and Hope are seated in their respective niches, while Charity and Fortitude both stand. Shown slightly from below with a bright light coming from the right side, the presentation of the figures resembles the *Eight Virtues* by Lombard. The other niche series, which portrays the *Twelve Sibyls*, shows the prophetesses in a variety of classically inspired poses.⁷⁷³ With the exception of the Persian and Libyan Sibyls, identified by Latin inscriptions below their niches, these figures lack identification. As a group, the Sibyls resemble Raimondi's *Virtues* after Raphael more than Lombard's, particularly in their proportions and poses. One of Suavius's figures (**Figure 4.106**), for example, lifts her drapery over her right shoulder as she crosses her right leg in front of her left, a gesture that mimics Raphael's *Prudence*. Another sibyl (**Figure 4.107**) turns her back to the viewer as she lifts her skirts with her right hand and kicks back her left leg. Such parallels suggest that the Netherlandish artist may have had access to the Italian examples, either directly or through an intermediary.

Marten de Vos

⁷⁷⁰ Boorsch and Orenstein, "The Print in the North" (1997), 12.

⁷⁷¹ Boorsch and Orenstein, "The Print in the North" (1997), 12.

⁷⁷² Hollstein, vol. XXVIII, nos. 38-41.

⁷⁷³ The artist's LS monogram appears on several prints in the series.

In subsequent decades Marten de Vos designed two series personified Virtues in niches, including an undated series of the *Eight Virtues* presented in pairs (**Figures 4.108-4.111**).⁷⁷⁴ Engraved by Hans I Collaert, the series includes an unconventional assortment of virtues, with each of the four sheets depicting a pair of female figures in adjacent niches: *Pax & Fiducia*, *Providentia Dei & Justitia*, *Caritas & Gratia*, and *Justitia & Prudentia*. The side-by-side portrayal of the personified virtues and, in some instances, their interaction, creates relations among the figures and encourages comparison. Pax, for example, shown with a sword and an olive branch in her right hand and a pair of doves perched on her left, reaches out toward Fiducia, who looks in back in the direction of her companion.⁷⁷⁵ The inscription beneath Fiducia identifies the relationship between the figures: “By heavenly accord, trust unites the sweet tranquility of peace and love.”⁷⁷⁶ As a result of their presentation on a single sheet, each of the virtues inflects the meaning of the other.

The pairings also help to clarify the inclusion of Justice on two separate sheets. The inscriptions beneath the joint depiction of Justice and Prudence – who glance at each other from their respective niches – emphasize the role of experience in the prudent administration of earthly justice, which is the purview of the ruler.⁷⁷⁷ This portrayal of Justice contrasts with the second personification of that virtue, which shows a figure with a blank book and a reed, an attribute associated with the humble scepter of Christ’s Passion. She stands among several discarded masks,

⁷⁷⁴ Hollstein (Collaert Dynasty), Part V, nos. 1094-1097.

⁷⁷⁵ The inscription beneath *Pax* comes from Book 1 of Ovid’s *Fasti*: “*Fronibus Attiacis comptos redimita capillos Pax venit, et toto mitis in orbe quies.*” (“Come, Peace, your graceful tresses wreathed with laurel of Actium: stay gently in this world.”)

⁷⁷⁶ Beneath *Fiducia*: *Coelestis Pacto vero Fiducia iuncta, Dulcia tranquillae foedera Pacis amat.*

⁷⁷⁷ Beneath Justice: *Justitia utilibus Rectum preponere suadet, Lex cui mandatis Imperiosa subest.* Beneath Prudence: *Multiplici vigilans Prudentia venit ab usu, laetaque sincere gaudia mentis habet.*

which likely represent the Vices, as portrayed in contemporary dramatic performances of the Netherlandish *rederijkers*.⁷⁷⁸ Depicted alongside the figure of Divine Providence, this version of Justice embodies the Law of God rather than the Law of Man, a notion reinforced by the inscription beneath *Providentia Dei*, which emphasizes God's role in judgment, and that beneath the figure of *Justitia*, which notes the Virgin's merciful nature.⁷⁷⁹

The attributes of the various figures suggest that this de Vos imagery may have been intended for a Catholic audience. His emphasis can be seen, for example, in the bishop's staff carried by *Fiducia* or in *Caritas's* display of a heart surmounted by a cross, a symbol of the Sacred Heart. As a representation of the suffering Christ endured on behalf of mankind – particularly his side wound – the Sacred Heart was the focus of medieval monastic devotions and later became associated with the Jesuits during the Counter-Reformation.⁷⁸⁰ De Vos's depiction of *Gratia*, likewise, demonstrates a confessional bias through the inclusion of the Dove of the Holy Spirit above the personified figure, who also holds a chalice in her upraised hand. The Catholic thrust of the series suggests that these undated engravings were likely produced in the years following the capitulation of Antwerp to Spanish forces in

⁷⁷⁸ See Hummelen, *Het tableau vivant* (1992), 28 and notes 17-18. The depiction of the masks at the feet of Justice suggests her conquest of Vice.

⁷⁷⁹ Beneath *Providentia Dei*: "*Aspiciunt oculis superi mortalia Justis, Estque Deis superis scilicet iste labor*" and beneath *Justitia*: "*Justitia inviolata malis placidissima Virgo, Mente sedet solida, firma tenaxque manu est.*"

⁷⁸⁰ Scott Manning Stevens, "Sacred Heart and Secular Brain," in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, eds. (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 1997), 263-284.

1585, when de Vos himself renounced his Lutheran faith in favor of Catholicism rather than leave the city.⁷⁸¹

The Holy Spirit plays an even more prominent role in a second undated series after drawings by de Vos. Engraved by Adriaen Collaert, the prints show the *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* as female figures in niches (**Figures 4.112-4.118**).⁷⁸² The Gifts – *Timor Domini, Pietas, Scientia, Fortitudo, Consilium, Intellectus*, and *Sapientia* – are spiritual qualities enumerated in Isaiah 11:1-3, verses that describe the Tree of Jesse and the attributes of the awaited Messiah, who will be endowed with the “Spirit of the Lord.” Patristic authors like Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great ascribed the Seven Gifts to Christ, the genealogical descendant of Jesse and the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies.⁷⁸³ According to the learned doctors, the seven Gifts were fully embodied by Christ, whose incarnation brought such moral qualities into the world. Despite the theological importance of the subject, however, the *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* appeared only rarely in visual representations. In those instances when the Gifts were depicted, they were typically portrayed as doves, as in the Tree of Jesse Window at Chartres (1145) or Veit Stoss’s sculpted *Annunciation* at St. Lorenz in Nurnberg (1528), while personifications of the Seven Gifts seem to be exceptional or possibly non-existent in visual art.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸¹ On the conversion of Marten de Vos, see J. van Roey, “De Antwerpse schilders in 1584-85: pogen tot sociaal-religieus onderzoek,” *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten te Antwerpen* (1966): 112; Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler* (1980), 26-7.

⁷⁸² Hollstein (2005 – Collaert Dynasty), Part V, nos. 1061-1067. Hollstein (de Vos), nos. 1243-1249.

⁷⁸³ Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 85-88.

⁷⁸⁴ I can find no other example of personifications of the Gifts themselves in visual art beyond de Vos’s series. The frontispiece of the Floreffe Bible (c. 1153) includes doves representing the Seven Gifts alongside the personified virtues they inspire: Providence, Temperance, Prudence, Obedience, Humility, Patience, and Benignity. On the structure and meaning of the frontispiece, see Anne-Marie

In his series of *The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, de Vos's portrayed the personified Gifts in niches flanked by columns and embellished with cartouches inscribed with biblical verses in Latin. The engravings follow the order given in Isaiah 11:2-3, which begins with *Spiritus Sapientia* and concludes with *Spiritus Timor Domini*. In de Vos's depiction, the former holds a sword in her left hand and a scepter in her right, symbols of rulership reinforced by the biblical verses inscribed on the cartouche beneath her niche: "*Per me Reges regnant, et legum conditores iusta decernunt. Per me Principes imperant*" ("By me kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things. By me princes rule") (Proverbs 8:15-16). The personification of *Spiritus Intellectus* carries bolts of lightning and wears a winged helmet, representative of the swiftness of her mental powers.⁷⁸⁵ She also dons a *hoshen*, the breastplate inscribed with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel worn by High Priests of the Temple, who used it for divination (Exodus 28:13-30 and 39:8-21). The Spirit of Counsel (*'Spiritus Consilii'*) wears a key and a heart around her neck and holds a set of scales, an attribute that suggests deliberation and aligns the figure with personifications of Justice.⁷⁸⁶ The Spirit of Strength (*'Spiritus Fortitudinis'*) carries a club and wears a lion skin over her shoulder like Hercules, while the Spirit of

Bouché, "The Spirit in the World: The Virtues of the Floreffe Bible Frontispiece: British Library, Add. Ms. 17738, ff. 3v-4r," in *Virtues and Vices: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, Colum Hourihane, ed. (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 2000), 42-65, esp. 52-53 for the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit.

⁷⁸⁵ Inscription for *Spiritus Intellectus*: "*Vir in multis expertus cogitabit multa et qui multa didicit enarrabit intellectum*" ("Man that hath much experience shall think of many things: and he that hath learned many things shall shew forth understanding" Ecclesiasticus 34: 9).

⁷⁸⁶ Inscription for *Spiritus Consilii*: "*Ante omnia opera, verbum verax praecedat te, et ante omnem actum consilium stabile. Bonis amici consiliis anima dulcoratur.*" ("Before all works let a true word precede you, and before every act a stable counsel. The pleasantness of one's friend springs from his earnest counsel" Ecclesiasticus 37:20 and Proverbs 27:9).

Knowledge (*Spiritus Scientiae*) holds a caduceus like Mercury.⁷⁸⁷ Wearing a coif over her hair, *Spiritus Pietatis* carries an outsized key, usually an attribute belonging to St. Peter. Finally, *Spiritus Timor Domini* carries an olive sprig – a symbol of God's covenant with humanity following the flood – and stands beside a stork, known for its devotion to its young.⁷⁸⁸ Individually and collectively the seven Gifts evoke Christ, the complete embodiment the virtues conferred by the Holy Spirit.

The rarity of the seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit as a subject for visual representation belies its immense popularity and central importance as an ethical system during the Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century.⁷⁸⁹ Beginning with the Church Fathers, the Seven Gifts were held responsible for nurturing or inspiring other virtues. Gregory, for example, maintained that "the gift of the Holy Ghost, by coming into the soul endows it with prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude, and at the same time strengthens it against every kind of temptation by His sevenfold gift."⁷⁹⁰ The Gifts not only provided a basis for moral attainment and Christ-like righteousness, they also eradicated vice, a sentiment echoed by St. Bonaventure in the thirteenth century: "There is a certain power in the gifts of the Holy Spirit through which all evils can be attacked. And there is a power in the gifts

⁷⁸⁷ Inscription for *Spiritus Fortitudino*: "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis: Deus Israel ipse dabit virtutem, et fortitudinem plebi suae.*" ("God is wonderful in his saints: the God of Israel is he who will give strength to his people" Psalm 67:36).

Inscription for *Spiritus Scientiae*: "*Vani sunt omnes homines, in quibus non subest scientia Dei, et de his quae videntur bona, non potuerunt intellegere eum qui est.*" ("All men are vain, in whom there is not the knowledge of God: and who by these good things that are seen, could not understand him that is" Wisdom 13:1).

⁷⁸⁸ Inscription for *Spiritus Timor Domini*: "*Si non in timore Domini tenueris te instanter, cito subvertetur domus tua.*" ("Unless thou hold thyself diligently in the fear of the Lord, thy house shall quickly be overthrown" Ecclesiasticus 27:4).

⁷⁸⁹ On the widespread use of the scheme during the Middle Ages and in later authors like Spenser, see Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery* (1966), particularly 85-90.

⁷⁹⁰ St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, ii, 26.

by which a human person is opened to all that is good.”⁷⁹¹ As Gregory and Bonaventure note, it was the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and not the more common group of seven theological and cardinal virtues, that stood in direct opposition to the seven Deadly Sins, but rather than combatting vice directly, the Gifts root out evil by fostering virtue in its place.⁷⁹²

De Vos’s selection of the *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* rather than the more typical pairing of Theological and Cardinal Virtues and his decision to include personified figures suggest that he approached his series with different motives in mind. The engravings not only elaborate on the meaning of the Gifts through the presentation of attributes and the inclusion of scriptural verses that extend one’s understanding of the “spiritual virtues” beyond their brief enumeration in Isaiah, they also engage the meditative possibilities present in the theme and in the serial format itself. For theologians like Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas, the seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit were not virtues exactly. Instead, they participated in the creation of a “habitus” of the mind, a disposition of obedience to divine inspiration that could serve as the basis for proper conduct. Aquinas, for example, wrote that the Gifts “are not merely acts or passions but abiding habits. [They] are perfections of man, whereby he becomes amenable to the promptings of the Holy Ghost.”⁷⁹³ As habits, the Gifts help train the mind and inculcate a disposition receptive to divine virtue and grace.

⁷⁹¹ St. Bonaventure, *Collations on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, trans. Zachary Hayes, Works of St. Bonaventure Vol. XIV (Franciscan Institute, 2008), 48.

⁷⁹² Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery* (1966), 89-95.

⁷⁹³ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, q.68, a.3. Translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1947).

In this context, it may be instructive to consider an earlier series of engravings designed by Marten de Vos of *Christ and the Twelve Apostles* (**Figure 4.119**).⁷⁹⁴ Engraved by Jan Wierix and published in 1578, the prints show each Apostle standing between columns, like the settings de Vos later employed for the *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*. Rather than niches, however, the intercolumnar spaces occupied by the followers of Christ open outward to reveal townscapes behind each figure. The Latin inscriptions that appear beneath the figures display the Apostles' Creed, a fundamental statement of Christian belief. In pairing the basic articles of the faith with revered figures in a serialized format, the engravings could serve as the basis for meditative devotions and personal instruction. In his analysis of an earlier series of woodcuts combining images of the *Martyrdom of the Apostles* with text drawn from the Apostles' Creed, Mitchell suggested that "the Creed, because of its ancient authorship, was seen as being invested with the presence of the Holy Spirit; it was...to be etched upon the heart through drilling, recitation, and memorization."⁷⁹⁵ As a basic component of the catechism, the Creed and was intended as a prompt to piety and as a means to organize the examination of one's conscience, a process facilitated by imagery like de Vos's series of the *Apostles' Creed* and Lucas Cranach's.⁷⁹⁶ In both instances, depictions of the Apostles provided *imagines* for the prayer as one moved from one image to the next in a structured

⁷⁹⁴ New Hollstein (Wierix Family), Part VI, nos. 1154-1167.

⁷⁹⁵ Mitchell Merback, "Torture and Teaching: The Reception of Lucas Cranach the Elder's Martyrdom of the Twelve Apostles in the Protestant Era," *Art Journal* 57.1 (1998), 14-23. For Cranach's woodcuts, see Walter L. Strauss, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 11 (New York: Abaris, 1978), nos. 37-48.

⁷⁹⁶ Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Du bon usage du 'Credo,'" in *Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVIe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome; Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1981), 337-61.

progression that coupled personal devotion with mental training, allowing the viewer to commit the pictures and words to memory and imaginatively recount the series in an ordered succession.

Like his series of the *Apostles' Creed*, De Vos's engravings of the *Seven Gifts* promoted the construction of mental spaces for reflection. Both series show holy figures set within individuated spaces flanked by columns and inscribed with Scripture. Unlike the Creed, however, which offered a single holy text to be read from beginning to end, the biblical verses beneath the personified Gifts elaborate the particular qualities of the figures, eschewing a holistic, chronological approach to the series. Instead, other aspects of the Seven Gifts and their historical elaboration provide a unifying trajectory. Augustine, for example, argued that the Seven Gifts should be understood as a hierarchical progression from the most fundamental spiritual traits (*Timor Domini*) to those most difficult to attain (*Sapientia*), a reversal of the order enumerated in Isaiah 11. Having acquired each quality in turn, one would participate in the divine nature of Christ, who fully embodies each of the Gift attributes.

Augustine further extended his exegesis of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit by linking them to the Seven Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:3-10) as well as the Seven Petitions of the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9-13), two texts similar to the Creed in their espousal of the faith and their fundamental significance to Christian doctrine.⁷⁹⁷ Augustine's analysis begins with the Gift of *Timor Domini*,

⁷⁹⁷ St. Augustine, *De Sermone in Monte* 1.4.11 ff. and 2.11.38 ff. For a discussion of Augustine's exegesis, see Roy Hammerling, "St. Augustine of Hippo: Prayer as Sacrament," in *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century*, Roy Hammerling, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 183-200, esp. 192-4.

which he compares to “those poor in spirit” (*Pauperes spiritu*) and the opening of the *Pater Noster* (“Holy be your name...”) and extends through each of the Gifts in turn, before concluding with the triad of *Sapientia*, the peacemakers (*Pacifici*), and the final line of the Lord’s Prayer (“But deliver us from evil”).⁷⁹⁸ Augustine’s exegetical commentary extended the significance of the Gifts by linking the qualities listed in Isaiah to a context of New Testament prayer and devotion. His tripartite scheme remained influential throughout the Middle Ages and was augmented by figures like Hugh of St. Victor, who extended the system through the addition of the Seven Deadly Sins and seven virtues obtained through the Gifts: Poverty of Spirit, Meekness, Mourning, Hunger for Justice, Mercy, Purity of Heart, and Peace.⁷⁹⁹ The network of associations made the seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit a particularly rich subject.

Although the exegetical tradition does not appear explicitly in de Vos’s series of the Seven Gifts, that system would have been familiar to viewers educated in religious matters. The extended significance of the Seven Gifts remained well known during the sixteenth century as a staple of Catholic catechetical instruction, where the Gifts continued to appear alongside other foundational texts of the Christian faith, including the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Beatitudes, among others.⁸⁰⁰ As with the Creed series, contemplation of the *Seven*

⁷⁹⁸ For a useful chart of the various associations, see Hammerling, “St. Augustine of Hippo” (2008), 193-4.

⁷⁹⁹ On the significance of Augustine’s linkage of the Gifts to systems of prayer during the later Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century, see Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery* (1966), 85-88. On Hugh’s extension on the scheme, see Jeanne Krochalis and Edward Peters, eds., *The World of Piers Plowman* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), 170-179.

⁸⁰⁰ The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit were a fundamental part of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Catholic catechisms in the Netherlands, including the popular catechism of Dietrich Coelde, which

Gifts of the Holy Spirit could inspire meditative devotion through a process of repetition and internalization of the beneficial qualities of the figures as part of the vital “habitus” of mind they represent. In training the mental faculties, the engravings encouraged personal piety by instilling a spiritual disposition susceptible to divine influence and receptive to Christ-like virtue.

Hendrick Goltzius

Unlike de Vos, Hendrick Goltzius hewed to the conventional grouping of Theological and Cardinal virtues in his two separate series of personified virtues in niches. The first version of the subject, designed and engraved by the Haarlem artist himself, has been dated to the early stages of his career, around 1578, roughly contemporaneous with his early set of *Virtues and Vices* in landscapes with biblical vignettes, discussed in Chapter 1 above (**Figures 4.120-4.126**).⁸⁰¹ The series begins with Faith, portrayed as a loosely draped nude figure holding a book and a crucifix. Her foot protrudes over the edge of the niche and casts a shadow across the inscription of her name. In each of the engravings, Goltzius repeats the same motif of a projecting foot or toe that hangs over the edge of the niche, a staple of the *trompe l’oeil* repertory, as demonstrated in Floris’s façade, for example. The other Virtues, who appear in a similar state of undress, are depicted with their identifying objects: anchor for Hope; dependent children for Charity; sword and scales for Justice;

was published in multiple editions in Cologne and Leuven in the early decades of the sixteenth century. See Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 28-32.

⁸⁰¹ Strauss, vol. 1, nos. 67-73. Strauss dates the prints to 1578, while Reznicek dates the series to 1580. See E.K.G. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1961), 264.

entwined snakes for Prudence; column and lion skin for Fortitude; and Temperance pouring water into her wine. The attributes are the same as in Goltzius's roughly contemporaneous series of *Virtues* in landscapes, with the exception of the absence of Fortitude's hammer, which is replaced instead by the lion skin.⁸⁰²

The two series, likely published by Philips Galle in Haarlem, demonstrate the artist's longstanding interest in personifications of moral qualities. In this instance, Goltzius has placed the figures in niches in imitation of Raphael. Although Goltzius's figures are nude and the Italian artist included drapery, this early series by Goltzius demonstrates his interest in capturing the relaxed and graceful poses of Raphael's figures.

More than a decade later Goltzius designed a second series of the *Seven Virtues in Niches* along with a series of *Seven Vices in Niches* (**Figures 4.126-4.140**).⁸⁰³ Jan Saenredam and Jacob Matham, both of whom trained under Goltzius, engraved the prints, which were published in 1593, two years after the artist returned from his visit to Rome. Likely intended as pendant series, both sets of engravings show female figures in niches with shields affixed to the arches above. The presence of the shields, which include symbolic imagery related to the respective Virtues and Vices, evoke the martial aspect of the *Psychomachia*. Beneath the figures are Latin inscriptions penned by Franco Estius, a humanist poet and

⁸⁰² Strauss and Reznicek disagree about which series was published first, although they concur roughly on the dates. These attributes also identify the Virtues in a series by by Lucas van Leyden from 1530. Lucas's engravings, however, do not display the nude figures in niches. Silver and Susan Smith, "Carnal Knowledge: the Late Engravings of Lucas van Leyden," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 29 (1978), 270-75.

⁸⁰³ Goltzius's drawings for the *Seven Virtues* exist at the Statens Museum für Kunst, Copenhagen. Reznicek (1961), K82-88. Also see Kaulbach and Schleier, *Der Welt Lauf* (2007), pp. 28-29, nos. 1.1-1.6 and pp. 30-32, nos. 2.1-2.5.

scholar in Haarlem, who frequently wrote the verses accompanying the artist's engravings until 1594.⁸⁰⁴ Goltzius drew a striking contrast between the gracefully composed figures of the youthful Virtues and the unpleasant appearance of their depraved counterparts.

As a group, the Virtues demonstrate the desirable qualities they embody through their serenely balanced *contrapposto* poses and modest garments. The shields decorating their niches include symbolic imagery derived from biblical stories or scriptural exegesis. The two shields above Charity, for example, depict Christ on the Cross and a pelican feeding its young with blood drawn from its breast, both representations of Christ's sacrificial benevolence toward humanity. Unlike the artist's earlier series of personified virtues in niches, these figures appear fully clothed in voluminous draperies, allowing Goltzius and his engravers to demonstrate their skillful hands as they expertly render the numerous folds. The energized movements of the earlier series have also given way to serene poses and graceful expressions that emphasize the virtuous tranquility of the group.

Goltzius incorporates the past, literally, in his portrayal of Prudence through his visual reference to the so-called *Flora Farnese*, an antique statue that the artist studied during his time in Rome.⁸⁰⁵ Displayed in the courtyard of the Palazzo

⁸⁰⁴ Estius was responsible for the Latin lines that appear on Goltzius's series of "Roman Heroes," his depictions of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and his portrayal of the *Tabula Cebetis*, among others. The latter two works were largely engraved by the artist's workshop.

⁸⁰⁵ Excavated without head or arms, the statue appeared in three drawings by Maerten van Heemskerck from about 1535. Heemskerck's drawings are the earliest known references to the statue, which was moved to Naples in 1787. On the *Flora Farnese*, see Frances Haskell and Nicolas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), no. 41, fig. 113, pp. 217-219. While most contemporaries identified the statue as a depiction of Flora, the pagan goddess of spring, Aldrovandi claimed that the figure represented a personification of Hope. Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma in diversi luoghi . . .*

Farnese, *Flora* appears in a pair of sketches by Goltzius from 1591, including a version in black chalk on blue paper showing the statue *in situ* beneath an arcade.⁸⁰⁶ The artist also produced a more finished drawing in red chalk, likely intended as a model for a reproductive print of the sculpture that never materialized (**Figure 4.141**).⁸⁰⁷ The second drawing depicts *Flora*'s monumental figure frontally with particular attention paid to the rendering of her flowing garment, a feature of the statue highly regarded by Goltzius's contemporaries as a paradigm for the depiction of antique drapery.⁸⁰⁸ The drawing shows *Flora* with her right leg forward, her left arm extended and holding a wreath – a Renaissance addition – and her right hand gently gathering her skirt to reveal her ankle, all features that reappeared in Goltzius's rendering of *Prudence* produced two years later. In reusing the form of the *Flora Farnese*, he adopted a model for classical, feminine beauty.

In contrast to the beautifully refined Virtues, the Vices seem almost sub-human. *Invidia*, in particular, approaches the monstrous. Portrayed with wild, serpentine hair, sunken eyes, and wrinkled breasts, she gnaws on a heart while holding a knotted snake in her outstretched hand. The bestial qualities of the Vices are further emphasized through the depiction of symbolic animals on the shields

si veggono, published as part of Lucio Mauro's *Le antichita de la citta di Roma* (1556), p. 149; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (1982), 218.

⁸⁰⁶ For Goltzius's depiction of the *Flora Farnese*, see Reznicek (1961), K.228-9; Huigen Leeftang and Ger Luijten, eds. *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617): Drawings, Prints, and Paintings*, ex. cat (Amsterdam: Waanders, 2003), pp. 316-7, no. 43.

⁸⁰⁷ Ger Luijten, "The Fruits of the Journey to Italy, 1590-1591," in *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617): Drawings, Prints, and Paintings*, edited by Huigen Leeftang and Ger Luijten (Amsterdam: Waanders, 2003), 136.

⁸⁰⁸ Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (1982), 217; Luijten, "The Fruits of the Journey to Italy" (2003), 136.

above each of the figures. Pride, for example, is accompanied by a horse and a peacock, a traditional attribute for pride as evinced by the series discussed in Chapter 1; Gluttony appears below a boar and a dog stuck between a pair of trees due to its girth; Luxuria is represented by a lascivious goat and a stag; a bear and a lion illustrate the aggressive violence of Anger, as they do in the depiction by Bruegel; Envy is joined by a dog and a snake, a repetition of the snake she holds in her hand and the figure's serpentine hair; Avarice is represented by a toad and a gryphon, the latter known as a vigilant guard of gold; and Sloth, finally, appears beneath a mule and a beetle.⁸⁰⁹ In his selection of symbolic animals, Goltzius adheres closely to the examples listed in medieval bestiaries and in other depictions of the personified Vices, including his own series of the Seven Vices portrayed in landscapes, discussed in Chapter 1 above. The animals above each of the figures contrast with the symbols of divinity accompanying the Virtues, further heightening the disparity between the gently alluring portrayals of the positive qualities in contrast to the repellent depictions of their negative – and deadly – counterparts.

Goltzius's engraved series of Virtues and Vices offer striking images that can be committed to memory. His Virtues impact the mind through their "exceptional beauty," while the Vices create a memorable impression as a result of their "singular ugliness," both qualities suggested by the author of the *Ad Herennium* for successful mnemonic imagery (*imagines agentes*).⁸¹⁰ Keeping the virtues and vices always at

⁸⁰⁹ On animal symbolism in Renaissance art, see Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). On the role of the gryphon as the guard of gold, see L.A.J.R. Houwen, "Animal Parallelism in Medieval Literature and the Bestiaries: A Preliminary Investigation," *Neophilologus* 78.3 (1994), 484.

⁸¹⁰ *Ad Herennium*, III, xxii. Quoted in Yates, *Art of Memory* (1966), 10.

the forefront of one's thoughts is essential for right thinking and proper action. As Frances Yates notes, during the Middle Ages and Early Modern periods, "To remember [the virtues and vices], and to take warning by them in time, is a matter of life and death importance. Hence the need to make truly memorable images of them in accordance with the rules of artificial memory."⁸¹¹ By impressing the memory, Goltzius's ethical personifications could spur an *imitatio virtutis* in the viewer, providing a mnemonic path to righteous behavior and eternal life.

Virtues and Vices in Built Architecture

In addition to providing material for mental structures, engraved images of the virtues and vices in niches could supply motifs for actual spaces, particularly for the decoration of funerary monuments, ecclesiastical architecture, and the temporary arches and stages of Joyous Entries. Depending on the context, the portrayal of personified virtues and vices could serve a didactic purpose by providing ethical instruction for viewers, or they could embody the moral excellence of the deceased or of a ruler.⁸¹² The insertion of such figures into architectural settings helped to structure their relationship to the audience and to the exemplary people they represented.

During the sixteenth century personified virtues in niches frequently adorned tombs and epitaphs as reflections of the admirable virtue of the deceased.

⁸¹¹ Yates, *Art of Memory* (1966), 93-94.

⁸¹² According to Giovanni Dondi, a contemporary of Petrarch, the ruins of Roman antiquity represent the physical remnants of those with exemplary *virtú* or "the testimonies (*argumenta*) of great men." Quoted in Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, vol 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 295.

The Tomb of Philibert le Beau (d. 1504) in Brou, for example, is supported by ten virtues in niches, sculpted by Conrad Meit.⁸¹³ Virtues in niches also adorn the Tomb of William of Croy, Archbishop of Toledo, which was sculpted by Jean Mone in Heverlee (now Enghien) and completed in 1529.⁸¹⁴ In a design for an unexecuted tomb for Isabella of Austria (1501-1526), Jan Gossaert included personifications of the virtues beneath an effigy of the queen (**Figure 4.142**).⁸¹⁵ The plan, captured in a drawing from around 1526, shows sculpted figures of Charity and Wisdom at the corners of the stone monument and a series of four seated virtues set within niches: Justice, with a sword, points upward toward the effigy and to heaven, the ultimate source of righteousness; Faith holds a cross; and two representations of royal power, one holding an orb and the other a scepter.⁸¹⁶ All are fitting illustrations of the regal status and virtuosity of Isabella, who herself embodies the personified qualities personified below.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Cornelis Floris – the architect for his brother’s house in Antwerp – also designed several tombs and epitaphs that display personified virtues.⁸¹⁷ The tomb of the Danish king, Frederick II, at Roskilde Cathedral in Denmark is based, in part, on a design by Cornelis Floris from 1573.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹³ Barbara Welzel, “Widowhood: Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria,” in *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria*, edited by Dagmar Eichberger (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 103-113, esp. 109.

⁸¹⁴ Krista de Jonge and Konrad Ottenheim, eds., *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries, 1530-1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 32.

⁸¹⁵ Maryan W. Ainsworth, ed., *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart’s Renaissance* (New York and New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2010), 395-98, no. 108.

⁸¹⁶ Identifications of the virtues in Ainsworth, *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures* (2010), 397.

⁸¹⁷ On Floris tomb monuments, see Antoinette Huysmans, “De Grafmonumenten Van Cornelis Floris,” *Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art* LVI (1987), 91-122; Zusanna van Ruyven-Zeman, “Drawings for Architecture and Tomb Sculpture by Cornelis Floris,” *Master Drawings* 30.2 (1992), 185-200.

⁸¹⁸ Van Ruyven-Zeman, “Drawings for Architecture and Tomb Sculpture” (1992), 194-5.

While Floris drawing for the Tomb includes all seven of the canonical virtues, the actual monument, built by Gert van Egen in 1589, includes the three Theological Virtues – Charity, Hope, and Faith – as well as Fortitude as seated figures.⁸¹⁹ The virtues, portrayed with their standard attributes, proclaim the excellence of the king, whose effigy appears below.

Several jubés erected during the middle of the century likewise show personifications of the virtues in niches. Dividing the choir from the rest of the nave, the screen was viewed by congregants throughout the performance of the Mass. At St. Waudrau in Mons, the jubé included depictions of the seven canonical virtues carved in 1545 by Jacques Dubroecq, who executed commissions for Mary of Hungary and other members of the Habsburg nobility.⁸²⁰ Although the jubé itself was dismantled at the end of the eighteenth century, the design for the structure is known from a drawing of 1535, and many of the statues have been preserved.⁸²¹ The personifications of the four Cardinal Virtues were placed above the piers between the three arches, while personified figures of the Theological Virtues occupied niches in the structure's upper story, with Charity at the center. Additional statuettes appeared in arcades flanking the door to the choir. The statues of the Virtues, described by Ethan Matt Kaveler as "hallmarks of Renaissance sculpture in the Netherlands," influenced the design of subsequent screens in the Netherlands, including the jubé at the Cathedral of Tournai. Designed by Cornelis Floris, the jubé at Tournai was erected in 1572-4 following the iconoclasm of the previous

⁸¹⁹ Van Ruyven- Zeman, "Drawings for Architecture and Tomb Sculpture" (1992), 195 fig. 10.

⁸²⁰ See Kaveler, "The Jubé of Mons" (1994).

⁸²¹ The drawing is attributed to Dubroecq. Kaveler, "The Jubé of Mons" (1994), 351.

decade.⁸²² Within such a milieu, the use of lavish materials like marble and alabaster would have dazzled viewers and served as a challenge to reformers. The inclusion of near life-size statues of Faith and Hope in niches flanking the choir door, likewise, reaffirmed the validity of sculpture as an instrument of ecclesiastical devotion.

The representation of virtues and vices was also regular feature of the ephemeral architecture of Joyous Entries, where the qualities was intended as flattering embodiments of the qualities of the ruler – or, potentially, as admonitory suggestions for proper conduct. During the 1549 Entry of Prince Philip II and Emperor Charles V, the Habsburg rulers were greeted by the Arch of Antwerp, which included a stage showing a personification of the city submitting to a figure representing Philip as semi-nude personifications of *Fides*, *Reverentia*, *Gratitudo*, and *Obedientia* knelt before the “Prince.”⁸²³ Two Corinthian niches flanking the stage also contained statues of personified virtues as representations of Philip’s excellence.⁸²⁴ The Arch of Peace, erected at the Minorite Bridge, included a stage portraying the *Victory of the Seven Virtues over the Seven Vices*.⁸²⁵ Peace was accompanied by Liberty, Concord, Good State, Ceres (embodiment of agriculture), Abundance, and Profit. The figures stand above depictions of the defeated vices of War, Madness, Wrath, Tyranny, Discord, Annona (representing high grain prices), and Scarcity. Like the Arch of Antwerp, the Arch of Peace includes additional virtues

⁸²² See Ethan Matt Kaveler, “Tournai’s Renaissance Jubé: Art as Instrument of Empowerment,” in *In his Millieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, edited by Amy Golahny, Mia M. Mochizuki, and Lisa Vergara (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 193-208.

⁸²³ On the decoration of the Arch of Antwerp, see Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture* (1994), 19ff.

⁸²⁴ The two figures, which appear in a drawing by Peter Coecke van Aelst, are not identified by name. See Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture* (1994), 20 and 21 fig. 6.

⁸²⁵ Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture* (1994), 28ff. and fig. 11.

in niches flanking the central stage. Such qualities redounded to the rulers as they rode through the city and observed the many arches erected in their honor.

In the decades following the 1549 entry, permanent buildings erected in the Netherlands often included aspects of the Serlian designs found in the arches.⁸²⁶ Antwerp's Town Hall, for example, bears a marked resemblance to many of the ephemeral structures created in 1549.⁸²⁷ Designed by the architect and sculptor Cornelis Floris and constructed between 1561 and 1565, the Town Hall served as the center of civic identity in Antwerp. The façade, which includes features evoking Serlio's Roman and Venetian *palazzi*, conveyed the magnificence of the city.

The designers of the façade also sought to inculcate appropriate virtues in Antwerp's citizens and visitors through the inclusion of a symbolic program on the façade that paired moralizing abstractions with mythical representatives of the city. The centerpiece of the façade, which resembles a triumphal arch in its arrangement, displays four levels of ornamentation. The main story includes paired figures of personified virtues in the spandrels of the windows: *Poena divina* and *Caritas*, *Sapientia divina* and *Abundantia/Pax*, and *Ratio* and *Oboedientia versus Deum*. The spandrels above portray four Victories flanking two women with standards of the Roman legion. The third level includes personifications Virtues in niches, with *Justitia* holding a sword and scales and *Prudentia* carrying a snake. The upper level originally displayed a statue of the ancient hero Brabo, who, according to legend, forced Antigonus to lift his blockade of the river Scheldt by cutting off the giant's

⁸²⁶ This is the central thrust of the argument presented in Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture* (1994).

⁸²⁷ On the Antwerp Town Hall, see Holm Bevers, *Das Rathaus van Antwerpen, 1561-1565: Architektur und Figurenprogramm* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1985).

hand. The personified virtues on the façade of Antwerp's Town Hall serve a didactic function as moral exemplars. The program offers a "mirror of virtue," exhorting its viewers to lead an ethical existence for the good of the city.⁸²⁸ As the route for ceremonial entries inevitably included the Town Hall, the program also doubled as a "mirror for princes," serving a function like the ephemeral structures that originally inspired its design.⁸²⁹

The examples above indicate the potential for transferring figure-niche motifs from the printed page to buildings and vice versa. The inclusion of an architectural setting facilitated the migration of such imagery across multiple contexts, including the funerary, ecclesiastical, and triumphal, where personified virtues served an exemplary function for viewers and advertised the admirable traits of rulers in life as in death.

Engraved Series of Mythological Figures in Niches:

Hendrick Goltzius

Following his return from Italy, Goltzius also produced a series of *Eight Mythological Deities* (ca. 1592) (**Figures 4.143-4.150**).⁸³⁰ These engravings, which predate his series of the *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices*, show eight Roman gods in niches flanked by engaged columns and surmounted by "sculpted" genii holding laurel wreaths or blowing trumpets. The statuesque figures are identified by

⁸²⁸ Bevers, *Das Rathaus van Antwerpen* (1985).

⁸²⁹ Bevers, *Das Rathaus van Antwerpen* (1985).

⁸³⁰ Strauss, *Hendrick Goltzius* (1977), 516ff.; Rose Reifsnnyder, "The Eight Roman Gods: Goltzius and Polidoro," in *Hendrick Goltzius and the Classical Tradition*, ex. cat., edited by Glenn Harcourt (Los Angeles: Fisher Gallery, University of Southern California, 1992), 36-39.

inscriptions and by characteristic attributes: Jupiter's lightning, Neptune's trident, Pluto's torch, Vulcan's hammer, Apollo/Sol's bow and lyre, Bacchus's grapes, and Mercury's caduceus. As in his series of *Virtues* and *Vices*, the sculptural appearance of the figures is accentuated by their placement within niches, which augments the dimensionality of the deities by creating spatial envelopes. The use of bold highlights further accentuates the forward projection of the figures. The engravings display striking contrasts between the illuminated figures and the deep shadows of their niche settings, causing the figures to stand out in stark relief.

According to the Latin inscription beneath the depiction of Saturn, Goltzius derived his engravings from a grisaille façade painted by Polidoro da Caravaggio (ca. 1499-1543), which the Netherlandish artist had seen in Rome:

[These] eight heathen gods were painted by Polidoro on the courtyard wall in the quarter of St. Paul's convent, on the Quirinal in Rome, now called Monte Cavallo. They are distinguished by the excellence of their chiaroscuro effect. H. Goltzius has sketched them on location and now engraved them for the use of students.⁸³¹

Polidoro's sculptural figures, transmitted via Goltzius's reproductive engravings, were intended to serve as models for Netherlandish artists wishing to portray the pagan gods or for those interested in learning to represent the human figure according to the conventions of antiquity.

As the transmitter of Polidoro's designs, Goltzius endeavored to reproduce the sculptural effects achieved by the Italian master in his monochrome paintings, a transformation of media mastered in the grisaille paintings by earlier Netherlandish masters. During his time in Rome, Goltzius produced detailed drawings of Polidoro's

⁸³¹ Strauss, *Hendrick Goltzius* (1977), 516.

gods in niches.⁸³² In order to capture the subtleties of Polidoro's grisailles, now lost, the Netherlandish artist made drawings on Venetian blue paper with white highlights, a Venetian technique pioneered for the North by Albrecht Dürer. This system facilitated the replication of *chiaroscuro* effects by allowing the paper itself to serve as a middle tone between the dark contours and shadows and the white highlights. With their high level of finish and refined tonality, the drawings offered ample information for the resulting print series, likely engraved by the artist himself shortly after his return from Italy.

Goltzius's attentive drawings and his desire to reproduce the work of Polidoro da Caravaggio "for the use of students" reflect his deep respect for the Italian artist. Although Polidoro was an esteemed figure during the sixteenth century, much of his *oeuvre*, especially his paintings exposed on building exteriors, was damaged or destroyed in the decades following his death in 1543, which explains his relative obscurity in our own time.⁸³³ His high reputation among his contemporaries stemmed, in particular, from his success at reproducing sculptural effects in two dimensions.

In Lomazzo's *Idea del Templo della Pittura* (Milan, 1590), Polidoro served as one of the "seven pillars" of painting along with other Renaissance luminaries, such as Raphael, Mantegna, Leonardo, Michelangelo, Titian, and Gaudenzio.⁸³⁴ Within Lomazzo's elaborate scheme – based on Guilio Camillo's *L'Idea del teatro* (Venice,

⁸³² Six of Goltzius's drawings still exist at the Teylers Museum in Haarlem. See Reznicek, (1961), kat. 239-244; Luijten, "The Fruits of the Journey to Italy" (2003), 124.

⁸³³ For general study of the work of Polidoro da Caravaggio, also known as Polidoro Caldara, see P.L. de Castris, *Polidoro da Caravaggio: L'opera completa* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001); D. Cordellier, ed., *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, exh. cat. (Paris: Louvre, 2007–8).

⁸³⁴ Recently translated by Jean Julia Chai, *The Idea of the Temple of Painting* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

1550) – Polidoro governs the domain of “form.”⁸³⁵ According to Lomazzo, Polidoro “surpassed all ancient and modern painters by the power of his draftsmanship, invention, and all aspects of general chiaroscuro.”⁸³⁶ The artist’s mastery of relief was displayed on several well-known façades in Rome and Naples.⁸³⁷ These “marvelous works” were most notable for their depiction of sculptural bodies painted in grisaille with proportions “very similar to those of the major antique figures seen all over Rome and elsewhere.”⁸³⁸ This resemblance, Lomazzo argues, resulted from the artist’s thorough study and meticulous drawings of Classical statues and reliefs.⁸³⁹

Vasari, too, admired Polidoro’s dedicated approach to the art of the classical past, noting that “[Polidoro] began to study the antiquities of Rome, copying marble antiquities in their grisaille, so that there was not a vase, statue, sarcophagus, relief of any other thing, whether broken or whole, which [he] did not design or make use of. By this means [he] acquired the ancient style.”⁸⁴⁰ Van Mander likewise praised

⁸³⁵ In addition to governing a particular aspect of art, each of the “Seven Pillars” was aligned with a planet, metal, animal, prophet/sage, ancient poet, and ancient artist. Polidoro was linked to Mars, iron, horses, Hercules, Virgil, and Amphion, legendary artist of the (then) recently unearthed sculpture known as the “Farnese Bull.” Gerald Martin Ackerman, “The Structure of Lomazzo’s Treatise on Painting,” (Princeton University, 1964), 202. On Camillo’s “Teatro,” see Yates, *Art of Memory* (1966), pp. 129–59.

⁸³⁶ Lomazzo (1590), Chapter 2. Translated in Chai, *The Idea of the Temple of Painting* (2013), 51.

⁸³⁷ Polidoro’s grisaille paintings, rendered in imitation of Roman relief sculptures on friezes and columns, appeared on the façades of the Palazzo Ricci, Palazzo Barberini, Palazzo Braschi, and Palazzo Milesi in Rome, among others, as well as several sites in Naples and Messina, where he fled after the Sack of Rome in 1527.

⁸³⁸ Lomazzo (1590), Chapter 11. Translated in Chai, *The Idea of the Temple of Painting* (2013), 79.

⁸³⁹ Lomazzo claims that “[Polidoro] was the only one in the world to do this, representing, in every way, the bearings of and gestures of all the principal antique statues found in Rome, as well as the games, sacrifices, triumphs, battles, and trophies, chosen by him for being the most difficult subjects in art.” Lomazzo (1590), Chapter 13. Translated in Chai, *The Idea of the Temple of Painting* (2013), 84.

⁸⁴⁰ Giorgio Vasari, “Polidoro and Maturino,” *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, vol. 2, trans. A.B. Hinds (London: J.M. Dents and Sons, Ltd., 1927), 350. Quoted in Reifsnnyder, “Hendrick Goltzius and the Classical Tradition” (1992), 36.

his excellent use of *chiaroscuro* and his deep knowledge of antiquity.⁸⁴¹ Polidoro's absorption of Classical style through the sculptural remnants of antiquity provided the foundation for his monumental grisailles, which utilized ancient forms and motifs without being slavish copies.

Polidoro's thorough assimilation of the past made his own work a model for Netherlandish artists attempting to portray figures in a classicizing style. Frans Floris's grisaille façade in Antwerp was heavily influenced by Polidoro's paintings, which the Netherlandish artist had sketched during his own Italian sojourn (1541/2-1545).⁸⁴² Several decades later, Goltzius's meticulous reproductions of Polidoro's painted simulations of antique sculpture helped disseminate the designs of the Italian master while demonstrating the exemplary virtuosity of the Netherlandish artist in the medium of engraving.

Several years after the publication of Goltzius's series, Karel van Mander depicted his own, expanded pantheon of pagan deities. His *Twenty Gods of Antiquity*, engraved by Cornelis Drebbel and Nicolaes Braeu and published in 1598, present ten gods and ten goddesses as nude figures in niches (**Figures 4.151-4.170**).⁸⁴³

While van Mander may have been inspired by Goltzius's *Eight Mythological Gods*, his selection of deities was almost certainly derived from a series of twenty pagan gods, engraved by Jacopo Caraglio after drawings by Rosso Fiorentino, or one

⁸⁴¹ Van Mander (1604), fol. 128b. See Strauss, *Hendrick Goltzius* (1977), 516.

⁸⁴² The drawings appear in the so-called 'Roman Sketchbook' attributed to Frans Floris (Basle, Bib. Öffentliche Kstsamml., MS. U.iv.6-U.iv.29). See Carl van de Velde, "Frans Floris," in *Grove Dictionary of Art*.

⁸⁴³ First edition published in Haarlem, possibly by Hendrick Goltzius. See New Hollstein (van Mander), nos. 122-141.

of its many copies (**Figures 4.171-4.190**).⁸⁴⁴ Published in Rome in 1526, this immensely popular series was reprinted throughout the sixteenth century, so much so that the worn plates required re-cutting by Francesco Villamena around 1590.⁸⁴⁵ Rosso's *Gods in Niches* also appeared in at least nine copies, including a version by Jacob Binck, a German artist active in the courts of Denmark and Sweden between 1530 and 1550.⁸⁴⁶ Binck's undated prints, which remain faithful to the originals down to the Roman Capital lettering used for the Latin inscriptions – a detail that accentuates the series' Classical aspirations – demonstrate the geographic reach of the Italian series.

Van Mander's reliance on some version of the Rosso series is apparent. He deviated only slightly from these earlier engravings in his selection of deities, replacing *Diana* with a depiction of *Daphne*. He also followed the original ordering with minor alterations. As in Rosso's series, van Mander's nude figures occupy niches, to which the Netherlandish artist has added titles and attributes above and Latin distychs below. Several deities also resemble their Italian precedents, particularly Saturn, who turns away from the viewer as he consumes his child, and Pallas, shown frontally with her shield and spear.

Despite his clear reliance on the earlier series, however, van Mander altered the deities' appearance in most instances through the addition of numerous features. Unlike Rosso's pared-down depictions, van Mander's gods display multiple

⁸⁴⁴ Bartsch, XV, 79.40-59

⁸⁴⁵ M.C. Archer, *Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century, The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 28, Commentary (New York, 1995), 116-18 and 162; Eugene Carroll, *Rosso Fiorentino: Drawings, Prints, and Decorative Arts* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 120-6.

⁸⁴⁶ Bartsch, vol. s16, nos. 26-45.

attributes, both in their hands and in their niches, demonstrating the Netherlander's encyclopedic knowledge of mythology. The artist's display of erudition is matched by his ostentatious artistry, with the muscular bodies of the gods and goddesses conspicuously posed in a variety of *contrapposto* postures, including several versions of the *figura serpentinata*, a winding contortion associated with Mannerist sculpture.⁸⁴⁷ During antiquity Quintilian linked such twisting, sculptural figures to ornate diction in rhetoric:

The body when held bolt upright has but little grace, for the face looks straight forward, the arms hang by the side, the feet are joined and the whole figure is stiff from top to toe. But that curve, I might almost call motion, with which we are so familiar, gives an impression of action and animation ... A similar impression of grace and charm is produced by rhetorical figures ... for they involve a certain departure from the straight line and have the merit of variation from ordinary usage.⁸⁴⁸

The connection between serpentine *contrapposto* and rhetorical flourish was adopted by Alberti, who linked such forms to the notion of *varietà* in painting.⁸⁴⁹ Aptly, van Mander intended for the copious attributes and formal contortions of his *Twenty Gods of Antiquity* to be used in the service of persuasive spectacle.

The artist's comprehensive portrayal of the Roman pantheon provided a compendium of archaeological information and visual material for the instruction of collectors and artists alike. In many ways the engravings represent a visual equivalent to van Mander's *Wtbeeldinge der figueren* ("The Depiction of Figures"),

⁸⁴⁷ During the Renaissance the *figura serpentinata* was originally distinguished by Lomazzo, who credited Michelangelo as the inventor in his *Trattato dell'arte* (1584). On the *figura serpentinata*, see Summers, "Maniera and Movement" (1972); Erwin Panofsky, "The Neoplatonic Movement and Michelangelo," in *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 174-178; John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1967), 81-91.

⁸⁴⁸ Quintilian, *Institutio*, II, xiii, 9-11. Translated in Summers, "Maniera and Movement" (1972), 277.

⁸⁴⁹ On the relation of rhetoric to Renaissance pictorial composition, see Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350-1450* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971). For the link between ornate diction and *varietà*, see pp. 18-19.

published in 1604 as part of the author's *Schilderboeck*. Along with his allegorical interpretation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (*Wtlegghingh op den Metamorphosis*), the *Wtbeeldinge* formed a semi-autonomous section of the *Schilderboeck* with a separate title page.⁸⁵⁰ As the full title indicates, one of the primary aims of the *Wtbeeldinge* was to assist artists in their "depiction of the figures in which can be seen how the pagans depicted and distinguished their gods."⁸⁵¹ Van Mander provided iconographic information related to the portrayal of pagan deities, and he expounded on their emblematic significance.

Described by Hessel Miedema as "a manual for the symbolic and allegorical representation of abstract concepts," the *Wtbeeldinge* provided metaphorical interpretations of the ancient gods and goddesses.⁸⁵² In the introduction to the *Wtlegghingh*, van Mander contends that mythology contains "important knowledge, of natural as well as of heavenly things, and useful lessons, hidden under the cover of these inventions by learned and able poets."⁸⁵³ Just as the stories contained in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* could be interpreted as moral lessons, the individual deities embodied allegorical meanings. As the god of wine, for example, Bacchus represents Intemperance, but he also exemplifies Truth, as the consumption of wine leads to

⁸⁵⁰ Unlike the bulk of the *Schilderboeck*, the *Wtlegghingh* and the *Wtbeeldinge* were reprinted several times during the seventeenth century. Hessel Miedema, "Karel van Mander: Did He Write Literature?" *Simiolis: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22, no. 1-2 (1993-1994), 58.

⁸⁵¹ "Uytbeeldinge der figuren: waer in te sien is, hoe d'Heydenen hun Goden uytghebeeldt, en onderscheyden hebben." Quoted and translated in Hessel Miedema, "Karel van Mander's *Grondt der edel vry schilderconst* ('Foundations of the Noble and Free Art of Painting')," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34, no. 4 (1973), 653 n.5.

⁸⁵² Miedema, "Karel van Mander's *Grondt*" (1973), 653 n.5.

⁸⁵³ Quoted in Marijke Spies, "Helicon Hills of Sand: Pagan Gods in Early Modern Dutch and European Poetry," in *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poets: Studies in Renaissance Poetry and Poetics*, edited by Henk Duits and Ton van Strien (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 71.

honesty (*"in vino veritas"*).⁸⁵⁴ Through their outward forms and attributes, the pagan deities served as vehicles for abstract concepts, much like personifications of virtues and vices. It should be recalled that Sansovino's gods in niches at the Loggetto in Venice served a similar, exemplary function.

In his descriptions of the physical forms of the Roman gods and goddesses and his discussion of the array of qualities they could embody, van Mander drew information from Vasari's *Lives*, which included a chapter on the pagan gods (*"Della genealogia degli dei"*), and the works of other sixteenth-century mythographers.⁸⁵⁵ As noted in the introduction above, information pertaining to mythological gods and heroes could be obtained from the works of ancient authors, such as Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, whose works were available in Latin and in a variety of European vernaculars. By the middle of the sixteenth century, there were also several mythographic treatises, compendia that synthesized information from a variety of sources, both ancient and modern.⁸⁵⁶ The treatises compiled by Italian authors, such as Lilio Gregoria Giraldi, Natalis Comes, and Vincenzo Cartari dominated the genre. These guides provided information on mythological narratives and facilitated the symbolic interpretation of ancient deities.

While van Mander intended for the *Wtbeeldinge* to serve as a handbook for anyone attempting to portray the gods and goddesses in a suitable manner, he hoped that such a guide would be of particular benefit to those in charge of planning the decorations for public spectacles. On the title page he claims that the manual will

⁸⁵⁴ Spies, "Helicon Hills of Sand" (1999), 71-3.

⁸⁵⁵ Miedema, "Karel van Mander: Did He Write Literature?" (1993-4), 58.

⁸⁵⁶ On Renaissance mythography and the recovery of antiquity, see Sez nec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1972).

be “very useful for ingenious painters, and also poets, to adorn their personages in festive triumphs, or anything else.”⁸⁵⁷ Van Mander recognized that his descriptions of the pagan gods, especially his enumeration of appropriate attributes for each figure, would be particularly expedient for such events, where the depiction of Roman deities served to honor a visiting prince or dignitary. While the *Wtbeeldinge* offered iconographic and symbolic information, the series of *Twenty Gods of Antiquity* provided a further resource for the designers of Joyous Entries and other ceremonies, as the engraved depictions of the gods and goddesses in niches could serve as designs for the figural decoration of temporary stages and triumphal arches.

During the Entry of Archduke Ernst of Austria into Antwerp in 1594 – an event designed, at least in part, by Marten de Vos – many of the ephemeral structures sponsored by the city and by Antwerp’s international mercantile communities included portrayals of pagan deities in niches. According to the description in the official account of the festivities, the third face of the Spanish Arch included illusionistic figures in *trompe l’oeil* niches: “On the third face of the triumphal arch...painted images were likewise seen... On the flat surfaces the painter had created niches defined by their own shadows, and statues in them; namely on the right side, an image of Nobility, with a sword, spear and helmet... On the left side, nude Vulcan, the maker of arms, delighted the spectators.”⁸⁵⁸ The

⁸⁵⁷ “Alles seer nut den vernuftighen Schilders, en oock Dichters, hun personagien in vertoonighen, oft anders, toe te maken.” Quoted and translated in Miedema, “Karel van Mander's *Grondt*” (1973), 653 n.5.

⁸⁵⁸ Johannes Bocchius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu Sereniss. Princeps Ernesti Archiduci Austriae* (Published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, 1595). Quoted and

symmetrical pairing of Nobility and Vulcan, a personified virtue and a pagan deity, suggests that the god possessed symbolic significance as an ethical exemplar.

The reverse side of the same arch displayed a series of columns with the spaces between filled by painted figures rendered in monochrome bronze (“*aeneo colore depictus*”). These intercolumnar “statues” included Hercules, Mars, and the Emperor Constantine, exemplars of martial courage and strength.⁸⁵⁹ For the decoration of the Florentine Arch, Johannes Bocchius describes statues of Pallas and Hercules in niches. The latter included an inscription noting that the figure of Hercules represents “the honour of unconquered virtue,” a flattering description aimed at Archduke Ernst as the savior of the city.⁸⁶⁰ These examples, drawn from just two arches erected during the same entry, support van Mander’s contention concerning the potential utility of the *Wtbeeldinge*, published a decade later, as well as the engravings comprising the *Twenty Gods of Antiquity*. By providing models for the exemplary figures populating such events, van Mander’s works – both images and text – helped convert artistic *imitatio* into personal virtuosity.

The multitude of engraved series showing figures in niches demonstrates the popularity of the format during the second half of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands. The repeated use of the figure-niche motif allowed such imagery, singly or in groups, to be incorporated in rhetorical structures of “place,” including

translated in Davidson and van der Wael, “The Entry of Archduke Ernst into Antwerp in 1594” (2004), 510-11.

⁸⁵⁹ Bocchius, *Descritio*, 1595. Quoted and translated in Davidson and van der Wael, “The Entry of Archduke Ernst into Antwerp in 1594” (2004), 510-11.

⁸⁶⁰ Bocchius, *Descritio*, 1595. Quoted and translated in Davidson and van der Wael, “The Entry of Archduke Ernst into Antwerp in 1594” (2004), 546-7.

both mnemonic *loci* and commonplaces. The visual portrayal of figures and places allowed for the ordered storage and retrieval of information. The emphasis on moralizing figures vital to personal conduct and future salvation paralleled the prominence of ethical examples in contemporaneous commonplace books and in Netherlandish educational practices, which used the notebook system as a means of distilling and collecting the wisdom contained in ancient writings.

Engraved series of personified figures in niches also reveal the close ties between artistic production and personal conduct during the second half of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands. In serving as artistic and morel exemplars, depictions of the Virtues and Vices and figures from mythology demonstrate the level to which an artist's virtuosic rendering was associated with his virtuous character. The interpretation and absorption of Roman sculpture allowed Netherlandish artists to refine their style according to the prestigious standards of antiquity while displaying their erudition. In showing sculptural figures in niches, painters and graphic artists could prove the superiority of their media in the paragone debate while elevating themselves as paragons of moral excellence.

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1.139: Joachim Beuckelaer, *Fish Market with Ecce Homo*, oil on panel, 1570 (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)

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- 2.1, Sanguine
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- 2.3, Melancholic
- 2.4, Phlegmatic

2.5: Cosmological Diagram compiled by Thomas Walkington (London, 1607)

2.6: Crispijn de Passe I after Theodorus Graminaues, *Title Page for a Series of the Children of the Planets* after Marten de Vos, engraving, ca. 1590

2.7: *Enchiridion* of Byrhtferth of Ramsey (originally ca. 1010). Figure from Oxford, St. John College ms.17 fol.7v. (ca. 1100).

2.8: Raphael, *The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia*, oil on panel (transferred to canvas), 220 x 136cm, 1516-17 (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna)

2.9: Raphael, *Transfiguration*, oil on panel, 405 x 278cm, 1516-1520 (Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City)

2.10: Albrecht Dürer, *Nemesis*, engraving, 1501-2

2.11: Christine de Pizan. *Luna and her Children*, from the *Épître d'Othéa* (Paris, 1407) [London, BL Harley MS 4431, f. 102v]

2.12: Christine de Pizan, *Mars and his Children*, from the *Épître d'Othéa* (Paris, 1407) [London, BL Harley MS 4431, f. 101v]

2.13-2.19: Harmen Jantsz. Muller after Maerten van Heemskerck, *The Children of the Planets*, Engraving, 1568

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2.20: Crispijn de Passe I after Marten de Vos, *The Children of Mars*, engraving, ca. 1590

2.21: Crispijn de Passe I after Marten de Vos, *The Children of Venus*, engraving, ca. 1590

2.22-2.29: Jan Sadeler after Marten de Vos, *The Children of the Planets*, engravings, 1585

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2.30-2.37: Adriaen Collaert after Marten de Vos, *The Children of the Planets and the Seven Ages of Man*, engravings, 1581

- 2.30, Title Page
- 2.31, Luna-Infancy
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2.38-2.45: Artist and engraver unknown, *Virtues and Roman Exemplars*, engravings, ca. 1585

- 2.38, Title Page

- 2.39, Innocentia
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2.46-2.47: Michelangelo, *The Times of Day*, Medici Chapel in the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, marble, carved 1520s

- 2.46, Dawn and Dusk
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2.48-2.49: Cornelis Cort, *Michelangelo's Times of Day*, reproductive engravings, 1570

- 2.48, Dawn and Dusk
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2.50-2.53: Adriaen Collaert after Marten de Vos, *The Times of Day*, engravings, undated

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2.54-2.57: Jan Sadeler after Dirck Barendsz., *The Four Times of Day*, engravings, 1582

2.58-2.61: Egbert van Panderen after Tobias Verhaecht, *The Four Times of Day*, engravings, after 1590

- 2.58, Dawn
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2.62-2.65: Jacob Matham after Karel van Mander, *The Four Times of Day*, engravings, after 1600

- 2.62, Dawn
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3.17-3.24: Cornelis Cort after Maerten van Heemskerck, *The Triumph of Patience*, etching and engraving, 1559

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3.25-3.30: Philips Galle I after Maerten van Heemskerck, *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, engravings, 1565

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3.48-3.51: Unknown engraver after Maerten van Heemskerck, *Divine Charge to the Three Estates*, engravings, 1565-68

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3.58-3.61: Monogrammist AP, *The Triumph of the Seasons*, woodcuts, 1530s

- 3.58, Spring
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- 3.75, Last Judgment

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- 4.15, Charity

- 4.16, Prudence
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- 4.18, Temperance
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- 4.34, Charity
- 4.35, Justice
- 4.36, Prudence
- 4.37, Temperance
- 4.38, Fortitude
- 4.39, Pride
- 4.40, Anger
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- 4.42, Envy
- 4.43, Lust
- 4.44, Gluttony
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- 4.49, Samia
- 4.50, Persica
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4.67-4.73: Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *Seven Virtues*, engravings, c. 1515-18

- 4.67, Faith
- 4.68, Hope
- 4.69, Charity
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4.74-4.75: Agostino Veneziano after Raphael, *Prudence and Temperance* from the Stanza della Segnatura, engraving, 1516-1517

- 4.74, Prudence
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- 4.80, Memory
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- 4.84, Cognition
- 4.85, Faith
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- 4.87, Charity
- 4.88, Prudence
- 4.89, Justice
- 4.90, Temperance
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- 4.92, David
- 4.93, Judith
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- 4.96, Jason
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4.100: Albrecht Dürer, *Lucretia*, drawing, 1508

4.101: Master of the Lille Adoration (attributed), *Lucretia*, oil on panel, ca. 1520-5

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4.107: Lambert Suavius, *Untitled Sibyl* from a series of the *Twelve Sibyls*, engraving, n.d.⁸⁶²

4.108-4.111: Hans Collaert I after Marten de Vos, *Paired Virtues*, engravings, n.d.

- 4.108, Pax & Fiducia
- 4.109, Providentia Dei & Justitia
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- 4.111, Justitia & Prudentia

4.112-4.118: Adriaen Collaert after Marten de Vos, *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, engravings, n.d.

- 4.112, Timor Domini
- 4.113, Pietatis
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- 4.115, Fortitudo
- 4.116, Consilium
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4.119: Jan Wierix after Marten de Vos, *Christ* from a series of *Christ and the Twelve Apostles*, engraving, 1578

4.120-4.126: Hendrick Goltzius, *Seven Virtues*, engravings, c. 1578

- 4.120, Faith
- 4.121, Hope
- 4.122, Charity
- 4.123, Justice
- 4.124, Prudence
- 4.125, Temperance
- 4.126, Fortitude

4.127-4.140: Jan Saenredam and Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *Seven Virtues* and *Seven Vices*, engravings, 1593

- 4.127, Faith
- 4.128, Hope
- 4.129, Charity
- 4.130, Justice
- 4.131, Prudence

⁸⁶¹ Hollstein, vol. XXVIII, Suavius no. 33

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- 4.132, Temperance
- 4.133, Fortitude
- 4.134, Pride
- 4.135, Anger
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- 4.140, Sloth

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- 4.146, Vulcan
- 4.147, Sol-Apollo
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4.151-4.170: Cornelis Drebbel and Nicolaes Braeu after Karel van Mander, *Twenty Gods of Antiquity*, engravings, 1598

- 4.151, Saturn
- 4.152, Ops
- 4.153, Jupiter
- 4.154, Juno
- 4.155, Neptune
- 4.156, Thetis
- 4.157, Pluto
- 4.158, Proserpine
- 4.159, Mars
- 4.160, Venus
- 4.161, Hercules
- 4.162, Hebe
- 4.163, Mercury
- 4.164, Ceres
- 4.165, Apollo
- 4.166, Daphne
- 4.167, Bacchus

- 4.168, Ariadne
- 4.169, Vulcan
- 4.170, Pallas

4.171-4.190: Jacopo Caraglio after Rosso Fiorentino, *Twenty Gods in Niches*, engravings, 1526

- 4.171, Saturn
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- 4.174, Juno
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- 4.176, Thetis
- 4.177, Pluto
- 4.178, Proserpine
- 4.179, Mars
- 4.180, Venus
- 4.181, Hercules
- 4.182, Hebe
- 4.183, Mercury
- 4.184, Ceres
- 4.185, Apollo
- 4.186, Diana
- 4.187, Bacchus
- 4.188, Ariadne
- 4.189, Vulcan
- 4.190, Pallas

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