

Motus mixti et compositi

*The Portrayal of Mixed and Compound Emotions
in the Visual and Literary Arts of Europe,
1500–1700*

Edited by

Karl A.E. Enenkel
Walter S. Melion



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Acknowledgements IX
List of Illustrations X
Notes on the Editors XXI
Notes on the Contributors XXIII

- 1 Introduction: *Motus mixti et compositi* – the Portrayal of Mixed and Compound Emotions in the Visual and Literary Arts of Europe, 1500–1700 1
Walter S. Melion

PART 1

Portraying Mixed Emotions in the Literary Arts

SECTION A

Mixed Emotions in Dutch and Latin Drama

- 2 All Motion Discovers Us: Moral Discernment and the Role of the Passions in Willem van Nieulandt's *Nero* (1618) 47
Bart Ramakers
- 3 Staging the In-Between: Compound, Conflicting and Shifting Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Neo-Latin Drama from the Dutch Republic 105
Lukas Reddemann

SECTION B

Mixed Emotions in Neo-Latin and French Poetry

- 4 Between Fleeting and Compound Emotions in Neo-Latin Lyric Poetry on 'Turks': Georgius Sisgoreus' *Elegia de Sibenicensis agri vastatione* 151
Ludovica Sasso
- 5 Shifting Emotions in Neo-Latin Psalm Poetry and Erotic Elegy: George Buchanan and Janus Lernetius 184
Carolyn A. Gier

- 6 On Red and White Cheeks: Jakob Balde's Poetic Ekphrases on a Triptych by Christoph Schwarz in the Light of the Scholastic Theory of the Passions 220
Aline Smeesters
- 7 Mixed Motives: the Art of Joachim Du Bellay, 1549–1558 250
Tom Conley

SECTION C

Mixed Emotions in Prose Literature

- 8 Tears of Love and Sorrow: the Affective Regime of the European Pastoral Tradition 283
Anita Traninger
- 9 'How We Weep and Laugh at the Same Thing': Conflicting Emotions in Rabelais and Montaigne 310
Paul J. Smith
- 10 The Troubles of Christian Perfection: Berinzaga, Gagliardi, Borromeo 327
Wietse de Boer

PART 2

Portraying Mixed Emotions in the Visual Arts

SECTION A

Mixed Emotions in Image-based Spiritual Exercises

- 11 *O vos omnes*: Recognition, Tragic Emotion, and the Passerby Topos in Northern European Art around 1500 369
Mitchell Merback
- 12 Mixed Emotion and Spiritual Perfection in Abraham Bloemaert's *Sylva anachoretica* of 1619 410
Walter S. Melion

- 13 Spiritual Joy in the Face of Death: Compound Emotions in Texts and Images of the Martyrs of the Japan Mission 502
Raphaèle Preisinger
- 14 Materialities of Mixed Emotions and Spiritual Martyrdom between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Grand Duchy of Tuscany 537
Ruth Sargent Noyes

SECTION B

Heuristic and Sanative Images of Mixed Emotions

- 15 *Francisci chorda traxit ad se plurima corda*: 'Drawing' the Heart's Emotions in Jan Provoost's Diptych of *Christ Carrying the Cross* 573
Elliott D. Wise
- 16 'Symbolic Anatomies': Hendrick Goltzius and the Ambiguities of Early Modern Disability 615
Barbara A. Kaminska
- 17 Exploring Complex Emotions through the Portrayal of Dialogic Exchange: Pieter Lastman's *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* of 1617 647
Graham R. Lea
- 18 Between Despair and Hope: Raising Emotions with Dutch Seventeenth-Century Marine Paintings and Prints 675
Stijn Bussels and Bram Van Oostveldt
- Index Nominum 695

Illustrations

- 1.1 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Massacre of the Innocents*, ca. 1565–1567. Oil on panel, 109.2 × 105.1 cm. Royal Collection Trust, Windsor RCIN 405787 8
- 1.2 *Groenendael Passion*, fol. 23v: Articles 41 and 42 of the *Hondert articulen der passion Iesu Christi* and fol. 24r: Israhel van Meckenem, *Flagellation of Christ*. Album: late fifteenth century; each folio ca. 260 × 204 mm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.476 15
- 1.3 Israhel van Meckenem, *Flagellation of Christ in the Presence of Pilate, with Christ Brought before Herod*, from *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, highlighted in gold, with touches of pen and red ink (on Christ's feet), ca. 205 × 151 mm. Metropolitan Museum of Art 16
- 1.4 Jan David, s.J., *Pancarpium Marianum, Septemplici Titulorum serie distinctum; ut in B. Virginis odorem curramus, et Christus formetur in nobis*. (Antwerp, Balthasar and Jan Moretus: 1607; repr. ed., 1618). Engraving by Theodoor Galle, 150 × 90 mm. Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago: Case W. 1025.22 18
- 1.5 Jan David, s.J., "Tituli quinquaginta partitio, prout in praesenti Tractatu sunt digesti", in *Pancarpium Marianum* (Antwerp, Balthasar and Jan Moretus: 1607; repr. ed., 1618), fol. + 8v. Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago: Case W. 1025.22 20
- 1.6 Theodoor Galle, Emblem 5: "Mater pulchrae dilectionis", in Jan David, s.J., *Pancarpium Marianum* (Antwerp, Balthasar and Jan Moretus: 1607; repr. ed., 1618). Engraving, 156 × 90 mm. Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago: Case W. 1025.22 21
- 1.7 Theodoor Galle, Emblem 42: "Lapis adiutorii", in Jan David, s.J., *Pancarpium Marianum* (Antwerp, Balthasar and Jan Moretus: 1607, repr. ed., 1618). Engraving, 158 × 91 mm. Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago: Case W. 1025.22 22
- 1.8 Peter Paul Rubens and Workshop, *Return of Briseis*, ca. 1630–1635. Oil on panel, 107.5 × 163 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid P002566 23
- 1.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Negotiations at Angouleme*, 1622–1625. Oil on canvas, 394 × 295 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. (Photo: Art Resource) 24
- 1.10 *Veturia, Mother of Coriolanus* (also known as *Thusnelda*). Marble, over life size. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. (Photo: Art Resource) 25
- 1.11 Diego Velázquez, *Joseph's Blooded Coat Presented to Jacob*, 1630. Oil on canvas, 213.5 × 284 cm. Nuevos Museos, El Escorial. (Photo: Art Resource) 26
- 2.1 Willem van Nieulandt II, *The Death of Nero* (1618). Title page of *Claudius Domitius Nero* (Antwerp, Guiliam van Tongheren: 1618). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, kw 851 D 31 51

- 2.2 Jean Meyskens, *Willem Nieulandt II* (1662). Engraving, 162 × 113 mm. Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet vande edele vry schilder-const*, 3 vols. (Antwerp, Joannes Meyskens and Juliaen van Montfort, 1662), vol. 1, 63. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-23.603 52
- 2.3 Johann Theodor de Bry after Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Democritus and Heraclites* (1596). Engraving, 100 × 100 mm. *Emblemata Saecularia* [...] (Frankfurt am Main, J.T. de Bry & J.I. de Bry: 1596). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-BI-5187 57
- 2.4 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Philosophers* (1611–1612). Oil on panel, 167 × 143 cm. Florence, Galleria Palatina. Image © SCALA, Florence; Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali 84
- 2.5 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Seneca* (1612–1613). Oil on panel, 185 × 154,7 cm. München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek 87
- 2.6 Frans Francken the Younger, *The Painter's Cabinet* (c.1627). Oil on panel, 54 × 69 cm. Private collection, Las Arenas, Getxo, Spain 88
- 2.7 Frans Francken the Younger, *The Painter and the Poet* (1618). Pen with brown and blue ink, brown wash on paper, 29,1 × 19,8 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 19981. Image © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, New York 89
- 2.8 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury* (1596). Engraving, 257 × 180 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-10.599 91
- 3.1 Peter Paul Rubens (workshop of), *Alboin and Rosamund*, painted ca. 1615. Oil on canvas, 202 × 132 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Public Domain 118
- 3.2 Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Amnon rapes Tamar* from the series *Geschiedenis van Tamar en Amnon*, 1559. Engraving, 24,5 × 20,3 cm. Public Domain 126
- 3.3 Eustache Le Sueur, *The Rape of Tamar*, painted ca. 1640. Oil on canvas, 189,2 × 161,3 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Public Domain 127
- 3.4a–b Duym, *Het moordadich stuck*, fols. G iii v. and <D iii> r 141
- 6.1 Christoph Schwarz, *Marienaltar*, 1580–1581. Triptych with St. Catherine of Alexandria, the Virgin and Child in a Glory of Clouds, and St. Jerome, painted for the Jesuit College of Munich. Oil on wood, 183,1 × 64,4 cm – 197,6 × 152,8 cm – 181,8 × 64,2 cm. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Image © Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Loan from Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen München 224
- 6.2 Christoph Schwarz, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, 1580–1581. Part of Schwarz's *Marienaltar*, painted for the Jesuit College of Munich. Left panel. Oil on wood, 183,1 × 64,4 cm. Image © Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Loan from Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen München 225
- 6.3 Christoph Schwarz, *The Virgin and Child in the Glory of the Clouds*, 1580–1581. Part of Schwarz's *Marienaltar*, painted for the Jesuit College of Munich. Center

- panel. Oil on wood, 197,6 × 152,8 cm. Image © Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Loan from Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen München 226
- 7.1 Sonnets 22 and 23 of *L'Olive* (Paris: Arnoul l'Angelier, 1549) 257
- 7.2 Incipit to *L'Olive* (Paris: Arnoul l'Angelier, 1550) 259
- 7.3 Title page, *Recueil de poesie* (Paris: Cavellat, 1558) 260
- 7.4 *L'Olive*, 1549, sonnet 23 and catchword (n.p.) 262
- 7.5 "Dialogue d'un amoureux et d'Echo," *Recueil de poesie* (1549), n.p. 265
- 7.6 *Divers lieux rustiques*, 1558, title page 276
- 10.1 Gagliardi Achille, *Breve compendio intorno alla perfettione Christiana, dove si vede una prattica mirabile per unire l'anima con Dio* (Naples, per Gio. Giacomo Carlino: 1614), frontispiece. © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Asc. 1988, 329
- 10.2 Pellegrini Lelio, *De affectionibus animi noscendis et emendandis commentarius* (Rome, apud Vincentium Pelagallum: 1598), frontispiece. © The British Library Board, o Coll DRT Dig Store 716.a.2. By permission of the British Library 335
- 11.1 Upper Rhine, Christ in Misery, c.1480. Limewood with traces of polychromy, 81.6 cm in height. Cologne, Kolumba. Image: © Lothar Schnepf; Kolumba, Cologne 371
- 11.2 North German, Passion Scenes, inner face of the left wing of a Passion Altarpiece known as the *Goldene Tafel*, c.1410–18. Mixed technique on oak panel, 231 × 184 cm (wing dimensions). Hannover, Landesmuseum. Image: Landesmuseum Hannover – ARTOTHEK 372
- 11.3 Hans Holbein the Elder, Christ in Repose before the Crucifixion, panel from the *Gray Passion*, c.1495–1500. Oil on panel, 88.5 × 88 cm. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie. Image © Staatsgalerie Stuttgart 374
- 11.4 Hans Holbein the Elder, Mary and Christ at Rest on Golgotha, c.1503–04. Oil on limewood panel, 41.5 × 32.8 cm. Hannover, Landesmuseum. Image: Landesmuseum Hannover – ARTOTHEK 375
- 11.5 Housebook Master, Crowd beneath the Cross, detail from Calvary scene, central panel of a Passion Altarpiece, 1480–85. Tempera and oil on pine panels, 131 × 173 cm (central panel). Freiburg im Breisgau, Augustinermuseum. Photo © Augustinermuseum, Michael Jensch, CC BY 4.0 377
- 11.6 Workshop of Cornelis Engebrechtsz, Christ in Repose with Nun and Saint Augustine, c.1500. Oil on panel, 52 × 41 cm. Antwerp, KMSKA. Photo: Collection KMSKA – Flemish Community, Public Domain Mark 1.0 378
- 11.7 Late Byzantine (Constantinople), Micromosaic Icon of the King of Glory, early 14th century. Colored stones, 13 × 19 cm. Rome, Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Photo: Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico, Rome 382

- 11.8 Israhel van Meckenem, *Man of Sorrows Standing in the Tomb*, later 15th century. Engraving, 10 × 7.6 cm. Vienna, Albertina. Photo: Albertina, Public Domain Mark 1.0 383
- 11.9 Wolf Traut, *Man of Sorrows and Mother of Sorrows*, indulgenced broadsheet published by Hieronymus Hölzel in Nuremberg, 1512, with typographical text. Woodcut highlighted with red ink, 42.5 × 26 cm. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection. Photo © National Gallery of Art 384
- 11.10 Jacob Binck, *Man of Sorrows – Ecce Homo*, 1520–30. Hand-colored engraving on a manuscript leaf, 133 × 96 mm, from a disassembled Flemish prayerbook. London, British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum 385
- 11.11 South German, *Man of Sorrows between Mary and Saint John*, c.1500. Elephant ivory with paint and gilding, 8.6 × 6.5 × 1.0 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 386
- 11.12 Claus Sluter, *Jeremiah*, from the *Well of Moses*, c.1400–06. Dijon, Chartreuse de Champmol. Artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author 388
- 11.13 Jan van Eyck and workshop assistant, *Christ as Judge*, detail from *Last Judgment*, ca. 1430. Oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 56.5 × 19.7 cm (one panel of a diptych). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 397
- 11.14 Middle Rhenish, *Mass of Saint Gregory*, second half of 15th century, with 16th-century indulgence text. Oil on panel, 141.5 × 71.5 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum. Photo © The State Hermitage Museum 398
- 11.15 Jan Mostaert, *Calvary*, c.1530. Oil on panel, 114.6 × 74.6 cm. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art. Photo: The John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art (cat. 41), public domain 405
- 12.1 Abraham Bloemaert, *Title-Page: Sacra eremus ascetarum* (Antwerp, Hendrik Aertssens: 1619), quarto. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 413
- 12.2 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Frontispiece: Ad sacrum speculum*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 414
- 12.3 Boëtius à Bolswert, *Similis factus sum pellicano solitudinis: Wooded Landscape with Hermits*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 145 × 90 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 415
- 12.4 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Jesus is led into the desert: Temptation of Christ*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 416
- 12.5 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 417

- 12.6 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Paul Hermit*, ca. 1612/
reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 418
- 12.7 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Anthony Hermit*, ca. 1612/
reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 419
- 12.8 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Hilarion*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 420
- 12.9 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Malchus*, ca. 1612/
reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 421
- 12.10 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Onuphrius*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 422
- 12.11 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Pachomius*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 423
- 12.12 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Macarius Aegyptius*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 424
- 12.13 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Macarius Alexandrinus*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 425
- 12.14 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Abraham Hermit*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 426
- 12.15 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Basil the Great*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 427
- 12.16 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Ephraem*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 428
- 12.17 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Simeon Stylita*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 429
- 12.18 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Frontonius*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 430
- 12.19 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint John in Lyco*,
ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam 431

- 12.20 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Elias Aegyptius*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 432
- 12.21 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Theonas*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 433
- 12.22 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Helenus*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 434
- 12.23 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Ammon Nitriota*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 435
- 12.24 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Paul Simplex*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 436
- 12.25 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Arsenius*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 437
- 12.26 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Bonosus*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 438
- 12.27 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Jerome*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. British Museum, London 439
- 12.28 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Title-Page: Sacra eremus ascetriarum*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 440
- 12.29 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Virgin Mary, Mother of God*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 441
- 12.30 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, ca. 1612/reissued 1619. Engraving, ca. 125/30 × 85/88 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 442
- 12.31 Willem de Passe after Abraham Bloemaert, *Angel Gabriel*, ca. 1610. Engraving, 273 × 186 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 443
- 12.32 Crispijn van de Passe after Abraham Bloemaert, *Virgin Annunciate*, ca. 1610. Engraving, 275 × 187 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 444
- 12.33 Willem van Swanenburg after Abraham Bloemaert, *Peter Mourning his Betrayal of Christ, from Biblical Penitents*, 1609–1611. Engraving, 268 × 171. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 445

- 12.34 Willem van Swanenburg after Abraham Bloemaert, *Paul's Contrition over his Former Persecution of Christ*, from *Biblical Penitents*, 1609–1611. Engraving, 267 × 170 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 446
- 12.35 Willem van Swanenburg after Abraham Bloemaert, *Zachaeus Grieving over his Riches*, from *Biblical Penitents*, 1609–1611. Engraving, 272 × 173 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 447
- 12.36 Willem van Swanenburg after Abraham Bloemaert, *Repentant Mary Magdalene in the Wilderness*, from *Biblical Penitents*, 1609–1611. Engraving, 271 × 174 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 448
- 12.37 Jan Saenredam after Abraham Bloemaert, *Ahijah Divides his Cloak before Jeroboam*, from *Prophecies of Ahijah*, 1604. Engraving, 270 × 199 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 449
- 12.38 Jan Saenredam after Abraham Bloemaert, *Ahijah Predicts the Fall of Jeroboam*, from *Prophecies of Ahijah*, 1604. Engraving, 270 × 194 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 450
- 12.39 Jan Saenredam after Abraham Bloemaert, *Expulsion*, from *History of Adam and Eve*, 1604. Engraving, 278 × 200 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 451
- 12.40 Jan Saenredam after Abraham Bloemaert, *Lamentation of Adam and Eve*, from *History of Adam and Eve*, 1604. Engraving, 279 × 200 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 452
- 13.1 The 26 Japan Martyrs of 1597 on the Way to their Crucifixion, 1599, engraving. From: Guzmán Francisco Tello de, *Relation, Auß befelch Herrn Francisci Teglij Gubernators, vnd general Obristens der Philippinischen Inseln [...]* (Munich, Adam Berg: 1599), fol. A iv r. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/4 H.eccl. 870,49, 10. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0,
506
- 13.2 The Crucifixion of 1597 in Nagasaki, 1599, engraving. From: Guzmán Francisco Tello de, *Relation, Auß befelch Herrn Francisci Teglij Gubernators, vnd general Obristens der Philippinischen Inseln [...]* (Munich, Adam Berg: 1599), fol. B ii r. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/4 H.eccl. 870,49, 14. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0,
507
- 13.3 Title page of Fróis Luís, *Drey Japponische Schreiben [...]* (Mainz, Johan Albin: 1599). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 Jes. 268. Photo courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München 508
- 13.4 St. Francis Lovingly Embracing a Crucifix, engraving. From: Guzmán Francisco Tello de, *Relation, Auß befelch Herrn Francisci Teglij Gubernators, vnd general Obristens der Philippinischen Inseln [...]* (Munich, Adam Berg: 1599), fol. A i v. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/4 H.eccl. 870,49, 5. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0,
510

- 13.5 Jacques Callot, The Crucifixion of the 23 Franciscan Martyrs of 1597 in Japan, 1627 or later, etching, 11,4 × 16,8 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, object number RP-P-1925-15. CC0 1.0,
513
- 13.6 The Crucifixion of the 23 Franciscan Martyrs of 1597 in Japan, 1627, oil on canvas, ca. 220 × 350 cm, Francavilla Fontana, Santa Maria della Croce, Fototeca SABAP-BA n. inv. 205091 cat.D. Su autorizzazione della Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Bari – MiC 515
- 13.7 Raphaël Sadeler II, The Crucifixion of the 23 Franciscan Martyrs of 1597 in Japan, 1627–1632, engraving, 39 × 48,9 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, object number RP-P-1926-631. CC0 1.0,
517
- 13.8 The Martyrs of 1597 Preparing for Crucifixion, 1608, engraving. From: Ricci Bartolomeo, *Triumphus Jesu Christi crucifixi* (Antwerp, Joannes Moretus: 1608), fol. B iv r, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Public domain:
519
- 13.9 Matthäus Greuter and Paul Maupin, *Effigies et nomina quorundam è societate Jesu qui pro fide vel pietate sunt interfecti [...]*, 1608, engraving, 182,5 × 50 cm, middle section of the print, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF ms. Français 15782, Fol. 423r 520
- 13.10 Wolfgang Kilian, *Drey Seelige Martyrer der Societet Jesu [...]*, 1628, engraving, 14,5 × 27 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Einbl. VII,24 l. Photo courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München 524
- 13.11 Hieronymus Wierix, The 'True Effigy' of St. Francis Xavier, before 1619, engraving, 7,3 × 11 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre. Photo © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Martine Beck-Coppola 527
- 13.12 Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Peter Paul Rubens, Saint Francis Xavier and Saint Ignatius of Loyola, ca. 1633–1659, engraving, 24,1 × 34,2 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 51.501.7129. CC0 1.0,
528
- 13.13 Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Abraham van Diepenbeeck, The Crucifixion of the Three Jesuit Martyrs of 1597, 1628–1659, engraving, 27,1 × 43 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, object number RP-P-BI-2563. CC0 1.0,
530
- 13.14 After Abraham van Diepenbeeck, The Crucifixion of Jesuit and Franciscan Martyrs in Japan in 1597, 1667, engraving, Wellcome Collection, Reference: 11014i. Public Domain Mark,
Source: Wellcome Collection 531

- 13.15 *Drij ghekruijste Japonaisen*, oil on canvas, 117,5 × 89 cm, Kyushu National Museum. Source: ColBase
533
- 13.16 Guido Cagnacci, *Tre martiri del Giappone*, 1635, oil on canvas, 250 × 140 cm, Rimini, San Francesco Saverio. Reproduced with the permission of Commissione Diocesana per l'Arte Sacra e i Beni Culturali, Diocesi di Rimini 533
- 14.1 Danzig (Gdańsk) workshop, Reliquary of St. Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, c.1677–1678. Wooden core, amber, silver, ivory, metal. 35 × 56 × 20 cm. Front view. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Tesoro dei Granduchi. Image © Gallerie degli Uffizi 542
- 14.2 Danzig (Gdańsk) workshop, Reliquary of St. Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, c.1677–1678. Wooden core, amber, silver, ivory, metal. 35 × 56 × 20 cm. Back view. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Tesoro dei Granduchi. Image © Gallerie degli Uffizi 542
- 14.3 Woodcut frontispiece portrait of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. In Ferreri Zaccaria, *Vita Beati Casimiri Confessoris* [n.p.]. Image in the public domain 546
- 14.4 Carlo Dolci, *Portrait of St. Kazimierz*, 1670–1671. Oil on canvas, 95 × 79 cm. Image © Gallerie degli Uffizi 547
- 15.1 Jan Provoost, *Interior of Christ Carrying the Cross and Portrait of a Fifty-Four-Year-Old Franciscan*, (1522). Oil on panel, 40 cm × 49.5 cm. Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges (inv. no. 0000.SJ0191.1). Artwork in the public domain 575
- 15.2 Jan Provoost, *Exterior of Christ Carrying the Cross and Portrait of a Fifty-Four-Year-Old Franciscan*, (1522). Oil on panel, 40 cm × 49.5 cm. Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges (inv. no. 0000.SJ0191.1). Artwork in the public domain 575
- 15.3 Hieronymus Bosch or Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, (ca. 1510–ca. 1516). Oil on panel, 76.7 × 83.5 cm, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent (inv. 1902–H). Artwork in the public domain 586
- 15.4 Titian/Giorgione, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, (1505). Oil on canvas, 68.2 cm × 88.3 cm, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice. Image © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY 588
- 15.5 Bernardino Luini, *Christ Carrying the Cross and the Virgin*, (1520/1530). Oil on wood, 50.6 cm × 49.7 cm, Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, (inv. no. 1624). © Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan 589
- 15.6 Jan Provoost, *Sacred Allegory*, (ca. 1500). Oil on wood, 50 cm × 40 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. RF 1973 44). © 2017 RMN-Grand Palais (Louvre) / Tony Querrec 592

- 15.7 Master of 1499, Interior right panel of *Diptych of Abbot Christiaan de Hondt*, (1499). Oil on panel, 31 cm × 29 cm, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (inv. no. 255-256-530-531). Artwork in the public domain 597
- 15.8 Antonio Leonelli da Crevalcore, *St. Francis as the Man of Sorrows*, (ca. 1490). Tempera on wood panel, 74.5 cm × 56 cm, Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, Museum purchase, Carl Otto von Kienbusch Jr., Memorial Collection (inv. no. y1956-3). Artwork in the public domain 605
- 15.9 Antonio Leonelli da Crevalcore, Reverse of *St. Francis as the Man of Sorrows*, (ca. 1490). Tempera on wood panel, 74.5 cm × 56 cm, Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, Museum purchase, Carl Otto von Kienbusch Jr., Memorial Collection (inv. no. y1956-3). Artwork in the public domain 606
- 16.1 Philips Galle after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Caritas*, 1559–1560. Engraving, 22.3 × 29.1 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Image © Public Domain 622
- 16.2 Anonymous, *Cripples (The Crippled Bishop)*, ca. 1570. Engraving, 30.3 × 21.9 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Image © Public Domain 623
- 16.3 Hendrick Goltzius, [*Goltzius*] *Right Hand*, 1588. Pen and brown ink on paper, 22.9 × 32.8 cm. Haarlem, Teylers Museum. Image © Public Domain 626
- 16.4 Hendrick Goltzius, *Self-Portrait*, 1589. Silverpoint with graphite, with grey and blue-grey wash, on yellow-prepared vellum, 14.6 × 10.4 cm. London, British Museum. Image © The Trustees of the British Museum 627
- 16.5 Hendrick Goltzius, *Four Studies of [Goltzius] Right Hand*, 1588–1589. Black and red chalk, on slightly tinted ribbed laid paper, 30.9 × 20.7 cm. Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum. Image © Public Domain 628
- 16.6 Hendrick Goltzius, *Mucius Scaevola*, 1586. Engraving, 36.7 × 23.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Image © Public Domain 637
- 16.7 Hendrick Goltzius, *Sine Cerere et Libero Friget Venus*, 1606. Pencil, pen, and brown wash on grounded canvas, 220 × 170 cm. St. Petersburg, The Hermitage. Image © Public Domain 639
- 17.1 Pieter Lastman, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (1617). Oil on panel. 76 × 115 cm. Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam. Public Domain 649
- 17.2 Pieter Lastman, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (1617). Oil on panel. 76 × 115 cm. Detail of apostles. Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam. Public Domain 652
- 17.3 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *The Sacrifice at Lystra* (ca. 1529–1530). Pen and brown ink. 29.5 × 45.7 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Public Domain 654
- 17.4 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *The Sacrifice at Lystra* (ca. 1529–1530). Pen and brown ink. 29.5 × 45.7 cm. Detail of sacrifice. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Public Domain 655
- 17.5 Marten de Vos, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (ca. 1568). Oil on panel. 140 × 185 cm. Château d'Olivier, Gironde; as illustrated in

- Jonckheere K. – Suykerbuyk R. (eds.), *Art after Iconoclasm: Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585* (Turnhout, 2012) 39 656
- 17.6 Marten de Vos, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (ca. 1568). Oil on panel. 140 × 185 cm. Details of apostles. Château d'Olivier, Gironde; as illustrated in Jonckheere – Suykerbuyk (eds.), *Art after Iconoclasm* 39 657
- 17.7 Jan Saenredam after Karel van Mander, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (1589–1607). Engraving. 26.7 × 41 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Public Domain 658
- 17.8 Jan Saenredam after Karel van Mander, *Paul and Barnabas in Lystra* (1589–1607). Engraving. 26.7 × 41 cm. Detail of apostles. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Public Domain 659
- 18.1 Hendrick Staets, *Ships Wrecked on a Rocky Shore*, 1655. Oil on panel, 50,8 × 68,6 cm. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London 676
- 18.2 Detail from Hendrick Staets, *Ships Wrecked on a Rocky Shore* 677
- 18.3 Jacob Bellevois, *A Fishing Boat off a Rocky Coast in a Storm with a Wreck*, c.1665. Oil on canvas, 82,5 × 121,9 cm. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London 679
- 18.4 Detail from Jacob Bellevois, *A Fishing Boat off a Rocky Coast in a Storm with a Wreck* 680
- 18.5 Claes Jansz. Visscher (printmaker), *Frustra qui iterum, emblem XLVII*, in Visscher Roemer, *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam, Willem Jansz. Blaeu, 1614), Rijksmuseum 683
- 18.6 Pieter Nolpe, *Shipwreck: The Month March and the Element water*, 1640s or early 1650s. Engraving, 405 × 519 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 685
- 18.7 Detail from Pieter Nolpe, *Shipwreck: The Month March and the Element water* 686
- 18.8 Hans Savery the Elder (attr.), *The Wreck of the Amsterdam*, ca. 1630. Oil on canvas, 125,7 × 177,8 cm. National Maritime Museum, London 689
- 18.9 Detail from Hans Savery the Elder (attr.), *The Wreck of the Amsterdam* 690