

PRINTS AND THE STATUS OF IMAGES IN FLANDERS

The role of the print in the transmission and diffusion of images and styles has not, in general, been overlooked. Prints have always been acknowledged — often by those whose starting point is painting and sculpture — as providing important information about the ways in which particular images and styles may be transmitted. In the specific fields of Dutch and Flemish art of the seventeenth century, recent research has examined the topic in a variety of new and fruitful ways, with some notable results. Christian Tümpel has revolutionized Rembrandt research by showing how a detailed examination of Rembrandt's debt to sixteenth century Netherlandish prints — particularly after artists like Marten van Heemskerck and Marten de Vos — may illuminate some of the more puzzling aspects of his iconography¹; while in the field of Rubens prints, Konrad Renger has made a special study of the considerable number of surviving proofs and counterproofs which Rubens touched up, improved and otherwise altered with his own hand, and he has been able to plot with extraordinary precision that artist's role in the making and supervision of prints after his own composition².

On the face of it, the aim of studying the role of prints in the diffusion of images and styles seems fairly straightforward; but the results are often left to remain on the level of the more or less simple isolation of prototypes and intermediaries. The present paper is predicated on the belief that the plotting of stylistic transmission is not in itself a useful exercise, but that it receives its justification from the consideration of its purpose³. The aim, therefore, is not so much to provide illustrations of the diffusion of images and styles through the medium of prints, but to examine some of the implications of the problem and to suggest the potential of the comparative method on which it is based.

An attempt will be made in the following to signal a few of the ways in which prints may illuminate the status of images and to consider some of the problems which such an approach may generate. Discussion, therefore, will centre round a series of methodological proposals, rather than present a detailed argument of a particular case. By « status of images » is meant the function of images, both their real and their latent function, both how images were intended to be used and how they were actually used. But it is not only the functional role of images that is envisaged by this term. It is also intended to refer to what one

might call the relative status of images, that is, their relation to each other both in terms of their effectiveness and in terms of their place on an aesthetic scale, with the analysis always proceeding from the point of view of the beholder, and, more broadly speaking, from the social context of images. In this respect the approach is deliberately dialectical.

Much of the evidence for problems of this nature is provided by popular prints and reproductive engravings. The present paper will consider a number of prints produced in Flanders in the seventeenth century in order to exemplify the potential of that evidence⁴. No claim will be made for the uniqueness of most of the phenomena to be discussed — similar phenomena may be observed in the case of prints after any number of artists from Raphael onwards. Such prints have occasionally been used to illuminate the genesis or influence of other works (usually — and revealingly — of paintings); but they have rarely been considered in their own right. Even in the case of this paper they will constantly be set beside the work of the artist who dominated the whole period; but it would be wrong to diminish their role as independent components of a particular visual culture and as examples of its range.

We may begin with a class of images that is unfamiliar to most art historians, although they are well known to folklorists and students of popular imagery. Pilgrimage pennants began to be produced in large quantities in the latter half of the sixteenth century and continued to enjoy considerable popularity until well into the twentieth⁵. Their appearance on prints such as the engraving after Bruegel of the *St George's Day Fair* (fig. 43)⁶ and the wide variety of their recent usage demonstrate the persistence of a type of printed image that is still occasionally to be found in Flanders⁷. These images provide a rich store of material, but only a few issues relevant to the present discussion will be raised here.

The quality of their execution varies enormously: towards the one end of the scale one finds comparatively rudimentary representations such as the *St. Martin* from Peutie (fig. 44)⁸, probably dating from the third quarter of the seventeenth century. It is to images such as this — and not only to paintings of the subject — that one may turn when considering the variations of popular iconographic and stylistic taste. Similarly, it is worth remembering that some of the finest woodcutters and engravers of the period were engaged in the production of these pennants. Thus, Jan Christoffel Jegher, the son of the great woodcutter who worked under Rubens's supervision, was also responsible for rather crudely cut images such as the pennant from Horst (fig. 45)⁹ although the actual cutting may have been left to a member of the shop. It is works such as this, as well as his numerous book illustrations, that appear to have been the main source of Jegher's livelihood¹⁰. Indeed, in the case of the pilgrimage pennants one is quite well supplied with details of prices, quantities printed, licences, and so forth — the kind of information about prints that one often wishes for but is so rarely

available. Five thousand impressions of a single edition does not appear to have been an unusual quantity in the seventeenth century, and prices — predictably — were extraordinarily low. Thus the church accounts of Belsele in East Flanders for 1610 record that for nine dozen blazons in the shape of a heart, four dozen tin pennants and four dozen paper ones¹¹ they paid just over twelve *stuivers*, that is a little over three-fifths of one guilder¹².

There are other aspects of the Jegher woodcut which may be of interest to the historian of art concerned with the status of images. Of a variety of possibilities, two obvious features may be mentioned. It testifies, for example, to the extraordinary persistence of old-fashioned landscape schemata; and it reflects — and presumably contributes to — the standardization of both the depiction and adornment of those miraculous images of the Madonna that became so widespread a feature of devotional life from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards¹³.

Far more refined in execution than the two preceding pennants is the *St. Andrew* from Balen-Neet (fig. 46)¹⁴; its quality is sufficiently refined to have come from one of the major shops of reproductive engraving of the period. This is the other end of the aesthetic scale, and it has been illustrated here not only as a reflection of the variation in quality of the pennants, but also as a striking example of the influence of Rubens on everyday representation — one may consider not only the figure of the saint himself, but also the depiction of the putti, a feature to which further allusion will be made below¹⁵. By their very nature, these objects contributed even further to the dissemination of Rubensian stylistic modes. They are carried home by pilgrims and accumulated by them, and their function varies very widely indeed. It ranges from that of a souvenir to that of a fetish: « Touched by the relics of St Elizabeth » reads an inscription on a seventeenth century pennant from Zoersel¹⁶; « this pennant touched the miraculous image of Our Lady at Hal » reads another¹⁷; and « this image of Nôtre-Dame of Hal miraculously delivers souls from purgatory » asserts an eighteenth century example also from Hal¹⁸. The anthropological implications of such statements are self-evidently rich; our present concern, however, is not with the transmission of magical powers but with that of images and styles. As souvenirs kept or displayed in the most unpretentious and mundane of ways¹⁹, these images may not have stamped themselves on the imagination, but tacit account at least should be taken of the possible subliminal consequences of cherishing and fingering these engraved records of some of the central journeys in the lives of vast numbers of people in the seventeenth century.

Much the same may be suggested of the dissemination of images and styles by the prayer cards of the period²⁰. There are far too many kinds to be listed here, and the cruder forms are well known, from the countless small rectangular images of favourite Madonnas, to the innumerable crucifixions and instruments of the passion. Perhaps less well

known are those images which are taken directly from Rubens and which appear to have served similar functions to the prayer cards. Individual figures were often lifted out of compositions and placed against plain white backgrounds, to throw them into the kind of relief required by the genre, in certain cases bestowing upon them some of the qualities of the *Andachtsbild*²¹. Amongst the finest examples is the *St. Catherine* engraved by Schelte à Bolswert (fig. 47)²², but more typical — to move to the other end of the scale — are the extraordinary Jesuit adaptations (figs. 48 and 49) of the lower half Rubens's altarpiece of *St. Teresa Interceding for St. Bernardino de Mendoza* (fig. 50)²³. Such adaptations demonstrate not only the way in which Rubens's style could be schematized for popular consumption, but also those aspects of his work which appealed to popular taste. The souls writhing in purgatory are certainly a suitable subject for a prayer card, but they may also be taken to be representative of the appeal exercised by Rubens's depictions of more or less naked figures writhing or gesturing in striking or novel poses. The same symptom may be observed in the multitude of copies in one form or another of the full range of Rubens's eschatological subjects; but this is another issue²⁴.

It is not surprising that Rubens's representations of *Christ on the Cross* should have served as a model for such quantities of reproductive engravings, but here too one should pause to consider the variety of images concerned. On the one hand one finds pietistic images of the commonest type — though often executed with considerable finesse (fig. 51)²⁵ — while on the other there are far larger works, which serve an entirely different function, of which Bolswert's print dedicated (by the publisher, Martinus van der Eenden) to Bartolomeo de los Rios a good example (fig. 52)²⁶. At least part of the motivation for such prints was the expression of admiration for the dedicatee, here described, as often, as a «favourer of the arts»²⁷.

There are also prints which are conceived on a more ambitious scale than the prayer card type, but which nonetheless seem to partake, to some extent at least, of the nature of the smaller images. Such a work is Pontius's engraving after Rubens's *St. Roch* altarpiece in Aalst (fig. 53)²⁸, where the inscription «Sancte Roche ora pro nobis» reminds one very clearly of its potential devotional function. It would be mistaken to regard the inscription simply as an *adiaphoron*, or as an easy way of conforming to a convention which required a caption beneath such prints, for almost every other image of the large reproductive type is provided either with an appropriate biblical quotation or with a dedication to a notable contemporary. In any case, the importance of considering the implications of captions and titles on prints should be stressed here.

At this stage it may be objected that these images are being seen not in their own right, but as reflecting the work of a single great artist. In some respects the charge would be justified, but it can be countered by the fact that Rubens was far more widely reproduced than any other

Flemish master of the seventeenth century. That in itself is of some significance when one considers his role in the formation and development of the expectation of what images were supposed to be like and of how they most effectively function. Furthermore, he provides a secure visual reference point against which one may plot the vagaries of stylistic taste. In order to exemplify this observation, a whole series of works showing a bearded male saint adoring the Christ child will be adduced here. The subject in itself provides testimony of a particular form of Counter Reformation sentimentality²⁹, of which other examples will emerge in the course of this paper, but for the moment we may simply note some transformations of closely related motifs.

Rubens's pointing of *St. Francis Receiving the Infant Christ* (fig. 54)³⁰ was changed by Michel Lasne into a *St. Francis of Paola* (fig. 55)³¹, simply by including the Minim Friars' emblem *Charitas* and adding their scapular to the habit of the Capuchins³². Lasne himself is one of the least known but most important of the Rubens engravers³³, and his rather harsh and schematized manner of engraving (it is even more schematized than usual) appears in the still more idiosyncratic print after another of Rubens's paintings of the theme of *St. Francis Receiving the Christ Child* (fig. 56)³⁴. Both these works were published by Theodor Galle, and one should compare them with the later copy after the second of these paintings, engraved by Cornelis Visscher and published by F. de Wit (fig. 57)³⁵, as a striking illustration of the way in which a composition by Rubens could be adapted in the direction of a greater degree of emotionalism and overt sentiment. Such characteristics are accompanied by an attempt at heightened sweetness — one has only to look at the Madonna's face and free-flowing hair — and elegance: compare the elongated toes and fingers of the two figures with the knotty joints of both the original and Lasne's adaptation. That *we* find such qualities almost sickly is beside the point; what is important to gauge in this case is the divergence from the archetype as a means of assessing the aesthetic requirements and expectations of certain sections of the populace.

Although the subject of the next illustration (fig. 58) is ostensibly *St. Joseph as Patron of the Carmelite Order*³⁶, the appeal of the image — as well as its devotional content — depended on the charms of the Infant Christ and the putti. This is not the place to discuss the significance of putti as bearers of specific devotional messages³⁷ — and here they do so quite literally — but it should be observed that only the central part of the composition is attributable to Rubens. The lost painting from which it is derived was made for the Discalced Carmelites at Morlane near Namur³⁸, but the rest of the composition is clearly a later invention. Rubens cannot have been responsible for either the ornamental pedestal, or the various putti, or the two medallions³⁹. It is characteristic of his art that he eschews the kind of explicitness implied by these medallions, just as he abstains from most of the varieties of literal allegorization that one finds in emblem books and many

of the illustrated devotional handbooks. Such adaptations of Rubens inventions are symptomatic of the polarities of high and low taste — the terms are used without the presupposition of a value judgment — and so are engravings like the *St. Hiltrudis* (fig. 59)⁴⁰, despite the dedication to the Benedictine Abbot Antonius de Winghe. Here the Rubens invention has been enclosed in a type of ornament that overtly spells out its devotional implications and is far more florid than anything in Rubens's own work. It may be remarked that the print of *St. Joseph Carrying the Christ Child* also served one of the functions to which allusion has already been made. Printed at the bottom of the sheet is a prayer — in three languages — for which the Bishop of Antwerp, Ambrosius Capello, promised forty days indulgence. Engravings such as this one could therefore serve the same orrectic function as the medieval images of the *Maria in Sole*, to take only one example of an image used as a specific type of encouragement to piety and prayer⁴¹.

All these phenomena are combined in the striking sheet showing the Holy Family in a wreath of strapwork and flowers (fig. 60)⁴². Here is the emphasis on the childhood of Christ which played so important a part in Counter Reformation piety⁴³; here is the kind of ornament which both enhanced the central image and contributed to the dissemination of the iconographic type it — the central image — represents. As in the case of the *Madonnas in Flower Garlands* painted by Jan Brueghel, Hendrik van Balen and Rubens from the beginning of the century onwards, the garland enhances the status of the image in two different but related ways: it concentrates attention on the subject it encloses, but it also suggests the preciousness of the central image, of the image as image⁴⁴. The fact that the present sheet is printed from two separate plates indicates the reutilization of a work which had previously had an entirely different function; and the result is an elevation in status of the central image from its original prayer card type. Apart from anything else, such works testify to a greatly increased belief in the intrinsic worth and significance of religious images as such — a belief which had been undermined in the sixteenth century⁴⁵ but was revived with ever greater strength from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. One has only to think of the importance attached to those many otherwise negligible images which became the centre of cultic adoration in the great churches of Rome and the pilgrimage centres of the Netherlands. Indeed, Rubens first made his mark with a work involving such an image, when he enclosed the Madonna della Vallicella in a garland of angels⁴⁶.

At this stage we should turn to the implications of book illustration for the status of images. One of the most practical tasks for the researcher in this area would be to make a numerical assessment of the adaptations of Rubens compositions in illustrated books, classifying them according to the type of work concerned. In the field of devotional handbooks it should be possible to gain some idea of both the kinds of audience for which they were destined and their circulation; and the

many copies and adaptations in the pocket catechisms, prayer books and other devotional vade-mecums of writers like the immensely popular Father Andries⁴⁷ offer a rich store of material that has yet to be exploited. Instances of the popular pietistic reutilization of Rubens's work are legion; as a completely random example one of the adaptations of the Rouen *Adoration of the Shepherds*⁴⁸ has been chosen here (fig. 61)⁴⁹. The painting was bought by the Capuchins at Aachen⁵⁰; Vorsterman's engraving of 1620 (fig. 62)⁵¹ was dedicated — by Rubens — to Pieter Pecquius, the Chancellor of Brabant⁵²; while the humble engraving — instantly recognizable as a product of the important Bouttats workshop — presumably came from the pages of a popular devotional work aimed at the lower end of the market. Its inscriptions, not surprisingly, are in the vernacular alone, and the emphasis is yet again on the infancy of Christ, as the almost assertive use of the diminutive makes clear.

Alongside this kind of unpretentious illustration one may set the sort of work that emerged from the shops of the great Dutch publishers and engravers like Visscher. The sumptuous illustrated bibles they produced were intended for wide circulation — as can be judged from the fact that the captions are often in French, German and English as well as in Latin and Dutch — and although they catered primarily for the Protestant market, they still provide remarkable indices of pictorial taste at the upper end of the market⁵³. Reproduced in them on a grand scale are illustrations by a great variety of engravers, from sixteenth century artists like Marten de Vos to contemporary Dutch ones, as well as the inevitable Flemish masters⁵⁴. To some extent this has to do with the availability of plates of the subjects concerned, but one is still left with revealing documents both of what was acceptable and what contributed to the formation of aesthetic and iconographic standards, both inside and outside the North Netherlands.

But the evidence of book illustrations also bears on a number of other issues, including several that have already been raised. It has been noted that in assessing the differences between popular prints and the work of Rubens, a striking discrepancy is to be found between the level of allegorization in each. In the former there is a tendency for every element in the allegory to be spelt out in the most literal fashion, with every stage in the process of allegorization carefully demarcated. One never finds in Rubens the hearts of every shape and form used in every possible way, the ladders, winepresses and mirrors that so graphically illustrate the devotional message in the religious handbooks (fig. 63)⁵⁵. Thus again one encounters the polarities of high and low allegory, between its sophisticated and its cruder forms; but there are naturally many intervening stages, where the allegorical elements are spelt out with a greater or lesser degree of literalness⁵⁶.

The beginnings of this particular mode of communication in Flanders, where letters are used in a diagrammatic way in conjunction with explanatory captions or texts, are to be found in the second half of the

sixteenth century. It is favoured and promoted by the Jesuits, and amongst the best early examples in this category is the body of illustrations accompanying Jeronimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*⁵⁷. Here are the roots of the method that was to be exploited so fruitfully in the religious emblem literature of the seventeenth century. This mode of communication depends on literal and visual enumeration, on the making explicit of every detail in the scene, and the clear fragmentation of action into components which correspond to textual divisions (fig. 64)⁵⁸. Thus, actions are split up into their component details not only within single scenes, but also — in the case of subjects the *Carrying of the Cross* and the *Death and Assumption of the Virgin* — across whole sequences of illustrations⁵⁹.

The first time that this method is adopted in allegorical illustration in the Netherlands is in Johannes David's *Veridicus Christianus* of 1601⁶⁰. This important work, which established the form for a great quantity of what have usually been called religious emblem books⁶¹, provides abundant evidence of a kind of representation that is emphatically explicit, rather than elliptically tacit in the way that even the allegorical works of Rubens are (fig. 65)⁶². Here the letters on the illustrations require whole passages of text to explain the moments they denote, while the captions simply serve as mottoes or lemmata in the usual manner of emblems. Even the more straightforward subjects in this book are depicted in this denotative and enumerative way (fig. 66).

But what is the connection between such illustrations and an artist like Rubens? It is not difficult to show that a work like Nadal's must have occupied his attention⁶³, and there can be little doubt that Rubens's extraordinarily wideranging use of charming putti to convey serious devotional messages has its precedents not only in engravings by the Wierix brothers, but also in the book illustrations by his master, Otto van Veen⁶⁴. But there are possibly more important methodological implications for the student of the status of images. The engravings and woodcuts in the devotional emblem books provide evidence of an alternative mode of picturing the world that finds little or no reflection in the major painters of the time; though it is probably worth remarking that the degree of explicit allegorization increases as one descends the scale of the acknowledged canonical artists. In other words — to put it more crudely — the greater the artist, the lower the degree of explicit allegorization.

The basis for all such hypotheses should, ideally, be the examination and classification of the vast body of popular and reproductive prints in seventeenth century Flanders, not only because they merit investigation in their own right, but also because they provide indispensable evidence about the status of paintings in the period. Which of Rubens's works, for example, were most often reproduced? Which aspects and which elements in them received the most emphasis in the prints? If such questions can be answered then we should have an index of popular taste, as well as of Rubens's influence on it. But the point is not simply

to determine the formation and variations of taste; it is to assess the position of particular images in terms of the beholder's perception of them — as aesthetic objects, as bearers of one kind of message or another, as totemic or otherwise functional objects. Thus, comparative analysis may yield much about the ways in which the prints themselves were used, as well as about their aesthetic status. With respect to the latter, it will be observed that there appear to be two notable constants in the adaptation of canonical images to less sophisticated forms: firstly, the movement away from faithful reproduction of the archetype towards schematization of forms and styles; and secondly, the movement towards the kind of decorative embroidery represented by the garlands, wreaths and other kinds of ornament discussed above. These are two of the most significant ways in which images are more accessible and — to use the Horatian metaphor — more palatable. There are, of course, other ways, but they are closely related to the general rules just outlined.

There remain several issues regarding the tension between the functional aspects of prints and their aesthetic status, which cannot all be dealt with here. Such problems will seem even more acute to anyone who remains impressed with the formulations of William Ivins about the reproductive nature of prints⁶⁵. Clearly, Ivins's insistence on the informational aspect of prints and the consequences of the multiplication of large numbers of identical images raises an issue which must be a basic factor in any assessment of the status of images in a particular period; but it overlooks the importance of the determining role of the market — at all levels — of how prints *should* look, and, very often, of how they should be made to look more agreeable or more trenchant. In this respect the aesthetic component is at least as important as the mechanical or reproductive one. The problem becomes acute in a number of areas, say Dutch landscape prints, where the tension between the informational aspect⁶⁶ and the self-consciously artistic one may be very marked indeed, even if not always immediately apparent⁶⁷. On the other hand, the functional element of the fetishistic images referred to at the beginning of this paper seems to be so pronounced as to exclude any kind of aesthetic determination of their function, but even in such cases it is unlikely that the two factors are entirely unrelated. These, however, are not matters that can be resolved here and they must await further analysis.

Finally, it remains to consider — briefly — the consequences of a further issue — that of the use of words on the prints themselves (fig. 67)⁶⁸. This particular mode of literalizing visual language, of supplementing the communicational aspect of visual forms is as old as printmaking itself. It may reflect all kinds of psychological processes and impulses, from the assumption of the primacy of verbal language over visual language, to a feeling that pictorial images alone are not sufficient to convey specific messages. In some cases words may even serve to vivify the actors in a drama; and the notion of vivification is introduced here

not in the sense of making the image more aesthetically vivid, but in the sense of making it seem to be alive, of emphasizing that miraculous aspect of pictorialization that is present in all forms of representation. The actors are no longer *Abbilder*: they become the *Urbilder*: themselves. Any study of the status of images has to consider the implications of words on images, whether in dedications, captions, or banderoles, not only for the obvious relevance they may have for the assessment of their audience, but also for the ways in which they reflect on particular modes of communication — even when such modes invoke the tendency to invest the unanimate with the animate.

A question may have arisen as to the advisability of concentrating exclusively on prints with religious subjects. Naturally, any complete analysis of the status of images in a particular period must take account of secular subjects as well, but they do not offer, in this case, such wide-ranging analytic possibilities. It will be observed that Rubens's religious compositions are engraved far more extensively and repeatedly, in the seventeenth century at least, than his mythological and historical works. To a large extent this simply reflects the fact that the religious works were more often in public places — rather than private collections — and that they conveyed a more significant — and accessible — meaning than the mythological ones. Indeed, the quantity of specific mythological subjects that were engraved may be correlated fairly closely with those that were better known to begin with. Thus the commonest engravings of this kind would seem to be the *Bacchanal* and *Drunken Silenus* type, or the many variations of the theme of *Diana and her Nymphs*, to take only two possible examples⁶⁹. On the other hand, the engravings of religious subjects conform far less closely to the conditions of accessibility, both actual and iconographic. In this sense, therefore, the concentration on religious subjects may be justified, where reproductions of a wide range of compositions are more frequent and the transformations all the more obvious, particularly in their adaptation to the variety of functions outlined in this paper.

This investigation has been made easier by the presence of a single artist whose imprint may be observed throughout the period and whose style is all pervasive. That in itself is a reflection of the relative status of his works and those of other artists, and similar phenomena can be described for any number of periods and regions. But it would not be a fruitless task to examine the reproductions and adaptations of the works of the lesser figures, to isolate those points at which they differ both iconographically and technically, and then to proceed along the lines suggested above. The diffusion of images and styles may not in itself be a significant issue, but it does offer the most plausible historical and anthropological means of assessing the status of images in particular social contexts⁷⁰. The present paper has been designed not only to tap something of the extraordinary richness of the field, but also to suggest some of the ways in which it might expand.

ABBREVIATIONS

- De Backer-Sommervogel*: De Backer, A. and A., and Sommervogel, C., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels-Paris, 12 vols., Brussels and Paris, 1890-1932.
- Freedberg, A Source*: Freedberg, D., *A Source for Rubens's Modello of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin: A Case Study in the Response to Images*, in «The Burlington Magazine», CXX, 1978, pp. 432-441.
- Knipping*: Knipping, B., *De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden*, I-II, Hilversum, 1939-40.
- Landwehr*: Landwehr, J., *Emblem Books in the Low Countries 1554-1949. A Bibliography*, Utrecht, 1970.
- Mauquoy Hendicx*: Mauquoy-Hendricx, M., *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}. Catalogue raisonné. Première partie*, Brussels, 1978.
- Rooses*: Rooses, M., *L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens, histoire et description de ses tableaux*, I-V, Antwerp, 1886-1892.
- Van Heurck*: Van Heurck E.-H., *Les drapelets de pèlerinage en Belgique et dans les pays voisins. Contribution à l'iconographie et à l'histoire des pèlerinages*, Antwerp, 1922.
- Vlieghe, Saints*: Vlieghe, H. *Saints (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, VIII)*, I, London-New York, 1972; II, London-New York, 1973.
- Voorhelm Schneevogt*: Voorhelm Schneevogt, C.G., *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens*, Haarlem, 1873.

¹ Tümpel, C., *Ikongraphische Beiträge zu Rembrandt*, I and II, in: «Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen», XIII, 1968, pp. 95-126, and XVI, 1971, pp. 20-38; and *Studien zur Ikongraphie der Historien Rembrandts. Deutung und Interpretation der Bildinhalte*, in: «Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek», XX, 1969, pp. 107-198.

² Renger, K., 'Rubens dedit dedicavitque'. *Rubens Beschäftigung mit der Drukgraphik*, I and II, in: «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», XVI, 1974, pp. 122-175, and XVII, 1975, pp. 166-213; and *Planänderungen in Rubensstichen*, in: «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte», XXXVII, 1974, pp. 1-30. See also Renger's review of Rowlands, J., *Rubens Drawings and Sketches in the British Museum* (Cat. Exhibition), London, 1977, in: «Kunstchronik», XXXI, 1978, pp. 133-140. Amongst the catalogues of exhibitions held in the Rubens Year (1977), the one which has the most discussion of this aspect of Rubens's activity is: *Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640. II. Maler mit dem Grabstichel. Rubens und die Drukgraphik* (Cat. Exhibition), Cologne, 1977.

³ Cf. my comments along similar lines in Freedberg, D., *A Source for Rubens's Modello of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin: A Case Study in the Response to Images*, in: «The Burlington Magazine», CXX, 1978, pp. 432 and 441.

⁴ It should be noted here that a vast amount of useful material is gathered together in Knipping, B., *De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden*, I-II, Hilversum, 1939-40 (translated into English as *The Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, I-II, Leiden, 1974). See also Bodart, D., *Rubens e l'incisione nelle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe* (Cat. Exhibition), Rome, 1977.

⁵ The standard work remains Van Heurck, E.H., *Les drapelets de pèlerinage en Belgique et dans les pays voisins. Contribution à l'iconographie et à l'histoire des pèlerinages*, Antwerp, 1922, although several important contributions to the subject have appeared since then. Amongst those most relevant to the present di-

scussion may be mentioned: Van der Linden, R., *Bedevertvaantj jes in Oest-Vlaanderen. Bijdrage tot de studie van de legenden, de ikonografie, de volksgebruiken*, Ledeberg-Gent, 1958 (with useful bibliography on pp. XI-XIII), and the more popular but telling Philippen, J., *De Oude Vlaamse Bedevaart-vaantjes. Hun volkskundige en cultuurhistorische betekenis*, Diest, 1968.

⁶ Van Bastelaer, R., *Les estampes de Pierre Bruegel l'ancien*, Brussels, 1908, No. 207.

⁷ For examples, see the works listed in note 5 above, especially Philippen, pp. 13-15, with a photograph of a pennant inserted behind the ears of a horse.

⁸ Van Heurck, pp. 375-6.

⁹ Van Heurck, pp. 211-15. On the verso are represented the arms of Claus van de Werve, the founder of the Chapel at Horst bij Schooten.

¹⁰ Cf. Van Heurck, pp. 214-15 for instances of Jegher's work in both these areas.

¹¹ Entries such as this one serve to remind one of the wide variety of pilgrimage images and tokens that fall into the same broad typological category as the pennants discussed here; like the latter, they would also repay art historical examination.

¹² Van der Linden, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 30; See also Philippen, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 23-5 and 37-8 for further examples of payments and prices.

¹³ I have dealt with the art historical significance of miraculous images of the Madonna in Freedberg, D., *The Origins and Rise of the Flemish Madonnas in Flower Garlands: Decoration and Devotion*, in «Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst», XXXII, 1981, pp. 115-150.

¹⁴ Van Heurck, pp. 32-3.

¹⁵ Cf. below, pp. 41-42, and notes 55 and 64.

¹⁶ «Geraeckt aan de Reliquien van de H. Elisabeth», cited in Philippen, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 26.

¹⁷ «Dit vaentje is aengeraekt aen het Miraculeus Beeld van Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Halle», cited in Philippen, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 26.

¹⁸ «Image de N.D. de hal, il delivre miraculeusement les ames du purgatoire comme on peu voir dans son histoire», Philippen, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 26.

¹⁹ For a striking — and amusing — example, see the illustration in Philippen already alluded to above in note 7.

²⁰ These should perhaps be divided, according to popular custom, into two kinds: the «bidprentjes» (prayer cards) and «santjes» (images of saints); although the distinction between the two genres — and sometimes a third, «suffragiën» — is quite fluid. See Van Heurck, E.H., *Les images de devotion anversoises du XVIe au XIXe siècle. Sanctjes, Bidprentjes en Suffragiën*, Antwerp, 1930; and Van den Bergh, K., *Bidprentjes in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Aureliae Folklorica, 2), Brussels, 1975.

²¹ The classic study of the prayer card/Andachtsbild type is Spamer, A., *Das Kleine Andachtsbild vom XIV. bis zum XX. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1930. Amongst subsequent studies one of the most informative and interesting is Gugitz, G., *Das kleine Andachtsbild in den Österreichischen Gnadenstätten, In Darstellung, Verbreitung und Brauchtum nebst einer Ikonographie*, Vienna, 1950.

²² Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 113, No. 28; based on the figure of St Domitilla on the right of Rubens's first altarpiece for Santa Maria in Vallicella, the *St Gregory the Great Surrounded by Other Saints* now in Grenoble (Rooses, No. 441; Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, No. 109). Compare this image with the smaller and cruder series of pietistic images known as the «Vélins» (Voorhelm Schneevogt, pp. 213-17, No. 13, 1-68; also discussed in Bodart, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 202).

²³ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 68, Nos. 32 and 33; after the lower zone of the painting now in Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 299 (Rooses, No. 493; Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, No. 155).

²⁴ In the case of the *Fall of the Damed* (Rooses, No. 93), for example, no fewer than thirty five copies — in different media — have been recorded in my forthcoming volume in the *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard, VII, *The Life of Christ after the Passion*, No. 49.

²⁵ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 46, No. 306; Rooses, No. 301.

²⁶ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 45, No. 304, third state; Rooses, No. 301.

²⁷ The full dedication reads thus: «*Rev.^{do} admodum atque Eximio PATRI MRO F. BARTHOLOMAEO DE LOS RIOS ET ALARCON virtutum cultori, artium fautori, hoc arte expressum virtutum omnium exemplum D.C.Q. Martinus vanden Enden*». There is a whole body of prints after Rubens compositions which were dedicated either by Rubens himself, or by the printmaker, or by the publisher, to ecclesiastics and theologians. In many cases — as here — their cultivation of the arts receives express mention. Sometimes this may simply be conventional; but all such works should nonetheless be taken into consideration when assessing the range and significance of clerical attitudes to and patronage of the arts during the period. This is a chapter in the history of seventeenth century Flemish art that remains to be written and which would amply repay investigation.

²⁸ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 108, No. 133; after Rooses, No. 488 (Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, No. 140).

²⁹ See Mâle, E., *L'Art religieux après le concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, p. 174.

³⁰ In Lille, *Musée des Beaux Arts*, No. 310 (Rooses, No. 419; Vlieghe, *Saints*, I, No. 95).

³¹ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 99, No. 42.

³² See Vlieghe, *Saints*, I, p. 149, sub No. 95a, where it is established that the engraving was made on the basis of Rubens's oil sketch (Vlieghe, *Saints*, I, No. 95a) for the painting in Lille (note 30 above), and not directly after the painting itself.

³³ Michel Lasne (Caen, c. 1590 - Paris, 1667) was active in Antwerp from 1617 (when he became master there) and 1621 (when he returned to Paris). See Arnauld, T. and Duplessis, G., *Michel Lasne de Caen, graveur en taille douce*, Caen, 1856, and Bodart, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 63.

³⁴ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 98, No. 35; after the painting no in St Anthony's, Antwerp (Rooses, No. 420; Vlieghe, *Saints*, I, No. 94).

³⁵ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 98, No. 34, third state.

³⁶ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 105, No. 98; Rooses, No. 465.

³⁷ The matter is discussed at greater length by me in the paper referred to in note 13; but see also below pp. 41-42 and notes 55 and 64.

³⁸ Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, pp. 102-4, No. 124.

³⁹ None of these elements are present in Mensaert's description of the painting (Mensaert, G.P., *Le peintre amateur et curieux*, II, Brussels, 1763, p. 93); nor in the now lost drawn copy reproduced by Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, Fig. 67. While this cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence for their absence in the original picture (and the upper corners of the drawn copy do indeed appear to have been cut), they nevertheless appear to the present writer to be quite inconsistent with the date of the original commission (1621). The engraving was published by G. Donk in 1668, presumably based on a drawing attributed to Justus van Egmont in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam (Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, No. 124, Copy No. 2).

⁴⁰ Voorhelm Schneevogt, p. 116, No. 152; Rooses, No. 447.

⁴¹ See Ringbom, S., 'Maria in Sole' and the Virgin of the Rosary, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», XXV, 1962, pp. 326-30, and the same author's important *Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotion. Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Piety*, in: «Gazette des Beaux-Arts», LXXIII, 1969, pp. 159-170.

⁴² Voorhelm Schneevooft, p. 27, No. 131. The central image — properly a *Return from the Flight into Egypt* — is based on Rubens's lost painting of this subject, of which a copy survives in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Rooses, No. 183); while the surround may, as suggested by Voorhelm Schneevooft, p. 27, be after Daniel Seghers.

⁴³ Cf. Knipping, I, pp. 151-60. For a charming example, see the series by Hieronymus Wierix entitled *Iesu Christi Dei Domini Salvatoris Nostri Infantia* (Mauquoy Hendricx, I, pp. 60-64, Nos. 407-18).

⁴⁴ All these issues are discussed at greater length in the paper referred to in note 13. Colin Eisler has suggested to me that the surround may also have been intended to carry *vanitas* connotations, in pointed contrast to the central image.

⁴⁵ See Freedberg, D., *The Problem of Images in Northern Europe and its Repercussions in the Netherlands*, Hafnia, Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art, 1976, pp. 25-45.

⁴⁶ The most thorough study of Rubens's commission from the Oratorian Fathers of the Chiesa Nuova is Jaffé, M., *Peter Paul Rubens and the Oratorian Fathers*, in: «Proporzioni», IV, 1963, pp. 1-39 (slightly modified in the same author's *Rubens and Italy*, London, 1977, pp. 85-99); but the most relevant to the present study is Warnke, M., *Italienische Bildtabernakel bis zum Frühbarock*, in: «Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst», XIX, 1968, pp. 77-102.

⁴⁷ Much information about the circulation and prices of Andries's books may be gained from the books themselves. Thus, Andries, J., *Necessaria ad Salutem Scientia*, Antwerp (C. Woons), 1644, has this detailed commercial information on p. 15: «*Hic libellus quinque foliorum, et quinquaginta duarum iconum* (woodcuts by J.C. Jegher after designs by A. Sallaert), *excusus papyro proba, densa, candida emitur apud Typographum in Albis duobus Assibus. Ementi vero viginti quatuor aut plura exemplaria, singula septem quadrantibus veneunt apud Typhographum. Compactura cuiusque in charta marmorea membranulae insulae, constat quadrantibus duobus...*» His *Perpetua Crux sive Passio Iesu Christi a puncto Incarnationis ad extremum vitae*, *Iconibus Quadragenis explicata quarum lignea laminae in bonum publicum gratis datae*, Antwerp (C. Woons) 1652, has this on p. 15: «*Hic libellus constans quattuor foliis, cum quadraginta iconibus, non pluris emitur, quam asse cum medio, incompectus, per Belgium*»; while the *Alter Perpetua Crux* bound in with most copies of this book (dated the same year and with the same forty illustrations) gives some idea of its substantial circulation: «*...plusquam quadraginta libellorum millibus diverso idiomate iam vulgata, & praele non intermisso vulgatur in dies*». The indispensable guide to the editions of all such works by Jesuit writers is *De Backer-Sommervogel*. For Andries's works, see *De Backer-Sommervogel*, I, cols. 374-80.

⁴⁸ Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Rooses, No. 150.

⁴⁹ Voorhelm Schneevooft, p. 16, No. 27; presumably made on the basis of Vorsterman's engraving (Fig. 20), and certainly not directly after the painting itself (cf. note 51).

⁵⁰ Rooses, p. 195; see in addition Lacambre, J., in: *Le siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises* (Cat. Exhibition), Paris, 1977-78, pp. 170-172, No. 124.

⁵¹ Voorhelm Schneevooft, p. 15, No. 23. There are several differences between the painting now in Rouen (note 48) and the engraving, most significantly with respect to the Holy Family. The Virgin is no longer absorbed in suckling the Christ Child, but — her breast now chastely covered — displays him to the shepherds. The change may or may not be accounted for in terms of the inscription recorded in the following note.

⁵² «*Nobilissimo et amplissimo Petro Pecquio Brabantiae cancellario, sacram hanc theophaniam adfectus et obsequi ergo Petrus Paulus Rubens dedicat consecratque An^o 1620*». This dedication is briefly discussed by Renger, K., *Rubens Dedit Dedicavitque. Rubens Beschäftigung mit der Reproduktionsgrafik* II. Teil:

Radierung und Holzschnitt - Die Widmungen, in: «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», XVIII, 1975, pp. 205-6.

⁵³ The best known examples are those published by Nicolas Visscher in a variety of formats; amongst the most splendid is the large folio *Historiae Sacrae Veteris et Novi Testamenti/ Biblicae Figuren darinnen die furnembste Historien, in heiliger Schrifft begriffen, geschichtsmässig entworfen...* (further titles in French, Dutch and English), Amsterdam (N. Visscher), 1660 (?), published with the privilege of the Councils of Holland and West Friesland.

⁵⁴ In this respect one should compare the great compendium of biblical illustrations known as the *Thesaurus veteris et novi Testamenti*, first published by G. de Jode in Antwerp in 1585. For further information on this work, its engravers and its editions, see the valuable study by Mielke, H., *Antwerpener Graphik in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Der Thesaurus veteris et novi Testamenti des Gerard de Jode (1585)*, in «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte», XXXVIII, 1975, pp. 29-83.

⁵⁵ This particular example is taken from Van Haeften, B., *Schola Cordis, sive Aversi a Deo Cordis*, Antwerp (Meursius and Verdussen), 1635, sm. 8vo., p. 196 (*Landwehr*, Nos. 182-5), which provides a good compendium of images of this kind, with charming child-like figures and putti as the main actors in each scene. For other illustrations like this, see note 64 below.

⁵⁶ Similar observations were made in my assessment of the lacunae in Rubens research in: «Revue de l'Art», XXXIX, 1978, pp. 88-9.

⁵⁷ Natalis, H., *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia quae in sacrosancto missae sacrificio, toto anno leguntur cum evangeliorum concordantia... Accessit & Index historiam ipsam Evangelicam in ordinem temporis Vitae Christi distribuens*, Antwerp (Nutius), 1595, in fol. The plates, first published separately (with the title *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*) in 1593, are largely by Hieronymus Wierix after Bernardo Passeri and Marten de Vos.

⁵⁸ Natalis, *op. cit.*, pl. 127. On these aspects of Nadal's work, see Freedberg, *A Source*, pp. 433-34, with further bibliographic references in notes 12 and 13.

⁵⁹ Cf. Natalis, *op. cit.*, plates 85-7 (*Entry into Jerusalem*), 124-6 (*Carrying of the Cross*), 136-7 (*Three Marias at the Sepulchre*) and 150-53 (*Death to Coronation of the Virgin*).

⁶⁰ David, J., *Veridicus Christianus*, Antwerp (Plantin), 1601, in 4^o, with the Dutch version appearing two years later as *Christelicken Waerseggber. De principale stucken vant 't Christen Geloof en Leven...*, Antwerp (Plantin-Moerentorf), 1603, in 4^o. (*Landwehr*, Nos. 130-2). For David's works see *De Backer-Sommervogel*, II, cols. 1845-53.

⁶¹ Much of this material is listed in the to standard reference works on the subject: Praz, M., *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, 2nd edition considerably increased, Rome 1964 (with a great deal of additionally relevant material), and Landwehr, J., *Emblem Books in the Low Countries, 1554-1949, A Bibliography*, Utrecht, 1970. For other works by David, see *Landwehr*, Nos. 133-4. Neither Praz nor Landwehr, however, give any idea of the full range of illustrated devotional books (the works by Andries referred to in note 47 above, for example, are not included). *De Backer-Sommervogel* contains further material, but only on the Jesuit writers. For the emblem books they produced, see now Dimler, G., *Jesuit Emblem Books in the Belgian Provinces of the Society (1587-1710). Topography and Themes*, Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu, XLVI, 1977, pp. 377-87.

⁶² David, *op. cit.* (note 60), pl. 11.

⁶³ For the evidence, see Freedberg, *A Source*, pp. 432-3.

⁶⁴ See, for example, the much reutilized series by Anton Wierix entitled *Cor Iesu Amanti Sacrum* (Mauquoy Hendricx, I, Nos. 429-446, with full list on pp. 68-70 of the works in which they were used); but more significantly Otto van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata* and *Amoris Divini Emblemata*, first published in Antwerp in 1612 and 1615 respectively (*Landwehr*, Nos. 693-703). Later on this

use of charming child-like figures reached its greatest popularity in books like Hugo, H., *Pia Desideria Emblematis Elegiis & Affectibus SS. Patrum illustrata*, Antwerp (Aertssen), 1624, and many subsequent editions and adaptations (listed in *De Backer-Sommervogel*, IV, cols. 513-20). Engravings in the first edition by Boetius à Bolswert, copied in the second edition by woodcuts by Ch. van Sichem. *Landwehr*, Nos. 238-42. Another example is the book by van Haeften already referred to in note 55 below. For Rubens's use of putti to convey a political message, see Baumstark, R., *Ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien*, in: «Aachener Kunstblätter», XLV, 1974, pp. 143-6. Cf. also notes 37 and 55 above.

⁶⁵ Ivins, W., *Prints and Visual Communication*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1953.

⁶⁶ In this case, specifically the topographical aspect.

⁶⁷ The general tendency is towards an increasingly self-conscious use of the printmaking techniques and media themselves, culminating in the work of Rembrandt and Hercules Seghers, where the informational and communicational aspect gives way to purely aesthetic considerations, or rather: where the reproductive nature of printmaking is exploited for other than informational considerations. It is at this point that Ivins's emphasis on the relations between reproduction and information is weakened.

⁶⁸ *Voorhelm Schneevogt*, p. 56, No. 412; after *Rooses*, No. 340 (now in the Norton Simon Museum of Art, Pasadena).

⁶⁹ *Voorhelm Schneevogt* pp. 132-5, Nos. 123-44, and pp. 121-2, Nos. 17-25.

⁷⁰ It may perhaps be objected that this paper has not made enough of an attempt at working towards a closer definition of the ways in which class structures may or may not condition response to images. While such an attempt would be worth making, one of the phenomena that I hope has emerged from the present discussion is precisely the way in which response may vary across the putative boundaries of such structures.



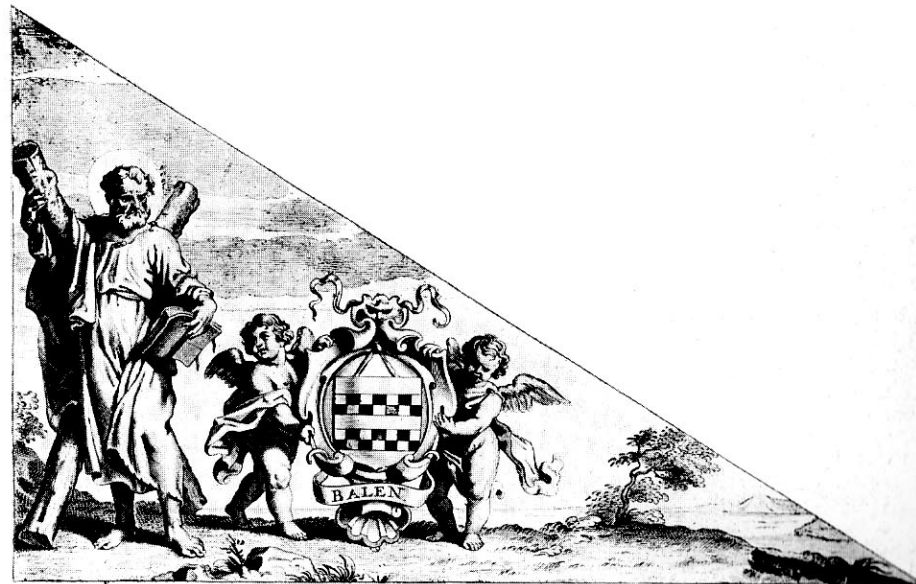
43. Jan or Lucas van Ductecum after Pieter Bruegel the Elder. *The St George's Day Fair*. Engraving and etching, 332 : 523 mm. Detail.



45. J.C. Jegher. Pilgrimage pennant from Horst-bij-Schooten. *Our Lady of Horst*. Woodcut, 153 : 241 mm.



44. Anonymous. Pilgrimage pennant from Peutie. *St Martin*. Engraving, 130 : 228 mm. Modern impression.



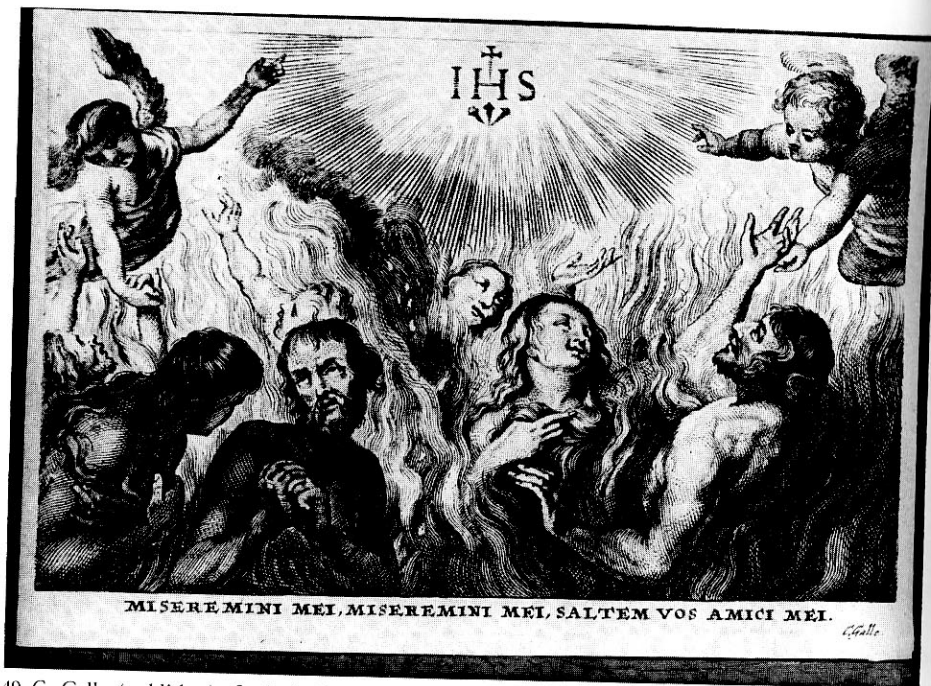
46. Anonymous. Pilgrimage pennant from Balen-Neet. *St Andrew and the arms of Balen*. Engraving, 170 : 270 mm. Modern impression.



47. S. à Bolwert after Rubens. *St Catherine*. Engraving, 257 : 137 mm.



48. C. Galle (publisher). *Souls in Purgatory*. Engraving, 427 : 331 mm.



49. C. Galle (publisher). *Souls in Purgatory*. Engraving, 91 : 128 mm.



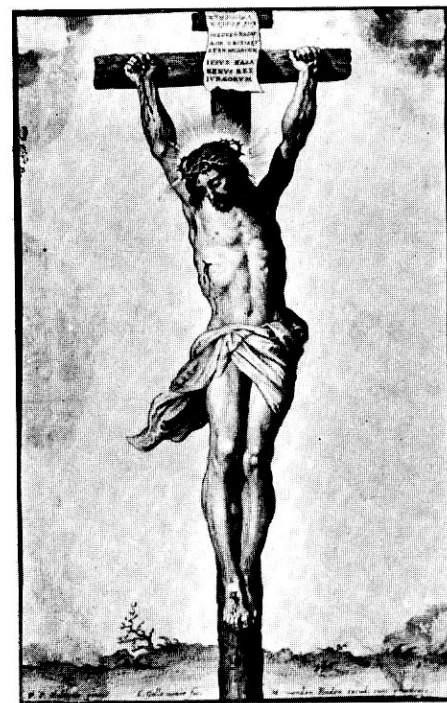
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51

50. Rubens. *St Teresa Interceding for St Bernardino de Mendoza*. Canvas, 193 : 139 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

51. C. Galle after Rubens. *Christ on the Cross*. Engraving, 144 : 89 mm.



52. S. à Bolwert after Rubens. *Christ on the Cross*. Engraving, 544 : 357 mm.



53. P. Pontius after Rubens. *St Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken*. Engraving, 554 : 362 mm. (arched on top).



54. Rubens. *St Francis Receiving the Infant Christ*. Canvas, 234 : 184 cm. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



55



56



57



58

55. M. Lasne after Rubens. *St Francis of Paola Receiving the Infant Christ*. Engraving, 320 : 220 mm.
 56. M. Lasne after Rubens. *St Francis Receiving the Infant Christ*. Engraving, 459 : 302 mm.
 57. C. Visscher after Rubens. *St Francis Receiving the Infant Christ*. Engraving, 437 : 354 mm.
 58. G. Donck (publisher) after Rubens. *St Joseph as Patron of the Carmelite Order*. Engraving, 463 : 343 mm.



59. T. Galle (publisher) after Rubens. *St. Hiltrudis*. Engraving, 265 : 200 mm.



60. F. Huberti (publisher) after Rubens and D. Seghers (?). *The Holy Family in a Wreath*. Engraving, 240 : 150 mm. (central image), and 457 : 348 mm. (surround).



63. B. à Bolswert. *The Humiliation of the Heart*. Engraving, 98 : 63 mm.
64. H. Wierix after B. Passeri. *The Nailing to the Cross*. Engraving, 230 : 145 mm. (Antwerp, 1595, pl. 127).



61. F. Bouttats after Rubens. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Engraving, 148 : 92 mm.



62. L. Vorsterman after Rubens. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1620. Engraving, 577 : 439 mm.



67. L. Vorsterman after Rubens. *The Holy Women at the Sepulchre*. Engraving, 352 : 454 mm.



65. T. Galle *The Common Work of the Heretic and the Devil*. Engraving, 160 : 88 mm. From J. David, *Veridicus Christianus*, Antwerp, 1601, pl. 11.



66. T. Galle. *The Deposition from the Cross*. Engraving, 160 : 88 mm. From J. David, *Veridicus Christianus*, Antwerp, 1601, pl. 47.