Text and Image in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Prints
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With works from the Darlene K. Morris Collection
Acknowledgements

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**Exhibition Catalogue**
Heindrick Goltzius’s Apollo is a tour-de-force of sixteenth-century printmaking (fig. 1, cat. 23). From the swirling, vortex-like composition, to the fascinating, albeit impossible, musculature of the Apollo’s body, to the precise yet fluid engraving lines that form the image, Goltzius demonstrates why he is regarded as one of the most talented Renaissance printmakers. Less striking visually, but no less interesting, is the artist’s subtle introduction of a Latin inscription, composed in the form of a halo that encircles his head and windswept hair: “Sol rutilus radiante coma, et fulgore corusco / Dispellit tenebras, totun[ue] illuminat orbem.” Written in an elegant cursive script that ends in a handsome flourish that tails off behind the figure’s shoulders, the inscription-cum-halo integrates smoothly among the lines that form the rest of the image. This clever violation of the otherwise believable pictorial space, one in which a two-dimensional written inscription exists within an otherwise convincing three-dimensional scene, creates an interesting dynamic between letters and lines, text and image. While few artists approached this dynamic as thoughtfully as Goltzius, Renaissance and Baroque printmakers faced the question of the integration of text and image in their work—even in such mundane practices as adding their signature—every time they picked up a copper plate and began applying an engraving burin or etching needle.

Indeed, Jan Wierix confronted this question while considering where to introduce text into his engraving for Archer Shoots All of His Arrows (fig. 2, cat. 11). Based on a design for Twelve Flemish Proverbs attributed to Pieter Bruegel the Elder, the print includes two different ways of incorporating inscriptions within a print: in the image, as with the French inscription text that appears near the feet of the archer, “Qui souven donne et n’en a ioÿe, Luneflesche après l’autre envoûte”; and around the circumference of the image, with the Flemish inscription: “Ja datmen veel gheest en men siet hulp noch bate / Sen is gheen wondev dat dit meest elck verdriet / Waer toe ist nut men hout gheen oorden nach mate / Dan datmen den een pijl naden anderen schiet”.

Another approach to text and image appears in Jan Lutma the Younger’s portrait of his father (fig. 3, cat. 30), where the artist provides inscriptions—title, subject, signature, technique—as if they were carved into the stone bust and surrounding architectural feature. The conceit here is that the artist creates the impression that the print copies an existing statue in a niche, when all is pure artifice.

A more common approach to adding inscriptions to a print is to place them outside the margins of the image,
where one can include a wide range of text, from simple identification, commentary, interpretation, or in the case of Lucas Kilian’s engraving after Goltzius’s, *The Holy Family with Saint John* (fig. 4, cat. 27), a dialogue with named roles.

These selected examples provide an introduction to some of the ways in which artists integrated text and image. At first glance, the integration of text and image, letters and lines, does not appear unusual or striking to the modern viewer—until one considers prints from the same era that are entirely free of text, as in the case of Rembrandt’s *Adoration of the Shepherds, with the Lamp* (fig. 5, cat. 47). In this etching, the view into the manger opens unhindered by even the slightest framing device or border or text. One simply passes from the edge of the paper directly into the depth and darkened environment of the intimate scene. Save for Rembrandt’s signature, which the artist camouflaged among the straw scattered on the ground, there is nothing to slow the viewer’s immediate immersion into the space of the manger. Placed next to the prints mentioned above, Rembrandt’s etching draws attention to the often assertive, intrusive nature of inscriptions in prints, illustrating that textual elements are added with considerable thought and purpose. Indeed, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the widespread development and expansion of printmaking, and represents a highpoint in the close integration of text and image.

In *Letters & Lines*, the exhibition co-curators examine a number of questions posed by the integration of text and image in Renaissance and Baroque prints. While the exhibition and this catalogue are by no means an exhaustive examination of this topic, it presents a range of studies raised
by this material. However, before introducing the essays that follow, it is useful to consider ways in which the integration of image and text represent an ongoing theme in the visual arts and how, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it reached a highpoint in practice.

Text and Image Prior to the Renaissance

Several of the earliest systems of writing—oracle bone inscriptions, pyramid texts—have their origins in images (fig. 6). Early pictographic characters were originally associated with specific concepts, but over time, came to be elements in their respective written languages. Such was the nature of images and text among proto-literate and early-literate cultures. Words and images were the domain of priests and shamans, who used them to cross boundaries between the material and immaterial worlds. The close connection between text and image endured well into classical era, where one finds Egyptian funerary papyri that preserve images and written incantations made to ensure a pleasant future for the deceased (fig. 7). Written with a simple reed and ink, and highlighted with painted color, these rolled documents divide the text into columns that are interspersed with drawn images that reiterate and visualize the text. This format, which integrates text and image into columns, was ultimately adopted by the Ancient Greeks and Romans, who, like the...
Egyptians, employed the rolled scroll as a principal format for written texts.

By second century, the Romans developed the codex (book), which served as a more convenient format for written texts, and scribes readily adopted the columnar organization of text and image initially employed in the Egyptian papyri. The codex, with integrated text and images, became the preferred format for illustrated documents in Late Antiquity (fig. 8) and remains so even into the digital age. What is noteworthy about this integrated format is the degree to which the image is segregated by the columns of text that flank it. While some manuscript illuminators blurred the boundaries between text and image, so that the two interplay rather freely, many imposed clearly defined borders, which separate image and text into their respective areas (fig. 9). This separation, both on the page and in the reader’s mind, is significant, as it requires the reader to readily adapt to different viewing modalities—reading/picturing and viewing/interpreting—to synthesize their content.

**Text and Objects**

Although rolls and codices became a format where text and image integration was practiced often, artists also combined text and image on other less obvious objects. The ancient Greek vase painters frequently combined text and image, inserting identifying labels into the open spaces of their narrative compositions so that viewers could identify the protagonists. This is particularly clear in the François Vase, with its hundreds of figures and as many inscriptions; or the black-figure amphora by Exekias, where Achilles and Penthesilea are identified with text labels that coordinate with spiral designs, emphasizing the decorative nature of the surface of the ceramic vessel (fig. 10). Since vase painting was essentially an art of decoration, it is not surprising that painters and viewers regarded the surface of a vase as a two-dimensional, decorative field—one in which text, image, and decorative motifs interact and integrate, free of bounding borders and blocks of text that tend to segregate image and text. However, as later red-figure and white-ground vase painters experimented with linear perspective and treating the surface of the vase as an illusionistic, pictorial space, vases became a less hospitable field for non-pictorial elements, such as text.

Given the intense emphasis of Christianity on the word—logos—and visualizing and representing sacred text as image, it comes as no surprise that artists from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages freely integrated letters and lines. This is particularly true in manuscript illumination, where text is already a dominant feature, but also in metalwork—coins and seals (fig. 11)—where they often identify the figure...
represented and their personal virtues. Similarly, sculptors introduced significant amounts of text in their works, often in the form of figures carrying banderoles bearing biblical passages (fig. 12). The highly complex allegories and narratives of the Middle Ages and the centuries that followed produced a golden age of text/image interplay in manuscripts (fig. 13), as one would guess, but also in large-scale frescoes (fig. 14). Among the most inventive artists to integrate text and image during the late Middle Ages was the Sienese painter, Simone Martini, who, in his Annunciation altarpiece for the Siena Cathedral (fig. 15), represented the text to Gabriel’s angelic salutation “Ava Maria Gratia Plena” in raised letters to underscore the biblical reference to Christ’s incarnation: “And the Word Made Flesh.” By showing the letters in relief—in three-dimension—they, like Christ at the Annunciation, took physical form. Moreover, in Martini’s fresco of the Virgin in Majesty for Siena’s Palazzo Pubblico, which featured an image of the Christ displaying an inscribed scroll, rather than paint an image of the scroll, Martini pasted an actual sheet of parchment onto the surface of the fresco, on which he added a biblical quote relevant to the iconography of the image.

Ironically, as artists such as Martini devised ingenious ways to incorporate text into their images, illusionistic painting re-emerged in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in full force and rapidly reached a striking level of refinement. Indeed, the illusionism was so comprehensive and cohesive that text was, for the most part, increasingly incompatible with and therefore marginalized from the pictorial space.

From Object to Illusion

Over the course of the early Renaissance, artists and viewers largely accepted the proposition that painting was, for the most part, about creating representations that approximated visual experience. Even if the subject of a given work concerned divine and otherworldly matters, the image was conceived and presented according to the physical rules of the visual world. In essence, painting was a process by which a surface was covered with paint in such a way as to make its material reality—e.g., wood and paint—appear to be an intangible view into a limitless extension of the visual world. Through the development of artistic devices, techniques, and materials designed to suggest an illusionistic space—e.g., linear perspective, chiaroscuro, a limitless palette of pigments—paintings were about creating an illusion of reality and viewers looked less at, but through, its surface, as if it were an open door or window.

An early highpoint in the development of such pictorial illusionism occurs in the first decade of the fifteenth century, when the Florentine, Filippo Brunelleschi, painted a pair of panels that were designed to represent precisely views of two famous public spaces—the Piazza del Duomo and the Piazza della Signoria. When viewed within their respective urban settings, the paintings perfectly imitated a small section of the viewer’s exact visual experience of the view represented (fig. 16). While Brunelleschi’s “perspective” panels were something of a display of invention and virtuosity, not all artists fully subscribed to such levels of mirror-like illusionism in their work. Nevertheless, from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries, painters and their viewers tended to regard the experience of a painting essentially as a view into a space beyond the surface of the image (fig. 17). A consequence of this condition is that the painted image could accommodate only that which makes sense within visual experience. Anything that interrupted the illusion of reality had no place in the composition. Text, in particular, had little place in such images unless it was an integral part of the objects in the scene. If it were to be introduced into the illusionistic space of the painting, text had to be woven into fabrics, written onto pieces of paper, or inscribed on the spines of books or their open pages represented in the scene. Even the artist’s signatures could be an intrusion into the illusion, and painters such as Giovanni Bellini “signed” his paintings by including in the painted illusion an image of a small piece of paper bearing his name (fig. 18). Such a view of the pictorial arts made for limited interplay of text and image.

A consequence of maintaining the integrity of the pictorial space is that content hitherto carried by text, which


Fig. 15. Simone Martini, *Annunciation* (detail), 1333. Tempera and gilding on wood panel. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Photo: Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 16. Diagram of Filippo Brunelleschi’s “Perspective” Panel as Viewed in the Piazza della Signoria, after H. Damisch, *The Origin of Perspective*, 148.
during the late Middle Ages was such a fundamental element in the iconography of the pictorial arts, had to be born on the backs of objects represented within the pictorial space. For example, rather than insert labels and phrases that identified specific figures or personifications—Vanity, for example—artists had to rely on objects and attributes carried or worn by the figure—a mirror and peacock feathers, in this case—to provide the necessary information for deciphering such matters as the meaning of the painting’s iconography, authorship, or patron. As Erwin Panofsky astutely noted, “A way had to be found to reconcile the new naturalism with a thousand years of Christian tradition.” From the point of view of introducing text in a rational pictorial space, the challenge was great because text most frequently appeared in books, which normally appeared as incidental items in a painting composition and would be represented impossibly small to read. As a consequence, text played an increasingly minor role in the pictorial arts of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, more so in Italy, where interest in representing a cohesive pictorial space was particularly strong, and less so in northern European centers, where the lingering influence of manuscript illumination remained potent. A notable exception was printmaking, where the integration of text and image remained particularly resistant to trends in representing pictorial space.

Paper & Ink

Among the factors responsible for the enduring association of text and image in prints, was the notion that parchment and paper were long regarded as a medium for writing and illustration. This association was reinforced with the development of movable type, which combined with woodblock prints to enable the integration of printing text and image, putting in motion the production of illustrated books. However, intaglio processes, such as engraving and etching, were not compatible with movable type and thus unsuitable for printing books. To add text to an engraving or etching, the artist needs only inscribe the plate with words, just as one would inscribe it with lines that formed images. However, pulling a single impression from an etching or engraving plate requires time, skill, and patience. It is not a mechanized, high volume process for making images. Another factor that favored the integration of text and image in printmaking is the notion that prints are a graphic medium; engraved or etched lines that make up the letters are essentially of the same nature as the lines that make up the image and appear similarly on a light sheet of paper. This shared graphic quality, plus the fact that an engraver or etcher would use the same tools to write words and draw images, encouraged an approach to prints that brought image and
text together. In contrast, the divergent nature and tools used for painting and writing contributed to a separation of text and image, in practice and perception. In this way, printmaking in the West shares a number of qualities with traditional practice of painting and calligraphy in China. Like many Renaissance and Baroque printmakers, Chinese brush calligraphers/painters did not forsake the twodimensional reality of the paper on which they worked, coordinating characters and lines, paper and ink, to produce a balance between pictorial illusionism and text (fig. 19).

But apart from tradition and technical developments that maintained and enabled the practice of integrating image and text, there were other demands for combining letters and lines in a single image. As touched upon earlier, the addition of text to an image creates a potentially more complex form of expression. From the viewer’s perspective, synthesizing text and image may result in a more textured visual and intellectual experience. Although the inclusion of text with image tends to direct the viewer’s experience and forecloses alternate lines of inquiry, it also encourages the viewer to reconcile text and image in ways that are frequently more than a sum of parts.

However, one must guard against too sharp a separation between text and image, page and illusion, as demonstrated by Jehan Pychore and Remi de Laistre’s Nativity (figs. 20, 21, cat. 46), which features an extraordinary illumination painted directly on the page of what was once part of a printed book. In this instance, the delicately painted illumination was applied over a metal cut engraving by Pychore and de Laistre, based on Martin Schongauer’s woodblock print of the Adoration of the Shepherds (fig. 22), which served as a guide for the illuminator. As the reverse of the folio makes clear (fig. 21), this page was once part of a printed book with metal cut illustrations. But in this deluxe treatment, the printed image served as the outline for a costly illumination, one that transformed an Adoration of the Shepherds into a Nativity and shifted the crumbling Gothic setting to a refined, classicizing environment that was more in keeping with the prevailing style and the nature of the marginal text decorations. Such a work, featured in the exhibition Letters & Lines, reveals the complexity of printmaking and painting, image and text, at this point in early sixteenth-century northern Europe.

Letters & Lines

In the essays that follow, a number of issues regarding the integration of text and image in prints made in the North during the Renaissance and Baroque periods are considered. In her essay on Jan Lutma the Younger’s portrait of his father—mentioned earlier—Dana Angotta examines the
ways in which the son incorporates inscriptions into the portrait of his father that imitate stone carving, so as to create a monumental image of him. It is followed by Victoria Côté’s essay, which examines a series of seven prints by Jacob Matham representing the vices. She considers the iconography of the personifications, focusing in part on the lengthy inscriptions that appear at the bottom of each of the allegorical representations and how they related to the images above. Chloe Cunningham’s essay focuses on Daniel Hopfer’s *Hoarders of Grain*, which illustrates a biblical proverb—written emphatically, across the upper half of the image—that condemns greed and promotes a just sharing of resources. Taylor Evertsberg’s essay looks at another series of prints—Crispijn de Passe the Elder’s *Four Elements*—and how the text at the lower margin of these prints provides insight into their iconography and the series as a whole. Regarding the question of illusion and pictorial space in prints, Diamond McClintock examines the framing devices that frequently surround the images in question, and often serve as a place for lengthy inscriptions. As she demonstrates, such devices and inscriptions are particularly common in portraits, where they define and enhance the image of the sitter. Victoria Schonfeld's essay on Sebald Beham’s prints of the Liberal Arts provides a detailed iconographic analysis of this series and its tradition in Germany. Benjamin Slyngstad looks at the bilingual texts that appear in Jan Wierix’s prints after Pieter Bruegel’s *Twelve Flemish Proverbs*, focusing on the aforementioned *Archer Shoots All of His Arrows*. In the book’s final essay, Lauren Wyman examines Anthony Van Dyck’s print after Titian’s now lost self-portrait with a young woman, considering its lengthy inscription and its role in Van Dyck’s career as a printmaker.

While these essays by no means exhaust the question of letters and lines, text and image, in prints, they draw attention to a range of issues relevant to the production and experience of Renaissance and Baroque prints from Germany, France, and the Netherlands.

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5 Over time, however, vase painting appears to have drawn inspiration from the mural tradition, evidence for this being the famed lost wall painting of Polygnotos of Thasos in the so-called Lesche of the Knidians in Delphi, depicting the Trojan War. This painting was praised for its striking sense of depth and pictorial innovation. E. Simon, “Polygnotan Painting and the Niobid Painter,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 67 (1963): 43–62; M. D. Vansant-O’Donnell, “Polygnotos’s *IlipERICIS: A New Reconstruction*,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 93 (1989): 203–215.


10 Although Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 1: 140–141, does not treat the issue of introducing inscriptions into a painting’s pictorial space, one can readily admit such visual objects into the discussion.


The portrait of Johannes Lutma the Elder, a famous, Dutch metalsmith of the early seventeenth century, was engraved by his son, Jan the Younger, in 1669 (fig. 24).1 Johannes the Elder appears as a three-dimensional, sculpted portrait bust placed in a tall, rectangular, niche with a rounded top. His upper body is positioned squarely towards the side of the niche while his head is turned almost ninety degrees to his right to face the viewer. His right eye is located at the center of the image, acting as the psychological and physical focal point of the composition. The bust rests on top of a flat block, which is turned ninety degrees so that one corner of the block projects out of the niche and forward into the viewer’s space. Light strikes the bust on the right, casting a shadow that falls across the edge of the niche and dramatizes the multiple dimensions of the composition. The right side of the niche and the protruding corner of the support block also cause shadows that contrast the light that is concentrated on the sitter’s face. His physical features are rendered in great detail and include his veins, wrinkles, moles, and the individual strands of his beard and hair. He appears stoic and his gaze is direct. The bust terminates abruptly after his collarbone, providing a smooth flat surface which bears the inscription: “POSTERITATI” (posterity). On the support block, a second inscription reads “IANUS. LUTMA” (Johannes Lutma); on the floor of the niche to the left of the bust is “OPUS MALLEI” (hammer work); and to the right is “PER LANUM. F” (made by January).

This print was made from the first of two states of the plate. In the second state, two additional pieces of text appear above the bust, on the face of the niche. In the top left corner is the inscription “OBIIT” (died); and under it “MDCIXIX” (1618). In the top right corner appears “ETATIS” (age); and under it “LXXXV” (85). These two segments of text indicate the year and at what age Lutma the Elder died.

**Biography**

Lutma the Elder, the subject of the portrait, was born in 1584 in Emden, Germany and died in Amsterdam in January of 1669. He first moved from Germany to Paris in 1615, but in 1621, he settled in Amsterdam, where he built his career as a gold- and silversmith during what was known as the Dutch Golden Age. Lutma married Mayken Roelants in 1623. His first son, Jan the Younger, was born the following year, and eventually became a silversmith. The elder had a second son, who became an engraver.2 His first wife, Mayken, appears to have died some time before his second marriage, in 1638, to
Sara de Bie. Sara died in 1666, three years before Lutma. In January of 1669, he was buried in the Old Church of Amsterdam.

Although little is known about Lutma the Elder’s artistic development, he is best known for his zoomorphic ornaments and masterful execution of the lobate-style, and, for a short period of time, Lutma had a small following of Dutch, German, and possibly Danish artists. Lutma’s works seem to be influenced by Adam van Vianen, a contemporary metalsmith. In 1633, Lutma created his earliest works, which were shields of the corn-measurers guild in Amsterdam. They are extravagantly decorated and resemble Vianen’s works. Lutma’s subsequent works are less and less ornamented, and, consequently, increasingly dissimilar to Vianen’s style. His subsequent works trace this transition. In the years following the completion of his first works, Lutma created a cup and salts in 1639, dishes in 1641, a large basin and ewer in 1647, a second set of dishes in 1651, and finally, another basin and ewer in 1655. Although the dishes of 1641 and of 1651 illustrate lobate style in its full perfection, the basin and ewer of 1647 are Lutma’s most famous pieces. The evolution of Lutma’s style manifests itself in the basin and ewer of 1655, which he finishes in 1655. These pieces portray the suppleness of the material itself and the Elder’s skill as a silversmith. He may have been a printmaker himself.

Following their father’s path, Lutma the Elder’s sons, Jan the Younger and Jacob, worked in metal and printmaking. They were responsible for publishing the majority of the prints, which illustrated the Elder’s ornamental designs. In 1653 and 1654, Jacob etched two prints that depict the lobate style that his father mastered.

Lutma the Elder was a prized metalworker and well known within the artistic community in Amsterdam. He was the subject of both paintings and prints. J. A. Backe painted two portraits of Lutma with a woman believed to be his second wife, Sara, which reside in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Lutma was also portrayed in the company of other goldsmiths’ guild members of 1627 in a painting by Thomas de Keyser, which can be found in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Strasbourg. Lutma is depicted by Gerard Dou and Jan Lutma the Younger in paintings, which at present, are unlocated.

There are four known prints of Lutma the Elder. Jan Lutma the Younger created the stipple engraving that is the focus of this essay, an etching in 1656 (fig. 28), and a struck medal in 1659. Rembrandt etched a portrait of the Elder in 1656 (fig. 23) and included a depiction of a bowl that is similar to those that the metalworker created in 1641.

**Format**

The portrait of his father (fig. 24) is one in a series of four prints that are linked by Jan Lutma the Younger’s signature and the inscription, “opus mallei.” The series includes four portraits (figs. 25, 26, 27) composed in the same format as the portrait of Lutma the Elder described above. The three other prints represent Joost van den Vondel, Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, and a self-portrait of Lutma the Younger. Each bust is angled differently within their respective niches, but all four prints are clearly part of a set.

Taken together, the four prints represent Lutma the Younger’s contemporaries. Joost van den Vondel was a famous poet, which Lutma indicates through the inclusion of a swan, a lile, and attributes of the art of poetry. The swan is a symbol of music, is referenced for its particular voice, while the lyre represents the harmonious flow of words and sounds. Lutma has created this image as a tribute to Vondel’s poetic works, which he reinforces through the inscription above the niche, which reads “OMNI BUS,” (“to those”) and continued below “OLOR BATAVUS” (“swan ancestor”). This phrase indicates that the image is dedicated to the followers or students of poetry, or of Vondel himself.

In the portrait of Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, who was regarded as the greatest writer of Holland and therefore, a prominent figure of the Golden Age of Dutch Literature, Hooft is depicted like the Muse Clio, “who presided over history,” and is crowned with a wreath of laurel leaves representing the continuation of historical events. In this way, Lutma has deliberately chosen only a certain aspect of Hooft’s legacy to immortalize. He complements this with text, and inscribes “ALTER TACITUS” on the façade beneath the niche—a reference to the famed ancient Roman historian.

It is interesting to note that while Lutma the Younger makes prominent references to Hooft’s and Vondel’s careers in their portraits, he does nothing of the sort in the portrait of his father or in his self-portrait. He does not introduce additional attributes or text to emphasize the legacy of either man. Lutma the Younger’s self-portrait and the portrait of Lutma the Elder make references to lineage and family ties. In his self-portrait, Lutma inscribes the phrase “NE TE QUAESIVERIS EXTRA” (do not look outside) on the side of his bust. This can be interpreted to “look within,” either one’s self, or, in the context of Lutma’s portraits in the set, within the family lineage. In the portrait of Lutma the Elder, the word “POSTERITATI” (posterity) appears at the forefront of the image. This represents the relationship between Lutma the Younger, the artist, and Lutma the Elder, his father, the sitter.
Technique

Stipple engraving is an intaglio technique that requires the use of a punch-like metal tool with a flat head called a mattoir to produce tiny dot-like marks, which produce the effect of shade and tone when spaced closely together. Artists using this technique worked directly onto the copper surface, relying on the same tools as those used by metal-smiths and etchers. Etching tools, like an etching needle, or a stipple tool, which had a modified burin designed to make small nicks in the metal, were required to produce the small dots. Stippling was often not used as a solitary technique in printmaking, but, rather, it was commonly paired with etching. These two complementary techniques fit together because artists would begin by etching, and after most of the work was completed, a stipple tool would be used to add the finishing touches. In this way, artists who practiced the stippling technique were working simultaneously as engravers and metalsmiths. Therefore, stippling was a technique engravers could add to their skill set which could accompany other techniques, and was especially beneficial for rendering facial features in engraved portraits. Prints that employ stippling are identified as stipple engravings regardless of what other techniques are also used in production.
Stipple engraving dates back to the twelfth century, when European metalsmiths and bookbinders used the technique to decorate their products. They worked with various metal punches to manipulate the surface of the metal and create patterns and designs.24 By the end of the century, stippling tools included multiple types of punches that had various shapes at their ends in order to create different effects. Printmakers eventually began working with the punch printing technique in the fifteenth century, beginning in Germany and the Netherlands. These early punched prints are generally referred to as dotted prints because of concentration of round dots that create the decorative image.19 Surviving plates show that printers used copper, and potentially, softer metals like lead or pewter alloy.20

During the fifteenth century, punched prints were created through a relief process, but moving into later centuries, printers used a positive impression technique in the intaglio manner.21 In late sixteenth-century Germany, fine-point printing techniques were employed by goldsmith-engravers, who used the patterns on decorative objects. Moving into the seventeenth century, punched printing was refined by Dutch goldsmiths, namely, Jan Lutma the Younger and his contemporary, Paulus van Vianen. While Vianen worked mainly with landscapes, Lutma specialized in portraiture. Other printmakers and metalsmiths who worked with punched printing into the eighteenth century, when it was officially recognized as a technique, succeeded Lutma and Vianen.22 Although stipple engraving was later associated with eighteenth-century printmaking, Lutma the Younger pioneered its use much earlier, as part of an era of experimentation that responded to the expression of light and dark that was fundamental to the Baroque style.23

Lutma the Younger found his first career as a silversmith like his father, so it was not surprising that when he entered the realm of printmaking, he explored the use of stippling. It was essentially a form of metalwork, and therefore, an easy transition from his earlier work. Unlike other variations of stipple engraving at this time, Lutma the Younger created the illusion of wash drawings because of the varying densities of marks in the plate.24 He referred to his innovative stipple technique as “opus mallei,” which translates from Latin to “hammer work.” He inscribes this term in the portrait of his father to identify that he has used this technique to create the image. He uses this textual reference to highlight his skills as a printmaker and bring attention to his personal innovation.

Lutma the Younger and Rembrandt

As a major force within Dutch silversmithing in the seventeenth century,27 it is not surprising that Lutma the Elder found himself within Rembrandt’s circle of friends. Lutma posed for a portrait, which Rembrandt etched in 1656 (fig. 23). In Rembrandt’s portrait, the goldsmith lounges in a chair, “surrounded by the tools of his trade and his works.” His chair is decorated with animal-head features, reminiscent of the metalsmith’s zoomorphic designs. Rembrandt employs dramatic use of light that highlights the Elder’s face, tools, and the hands that used them.26 The result is a reflection of their intimate friendship.27

Unlike Lutma the Younger’s interpretation of his father, which is one of heroism and exaltation,28 the intimate nature of Rembrandt’s etching shows the artist surrounded by things that he would use daily, such as a candlestick placed in his hand, a drinking bowl, a hammer, and a vessel containing metal punches on the table beside him. Such an informal, direct approach was typical of Rembrandt’s portraits, particularly those that show a man in his profession. Rembrandt brings attention to Lutma’s old age by rendering his eyes so that they are difficult to see clearly, perhaps a reference to Lutma’s weakening eyesight at this point in his life.

While Rembrandt created a record of an elderly Johannes Lutma in a setting where one might actually find him, Lutma the Younger created an image that suggests a different era. First, the text on the bust reads “Posteritati,” which refers to the future generations of a person and direct reference to Lutma the Younger. This print was created soon after his father died, so, unlike Rembrandt’s etching, this image could not have been made from life at that time he was working on the print. Instead, he shows his father in his late 50s or early 60s—perhaps based on a drawing made decades earlier. It is certainly not an idealized age, but he appears much younger than the figure in the portrait that Rembrandt etched fifteen years earlier. Furthermore, by representing his father’s likeness as a carved stone bust, the Younger presents a monument, with his father posed as an ancient philosopher.29 He combines the prevailing Baroque style, which emphasizes the use of dramatic light and dark, as well as a strong emphasis on realistic human features, and classical elements by rendering the head as a bust and including Latin inscriptions that appear carved into the stone itself. The end result is a curious combination: the top half of the bust reads like a painting or drawing made from life, while the bottom reads like a copy of a statue. By fusing these two approaches to form one object within his print, Lutma the Younger contrasts realism and immortality.30 Moreover, Lutma uses this unusual format to highlight his skills as a printmaker, particularly his interest in stipple engraving.

In light of his father’s close connection to Rembrandt, it is not surprising that Johannes Lutma the Younger also found himself within Rembrandt’s circle of artistic influence. Although Lutma the Younger is not mentioned as one of
Rembrandt’s pupils, his etchings show that he knew Rembrandt’s style and technique, and there is a strong possibility that he learned directly from him. Indeed, Lutma the Younger made another portrait of his father at an earlier date, 1656 (fig. 28), one that bears the influence of Rembrandt’s style. In this print, Lutma the Elder appears to be working on a drawing or piece of metal, and has a tool in his left hand and a pair of glasses in his right. His body is facing the viewer, but he is turned to the right of the frame and gazes out into the distance, seemingly contemplating the work before him. Through subtle use of light and dark, Lutma highlights aspects of the subject in much the way that Rembrandt modeled his portraits. When comparing Lutma the Younger’s portrait to that made by Rembrandt, it is clear that Lutma had known well Rembrandt’s work, if not the artist himself.  

The seventeenth century was a period of remarkable development for printmaking. Artists such as Lutma the Elder worked to find the best way to depict dramatic tonality, which was an important aspect of the prevailing Baroque style.

…etching before Rembrandt’s time permitted only a restricted, mostly linear interpretation of light and shadow, with no margin for the infinite gradations between….Rembrandt revolutionized the process, eventually developing a technical facility in which he could use the etched line, the dry point burr, and the delicate line engraved with the burin to the same effect for which he used glaze in oil painting.

While Rembrandt achieved in his prints the illusion of glaze in oil painting, Lutma the Younger developed a technique—opus mallei—that could render three-dimensional objects realistically in a print.

Not only was Lutma the Younger exhibiting his use of technique in the portrait of his father and the whole series, but also, his ability to depict and combine a sense of restrained classicism and Baroque drama. The niches are perfectly symmetrical and clearly outlined, but the shading within the spaces of each niche are dramatic—especially at the points where Lutma depicts the shadows falling over the edge of the niche, and reaching across two different planes. The portrait busts show how Lutma the Younger, like many artists at mid century, integrated both trends into what is commonly called Baroque classicism.

Lutma’s use of stippling enabled him to depict a certain painterliness by depicting “an illusion of movement.” The most notable example is the hair of the subjects, which appears so lifelike that it could be blown about by a gust of wind at any moment. Lutma the Younger portrays individual hairs—a detail that evokes realism in the same way that the wrinkles on their faces do. These characteristics show how the figures are not idealized, but true to life. Their life-like appearance creates a jarring juxtaposition with the lower half of the bust and the niche. Combining the life-like heads with busts that appear to be static sculptures cause a paradox that is difficult for the viewer to resolve. Simultaneously, the figures seem immediate and accessible, but also, frozen in time, like monuments. As a series, the prints are a powerful example of how Lutma responded inventively to the seemingly contradictory trends of classicism and the Baroque. He allows for minor variations, but overall, it provides both a “momentary impact of baroque,” and also a “slower and quieter, but more enduring” impact of the classical style.

3 Frederiks, “The Baroque Style.”
5 Frederiks, “The Baroque Style.”
6 Frederiks, “The Baroque Style.”
7 Frederiks, “The Baroque Style.”
12 Richardson, Iconology, 62.
13 Richardson, Iconology, 62.
14 Bamber Gascoigne, How to Identify Prints (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 53c.
15 Gascoigne, How to Identify Prints, 53c.
16 Gascoigne, How to Identify Prints, 53c.
17 Gascoigne, How to Identify Prints, 53c.


28 Tceuwisse, *Ianus Lutma Posteritati*.

29 Tceuwisse, *Ianus Lutma Posteritati*.

30 Tceuwisse, *Ianus Lutma Posteritati*.


34 Wöfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 25–70.
The Seven Vices: Sinful Symbolism of Animals

Victoria Côté

The personification of the seven deadly sins as animals in Jacob Matham’s Vices from the series Virtues and Vices expresses the importance of visual thinking in the understanding of moral allegories. Matham’s series of fourteen prints containing the seven virtues and seven vices is fashioned after a similar series by Hendrick Goltzius, a prominent Dutch artist during the sixteenth century. Dominating the center of each of Matham’s prints is a female personification of the virtue or vice who holds or is associated with an attribute—e.g., objects, animals, weapons—which symbolizes aspects of the particular virtue or vice. Allegory employs personifications and symbols to ground an abstract idea in a more concrete, often visual, form. For example, in Pride, the personification of the vice is a beautiful woman who takes great pain in her immaculate appearance (fig. 29, cat. 31). In a similar manner, the peacock shows off its plumage by strutting around with its tail fanned out.

Animals were often used to portray certain attributes of virtues or vices; however, using animals in allegorical imagery provided a concrete image with which people could identify rather than an abstract theory. For example, most people would have seen a pig or have known about them, meaning they would have known about the animal’s indulgent appetites. They would have connected with the image of a pig with the concept of gluttonous behavior and gluttony’s sinful nature, which makes it a danger to the soul. In contrast, by viewing a picture of the corresponding virtue Temperance, pouring a drink into a small cup, the viewer would have identified this with the idea that one must abandon the desire to commit sin.

The concept of organizing the virtues and vices in a single series stemmed from moral allegories such as the Prudentius’ Psychomachia, a poem about the battle of the virtues and vices that represented the struggle between good and evil within the human soul. Portrayal of the psychomachia during the Middle Ages was in the form of a battle with the virtues and vices facing off in battle attire, in a competition for the human soul. The personification of each virtue and vice in a human form took the abstract concept of virtue and sin and formed it into a concrete image that could easily be identified. Often these figures were accompanied by text, making it easier to identify specific characters. Placing these figures opposite each other in conflict takes the philosophical concept of a battle between spiritual forces and gives it a tangible quality, a visual representation that can be processed and recollected in an effective manner. This visual processing allows for picture identification, which can be executed only after the viewer has processed the imagery and its meaning.

Text can also increase the effectiveness of recalling information. Beneath each vice there is a Latin inscription describing the role of the vices in life and the consequence of committing a sin. Beneath the personification of anger, two lines of Latin are inscribed: Ira ferox, ratione carens, stimulate fuove Quodlibet aggredior feruida atrox nefas (Ferocious Anger, lacking reason, spurred on by madness, anything that I begin is a passionate and cruel crime) (fig. 32, cat. 34). The viewer must not only process the text’s meaning, but also its connection with both the female personification of anger with her sword, helmet, and shield and the animal personification, a bear. The text is written in first person, therefore, the I represents both the female figure and the bear, which are anger. The I is the ferocious anger spurred by madness and is represented in the charging stance of the figure. The bear is portrayed in a similar stance, its paws are wide apart and body is tense as if ready to spring into battle. The ferociousness and madness discussed in the text is applicable to the two personifications of anger through their body language. Visual thinking would connect the ferociousness of the image with the ferociousness explained in the text as part of the vice, Anger. Once the connection between text and image happens, the viewer connects the idea of anger explained in the text to the personifications in the picture. Visual thinking relies on this connection between the image used to personify the concept and the meaning behind the image used. These meanings stem from theological, philosophical, and classical traditions.

Jacob Matham’s engravings of the seven vices are an example of the personification of the seven deadly sins and demonstrate the place of animals in the role of visual thinking. Within each print, one or more animals appear next to the female personification. Each animal mimics the personification’s facial expression and body posture, and reflects the attributes associated with each vice. It is this need to prove superiority over biological nature, which enables animals to be used as personifications of vices because animals are controlled by instinct and cannot choose to overcome temptation; therefore, animals are inherently
connected to the sinful urges that can only be prevented through choice. For example, “gluttony and lust, two of the most universally compelling of vices, were believed to surface immediately from the body’s instincts to indulge physiological interests of survival and procreation. The five other cardinal sins, identified as anger, sloth, pride, envy, and greed, were regarded as ‘spiritual’ problems connected in some manner to the soul and its ability to contemplate, to wish, and to desire.” Whether the sins were considered to stem from bodily instinct or “spiritual problems,” in the end the seven vices can be personified through the base instincts of animals.

Superbia

Pride was considered to be the most dangerous of the seven deadly sins because it was the “beginning of all sin” due to the desire for self-love being bound in selfishness and the need to focus on one’s self regardless of whether it was through envy, anger, avarice, lust, gluttony, or sloth. The remaining six sins are extensions of pride due to their root in self-love, which is the basis of pride. The figure’s attire is immaculate. Her hair is neatly coifed; her dress is luxurious and jewels opulent (fig. 29, cat. 31). Obviously, her attire was meticulously chosen to represent her wealth and beauty to others; however, despite the attempt to please others, the figure only pleased herself. The lack of other figures around her and the mirror in her left hand reflects on the text written beneath the figure: Exerata Deis hominig’ Superbis, nulli Heu placeo, placeo dum nimis ipsa mihi (Pride having wandered from man and God, alas I am pleasing to no one, while I please myself very much). The figure’s gaze is directed towards the center of the mirror representing how pride pleases no one but herself. This first person point of view directly connects the voice of the narrative to the figure in the print. The figure Pride has become the I of the narrative.

In a similar manner, the peacock strutting at Pride’s feet also is a representation of the I. The peacock is portrayed with his feathers in full array strutting to illicit a response of awe. An interesting description of a peacock as a prideful creature can be found in the Aberdeen Bestiary, which compares the peacock to a churchman. “The peacock, when it is praised, raises its tail, in the same way that any churchman gets ideas above his station out of vainglory at the praise of flatterers.” The idea that a churchman “gets ideas above his station” suggests that perhaps a common stereotype of churchman was an egotistical person. This stereotype provided an image, which would have been identifiable by multiple people who would then connect the image of the churchman with prideful characteristics. By comparing the peacock to the churchman, the animal is given the characteristics associated with the churchman such as egotism, vanity, and arrogance. Therefore, the image of the peacock would become a personification of the vice because the attributes associated with the vice have now been transferred to the peacock. This transference of meaning from one object to another is the basis of visual thinking.

Gula

To the left of the personification of Gluttony is a wild pig (fig. 30, cat. 32). The image of a person consuming a substantial amount of food and drink is connected with the pig’s substantial appetite and lack of control. The symbolism of pigs as filthy animals filled with unbridled passion stems from Jewish dietary laws and the Christian biblical tradition of labeling sinners and heretics as pigs. According to Jewish law it was prescribed that “the pig, because it has a cloven
The hoof that is completely split, but will not regurgitate its cud; it is unclean for you. You shall not eat of their flesh, and you shall not touch their carcasses, they are unclean for you. The pig’s uncleanliness stemmed from what were considered dirty habits such as their rapacious appetites and ability to consume both animals and plants, not caring if their food was fresh or rotting.

Rabanus Maurus, a German theologian of the church who wrote extensive commentaries on the Bible, claimed the animal was unclean because the pig “sucks up filth, wallows in mud, and smears itself with slime signify sinners, the unclean and heretics,” who like the pig drag themselves in their sins just as the pig bemired himself in mud and was a base creature filled with “baseness, filth, wickedness and voracity.” The connection between pigs and sin can be further examined in the New Testament. In Matthew 8:28-34, it is written that Christ drove a host of demons from a possessed man into a herd of swine. The demons cause the herd to run into the sea where they drown and return to hell still in the bodies of the swine. Associated with uncleanliness and demons, it is no surprise the pig was attached to the sin of overindulgence.

This driving need to consume is what correlates the pig to Gluttony’s attributes, which is an unbridled passion for food and drink. The female figure Gluttony in Matham’s print is portrayed holding a jug perched on a bulbous thigh and a platter held high with food. These two objects represent the consumption of food and drink. Written beneath the figure are the words Lauta Gula facies et splendida mensa Lyai Heu quot praceipites dat, dedit atq’ dabit, (Gluttony, the praised image and splendid table of Lyaius, alas how many teachings it gives, gave and will give). Its jug and platter represent what will be served and enjoyed by those who commit gluttony. The figure’s body is swollen and bulbous representing a figure
that has engorged itself to the point of sickness. The pig at Gluttony’s feet holds a similar expression with its mouth open, eyes sleepy, and body in a splayed position on the ground as if it is comatose from consuming too much. There is even a piece of vegetation falling from the pig’s mouth representing the pig’s constant desire to eat despite being sick from consuming too much food. The desire to enjoy food and drink trumps all consequences such as mental, physical, and spiritual sluggishness, which can be seen by the pig’s weary position on the ground. The parallel facial and body expression between the figure and the pig represent how both the figure and pig are interchangeable symbols of gluttony. The pig represents gluttony not only because of the parallels but also because it was believed no other animal but the pig could represent the vice gluttony because no other animal was known to possess such an unclean nature and insatiable appetite.

**Libido**

Extravagance, Lust, and Luxury are three sister vices considered interchangeable in regards to desire—Libido; however, each title represents a different idea (fig. 31, cat. 33). Luxuria is the eldest of the three vices and represents specifically sexual thoughts and acts. Lust refers to the desire to obtain pleasure, usually through carnal pleasure, but through other means as well. While Luxuria and Lust are primarily used to describe sexual desire, Extravagance encompasses both Luxuria and Lust and another element of desire not included in the other two vices. Extravagance not only confronts desire but also the excessive enjoyment of pleasure, which can include but is not limited to carnal pleasure. Excessive enjoyment comes after the desire is fulfilled; one continues to bask in the pleasure but no longer appreciates it. Extravagance is the overabundance of desire.
The animal often associated with the three sister vices is the goat stemming from the belief that the male goat is a licentious and frisky animal, who eternally burns with coital desire. It was believed that the male goat’s burning sexual flame was so heated that its blood could dissolve a diamond. The use of this animal as an accompanying image to these sister sins can be found in both the classical past and biblical references.

The symbolic use of goats as sexual creatures in Christian art stems from Roman and Greek mythological and religious characters. According to Plutarch, in the tale of Theseus and Ariadne, Theseus sacrificed a goat to Aphrodite before leaving for Crete to ensure a safe journey; however, when the female goat was sacrificed it was transformed into a male goat. This occurrence caused Aphrodite to be gifted the epithet Aphrodite Epitragia, “from a she-goat.” In addition, the ancient Greek geographer Pausanias described the image of Aphrodite riding a goat that he found during his travels to a temple of Aphrodite in Elis an image attributed to the artist Skopas. It is important to note that despite Aphrodite being considered to be the goddess of love, she is in fact the goddess of lust and carnal pleasure and her acceptance of the goat as both a worthy sacrifice and her mount ties the goat to her religious feature, which is an inferior and superficial form of love. In addition, fauns and satyrs, half-human, half-goats were often associated with Aphrodite and her Roman counterpart Venus. These goat-like creatures were characterized by their unbridled passions and vigorous appetite for sex. This voracious hunger can be seen in how the goat’s eyes are gazing at the female personification of Extravagance just as she is staring out at the viewer. Both figures have a soft gaze, yet there is intent, a desire that burns behind their eyes. The goat’s small smile as he gazes upon the partially nude figure is coy, as if he knows a secret regarding Extravagance. The goat’s
gaze on the female form is directed towards her stomach, which is burgeoning as if the figure is pregnant. The bird perched on her finger represents spring, which correlates with her rounded belly. Despite this concept of spring permeating the print, the consequence of extravagance is still at the forefront.

Beneath the female figure of Extravagance and the goat are the words Omnia perueritis veneris vasa Libido jura, fides, patriam et suagne deos (the wild violent desire Libido for charm destroys everything, justice, loyalty, the fatherland, itself and its own gods). The destructive qualities of this vice and the use of the goat draw a parallel to the last judgment where Christ, the good shepherd, will divide the sheep from the goats. The goats here embody all sin and are unrepentant, therefore they will receive eternal damnation while the pure and penitent will find eternal happiness in heaven.

Ira

Just as the goat symbolizes uncontrollable lust, the bear represents uncontrollable anger. The engraving Anger is arranged in a similar manner to the other six engravings of the vices (fig. 32, cat. 34). At the center stands the female personification Anger in a charging stance: her legs are stretched apart, her left foot is partially off the ground as if she is about to step forward, with her billowing robes swirling violently around her body. A helmet rests on her head and she holds a shield in her left hand and a sword in her right. In front of her stands a bear in a similar stance—its paws spread and fur moving from an invisible wind. As stated earlier in the introduction, the visual parallel between the figures’ aggressive stance leads to the conclusion that they both represent anger. However, this parallel is not relegated to the body language but can be found in their facial expression. The personification’s madness is echoed in the bear’s expression. The personification Anger in a charging stance: her legs are stretched apart, her left foot is partially off the ground as if she is about to step forward, with her billowing robes swirling violently around her body. A helmet rests on her head and she holds a shield in her left hand and a sword in her right. In front of her stands a bear in a similar stance—its paws spread and fur moving from an invisible wind. As stated earlier in the introduction, the visual parallel between the figures’ aggressive stance leads to the conclusion that they both represent anger. However, this parallel is not relegated to the body language but can be found in their facial expression. The personification’s madness is echoed in the bear’s expression. The text beneath the figure Anger reads: Ira ferox, ratione carens, stimulate suove Quodlibet aggredior feruida atroxi nefas (Ferocious Anger, lacking reason, spurred on by madness, anything which I begin is a passionate and cruel crime). As stated earlier in the introduction describing the process of visual thinking, the ferociousness and madness of the I is represented by both the figure and the bear. However, within the text it is important to note the word “reason,” more specifically the phrase “lacking reason.”

Anger is controlled by a deep-seated hatred. It is irrational and uncontrollable. Anger was considered a “spiritual problem” because it was connected “to the soul and its ability to contemplate,” or reason. Reasoning is what separates humans from animals. Reasoning is the ability to not only understand right and wrong but also the ability to identify and recognize when a sin is committed. Anger in the print states, “anything which I begin is a passionate and cruel crime.” There is a sense of independence from animal instinct in this phrase. The words “I begin” states that Anger chooses to commit the crime because Anger can choose to ignore reason, which is what separates animals from humans. Animals are unable to reason. Animals cannot choose how much they eat or when to reproduce, it is instinctual and their fight or flight response does not stem from a conscious choice but the need for survival. Anger is not a part of the fight or flight response, it is an emotion that can be controlled. The animal instinct versus human choice can be seen in the locked gazes of the female figure Anger and the bear. Although both figures are charging forward, the bear’s head is turned behind towards the figure as if waiting for a command. In essence, the bear is spurred on by Anger and its madness as stated in the text “Ferocious Anger, lacking reason, spurred on by madness.” The connection of the image of madness with the philosophical concept of reason found within the text makes the symbolism of the print apparent; by abandoning reason, which separates humans from animals, humans lower themselves to the level of animals because they no longer use reason.

Invidia

The old hag in the center of the print has a classical antecedent (fig. 33, cat. 35). In Ovid’s Metamorphoses, Invidia—Envy—is described as a fiendish figure, “[Her] face was sickly pale, her whole body lean and wasted, and she squinted horribly; her teeth were discoloured and decayed, her poisonous breast of a greenish hue, and her tongue dripped venom…. Gnawing at others, and being gnawed, she was herself her own torment.” This description of Envy resembles the figure within Matham’s print and the text written beneath the figure. The figure’s body is not only ravaged by time but also by her jealousy. Invidia atra lues successibus aspera faustis, ipsa fit inflœlix carfificina fui (Cruel Jealousy becomes a harsh plague for the lucky successes, I am an unhappy torture.) Envy’s uncontrollable jealousy is her own form of torment because she can never be satisfied. Envy is a raw, unadulterated desire to possess driven by a selfish desire to obtain and control something or someone belonging to another.

Envy was the first sin, which entered the world when Satan turned himself into a snake to lure Adam and Eve into eating the forbidden fruit because he was jealous of God’s power and his favorite creatures—hence its association with Envy. However, these snakes are different because peacock feathers emerge from their heads, indicating that they connected Envy with Pride (fig. 29). Not only was Satan
jealous of God’s power but he believed that he was more powerful than God and therefore, could tempt Eve to taste the forbidden fruit. In addition, the figure holds an apple to her mouth, ready to bite into it symbolizing the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Eden and Eve was tricked into eating it by the snake.

In addition to the snakes, a dog can be found standing at the figure’s feet. Dogs were also used to personify Envy. Church doctors such as Rabanus Maurus perceived “Jews, tormentors of Christ, sinners, the devil, and heretics, and symbols of the abomination of the Lord” as dogs.¹⁹

Dogs were also used to personify Envy due to their greedy nature.

If a dog swims across a river carrying a piece of meat or anything of that sort in its mouth, and sees its shadow, it opens its mouth and in hastening to seize the other piece of meat, it loses the one it was carrying…. The dog leaving its meat behind in the river, out of desire for its shadow, signifies foolish men who often forsake what is theirs by right out of desire for some unknown object; with the result that, while they are unable to obtain the object of their desire, they needlessly lose what they have given up.²⁰

A dog will see a larger piece of meat, desire it, and then act upon that desire. The dog sees the opportunity for a better meal and it takes it, ignoring what it has in its possession. This inability to reason and to choose wisely is what enables the dog to be viewed as a personification of the sin of envy because it cannot overcome temptation. The dog is inherently connected to its biological impulse to survive, while reason enables man to separate himself from the biological drive the dog feels, thereby proving he is superior to animals.

Avarities

Avarice shares similar traits to Envy and Pride in that its sole purpose is unbridled selfishness and a hunger that is never satisfied (fig. 34, cat. 36). Beneath the image of Avarice appears the following text: *Perdita Avarities, corrosis obruta, vivo Magnus inter opes (heu mihi) semper inops (Lost Avarice, buried in scrapings, I live great between wealth (woe to me) always lacking).* The scrapings, which the voice of Avarice speaks of, can be seen on the female personification of avarice in the center of the print. The female figure clutches bags tightly to her chest and small moneybags hang from two ropes tied around her body—one around her neck, the other around her waist. Despite the amount of treasure on her body, her head is turned over her shoulder as if she wants to go back for more. One can see this desire in her face to return; her mouth is taunt and cheeks are sunken as if she is biting them in contemplation. This indecision is seen in the hesitancy of her step. Her left foot is firmly on the ground while her right heel is in the action of lifting off the ground to move forward. The forward motion of the body and backward gaze of the eyes highlight the indecisiveness Avarice feels towards the treasure she holds.

While the personification of avarice can be easily identified in her female form, the animal personification of avarice—the frog—originates from the Christian biblical tradition.²¹ In the book of Revelation it reads:

…three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet. For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.²²

It is important to note that in Revelation the unclean spirits are actually demons, “spirits of devils” which have taken on the form of frogs to spread sin and evil through false miracles to gather an army in the name of Satan.

While frogs, like other reptiles, are often associated with sin, the connection to avarice is specific to a frog’s ability to snatch food quickly, with its long sticky tongue. Indeed, in an ink drawing by Jacques de Gheyn, the artist represents an allegory of Avarice by showing a frog, surrounded by coins and reaching for a sphere—a reference to the world, representing the creature’s limitless appetite.²³

Slognities

Sloth affects three states—spiritual, mental, and physical—and strikes all ages (fig. 35, cat. 37). The text for Matham’s print reads: *Slognities enorme malum juuenumque senumque, At juuenum siren blanda, querela senum (Sloth, a huge evil of both old and young men, but the siren of sweet complaint is the flattering complaints of old men.)* “The flattering complaints of old men” represent how the elderly are more prone to relaxing rather than being productive because of lack of energy or capacity. Sloth appears to be a natural part of aging because the body physically cannot sustain its productivity as it ages; however, Sloth is a “siren of sweet complaint” meaning that although there is a natural lag in energy, one does not have to listen to the urges. Sloth appears to be a part of the natural aging process of the body; however, it simply uses the natural process to tempt man into
committing the sin. It was this dangerous quality, which caused it to be debated openly and outside of theological context. It is believed that sloth might have been one of the first sins to be “argued in an anonymous fifteenth-century religious encyclopedia, *Jacobis Hell*.”

Idleness and laziness are key elements behind the personification of *Sloth* as a donkey and a snail. The donkey “was associated primarily with stupidity, stubbornness, and laziness, and occasionally with lasciviousness.” Matham portrayed the donkey as an exhausted creature characterized by its sprawled position on the ground, its languid facial expression, and its dumbfounded look. Circling the donkey’s neck is a rope as if the animal was being led somewhere or perhaps pulling an object until it decided to give up and lay down on the ground. In a similar manner, the female figure is hunched and her knees bent as if she is slowly, with each step, falling closer to the ground. Her expression is one of exhaustion shown by her relaxed facial muscles and her eyes appear dull and heavy as if she is struggling to keep her eyes open. Between these two characters, there is an overarching theme of physical lethargy. A lack of mental and spiritual energy, however, can also be found within the print. A snail is perched on the female figure’s finger. It is important to note that the snail is found on her hand, as the snail was believed to only eat what it found at hand because it made no effort to forage for food. Its physical sluggishness also correlates to spiritual and mental weariness, which are the other two components of the sin of sloth as “idleness is the stupidity of the body, and stupidity is the idleness of the mind.” All three components are interrelated, as sloth is a poisoning of the will, which is the capacity with which a person chooses and initiates action.

### The Deadly Sins

The attributes represented by each personification and the text accompanying each print symbolize the basic causes of each sin and their consequences. These causes and effects are what make these sins so deadly because not only are the causes such as laziness or covetousness dangerous for the soul, but there are consequences such as stealing or murder. While the causes and consequences of the Deadly Sins can be communicated verbally, the visual representation of the dangers of the Deadly Sins enables the abstract concept of sin to be processed and understood in a concrete manner. While allegory as a visual device produces simplified concepts through imagery, picture identification takes a single image and compartmentalizes the simplified concept in a manner that can be recollected in a faster and more accurate manner.

This method of faster recollection is visual thinking, which is a powerful learning tool. The visual and verbal repetition of the personification of vices increased the likeness in which the cause and consequences of sin could be communicated to ensure that there would be a lesser chance in committing sin. These images were designed to prevent sin by connecting grotesque images such as the bloated pig of gluttony with the distortion sin causes the soul. Sinning was a conscious choice and these images were designed to instill a disgust towards sin in hopes that the viewer would then consciously choose not to sin. The use of animals as attributes in allegorical images, such as the prints by Matham, underscores the power of visual thinking in allegorical imagery.

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2. Golrizius adopted Matham, trained him in engraving and publishing, and later gave Matham his print shop after deciding to focus on painting rather than printmaking.
8. Leviticus 11:7–8; Deuteronomy 14:8.

24 Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*, 220.


26 Edward Parsons Day, *Day’s Collacon: An Encyclopaedia of Prose Quotations, Consisting of Beautiful Thoughts, Choice Extracts and Sayings, of the Most Eminent Writers of All Nations, From the Earliest Ages to the Present Time, Together With a Comprehensive Biographical Index of Authors, and an Alphabetical List of Subjects Quoted* (New York: International Printing and Publishing Office, 1884), 403.
“Who Withholds Corn, the People Curse, but Blessings Upon He Who Sells It”:
Daniel Hopfer and Imperial Augsburg

Chloe Cunningham

Augsburg, a Bavarian city in the Holy Roman Empire, entered a golden age in the fifteenth century. During this period, the city was a primary site for the production of armor, medals, prints, illustrated books, and textiles. In the following century, the manufacture of weapons and armor surged, as did the tradition of ornamenting such objects—a trade that had been practiced in Europe since the Middle Ages. Metals, in particular, were crucial to Augsburg’s fortunes. This city provided Emperor Maximilian I with his armor commissions and it became a center for another metal related industry: printing and engraving. It is also associated with the origins of the etching process. Evidently, this process, which uses acid to etch a design into a metal plate, was borrowed from the armorer’s trade and developed for artistic purposes as a means for applying designs to metal printing plates. Such conditions supported a market for printmaking and collecting, one that served the Emperor and the Habsburg court, as well as the city’s wealthy private collectors. Despite the abundance of artistic activity in Renaissance Augsburg, scholars have often overlooked the city, favoring instead Albrecht Dürer’s Nuremberg. Recent scholarship on Augsburg, however, is clarifying the significance of the city’s artists and their work. An example of this trend, particularly in the area of metalwork and printmaking, appears in Daniel Hopfer’s *Proverbs 11:26 (Hoarders of Grain)* (fig. 36, cat. 25).

The Print

*Hoarders of Grain* was created in Augsburg in 1534. At the very top of the image appears Hopfer’s monogram, consisting simply of a “D” and an “H” separated by a pinecone. Daniel Hopfer and his two sons, Hieronymus and Lambert, all used the pinecone in their monograms, as it was the Roman symbol of eternity or resurrection during the Middle Ages and the symbol of Augsburg. Hopfer employs this monogram in all of his works, although it varies in location so as not to distract from the image. Below his monogram the text of the Proverbs 11:26 appears in German: DIE SPRICH SALOMO DAS XI CAPITEL/WER KORN INHELT DEM FLUVCHEN DIE LEIT/ABER SEGEN KOMPT VEBER DEN SO ES VERKAFT/MDCLXXXIIII" (The Proverbs of Solomon Chapter 11: Who Withholds Corn, the People Curse but Blessings Upon He Who Sells It).

On first glance, the Roman numerals date the print to 1684, well after Hopfer’s death. However, an earlier state of the print in the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows the original inscription to read MDXXXIIII, appropriately dating the print to 1534. It is unclear why, in the state discussed here, the CL was added to the inscription.

Below the text is the representation of the proverb. On the left side of the print, a gruesome, burly character sits atop sacks of grain; he is the “Hoarder” mentioned in the inscription. On each of his shoulders sits a smaller creature that whispers into his ears. The creature on his right shoulder is winged with a long tail, while the other is horned. On the Hoarder’s head sits a third creature with a beak, insect wings, and a furry tail, surmounted by a fourth creature with bat-like wings, long ears, and serpentine tail. Next to the Hoarder, four townsmen look onward, aghast with outstretched arms and open mouths. The kneeling figure in military garb is quite peculiar. The man’s contorted position seems to defy nature; his legs face forward but his head faces back toward the Hoarder. It appears almost as if Hopfer rotated the man’s head 180 degrees. He holds a stack of grain, perhaps shielding it from the Hoarder. The dress of all of the figures in the composition, perhaps with one exception, suggests that they are of the merchant, if not upper-class status. No women are seen in the print.

In the upper-right corner of the print, the hand of God emerges from a cloud in a gesture of blessing. Beams of light radiate outward from the hand towards the erect figure of a suitably dressed man directly below, who stands in direct contrast to the Hoarder. The man distributes grain in an orderly and equal manner. Above his head is a dove-like bird,
which appears in the center of the heavenly beams of light. The background behind the grouping of figures consists of a few buildings in front of an alpine setting. The style of the architecture and the nature of the mountains beyond, suggests that this may be a reference to the city of Augsburg.

The Artist

It is suggested that Daniel Hopfer, who worked initially as an armorer, made the first attempts at etching circa 1500. His early efforts were not particularly successful; however, he developed his skills and based on the 145 etchings attributed to him, he appears to have been proficient. The subject of his prints ranges from mythological scenes, to secular portraiture, to ornamental prints, to religious subjects. Regarding his religious prints, Hopfer’s early work “straddled the divide between Catholic and Protestant,” but in the early 1520s, he converted to Protestantism, and became an active supporter of the Reformation. Hopfer even etched portraits of Martin Luther and Erasmus. In line with the Protestant emphasis on the role of printing as a means to promote fundamental religious values, three of Hopfer’s prints represent Proverbs 10:1-3 (fig. 37), 10:4-7 (fig. 38), and 11:26—the Hoarders of Grain. And while several artists, including Dürer, worked in various printmaking techniques, all of Hopfer’s prints are etchings, which contributed to the expansion of Augsburg’s burgeoning print market.

Representing Proverbs 11:26

The Hoarders of Grain offers a compelling interpretation of the biblical proverb. The message of the print is two-fold, functioning on both religious and civic levels. The religious message underscores the importance of charity, and that the grace of God will be upon he who is charitable, but damnation will fall upon the greedy Hoarder; the civic message underscores the importance of equity and promoting


order within the commonwealth. Grain was a vital food commodity and ample reserves were essential to a city’s stability, particularly when war or famine struck. Thus, the print promoted the sixteenth-century idea of religious and civic objectives, combining the ways of teaching and learning in the web of ecclesiastical and secular administrative procedures, which became the true image of the Reformation.  

The print achieves this objective through its “fervent…and thoroughly medieval moralizing intention.”

To convey the didactic message of the Hoarders of Grain, Hopfer associates hoarding with the sin of avarice and sharing with the virtue of charity, dividing the composition in half, with hoarding on the left and sharing on the right. While breaking up the composition this way juxtaposes right from wrong, the association of left and right with moral attributes has been present throughout the history of art. Indeed, Lucas Cranach The Younger, a contemporary of Hopfer, employs this device in his print The Old and New Testament or Allegory of the Law and the Gospel (fig. 39) by dividing the composition with a tree. While Hopfer’s division is not as obvious as Cranach’s, the Hoarders of Grain is no different. On the left side of the page is the evil Hoarder and on the right side is the charitable man. The hoarding side is chaotic and features fantastical beasts whereas the side of charity is ordered and much more realistic. Because of the text, which reads left to right, the reader also reads the composition, beginning with the Hoarder and ending with the blessed man. It is important that the viewer reads the print in this direction because of the dialectic between the two figures and the bales of grain at the center. The gruesome Hoarder makes the blessed man appear that much more virtuous. The blessed man represents the ultimate moral goal for everyone, which is mirrored in the way one reads the composition.

Close study of the Hoarder also reveals connections with other works by Hopfer. The Hoarder displays features shared with the creatures in one of Hopfer’s earlier works, Heads of Grotesque Animals (fig. 40). In the upper-right corner of the etching appears a demon-like animal. This demon, with its feline mouth and piercing round eyes, is similar to the Hoarder. Likewise, versions of the demons surrounding the Hoarder are seen repeatedly in Hopfer’s work, such as Venus and Eros (fig. 41) and Three Old Women Beating a Devil (fig. 42). Apart from the Hoarder himself, the dragon-like creature on the Hoarder’s right shoulder, who appears to be counseling the Hoarder, alludes to the Devil. By representing the Hoarder with demon features and in the company of demons, Hopfer equates his sinful ways with a sinful appearance.

The dragon and other demonic flying creatures next to the Hoarder stand in sharp contrast to the blessings associated with the dove on the other side of the composition. In the context of the composition, the dove symbolizes the blessings of the Holy Ghost, and thereby blesses the man who doles out the grain equally. Furthermore, the man stands in front of radiant rays of light that emanate from the hand of God, which are the symbol of divinity and supreme power. While it may be that in refraining from representing the entire image of God, showing only his hand coming forth from a cloud, Hopfer was following the ancient ban on images of God. In this context it may be just as likely that Hopfer opted for this approach for compositional reasons; the abbreviated image of God fits the space better.

Other symbols in the etching relate to grain. On the right side of the image two crowns appear on bags of grain. The crowns suggest that these bags are part of the imperial reserves, which would have been tapped into in times of famine. On the left side of the image, the Hoarder sits on a pile of bags filled with grain. In front of him, the kneeling man in military dress presents his nearly empty bag to the Hoarder, mouth open as if to complain. Is he, like his fellow citizens, representative of the city’s various groups who are bound by the greed of the Hoarder? As for the letter “T” that decorates his bag, its meaning, if any, remains unclear.

Finally, there is the question of grain and its Eucharistic associations. In light of references to charity and God’s blessing, it is likely that Hopfer’s audiences would have grasped the theological connections between grain and charity—loving God and one’s neighbor.

**The Social Setting**

The concepts of charity and civic mindedness articulated in this print were especially important in the sixteenth century. The population in Europe increased dramatically.
from the mid-fifteenth century to the seventeenth century. In
effect, the population boom caused a spiraling effect that
impacted many areas. Although agrarian productivity
increased, it could not keep up with the rising population.23
The discrepancy “between the amount of food available and
the number of mouths to feed caused a rapid inflation of
grain prices,” increasing the price of grain by four hundred
per cent over the course of two centuries.24 The wages of
workers did not increase at the same rate as the price of grain.
Thus, workers’ purchasing power was very limited. Moreover,
grain provided approximately seventy per cent of human
caloric requirements, making it the difference between life
and death.25 Such was the case with the recurring waves of
the plague, which often struck in conjunction with grain
shortages. The second pandemic of the plague had no clear
pattern but it was widespread during the years 1518–1531,
ending three years before the Hoarders of Grain was pub-
lished.26 Whether such conditions played a part in shaping
Hopfer’s image, the importance of grain and its equitable,
charitable distribution was widely understood by his
audience.

The print thus brings up the dimension of reformation
teachings. In 1533, German Lutheran Theologian, Andreas
Osiander, initiated the Children’s Sermons, which became
one of the most popular Lutheran catechisms of the sixteenth
century, instructing a more receptive audience in the
Evangelical faith. The Children’s Sermons were “directly
related to sin and its consequences,”27 and imbued the youth
with “a deep sense of guilt for their moral transgressions.”28
Martin Luther himself declared “such atrocious sins cannot
go unpunished by God…some men are led to madness by
the devil, others are possessed by him. He breaks their necks,
drowns them, lets them burn or plunge to their deaths, and
causes them to fall into despair so that they will be eternally
damned. And all these evils we suffer because we have
sinned.”29

A catechism for Augsburg children encouraged them to
admit that “I am, alas, a poor sinner, for my whole life is
composed of sin and nothing but sin, excepting only what God himself accomplishes in me.” Catechisms generally progressed from sin to pardon. Although catechisms might seem dismal, the object was not to labor in sin, but to accept the beneficence of God. In general, the message of catechisms “was one of hope, not despair.”

Viewed within the context of such teachings, Hopfer’s *Hoarders of Grain*—as well as many of his other prints illustrating the Proverbs and related catechetical matters—has considerable resonance. Both the practice of reciting catechisms and Hopfer’s etching were created at the time and function in related ways. Both begin with the idea of sin and end with the moral exemplar. After all, the Protestant establishment “seems to have joined in this campaign to immerse the population in as much religion as it could tolerate,” and prints such as Hopfer’s no doubt played a role in this process.

18. James Hall, *The Sinister Side: How Left-Right Symbolism Shaped Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 15. In *Metaphysics*, Aristotle created a table of opposites derived from Pythagorean philosophy. This table associated left with “darkness,” “bad,” and “odd,” whereas right was associated with “light,” “good,” and “even.” Moreover, the Latin word for “left” is *sinistra*.
24. Cameron, *Early Modern Europe*, 48. The inflation of grain prices was also potentially exacerbated by an increase in the European money supply, due to the conversion into coinage of silver from central European and South American mines.
Crispijn de Passe the Elder was an important printmaker during the Dutch Golden Age. He ran his own studio, printing almost always his own engravings, and sometimes after other artists’ designs. Among his works is a series of four prints that he made in collaboration with Maarten de Vos representing the Four Elements. In each of the four prints—Air, Earth, Water, Fire—de Vos and de Passe represented a pair of lovers seated among attributes, symbols, and activities appropriate to each of the respective elements. Air presents a wealthy couple in fancy attire with their collection of birds; in the background behind them a bird hunt continues (fig. 43, cat. 42). Earth is represented by a pair of music lovers among a fruitful harvest during a merry festival (fig. 44, cat. 43). Water shows a fisherman and his wife, presenting their lot of fish in a market. Behind them, a fishing port bustles with men making a life out of casting nets and fishing poles (fig. 45, cat. 44). And Fire is represented by an old alchemist working before a fire and a younger woman (fig. 46, cat. 44). In addition to the stated subject of the four prints, the couples who dominate each of the compositions are engaged in amorous—and at times, coarse—gestures and activities, creating a subplot that connects them. While many of the symbols are readily identifiable, as in most genre scenes and emblem books from the Netherlandish art, the complete iconography of each of the allegorical scenes is more complex. However, prior to considering each of the prints, it is helpful to discuss the history of the elements and their representation in Northern, particularly Netherlandish art.

History of the Four Elements

The concept of the four elements as represented by air, earth, water, and fire, was first organized by the ancient philosopher, Empedocles (495–435), who drew heavily from earlier writings. This basic principle of the reduction of all things to a limited number of unchanging fundamental substances is Empedocles’ most influential formulation. Empedocles expressed his theories in a poetic manner, in which the elements were represented by the classical deities: “Hear first the four roots of all things: bright Zeus, life-bring Hera, Aidoneus and Nestis, whose tears are the source of mortal streams.” In this passage, Zeus personifies fire, Hera represents earth, Aidoneus represents air, while Nestis is water. All life, beings, and objects are manifest through these four entities, or their combination, as described by Empedocles:

From them (the four “roots”) comes all that was and is and will be hereafter—trees have sprung from them, and men and women, and animals and birds and water-nourished fish, and long-lived gods too, highest in honor. For these are the only real things, and as they run through each other they assume different shapes, for the mixing interchanges them.

Although other writers had addressed certain aspects of this system, Empedocles was the first to identify and codify the four elements independent of each other, through which they combine to create all other matter. However, other forces must be present in order for the four elements to compound together and separate into their own masses. The driving forces behind the four elements are philia and neikos; philia meaning “love” or “friendship” and neikos meaning “strife” or “hate.” Love and strife are not material objects, but rather energies that accommodate birth and growth as well as deterioration and destruction.

After Empedocles, Plato is the next major philosopher to consider the four elements. Although Plato does not deny the existence of primary entities, his position differs from Empedocles in a few ways. Plato denies that the four elements are the “ultimate constituents.” Plato believed that these elements in themselves were actually composites, constructed from “elementary triangles” thus forming three-dimensional particles. He argued that these particles, not the elements that are formed from them, are the true compounds of the world. Although Plato’s student, Aristotle, argued for the existence of a fifth element—aether, a divine substance that makes up the heavenly spheres—their combined acceptance of Empedocles was particularly influential.

It was, however, Pliny the Elder, in his Natural History, that the four elements become codified into a hierarchy: the highest of them being fire and thus “proceed the eyes of so many glittering stars.” Next in order is the spirit, air. Air is the vital principle that mingles with all things and balances the earth with water. Water and earth are bound together and the lighter is thus restrained by the heavier, while at the same time, the heavier are so suspended from the lighter tending upwards, thus they are held together in their appropriate place, bound together from the evolution of the world.

According to Pliny, the four elements have a significant role in the study of natural history because they become a way through which to categorize objects and impose order on the
chaotic universe. Such efforts at ordering the essential elements led to theories and experiments regarding their combination and transformation, paving the way to the practice of alchemy. Although formulated during the Hellenistic era, alchemy, as understood in seventeenth-century Europe, was fundamentally defined by its practice during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.
The Alchemic Tradition

As Titus Burckhardt notes, the practice of alchemy was a popular and superstitious utilization of natural philosophy, in which physical methods were combined with magical conjectures. The desire to transform base metals into silver or gold was a driving force behind much of alchemy. To do so, alchemists sought to master material changes, associating fire, air, water, and earth in accordance with the four natural qualities: hot, wet, cold, and dry, respectively. These qualities, established by Aristotle, are active in their relationship to the elements. The four qualities have the capacity to change one element to another, dependent in part on how they relate to each other; the quality dry resides between fire and earth, hot between fire and air, wet between air and water, and cold between earth and water (fig. 47). However, each element has two qualities. For example, fire is both dry and hot, while water is wet and cold. Each of these qualities was thought to be able to transform each element into another element. Heat is the quality through which water can be absorbed into the air. Water is frozen through cold in order to become like solid earth. However, as is now known, it is not the elements that change, but rather their state. The four elements and qualities are also often given the symbolic meaning in relation to the four qualities of the soul: expansion, contraction, dissolution, and solidification which take the place of the qualities of hot, cold, wet, and dry. Alchemy was practiced throughout the Medieval and Renaissance, enhanced considerably by the increasing access to ancient texts. Although eventually eclipsed by the rising tide of reason-based scientists, alchemy was still popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. By the time Crispijn de Passe started his print business, alchemy remained a popular, if widely lampooned practice, and factored substantially in the visual culture and representation of the four elements. This is not surprising, since the practice of painting and metalwork dealt in no small part with the physical sciences and artists in their studios were, at times, part scientist, part alchemist.

Crispijn de Passe the Elder: Printmaker/Publisher

Crispijn de Passe the Elder was born in Arnemuiden, Zeeland in 1564. He received his artistic training in Antwerp, where he learned the skills of a draughtsman, painter, engraver, and print publisher. Here he would have met one of the city’s leading painters and future collaborators, Maarten de Vos. In 1584–1585 he was recorded as the master of the guild. Four years later, his religious beliefs led him to flee to Cologne, where he opened a successful print business and married Madeleine de Bock. However, in 1610, de Passe officially joined the Anabaptist faith and in the following year, fled to Utrecht. In 1612, he started what would become a prosperous publishing business, specializing in books of prints.

As a printmaker and publisher, Crispijn de Passe addressed a range of subjects in his work, including portraits, book illustrations, historical events, and allegories, a number of which were organized into series, such as The Four Elements. Crispijn de Passe also produced emblem books—didactic or moralizing books that contained emblematic images with corresponding texts. Each emblem usually consists of an image paired with a short explanatory statement, motto, or poem that frequently leads the reader to self-examination. Emblems sometimes included obscure allegorical references, intended for an educated audience who admired their appearance, narrative structure, and message. Regarding emblem books and allegorical images, printmakers typically did not hide or disguise their meaning. Symbols, allegorical imagery, and their underlying moral concepts, such as sloth, lust, seduction, are easily recognizable to contemporary viewers. For his prints, de Passe designed several of the emblems in circular compositions, placing a Latin motto around the border versus underneath the image, transforming them into true emblems. Indeed, de Passe was versed in poetry and read Latin, which was certainly useful, if not required, for his work as print and emblem book publisher. For the most part, de Passe did not intend for his series of prints to sell as separate items, but rather as an integrated booklet. Whether this was the case for the prints in question here is not clear.
Crispijn de Passe the Elder / Maarten de Vos: The Four Elements

The Four Elements are based on designs previously engraved by Maarten de Vos—as noted in the plate at the bottom of each of the prints: “Martin de Voss, figuravit.” In designing the images, de Vos rejected the traditional approach to the subject. Instead of depicting the pagan gods who personify the elements—Zeus, Hera, Aidoneus, and Nestis—he replaced them with figures of mortal lovers in contemporary dress. Thus Earth features an elegantly dressed couple making music together, Water shows a fisherman and his fisherwoman, Air features a wealthy couple more interested in each other than in the bird hunt behind them, and Fire represents a besotted alchemist who tries to make gold for a young woman.27 They are surrounded by a variety of symbols and activities relevant to the iconography of the subject, and flanked at the bottom by a lengthy inscription, in the emblem book manner.

Aer / Air

For the element of Air, de Passe and de Vos represented a contemporary Dutch couple clad in the fashion of the day. The couple is so enthralled in each other that they pay no attention to the bird hunt occurring in the details of the background behind them. The man and the woman occupy the center of the print, and sit closely together. Only the man’s right leg is visible as his lady sits on or between his legs, leaning into him, and gazing at him. Her right hand wraps around his shoulder, while her left hand rests intimately on his chest. A lizard sits casually on her sleeve. The gentleman holds out his right arm while a bird rests on his index finger. His gaze brings the viewer’s attention to the woman’s hairstyle. Birds in flight frame the top of the woman’s head in the background as well as reside close to the gentleman to his right side. Caged birds rest under the feet of the two lovers, under their possession. In the background behind the woman, hunters participate in a bird hunt, complete with horses, dogs, nets, and traps.

Below the image, in the lower margin of the print—and for that matter, all four in the series—a text addresses the element and how humans utilize, react, abuse, and consider what it provides for the world, animals, nature, and mankind. The text for Air reads:

En vagus in tenues descendit Spiritus auras,  
Aeraque extendit medium per inania Mundi:  
Atque vt nulla suis regio est animalibus orba,  
Cesserunt nitidis habitandae piscibus vndae,  
Terra feras product habet sic nubilus Aer.

(Lo and behold! The wandering Breath descends into thin breezes, and air extends through the middle of the empty universe: And as no land is orphaned by its own animals, waves were granted for living with shining fish, Earth produces animals. Air has thus clouds. All kinds of birds, which were celebrating with melodious, heavenly songs, they soothe lonely places (for those) with wandering grievances: from here they come with most acceptable foods for our tables.)28

Air extends through the emptiness of the universe and contains the clouds through which all the melodious birds are able to fly through and provide songs to lonely or empty places. But these birds provide food for man’s table, as represented through the dead birds in the bottom right-hand corner of the print. The hunt occurring in the background is referred to in the poem: “from here they come with most acceptable foods for our tables.” The hunters are using all means possible, spears, horses, dogs, nets, and traps in order to provide food for their family or in order to sell in their community. The chameleon represented on the woman’s left sleeve is a symbol of the element air. According to Cesare Ripa’s Iconologia, the chameleon supposedly was able to live off the air alone and nothing else.29

Terra / Earth

For Earth, several musical instruments are depicted as earth’s allegorical symbol. The man sits on the left side of the image, holding a lute, but having no interest at all in the instrument or the music he may be producing. Instead he focuses all of his attention to the right, gazing directly into the eyes of his lover who stares longingly back at him. A stringed instrument rests on the woman’s lap. In front of the pair of lovers is a table with several other instruments as well as sheet music and various types of fruit. Behind them, in the top right corner, other pairs of lovers dance to what appears to be a trio of muscians. In the top left corner, two men collect fruit from a tree: one climbs a ladder while the other waits below, ready to collect the products of their labor. Again the lizard makes an appearance on the table in the bottom right corner of the image.

The poem that is provided with the image of Earth reads:

Humorum guttas mater cum Terra receipt;  
Foeta parit nitidas fruges, arbustaque leta,
Et genus humanum, parit omnia secla ferarum:
Pabula dum praebet, quibus omnes corpora pascunt,
Et dulcem ducant vitam, sobolenique propagent:
Unde e tiam merito maternum nomen adepta est.

Mother Earth provides with specks of dirt; she shares the shining fruits with the offspring, and happy orchards, and human kind, she shares all the temptations of the animals: while she supplies, all bodies feed on these things, and they might lead a pleasant life, and might produce offspring: whence she obtained the name of mother. Who therefore doesn’t know to spare holes? Having borne luxury, (she doesn’t know) the abuse of God’s gifts, to which Earth gives birth to.

As noted in the text at the bottom of the print, Mother Earth provides through her soil, the production of fruit that she shares with all of nature and human kind. However, Mother Earth does not realize how humans abuse the land that supports them.

The fruits presented on the table, as well as the fruit trees depicted behind the musical couple represent the gifts of Mother Earth. It appears that the musical instruments depicted in this scene as well as the merry dancers and musicians represent the gluttonous qualities of humans on all the things that Earth provides for us. Robert Leppert suggests that one of the most popular connections between music and lasciviousness is in images of the story of the Prodigal Son squandering his money away on prostitutes, food, wine, and entertainment. Music is almost always depicted in association with his wastefulness on his boisterous lifestyle. Often, music is associated with the seventeenth-century Dutch merry company scenes, which seems to be depicted behind the woman.

The poem connects the merry company scene depicted in the background, the musical instruments in the foreground, the fruit bowls, and the men picking apples in the back left. After reading the poem, it becomes clear that this print is actually an emblem image about human’s abusive and gluttonous impact on Mother Earth.

Aqua / Water

The print representing the element of water features a fisherwoman and fisherman selling their catch of the day. The fisherman holds a net in his right hand, and his wife’s chin in his left, while he gazes into her eyes. The fisherwoman seems indifferent to his actions and only seems interested in whatever she can find in his satchel, which is draped over his lap. Her other hand hovers over the table of products they wish to sell, featuring several variants of fish and a carving knife. To the left of the table is a barrel-shaped container with even more types of fish. Behind the lovers are fishermen hard at work in the sea, casting their nets and poles, from boats and shore. The inscription at the bottom of the print reads:

Non putres tantum sordes liquida abluit unda,
Aptaque navigijs eadem est, pluviasque ministrat:
Sed varijs foecunda bonis, queis uncta culina,
Indiget, ac mesae quibus exornantur abunde.
Squamigerae viden’ ut per stanga liquentia gentes
Exultent; tot monstra ingentia et horrida visu
Veliferas circum nent puppes; grandia cete
Effingant molles vitreo sub marmore lusus.

The flowing, breaking wave not only washes away filth, and the same waves grasp the ships, and supply the rains: But with good things about to be created, anyone who lacks a kitchen, having been caught, and tables are adorned with these things in abundance. Scaly creatures having appeared so that through stagnant waters nations are exulted; with so many huge and horrible monsters having been seen, the ships with sails weave around; grand dolphins might play games beneath the glassy surface of the sea.

As in the poem for air, this poem also discusses the abundance of things that the element provides for humanity. Water washes away all filth, supplies rain, and provides various fish in abundance. The poem then juxtaposes its benefits with the scary creatures in stagnant waters.

Ignis / Fire

In Fire, a seductive, partially clad, younger female stands over an old, besotted alchemist. Spectacles in hand, he turns to study his young client. With his right hand, he mixes the contents of a pot on the fire—perhaps something he has melted in the forge nearby. He appears to be making something at the request of the young woman, who helps herself to a share of jewelry resting on his worktable. A pair of bellows rests in his lap, ready to fuel his fire. In the background, everything appears to be entirely ablaze. The forms of the mountains flow into the smoke and clouds in the sky, creating a sense of chaos in the fire. Frightened men shield themselves from the destructive flames. The poem reads:
Igne quid utilius; modo non sit et eius abusus,
(Nam focus a flammis, et quod fouet omnia, dictus)
Frigida membra leuat, sensus quoque nutrit, escas
Exturret; rebusque addit, res mira, saporem.
At tu diuitias, multo et quae parta labore,
Pondera sumo auri, per flammas perdere pergis?
Imponit multis ars Alcumis tica fallax;
Autorenique saem tandem execratur et ipsa.

What is more useful than fire; (for the hearth is commanded by flames, and because it keeps all warm) it comforts chilled limbs, it nourishes the senses; and it roasts food; and it adds flavor to these things, miraculous things. But you riches, you proceed to work having borne weight of gold, to ruin through flames? To many Alchemists the deceitful skill establishes excellence; And it curses the same author himself and itself.

The poem addresses the benefits of fire, such as comforting the cold, nourishing the senses, cooking food, and adding flavor. But the power of fire can be abused. As the poem makes clear, the man in Fire is an old deceitful alchemist who attempts to make gold for the young woman. Indeed, the theme of deceit plays a central role in this image. He is deceiving her, convinced that he can create gold by mixing elements, while she is deceiving him by stealing his wares behind his back. The spectacles he holds—but does not wear—allude to their collective blindness to their mutual deceit. Instead of using fire in a useful way, the alchemist utilizes it in a way that squanders its benefits. As in the moralizing lesson from the representation of Earth, this image of Fire displays how the four elements can be misused.

A Vernacular Approach to a Classical Subject

With such a decidedly classical subject as the elements, it is noteworthy that they are not rendered in an overtly classical manner. While it is true that the inscribed poems are written in Latin, instead of the vernacular Dutch, and that partially draped female figure in Fire suggests the image of a classical goddess, what is striking is the degree to which the scenes are rendered in the manner of contemporary Dutch portraiture and genre painting. Indeed, the couples that appear in Air and Earth, are depicted in a manner commonly used for seventeenth-century marriage portraits, as in Frans Hals’ Portrait of a Couple, Probably Isaac Abrahamsz Massa and Beatrix van der Laen (fig. 48). This portrait represents two newlyweds seated outside, leaning casually into each other while smiling and displaying their affections. Although the figures depicted in the prints are generic types, and not known sitters, they, nevertheless, appear as newlyweds, with a particular emphasis on amorous, at times overly sexual behavior.

Supporting this theme of amorous couples, evidence of sexual references appears in each of the prints. In Air, the birds can be read not only as a reference to the element, but as an allusion to sexuality, in part because the Dutch word for bird, vogelen, is similar to the Dutch word for sex. Indeed, the dead birds that are depicted to the left of the man are a sexual reference, and the practice of “birding” is both a reference to a hunting activity and coarse reference to the couple’s sexual relationship. Similarly, the man and the woman playing the lute in Earth is also a sexual reference. Music is often depicted in genre scenes and emblem books as a symbol of lasciviousness, gluttony, and a boisterous lifestyle, and a reference to the sexuality. A contemporary poem reads: “Learn on the lute, learn on the virginals to play. For strings have the power to steal the heart away.” The emphasis on the lute in this poem has a more vulgar significance as explained by R. H. Fuchs, as it suggests a reference to female genitalia. Moreover, the caged birds in Air could very well be a reference to the domesticity of women. In Fire, the bellows rest strategically—and phallically—on the alchemist’s lap so that it may fuel the fire of desire. Water, with its ample display of seafood—a well-known symbol of sexuality, is made all the more coarse by the fisherman’s wife, who reaches suggestively into her husband’s pouch, which is flanked humorously by his sheathed knife. His chin chuck gesture is also an affectionate prelude to intimacy. And as if it requires...
mention, the woman in *Fire* leans suggestively over the alchemist with her breast exposed.

Close inspection of the *Four Elements* also reveals a contemporary interest in representing differing classes, which is a common theme in Dutch genre painting. The couples in *Air* and *Earth* are clearly wealthy, indicated by the nature of their fine garments, leisurely pose, and symbols of wealth: musical instruments, abundance of fruit and other foods, as well as their prizes from the bird hunt. In contrast, the couples represented in *Fire* and *Water* are engaged in work and wear clothing appropriate for manual labor: fishing and alchemy. Also, their romantic gestures are of a cruder nature.

On the issues of sexuality, gender, and class in such images, Elizabeth Honig notes: “[a]rtistic production both shaped and was shaped by these social border disputes. In certain ways we might say that painting was very much integrated into the sphere of the “domestic” while in other ways it played upon domesticity’s border, and gained its own power from being able to mediate between spaces that were public and private, masculine and feminine.”

A final aspect of the prints, which draws from vernacular genre imagery as well as the emblem tradition, are the various references in the *Four Elements* to the five senses: sight, touch, hearing, taste, and smell. Sight is represented by the couples, who gaze into each other’s eyes and by the spectacles held by the alchemist. Smell is presented through the pungent fish as well as the smoky fragrance of fire. Touch is represented through the way the couples caress each other gently or in a suggestive manner. Sound is portrayed through the musical instruments, the chirping birds, the crashing waves of the sea, and the crackle of burning embers. Taste is seen through the abundant bowls of fruit, the plethora of fish, and the game about to be roasted.

**Jan Bruegel’s Four Elements**

In light of the growing interest in matters of nature and science in the seventeenth century, it is not surprising that the elements were a popular subject matter in the visual arts.

In his *Ceres and the Four Elements* (1604), Jan Bruegel the Elder “orders nature” in a single composition (fig. 49). Bruegel divides the composition into two sections: on the left is a stream flowing to the sea in the background; and on the right is a wooded forest. The goddess, Ceres, occupies the center of the image, holding a cornucopia, a reference to Earth’s productivity. Amphitrite and Flora personify water and earth and sit on either side of her. The flying figures, Juno and Vesta, personify air and fire. Water is also represented by fish and seashells; Air is presented by birds flying through the sky; while vegetation and animals represent earth.

In their approach to the four elements, Maarten de Vos, Crispijn de Passe, and Jan Bruegel categorize and catalogue nature through art. Their “approach to describing and cataloguing nature in art resembles the distinction the natural historian had begun to make between perceptual experience and theoretical knowledge. Both recognized it within an appropriate framework.” This cataloguing develops what was described centuries earlier in Aristotle’s and Pliny’s attempts to organize and understand the universe.

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3. Taylor, *From the Beginning to Plato*, 179.
5. Taylor, *From the Beginning to Plato*, 181.
28 All Latin translations provided by Tyler Richey-Yowell.
31 Westermann, *A Worldly Art*, 135, notes how this represents an unprecedented portrayal.
33 Fuchs, *Dutch Painting*, 54.
34 Fuchs, *Dutch Painting*, 54.
37 Kolb, *Jan Brueghel the Elder*, 54.
Beggar with a Rosary is a simple genre scene etched by Jacques Callot (fig. 50, cat. 13). Wiry lines of varying thicknesses suggest the profile of a generic peasant type. The composition is simple. Horizontal marks on a plate hint at the beggar’s open environment. The absence of a frame helps facilitate this open environment. The lack of a framing device, a ruled line, thick band, or elaborate border wrapped around the edge of the plate, permits the composition to expand beyond the boundaries of the plate and into the open expanse of the blank paper, where background, foreground, and ground merge. The composition is boundless (cf. fig. 19). The viewer’s experience is predicated by the absence of a framing format. The viewer’s space is shared with that of the composition. There is no physical limitation or illusion of distance from the viewer. The artist’s decision to include or omit a framing element profoundly affects one’s experience and shapes a specific reaction to the work; the image is, essentially, more approachable and relatable visually, physically (if one regards the pictorial space as an extension of the viewer’s space), and as a consequence, psychologically. The unframed, printed image is less removed, less precious, and less revered as something to be praised, but an object closer, more intimate to the viewer.

Holy Family at Table, also by Callot, presents a strikingly different experience (fig. 51, cat. 12). The scene of the Holy Family is surrounded by a multi-layered illusionistic circular frame. Indeed, the illusion of a real, tangible frame is indicated by the cross hatching along the left side of the circle’s circumference, which casts a shadow, suggesting three-dimensionality. In addition to the circular frame, Callot adds horizontal lines and a small block of text at the base, creating yet another overlapping frame. Taken together, the circular frame, square frame, and text introduce and compound physical and psychological layers between the image and the viewer. These elements create a peephole for the viewer to witness the quiet moment. The framing devices affect and predicate the viewer’s experience of the Holy Family at Table. When a printmaker imposes a frame on a composition, it creates a separation laterally on the same plane, between the printed image and blank paper beyond, and spatially back to front, between the illusionistic world within the image and the tangible world of the viewer. This separation defines a necessary distinction between the world of the image and that of the viewer. The frame imparts a certain status to the work. It denotes the pictorial representation as something set apart, something worthy of attention. The frame can signal many things depending on the nature and vocabulary of the border and how it interacts with the image inside. One can consider this dynamic on a more subtle level in Rembrandt’s Adoration of the Shepherds, with the Lamp (fig. 52, cat. 47) and Claude Lorraine’s Time, Apollo, and the Seasons (fig. 53, cat. 29). In the latter print, the simple ruled border creates a striking degree of separation between the image and the viewer.

The relation between frame and viewer is not limited to genre or religious scenes. Indeed, it is particularly important in portraiture, which varies from informal images that are direct and intimate, as in the case of Rembrandt’s portrait of Jan Lutma the Elder (fig. 54), to formal renderings that rely on heavily framing features to elevate the sitter, purposefully
Fig. 51. Jacques Callot, *Holy Family at Table*, 1628. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 12).

Fig. 52. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Adoration of the Shepherds, with the Lamp*, ca. 1654. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 47).

Fig. 53. Claude Lorraine, *Time, Apollo, and the Seasons*, 1662. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 29).

setting them apart from the viewer, as in Jacob Matham’s Portrait of Hendrick Goltzius (fig. 55, cat. 38). Many of the same issues noted above appear in this pair as well. The effect of the frame is particularly strong, even when it does not exist properly, as in Ferdinand Bol’s etching after Rembrandt’s Bust of a Young Lady with Plumed Cap (fig. 56, cat. 10). In this example, a “frame”—or at least its effects—is maintained by the oval-shaped portrait. The sharp, artificial termination of image as well as the physical impression of the oval plate suggests compositional limitations to the center of the paper. The composition of the figure is constrained to the oval shape but the technique used to render the figure is loose and

Fig. 55. Jacob Matham, Portrait of Hendrick Goltzius, 1630. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 38).

Fig. 56. Ferdinand Bol after Rembrandt van Rijn, Bust of a Young Lady with Plumed Cap, 1644. Etching. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 10).

Fig. 57. Michael Wolgemut, Leaf from Nuremberg Chronicle (detail), 1493. Woodcut with hand coloring. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 62).
inviting. Compared to a more informal, rectangular portrait, the oval shape seems constricting. However, compared to Matham's *Portrait of Hendrick Golzius*, they appear liberated.

From these examples it is clear that with minimum variation of framing devices, there is a significant difference in its effect. No image escapes the effect of the frame—or its absence. The nature of frame format is important to how one experiences a print.

**A Variety of Frame Formats**

Regarding the use of framing devices, Northern printmakers devised a variety of pictorial formats. The first was to introduce no frame at all—as in the *Beggar with a Rosary* mentioned above. In this format, the artist omits the presence of any divider between image and paper. No frame implies that there is no indication of an architectural structure or a consciously placed line around the composition.

A second framing format is text dependent. This format consists of no frame but utilizes blocks of text and the spaces left open for images to separate the pictorial and text elements. The roots of this format are in manuscript illumination but were readily adopted in the fifteenth century, with the introduction of moveable type and its integration with woodblock printing. Such words often include vivid color and ornamentation.\(^2\) The images may appear without a border, or with, as in the case of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (fig. 57, cat. 62).

Circular and oval framing devices represent a type of their own. The circular or medallion-shaped format was common in a variety of media during the Middle Ages, where it was used in manuscript illumination, mural decorations, coins, metalwork, stained glass, and of course medals, seals, and coins, and found its way into printmaking. The circular print may not include a frame border created by ink but the circular composition suggests its own framing device, as in *Men Playing a Game of Dice* (fig. 58, cat. 45), or with a border, as in Callot's *Holy Family at Table* and the portrait mentioned above. Because paper, books, and prints are usually rectilinear, circular compositions attract attention and focus the viewer's gaze, creating a powerful aesthetic and psychological quality to the image.

The circular shape is also frequently combined with text, to create another important framing device, as in Jan Wierix's *Archer Shoots All of His Arrows* (fig. 59, cat. 11) and Hendrick Goltzius' *Countess Françoise d'Égmond* (fig. 60, cat. 20). In the Bruegel, the text reads like a decorative feature of the frame, while imparting important iconographic information to the meaning of the image. In a similar, but more pointed way,
the text in the Wierix’s portrait identifies the sitter, while imitating the effect of a coin or medallion.

The most dramatic and substantial framing format is the multilayered frame, which was discussed in detail earlier in Callot’s Holy Family at Table. This format aims to create considerable three-dimensional depth, which is in keeping with pictorial trends of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Frames such as this bear the influence of mural paintings and tapestries that aimed to render the appearance of framed paintings hanging on a wall. A dramatic example of this trend is Matham’s Portrait of Hendrick Goltzius, which attempts to imitate the appearance of a carved wood or stone frame, or even an architectural feature. Such heavy framing devices are common in portraiture particularly those that were used as a frontispiece to a book, where the artist aims to elevate and memorialize the sitter.3

*Illusionism and Frames*

The question of frames and illusionism reaches well beyond the simple matter of putting a border around an image. Since prints were often inserted into albums and tipped into pages of books, they lacked the frames that give other media—paintings and sculpture—a sense of weight and gravity.4 Frames were necessary in a place where boundaries—other than that of the page—were lacking. Regarding frames and illusionism, however, E. H. Gombrich speaks of an earlier function of art when the artist did not aim at making a likeness but at rivaling creation itself5—are these frames a likeness, or something original? In Matham’s Portrait of Hendrick Goltzius, the frame mimics a sculpted frame. If this engraved frame is the only frame for the image, then it is a frame and a frame only. It functions as a frame and not a representation of a frame. In this context the engraved frame is an imitation of reality. In other words, there is a smooth and even transition, dependent on function, between reality and appearance. Therefore engraved frames are not a representation of a physical frame but the creation of a frame in itself. Printmakers utilized the paper as a surface for what was missing—frames. Printmakers gave collectors access to a frame without the physical weight of one.

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3 In Italy, see Sharon Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 63–131.
4 Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 64.
In 1563, the printmaker Sebald Beham created a series of miniature engravings of the Liberal Arts (figs. 61–67, cats. 3–9). The series consisted of seven prints, each one labeled in Latin: Grammatica, Dialectica, Rhetorica, Arithmetria, Musica, Geometria, and Astrologia. The women wear Grecian garb and are surrounded by their respective identifying attributes. The Liberal Arts are a common subject in the visual arts and have been a curriculum of study and an allegorical subject since their formation in ancient Greece. This small, unassuming group of prints raises a range of questions including the history of the Liberal Arts as a subject, the origins of its iconography in the visual arts, and the nature and purpose of these prints.

Through the writings of Aristotle, Varro, Boethius, Isidore of Seville, among others, the Liberal Arts became a distinctive group of academic disciplines. Ultimately, the Liberal Arts came to be divided into two groups: Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric form the Trivium, while Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Music comprise the Quadrivium. The arts of the Trivium collectively deal with language and debate, while the Quadrivium is mathematically based. The terms, Quadrivium and Trivium have their roots in the Middle Ages. Quadrivium was coined by Boethius in the sixth century, while the word Trivium was not used until the Carolingian era.¹ The first of the Liberal Arts is Grammar, which refers to the study of language and parts of speech. Dialectic is the study of logic, wit, and debate, while Rhetoric is the art of oration and persuasion. Geometry has a foundation in the measurement of the world and distances, and arithmetic is the theory of numbers and ratios. Finally, Astronomy is the scientific study of the cosmos and music is the study and creation of numeric ratios and musical harmonies.²

After the Liberal Arts became a curriculum, the iconography of their personifications emerged and developed, eventually joining a variety of allegorical series, such as the four seasons, the labors of the months, and the planets.³ Although the images of the Liberal Arts were not as common as other allegories, they are sufficiently represented from the early eleventh century through the sixteenth to provide a reasonably clear picture of their iconography.

The series of prints of the Liberal Arts created by Sebald Beham are an example of trends in miniature prints and print collections in the North while the subject of Beham’s miniatures of the Liberal Arts pose a fascinating study of the deviations that occur in the iconography of the Liberal Arts as well as an exemplar of learning and the collection of prints in the North.

The Liberal Arts Tradition

The Liberal Arts have their origins in Greek culture and philosophy. The term “Liberal Arts” originates from the Greek, and applied to those pursuits worthy of the free mind.⁴ At this time the Arts were not codified and were only considered to be disciplines of learning. They were an aspect of a good education for civic life but not a specific set of teachings as they became later on. The traditional Greek education system was the Paideia, which included Mathematics, Geometry, Music, and Gymnastics.⁵ What would later become the Trivium were skills considered to be necessary for orators. Both mathematical and linguistic
studies had been separate groups of disciplines in ancient Greece, but were not seen as complementary curriculum until the fourth century in Athens. Greek philosophers were the main proponents of a well-rounded education that included the studies that would become the Liberal Arts. Philosophers found such an education so important that they “regarded these studies as a purification of the mind and preparatory to mystical contemplation of truth.”  

It was not until the Roman Empire that the Liberal Arts emerged a distinct and exclusive set of academic fields. Varro Reatinus, the Roman philosopher, was one of the first to formally separate the Liberal Arts from other academic subjects. Varro also translated a variety of Greek treatises on education into Latin, which made Greek educational concepts, such as the Liberal Arts, available for further consideration for contemporary philosophers. In *Disciplinarum libri IV*, Varro canonized the Liberal Arts, including not only the traditional seven but also the addition of Medicine and Architecture. This was not the only grouping of the disciplines; different philosophers had other compilations of fields that were considered imperative for a good education. At this point in time, the Liberal Arts were only a group of important disciplines; they had no common iconography or a history of personified images.

The Liberal Arts continued to be an important aspect of academic theory in the Middle Ages. There were a variety of medieval scholars interested in the Liberal Arts, including Martianus Capella (active fifth century), Boethius (ca. 480–525), and Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636). It is primarily their writings that enabled the concept of the Liberal Arts to prevail in the post-Classical world. Martianus Capella’s *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* was among the most influential books on the formation and definition of the Liberal Arts, particularly as it pertains to the visual arts.
Boethius was known for translating the writings of Aristotle and for developing the concept of the Quadrivium. While Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Music had previously been grouped as mathematical disciplines, it was not until Boethius that they were exclusively grouped together as the counterpart to the Trivium. A century after Boethius, Isidore of Seville continued work on the Liberal Arts.\textsuperscript{13} Because Isadore of Seville was among the most widely read authors for the next five centuries, his thoughts on the Liberal Arts were particularly influential. In \textit{Origins or Etymologies in Twenty Books}, he explained the uses of the Liberal Arts and examined the individual disciplines. While his descriptions about Music and Astronomy are decidedly lacking, his accounts further promoted the notion of the Liberal Arts. However, it is Capella’s work that most interests us here, so we return for greater discussion to his \textit{De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii}.\textsuperscript{14}

Little is known about Capella’s life, but his \textit{De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii} was among the most read books in Europe, and it had profound influence on future descriptions and illustrations of the Liberal Arts.\textsuperscript{14} Capella divided the book into nine chapters: the first two address the allegorical wedding of Philology and Mercury, and the next seven describe the bridesmaids, who are personifications of the Liberal Arts. Through this literary device, Capella explained the Liberal Arts in practice, while describing the women in relation to their poses, actions, and belongings.

From \textit{De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii} onward, personifications of the Liberal Arts were primarily women. That Capella assigned them female roles is probably due to the female gender of their Latin names. In this, Capella followed linguistic practice, in which the terms for most abstract concepts are female in gender. This tradition carried through the Renaissance.\textsuperscript{15}

The first of Capella’s bridesmaids to be introduced was
Grammar. Grammar held a box from which she took out “a pruning knife with a shining point, with which she said she could prune the faults of pronunciation in children…a sharp medicine of purest red which she said should be applied to the throat when suffering from bucolic ignorance…and a file fashioned with great skill, which was divided into eight golden parts joined in different ways.”

Next was Dialectic. “In her left hand [Dialectic] held a snake twined in immense coils; in her right hand a set of patterns carefully inscribed in wax tablets, which…was offered to one and all.” The snake was hidden under her cloak, so that whenever an unknowing person came to look at her tablets or spoke with her, the snake “emerged and after first biting the man relentlessly with the venomous points of its sharp teeth then gripped him in its many coils and compelled him to the intended position.”

Rhetoric then finished the Trivium. She was “a woman of the tallest stature and abounding self-confidence, a woman of outstanding beauty; she wore a helmet, and her head was wreathed in royal grandeur; in her hands the arms with which she used either to defend herself or to wound her enemies, shone with the brightness of lightning.”

Geometry was the first introduced of the Quadrivium. During Capella’s life, geometry was considered an art close to the derivation of its name: the measurement of the earth. Therefore, she was described not in terms as mathematics, but in relation to the earth and heavens. Geometry was personified as a “distinguished looking lady, holding a geometer’s rod in her right hand and a solid globe in her left. From her left shoulder a shawl was draped, on which were visible the magnitudes and orbits of the heavenly bodies, the dimensions, intersections, and outlines of the celestial circles.”

Arithmetic followed as the second of the Quadrivium.
Arithmetic “shone in the light of her countenance. Certain strange manifestations on her head gave her an awesome appearance. For from her brow a single, scarcely perceptible, whitish ray appeared, and from it emanated another ray, the projection of a line, as it were, from its original source…”\textsuperscript{21}

Capella also mentioned the presence of an abacus and a carpenter’s square, which became attributes of Arithmetic. Astronomy was next described as arriving in “a hollow ball of heavenly light, filled with transparent fire, gently rotating.” She wore a crown of stars and had shining hair. “In one hand she held a forked sextant, in the other a book containing calculations of the orbits of the planets and their forward and retrograde motions together with the poles of the havens.”\textsuperscript{22}

Lastly Music, referred to as Harmony, was described as “a lofty figure, whose melodious head was adorned with ornaments of glittering gold….In her right hand Harmony bore what appeared to be a shield….From her left hand the maiden held, suspended at equal length, several small models of theatrical instruments wrought of gold…”\textsuperscript{23}

In light of Capella’s detailed and vivid descriptions, it is little wonder that scribes and book illuminators were inspired to illustrate personifications of the Liberal Arts in copies of Capella’s manuscripts, and those by Boethius and Isidora as well. Among the earliest of these is a remarkable diagram found at the end of a Boethius De Musica manuscript (ca. 1050–1150), now in the Newberry Library (fig. 68). This illustration, known as the Newberry Diagram, provides a schematic guide for artists to properly represent Philosophy and the Liberal Arts.\textsuperscript{24} With lines and text, it explains which philosophers should be portrayed, what attributes the Liberal Arts should hold, and how they should be grouped in relation to the other arts. The Newberry Diagram describes the Liberal Arts as follows:

- **Dialectic:** A virgin holding a key in her right hand…From the sleeve of her left hand appears a serpent half way as if slipping through.
- **Rhetoric:** A virgin, in her right hand a drawn sword…
- **Grammar:** A virgin, in her right hand holding a bowl, which emits flames…
- **Music:** A virgin holding a monochord in her right hand…
- **Arithmetic:** A virgin holding a rod in her right hand and a measure in the manner of a pyxis, with a sharp point at the top…
- **Geometry:** A virgin holding in her right hand a sphere of the earth inscribed with a line around its perimeter…

Astronomy: A virgin holding a sphere in her right hand, engraved with stars…\textsuperscript{25}

The Newberry Diagram also includes Philosophy in the center of the illustration as Queen of the Liberal Arts:\textsuperscript{26} Lady Philosophy crowned, sitting on a throne, treading upon the necks of two kings; on her right knee there is a book, in her left hand she holds a scepter. At her right stands a woman holding this verse: those who contemplate heavenly things venerate me. At her left another woman with this verse: those who pursue worldly things become my followers.\textsuperscript{27}

The Newberry Diagram was in part influenced by descriptions in Capella’s De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, but some of the attributes are different. Specifically, Dialectic and Rhetoric have strong roots in De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, but the diagram's personifications of the Quadrivium relate more to the individual disciplines and the tools used in practice than Capella’s descriptions of gowns of light and stars.
An early representation of the Liberal Arts in pictorial form appears in single folio—long since removed from its original manuscript—representing *Philosophy Nourishing the Seven Liberal Arts* (fig. 69). In all likelihood, this drawing was a frontispiece to a text by Boethius or Capella, and is one of the first images in which Philosophy is shown as a matriarchal figure to the Arts.\(^{28}\) In this image, Philosophy wears a crown and holds two books, as the Newberry Diagram described.\(^{29}\) She is at the top of the page with images of the sun and moon; her body disappears into the background to make room for images of the Seven Liberal Arts. From Philosophy’s breasts flow seven streams of milk, each pouring into the mouth of one of the Liberal Arts located below her. Each is identified by their attributes, all of which are within the iconographical tradition of the Liberal Arts. The edges of the page are enhanced with a cloud-like illustrative border. The border implies that the figures are in an idealized space while emphasizing that Philosophy, at the top of the page, is the only discipline that reaches to higher thought.\(^{30}\)

The differing personifications of the Liberal Arts yield debate about the primary source of iconography used in later illustrations, reliefs, paintings, and prints. Evans argues that while there is no evidence of illustrated versions of *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, there have been several illustrations of the Liberal Arts that follow the basic schema and iconography of the Newberry Diagram.\(^{31}\) For instance, the Liberal Arts from Herrade of Landsberg’s *Hortus Deliciarum* (fig. 70) is an example of an illustration based on the Newberry Diagram. This manuscript illustration has a circular organization and places Philosophy in the center of her Arts. Each of the Arts hold their respective attribute, which follow the diagram.\(^{32}\)

Overall the Liberal Arts were not commonly depicted during the Middle Ages, and there was no consistent ways of depicting them. Particularly when compared with other allegorical series such as the virtues and vices or labors of the months, there were few representations of the Liberal Arts.\(^{33}\) Often, the iconography of a particular series depended on the use of the imagery and the other motifs coupled with the Liberal Arts.\(^{34}\) The original iconography of the Liberal Arts is certainly based on Capella’s *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* and the Newberry Diagram, but the collective codification varies slightly from the iconographies considered thus far.

That said, over time, the following attributes emerge more often than not in images from the medieval period: Grammar holds a case marked with eight gold lines that symbolize the eight parts of speech or an implement to discipline children; Dialectic may hold a snake, scorpion, or lizard. The forked tongue of the snake represents the two sides of logic and the wiles of sophistry. Rhetoric is shown wearing armor; she often holds a sword and a shield, and she may hold a scroll or a book. The sword and shield would represent justice and authority while the scroll represents the search for knowledge. Geometry is usually depicted with tools of measure, as seen in the Newberry Diagram. Arithmetic often holds a tablet of numbers or a counting device such as an abacus. Astronomy holds a celestial globe and a sextant. Music plays an instrument, usually a harp, lute, organ, or viol, again with clear reference to the Newberry Diagram.\(^{35}\)

**The Liberal Arts in the North During the Renaissance**

During the Renaissance, the role of the Liberal Arts as a course of study and the iconography of such disciplines changed. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, scholasticism, which had bolstered interest in and the study of the Liberal Arts, was in decline.\(^{36}\) The main driving force of education during the Renaissance was humanism. Humanist education had a similar goal to that of a Liberal Arts Art curriculum; lofty philosophy and the pursuit of knowledge...
was considered imperative for a full education. In humanism, however, the focus of education was on man and what man was capable of creating. Humanist education consisted of studies of history, poetry, moral philosophy. Although the Liberal Arts were not disregarded in the new educational curriculum, they became preparatory studies for young boys before they went on to further humanist studies in university.

The contemporary interest in humanism also influenced the depiction of the Liberal Arts. While the Liberal Arts were falling from academic favor, Philosophy and Wisdom were becoming more prevalent personifications. Instead of using personifications of individual fields of knowledge or Philosophy with her Arts, representations began to rely on a single personification of Philosophy to represent the same subjects. The Queen of Knowledge was often depicted with the attributes of Geometry: a compass and a globe. Evidently, images with such a personification would have been made for other artists, and as such, symbols that related to both the Liberal Arts and Fine Arts would have been preferred.

Further north there were several groups that helped to spread humanist ideas. Rederijkers fulfilled this role in the Netherlands. They were literary groups who had interest in humanist ideas, ancient mythology, the use of Dutch language in literature, and religious tensions of the day. Nicholas of Cusa, Paracelus, Faustus, and Desiderius Erasmus were eminent German humanists and free thinkers. They would have spread similar beliefs about the accumulation of knowledge and thus the concept of the Liberal Arts and their use as an educational basis in Germany. Due to the Protestant influence, those in the North tended to hold that the accumulation of knowledge came from labor and diligence, which were considered laudable virtues. Thus, in Germany and the Netherlands, Temperance—not Philosophy—emerged as the virtue governing the Liberal Arts. Temperance was the virtue of a rationally regulated life and therefore often associated with utility, the arts, and sciences.

Because of the complex scenario in northern Europe, with the cross currents of a waning scholasticism and waxing humanism, as well as the increasing influence of art in Italy, the iconography of the Liberal Arts was subject to a range of competing cultural forces, leading to a diverse approach to the subject. This is particularly clear in the area of printmaking, as we see in the prints introduced at the beginning of this essay—Sebald Beham’s series of the Seven Liberal Arts.

The Little Masters and Sebald Beham’s The Liberal Arts

Around the 1520s a group of printmakers working in Nuremberg that are commonly known as “The Little Masters” emerged, named for the small size of their works. The primary members of the group were brothers Sebald and Barthel Beham and George Pencz. They commonly worked on prints that were slightly larger than a postage stamp but no larger than a playing card. The Little Masters worked during the time of the German Peasant Revolution, and generally sympathized with the rebels. They exhibited “agnostic or communistic views” so much that in 1525 they were expelled from the city of Nuremberg. When considering the radical political and religious views of the Little Masters, it is possible to understand their interest in innovative subjects.

The Little Masters depicted a large variety of subjects in their prints. They created images of religious scenes, genre scenes, portraits. The purpose of the prints ranged from playing cards to devotional images, emblematic images, and erotic prints. Although they created religious prints, they were atypical in their iconography and they more frequently created images relating to humanism and daily life. They created many images of peasants and images that suggested morality without explicit Catholic themes. Allegorical prints
could have even been made in order to circulate liberal ideas during revolts and times of religious stress. These prints showcased the Little Masters’ nontraditional political and religious philosophies.

The miniature originally developed from the Italian nielli tradition of engraving metalwork, although the format of the miniature became popular in its own right throughout the north, and particularly widespread in Germany. Because of their small size, miniatures were primarily for personal use. Miniature prints were often sold at book fairs—such as the well-known fair in Frankfurt—to members of the upper-middle classes. The engravings included complex allegories, Latin phrases, and references to Roman and Italian mythology and history, all of which were subjects that appealed to well-read collectors and readers.

Small-scale prints such as those created by the Little Masters would have either been stored in a collecting cabinet or a print album. The rise of Kunstkammers and increased interest in collecting certainly impacted the popularity and use of prints. Miniatures would have been stored in the Kunstkammers—separate or as part of an album—with other small objects that represented the owners’ wealth and knowledge. Albums could then be kept at home in a cabinet, or, because of their small size, carried with one, like a book. Print albums could be blank sheets with prints pasted onto them, or they could be printed books with prints inserted within text.

Prints represented the financial ability to collect and a literacy level high enough to understand the detailed subject of the print. The collection would have been a source of pride for the owners. Prints would have been used as literary talking pieces in educated groups such as the German freethinkers. The content would have been discussed and circulated among literate peers. In fact, allegorical prints could have been used to circulate controversial views during periods of religious and social change in the North.

As part of this popular print trade and interest in academic subject matter and allegorical images, Sebald Beham, in 1563, created a series of the seven small individual engravings representing the Liberal Arts (figs. 61–67). The personifications for each of the Liberal Arts appear as winged females wearing long robes and wreaths of laurel and stand in a classical architectural space. The classicizing nature of the subject matter coincides with Beham’s style, which bears the influence of the Italian Renaissance artists, particularly Michelangelo. The architectural elements suggest the structure and solidity of learning associated with the Liberal Arts. The personifications of the Liberal Arts stand in a variety of poses, perhaps to display Beham’s skills as a draftsman, or as much to create a visually interesting series of images.

Each print bears a Latin inscription that identifies the name of the Liberal Art represented. In addition, the prints are numbered in the bottom right corner. The numbering suggests that the images were meant to be viewed as a series while providing information about Beham’s ordering of the Liberal Arts. Based on Beham’s numbers, Grammar comes first, then Dialectic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and lastly, Astrology.

The degree to which the iconography of the Beham’s Liberal Arts follows established models varies. Music most closely follows the descriptions from De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii and the Newberry Diagram. The depictions of the Trivium deviate from this model, although their images have a clear relation to traditional images of Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric. Of the rest of the Quadrivium, Arithmetic and Geometry hold mathematical instruments that would be expected, but Astrology deviates most substantially from the codification.

Grammatica is shown holding a tablet with the letters of the alphabet in her right hand and a key in the left. The portrayal of the alphabet shows the original purpose of the
disciplinary practitioners. While men were shown as allegorical images, women are usually depicted as static models. Beham depicts Rhetorica as a woman practicing the art of Rhetoric and oration. This is surprising, because in Melencolia I regarding one of the most intriguing engravings of the print was made. Rhettorica differs most from the established model. Beham depicts Rhetorica as a woman practicing the art of Rhetoric and oration. This is surprising, because in allegorical images, women are usually depicted as static personifications of the art, while men were shown as practitioners.

Geometria and Arithmetria both are shown with a variety of mathematical instruments. Geometria is depicted with a compass and sphere, as expected, but she also has a carpenter's square, counting rod, ruler, and cube. These symbols are not outside the category of instruments that would be used in the study of geometry. In fact, they more accurately identify what Geometry would mean to the contemporary scholar, as opposed to the medieval discipline of measuring the earth. Beham's image of Geometry raises tantalizing questions regarding one of the most intriguing engravings of the time—Albrecht Dürer's Melencolia I (fig. 71). Despite the wide range of interpretations inspired by Melencolia I, it is worth noting that it shares a number of attributes with Beham's Geometria, and suggests that a close study of images of the Liberal Arts would provide an added layer of insight if not understanding the image and others related to it.

Arithmetria is shown holding a tablet containing the cardinal numbers with a variety of counting devices in the background. These devices would have been used to construct mathematical ratios. Indeed, the bells in the left corner of the print were both mathematical and musical devices. The inclusion of instruments used for construction of ratios is particularly interesting because Beham chose to portray Arithmetic directly before Music, an art that is based on mathematical ratios. The inclusion of these instruments is within the realm of expectation for mathematical devices to be used by an arithmetician but also introduces the next Liberal Art.

The last of Beham's Liberal Arts is Astrologia. A curious aspect of this allegorical figure is that she is labeled as Astrology and not Astronomy. While Astronomy and Astrology were often interchanged at this point in history, they did have slightly different definitions. Astronomy related more to the study of the planets and stars while Astrology referred to the celestial bodies and their impact on terrestrial life. Typically, Astronomy was considered one of the Liberal Arts, and Astrology was regarded an occult science. In the print, Astrologia is depicted pointing to a star, surrounded by a collection of bottles, some crushed plants, and bowl of what appears to be flames. The presence of a star is decidedly from the standard codification for iconography of Astronomy, but the containers are a completely separate set of symbols.

The various vessels are potentially a signifier of another occult science, Alchemy. While Alchemy and Astrology were not always connected, contemporary Renaissance scholarship had proclaimed them as sister sciences. Indeed, Classical and Medieval scientists maintained that the movement of the heavens impacted all aspects of life on earth, including the proper time to begin scientific experiments and alchemical processes. Based on these relatively common associations, it may be that Beham's illustration of Astrologia encapsulates both Astrology and Alchemy.

The iconography of Sebald Beham's prints is based on the traditional iconography of the Liberal Arts, which in turn was based on documents from the Middle Ages. Scholars such as Martianus Capella, Boethius, and Isidore of Seville wrote texts that were instrumental in the survival of the Liberal Arts as a curriculum from Antiquity through the Renaissance. While the disciplines of the Liberal Arts were part of the Greek education system, it was Capella's work that became a major source for the iconography of the Liberal Arts.

Beham's prints of the Liberal Arts are an example of northern miniatures and a fascinating deviation from the standard codification of the iconography of the Liberal Arts. They show how allegorical prints in the North would have been collected by highly educated men and that artists, like Beham, would have been knowledgeable about their target market. These images were no doubt appreciated as they were at the time Beham created them: as fascinating, small images of allegory and learning.

8 "Cicero, Marcus Tullius. Philosophy of Education: An Encyclopedia (London: Routledge, 1996). Bruce A. Kimball, “Liberal Arts and Moral Improvement,” in The Liberal Arts Tradition: A Documentary History (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 2010), 37. Other Roman philosophers who shaped the Liberal Arts were Cicero and Seneca the Younger. Cicero was known for his development of the Latin language from one of utilitarian purposes to that of prose. He was also a well-known rhetorician and wrote several books: six on rhetoric and eight on philosophy. In his books On Discovery and On the Orator, Cicero went into more detail about the importance of liberal disciplines in reference to oration and political affairs. Seneca worked after Cicero in Stoic philosophy. One of his most pertinent writings was On Liberal Arts and Vocational Studies. In this essay, Seneca explained the importance of the artes liberales on sustaining virtue while purposefully excluding other disciplines from his list of the Liberal Arts.

9 Palmet, Images of Knowledge, 36.

10 Palmet, Images of Knowledge, 56; Lindgren, “Liberal Arts,” 523–528. Other arts that had frequently been grouped with the Liberal Arts were Architecture and Medicine. These arts were also associated with the artes mechanicæ, or the Mechanical Arts. The primary difference between Mechanical and Liberal Arts is that the Liberal Arts revolve around free thought and theory while the mechanical arts include disciplines based in practice and craftsmanship. The Liberal Arts were for the benefit of the mind, while the mechanical arts were crafts that could make money. Common examples of the mechanical arts are architecture and medicine, metalworking, agriculture, commerce, masonry.

11 Lindgren, “Liberal Arts,” 523–528. Pliny the Elder created a list of types of knowledge in his Natural History. This list is unrelated to Varro's list of the Liberal Arts outside of their shared purpose of a fundamental set of knowledge.


14 Martianus Capella. De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii (London: Columbia University Press, 1971), 91. Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle were some of the original proponents of a Liberal Arts education. However, the importance of the dual curriculum was primarily upheld by philosophers who respected Plato and his teachings.

7 Stahl, Martianus Capella, I: 93.

58 William Palmer, “Images of Knowledge: The Seven Liberal Arts and Their Representations in Medieval and Renaissance Art” (Ph.D. diss., California State University, Dominguez Hills, 2002), 33.

6 William Stahl et al., Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts: Volume 1 The Quadrivium of Martianus Capella (London: Columbia University Press, 1971), 91. Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle were some of the original proponents of a Liberal Arts education. However, the importance of the dual curriculum was primarily upheld by philosophers who respected Plato and his teachings.

Capella, Martianus Capella, 53.

24 radiating from her head as well.

22 Capella, De Nuptiis, 317.

23 Capella, De Nuptiis, 353.

26 On occasion, the personification of Philosophy would be portrayed with the Liberal Arts. This was most likely to happen when an eighth figure was needed.


29 Katzenellenbogen, “The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts,” 48. Most likely, these books represent the Trivium and the Quadrivium.


34 Katzenellenbogen, “The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts,” 39. On church façades the Liberal Arts were often paired with virtues as part of an entire program of representation, while in manuscripts they would be viewed in relation to the particular text.

35 Palmet, Images of Knowledge, 63.


39 Robey, Humanism and Education, 23.

40 Katzenellenbogen, “The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts,” 47.


42 King, “Artes Liberales,” 248, 255. King concludes that such a depiction of the Liberal Arts would draw parallels between Visual Arts and the Liberal Arts. This type of image would subtly impose the presence of the Visual Arts with Arts appropriate for the free mind.


44 Palmet, Images of Knowledge, 57, 58.

45 Ijs M. Veldman, “Images of Labor and Diligence in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints: The Work Ethic Rooted in Civic Morality or Protestantism?,” Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art 21, no. 4 (1992): 255. The North was active in the Protestant Revolution and therefore had a higher value for hard work and acknowledged accomplishments by man as separate from religion. In such an environment, learning would have been considered the product of much time and effort spent in the classroom, trying to absorb information to become a better citizen and more learned man.


48 Goddard, The World in Miniature. 15. The Little Masters had fallen under the spirituall Reformaotion and were referred to as the "Godless Painters." The Little Masters were often associated with other free thinkers of their day, such as Sebastian Frank. Frank married the sister of the Beham's, so it can be assumed that they were aware of Frank's sectarian views.

An example of an innovative take on religious iconography is Sebald Beham’s Adam and Eve. In this print, he portrayed Adam and Eve as having equal parts in the fall of mankind.


Gisèle Lambert, “Niello Print,” in the Dictionary of Art, vol. 23 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 114–116. Goddard, The World in Miniature, 14. Niello prints were proofs made from a gold or silver plate that were to be engraved and to be inlaid with niello, a black alloy. The print was not the final product; it was merely a record of the inlaid design. Therefore the niello print was often not printed with attention to quality and there were relatively few impressions made. It is unknown whether or not the miniatures became admired because of the Little Masters or if the Little Masters fostered the popularity of the size.


Goddard, The World in Miniature, 23. This is possibly because prints were so often collected in books and albums.

Goddard, The World in Miniature, 13. Kunstkammers were collectors’ cabinets filled with a variety of curiosities of the day.


Music is depicted playing an organ and is depicted with music books and a viol. This is essentially what both sources described.

Palmer, Images of Knowledge, 63.


If the adage seems a tiny thing, we must remember that it has to be estimated not by its size but by its value. What man of sane mind would not prefer gems, however small, to immense rocks? [...] and so, in the domain of literature, it is sometimes the smallest things which have the greatest intellectual value.

—Erasmus

Discussions of proverbs and sayings have long occupied scholars of Netherlandish art in general. Historians, folklorists, philologists, and even paremiologists, have shown such interest in this topic, that the period is known as "the Golden Age of Proverbs." Paintings, prints, and drawings, by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and those of his contemporaries, promoted the proverbial lore of writers such as Plato, Diomede, Aristotle, and Erasmus, commenting on the vernacular folk wisdom of the peasant classes depicted in their work. This essay examines these aspects, particularly in a series of twelve engravings representing a series of proverbs. This series is especially fascinating because it is an example of the popularity of proverbs at this time and because of its possible connection to Bruegel. It shares many aspects with known Bruegel paintings and prints, yet the origins of this series remains uncertain.

A print in the so-called Twelve Flemish Proverbs series is Archer Shoots All of His Arrows (fig. 72, cat. 11). The circular engraving represents an archer standing outside a narrow court, meaninglessly firing his crossbow at the side of a building and stairway, illustrating the futility with which the action is performed. The proverb on which the image is based is written around the circular composition in Flemish. It reads: "Yes, one gives much and sees neither help nor profit. It is no wonder that this sorrows most everyone / What use is it that one holds to neither order nor measure, but one shoots one arrow after another." The Flemish phrase is paired with one in French, that either repeats the gist of the Flemish verses in a more concise fashion, and draws emphasis to certain aspects of the images not otherwise attended to in the Flemish. In the Archer Shoots All of His Arrows, the French phrase reads: "He who gives often and without success, sends one arrow after another." In reconciling image and text, the viewer recalls Diomede observation on what he found to be a peculiar aspect of the proverb when "the words say one thing and mean another." The print bears the monogram of the Antwerp engraver Jan Wierix.

Fig. 72. Jan Wierix after Pieter Bruegel the Elder (?), Archer Shoots All of His Arrows from Twelve Flemish Proverbs, ca. 1568. Engraving. Courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection (cat. 11).

Fig. 73. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Netherlandish Proverbs, 1559. Oil on oak panel. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Photo: Joerg P. Anders / Art Resource, NY.

Bruegel’s Netherlandish Proverbs

The concept of futility, as shown in Archer Shoots All of His Arrows, appears as well in Bruegel’s widely known painting, Netherlandish Proverbs (1559) (fig. 73).
upper left of the painting, an archer appears on the roof of the house, shooting two arrows skyward, alluding to the proverb noted in the print above, and to other related proverbs, including, “To shoot all one’s arrows and to try everything to no avail” (Al zijn pijlen verschieten),” and “You are shooting at heaven” (In coelum iacularis), which “refers to people who toil in vain, or who dare to attack those whom they cannot harm.” The painting presents a small town situated among rolling hills interlaced with a river and is the setting for a myriad of figures and figure groups; each acts out a different proverbial phrase. Although the figures and figure groups that represent each proverb are incorporated into a single unified landscape, they are independent from the composition as a whole.

Moving from the archer on the roof to the center of Netherlandish Proverbs, a woman in a red dress stands with her arms around a man wearing a blue shawl, anchoring the main structure in the painting. That “she hangs the blue cloak over her husband” signifies an adulterous wife hiding an affair from her spouse. Indeed, this reference to the “blue cloak” once gave name to the painting. The title is first mentioned in connection with a different work, an engraving by Frans Hogenberg of forty-three proverbs which bore the inscription: “DIE BLAV HUICKE IS DIT MEEST GHENAEMT MAER DES WEERELTS ABVISEN HE BETER BETAEMPT.” (It is widely called The Blue Cloak, but it is more suitable to name it the Follies of the World.)

Through terse and often hyperbolic absurdity of action, the painter illuminates a wide array of moral foibles that stem from notions of deceit, fruitless endeavors, and lastly, a commentary of the existing class conflict between merchant and peasant. An inverted globe on the left side of the painting acts as an inn-sign for the main building in the composition, suggesting it is a world upside down. A good number of proverbs are represented in the lower left corner of the painting, with many of the proverbial phrases still evident in the language of today: “a man bites into a pillar” [he is a hypocrite]; a woman carries water in one hand, fire in the other [folly],” and a man who “bangs his head against the wall [frustration over wasted efforts].” Given the wide range and number of proverbs represented in the painting and enduring popularity of proverbs, it is little wonder that there was a ready market for a series of prints representing a number of proverbs, as in the case of the Archer Shoots All of His Arrows and others in that group.

Bruegel and Attribution

While the Archer Shoots All of His Arrows bears a close resemblance to Bruegel’s paintings and prints, his work was extraordinarily popular and was widely copied and imitated. Thus, it is unclear if the Archer Shoots All of His Arrows and the other eleven prints in question were produced under his direction. The question is not who engraved the prints—about this there is little debate. Seven of the twelve prints in the series bear the monogram of engraver Jan Wierix, who worked out of the famed print studio and publisher Hieronymous Cock. These seven prints bear the hand of Wierix and are engraved with both Flemish and French inscriptions; the other five lack any identifying signatures as well as the French inscriptions and are widely believed to be the product of Pieter van der Heyden. The question is who created the underlying designs for them?

The association of the series of engravings to Bruegel rests on a print similar in style and size to the other twelve, but lacks the supplementary inscriptions. The print in question, The Drunkard Pushed into a Pigsty (fig. 74), bears the phrase “P Bruegel inve[n]it,” directly above Wierix’s monogram, JHW, and the date 1568. Because of the similarity of this print’s subject, format, and execution, Louis Lebeer believes the whole series to have been printed by Hieronymus Cock’s print workshop, with whom Bruegel worked extensively, during or in close proximity to 1568. Gibson hypothesizes the print series could have been made directly from Bruegel’s designs or from drawings left by the artist after his death. Regardless of authorship, the designs of the prints express the interests and milieu of the world of
which Bruegel was a part and which he helped shape and define visually—as we will see.16

Twelve Flemish Proverbs

Returning to the remaining eleven prints in the series of Twelve Flemish Proverbs, the next print that bears Wierix’s monogram illustrates two robed figures, each standing in front of a yet unanswered door; one stands in the foreground and the other in the distance. In One Begs in Vain at the Door of the Deaf (fig. 75), the identifying French lines below the figure read: “Now we are begging in vain, since we are crying at the door of a deaf person.” (Maintenant en vain nous mendions / Car à l’huis du sourd nous crions.)17 Again Erasmus had already included a similar proverb in his Adages, “you are singing, or telling a story to the deaf.”18 Just as the sayings suggest, either knocking at his door or speaking to his ear, a deaf man hears naught. The orthogonal formed from the ground line of the first structure points to a figure in the back, highlighting this fruitless effort. Going beyond the French inscription, the Flemish text surrounding the exterior of the roundel reads: “When I knock or beg, it is at a deaf man’s door. Our trying is in vain, our cowls worn out Alas, we have already eaten the best; thus I will soon abandon the beggar’s sack.”19 This is an equally strong social commentary on both the building owner who leaves the beggars unanswered as it is on the beggars for continuing this pursuit to no avail.

Less condemning of beggars than the previous print, The Man with the Moneybag and His Flatterers (fig. 76) illustrates a wealthy man with a moneybag cradled in his arms as men crawl into his backside in an attempt to fill their pockets. It calls to mind similar sayings in English that deal with flatterers who “kiss up” to those higher in power or status. Alan Dundes makes an allusion to the body as a container and similar Freudian money-feces analyses of Bruegel’s time, leading to idioms such as “having money up the ass.”20 In the context of the print however, the proverb “iemand in zijn gat kruipt (to crawl into someone’s hole),” is defined in French across the rear end of the subject: “One does not know how to enter as one would like the hole of him who can give,” whereas the Flemish more directly addresses the power of wealth: “Whoever has money to give high and low, and who lets [it] drip rather liberally from his treasure, receives official positions and comes into his own, because not everyone knows how to crawl into his hole.”21 The true meaning of crawling into another’s hole as it pertains to this image is widely disputed. It was Symon Andriessoon, in his Gemeene duytsche adagia, who lamented that people commonly reference proverbs without knowing the exact meaning.22
Such a discrepancy in meaning may be what is present here and is again left up to speculation.

After seeing a variety of expressions associated with the power of money, it is not surprising to find a proverb regarding the illegitimate acquisition of profit, ripe with cheating. In *Man Playing the Jawbone* (fig. 77), otherwise known as a *kaakspeler*, the *kaak* has a dual meaning, either a “jawbone” or “pillory.” In the image sits a man strumming a jawbone violin, on what is another, larger replica of the instrument’s jawbone frame. His fur-lined robe and lavish slippers suggest a wealth greater than that of the otherwise peasantry figures of the series. Nothing else in the image implies the source of this fictive man’s income, which in return elicits feelings of the corruption. The French phrase, “He who has the means to receive plays well on the jawbone,” is imprinted vertically on the larger jawbone. It is good to be the receiver of the big payoff,” while another translation reads, “It is good to be a war profiteer.” The social commentary of the print changes greatly depending on which translation is accepted.

Regardless of whether the print alludes to war profiteering or merely the receipt of a large payoff, the message refers to cheating. This much is made clear by the second figure seemingly imprisoned within a lattice structure. Gibson cites Schotel’s earlier publication regarding a contemporary pillory—the *schandpaal* (shame post). The author of the print plays on the *kaak* pun by including the synonyms within the same composition, making analogous the jawbone player and the criminal. In his painting, *Netherlandish Proverbs*, Bruegel abbreviates this pun and only includes the pillory image, but ensures the connection by having the player hold a stringed instrument. Max Seidel and Roger Marijnissen label the proverb, *hij spelt op de kaak*, as “he appropriates other people’s belongings. Corruption is everywhere.”

Similar to war profiteering or benefiting from another’s tremendous loss is the proverb shown in both print and painting, “he doesn’t care whose house burns so long as he can warm himself at the glow (*Hij geeft er niet om wiens huis in lichtelaalie staat, als hij zich maar aan de gloed kan warmen*). However, given the discrepancies between the painted figure and the print, *The Selfish Man Who Warms His Hands at His Burning House* (fig. 78) cannot be taken at face value. Were the home in question truly not his, then this print would denote the benefit from another’s misfortune. The man quite literally looting the house behind the central figure embodies such a selfish action. A more optimistic interpretation of the image centers on the man’s chair and the chest behind him that suggests an interior setting. Therefore if one...
faces a disaster, seated within a burning house, he should not concern himself with preserving material possessions and instead should find momentary pleasure by warming his hands from the fire of misfortune. Seidel and Marijnissen find this synonymous with today’s concept of a silver lining, “when the house burns, one warms himself at the coals.” Yet there remains one more interpretation as that of arson, set forth by Seidel and Marijnissen originally and quoted by David Kunzle: “he set’s fire to his [own] house in order to warm himself at the coals”—that is, being deliberately self-destructive for some minor gain, akin to the modern saying, cutting off one’s nose to spite one’s face.

The nature of one proverb containing a range of meanings, variant on the minutest details, returns to Diomedes’ belief that a proverb is “the taking over of a popular saying, fitted to things and times, when the words say one thing and mean another.” Given the other meanings read from this one image, it is interesting to note that the Flemish inscription translates, “He who greedily and without understanding seeks his own advantage, seeks everybody’s ruin without compassion. He cares not whose house burns so long as he can warm himself at the fire.” It is evident that regardless of whose home burns, even though it possibly is his own, the figure in the proverb cares only for immediate gratification and benefit while disregarding cost. Kunzle discusses the possible recurrent war profiteering theme of the jawbone player, as evidenced by the breastplate worn in Bruegel’s Berlin painting.

As an alternative to cheating and illicit gains, Every Merchant Praises His Own Wares (fig. 79), helps restore hope in man’s ability to repel aggrandizing businessmen and profiteers. Engraved by Wierix, it is the only example of a dialogue represented in the print series: the merchant labeled as letter A converses with an incredulous man designated with letter B. The French couplet below Figure A claims, “Here are nets, trumpets, and flutes; such goods you never have had,” and the heavyset man B retorts, “Go away peddler, go away from here; and sell your goods somewhere else.” Andriessoon had previously listed the sale of eyeglasses, flutes, and eel skins to those “who want to make-believe to other people about marvelous things and deceive them with those.” By comparison, the Flemish text ends with the heavier man stressing the merchant to “go and praise your wares somewhere else where people are still seemingly blind and hearing deaf.” Gibson accurately attributes the final sentiment to Matthew 13:13, “seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not.” The assumption is the peddler relies on deceit for profit.

In the penultimate print engraved by Wierix, we see the first instance of a direct address of gender roles.
Henpecked Husband (fig. 80) is one of the most densely populated in the series, illustrating several themes also present in Bruegel’s panel painting. The French inscription sheds little light on the idiom as a whole: “A woman who scolds without reason makes nothing but trouble in the house.” Separate and apart from the obvious dynamic of the overbearing wife, at least four different proverbs exist within the frame. The Flemish script around the edge introduces a multitude: “A leaking roof and a smoking fireplace, [...] where the monkey sits at the hearth and looks around. A crowing hen, a nagging wife, are bad luck in a home, yes, troubles and sorrow.” Gibson likens this to an antiquated proverb of a leaking roof, a smoking chimney, and a nagging wife—in particular, how these three things will drive a man from his house.35 A common thread in this print is the concept of gender role reversals, derived from the concept of the world topsy-turvy as seen in Bruegel’s Netherlandish Proverbs. The rooster and hen at the forefront show the hen crowing, thus assuming nature’s traditional male niche and playing on a common fear for the potential of absolute conjugal role reversal. Malcolm Jones identifies the role of checking on the hens in the coop as a feminine responsibility, resulting in the word hennetaster or ‘hen-groper’ garnering the sense of an “effeminate man.”36 On top of all this, the henpecking wife straddles a distaff on which women traditionally would spin and wind wool on. According to Bruegel’s usage of it in the larger painting, it suggests the practice of two gossiping women where the common practice was one winds the distaff while the other spins the wool. All these aspects work in tandem to collectively emasculate the husband and flip cultural norms on end.37

Continuing in this same vein of both cultural and gender inversion, we find the print, The Hay Chasing the Horse Husband (fig. 81). Dating back to the time of Hieronymus Bosch, the concept of hay acquired a sense of insignificance and lack of worth or “nothing but hay.”38 Whether or not this metaphor would have been interpreted as such in Wierix’s print, that is unknown. That said, the image of hay is employed here to reflect a reversal of traditional courtship practices personified by the horse as a male, having every natural right to choose which piece of hay it would like to eat, or in the personified sense, which woman the man would like to wed. Erasmus outlines traditional courtship practices in a later added dialogue to his Colloquies,

Maria: …I think our marriage will have more chance of success if it’s arranged by our parents’ authority. And it’s your part to woo; that isn’t appropriate to our sex. We girls like to be swept off our feet, even if sometimes we’re deeply in love.”39
This expected practice of submissive females awaiting their suitor predominated relations then, which stresses the shocking nature of the hay chasing the horse. Again leaving no interpretation to chance, the engraver mirrors the interaction of the horse and hay in the forefront with a woman pursuing a man on foot in the back of the composition. By physically alternating the sides of the image on which the respective male and female representations lie in the foreground versus background, the image lines up the pursuing female in the distance with the typically pursuant male horse. Additionally this establishes two entangled lines of sight between the two female and male figures, who serve as a reminder of the disarray that would accompany such an atypical manner of courtship.

Reflecting a more traditional gender dynamic, the Peddler Seated by the Bride (fig. 82) has what appears to be a distraught man, promoting his wares on a disinterested woman in bridal wear. The inscription around the edge of the composition reads: “He who stuffs his peddler’s tray with deceit and thinks thus to win great riches, in truth he lodges with poverty and sitting by the bride scratches her head.” His lap cart full of spectacles is meant to inform the viewer to be hesitant of the peddler’s goods, as the eyeglasses he flaunts often stood for deceit. Jan Grauls believes this scene represents a fool-hearty peddler who tries to win a woman’s hand in marriage through an elaborate plan to dupe her into believing he possesses more than he truly does, only to discover she to be of his own financial predicament.40 As we have seen in the prints and in Bruegel’s Netherlandish Proverbs, a common theme is that deceit is an integral part of the human condition. Indeed, it was Erasmus, in his Adages, who proclaimed: “Examine the lives of men, and you will find perjury everywhere […] Compare their actual behavior, see what a mass of perjuries you will find. How we execrate the name of ‘thief’! But in real life you will find nothing else.”41

In a transition from thievery to a more harmless social commentary on drunken fools and the uninformed, the next two prints in the series reflect society’s malcontent for gluttony and ignorance. Similar in theme to the Drunkard Pushed into a Pigsty, mentioned earlier, the idea of overindulgence is repeated not in reference to gluttony but in terms of libation. An inebriated man sits precariously atop a partially cracked egg in The Fool Hatching a Large Empty Egg (fig. 83), looking like he’s had quite a bit more than just the contents of the cup he is pouring down his throat. What we see here is another instance of a play on words, much like with the kaak in Man Playing the Jawbone. Again this print contains no French verses, but the Flemish reads, “Fie, you pot-bellied drunkard’s fool, always gobbling and guzzling full to the crop Finding yourself on a dirty egg like a bauble [the fool’s mock
scepter], finally ending up in the empty shell.” Gibson proceeds to explain how the Flemish word for egg yolk, door (also spelled dooier), and dooer, which in the sixteenth century could also have meant, “fool.”42 In short, a fool sitting on eggs does nothing but hatch out folly.

One of the biblically derived proverbs in the series draws upon the New Testament: “If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.”43 The engraving presents a pair of blind figures, the one on the left tumbling over the one on the right, both into a stream (fig. 84). This image appears as well in small detail along the ridge in the distant background of Bruegel’s the Netherlandish Proverbs and in his well-known, late painting The Blind Leading the Blind. In The Blind Leading The Blind the principle of the uninformed following the misinformed pervades. As Roberts-Jones note, they encompass all humankind: “The fall of the blind, and that of Icarus, like that of the angels are all like the falls of men.”44

Lastly, we arrive at the pivotal image of the twelve prints, which embodies their overall misanthropic message, as well as Bruegel’s Netherlandish Proverbs, and that of his body of proverb and parable centric work. In 1568 we are given two versions of his Misanthrope, the circular engraving (fig. 85) that completes the Twelve Flemish Proverbs series and a panel painting (fig. 86).45 Both present the Misanthrope dressed in black for mourning and retreating from the landscape, seemingly moving out of the frame. The inscription on the print echoes this notion: “I wear mourning, seeing that the world / Is so full of trickery.” Bruegel’s painting bears an inscription as well, but the text postdates the image and was not written in the artist’s hand: “Because the world is so perfidious / Therefore I am in mourning.” While the print gives ample reason for misanthropy in the form of a highway robbery, which takes place behind him, in the painting, the figure turns his back on an otherwise peaceful landscape of shepherds and sheep into an uncharted woods.

Gibson argues that the man who turns his back on the world in disdain puts himself at risk of those evils, from which he so readily retreats. The Flemish verses on the print claim that the Misanthrope “wears mourning because the world is unfaithful. Most people employ the least right and reason, few live now as they should live. People rob, men grab, everyone is full of feigned morals.” In both versions, a smaller figure encompassed by a cruciform globe—the world-cum-cutpurse—relieves the Misanthrope of his wealth. Roberts-Jones are quick to point out that the world in these two works is situated right side up, in opposition to the upside down, topsy turvy world image in Netherlandish Proverbs.46 The correctly oriented globe in the two versions of the Misanthrope suggests a degree of malice on behalf of the world/thief.47
While this reading of the Misanthrope seems to imply an inherent evil in humanity, I believe this is but a subset of the proverbs’ pictures. “Certainly, the human world is not a paradise in Bruegel’s eyes,” notes Roberts-Jones, “but this does not mean it is a cursed, depraved, or sinister place, either.”48 The artist portrayed society the way that he perceived it. Full of shortcomings though it may be, his desire was not to pointlessly reprimand. Conversely and especially in his prints, Bruegel’s images comment on mankind’s follies to invite self-reflection. Lavalleye adds, “This reflective artist uses sarcasm to teach men of all ages to know themselves better.”49 Kunzle comments on the nuances of Bruegel’s oeuvre, particularly as they differ between paint and print.50 The backdrop of a typical Flemish village in Bruegel’s painting grounds the figures and imbues the composition with realism, whereas the prints, stripped of Bruegel’s painting grounds the figures and imbues the viewer acknowledges the absurdity of the situation. The through hyperbole and humor, they invite an initial levity as scholars have noted Bruegel’s contribution to the broad revival of antique proverbs as didactic devices during the second half of the sixteenth century.51 As Erasmus points out, “What could be more convincing than what is said by everyone? What is more likely to be true than what has been approved by the consensus, the unanimous vote as it were, of so many epochs and so many peoples.”52 This of course builds on Aristotle’s characterization of proverbs as “ancient witnesses […] known to all.”53 Moreover, Ancient proverbs served a dual function in the time of Erasmus: one as a teacher of morals and lessons, and the other as original texts upon which students could translate the Latin texts into the vernacular.54

Bruegel’s Netherlandish Proverbs and related prints by him and his contemporaries encourage self-reflection. Through hyperbole and humor, they invite an initial levity as the viewer acknowledges the absurdity of the situation. The viewer then recognizes aspects of his or her own behavior in the folly and imprudence represented. By revealing the sources for such overtly ludicrous actions, Netherlandish artists such as Bruegel aimed to identify weaknesses in human behavior, were the actions of the common man ever to grow to such outlandish levels.

5 Gibson, Figures of Speech, 80–86.
8 Erasmus, Collected Works of Erasmus, 379. Gibson, Figures of Speech, 92–93, states that any explanation for this deviation can only be speculative as to whether it is the conception of Wierix or an otherwise unknown departure from the original saying.
9 Yoko Mori, “She Hangs the Blue Cloak Over Her Husband,” in The Netherlandish Proverbs, 72–78. The color blue frequently represented cheating or folly, while red excrement in Bruegel’s work, both painting and print.
10 M ori, “She Hangs the Blue Cloak Over Her Husband,” 73.
11 Some scholars have interpreted the world upside down as a main theme of the composition. However, its location off to the side of the frame disputes such a claim. Larry Silver, Pieter Bruegel (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2011), 225.
12 Stechow, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 62; Silver, Pieter Bruegel, 220.
14 Gibson, Figures of Speech, 88–86.
15 Gibson, Figures of Speech, 80–81.
17 Gibson, Figures of Speech, 106.
18 Erasmus, Collected Works of Erasmus, 576, Iv97.
20 Alan Dundes, “How Far Does the Apple Fall from the Tree,” in The Netherlandish Proverbs, 33, reads an element of animal eroticism and childish fascination with excrement in Bruegel’s work, both painting and print.
21 Gibson, Figures of Speech, 98.
23 Gibson, Figures of Speech, 94.
24 David Kunzle, “Belling the Cat—Butting the Wall,” in The Netherlandish Proverbs, 141.
25 Marijnissen and Seidel, Bruegel, 42.
26 Marijnissen and Seidel, Bruegel, 43.
27 Kunzle, “Belling the Cat—Butting the Wall,” 153.
28 Marijnissen and Seidel, Bruegel, 42.
29 David Kunzle, “Belling the Cat—Butting the Wall,” 153.
30 Erasmus, Collected Works of Erasmus, 3.
31 Gibson, Figures of Speech, 90.
32 Marijnissen and Seidel, Bruegel, 155, fig. 13.
33 Andriessoon, Duytche Adagia ofte Spreecwoorden, 82, 189, nos. 25.1–25.3; in Gibson, Figures of Speech, 94.
34 Gibson, Figures of Speech, 94.


38 Gibson, *Figures of Speech*, 43.


40 Gibson, *Figures of Speech*, 94, notes that “[i]n the famous Antwerp *Everyman* procession of 1563, Old Deceit wore a necklace of ‘trumpets and eyeglasses’ and was accompanied by two peddlers hawking the same merchandise.” For general commentary on the theme of eyeglasses contingent upon further research in Jan Grauls, *Volksstaal en volksleven in het werk van Pieter Bruegel* (Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1957), 201.


42 Gibson, *Figures of Speech*, 97.


45 The painting is located in the Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, Italy.

46 Roberts-Jones, *Bruegel*, 236.

47 Gibson, *Figures of Speech*, 88–89.


49 Lavalleye, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Lucas van Leyden*, 204.


Anthony Van Dyck is among the most highly regarded painters and portraitists of the seventeenth century. He is less widely known, however, for his mastery of the skill and art of printmaking. Van Dyck produced more than fifty different prints, many of which are incomparable in nature and execution. One of these is Van Dyck’s etching after a painting attributed to Titian and commonly known as *Titian and His Mistress* (fig. 87, cat. 17).

*Titian and His Mistress* represents two contrasting, half-length figures, a young woman and an old man. The old man approaches the woman from the left middle ground. His body is turned inward to the left and his face is seen in a profile view while his gaze is horizontally directed towards the right. He wears a thick, fur-lined coat and a dark cap covers his head. His face is old and wrinkled, his eyes appear heavy, and he sports a thick beard, matching the fur on his collar. His right elbow rests on a ledge in the foreground that parallels the picture plane and his aged right hand and slender fingers extend toward the abdomen of the young woman. According to Venetian convention, the background behind the half-length figures is divided into unequal rectangles; the space behind the man is dark, while the space behind the young woman is much lighter. Light enters from the right, illuminating the right side of his face, the left of hers, as it casts a shadow upon his back, the far left side of his shoulder, and the back of his head, as well as to the left of the woman.

The young woman occupies the majority of the center and the right side of the middle ground. Curiously, she appears proportionately larger than the man. Her head, torso, left arm, and abdomen are visible. Her body, unlike the man’s, faces the viewer with her shoulders nearly square to the picture plane. The woman’s neck is slightly rotated so that the left side of her neck and face are exposed, leaving the right side of her neck completely out of the viewer’s sight. The object of her gaze is unknown as her eyes look towards the upper right, away from the old man. The two figures’ gazes never meet. Her hair is pulled back behind her shoulders and on the top of her head are loose, wavy curls. The coat she wears, similar to the man’s, is thick and has a fur-lined collar and is tied at her waist. She wears a dress underneath her coat that is decorated with vertical lines and delicate bows. Her left arm reaches out from her coat and rests upon a box in the bottom right corner of the foreground. This hollow square space contains the upper part of a human skull. It faces the viewer, though slightly turned so the viewer can see the right side of the skull more than the left. Her forearm extends into the center of the print and her palm rests just beneath her left breast. The right side of her body is hidden behind the man’s body and darkness of the background. The space behind the woman’s body is more lightly lit, or colored less dark than the space behind the man. The area where the man and woman stand resembles a balcony, however, it may also resemble a bedroom or studio space.

Beneath the image area of the print, are a series of inscriptions in Italian. The anterior inscription reads:

Ecco il belveder! ò che felice sorte!
Che la fruttifera in ventre porte
Ma ch’ ella porte, ò me vita et morte piano
Demonstra l’arte del magno Titiano²

(Behold a woman pleasing to her husband, nor is any other fairer than she.
In her womb the chaste woman bears the pledges)
of wedlock. Yet be she alive or be she dead, this painted panel
Represents [her] through the remarkable skill of the great Titian)

The subsequent inscription appears slightly smaller:

Al molto illustre, magnifico et osservandis\textsuperscript{iv} Sig' il Sig' Luca can Uffel, in segno d'affectione et inclinatione amoreuole, como patron et singular-is\textsuperscript{v} amico suo dedicato il vero ritratto del unico Titiano'.

Ant. van Dyck\textsuperscript{v}

(Anthony van Dyck dedicates this lifelike portrait of the peerless Titian to the illustrious and venerable lord Lucas van Uffel, patron and dear friend, in token of his affection and love.)\textsuperscript{v}

The original painting is now lost, raising questions about Van Dyck’s knowledge of it, the degree to which his etching after it faithfully and reliably records its appearance when he saw it, and why the painting impressed him so much to produce the striking etching after it.

\textit{Anthony Van Dyck}

Anthony Van Dyck was born in Antwerp in March of 1599 to a wealthy and successful silk merchant.\textsuperscript{vi} He stayed in Antwerp for his apprenticeship as a painter and began work with Hendrick van Balen, a well-known Dutch painter. After completing his formal apprenticeship, Van Dyck entered the studio of his famous contemporary, Peter Paul Rubens. At this time, Rubens was already widely established as the leading artist in Antwerp and was known to be the first painter to focus on printmaking as a means of reproducing paintings.\textsuperscript{vii} Among his duties as a young master, Van Dyck was to provide drawings after Rubens’ paintings, which would serve as the basis for engravings.

While working in Rubens’ studio provided Van Dyck with incomparable experience, he realized it necessary to distance himself from Rubens’ influence and competition as an artist. Rubens did, however, help finance Van Dyck’s early travels and connect him with wealthy patrons and friends. Indeed, Van Dyck received a relatively successful year-long appointment in London as a court painter to King James I. Seeing the need for greater exposure to Italian art, Van Dyck left for Italy in 1621, spending time in Venice, Rome, and Genoa.

Van Dyck’s career in Italy gained momentum after his friends, Lucas and Cornelius de Wael, connected him with aristocrats and other wealthy, prominent patrons in Genoa. His work there included making portraits of the Genovese elite, their equines, and several commissions by the Pope for work on the Pontifical Palace in Monte Cavallo. Van Dyck was also made the principal painter at the court of King Charles I of England.\textsuperscript{vii}

Van Dyck’s striking ability as a painter was not lost in his equally impressive etchings. Because of his extraordinary success as a portrait painter, Van Dyck created a group of about twenty-one portraits of artists—in etching—which he entitled “Iconography.”\textsuperscript{viii} With this project Van Dyck seized the opportunity to “immortalize the artists of his time.” Except for his copy of \textit{Titian and His Mistress}, the collection is comprised of original designs by Van Dyck.\textsuperscript{ix} “Iconography” was widely popular and became one of the leading print projects by the artist.

\textit{Rome and Antwerp}

It appears that Van Dyck first saw \textit{Titian and his Mistress} when he was visiting the Borghese Collection in Rome.\textsuperscript{x} Evidence of Van Dyck’s experience with the painting was recorded in a drawing from the artist’s Italian Sketchbook (fig. 88).\textsuperscript{xi} Van Dyck recorded sketches and pen-and-ink drawings in this book for seven years, beginning in 1621.\textsuperscript{xii} During his stay in Italy, Van Dyck traveled to see paintings from his favorite Venetian masters out of admiration and as inspiration, particularly hunting down the pieces by Titian.\textsuperscript{xiii} Sketches based on Titian’s paintings fill much of the books, supplemented by drawings after other Venetian masters.

The drawing of \textit{Titian and His Mistress} is a simple pen-and-ink drawing that fills the top half of a page, the bottom half of the page is occupied by a “sketch in reddish chalk of Salome with the head of St. John the Baptist.”\textsuperscript{xi} Inscribed with the illustration is “\textit{MORS TITIANI}.”\textsuperscript{xiv} Curiously, the sketch reverses the orientation of the composition as it appears in Van Dyck’s subsequent engraving. Since one would imagine that Van Dyck’s finished etching would have retained the painting’s original orientation, it is not clear why the artist reversed the orientation. Van Dyck also leaves the boxed skull absent. The other properties of the engraving seem to be present in the sketch, though, including placement of the figures’ hands and fingers, detail of clothing, and the relationship of scale between figure. Assuredly, Van Dyck must have made a fully developed, highly finished drawing—now lost—which would have served as the basis for the etching. What role this quick sketch had in the production of the finished drawing is not known.

The exact meaning and purpose of the original painting
Questions rise regarding Van Dyck’s motivations and intentions to copy this specific painting because of the sheer volume of other drawings in his sketchbook. Van Dyck admired Titian’s work, evident by the number of sketches he made after his paintings. Presumably, his drawings record those works that resonated with Van Dyck and “of the works Van Dyck saw in the Borghese Collection of 1693 in Rome, Titian and His Mistress seems to impress him particularly.”

He was not alone in thinking this painting was magnificent and worthy of copy. Other prominent travelers of the time, including Joshua Reynolds, Richard Symonds, and Jonathan Richardson write about Titian and His Mistress in their journals and record its alluring power. Other Titian paintings that Van Dyck sketched from his visit to the Borghese Collection include Venus and Medea and The Education of Cupid. Van Dyck also sketched The Mocking of Christ various times in his sketchbook, recording several versions of this subject he encountered during his stay in Italy. Upon returning to Antwerp, Van Dyck etched and printed his own version of The Mocking of Christ, which is heavily influenced by Titian. This is significant because it helps explain the motives for printing Titian and His Mistress. Indeed, Ger Luijtens suggests that he created both The Mocking of Christ and Titian and His Mistress to pay homage to one of his favorite masters.

The inscription in Titian and His Mistress may elude to Van Dyck’s motivation for copying this specific Titian painting. The first passage of text is a poem that translates into what many believe is the subject matter of the composition. There have been varied debates about the meaning of the poem because parts of the passage seem to be inconsistent with Titian’s life. For example, Joseph Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle claim that instead of this woman being his mistress, she is his daughter, Lavinia, while G. Cadorin notes that Titian looked to the woman gently because he was about to be a grandfather. Mario Brunetti argues that this was Titian’s mistress, who gave birth to Titian’s daughter Emilia out of wedlock. Regardless, “that the lady is pregnant seems clearly indicated by the verses” and underscored by Titian’s gesture toward her lower abdomen.

Van Dyck twice affirms his admiration for Titian in the inscription. In the first passage he declares Titian’s masterful skill. He indicates that whether or not anyone truly interprets the image correctly, the painting maintains the highest status of skill and talent. Van Dyck appears to be more concerned with paying homage to the adored painter than choosing a painting that exudes the most Titianesque qualities.

In the second passage, he again salutes Titian: “Anthony van Dyck dedicates this lifelike portrait of the peerless Titian.” The second section is written in a different font, indicating that these could be the words directly from Van
Dyck, himself. This would mean that Van Dyck is holding Titian in such high regard that he does not believe Titian’s skills can be matched by anyone of his time. This powerful allocation of skill is very meaningful, especially in conjunction with dedicating the piece to his friend, Lord Uffel.

Van Dyck regarded Lord Uffel as a very close friend and demonstrated this by dedicating a print to him after his hero, Titian. They were both avid lovers of Titian’s work. Van Uffel came from a well-educated family in the arts, two of his siblings were artists and dealers, and he owned several of Titian’s paintings, which, no doubt, proved to be a unifying element of their friendship. Evidently, Van Dyck and Van Uffel become friends during their dual stays in Italy. Van Dyck made at least two portraits of Van Uffel while they were together in Italy. Interestingly, Gronau argues that a version of the Titian and His Mistress painting was in Van Uffel’s collection in Antwerp. Although Van Dyck’s sketchbook suggests that he actually saw the original in the Borghese Collection when visiting Rome, knowing that Van Uffel owned a version could have been motivation for choosing this specific painting as a dedication to his friend. This argument is among the most compelling explanations for why Van Dyck chose this particular subject to copy and print.

After

Van Dyck’s etching of Titian and His Mistress experienced an interesting afterlife, in K. Lux’s painting Vanitas Still Life with Globe and Collector’s Album with Van Dyck Prints. In this painting an impression of Van Dyck’s Titian and His Mistress appears inside the print album, which supports a celestial globe (fig. 89). It is believed that this still life accurately depicts an album of prints, such as a Conterfeytsel-boek—a volume that contained mostly portraits—or it could have contained more diversified subjects. What is striking about this vanitas painting, is that Van Dyck’s print of Titian appears between the stars on the globe, perhaps a suggestion of his fame, and with the image of a skull in the print, which acts as a memento mori.

Lux’s Vanitas Still Life is also important because little is known about the history or significance of the print. After its completion, Van Dyck delegated the responsibility of distributing the etching to Antoon Goetkint, who lived in Paris and worked under a French version of his name Antoine Bonenfant. Goetkint distributed the print throughout Europe and, after the fourth state of the print was distributed, “A Bon enfant, excu” was added to the plate. He also issued a smaller version. In England, Richard Gaywood published a copy of the print, as did George Walch, in Nuremberg. However, Walch’s version altered the text and the meaning of the poem, borrowing from Ovid and making references to “An Old man’s love is a shameful thing.”

While the original painting of Titian and His Mistress that Van Dyck saw in the Borghese Collection and copied in his sketchbook is now lost, questions regarding its meaning and Van Dyck’s decision to reproduce continue to puzzle viewers and scholars alike.

1 Carl Depauw and Ger Luijten, eds., Anthony Van Dyck as a Printmaker (Antwerp and Amsterdam: Antwerpen Open / Rijksmuseum, 1999), 243.
2 Luijten, “Titian and His Mistress,” in Depauw and Luijten, Anthony Van Dyck as a Printmaker, 243.
3 Translation by Berthe Marti.
5 Translation by Berthe Marti.
For Van Dyck’s biography in general see Christopher Brown, Van Dyck, 1599–1641 (New York: Rizzoli, 1999).


Hind, Van Dyck, 35.

Luijt, “Titian and His Mistress,” 240.


Lionel Cust, A Description of the Sketchbook by Sir Anthony Van Dyck, Used by Him in Italy, 1621–1627 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1902).

Luijt, “Titian and His Mistress,” 240.

Luijt, “Titian and His Mistress,” 247.


Luijt, “Titian and His Mistress,” 247.

Exhibition Catalogue

All works courtesy Darlene K. Morris Collection
Heinrich Aldegrever
(German, 1502–1555/61)

1
Lot and his Daughters, ca. 1555
Engraving, 3 3/4 x 2 3/4 in. (9.5 x 6.9 cm)

Albrecht Altdorfer
(German, ca. 1480–1538)

2
Sacrifice of Isaac, ca. 1525
Woodcut, 4 7/8 x 3 3/4 in. (12.2 x 9.5 cm)

Hans Sebald Beham
(German, 1500–1550)

3
Liberal Arts: Gramatica, ca. 1550
Engraving, 3 1/2 x 2 in. (8.9 x 5.1 cm)
4
*Liberal Arts: Dialectica*, ca. 1550
Engraving, 3 ½ x 2 in. (8.9 x 5.1 cm)

5
*Liberal Arts: Rhetorica*, ca. 1550
Engraving, 3 ½ x 2 in. (8.9 x 5.1 cm)

6
*Liberal Arts: Arithmetria*, ca. 1550
Engraving, 3 ½ x 2 in. (8.9 x 5.1 cm)
7
*Liberal Arts: Musica*, ca. 1550
Engraving, 3 1/2 x 2 in. (8.9 x 5.1 cm)

8
*Liberal Arts: Geometria*, ca. 1550
Engraving, 3 1/2 x 2 in. (8.9 x 5.1 cm)

9
*Liberal Arts: Astrologia*, ca. 1550
Engraving, 3 1/2 x 2 in. (8.9 x 5.1 cm)
Ferdinand Bol
(Dutch, 1616–1680)

10
After Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–1669)
*Bust of a Young Lady with Plumed Cap*, 1644
Etching, 4 x 3 in. (10.1 x 7.6 cm)

Jan Wierix
(Netherlandish, 1549–1615)

11
After Pieter Bruegel the Elder (?) (Netherlandish, ca. 1525–1569)
*Archer Shoots All of His Arrows from Twelve Flemish Proverbs*, ca. 1568
Engraving, 7 1/16 in. (18 cm) dia.

Jacques Callot
(French, 1592–1635)

12
*Holy Family at Table*, 1628
Engraving, 7 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. (19 x 16.5 cm)
Beggar with a Rosary, ca. 1621
Etching, 5 ¾ x 3 ½ in. (14.3 x 8.9 cm)

Old Woman with Cats, ca. 1621
Etching, 5 ¾ x 3 ¾ in. (14.3 x 8.2 cm)

Lucas Cranach the Elder
(German, 1472–1553)

St. Jerome in Penitence, 1509
Woodcut, 13 ¼ x 8 ¾ in. (33.4 x 22.6 cm)
Albrecht Dürer
(German, 1471–1528)

16
*Saint Simon*, 1523
Engraving, 4 1/2 x 3 in. (11.4 x 7.6 cm)

Anthony Van Dyck
(Flemish, 1599–1641)

17
*Titan and His Mistress*, 1635
Etching, engraving, 13 1/4 x 10 1/4 in. (33.6 x 26 cm)

Hendrick Goltzijus
(Dutch, 1558–1617)

18
*After Bartholomeus Spranger (Dutch, 1546–1611)*
*The Holy Family*, ca. 1589
Engraving, 11 1/8 x 8 3/8 in. (28.3 x 21.2 cm)
19
*Sine Cerere et Baccho Friget Venus (Without Bacchus and Ceres, Venus Grows Cold)*, ca. 1590
Engraving, 3 ¾ in. (9.6 cm) dia.

20
*Countess Françoise d’Egmond*, n.d.
Engraving, 8 ½ x 5 ½ in. (21.7 x 14.3 cm)

21
After Dirck Barendsz (Dutch, 1534–1592)
*Venetian Wedding*, 1584
Engraving, 17 ¾ x 29 in. (43.5 x 73.8 cm)
22
*The Deities: Helios (Dies, Day)*, ca. 1588–1590
Chiaroscuro woodcut (black lineblock with two toneblocks, ochre and dull green), 13 ¾ x 10 ½ in. (35.0 x 26.6 cm)

23
*Apollo*, 1588
Engraving, 17 ⅜ x 28 ¾ in. (43.5 x 72.6 cm)

Jean de Gourmont
(French, active 1506–1526)

24
*Virgin and Child Enthroned*, 1550s
Engraving, 3 ⅜ in. (8.6 cm) dia.
Daniel Hopfer
(German, 1471–1536)

25
Proverbs 11:26 (Hoarders of Grain), 1534
Etching, 7 ⅞ x 10 ⅞ in. (20.2 x 27.5 cm)

Jan Joris van Vliet
(Dutch, 1600/10–1668?)

26
After Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–1669)
Old Woman Reading, ca. 1631
Etching, 10 ¾ x 8 ¾ in. (27.5 x 22.3 cm)

Lucas Kilian
(German, 1579–1673)

27
After Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1588–1617)
The Holy Family with Saint John, 1605
Engraving, 11 ⅝ x 12 ⅞ in. (28.9 x 32.7 cm)
Lucas van Leyden
(Netherlandish, ca. 1494–1533)

28
*The Promenade*, 1520
Engraving, 4 7/16 x 2 3/8 in. (11.6 x 7.3 cm)

Claude Lorraine
(French, 1604/5?–1682)

29
*Time, Apollo, and the Seasons*, 1662
Etching, 7 7/8 x 10 1/4 in. (20 x 26 cm)

Jan Lutma the Younger
(Dutch, 1623–1685)

30
*Posteritati (Bust of Johannes Lutma the Elder)*, 1669
Punch engraving, 12 x 8 3/8 in. (30.6 x 21.3 cm)
Jacob Matham
(Dutch, 1571–1631)

31
Vices: 1. Pride
Engraving, 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. (21.5 x 14.3 cm)

32
Vices: 2. Gluttony
Engraving, 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. (21.5 x 14.3 cm)

33
Vices: 3. Lust
Engraving, 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. (21.5 x 14.3 cm)
34
Vices: 4. Anger
Engraving, 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. (21.5 x 14.3 cm)

35
Vices: 5. Envy
Engraving, 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. (21.5 x 14.3 cm)

36
Vices: 6. Avarice
Engraving, 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. (21.5 x 14.3 cm)
37
*Vices: 7. Sloth*
Engraving, 8 ½ x 5 ½ in. (21.5 x 14.3 cm)

38
*Portrait of Hendrick Goltzius, 1630*
Engraving, 8 ½ x 5 in. (21.5 x 12.8 cm)

39
*Theodore Velius, ca. 1630*
Engraved copper plate, 7 ¼ x 5 in. (18.3 x 12.8 cm)
**Adriaen van Ostade**  
(Dutch, 1610–1685)

40  
*Singers at the Window*, 1667/8  
Etching, plate: 9 7/16 x 7 1/2 in. (24 x 19 cm)

**Crispijn de Passe the Elder**  
(Dutch, 1564–1637)

41  
After Maarten de Vos (Flemish, 1532–1603)  
*The Elements: Terra*, ca. 1600  
Engraving, 8 x 8 1/2 in. (20.3 x 21.6 cm)

42  
After Maarten de Vos (Flemish, 1532–1603)  
*The Elements: Aer*, ca. 1600  
Engraving, 8 x 8 1/2 in. (20.3 x 21.6 cm)
43
After Maarten de Vos (Flemish, 1532–1603)
The Elements: Aqua, ca. 1600
Engraving, 8 x 8 ½ in. (20.3 x 21.6 cm)

44
After Maarten de Vos (Flemish, 1532–1603)
The Elements: Ignis, ca. 1600
Engraving, 8 x 8 ½ in. (20.3 x 21.6 cm)

Artist Unknown (“Master PVL”)

45
Men Playing a Game of Dice, ca. 1520
Engraving, 3 ¾ in. (9.2 cm) dia.
Jehan Pychore
(French, active 1501–1520)

and Remi de Laistre
(French, active early sixteenth century)

46
After Martin Schongauer (German, 1435/50–1491)
Nativity, 1503
Hore interemerat Virginis Marie secundum usum Romae curie
Metalcut on parchment with hand coloring, 7 ¾ x 5 ¼ in.
(20.1 x 12.8 cm)

Rembrandt van Rijn
(Dutch, 1606–1669)

47
Adoration of the Shepherds, with the Lamp, ca. 1654
Etching, 5 ¾ x 6 ¾ in. (14.2 x 17.2 cm)
Jan Saenredam
(Dutch, ca. 1565–1607)

48
Jan Uytenbogaert, 1635
Etching, drypoint, 8 7/8 x 7 3/8 in. (22.5 x 18.7 cm)

49
After Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1588–1617)
Seven Planetary Gods: 1. Saturn Presiding over Agriculture, 1596
Engraving, 10 x 6 7/8 in. (25.4 x 17.5 cm)

50
After Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1588–1617)
Seven Planetary Gods: 2. Jupiter Presiding over the Liberal Arts, 1596
Engraving, 10 x 7 in. (25.4 x 17.8 cm)
After Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1588–1617)
*Seven Planetary Gods: 3. Mars Presiding over the Arts of War*, 1596
Engraving, 9 7/8 x 7 in. (25.1 x 17.8 cm)

After Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1588–1617)
*Seven Planetary Gods: 4. Apollo Presiding over the Arts of Government*, 1596
Engraving, 10 1/8 x 7 in. (25.4 x 17.8 cm)

After Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1588–1617)
*Seven Planetary Gods: 5. Venus Presiding over Love and Pleasure*, 1596
Engraving, 10 x 7 in. (25.4 x 17.8 cm)
After Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1588–1617)
Seven Planetary Gods: 6. Mercury Presiding over the Arts, 1596
Engraving, 10 ⅜ x 7 in. (25.4 x 17.8 cm)

After Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1588–1617)
Seven Planetary Gods: 7. Diana Presiding over Fishing and Navigation, 1596
Engraving, 10 ⅜ x 7 in. (25.4 x 17.8 cm)

Christoffel van Sichem
(Flemish, 1546–1624)

After Jacob Matham (Dutch, 1571–1631)
Bust of a Young Man with Feathered Cap, 1613
Woodcut, 12 ½ x 8 ¾ in. (31.8 x 22.0 cm)
Vergil Solis

57
*Adam and Eve: The Fall of Man*, from the series *Biblishe Figuren*, ca. 1550
Woodcut block, 3 x 4 ½ (7.6 x 11.4 cm)

Jan van de Velde II
(Dutch, 1593?–1641)

58
After Pieter de Molijn (Dutch, 1595–1661)
*Shrove Tuesday*, ca. 1616–1641
Engraving, 8 ¾ x 6 ¾ in. (22.1 x 17.0 cm)
Hieronymuz Wierix
(Flemish, 1553–1619)

61
After François Quesnel (French, 1544–1619)
*Women at the Time of Henry VIII: Catherine-Henriette Balzac Dentraigues, Marquise de Verneuil*, 1600
Engraving, 17 ¾ x 9 ¾ in. (35.0 x 25.0 cm)

Lucas Vorsterman
(Flemish, 1595–1675)

59
After Adam de Coster (Flemish, 1585–1643)
*Game of Backgammon*, ca. 1635
Copper engraving plate, 10 5/8 x 13 7/8 in. (27.0 x 35.2 cm)

60
After Adam de Coster (Flemish, 1585–1643)
*Game of Backgammon*, ca. 1635
Engraving, 10 5/8 x 13 7/8 in. (27.0 x 35.2 cm)
Michael Wolgemut
(German, 1435–1519)

62
Leaf from *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 1493
Woodcut with hand coloring, 14 x 10 in. (35.5 x 25.4 cm)

Artist Unknown
(German, Franconia or Bavaria)

63
*St. Florian*, ca. 1470s
Woodcut, 4 x 2 ¾ in. (10.2 x 7.3 cm)
64
The Virgin Crowned by Angels with four Evangelists, 1502
Woodcut, 8 5/8 x 6 1/4 in. (21.9 x 15.9 cm)

65
Franciscan in Prayer, 1502
Woodcut, 9 3/4 x 7 3/4 in. (25 x 18 cm)

66
Leaf from an Antiphonal, ca. fifteenth century
Ink on parchment, 12 x 9 in. (30.5 x 20.3 cm)
Dickinson

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