

INTRODUCTION:
SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY IN WORD AND IMAGE

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The third Lovis Corinth Colloquium, convened at Emory University in October 2009, provided the initial forum within which the historians of art, literature, and religion, whose revised papers make up this book, were invited to consider the mutual form and function, manner and meaning of texts and images, as these were conceived and deployed in Northern Europe between 1400 and 1700. Implicit in the titular epigraph, ‘Authority of the Word’, is a reference to scriptural authority and to the textual instruments – the Bible and its commentaries – that mediated access to the divine word, making it discernible and apprehensible. In early modern Europe, visual images served likewise as enabling instruments that fostered colloquy between God and men, making divine providence intelligible to human knowledge. Like texts, images partook of rhetorical forms and hermeneutic functions – typological, paraphrastic, parabolic, among others – based largely in illustrative traditions of biblical commentary. In the sixteenth century, the introduction of the emblem and its text-image apparatus further complicated the theory and practice of scriptural image-making. If the specific relation between biblical texts and images exemplified the range of possible relations between texts and images more generally, it also operated in tandem with other discursive paradigms – scribal, humanistic, antiquarian, historical, and literary, to name but a few – for the connection, complementary or otherwise, between verbal and visual media. These alternative discourses provided further lenses through which textual and pictorial practices of invention and interpretation were viewed. In this volume of *Intersections*, the dynamic interaction between scriptural image and scriptural text also supplies the *secundum comparatum*, to which other kinds of relation between image and text are implicitly compared. The authors consider various types of text-image apparatus, asking how they were employed to represent, and by representing to constitute authority, both sacred and secular.

By way of introduction, we want here to examine three pictures that incorporate sacred texts, composing words and images into templates for the possible relations between visual and verbal methods of scriptural interpretation. All three case-studies comment reflexively upon the nature of this relationship, which they also serve to exemplify. Printed images function as agents of the soul's conformation to Christ in Willem van Branteghem's celebrated Gospel harmony, the *Iesu Christi vita, iuxta quatuor Evangelistarum narrationes* of 1537 [Fig. 1].¹ The full title highlights the importance of pictorial images to the book's form and function: *The Life of Jesus Christ Skillfully Portrayed in Most Elegant Pictures Drawn from the Narratives of the Four Evangelists*. Lieven de Witte of Ghent designed and perhaps also executed the 186 oblong woodcuts that punctuate the *Iesu Christi vita*, generally as head-pieces taking up a third of the page.² Many of these prints are self-referential, in that they call attention to the use of visual images by Christ himself, who is seen to wield them as didactic tools for instilling evangelical doctrine. Plate 25, for example, illustrates *John* 3:1–21, Jesus's nighttime conversation with the Pharisee Nicodemus, whom He teaches about the kingdom of God, soon to be made visible to the eyes of faith: just as the brazen serpent was lifted up by Moses, that the Israelites might look at it and be healed, so the Son of Man, the only begotten Son of God, shall be lifted up, that they who see Him and believe may not perish but have life everlasting [Fig. 2].

¹ *Iesu Christi vita iuxta quatuor Evangelistarum narrationes, artificio graphices perquam eleganter picta, una cum totius anni Evangelii ac Epistolis, nec non pijs precatationibus magna commoditate adpressis* (Antwerp, Mattheus Cromme, for Adriaen Kempe van Bouckhout: 1537), octavo. On the *Iesu Christi vita*, specifically its relation to *Dat leven ons Heeren Christi Jesu*, the Dutch edition of Van Branteghem's Gospel harmony, likewise published in 1537 by Mattheus Cromme of Antwerp, see Veldman I.M., "De boekillustratie als inspiratiebron voor de Nederlandse prentkunst van de zestiende eeuw", in Henk Duits H. – Gelderblom, A.-J. – Smits-Veldt M.B. (eds.), *Eer is het Lof des Deuchts: Opstellen over renaissance en classicisme aangeboden aan Dr. Fokke Veenstra* (Amsterdam: 1986) 261–277, esp. 263–264; and Veldman I.M. – Schaik K. van, *Verbeelde boodschap: De illustraties van Lieven de Witte bij "Dat leven ons Heeren" (1537)* (Haarlem – Brussels: 1989) 17–21. On the meditative image-theory in the *Iesu Christi vita*, see Melion W.S., *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550–1625*, Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts 1 (Philadelphia: 2009) 5–13.

² On Van Branteghem and his illustrator De Witte, see Veldman – Van Schaik, *Verbeelde boodschap* 13–16; and Rosier B.A., *The Bible in Print: Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. C.F. Weterings, 2 vols. (Leiden: 1997) I 28–29.

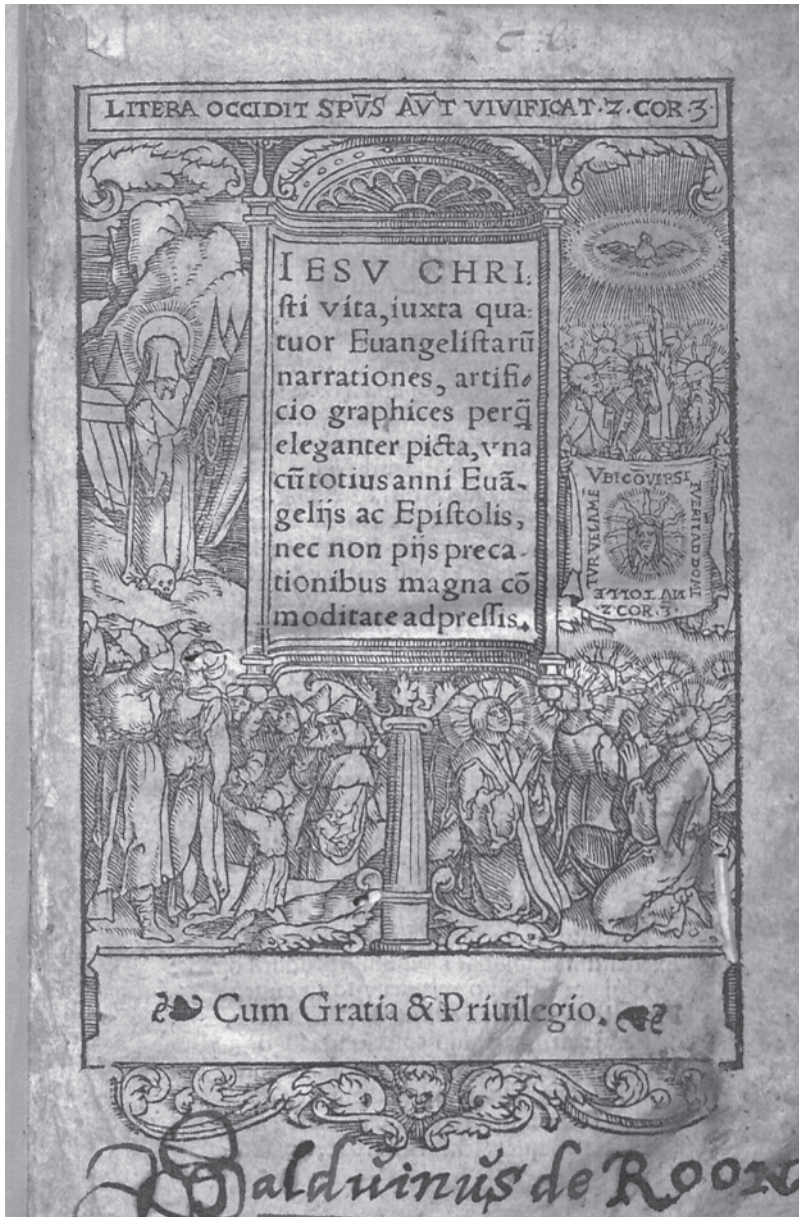


Fig. 1. Lieven de Witte, woodcut title-page to Willem van Branteghem's *Iesu Christi vita iuxta quatuor Evangelistarum narrationes, artificio graphices perquam eleganter picta, una cum totius anni Evangelii ac Epistolis, nec non pijs precationibus magna commoditate adpressis* (Antwerp, Mattheus Cromme, voor Adriaen Kempe van Bouckhout: 1537), octavo. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek.



Fig. 2. Lieven de Witte, *Christ Instructs the Pharisee Nicodemus by Night* (John 3:1–21). Woodcut illustration from Willem van Branteghem's *Iesu Christi vita iuxta quatuor Evangelistarum narrationes* (Antwerp, Mattheus Cromme, voor Adriaen Kempe van Bouckhout: 1537), octavo. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbibliotheek.

De Witte ingeniously illustrates this visual analogy, showing how Jesus relies upon a pictorial image to analogize Himself, as living antitype, to the brazen serpent, a merely graven image. Nicodemus sits with Christ, who gestures toward the painting, displayed on the house altar at the right. That He faces a picture of *Numbers* 21:9 indicates that this scriptural source forms the basis of the homily He is delivering; that the biblical scene appears as an image in the image underscores its status as an analogical *typus* – figurative image – tendered to clarify the doctrine that supersedes it. The plate is of course meant to be

viewed in conjunction with the biblical text it construes rather than merely illustrating. Indeed, author and artist together invite reflection on the nature and significance of scriptural images, given that Christ, here and elsewhere, authorizes their exegetical usage. In this and other ways, the book marshals text and image in tandem to constitute itself as a meditative *machina* (apparatus), that prompts the reader-viewer to reform himself on the model of Jesus's person, words, and deeds, to be discerned and imitated by the votary who engages visually and verbally with the scriptural pericopes.

Composed by De Witte, the figured title page of the *Iesu Christi vita* expounds 2 *Corinthians* 3, an excerpt from which – ‘Litera occidit spiritus autem vivificat’ – surmounts the woodcut print [Fig. 1].³ The bipartite image consists of two scenes divided by the titular plaque that prominently displays the Holy Name and refers to the Gospels and Epistles enshrining the life of Christ (*Iesu Christi vita, iuxta quatuor Evangelistarum narrationes* [...]): at left Moses, the splendor of his face veiled, promulgates the tablets of the Law; at right the apostles, inspired by the Holy Spirit, unveil a cloth miraculously imprinted with the Holy Face surrounded by the words, ‘When they shall have turned to the Lord, the veil will be lifted’ (‘Ubi conversi fuerint ad Dominum tolletur velamen’). These words, like the apostolic act of unveiling, encapsulate the argument of 2 *Corinthians* 3, their truth revealed and verified by the divinely radiant face they enframe. Whereas the Israelites shield their eyes from the awesome sight of the Law and its illustrious messenger, the Christian faithful, beholding the image of God, are irradiated by the light of the Spirit that imbues them with luminous haloes. The two scenes illustrate the antithesis between the Old Law and the New, while the life, deeds, and doctrine of Christ, invoked and inscribed in the title, demarcate the threshold between these dispensations.

If the title page visualizes the meaning of 2 *Corinthian* 3, it does so to justify the role played by pictorial images throughout Van Branteghem's Gospel harmony. The titular print is exegetical in form and function, for it invites a specific reading of 2 *Corinthians* 3, verses 2 to 18 in particular, interpreting them as an argument for the

³ On the title-page and its iconography, see Veldman – Van Schaik, *Verbeelde boodschap* 25–27; and Melion, *Meditative Art* 5–6. On De Witte's illustrations and their reformist character, see *ibidem* 32–49.

dispensation of grace that licenses images under the sanction of the Holy Face. Fashioned by Christ, unfurled by the apostles, and beheld by the votary, this icon justifies production of further images of Christ, to be found throughout the *Iesu Christi vita*. The process of visualization, thus warranted, is seen implicitly to originate in the mystery of the Incarnation that converts Israelites who fear to behold into Christians who stare perspicaciously, the veil that covers into the veil that reveals the light of God. Moreover, the freedom of looking into the divine face both stands for and exemplifies the new liberty granted by Christ according to 2 *Corinthians* 3:17: 'And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty'.⁴ This liberty is equated with the franchise of viewing the 'life of Jesus Christ skillfully portrayed in most elegant pictures', and conversely, this franchise redounds upon Scripture, influencing the reading of the *vita Iesu Christi* enshrined in the Gospels and Epistles: which is to say that images are presented as instruments in and through which the votary's engagement with Scripture transits, complementary to the hermeneutics of scriptural reading. Accordingly, the argument of the title-page compels us to consider how dynamic was the interaction between scriptural image and scriptural text, how mutually authorizing the processes of reading and viewing could be.

The sequential relation between reading and viewing correlates to the exegetical relation between prophecy and revelation, type and anti-type, the Old and New Testaments, in Cornelis Cort's *The Annunciation Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1571 [Fig. 3].⁵ Engraved

⁴ Unless otherwise noted, all biblical passages are cited or translated from the *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: 1969).

⁵ On this print, see Bierens de Haan J.C.J., *L'oeuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort. Graveur hollandaise 1533–1600* (The Hague: 1948) 49–51, no. 26; Sellink M., "Cornelis Cort naar Federico Zuccaro, *De annunciatie*", in Devisscher H. (ed.), *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508–1608. Kunstenaars uit de Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik tijdens de Renaissance* [exh. cat., Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels; Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome] (Brussels: 1995) 167, no. 75; Sellink M. (compiler) – Leeftang H. (ed.), *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. Cornelis Cort*, 3 vols. (Rotterdam – Amsterdam: 2000) I 53–65, nos. 20–22; Bury M., *The Print in Italy 1550–1620* [exh. cat., British Museum, London] (London: 2001) 114–115, no. 74; and Melion W.S., "Cornelis Cort, *Annunciation with Prophets of the Incarnation*", in Melion W.S. – Clifton J. (eds.), *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* [exh. cat., Museum of Biblical Art, New York; Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta] (London – New York: 2009) 133–134, no. 15. As Bury notes, Federico was directly involved in the process of designing the print; he supplied Cort with working drawings specially executed to serve as modelli, for two of which see Gere J. *Dessins de Taddeo et Federico Zuccaro* [exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, Paris] (Paris: 1969) 47, no. 51; and Mundy E.J. (ed.),

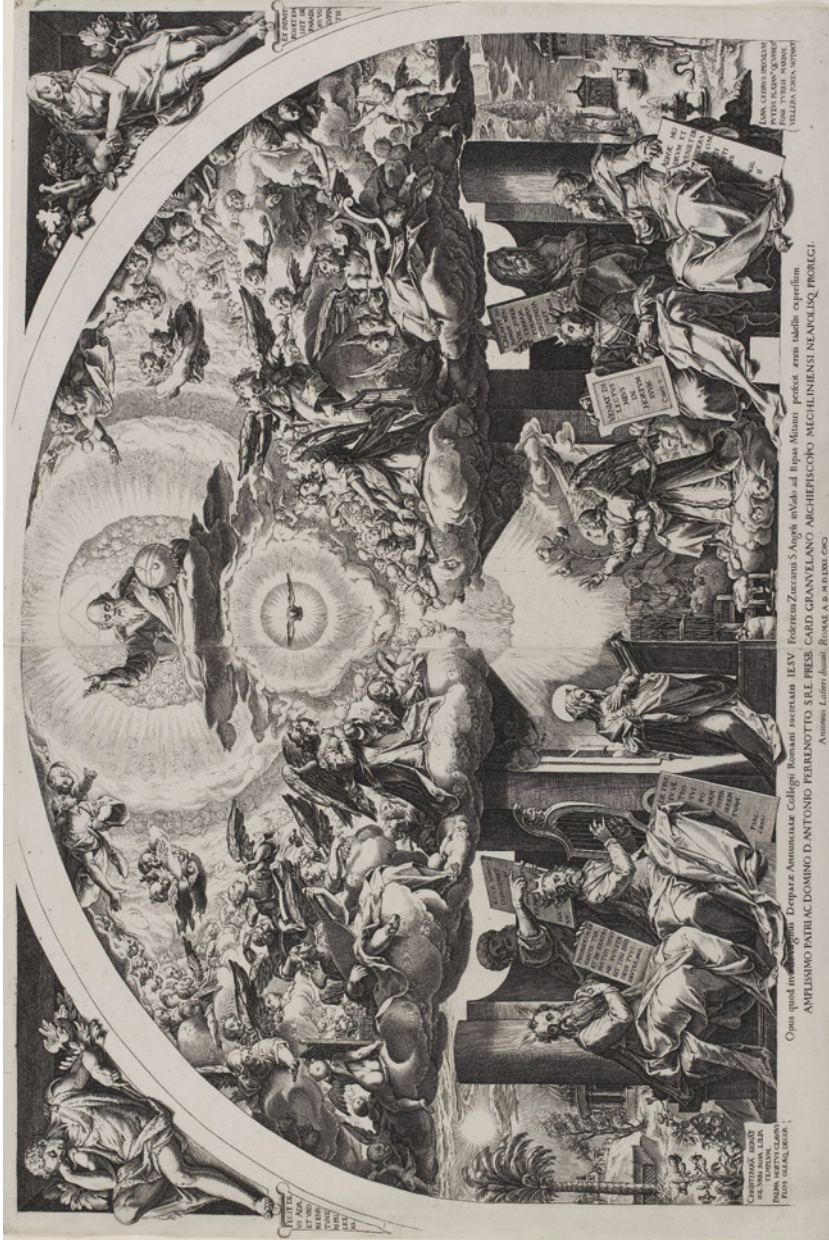


Fig. 3. Cornelis Cort, after Federico Zuccaro, *The Annunciation Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* (1571). Engraving, 46 × 68 cm. By permission of The British Museum (AN551009001).

after the famous fresco by Federico Zuccaro, formerly in the tribune vault of SS. Annunziata, the collegiate church of the Jesuit Seminario Romano in Rome, this grand print contains several species of biblical text – plaques with prophecies held by their respective prophets, inscriptions from Genesis in the spandrels, and sheets of paper listing Marian emblems at extreme left and right – all of which foreshadow in one way or another the advent of Christ, invisibly bodied forth in the womb of the Virgin at the Annunciation.⁶ In addition, the print is inscribed below with an attribution of the source image to Zuccaro, of the publication to the printmaker Antoine Lafreri in Rome, and with a dedication to Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal de Granvelle, who had just been named Viceroy of Naples. Signaled by choirs of angels, by the genuflection of the archangel Gabriel, and by the gesture of consent with which Mary marks the moment of conception, His implied presence completes the central vertical axis comprising God the Father and the Holy Spirit, the first and third persons of the Holy Trinity. The prophets flanking the annunciation scene likewise allude to His presence: their bodies rotate and their plaques incline toward the place where the Word is made flesh (Haggai’s prophecy excepted), although none actually observes, as we are privileged to do, the event that inaugurates the mystery of the Incarnation. Inscribed with passages from their prophecies of this great mystery, the tablets they hold forth are shadowed (Haggai’s again excepted) and thus adumbrate the overshadowing of the Virgin by the power of the Most High (*Luke* 1:35), while their bodies, though not their eyes, are partially lit at one remove by the light of the Holy Spirit flooding Mary’s virtual sanctuary.

Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari 1550–1600 [exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum; National Academy of Design, New York] (Milwaukee: 1989) 198–200, no. 62. Cort engraved three nearly identical versions; fig. 3 illustrates New Hollstein cat. no. 21, on which see Sellink (comp.) – Leeﬂang (ed.), *Cornelis Cort I* 54; 60–61. On Cort, the foremost Dutch engraver of the 1560’s and 1570’s, see Sellink M., *Cornelis Cort: constich plaedt-snijder van Horne in Holland* [exh. cat., Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam] (Rotterdam: 1994) 6–17; idem, “Introduction”, in Sellink (comp.) – Leeﬂang (ed.), *Cornelis Cort I* XXIII–XXXIV; and Borea E., “Roma 1565–1578: Intorno a Cornelis Cort”, in Borea E. (ed.), *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508–1608. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Bruxelles 24–25 febbraio 1995* [*Bollettino d’arte. Supplemento al n. 100*] (Rome: 1999) 215–230.

⁶ On the church of SS. Annunziata, see Bailey G.A., *Between Renaissance and Baroque: The First Jesuit Paintings in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto – London: 2003) 115–116; on the lost tribune vault fresco, see Acidini Luchinat C., *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Milan: 1998) I 255–258, 263–264; and Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque* 116–117.

The prophets gaze out at the beholder (Moses, David) and up toward God (Isaiah), or they engage each other (Solomon, Jeremiah, Haggai), unlike the melancholic figures of Adam and Eve, their heads bent, as if by the heavy burden of a guilty conscience, their eyes nearly closed, their bodies turned away from the Trinitarian epiphany. Again unlike sinful Adam and Eve, who are isolated within shadowy recesses, they coalesce into groups of three (echoing the Trinity), thus implicating each other, as well as us their audience, in the joint task of discerning the effects of divine providence. Whereas the Mosaic texts from *Genesis* 2:21 and 2:23, written beneath Adam and Eve, merely recount their post-lapsarian circumstances, describing them as exiled from paradise and clothed by God in the skins of beasts, the prophetic texts, like their bearers, gesture toward the cone of radiance that pierces the heavenly cloudbank and evinces the moment of conception when the Holy Spirit, in the words of *Luke* 1:35, comes upon Mary. Indeed, the angled placards appear to reverberate with, if not exactly to coextend, the oblique rays of celestial light irradiating the Virgin, and this perhaps indicates that the prophets are themselves inspired by the spirit of prophecy. Larger in scale than Mary or Gabriel, they mediate between the beholder and the Annunciation proper. On the other hand, having been sanctified by the Spirit, they are also less like us: slightly removed from the audience they address, they are smaller and thus more distant than Adam and Eve, who project furthest into the space of the beholder.

Most distant are the emblematic devices punctuating the sunlit landscape at left and the moonlit landscape at right. The sheets of paper affixed to these vistas identify them as compilations of Marian virtues, visualized in the imagery of *Canticle* 6:9 ('Who is she that cometh forth as the morning rising, fair as the moon, bright as the sun?'), *Wisdom* 7:26 ('For she is the brightness of eternal light, and the unspotted mirror of God's majesty, and the image of His goodness'), *Ecclesiasticus* 24:18–19 ('I was exalted like a palm tree in Cades, and as a rose plant in Jericho, as a fair olive tree in the plains'), and other passages from the Books of Wisdom. They forecast the coming of Mary and emphasize that she is to be the *imago* of divine virtue, and as such, of Christ its living embodiment. The left-hand text binds these symbols to the nuptials of Mary and Jesus, who are to be united bodily and spiritually at the Annunciation, when she accedes to the divine will by declaring, 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord' (*Luke* 1:38): 'The sun, city, rose, lily, temple, palm, enclosed garden, flower, and beauty

of the olive signify the bridesmaid of Christ' ('Christi para[nympham] signant'). The right-hand text, using the verb *notare* (illustrate, represent, express by pictorial means), puts stress on the visual character of the sapiential symbols that portray Mary: 'The moon, cedar, mirror, well, plane-tree, cypress, fountain, tower, fleece, and portal represent Mary' ('Mariam [...] notant').

Image and text thus work in concert to demarcate three stages in the reader-viewer's virtual journey toward the manifestation of Christ. Cued by the proximity of Adam and Eve, he begins in the spandrels, where the first parents – mournful, dressed in pelts, and posed against fig-like branches from the tree of forbidden knowledge – allude to original sin, which necessitates the salvation of humankind. Their downcast eyes, nearly shut, imply that they are still far from seeing the advent of Christ. This condition of spiritual distance corresponds to the conditions of viewing that obtain when the beholder, looking closely at the spandrels, shifts the axial scene of Annunciation to the periphery of his field of vision. The passages from Genesis similarly allude to the sinful state of humankind just after the fall, before the era of the prophets who operate under the Law. The emblematic landscapes at left and right bring us closer to the era of grace, which to some extent may now be discerned, but only distantly, symbolically, and at several removes. Dotted with Marian devices, these landscapes require us to mobilize our eyes, hearts, and minds, as we attend to images of the Virgin that in turn signify her privilege of imaging Christ. That these emblems are doubly representational – images of images – drives home the point that they as yet merely intimate, rather than making indisputably evident, the coming of Christ. Since the Books of Wisdom are held to be spoken in the voice of Christ, the solar and lunar epithets also anticipate the Christocentric prophecies that the six prophets of the Incarnation, positioned closer to the viewer, to the Trinity, and to the Annunciation, bring forward more emphatically and declaratively. Their gestures are clearly based on that of God the Father: as He raises one arm to set in motion the incarnation of the Word, so do they gesture toward their God-given words, and as He holds the orb of the world, so do they grasp their placards (or in David's case, the lyre, instrument of sung prophecy), addressing the world at large. They announce their prophecies in a prolepsis of the Annunciation, and their positions within two apsidal chapels (framed by columnar piers) on either side of the choir-like sanctuary housing Mary and Gabriel, suggests that they co-inhabit a basilica that stands for their communal

membership, before the fact as it were, in the church to be established by Christ. The light flooding the sanctuary in token of His presence jointly symbolizes, or better, prefigures the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist to be celebrated daily within just such an ecclesial setting. This setting, seen in these terms, amplifies the theme of prophecy by compelling us to read the tablets as prognoses of Christ and His Church. The larger context for this picture, it is worth recalling, was the Jesuit church of Santa Maria Annunziata, upon whose likeness to Mary as the habitation of God, Zuccaro's fresco commented. The dedicatory inscription on Cort's engraving ('opus quod in aede Virginis Deiparae Annunziatae Collegii Romani societatis Iesu') continues to evoke and connote these surroundings.

The proximity of prophetic words to the Word made flesh visually signifies, within the itinerary we have been tracking, that the reader-viewer has reached the threshold of revelation, when scriptures shall be supplanted by their very source, progenitors by Christ Himself. But what we actually encounter is the white blankness of divine light emanating from on high and making brightly visible the Virgin as agent and index of the mystery transpiring invisibly and yet discernibly before us. The effect of whiteness is produced by a zone of unprinted paper, beside which the figures of Mary and Gabriel seem to take shape as images fashioned from linear networks of swelling, tapering, and concentric hatchings. This pictorial reflex complements the sapiential references to Mary as the *imago bonitatis illius*, to be found in the landscapes at left and right: together reflex and references imply that under the new dispensation of Christ, God may be known in and through images that represent His presence. This notion derives from 2 *Corinthians* 4:4 and *Colossians* 1:15, proof texts that famously designate Christ as the *imago Dei* and 'imago Dei invisibilis primogenitus omnis creaturae', who in Himself makes God visible and thereby licenses other images of Him. The absence of textual inscriptions from the print's middle axis points up the crucial insight that the divine will is here expressing itself visually rather than verbally. But if the central scene implicitly associates the Incarnation with the principle of divine representation, it also reconciles this endorsement of sacred imagery with an explicit reference to the practice of *lectio divina* and to the relevance of Scripture in the unfolding of divine mysteries. The Virgin, as the position of her head and eyes indicates, was reading when Gabriel first alighted. The book lying open atop her prie-dieu is presumably scriptural, a conclusion we are invited to draw by the implied

parallel between our reading of the print's pentateuchal, sapiential, and prophetic texts, and hers of the book. Seen in this way, her dual gesture – left hand to heart, right raised and extended – connotes not only assent and wonder at the angel's message, but also recognition and surprise that she is the instrument through whom the scriptural prophecies of the Messiah are fulfilled. That her gestures resonate with those of God the Father and the prophets further intimates that she is in synch with the word of God and all it portends. The yarnwinder and bags of yarn at the base of the prie-dieu perhaps connote her ability to gather the various pericopes into a continual strand of scriptural allusion foretelling herself and Christ. In the *Annunciation Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation*, therefore, the interaction between word and image, reading and viewing, proves to be circular: the biblical texts that prognosticate Christ are invoked, not abrogated, at the moment of His coming, and the mystery of the Incarnation is seen to fulfill, and by fulfilling to advocate, the covenantal promises recorded in the Old Testament. Tacitly inferred by all this, of course, is the well-known pronouncement of Christ in *Matthew* 5:17: "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them".

The pairing of the Annunciation with the six prophecies cited in the print derives not from any liturgical source but from the *Glossa ordinaria et interlinearis*, which was usually printed with Nicholas of Lyra's *Postillae*, Matthias Döring's *Replica*, and Paul of Burgos's *Additiones*, following the pattern set by the Paganus de Paganinis's Venetian edition of 1495 and Johann Froben, Johannes Petri, and Johann Amerbach's Basel edition of 1498.⁷ Of these six, only *Isaiah* 7:14 is traditionally recited to commemorate the mystery of the Incarnation: the Tridentine *Missale Romanum* prescribes it as the *lectio* for the fourth ember day in Advent, within the stationary liturgy of Saint Mary Major, and also for the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25);⁸ the Tridentine *Breviarium Romanum* makes it the third *lectio* for the Saturday of the first week of Advent, and the first *lectio* for the Feast of the Annuncia-

⁷ On printed editions of the *Glossa*, see Froehlic K., "The Printed Gloss", in *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria. Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps (Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81)*, introd. M.T. Gibson – K. Froehlic, 4 vols. (Turnhout: 1992) I, pp. XII–XXVI.

⁸ *Missale Romanum, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. Iussu editum* (Venice, Jonannes Variscus, Haeredes Bartholomaei Faleti et Socii: 1571) 6, 373.

tion.⁹ The *Glossa* alone, then, is the exegetical source for the inventive linking of these prophecies to each other and to the Annunciation. It is especially surprising to find Moses included among the prophets of the Incarnation, but the *Glossa* justifies his presence, and it also explains certain distinctive features of the prophets – Moses’s curious gesture of self-pointing, Solomon’s sidelong glance at David, and Jeremiah and Haggai’s conversation, as well as the latter’s placard, which is brightly lit, whereas the others are shadowed.¹⁰ These elements function as visual prompts that direct us to specific glosses on the prophecies in question. They form part of a bidirectional apparatus that leads from the exegetical text to the biblical image, urging us to read the latter through the former, and conversely, from image to text, causing us to search in the *Glossa* for the reasons why Moses, Solomon, Jeremiah, and Haggai should be represented as they are.

The sequence of prophets begins at left with Moses, who not only stares at the viewer, but also points at himself. He carries the partial text of *Deuteronomy* 18:15, ‘The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren’ (‘propheta de gente tua & de fratribus tuis sicut me’). The *Glossa* links this prophecy to the advent of Christ and thereby to the Annunciation: ‘Although [this prophecy] could be interpreted historically by reference to the prophets whom the spirit of God supplied to the people Israel after Moses, it may better be taken as a reference to [Christ] the Lord of the prophets, about whom the multitude, having been made full [by the miracle of the loaves and fishes], said (*John* 6:14): “This is indeed the prophet who is to come into the world!” And elsewhere (*Luke* 7:16): “A great prophet has arisen among us!”¹¹ Nicholas of Lyra’s postils, however, adding that ‘prophetic revelation’ (‘prophetica revelatio’) must supplement ‘the limit of the Law’ (‘legis determinatio’),

⁹ *Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. Iussu editum* (Antwerp, Ex officina Christophori Plantini: 1572) 123, 654.

¹⁰ Moses is sometimes juxtaposed to Mary, not as a prophet but as a type: as he received the Law, so she received the Christ.

¹¹ *Biblia Sacra cum glossis, interlineari, et ordinaria, Nicolai Lyrani Postilla, ac Moralitatibus, Bergensis Additionibus, et Thoringi Replis, 7 vols.* (Venice, Società dell’Aquila [Giovanni Varisco & Comp.]: 1588) I, fol. 351v, col. E: ‘Licet historialiter de prophetis accipi possit, qui post Moysen in populo Israel repleti sunt spiritu Dei: melius tamen de Domino prophetarum accipitur, de quo turbæ ab ipso satiatæ dixerunt: Hic est vere propheta, qui venturus est in mundum. Et alibi: Propheta magnus surrexit in nobis’.

interpret *Deuteronomy* 18:15 as an allusion to Moses, rather than to Christ:

For in the first place, Moses was trying to persuade the people that they, unlike other nations, should not consult soothsayers or familiar spirits, whenever it suited them to know the future or other sorts of contingency. For he promised them that whenever needful, they could know such things through divine revelation, that is, through a prophet among them, to whom God would reveal those things, which they could thus know without sin.¹²

Moses is one such prophet, through whom the divine law and its precepts are mediated as a guide to life ('ad habendam notitiam de lege divina et praeceptis eius, ad hoc ut vita populi ordinaretur'). When Moses reiterates his utterance, in *Deuteronomy* 18:18, saying, 'I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their brethren' ('de medio fratrum suorum similem tui'), he this time speaks of Christ, who shall arise 'de medio fratrum', that is, from the seed of David, and shall be 'similem tui', that is, a true man like unto Moses and his fellow men.¹³ The *Glossa* and postils, then, provide alternate readings of *Deuteronomy* 18:15, that construe it as a reference to Moses, but also to Christ. This explains why in the print Moses forecasts the mystery of the Incarnation, tilting his plaque toward the scene of Annunciation, and at the same time gestures toward himself. He directs his gaze outward because the prophet's vocation, as defined by the postils to *Deuteronomy* 18:15–16 – 'him you shall heed, just as you desired of the Lord your God at Horeb' – requires him to speak directly to the people, in the place of God, whose presence and voice are too fearsome to be endured: 'As is found in *Exodus* [20:18]: Since they could no longer endure the voice of God speaking, they besought [Him] to speak to them through Moses, which [request] was granted: and not only through Moses, but also through other prophets in generations to

¹² Ibidem, fol. 352r, col. A: 'In primo enim loco intendebat Moyses inducere populum ad hoc, quod futura contingentia et alia huiusmodi, quorum notitiam habere conveniret populo, non quaerent scire ab ariolis seu pythoibus et huiusmodi, sicut aliae gentes quaerebant. Promittebat enim eis, quod talia, quando oportuisset, potuissent scire per revelationem divinam, scilicet per prophetam de propria gente, cui Deus ea revelaret, et sic sine peccato scirent illa'.

¹³ Ibidem, cols. A and C. The postil notes by way of clarification that the phrase 'similem tui' cannot be translated 'another prophet like you', since Moses alone was raised up for the giving of the Law.

come, as for example, Joshua, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others'.¹⁴ Moses sits first among the double file of prophets, which reading read left to right concludes with Haggai, because he initiates the era of prophecy, as this postillated gloss affirms.

He deserves pride of place, furthermore, since his statement pre-ages the doctrine of Christ and fosters faith in Him. Nicholas of Lyra makes this claim on the basis of two passages from the Gospels, the first of which, *Mark* 16:16, appeals to the authority of Moses ('unde ad illam autoritatem Mosaycam referenda sunt ista verba'): when Christ declares, 'He who is baptized will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned', He is paraphrasing *Deuteronomy* 18:19, 'And he that will not hear his words, which he shall speak in my name, I will be the revenger'.¹⁵ More importantly, in *John* 5:46, Christ draws a parallel between Himself and Moses: 'For if you did believe in Moses, you would perhaps believe me also: for he wrote of me'. This assertion follows from His earlier remark (*John* 5:19), that the scriptures 'give testimony of Him' ('quae testimonium perhibent de me'). The postils to *Deuteronomy* 18:15–19 therefore come to the conclusion that Moses wrote 'to secure faith in Christ' ('scilicet ut mihi [Iesu] crederetis'). It is Christ Himself who makes this revelation, as Nicholas of Lyra emphasizes: 'For not in the whole of Pentateuch, but only in that place [*John* 5:46], may one read that Moses taught in order that Christ might be believed'.¹⁶ The implication is that this reading of *Pentateuch* is authoritative because Jesus has licensed us to discern Him in the prophet's every pronouncement. In the *Annunciation Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation*, the close relation between Christ and His prophet is stressed by the similarity between the self-referential gestures of Moses and Mary: just as it indicates how she is made full with Christ, so too by analogy it suggests that He permeates Moses, transforming him into His privileged spokesman.

Bearing the partial text of *Isaiah* 7:14, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son', Isaiah stands at left, behind the seated figures of Moses and David, his hand brightly spotlighted, face shadowed, and eyes

¹⁴ Ibidem, fol. 351v, col. E: 'Ut habetur in Exo[do], quia non poterant ultra sustinere verba Dei loquentis, petierunt quod loqueretur eis per Moysen, quod fuit eis concessum, et non solum per Moysen, sed etiam per alios prophetas in diversis generationibus succedentes. Ut patet de Iosue, Samuele, Esaia, Ieremia, et aliis'.

¹⁵ Ibidem, fol. 352r, cols. A and C.

¹⁶ Ibidem, fol. 352r, col. C: 'non tamen legitur in toto Pentateucho, quod Moyses praeciperet, ut crederetur Christo, nisi in hoc loco tantum'.

upraised (either toward God, or alternatively, Adam). He points at the Annunciation more emphatically than any of his fellow prophets. The clarity of this deictic gesture, which extends from darkness into the light, precisely illustrates the notion that the prophecy beginning, ‘*Ecce virgo concipiet*’, unlike other prophecies, was not spoken darkly *per aenigmata*, but instead forecasts the arrival of a true and actual virgin, who will yet miraculously bear a son: ‘No longer shall he speak in enigmas: “Behold, a virgin shall conceive” – this will be a thing both new and marvelous’.¹⁷ The sign thus given shall be a clear signal, indisputable even by the ungrateful or unwilling, of the liberation from sin to be effected by the Father through Christ (‘*signum scilicet liberationis vestrae consequenter [...], quia Deus multa bona facit ingratis et invitis*’).¹⁸ The heavily postillated glosses to *Isaiah* 7:14 argue at length against several mistaken readings of this passage, that identify the son to be born as Ezechias, heir to Achaz, king of Judah (the recipient of Isaiah’s prophecy), or as the son of Isaiah himself, who shall be engendered as a prefiguration of the Messiah (‘*generatum in typum salvatoris*’). Instead, the *Glossa* affirms the reading adduced in *Matthew* 1:22–23, where *Isaiah* 7:14 is cited to verify that the child Jesus was conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit: ‘All this took place to fulfill what the Lord had spoken by the prophet: “Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel”’.¹⁹ This interpretation supersedes all others, since the evangelist speaks with supreme authority, having been inspired by the Holy Spirit to a greater extent than were any prophets of the Old Testament (‘*cum Mattheus apostolus et evangelista spiritu sancto plenus magis quam fuerunt prophetae veteris testamenti*’). Consequently, ‘the only true and Catholic reading’ of *Isaiah* 7:14 (‘*expositionem catholicam et veram*’) construes it as a prophecy of what transpires at the Annunciation: ‘And that [passage] is accordingly expounded by Catholic theologians: “Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son”, that is, the

¹⁷ *Ibidem* IV, fol. 19r, col. B: ‘Non amplius loquetur vobis per aenigmata: ecce virgo concipiet, hoc erit novum et mirabile’.

¹⁸ *Ibidem* IV, fol. 19r, col. D.

¹⁹ *Ibidem* IV, fol. 19v, col. H: ‘Hoc autem totum factum est, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est a domino per prophetam dicentem: ecce virgo habebit in utero et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel’.

blessed Virgin Mary, made known by the prophets, who conceived and gave birth and still remained a virgin'.²⁰

Seated in front of Isaiah, David plays the lyre, the partial text of *Psalms* 131:11, 'of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne', propped up beside him. The *Glossa* avers that the promises made in this psalm are addressed to the Church ('promissiones Dei, factas aedificatae Sion, id est ecclesiae'), and that 'David speaks' bi-vocally – 'as himself but also in the person of Christ' ('et loquitur David in sua vel in totius Christi persona').²¹ An interlinear gloss interpolates Augustine's observation that David uses the feminine reference 'de fructu ventris tui', rather than the masculine 'de fructu femoris tui' ('of the fruit of your thigh'), 'because Christ was to be born of a virginal woman' ('quia de foemina natus est Christus, [...] id est ad quam vir non accessit').²² The psalmist's prophecy is compared to the words of Gabriel, cited in *Luke* 1:32: 'and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his father David'. Gabriel is predicting, states the glossarist, that what David governed temporally, Christ shall govern spiritually ('quia quos David temporaliter rexit, Christus spiritualiter').²³ The postils develop this assertion, adding that the psalmist's message is both temporal and spiritual: his prophecy is fulfilled by Solomon, whom Nathan had confirmed in *2 Kings* 7:12–13 as the heir chosen by God to come forth from the body of David and make certain his kingdom; 'more perfectly, the prophecy is fulfilled by Christ, his descendant in the flesh' ('multo perfectius in Christo descendente a David secundum carnem'), 'of whom Solomon is a mere figure, and in whom his reign shall be perpetuated' ('cuius Salomon figura fuit, et in quo David regni accepit perpetuitatem').²⁴ Furthermore, the promise of succession pertains to the spiritual sons to be engendered by the doctrine of Christ and sustained by His Church ('id est de filiis tuis spiritualibus, nutritis tua doctrina').²⁵ These exegeses help to elucidate why the prophets are gathered in an ecclesial space, and also why David is positioned closest to Mary, why his words 'de fructu ventris tui' are nearly contiguous

²⁰ Ibidem: 'Et secundum hoc sic exponitur a doctoribus catholicis: ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium, id est beata virgo Maria a prophetis denunciata, quae concepit et peperit manens virgo'.

²¹ Ibidem III, fol. 285r, col. A.

²² Ibidem III, fol. 285r, cols. A and C.

²³ Ibidem III, fol. 285r, col. A.

²⁴ Ibidem III, fol. 285r, col. C.

²⁵ Ibidem III, fol. 285r, col. D.

to her belly, and why he seems to serenade her. She is the agent who assures his lineage physically ('secundum carnem'), spiritually ('de filijs tuis'), and in perpetuity ('regni [...] perpetuitatem').

The relevance of *Psalm* 131:11 to Solomon perhaps explains why he casts a sidelong glance at David. He sits adjacent to Gabriel, bearing the partial text of *Canticle* 5:1, 'Let my beloved come into his garden'. Holding the scepter that identifies him as his father's anointed successor, he points in the direction of Mary's belly, for his prophecy concerns her womb, indeed her entire person, which shall offer a place of refuge, pleasure, and habitation to Christ. In this respect, he resembles Gabriel, who announces the coming of Christ the King, while pointing at Mary with one hand and raising a scepter-like lily in the other. The postils rationalize his regal pose and attributes: since 'in Scripture, the actions and passions of the faithful are sometimes attributed to God Himself', so here Solomon can stand for the kingship of Christ, to whom, according to Gabriel, God shall give the 'throne of his father David', that He may 'reign over the house of Jacob for ever'.²⁶ An interlinear gloss makes clear that Solomon is speaking of Christ: the figure of 'the beloved' ('dilectus meus') is identified with Him 'Who has come to lay the fundament of faith, hope, and charity' ('qui me in fundamento fidei, spei et charitatis collocavit').²⁷

Behind Solomon stands Jeremiah, who turns toward Haggai, seated to his left. He displays the partial text of *Jeremiah* 31:22, 'For the Lord has created a new thing on the earth: a woman encompasses a man'. The *Glossa* interprets this passage in light of the previous verse, 'Return, O virgin Israel', as a reference to Christ, begotten of the Virgin; as occurred under the old dispensation, God shall once again wed the people of Israel to Himself, this time embracing them within the larger community of the Church to be founded by the Son: 'It seems more apt to me that all this be referred to the time of the New Testament, when a virgin birth shall have brought forth a Saviour to the world, that in consequence the maiden Israel ('virgo Israel'), whom the Lord betrothed to Himself in justice, judgment, and compassion, may be reconciled to the citizens of the Church and cease aimlessly to traverse

²⁶ Ibidem III, fol. 362r, col. D: 'quia actus et passiones fidelium in scriptura aliquando attribuuntur ipsi Deo'.

²⁷ Ibidem III, fol. 362r, cols. B and D.

the excesses of the world'.²⁸ *Jeremiah* 31:22, declare the postillated glosses, foretells how Christ incarnate, the quintessence of knowledge and virtue, shall in an instant be conceived within the womb of Mary ('Christum virum perfectum scientiis et virtutibus ab instanti incarnationis in utero suo circundedit'). As the threshold of incarnation initiates the life of the spirit, so too it announces the renunciation of the life of the flesh ('quasi dicat debet dimitti vita carnalis adveniente Christi incarnatione, et inchoari spiritualis').²⁹

Jeremiah addresses Haggai, whose placard, unlike those of his peers, is bathed in the light of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, Haggai is himself strongly illuminated, whereas Jeremiah is the most deeply shadowed of the prophets. He presents the partial text of *Haggai* 2:7–8: 'Yet one little while [...] and the desired of all nations shall come forth'. The two prophets are seen to converse because both their prophecies have to do with the founding of the universal Church made possible by the longed-for advent of Christ. As the *Glossa* puts it: 'In whose advent the Church shall be filled with a greater glory than was the Synagogue, just as Christ the Son is greater in the Church, than was Moses the servant in the Synagogue'.³⁰ This reference to the glorious coming of Christ accounts for the brightness of the pericope held by Haggai. The extract shines all the more brightly by comparison with his counterpart's shaded figure and placard, as if the mystery of the Incarnation foretold by Jeremiah were coming gloriously to fruition in the prophecy promulgated by his successor Haggai. This implied transition from one prophecy to another, accentuated by the prophets' mutual engagement, illustrates the argument of the *Glossa*, which traces the development of divine revelation from the time of Moses to that of the prophets, and thence to the time of Christ.

The first stage in this progression is marked by the natural signs, perceptible but obscurely legible, with which God made known 'figuratively' ('in figura') the giving of the Law to Moses – motions of the

²⁸ *Ibidem* IV, fol. 153v, col. E: 'Mihi tamen aptius videtur ad novi testamenti tempus cuncta referre, in quo virginis partus universo mundo edidit Salvatorem, ut virgo Israel quam sibi dominus despondit in iustitia et in iudicio et misericordia post pollutiones pristinas revertatur ad civitates ecclesiae, et desinat vagari per luxus seculi'.

²⁹ *Ibidem* IV, fol. 153v, col. G.

³⁰ *Ibidem* IV, fol. 403v, col. F: 'In cuius adventu implebitur ecclesia gloria maiore quam fuit in synagoga, sicut maior est Christus filius in ecclesia quam Moyses servus in synagoga'.

sky, sea, and earth, mists, storms, and the darkness of night. There follows the relative clarity of the prophecies uttered by the men and women divinely appointed to restore the wavering faith of the chosen people: ‘And therefore [through Haggai] the people, living in the hollows of the land, are called, that they might accomplish a spiritual work in the house of God, and know that He is a father to them and works spiritually among them: which formerly he covenanted *in figura* to the people fleeing from Egypt’.³¹ Finally, ‘desired by all peoples’, there comes the Christ, whose glory – clearer, brighter, and greater – shall eclipse that of the prophets, and whose redemptive Passion shall stir the elements more mightily than during the time of Moses: ‘And I Who caused these [commotions] in the giving of the Old Law, shall move heaven and earth still more in the time of the Passion – when [at the Crucifixion] heaven is obscured by darkness, the land is torn asunder, and the tombs are opened. [...] And by those commotions, I shall move to faith all peoples, for “their sound hath gone forth into all the earth” (*Psalms* 18:5). And that shall occur when He comes who is desired by all nations’.³² Unlike the wondrous signs that bore witness to the hidden presence of God the Lawgiver on Mount Sinai, these marvels are meant to reveal the discernible presence of Christ, who now fulfills what the Law had merely promised. The *Glossa* further insists that thus disclosed, the glory of Christ is made equally, if not more apparent in Scripture, the literal and spiritual senses of which may be gleaned exegetically: ‘And this glory shall be given in silver, that is, the eloquence of the scriptures, and in gold, that is, their hidden sense that abides within the heart[s] of the saints’.³³ As a marginal note indicates, the glossarist is paraphrasing *Hebrews* 12:18–24, in which Paul tracks the advance from the Old Law to the New, from a God Whose fearful words must perforce be obscured by tangible

³¹ Ibidem: ‘Vocatur ergo et populus. qui in concavis terrenorum habitabat, ut faciat opus spirituale in domo Dei et sciat Deum esse parentem sibi et facientem spiritualiter in ipsis: quod quondam in figura paciscebatur de Aegypto egredientibus’.

³² Ibidem: ‘Et qui haec feci in datione veteris legis, adhuc movebo caelum et terram tempore passionis. Caelum, quando sole obscurato tenebrae factae sunt. Terram, quando petrae scissae sunt, et monumenta aperta sunt. [...] Et illis commotis movebo ad fidem omnes Gentes, quia in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum. Et hoc erit, quando veniet desideratus cunctis Gentibus’.

³³ Ibidem: ‘Et haec Gloria dabitur per argentum, id est eloquia scripturarum, et aurum, id est occultum sensum, qui versatur in pectore sanctorum’.

portents, to Christ who delivers a new covenant based not in fear but in the scriptural message of love:

For you have not come to what may be touched, a blazing fire, and darkness, gloom, and a tempest, and a voice whose words made the hearers entreat that no further messages be spoken to them. For they could not endure the order that was given [...] Indeed, so terrifying was the sight that Moses said, “I tremble with fear”. But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the first-born, who are enrolled in heaven, and to a judge who is God of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant, and to the sprinkled blood that speaks more graciously than the blood of Abel.

In the *Annunciation Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation*, Haggai sits last in the sequence, which read left to right leads from Moses, recipient of the Law, to the bright prophecy of the Incarnation that immediately prefaces the central advent of Christ. This sequence and the luminous tablet that serves as its climax illustrate the *Glossa*'s reading of *Haggai* 2:7–8: the passage is seen to refer to the relation between Mosaic *figura* and prophetic utterance, that anticipates the further relation between prophecy and the Gospel of Christ. Taken from *Hebrews* 12:18–24, the print's imagery of the heavenly Jerusalem, of festal choirs of angels, of the assembly of 'first-born' prophets who prepare the way for Christ, follows the glossarist's reading of *Haggai* 2:7–8 as a premonitory distillation of the Pauline epistle. Additionally, the print's allusion to the Eucharist derives from the postils, that interpret the manifestation of Christ in the sacrament as the continual fulfillment of Haggai's prophecy:

“And He shall come, Who is desired by all nations, and I shall fill that house with glory”. Which was fulfilled, when Christ was offered in that [house]: and so now is the Church filled with glory daily through the offering of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist.³⁴

The complex dynamics of word and image resonate through the double file of prophets, whose motions serve as exegetical cues, prompting the viewer to collate their prophecies in light of the *Glossa*, and thence

³⁴ *Ibidem* IV, fol. 404r, col. D: ‘Quod fuit impletum, quando Christus fuit oblatus in ea: et sic modo impletur ecclesia gloria, quotidie per oblationem Christi in sacramento eucharistiae’.

to discover arguments, pointed up visually, about the nature of divine revelation before, during, and after the Law. The prophets operate diachronically, in a sequence initiated by Moses, but also synchronically, as inflections of Mary and Gabriel and as portents of the mystery of the Incarnation. Conjoined with the scene of Annunciation, they are authorized visually as prophets of the advent of Christ and of the Holy Trinity. This holds specially true of Moses, whom the textual tradition does not usually associate with the Incarnation. If the intertextual fabric woven by reference to the *Glossa* gives prominence to the theme of Advent, the pictorial image is fabricated from alternative and complementary themes: it consists of distinct zones – the spandrels external to the archway, the landscapes at left and right, the platform on which sit the prophets, the choir-like sanctuary where Mary and Gabriel meet, the heavenly glory housing the Father and the Spirit – that allow the viewer to track stages in the history of salvation, leading from Adam and Eve, whose vision is occluded, to emblems of the Virgin, distantly glimpsed, to the prophets, who gaze firmly at us, each other, or heavenward, to Mary, who discerns the fulfillment of their prophecies, and to heaven, whence angels behold and serenade the Trinity. Beginning with Adam and Eve, and with the theme of vision obscured by sin, this itinerary reaches its climax in Mary, the new Eve, whose humbly lowered eyes function as indices of that spiritual vision, with which she bears internal witness to the coming of Christ, as foretold by the prophets.

The notion that Scripture works in and through images that Christ Himself licenses as instruments of devotion constitutes a central argument of Jan David's *Duodecim specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata* (*Twelve Mirrors Arranged for the Use of Those Who Desire at Length to See God*) [Fig. 4].³⁵ Published by Jan Moretus in 1610, this meditative treatise was the fifth of five Latin emblem

³⁵ On the *Duodecim specula*, see Sommervogel C., S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 11 vols. (Brussels – Paris: 1890–1932) II, col. 1851, no. 20; and Daly P.M. – Richard Dimler G., S.J. (eds.), *Corpus librorum emblematum: The Jesuit Series*, 6 vols. (Montreal – Toronto – London: 1997–2007) I 147–149. On David, one of the foremost Jesuit emblematisers, see Andriessen J., “Johannes David”, in Duverger J. (ed.), *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek I* (Brussels: 1964) 377–383; idem, “Pater Joannes David S.J. (1564–1613)”, *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 30 (1956) 113–155; idem, “Leven en werk van Johannes David S.J.”, *West-Vlaanderen* 12 (1963) 220–224; and Porteman K. – Smits-Veldt M.B., *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen* (Amsterdam: 2008) 294–296.



Fig. 4. Theodoor Galle, engraved title-page to Jan David's *Duodecim specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata* (Antwerp, Apud Ioannem Moretum: 1610), octavo. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek.

books composed by David between 1601 and 1610, the majority with engraved illustrations by Theodoor Galle (cf. *Veridicus Christianus* of 1601, *Typus occasionis* of 1603, *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* of 1605, *Paradisus sponsi et sponsae [...] et Pancarpium Marianum* of 1607).³⁶ The *Duodecim specula* consists of twelve chapters, each prefaced by an *imago*, focusing on various kinds and degrees of specular image: it starts with the Everyday Mirror (*speculum commune*), manufactured by ‘human artifice’ (‘*artis opus*’), the surface of which philosophers use to expose human characteristics, and ends with the Mirror of Beatific Vision (*speculum visionis beatificae*), in whose images the ‘cutting edge of the mind’ (‘*acies mentis*’) glimpses the radiance of divinity (‘*divinum iubar*’) [Figs. 5 and 9].³⁷ The mirrors are discussed by two interlocutors, Desirous of God (Desiderius), who plays the role of instructor, and the Soul (Anima), who learns how properly to utilize the various mirrors. The Mirror of Holy Writ (*speculum sacrae scripturae*) inhabits the ninth rung of the virtual ladder that conducts Anima, the viewer’s alter ego, step by step from the contemplation of nature toward the contemplation of God [Fig. 7].³⁸ It follows the Mirror of Creation (*speculum creaturarum*), in which all things in nature are seen as images of their Creator, and precedes the Mirror of Example (*speculum exemplare*), in which virtuous exemplars, first among whom Jesus and Mary, serve as images to be imitated [Figs. 6 and 8].³⁹ That Jesus and Mary appear in *imago X* as portraits on a diptych’s pendant panels indicates how David conceives of mirror images as pictorial in

³⁶ On David’s four previous emblem books, some of which were issued in multiple editions, see Daly – Dimler, *Jesuit Series I* 147–162. Differences between the Dutch and Latin editions of the *Veridicus Christianus* give some sense of the varied audiences David sought to address; see Waterschoot W., “*Veridicus Christianus* and *Christelicken Waersegher* by Johannes David”, in Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds.), *Emblemata sacra: rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images* (Turnhout: 2004) 527–534. The quarto edition of the *Duodecim specula* published by Theodoor Galle, may have been a deluxe printing on large sheets, featuring exceptionally fine impressions of the plates; on this edition, probably issued at the same time as the octavo printed by Jan Moretus, see Sommervogel II, col. 1851, no. 20.

³⁷ David Jan, S.J., *Duodecim specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata* (Antwerp, Apud Ioannem Moretum: 1610), octavo, ill. I: ‘Naturam iuvat artis opus; speculoque magistro./ Praecipit arcanas emaculare notas’. Ibidem, ill. XII: ‘Purga aciem mentis: Divinum lumine recto./ Sedibus aethereis, ut speculere iubar’.

³⁸ Ibidem, ill. IX: ‘Quid fugias, quid ames, sacra cum tibi pagina monstrat;/ De caelo lapsi quam Speculi instar habet!’.

³⁹ Ibidem, ill. VIII: ‘Quot rerum species; Speculis tot, Conditor unus/ Cernitur: utendo gratus ut esse velis’. Ibidem, ill. X: ‘Lucet, et inflammat, Speculum exemplaris honesti;/ Virtutem alterius si cupis esse tuam’.



Fig. 5. Theodoor Galle, *Speculum commune*, engraved illustration from Jan David's *Duodecim specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata* (Antwerp, Apud Ioannem Moretum: 1610), chapter 1. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek.

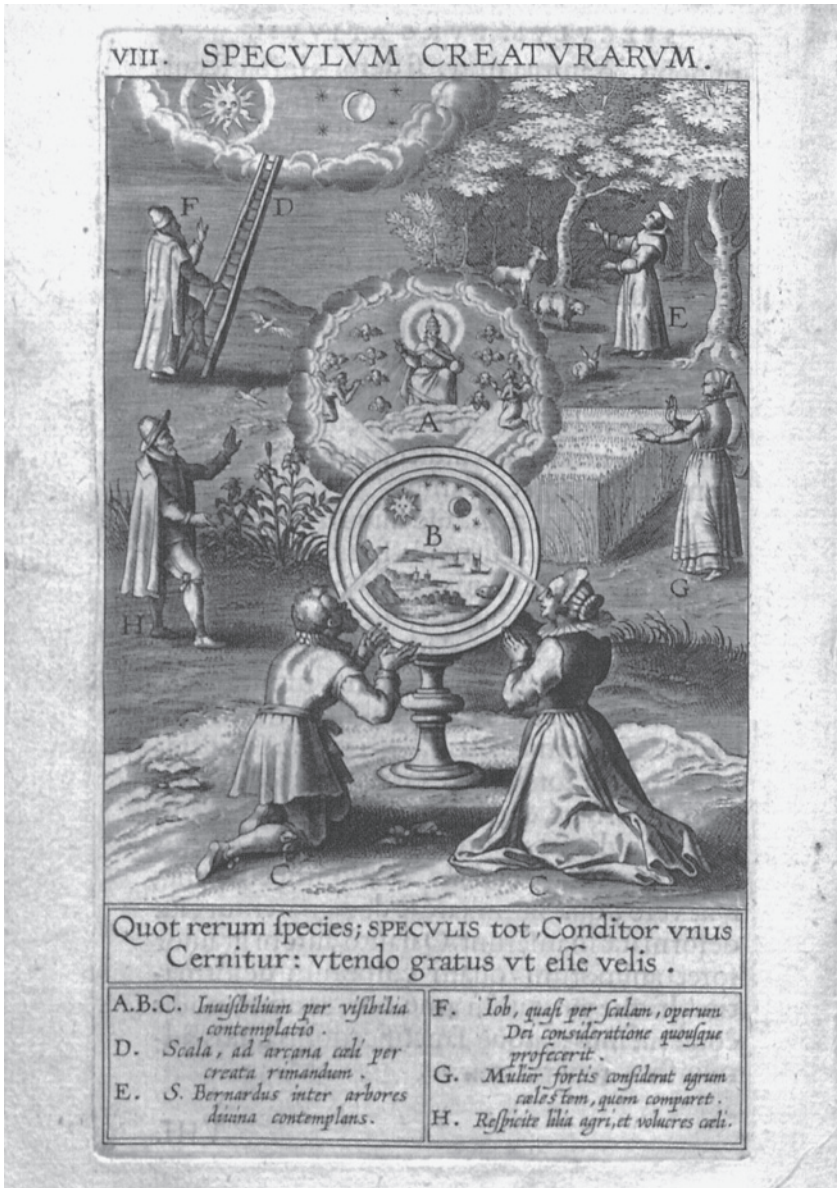


Fig. 6. Theodoor Galle, *Speculum creaturarum*, engraved illustration from Jan David's *Duodecim specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata* (Antwerp, Apud Ioannem Moretum: 1610), chapter 8. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek.



Fig. 7. Theodoor Galle, *Speculum Sacrae Scripturae*, engraved illustration from Jan David's *Duodecim specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata* (Antwerp, Apud Ioannem Moretum: 1610), chapter 9. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek.



Fig. 8. Theodoor Galle, *Speculum exemplare*, engraved illustration from Jan David's *Duodecim specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata* (Antwerp, Apud Ioannem Moretum: 1610), chapter 10. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbibliotheek.



Fig. 9. Theodoor Galle, *Speculum visionis beatificae*, engraved illustration from Jan David's *Duodecim specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata* (Antwerp, Apud Ioannem Moretum: 1610), chapter 12. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek.

form and function: whether scrutinizing the things of nature or noteworthy human models, one must render them to the mind's eye as if they were being seen in a mirror, whose surface brings forth images that have the clarity and vividness of paintings [Fig. 8].

Imago IX, illustrating the Mirror of Creation, adumbrates the Mirror of Holy Writ, in that it incorporates several biblical images: in scene F, Job climbs the ladder of creation, attending closely to the things God has created, that give an earnest of His omnipotence (*Job* 38–41); in scene G, the proverbial good wife surveys and buys a field, construing it as a token of divine munificence (*Proverbs* 31:16); in scene H, a gentleman follows Jesus's injunction to behold the lilies of the field and birds of air, dwelling on the kingdom of God, rather than on mundane matters (*Matthew* 6:26–30) [Fig. 7]. Like Job, the good wife, and the latter-day follower of Christ, we too must convert *creatura* – either seen directly, by the eyes of the body, or indirectly, by the eyes of the mind – into meditative images that prompt us to consider the nature of God. In this instance, scenes F, G, and H convey to the eyes what the biblical text conveys to the imagination (through dialogue in the book of Job, through apothegm in Proverbs, through parable in Matthew). As David states at the start of chapter 9, the formation of such mirror images is a sort of meditative artifice: 'Anima: I feel myself wonderfully renewed and strengthened by the sight and use of that [mirror] [...] and in celestial matters fit to be meditated, very much assisted by such an art' ('ad caelestia tali arte meditanda').⁴⁰ For a precedent, he cites the example of Thomas Aquinas: having admired the beauty of Louis IX's queen, Margaret of Provence, at a royal banquet, he then brought *Apocalypse* 12:1 to mind, visualizing the woman in the sun and imagining how much more beautiful the Virgin Mary, Queen of Heaven, must be ('in animum venit, secum expendere, quam pulchra debuerit esse').⁴¹ Both the eyes of the body and the eyes of the mind are legitimate sources of the specular images that represent to the beholder aspects of the Creator's 'goodness' ('*Dei bonitatem*'), 'wisdom' ('*eius sapientiam*'), and 'power' ('*eius potentiam*').⁴² David recalls the litanies praising God and His creation in *Exodus* 15:1–19, *Psalms* 105, and *Daniel* 3 (the second song of Shadrach, Meshach,

⁴⁰ David, *Duodecim specula* 111: 'Mirifice me illius adspectu atque usu sentio recreatam et corroboratam [...] atque ad caelestia tali arte meditanda multum adiutam'.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem* 112.

and Abednego in the burning fiery furnace), and in consequence has Desiderius admonish Anima: 'But let us bless the Lord, oh Soul, and even while we 'are exiled from the real vision of God' Himself ('a reali visione peregrinamur'), let us never remove from the eyes of our body or mind that mirror of His wonders, wherein He illuminates us through his creations. [...] Yes indeed, let us with a certain singular affection of the heart run through the orders of all creation, following said three boys (*Daniel* 3), and let us endeavour diligently all the more to praise and glorify God the Creator of everything, and through the help and example of that creation, by considering the same, let us make greater headway toward our salvation'.⁴³

In the estimation of Desiderius, the Mirror of Holy Writ surpasses its predecessor, partly because the image of everything contained in the Mirror of Creation may already be found in the Bible, where moreover everything in nature is clearly ascribed to God. Like King Ezechias who showed the Bablyonian envoys his every treasure (*2 Kings* 20:12–15, *Isaiah* 39:1–4), Scripture exhibits to us the treasury of divine creation, in which the handiwork of God may be examined and appreciated ('nobis in hoc bipatenti Scripturae Speculo longe praestantiora, pretiosiora, plura, maiora, rariora, speculanda exhiberi, quam Rex Ezechias Bablyoniis ostendit').⁴⁴ Just as the previous mirror mobilized whatsoever in nature was apparent to the senses, so the present mirror encourages us to bring to bear our speculative faculty, discerning everywhere in Scripture its divine source:

And just as at the prompting of the prior mirror, we wandered through the sky and stars, fields and meadows, and whatever they bear and contain, seeking, finding, and observing the maker of all things in His works (artificem omnium in opere suo), so here, having lighted upon a more sublime and noble mirror, through its guidance we shall increasingly be rendered partners in the excellence of divine speculation.⁴⁵

⁴³ Ibidem 113: 'Nos autem, o anima, benedicamus Domino; et speculum illud mirabilium Dei, per quod ipse nobis in suis creatis transparet, quamdiu quidem a reali ipsius visione peregrinamur, numquam ab oculis mentis nostrae corporeisve amoveamus. [...] Quinimo, singulari quodam mentis affectu, ad trium iam dictorum imitationem, per omnium creaturarum ordines discurramus; maioremque semper Domini factoris ac gloriam, maioremque salutis nostrae profectum, tum ipsarum auxilio atque exemplo, tum alia earundem consideratione, elicere studeamus'.

⁴⁴ Ibidem 119.

⁴⁵ Ibidem 114–115: 'Ac, quemadmodum praecedentis instinctu, per caelum et sidera, per campos et prata, iisque contenta et connata, vagati sumus; artificem omnium

By this, Desiderius means that Anima shall come to see God with greater clarity ('ipsi omnium factori vicinius appropinquantes') and to hear Him speaking as if face to face ('os ad os audiemus loquentem'), as cognitive complements to the images the Mirror of Creation has previously made visible ('praeter omnia alia, quae praecedentis specula ministerio ob oculos constituta fuere').⁴⁶

David attributes the conceit of the Mirror of Holy Writ to Gregory the Great, who describes Scripture 'as a mirror set before the eyes of the mind' in the *Moralia in Job* ('mentis oculis quasi quoddam speculum opponitur'), and to Augustine, who entitled his moral handbook compiled from biblical sources *De Scriptura Sacra speculum*.⁴⁷ He also mentions the apostle James, who rebukes mere hearers of the word, comparing them to 'a man who beholds his face in a mirror' and then promptly forgets what he has seen ('viro consideranti vultum nativitatissuae in speculo'); instead, one must be a doer of the word, on the model of an attentive and retentive beholder ('estote autem factores verbi et non auditores tantum fallentes vosmet ipsos').⁴⁸ This comparison, as David notes, rests on the implied analogy between the *verbum Dei* and a *speculum*. But David carries this analogy much farther than James, Augustine, or Gregory: the scriptural images he purports to discern are often characterized as if they were pictorial images, and the exegetical themes he develops are more often than not centred on visual images. Take, for example, his linking of *Genesis* 1:3, 'Let there be light', and *Proverbs* 6:23, 'The commandment is a lamp, and the Law a light', that proceeds by way of the parallel images of the newly created sun as a source of light and the fiery light from out of which God conferred the Law on Mount Sinai. Since the tablets of the Law were the first scriptures, these passages demonstrate that Scripture is like the sun: as the sun, the 'sublime mirror and eye of the world', makes all created things visible, so too does Scripture cast its light, making visible what God has wrought. That this is indeed the case may be seen from the fact that Divine Wisdom, the voice of Scripture, is itself using images to speak of Scripture as if it were another sun:

in opere suo requirentes, invenientes, contemplantes: ita modo longe sublimius nobiliusque nacti speculum, per eius ductum, eximiae magis magisque divinae speculationis consortes reddemur'.

⁴⁶ Ibidem 115.

⁴⁷ Ibidem 115–116.

⁴⁸ Ibidem 121–122.

Desiderius: By that command “Fiat lux”, God fashioned the sun, that sublime mirror and eye of the world, and so too he established the fiery, lucid, and intensely flashing mirror of sacred Scripture on Mount Sinai, just as if it were the sun rising: thus might Divine Wisdom speak of the Law as of another sun, saying, “The commandment is a lamp, and the Law a light”.⁴⁹

By means of such images, infers Desiderius, quoting *Psalm* 118:130, ‘The unfolding of Thy words gives light; it imparts understanding to the simple’, the word of God accommodates to human intelligence. Implicit in this citation is an allusion to *Romans* 6:19, as a marginal gloss suggests: ‘I am speaking in human terms, because of your natural limitations’.⁵⁰ He amplifies these remarks by quoting further passages from *Psalm* 118, that resort to affective images of the Law: gold and silver represent its goodness, the topaz and other gems its preciousness, the honeycomb its sweetness, in the eyes, heart, and mind of the Psalmist.⁵¹ Once again, it is God Himself, speaking through the prophet David, who marshals images to expound the relation between His words and His people. For Jan David, then, images function as the currency of human frailty: they illuminate the words of God, making them apprehensible.

The upper half of *imago* IX illustrates this conceit in scenes C–F. C depicts God creating the sun, D Moses receiving the tablets of the Law, and the letter E, placed midway between these two scenes, stands for the principle of visual analogy that connects them (‘E: Solis et legis affinitas’) [Fig. 7]. Above the letter, the phrase ‘Mandatum lucerna’, supplies the *tertium comparationis* that correlates the *lux* of *Genesis* 1 and the *lux* of *Proverbs* 6. A further visual analogy attaches scenes C and E to scene F, which portrays a priest preaching to an attentive congregation. Like God the Creator and Moses the lawgiver, he raises his right arm in a gesture having to do with transmission of the word. The banderole affixed to the pulpit displays the text the preacher is explicating: ‘The Law of the Lord is unspotted, converting souls’ (*Psalm* 18:8). Scenes G–I provide examples of the word’s effects, as

⁴⁹ *Ibidem* 120: ‘tunc excelsum istud atque sublime speculum, ipsumque adeo oculum mundi solem videlicet tali Deus mandato formavit: Fiat Lux. Et quando vicissim in monte Sinai Moysi legem dedit, ignitum, lucidum, et plane coruscans hoc Sacrae Scripturae Speculum, quasi in suo ortu fundavit, ut, tamquam de altero sole, de hoc ipso locutus sit Sapiens, dicens: Mandatum lucerna est, et Lex Lux’.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem* 121.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

the shared caption makes clear: 'The power of the word converts to penitence and good works'. The almsgiver demonstrates the practice of good works, while the man wringing his hands exemplifies the stirring of conscience (H), that instigates the confession of sins (I).

Within the context of chapter 9, scenes G–I also double as exempla of the effects produced by the biblical images mirrored in the *Speculum Sacrae Scripturae*. The preacher brings these images to the mind, as in *imago IX*, but they are accessible as well to any good reader of Scripture, who strives to evaluate himself in light of the life of Christ and of the commandments and prophecies that preface and prefigure Him. Scripture is equivalent to Christ, all of whom may thus be discerned by the attentive viewer of the Mirror of Holy Writ: 'Ignorance of Scripture is ignorance of Christ. And since you, Lord, represent in the scriptures all of yourself, your will, your innermost thoughts, as if in a mirror, what shall it profit him to have observed all other things clearly, who yet fails to know you?'⁵² The author of the Bible ('auctorum illius libri') is the selfsame maker of that scriptural mirror ('istiusmodi speculi artificem'), in which David urges us to behold ourselves and measure our likeness to Christ:

As [Augustine] says, he who now trusting in God wishes to obey Him, should inspect himself here [in this mirror], noting his progress in good works and morals, and likewise what is wanting in himself. [...] As [Bernard] says [in the *Speculum monachorum*], if such an explorer (explorator), solicitous of his thoughts, words, and deeds, strives to correct his universal faults, having been moved to desire a better life, let him contemplate his interior visage (interioris hominis sui faciem), as if in a mirror, through frequent reading of the present book and assiduous meditation.⁵³

David further exhorts the reader-viewer 'to contemplate the present mirror with his eyes and heart' ('studiis et obtutibus speculum praesens [...] contemplerur'), in order that the testimonies it mus-

⁵² Ibidem 127: 'Ignorantia Scripturarum, ignorantia Christi est. Cumque tu Domine in illis voluntatem tuam et intima cogitationum tuarum arcana totumque te ipsum nobis, ut in speculo, demonstraris, quid proderit illi, qui cetera cuncta perspecta habuerit, te autem solum ignorarit?'

⁵³ Ibidem 117: 'Ut, inquit, qui iam credens, Deo obedire voluerit, hic se inspiciat, quantum in bonis moribus operibusque profecerit; et quantum sibi desit, attendat. [...] Si quis, inquit, emendationis vitae desiderio tactus, cogitationum, locutionum operumque suorum sollicitus explorator, universos excessus suos corrigere nititur, in praesentis paginae frequenti lectione et assidua meditatione (tamquam in Speculo) interioris hominis sui faciem contempletur.'

ters may become fully apparent ('mirabilia testimonia tua Domine [...] scrutata est ea anima mea') and the face of God be unveiled ('faciem suam illuminabit super servos suos').⁵⁴ Such contemplation entails close scrutiny of the specular image, on the model of a mirror whose reflective surface the attentive viewer strives to penetrate, looking deep into the images it puts forward. This is not to say that David recommends that we look past images to the truths they conceal: on the contrary, he encourages us intently to scrutinize these images, to delve in and through them, looking for the truths they make discernible: 'And indeed the use of an artificial mirror has this in common with the use of the mirror of divine law – that it ought to be inspected 'as if it were being seen into' ('ac si perspiceretur'), [or] as if you were gazing at your mirror-image with a view to penetrating yourself, and not merely touching upon this or that superficial feature with your eyes. Nor must that mirror ever be withdrawn from the eyes of the mind, but rather we must persist in contemplating it'.⁵⁵ More than a passing analogy, the likeness of the *speculum sacrae scripturae* to an actual mirror is sustained throughout chapter 9 ('ad artificialia specula, similitudinem hanc').⁵⁶ Speaking exegetically, David compares the density and obscurity of the images cast by the Old Testament, to the lesser resolution of the images reflected in a mirror made of lead ('instar plumbei speculi'); the merit and clarity of the images cast by the New Testament, to the greater resolution of the images reflected in a mirror made of silver ('instar argentei speculi'). Together the two testaments resemble a mirror made up of two panels, the one lead, the other silver, inseparably conjoined like the two tablets of the Law ('quasi unum binarum tabularum efficiant speculum').⁵⁷ Like the pure surface of 'an unspotted, unclouded mirror' ('pulum in primis et immaculatum speculum'), the image of the Law is immaculate (*Psalm* 18:8); like images in a 'clear and limpid mirror' ('limpidum lucidumque [...] speculum'), the precepts of the Lord shine forth (*Psalm* 18:9).⁵⁸ Like the reflective surface

⁵⁴ Ibidem 123–124.

⁵⁵ Ibidem 123: 'Et quidem artificialis speculi usus, cum usu specula legis divinae, commune hoc habet, quod sic inspicere debet ac si perspiceretur; quasi penetrando, teipsum ex adverso conspicias, non autem tantummodo huius vel illius superficiei oculis radas. Neque istud ab oculis mentis umquam est amovendum; sed nobis est in eius contemplatione permanendum'.

⁵⁶ Ibidem 115.

⁵⁷ Ibidem 116.

⁵⁸ Ibidem 118.

of a quiet sea, that keeps its level howsoever variable its depths ('dorsus eius aequalitas, unde et aequoris nomen'), so the testimonies of God remain equable forever (*Psalm* 118:144, 172).⁵⁹

Imago IX ingeniously illustrates the process of penetrative viewing that David advocates. Overlapping the congregants, whose conscience the preacher has stirred, the summit of the cross signifies that the Passion of Christ, conveyed by the evangelists (*vide* the eagle, lion, ox, and angel), offers an antidote to sin and a castigation of the sinner. Letter A designates the surface of the mirror that reflects the image of a Bible, its two testaments marked B and B. This literally biblical image undoubtedly alludes both to the Bible as a source of scriptural images and to the reader's task of generating images from his perusal of Scripture. The opening scene from Genesis at upper left (C) and the seven seals projecting from the open book (B) signify that the mirror to be consulted encompasses the full scope of Scripture. Hanging from the cross, as if crucified at the junction of its two arms, the mirror seems to substitute for Christ, and thereby alludes to its capacity of making Him visually present. Five streams of blood pour from the image of the Bible into five hearts perched on clouds that stand for the spiritual elevation of the beholder. The numbered hearts trace the five stages of the penitent's passage from scriptural viewing to self-transformation in the image of Christ. Biblical images restore the heart, causing it first to recall and then to keep the commandments ('non obliviscatur Legis Domini et mandata eius custodiat'); they cleanse the heart of the iniquities it harbours ('quia mundari quoque debet [...] ab omnibus inquinamentis'); they 'inflammate the heart', renewing 'its love of God' ('etiam amoris tui igne inflammetur'); they justify the heart, assuring it of salvation ('spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis'); and they elevate the heart to God, detaching it from the depravity of the world ('superatisque omnibus huius mundi pravitatibus caelestis gloriae corona donetur').⁶⁰ The reader-viewer is advised to secure these effects by beseeching Christ the Word, the image of the substance of God, to license further scriptural images that have the power to transform: 'I beseech you, Lord Jesus, who are the eternal wisdom of the Father, the Word, truth, splendor, and image of His substance: grant us the light

⁵⁹ Ibidem.

⁶⁰ Ibidem 124–125.

of Your grace, whereby assiduously and with relish, we may behold the Mirror of Holy Writ, for the purpose of meditating it'.⁶¹

The three prints we have been examining – Lieven de Witte's portrayal of 2 *Corinthians* 3:6, Cornelis Cort's engraving after Federico Zuccaro's paean to the Annunciation, and Theodoor Galle's emblematic Mirror of Holy Writ – propound three templates for thinking about the authority of Scripture rendered verbally and visually. De Witte's title-page perfectly illustrates Willem van Branteghem's conception of the Gospels and Epistles as harbingers of a new dispensation, under which the formerly unseen God becomes visible to loving eyes and hearts in Christ. The icon of the Holy Face is seen to usher in the era of the sacred image. Cort's print after Zuccaro orchestrates complementary arguments about the history of human salvation, leading from the sin of Adam and Eve to the mystery of the Incarnation. On the one hand, the case is made visually by recourse to the thematics of spiritual vision. On the other, it is made by means of a densely worked fabric of textual and visual exegeses, that derive from the *Glossa* but also inflect its readings of key prophecies concerning the Virgin and the advent of Christ. Galle's emblem of scriptural mirroring puts forward a reflexive meditative apparatus that construes the Bible as a source of sacred images that enable the votary to visualize himself.

The *Iesu Christi vita* and *Duodecim specula* are meditative programs promulgated in book form, the former as a Gospel harmony, the latter as an emblematic treatise on the soul's ascent to God. The *Annunciation Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* is an independent print, published at very large scale, to convert a liturgical fresco into an object of meditative devotion and exegetical reflection. Self-evidently, there were other kinds of program, other kinds of text, other kinds of image, other ways of reflecting on the relation between image and text, other ways of construing the authorizing potential of a text-image apparatus. The essays in this volume grant access to many kinds of textual and visual discourse, allowing us better to discern how words and images interacted to represent and by representing to constitute authority, both sacred and secular, between 1400 and 1700.

⁶¹ Ibidem 125: 'Obsecro, Domine Iesu, qui aeterna es Patris sapientia, Verbum, veritas, splendor, et figura substantiae eius: da nobis gratiae tuae lumen, quo illustrati, Speculum hoc Sacrae Scripturae assidue cum gustu meditando contemplemur'.

Geert Warnar opens the section “Verbum visibile: The Authority of the Visible Word”. He considers the shift from the spoken to the written word as the chief courtly instrument through which clerical and other kinds of learning were transmitted to the laity. This transition is exemplified reflexively in Dirc van Delft’s *Tafel van den kersten gelove* (ca. 1400), especially the chapter retailing the story of Secundus, the silent philosopher who instructed the emperor Hadrian by recourse to writing. The *Tafel* encompasses various kinds and genres of written knowledge – classical and biblical exempla, theological doctrine, princely instruction – that authorize the friar Dirc as a latter-day Secundus, implicitly confirming him in his role as teacher to Albert of Bavaria.

Peter van der Coelen inquires into the technical and interpretative relationship between text and image within reproductive prints issued in the Low Countries between 1550 and 1650. Such prints begin regularly to include inscriptions in Latin and/or the vernacular at mid-century, and as Van der Coelen observes from the example of Pieter Bruegel, even when the designer of the print was cognizant that a text would be attached to his image, it was the engraver and the publisher, not the draughtsman, to whom such a text would be given. This implies, as other examples clearly reveal, that the reader-viewer was expected to insert himself interpretatively between the picture and the inscription, discerning how word and image challenge, complement, or even substitute for one another.

Anita Traninger unscrambles the witty encoding of visual signs and hermetic meanings staged by François Rabelais in the well-known disputation scene from the *Pantagruel*. Learned yet carnivalesque, elevated yet scatological, this episode involves two antagonists, the eponymous Pantagruel and the English cleric Thaumaste, who enact their debate silently and graphically for the benefit of a learned audience. Through a system of explicit allusion to the *symbola Pythagora* (the thirty-nine maxims of Pythagoras), the responses they call forth both exemplify and subvert the two-fold hermeneutics of the *sensus litteralis* and *sensus spiritualis* codified by Augustine. Thaumaste and Pantagruel’s bizarre antics visually convert both senses into a carnal bodying forth of hidden meanings, that calls into question the authoritative mechanisms of the *plus hault sens*.

Catherine Levesque brings the section to a close with a look at the Word made visible both in the depiction and viewing of the densely

foliated forests of the Flemish painter, Gillis van Coninxloo. She analyses Coninxloo's pictures of the forest wilderness not only as epitomes of painting's capacity to imitate nature's artistry and natural processes, but also as visions of nature inflected by a Calvinist understanding of divine Providence made manifest in the order and workings of nature. She argues that this Calvinist visual hermeneutic, conjoined with compatible ideas of nature put forth in classical poetics and neo-Stoic philosophy provided key lenses through which Coninxloo and his contemporaries looked at and understood the complex interplay of art and nature in his work.

Karl Enenkel launches the section "The Authority of Visual Paratexts". He attempts to understand humanist author's portraits not in terms of physical likeness or authentic individual expression (as was frequently done), but on a functional level. By regarding author's portraits in the first place as *paratexts* – elements added to a certain text that are closely connected with the 'main' text, he queries what the paratext of an author's portrait tells us about the intended usage of the text to which it is attached. For his case study, he takes a series of author's portraits of Francis Petrarch, a true icon of 'Renaissance individualism' and one of the most frequently depicted persons of early modern culture. Through close analysis and comparison, Enenkel demonstrates in what way Petrarch's author's portraits function successfully as paratexts, using a subtle and sometimes very traditional symbolic pictorial language. More precisely, he explains the different devices and methods by which author's portraits add *authority* to texts, function as mediators of its contents, and 'guide' the reader through a certain text – suggesting from the very start how it may properly be read and understood.

Wim François investigates the relation among text, paratext, and image in the authorized Dutch "Louvain Bible" of 1548, translated by Nicolaus van Winghe and published by Bartholomeus van Grave, with the approbation of the theological faculty of Louvain. Its illustrations, as he indicates, derive from a tradition of Vulgate editions extending from the Venetian Bible of LucAntonio di Giunta to the Antwerp editions of Willem Vorsterman and Martin Lempereur, but with this crucial difference: Van Grave's images cleave rigorously to the literal and historical sense of Scripture; they eschew any internal reference to allegory and correlate to no external paratextual reference to typology. In particular, the woodcut of *Solomon Writing and Resting*, diverges

from pictorial precedent in describing him not as the author of the Books of Wisdom, but exclusively as he is portrayed in the imagery of *Canticle* 3:7–11.

Bart Ramakers initiates the section “Reading Scripture through Images”. He examines the evidence of biblical reading found in two *zinnespelen* (allegorical plays) performed respectively by the Kaprijke and the Antwerp chambers of rhetoric at the famous theatrical competition of 1539, held in Ghent. In response to the competition question, ‘What offers the greatest comfort to a man dying?’, these chambers marshaled a wide range of scriptural proof texts, the meanings of which were set forth verbally by means of discursive argumentation and visually by means of affective personification. These verbal and visual exegeses give evidence of an ‘experiential religious culture’ that centers on Christ, on biblical notions of faith and grace, and on a conception of the universal Church, as yet undivided into confessional camps.

Michel Weemans expounds the exegetical argument of Herri met de Bles’s *Paradise* tondo (ca. 1550), drawing an analogy between the picture’s *netticheyt* (meticulousness of execution) and Origen’s conception of biblical hermeneutics, which consists in ‘scrupulous reading’ of the Word. The small episodes from Genesis embedded in the landscape operate enigmatically, for their narrative clarity in fact cloaks allusions to the mysteries of salvation, but also synthetically, for they form part of an integrated fabric of interpretation that encompasses all of Creation. The tondo, as Weemans shows, consists of visual elements, such as the dual presence of God the Father and Christ, that function, once discerned, as exegetical prompts to a typological and eschatological reading of *Genesis* 1–3.

Andrew Morrall concludes this section with a discussion of the ways that Scripture became quite literally woven into the fabric of domestic life via depictions of Adam and Eve in seventeenth-century English embroideries. These works, many of which were produced as part of the domestic and spiritual education of female members of households, offer a distinctive purchase on the visual interpretation of Scripture in a Protestant culture that made embroidery and religious devotion interrelated parts of a daily routine. Morrall considers their floral decoration to explore how quasi-religious, affective attitudes toward flowers drew together diverse aspects of English culture, from poetry and moral theology, to the visual arts and horticulture. Through layered analyses of a range of embroidered objects the essay traces how, both

in the treatment of the Garden of Eden and the techniques and materials through which the biblical subject was depicted, these embroideries reveal changing conceptions of nature and domesticity, political and religious ideologies of marriage, and suggest a complex interplay of aesthetic, spiritual, and poetic concerns that formed part of the *habitus* of the pious English household.

John Decker opens the section “Verbal and Visual Instruments of Devotional Authority”. He explores the field of practical devotion – the employment of images, objects, and practices dedicated to keeping body and soul safe. Decker focuses especially on apotropaic devices that were widely used in the Middle Ages and in the early modern period: the ‘ocular consumption’ of the Host (*Augenkommunion*), woodcuts or engravings with saint’s images, especially of Mary, little slips of paper with prayers and bible texts, used as ‘*slikprentjes*’, rosaries, ‘Pater noster’, and so on. Decker demonstrates that votaries thereby hoped to secure tangible positive effects: a little woodcut of Saint Sebastian, for example, was believed to protect its user and his family from the black death. Such practices often complemented more discursive meditative exercises, and were neither in contradiction with the official doctrine of the Catholic Church nor forbidden by it.

Achim Timmermann’s essay on wayside crosses moves the discussion of devotional instruments into the visual and spatial environment of the countryside, with a consideration of the monuments that structured powerful connections between the physical landscape and the imaginative terrain of spiritual allegory. In his account these ubiquitous monuments, which served multiple mnemonic and social functions, function as nodal points in a web of connections that Timmermann maps out from the monuments themselves to two sorts of texts and images: on the one hand, the homiletic allegories in which roadside monuments act as guideposts for the Christian’s redemptive journey and on the other, the pictorial imagery of the landscape of the soul. He makes a case for understanding the roadside cross in its multiple manifestations as a portal that allowed medieval travelers to cross the boundaries of historical time and space, and thus to glimpse the divine plan of salvation, both in the living landscape and the virtual terrain of devotional and meditative practice.

Kate Rudy’s essay looks at the functions of rubrics in fifteenth-century Netherlandish prayer books, in which they serve as mediators of the authority and efficacy of prayers. Setting forth the visual and linguistic distinctions between rubrics and the prayers they accompany,

she describes how rubrics shaped acts of devotion by certifying the genealogies that authorized particular prayers and the indulgences attached to them. Rubrics also stipulated the protocols that votaries needed to follow, including the use of particular devotional images, for their prayers to be activated and efficacious. Through a close analysis of leaves from two Delft Books of Hours, she shows how rubrics framed prayers to the Holy Face and the Wounds of Christ (two of the most prolific and frequently indulgenced of Netherlandish devotional images), structuring viewer response and choreographing somatic relationships between votaries and Christ.

Carolyn Muessig addresses one of the most important means of spiritual authorization discussed and debated in the late Middle Ages (13th–16th centuries): the *stigmata*. After the stigmatization of Francis of Assisi, who miraculously received the five wounds of Christ on Mount La Verna, his fellow Franciscans, especially Bonaventura da Bagnoreggio, reflected on the evidence for and meaning of the *stigmata*, ultimately developing a true stigmatic theology. This theology was partly aimed at authorizing the new order and defining the Franciscan identity. Dominican theologians, such as Jacopo da Varazze (Jacobus de Voragine) and Giordano da Pisa, also participated fervently in shaping the discourse of ‘stigmatic’ holiness. In particular, Jacopo da Varazze identifies Francis’s *vehemens imaginatio*, his ardent love for and imagination of the crucified Christ, as the chief cause of the stigmata. As Muessig shows, the Dominicans developed a competing theology of spiritual (as opposed to corporeal) stigmatization, exemplified by Catherine of Siena (+ 1380), whose hagiography was compiled by Raymond of Capua and endorsed by the Sienese pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini).

Birgit Ulrike Münch reassesses the verbal and visual apparatus apparent in two monuments of Tridentine Catholicism – Jerome Nadal’s *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (Antwerp, Martinus Nutius: 1595) and Peter Paul Rubens’s *Triumph of the Church* (ca. 1630) – that she discovers to have emulated heterodox and ostensibly Lutheran sources. Another example, Justus Lipsius’s *De Cruce libri tres* (Antwerp, Balthasar Moretus: 1594), would seem to avoid controversy by analyzing and illustrating the philological and antiquarian evidence on crucifixion, even while pointedly refusing to illustrate the Crucifixion of Christ. Münch demonstrates that many of our assumptions about the complex relation between image and text in the art of the Catholic Low Countries need urgently to be tested and revised.

Jan de Jong explores the critical responses of the Dutch humanist Aernout van Buchel to the verbal and visual rhetoric of selected monuments he encountered in Rome. Having transcribed these sights into an album, he initially treats them as if they were antiquities, but he later reworked these data into a second expanded manuscript, in which he reads the texts and images against alternative sources, appraising them as Catholic propaganda. With specific reference to the papal tomb of Innocent VIII and the tomb of Roberto Hosius (illegitimate son of Cardinal Altemps), De Jong explains how Van Buchel mustered biblical, early Christian, and contemporary historical authorities that allowed him to argue against the claims made textually and sculpturally by the monuments he had consulted in situ.

Maarten Delbeke tries to pin down the special kind of legitimisation that early modern local church histories, descriptions of miracles, and related treatises conferred on local cults in the Southern Netherlands. These texts endeavour to authorize the cults they describe, by certifying the dynamic relationship between the image and the altar, the image and the building. According to Delbeke, this process of authorisation, based in topology, was increasingly guided in the early modern period by the *printed* word: new buildings were thus reconnected to the sacred origins of local cults, the relics and traces of which they had been built to house. Delbeke offers the rich case study of Our Lady of Hanswijk in Mechelen. During the Dutch Revolt (1578), the miracle-working effigy of Our Lady was brought inside the city walls, and in 1663, the prior Willem Cool decided to erect a new building in its honour. Whereas Petrus Croon's *Historie van Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Hanswyck* (Mechelen, Gysbrecht Lints: 1670), establishes a topology for the new building, in which it is treated like a veritable prosthesis of the sacred effigy, the new miracle book of Our Lady of Hanswijk, written some sixty-five years later by Petrus Siré, reflects the new critical attitude that developed with regard to the status and function of such cult images. Here the building is described and analyzed formally, and the Marian effigy is no longer characterized as the building's spiritual agent, its soul. Rather, Siré meticulously elaborates on the decrees of the Council of Trent concerning the veneration of images, construing the cult of Hanswijk as the reenactment of scriptural precedent, best justified in terms of sacred history.

Walter Melion inaugurates the section "Pictorial Artifice and the Word". He considers how the trope of pictorial artifice serves as an instrument of Marian devotion, within the visual and verbal apparatus

exquisitely interwoven in Hieronymus Wierix's *Maria* series. These prints combine elements from three prayers of supplication – the *Salve Regina*, *Litania Loretana*, and *Rosarium Virginis Mariae* – with technical allusions to the rhetoric of artisanal perfection, explicitly associated to the Jesuit cult of the Virgin of Loreto by Orazio Torsellino in his treatise *Lauretanae historiae libri quinque* (Rome, Aloisius Zannetti: 1597). In addition, the prints' schemata of interlocking and overlapping images and texts evoke the virtual itinerary through a series of *compositiones loci*, visualized by Louis Richeome in his meditative treatise *Le pelerin de Lorete* (Bordeaux, S. Millange: 1604; reprint ed., Lyon, Pierre Rigaud: 1607).

James Clifton examines the seeming paradox of representing mystical states that eschew and even negate sensible representation, through an analysis of an unfinished series of engravings of a Carmelite mystic by Antoon III Wierix, datable to around 1620. Clifton challenges the claim that Wierix's series directly illustrates John of the Cross's *The Spiritual Canticle*. Instead, he sets his interpretation within a broader spectrum of Carmelite writings by Jerónimo Gracián, Juan de Jesús Maria, and Tomás de Jesús, among others, that endorse the use of verbal and visual figures, similes, and similitudes to describe – but not to prompt – the process of acquiring mystical wisdom.

Els Stronks asks how and why Dutch Calvinist meditation on the Passion of Christ takes a visual turn around 1650, as exemplified in the *Veschejde Nederdutsche gedichten* (Amsterdam, Lodewijck Spillebout: 1651), a popular collection of devotional poems that aim to fashion affective verbal images of the Saviour, as if the poet's quill were dipped in His very blood. These poems situate the reader as witness to the Passion, in contravention of the earlier strictures promulgated by such ministers as Willem Teellinck, who insist that in devotion, vision and the other senses must be trained exclusively on the word of God, not on whatever is visible. Around 1680, as Stronks demonstrates, another radical transformation takes effect: the poet-etcher Jan Luyken, responding to the earlier work of Catholic emblematisers such as Otto van Veen, Herman Hugo, and Benedictus van Haeften, begins to publish devotional emblem books that pictorially engage the votary, teaching him how he might learn to 'see God'.

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