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Bryn Mawr College, sdackerman@stanford.edu

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**The Danger of Visual Seduction:
Netherlandish Prints of Susanna and the Elders**

by
Susan Dackerman

September 1995

Submitted to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The Danger of Visual Seduction: Netherlandish Prints of Susanna and the Elders

In 1563, the Council of Trent issued a decree which stated, "...all lasciviousness is to be avoided, so that images shall not be painted and adorned with seductive charm." In the wake of this mandate, and other Netherlandish mandates intended to bolster the Council's decrees, prints of the biblical heroine Susanna proliferated in the Low Countries. The majority of these engravings, etchings, and woodcuts portray the attempted seduction of a provocative female nude by two old men, a scene which explicitly manifests "lasciviousness" and "seductive charm." This dissertation examines why these erotically charged prints of Susanna and the Elders flourished amidst the ubiquitous condemnation of provocative imagery. It is my contention that these prints were engaged in the Reformation/Counter-Reformation disputes over the depiction of "lascivious" subjects and demonstrated the power of such imagery to incite indecorous behaviors. Although they seem to contradict the Reformers' and Counter-Reformers' interdictions, these prints actually advanced and visually articulated the religious and aesthetic mandates of the period. As such, Netherlandish prints of Susanna functioned as warnings against the dangerous effects of seeing seductive imagery.

As evidence for this assertion, I survey a selection of admonitory sixteenth-century texts which describe and denounce the alleged dangers of sight, and reveal the analogous function of prints of Susanna and the Elders. I also demonstrate the similarity of these prints to other contemporary images which warn of the dangerous consequences of visual gratification, such as allegorical representations of the Five Senses. Finally, I examine how prints of Susanna appeal to and engage their audience in order to offer their admonition.

This dissertation also contains a catalogue of prints of Susanna produced in the Netherlands between 1508 and 1650.

VITA

I, Susan Dackerman, was born on January 10, 1964 in New York City. I graduated from the public schools in Valley Stream, New York in June, 1982. I then attended Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York and I received my A.B. in Art History in May 1986.

In 1988 I began my graduate studies in the History of Art at Bryn Mawr College. My coursework included seminars and classes in the fields of Roman Architecture, Northern Renaissance Art, Italian Renaissance Art, Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting, Nineteenth-Century French Painting, and Art Historical Methods. I received my M.A. in the History of Art from Bryn Mawr College in May, 1991. My M.A. thesis was entitled "Sensuality as a Means to Instruct Morality: Netherlandish Prints of Susanna and the Elders." The following year, I worked as a Teaching Assistant for the Department of the History of Art. In the Spring of 1992 I was admitted to candidacy for the Ph.D. after taking Preliminary Examinations in the following fields: Iconoclasm in Northern Europe, Italian Renaissance Prints, the Paintings of Gustave Courbet, and Art History and Feminist Theory. During the 1992-1993 academic year, I was the Lynn and Philip A. Straus Intern in the Print Department of the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University where I organized the exhibition "Chaste, Chased and Chastened: Old Testament Women In Northern European Prints."

My dissertation research on Netherlandish prints of the biblical tale of Susanna and the Elders has been supervised by Professor Christiane Hertel. The title of my dissertation is "The Danger of Visual Seduction: Netherlandish Prints of Susanna and the Elders." In 1993 I was awarded a Bryn Mawr College Travel Fellowship in order to examine primary source materials in the Netherlands. In addition, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Bryn Mawr College has provided me with sustained financial support throughout my course of study, including a Senior Fellowship in 1994-1995. During the past academic year, I was also employed as a research assistant in the Department of Prints, Drawings and Photographs at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Numerous individuals and institutions have assisted me through the inception and completion of this thesis. I am particularly indebted to Professor Christiane Hertel. Not only has she directed this dissertation, but she has guided and nurtured my intellectual development during my years at Bryn Mawr. Moreover, her intelligence, generosity, and good humor have enriched my life.

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A number of individuals significantly facilitated my research in the Netherlands. Ger Luijten, Chief Curator of Prints in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam, provided invaluable assistance in gaining access to both the Rijksmuseum collection and the collections of other museums. Christiaan Schuckman, researcher for the new edition of Hollstein, shared information from the forthcoming volumes, and helped me locate elusive prints. Ilja Veldman,

professor at the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam, generously shared her knowledge and appreciation of Netherlandish prints with me. In addition, I would like to thank Danielle Hanrahan for her help in the Netherlands.

Numerous colleagues and friends have contributed in their own myriad ways to this project. I would like to acknowledge the effort of those who have helped with the translation of the Latin texts, especially Robert East Mooney. At Bryn Mawr, my colleagues Pamela Baldwin and Phillip Kent, amongst many others, have contributed not only to my intellectual life, but to my personal happiness. Sally Cavalier DelRey, Neil Charney, Melissa Farrington, Daniel Lebson, Helen Schweitzer, and Nancy Whittaker have sustained me during this occasionally trying process. I would especially like to acknowledge the assistance of Elizabeth Mansfield who helped bring this project to completion.

During the 1992-93 academic year, I enjoyed the privilege of working under the direction of Marjorie B. Cohn at the Fogg Art Museum. I owe her thanks for so many things, the least of which is keeping me clothed during the writing process.

And, finally, to my parents, Rose and Gerald Dackerman, I owe my deepest debt of thanks. Without their continued love and support, this endeavor would have been a lot more difficult.

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INTRODUCTION

"To think that in another age I would have been painting Susanna and the Elders."

-Edgar Degas¹

Edgar Degas made the above comment about his paintings of bathing women shortly before his death. His comment implies that prior to the nineteenth century the conventions of painting required artists to frame depictions of nude female figures within appropriate narrative contexts. The biblical tale of Susanna and the Elders furnishes just such a framework for a bathing female figure. The suggestion that the story of Susanna and the Elders provides a suitable opportunity to portray the female nude pervades the art historical literature. Art historians generally cast depictions of the biblical theme as an ideal occasion to satisfy the visual pleasure of artists and their patrons with an alluring female figure. A statement made by Mary Garrard in her 1982 essay on Artemisia Gentilschi's painting of Susanna and the Elders is a good example of this tendency.

Few artistic themes have offered so satisfying an opportunity for legitimized voyeurism as Susanna and the Elders. The subject was taken up with relish by artists from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries as an opportunity to display the female nude, in much the same spirit that such themes as Danaë or Lucretia were approached, but with the added advantage that the

¹Recounted by Daniel Halévy in his memoir of Edgar Degas, Degas parle..., (Paris: La Palatine, 1960), p.159.

nudes erotic appeal could be heightened by the presence of two lecherous old men, whose inclusion was both iconographically justified and pornographically effective.²

Several factors challenge the contention that Susanna and the Elders was represented solely to satisfy a desire for depictions of the female nude. First, the subject has been represented throughout the history of Christian art in a variety of media and contexts.³ There is little consistency within this historically and aesthetically diverse corpus of depictions. Not all representations of the subject portray Susanna nude. For instance, in the fifteenth century in Northern Europe the story of Susanna was frequently depicted as an example of justice.⁴ Third-century catacomb paintings of the bathing scene present Susanna as a modestly dressed female figure (Fig.1),⁵ although conventions of representation in the early

²Mary Garrard, "Artemisia and Susanna" in Feminism and Art History, (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), p.149.

³Iconographic indices such as L. Reau, L'iconographie de l'art chretien, Vol.II, (Paris, 1957), and H. Schlosser, Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, Vol.IV, (Freiburg, 1972), give a general overview of representations of the theme throughout the centuries of Christian art.

⁴Gina Strumwasser, Heroes, Heroines and Heroic Tales from the Old Testament: An Iconographic Analysis of the Most Frequently Represented Old Testament Subjects in Netherlandish Painting, 1430-1570, (University of California at Los Angeles, Ph.D., 1992), p.123.

⁵For an insightful analysis of depictions of Susanna in early Christian catacombs, see Kathryn Smith's "Inventing Marital Chastity: the Iconography of Susanna and the Elders in Early Christian Art," Oxford Art Journal 16, 1993, pp.3-24.

Christian period may well have dictated such a presentation.

This brings us to the second argument against interpreting depictions of Susanna exclusively as justified opportunities to depict female nudes. Pictorial conventions similar to those of the early Christian period do not exist in the twentieth century, and yet Susanna at her bath continues to be a popular subject of representation. This is evidenced by Gustave Heinrich Wolff's woodcut of 1931 (Fig.2). The production of images of Susanna long after justification for the depiction of nudity was necessary suggests that they have significance other than as portrayals of nude figures. This significance is also implied in another passage of Degas' memoir. Halévy recounts Degas' lament that the time for depicting Susanna had past and he was left with depicting women in their tubs.⁶

Although I agree with Garrard's interpretation of portrayals of Susanna and the Elders as legitimized opportunities for artists to depict female nudity, I think another layer of meaning can be located within the images if they are examined within their historical context.⁷ The diversity of representations of Susanna suggests the

⁶Halévy, Degas Parle..., p.14.

⁷Garrard, of course, does this herself in the above cited article, "Artemisia and Susanna." Although she generalizes on the motivations of other artists who depicted the biblical tale, her essay is a contextually specific study of a single painting by Artemisia Gentileschi.

subject's potential for conveying a multiplicity of meanings. The nearly thousand-year history of representations of the biblical theme demands movement beyond generalized, ahistorical interpretation. Only when examined within historically bounded and contextually specific circumstances can other layers of meaning be established.

This study is such an historically specific examination. It investigates the numerous prints -- engravings, etchings and woodcuts -- of Susanna produced during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the Netherlands. This was a period of great religious, political and artistic conflict in the Netherlands. Printed indictments against the legitimacy and function of images flourished in Northern Europe. Opponents to the Catholic Church generated the majority of this image criticism. Advocates for reform from within the established church, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, also criticized the abuse of images within Catholic practice. The Church responded to the allegations made against images in 1563 with the decrees of the Council of Trent. Although the decrees defended the legitimacy of religious imagery, they demanded changes in style and content. Lewd and lascivious subject matter was prohibited because it allegedly incited libidinous behaviors. The decrees of the Council of Trent singled out the depiction of nudity as a primary pictorial offense.

David Freedberg's⁸ and Keith Moxey's⁹ studies of this image conflict prompted my interest in this volatile period of Netherlandish history. Both art historians recount and describe the numerous treatises which condemn imagery. Their accounts of the ubiquitous condemnations of indecorous images lead me to question the proliferation of prints of Susanna at her bath at precisely the same moment in history. The prints which most flagrantly exhibit Susanna's nudity were produced after the Council of Trent decreed, "...all lasciviousness is to be avoided, so that images shall not be painted and adorned with seductive charm."¹⁰ It would be easy to argue that this period of prohibition exacerbated the desire for "lascivious" imagery. And as a biblically justified opportunity to depict a bathing female figure, the subject of Susanna and the Elders satisfied that desire. I hope to demonstrate, however, that by examining these prints within their specific historical context, other possible meanings can be deduced.¹¹

⁸David Freedberg, Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609, (New York: Garland Press, 1988).

⁹Keith Moxey, Aertsen, Beuckelaer, and the Rise of Secular Painting in the Context of the Reformation, (New York: Garland Press, 1977).

¹⁰Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, translated by H.J. Schroeder, (St. Louis, 1941), p.216.

¹¹A.W.A. Boschloo's study of the work of Annibale Carracci in the wake of the prohibitions of the Council of Trent provides, in part, a paradigm for this study. Boschloo attempts to locate the effects of the Council's decrees within

In order to historically contextualize the numerous prints of Susanna and the Elders produced in the Netherlands, familiarity with the biblical tale is necessary. Throughout the study, I refer to the biblical text as published in the New Standard Revised Edition. Citations from the text are identified by verse number, indicated in parenthesis after the quote. The biblical text is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix A.¹²

The story describes the attempted seduction of Susanna by two of Babylon's Elders and the consequences of her refusal to comply with their wishes. Susanna was the chaste

Annibale Carracci's paintings and prints. In Annibale Carracci in Bologna: Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent, translated from the Dutch by R.R. Symonds, (The Hague: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1974).

¹²Although the story of Susanna and the Elders may originally have been written in Hebrew, the earliest known versions are in Greek and date from the second century B.C. Because the story does not appear in the Hebrew-Aramaic text, it is regarded as apocryphal by all but the Roman Catholic Church. It was appended to the Book of Daniel in the Catholic Bible by a decree of the Council of Trent in 1547. (The Orthodox communities also accept the Apocrypha as fully canonical.)

The apocryphal stories, however, were well known within both the Catholic and Protestant communities of Northern Europe in the sixteenth century. Martin Luther included selected books from the Apocrypha, including the History of Susanna, following the Old Testament in his first complete Bible translation of 1534. Most of the apocryphal tales also appear in an appendix to the Calvinist Bible editions of 1561-1562 and 1583. The Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619) finally allowed the inclusion of the Apocrypha in Dutch Bibles under the condition that the stories appear after the New Testament and in smaller type.

For a more comprehensive history of the tale of Susanna see Charles Cutler Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature, (London: Archon Books, 1963).

and devout wife of Joachim, one of the most honored and respected men in Babylon. Joachim was daily called upon for consultation by the town's Elders. After the Elders' presumed departure, Susanna would go into her husband's orchard to walk. Each day, two of the Elders would watch her with libidinous interest. One particularly warm day, Susanna decided to bathe in the fountain. She sent her maids to retrieve the ointments for her bath, and carefully instructed them to close the garden gate behind them. Seeing that Susanna was alone, the Elders approached her. They threatened to accuse her of adultery with another man if she did not acquiesce to their desires. Susanna instead cried out for help. At her trial, she was convicted of adultery and sentenced to death by stoning. But punishment was never inflicted. The young boy Daniel intervened as she was being led away. By inducing the two Elders to contradict each other in recounting their testimony, Daniel convinced the judges that the Elders were guilty of bearing false witness. The punishment intended for Susanna was instead inflicted upon them.

I have chosen to concentrate on prints of Susanna and the Elders instead of paintings of the subject for a number of reasons. First, increased production of prints of the bathing Susanna occurred during the most heated decades of the image debate in the Netherlands. It was in the last forty years of the sixteenth century that the majority of

Counter-Reformation texts condemning "lascivious" images was published. The production of art under such inhibiting conditions requires examination. The subject did not reach the height of its popularity in painting until the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹³

Differences in the production and reception of prints and paintings also persuaded me to focus on the graphic media. With prints, multiple copies of each image were produced. The numerous copies, as well as their small size made it possible to distribute them over a broad geographic area. Because of their typically low cost, they were accessible to a more varied audience than paintings.

¹³Eric Jan Sluijter claims that the story of Susanna and the Elders was one of the most popular subjects of representation in the northern Netherlands during the seventeenth century. He argues that the popularity of the theme in Dutch art is a reflection of contemporary moralists' preoccupation with the danger of looking at images of nude female figures. Sluijter cites the works of such seventeenth-century Dutch moralists as Jacob Cats and Dirck Raphael Camphuysen. Both denounce the prurient liberties taken in painting at the time and power of such images to arouse lust in their audience. Sluijter's basic argument is that the increase in production of images of female nudes in the seventeenth century was a response to the attitudes expressed in contemporary moralizing texts. I will argue, however, that in the sixteenth century prints of Susanna do more than reflect current cultural attitudes.

Sluijter first worked on aspects of this material in his dissertation, De heydensche fabulen in de Noordnederlandse schilderkunst, circa 1590-1670, (Leiden, Ph.D., 1986). However, he outlines his argument most comprehensively in the essay "Venus, Visus en Pictura," which appears in the Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 42-43, (1991-1992), pp.337-396. Recently, he has focused specifically on representations of Susanna and the Elders. See "Rembrandt's Early Paintings of the Female Nude: Andromeda and Susanna," in Rembrandt and his Pupils, edited by Görel Cavalli-Björkman, (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1993), pp.31-54.

Besides being collected for the portfolios of sophisticated art patrons, prints were also displayed on the walls of taverns and middle-class homes. This widespread distribution made prints a potent means of communication.

The reception of prints also differed from that of paintings. Because of their low cost, prints were often privately owned and as such could be viewed in the intimate setting of patrons' homes. They were objects of personal contemplation that could be held and touched. Paintings were most often viewed in public settings. And if paintings were privately owned, their audience was fairly limited.

My third reason for concentrating on prints of Susanna is the relative neglect of the graphic arts within the art historical literature. Woodcuts, engravings and etchings, unless the work of "master" artists such as Dürer or Rembrandt, have been largely overlooked.¹⁴ Yet, as I mentioned above, prints appealed to a broad audience in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As such, they were a significant aspect of the visual culture.

This leads to the difficult question of precisely defining the audience for prints in the sixteenth and

¹⁴Moxey, in his unconventional treatment of sixteenth-century German woodcuts and broadsheets (Peasants, Warriors and Wives, Chicago, 1989), claims that woodcuts have not entered into the art historical discourse because they do not meet the aesthetic criteria of "art" established in the nineteenth century by aestheticians such as Kant and Hegel. Their "formal simplicity" denies them admission into a canon governed by notions of beauty.

seventeenth centuries. A relatively small percentage of all prints produced during that time have survived into the twentieth century. Many of those that still exist were preserved in the portfolios or albums of aristocratic collectors.¹⁵ The majority of these albums has since been disassembled and their prints scattered to various collections, making the identification of their original owners impossible in most cases. It is even more difficult to identify print patrons who did not maintain their prints in albums. Prints that were tacked or pasted to walls most likely have not survived the past four centuries, and neither have records of their ownership.

Determining the gender of the audience for prints is equally complicated. Most known collectors were men, and in cases where the identity of the collector is ambiguous, they were typically assumed to be men.¹⁶ An inventory of art collections in Antwerp lists the collections of only three

¹⁵See for example Marjorie B. Cohn's study of the print collection of the aristocratic Spencer family, A Noble Collection: The Spencer Albums of Old Master Prints (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 1992); and Peter Parshall's "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol," Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien 78, (1982), pp.139-184.

¹⁶For example, the original patron of the print albums of the Spencer family was assumed to be one of the Earls of Spencer. Cohn posits, however, that the original collector was a female relative, the Duchess of Marlborough. A Noble Collection, pp.49-53.

women between 1550 and 1650.¹⁷ And in the documentation of these collections, prints are only summarily described. The visual evidence of the prints themselves suggests, however, that different gendered viewing positions existed. I will demonstrate that through distinct pictorial strategies prints of Susanna and the Elders were directed to both a male and female viewing audience. The evidence I will offer suggests that the prints primarily address a heterosexual male viewer, but that certain iconographic motifs within the images appealed to their female viewers.

The first chapter of this study is an iconographic survey of the over 100 single sheet engravings, etchings, and woodcuts of Susanna produced in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The prints are catalogued and illustrated at the end of the study. Within this chapter, I will outline and describe the iconographic motifs and compositional strategies most common to these prints. The majority of prints issued during this period portrays the best known episode from the biblical tale -- Susanna confronted by the Elders at her bath. This scene provided printmakers with the most obvious opportunity to depict a nude female figure. Other moments from the narrative were also frequently depicted, especially within

¹⁷J. Denucé, De Antwerpsche "Konstkamer": Inventarissen van Kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuw, (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1932).

series of Susanna's history. Printmakers commonly illustrated the biblical story over five or six individual sheets. Particular episodes from Susanna's history were also incorporated within thematically organized sets of prints. For instance, Susanna's trial was sometimes depicted in print series of the Ten Commandments as an example of the commandment, "Thou shall not bear false witness." The trial also appears as an example of Prudence within a print series of allegorical representations of the virtues. The biblical heroine, celebrated for her chastity, was also commonly included within print series of virtuous female figures. This diversity of prints of Susanna suggests that the interpretation of the theme as a legitimized occasion for the depiction of nudity is too limited. The reader's familiarity with the spectrum of depictions will allow me to posit other more iconographically and historically specific interpretations for the subject.

The second chapter, "The Danger of Visual Seduction," situates the prints of Susanna and the Elders within the context of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation image debate. As I stated previously, the danger of seeing lascivious images was a hotly contested topic in the Netherlands at this time. In this chapter, I will outline the arguments presented by both the Reformers and Counter-Reformers. Amidst the profusion of prohibitions against

erotic imagery initiated by the Council of Trent, prints of Susanna proliferated. Although the prints seem to contradict the decrees of the Council, I propose to demonstrate that these erotically charged prints actually advanced and visually articulated the religious and aesthetic mandates of the Counter-Reformers. Susanna's alluring qualities were accentuated in these depictions in order to instruct the audience in the dangers of visual seduction.

In the third chapter, "An Appeal to the Senses," I will consider the relationship between the apocryphal story and the senses of sight and touch. The biblical text is replete with references to these senses, and I will argue that the same attention to these modes of perception is apparent in Netherlandish prints of the theme. To substantiate my claim, I will compare prints of Susanna to allegorical prints of Sight and Touch from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I hope to demonstrate through this comparison that depictions of Susanna share numerous attributes with depictions of these allegorical figures. Like these depictions of the senses, prints of Susanna demonstrate the dangerous effects of the gratification of sensual desire. But in their appeal to the senses, depictions of Susanna offer a particularly potent and dynamic lesson to their audience. In this chapter, I will address the gender of the audience, and the different admonishments directed to the

male and female viewers.

The final chapter, "The Senses Engaged: the Role of the Beholder," will explore the relationship between the beholder and prints of Susanna. The biblical story itself and different pictorial devices employed in the prints suggest that the beholder is offered a number of distinct roles in relationship to the depicted drama. Although the prints offer an "opportunity for legitimized voyeurism" as Garrard claims,¹⁸ the prints can also be viewed from alternative perspectives. This chapter will consider the alternative viewing positions available to the beholder.

A catalogue of the prints of Susanna produced between 1500 and 1650 completes this study. It includes a checklist of catalogue information and reproductions of the majority of prints inventoried.

Several appendices appear at the end of this study. The first appendix includes a copy of Susanna's history as it appears in the New Revised Standard Edition of the Bible. The second appendix reproduces the text as it appears in the Latin Vulgate Bible.

¹⁸Garrard, "Artemisia and Susanna," p.149.

CHAPTER I
AN ICONOGRAPHIC SURVEY

In this chapter, I introduce the diversity of prints depicting Susanna produced in the Netherlands between 1500 and 1650. These prints provide the starting point of my study, in which I consider these works against their social, theological and artistic contexts. Before addressing these issues, I would like to offer some preliminary remarks on my research methodology.

Upon embarking on this project, I decided that only after a first-hand inspection of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Netherlandish prints portraying Susanna could I begin to place them within a broader historical and theoretical framework. Towards this end, I compiled a list of known prints of Susanna from standard catalogues such as Adam Bartsch's *Le Peintre Graveur* and F.W.H. Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700,¹ as well as catalogue raisonnés, auction

¹Bartsch's *Le Peintre Graveur* (Vienna: J.V. Degen, 1803-1821) and Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1949-) are both standard tools of print scholarship. Bartsch (1757-1821), the curator of the printroom at the Imperial Library (now the Albertina) in Vienna, aimed to document the history of etching and engraving, using the materials of the Vienna printroom as his source. (A comprehensive chronicle of his enterprise appears in The Illustrated Bartsch, volume 1 by Walter Koschatzky.) His twenty-one volume series describes in meticulous detail the compositions of numerous graphic works, making their identification possible for other curators and collectors. Unlike Hollstein, however, Bartsch was only concerned with prints that were produced by the hand of the artist from his own designs. Hollstein's series, intended to be more

catalogues, and other sources. With this list in hand, I traveled to various print collections, both in this country and in the Netherlands. A number of prints catalogued in the original volumes of Hollstein have eluded me, although I was able to locate the majority of previously identified prints. I await verification of the existence of those prints I could not find as the volumes of *The New Hollstein* are published. Through the knowledge of a number of curators and a few fortuitous turns, several images which had escaped my attention in the published sources and some previously uncatalogued prints of Susanna also turned up.²

In all, I identified over one hundred engravings, etchings, and woodcuts issued during this period in both the

comprehensive, also includes what are generally referred to as reproductive engravings and etchings, prints produced by professional engravers from the designs of other artists. Unfortunately, although Hollstein's series provides a wealth of basic catalogue information including media, dimensions, states, locations, and where possible an illustration, the early volumes of the series, compiled by Hollstein himself, are now understood to contain many inaccuracies. Both series have within recent years been subject to revisions that have resulted in new editions, *The Illustrated Bartsch* (edited by Walter Straus, New York: Abaris Books, 1978-) and *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts* (edited by Ger Luijten, Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet, 1993-).

²Ger Luijten, print curator of the Rijksprentenkabinet of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, provided many helpful suggestions for locating prints of the apocryphal story, as did Christiaan Schuckman, who also generously provided me with information from his recent research for the forthcoming volumes of the *New Hollstein*. Both Luijten and Schuckman, as well as many others from the staff of the Rijksprentenkabinet, continuously brought to my attention prints of Susanna and the Elders.

northern and southern provinces of the Netherlands. These prints appear in the catalogue which accompanies the text of this study. I will refer to these prints in the text by catalogue number (Cat.#). All other illustrations are referred to by figure number (Fig.#), and are reproduced after the catalogue illustrations. Where technical information pertaining to the prints, such as changes in states, publishers, etc. is relevant, it is described in either the text or footnotes, and noted in the catalogue.

My search for prints of Susanna was circumscribed in several ways. First, I chose to investigate the images produced in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries primarily due to historical boundaries. Lucas van Leyden created the first known print of Susanna in 1508, chronologically initiating the study. My terminus antequem is based upon the debates about images which circulated throughout northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the Netherlands, these debates began in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and continued through the mid-seventeenth century. The second chapter of this study details the texts relevant to these theological, moral, and consequently, artistic debates, as they are related to prints of Susanna's history.

Another parameter of my study involves a material attribute shared by the prints: all are single sheet impressions. This distinction refers to those printed

images that were intended to be issued in sheet form, rather than published within a book. Therefore, this criterion excludes Bible and book illustrations, although these categories also warrant careful scrutiny.³ My study does not exclude, however, prints that were issued as sheets and subsequently bound together within albums by or for individual collectors. Sets of single sheet prints were also issued so that, for instance, a series entitled Famous Women from the Old Testament might comprise single sheets of Delilah, Judith, and Ruth, amongst others.

Before commencing my discussion of these prints and their relationship to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historical and theological developments, it is necessary to familiarize the reader with the visual trends common to engravings, etchings, and woodcuts of Susanna and the Elders. Because it would take too much time and space to describe each print individually (each print is catalogued and most are illustrated at the end of this study), I have broken down the corpus of images into distinct compositional types which are described within different sections of this chapter. Within these types, I have isolated certain visual characteristics which will be pertinent to my treatment of the images in later chapters. Though the sections in this

³The parameters of this study have not allowed for a thorough investigation of Bible illustrations and illustrations from Prentenbijbels of Susanna, although I eventually hope to pursue further these materials.

chapter do not specifically correspond to the following chapters, I attempt in each section to describe those compositional characteristics and iconographic motifs that I will utilize to locate meaning within the images.

I. Seeing Susanna: Prints of Susanna Unaware of the Elders' Presence

In this section, I will examine those prints which portray Susanna as the object of the Elders' vision, unbeknownst to her. As mentioned above, Lucas van Leyden produced the first known single sheet engraving of Susanna and the Elders (Cat.58) in the Netherlands in 1508. Prior to the sixteenth century, the subject was represented frequently in a diversity of contexts and media including early Christian catacomb paintings and sarcophagi decorations, thirteenth-century illuminated manuscripts, late medieval stained glass programs, fifteenth-century painted panels and wedding chests, and even an engraved ninth-century crystal commissioned by King Lothar II.⁴ Impossible for Lucas to have anticipated in 1508, printed representations of Susanna burgeoned in the next 150 years

⁴See Kathryn Smith's "Inventing Marital Chastity: The Iconography of Susanna and the Elders in Early Christian Art," *Oxford Art Journal* 16 (1993): 3-24; Cristelle Baskin's "La Festa di Susanna: Virtue on Trial in Renaissance Sacred Drama and Painted Wedding Chests," *Art History* 14 (1991): 329-344; and Geneva Kornbluth's "The Susanna Crystal of Lothar II: Chastity, the Church and Royal Justice," *Gesta* 31 (1992): 25-39.

in the Low Countries with the biblical heroine appearing in illustrated Bibles, Prentenbijbels (Fig.3),⁵ etchings, engravings, and woodcuts. Lucas' portrayal of Susanna, however, remains unique in the iconographic development of the subject. Whereas the following century of printmakers focused on Susanna at her bath or at the scene of her judgement, Lucas portrayed the scheming Elders as they watch Susanna in her garden. Although the moment depicted by Lucas may be lacking in visible action, it is fraught with the action that vision begets.

The moment that Lucas depicts occurs early in the biblical text of Susanna's history. The Elders are introduced as two of the wise men of Babylon who come seeking counsel from Susanna's husband, Joachim. After the completion of Joachim's business each day, Susanna walks in the garden.

Every day the two Elders used to see her going in and walking about, and they began to lust for her. They suppressed their consciences and turned away their eyes from looking to Heaven or remembering their duty to administer justice. Both were overwhelmed with passion for her, but they did not tell each other of their distress, for they were ashamed to disclose their lustful desire to seduce her. Day after day they watched eagerly to see her (v.8-12).

⁵Prentenbijbels were a distinct category of Bibles in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. Unlike illustrated Bibles which contained the biblical text and, in some cases, a single illustration to accompany the story told in the text, the story in prentenbijbels was told primarily through illustrations. The illustrations were accompanied by brief inscriptions which were not necessarily biblical verse, but which narrated the story.

Lucas gives pictorial form to a moment several verses later when after admitting their shared lust for Susanna, the Elders conceive of a plot to seduce her. They are located in the foreground behind the cover of a tree and Susanna is seated on the bank of a stream in the background of the composition. The biblical text states that it was the sight of Susanna that inspired the Elders' desire for her, and Lucas portrays the effects of the Elders' sight. While one Elder looks directly at Susanna, the other turns to his companion and gestures towards her, also directing the sight of the viewer towards her. Meanwhile by tugging on his drapery, the former Elder redirects the attention of the viewer to his groin, signaling the effects of his sight.

In all other printed representations of Susanna at her bath from the sixteenth century, Susanna is positioned in the foreground of the composition. To my knowledge, the strategy of relegating her to the background is employed again only in a drawing from a private collection by Jan Swart (Fig.4), most likely from the 1520s or 1530s. In the drawing, the two Elders sit on a bench in an interior and observe, through a window, Susanna and her maids walking in the garden outside. The two Elders look and gesture towards Susanna, indicating that she is the object of their attention. The scene of Susanna and her maids in the garden is contained by a window which acts as a framing structure and creates the illusion of a picture within the picture.

Susanna as a figure within a picture frame within a picture accentuates her role as the object of vision.

Prints of Susanna in which she is unaware of the Elders' presence and their scrutinizing gaze at her bath are unusual in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the few other known examples, however, she is located in the foreground, as in the early seventeenth-century engravings by Crispin de Passe de Oude (Cat.78) and Claes van Breen after Jacob Matham (Cat.6), as well as one from several decades later by Pieter de Bailliue (Cat.1). Even though it is clear from Susanna's position that she is meant to be the primary object of attention within these three images -- the Elders in both the van Breen and the de Bailliue compositions conspicuously gesture towards her -- such action is not described in the biblical text. Since the act of vision is nearly impossible to represent pictorially, the gesturing is an emblem of its occurrence, a tangible indicator of the Elders' sight. The Elders' depicted sight and its role in the arousal of desire will be addressed in the final chapter.

The Elders' presence within visual representations of Susanna at her bath is imperative to the argument I will put forth in coming chapters. Significantly, in only one print from the period in question are the Elders absent from a depiction of that scene. This engraving, the first from Abraham de Bruyn's History of Susanna series from 1570

(Cat.7-13), is also unusual in a number of other ways. I believe that two features of the image confirm that the print was not, in fact, originally intended to depict Susanna. First, the biblical text relates that the Elders saw their opportunity to confront Susanna after she sent her maids away to retrieve oils and implements for her bath. Yet in this representation, the maids seem to have already returned from their errand, as one is carrying a vessel. The second and most striking incongruity involves the change in the details of the garden from this print to the second print in the series. The second print depicts Susanna's encounter with the Elders, and although the encounter would have occurred in the same location, the fountain, the architecture, and the garden foliage are different. These discrepancies suggest the possibility that de Bruyn originally intended to depict Bathsheba as she receives word of King David's interest in her in the first print. An almost imperceptible figure is evident on the roof of one of the buildings in the background, most likely meant to be David observing her from his rooftop. After completion of the composition, de Bruyn must have decided to include this print in his Susanna series. Since significant events in both figures' lives take place at their bath, such a change would not have entailed a great deal of work for the engraver. He would have had only to burnish off a few details, such as David's letter, and re-engrave the area

with a more appropriate attribute, such as a vessel of bathing oil, while most of the composition remained intact. The addition of a verse from Susanna's history would complete the transformation. That such changes were made to prints is evident from Jan van Londerseel's engraving after David Vinckboons, Susanna and the Elders in a Landscape (Cat.57). In the third state, the engraving was changed to Bathsheba in a Landscape (Fig.5).

II. More than Just Seeing Susanna: Susanna Confronted by the Elders at her Bath

In this section, I will examine the variety of representations of Susanna confronted by the Elders at her bath, the scene from the story most frequently depicted during the period under investigation. Although most prints of Susanna at her garden bath were issued as independent sheets, the dramatic scene of her confrontation with the Elders was always the first sheet in printed series of Susanna's history.⁶ These series were composed of sequential scenes from the narrative, usually including Susanna and the Elders at her bath, Susanna accused before the judges, Daniel's intervention at her trial, Daniel's examination of the Elders' testimony, the Elders stoned to death, and Susanna and her family praising God. Yet the

⁶Except in the case of Abraham de Bruyn's series. But as I discussed above, I don't think the first sheet of this series was originally intended to be a depiction of Susanna.

only episode from the narrative to be issued as an independent sheet (not as part of a series) in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was Susanna at her bath.

Prior to the middle of the century, prints of Susanna and the Elders at her bath demonstrate similar iconographic motifs. Like Lucas van Leyden's engraving and Jan Swart's drawing, Cornelis Matsys' engraving of Susanna confronted by the Elders of 1553/55 (Cat.60) continues the early Christian iconographic tradition (Fig.1) of portraying Susanna as a chaste female figure, almost fully dressed. The posture that Susanna assumes in Matsys' engraving in response to the Elders' suggestion of adultery reinforces the impression of her devout nature. She is posed as an orant pose, a figure in prayer with arms raised, an attitude of worship common to the Jews and early Christians.⁷ The orant has been interpreted as a sign of faith, and this reading is particularly appropriate to the Susanna narrative. It is Susanna's faith in divine justice that keeps her from acquiescing to the Elders' wishes. She states,

I am completely trapped. For if I do this, it will mean death for me; if I do not, I cannot escape your hands. I choose not to do it; I will fall into your hands, rather than sin in the sight of the Lord (v.22-23).

⁷Orant figures were common in early Christian catacomb and sarcophagi decoration, and Old Testament figures within scenes of the divine salvation of the faithful were also frequently depicted in the orant position. See K. Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity," pp.3-24.

Susanna's depiction as an orant, or symbol of faith, is more explicit in Philips Galle's engraving of Susanna after Maarten van Heemskerck (Cat.37) from the series Exemplary Women from the Bible. In this print, she stands in the foreground with arms raised and eyes lifted to heaven. Her attitude of prayer is precipitated by the scene of her confrontation with the Elders which takes place in the middleground of the image.

After the middle of the sixteenth century, representations of Susanna and the Elders changed significantly from the type depicted by Lucas and Matsys. Thereafter, the majority of prints of the scene is set within elaborately decorated gardens, with Susanna seated at the edge of a fountain. She is almost always nude, although sometimes a cloak is draped across her thighs, and with even less frequency, over her breasts. The Elders are most commonly portrayed in the midst of their proposition, sometimes grasping at Susanna, but more frequently gesturing towards the garden gate in accordance with the biblical text.

They said, "Look the garden doors are shut, and no one can see us. We are burning with desire for you; so give your consent, and lie with us" (v.20).

Susanna's reaction to their plea varies widely, from complacently listening to emphatically struggling to escape them. In some prints, Susanna's cry for help is portrayed and in others, the Elders' vociferous accusation is

represented. Sometimes the maids are visible, either leaving the garden on their errand or running back to the garden upon hearing Susanna's shouts. Familiarity with these compositional trends and the iconographic motifs related to them will be pertinent in later chapters when the interpretive possibilities of the apocryphal tale are discussed.

The Chaste Susanna

Pieter van der Heyden's engraving of 1556 (Cat.52) and Raphael Sadeler's engraving after Frans Pourbus of 1582 (Cat.83) display many of the motifs described in the previous paragraph. Unlike the chaste depictions of Susanna by Lucas and Matsys, the female figures within these prints are completely nude. The arrangement of Susanna's hair also diverges from earlier representations. Lucas' Susanna strictly adheres to the Mosaic code that demands that the hair of married women be bound up and their heads covered. This mandate is rarely followed in Netherlandish prints, and even though Matsys portrays Susanna with her hair neatly bound, it remains uncovered. Strikingly, however, in the prints by Sadeler and van der Heyden, her hair is not only uncovered, but it flows down her back. This disorderly arrangement of her hair emphasizes the physicality of Susanna's altercation with the Elders. Pieter van der

Heyden's Susanna is attempting to stand and push one of the Elders away, which could have caused the disarray of her hair. Untamed hair also has other connotations, however. Because medieval law courts demanded that a woman show her disheveled hair in order to make an accusation of rape, medieval artists and their successors utilized the depiction of mussed, unruly hair to insinuate the sexual assault.⁸ Jan Saenredam's engraving (Cat.85) vividly demonstrates the iconographic motif in his depiction of Susanna and the Elders. Susanna's hair falls in frenetic locks around her head and body, as if in violent motion.

Based on the biblical injunctions of the twenty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, medieval courts also stressed the necessity for women to cry out during an episode of sexual assault.⁹ Although Susanna "cried out with a loud voice (v.24)," she was rarely depicted doing so in Netherlandish prints. Of the 102 engravings, etchings, and woodcuts of Susanna at her bath that I have catalogued, only four depict her calling for help. These include an engraving by Antonie Wierix (Cat.102) and etchings by Peter van der Borcht (Cat.4), Nicolas Helt-Stockade (Cat.51), and Johannes

⁸ Diane Wolfthal "A Hue and Cry: Medieval Rape Imagery and Its Transformation," Art Bulletin LXXV/1 (1993):44.

⁹Ibid., p.43.

van Vliet (Cat.97).¹⁰ Her distress is evident in all three images, and her cries make it obvious that she is not a willing participant to their scheme. In reaction to Susanna's cries in van der Borcht's print, numerous figures rush from the household toward the garden gate. Helt-Stockade's etching also illustrates another iconographic motif that indicates the sexual nature of the Elders' assault. One of the Elders grasps Susanna's wrist, a gesture symbolic of rape in medieval imagery.¹¹ The gesture is also evident in the sixteenth-century engraving by Hans Collaert (Cat.24).¹²

Diane Wolfthal, in her recent study of rape imagery in the Middle Ages, attempts to deconstruct the myth of the "heroic" rape by isolating the iconographic motifs of sexual assault. She argues that by the sixteenth century, representations of sexual assault changed significantly in Northern Europe. Whereas iconographic motifs that condemned the actions of rapists prevailed during the Middle Ages,

¹⁰Both the Helt-Stockade and the van Vliet date from the seventeenth century. The etchings are surprisingly similar. In both, Susanna is stretched diagonally across the pictorial space, her right arm thrown back over her head and her left arm clutching the drapery to her groin. Though Helt-Stockade claims to be the inventor of his own design, it seems likely that he saw the lost painting by Jan Lievens that van Vliet used as his model.

¹¹Wolfthal, "A Hue and a Cry: Medieval Rape Imagery," p.41.

¹²The drapery covering Susanna's breasts in this engraving is not part of the original composition, but drawn on with ink. It is most likely a seventeenth-century addition.

after 1500, images sympathetic to the assailant outnumbered those that were sympathetic to the plight of the victim.¹³ The iconographic trends in prints of Susanna's confrontation with the Elders produced after 1500 support Wolfthal's assertion, though depictions sympathetic to Susanna do occur sporadically throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Interestingly, two engravings by the same printmaker, Antonie Wierix, demonstrate the divergent tendencies in the representation of Susanna quite strikingly. One of the engravings (Cat.102) demonstrates the three signals of sexual assault identified by Wolfthal - the disheveled hair, grasped wrist, and crying out. Susanna is depicted struggling to free herself from the Elders' grasp, twisting away from them and attempting to remove a hand from her side. Her legs remain crossed at the calf as she resists the Elders' entreaties. Conversely, the Susanna of Wierix's other engraving (Cat.101) sits her legs spread apart, as an Elder touches her inner thigh. She offers little resistance to their advances and her hair remains neatly bound and covered. As she listens to their appeal, she remains composed, without any apparent intention of calling out to her maids for help, although they are not very far from the fountain. The insinuation that Susanna welcomes the Elders'

¹³Wolfthal, "A Hue and a Cry: Medieval Rape Imagery," p.57.

attention is made clear by one of the maids turning to observe Susanna's interaction with the old men. Instead of raising an alarm, she continues back to the house, as if the encounter were planned, or common to Susanna's bathing routine. Why Wierix produced such disparate images is impossible to determine, though the chaste representation was made after his own design and published by him, and the other engraving was made after a design by Maertin de Vos.¹⁴ These antithetical images produced by the same printmaker demonstrate how easily representations of Susanna and the Elders can convey divergent notions of the biblical heroine. The tension to portray Susanna in accord with her chaste, textual characterization as well as capitalize on the sensational aspects of the narrative is apparent in most visual representations of Susanna, and is essential to the

¹⁴De Vos is known to be responsible for the designs of two other engravings of Susanna at her bath in this study, one by Crispin de Passe (Cat.71) and the other by Jan Baptist Collaert (Cat.20). As in the print by Wierix, Susanna's only sign of resistance is her outstretched arm, though her legs remain crossed in both of these images. Maids also look on in both these prints. The Wierix and the Collaert were both published by Jan Baptist Vrints, though Crispin de Passe seems to have published his own engraving. De Vos is also responsible, however, for the design of four other representations of Susanna in this study, each of a somewhat different character. Within Theodore Galle's Ten Commandment series (Cat.45) and Crispin de Passe's allegorical representation of Prudentia (Cat.63), Susanna is chastely portrayed at the scene of her judgement. In Raphael Sadeler's series of worthy women (Cat.84), she is portrayed fully clothed holding a martyr's palm. In Jan Baptist Collaert's series of celebrated women (Cat.28), however, Susanna is depicted in a background scene engaged in conversation with the Elders, as if she is a willing participant in their scheme.

meaning I intend to assign to these prints in later chapters.

The Seductive Susanna

Contrary to the apocryphal account of her history, Susanna was often portrayed as a provocative female nude who solicited the attention of the Elders. In the following chapter, I will argue for the necessity of embellishing the biblical text, but in this section, it is only my intention to point out the strategies employed to accentuate Susanna's voluptuousness. Perhaps the most obvious strategy for suggesting Susanna's invitation of the Elders' attentions is her association with Venus at her bath. In engravings such as Jacques de Gheyn's after Karel van Mander (Cat.47) and Crispin van de Passe's (Cat.77), Susanna sits at the side of a fountain surrounded by the accoutrements of her bath: combs, sponges and a vessel of oil. These details are inconsistent with the biblical text which states that the Elders appeared before the maids returned from fetching Susanna's bathing supplies. Sometimes a mirror is also present, and jewels, carelessly removed for her bath, often litter the area around the fountain. These visual discrepancies and elaborations of the text allude to representations of Venus at her toilette, and evoke erotic associations of Susanna with the goddess of love. This is

made most obvious by a comparison of Jacob Matham's Susanna at her Bath of 1599 (Cat.59) and his Venus at her Bath (Fig.6). Both figures sit at the side of a fountain wearing ornate necklaces and bracelets. Their hair flows over their shoulders and the same comb and sponges are within reach for use in their beauty preparations. But most telling is the analogous role of the satyr, gazing upon Venus from behind a tree and overcome by sight of her preening, and the Elders who are equally overcome by the sight of Susanna. The satyr and the Elders are all enticed by the activities of a female figure engaged in her daily toilette, a sight not typically accessible to the male viewer. References to vanitas imagery in prints of Susanna at her bath make it clear that she is intended to be an alluring sight. I will elaborate on this notion in the third chapter on the senses.

A further inconsistency with the biblical text provided another means of suggesting Susanna's invitation of the Elders' advances. Although it is indicated in the biblical text, few prints of Susanna within her garden illustrate that it was an enclosed setting.¹⁵

She [Susanna] said to her maids, "Bring me olive oil and ointments, and shut the garden doors so that I can bathe." They did as she told them: they shut the doors

¹⁵Kahren Jones Hellerstedt states, "It should be noted that the closed garden gate mentioned three times in the biblical verse is seldom represented in renditions of the story...negating the story's insistence that Susanna had taken great care to insure her privacy." Gardens of Earthly Delight: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Gardens (Pittsburgh: Frick Art Museum, 1986), p.35.

of the garden and went out by the side doors...(v.17-18).

Within numerous representations, there is only a suggestion of a garden, without evidence of a surrounding wall, as demonstrated by Nicolas Geilkercken's engraving (Cat.46) and Cornelis Schut's etchings (Cats.88 and 89). Neglecting to represent Susanna within a secured area fails to demonstrate that by entering the garden the Elders were trespassing within a private domain. This not only justifies their presence, but suggests that Susanna lured them into her garden.

Another blatant incompatibility with the biblical text is also evident in Geilkercken's image, and goes further in suggesting Susanna's responsibility for the attentions of the Elders. The print emphasizes the Elders' accusation of Susanna's adulterous tendencies. Upon the Elders' approach, Susanna does not attempt to conceal herself with her cloak, as she frequently does. Rather, she rests her hand suggestively between her thighs. But most damaging of all to her chaste reputation is the presence of a running man just beyond the confrontation at the fountain. Geilkercken has visually attested to the Elders' account of Susanna's lasciviousness, and asserted the truth of their accusation. As they state in the biblical text,

"A young man, who was hiding there came to her and lay with her. We were in a corner of the garden, and when we saw this wickedness we ran to them. Although we saw them embracing, we could not hold the man because he was stronger than we, and he opened the doors and got

away (v.37-39)."

Nicolas de Bruyn also visually questions Susanna's chaste characterization, but does so by far subtler means. In the first engraving of his series the History of Susanna (Cats.15-18), de Bruyn depicts the Elders making their entreaty to a figure, who rather than covering herself, spreads open her legs. But most indicative of de Bruyn's distrust of Susanna's innocence, is the existence of two different kinds of trees growing near her fountain. Daniel proves the Elders' false testimony by separating them and asking the type of tree under which Susanna enjoyed her adulterous tryst, a question they answer by naming two different types of trees. De Bruyn's engraving confirms the truth of their testimony. The two different trees are also present in the courtyard where the Elders were stoned to death, a subtle reminder of their unjust conviction and punishment (Cat.18).

Why did Netherlandish printmakers go to such great lengths to manipulate visual representations of the story of Susanna and the Elders when there were so many other historical female figures whose histories support provocative characterizations? The imputation of such immodest qualities to the biblical heroine can be blamed, in part, on the suitability of the narrative and its setting for such exploitation. A historically more specific explanation for the manipulation will be explored in the

following chapter.

The Garden

Most depictions of Susanna and the Elders are situated within a garden, an environment appropriate to the biblical text as well as to the ambivalent visual characterizations of the interaction between Susanna and her suitors. Within the Judeo-Christian tradition, the garden is at once a site of paradise and of temptation, and indications of this paradox are often present within printed representations of Susanna and the Elders. Gardens have been the site of humanity's most significant encounters with temptation and redemption and it is within such a dubious setting that Susanna is forced to choose her own fate. Although the biblical text states that Susanna resisted temptation and chose instead to insure her salvation, the mutable nature of the garden setting allowed Netherlandish printmakers to suggest both possibilities, the possibility that Susanna maintains her piety and the possibility that she acquiesces to the Elders' desires for the sake of her own pleasure.

Some Netherlandish artists took advantage of the biblical story simply in order to display their skills as designers and engravers of elaborately detailed gardens. The emphasis on the garden as opposed to the story of Susanna and the Elders is demonstrated by Jan van

Londerseel's engraving after David Vinckboons (Cat.57). The figures are nearly lost within the lavish decoration of the garden. As I mentioned previously, the figures were transformed in the third state to depict Bathsheba and her maids. The change in subject as well as the compositional obscurity of the figures suggests that the print was enjoyed more for its lush landscape than for its depiction of a narrative.

The garden as a site of paradise was common in Netherlandish prints -- as evidenced by the numerous portrayals of Adam and Eve before the Fall, The Golden Age, and similar themes -- but the paradisiacal garden most closely related to the garden described in the biblical story is the **hortus conclusus**. Depictions of the **hortus conclusus** typically portray the Virgin beside a fountain within an enclosed garden.¹⁶ This garden, symbolic of both Mary's fruitfulness, and her immunity from the temptations of the flesh and Satan, and is derived from the "Canticle of Canticles:"

My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up (Ch.4:12).

Susanna's characterization within the text makes the **hortus conclusus** an appropriate setting for her as well, as

¹⁶See Carol Purtle's Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); and Marilyn Stokstad's Gardens of the Middle Ages (Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, 1983) for complete descriptions and discussions of the hortus conclusus.

she aptly demonstrates her purity and immunity from the temptation offered by the Elders. Emile Mâle states that in the late Middle Ages, Old Testament themes were frequently presented in conjunction with New Testament subjects as prefigurations, and that representations of Susanna can be considered pictorial allusions to the life of the Virgin.¹⁷ The common absence of the enclosing wall in visual renditions of the tale suggests that the typological association of Susanna and the Virgin was played down by most Netherlandish artists, although comparisons can be made between the gardens in a number of engravings of Susanna and the Virgin's *hortus conclusus*. Both Claes van Breen (Cat.6) and Crispin de Passe (Cat.77) situate Susanna within a garden with a distinct enclosing wall where she sits beside a fountain with her hands clasped in prayer and her eyes raised toward heaven.

More common in prints of Susanna is the characterization of the garden as a site of temptation, especially the temptation to indulge in sensual pleasures. The pursuit of pleasure within elaborately conceived gardens also occurs frequently within Netherlandish prints. For example, the prodigal son is usually depicted feasting and philandering amidst garden statuary, fountains, pergolas and balustrades. These elements, which also appear in

¹⁷Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century (New York, 1958), pp.158-160.

depictions of Susanna, imply a garden of love. The topos of the Garden of Love is the profane inversion of the paradisiacal garden embodied in the **hortus conclusus**. Instead of being a symbol of immunity from the temptations of the flesh, the love garden is the site of lover's trysts and illicit assignations in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Netherlandish prints. Locating Susanna within an environment which typically denotes licentiousness enhances the atmosphere of temptation, thereby heightening the Elders', as well as the audience's, temptation to appease their lustful yearnings. The capacity of these images to tempt their audience is integral to the function that I will propose for them in the next chapter.

Garden Fountains and Statuary

The fountain is the single most important element in representations of the Garden of Love¹⁸, and the variety and nature of the fountains within depictions of Susanna's garden suggest a site in which the temptation to gratify desire is ever present. The fountains depicted in these prints are not the decorous **fons hortorum** of the Virgin's garden from which spring the waters of salvation, but fountains decorated with playful mythological figures and

¹⁸Paul F. Watson, The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art of the Early Renaissance (Philadelphia, 1979), p.70.

animals. Hellerstedt states that in the sixteenth century, Netherlandish gardens were modeled on their Italian counterparts¹⁹, and so the utilization of mythological figures known from antique sculpture is hardly surprising. She also asserts, however, that the gardens within which Netherlandish artists set religious scenes were ideal gardens, not actual sites, and that the ornaments, including the fountains and statuary, were usually invented by the artists themselves or copied from model books of gardens and garden decorations.²⁰

The fountains within Susanna's garden are typically decorated with putti, either alone or in conjunction with an animal or imaginary beasts. Putti are known to inspire amorous encounters, and in both Christian and mythological iconography, a putto surmounting an ornamental fountain implies a Garden of Love.²¹ Although the putti maintain a variety of postures, they are most frequently seated astride

¹⁹Kahren Jones Hellerstedt, Gardens of Earthly Delight, p.4.

²⁰The engraving of Susanna and the Elders (Cat.5) by Peter van der Borcht IV is from a series of prints of garden designs by Jan Vredeman de Vries and published as part of the Hortum Viridariorumque in 1583.

Terry Comito claims that descriptions of fountains in Renaissance poetry such as Francesco Colonna's late fifteenth-century romance Hypnerotomachia because of their explicitness, also provided models for artists and garden architects. "Bare Beauty: Speaking Waters and Fountains in Renaissance Literature," in Fons Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), p.21.

²¹Watson, The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art, pp.70-71.

a dolphin²², a well-known attribute of Venus, as in Crispin de Passe's (Cat.71) and Hans Collaert's engravings (Cat.20) and Christoffel Jegher's woodcut after a design by Rubens (Cat.54).²³ The putti in these three prints mimic the intensity of Susanna's response to the Elders. The putto in de Passe's engraving serenely pours water from a vessel into the pool, while Susanna calmly sits at the side of the pool listening to the Elders' entreatments. Collaert's putto exhibits a more dynamic posture. His arms are positioned above his head, just as Susanna's arms are raised to fend off the Elders. These sculptural figures seem to reflect Susanna's own measure of composure, giving them the appearance of being actors in their own right within the depicted drama. This impression is heightened by the medium of printmaking itself in which all of the compositional figures and elements appear in tones of black and white. Without color, it was possible for printmakers to minimize the distinction between the corporeal bodies of Susanna and the Elders and the sculpted bodies of the fountain figures. The depicted sculpture often appears as animate as Susanna

²²Julius Held claims that the motif of the putto upon a dolphin in representations of Susanna at her bath alludes to the Elders' "precipitate passion." The Oil Sketches of Rubens (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), i, p.321, fn.233.

²³A number of the fountains depicted in scenes of Susanna at her bath are composed only of a sculpted dolphin, water issuing from its mouth such as Crispin de Passe's engraving (Cat.78) and Cornelis Schut's etching (Cat.89).

is herself, and as engaged in the portrayed drama.

The illusion of sculptural vitality is most obvious in Christoffel Jegher's woodcut (Cat.54). Beside Susanna struggling to escape the Elders' grasp, there is a fountain composed of a putto clinging to the back of a dolphin. The dolphin appears to be in the midst of great movement, and the putto fights to maintain his mount. The sculptural figure is engaged in a struggle as dramatic as Susanna's, and seemingly as real. The garden statuary seems to function as more than just decoration in prints of Susanna and the Elders, and in the final chapter, I will discuss the significance of these seemingly animate sculptural figures as intercessors between the images and the audience.²⁴

Another popular fountain decoration in Netherlandish representations of Susanna at her bath is the **putto pissatore**, a small boy atop the fountain urinating into a pool or basin below. The **putto pissatore** was a common decorative motif in Italian Renaissance gardens, and a number of the fountain figures described in this study seem to be based on these models. For example, the putto of Crispin de Passe's fountain (Cat.77) is a variation of a fountain figure designed by Verrocchio, and Dirk van

²⁴Eric Jan Sluijter remarks upon the high incidence of dolphin fountains in images where desire is provoked by sight, including prints of Susanna, yet does not offer an explanation of this phenomenon. In "Venus, Visus en Pictura," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* 42-43, 1991-92, p.391, fn.170.

Hoogstraten's putto (Cat.53) seems to be based on the sculpted dwarf Morgante in the Boboli Garden.²⁵ Like the dolphin/putto motif, the urinating fountain figure is usually situated in the foreground of the composition. In Werner van den Valckert's etching (Cat.95)²⁶, the putto stands on a pedestal in the right foreground and the stream of water that flows into Susanna's pool cuts diagonally across the composition, prominently featuring the liquid issue of the sculptural figure. The emphasis placed on the spouting figure suggests that it exists as more than just a benign decoration. Meaning for the motif is suggested by its location within the paradoxical space of a garden. A fountain decorated with a putto taints the character of a garden, but the putto's performance actually pollutes this site of salvation just as the actions of the Elders pollute it. The figure functions to point out the Elders' transgression, both visually by disrupting the scene of confrontation with his emanation and metaphorically by

²⁵Further examples of the **putto pissatore** motif in Italian Renaissance sculpture can be found in Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein's Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture, (Oxford University Press), 1986 and Bertha Harris Wiles' The Fountains of Florentine Sculptures and their Followers, (Harvard University Press), 1933.

²⁶Valckert's etching was obviously a popular composition as it was copied by numerous printmakers. Jan Meysens published a copy of the etching in reverse by Gillis Peeters I. And Christoffel van Sichem copied the design as a woodcut illustration for the Bibels Tresoor Ofte der Zielen Lusthof, published by P.I. Paets in 1646. Sichem maintained Valckert's monogram on his copy whereas Peeters did not.

mimicking their contamination of a site of redemption.

Playing on the *pissatore* motif, Jan Saenredam's engraving (Cat.86) of Susanna at her bath features a putto straddling the back of a swan while cradling its neck in his hand. Water rushes from the beak of the bird, simulating the impression of a *putto pissatore*. The neck of the swan emerging from between the legs of the childlike figure can be construed as a sexual metaphor referring to the sexual nature of the Elders' desires. The blatancy of this phallic suggestion would be indecorous if directly connected with the Elders, but displaced upon a benign sculptural form, the extended neck of the swan only alludes to Elders' intentions without obviously illustrating their lust.²⁷

Female sculptural decorations also appear within prints of Susanna and the Elders, although with far less frequency than their male counterparts. Of the 102 prints catalogued in this study, only seven include female sculptural figures. One such figure issues water from her breasts, and, like the *pissatore* figure, colors the garden as a site of temptation and love. This motif is derived from the antique statue type of the Diana of Ephesus who represents Nature, source

²⁷Elizabeth McGrath claims that Paulus Pontius' engraving of Susanna and the Elders after Rubens (Cat.81) visually equates the Elders with the herms of the two satyrs behind them. The great libidinous appetites of satyrs are well known. See "Rubens's Susanna and the Elders and Moralizing Inscriptions on Prints," Wort Und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst and Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, edited by H. Vekeman and J. Muller-Hofstede (Erfststadt: Lukassen Verlag, 1984), p.84.

of all life. Just as nature provides the resources necessary for fertility and generation, Diana's spouting breasts issue life-giving nourishment. During the Renaissance, however, Diana was conflated with a number of other female figures, including Terra Mater, Ceres, and even Venus.²⁸ The only fountain figure within a representation of Susanna that can be securely identified as Diana (she wears the half-moon tiara) is by Dirck Volkertz. Coornhert (Cat.29), and the female figure does not issue water from her breasts, but pours it from a vessel into a pool. Diana's presence at the site of Susanna's bath is prophetic, and stands as a reminder of the fatal consequences of Acteon's sight of Diana at her bath. As a result of his spying, Diana turned Acteon into a stag and he was killed by his own hunting dogs. Although the Elders cannot benefit from the warning offered by the sculptural goddess, the audience is compelled to acknowledge the analogy.

Hellerstedt identifies these spouting fountain figures as the Venus lactans. She claims that although these fountains can symbolize abundance and fertility, they also designate their site as a garden of love and allude to the indulgence which takes place within such settings.²⁹ The

²⁸Claudia Lazzaro, "The Visual Language of Gender in Sixteenth-Century Garden Sculpture," in Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance, edited by Marilyn Migiel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp.78-82.

²⁹Hellerstedt, Gardens of Earthly Delight, p.39.

inscription below the emblem **Euterpae suboles** (Fig.7) by Peter Rollos which includes such a fountain reads, "Lutes, women, a garden fountain, Leave me not to expect melancholy,"³⁰ substantiating Hellerstedt's claim. **Venus lactans** fountains were also understood to be a source of love for couples who drank from them.³¹ Although Susanna is situated next to a **Venus lactans** fountain in Pieter van der Heyden's engraving (Cat.52), she resists the pleasures offered by the Elders. The fountain figure again demonstrates a high degree of vitality, and seems to exchange a reproachful glance with the sculpted figure to her right.

The fountain figures emitting water from their breasts in Crispin de Passe's (Cat.62) and Jan Saenredam's (Cat.87) engravings fix their gazes on Susanna. Both figures bear resemblance to sphinxes, combining human heads and breasts with winged animal bodies. Claudia Lazzaro claims that during the Renaissance the sphinx symbolized voluptuousness and cites Andreas Alciatus' 1555 emblem.³² The emblem (Fig.8) illustrates a creature similar to those depicted in the engravings and its inscription warns of the ignorance caused by indulging in frivolity, worldly pleasure and

³⁰"Lauten, Jungfrau, ein brunn im garten, Lassen mich kein Melancoley erwarten"

³¹Hellerstedt, Gardens of Earthly Delight, p.53.

³²Lazzaro, "The Visual Language of Gender in Sixteenth-Century Garden Sculpture," p.88.

pride.³³ The sphinx-like fountain figures remind Susanna to preserve her chastity and avoid indulging in worldly pleasures. The inscription below Saenredam's engraving, "Whose dowry of chastity is pure and whose mind is conscious of no fault, she remains inviolate,"³⁴ as well as the potted carnations³⁵ on the ledge behind her, also stand as reminders to Susanna to maintain her chastity.

Unlike the male sculptural decorations in the garden that comment on the Elders' actions, female garden figures address Susanna and her behavior.³⁶ The lactans figures in de Passe's (Cat.62) and Saenredam's (Cat.87) engravings admonish Susanna to protect her virtue. The similarity of the fountain figure in Pieter van der Heyden's engraving (Cat.52) suggests that this figure also stands as a reminder to Susanna to avoid adultery. The female caryatid figures in Anthonie Wierix's engraving (Cat.101) similarly seem to

³³Andreas Alciatus, Emblems, edited and translated by P.M. Daly (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), vol.I, #188.

³⁴Translated by Julie McGee in Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1991), p.314.

³⁵According to Hellerstedt, potted carnations were a well-known symbol of marital fidelity in Haarlem. They were pictured on the Haarlem Chamber of Rhetoric's crest with the motto Liefde Getrouw (Faithful in Love). Gardens of Earthly Delight, p.67.

³⁶The only print in which this is not the case is Coornhert's etching/engraving (Cat.29). The identification of the fountain figure as Diana suggests that the admonition she embodies is directed specifically to the Elders (or a male viewer.)

address Susanna's actions rather than the Elders'. They look with disdain towards the encounter at the fountain. As I discussed in a previous section, Susanna solicits the libidinous attention of the Elders in this print. She sits with her legs open and allows one of the Elders to touch her thigh. Her maids observe the interaction and continue to walk away from the garden. The caryatids' derisive gaze seems to chastise Susanna for her role in the seduction of the Elders. A female fountain figure is also present in the background scene of Hans Collaert's engraving of Susanna (Cat.28) from a series of celebrated women. As in Wierix's engraving, Susanna is depicted as a seductress. In this print, she is engaged in conversation with the Elders, as if negotiating their entreaty. The correspondence of male sculptural figures addressing the Elders and female sculptural figures addressing Susanna will be considered in other chapters, especially as a means to identify the intended audience of these prints.

Throughout this section I have noted the vitality of the sculptural figures that embellish the garden, and have suggested that they serve as more than just decoration. The exchange of glances and gestures between the seemingly animated statuary and the figures in representations of Susanna and the Elders occurs frequently. Though I have only discussed instances of the sculptural forms addressing Susanna or the Elders, there are also examples of Susanna

addressing the fountain decorations (Cats.39 and 77). In the following chapters I will examine the relevance of these interactions, especially in cases where the garden statuary seems to function as an audience for the confrontation between Susanna and the Elders, and in cases (for example, Cats.78 and 83) in which the sculptural figures directly address the viewer by meeting his gaze.

Pergolas in the Garden

In addition to ornately decorated fountains, pergolas are also prominently featured in depictions of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Netherlandish gardens, including representations of Susanna at her bath. Like fountains featuring putti and lactans figures, pergolas also mark the garden as a site of pleasure and temptation. An engraving from Crispin de Passe's series Hortus Voluptatum (Fig.9) reveals, however, the special nature of the pergola in the garden. As other couples frolic amidst the fountain and other elements of the typical pleasure garden, a man and woman stroll into the pergola. Once entered, the couple will be out of sight of the others at the outdoor fête, as well as out of sight of the viewer. Away from the scrutiny of an audience, their actions can only be imagined, and are imagined of course to be lascivious. Hellerstedt claims that viewers are seldom permitted to witness what transpires

beneath a pergola and the few scenes in Netherlandish art which are depicted beneath their cover are typically scenes of sinful debauchery.³⁷

Pergolas within the garden function to impede sight. The suggestion that the pergola provides a suitably shrouded site for a tryst between Susanna and the Elders is ever present, and is made blatantly apparent in Raphael Sadeler's engraving after Frans Pourbus (Cat.83). Typically in prints of the garden confrontation, the Elders gesture towards the garden gate pointing out the closed door as they proposition Susanna. But in this image, one Elder distinctly points to the pergola behind him. The threshold to the foliated trellis stands unobscured by the figures or any other garden decoration, inviting admission to this site of pleasure. Within the sheltered garden structure, the temptations of the *hortus voluptatum* can be indulged unobserved. Evidence of passage into the pergola as a breach of Susanna's marital fidelity is offered by Jan van Londerseel's engraving (Cat.57). Standing at the entrance of the garden structure is a dog, a well known Netherlandish symbol of fidelity. He stands there apparently to safeguard Susanna's chastity. Though small in stature, he denies entrance to this coveted space. The biblical text indicates that God's sight of the

³⁷Hellerstedt cites an engraving by Crispin de Passe after Martin de Vos (H.31) which shows couples indulging a variety of carnal appetites under a pergola and a drawing by de Vos of the Prodigal Son dissipating his inheritance under the cover of a trellis. Gardens of Earthly Delight, p.33.

encounter at the fountain insures Susanna's salvation. Inviting Susanna into an unseeable space demonstrates the desire to obstruct the sight of a witness, whether it be a divine witness or the viewer of the image. It is through sight that Susanna both comes to her predicament and is also rescued from it. I will return to this notion in the final chapter.

III. Scenes of Justice with Susanna and the Elders

The scene of Susanna's trial far exceeded the popularity of the bathing episode in paintings produced prior to the sixteenth century, as well as contemporary Bible illustrations. Gina Strumwasser argues that in Netherlandish painting, depictions of the nude Susanna at her bath gained popularity over scenes of the biblical heroine wrongly accused at the beginning of the century. She contends that the disregard for the moral aspects of the story in favor of its sensual aspects reflects the transition from religious imagery to genre imagery at the turn of the century.³⁸ Diane Wolfthal also recognizes a change in the depiction of women at the end of the fifteenth century, and confirms Strumwasser's argument in her

³⁸Gina Strumwasser, Heroes, Heroines and Heroic Tales from the Old Testament: An Iconographic Analysis of the Most Frequently Represented Old Testament Subjects in Netherlandish Painting, 1430-1570 (University of California at Los Angeles, Ph.D., 1979), p.123.

contention that even historically chaste female figures were portrayed as seductresses beginning in the sixteenth century.³⁹ Yet this was not the case in all media. In sixteenth-century illustrated Bibles, Susanna was depicted before the judges far more frequently than at her bath. Bart Rosier states that of the approximately eighteen Bibles produced in the Netherlands or in the Dutch language between 1522 and 1599, only one portrays Susanna bathing while the others all portray her at her trial.⁴⁰

In single sheet Netherlandish prints, however, attention is given to the justice scene only within series of prints, most frequently within series of Susanna's history. In the second print of Hans Collaert's series of Susanna's history after de Vos (Cat.21), Susanna stands before the judges, her face uncovered in accordance with the biblical text.

Now Susanna was a woman of great refinement and beautiful in appearance. As she was veiled, the scoundrels ordered her to be unveiled, so that they might feast their eyes on her beauty (v.31-32).

Susanna also stands before the judges in Jan and/or Lucas Doetechum's engraving of Susanna's history which focuses

³⁹Diane Wolfthal, "A Hue and Cry: Medieval Rape Imagery and its Transformation," p.60.

⁴⁰Bart Rosier, De Nederlandse bijbelillustratie in de zestiende eeuw: de illustraties in de bijbels gedrukt in de Nederlandse en de Nederlandstalige bijbels gedrukt in het buitenland van 1522 tot 1599 (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, Ph.D., 1992). My thanks to Ilja Veldman for allowing me to read a manuscript copy of this dissertation before its publication.

primarily on the scene of justice. Although the Doetechum's engraving is a single print (printed on four sheets of paper), the image depicts four episodes from the narrative, presented sequentially from left to right (Cat.33). To the sides of the architectural structure which houses the trial, scenes of Susanna's bath, Daniel's questioning of the Elders and the Elders' punishment are portrayed in the middle and backgrounds in reduced scale. The prominence of the scene of justice within this sequence of events makes it unique within the corpus of representations of Susanna and the Elders.

Susanna before the judges not only appears within series of her history, but also within print series of the Ten Commandments as an illustration of the mandate, "Thou shall not bear false witness," which, depending on the source, is considered either the Eighth or Ninth Commandment. This employment of the biblical narrative is not unprecedented. Susanna's trial appeared as an illustration of the Eighth Commandment in Luther's Catechisms of 1529 (Fig.10), executed in woodcut by Lucas Cranach.

Herman Muller's engraving after Maartin van Heemskerck (Cat.61)⁴¹ of the same Commandment shows the Elders in the

⁴¹This engraving is very similar to Philips Galle's engraving of **Susanna Before the Judges** after Heemskerck (Cat.40). The engravings do not seem to be after the same drawing though, as the Galle engraving is dated 1563 and the drawing for the Muller engraving is dated 1566.

act of bearing false witness, one on each side of Susanna.

Then the two Elders stood up before the people and laid their hands on her head (v.34).

This biblical gesture of accusation is common to scenes of Susanna before the judges, though the Elders don't always touch her head. In both prints, Susanna stands with her head bowed because a woman's failure to lower her eyes was considered an indicator of dissolute behavior.⁴² Theodore Galle's engraving after a design by de Vos (Cat.45) of the Commandment depicts the ensuing episode in the narrative in which Daniel accuses the Elders of lodging false charges against Susanna. The young Daniel sits in the judge's chair pointing with two fingers at the Elders, a gesture recognized in late medieval illustrations as evidence that testimony is being given.⁴³ The stoning of the Elders is apparent in the right background, prefiguring the outcome of the trial.

Willem van Swanenburg portrayed Daniel's moment of inspiration to intervene on Susanna's behalf in his engraving after Joachim Wtewael's design for the series **Thronus Justitiae** (Cat.92), a set of prints representing cases of exemplary jurisprudence. Each print in the series illustrates a different aspect of judicial procedure skillfully displayed. Such subjects traditionally decorated

⁴²Wolfthal, "A Hue and a Cry: Medieval Rape Imagery," p.62.

⁴³Ibid., p.44.

the walls of courtrooms and town halls, as reminders for judges to act ethically and with discernment. Though prints were not really suitable for such large scale decorative programs, they still probably functioned in a didactic capacity. While wall paintings were fitting for formal public spaces where the tenets of law were enacted, prints were better suited to the private contemplation of practitioners of jurisprudence. The example of Daniel's interruption of Susanna's trial served as a reminder to judges to make careful inquiry into a case before convicting the accused.⁴⁴ This sentiment is expressed in the biblical text when Daniel states,

Are you such fools, O Israelites, as to condemn a daughter of Israel without examination and without learning the facts (v.48)?

Evidence of the accuracy of Daniel's premonition of Susanna's innocence is apparent in the background of the image where the Elders can be seen touching Susanna and pointing toward the pergola at the back of her garden.

⁴⁴Sidsel Helliesen provides a sketch of the history of scenes of justice and carefully elucidates the iconography of the prints in this series in his article, "Thronus Justitiae: A Series of Pictures of Justice by Joachim Wtewael," in Oud Holland 91 (1977):232-266.

IV. Iconic Images of Susanna within Series of Celebrated Women

During the sixteenth century, a number of series of prints commemorating virtuous women was issued in the Netherlands.⁴⁵ Two such series were limited to female figures from the Bible who were deemed outstanding examples of wisdom, loyalty, bravery and other deserving qualities. The two series, Philips Galle's after Maarten van Heemskerck, **Exemplary Women from the Bible** (Cat.37) and Hans Collaert's after Maerten de Vos, **Celebrated Women from the Old Testament** (Cat.28) also demonstrate compositional and iconographic similarities. An iconic representation of each heroine dominates the composition, with an episode from her biblical narrative, typically her virtuous act, portrayed in the background. The lauded female figures maintain heroic stances in the foreground as they display symbols of their

⁴⁵Sets of prints of female figures which denounced their pernicious nature were also popular during the sixteenth century. Called "Power of Women" series, these prints documented the diabolic ways of certain mythological, biblical, and historical women. Ironically, the same figures that are included in series of celebrated women are also sometimes incorporated in series of wicked women. For instance, depictions of Judith holding the head of Holofernes typically appear in both types of series. To my knowledge, Susanna has never been included in a "Power of Women" series. In the second decade of the sixteenth century, Lucas van Leyden produced two sets of "Power of Women" woodcuts, introducing the theme as a subject of representation in the Netherlands. For further explication of this theme, see Susan Smith's forthcoming book "The Power of Women:" a Topos in Medieval Art and Literature (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.)

celebrated exploits. For instance, Ruth holds a bundle of wheat and Esther carries a scepter and a book, while in the background Ruth gleans in the fields of Boaz and Esther kneels at the feet of Ahasueres. This creates an interesting problem for iconic representations of Susanna who, unlike Judith with her head of Holofernes or Jael with her tent peg, has no material identifying attribute. Susanna's virtuous act is the maintenance of her chastity. Although this scene is depicted in the background of Galle's and Collaert's engravings, it does not provide a tangible attribute for the foreground figure to bear. What sets Susanna apart from her biblical associates is the display of her nude body. In both series, Susanna stands with her torso and breasts exposed and a cloak draped precariously across her groin, even exposing her pubic hair in Collaert's engraving. Not even Mary Magdalene, the repentant sinner sometimes draped only in her hair, is depicted nude in the Heemskerk series.⁴⁶ Susanna's nudity is the source of her

⁴⁶While Susanna is not visually linked to Mary Magdalene in either of the biblical series, she is coupled with the Penitent Magdalene in a pair of oval engravings by Hendrick Goltzius (Cat.49). Although they are of similar size and format, it is not clear whether Goltzius intended the prints to be issued as a set. In the first state, both prints are inscribed with Goltzius' address, but the Mary Magdalene engraving is dated 1582 and the Susanna is dated 1583. In their second states, however, Susanna is inscribed with the number 1 and Mary Magdalene with a 2, and both bear the address of Claes Jansz. Visscher, suggesting that it was this later publisher that designated them a pendant pair. Compositionally, if not conceptually, they are suited to the coupling. Both figures are depicted in half-length, in an attitude of prayer, with Susanna facing right and Mary

power and her body is the site and attribute of her virtuous act.

Susanna's nudity is also emphasized in Crispin de Passe's series of 1602, *Nine Female Worthies* (Cat.62). By including Susanna within the cast of worthies, de Passe deviates from the conventional grouping of female figures established by Hans Burgkmair in his 1519 woodcut. More commonly, series of prints depicting female worthies would include three pagans: Lucretia, Veturia, and Virginia; three Jews: Esther, Judith, and Jael; and three Christians: Saints Helen, Bridget, and Elizabeth. These series celebrated female figures who were to be commemorated for their exemplary and heroic deeds. De Passe preserves the configuration of pagans and Christians in his series, but changes the three worthy Old Testament figures to Jephtha's daughter, Susanna, and Judith.⁴⁷ By doing so, he maintains the pattern of good daughter, good wife, and good widow

Magdalene facing left. Conventionally, the Penitent Magdalene is depicted naked, with her hair flowing over her shoulders, a posture Susanna also frequently assumes, as she does in Goltzius' representation. Pairing Susanna with a repentant sinner, however, suggests that her beseeching posture is a petition for forgiveness rather than an entreaty for help.

⁴⁷Ilja Veldman discusses the derivation of de Passe's series from Burgkmair's and the reconfiguration of the pagan women in her essay, "Vroom und ongeschonden" in Deugd en Ondeugh, *Jaarboek for Vrouwen Geschiedines* 13, Amsterdam: Stichting beheer IISG, 1993.

established by the three pagans,⁴⁸ thus linking Susanna to the good pagan wife Lucretia. Lucretia's narrative parallels Susanna's in that she was also the recipient of the unwanted attention of a suitor. Unlike Susanna, however, Lucretia was unable to resist her attacker and was raped, precipitating her suicide. Lucretia is the only other figure represented in a state of undress because her body is also the site of her virtue. Although Lucretia succumbed to Tarquin, she maintained her chastity and, like Susanna, the visual assertion of her uncompromised virtue is her nudity.⁴⁹

Representing Susanna fully clothed was unusual in the Netherlands after the mid-sixteenth century and typically occurs only in scenes of her judgement. Of the iconic depictions of Susanna within series, only Raphael Sadeler portrayed her as a modestly dressed female figure in his Three Chaste Women series of 1590 (Cat.84), which also

⁴⁸This is supported by the inscriptions on the prints which emphasize those roles. The text below Susanna reads, "I, the faithful one, who almost suffered death to preserve my chastity, am the example of the beautiful and chaste wife." (Translated by I. Veldman in "Lessons for Ladies," Simiolus 16 (1986):125.)

⁴⁹Crispin de Passe likens Susanna's (Cat.78) and Lucretia's chastity in another set of engravings, comprising these two figures and Cleopatra. Each image is inscribed with a phrase ranking the degree of the figure's virtue in descending order. Susanna's dedication reads, "pietas et castitas" (dutiful and chaste), Lucretia's reads, "non pietas sed castitas" (not dutiful but chaste), and Cleopatra's condemnation reads, "nec pietas nec castitas" (neither dutiful nor chaste).

includes Sophronia and Lucretia. Ranked by degree of virtue, Susanna is deemed most chaste while Lucretia is deemed least chaste. (Lucretia is penalized in this series for not committing suicide prior to her rape like Sophronia, who killed herself before her assailant had the opportunity to violate her.) In conjunction with her characterization, Lucretia is the only figure portrayed in a state of undress. Susanna, however, sits in the foreground holding a martyr's palm. Depicted behind her is a garden with a fountain decorated with a female figure and a dolphin. The fountain figure, probably Venus, is depicted fully nude, as is usually the case with the figure of Susanna. Neither Susanna at her bath nor the scheming Elders are apparent within the background of the image which is very unusual in representations of the theme. Evidence of Susanna's virtue is provided by arbitrarily chosen attributes -- the martyr's palm and a book, a conventional symbol of wisdom -- cast on the ground by her seat. And more subtly, by the nudity of the female fountain figure, thus presenting the audience with a reminder of Susanna's most significant attribute, her nude body.

In her article "Lessons for Ladies,"⁵⁰ Ilja Veldman posits a female audience for a selection of sixteenth-century Netherlandish prints of notable female figures,

⁵⁰Ilja Veldman, "Lessons for Ladies: A Selection of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prints," *Simiolus*, 16 (1986):113-127.

including Susanna. She argues that these prints provided their audience with examples of virtuous and sinful behaviors, and functioned analogously to sixteenth-century conduct books for women. Her selection of prints includes depictions of Susanna from series of celebrated women. While I would argue that these prints embody more than one lesson, I agree with Veldman's assessment that they are in part specifically directed at a female audience. As Veldman points out, the inscriptions praise commendable female qualities, such as faithfulness to one's husband.

Other pictorial strategies also suggest that these prints address a female viewer. As I mentioned above, female sculptural figures within the garden seem to comment on Susanna's behavior rather than the Elders'. Three of the four catalogued prints of Susanna from series of celebrated women (Cats.28,37,62,84) portray female garden decorations. For example, the sphinx-like lactans figure in de Passe's engraving (Cat.62) from the *Nine Female Worthies* series emblematically cautions Susanna to avoid voluptuousness. By referring to the female figure's behavior, these prints are specifically directed to a female audience. Another feature found in all four of these prints is the placement of the solitary figure of Susanna in the foreground. The Elders are relegated to smaller scale depictions in the background. The pictorial prominence of the female figure suggests that she is readily available for a female viewer's

identification.⁵¹

V. Susanna Presented in Half-Length

As in Sadeler's engraving (Cat.84) discussed in the previous section, the narrative elements conventionally present in representations of Susanna and the Elders are also missing from Crispin de Passe's engraving after Gortzius Geldorp (Cat.64) in which the three figures are depicted in less than half-length within a nondescript space. The Elders stand on either side of a fully dressed Susanna, one touching her breast in a gesture reminiscent of a scene of sexual proposition or that of ill-matched lovers. Geldorp's 1605 painting seems to be of the same genre as Quentin Matsys' Ill-Matched Lovers of 1520 and Dirck van Baburen's The Procuress of 1622. In paintings of this genre, the female figures typically seem to enjoy the blandishments of the male figures; in contrast, Susanna's countenance in de Passe's engraving suggests indifference. De Passe's student, Nicolas de Bruyn, in imitation of his teacher, produced a similar half-length composition of Susanna and the Elders (Cat.14). This engraving depicts Susanna within a plain fountain, fed only by a spigot, modestly covering her breasts. She also remains motionless

⁵¹This does not preclude a male viewer's identification with Susanna as a chaste spouse.

in response to the Elders' visual and tactile encroachments on her body, an attitude I will explore in the last chapter.

This overview of the iconographic motifs employed by Netherlandish printmakers in their depictions of Susanna and the Elders reveals the recurrence of numerous themes within the images. The prints are replete with both overt and oblique references to the senses sight and touch. In the third chapter, I will examine how references to these senses are embodied in prints of Susanna. This survey also suggests that various strategies were utilized to engage the audience of these images in the depicted drama by appealing to the senses. In the last chapter, I will discuss the role the beholder plays within that drama, proposing both participatory and judicial functions for the viewer. Familiarity with the characteristic compositional formats and the iconography of the biblical story will facilitate my discussion of these themes.

CHAPTER II
THE DANGER OF VISUAL SEDUCTION

You shall not make for yourself an idol,
whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above,
or that is on the earth below.

And you shall not bow down to them or worship them.
For I the Lord your God am a jealous God,
punishing children for the iniquity of parents.
-Exodus (Chap.20, v.4-5)

The danger of sight became a much contested subject in northern Europe in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In this chapter, I discuss a sampling of texts generated by theologians, moralists, and poets that manifest the controversy about the harmful effects of looking at images. The debate was initiated in the first quarter of the sixteenth century by agitators for religious reform. Through texts and sermons, Reformers such as Andreas Karlstadt, Huldreich Zwingli, and Jean Calvin denounced the legitimacy of religious imagery in an effort to curb allegedly idolatrous practices. As I demonstrate in this chapter, the dispute evolved into an argument over the potentially hazardous consequences of viewing immodest images, especially images of nude figures. Although the focus of the conflict changed over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the basic argument that seeing certain images inspired undesirable results remained the same. Paradoxically, it was in the wake of the profusion of texts in the Netherlands condemning

lascivious imagery that the production of printed images of Susanna and the Elders, images which clearly had erotic overtones aimed at arousing desire, flourished.

Why was it that in this era of vehement opposition to erotic images so many prints of Susanna and the Elders were produced? Though it is tempting to argue that the proliferation of prints of the biblical story fulfilled a public desire for lascivious images, I argue otherwise -- that prints of Susanna and the Elders actually functioned as admonitions against indulging in erotic images. I demonstrate that by the end of the sixteenth century, these images were co-opted into the debates on the danger of seeing and function as visual counterparts to the texts of the Counter-Reformers.

This chapter situates the prints within the context of the dispute over the effects of seeing provocative imagery. Because my argument focuses on the stimulation of libidinous desires in response to seeing depictions of nude female figures, I assume a male audience throughout. Much of the textual evidence I discuss supports this assumption. Although prints of Susanna and the Elders embody admonitions to both sexes, the fundamental warning delivered by these images is directed to a male viewer. In the third chapter, I will address how certain prints of Susanna specifically address a female viewer.

I. The Historical Background and Texts

Fear of Idolatry in the Sixteenth Century: Andreas Karlstadt, Huldreich Zwingli, Jean Calvin

Based on the biblical injunctions of Exodus cited above, religious Reformers of the sixteenth century appealed to the Christian public to amend their forms of worship, singling out their dependence on religious imagery as a primary offense.¹ In an era when Martin Luther was stressing the primacy of Scripture and the word,² the visuality of religious ritual was resoundingly criticized. Reformers such as Luther, Karlstadt, and Zwingli argued

¹In The War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Carlos Eire gives the most comprehensive overview to date on the ideologies of the various reformers and their positions on the matter of images. In doing so, he chronicles the effects of the debate on images throughout the cities of northern Europe, giving detailed accounts of the events leading up to either the organized dismantling of art from the churches or the rampant bouts of iconoclasm that were also a result of the reformers' texts and sermons.

Carl Christensen, in his Art and the Reformation in Germany (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1979), gives a more detailed account of the effects of the Reformation on religious art in Germany, both in terms of its destruction and its production in the wake of reformed teachings.

²Though Martin Luther did emphasize the importance of Scripture over visual imagery, he condemned the unsanctioned actions of the iconoclasts. His position on images is most clearly articulated in his essay, "On the Heavenly Prophets (1525)," which defends the instructional value of certain religious imagery, especially narrative images. He relies on Pope Gregory's justification of images as the Bible of the uneducated. Because Luther does not express as pronounced an apprehension of the danger of seeing images as many of his contemporaries, his writings on sacred images are not examined in this study.

against practices such as pilgrimages to sacred sites, veneration of the Virgin and the saints and belief in their powers of intercession, the production of costly and lavish altar paintings and sculpture, as well as numerous other liturgical and sacramental systems established throughout the Middle Ages. But most important for the current study, they criticized the production and display of objects that inspired idolatry. Idolatry was defined as devotion mistakenly directed towards images and objects representing holy figures rather than towards God himself. Karlstadt and Zwingli argued that as an improper form of worship, idolatry threatened the well-being of society and could bring the wrath of God upon the people. They cited the Second Commandment which forbids bowing down to idols and described the harmful consequences for those who did worship idols. In order to protect the Christian public from divine retribution, these Reformers demanded that idols be removed from the churches. I will argue in this chapter that, more to the point, the Reformers cited above were demanding that the potentially dangerous objects be removed from the sight of the devout. In fact, it was the act of seeing that they sought to control.³ Ultimately their desire to control

³Lee Palmer Wandel makes a similar claim in his article "The Reform of Images: New Visualizations of the Christian Community at Zurich," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 80 (1989). In his Marxist assessment of the events of the reformation of Zurich, he states, "In the 1520s, reformers and iconoclasts sought to assert greater control over what the eye saw(p.108)."

what was seen by the Christian public not only provoked the widespread destruction of religious art in northern Europe, but spawned other prohibitions about looking as well as a textual debate on the harmful effects of sight.

The publication of Andreas Karlstadt's (c.1480-1541) Von Abtuhung der Bilder (On the Abolition of Images) in Wittenberg in 1522 launched the first significant bouts of iconoclasm in the sixteenth century. Although Karlstadt was not the earliest Reformer to broach the subject of the dangers of idolatry, his treatise was a call to iconoclasm as a means to remedy the problem. He declares,

- i. That we may have images in churches and houses of God is wrong and contrary to the first commandment. Thou shalt not have other gods.
- ii. That to have carved and painted idols set up on the altars is even more injurious and diabolical.
- iii. Therefore it is good, necessary, praiseworthy and pious that we remove them and give Scripture its due and in so doing accept its judgement.⁴

In this passage, Karlstadt argues that instead of acting as reminders of spiritual figures, images themselves were regarded as divine. As evidence of the misuse of images, Karlstadt points to the placement of "carved and painted idols" on altars. The influence of Erasmus of Rotterdam is evident in Karlstadt's condemnation of objects which seduce the attention of the pious away from God. The ubiquitous

⁴Andreas Karlstadt, Von Abtuhung der Bilder, (Wittenberg, 1522), in A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser and Eck on Sacred Images, translated with an introduction and notes by Bryan Mangrum and Giuseppe Scavizzi, (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1991), p.19.

abuse of religious images and objects by the Roman Catholic Church and the misperception of them by the devout prompted Karlstadt to denounce all religious imagery as a danger to the Christian public.

Within Karlstadt's ideological framework, idolatry is construed as a transgression of the senses, a misperception of what exists before the eyes. As such, idolatry is a harmful consequence of seeing. The presence of idols compels Christians to lose sight of the spiritual realm and focus instead on meaningless, earthly representations of the spiritual. The basic dilemma experienced by the viewer is the mistaking of an intangible entity for its outward representation, or in semiotic terms, a confusion of the signifier for the signified. Removing idols from the sight of the devout was believed to be the only means of saving them from their false vision. Convictions such as these, disseminated through treatises and sermons, initiated the programmatic destruction of the visual symbols of devotion throughout northern Europe in the sixteenth century.

The Swiss Reformer Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531)⁵, in his 1525 Eine Antwort, Valentin Compar gegeben (An Answer to Valentin Compar), confirms that idolatry is primarily a problem of sight when he professes that because of his poor

⁵Charles Garside's Zwingli and the Arts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966) gives a full account of Zwingli's position on the iconoclastic controversies in Zurich, though it is apparent throughout that Garside attempts to redeem Zwingli's character and mitigate his part in the destruction.

eyesight, he is not as susceptible to the danger of images.⁶ And Jean Calvin (1509-1564)⁷ implies that impeded sight is at the heart of idolatry when he calls those who worship images "blind idolaters." In his Institutes of the Christian Religion (1559) he states that misguided Christians were

worshipping neither the likeness nor the spirit, but through the physical image they gazed upon the sign of the thing they ought to worship...(and) Once this perverse imitation of God pleased them, they never stopped until they presently supposed that God manifested his power in images.⁸

The danger of such a misperception is that "those whose eyes rove about in contemplating idols betray their minds."⁹ Idolatry as a problem of sight is implicit in the language of Calvin's comments. He argues that those who defend idolatry "spread darkness over the eyes of the simple

⁶L. Huldreich Zwingli, Eine Antwort, Valentin Compar gegeben (Zurich, 1525) in Corpus Reformatorum: Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke, edited by E. Egli, G. Finsler and W. Köhler, (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1963-64), vol.4, p.84.

⁷The most thorough history of the role of Calvin and the iconoclastic controversies in the Netherlands is given by Phyllis Mack Crew in Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands: 1544-1569, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978). See also "The Wonderyear: Reformed Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands," in Religion and the People 800-1700, ed. James Obelvich (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp.191-220.

⁸Jean Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion (1559), 2 vols., translated by Ford Lewis Battles, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), p.110.

⁹Ibid., p.107.

folk."¹⁰ The danger of such blindness, besides contradicting a commandment, is that the devout do not realize that they are squandering their prayer and spiritual energy on empty symbols. In doing so, they neglect their duty to God.

That idolatry is the result of misperception is apparent throughout the Institutes, Zwingli's Answer to Valentin Compar, and Karlstadt's On the Abolition of Images. But more important, the authors also conclude that such "blindness" is a result of the human impulse to make that which is transcendent visible. In other words, idolatry is a consequence of the desire to know the intangible through sight. By giving the transcendent material form, the intangible is made discernible to the human senses, especially the sense of sight. Sight is one of humanity's most concrete means of knowing. Idolatry is grounded in a desire to see, to know, and to understand that which is immaterial and not inherently available to the senses. These Reformers, however, argue that the transcendent could not be known through the senses. As I will show, they conclude that only the physical could be known through the senses.

Karlstadt states it most pointedly when he insists that "image-lovers want to know Christ in the flesh."¹¹ In

¹⁰Ibid., p.111.

¹¹Karlstadt, Von Abtuhung der Bilder, p.26.

fact, Karlstadt likens "papists" attracted to images to youths attracted to whores.¹² This is a potent condemnation of the function of images within Christian practice. He claims that "idolaters" go "whoring" after idols, and are aroused by the sight of them in the same way they are aroused by the sight of the flesh. "Idolaters" prostitute themselves before these idols and squander their financial and spiritual resources on them. Karlstadt implicitly likens the desire to "know Christ in the flesh" to sexual desire. He thereby condemns the sense of sight as a catalyst for arousing, not only idolatry, but sexual desire.

This sentiment on the part of Reformers such as Karlstadt is confirmed by the image defender Johannes Eck's (1486-1543) satiric encapsulation of their grievances. In his 1522 text De non tollendis Christi et sanctorum imaginibus (On not tolerating images of Christ and the saints), Eck restates the Reformers' complaints,

When a man thinks too much about images and the corporeal things around him, not only might he be touched by idolatry, but also, because of the wavering of his fantasy and the mocking cooperation of the invisible enemy, he might turn from devotions and pious thoughts to thinking impure and obscene things. For danger can easily threaten those who have too much contact with the image of nude saints...Thus also a shameful and indecent picture of holy virgins may lead

¹²Ibid., p.34.

to abominable thoughts.¹³

Eck makes explicit the Reformers' conviction that the sight of images leads not only to idolatry, but also to "impure and obscene things" such as sexual desire. Images of "nude saints" exacerbate this condition.

Significantly, Karlstadt states his own susceptibility to the seduction of images.

I shall say to all pious Christians that all those that stand in awe before pictures have idols in their hearts. And I want to confess my secret thoughts and admit that I am faint-hearted and know that I ought not to stand in awe of any image.¹⁴

After admitting his "secret" attraction to idols, Karlstadt admonishes the pious to remove idols from the public eye as the only means to inhibit their seductive powers.

I ask whether, if I should see that a little innocent child holds a sharp pointed knife in his hand and wants to keep it, would I show him brotherly love if I allowed him to keep the dreadful knife as he desires with the result that he will wound or kill himself, or would I break his will and take the knife?¹⁵

These two passages reveal Karlstadt's belief in the insidious threat that idols pose. Enhanced as they are with lavish decoration, their allure is difficult to resist. As he equates images with whores, Karlstadt also equates images

¹³Johannes Eck, *De non tollendis Christi sanctorum imaginibus* (1522), in *A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser and Eck on Sacred Images* (Ottawa, 1991), p.109.

¹⁴Karlstadt, *Von Abtuhung der Bilder*, p.35.

¹⁵Andreas Karlstadt, "Whether One Should Proceed Slowly" (1524), in *Karlstadt's Battle with Luther: Documents in a Liberal-Radical Debate*, edited by Ronald Sider (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), p.65.

with knives -- dazzling objects that draw the eye, but that ultimately have harmful, even fatal, effects. In allowing the Christian public to be subject to the presence and seduction of idols, the church makes them prone to severe punishments. He states, "images bring death to those who worship or venerate them."¹⁶ Such punishments could be avoided by removing images from the sight of the pious. In that way it would no longer be possible for their "eyes to commit whoredom."¹⁷

Calvin agreed with Karlstadt's notion that humanity wanted "to know Christ in the flesh." Like Karlstadt, he also attributed this condition to the human desire to bring the spiritual down to a material level. He argued that humans were innately determined to make the intangible immanent and to worship idolatrously.

(Men) did not trust that He was near unless they could discern with their eyes a physical symbol of his countenance...Flesh is always uneasy until it has obtained some figment like itself in which it may fondly find solace as in an image of God. In almost every age since the beginning of the world, men, in order that they might obey this blind desire, have set up symbols in which they believed God appeared before their bodily eyes.¹⁸

Again, the language of this statement betrays an implicit likening of the desire to know with sexual desire. Calvin

¹⁶Karlstadt, Von Abtuhung der Bilder, p.20.

¹⁷Ibid., p.34.

¹⁸Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, pp.108-109.

speaks of "uneasy flesh" looking for "some figment like itself" in which to "find solace." He also refers to "bodily eyes," which suggests that the eyes are subject to the desires of the body.

Karlstadt asks,

What good things could the laity learn from images? You must say that one learns from them nothing but the life and suffering of the flesh and that they do not lead further than to the flesh...Images are deaf and dumb, can neither see nor hear, neither learn nor teach and point to nothing other than pure and simple flesh which is of no use...But the Word of God is spiritual and alone is of use to the faithful.¹⁹

Karlstadt, with other more radical Reformers, advocates the removal of idols from sight as the only remedy for idolatry. Quoting Ezekiel, Karlstadt states a more drastic method for hindering idolatrous practices.

I have torn out their eyes that have gone whoring after images.²⁰

Yet Karlstadt's statements disclose more than a desire to inhibit idolatry. They also betray his ambition to inhibit the desire to know as mediated by the body. He says, "images point to nothing other than pure and simple flesh which is of no use."

A Few Early Image Defenders:
Hieronymus Emser, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Anna Bijns

¹⁹Karlstadt, Von Abtuhung der Bilder, p.24-25.

²⁰Ibid., p.34.

The impact of the iconoclasts' words was significant in the sixteenth century. Whether for fear of divine retribution or as an act of revolt against the excesses of the Catholic Church, religious imagery was both systematically removed and spontaneously plundered from churches across northern Europe. This sometimes uncontrollable, rampant destruction of church decoration and religious art lured those who believed that images served a valid function within Christian practice into the debate over the legitimacy of images. In their belief that religious imagery was both sacred and useful, these defenders of images attempted to arrest the eradication of the Christian visual tradition. Restating the arguments of the sixth- and seventh-century challengers to the Byzantine iconoclasm, these writers declared that the use of images in Christian practice was not idolatrous, nor was it forbidden by the Bible. Although the image defenders admitted certain abuses in the use of imagery, they harshly condemned the drastic measures taken by the iconoclasts, claiming that the Christian public could be instructed on the proper use of images.

The defenders of religious imagery, in an effort to assuage the potency of the Reformers' indictments, also argued that particular modes of representation were threatening to the well-being of society. The images they objected to, however, were not those which inspired

idolatry, but those that exhibited seductive characteristics and could thus potentially incite lascivious thoughts and behaviors. The image defenders, like many of the Reformers, also desired to thwart the Christian public from "whoring" after images. They specifically cited images which contained "whorish" nude figures and images that roused their audience to carnal desire. As I have argued above, certain Reformers also sought to control desire, but the bodily desires they endeavored to control were only subtly alluded to rather than explicitly identified. The means of repressing those desires for both the Reformers and Counter-Reformers were rooted in regulating the type of stimuli received by the senses, especially the sense of sight. Like idolatry and the desires that motivate its enactment, carnal desire was constructed as a consequence of seeing that could be managed through the removal of offending images from sight.

Hieronymus Emser (1477/78-1527) responded to Karlstadt's call to iconoclasm with his treatise, Das man der heyligen bilder in der kirchen nit abthon (One must not remove holy images from the churches), published in Dresden in 1522, just two months after Von Abtuhung der Bilder. In a systematic rejoinder to Karlstadt's arguments, Emser recounts the traditional defenses of images: that biblical history supports the production of images, that images served as the Bible of the illiterate, that images are loved

not for their own sake but for the sake of those to whom they refer, and that they inspired emulation of the pious acts of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints. But most significantly, Emser argues that only through sensual perception could the transcendent be known to humanity. This notion is radically different from the convictions of the Reformers.

We must come to an understanding of the invisible through visible things. For, as Aristotle also teaches, one cannot learn anything except through the five external senses. Thus whatever we want to learn, to understand or to know must come to our minds through seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting or touching. Therefore, because not everyone can read, write or always hear a sermon, images are put before the eyes of simple, unlearned folks.²¹

Emser's statement forcefully contradicts Karlstadt's above quoted assertion that nothing could be learned from images because they only point their audiences toward matters of the flesh. He argues that it is only through the perceptions of the flesh that anything could be understood or learned. The senses serve as mediators to knowledge of the divine.

Although the defenders of images did not object to the desire to know the transcendent through the sense of sight, they did object to the stimulation of sexual desire through sight, especially the sight of images. Changes made to the

²¹Hieronimus Emser, Das man der heyligen bilder in der kirchen nit abthon (1522), from A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser and Eck on Sacred Images (Ottawa, 1991), p.51.

style and content of religious imagery were an easy means to control the arousal of such desire. After rebutting Karlstadt's whole-scale condemnation of images, Emser concedes that certain aspects of Christian image production needed reform. He concludes his treatise with a list of reproaches, including a denunciation of lascivious imagery, especially the depiction of nude figures which "greatly stimulated the desires of the flesh." Emser's objection to indecorous imagery became the battle-cry of the Catholic defenders of images. The Counter-Reformers hoped to mitigate the Reformers' hostility towards imagery by instituting their own program of reform -- the elimination of licentiousness from religious, and even secular imagery. Emser states,

Painters and sculptors make images of the beloved saints so shamelessly whorish and roguish that neither Venus nor Cupid were so scandalously painted or carved by the pagans. The holy Fathers would not have approved of this. For when we look at the old picture, it is an honorable thing and all the limbs are covered so that no one can conceive from it an evil desire or thought...Indeed, even secular pictures should not be painted so shameless and naked for they greatly stimulate the desires of the flesh, sin and scandal. But that is the fault of a perverted world, not of images, and therefore not all images should be removed.²²

Another abuse Emser cites is the growing propensity for opulent and extravagant representations in the churches, and he recommends a return to more modest images. Like many of the Reformers, he protests that the money wasted on lavish

²²Ibid., p.86.

decoration could be better spent on the poor.

The more artfully images are made, the more their viewers are lost in contemplation of art and the manner in which the figures have been worked. We should turn this contemplation from the images to the saints they represent. Indeed, many are transfixed before the pictures and admire them so much that they never reflect on the saints.²³

Emser contends in this passage that the devout confuse representations of holy figures with works of art and enjoy only their aesthetic qualities because they are produced by such accomplished artists. In doing so, the Christian public neglects the spiritual benefit of the images. What is implicitly stated in this passage is Emser's fear that the sight of "artfully" rendered images will incite a visceral response in their audience. Beside being distressed by the emergence of a secular attitude towards images, Emser is also apprehensive about the extent to which the Christian public "admires," "contemplates" or is aroused by the figures depicted.²⁴

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469-1536) had been making pleas for religious reform and the reform of images since the

²³Ibid., p.86.

²⁴The image defender Johannes Eck claims in his 1522 text De non tollendis Christi et sanctorum imaginibus, in contradiction to Emser, that the arousal of sexual desire by the sight of images is not an offense of the images themselves, but the result of improper devotion "by a worshipper who clings excessively to the image (p.113)." Eck advocates educating the public on the proper use of images and methods of prayer.

See Eck's text in A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser and Eck on Sacred Images, Ottawa, 1991.

beginning of the sixteenth century and many of the Reformers' arguments can be traced to his writings. In the 1511 edition of In Praise of Folly, Erasmus refers to the

foolish and thick-headed who give their devotion to images instead of to the divinities they represent.²⁵

Erasmus, however, did not advocate iconoclasm. In his writings, he severely castigates those Reformers and their followers who did initiate and participate in the destruction of images.²⁶ Instead he encourages educating the Christian populace on the correct use of images. He states in the Modus Orandi Deum of 1524,

not all images are to be banished from the churches but the people have to be taught in what way to use them. Whatever vice there may be in this must be corrected (if it can be done without dangerous riots); what good there might be in it must be approved. It would be desirable that in a Christian church nothing be in evidence but that which is worthy of Christ. But now we see...the saints are not depicted in a form that is worthy of them - as when a painter commissioned to portray the Virgin Mary or Saint Agatha, occasionally patterns his figure after a lascivious little whore...Yet even these we tolerate because we see more harm in eliminating than in tolerating them.²⁷

²⁵Erasmus of Rotterdam, In Praise of Folly (1511), translated by Betty Radice in the Collected Works of Erasmus, vol.27 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p.120.

²⁶Erwin Panofsky in his article, "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 32 (1969): 200-227, outlines Erasmus' position on the reform of images and their function within religious practice. The article remains the only publication in which the most significant texts by Erasmus about image reform are translated from the Latin.

²⁷Erasmus of Rotterdam, Modus Orandi Deum (1524), translated by Erwin Panofsky in "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," p.208.

In 1526, Erasmus complains more vehemently of the prurient liberties taken in the depiction of subjects from the Bible.

What should I say of the license so often found in statues and pictures? We see depicted and exposed to the eyes what would be disgraceful even to mention. Such subjects are publicly exhibited and forced upon everybody's eyes in hostelryes and in the market place as could inflame the lust, already cold with age, of a Priam or a Nestor.²⁸

It is obvious from this passage that the sexual arousal of the beholder is a consequence of a suggestive image being available to his senses, especially his sense of sight.²⁹ Erasmus states that the images are "exposed to the eyes," or even more emphatically, "forced upon the eyes," and thereby "inflame the lust" of their audience. The language of Erasmus' statement suggests that the images play an active role in arousing the lust of the viewer. This is different from Eck's assumption that a lustful response is a consequence of improper worship by the devout. And although Erasmus did not endorse the destruction of images, certain images warranted attention. He emphatically asserts in 1524,

There are images which provoke us to lasciviousness

²⁸Erasmus, Christiani matrimonii institutio, translated by Panofsky in "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," p.209.

²⁹It is also clear from this passage that Erasmus is referring to a male audience when he specifically cites Priam and Nestor.

rather than to piety.³⁰

Again Erasmus suggests that the image elicits a lustful reaction instead of inspiring a sense of spiritual devotion.

Even the staunchest defenders of images agreed that libidinous responses to religious imagery needed to be curtailed, and that the only means to such obstruction was the removal of certain images from the sight of the pious. Erasmus, in a passage on representations of noncanonical subjects, suggested,

In cloisters, porches and ambulatories there may be other subjects taken from human history, provided they are conducive to good behavior. But foolish, obscene or subversive panels should be removed not only from churches, but also from the whole community.³¹

The implication of his statement is that there are certain images that are not conducive to good behavior, and from his previous statements, we can surmise that those are the images whose sight stimulates lust. By removing those images from sight, Erasmus and his followers believed they could inhibit the arousal of sexual desire in the Christian public.

One of the few Netherlandish writers to defend images in the first half of the sixteenth century was the Catholic poet Anna Bijns (1493-1575). She was distressed by the Reformers' concentration on religious imagery and their

³⁰Erasmus, *Modus Orandi Deum* (1524), translated by Panofsky in "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," p.208.

³¹Erasmus, *De amabili Ecclesiae concordia*, translated by Panofsky in "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," p.212.

disregard for other abuses, namely lascivious imagery. Throughout her poems, she reprimands the iconoclasts for destroying images of holy figures that aroused devotion when at the same time they kept pictures of nude figures in their homes that aroused carnal desires. She writes,

That the pictures they want to throw out of the churches, are those granted by God's love... Those images hanging in the rooms of the scoundrels, are there so the flesh may stiffen...³²

In another poem of 1548, Bijns cites the subjects that cause "the flesh to stiffen," and articulates the danger that such a reaction poses.

Lucretia, Venus or her cousins,
Hang in their rooms absolutely naked,
Which easily pulls one to impurity.³³

Like Erasmus and Emser before her, Bijns specifically cites images of naked women as the stimulus to lust. More important, she returns over and over in the poems to the fact that these indecent pictures hang in the rooms of the scoundrel Reformers. She argues that the Reformers' calls for iconoclasm were hypocritical because as they demanded

³²Anna Bijns, *Refereienen VII*, verse g, in *Refereienen van Anna Bijns*, edited by A. Bogaers. (Rotterdam: J.H. Dunk, 1875), p.124.

Datse de beelden willen werpen uuter kerken,
Tcompt uut Gods liefde...
diese in haer cameran stellen,
Dats alle boeverije, daer se tvleesch me sterken...

³³Anna Bijns, *Refereienen III*, verse c, (1548), p.106.
Lucretia, Venus oft haer nichte,
In haer cameran stellen puer moeder naeckt,
Dwelck tot onsuverheden mach trecken lichte.

the destruction of public religious imagery, they themselves indulged in a far more insidious form of image adoration. She claims that in the privacy of their rooms, they revered pictures of naked women and were aroused to a state of sexual desire.³⁴

The Council of Trent and the Defense of Images

In 1563, the Catholic Church finally made an official statement regarding images. The decrees of the Council of Trent on sacred imagery were, however, an insufficient rejoinder to the profuse flood of condemnations circulated by the Reformers over the previous half-century. They simply defended the utility of images as instruments of instruction, and warned against idolatrous practices, such as confusing the image for the divinity it was meant to represent. They did specifically criticize the depiction of "lascivious" images, as is apparent in the following passage.

...all lasciviousness (is to be) avoided, so that images shall not be painted and adorned with seductive charm...Finally, such zeal and care should be exhibited by the Bishops with regard to these things and nothing may appear that is disorderly or unbecoming and

³⁴The majority of the reformers addressed only the decoration of public spaces, especially churches, when they questioned the legitimacy of imagery. Many, including Calvin, in fact condoned the production and dissemination of non-religious art. The act of viewing images, especially prints, in a private setting is very significant to my argument and will be returned to at the end of this chapter.

confusedly arranged, nothing that is profane, nothing disrespectful, since holiness becometh the house of God.³⁵

It should be noted that the depiction of nudity was not cited as a specific offense in the decrees.

When in 1570 the Synod of Mechelen convened, the Synod declared, in alliance with the Council of Trent, that all images which depicted wanton or impure subjects, especially those that represented nude figures, be removed from the churches. The recommendations to the third provisional Synod of 1607 pointed specifically to subjects which aroused lasciviousness, and advocated the elimination of Old Testament histories such as Susanna and the Elders.³⁶

The publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent on images, meager as they were, induced a spate of treatises in defense of images from Catholic writers. Their attempts to augment the decrees largely reiterated the arguments made during earlier iconoclastic controversies. Tracts such as René Benoist's Een Catholic Tractaet van de Beelden en van het rechte Ghebruyck dierselfder (Antwerp, 1567) and Martin Donk's Een Cort Onderscheyt tusschen Godlijke en Afgodissche

³⁵Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, translated by H.J.Schroeder (St. Louis: Herder Book Company, 1941), pp.216-217.

³⁶Discussed by David Freedberg in Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609 (New York: Garland, 1988), p.162-163. Freedberg translates the decrees of the Synod which are published in the Synodicum Belgicum, sive Acta Omnia Ecclesiarum Belgii, edited by P.F.X. Ram (Malines, 1828).

Beelden (Antwerp, 1567) were issued in Dutch, and attempted to discern the difference between idolatry and more correct forms of worship. Like Anna Bijns' poems, both of these works condemn the actions of the iconoclasts, questioning the destruction of religious imagery in public institutions when images that were clearly inappropriate were displayed in the homes of the allegedly devout. Benoist specifically cites indecorous images of pagans as offensive, much in the tradition of Bijns. Johannes a Porta, in his very popular treatise D'net der Beeltstormers (Ghent, 1591), after describing the proper Christian uses of images, also criticizes base representations of holy figures which incite the Christian public to impropriety.³⁷ In Louvain in 1570, Johannes Molanus, Philip II's censor in the Netherlands, published his De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris, the first tract to take as its starting point the question of indecency and nudity in images.³⁸

To make his argument, Molanus strings together statements made by other theological writers, starting with

³⁷Freedberg discusses René Benoist, Martin Donk, and Johannes a Porta at length in his Iconoclasm and Painting in the Netherlands, pp.160-161.

³⁸David Freedberg, "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 34 (1971): 229-245. Besides translating from Latin the chapter entitled, "In paintings whatever stimulates lust must be avoided," Freedberg's article discusses Molanus' place within the debate on provocative imagery, identifying Molanus' sources, as well as the historical significance of his treatise.

Ambrosius Catharinus' claim,

...you come across pictures of gross indecency in the greatest churches and chapels, so that one can look at there all the bodily shames that nature has concealed, with the effect of arousing not devotion but every lust of the corrupt flesh.³⁹

This statement seems to derive from Erasmus' claim that "there are images which provoke us to lasciviousness rather than to piety," which again suggests the active role that images play in stimulating "every lust of the corrupt flesh."

Molanus further argues that it is the sense of sight that most effectively induces a lustful response and his tract is replete with admonitions to the eyes. He quotes Horace's claim,

What the mind takes in through the ears stimulates it less actively than what is presented to it by the eyes...⁴⁰

He also relates a biblical story of a woman who sees men depicted immodestly and blames her sight for her improper reaction, "her eyes made her rave over them."⁴¹ Molanus warns that one's "eyes must not stray" or be "prostituted" by the sight of lewd representations. (This recalls Karlstadt's indictment that the eyes go "whoring" after

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³⁹Johannes Molanus, "In picturis cavendum esse quidquid ad libidinem provocat" (In paintings whatever stimulates lust should be avoided), Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris (Louvain, 1570), translated by Freedberg in "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings," p.239.

⁴⁰Ibid., p.241.

⁴¹Ibid., p.243.

images.) In order to obstruct carnal desire, Molanus demands changes in what was presented to the eyes. One of the harmful consequences of seeing specified by Molanus was the incitement of the other senses. Interestingly, in the text he links the two senses most important to this study of representations of Susanna and the Elders, the senses of sight and touch. He warns, "your looks commit adultery before your embrace."⁴² This statement suggests that by looking upon a desired object, the desire to touch the object is aroused. It is derived from a verse in the "Book of Matthew,"

I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman with lust has already committed adultery with her in his heart. If your right eye causes you to sin, tear it out and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to be thrown into Hell (Matthew 5:28).

Such admonitions to beware of the provocative power of sight were ubiquitous in the sixteenth century and contemporary prints of Susanna and the Elders embody these warnings.

II. Prints of Susanna and the Elders after 1563

Prior to the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1563, only a handful of single sheet engravings of the Susanna story were produced in the Netherlands. These include

⁴²Ibid., p.245.

prints by Lucas van Leyden (Cat.58) of about 1508, Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert (Cats.29-32) of 1551, Cornelis Matsys (Cat.60) of 1553 or 1555, Pieter van der Heyden (Cat.52) of 1556 and perhaps Jan and/or Lucas Doetechum (Cat.33) of unknown date, but published by Hieronymus Cock who died in 1570. Within the corpus of prints of Susanna from 1508 to the middle of the seventeenth century, these engravings represent the most modest and chaste depictions of the story. Lucas' depiction is by far the most decorous. Susanna sits, fully dressed, along the edge of a stream in the background of the image. Matsys' Susanna is also fully dressed, with only her breasts exposed. Coornhert's Susanna displays only her naked back to the viewer, and the bath scene in the Doetechum's image is relegated to the distant background, greatly reducing the visibility of Susanna's body. Only Pieter van der Heyden's Susanna is nude and conspicuously exposed to the Elders and the beholder of the print.

Only after the appearance of a spate of castigatory Counter-Reformation treatises intended to augment the Council of Trent's decrees did the biblical subject achieve its first great burst of production in print media in the Netherlands. Between 1563 and 1580 -- the period of greatest activity for the production of texts condemning the depiction of subjects which induced impropriety, especially depictions of nudity -- only two printmakers in the

Netherlands engraved prints of Susanna at her bath: Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck (Cat.39-45) and Abraham de Bruyn (Cat.7-13). Between 1582 and the 1607 recommendations to the Synod of Mechelen, however, over forty prints were produced, both independently and in series, including those by Hans Collaert (Cats.20-28), Raphael Sadeler (Cats.83-84), Anthonie Wierix (Cats.101-102) and Jacques de Gheyn (Cat.47).

The prints issued in this atmosphere of prohibition were not of the modest character of those produced earlier in the century by Lucas and Matsys. Rather, they portray Susanna as an alluring and seductive female nude. As I discussed in the first chapter, this characterization was achieved through various pictorial strategies. These strategies include iconographic allusions to Vanitas images and to the Garden of Love. Printmakers, especially those in the Catholic southern Netherlands, seemed to defy the mandates set forth by the Council and the defenders of images.

The large majority of prints published during the last two decades of the sixteenth century was published in Antwerp, a city where the tenets of the Counter-Reformation were vigorously enforced, especially after the Spanish Hapsburgs regained control of the city in 1585. Many of the prints published in the reformed northern Netherlands were also after the designs of Catholic artists, such as Maerten

de Vos who worked in Antwerp, and the Haarlem artist Cornelis Corneliszoon. Although the fact is seldom cited, it must be mentioned that even as late as 1650 nearly half of the population of the northern provinces still belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.⁴³ This suggests that in the north as well as the south there was an audience for prints which embodied the principles of Catholicism and the Counter-Reformation well into the seventeenth century.⁴⁴

How is it that the production of prints of Susanna and the Elders flourished in this climate of anxiety about the dangers of seeing provocative nude figures, especially in light of the specific consideration given to the inflammatory nature of depictions of Susanna? The appearance of so many prints of Susanna in the years immediately following the flood of Counter-Reformation texts

⁴³Maria Schenkeveld, Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins BV, 1991), p.39.

⁴⁴Yet the precise ideological orientation of a print is often difficult to determine. Up to four different individuals (the designer, printmaker, publisher, and author of the inscription), were typically involved in the production of any one image. For instance, prints by Crispin de Passe, known to be a devout Mennonite, are often after the designs of Maerten de Vos, a Catholic artist. And inscriptions by Cornelis Schonaeus, the Catholic rector of the Haarlem Latin School, appear on a number of prints produced in that city by printmakers such as Jan Saenredam, a member of the Reformed Church. Compounding the confusion of the modern interpreter, the same inscriptions were often used on more than one print. This practice suggests that the inscriptions were reused, copied, and/or sold by publishers, further giving the intended ideological orientation of each print a certain fluidity.

which condemn such images seems, at first, contradictory. It is my contention that although the images in question actually demonstrate the anxieties expressed in the Counter-Reformation texts, they functioned as visual admonitions of the dangers of viewing lascivious images. They were visual analogues of the printed texts, and were read as such. In the prints, the beholder is offered the sight of a seductive female figure arousing the two Elders to a state of lustful desire. Depictions of the biblical story illustrate the dreaded reaction described in the texts.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the Counter-Reformers' texts defended the instructional value of images. Printmaking was an apt medium to be put to such didactic use. There are several reasons for this. First, multiple copies of each image could be produced, and their low cost and portability fostered widespread dissemination. The audience for prints was geographically, socially, and religiously wide-ranging. Also, prints had served propagandistic purposes in the previous century in northern Europe. Obvious examples are broadsheets⁴⁵ and other woodcut images which promulgated the tenets of Reformation

⁴⁵See Keith Moxey's Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Moxey offers the evidence of Reformation broadsheets, both the texts and the images, as a means of propagating ideas amongst the sixteenth-century German public.

and Counter-Reformation ideology.⁴⁶

Another aspect of prints that made them effective for conveying instruction is implicit in Emser's objection to "artfully" rendered images. He states, "the more artfully images are made, the more their viewer is lost in contemplation of art...We should turn this contemplation from the images to the saints they represent."⁴⁷ As crude signifiers, prints kept their audience mindful of the fact that they were beholding an image. Because engravings and etchings lack the opulent adornment of painting and the animate qualities of sculpture, their audience was less likely to lose itself in aesthetic contemplation and more likely to concentrate on the subject at hand.

Viewers could also handle and reflect upon printed images, adding to their instructional effectiveness. Their small size (generally the prints from the period in question are no bigger than a quarto sized sheet of paper and, in fact, often smaller), portability and low cost made them the ideal medium for personal contemplation. During this period, prints either remained unbound for display or

⁴⁶There was a wealth of images disseminated by the advocates for religious reform in the sixteenth century portraying anti-papal sentiments, for instance, the plethora of prints of the pope portrayed as the anti-Christ. A corresponding tradition was established by the counter-reformers, of course, which portrayed Luther and the other reformers in similarly derogatory postures.

⁴⁷Emser, Das man der heyligen bilder in der kirchen nit abthon, p.86.

convenient examination, or were arranged in albums to be perused in book form.⁴⁸ Prints, therefore, circulated more freely than other visual media. Unlike publicly commissioned paintings and sculptures, prints could be contemplated in the privacy of one's rooms, as Anna Bijns warned in her harsh condemnation of the "scoundrel" Reformers.

Prints were also an effective educational device based on the Counter-Reformers' conviction that the best means to instruct the Christian public was through the avenues of sensual perception. Emser's 1522 treatise emphatically asserts that only through the five senses could learning occur. "Whatever we want to learn, understand or know must come to our minds through seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting or touching...because not everyone can read, write or always hear a sermon, or because what someone has already heard is easily forgotten, so images are put before the eyes..."⁴⁹ Based on this statement it is possible to extrapolate lessons on the danger of sight which could also be directed to the senses. Of course, lessons on the dangers of seeing were best learned through the sense of sight -- through seeing the dangerous effects of sight depicted in images.

In his treatise of 1570, Molanus offered an explication

⁴⁸See David Landua's and Peter Parshall's The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550, New Haven, 1994.

⁴⁹Emser, Das man der heyligen bilder in der kirchen nit abthon, p.51.

of the dictates of the Council, quoting ancient and contemporary sources to champion the instructional benefit of learning through the sense of sight. Echoing Horace, he proclaims that "what the mind takes in through the ears stimulates it less actively than what is presented to it by the eyes, and what the spectator can see and believe for himself."⁵⁰ In viewing prints of Susanna and the Elders, the dangers of sight were "presented to the eyes" of the Christian public so that they could "see" them enacted, and "believe" them for themselves.

Earlier in the century, the Reformers had similarly maintained that humanity desired to have visible representations of things in order to understand them. Prints of Susanna function so effectively based on this assessment of human nature. The prints "work" because of the human desire to see in order to know. Prints of Susanna and the Elders visually demonstrate the effect on the Elders of seeing an alluring female nude, and provide an admonitory lesson because the Elders were ultimately punished for their response. Karlstadt's claim that images teach "nothing but the pure and simple flesh"⁵¹ is particularly applicable in this instance. The lesson of Susanna is a lesson of the effects of sight on the desires of the flesh.

⁵⁰Molanus, Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris, in "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings," p.241.

⁵¹Karlstadt, Von Abtuhung der Bilder, p. 25.

Visual evidence of the instructive value of prints of Susanna and the Elders is also available from this period. In 1610, Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco, once chaplain to Philip II, employs the story of Susanna and the Elders to illustrate the visual provocation of desire in his Emblemas morales (Fig.11).⁵² He appeals to the sense of sight to warn of the consequences of indulging in the gratification of that sense. The image portrays the Elders staring and gesturing towards Susanna who attempts to shield herself from their sight. Within the image is inscribed the motto, **Nuda Visa Suma Paratior**, which is a condensation of a line from the story of the nymph Arethusa from the fifth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Ovid relates the tale of the nymph who, while walking one day in the woods, decided to swim in a stream and was seen unclothed by Alpheus. Arethusa responds to his desire by declaring, "...and since I was naked, I seemed readier to him."⁵³ The implication of her statement is that because of her nudity, she effortlessly induced him to a state of lust. Susanna has the same effect on the Elders, as the inscription below the image warns.

The occasion awakens the drowsiest of men, renders the basest one courageous, and turns the shy man into a thief, and makes the daring one commit an unprecedented

⁵²A. Henkel and A. Schöne, Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), col.1865.

⁵³"...et quia nuda fui, sum visa paratior illi." Ovid, Metamorphoses, Book V, line 603. (Identified and translated by Pamela Lackie.)

act: If by chance, a decrepit old man beholds Venus nude, he is ignited with fury and an insensible rage, like that experienced by Susanna's two Elders.⁵⁴

The motto and inscription, combined with the image of Susanna at her bath, clearly suggest that the image is concerned with the effects of looking upon a naked female figure. The texts are consistent with the Catholic texts which preceded it and the recommendations made to the Synod of Mechelen, just three years prior. And the image, though it seems to contradict the recommendations, is actually an instructive visualization of the warning embodied in the texts. The emblem maker used an image to warn the beholder of the provocative power of seeing.

In 1551, Dirck Volckertz. Coornhert also employed a print of Susanna and the Elders to caution the beholder on the danger of seeing nude female figures. In this combination engraving and etching, Susanna is pictured sitting at the side of her bath with her back to the viewer. Though denied the sight of her nudity, the viewer is provided with the sight of a life-size nude female fountain figure, prominently situated beside Susanna. The fountain figure wears a half-moon tiara, making her identification as Diana, goddess of the hunt, undeniable. The story of Diana,

⁵⁴Despierta la occasio al mas dormido, Pone brios al vil, y al apocado, Ella haze al ladron, y al atreuido, Acometer un caso no pensado: El decrepito ya, si a caso vido Desnuda a Venus, puesto lado y lado, En furor se enciendo, y rauia insana, Qual la de los dos viejos de Susanna. (Translated by Leslie Nelson.)

as related in Ovid's Metamorphoses, details the hunter Acteon's sight of Diana as she bathes with her nymphs one day. Outraged that Acteon saw her nude, Diana turns him into a stag for his hunting dogs to pursue and ravage. Within the context of Susanna's bath, the Diana sculpture serves as a reminder of the hazardous consequences of viewing nude female figures. Like the Elders, Acteon suffered death as punishment for his visual violation of a provocatively nude female figure.

Hans Collaert's engraving of Susanna and the Elders (Cat.20) also cautions the beholder to heed the effects of sight while simultaneously offering the sight of a seductive subject. The text inscribed on the late sixteenth-century print states in part, "Behold the old men excited by nudity and aroused to love."⁵⁵ The inscription is significant because it demands that the viewer actually witness the effect seeing has. It invites the viewer to see both the inducement to lust and its consequences. This is another case of an artist using a print to warn the audience of the provocative effects of seeing.

The engraving depicts the leering, groping Elders, attempting to gain Susanna's compliance. This was the reaction that theologians and image advocates hoped to avoid in the Netherlandish public. In addition to presenting the beholder with the sight of a provocative female figure,

⁵⁵Translated by Phyllis Pray Bober.

Collaert also depicts the effects of the Elders' arousal. The Elders' fatal punishment is illustrated in the last print in the series (Cat.23). Most prints of Susanna are not inscribed with such an explicit admonition, but many other prints of the biblical story demonstrate the same stimulation of desire and fatal effects. Although the unscribed prints do not convey an explicit textual admonition, they embody the same warning about sight.

A warning against the libidinous effects of sight is also evident in Crispin de Passe's engraving *Terra/Earth* after Martin de Vos (Fig.12) from the late sixteenth century. The engraving presents a couple revelling in a variety of sensual pleasures. Evidence of food, drink, and song are apparent in the foreground, and in the background other figures dance and sing. Embodied in the image are warnings against indulging in the gratification of the different senses, and the danger of sight is referred to by the song book on the table. The book is opened to a well-known Calvinist song from the mid-sixteenth century entitled *Susanna*.⁵⁶ The text of the book is turned away from the musicians which suggests that its message is instead intended for the viewer. The lyrics to the song are, in

⁵⁶There were several popular Dutch translations of the song in the sixteenth century, although it originally appeared in French with the title Susanne un Jour in the Premier Livre de Chansons Spirituelles composées (Lyon, 1548). See Pieter Fischer, Music in the Paintings of the Low Countries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Amsterdam, 1975), p.35.

part, as follows,

While Susanna was bathing in a fountain, quietly hiding behind the orchard hedge were two old villains. They saw her pure body, were filled with desire and conspired to achieve their wicked intentions.⁵⁷

The audience is reminded that it was the sight of Susanna's body that precipitated the Elders' libidinous reaction. As I argued with regard to the Spanish emblem and Collaert's engraving, this print also indicates that the story of Susanna and the Elders was employed in the sixteenth century as a admonition to heed the consequences of sight.

The proposition that these prints were pictorial expressions of prevalent anxieties about the visual arousal of desire is problematic. Even as representations of the apocryphal story visually confirmed suspicions that female nudity incited lust, they also presented the public with more depictions of erotic female nudes. I maintain, however, that the accentuation of Susanna's nudity and "seductive charms" was integral to their function, and was utilized to engage the viewer corporeally in a moral lesson. Prints of a modestly dressed female figure invite cognitive reflection on the merits of chastity, but provocative representations induce desire, much like the desire

⁵⁷Susanna haar baeiende in een fonteyn verborgen daer lagen twee ouders vilein, al achter die hagen des boomgaerts stille. Toen sij aensagen heur lichaam rein, sij cregan behagen daar in certein, en meinden te volbringen hunne valschen wille. Ibid., p.35.

experienced by the Elders.

This brings us back to one of the fundamental questions of this study. Within the context of the pervasive condemnation of lascivious imagery and its dangerous effects, why would Netherlandish printmakers have wanted to induce lust in the Christian audience of these prints? The evidence suggests that desire was aroused in order to demonstrate its insidious presence. Suspicion of these lurking passions is historically confirmed by the ample production of texts which advocated changes in the style and content of pictures in order to suppress such dangerous passions. Emser states that such passions are the "fault of a perverted world,"⁵⁸ and Molanus more pointedly cites "the corrupt flesh"⁵⁹ as the source of libidinous behaviors. Whereas the visual desire of the Elders was punished by stoning, the desirous beholder of prints of Susanna is spared physical punishment -- his only punishment is the knowledge of his own potentially sinful nature. The acquisition of knowledge legitimated the existence of images within Christian practice, even images of seductive female nudes. Prints of Susanna and the Elders provided an ideal format for instruction on "lasciviousness." They could be examined and experienced in the privacy of one's rooms where

⁵⁸Emser, Das man der heyligen bilder in der kirchen nit abthon, p.86.

⁵⁹Molanus, Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris, in "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings," p.239.

the admonitions of the theologians could be confirmed and learned.

In his 1526 Christiani matrimonii institutio, Erasmus posed the following question,

All the more grievous is the sin of those who inject shamelessness into subjects that are chaste by nature. Why is it necessary...?⁶⁰

My response to Erasmus' question might appear at first counter-intuitive. No doubt, it is easier to imagine that such salacious depictions of Susanna were produced in order to satisfy a public demand for erotic imagery. Yet the numerous contemporary texts and images that I have cited substantiate my contention that the "shamelessness" to which Erasmus refers functioned in prints of Susanna and the Elders to instruct the Christian public on the dangers of sight. By rendering Susanna in a lascivious fashion and accentuating her seductive qualities, printmakers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries illustrated the effects of seeing an alluring female figure on the Elders, while making manifest such desires within the viewer.

⁶⁰Erasmus, Christiani matrimonii institutio (1526), translated by Panofsky in "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," p.210.

CHAPTER III AN APPEAL TO THE SENSES

In the previous chapter, I discussed prints of Susanna and the Elders within their historical context. I argued that the prints are expressions of the danger of sight, visual equivalents of the sixteenth-century texts denouncing lascivious imagery. Susanna's seductiveness was accentuated by printmakers in the Netherlands in the late sixteenth century in order to arouse intentionally the libidinous interest of the beholders of these prints. When depicted as an enticing female nude, Susanna bodily engaged the audience in a moral lesson. The prints incited the lustful desires of the beholder in order to demonstrate their presence. This preceding discussion offers an answer to the historically specific question of why Netherlandish prints of Susanna and the Elders from this period so deliberately stimulated desire in their audience. In the present chapter, I will explore how that desire was induced. I will address the pictorial strategies employed by sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century printmakers to engage the audience, emphasizing the explicit appeal of the prints to the senses of sight and touch.

In the last chapter, I assumed a male audience as the subject of the admonitions to guard against the danger of visual seduction. My argument, in this chapter, also presupposes a male viewer, but also considers the

admonitions directed specifically to the female viewer.

Contemporaneous with the increased production of prints of Susanna and the Elders in the last decades of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands was the production of print series of the Five Senses.¹ Typically, these series were comprised of five prints, each illustrating an allegorical personification of one of the senses with accompanying attributes. By the end of the century, however, printmakers were incorporating personifications of all five senses within a single sheet. In this section, I will discuss affinities between sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Netherlandish allegorical prints of the senses and prints of Susanna and the Elders. I will concentrate exclusively on representations of the senses of sight and touch in order to demonstrate that the relationship between these two senses is emphasized in allegorical representations. The compositional and iconographical affinities between representations of Susanna and the Elders and representations of Sight and Touch

¹The tradition of representing the five senses in northern European art is treated extensively in the work of Carl Nordenfalk, most notably in the two articles "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 48 (1985): 1-22; and "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600," in Netherlandish Mannerism: Papers given at the Nationalmuseum, edited by Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm, 1984), pp.135-154. Nordenfalk's primary intention in these essays is to outline the changing iconographic conventions within representations of the theme.

suggest that prints of Susanna also manifest allegorical allusions to the senses. Like images of Sight and Touch, they embody warnings to be mindful of the gratification of sensual pleasure. In this section I will demonstrate that by the end of the century, prints of the biblical story functioned analogously to allegorical representations of these two senses.

Although early northern European representations of the senses do not explicitly deliver warnings, the theme of the five senses was often invoked in an admonitory manner within the medieval literary tradition.² Stimulation of the senses was regarded as a dangerous catalyst to sinful behavior. This tradition is apparent in Jodocus Badius Ascensius' 1500 supplement to Sebastian Brandt's Das Narrenscheyff, entitled La Nef des Folles. The woodcut illustrations that accompanied the text depict figures indulging in immoderate sensual gratification (Fig.13). They admire themselves in a mirror, listen to music, and eat and drink heartily, but their folly culminates in the woodcut representing Touch. In this final illustration, a number of figures engage in amorous coupling, all the while wearing emblems of their frivolity, the fool's cap.

This series suggests that the effects of sensual

²Nordenfalk discusses the prevalence of references to the senses in Christian texts, especially in commentaries on the Bible. Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Medieval and Renaissance Art," pp.1-7.

indulgence are infectious and progressive. The gratification of one sense induces the desire to gratify the other senses. This effect is foreshadowed in the first illustration of the series, The Ship of Sight, in which references to both sight and touch are apparent. In the foreground, a female figure exercises her sense of sight by looking at herself in a mirror. It is clear, however, from the gesture of the male figure on the left that the female figure is also intended to be the object of sight. He looks and points in her direction. Behind the standing female figure at the center, another couple demonstrates the progressive effects of visual desire. A man and woman, both wearing fool's caps, gaze at one another as he facilitates her entry into the boat and into his embrace. The implication of this image is that amorous touching is an inevitable consequence of sight. This type of explicit demonstration of the progressive effects of sensory stimulation did not gain popularity in Netherlandish prints until the end of the century. Prior to then, the five senses were depicted as allegorical personifications, illustrating examples of sensory perception, and seemingly void of cautionary missives.

The topos of the five senses first appeared in the visual arts of the Netherlands in 1561 in a series of engravings by Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris (Fig.14). The production of allegorical prints of the senses commenced

at the same time as the increase in production of prints of Susanna, coinciding with the profusion of Counter-Reformation texts criticizing the dangerous effects of sight. The majority of prints of the senses, like prints of Susanna from the period, was produced in the Hapsburg controlled southern Netherlands. For the first Netherlandish depictions of the senses, Cort followed textual and visual conventions established in the Middle Ages. Latin translations of Aristotle's *De Sensu* dictated that a figure, holding an attribute that suggests one of the five senses, should represent that sense. Other texts recommended that an animal which had a heightened capacity of the represented sense also be included.³ Cort's depictions established the iconographic conventions for the representation of the senses in print media in the Netherlands. Within his series, Sight is portrayed as a fully dressed female figure reclining in an outdoor setting, with the rays of the sun shining down on her. She holds aloft a mirror, the typical attribute of Sight, and her reflection is visible on the convex surface. While the female figure looks in the mirror, an eagle, the most far-sighted of all animals, looks directly at her.

A less regal bird is perched upon the hand of the female figure representing Touch, and she fervently

³Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Medieval and Renaissance Art," pp.1-2.

admonishes it for biting her finger. The sensation of touch is demonstrated in this print through her expression of pain. Also apparent are a spider, which seems about to strike her arm, and a turtle, an animal exceedingly sensitive to touch. Unlike the other female figures in the series, the personification of Touch is actually the recipient of a touch, rather than the instigator of the act. Whereas Sight looks in a mirror, Hearing plays the lute, Smell arranges flowers, and Taste eats fruit, Touch is the only figure who does not actively generate the sense she personifies. Touch, unlike the other senses, is the object of the sensation.

Interestingly, the figure representing Touch is also the only figure from Cort's series that is not fully dressed. Her drape falls to her waist and a single breast is exposed. This deviation from the rest of the series seems quite deliberate. Is the exposed breast an invitation to the viewer to touch? Could the suggestion of the series be that those who gratify the other senses to excess invite the transgression of the fifth sense, as in Badius' series of woodcuts? The suggestion in Cort's series, though less explicit, is more interactive. Rather than illustrating the progressive effects of the indulgence of the senses, Cort portrays the indulgence in the first four senses, and in the fifth print, solicits the engagement of the viewer of the prints by appealing to his desire to touch. While

simultaneously inviting the viewer's tactile involvement, however, he also illustrates a reproach to the impulse. The figure of Touch verbally and gesturally chastises the bird for biting her.⁴ She also, perhaps, directs her admonishment to the viewer of the print, who likewise experiences the impulse to touch.

Furthermore, the figure's foot extends into the lower margin of this print, the space intended for the accompanying inscription. By crossing the pictorial boundary, the figure appears to encroach on the space reserved for the viewer. Once in the viewer's space, the figure is more accessible to the audience, and therefore, more readily touched. The medium of printmaking itself also invites touch. Most prints from this period were small enough to be hand-held, and were therefore already subject to the viewer's touch. Prints were also privately collected and usually viewed in a non-public setting. Because of these conditions, the viewer's response to a print was unobserved and therefore unrestricted (unlike his response to a painting or sculpture in a church or public collection). The exposed breast, the extension of the figure beyond the pictorial space, and the characteristic intimacy of the medium itself all invite a tactile response

⁴Carl Nordenfalk notes that a bird on the hand of a figure, such as the bird on the hand of Touch, carries a sexual connotation. The bird's advance was understood to be symbolic attack on the woman's purity. Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600," p.138.

from the viewer. Touch's vehement response to the biting bird, however, discourages such a response.

Although an explicit warning to guard against sensual gratification seems to be absent from Cort's print series,⁵ the pictorial strategies that I have described deliver a subtle admonition. Another factor also supports this supposition. In his study of representations of the Five Senses, Carl Nordenfalk states that prior to 1500, personifications were depicted as male figures because the Latin words for the senses are all of the masculine gender. He speculates that the gender of the personifications changed in order to resemble other serial representations of female figures, such as the Virtues and Vices.⁶ It seems more likely, however, that the gender change occurred as a result of the transformation of series of the senses from a descriptive theme to an admonitory theme. A seductive female figure, such as Cort's Touch with her breast exposed, better served to solicit and ultimately reveal the effects of sensual stimulation to a presumably male viewer.

Abraham de Bruyn's Sight from his series of engravings of the senses from 1569 (Fig.15) also addresses the

⁵The inscriptions below the images describe some aspect of the scientific process necessary to enact the depicted sense rather than describe the effects of sensual indulgence. For instance, the inscription below the representation of Sight describes the optical nerves that run from the eyes to the brain.

⁶Nordenfalk, "Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," p.7.

viewer.⁷ De Bruyn has forsaken the eagle as an attribute of Sight and added a cat, an animal renowned for its ability to see, especially at night. The cat addresses the beholder by gazing directly at him, thereby forcing him to acknowledge his position before the image. The cat also serves as a witness to the viewer's act of seeing the image. Its ability to see at night lends an aspect of omniscience to its sight. The viewer of this print is always subject to the cat's acute vision, even in the dark. The cat's gaze serves to make the viewer aware that his act of seeing does not go unobserved.

De Bruyn utilizes a pictorial device, similar to the cat, in his depiction of Susanna at her bath (Cat.8) from the following year. The fountain behind Susanna and the Elders is decorated with a relief of a face. The face appears between the heads of Susanna and one of the Elders, and looks directly at the audience. Its placement seems gratuitous, and detracts attention from the interaction among the depicted figures. But it also makes the viewer cognizant of his place before the image and his sight of Susanna. More important, it conveys the impression that the viewer's visual act is being scrutinized.

The beholder becomes aware of his presence before the image via another pictorial device in de Bruyn's portrayal

⁷Unfortunately an impression of Touch from this series is not known.

of Sight. As in Cort's engraving, the female figure holds a mirror. In this case, however, her reflection is not visible in the glass. In de Bruyn's engraving, the mirror is held up parallel to the picture plane, precluding any reflection other than that of the viewer standing before the image. This device metaphorically invites the viewer to see himself seeing the image, thus making him conscious of his viewing position outside of the pictorial space. The placement of a mirror facing the beholder also implies the artist's knowledge of a beholder's presence outside of the pictorial space. The viewer is forced to acknowledge that someone knows that he is there.⁸

Mirrors that face away from the pictorial space also occur in representations of Susanna and the Elders. A mirror similar to the one held by de Bruyn's Sight is evident in Anthonie Wierix's engraving of Susanna after Maerten de Vos (Cat.101) from the late sixteenth century. Instead of being held in Susanna's hand, however, it rests

⁸This is particularly interesting in light of the history of the mirror as an iconographic motif. In a previous section, I discussed the association of the mirror with Vanitas imagery, but the mirror is also a well-known symbol from series of the seven deadly sins. Hieronymus Bosch's tabletop decoration of the Seven Deadly Sins is of particular note here. A female figure demonstrating the sin of Superbia (Pride) is depicted preening before a mirror held by a devil. Like the mirrors in many of the prints I discuss, it faces the beholder of the image. The inscription at the center of the table declares, "Beware, beware, God is watching you." So while the beholder is forced to acknowledge his presence before the painting by his metaphoric reflection in the mirror, he must also acknowledge that his sight is observed.

against one of the fountain steps and faces the viewer's space. Again, the viewer is reminded of his presence before the image. In this case, however, the depicted female figure is a provocatively posed nude. This mirror potentially reveals not only the viewer's presence, but his response to the alluring image. In this way, the mirror provides the viewer with knowledge of his response to provocative images. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the disclosure of self-knowledge to the viewer was integral to the function of prints of Susanna and the Elders during this period.

Dirk van Hoogstraten's etching (Cat.53) from the early seventeenth century offers a more potent reflection to the viewer. In the print, a square mirror leans against the garden fence, the glass parallel with the picture plane. Reflected in the mirror is the nude torso of the male atlantes which supports the fountain basin. The viewer, who occupies a place hypothetically before the mirror, finds a naked male body "reflected" back to him. Due to the system of visual correspondences, the viewer experiences some identification with the "reflected" image. (The reflected male figure also supports the argument for a presumed male viewer.) In this print, the mirror not only reminds the viewer of his experience of seeing the image, it also forces him to acknowledge his own potentially sinful response to the image of a seductive female nude.

The mirror was not a necessary attribute in depictions of Sight. A gaze directed upward also represented Sight in northern European representations of the sense. The German artist George Pencz' series from the 1540's presents Sight (Fig.16) as a nude figure seated in an interior and gazing out a window at the heavens. Pencz did not depict the figure's sight of herself, but her sight of the skies. It is clear from the lynx in Pencz's engraving that Sight is also meant to be the object of sight. Rather than looking toward the viewer, the lynx looks directly at the female figure. Printed representations of Susanna from the end of the sixteenth century also commonly depict Susanna looking upwards towards the heavens as she is confronted by the Elders at her bath. Although this action is not described in the biblical text, Susanna looks upward in numerous depictions of the story such as Raphael Sadeler's engraving after Frans Pourbus from 1582 (Cat.83) and Hendrick Goltzius' engraving from the following year (Cat.49). Like Sight, Susanna also manifests the dual aspects of sight. She both engages in the act of vision and acts as its object. Just as the lynx gazes at Sight, the Elders look toward Susanna.

Jacob de Backer's series of the five senses (Fig.17) suggests further affinities with representations of Susanna and the Elders. A fully nude figure representing Sight languidly reclines at the side of a fountain. She

contemplates herself in a mirror, a posture also common to representations of Susanna at her bath. Although the female figure is engaged in the act of sight herself, aspects of the image suggest that she is also intended to be the object of sight -- a seductive object of sight. Her narcissistic primping and her languid posture solicit the viewer's attention, as well as calling to mind associations with vanitas images. Michael Camille has argued that in medieval images the indulgence in such vanitas practices invited the act of looking, but more importantly indicated the desire to be the object of sight.⁹ As I discussed in the first chapter, numerous representations of Susanna at her bath also allude to vanitas images, such as Jacob Matham's engraving (Cat.59) which closely resembles his engraving of Venus at her bath (Fig.6). This allusion suggests that Susanna is also intended to be the object of vision.

De Backer's depiction of Sight, however, adds another dimension to the significance of sight. The female figure's attitude of self-absorption is mirrored in a background scene of Narcissus admiring himself in a stream. The story of Narcissus relates how the young boy became inflamed with desire upon seeing an image of a beautiful youth. That figure, unfortunately, turned out to be his own reflection. This background scene pointedly illustrates the ardent

⁹Michael Camille, The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.304.

desires that are induced by sight. The coupling of the story of Narcissus with the seductive female figure who invites our sight suggests that she too is intended to be an object of physical desire. Like Narcissus, she is a seductive image, seen and longed for by the viewer. The viewer's response to Sight is anticipated and mocked by the background scene of Narcissus. The figure of Sight is as unavailable to the viewer as Narcissus' reflection is to him.

Another outcome of the visual arousal of desire is demonstrated in de Backer's depiction of Touch. The nude allegorical figure sits in a forest setting, recoiling from the bite of a bird. In the background, Pygmalion embraces the statue he has created and come to desire. The prints of Sight and Touch, taken as a pair, show that the sight of a seductive female nude stimulates carnal desires, which in turn arouses the desire to touch.

Susanna's likeness to these allegorical figures is striking. Like them, Susanna by her posture and accoutrements solicits the gaze of the beholder. She too is intended to be both the object of the audience's sight and the object of its lust. But the same admonition offered to the audience of de Backer's Sight is also offered to the audience of prints of Susanna. Within the background of Peter van der Borcht's etching (Cat.4), the beholder is presented with a scene meant to be as discouraging as the

sight of Narcissus gazing at himself in a pool. On a distant hill, the beholder is presented with the sight of the Elders' stoning. While the outcome of Narcissus' sight is his futile desire for his own reflection, van der Borcht's print represents the fatal consequences of the Elders' sight. As I argued in the previous chapter, these prints of Susanna and the Elders enticed the beholder into experiencing his own physical desires, and then demonstrated the consequences of such appetites.

Sight as a incitement to touch and to gratify physical desire is more pointedly illustrated in Adrian Collaert's engraving of the five senses after Adam van Noort (Fig.18). Collaert, like other engravers in the late sixteenth century,¹⁰ depicted all five senses on a single sheet. The alluring demeanors of Sight and the Touch are more pronounced than the other three senses. Taste and Smell are fully dressed, and Hearing, though nude, sits with her back to the viewer. Sight stands fully nude at the far left holding aloft a flaming torch and mirror. Both attributes make sight possible. This is made particularly clear by the mirror. Sight looks across a table toward Touch and the male figure at Touch's side, as she offers them their reflection in her mirror. Touch, with her breasts exposed,

¹⁰Jan van Londerseel published a single panoramic engraving which comprised Adrian Collaert's depictions of the senses after Maerten de Vos, and Anthonie Wierix produced a single sheet engraving after the design of Adam van Noort sometime before 1591.

is engaged in an amorous embrace with the male figure. These two figures frame the scene of debauchery, and their exchanged glances across the table make their connection explicit. Although the male figure grasps the personification of Touch, he looks directly at Sight. It is sight that has induced him to touch. Sight holds up her mirror so that the embracing couple can see the progressive effects of indulgence in the pleasures of the senses. This is another instance in which the mirror is employed to disclose self-knowledge to the reflected viewer. As in prints in which the mirror is held aloft for the viewer outside of the pictorial space, the viewer (in this case the depicted male figure) is forced to acknowledge his response to the seductive figure of Sight.

This print raises another interesting issue. Although it is the figure of Sight that rouses the male figure's desires, Sight is not the subject on which those desire are enacted. This transposition of desire is a clear illustration of the Counter-Reformers' fear that the sight of provocative images was a catalyst for sinful behavior. Such images induced the beholder to act out his desires on another figure, a figure physically available to him. In this way, the male viewer would identify with the depicted male figure, and follow the admonition to avoid visual stimulation. The inscription below the image warns of the deleterious effects of over-indulging in the pleasures of

the senses.

Besides embodying the underlying premise of prints of Susanna and the Elders -- that the sight of a seductive female nude arouses libidinous desires which lead to sinful actions -- Collaert's engraving also includes many of the compositional elements common to representations of Susanna and the Elders. In the middleground, a fountain stands, decorated with putti in various postures similar to the fountains depicted in Susanna's garden. Also evident behind the figures is a pergola, the garden decoration that I have identified as particularly significant within prints of Susanna. Interestingly, the entrance to the interior of the pergola is situated just to the right of the elevated mirror. While the mirror makes sight possible, the pergola obstructs sight and suggests the possibility for unseen gratification. Decorating the entrance to the pergola are two caryatid figures who are turned to face the licentious scene in the foreground. Both stand with their arms crossed in a gesture of dismay, like the two caryatids which look towards Susanna and the Elders in Wierix's engraving after de Vos (Cat.101).

As I discussed in the first chapter, the prints of Susanna and the Elders which portray female sculptural decoration seem to offer their admonishment to Susanna. Within these prints, Susanna is generally depicted as a seductress who invites the attention of the Elders. For

instance, in Wierix's engraving (Cat.101), she sits with her legs spread open and allows one of the Elders to touch her inner thigh. Whereas the mirror and the male figure's embrace of Touch in Collaert's engraving (Fig.18) admonish the male viewer to beware of the effects of visual seduction, the caryatids seem to chastise the female figure (just as in prints of Susanna) for soliciting the attention of the male viewer. Collaert's print of the Five Senses clearly delineates the admonishments directed to the male and female viewers.

What I hope to have illustrated in this section is that prints of Susanna and the Elders collapse the admonitions offered by series of the five senses into one image, replicating the trend at the end of the century to condense representations of the senses into a single print. Wierix's engraving of Susanna, as well as numerous other printed images of Susanna and the Elders at her bath can be construed as a distillation of the most significant elements of Collaert's print of the five senses. Images of Susanna and the Elders, however, eliminate the less significant senses, demonstrating that the fundamental danger is the result of sight and enacted by touch. The touch depicted in so many representations of the story of Susanna is not gratuitous, but instead visually documents the incendiary relationship of the senses. As in Badius' woodcut illustration and Collaert's engraving, the infectious nature

of sensual gratification is presented to the viewer in a single image. Through various pictorial devices, the prints offer warnings to both male and female viewers. Male viewers are cautioned to beware of the libidinous effects of sight and female viewers are chastised for soliciting such reactions.

Like Cort and de Backer's representations of the senses, prints of Susanna and the Elders do much more than just illustrate the effects of indulgence in the senses. As I have argued previously, they also have an interactive dimension. These images of provocative female nudes bodily engage the viewer by appealing to his senses of sight and touch, thus inducing his own libidinous desires. Inciting the desires of the beholder leads him to acknowledge his own lurking passions. The frequent occurrence of a mirror within depictions of the senses and Susanna substantiate this assertion. The mirror offers the beholder a metaphoric reflection of himself responding to the alluring image. By appealing to their senses, prints of Susanna seduce their male audience into learning a lesson about their own lust.

In the northern Netherlands at the turn of the century, there also existed a tradition of prints of the Five Senses which admonished their audiences to guard against the seductive danger of sight and the other senses. These images are addressed in the art historical literature by

Ilja Veldman and Eric Jan Sluijter. Veldman examines the transformation of series of the senses from allegorical subjects to genre scenes, as evidenced in the prints and drawings of Goltzius. Sluijter discusses allegorical representations of Sight and highlights Goltzius' intentional introduction of erotic elements into representations of the theme.¹¹ As I discussed previously, Sluijter argues that the popularity of erotized images such as prints of the Five Senses reflects the contemporary cultural preoccupation with the danger of sight. I contend that these prints do more than reveal a pervasive obsession with the danger of eroticized images. The prints actively engage their audience in a lesson about the dangers of lust.

Hendrick Goltzius introduced the theme of the five senses into the medium of printmaking in the northern provinces in 1578 in a series of engravings. But it is Saenredam's engravings after another set of Goltzius' designs from c.1595 (Fig.19) that best exemplify the admonitory message to beware of the effects of sensual gratification. In Saenredam's depiction of Sight, a young couple sits beneath a tree. The man sits very close to the

¹¹Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century series of the five senses are examined by Ilja Veldman and Eric Jan Sluijter in the Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 1991-1992. This volume of the Jaarboek focused on the work of Hendrick Goltzius. Ilja Veldman, "Goltzius' Zintuigen, Seizoenen, Elementen, Planeten en Vier tijden van de dag: van allegorie naar genre-voorstelling," pp.307-336; and Eric Jan Sluijter, "Venus, Visus en Pictura," pp.337-396.

women and holds a mirror in one hand while touching her breast with his other hand. A lynx sits behind the woman, looking out towards the viewer, much like the cat in de Bruyn's Sight. The man looks at the woman, but she looks past the mirror into the viewer's space. Significantly, the mirror is turned so that the reflective surface faces away from the two figures and instead faces outside the pictorial space. Prior examples of mirrors facing the viewer have been cited, but this mirror is not positioned parallel with the picture plane. It is situated to reflect the image of a viewer to the left of the pictorial space, a viewer who is in the line of vision of the female figure. In the following chapter, I will consider prints of Susanna in which she gazes outside of the pictorial space.

As in Badius' woodcut, both the visual and tactile aspects of sight are depicted in this print of Sight. The inscription below the image warns that sight arouses lust, as demonstrated by the man's desire to touch the woman's breast.

When wanton eyes are exposed too much to wickedness,
foolish youth rushes headlong into vice.¹²

Touch, the final print in this series (Fig.19), portrays the consequences of indulgence in sensual pleasures -- a young couple embrace on the verge of a kiss. Saenredam's

¹²Dum male lascivi nimium cohibentur ocelli, In vitium praeceps stulta iuventa ruit. (Translated by Geoffrey Schmaltz.)

engraving of Susanna after Goltzius (Cat.87) also alerts its audience that touch is a consequence of sight. Both Elders gaze at Susanna, as one of them reaches to touch her.

Crispin de Passe also produced many series of the five senses during the time he produced numerous images of Susanna and the Elders. In a series executed after 1589, only the inscription and the attributes of bird and spider identify the figure of Touch (Fig.20). Compositionally, however, it resembles Saenredam's engraving after Goltzius of Sight (Fig.19), further evidence of the perceived close relationship between the two senses. As in Saenredam's engraving, a couple sits in close proximity, with the male figure both scrutinizing and touching the female figure. His sight is emphasized by the eyeglasses he wears. As in Saenredam's engraving, the female figure looks directly at the beholder outside of the pictorial space. Her visual contact with the beholder is confirmed by her beseeching gaze and hand gesture. Although it seems odd that her entreaties are not directed at the solicitous male figure, her action is characteristic of other representations of the senses and of Susanna confronted by the Elders.

Another example of the affinities between depictions of the senses and depictions of Susanna and the Elders is provided by a comparison of Saenredam's Sight (Fig.19), de Passe's Touch (Fig.20) and de Passe's Susanna and the Elders after Goltzius Geldorp (Cat.64). De Passe's Susanna so

closely resembles a portrayal of Sight or Touch that without the inscription, it would be impossible to identify this image as one of Susanna. Although the inscription celebrates Susanna's virtue, Susanna's likeness to these allegorical figures suggests that this image also embodies a warning against the gratification of the senses. All three figures are depicted in half-length, with the Elders standing on either side of Susanna. One of the Elders touches her breast in much the same manner as Saenredam's male figure caresses Sight. Besides demonstrating the effect of sensual indulgence, de Passe's Susanna, like Saenredam's Sight and de Passe's Touch, also engages the viewer of the image. Susanna does not react to the Elders' tactile violation, but instead gazes beyond the pictorial space, toward the beholder. As I suggested above, the more important relationship in these depictions seems to exist between the female figure and the beholder, rather than among depicted figures. The interactive nature of these prints confirms that they exist to furnish the beholder with knowledge about himself and his relationship to these seductive female figures. In the next chapter, I will discuss the relationship between Susanna and the beholders of the prints.

Chapter IV
The Senses Engaged:
the Role of the Beholder

In the previous chapter, I discussed depictions of the senses of sight and touch within prints of Susanna and the Elders and their similarities to allegorical prints of the Five Senses. Through this comparison, I demonstrated how the prints appealed to the beholder's senses of sight and touch. Sight and touch are significant themes within the biblical account of Susanna's history. In this chapter, I analyze the use of visually explicit language in the biblical text and how this language is embodied within prints of the history of Susanna. A study of the senses must be based upon the ways the senses were understood to operate within a specific context, and therefore, an historical overview of theories of sight and touch is necessary. I briefly survey the relationship between the scientific and theological discourses on the senses in the sixteenth century and demonstrate their shared assumptions. Drawing on these assumptions and the iconographic conventions discussed in previous chapters, I address the role of the senses for the Elders and for Susanna, as well as aspects of the senses as manifested in the garden sculpture and decoration. In addition, I examine how the senses are employed in order to engage the audience and establish their relationship to these prints.

Such a study demands a clarification of the terms

related to sight that I will employ. This terminology has been introduced into the art historical discourse over the past several decades. John Berger initiated the discourse in 1972 with his BBC presentation, Ways of Seeing, which was later published as a book.¹ Since then, many important studies have been published on the viewer's relationship to images and the consequent derivation of pleasure. Works such as Norman Bryson's Vision and Painting: the Logic of the Gaze² and Laura Mulvey's Visual and Other Pleasures,³ serve as milestones in this discourse.

I have started with the basic assumption that "seeing" is the physiological act of perceiving with the eyes. I will use "sight" and "vision" to designate the faculty of seeing. "Vision" is the term more commonly used in the literature on perception, consequently granting it a more scientific connotation. I use "gaze" and "look" almost interchangeably, their difference being one of degree. To "look" is to direct one's eyes in a specific direction. To "gaze," then, is to look more intently, to fix the eyes in a steady manner. Both indicate the intention to employ the

¹John Berger, Ways of Seeing, (London: Penguin Books, 1972).

²Norman Bryson, Vision and Painting: the Logic of the Gaze, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

³Laura Mulvey, Visual and Other Pleasures, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

faculty of sight.⁴

I. Sight and touch as themes within the biblical narrative

References to the sense of sight and its dangerous effects pervade the biblical text of Susanna and the Elders. Representations of the tale proved an apt vehicle for conveying the apprehensions about the danger of sight which permeate sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theological texts. Within the textual account of Susanna's history, contemporary designers and printmakers found examples of the effects of seeing that they could transform into dramatic and persuasive visual images. In this section, I conduct a textual analysis of the language of the biblical account.⁵ I examine the English language translation as published in the New Revised Standard Edition and the Latin Vulgate. (The English translation of the biblical text appears in Appendix A and the Latin in Appendix B.)

The biblical text is replete with correlatives of the verb "to see," such as "to look," "to watch," and most

⁴These definitions have been derived in part from The Oxford Dictionary, Vols. I-XX, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

⁵I am indebted to Robert East Mooney for his assistance with the translation and analysis of the Latin text.

suggestive among them, "to feast their eyes on."⁶ It is only the act of seeing Susanna, however, that is described in the text -- Susanna is the object of the beholder's vision in every specified instance of sight. For example, Susanna is seen by the Elders who "day after day watched eagerly to see her (v.12)."⁷ Upon hearing her screams in the garden, her maids rush "to see what had happened to her (v.26)."⁸ And at her trial, "all who saw her were weeping (v.33)."⁹ It is only when sight is negated, as in "they did not see the Elders (v.18),"¹⁰ are other figures referred to in conjunction with the act of seeing. The exclusivity of seeing Susanna within the text, amongst all the other characters, suggests that the sight of her is the

⁶These are derived from the following verbs in the Latin text: **video** (to see, to look at, or to perceive); **observo** (to watch for or to take notice of); **contemplo** (to observe, to behold, to consider or to contemplate); **nosco** (to know, to recognize or to become acquainted with); **abscondo** (to hide or make invisible); and **suspicio** (to look up at).

Different nouns also convey the act of sight, such as: **conspectus** (a sight or a seeing -- from the verb **conspicio**) and **species** (a view or a look, and by extension the appearance of something).

⁷"et observabant cotidie sollicitius videre eam"
Both the verbs **observo** and **video** are employed in this verse. **Observo**, in this case, means "to watch out for." Although the verb **video** means "to see" as in "to perceive or observe," it also suggests in this case, and most other cases in the text, that the Elders acted with the intention to see her.

⁸"inruerunt per posticam ut viderent quidnam esset"

⁹"flebant igitur sui et omnes qui noverant eam"
From the verb **nosco**, meaning "to know or to recognize."

¹⁰"senes intus esse absconditos"
From **abscondo**, meaning "hidden, or made invisible."

most noteworthy act within the narrative. The significance of seeing Susanna within the text also seems to have been recognized by Netherlandish printmakers who, almost always without exception, make her the primary object of vision within their compositions.

Concomitant with being the object of vision within the text, Susanna is consequently and emphatically also the object of desire. The biblical text specifically states that it was the sight of Susanna that stimulated the Elders' passion for her. "Everyday, the two Elders used to see her (v.8),"¹¹ and as a result "they began to lust for her(v.8)," and "desired to seduce her (v.11)." Their sight of Susanna not only stimulates their libidinous desires, but also in small measure, satisfies them. Prior to acknowledging their lust for Susanna to one another and concocting their scheme, they visit the garden separately each day just to indulge in the sight of her. "Day after day they watched eagerly to see her (v.12)." This persistent seeing, however, coupled with their collusion, escalates their desire to gratify more than just sight.

Touch as a libidinous consequence of sight is also made explicit in the narrative. At Susanna's trial, "the scoundrels ordered her to be unveiled, so that they might

¹¹"et videbant eam senes"

feast their eyes on her beauty (v.32)."¹² Having been aroused by the sight of her, "the Elders stood before the people and laid their hands on her head (v.34)." After satisfying their desire to see her again, the Elders relate their account of her adultery, which also demonstrates that touch is a consequence of their sight. They state that they "saw" her wickedness with another man, and as a result, "seized" her until her maids answered her cries.

Netherlandish printmakers often exploited this passage in the text and represented the Elders' touch of Susanna at her bath as a response to their lust, rather than as an attempt to apprehend her. Though printmakers blur the motivation for touching Susanna, often implicit within the prints of the period is the notion that the Elders' grasp of Susanna is a progressive effect of their desire -- desire excited by seeing Susanna. (As I discussed in the previous chapter, this was also a common motif in allegorical representations

¹²"at iniqui illi iusserunt ut discoperiretur, erat enim cooperta, ut vel sic satiarentur decore eius"

The words "discoperiretur" and "cooperta" describe the "uncovering/covering" or "unveiling/veiling" of Susanna. This unveiling or revealing of Susanna allows the Elders to be satisfied by the sight of her beauty. It is a public reenactment of their original act of looking.

Frank Zimmerman in "The Story of Susanna and its Original Language" (Jewish Quarterly Journal 48, 1957, p.236, fn.2) suggests that the potency of this passage was lost when the story was translated from the Greek. The language of the ancient text indicates that the Elders actually demanded that both Susanna's head and breasts be exposed to the judges, not just her face. Zimmerman asserts that this action was at once a means for the Elders to satisfy their visual desire and also a strategy to prejudice the judges towards Susanna's lasciviousness.

of the senses.)

Sight is ultimately Susanna's salvation. At her trial, Susanna "looked up toward Heaven (v.35),"¹³ appealing to God's omniscient sight for deliverance from her impending punishment. Cognizant of the pervasiveness of God's sight, she had refused to "sin in the sight of the Lord (v.23)"¹⁴ when confronted by the Elders. She recognizes that God "knows(s) what is secret" and is "aware of all things before they come to be (v.42)."¹⁵ Conversely, the Elders underestimate the power of sight throughout the narrative. They "turned away their eyes from looking to Heaven (v.9)"¹⁶ as they daily watched Susanna at her bath, presuming that this action would shield them from God's sight. Both Susanna's heavenward gaze and the Elders' intentional gaze away from the heavens imply that an upward gaze invokes God's sight -- Susanna expected her visual address to gain the attention of God, whereas the Elders supposed they could evade God's notice if they did not look in his direction. I will return to this presumption later

¹³"quae flens suspexit ad caelum"
This form of **suspicio** means "to look up at."

¹⁴"quam peccare in conspectu Domini"
From the verb **conspicio**, meaning "a sight." In this context, it means "a sight of God."

¹⁵"Deus aeterne qui absconditorum es, cognitor qui nosti omnia antequam fiant"

The use of a form of **absconditus** indicates that God's sight is omniscient.

¹⁶"et declinaverunt oculus suos, ut non viderent caelum"

in this chapter.

The Elders also demonstrate their short-sightedness when they propose their scheme to Susanna and proclaim, "Look, the garden doors are shut, and no one can see us (v.20)."¹⁷ And Daniel proves Susanna's innocence by revealing the Elders' faulty sense of sight. He asks them, "Now then, if you really saw this woman, tell me this: Under what tree did you see them being intimate with each other? (v.54)."¹⁸ By inducing them to contradict one another, Daniel exposes their actual lack of sight. Sight is the Elders' downfall -- their desirous sight of the nude Susanna, their fallacious sight of the tree in question, but most notably, their underestimation of the power of God's sight. Sight, on the other hand, is Susanna's salvation -- her faith in God's omniscient sight. Susanna both suffers and benefits from being the object of sight. While sight such as that employed by the Elders incites lustful desires, the omniscient sight of a judicious, unseen beholder yields justice.

¹⁷"et nemo nos videt"

¹⁸"si vidisti eam dic sub qua arbore videris eos"

II. Sight and devotion: an historical perspective

Besides illustrating aspects of the explicitly visual language of the biblical text of Susanna's history, Netherlandish prints of the biblical story also seem to manifest aspects of contemporary accounts of vision. These accounts, based in theology, philosophy, and scientific theory, informed the function and interpretation of images in the sixteenth century. In this section, I will briefly recount prevailing theories of vision and devotion, and demonstrate how they reveal themselves in Netherlandish prints of Susanna and the Elders.

Until Johannes Kepler introduced his theory of vision in 1604, the science of optics was founded on assumptions established in antiquity. In his Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena, Quibus Astronomiae Pars Optica Traditur (Supplement to Witelo, Expounding the Optical Part of Astronomy), Kepler proposed a theory of vision which explains the refraction of light in the eye and the significance of the retina to visual perception. This treatise is generally considered to have revolutionized optical theory and be the foundation of modern theories of vision.¹⁹ Prior to Kepler, however, two competing theories

¹⁹David Lindberg, in his Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), provides a comprehensive historical overview of theories of vision from antiquity through the seventeenth century.

existed. The first, established by the Atomists in the fourth century B.C., was a theory of intromission. They contended that objects continuously emitted streams of particles which entered the eye and impressed themselves upon the mind and soul, thus creating the sensation of sight. The extramission theory of vision alleges nearly the opposite. The proponents of extramission argued that rays, emitted from the eyes, touched sighted objects and returned to the eyes with an impression of those objects. The transmission of that impression from the eyes to the mind and soul then generated sight. Also current were theories combining these two premises which supposed that the rays from the eyes collided with the particles emitted from the objects somewhere in between viewer and object. These are, of course, simplifications of theories that were modified and augmented over a nearly two-thousand-year period, but they embody the assumptions about the mechanics of sight that were prevalent until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

As I intimated above, scientific and theological interpretations of vision were not kept entirely separate. The visual aspects of late medieval devotion are founded in part upon the premises of the visual theories examined above.²⁰ Vision provided the most direct contact between

²⁰The visuality of medieval piety has been the subject of numerous important studies. Michael Camille's The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art (Cambridge:

the devout viewer and the spiritual realm because through sight the faithful were making quasi-physical contact with the sacred. Within both the intromission and extramission theories of vision, touch is a significant aspect of sight, and it was not until Kepler introduced his theory of light and the retinal image that sight and touch were understood as two entirely distinct forms of perception.²¹ Prior to Kepler, seeing an object was a means of touching that object, either with rays projected from the eyes to the object or particles emitted from the object towards the viewer. As Margaret Miles explains, medieval optical theory held that a ray projected from the eye would touch the object of devotion, and an impression of that object would travel back along the visual ray to be imprinted on the soul of the viewer.²² Within this sensibility, the sight of the elevated host during the Mass was construed as an opportunity to "touch" the body of Christ, just as the sight

Cambridge University Press, 1989) is among the best of these studies, documenting a wide range of images and practices; Margaret Miles also assesses the visual component of devotion in her work Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985); and Robert Scribner gives a brief, but thorough, historical overview of late medieval visual culture as a preface to his study, For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). I address these sources because it is my contention that traces of medieval devotional and visual practices are evident in the sixteenth-century prints that I examine.

²¹Lindberg, Theories of Vision, p.188.

²²Margaret Miles, Image as Insight, p.96.

of an image or relic was an opportunity to "touch" the Virgin or the saints. The presumed spiritual benefits of such intimate and direct contact with the sacred were prodigious.

The sight of representations of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints was also believed to make the holy figures present, to make them real before the eyes of the pious viewer. Robert Scribner, based on the definitions of A.L. Meyer,²³ designates this practice "purely bodily seeing." Scribner describes this aspect of visual piety as a type of "superstitious seeing, close to magic, entailing a belief in the efficacy and power of viewing itself."²⁴ The power of sight transformed the image into a "bodily" semblance of its subject of representation. Once transformed, the spiritual entity was made tangibly present before the devout viewer. Looking invoked the deity's presence, and provided the viewer with greater access to the deity's power. As I discussed in the second chapter, both the Protestant and Catholic Reformers of the sixteenth century referred to the innate human desire to make the spiritual present and visible.

It seems to me that these assumptions are apparent in Netherlandish prints of Susanna and the Elders. The text

²³A.L. Meyer, Heilige Überlieferung. Festschrift für I. Herwegen (Münster, 1938).

²⁴Robert Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p.4.

states that after being falsely convicted of adultery, Susanna "looked up toward Heaven (v.35)." She is typically portrayed in sixteenth-century prints of the trial looking up towards Heaven, her hands clasped in prayer (Cat.73). Her action illustrates a basic premise of medieval visual theory. She attempts, through her fixed gaze, to establish the closest possible contact with God, and thus invoke his sight of her predicament. The indication of her successful invocation of God's help is the appearance of Daniel, the visible sign of God in the biblical narrative.

Although the biblical text does not indicate that Susanna looked upward during her confrontation with the Elders at her bath, the same visual appeal to the heavens also appears in this scene. Susanna declares at this point in the narrative that "I will fall into your hands rather than sin in the sight of the Lord (v.23)," thus demonstrating her belief in God's omniscient sight.²⁵ In a number of images, Susanna's upward gaze actually makes present a sign of God's sight. For instance, Nicolas de

²⁵References to God's omniscience are evident throughout the Bible. For example, it is explicitly described in the Book of Psalms, Chapter 33:

The Lord looks down from Heaven; he sees all humankind. From where he sits enthroned he watches all the inhabitants of the earth...and observes all their deeds (v.13-15).

The notion of God's pervasive sight continues in the New Testament. Letters to the Hebrews, Chapter 4 proclaims, Before him (God) no creature is hidden, but all are naked and laid bare to the eyes of the one to whom we must render an account (v.13).

Bruyn's engraving of Susanna and the Elders (Cat.14) depicts Susanna "looking up toward Heaven" at a ray of light aimed in her direction. Susanna's gaze is returned by a sign of God's sight of the encounter taking place beside the fountain. His sight is made visible by a stream of light, much as sight was described by the advocates of extramission theory. God's sight is also signaled by a stream of light in Johannes van Vliet's etching (Cat.97).

III. Sight and Touch within the Images

In this section, I examine how sight and touch are portrayed within prints of Susanna and the Elders. The senses are exploited in order to engage the audience and establish the audience's relationship to the prints. The sensual interplay among the depicted figures, and, on another level, between these figures and the audience, is complex. As a result of these visual transactions, the beholder is offered various roles in relation to the images.

Sight in the Garden

In this section, I consider how the garden decorations portrayed in prints of the biblical story appeal to the audience and influence their response to these images. The sculptural figures that populate Susanna's garden often

engage in the acts of sight and touch themselves. As I argued previously, the visual characteristics of printmaking level the differences between representations of real and sculpted figures in a way that is not possible in painting. Because both the corporeal bodies of Susanna and the Elders and sculptural bodies in the garden are rendered in black lines against a white background, both possess like degrees of vitality. Neither are made more lifelike by the use of color. Netherlandish printmakers took advantage of this pictorial effect and rendered seemingly animate sculptural figures that, like the other depicted figures, seem to respond to their surroundings. Furthermore, the sculptural figures engage not only with their represented surroundings, but with other depicted figures, and the audience of the prints.

The sculptural figures direct their gazes differently in the various prints portraying the encounter of Susanna and the Elders in the garden. As I have discussed, the fountain figures sometimes look towards Susanna as if cautioning her to maintain her chastity, as in de Passe's (Cat.62) and Saenredam's (Cat.87) engravings. In Helt-Stockade's etching (Cat.51), the water-spouting dolphin looks disdainfully at the confrontation between Susanna and the Elders. As I stated in the first chapter, the characteristic iconography of sexual assault is apparent in this etching. For instance, one of the Elders grasps

Susanna's wrist and her hair is unbound. These iconographic motifs are typical of images which portray a sympathetic view of Susanna's plight. This suggests that the dolphin's admonishment is directed towards the Elders rather than Susanna. But the dolphin's gaze is not apparent to the Elders. It is only evident to the viewer of the image. The dolphin's critical attitude towards the Elders' actions provides the viewer with a model for his own response. Like the seemingly animate sculptural figure, the viewer is also an unacknowledged witness of Susanna's assault at her bath. If the viewer derives visual pleasure from the Elder's attempted seduction, he too would be subject to the sculptural figure's censure. Yet the beholder is offered the opportunity to identify with the sculptural figure and disavow the attempted seduction. The disparaging attitude of the dolphin provides the viewer with an alternative perspective from which to evaluate the encounter. The dolphin's contemptuous expression dissuades the viewer from pursuing his own visually stimulated desires. Although the print does not contain an explicit admonishment, these pictorial strategies persuade the viewer to refrain from indulging his own visual pleasures.

Unlike the disdainful gaze of Helt-Stockade's dolphin, the expression of Anthonie Wierix's pissatore fountain figure (Cat.102) is apparent to the Elders. Wierix's fountain figure also seems to act as an agent of censure.

He scowls at the aggressive altercation that takes place before him. Like Helt-Stockade, Wierix also employs the traditional iconography of sexual assault in his depiction of Susanna and the Elders. The pissatore figure responds to the Elders' confrontation by gazing directly at them. One of the Elders reciprocates the sculpture's gaze, distracted from Susanna. He raises his hand in question, surprised by the sculptural figure's vitality. With his gaze, the pissatore figure has halted the progression of the Elders' seduction. The urinating figure in this print is not a childlike putto, but a young man discreetly obscuring his genitals. The adolescent pissatore that disrupts the Elders' seduction may prefigure Daniel who in the biblical text is also a young man. The fountain figure halts the confrontation in the garden as Daniel will ultimately halt the Elders' false accusation. Again, the viewer is offered the opportunity to emulate the critical response of a sculptural figure. This brings up another significant issue. It is the fountain figure's sight of the Elders' attempted seduction that impedes the Elders' advances in this print.

Sculptural figures within the prints also appeal to the sight of a beholder beyond the space of the garden. In both Raphael Sadeler's engraving after Frans Pourbus (Cat.83) and Crispin de Passe's engraving (Cat.78) figures decorating the fountain directly address the audience of the image. A

putto atop the fountain in Sadeler's print and a dolphin in de Passe's play the same role as the face decorating the fountain in de Bruyn's engraving (Cat.8). They serve to make the viewer aware of his presence before these images of provocative female nudes. The sculptural figures also indicate to the viewer that his act of looking does not go unobserved. Unlike the two previously discussed sculptural figures, they do not exhibit explicit expressions of reproof. But they implicitly caution the viewer to beware of his presence before these images.

The reproach embodied in Hans Collaert's engraving (Cat.24) of Susanna at her bath is subtle. In this print, a satyr, the most lustful of creatures, looks directly at the audience as he pours water from a vessel. His expression can only be described as a smirk, and suggests complicity between the sculptural figure and the beholder. Like the satyr, the beholder has a privileged position from which to enjoy the sight of an alluring female figure at her bath. The satyr's lustful gaze, however, reminds the viewer of the character of the Elders' encounter with Susanna, as well as his own libidinous interest in the image. The rebuke to the viewer is implicit in the assumption that he does not wish to be identified with a satyr.²⁶ Daniel van Dyck's etching

²⁶Collaert's fountain is also decorated with sphinx-like female figures. Although it is unclear whether they gaze directly at Susanna, the tradition of the iconographic motif suggests that they address their reprimand to her. (See pp.30-31 above). This print affords another good example of

(Cat.34) presents a similarly problematic figure for viewer identification. Within the garden, a herm of a haggard, dismembered old man looks out toward the audience.²⁷ His frontal pose and direct gaze offer the viewer a reflection of himself before the image and defy him to identify with the actions of the two foolish old men.

The sculptural figures also engage in the act of touch as a means to censure the beholder. As I discussed in a previous chapter, the *putto pissatore* is a common fountain decoration in prints of Susanna at her bath. The *putto* is usually depicted standing on top of the fountain, water issuing from his penis. In most cases, for instance, Wierix's engraving (Cat.102) and Valckert's etching (Cat.95), the male figure holds his penis as if directing the flow of water. In both of these prints, the urinating *putto* is situated in the immediate foreground. The prominence of these figures suggests that they serve as more than just conduits of water. The male figures' touch of their genitals can be construed as a displacement of the the delineation of male and female admonitions within images of Susanna and the Elders.

²⁷This image brings to mind the above quoted passage from the Book of Matthew, Chapter 5. I repeat and augment the following verses:

I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman with lust has already committed adultery with her in his heart. If your right eye causes you to sin, tear it out and throw it away;...And if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to be thrown into Hell (v.28-30).

Elders' own sexual desire. This implication is made most obvious in Saenredam's engraving after Cornelis Cornelisz. (Cat.86) in which a putto sits astride a swan, cradling its neck in his hand. The swan's head and neck seemingly allude to the presumed sexual response of the Elders.

The function of the **pissatore** figures can also be likened to the function of the mirror in these sexually provocative images. Dirck van Hoogstraten's etching (Cat.53) illustrates their parallel visual function. As I argued previously, the mirror in Hoogstraten's print reflects the nude male figure that supports the fountain basin. The mirror image presents the viewer with a shocking reflection of his own potential sexual response. The **putto pissatore** seated in the basin also offers the viewer a reflection of himself. In this likeness, he touches his genitals. These prints caution the viewer by providing him with a representation of his own potential response to these images of Susanna at her bath. Like the satyr and dismembered herm, these **putti pissatore** are not flattering figures for identification.

The sculptural figures discussed in this section offer the viewer a combination of caution and counsel. For the most part, they discourage the viewer from choosing the role of pleasure-seeking voyeur. In some cases, the sculptural figures also offer an alternative viewing position. When the sculptural figures explicitly criticize the depicted

confrontation, the viewer can identify with them as critical witnesses to Susanna's assault.

Susanna's Sight

In this section, I consider the function and effects of the enactment of Susanna's sight in representations of the biblical story. Susanna's gaze is variously directed in the numerous prints of her history. Although she looks upwards in the majority of depictions, she looks elsewhere in a number of representations from the period. In some cases, she looks directly at the Elders as they implore her to indulge their desires. In some of these prints, Susanna seems to engage in conversation with the Elders, as if she is deliberating her options and is ready to comply to their scheme. Although Susanna states the possible alternatives in the biblical text, she never considers any but an unequivocal rejection of their entreaties.²⁸ Those images which contradict this aspect of the text include Nicolas Geilkerken's engraving (Cat.46) in which Susanna is depicted addressing one of the Elders, even as he grasps her torso. And in Nicolas de Bruyn's (Cat.15) and Cornelis Visscher's (Cat.96) engravings, Susanna seems to listen to the Elders'

²⁸"I am completely trapped. For if I do this, it will mean death for me; if I do not, I cannot escape your hands. I choose not to do it; I will fall into your hands, rather than sin in the sight of the Lord (v.22-23)."

pleas with interest.

Although Susanna is described as looking up towards the heavens at her trial, her upward gaze is not part of the biblical account of her confrontation with the Elders in the garden. Yet, Susanna was frequently depicted looking in this direction at her bath. In some cases, Susanna's upward gaze signals her piety, as in Crispin de Passe's engraving (Cat.78) and Hendrick Goltzius' (Cat.49). In these prints, Susanna is not yet aware of the Elders' presence in the garden and looks towards heaven in prayer. Or as I mentioned above, this posture may refer to allegorical representations of the sense of sight where the female figure looks into the sky in order to signify sight (and simultaneously distinguishes herself as the object of sight). But most important, Susanna's upward gaze seems to be a manifestation of the medieval theory of vision which maintained that looking toward a spiritual figure provided the most direct contact with that figure. As I discussed above, this type of sight, described by Scribner as "purely bodily seeing,"²⁹ invoked that figure's presence. A sign of God's presence is sometimes made apparent in prints of Susanna by a burst of light that emanates from the site of Susanna's gaze.

Knowing herself and the Elders to be within the sight

²⁹See above notes 23 and 24.

of the Lord,³⁰ Susanna's upward gaze can be construed as an appeal for God's attention. As I indicated in a previous section, a comparison of the Elders' and Susanna's actions in the garden suggests that a heavenward gaze conjures God's sight. The Elders "turned away their eyes from looking to heaven (v.9)," presumably because this action would shield them from God's sight. Whereas Susanna refused "to sin in the sight of the Lord (v.23)," and is regularly depicted looking towards the heavens. Susanna's gaze seems to be a plea for God to see her encounter with the Elders and act as witness to their malevolent actions. This is made most obvious in prints such as those by Jan van Londerseel after David Vinckboons (Cat.57) and Peter van der Borcht (Cat.4) in which her upward gaze is accompanied by beseeching gestures. Susanna's salvation depends upon the presence of a spectator to confirm her innocence, and, as I stated earlier in this chapter, it is God's omniscient sight that ultimately saves her.

In the majority of representations of Susanna at her bath, such as Saenredam's after Goltzius (Cat.87) and Matham's after Cornelis Cornelisz.(Cat.59), she remains serene as the Elders' make their proposition. Instead of emphatically refusing them, she just gazes upward. Her composed attitude seems incongruous with her situation and

³⁰"I will fall into your hands rather than sin in the sight of the Lord (v.23)."

has been variously interpreted.³¹ If, however, we accept that Susanna is confident that the Elders' advances take place within the sight of the Lord, then her countenance is appropriate to the situation. By gazing upward and soliciting God's attention, she is certain that her innocence will be witnessed by an omnipresent, though invisible observer. As I described above, in depictions in which Susanna seems to consider the Elders' proposition, she always looks directly at them. There would be no reason to look upward and solicit the attention of a heavenly witness if she intends to comply with their scheme.

The object of Susanna's gaze is difficult to determine in the several prints which portray her looking outside the pictorial space rather than towards the heavens. In Cornelis Matsys' (Cat.60) and Jan Saenredam's (Cat.62) engravings, her gaze is unfocused. But in prints by Abraham de Bruyn (Cat.8) and Anthonie Wierix's after de Vos (Cat.101), Susanna's attention is undeniably fixed on something or someone outside of the pictorial space. Again, I maintain that her composure in the face of the Elders' assault is the result of her knowledge of a beholder outside

³¹Mary Garrard argues that male artists have historically depicted Susanna's passivity as a sign of her temptation to acquiesce to the Elders' desires. Although I think Garrard's argument is applicable to the Italian and Baroque paintings she examines, the specific historical context and particular medium of these images suggests an alternative interpretation. "Artemisia and Susanna," in Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany, edited by Mary Garrard and Norma Broude, (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), p.150.

of the depicted space. In these cases, in contrast to those prints in which she looks heavenward, it is her sight of an unseen figure that reassures her. Even though this implied figure remains unidentified and unseen by the viewer, he still serves as a witness to the encounter and can testify to Susanna's innocence.

The tendency to fix Susanna's gaze beyond the represented space of the print, practiced by printmakers in Antwerp in the sixteenth century, continued in Antwerp with even greater frequency in the seventeenth century. The Susannas in these prints, rather than addressing an unknown entity at the sides of the pictorial space, gaze outward into the viewer's space. In Paul Pontius' engraving after Peter Paul Rubens from 1624 (Cat.81),³² Susanna struggles to cover herself as the Elders strip away her drapery. Twisting her body, she stares over her shoulder into the viewer's space. A smile forms on her lips as she seems to recognize the presence of an observer. Although she attempts to conceal her nudity, she remains composed, just

³²Elizabeth McGrath addresses this print and another by Lucas Vorsterman II after Rubens in her article, "Rubens' Susanna and the Elders and moralizing inscriptions on prints," in Wort und Bild in der Niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, Herman Vekeman and Justus Müller Hofstede, eds. (Erftstadt: Lukassen Verlag, 1984), pp.73-90. She argues that although the inscriptions Rubens provided for these two prints are moralizing (the inscription on the Vorsterman copy celebrates Susanna's chastity and the inscription on the Pontius condemns the amorous adventures of old men), neither print was meant to be primarily didactic. The inscriptions were intended to legitimate the erotic content of the images.

as Matham's and Saenredam's Susannas did, confident of the presence of an audience. Matham's and Saenredam's Susannas appeal to the sight of an omniscient, spiritual entity above, whereas Pontius' Susanna appeals to a viewer outside of the pictorial space. Susanna's outward gaze presumes the presence of an audience. In these seventeenth-century prints, God's omniscience is shared by the audience of these prints. Knowing the consequences of the Elders' actions, the beholder is compelled to consider his position before the images.

Another print after Rubens, this one engraved by Lucas Vorsterman I (Cat.99) from 1620, even more forcefully appeals to the sight of a beholder positioned before the print. Like Pontius' Susanna, Vorsterman's Susanna remains composed as she shields her body from the Elders. Here, in contrast to Pontius' print, she looks directly at the viewer. While the gaze she directs at the beholder may be characterized as a teasing, playful attempt to engage the viewer's libidinous interest, I maintain that Susanna's direct gaze is an appeal to the viewer's sight.³³ By

³³Although this print is dedicated to Anna Roermer Visscher, an illustrious contemporary of Rubens, and the inscription celebrates Susanna's chastity, McGrath argues that Susanna's erotic appeal is emphasized in this image. This emphasis on her seductive qualities invites the viewer to indulge in the same visual pleasures offered to the Elders. McGrath contends that Susanna looks with displeasure at the audience, annoyed that additional viewers are privy to her private bath. I do not read annoyance in Susanna's gaze, but relief that another viewer is present. McGrath, "Rubens's Susanna and the Elders and moralizing inscriptions on prints,"

flirtatiously engaging the viewer, Susanna attempts to make herself the object of his sight. She seduces the beholder into acknowledging his presence before the image (even if he had only been there to indulge in his own voyeuristic pleasures),³⁴ and compels him to acknowledge his assault. This forces the viewer to negotiate his relationship to the scene. Passive voyeurism has been rendered impossible, and the viewer is implicated in Susanna's plight.

Cornelis Schut's etchings from the 1630s (Cats. 88 and 89) likewise demand that the beholder acknowledge his own presence before the print. In both images, Susanna looks out towards the viewer as she struggles to keep her drapery in place. The etchings represent Susanna in two distinct postures. The first (Cat.88) portrays Susanna in the process of rising to her feet, as if she has just perceived the presence of someone in the viewer's space. The fountain ledge is situated in the immediate foreground and barely separates the pictorial space from the viewer's. As she stands, her drapery and the contents of a vessel spill over the ledge, seemingly into the viewer's space. This

p.84.

³⁴The only other print of Susanna known to me in which she gazes directly at the viewer is by Pieter de Baillieue, another Antwerp engraver. In the first state of this print Susanna looks down towards her foot (Cat.1). In the second state, however, the engraver changed the orientation of Susanna's head to face the beholder of the print. It is not known when this change was made to the plate. Unfortunately, I am unable to provide a reproduction of the second state.

pictorial device further collapses the boundary between the represented space and the viewer. The lack of boundary lends the impression that the beholder is within close proximity and will therefore be present to observe the Elders' actions.

The boundary between the pictorial space and viewer's space is further minimized in the second etching by Schut (Cat.89). There is no ledge separating the two spaces and Susanna is situated in the immediate foreground. This Susanna remains composed in response to the Elders' advances, confident that an audience exists outside the pictorial space. She looks expectantly out towards the viewer, with her lips parted as if she is preparing to speak. One of the Elders points, a gesture typically directed toward the garden gate. But in this image, he points in the same direction that Susanna is looking -- out toward the viewer. This gesture draws the viewer into a visual confrontation with Susanna and the Elders, which becomes, by extension, a moral confrontation. The viewer, perceived by the participants, must decide whether to participate as outraged witness or complicit spectator.

The startled expression of the other Elder as he gazes beyond the pictorial space also suggests the presence of an unseen beholder. As in Wierix's engraving (Cat.102) in which the pissatore figure's gaze halts the progression of the Elder's advance, the gaze of the unseen beholder from

outside this print arrests the action of the startled Elder. The power and salvific effects of sight are particularly evident in this etching. Susanna's beseeching gaze implores the beholder to witness the Elders' transgression and the beholder's reciprocated sight impedes the one Elder's advances.

Although these seventeenth-century prints of Susanna and the Elders differ compositionally and iconographically from those produced at the end of the sixteenth century in Antwerp (and even those produced early in the seventeenth century in the northern Netherlands), Susanna's sight within the images functions similarly. In the majority of these representations, Susanna's sight is a form of address, a plea for returned sight. The returned gaze witnesses Susanna's assault and thus confirms her innocence. Within the biblical narrative, sight is Susanna's salvation. In prints from the sixteenth century, Susanna's gaze is directed towards God in the heavens. In the seventeenth century in Antwerp, however, Susanna, rather than invoking the attention of a deity above, visually solicits the beholder of the images to act as witness to the Elders' attempted seduction. Susanna's gaze toward the beholder encourages him to act as a judicious observer and attest to her innocence. Her outward gaze seemingly beseeches the beholder to acknowledge his presence in front of the image. In acknowledging his sight of the confrontation in the

garden, the beholder must also recognize his response to the sight of a provocative female nude. The viewer is presented with the conflicting roles of voyeur and witness. As a voyeur, his sight of the encounter incites dangerous desires. As a witness, his sight assures Susanna's salvation. The lessons of the dangerous effects of visual arousal embodied in prints of Susanna and the Elders (as described in the previous chapters) would persuade the viewer to forsake the role of voyeur and instead assume the more virtuous role of witness.

The Elders' Sight and Touch

In this section, I consider the role the Elders play in establishing the beholder's relationship to prints of Susanna. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the Elders' sight and touch invite the beholder to indulge in similar sensual pleasures. For instance, almost without exception, the Elders look directly at Susanna as she sits by her bath. As in allegorical depictions of Sight, this pictorial device identifies Susanna as the principal object of sight in prints of the biblical story. Through identification with the Elders' libidinous gaze, the beholder can safely gratify his own visual desires.³⁵

³⁵This viewer/image relationship of visual identification and derivation of vicarious pleasure has been thoroughly explicated in the art historical literature, such as in Laura

The Elders also actively solicit the visual engagement of the beholder of these prints. The biblical text states that at her trial "the scoundrels ordered her to be unveiled, so that they might feast their eyes on her beauty (v.32)." It is often the Elders themselves who are depicted removing Susanna's head covering at the trial. In Hans Collaert's engraving (Cat.21), one of the Elders holds back her veil from her face so that the judges might better see her. In making Susanna the object of the judges' sight, they seek to incite the judges' own visual desire and thereby win their sympathy.³⁶ This action of pulling aside Susanna's covering is also apparent in representations of Susanna at her bath, presumably to the same effect. The intended audience of the unveiling in these cases, however, is not the judges, but the beholder outside of the pictorial space. By granting the viewer greater visual access to Susanna's body, the Elders solicit the viewer's sight, as well as induce his visual desires.

The Elders' act of pulling aside Susanna's drapery only

Mulvey's previously cited Visual and Other Pleasures, 1989. This paradigm of viewing has also been discussed specifically in regards to the relationship between the viewer and depictions of the Elders. See Griselda Pollock's review of Mary Garrard's Artemisia Gentileschi: the Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art (Art Bulletin LXXII, 1990), pp.499-505.

³⁶As previously noted, Frank Zimmerman argues that this action was a means to prejudice the judges towards Susanna's lasciviousness. In "The Story of Susanna and its Original Language," (Jewish Quarterly Journal 48, 1957, p.236).

occurs in printed depictions of the story from the seventeenth-century, and occurs primarily in depictions produced in the southern Netherlands. Prior to the seventeenth century, Susanna's covering was either clutched to her body or cast to the side. The seductive play of undressing the female figure is apparent in these later prints. For instance, in Daniel van Dyck's etching (Cat.34), one of the Elders draws back Susanna's drapery from her shoulders. His action provides the other Elder, positioned in front of Susanna, with the sight of the fully nude Susanna. The Elders' gesture also provides the beholder with an unobscured view of Susanna's body. The same action is apparent in Lucas Vorsterman's (Cat.98) and Paulus Pontius' (Cat.81) prints after Rubens. The Elders pull back Susanna's robes, better revealing her nude body to themselves and the beholder of the images. Both of these prints after Rubens also manifest another striking characteristic. As Susanna's drapery is pulled away from her, one of the Elders leans forward to touch her newly exposed flesh. The sight of her nude body has induced their desire to touch. The gesture of explicitly exposing Susanna to the audience of these prints also solicits their tactile involvement. Susanna's position in the immediate foreground of these two prints further reinforces this invitation to the audience.

It is also important to note that the images in which

the Elders pull aside Susanna's robes are primarily the same images in which Susanna's gaze is directed towards the viewer's space.³⁷ I have previously suggested that the beholder's relationship to these seventeenth-century prints is different from his relationship to earlier prints of the story. In these later prints, the Elders pointedly reveal Susanna's nude body, both for themselves and for the audience. This action explicitly invites the beholder's collusion with the Elders. Simultaneously, Susanna's outward gaze implores the audience to witness the Elders' visual and tactile transgression. These pictorial strategies compel the viewer to participate in the drama of the image.

Although these pictorial strategies signal a transformation of visual representations of the subject in the seventeenth century, they are based on sixteenth-century pictorial conventions. These conventions are manipulated in the seventeenth century in such a way as to make the prints more dynamic and interactive. The prints themselves convey the same admonitions to their audience, but their method of transmission is far more potent. As in the previous century, the images bodily engage their audience in an

³⁷In van Dyck's and Visscher's etchings, Susanna meets the gazes of the Elders as they tug at her robes, and in Christoffel Jegher's woodcut after Rubens (Cat. 54) Susanna looks towards the ground, but in most other of these depictions, her gaze is directed outside of the pictorial space.

attempt to promote virtue, but these later prints demand that the beholder become more aware of his position as a viewer before the image.

Nicolas de Bruyn's engraving (Cat.14) of Susanna at her bath from the early seventeenth century is unique in that it juxtaposes the pictorial strategies of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It portrays Susanna and the Elders standing in half-length beside a spigot, with only the most minimal references to the conventional iconography of Susanna at her bath. Without the inscription, Susanna could easily be mistaken for an allegorical depiction of Sight or Touch within this sparse environment. The Elders stand on either side of Susanna. One Elder stares at her and lays his arm across her shoulder. The other looks directly at the beholder of the image as he attempts to draw Susanna's hand away from covering her breasts. Although similar in intent to pulling away Susanna's drapery and exposing her nudity, the Elders' gaze towards the audience transforms the act into more than a simple act of display. The Elder is consciously offering the beholder the sight of Susanna's body, thus soliciting his complicity in the seduction. The beholder's collusion would guarantee his role as voyeur rather than as a witness to the Elders' scheme. Susanna's gaze, however, is equally significant in this image. She calmly looks up towards the heavens, with the knowledge that she will be saved. Whereas the Elder has

solicited the sight of the viewer, Susanna has more prudently solicited the attention of God above. The sign of God's sight is evident to the viewer and is intended to influence his choice between vice and virtue. Although few prints of Susanna portray such an explicit manifestation of God's presence, earlier pictorial conventions and the religious climate of the period would have suggested his presence to the beholder, and reminded him to act virtuously before such an image.

EPILOGUE

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS: AN ALLEGORY OF THE DANGER OF SIGHT

Finally, I would like to address the allegorical function of Netherlandish prints of Susanna. Besides being images of a provocative female nude, these prints also allegorize the dangerous effects of sight in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In the following pages, I will describe their allegorical function.

Contemporary literary theorists continue to wrestle with the definition of "allegory."¹ Although this thesis has no pretensions toward contributing to the theoretical discourse on the definition of the literary and representational device, I propose the following definition for the purposes of this study. An allegory is a representation which embodies two levels of meaning or signification. The first level is the visible level of the representation, and often takes the form of a narrative.

¹Although the merits of allegory as a representational device have been disputed by critics for the last two centuries, the device has recently been the subject of intensive scrutiny by contemporary theorists. Since the publication of Angus Fletcher's Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode (New York: Cornell University Press, 1964) in which he claimed "allegory says one thing and means another," theorists have attempted to authoritatively delineate the characteristics of allegory. Studies such as Carolyn van Dyck's The Fiction of Truth: Structures of Meaning in Narrative and Dramatic Allegory (NY: Cornell University Press, 1985) and Stephen Greenblatt's Allegory and Representation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981) have contributed significantly to the discourse.

The second level of meaning is not as obvious, and is signified by the first level of meaning. This second level often presents an abstract idea. The less explicit level of signification is frequently employed to present a lesson, as in a parable. Using this definition, I will demonstrate how depictions of the biblical story, when examined within their historical context, have distinct meanings at these dual levels.²

As I have indicated throughout the chapters of this thesis, two levels of meaning exist in most printed representations of Susanna and the Elders. On the most literal level, the prints are representations of a story in which two old men solicit the sexual attention of a young woman while she bathes in her garden fountain. Interpreted on this level, prints of Susanna and the Elders are portrayals of the voyeuristic pleasure of the lecherous Elders. As such, they offer the beholder vicarious visual pleasure through his identification with the Elders.

Attention to the historical evidence, both textual and visual, reveals that prints of Susanna also have another meaning. Although these prints portray a seductive female

²That allegory was such a popular representational device in printmaking in the Renaissance also suggests the likelihood that prints of Susanna were intended to have a secondary, allegorical meaning. This is evidenced by the plethora of allegorical depictions in the medium. Numerous allegorical prints of the Virtues, Vices, Seasons, Months, and Elements, amongst others were issued in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

figure, representations of the biblical story also illustrate the dangerous effects of visual stimulation. I have demonstrated through examinations of the textual debates over lascivious images and allegorical prints of the Five Senses that admonitions to guard against the libidinous consequences of visual arousal were pervasive in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An examination of prints of Susanna and the Elders within the context of these texts and contemporary images reveals that they also embody warnings to heed the consequences of sight. As such, prints of Susanna can be construed as allegories of the dangerous effects of sight. Prints of Susanna and the Elders present an abstract idea through the representation of a story. The abstract notion of the "danger of sight" is given a narrative context in these prints, thus making it more accessible and comprehensible for the Netherlandish public. (As I argued in Chapter 2, sixteenth-century theologians such as Karlstadt and Calvin vehemently maintained that humanity, in order to better understand the abstract and intangible, desired to see it in physical form.)

Another aspect of allegory pertinent to depictions of Susanna and the Elders remains their instructive function. In this capacity, allegories operate at the level of parables or fables. As I have demonstrated in the text of this thesis, prints of Susanna and the Elders offer various

admonitions and lessons to their audience, both male and female. Through different pictorial and iconographic devices, these distinct admonitions are addressed specifically to the female and male components of the audience. Admonitions addressed specifically to the female audience occur less frequently in prints of the biblical tale. In these prints, Susanna is chastised for inviting the visual and ultimately sexual attentions of the Elders. Through identification with Susanna, the female beholder is cautioned not to solicit the visual interest of men.³

The lesson offered to the male audience is more explicit. The prints illustrate the dangerous (and in this case fatal) consequences of the stimulation of libidinous desires through the sight of a provocative female nude. As I argued previously, the prints also solicited a bodily

³During the course of the research for this project, it has become evident that other aspects of this topic warrant further investigation. The ideological parameters of this study have prohibited a thorough examination of all of the prints catalogued in this thesis. For instance, prints of Susanna which appeal specifically to a female audience deserve supplementary study, such as the iconic representations of Susanna within series of celebrated women. As I indicated in the first chapter, the accentuation of Susanna's nudity within this compositional type necessitates examination within a different context. Rather than as a means to engage the libidinous interest of the beholder (as is argued in the context of this study), Susanna's nude body in these prints is her signifying attribute, the site of her power. This notion warrants further scrutiny within the discourse of female figures as viewing objects.

Other areas for additional study include a comparative study of single sheet prints and Bible and book illustrations of Susanna and the Elders. A study of the correspondences between prints of the subject and the more public medium of painting would also prove fruitful.

response from their male beholders and compelled them to acknowledge the arousal of their own desires. In doing so, these images provided their audience with knowledge of their own incipient passions. On the most literal level, prints of the story portray voyeuristic pleasure. But on the allegorical level, the prints symbolize the dangerous potential of visual stimulation.

**CATALOGUE:
PRINTS OF SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS**

This catalogue includes a technical description of the engravings, etchings and woodcuts of Susanna produced in the Netherlands between 1500 and 1650. Where possible, it also includes an illustration of the print. I have examined an impression of the majority of the prints described, and that impression is marked with an asterisk (*) within the "location" field of the catalogue entry. The impression examined, however, is not always the impression illustrated. The field labeled "reproduction" refers to the source of photograph or photocopy reproduced. I have listed states of prints, their publishers and the locations of states where it is possible.

Standard catalogue citation abbreviations:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| H. | Hollstein, F.W.H., Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700, Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1949- |
| NH. | Luijten, Ger, ed., <u>The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700</u> , Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet, 1993- |
| TIB | Strauss, Walter, ed., <u>The Illustrated Bartsch</u> , NY: Abaris Books, 1978- |
| F. | Franken, Daniel. <u>L'Oeuvre Grave des van de Passe</u> , (Paris, 1881), Amsterdam, 1975 |
| M.-H. | Mauquoy-Hendrickx, Marie. <u>Les Estampes de Wierix: conserveés au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliotheque Royale Albert Ier</u> , Brussels, 1978 |
| Riggs | Riggs, Timothy. <u>Hieronymous Cock: Printmaker and Publisher</u> , Garland Press, 1977 |
| Stock | Stock, Jan van den, <u>Cornelis Matsys: oeuvre graphique: catalogue d'exposition</u> , Brussels, 1985 |

Locations:

- | | |
|------|---|
| BN | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris |
| BvB | Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam |
| Fogg | Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA |
| GSA | Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna |
| LP | Prentenkabinet, Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden |
| MMA | Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY |
| PMA | Philadelphia Museum of Art, PA |
| RPK | Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam |
| SP | Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp |
| TM | Teylers Museum, Haarlem |

Reproductions:

Photographs

BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
GSA	Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna
PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art, PA
RPK	Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

Photocopies

Holl	Hollstein, F.W.H., <u>Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700</u> , Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1949-
NHoll	Luijten, G., ed., <u>The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700</u> , Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet, 1993-
TIB	Strauss, Walter, ed., <u>The Illustrated Bartsch</u> , NY: Abaris Books, 1978-
McGrath	Elizabeth McGrath, "Rubens' Susanna and the Elders and moralizing inscriptions on prints," in H. Vekeman and J. Muller Hofstede, eds., <u>Wort und Bild in der Niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts</u> , Erfstadt, 1984, pp.73-90.
Veldman	Ilja Veldman, "Lessons for Ladies," <u>Simiolus</u> 16, 1986, pp.113-127.

Cat.1

Pieter de Baillieu (Antwerp 1613 - Antwerp 1660)
after Martin Pepyn (1575-1643)

Susanna at her Bath

H.3

Inscription: Martinus Pepyn pinxit. / Petrus de Balliu
sculpsit. / Gillis Hendricx excud. Antwerpiae

In margin:

TURPE SENILIS AMOR

engraving, 353 x 274 mm

States: I. Gilles Hendricx exc (Fogg, SP)

II. Gilles Hendricx (SP)

Locations: Fogg*, SP

Notes:

Change from state I to II is significant. In
state I Susanna looks down towards her foot, while
in state II she looks directly at the viewer.

Unknown when change was made to plate.

Reproduction: Fogg

Cat.2

Johan Bara (Den Bosch/Middleburg 1581 - London 1634)
copy of Saenredam H.23, (Cat.87)

Susanna and the Elders, 1598

H.1

Inscription: HGoltzius inventor/Bara sculptor/Wilhelm
Peter Zimmerman excudebat

In margin:

Casta pudicitie cuidados, et conscia culpe

Nullius mens est, intemerata manet. C. Schonaeus

engraving, 245 x 166 mm

States: I. Zimmerman exc

II. Jer Wolff exc

Locations: RPK*, PMA

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.3

Johan Bara (Den Bosc/Middleburg 1581 - London 1634)
Susanna and the Elders in a Landscape, 1627

H.2

Inscription: Jan de la Barra fecit Londini 1627 / Hugo
Allardt exc

Locations: Have been unable to locate this print

Notes:

Cited by Sydney Colvin in Early Engravings and
Engravers in England (1545-1695), London, 1905.

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.4

Peter van der Borcht IV (Mechelen 1545 - Antwerp 1608)
Susanna and the Elders, 1582/1585

from Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum, (H.1-100)

H.58

Inscription: CASTA PLACENT SUPERIS / PE V BORCHT

In margin:

Sollicitata Senum precibus Susanna minisque

Neglexit vitae turpia amore pati

Nil agitis, clamans, peruersi. Hoc laedere corpus

Velquicunque queat, nemo pudicitiam.

etching, 183 x 255 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.5

Peter van der Borcht IV (Mechelen 1545 - Antwerp 1608)
after Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-1604/23)

Susanna and the Elders, 1583

from Hortorum Viridariumque Elegantes, H.391-396

H.394

Inscription: Philippus Galle excudebat Antwerpiae 1583
engraving, 216 x 270 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.6

Claes van Breen (Haarlem c.1560 - after 1602)
after Jacob Matham (1571-1631)

Susanna at her Bath

H.9

Inscription: JM Inve et excud/NB Sculp

In margin:

Quo veteratores ruitis vos perditis ipsi:

Investram recident tela retorta caput.

Est Deus, insontes tandem qui liberet, atque

Qui renum latebras, caecaque corda sciat. SHS

engraving, 223 x 171 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: TIB (after Matham)

Cat.7

Abraham de Bruyn (Antwerp 1540 - Cologne 1587)

Susanna and her Maids at her Bath, 1570

from *The History of Susanna* (H.1-7)

H.1

Inscription: AdB 1570

In margin:

SESE IN FONTE LA ANS VITREO SUSANNA PUELLIS IVSSIT

ODERIFERV SINIGMATE FERRE OLEUM

engraving, 63 x 89 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.8

Abraham de Bruyn (Antwerp 1540 - Cologne 1587)

Susanna and the Elders, 1570

from *The History of Susanna* (H.1-7)

H.2

In margin:

CIRCUNVENTA DOLIS DEXTRA LEVAQUE REPUGNANS

CONSERVARE CUPIT MORTE PUDICITIAM

engraving, 63 x 89 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.9

Abraham de Bruyn (Antwerp 1540 - Cologne 1587)

Susanna Accused Before the Judge, 1570

from *The History of Susanna* (H.1-7)

H.3

In margin:

ANTE SENES FORMAE CAVSA NUDATUR INIQUOS CITATA ET

FALSO CRIMINIS ARGUITUR

engraving, 63 x 89 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.10

Abraham de Bruyn (Antwerp 1540 - Cologne 1587)
Susanna Led away to be Stoned, 1570
from **The History of Susanna** (H.1-7)

H.4

Inscription: AdB 1570

In margin:

CREDULA TURBA PIAM DAMNAT MORTIQUE PROPINQUA
DEFENDIT DANIEL TRISTITIAQUE LEVAT

engraving, 63 x 89 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.11

Abraham de Bruyn (Antwerp 1540 - Cologne 1587)
Daniel Questions the Elders, 1570
from **The History of Susanna** (H.1-7)

H.5

Inscription: AdB 1570

In margin:

IV DICIS OFFICIO PUER ALTA MENTE POTITUS FALSIL
OQUM PRODIT CRIMNA DIRA SENUM

engraving, 63 x 89 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.12

Abraham de Bruyn (Antwerp 1540 - Cologne 1587)
Elders Led away to be Stoned, 1570
from **The History of Susanna** (H.1-7)

H.6

Inscription: AdB

In margin:

LIBERAT INNOCUAM DANIEL SINE VULNERE FAMA DAMNAT
ET ATTONITOS FRAVS SCELERTA SENES

engraving, 63 x 89 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.13

Abraham de Bruyn (Antwerp 1540 - Cologne 1587)
Elders Stoned to Death, 1570
from **The History of Susanna** (H.1-7)

H.7

Inscription: AdB

In margin:

SUPPLITIUM CASTAE FUERAT QUOD FRAVDE PARATV
SUSANNAE SCELERIS CORRIPIT ARTIFICES

engraving, 63 x 89 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.14

Nicolas de Bruyn (Antwerp 1571 - Rotterdam 1656)

Susanna and the Elders

H.30

Inscription: N de Bruyn fecit

In margin:

Attendant forma celebremque pudore Susannam

Iniusti quibus est facta repulsa, senes:

Ira metuusque fidem laesam testantur, at insons

Fatidici vatis soluitur ore, nece.

engraving, 193 x 153 mm

States: I. no address (RPK)

II. CIVisscher exc (PMA)

Locations: RPK*, PMA

Notes:

Same inscription appears in margin of Goltzius' engraving (Cat.49).

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.15

Nicolas de Bruyn (Antwerp 1571 - Rotterdam 1656)

Susanna and the Elders, 1629

from **The History of Susanna** (H.31-34)

H.31

Inscription: N de Bruyn Inventor et f / 1629

engraving, 625 x 453 mm

Locations: RPK*

Notes:

Both plates #1 and #4 are dated 1629, while plate #2 is dated 1630 and plate #3 is dated 1631.

Plates #1 and #4 were probably issued as a set by the publisher P. Schenk, with the two others issued in the following years to add to the set.

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.16

Nicolas de Bruyn (Antwerp 1571 - Rotterdam 1656)

Susanna Accused Before the Judge, 1630

from **The History of Susanna** (H.31-34)

H.32

Inscription: Nicolas de Bruyn Inventor et f / 1630

engraving, 625 x 453 mm

Locations: RPK*, Fogg

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.17

Nicolas de Bruyn (Antwerp 1571 - Rotterdam 1656)

Daniel Disputes the Elders Testimony, 1631

from **The History of Susanna** (H.31-34)

H.33

Inscription: Nicolas de Bruyn Inventor et f / 1631
engraving, 625 x 453 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.18

Nicolas de Bruyn (Antwerp 1571 - Rotterdam 1656)

Stoning of the Elders, 1629

from **The History of Susanna** (H.31-34)

H.34

Inscription: Nicolas de Bruyn Inventor et f / 1629 /
P.Schenk exc. A.C.P. / ET FECERUNT IIS EX LEGE MOSIS .

adj. ad Dan XIII, 62

engraving, 625 x 453 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.19

Jan Theodore de Bry (Liege 1561 - Frankfurt 1623)

Susanna and the Elders

from **Knife Handles and Ornaments for Goldsmiths,**

(H.292-303)

Inscription: I. Theodore de Bry fecit et excud.

engraving, 65 x 30 mm

Locations: RPK

Notes:

Although the sheet is inscribed "de Bry fecit," he
copied Crispin de Passe's **Susanna and the Elders**
(H.51) within oval on knife, with only minor
changes made to de Passe's design.

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.20

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp
1628)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Susanna and the Elders

from **The History of Susanna**, H.9-12

H.9

Inscription: M de Vos invent / Ioan Collaert Sculp /
Theodorus Galleus excudit / 1

In margin:

DUM NATA HELCHIAE ROSEOS PERFUNDERET ARTUS,
ECCE SENES NUMDUM STIMULANT: ET AMORIBUS INSTANT.

engraving, 214 x 273 mm

States: I. Jan Baptist I Vrints exc

II. Theoduros Galleus exc (BN)

Locations: BN*

Notes: Drawings for second and third sheets in
Rotterdam.

Reproduction: BN

Cat.21

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp 1628)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Susanna Accused before the Judges

from **The History of Susanna**, H.9-12

H.10

Inscription: M de Vos invent / Ioan Collaert Sculp /
Theodorus Galleus excudit / 2

In margin:

QUOS SIMUL AC TEMNIT CONSTANTI PECTORE VIRGO:
SISTITUR (ACH) DICTIS FALLACIBUS ANTE TRIBUNAL.

engraving, 214 x 273 mm

States: I. Jan Baptist I Vrints exc

II. Theoduros Galleus exc (BN)

Locations: BN*, RPK

Reproduction: BN

Cat.22

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp 1628)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Daniel Intervenens on Susanna's Behalf

from **The History of Susanna**, H.9-12

H.11

Inscription: M de Vos invent / Ioan Collaert Sculp /
Theodorus Galleus excudit / 3

In margin:

DUMQ PIAM DAMNANT; ET DURO CARCERE CLAUDUNT,
LIBERAT HANC VATES DIVINO REGIVS ORE.

engraving, 214 x 273 mm

States: I. Jan Baptist I Vrints exc

II. Theoduros Galleus exc (BN)

Locations: BN*

Reproduction: BN

Cat.23

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp 1628)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

The Stoning of the Elders

from **The History of Susanna**, H.9-12

H.12

Inscription: M de Vos invent / Ioan Collaert Sculp /
Theodorus Galleus excudit / 4

In margin:

INDICIO AT ARREPTO: FALSIS SUA PRAEMIA REDDIT
TESTIBUS, UT MERITAS PERSOLVANT CRIMINE POENAS.

engraving, 214 x 273 mm

States: I. Jan Baptist I Vrints exc

II. Theoduros Galleus exc (BN)

Locations: BN*

Reproduction: BN

Cat.24

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp 1628)

after Hans Collaert the Elder (1530-1582)

Susanna and the Elders, before 1585

from **The History of Susanna**

Not described in Hollstein

Inscription: G. de Jode excud.

In margin:

Illicito castum Susanna pectus amore, Tentatur
talami seruat at illa fidem. Daniel 13

engraving, 203 x 263 mm

States: I. Gerard de Jode exc (Fogg, RPK)

II. Claes Jan Visscher exc (LP, PMA)

Locations: Fogg*, RPK, PMA, LP

Reproduction: Fogg

Cat.25

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp 1628)

after Hans Collaert the Elder (1530-1582)

Susanna Accused before the Judge, before 1585

from **The History of Susanna**

Not described in Hollstein

Inscription in margin:

Criminibus falsis sub iniquo iudicis ore,
Damnatur mortis que sine labe fuit. Daniel 13

engraving, 191 x 265 mm

States: I. Gerard de Jode exc (Fogg, RPK)

II. Claes Jan Visscher exc (LP, PMA)

Locations: Fogg*, RPK, PMA, LP

Reproduction: Fogg

Cat.26

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp 1628)

after Hans Collaert the Elder (1530-1582)

Daniel Intervenes on Susanna's Behalf, before 1585

from **The History of Susanna**

Not described in Hollstein

Inscription: HCF (monogram)

In margin:

Intuste damnata viris Susanna perisset, Ni
Danielis ope libera facta foret. Daniel 13

engraving, 194 x 267 mm

States: I. Gerard de Jode exc (Fogg, RPK)

II. Claes Jan Visscher exc (LP, PMA)

Locations: Fogg*, RPK, PMA, LP

Reproduction: Fogg

Cat.27

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp 1628)
after Hans Collaert the Elder (1530-1582)
The Stoning of the Elders, before 1585
from **The History of Susanna**
Not described in Hollstein
Inscription: HCF (monogram)
In margin:
Falsi plectuntur testes saxisque premuntur, Et
cadi in molles poena cruenta senes. Daniel 13
engraving, 197 x 260 mm
States: I. Gerard de Jode exc (Fogg, RPK)
II. Claes Jan Visscher exc (LP, PMA)
Locations: Fogg*, RPK, PMA, LP
Reproduction: Fogg

Cat.28

Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert (Antwerp 1566 - Antwerp 1628)
after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)
Susanna
from **Celebrated Women of the Old Testament, (H.13-32)**
H.31
Inscription: M de Vos invent / J Collaert Sculp / Phls.
Galle excud / SUSANNA
In margin:
Susanna, a senibus falso accusata malignis, Ingons
inuenta est, frauqz, retecta senum.
engraving, 159 x 95 mm
Locations: RPK*
Reproduction: RPK

Cat.29

Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert (Amsterdam 1519 - Gouda 1590)
after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)
Susanna and the Elders, 1551
from **The Story of Susanna, (NH.215-218)**
NH.215
engraving and etching, 250 x 195 mm
Locations: RPK*
Reproduction: NHoll

Cat.30

Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert (Amsterdam 1519 - Gouda 1590)
after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)
Susanna Accused before the Judges, 1551
from **The Story of Susanna, (NH.215-218)**
NH.216
engraving and etching, 247 x 198 mm

Locations: RPK*
Reproduction: NHoll

Cat.31

Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert (Amsterdam 1519 - Gouda 1590)
after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)
Daniel Cross Examining the Elders, 1551
from **The Story of Susanna**, (NH.215-218)
NH.217
engraving and etching, 244 x 194 mm
Locations: RPK*
Reproduction: NHoll

Cat.32

Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert (Amsterdam 1519 - Gouda 1590)
after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)
The Stoning of the Elders, 1551
from **The Story of Susanna**, (NH.218)
NH.218
Inscription: Martinus Hemskerc inventor / DCuernhert fecit, 1551
engraving and etching, 246 x 196 mm
Locations: RPK*
Reproduction: NHoll

Cat.33

Jan Doetechum (Deventer 1530 - Haarlem 1606) and/or
Lucas Doetechum (Deventer, active 1554 - about 1580)
after Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-1604/23)
History of Susanna
Riggs 227
Inscription: HIERONYMUS COCK EXCVD
In margin:
EXIMIAE CASTITATIS EXEMPLAR SUSANNA,
SUA INNOCENTIA ET ANIMI FORTITUDINE IMPROBIS,
SENIBUS RESISTERE MALVIT,
QUAM LIBIDINI VACARE ET DOMINUM DEUM SUUM
OFFENDERE.
etching and engraving, 567 x 960 mm
Locations: GSA
Notes: Print comprised of four sheets.
Reproduction: GSA

Cat.34

Daniel van den Dyck (Antwerp, Mantua, c.1610-1670)
Susanna and the Elders
H.1
Inscription: Daniel van den Dyck in et fecit
etching, 259 x 180 mm
Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.35

Daniel van den Dyck (Antwerp c.1610 - Mantua 1670)

Susanna and the Elders

H.2

etching, 152 x 219 mm

Locations: PMA

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.36

Daniel van den Dyck (Antwerp c.1610 - Mantua 1670)

after Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734)

Susanna Accused before the Judges

H.3

etching, 148 x 212 mm

Location: Have been unable to locate this print.

Notes:

Based on their similarity in size, I would suspect that this print and (Cat.35) were a paired set.

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.37

Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 - Antwerp 1612)

after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)

Susanna, c.1560

from **Exemplary Women from the Bible** (NH.265-272, Heemskerck)

NH.270

Inscription: Martini Petri excud, ad insigne aurei fontis / SUSANNA

In margin:

MORS TIBI CARA MAGIS SALVA SUSANNA FUISSET,
QUAM PER VIMRAPTA VITA PUDICITIA.

engraving, 204 x 248 mm

States: I. Martinus Peeters exc (RPK)

II. Adriaan Hubertus exc and inscription condensed to one line

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.38

Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 - Antwerp 1612)

after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)

The Triumph of Chastity

from **The Six Triumphs of Petrarch**, (NH.491-496, Heemskerck)

NH.492

Inscription: Meemskerck InVen / PGalle Fe

In margin:

ECCE PUDICITIAE QUO SE DE CUS EFFERAT ORE,
POSTQUE TRIUMPHATOS FRACTOSQUE CUPIDINIS ARCUS

TEMPLA PETAT, CASTOS ARIS UT PONAT HONORES,
SIGNAQUE GREX COMITU TENDAT VICTRICIA PALMAS.
engraving, 193 x 265 mm
States: I. no address, probably Philips Galle exc
(RPK)
II. Johannes Galle exc
Locations: RPK*
Reproduction: NHoll

Cat.39

Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 -
Antwerp 1612)
after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)
Susanna and the Elders, 1563
from **The Story of Susanna** (NH.219-224, Heemskerck)
NH.219
Inscription: MHeemsk inven / H Cock ex / 1563 / 1
In margin:
SUSANNAE PIENTISSIMAE PUDICITIA A DUOBIS SENIBUS
TENATUR
engraving, 206 x 251 mm
States: I. Hieronymous Cock (RPK)
II. Carel Collaert
Locations: RPK*, PMA, LP, BvB, GSA
Notes:
Arno Dolders attributes this series to Philips
Galle in The Illustrated Bartsch, (vol.56), but
Ilja Veldman attributes them to an unknown
engraver in the New Hollstein, (vol.1).
Reproduction: TIB

Cat.40

Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 -
Antwerp 1612)
after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)
Susanna Accused before the Judges, 1563
from **The Story of Susanna** (NH.219-224, Heemskerck)
NH.220
Inscription: MHem in / 2
In margin:
ADULTERII FALSO ACCUSATUS MORTI ADIUDICATUR
engraving, 206 x 251 mm
States: I. Hieronymous Cock (RPK)
II. Carel Collaert
Locations: RPK*, LP, BvB, GSA
Reproduction: TIB

Cat.41

Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 -
Antwerp 1612)
after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)
Daniel Intervenes on Susanna's Behalf, 1563

from **The Story of Susanna** (NH.219-224, Heemskerk)
NH.221

Inscription: 3

In margin:

DUCITUR AD SUPPLICIUM, SED A DANIELE PUERO
REVOCATUR

engraving, 206 x 251 mm

States: I. Hieronymous Cock (RPK)

II. Carel Collaert

Locations: RPK*, PMA, LP, BvB, GSA

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.42

Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 -
Antwerp 1612)

after Maarten van Heemskerk (1498-1574)

Daniel Questions the Elders, 1563

from **The Story of Susanna** (NH.219-224, Heemskerk)

NH.222

Inscription: MHeemsk inven / H Cock ex / 4

In margin:

SENES INIUSTI AUTORE DANIELE MORTI ADIUDICANTUR

engraving, 206 x 251 mm

States: I. Hieronymous Cock (RPK)

II. Carel Collaert

Locations: RPK*, PMA, LP, BvB, GSA

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.43

Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 -
Antwerp 1612)

after Maarten van Heemskerk (1498-1574)

The Stoning of the Elders, 1563

from **The Story of Susanna** (NH.219-224, Heemskerk)

H.223

Inscription: MHeemsk inven / H Cock ex / 1563 / 5

In margin:

EODEM SUPPLICIO QUOD IN INSONTEM INTENDERANT
AFFICIUNTUR

engraving, 206 x 251 mm

States: I. Hieronymous Cock (RPK)

II. Carel Collaert

Locations: RPK*, PMA, LP, BvB, GSA

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.44

Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle (Haarlem 1537 -
Antwerp 1612)

after Maarten van Heemskerk (1498-1574)

Susanna and the her Family Praise God, 1563

from **The Story of Susanna** (NH.219-224, Heemskerk)

NH.224

Inscription: MHeemsk inven / 6

In margin:

SUSANNA UNA CUM MARITO CAETERISO COGNATIS DEUM
LAUDANT

engraving, 206 x 251 mm

States: I. Hieronymous Cock (RPK)

II. Carel Collaert

Locations: RPK*, PMA, LP, BvB, GSA

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.45

Theodore Galle (Antwerp c.1571 - Antwerp 1633)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Susanna Accused Before the Judge

from **The Ten Commandments**

Not described in Hollstein

Inscription: M. de Vos inventor / Theodorus Galle

Sculp.

In margin:

VIII. Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, dixit,
Dens aeterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui
nosti omnia autequam fiant, tu scis quoniam falsum
testimonium tulerunt contra me. Et consurrexerunt
adversus duos presbyteros (convicerat enim eos
Daniel ex ore suo falsum dixisse testimonium)
feceruntqz eis sieut male egerant adversus
proximum, ut facerent secundum legem Moysi: et
interfecerunt eos. Daniel 13

engraving

Locations: RPK*

Notes:

All Ten Commandments are after designs by Maerten
de Vos, but the series is engraved by Adrian
Collaert, Hans Collaert, Theodore Galle and
Crispin de Passe. The first two sheets are
inscribed Phls. Galle excud.

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.46

Nicolas van Geilkercken (Zutphen c.1600 - Arnheim 1657)

after Feddes van Harlingen (1586-1634)

Susanna and the Elders, c.1614/15

H.1

Inscription: PVHarlin inv et exc

In margin:

Turpe senilis amor, castae deperditi amore:
Susanne, insidias composieie, senes:
Sed miseri incassum, patefaclis fraudibus, cheie;
Expserunt vita tempora iniqua sue.

engraving, 213 x 197 mm

States: I. PV Harlin exc (RPK)

II. Joannes Starterus ex

Locations: RPK*
Reproduction: RPK

Cat.47

Jacques de Gheyn II (Antwerp 1565 - The Hague 1629)
after Karel van Mander (1548-1606)

Susanna and the Elders

Not described in Hollstein

Inscription: C va Mander inventor

In margin:

Irretita Senum est technis Susanna nepotum,
Dum se secreto fonte pudica lauat.

engraving, 159 x 216 mm

States: I. no address (RPK)

II. CJV exc. (BN)

Locations: RPK*, BN, PMA

Notes:

The inscription is similar to the first two lines
of the inscription that appears in the margin of
Crispin de Passe's engraving after Maerten de Vos
(Cat.71), only the word "Circumuenta" is changed.

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.48

Conrad Goltzius (Cologne, fl. c.1580-1600)

The History of Susanna, 1587

H.1 (7 sheets)

Inscription: Conrad Goltzius fecit / Jan Bussm(acher)
exc 1587

engraving

Location: Have been unable to locate this series.

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.49

Hendrick Goltzius (Muhlbracht 1558 - Haarlem 1617)

Susanna, 1583

H.7

Inscription: HGoltzius inventor et sculp / 1583 /
CJVisscher ex / 1

In margin:

Attendant forma celebremque pudore Susannam
Iniusti quibus est facta repulsa, senes:
Ira metuusque fidem laesam testantur, at insons
Fatidici vatis soluitur ore, nece.

engraving, 186 x 145 mm (oval)

States: I. before address and number "1" (RPK)

II. Claes Jan Visscher ex (BvB)

Locations: RPK, BvB*, (PMA - anonymous copy)

Notes:

The addition of the number "1" on the second state
of the Susanna and the number "2" on the second
state of Goltzius' engraving of Mary Magdalene

after Titian of 1582 (H.52) suggests that Claes Jan Visscher issued them as a set after acquiring the plates.

Same inscription appears on Nicolas de Bruyn's engraving (Cat.14).

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.50

Pieter Fransz. de Grebber (Haarlem c.1600 - Haarlem 1655)

Susanna and the Elders, 1655

H.3

Inscription: PDG 1655

In margin:

CONSTANS

etching, 412 x 289 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.51

Nicolas Helt-Stockade (Nijmegen 1614 - Amsterdam 1669)

Susanna and the Elders

H.2

Inscription: Stocade in. et fe. / F.V.W. (F.V. Wyngaerde) ex.

etching, 173 x 198 mm

Locations: RPK, PMA*

Reproduction: PMA

Cat.52

Pieter van der Heyden (a.k.a. Petrus a Merica) (Antwerp c.1530 - Antwerp(?) after 1570)

after Frans Floris (c.1518-1570)

Susanna and the Elders, 1556

H.2

Inscription: PAM / Cock excud 1556

engraving, 206 x 274 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.53

Dirk van Hoogstraten (Antwerp c.1596 - Dordrecht 1640)

Susanna and the Elders

H.2

Inscription: D.V.H.

etching, 145 x 180 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.54

Christoffel Jegher (Antwerp 1596 - Antwerp 1652/3)
after Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)

Susanna and the Elders

H.1

Inscription: P.P. Rub(ens) delin et exc cum privilegiis
/ Christoffel Jegher fe

woodcut, 440 x 580 mm

States: I. with Rubens' privilege (Fogg)
II. without his privilege

Locations: Fogg*

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.55

Theodor van Kessel (Holland 1620 - Antwerp 1660)
after Guido Reni (1575-1642)

Susanna and the Elders

H.1

Inscription: G. Reni p. / T. van Kessel f. / Theatrum
Pictorium

engraving

Notes:

Have not seen this engraving, but it is after the
same painting, located in the National Gallery in
London, as the engraving by Cornelis Visscher
(Cat.96). See V. Birke, Guido Reni und der
Reproduktionsstich, (Vienna: Graphische Sammlung
Albertina, 1988).

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.56

Michel Le Blon (Frankfurt 1587 - Amsterdam 1656)

Susanna and the Elders

Inscription: Blon fecit

In margin: (only partially legible)

Susanne estant en angoise, Souspirant, aima mieulx
tomber...

engraving, 60 x 47 mm (oval)

Locations: RPK*

Notes:

Copy of Saenredam's Susanna (H.23) in a small
oval. Printed with text in reverse which suggests
that the plate itself was the valued object,
perhaps to be worn as a medallion or nailed into
the wall. The platemark is visible, so it could
not have been a counterproof.

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.57

Jan van Londerseel (Antwerp 1570/75- Rotterdam 1624/25)
after David Vinckboons (1576-1629)

Susanna and the Elders in a Landscape

H.7

Inscription: Davidt Vinckboons Inventor / Joannes
londerselius Sculptor

In margin:

Macte Dea forteisque age mundi fortior fetus
Decute constanti robore macte Dea
Elude infesti turpeis cacodemonis aus
Et decus egregie virginitatis, Ave.

engraving, 380 x 518 mm

States: I. before address (RPK, MMA)

II. CJVisscher exc.

Locations: RPK*, MMA

Notes:

In the third state, the subject of the engraving
is changed to Bathsheba (H.6).

Same inscription appears in margin of Anthonie
Wierix's engraving after Maerten de Vos (Cat.101),
but attributed to "AB."

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.58

Lucas van Leyden (Leiden 1489/91 - Leiden 1533)

Susanna and the Elders, c.1508

H.33

Inscription: L

engraving, 198 x 146 mm

Locations: RPK*, PMA, LP

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.59

Jacob Matham (Haarlem 1571 - Haarlem 1631)

after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562-1638)

Susanna and the Elders, 1599

H.10

Inscription: CHarlemensis Inven. / JMatham sculp et
excud / Ao99

In margin:

Faecebris tentata senum, precibus que minisque,
Seruandam duxi morte pudicitiam. C. Schonaeus

engraving, 205 x 168 mm

Locations: RPK*, PMA, TM

Notes:

The Catholic humanist Cornelis Schonaeus, author
of the inscription, published a play entitled
Susanna that same year. He is also the author of
the inscription below Jan Saenredam's engraving
after Goltzius (Cat.87).

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.60

Cornelis Matsys (Antwerp 1510/11 - Antwerp 1556/57)
Susanna and the Elders, 1553/1555
H.22, Stock 70
Inscription: CMA / 1553 or 1555
engraving, 62 x 54 mm
Locations: BN*
Reproduction: BN

Cat.61

Herman Jansz. Muller (Amsterdam c.1540 - Amsterdam
1617)
after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574)
Susanna Accused by the Elders, c.1566
from **The Ten Commandments** (NH.65-74, Heemskerck)
NH.72
Inscription: MHeemskerck In / Phls Galle excud / Daniel
XIII
In margin:
NON IOQUERIS CONTRA PROXIMU TUU FALSU TESTIMONIUM,
Exod XX
engraving, 211 x 247 mm
States: I. Hieronymus Cock exc. (BvB)
II. Philips Galle exc. (RPK)
III. Theodore Galle exc.
Locations: RPK*, BvB
Reproduction: NHoll

Cat.62

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht
1637)
Susanna, 1602
from **Nine Female Worthies**, (H.359-367)
H.360, F.187
Inscription: Crispiano Passaeo inventore ac caelatore
Above oval:
Coningatarum apud Israelitas celebratissima
SUSANNA
Within oval margin:
FIDA PIDICITIAM QUAE IAM QUASI MORTE REDEMI,
CONIUGIS EXEMPLUM FORMOSAE ET PRAEBEO CASTAE
Below oval:
Vxores subiectae sint suis viris Etc. Quarum
ornatus non sit externus ille in nodis capillorum,
et circumposito auro, vel palliorum amictu: sed
occultus ille cordis homo, situs in incorruptione
lenis ac quieti Spiritus, qui est coram Deo
pretiosus. 1 Petr.3
engraving, 264 x 196 mm (oval)
Locations: RPK*, PMA
Reproduction: PMA

Cat.63

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht 1637)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Prudentia, after 1589

from **The Virtues** (H.426-432)

H.430, F.1010

Inscription: Martin de Vos inv / Crisp exc

In margin:

Haec est illa acri potior PRUDENTIA dextra
Qua duce nil dextro non pede concipies.

engraving, 156 x 90 mm

Locations: RPK*

Notes:

Prudentia is shown in the foreground and Susanna before the Judges is depicted in the left middleground.

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.64

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht 1637)

after Gortzius Geldorp (1533-1616)

Susanna and the Elders, after 1589

H.44, F.58

Inscription: Geldorpus Gortzius pinxit/Crispin de Passe sculpsit et excudit

In margin:

FRAUDE SENUM SIC PULCHRA QUIDEM TENTATA SUSANNA:
AT NIL BLANDITIAE IN CASTAM VALVERE MINAEUF

engraving, 162 x 197 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Veldman

Cat.65

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht 1637)

Susanna and the Elders, after 1589

from **The History of Susanna**, H.45-50, F.37-42

Catalogue number: H.45, F.37

Inscription: Crispinus de Pas Inventor Excudit / Gui Sal(sm)ann) lu. / 1

In margin:

En Susanna toro ter felix, faetaque prole
Pulcra pudicitiae non minus illa memor,
Infidias patitur vetusorum tristis amantum,
Artus dum nudos vuida credit aquis.

engraving and etching, 212 x 244 mm

Locations: RPK*, BN

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.66

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht 1637)

Susanna Accused Before the Judges

from *The History of Susanna*, H.45-50, F.37-42

H.46, F.38

Inscription: 2

engraving and etching, 208 x 248 mm

Locations: Have been unable to locate this sheet.

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.67

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht 1637)

Daniel Intervenes

from *The History of Susanna*, H.45-50, F.37-42

H.47, F.39

Inscription: 3

In margin:

Ingenuum caput a senibus nudatur iniquo,

Indicio falsa contegiturque manu.

Abducunt querulam saxorum ut turbine mactent,

Diu() lacrymis uda repofcit opem.

engraving and etching, 214 x 247 mm

Locations: BN*

Reproduction: BN

Cat.68

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht 1637)

Daniel Condemns the Elders

from *The History of Susanna*, H.45-50, F.37-42

H.48, F.40

Inscription: 4

In margin:

Numine plenus adest insons puerilibus annis,

Iudicium reuocat, triste rescindt opus.

Arguit incaestos, mendacia repprimit ausa,

Conuincit proprio Daniel ore senes.

engraving and etching, 211 x 245 mm

Locations: BN*

Reproduction: BN

Cat.69

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht 1637)

Stoning of the Elders

from *The History of Susanna*, H.45-50, F.37-42

H.49, F.41

Inscription: 5

In margin:

Helciadi intentata premit sententia sontes,

Iudicium iudex fert et uterque suum.
Exhalant turpes animas sub pondere vasto,
Saxorum impietas visaque, victa luit.
engraving and etching, 209 x 248 mm
Locations: BN*
Reproduction: BN

Cat.70

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht
1637)
Susanna's Family Rejoices
from **The History of Susanna**, H.45-50, F.37-42
H.50, F.42
Inscription: 6
engraving and etching, 208 x 247 mm
Locations: Have been unable to locate this sheet.
Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.71

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht
1637)
after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)
Susanna and the Elders, after 1589
from **The History of Susanna**, (H.51-56, F.49-54)
H.51
Inscription: CvP / Martin de Vos Inventor / Crispianus
Passoens sculptor / I

In margin:

Circumuenta senum est technis Susanna nepotum,
Dum se secreto in fonte pudica lauat.

Iam virtutum quam generis nobilitate insigni
Dominae Mariae Flodrouiae, viduae Quadi
Wicradiensis honoris et obseruantiae ergo
opusculum hoc chalcographicum dedicat.

engraving, 98 x 127 mm

Locations: RPK*, BN

Notes:

Very similar inscription (only first word changed
to "Irretita") appears in margin of Jacques de
Gheyn's engraving after Carel van Mander (Cat.47).

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.72

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht
1637)
after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)
Susanna Accused by the Elders
from **The History of Susanna**, (H.51-56, F.49-54)
H.52
Inscription: CvP / Martin de Vos Inventor / Crisp. van

d. Passe Sc. excud. / 2

In margin:

Ante senes formae causa nudatur iniquos Citata,
& falso criminis arouitur.

engraving, 98 x 127 mm

Locations: RPK*, BN

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.73

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhemuiden 1564 - Utrecht
1637)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Daniel Intervenens

from **The History of Susanna**, (H.51-56, F.49-54)

H.53

Inscription: Martin de Vos Inventor / Crispian de Passe

Sculptor excudit / 3

In margin:

Credula turba piam damnat. deducitur insosn:
Falsiloquum ast prodit crimina dira puer.

engraving, 98 x 127 mm

Locations: RPK*, BN

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.74

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhemuiden 1564 - Utrecht
1637)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Daniel's Judgement

from **The History of Susanna**, (H.51-56, F.49-54)

H.54

Inscription: Martin de Vos Inventor / Crispin d. Passe

fecit et excud. / 4

In margin:

Liberat hic castam Daniel mortique propinquam
Damnata & attonitos fraus scelerata senes.

engraving, 98 x 127 mm

Locations: RPK*, BN

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.75

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhemuiden 1564 - Utrecht
1637)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

The Stoning of the Elders

from **The History of Susanna**, (H.51-56, F.49-54)

H.55

Inscription: Martin de Vos figuravit / Crispin de Passe

fe. et exc. / 5

In margin:

Supplicium innocuae fuerat quod fraude paratum

Nunc ipsos scelerum corripit artifices.
engraving, 98 x 127 mm
Locations: RPK*, BN
Reproduction: RPK

Cat.76

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht
1637)
after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)
Susanna Received by her Family
from *The History of Susanna*, (H.51-56, F.49-54)
H.56
Inscription: M. de Vos invent / Crisp. de Passe fecit
et exc / 6
In margin:
Applausus populi est, reducem domus accipit omnis,
Atque agitur summo gratia magna Deo.
engraving, 98 x 127 mm
Locations: RPK*, BN
Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.77

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht
1637)
Susanna and the Elders, after 1589
H.57, F.55
Inscription: Crispin de Passe fe et excudit
In margin:
Atteentant forma celebremque pudore Susanna
Iniusti quibus est facta repulsa senes.
Fra metusque fidem laesam testantur, at insons
Fatidici vatis soluitur ore nece.
engraving, 110 x 145 mm
Locations: RPK*
Notes:
The "excudit" seems to be an alteration to the
plate, added after the initial inscription
"Crispin de Passe fe."
Reproduction: RPK

Cat.78

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht
1637)
Susanna at her Bath, after 1589
H.58, F.56
Inscription: Crispianus Passeus invent: Sculp: et
excud: / Pietas et Castitas
In margin:
Casta Deo Pietas Susanne, et grata marito;
Extendit mezitam iam tot per soecula famam. AB.
lud.
engraving, 229 x 153 mm

Locations: RPK*

Notes:

Though not recognized as a series, this print is the same format and size, and has the same script and inscriptions similar to the engravings of Lucretia and Cleopatra (H.372-373).

"AB" is also the author of the inscription on Anthonie Wierix's engraving of Susanna (Cat.101).

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.79

Crispin de Passe de Oude (Arnhem 1564 - Utrecht 1637)

after Frans Pourbus (1545-1581)

Susanna and the Elders, 1612

H.59, F.57

Inscription: Fran Pourbus invent: CP exc / CvP / Ao 1612

In margin:

Cum casta juncta Joachim mente Susanna,
Offerent frencibus impia stupra senes,
Maluit illa mori tam diri criminis insons,
Quam frollustragrami viuere adulterio.

engraving, 243 x 191 mm

Locations: RPK*, BN

Reproduction: Veldman

Cat.80

Gillis Peeters I (Antwerp 1612 - Antwerp 1653)

after Werner Valkert (c.1585-1627/8)

Susanna and the Elders

H.2

Inscription: Ioan. Meysens ex

etching, 86 x 67 mm

Locations: Have been unable to locate this print

Notes:

Reverse copy of Valkert's etching. Also copied by Christoffel van Sichem for his illustrated books.

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.81

Paulus Pontius (Antwerp 1603 - Antwerp 1658)

after Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)

Susanna and the Elders, 1624

H.1

Inscription: Petrus Paulus Rubenis pinxit / Paulus Pontius sculpsit / Cum Privilegijs Regis

Christianissima Serenissima Infantis et Ordinum Confederatorum Anno 1624

In margin:

TURPE SENILIS AMOR

engraving, 369 x 286 mm

Locations: RPK, Fogg*
Reproduction: McGrath

Cat.82

Willem de Ryck, (Antwerp 1635 - London 1699)
Susanna and the Elders

H.1

Inscription: Willmus de Ryck invenit, pinxit et incidit
etching, 308 x 380 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.83

Raphael Sadeler (Antwerp 1560 - Munich 1632)
after Frans Pourbus (1545-1581)

Susanna and the Elders, 1582

H.11

Inscription: Franciscus Pourbus invenit / R Sadeler
excudit / 1582

engraving, 251 x 304 mm

Locations: RPK*, BvB

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.84

Raphael Sadeler, (Antwerp 1560 - Munich 1632)
after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Susanna, 1590

from **Three Chaste Worthies** (H.187-189)

H.187

Inscription: Susanna / Caste & Christiane / Martin de
Vos inv. / 1 / Raphael Sadeler fe et excudit / 1590

In margin:

Omnia seruasti: vita est integra: nec ante
Praeda Semiramiis est tua forma procis.

engraving, 150 x 107 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Veldman

Cat.85

Jan Saenredam (Zaandam 1565 - Assendelft 1607)

Susanna and the Elders

H.21

Inscription: JSaenredam fecit
engraving, 83 x 63 mm (oval)

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.86

Jan Saenredam (Zaandam 1565 - Assendelft 1607)

after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562-1638)

Susanna and the Elders, 1602

H.22

Inscription: C.C. Haerlem inven / J. Saenredam sculp et excud / 1602

In margin:

Aestus erat, medius que dies, Susanna Napaeis
Confessa est toto corpore nuda decus.
Igne senes arsere pari, gestuque falaci
Sollicitant blandis in sua vota minis.
Eiulat Helebitis, nudo externata pudore
Nuda tamen casti firma tenaxque fuit.
T.Schreuelius

engraving, 228 x 259 mm

States: I. J Saenredam exc (RPK)

II. Rob de Baudous exc

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.87

Jan Saenredam (Zaandam 1565 - Assendelft 1607)

after Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617)

Susanna and the Elders, before 1598

H.23

Inscription: H Goltzius inventor/J Saenredam sculptor

In margin:

Casta pudicitie cuidados, et conscia culpe
Nullius mens est, intemerata manet. C. Schonaeus

engraving, 248 x 166 mm

States: I. no address (RPK)

II. Robb de Baudous exc.

III. Joannes Jansonius exc.

Locations: RPK*

Notes:

There are 5 anonymous copies of this print and one copy signed by Johannes Barra (H.1) and dated 1598. Schonaeus is also the author of the inscription on Jacob Matham's engraving after Cornelis Cornelisz. (Cat.59).

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.88

Cornelis Schut (Antwerp 1597 - Antwerp 1655)

Susanna and the Elders

H.3

Inscription: Corn: Schut inventor cum privilegio

etching, 145 x 131 mm

States: I. no inscription (RPK)

II. as described (RPK)

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.89

Cornelis Schut (Antwerp 1597 - Antwerp 1655)
Susanna and the Elders
H.4
Inscription: Corn: Schut inventor cum privilegio
etching, 143 x 137 mm
Locations: RPK*, PMA
Reproduction: RPK

Cat.90

Cornelis Schut (Antwerp 1597 - Antwerp 1655)
Susanna and the Elders
H.204
etching, 153 x 133 mm
Locations: BN*
Notes: Hollstein calls the print a doubtful
attribution.
Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.91

Cornelis Schut (Antwerp 1597 - Antwerp 1655)
Susanna and the Elders
H.205
etching, 290 x 218 mm
Inscription: Cornelis Schut Inventor / Ab van
Waesbergen exc.
Locations: GSA
Notes: Hollstein calls the print a doubtful
attribution.
Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.92

Willem van Swanenburg (Leiden c.1581/2 - Leiden 1612)
after Joachim Wtewal (1566-1638)
Susanna Before the Judges and Daniel, 1606
from the series **THRONUS JUSTITIAE** (H.49-62)
H.52
Inscription: JWtewal inventor / CS sculpsit / CVSichem
excudit
In margin:
Par capulare senum precio precibusque minisque
Struxere infidias casta Susanna tibi.
Verum ubi cuncta vident sancto munita pudore,
Infandos animo compsuere dolas.

Iamque neci stabat mulier devota futura,
Cum puer in lucem coepta nefanda trahit.
Integritas tandem victrix de fraude triumphat,
Et scelerum artifices debita poena premit.
Daniel 13 Cap:
engraving, 300 x 385 mm
Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

Cat.93

Unidentified engraver
after Gilles Congnet (Coignet), (c.1538-1599)

Susanna and the Elders

H.11

Inscription: G. Coingnet pinx.

Locations: Have been unable to locate this print.

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.94

Unidentified engraver or Justus Sadeler (Antwerp 1583 -
Leiden 1620)

The History of Susanna, H.27-32

Inscription: Justus Sadeler excud

engravings, 120 x 160 mm

Locations: BvB*

Notes:

Copy of Crispin de Passe series after M de Vos
(H.51-56). Sadeler's series is bigger than de
Passe's series and is decorated with an ornamental
border of flowers and birds. The inscriptions on
each sheet are the same as those on the de Passe
series.

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.95

Werner van den Valckert (The Hague c.1585 - Amsterdam
1627/8)

Susanna and the Elders

H.1

Inscription: W.V.VAL IN fe

etching, 70/80 x 63/60 mm (irregularly shaped plate)

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: TIB

Cat.96

Cornelis Visscher (Haarlem 1628/9 - Haarlem 1658)
after Guido Reni (1575-1642)

Susanna and the Elders

H.3

engraving and etching, 320 x 385 mm

States: I. no inscription (RPK)

II. Corn Visscher sculp

III. Guido Reni pinxit added

IV. F. de Witt excudit

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.97

Johannes van Vliet (active Leiden, c.1628-1637)
after Jan Lievens (1607-1674)

Susanna and the Elders

H.3

Inscription: J. Lieuense inv. / JG v vliet fec
etching, 551 x 435 mm

States: I. no address (RPK)
II. Hieronymous Sweerts exc
III. Cornelis Danckerts exc

Locations: RPK*

Notes: Painting by Lievens is lost.

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.98

Lucas Vorsterman I (Zaltbommel 1595 - Antwerp 1675)
after Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)

Susanna and the Elders, 1620

H.4

Inscription: P.P. Rubens pinxit cum privilegiis, Regis
Christianissimi, Principum Belgarum, & Ordinum Bataviae
/ Lucas Vorsterman sculp et excud An 1620

In margin:

Lectissimae Virgini Annae Roemer Visschers
illustri Bataviae sijderi, multarum Artium
peritissimae, Poetices vero studio, supra sexum
celebri, rarum hoc Pudicitiae exemplar, Petrus
Paulus Rubenus. L.M.D.D.

engraving, 387 x 280 mm

States: I. Vorsterman exc (RPK)
II. address and date removed

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.99

Lucas Vorsterman I (reverse copy after)
with landscape after David Vinckboons

Susanna and the Elders

H.4b (Vorsterman, copy after)

Inscription: CJV (Claes Jan Visscher) excudit

In margin:

Hoe kan de geyle lust de Mens tot boosheijt leyden
Als hij sijn Godt verlaet en hem sijn vleys
vervoert
Dit toonen u dees twee sij soecken met haer beyden
Ioiakims eerbaer vrou elck een met ijver loert

Susanna seer verbaest wertvan haer over rompelt
Gedwongen en gedreijcht met oneer en de Doot
Iae eijndelijk bij nae door vreesse schier
gedompelt
Maer dien sij heest gevreesst helpt haer uijt dese

noot

Want als sij overleijt ontschuldich hier te
sterven
Off schuldich aen haer Siel te lijden Helsche pijn
T'is beter (sij besluijt) dit leven kort te derven
Als haerder Sielen vreucht en Godes klaer
aenschijn

O uijtverkoren Vrou en Spiegel voor de vroomen
In wiens benaude borstnoch sulcken wijsheijt woont
U. Dwingelanden sijn vertreden en bonomen
Het leven, en u Deucht is van den Heer gekroont

engraving, 398 x 502 mm

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: Not included in catalogue

Cat.100

Lucas Vorsterman II (Antwerp 1624 - Antwerp c.1666)

after Cornelis Schut (1597-1655)

Susanna and the Elders

H.10

Inscription: Cornelis Schut inventor / Lucas
Vorstermann iunior sculpsit / Franciscus vanden
Wijnaerde excudit

In margin:

TURPE SENILIS AMOR

engraving and etching, 314 x 254 mm

Locations: SP*, BvB, LP, GSA

Reproduction: Hollstein

Cat.101

Anthonie Wierix (Antwerp 1552 - Antwerp 1624)

after Maerten de Vos (1532-1603)

Susanna and the Elders

M.-H.70

Inscription: M.d.vos inv / A.W. fecit / Joan Bap Vrints
exc

In margin:

Macte Dea forteisque age mundi fortior fetus

Decute constanti robore macte Dea

Elude infesti turpeis cacodemonis aus

Et decus egregie virginitatis, Ave. AB

engraving, 277 x 200 mm

States: I. Jan Baptist Vrints exc (RPK)

II. Pieter van Lisebetten exc

Locations: RPK*

Notes:

"AB" also composed inscription on Crispin de
Passe's engraving of Susanna (Cat.78).

Same inscription also appears on Jan van
Londerseel's engraving after David Vinckboons

(Cat.57), without the attribution to "AB."
Reproduction: RPK

Cat.102

Antonie Wierix (Antwerp 1552 - Antwerp 1624)

Susanna and the Elders

M.-H.71

Inscription: Anton Wierix invenit. Sculp. et excud.

In margin:

SACRA PARAT SENIBUS CANIS ASTRAEA RUINAM,
DUM FOEDE INTACTAM TENTANT FOEDARE SUSANNAM.

engraving, 218 x 158 mm

States: I. Wierix exc (RPK)
II. with the plate cut
III. HW exc
IV. Jan Meysens exc

Locations: RPK*

Reproduction: RPK

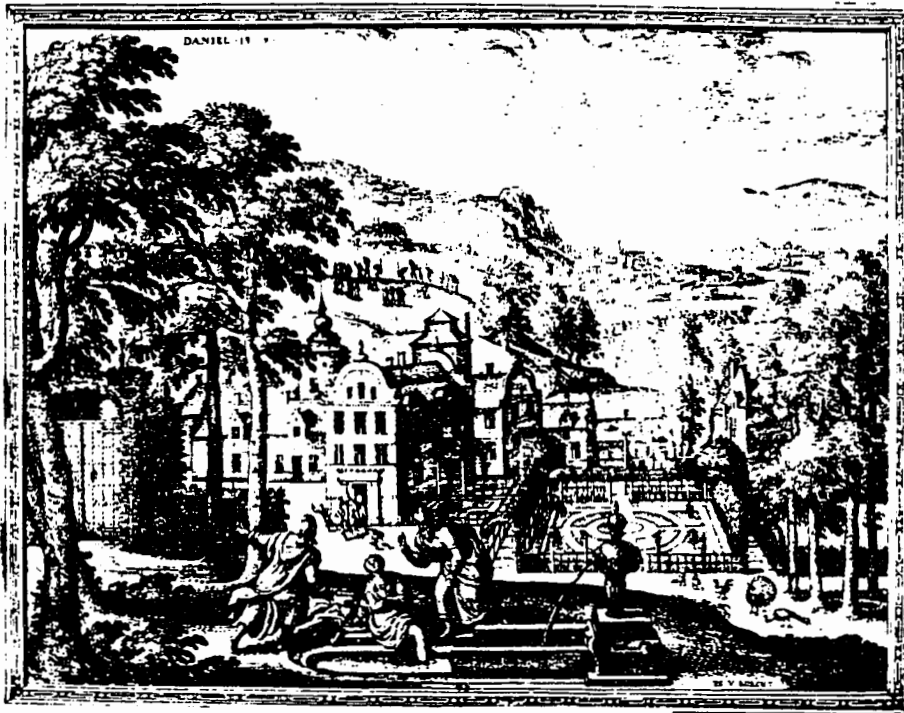


TVRPE SENILIS AMOR.

Cat. 1. Pieter de Baillieu after Martin Pepyn,
Susanna at Her Bath, engraving.



Cat. 2. Johan Bara, copy of Saenredam, Susanna and the Elders, 1598, engraving.



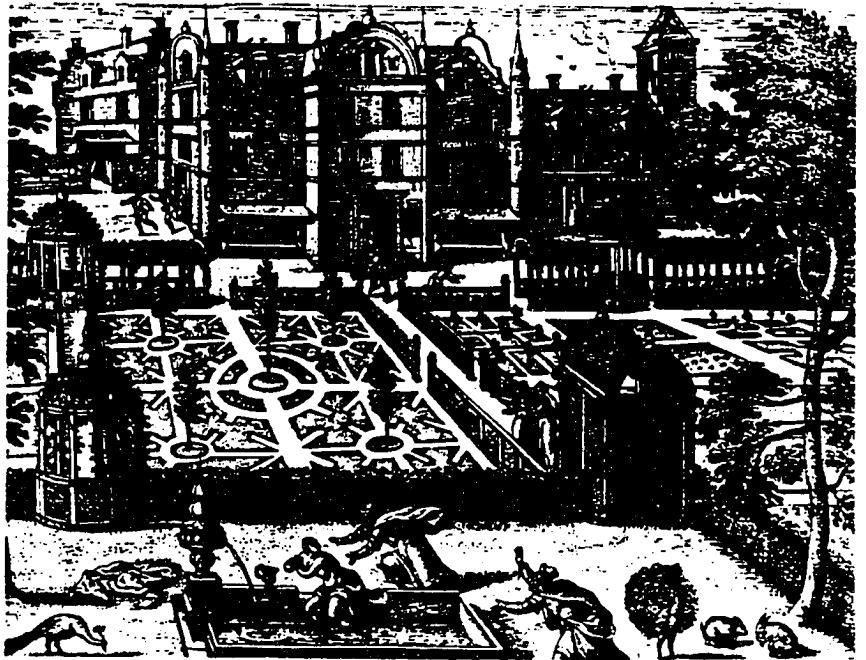
SOLLICITATA Senum precibus Susanna misitque
Dixit, ista in corpore pass.

Si agitur, clamans, nutriti. Hoc laetare corpus
Pellicaeque pueri, utero puaristum.

18

liber

Cat. 4. Peter van der Borcht IV, Susanna and the Elders from Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum, 1582/1585, etching.



Cat. 5. Peter van der Borcht IV after Hans Vredeman de Vries, Susanna and the Elders from Hortum Viridariumque Elegantes, 1583, engraving.



Cat. 6. Claes van Breen after Jacob Matham, Susanna at Her Bath, engraving.



Cat. 7. Abraham de Bruyn, Susanna and Her Maids at Her Bath from The History of Susanna, 1570, engraving.



Cat. 8. Abraham de Bruyn, Susanna and the Elders from The History of Susanna, engraving.



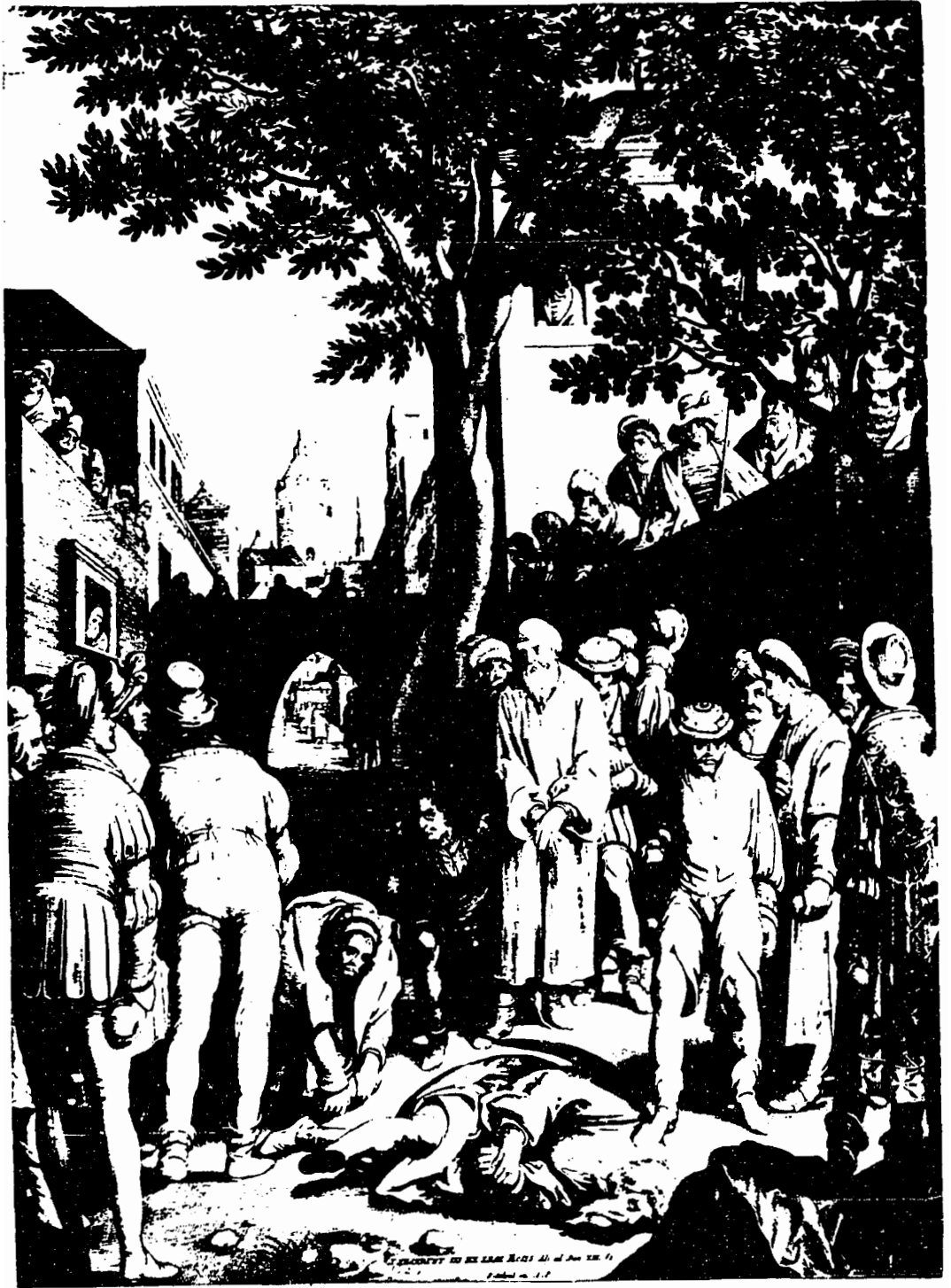
Cat. 9. Abraham de Bruyn, Susanna Accused before the Judges from The History of Susanna, 1570, engraving.



Cat. 14. Nicolas de Bruyn, Susanna and the Elders, engraving.



Cat. 15. Nicolas de Bruyn, Susanna and the Elders
from The History of Susanna, 1629, engraving.



Cat. 18. Nicolas de Bruyn, Stoning of the Elders
from The History of Susanna, 1629, engraving.



Cat. 19. Jan Theodore de Bry, Susanna and the Elders from Knife Handles and Ornaments for Goldsmiths, engraving.



*Thobias Gallus
excudit*

DVM NATA HELCHIAE ROSEOS PERFVNDERET ARTVS,
ECCE SENES NV DAM STIMVLANT: ET AMORIBVS INSTANT.

*M. de Vos inuent.
Hans Collaert fudit.*

Cat. 20. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Maerten de Vos, Susanna and the Elders from The History of Susanna, engraving.



*Theobornus Gallens
excudit*

QVOS SIMVL AC TEMNIT CONSTANTI PECTORE VIRGO:
SISTITVR (ACH) DICTIS FALLACIBVS ANTE TRIBVNAL.

*M. de Vos inuent.
Iohn. Collaert, fculp.*

Cat. 21. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Maerten de Vos, Susanna Accused before the Judges from The History of Susanna, engraving.



Clavdunt.

DVMQ; PIAM DAMNANT; ET DVRO CARCERE CLAVDUNT.
LIBERAT HANC VATES DIVINO REGIVS ORE.

*M. de Vos invent
Jan. Collaert fulp.*

Cat. 22. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Maerten de Vos, Daniel Intervening on Susanna's Behalf from The History of Susanna, engraving.



*Theobaldus Gillius
excudit*

IVDICIO AT' ARREPTO: FALSTIS SVA PRAEMIA REDDIT
TESTIURS, VT MERITAS PERSOLVANT CRIMINE PENAS.

*M. de Vos invent.
Joan. Collaert sculp.*

Cat. 23. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Maerten de Vos, The Stoning of the Elders from The History of Susanna, engraving.



Cat. 24. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Hans Collaert the Elder, *Susanna and the Elders* from The History of Susanna, before 1585, engraving.



Criminibus falsis sub iniquo iudicis ore, Dannatur mortis que sine labe fuit. Daniel. 13.

Cat. 25. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Hans Collaert the Elder, Susanna Accused before the Judge from The History of Susanna, before 1585, engraving.



Cat. 26. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Hans Collaert the Elder, Daniel Intervenes on Susanna's Behalf from The History of Susanna, before 1585, engraving.



Cat. 27. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Hans Collaert the Elder, Stoning of the Elders from The History of Susanna, before 1585, engraving.

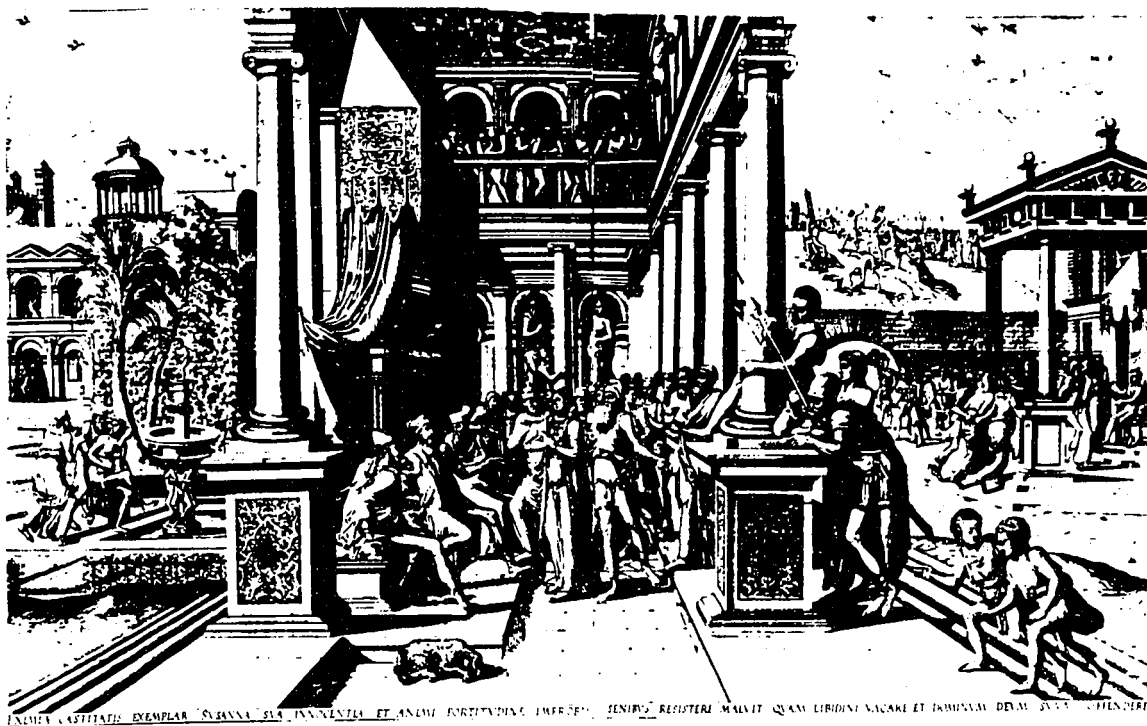


19. *SUSANNA.*
SUSANNA, a senibus falso accusata malignis,
Insons inuenta est, fraudisq; retez ta senum.

Cat. 28. Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert after Maerten de Vos, Susanna from Celebrated Women of the Old Testament, engraving.



Cats. 29-32. Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, Susanna and the Elders, Susanna Accused before the Judges, Daniel Cross-Examining the Elders, The Stoning of the Elders from The Story of Susanna, 1551, engraving and etching.



Cat. 33. Jan Doetechum and/or Lucas Doetechum after Hans Vredeman de Vries, History of Susanna, etching and engraving.



Cat. 34. Daniel van den Dyck, Susanna and the Elders, etching.



MORS TIBI CARA MAGIS SALVA SUSANNA FUISET,
QUAM PER VIM RAPTA VITA PVDCICITA.

270/1

Cat. 37. Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, Susanna from Exemplary Women from the Bible, c. 1560, engraving.



ECCE PVDICITIA QVO SE DECVS EFFERAT ORE, TEMPLA PETAT, CASTOS ARIS VT PONAT HONORES;
 POSTQVE TRIUMPHATOS FRACTOSQVE CVPIDINIS ARCVS SIGNA QVE GREX COMITV TENDAT VICTRICIA PALMAS

Cat. 38. Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, The Triumph of Chastity from The Six Triumphs of Petrarch, engraving.



SVSANNÆ PIENTISSIMÆ PVDICITIA A DVOBIS SENIBVS TENTATVR



ADVLTERII FALSO ACCVSATVS MORTI ADIVDICATVR

Cats. 39 and 40. Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, Susanna and the Elders and Susanna Accused before the Judges from The Story of Susanna, 1563, engravings.



Cats. 41 and 42. Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, Daniel Intervenes on Susanna's Behalf and Daniel Questions the Elders from The Story of Susanna, 1563, engravings.



Cats. 43 and 44. Unidentified engraver or Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, The Stoning of the Elders and Susanna and Her Family Praise God from The Story of Susanna, 1563, engravings.



M. de Vos invenit.

Theodore Galle fecit.

VIII. *Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit, Deus aeternae, qui altissimorum es cognitor, qui nati omnia antequam fiat, tu sis quoniam falsum testimonium tulerunt contra me. Et conspuerunt adversus illas presbyteros, (convictus enim est David ex ore suo falsum esse testimonium) feceruntque eis sicut male egissent adversus proximum, ut fuerent secundum legem Moysi et interficerent eos. Daniel. 13.*

Cat. 45. Theodore Galle after Maerten de Vos, Susanna Accused before the Judge from The Ten Commandments, engraving.



Harling. Sus. et senes

Turpe. senis amor. castre deperdit amore: Sed miseri incassum. patibulis fraudibus, cives.
Susanna. ne. uisitas. conspice. senes. Exserunt. Vitz. tempora. iniqua. sue.

Cat. 46. Nicolas van Geilkercken after Feddes van Harlingen, Susanna and the Elders, c. 1614/15, engraving.



*Frretita Senum est technis Susanna nepotum,
Dum secreto fonte pudica lauat.* *de Gheyn*

Cat. 47. Jacques de Gheyn II after Karel van Mander, Susanna and the Elders, engraving.



Cat. 49. Hendrick Goltzius, Susanna, 1583, engraving.



Cat. 50. Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, Susanna and the Elders, 1655, etching.



Cat. 51. Nicolas Helt-Stockade, Susanna and the Elders, etching.



Cat. 52. Pieter van der Heyden (a.k.a. Petrus a Merica) after Frans Floris, Susanna and the Elders, 1556, engraving.



Cat. 53. Dirk van Hoogstraten, Susanna and the Elders, etching.



Cat. 54. Christoffel Jegher after Peter Paul Rubens, Susanna and the Elders, woodcut.



Cat. 56. Theodor van Kessel after Guido Reni,
Susanna and the Elders, engraving.



Cat. 57. Jan van Londerseel after David
Vinckboons, Susanna and the Elders in a Landscape,
engraving



Cat. 58. Lucas van Leyden, Susanna and the Elders,
c. 1508, engraving.



*Propter tentata senum, reclusa in carceribus,
Seruandam duxi morte quietissimam.*

Cat. 59. Jacob Matham after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Susanna and the Elders, 1599, engraving.



Cat. 60. Cornelis Matsys, Susanna and the Elders, 1553/55, engraving.



Cat. 61. Herman Jansz. Muller after Maarten van Heemskerk, Susanna Accused by the Elders from The Ten Commandments, c. 1566, engraving.

F
11

CONIVGATARVM apud Israelitas celebratissim. FVSL. NN.



*Veres subiectae sint suis viris &c. Quorum ornatus non sic externus ille in nodis capil-
lorum, et circumposito auro, vel palliorum amictu: sed occultus ille cordis homo: fides in
incorruptione lenis ac quieti spiritus, qui est coram Deo preciosus. 1. Petr. 3. 4.*

Cat. 62. Crispin de Passe de Oude, Susanna
from Nine Female Worthies, 1602, engraving.



PRUDENTIA.
*Haec est illa acris potior PRUDENTIA dextra
Qua duce nil dextro non pede concipies.*

5

Cat. 63. Crispin de Passe de Oude after Maerten de Vos, Prudentia from The Virtues, after 1589, engraving.



FRAUDE SENVM SIC FVLCHRA QVIDEM EST TENTATA SVBANA.
AT NIL BLANDITIAE IN CASTAM VALVERE MINAEQVE

G. Geldorp sculp. *Crispin de Passe de Oude sculp.*

Cat. 64. Crispin de Passe de Oude after Gortzius Geldorp, Susanna and the Elders, after 1589, engraving.



Cat. 65. Crispin de Passe de Oude, Susanna and the Elders from The History of Susanna, after 1589, engraving and etching.



*Ingenium caput à senibus indatur magno
Indicio iussa congregaturque manu*

*Abducunt querculam saxorum et turbine mactent,
Divinam lacrymis vnda repostit opem.*

Cat. 67. Crispin de Passe de Oude, Daniel Intervenes from The History of Susanna, after 1589, engraving and etching.



*Namine plenus adest visum puericibus animis,
Iudicium revocet, triste recindit opus.*
*Indignus inefas, mendacia repprimis ausa,
Convincit proprio Daniel ore senes.*

Cat. 68. Crispin de Passe de Oude, Daniel Condemns the Elders from The History of Susanna, after 1589, engraving and etching.



*Helicidii miseriam premit sententia fontem,
Iudicium iudex fert et vitæ suum.*

*Exhalant turpes animas sub pondere vasto
Saxorum impietas visus, uicta latit.*

Cat. 69. Crispin de Passe de Oude, The Stoning of the Elders from The History of Susanna, after 1589, engraving and etching.



*Circumventa secum est lectis Susanna nepotum,
 Dum se secrets in fonte publica lavat.* 1
*Non virtutum quibus generis nobilitate iniqui Dominæ A. Sive Phœbæ, debet Quamdiu victrici
 lauris et ætæternis regis applausum hic photographico delineo. Desipit Puffus scripsit.*

Cats. 71 and 72. Crispin de Passe de Oude after Maerten de Vos, Susanna and the Elders and Susanna Accused by the Elders from The History of Susanna, after 1589, engraving.



*Ante senes formæ causa nudatur iniquos
 Citata, & falso criminis arguitur.* 2
Marta de Vos juvenit. Crispin de Passe sc. ex. ad.



*Credula turba piam diemnat. deducitur insons.
Falsaque est prodit crimina dira puer.* 3
Maerten de Vos pinxit Crispin de Passe sculpsit



*Liberat hic castam Daniel mortisque propinquam
Damnata atonitos fraus scelerata senes.* 4
Maerten de Vos pinxit Crispin de Passe sculpsit

Cats. 73 and 74. Crispin de Passe de Oude after Maerten de Vos, Daniel Intervenies and Daniel's Judgment from The History of Susanna, engraving.



Supplicium innocuae fidei quod fraude paratum
Nunc ipsas scelorum corrumpit artifices:

Maerten de Vos figuravit *Crispin de Passe fecit. et exc.*

Cat. 75. Crispin de Passe de Oude after Maerten de Vos, The Stoning of the Elders from The History of Susanna, engraving.



*Attendant forma celeberrimae pudore Susannam
Inuisti quibus est facta repulsa senes .*

*Fra metusque fidem laesam testantur, at insons
Fatidici vatis saluatur ore nece .*

Crispin de passe fe. et ex di.

Cat. 77. Crispin de Passe de Oude, Susanna and the Elders, after 1589, engraving.



*Casta Deo pietas Susannæ, et grata marito;
Extendit meritam iam tot per sæcula famam. -B. lud
Crispianus Passeus invent: sculp: et excud...*

Cat. 78. Crispin de Passe de Oude, Susanna at Her Bath, after 1589, engraving.



Cat. 79. Crispin de Passe de Oude after Frans Pourbus, Susanna and the Elders, 1612, engraving.



Cat. 80. Gillis Peeters I after Werner Valkert,
Susanna and the Elders, etching.



TVRPE SENILIS AMOR.

Fig. 12.1. VORSTERMAN AFTER RUBENS SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS. 1624

Cat. 81. Paulus Pontius after Peter Paul Rubens, Susanna and the Elders, 1624, engraving.



Cat. 82. Willem de Ryck, Susanna and the Elders,
etching.



Cat. 83. Raphael Sadeler after Frans Pourbus, Susanna and the Elders, 1582, engraving.



Maria de Vos 1 Raphael Sadeler del. et sculp. 1590
Susanna servasti vita est integra ne auti
Proda Sarranis est tua forma press.
AS

Cat. 84. Raphael Sadeler after Maerten de Vos, Susanna from Three Chaste Worthies, 1590, engraving.



Cat. 85. Jan Saenredam, Susanna and the Elders, engraving.



*Taciturne par, moxque p. aies, Susanna Niptrae. Hinc senes ardere pari, gestusq. salaci
 Conterit est tota corpore nuda decus. Sollicitam hiantis in sua vota minus. Enlat. Et ledunt, nudo externata pudore,
 Quasi tamen casti fira tonas.*

Cat. 86. Jan Saenredam after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Susanna and the Elders, 1602, engraving.



*Casta pulchritudi cui deus, et vestigia cultus
Nullus mens est, intermentum manet.* G. Stamp.
Res ad virtutem exord.

Cat. 87. Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, Susanna and the Elders, before 1598, engraving.



Cats. 88 and 89. Cornelis Schut, Susanna and the Elders, etchings.



Cat. 90. Cornelis Schut, Susanna and the Elders,
etching.



Wtewal pinxit J. J. J. J.

Per impudens foras peras prodebat unquam
Sed in castro castro castro ab
Vixit in castro castro castro ab
Infantis omni castro ab

Daniel 15 Cap.

Jamque non castro castro castro ab
Cum pro in castro castro castro ab
Ingratas castro castro castro ab
Et saltem castro castro castro ab

Cat. 92. Willem van Swanenburg after Joachim Wtewal, Susanna before the Judges Daniel from THRONUS JUSTITIAE, 1606, engraving.



Cat. 95. Werner van den Valckert, Susanna and the Elders, etching.



Cat. 96. Cornelis Visscher after Guido Reni, Susanna and the Elders, engraving and etching.



Cat. 97. Johannes van Vliet after Jan Lievens, Susanna and the Elders, etching.



Cat. 98. Lucas Vorsterman I after Peter Paul Rubens, Susanna and the Elders, engraving.



TURPE SENILIS AMOR.

Cat. 100. Lucas Vorsterman II after Cornelis Schut, Susanna and the Elders, engraving and etching.



M. d. vos inv. A.W. fecit. Joan. Bap. Vermeer. sculp.
Macte Dea fortior, agè mundi fortior fetus
Decute, constanti robore macte Dea *A.B.*
Elude infesti turpis cacodemonis aus?
Et decus egregie Virginitatis, Aue.

Cat. 101. Antonie Wierix after Maerten de Vos, Susanna and the Elders, engraving.



Non vixi sine fide et caritate.

SACRA PARAT SENIBVS CANIS ASTRÆA RVINAM,
DV'M FOEDE INTACTAM TENTANT FŒDARE SVSANNAM.

Cat. 102. Antonie Wierix, Susanna and the Elders, engraving.

APPENDIX A

The History of Susanna from the Apocrypha (Chapter 13 of the Greek Version of Daniel)¹

¹There was a man living in Babylon whose name was Joakim. ²He married the daughter of Hilkiah, named Susanna, a very beautiful woman and one who feared the Lord. ³Her parents were righteous, and had trained their daughter according to the law of Moses. ⁴Joakim was very rich, and had a fine garden adjoining his house; the Jews used to come to him because he was the most honored of them all.

⁵That year two Elders of the people were appointed as judges. Concerning them the Lord had said: "Wickedness came forth from Babylon, from Elders who were judges, who were supposed to govern the people." ⁶These men were frequently at Joakim's house, and all who had a case to be tried came to them there.

⁷When the people left at noon, Susanna would go into her husband's garden to walk. ⁸Everyday the two Elders used to see her, going in and walking about, and they began to lust for her. ⁹They suppressed their consciences and turned away their eyes from looking to Heaven or remembering their duty to administer justice. ¹⁰Both were overwhelmed with passion for her, but they did not tell each other of

¹The Holy Bible, containing the old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, New Revised Standard Version, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

their distress, ¹¹for they were ashamed to disclose their lustful desire to seduce her. ¹²Day after day they watched eagerly to see her.

¹³One day they said to each other, "Let us go home, for it is time for lunch." So they both left and parted from each other. ¹⁴But turning back, they met again; and when each pressed the other for a reason, they confessed their lust. Then together they arranged for a time when they could find her alone.

¹⁵Once, while they were watching for an opportune day, she went in as before with only two maids, and wished to bathe in the garden, for it was a hot day. ¹⁶No one was there except the two Elders, who had hidden themselves and were watching her. ¹⁷She said to her maids, "Bring me olive oil and ointments, and shut the garden doors so that I can bathe." ¹⁸They did as she told them: they shut the doors of the garden and went out by the side doors to bring what they had been commanded; they did not see the Elders because they were hiding.

¹⁹When the maids had gone out, the two Elders got up and ran to her. ²⁰They said, "Look, the garden doors are shut, and no one can see us. We are burning with desire for you; so give your consent, and lie with us. ²¹If you refuse, we will testify against you that a young man was with you, and this was why you sent your maids away."

²²Susanna groaned and said, "I am completely trapped."

For if I do this, it will mean death for me; if I do not, I cannot escape your hands. ²³I choose not to do it; I will fall into your hands, rather than sin in the sight of the Lord."

²⁴Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and the two Elders shouted against her. ²⁵And one of them ran and opened the garden doors. ²⁶When the people in the house heard the shouting in the garden, they rushed in at the side door to see what had happened to her. ²⁷And when the Elders told their story, the servants felt very much ashamed, for nothing like this had ever been said about Susanna.

²⁸The next day, when the people gathered at the house of her husband Joakim, the two Elders came, full of their wicked plot to have Susanna put to death. ²⁹"Send for Susanna, daughter of Hilkiah, the wife of Joakim." ³⁰So they sent for her. And she came with her parents, her children and all her relatives.

³¹Now Susanna was a woman of great refinement and beautiful in appearance. ³²As she was veiled, the scoundrels ordered her to be unveiled, so that they might feast their eyes on her beauty. ³³Those who were with her and all who saw her were weeping.

³⁴Then the two Elders stood up before the people and laid their hands on her head. ³⁵Through her tears she looked up toward Heaven, for her heart trusted in the Lord.

³⁶The Elders said, "While we were walking in the garden alone, this woman came in with two maids, shut the garden doors and dismissed the maids. ³⁷Then a young man, who was hiding there, came to her and lay with her. ³⁸We were in a corner of the garden, and when we saw this wickedness we ran to them. ³⁹Although we saw them embracing, we could not hold the man, because he was stronger than we, and he opened the doors and got away. ⁴⁰We did, however, seize this woman and asked who the young man was, ⁴¹but she would not tell us. These things we testify." Because they were Elders of the people and judges, the assembly believed them and condemned her to death.

⁴²Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and said, "O eternal God, you know what is secret and are aware of all things before they come to be; ⁴³you know that these men have given false evidence against me. And now I am to die, though I have done none of the wicked things they have charged against me!"

⁴⁴The Lord heard her cry. ⁴⁵Just as she was being led off to execution, God stirred up the holy spirit of a young lad named Daniel, ⁴⁶and he shouted with a loud voice, "I want no part in shedding this woman's blood!"

⁴⁷All the people turned to him and asked, "What is this you are saying?" ⁴⁸Taking his stand among them he said, "Are you such fools, O Israelites, as to condemn a daughter of Israel without examination and without learning

the facts? ⁴⁹Return to court, for these men have given false evidence against her."

⁵⁰So all the people hurried back. And the rest of the Elders said to him, "Come, sit among us and inform us, for God has given you the standing of an Elder." ⁵¹Daniel said to them, "Separate them far from each other, and I will examine them."

⁵²When they were separated from each other, he summoned one of them and said to him, "You old relic of wicked day, your sins have now come home, which you have committed in the past, ⁵³pronouncing unjust judgements, condemning the innocent and acquitting the guilty, though the Lord said, 'You shall not put an innocent and righteous person to death.' ⁵⁴Now then, if you really saw this woman, tell me this: under what tree did you see them being intimate with each other?" He answered, "Under a mastic tree." ⁵⁵And young Daniel said, "Very well! This lie has cost you your head, for the angel of God has received the sentence from God and will immediately cut you in two."

⁵⁶Then, putting him to one side, he ordered them to bring the other. And he said to him, "You offspring of Canaan and not of Judah, beauty has beguiled you and lust has perverted your heart. ⁵⁷This is how you have been treating the daughters of Israel, and they were intimate with you through fear; but a daughter of Judah would not tolerate your wickedness. ⁵⁸Now then, tell me: Under what

tree did you catch them being intimate with each other?" He answered, "Under an evergreen oak." ⁵⁹Daniel said to him, "Very well! This lie has cost you also your head, for the angel of God is waiting for his sword to split you in two, so as to destroy you both."

⁶⁰Then the whole assembly raised a great shout and blessed God, whose saves those who hope in him. ⁶¹And they took action against the two Elders, because out of their own mouths Daniel had convicted them of bearing false witness; they did to them as they had wickedly planned to do to their neighbor. ⁶²Acting in accordance with the law of Moses, they put them to death. Thus innocent blood was spared that day.

⁶³Hilkiah praised God for their daughter Susanna, and so did her husband Joakim and all her relatives, because she was found innocent of a shameful deed. ⁶⁴And from that day onward Daniel had a great reputation among the people.

APPENDIX B

Chapter 13 of Danihel Propheta from the Latin Vulgate¹

¹et erat vir habitans in Babylone et nomen eius Ioachim
²et accepit uxorem nomine Susannam/filiam Chelciae/pulchram
nimis et timentem Dominum
³parentes enim illius cum essent iusti/erudierunt filiam
suam secundum legem Mosi
⁴erat autem Ioachim dives valde/et erat ei pomerium vicinum
domus suae/et ad ipsum confluebant Iudaei/eo quod esset
honorabilior omnium
⁵et constituti sunt duo senes iudices in anno illo/de
quibus locutus est Dominus quia/egressa est iniquitas de
Babylone/a senibus iudicibus qui videbantur regere populum
⁶isti frequentabant domum Ioachim/et veniebant ad eos omnes
qui habebant iudicia
⁷cum autem populus revertisset per meridiem/ingrediebatur
Susanna et deambulabat in pomerio viri sui
⁸et videbant eam senes cotidie ingredientem et
deambulantem/et exarserunt in concupiscentia eius
⁹et everterunt sensum suum/et declinaverunt oculos suos
ut non viderent caelum/neque recordarentur iudiciorum
iustorum
¹⁰erant ergo ambo vulnerati amore eius/nec indicaverunt
sibi vicissim dolorem suum
¹¹erubescabant enim indicare concupiscentiam suam volentes
concumbere cum ea
¹²et observabant cotidie sollicitius videre eam/dixitque
alter ad alterum
¹³eamus domum quia prandii hora est et egressi recesserunt
a se
¹⁴cumque revertissent venerunt in unum/et sciscitantes ab
invicem causam/confessi sunt concupiscentiam suam/et tunc in
commune statuerunt tempus quando eam possent invenire solam
¹⁵factum est autem cum observarent diem aptum/ingressa est
aliquando sicut heri et nudius tertius/cum duabus solis
puellis/voluitque lavari in pomerio aestus quippe erat
¹⁶et non erat ibi/quisquam praeter duos senes absconditos
et contemplantes eam
¹⁷dixit ergo puellis adferte mihi oleum et smegmata/et
ostia pomerii claudite ut lavem
¹⁸et fecerunt sicut praeceperat/clauseruntque ostia pomerii
et egressae sunt per posticium ut adferrent quae
iusserat/nesciebantque senes intus esse absconditos
¹⁹cum autem egressae essent puellae surrexerunt duo senes
et adcurrerunt ad eam et dixerunt

¹Biblia Sacra, Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem (Stuttgart: Deutsche
Bibelgesellschaft, 1983).

²⁰ecce ostia pomerii clauusa sunt/et nemo nos videt et in concupiscentia tui sumus/quam ob rem adsentire nobis et commiscere nobiscum
²¹quod si nolueris dicemus testimonium contra te quod fuerit tecum iuuenis/et ob hanc causam emiseris puellas a te
²²ingemuit Susanna et ait angustiae mihi undique/si enim hoc egero mors mihi est/si autem non egero non effugiam manus vestras
²³sed melius mihi est absque opere incidere in manus vestras/quam peccare in conspectu Domini
²⁴et exclamavit voce magna Susanna/exclamaverunt autem et senes adversus eam
²⁵et cucurrit unus et aperuit ostia pomerii
²⁶cum ergo audissent clamorem in pomerii famuli domus/inruerunt per posticam ut viderent quidnam esset
²⁷postquam autem senes locuti sunt erubuerunt servi vehementer/quia numquam dictus fuerat sermo huiuscemodi de Susanna/et facta est dies crastina
²⁸cumque venisset populus ad virum eius Ioachim/venerunt et duo presbyteri/pleni iniqua cogitatione adversum Susannam ut interficerent eam
²⁹et dixerunt coram populo/mittite ad Sussannam filiam Chelciae uxorem Ioachim/et statim miserunt
³⁰et venit cum parentibus et filiis et universis cognatis suis
³¹porro Susanna erat delicata nimis et pulchra specie
³²at iniqui illi iusserunt uut discoperiretur/erat enim cooperta/ut vel sic satiarentur decore eius
³³felbant igitur sui et omnes qui noverant eam
³⁴consurgentes autem duo presbyteri in medio populi/posuerunt manus super caput eius
³⁵quae flens suspexit ad caelum/erat enim cor eius fiduciam habens in Domino
³⁶et dixerunt presbyteri cum deambularem in pomerii soli/ingressa est haec cum duabus puellis/et clausit ostia pomerii et dimisit puellas
³⁷ventique ad eam adulescens qui erat absconditus et concubuit cum ea
³⁸porro nos cum essemus in angulo pomerii/videntes iniquitatem cucurrimus ad eos/et vidimus eos pariter commisceri
³⁹et illum quidem non quivimus comprehendere/quia fortior nobis erat/et apertis ostiis exilivit
⁴⁰hanc autem cum adprehendissemus/interrogavimus quisnan esset adulescens/et noluit indicare nobis/huius rei testes sumus
⁴¹credidit eis multitudo quasi senibus populi et iudicibus/et condemnaverunt eam ad mortem
⁴²exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna et dixit/Deus aeterne qui absconditorum es cognitor qui nostri omnia antequam fiant

⁴³tu scis quoniam falsum contra me tulerunt testimonium/et
ecce morior cum nihil horum fecerim/quae isti malitiose
conposuerunt adversum me
⁴⁴exaudivit autem Dominus vocem eius
⁴⁵cumque duceretur ad mortem/suscitavit Deus spiritum
sanctum pueri iunioris cuius nomen Danihel
⁴⁶et exclamavit voce magna numdus/ego sum a sanguine huius
⁴⁷et conversus omnis populus ad eum dixit/quis est sermo
iste quem tu locutus es
⁴⁸qui cum staret in medio eorum ait/sic fatui filii Israhel
non iudicantes/neque quod verum est cognoscentes
condemnastis filiam Israhel
⁴⁹revertimini ad iudicium quia falsum testimonium locuti
sunt adversum eam
⁵⁰reversus est ergo populus cum festinatione/et dixirunt ei
senes veni et sede in medio nostrum/et indica nobis quia
tibi dedit Deus honorem senectutis
⁵¹et dixit ad eos Danihel/
separate illos ab invicem procul et diiudicabo eos
⁵²cum ergo divisi essent alter ab alter/vocavit unum de eis
et dixit ad eum inveterate dierum malorum/nunc venerunt
peccata tua quae operaberis prius
⁵³iudicans iudicia iniusta/innocentes opprimens et
dimittens noxios/dicente Domino innocentem et iustum non
interficiet
⁵⁴nunc ergo si vidisti eam dic sub qua arbore videris eos
loquentes sibi qui ait sub scino
⁵⁵dixit autem Danihel recte mentitus es in caput tuum/ecce
enim angelus Dei accepta sententia ab eo scindet te medium
⁵⁶et amoto eo iussit venire alium/et dixit ei semen Chanaan
et non Iuda/species decepit te et concupiscentia subvertit
cor tuum
⁵⁷sic faciebatis filiabus Israhel/et illae timentes
loquebantur vobis sed non filia Iuda sustinuit iniquitatem
vestram
⁵⁸nunc ergo dic mihi sub qua arbore comprehenderis ego
loquentes sibi ait sub prino
⁵⁹dixit autem ei Danihel recte mentitus es et tu in caput
tuum/manet enim angelus Dei gladium habens ut secet te
medium et interficiat vos
⁶⁰exclamavit itaque omnis coetus voce magna et benedixerunt
Deo qui salvat sperantes in se
⁶¹et consurrexerunt adversum duos presbyteros/convicerat
enim eos Danihel ex ore suo falsum dixisse testimonium
feceruntque eis sicuti male egerant adversum proximum
⁶²ut facerent secundum legem Mosi et interfecerunt eos/et
salvatus est sanguis innocuus in die illa
⁶³Chelcias autem et uxor eius laudaverunt Deum pro filia
sua Susanna/cum Iochim marito eius et cognatis omnibus/quia
non esset inventa in ea res turpis
⁶⁴Danihel autem factus est magnus in conspectu populi a die
illa et deinceps

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Figure 1. Susanna and the Elders, Catacomb of
Sts. Petrus and Marcellinus, Chamber XIII,
Rome, c.300.



Figure 2. Gustave Heinrich Wolff, Susanna and the Elders, 1931, woodcut.



Figures 3 a-d. Prentenbijbel illustrations, The History of Susanna from Historien des Oude en Nieuwe Testamenten (Amsterdam: Nicolaes Visscher, 1659), etchings by Pieter Schut after Matthaus Merian.



Figure 4. Jan Swart, Susanna and the Elders, c. 1520, drawing.

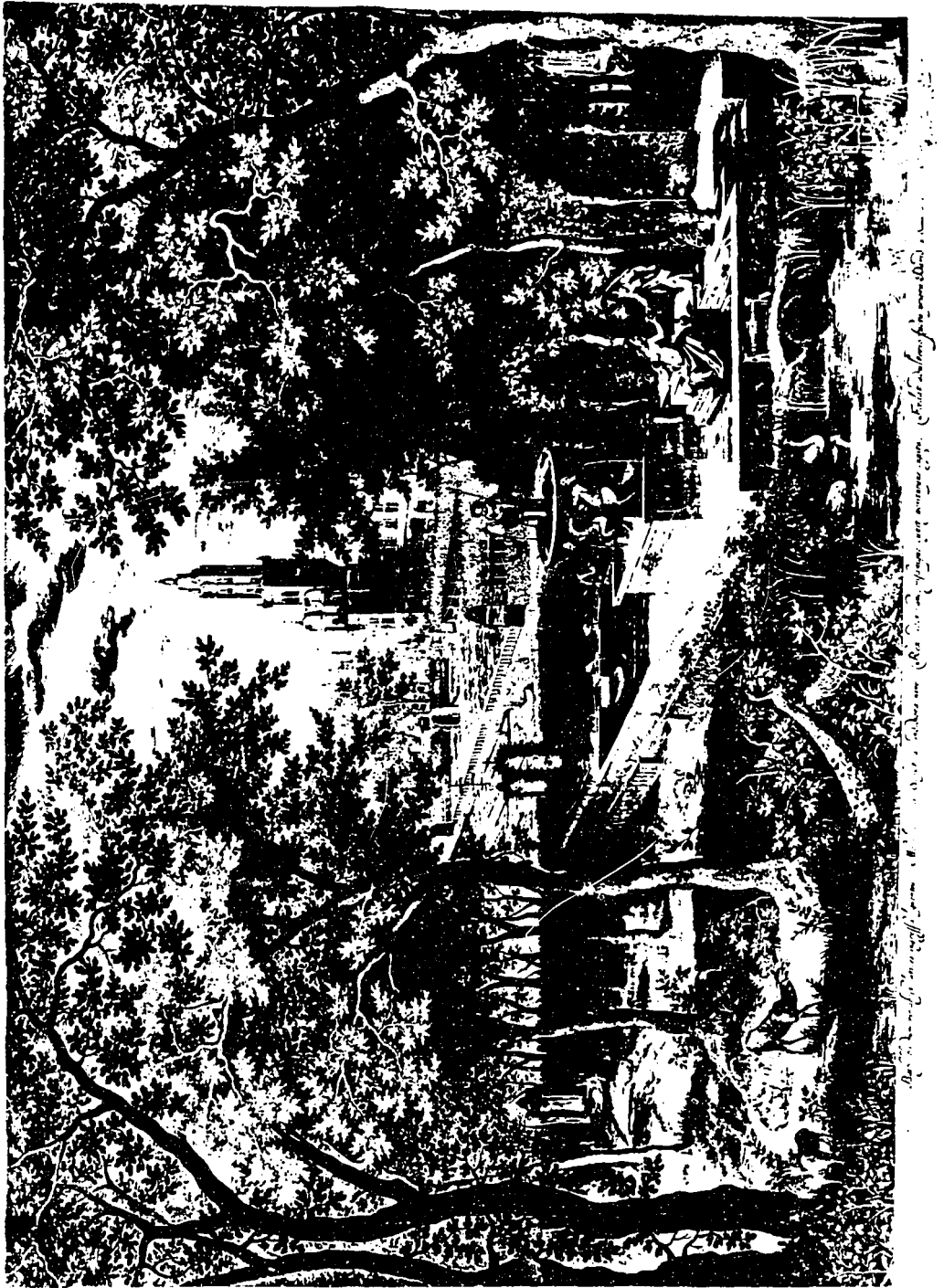


Figure 5. Jan van Londerseel after David Vinckboons, Bathsheba in a Landscape, engraving.



VENUS?

Figure 6. Jacob Matham, Venus at Her Bath, engraving.



*Læta cheiçis lum Cinna bibens, fans, hortus amoen, Lauten / Jungfrau ein brunn im garten,
Me Iuvenem tristem, nec finit esse Virum. Lassen mich kein Melancoley erwarten.*

Figure 7. Peter Rollos, emblem from Euterpae suboles, engraving.

Submouendam ignorantiam .

EMBLEMA CLXXXVIII.



*Q*UOD monstrum id? Sphinx est. Cur candida virginis ora,
Et volacrum pennas, curva leonis habes?
Hanc faciem assumpsit rerum ignorantia: tanti
Scilicet est triplex causa & origo mali.
Sunt quos ingenium leue, sunt quos blanda voluptas,
Sunt & quos faciunt corda superba rudes.
At quibus est notum, quid Delphica littera possit,
Præcipitis monstri guttura dira secant.
Namque, vir ipse bipesque, tripesque & quadrupes idem est,
Primaque, prudentis laurea, nosse virum.

Figure 8. Andreas Alciatus, Submouendam ignorantiam, emblem CLXXXVIII from Emblemata, Padua, 1621, engraving.



Figure 9. Crispin de Passe de Oude, The Garden of Earthly Delights from Hortus Voluptatum, engraving.



Figure 10. Lucas Cranach, The Eighth Commandment from Martin Luther's Catechisms, 1527, woodcut.



Figure 11. Susanna and the Elders from Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco's Emblemas morales, Spain, 1610, woodcut.

TERRA.



*Humorum guttas mater cum Terra rececit ;
 Facta parit nitidas fruges, arbusque læta,
 Et genus humanum, parit omnia secla ferarum:
 Pallida dum præbet, quibus omnes corpora pascunt,
 Næc in ætæ siccant.*

*Et dulcem ducunt vitam, sobolemque propagant:
 Unde etiam materiam nomina accepit est.
 Luxuriam ergo ne partis que parcere nescit,
 Demorantque D que Terra hæc gignit, abstin.
 Crispin de Passe fecit et gravat.*

Figure 12. Crispin de Passe after Maerten de Vos, Terra from The Four Elements, after 1589, engraving.



Figure 13. Ship of Sight and Ship of Touch from Jodocus Badius Ascensius' La Nef de Folles, Paris, 1500, woodcuts.



Figure 14. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris, Sight and Touch from The Five Senses, 1561, engravings.



Figure 15. Abraham de Bruyn, Sight from The Five Senses, 1569, engraving.



Figure 16. Georg Pencz, Sight from The Five Senses, 1540s, engravings.



Figure 17. Jacob de Backer, Sight and Touch from The Five Senses, c.1580s, engravings.



*Accipe homo quae quaeque ferunt tibi munera Sensus:
Accipe, & oblatis prudentius utere donis;*

*Nè te quos tibi jam cernis familiariter usque,
His famulum astutus reddat male-suada cupuli.*

Figure 18. A. Collaert after Adam van Noordt, The Five Senses, c.1590s, engraving.



*Dum male lapsa manu, abstrusa celli,
In cubili pueri, stulta in sua cuti.*



*Que confusa nocent, manus contingere ad,
Ne rex poterit corrumpere male.*

Figure 19. Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, Sight and Touch from The Five Senses, c. 1595, engravings.



Figure 20. Crispin de Passe de Oude, Touch from The Five Senses, after 1589, engraving.