

VISUAL CULTURE IN EARLY MODERNITY



# Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650



EDITED BY

An **Ashgate** Book

*John R. Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives*

DEATH, TORTURE AND THE BROKEN BODY  
IN EUROPEAN ART, 1300–1650

Bodies mangled, limbs broken, skin flayed, blood spilled: from paintings to prints to small sculptures, the art of the late Middle Ages and early modern period gave rise to disturbing scenes of violence. Many of these torture scenes recall Christ's Passion and its aftermath, but the martyrdoms of saints, stories of justice visited on the wicked, and broadsheet reports of the atrocities of war provided fertile ground for scenes of the body's desecration. Contributors to this volume interpret pain, suffering, and the desecration of the human form not simply as the passing fancies of a cadre of proto-sadists, but also as serving larger social functions within European society.

Taking advantage of the frameworks established by scholars such as Samuel Edgerton, Mitchell Merback, and Elaine Scarry (to name but a few), *Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650* provides an intriguing set of lenses through which to view such imagery and locate it within its wider social, political, and devotional contexts. Though the art works discussed are centuries old, the topics of the essays resonate today as twenty-first-century Western society is still absorbed in thorny debates about the ethics and consequences of the use of force, coercion (including torture), and execution, and about whether it is ever fully acceptable to write social norms on the bodies of those who will not conform.

*John R. Decker is Associate Professor of Art History at Georgia State University, USA, and author of The Technology of Salvation and the Art of Geertjen tot Sint Jans (Ashgate, 2009).*

*Mitzi Kirkland-Ives is Associate Professor of Art and Design at Missouri State University, USA.*

## VISUAL CULTURE IN EARLY MODERNITY

Series Editor: Allison Levy

A forum for the critical inquiry of the visual arts in the early modern world, *Visual Culture in Early Modernity* promotes new models of inquiry and new narratives of early modern art and its history. We welcome proposals for both monographs and essay collections that consider the cultural production and reception of images and objects. The range of topics covered in this series includes, but is not limited to, painting, sculpture and architecture as well as material objects, such as domestic furnishings, religious and/or ritual accessories, costume, scientific/medical apparatus, erotica, ephemera and printed matter. We seek innovative investigations of western and non-western visual culture produced between 1400 and 1800.

# Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650

Edited by John R. Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives



First published 2015 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

Copyright © The editors and contributors 2015

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

John R. Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives have asserted their right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the editors of this work.

#### **British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

#### **The Library of Congress has cataloged the printed edition as follows:**

Death, torture and the broken body in European art, 1300-1650 / edited by John R. Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives.

pages cm. -- (Visual culture in early modernity)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4724-3367-1 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Death in art. 2. Torture in art. 3. Wounds and injuries in art. 4. Human beings in art. 5. Art, European. 6. Art and society--Europe. I. Decker, John R., 1968- editor. II. Kirkland-Ives, Mitzi, editor. III. Decker, John R., 1968- author. Spectacular unmaking.

N8217.D5D45 2014

704.9'42--dc23

2014016693

ISBN 9781472433671 (hbk)

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xv</i>

Introduction: Spectacular Unmaking: Creative Destruction, Destructive Creativity	1
<i>John R. Decker</i>	

## PART 1 HOLY VIOLENCE, THE CREATION OF MARTYRS

1 Guido da Siena and the Four Modes of Violence	19
<i>Assaf Pinkus</i>	
2 The Suffering Christ and Visual Mnemonics in Netherlandish Devotions	35
<i>Mitzi Kirkland-Ives</i>	
3 A Chopped-Off Head on a Golden Plate: Jan Mostaert's <i>Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels</i>	55
<i>Soetkin Vanhauwaert</i>	
4 Reviving Martyrdom: Interpretations of the Catacombs in Cesare Baronio's Patronage	87
<i>Kelley Magill</i>	
5 The Authorizations of Torture: John Bale Writing Anne Askew	117
<i>Natalia Khomenko</i>	

## PART 2 SOCIAL VIOLENCE, THE CREATION OF CIVIC IDENTITIES

6 Killing and Dying at <i>The Death of Decius Mus</i>	137
<i>Renzo Baldasso</i>	

7	Dracula, the Turks, and the Rhetoric of Impaling in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Germany <i>Heather Madar</i>	165
8	Execution by Image: Visual Spectacularism and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe <i>Allie Terry-Fritsch</i>	191
9	A Shameful Spectacle: Claes Jansz. Visscher's 1623 News Prints of Executed Dutch "Arminians" <i>Maureen Warren</i>	207
	Conclusion: Closing Thoughts <i>John R. Decker</i>	231
	<i>Bibliography</i>	233
	<i>Index</i>	261

# Figures

*Cover* Gerard David, detail from *The Justice of Cambyses*, 1498, oil on wood. Groeningemuseum, Bruges. Musea Brugge © Lukas-Art in Flanders vzw, photo Hugo Maertens

## Introduction: Spectacular Unmaking: Creative Destruction, Destructive Creativity

I.1 Dirc Bouts, *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*, c. 1458, oil on wood, central panel of triptych of overall size 34 × 148 cm. Church of St. Peter, Leuven. Musea Brugge © Lukas-Art in Flanders vzw, photo Hugo Maertens

I.2 Gerard David, *The Justice of Cambyses*, 1498, oil on wood, right wing of diptych of overall size 202 × 172.8 cm. Groeningemuseum, Bruges. Musea Brugge © Lukas-Art in Flanders vzw, photo Hugo Maertens

## 1 Guido da Siena and the Four Modes of Violence

1.1 Guido da Siena, Reliquary shutters with the *Martyrdoms of St. Francis, St. Claire, St. Bartholomew, and St. Catherine of Alexandria*, c. 1260, tempera on wood panel. Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale.

Reproduced with the permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/Alinari Archives, Florence

## 2 The Suffering Christ and Visual Mnemonics in Netherlandish Devotions

2.1 Hans Memling, *The Man of Sorrows in the Arms of the Virgin*, 1475 or 1479, oil and gold leaf on wood panel, 27.4 × 19.9 cm. National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne acc. no. 1335-3

2.2 “The Seven Falls of Christ,” late fifteenth century, hand-colored woodcut, Nuremburg (?). Albertina, Vienna. Inv. DG1930/70

2.3 “The Five Wounds of Christ,” late fifteenth century, manuscript illumination, Dendermonde (?). Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 1, fol. 20r

2.4 “The Man of Sorrows with the *Arma Christi*,” late fifteenth century, manuscript illumination, Dendermonde (?). Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 3, fols. 40v–41

2.5 “The Mass of Saint Gregory with the Man of Sorrows,” late

fifteenth century, manuscript illumination, Dendermonde (?). Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 3, fol. 65v

2.6 “The Mass of Saint Gregory,” 1505, woodcut, from *Dits een boecxkē vā goed’ deuociē en een oefeninge. Hoemē God biddē sal en om sijn passie te ouerdencken*, Leiden. Leiden University Library, Print Collection, 1371 G34

2.7 “The Man of Sorrows with the *Arma Christi*,” 1505, woodcut, frontispiece to *Dits een boecxkē vā goed’ deuociē en een oefeninge. Hoemē God biddē sal en om sijn passie te ouerdencken*, Leiden. Leiden University Library, Print Collection, 1371. G34

2.8 “The Man of Sorrows with the *Arma Christi*,” woodcut, from *Een devote meditatie op die passie ons liefs heeren ...* (Antwerp, 1551). Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 3743/2

2.9 *Sudarium* with instruments of the Passion and rosary, woodcut, from *Een devote meditatie op die passie ons liefs heeren ...* (Antwerp, 1551). Leiden University Library, Print Collection HS LTK 237

2.10 The Cross, woodcut, from *Ortulus anime in duytsche, met die getijden vander weken* (Antwerp, c. 1550). Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent 3743/4

2.11 Instruments of the Passion, woodcut, from *Ortulus anime in duytsche, met die getijden vander weken* (Antwerp, c. 1550). Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent 3743/4

### 3 A Chopped-Off Head on a Golden Plate: Jan Mostaert’s *Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels*

3.1 Jan Mostaert, *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels*, c. 1525–50, oil on panel, 41 × 33 cm. Saint-Georges-sur-Meuse, Castle of Warfusée, collection of Count d’Oultremont. Image © KIK-IRPA—Brussels

3.2 Jacques Le Paultre, Engraving of the skull relic of Amiens. Engraving in Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Traité historique du chef de S. Iean-Baptiste ...* (Paris: chez Sebastien Cramoisy & Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1665, 132.) Image © Universiteit Gent

3.3 Pilgrim badge, 1270–1350, lead alloy, diameter 5.2 cm. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1855,0625.10. Image © Trustees of the British Museum

3.4 *Johannesschüssel*, 1210–20, platter replaced in the sixteenth century, limewood, head approximately 27 cm. Naumburg, Treasury of the Cathedral. Image © Bildarchiv der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz, Fotograf: Torsten Biel

3.5 After Dirk Bouts, *Johannesschüssel*, oil on panel, diameter 28.5 cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. no. 1383. Image © KIK-IRPA—Brussels

3.6 Giovanni Bellini, *Johannesschüssel*, 1464–68, oil on panel, diameter 28 cm. Pesaro, Musei Civici. Image © KIK-IRPA—Brussels

3.7 Master with the Lion’s Head, *Johannesschüssel* reliquary, 1625–26,

silver, partially gilded, 43.5 × 57 × 52.5 cm. Ghent, Saint Bavo Cathedral. Image © KIK-IRPA—Brussels

3.8 *Johannesschiüssel*, fifteenth century, alabaster panel, 27.8 × 21.4 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.204-1946. Image © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

3.9 Patens with lobes. Photo: Barb, *JWCI* 19, no. 1 (1956), plate 3

3.10 Maerten van Heemskerck, *Man of Sorrows*, 1532, oil on panel, 85 × 72.5 cm. Ghent, Museum of Fine Arts. Image © KIK-IRPA—Brussels

3.11 Jan Mostaert, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1510–15, oil on panel, painted surface 29.2 × 21 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.25)

3.12 Jan Mostaert, *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels*, c. 1510–20, oil on panel, 26 × 17.1 cm. London, National Gallery. Image © The National Gallery, London

3.13 Copy after Jan Mostaert, *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels*, sixteenth century, oil on copper, 41.5 × 33.7 cm. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Image © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon. Photo François Jay

#### 4 Reviving Martyrdom: Interpretations of the Catacombs in Cesare Baronio's Patronage

4.1 Girolamo Massei, painted façade, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.2 Interior view facing the apse, restored c. 1597, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.3 Entrance wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.4 Girolamo Massei, apse fresco, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.5 Retrofaçade of sanctuary, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.6 Apse fresco, c. 1575, San Saba, Rome. Photo: author

4.7 Interior view of the central altar and ambulatory, S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome. Photo: author

4.8 Interior view of the central altar and ambulatory, S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome. Photo: author

4.9 Niccolò Circignani, *Persecutions under Emperors Maximinus II and Licinius: A Christian Tortured (A), with Others Attacked by Beasts (B), Bishop Peter of Alexandria in Prayer while Others are Killed (C), 40 Soldiers Thrown into a Lake (D), and Bishop Simeon and Sixteen Thousand Christians Cut into Pieces (E)*, 1581–82, fresco XXVII, ambulatory of S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome. Photo: author

4.10 Attributed to Domenico Cerroni, *Martyrdom of St. Simon*, c. 1597, fresco, side walls, SS. Nereo e Achilleo. Photo: author

4.11 Attributed to Domenico Cerroni, *Martyrdom of St. Jude Thaddeus*, c. 1597, fresco, side wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.12 Attributed to Domenico Cerroni, *Martyrdom of St. Paul*, c. 1597, fresco, side wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.13 Girolamo Massei, *St. Peter's Baptism of Flavia Domitilla and Her Mother Plautilla*, c. 1597, fresco, clerestory wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.14 Girolamo Massei, *Flavia Domitilla Receiving the Veil from Pope Clement I*, c. 1597, fresco, clerestory wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

4.15 Girolamo Massei, *The Martyrdom and Burial of Domitilla, Teodora, and Eufrosina*, c. 1597, fresco, clerestory wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome. Photo: author

## 6 Killing and Dying at *The Death of Decius Mus*

6.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, c. 1617, oil on canvas, 288 × 497 cm. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.3 Peter Paul Rubens, detail from *The Obsequies of Decius Mus*, c. 1617, oil on canvas, 289 × 515 cm. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.4 Copy from Leonardo da Vinci, *Battle of Anghiari*, mid-sixteenth to seventeenth century, Rubens et al., drawing, brown ink, brush and pen, heightened with gouache and lead white, 45 × 64 cm. Paris, Louvre

6.5 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.7 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.8 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, c. 1616, *modello* (finished oil sketch), 99 × 138 cm. Madrid, Prado Museum

6.10 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, c. 1616, *modello*, detail. Madrid, Prado Museum

6.11 Detail from Figure 6.9. Madrid, Prado Museum

6.12 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.13 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.14 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

6.15 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail. Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum

## 7 Dracula, the Turks, and the Rhetoric of Impaling in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Germany

7.1 Jörg Breu, image from Hans Schildtberger, *Ein Wunderbarliche und kurtzweilige History* (Frankfurt am Main, 1556). John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

7.2 Albrecht Dürer, *Martyrdom of the 10,000*, 1495, woodcut. National Gallery of Art, Washington DC

7.3 Albrecht Dürer, *Martyrdom of the 10,000*, 1508, oil on panel transferred to canvas. Erich Lessing/Art Resource NY

7.4 *Martyrdom of the 10,000* from the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, fol. 262, c. 1440. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. MS M.917. Purchased on the Belle da Costa Green Fund and with the assistance of the Fellows, 1963

7.5 Albrecht Dürer, *Three Orientals*, c. 1495, colored drawing. © Trustees of the British Museum

7.6 Sebald Beham, *Siege of Vienna*, 1529, woodcut. Erich Lessing/Art Resource NY

7.7 Erhard Schön, "Turkish Atrocities," from *Participants in the Siege of Vienna*, 1530, hand-colored woodcut. Museum Boijmans van Beunigen

7.8 Title page to *Hernach volgt des Bluthundts*, 1526, woodcut, Augsburg edition. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

7.9 Monogrammist PM, *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1480, engraving. © Trustees of the British Museum

7.10 Image of impalement from *Dracole Wayda*, 1499, woodcut, Nuremburg. Germanisches Nationalmuseum

7.11 Title page of *Von dem Dracole Wayda ...*, 1560s, woodcut, Augsburg edition. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

7.12 Theodore de Bry, illustration to Bartolomé de las Casa, *A Brief Account*

*of the Destruction of the Indies* (Frankfurt, 1598). John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

## 8 Execution by Image: Visual Spectacularism and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe

8.1 Anonymous, detail of *Last Supper*, Sacro Monte di Varallo, moveable figures made at end of fifteenth century, current configuration of chapel completed in 1780. Photo: author

8.2 Demonstrators at the funeral of an assassinated Sri Lankan journalist, burning an effigy of the Sri Lankan President, Mahinda Rajapaksa (January 12, 2009). Photo: Indi Samarajiva (originally posted to Flickr as P1020145). CC-BY-2.0, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>, via Wikimedia Commons

## 9 A Shameful Spectacle: Claes Jansz. Visscher's 1623 News Prints of Executed Dutch "Arminians"

9.1 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Execution of Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt*, David Coorenwinder and Adriaan van Dijk, 1623, etching, 26.8 × 31.7 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.044A

9.2 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Hendrick Danielsz. Slatius in Hand- and Leg-Shackles*, 1623, etching and letterpress, 43 × 25 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.048

9.3 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Execution of Hendrick Slatius, Willem Perty, Jan Blansaert, and Abraham Blansaert*, 1623, etching and letterpress, 29.5 × 33.4 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-2505



9.4 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Discovering, Towing Away, and Rehanging Slatius', Coorenwinder's and Gerritsz.' Body Parts*, 1623, etching and letterpress, 28.5 × 40.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.061

9.5 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Beheading of Jan Pieterszoon, Gerrit Korneliszoon, and Samuel de Plecker at the Gravensteen in Leiden and Klaas Michielszoon*

*Bontebal in Rotterdam*, 1623, etching and letterpress, 37.4 × 29.1 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.064

9.6 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Execution of the Conspirators Against Prince Maurits*, 1623, etching and letterpress, 54.2 × 47 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.021AS

## Contributors

RENZO BALDASSO, Arizona State University. Baldasso's interests encompass art theory, naturalism, early prints and printing, and the relationship between art and science.

JOHN R. DECKER, Ernest G. Welch School of Art and Design, Georgia State University. Decker specializes in early modern devotional art and practice in the Low Countries.

NATALIA KHOMENKO, York University. Khomenko works on hagiographical texts and early modern drama in England, with a side interest in Global Shakespeare.

MITZI KIRKLAND-IVES, Missouri State University. Kirkland-Ives is a specialist in the painting and prints of early modern northern Europe.

HEATHER MADAR, Humboldt State University, California. Madar focuses on sixteenth-century German print culture and cross-cultural interactions between Renaissance Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

KELLEY MAGILL, Internship and University Programs Coordinator, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Department of Learning and Interpretation. Magill specializes in the Italian Renaissance, Baroque art, and early modern Catholicism.

ASSAF PINKUS, Tel Aviv University. Pinkus studies Gothic sculpture in the German-speaking regions as well as Italian trecento painting.

ALLIE TERRY-FRITSCH, Bowling Green State University, Ohio. Terry-Fritsch investigates the performative experience of viewing art and architecture in late medieval and early modern Italy, with a particular focus on fifteenth-century Florence.

SOETKIN VANHAUWAERT, Catholic University, Leuven. Vanhauwaert specializes in medieval art and iconography, saints' cults, and cultural heritage.

MAUREEN WARREN, Northwestern University, Illinois. Warren focuses on early modern art, political propaganda, and the history of crime and punishment in the Dutch Republic.

## Acknowledgements

A project like this is the product of the work and input of multiple people and organizations; we would like to thank as many of those involved as possible and beg understanding from any we inadvertently omit. First, we extend our appreciation to the editors and staff at Ashgate Publishing for making this volume a reality. Next, we would like to thank the Ernest G. Welch School of Art and Design at Georgia State University, Atlanta, for its generous financial support, which helped offset many of the costs associated with bringing this book to press. We also wish to thank Megan Piorko, Brianne Sharpe, and Brooke McGee (Art History graduate students at Georgia State University) for their assistance in the preparation of the manuscript as well as for their insightful comments and suggestions. Next, this volume would not exist were it not for the scholarship of the authors included in it—we thank them for their efforts and hope they are pleased with the results. Our thanks, too, goes out to the many friends, family, and colleagues who helped support the authors and editors and who gave encouragement and understanding when it was most needed.

John R. Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## Introduction: Spectacular Unmaking: Creative Destruction, Destructive Creativity

*John R. Decker*

The purpose of this volume is to explore the uses of the imagery of violence, death, and torture in Western Christian culture in the late Middle Ages and early modernity (c. 1300–1650). The contributions assembled here straddle conventional period divisions, which is understandable given that the broken body as a theme is not containable to an isolated era but surfaces again and again throughout the history of Europe and its social, religious, and political institutions. Artists and their clients created and consumed an impressive array of images in which people of all ages and genders are pulled apart, pierced, twisted, burned, and violated in the cruelest possible terms. Narratives of martyred saints, criminals brought to justice, reports of the atrocities of war, and propaganda trumpeting the triumph of Western Christianity over heretics and heathens provided fertile ground for the desecration of human bodies.

Such scenes emphasized extreme forms of suffering and misery. The various types of physical, spiritual, and emotional deformations and wounding on display were capable of eliciting responses ranging from sorrow and empathy to honest approval and happiness and everything in between. For contemporary viewers, empathy and approval were not mutually exclusive but were critical for making sense of the disassembled body. The tension between them facilitated an extended contemplation of scenes that by their very nature were repulsive.<sup>1</sup>

Empathy encouraged viewers to share, at least mentally, in the physical and mental sensations enacted and embodied before them. Such *philopassionism*, to use Esther Cohen's phrase, placed a premium on suffering as a means of treating the soul's ills.<sup>2</sup> A good example of this are scenes of martyred saints in which viewers are asked to "feel along" with the torments on display and understand the sacrifice depicted in painfully somatic terms. These deaths, no matter how gruesome and unjust, were "necessary" and "proper" because they were mirrors of Christ's own sacrifice on the cross. Like the Passion, saintly deaths transformed the pain of even the most shameful of torture

and execution methods into the glory of eternal merit. From these holy martyrdoms sprang a cult of pity and empathy that encouraged Christians mentally to experience the pain of torture, humiliation, and death as keenly as possible in order to better their souls. In other words, empathizing with the condemned saint did not diminish the death, or its propriety in Christian belief, but put it in a larger moral/ethical context that established that how a person died was just as important as why. This understanding of torment was common enough that it was even transferable to the torture and death of non-saintly criminals, provided that they died exemplary deaths that could be couched in Christological terms.<sup>3</sup>

The tortured bodies of miscreants provided society with a canvas on which it could depict its own identity (imagined or real). The death of a notorious criminal, especially if it was well staged and performed, could elicit broad social approval. Righteous satisfaction at seeing justice (or perceived justice) carried out, and order restored, authorized the bodily destruction associated with legal and political processes. It made the most gruesome forms of torture and execution acceptable to viewers by establishing and asserting a moral, social universe in which they took part but the criminal/outcast did not. As scapegoats, miscreants bore the disfigurement of the disorder they were perceived to have caused and were cast out of the body social so that it could regenerate and endure.<sup>4</sup> Such “casting out” also was vital to the health of orthodoxy and played a key role in addressing heresy and threats from rival religions.

The contributors to *Death, Torture, and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650* offer new information and ideas about depictions of death, torment, and the broken body in late medieval and early modern Europe. Various studies have treated the theme of torture in early modernity. In general, these tend to focus on images of death and torture as reflections of verifiable acts perpetrated on individuals and/or as concretizations of legal and moral beliefs shared by upstanding members of society. Such studies, of necessity, delve into legal history and use various sociological models of power relationships to make sense of extreme acts of violence. The work of scholars such as Samuel Edgerton, Mitchell Merback, Elaine Scarry, and Peter Spierenburg (to name but a few) establish some of these frameworks, which the authors assembled here both build upon and challenge.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the standard models of torture and violence other scholars use, this volume focuses in particular on the creative work of re-presenting and re-imagining torture (be it visual or verbal) and provides an intriguing set of lenses through which we can view such imagery and locate it within its wider social, political, and devotional frameworks. This enterprise is inherently paradoxical as it locates artistic, social, and philosophical creation within acts of bodily desecration. The generative work of images of torture was the most complete when the bodies depicted in them were the most altered or destroyed. Not all images of torture recount specific moments of judgment, catalogue particular modes of execution, or are mere concretizations of

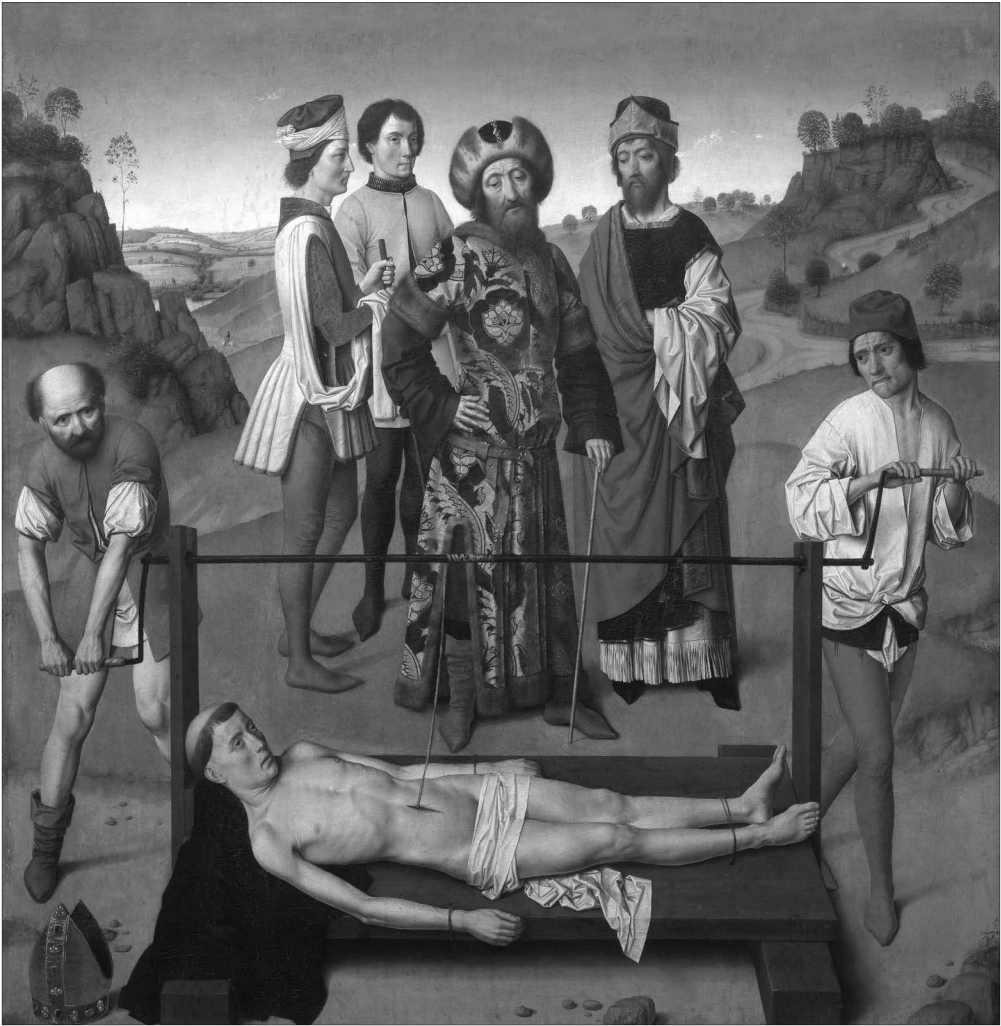
“popular” belief. Many depictions of bodily destruction served multiple functions for their creators, patrons, and audiences. These functions ranged from negotiating perceptions of religious and cultural others, to re-imagining a more perfect past, and the creation of an elevated self based on the abjection of another, to name but a few.

The chapters in this volume demonstrate that the protean nature of pictorial and verbal disassemblies of the body, and the modes of destruction and creation that are bound up in those processes, enabled images of spectacular unmaking to address subjects far beyond legal and moral practices. The very artificiality of such depictions—their extreme treatments of the human form—signal that they are not simply recordings of man’s inhumanity to man, but are sites of spectatorship, contemplation, commentary, and fascination that illicit a broad range of responses from the viewer.<sup>6</sup> Despite their focus on the late Middle Ages and early modern period, the studies in this volume remain timely as twenty-first-century Western society is still absorbed in thorny debates about the ethics and consequences of the use of force, coercion (including torture), and execution, and whether or not it is ever fully acceptable to write social norms on the bodies of those who will not conform.

At this point in my introduction, I think it helpful to provide specific examples of some the concepts under discussion in *Death, Torture, and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650* and to do this I turn to two scenes, each displaying the graphic disassembly of a human body. The first, Dirc Bouts’s *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* (c. 1458) (Figure I.1) shows executioners pulling a body apart from the inside out. The second, Gerard David’s *Justice of Cambyses* (1498) (Figure I.2), depicts the body’s destruction from the outside in. Each pays careful attention to the piercing and slicing of skin, reveals anatomical details normally kept hidden within the body, and defines corporal dissolution as a human act in the service of a higher ideal. The case studies presented here share a key commonality beyond the obvious matter of depicting torture. In each, there is a tension between destruction and creation as well as between attraction and revulsion. Both images raise the types of questions the scholars in this volume address and provide examples of the two conceptual categories broadly informing the papers assembled here—holy violence and social violence. As such, it is worth devoting space to each.

The *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* recounts the execution of the bishop of Formiae. In the center panel of the triptych, Erasmus stoically endures his torment as Sts. Jerome and Bernard look on from the wings. The saint lays bound on a wooden platform, stripped of everything but a loincloth. His head and feet are sandwiched between the uprights of a cranking device, forcing his tonsured head slightly upward. The machine’s cramped dimensions add another layer of physical discomfort by squeezing Erasmus’s body. This compression invokes the well-known image type of *Christ in the Winepress*, and overlays the saint’s suffering with a Christological component. Two executioners turn handles on each side of the crank above Erasmus,





I.1 Dirck Bouts, *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*, c. 1458, oil on wood,  
central panel of triptych of overall size 34 × 148 cm

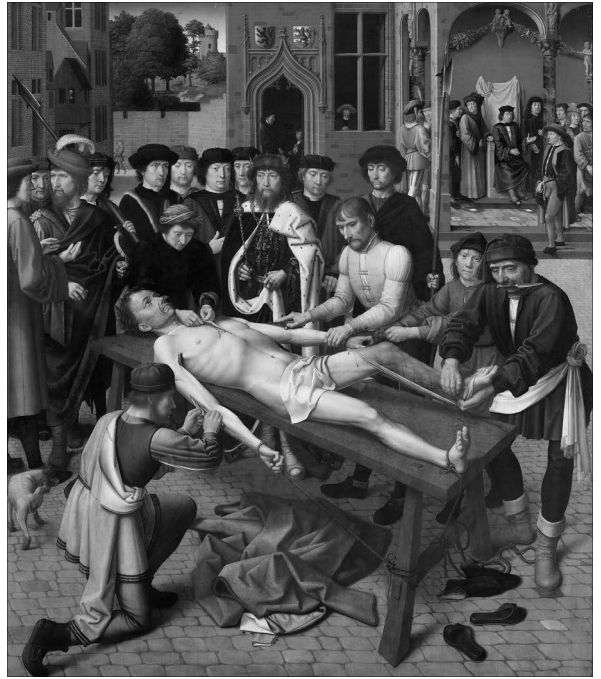
(Church of St. Peter, Leuven. Musea Brugge © Lukas-Art in  
Flanders vzw, photo Hugo Maertens)

drawing the saint's intestines out of his body through a surgical incision in his abdomen. Despite being pulled inside out, Erasmus shows no outward signs of distress even as he stares at his own physical undoing. Such internalized responses to torture were a common trope in martyrologies and signaled the victim's spiritual fortitude as well as her or his complete trust in God's mercy.<sup>7</sup> In his image, Bouts follows the fifteenth-century convention of showing Erasmus martyred by a windlass. Though a compelling scene of spiritual restraint in the face of physical mutilation, this rendition—as well as every other version showing the windlass as the instrument of Erasmus's torture—privileges only one aspect of the saint's martyrdom story. It is necessary at this juncture to

investigate the narrative of Erasmus's death in greater detail in order better to understand the connection between the saint's depicted manner of death and the protection his adherents expected from him.

According to his earliest hagiography, the saint (died c. 300) was a Syrian bishop who fled to Mount Lebanon to escape Diocletian's persecutions.<sup>8</sup> He was discovered there and imprisoned where he was tortured by being beaten, rolled in pitch, and set ablaze.<sup>9</sup> His story states that this treatment warranted angelic intervention by which the saint was transported to Illyricum and, after a second capture and torture, to Formiae where he finally died. There is no mention in the early narrative of being disemboweled, with or without a windlass. The association with the winch appears to stem from a slightly later legend in which he preached to sailors during a thunderstorm, and after which he was accepted as a patron saint of mariners and a protector against St. Elmo's fire.<sup>10</sup> In recognition of this connection, the windlass became one of his attributes. By the fifteenth century, however, the winch had transformed from a sign of his association with seafarers to an implement of his martyrdom.

Over time, the fairly simple account of the saint's life was embroidered to extend the depths of his suffering while still retaining the kernel of the original hagiography. This embroidery, however, necessitated a change in the winch's association. In Jacopo de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, the saint receives his final martyrdom on a spit, which, because it uses a cranking motion, constitutes a form of windlass.<sup>11</sup> For an audience already inured to the saint's association with the winch, it is a relatively small step to



I.2 Gerard David, *The Justice of Cambyses*, 1498, oil on wood, right wing of diptych of overall size 202 × 172.8 cm

(Groeningemuseum, Bruges. Musea Brugge © Lukas-Art in Flanders vzw, photo Hugo Maertens)

conflate it with the spit mentioned in the story. As de Voragine's text was the best-known, and most widely published, source for the lives of the saints in the early modern period, it offers insight into what types of knowledge contemporary Christians had about holy persons like Erasmus. It also provided artists and their audiences with information that conditioned the creation and reception of images and texts detailing the saint's martyrdom. In fifteenth-century versions of the text, Erasmus's *vita* details a harrowing set of torments visited on him by both Diocletian and Maximianus.<sup>12</sup> The tortures described in the narrative range from being cast into a pit with snakes, to being tensioned until his veins burst, having hot pitch poured into his mouth, and being enclosed in burning suits of various metals. After each session, an angel makes the saint whole and transports him from the scene of his torment only to command him to preach once again and incur the Emperor's wrath. The rich variety of punishments visited on the saint provide opportunities to depict horrors far worse than disembowelment with a spit/windlass, yet the convention was to show this mode of torture as iconic to the saint. Why focus on this torment rather than any of the others listed in the Golden Legend? It may well be that it was the last torture mentioned in the narrative before the saint is called to glory and, hence, is the final cause of his demise. It is more likely, however, that the already well-established connection between the saint and the windlass governed the choice.

The conversion of the winch from a sign of Erasmus's heroic preaching to an instrument of his death happened over time. In the early versions of the saint's legend, his sermon at sea and his immunity to lightning establishes his role as a protector against St. Elmo's fire. The windlass, as a common tool in the mariner's trade, signified the saint's nautical domain. In fifteenth-century editions of the Golden Legend, the lightning story does not happen at sea but, instead, comes during one of his first torture sessions. According to de Voragine's narrative, a tempest arose while the saint was confined to a pit. The lightning ensuing from the storm burned his tormentors while leaving Erasmus unharmed.<sup>13</sup> Within the context of the various tortures he suffers, the miraculous lightning strike no longer stands only for his protective power against St. Elmo's fire but also is transformed into a sign of God's mercy and justice. This event does not divest the saint of his protective function but puts it into a larger context by showing it to be a result of divine approbation. If the windlass was no longer part of the story of Erasmus's mastery of lighting, it needed a new role. Instead of signaling his defense of sailors, it became a promise of another type of physical protection and intervention.

By transforming the windlass into an implement of torture, the mechanical means of bodily destruction it made possible created a new mode of protection the saint could offer. St. Erasmus was one of the so-called Fourteen Holy Helpers and the faithful not only called on him for protection against St. Elmo's fire, but also routinely invoked him against maladies of the stomach and intestines. Without the conversion of the windlass from a sign of his connection with sailors to a machine of torture, the second of these privileges

cannot exist. Erasmus's disembowelment converts the object of his demise to a sign of his saintly merit and, simultaneously, establishes internal maladies as another specialty under his purview. In other words, the saint's broken body, and the means of breaking it, authorizes the genesis of an extended apotropaic covenant with Christians. Rather than being a mere convenience, or a simple continuation of tradition, the emphasis on disembowelment by windlass conveys important information to the faithful. The destruction of the saint's body, by a very particular instrument, results in the creation of a merciful martyr who asserts dominion over a new, secondary protective regime. In Bouts's image, the connection between Erasmus and the winch is physical and direct; his intestines tether him to the device and vice versa. His own internal sufferings resulting from his martyrdom validate the claims of his efficacy with similar maladies. Like other martyrs, his death results in a greater good.

The second image I wish to discuss, the right wing of the *Justice of Cambyses*, presents viewers with a scene of secular justice rather than holy martyrdom. Both wings of the diptych retell the story of the execution of the corrupt judge Sisamnes. In the diptych's left wing, he is taken into custody for accepting bribes in exchange for his rulings. In the right wing of the diptych, he is executed by being flayed alive. The story, derived from ancient sources, was available in the late fifteenth century through Herodotus's *The Histories*, Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, and the *Gesta romanorum*.<sup>14</sup> In the foreground of the right panel, Sisamnes lays grimacing on a wooden table as five executioners busy themselves with his sentence. One executioner holds his right arm in tension as another makes an incision along the bicep. A third man holds a knife in his teeth as he removes the flesh from Sisamnes's left leg and a fourth opens the flesh over the right elbow. The fifth executioner carefully begins dissecting the judge's chest as he opens the flesh along the sternum between the pectorals. The disassembly carried out here is not haphazard but is coordinated and focused on a goal greater than the act of flaying. The purpose of the execution is played out in the background of the panel wherein Otanes, Sisamnes's son, is enthroned as his father's replacement and must sit on a chair covered by his predecessor's skin as a reminder of his duty. Each executioner carefully removes the flesh, presumably with a minimum number of cuts, to preserve the uninterrupted expanse of skin upholstering the judicial seat in the background.

The scene is graphic enough for what it depicts but one particular passage makes the event more tactile and visceral. The mostly skinned left leg juxtaposes the outer, dry skin being removed with the inner, wetness of the blood, fat, and muscle that remain. David takes great care to show variations in texture between outer and inner and even provides indications of subcutaneous blood vessels along the muscle sheath. The image purports to show an actual flaying in all its empirical detail. To my knowledge, however, flaying was not one of the many punishments meted out as part of early modern justice in the Low Countries.<sup>15</sup> To be sure, capital punishments such as beheadings,

drawing and quartering, the severing of limbs, and whippings exposed the inner workings and fluids of the body but not in the manner depicted in the diptych. David's knowledge of subcutaneous structures may well have come from witnessing the skinning of animals rather than humans. Why use this level of representational fidelity to depict something that no one was likely to see in a judicial setting? The sources for the story do not go into minute anatomical details about the appearance of Sisamnes's body so it is unlikely that David simply was illustrating a text. A brief foray into the story on which the image is based will shed light on the degree to which David creates details geared toward making the execution more visceral and present for the viewer. Fifteenth-century audiences who were aware of the story likely knew it from at least one of the three sources mentioned above—*The Histories*, the *Dicta et facta memorabilia*, or the *Gesta romanorum*. The story appears in a condensed form in each of these works; it will be instructive to take each in turn.

Herodotus's *The Histories*, Book 5, Chapter 25, provides the first recorded instance of the narrative, which derives from ancient Persia:

After this speech, Darius ... made Otanes the military commander of the coastal peoples. Otanes' father Sisamnes had been one of the royal judges, but he had taken a bribe to deliver an unfair verdict, and so King Cambyses slit his throat and flayed off all his skin. He had thongs made out of the flayed skin, and he strung the chair on which Sisamnes had used to sit to deliver his verdicts with these thongs. Then he appointed Sisamnes' son to be a judge instead of the father whom he had killed and flayed, and told him to bear in mind the nature of the chair on which he would sit to deliver his verdicts.<sup>16</sup>

Herodotus's work carried the weight of antiquity, which supported the story's function as an exemplar. The moral component of the story is more pointed in another work from antiquity, Valerius Maximus's *Dicta et facta memorabilia*. In Book 6, Chapter 3, Foreign Story 3, the author writes:

Cambyses showed unheard of severity in skinning the body of a corrupt judge, using the skin to cover a chair, and ordering the judge's son to sit on it when he was to give judgment. He was a king and a barbarian, of course, but by his strange and dreadful punishment of this judge, he made sure that no judge would take bribes after that.<sup>17</sup>

Here, the narrative is shorter than in *The Histories* but its social import is more strongly stated. The purpose of such a gruesome death was to ensure that no other judge, not just Otanes, would take bribes. In the version offered in the *Gesta romanorum*, which was likely the most direct source for David's painting, the author drives home the story's function as an exemplar. Tale 29 is titled "Of Corrupt Judgment" and states:

An emperor established a law that every judge convicted of a partial administration of justice should undergo the severest penalties. It happened that a certain judge, bribed by a large sum, gave a notoriously corrupt decision. This circumstance reaching the ears of the emperor, he commanded him to be flayed. The sentence was immediately executed, and the skin of the culprit nailed upon the seat of judgment,

as an awful warning to others to avoid a similar offence. The emperor afterwards bestowed the same dignity upon the son of the deceased judge, and on presenting the appointment, said "Thou wilt sit, to administer justice, upon the skin of thy delinquent sire: should any one incite thee to do evil, remember his fate; look down upon thy father's skin, lest his fate befall thee."<sup>18</sup>

Unlike *The Histories* or the *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, the *Gesta romanorum* follows this ancient Persian story with an exegetical section that puts it in a Christian context:

My beloved, the emperor is Christ; the unjust judge is any evil man, who ought to be flayed—that is, stripped of all bad dispositions and humours. The skin nailed to the seat of judgment is Christ's passion, which is a memorial to us of what our conduct should be.<sup>19</sup>

Each version of the story contains the same key events—a ruler punishes a corrupt judge by having him flayed, upholsters the seat of judgment with his skin, and installs the judge's son in his place. The authors of *The Histories*, the *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, and the *Gesta romanorum* sketch the judicial dismantling of Sisamnes in broad terms, which only name the actions taken against him without any fine forensic details. All three versions, however, make it abundantly clear that this type of punishment was severe and was intended as an exemplary corrective to a serious transgression. The tacit reference to Marsyas's punishment for his hubris added a grand mythological sweep to an already uncommon form of torment.

In each of the narratives, and in David's panel, Sisamnes is not merely executed: he is unmade in a spectacular fashion. His integument is opened to reveal his innermost secrets in a process that lays him bare, literally and figuratively. The level of mimesis in the image is not reportage. It is instead a speculative, and highly focused, representation of the disassembly of the body from the outside in. Each of the disarticulations detailed in the panel make visible the price paid for corruption and show that grave crimes require grievous punishment. In this context, the care taken in rendering the flayed leg reinforces the image's impact by making the punishment available not just to sight but, notionally, to the other senses as well. The level of detail with which the artist renders the leg establishes it as a plausible thing and makes it possible for viewers to imagine the limb as their own. In other words, the truth-claim that such seeming fidelity to anatomical reality makes is rooted in the concreteness of bodily experience.<sup>20</sup> The image not only depicts Sisamnes's unmaking but also invites the viewer to relive/reconstruct it mentally in the most vivid terms possible—as executioner, as victim, or as both. This type of affective interaction with the image, which is deeply rooted in crucifixion scenes as well as depictions of martyrdoms like those of St. Erasmus, is important. The opportunity to connect with the narrative, especially in physical and emotional terms through the concept of *philopassionism*, increases the truth claim of the story and amplifies its underlying moral/

social/political messages. Sisamnes is punished for his misdeeds but the point of the execution is not contained in that relationship. The body's destruction is made a spectacle from which is created a new, and theoretically better, moral order. In the narrative, the execution brings about a parity that rebalances the scales of justice. Sisamnes corrupts the system from the inside out; his destruction from the outside in corrects that corruption. These are abstract concepts; physical and emotional reactions to the narrative help make them sensible and more concrete.

Such tensions between destruction and creation as well as revulsion and attraction were nothing new in Western art. Perhaps the most famous acknowledgment of this paradox is found in Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia ad Gullielmum abbatem* in which he voices his concerns about certain images that he describes as having a, "deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity" as the basis of their allure.<sup>21</sup> To paraphrase Bernard, images of bent, broken, and shattered bodies depend on a "creative destruction" as well as a "destructive creativity," and an "alluring repulsiveness" as well as a "repulsive allure." These seeming contradictions lie at the heart of these images and impart to them a visual logic, which works to bring viewers closer and push them away simultaneously. This push-pull effect opens a dialogue between image and viewer that allows the narratives to be read in much more than hagiographical or moralizing ways.<sup>22</sup> The same disembowelment or removal of skin that dissolves the depicted body also defines it. To understand that definition, the viewer must spend time retracing the act of disassembly and reenact it by undoing it and completing it mentally. Rather than being objects of abjection, from which the viewer must seek protection, the executed bodies in these depictions are narrative starting and ending points that the viewer activates.<sup>23</sup> The wounds depicted, as well as the instruments responsible for them, are disturbing but not so disturbing that a viewer cannot explore them at leisure and linger over the mechanics of how they were inflicted. The various viewpoints afforded observers allows them to assume the role of judge, executioner, or executed and play out the infliction of each of the depicted wounds in as many combinations as desired.

To no small degree, this type of imaginative engagement with narratives—especially those focused on pain and bodily destruction—was part-and-parcel of early modern habits of viewing. By the fifteenth century, scenes of Christ's Passion, both verbal and pictorial, concentrated in minute detail on the various torments he suffered. Such scenes of Christ's bodily destruction authorize the basic contradictions of attraction and repulsion operating in the *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* and the *Justice of Cambyses*. Contemporary devotional practice directed votaries to imagine Christ's plight and, in contrast, to put themselves in his place, to inhabit the role of his tormentors, and to imagine being present in the crowd of onlookers. Images like *Christ in the Winepress*, for example, tacitly placed Christians in the tormentor's role and renditions of *The Man of Sorrows* invited the faithful to examine each of Christ's wounds and imagine how it felt when they were inflicted.<sup>24</sup> Scenes of Christ's battered

and bloodied body exercised the votary in performing these imaginative dislocations in the service of creating sympathy and empathy, which were crucial to transforming his or her soul. These strategies could be applied to other images of ravaged bodies with relatively little trouble.

It is unlikely that a viewer would have confused the *Justice of Cambyzes* with a depiction of the crucified Christ as the disassembly of the corrupt judge made no overt references to the Passion. As a result, the mapping of viewing and reception strategies between image types is not perfect, and cannot be. That said, however, clear similarities exist in the tensions between creation and destruction as well as attraction and repulsion that underlay both Passion scenes and also more general images of torture and death. A partial mapping of viewing and reception habits, then, is conceivable. In particular, both crucifixions and other scenes of bodily destruction encourage close, even ruminative, looking and invite interaction with the depicted narrative.<sup>25</sup> No matter how badly mangled, no matter how thoroughly distressed or destroyed, the bodies on display in images of death and torture were all composed within, and subordinated to, a larger pictorial order and logic. This logic—a reflection of the artist's presence, common practice, art theoretical considerations, and the dictates of narrative structures—brings sanity (or restraint) to the inhumane scenes of physical degradation enacted in such depictions. By drawing near and pulling away, by inspecting wounds and the implements that made them, by reassembling and disassembling the body mentally, and by assuming various roles in the story, viewers take their places in that order and make sense of the creative destruction played out in the narrative. Such complex negotiations and interactions are the foundations for the subjects that the contributions to this book address.



The *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* and the *Justice of Cambyzes* nicely demonstrate the two key categories operational throughout the book, namely holy violence and social violence. To accommodate these categories, the volume is arranged into two sections, each dealing with an overarching theme. Roughly corresponding to the sacred and the secular, these themes are not mutually exclusive, and in several instances chapters in each section touch on ideas belonging to the other. These conceptual divisions are not meant to be ironclad but provide frameworks that will be helpful in making sense of a complex subject. Each of these categories relies on contorting and destroying the body not for the mere sake of it but for various purposes within larger moral, social, and politico-religious contexts.

Part 1, HOLY VIOLENCE, THE CREATION OF MARTYRS, examines the role of bodily unmaking in a religious context. In his chapter titled "Guido da Siena and the Four Modes of Violence," Assaf Pinkus considers medieval concepts of violence by placing them in a larger religious and juridical context. His



study introduces period-specific ways of understanding violent behavior (reflective, reflexive, imaginative, and physical) and the transmission of that understanding into visual terms. Mitzi Kirkland-Ives's investigation of the battered body of Christ, and of the *arma Christi* in the context of early modern prayer books in the Low Countries, underlines the relationships between devotional image and devotional text. She argues that consideration of these works—including related violent topics such as the Effusions of Blood and Five Wounds of Christ—can clarify the experience of this type of graphic imagery. The late medieval and early modern artist was, as Baxandall has described, a “professional visualizer of the holy stories,” providing works to aid devotees who were, themselves, avid amateurs in the same practice. Soetkin Vanhauwaert's chapter, “A Chopped-Off Head on a Golden Plate,” presents a case study of one of the best-known images of martyrdom in Christianity—the decapitated head of St. John the Baptist. By unraveling the iconography of the *caput in disco*, Vanhauwaert makes the connection between Christ's Passion, which acted as the authorizing event behind all holy martyrdoms, and the brutal, politically motivated death of the Baptist that preceded it.

This section continues by exploring the translation of these theoretical considerations into the debates surrounding the Protestant rupture and the Catholic response to it. Kelley Magill's study, “Reviving Martyrdom: Interpretations of the Catacombs in Cesare Baronio's Patronage,” focuses on the uses of early Christian martyrs in the service of the post-Tridentine Church. In particular, Magill argues that the Catholic Church, in its desire to become both militant and triumphant, privileged images of martyred early Christian saints who lived and died under persecution. These narratives took advantage of the paradox of victory through suffering that would have appealed to Catholic prelates looking to respond to Protestant criticisms. The disfiguring of these saintly bodies opened the possibility of refiguring the past in order to build a contemporary identity for the Church. Finally, Natalia Khomenko's investigation of John Bale's narrative of Anne Askew's martyrdom demonstrates the ways in which Protestants adopted the long-standing Catholic vocabulary of martyrdom and adapted it to create sympathy for their cause. The paradigmatic story of Askew's bodily disintegration in the name of her faith provided ample possibilities for a new, Protestant, martyrology.

Part 2, SOCIAL VIOLENCE, THE CREATION OF CIVIC IDENTITIES, investigates the unmaking of bodies in the creation and maintenance of stable regional, local, and personal identities. Renzo Baldasso expands the discussion of religious martyrdom from the end of Part 1 into the topic of civic martyrdom through his exploration of Pieter Paul Rubens's *Decius Mus*. In the final image of the cycle featuring the consul's death, Rubens visually problematizes Livy's moral tale of patriotism and loyalty through the inclusion of graphic and frank brutality. The physical distortions present in the depicted bodies, Baldasso argues, create a complex gloss on the concepts of valor, sacrifice, and integrity so near and dear to civic authorities. Heather Madar discusses

the political and religious unmaking of bodies in a larger, more international context. Her chapter, "Dracula, the Turks and the Rhetoric of Impaling in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Germany," examines the use of impalement as an index of anti-Christian alterity. By focusing on Vlad Tepes, the most infamous practitioner of impalement, Madar demonstrates how Western makers and consumers of visual culture used images of violated bodies to demonize various Eastern cultures (primarily the Turks) and cast them as a barbarous threat to civilized Christianity. In this context, unmaking bodies equates to the destruction of a perceived cultural, religious, and political foe in the service of creating a "purified" whole.

Part 2 continues these investigations at the local level by providing examples of the generative possibilities provided by depictions of public executions north and south of the Alps. Allie Terry-Fritsch discusses the phenomenon of punishing absent criminals in effigy in her study titled "Execution by Image." Terry-Fritsch argues that dismembering and destroying the image of a condemned person played a vital role in the reestablishment of normalcy in communities damaged by criminal behavior. The final study, Maureen Warren's "A Shameful Spectacle," extends Terry-Fritsch's observations north of the Alps. Warren takes as her object of study a broadsheet recounting the executions of Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt and his co-conspirators, arguing that the printmaker Claes Jansz. Visscher created an image designed to humiliate those executed in order to prosecute a staunchly pro-Orange agenda.

The analyses collected in this volume do not exhaust the discussion of images of death and torture in early modernity. Each contributor, instead, enters into the current dialogues on the subjects of torture, punishment, and death and offers different lenses through which we can view these fields of study. The very notion that scenes of personal, religious, and cultural violence can have a creative and alluring dimension to them, for example, challenges the way scholars tend to discuss the topic and furthers the way we conceptualize it. It is my hope that by focusing on the paradoxes of "creative destruction" and "repulsive allure," which I assert lay at the heart of these visual and verbal depictions of spectacular unmaking, this book will provide new avenues further for scholarly exploration.

## Notes

- 1 Bret Rothstein, "Looking the Part: Ruminative Viewing and the Imagination of Community in the Early Modern Low Countries," *Art History* 31, no. 1 (2008): 1–32. Rothstein argues that images like the *Justice of Cambyses* encourage a type of ruminative viewing comparable with purely religious images and that such meditative viewing allows the viewer to understand the image as a negative exemplar to be avoided if she or he would stay within the social/political/religious fabric (see latter pages of this chapter).
- 2 Esther Cohen, "Towards a History of European Physical Sensibility: Pain in the Later Middle Ages," *Science in Context* 8, no. 1 (1995): 47–74.

- 3 Good examples of this phenomenon are provided by Esther Cohen, "To Die a Criminal for the Public Good: The Execution Ritual in Late Medieval Paris," in *Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe. Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon*, eds. Bernard S. Bachrach and David Nicholas, vol. 27 in the series *Studies in Medieval Culture* (Kalamazoo MI: Western Michigan University Press, 1990), 285–304; and James M. Boyden, "The Worst Death Becomes a Good Death: The Passion of Don Rodrigo Calderon," in *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. B. Gordon and P. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 240–65.
- 4 The literature on scapegoating is large and varied. For an overview, see Charlie Campbell, *Scapegoat: A History of Blaming Other People* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2011).
- 5 Samuel Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment. Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1985); Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel. Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain. The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and Peter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering. Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- 6 Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie, eds., in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), deal most specifically with the issue of viewing violence and provide an interesting companion to this current volume.
- 7 Maureen A. Tilley. "The Ascetic Body and the (Un)Making of the World of the Martyr," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 467–79. Tilley notes that the stoic response of early Christian martyrs was often quite disturbing to the tortures.
- 8 David Farmer, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 159.
- 9 Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 159.
- 10 Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 159.
- 11 Jacopo de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, published by William Caxton in 1487 (University of Glasgow Library Copy), fols. cccc.xliiij–cccc.xlvi: see EBSCO (Early English Books Online), at: [http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:image:3756:449](http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:3756:449) (last accessed April 3, 2013). The narrative appears unchanged in the English Edition, published by Wynken de Woorde in 1498 (British Library Copy), fols. ccc.lxxxvij–ccc.lxxxix: see EBSCO (Early English Books Online) at: [http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:image:3756:449](http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:3756:449) (last accessed April 3, 2013). The longer story of the saint's martyrdom disappears from the *Golden Legend* after the mid-sixteenth century.
- 12 Jacopo de Voragine, *Golden Legend* [1487], fol. ccc.xlvi and [1498] fol. ccc.lxxxix.
- 13 Jacopo de Voragine. *Golden Legend* [1487], fol. cccc.xliiij and [1498] fol. ccc.lxxxvij.
- 14 *Gesta Romanorum: Entertaining Moral Stories*, trans. Rev. C. Swan, rev. ed. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1891), 62–63; Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans.

- R. Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 312; and Valerius Maximus. *Memorable Deeds and Sayings. One Thousand Tales from Ancient Rome*, trans. H.J. Walker (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2004), 213. For documentation on the sources behind the legend as well as various discussions for the conditions under which the work may have been commissioned, see: Rothstein, "Looking the Part"; Robert Mills, *Suspended Animation: Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), esp. 59–82; Hugo van der Velden, "Cambyses for Example: The Origin and Function of an *exemplum iustitiae* in Netherlandish Art of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 23, no. 1 (1995): 5–62; Hans Van Miegroet, "Gerard David's 'Justice of Cambyses': *exemplum iustitiae* or Political Allegory?" *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 18, no. 3 (1988): 116–33; and Marian Ainsworth, "Gerard David's Drawings for the 'Justice of Cambyses' Once Again," *The Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1024 (July 1988): 528–30.
- 15 Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, Edgerton. *Pictures and Punishment*, and Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, for example, do not mention flaying alive as one of the punishment modes in use in the period. Mills, *Suspended Animation* (65) notes: "... there is little evidence that flaying was practiced upon those who offended against the law in this region [the Low Countries], or indeed any other, in the later Middle Ages."
  - 16 Herodotus, *The Histories*, 312.
  - 17 Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, 213.
  - 18 *Gesta romanorum*, 62–63.
  - 19 *Gesta romanorum*, 63.
  - 20 This observation links to the concept of "soma-aesthetics" discussed in Allie Terry-Fritsch's chapter in this volume. Mills, in *Suspended Animation* at 72–80, posits that this level of detail represents what he has termed a "burgerlijk" aesthetic that encouraged a certain type of appropriate detachment as a response to the painting's mimicry. This is an intriguing component but to my mind, at least, does not sufficiently explain the density of visual information included in the image. While avoidance was a possible response, deep, visceral engagement was an equal option.
  - 21 Bernard's much-commented view on the worth of images in the Cloister stem from his *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*, especially article 29. His descriptions of the conflicted nature of what he saw seem apt for carefully wrought images of bodily destruction. Conrad Rudolph, "Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia* as a Description of Cluny, and the Controversy Over Monastic Art," *Gesta* 27, no. 1/2 (1988): 125–32, provides a good overview of this document.
  - 22 The concept of a "push-pull" dynamic in early modern images has been a topic of scholarly discussion for quite some time. The most up-to-date view of this is available in Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand, eds., *Push Me, Pull You. Imaginative and Emotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
  - 23 Julia Kristeva, in *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), describes the corpse as a polluting factor from which the individual needs protection. In these images, the viewer does not need protection; the corpse is a powerfully attractive object that initiates various imaginative routes.

- 24 The scholarship on this is too vast to list here. I discuss affective interaction in relation to both these image types at length in John R. Decker. *The Technology of Salvation and the Art of Geertgen tot Sint Jans* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).
- 25 Rothstein, “Looking the Part” (19, 21, and 23) discusses the possibility of such a ruminative type of looking in conjunction with David’s image. Mills, *Suspended Animation* (72, 80), asserts that this type of viewing can lead the viewer to an appreciation of “moral truths.”

## **PART 1**

### **HOLY VIOLENCE, THE CREATION OF MARTYRS**



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

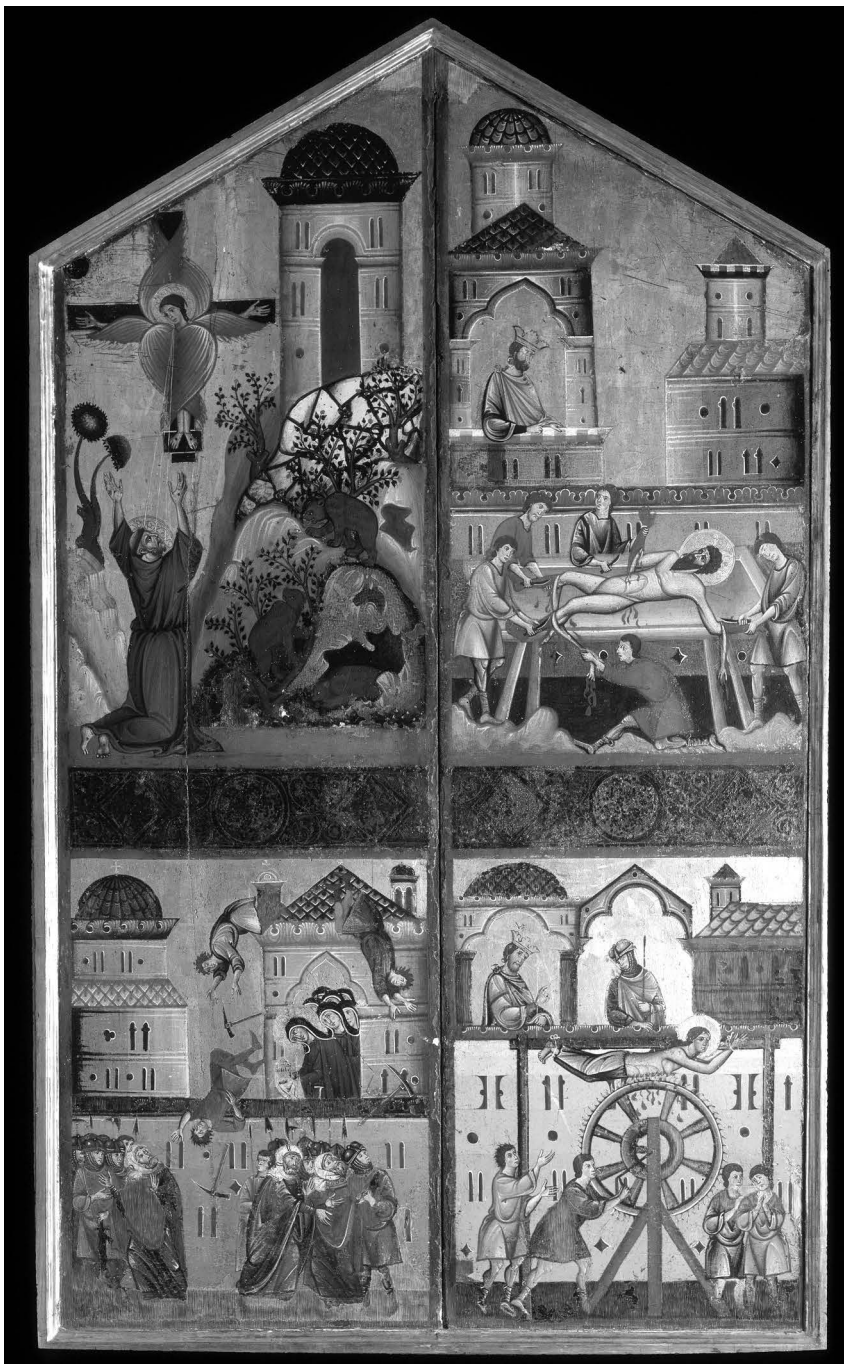
## Guido da Siena and the Four Modes of Violence

*Assaf Pinkus*

Guido da Siena's painted reliquary shutters (c. 1260), probably from the St. Clare monastery in Siena (Figure 1.1), display four scenes of immediate physical wounding: on the left shutter, the stigmatization of St. Francis, and St. Clare striking the Saracens and driving them away from the monastery of San Damiano; and on the right shutter, the flaying alive of St. Bartholomew, and the torment of St. Catherine on the razor wheels.<sup>1</sup> All the images are either saturated with depictions of blood flowing from their bodies or colored starkly with red pigment. While the left shutter features two Early Christian martyrs, the right introduces contemporary saints who seek martyrdom but are granted an imitative substitution.<sup>2</sup> This unique assemblage of martyrs and saints reflects Franciscan piety, a religiosity of self-inflicted pain, and the cult of locally venerated saints, while also revealing a strikingly brutal parade of violence.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the panels are also gender-divided: the upper parts of both shutters reveal the wounded male body, and the lower sections the female. Apart from a few stylistic analyses, however, the panels have never been studied in their broader cultural or devotional context in spite of their intriguing characteristics.

In this study I attempt to explore late medieval notions of violence as articulated in these panels through visual means.<sup>4</sup> I will argue that the imagery of Guido's panels projects not only late medieval affective piety and the *imitatio Christi*, but also the contemporary theological and juridical discourse on violence. Each of the four panels seems to assert a particular mode of violent behavior—reflexive, reflective, physical, and imagined. Tracing the theological writings on violence from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas, and moving from theological to juridical conceptualizations, I will suggest that the shutters offer a glimpse into the late medieval discourse on four modes of violence, and the equivalence between body and soul, essence and appearance. Within this wider devotional context, it is violence per se that appears as a subject of artistic speculations. As such, the panels will serve as a springboard for a reflection on the issue of the viewers' response and the late medieval visual discourse on violence.





1.1 Guido da Siena, Reliquary shutters with the *Martyrdoms of St. Francis, St. Claire, St. Bartholomew, and St. Catherine of Alexandria*, c. 1260, tempera on wood panel

(Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale. Reproduced with the permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/Alinari Archives, Florence)

The original aim and function of Guido's panels are not unequivocal, but remain a matter of speculation. Based on a comparison with later works by Guido himself and those of his followers, James H. Stubblebine suggested that these relatively large panels (125 × 71 cm) originally belonged to a reliquary containing the remains of St. Bartholomew, one of Siena's principle patron saints.<sup>5</sup> Dating of the panels is based on several iconographical peculiarities. The inclusion of a rather rare depiction of St. Clare expelling the Saracens from San Damiano indicates that they could not have been executed before 1255, the year of her canonization and the compiling of her legend by Tommaso da Celano (written between 1251 and 1261).<sup>6</sup> The *terminus ante quem* of the panels is suggested more precisely by the iconographical peculiarities of the stigmatization of St. Francis by a crucified seraph. This depiction adheres to the early *Vita Prima Sancti Francisci* (1228), also by Tommaso da Celano, as well as to the *Tractatus de Miraculis S. Francisci* (1254–57).<sup>7</sup> The panels were probably painted before the *Legenda Major* of St. Bonaventure appeared in 1263,<sup>8</sup> which records that it was the crucified Christ himself in the semblance of a seraph who appeared to St. Francis. Finally, the style of the panels is consistent with that belonging to Guido's oeuvre around 1260, placing their creation between 1255 and 1260.<sup>9</sup>

The stigmatization of St. Francis is depicted among the rocky landscape of La Verna; three bears in and around a cave convey the wilderness of the mountains (Figure 1.1, top left).<sup>10</sup> The apparition of the seraph on a cross conforms to Tommaso da Celano's account that St. Francis "saw himself regarded by the seraph, whose beauty was indescribable; yet he was alarmed by the fact that the seraph was affixed to the cross ...."<sup>11</sup> Three rays of light emanating from the seraph pierce the saint's body, while he raises his arms, accepting the stigmata willingly. As he falls to his knees, St. Francis' eyes are fixed on the seraph, stressing the visionary dimension of the event. The stigmatization is constructed as an inward and visionary occurrence between St. Francis and the seraph, and shows a reflexive event occurring in the realm of meditation and thought, a violent physical mutilation enacted by an individual upon his own body. Having failed to obtain the reward of martyrdom in Egypt, St. Francis spiritually participates in the wounds of Christ at La Verna, which is, as noted by Celano, a better, greater, and more original martyrdom.<sup>12</sup>

St. Francis' reflexive and contemporary martyrdom is paired with an Early Christian and more literal example—that of Bartholomew (Figure 1.1, top right). While the king in his palace supervises the execution, four young tanners flay St. Bartholomew alive. Two of them use knives to separate skin from the legs, while in the fore-plane a third professional tanner is detaching the saint's flesh with great effort, using the weight of his body as he leans back on his knees.<sup>13</sup> Two other tanners are flaying Bartholomew's arms. The depiction is terrifying, the saint's body is red and bleeding, while a double set of legs and arms—that of his flayed skin—hangs loosely from him. The canonical *vita* of St. Bartholomew in the *Golden Legend* does not clearly report

either the exact nature of his martyrdom, nor his response to the torment. After a long discussion, the author summarizes the various versions of Bartholomew's martyrdom and combines them:

... the King tore the purple robe he was wearing, and ordered the apostle to be beaten with clubs and flayed alive ... There are various opinions about the kind of death Bartholomew suffered. Saint Dorotheus says he was crucified ... Saint Theodore says that he was flayed. In many books, however, we read that he was beheaded. This disagreement can be resolved by saying that he was crucified, then before he died, taken down and, to intensify his suffering, flayed alive, and finally his head cut off.<sup>14</sup>

In Guido's painting the flaying is intensified by the multi-figural scene, orchestrated as a grand spectacle for the King. The stigmata of St. Francis and the flaying of St. Bartholomew are constructed as two different modes of violence. While the gaze and sight of St. Francis are inward, intimate, and reflexive, those of Bartholomew are external, public, and spectacular. Unlike the reflexive stigmatization of St. Francis, the violence enacted upon Bartholomew's body is external, physical, and brutal. Moreover, while the stigmatization of St. Francis belongs exclusively to the realm of theological discourse, that of Bartholomew belongs to the juridical as well as the theological—a point that I shall return to later.

The lower section of the left shutter depicts St. Clare driving away the Saracens (Figure 1.1, bottom left). Tommaso da Celano recounts in the *Vita Prima* that the Saracens, led by Friedrich II and as numerous as a hive of bees, broke into the San Damiano monastery.<sup>15</sup> The frightened women who fled begged St. Clare for help. Since she was ill and weak, Clare asked the nuns to take her to the gates of the monastery, with her she carried a golden casket with a relic of the Lord. There, praying for heavenly intervention, the voice of Christ spoke from the reliquary, promising rescue. When St. Clare raised the relic of the Lord, the alarmed and panicking Saracens fled from its presence and the sight of the brave virgin.<sup>16</sup> In the painting, the soldiers are thrown from the monastery's walls while St. Clare, holding a reliquary, appears beneath a Gothic arch accompanied by her sisters. More significant, however, is the artistic interpretation of the scene. Although the text does not mention the nature of St. Clare's "attack," the walls are covered with medieval weapons: axes, lances, and spears. It is unclear whether these are simply the weapons of the Saracens or, alternatively, their armory has been turned against them. Be this as it may, the saint's reflective prayer is visualized as actual, real-world violence.

Facing the narrative of St. Clare's prayer-based struggle is the imagined torture of St. Catherine of Alexandria (Figure 1.1, bottom right). Emperor Maxentius, beneath a Gothic canopy, orders a soldier to torture the saint. St. Catherine is bound to a wooden beam, her hands and legs tied to prevent her escape. Two executioners turn the wheel propelling its razors to tear at the bleeding flesh of the martyr. Two male figures watch the event; one of them clasps his hands and bends his head in sorrow while the other lays his hand on his companion's shoulder as if to comfort him. This depiction deviates not

only from St. Catherine's conventional representation, standing calmly by the wheel or holding it as a mere attribute, but also from her *legenda*. According to the *Golden Legend*, St. Catherine was first tortured on the wheel, which was constructed from four iron wheels ringed with sharp razors and designed to break her body.

It was further ordered that two of the wheels should revolve in one direction and the other two turn in the opposite, so that the maiden would be mangled and torn by the two wheels coming down to her, and chewed up by the other two coming against her from below.<sup>17</sup>

An angel of God then appeared, shattered the wheels and saved her from her torment. Only thereafter was St. Catherine beheaded, gladly accepting her martyrdom while praying to and glorifying God.<sup>18</sup> In Guido's painting, the mechanics of the wheels have been changed and rather than breaking her body they are aimed instead at injuring it. Moreover, whereas in the legend she remained unharmed by the wheels and was miraculously saved by the angel, the images shows her as literally wounded. The representation thus seems to visualize her torment, which was not in fact realized. It is thus not her real torture but, rather, an imagined one that perhaps materializes the fears of the spectators shown struck by sorrow. As will be discussed below, breaking the body on the wheel was a popular punishment in the civic court, and familiar to contemporary viewers. St. Catherine's martyrdom was therefore concurrently tangible and imagined—Guido's image embodies torture left unfulfilled in the *legenda* as well as the suffering located in the viewer's imagination. Paired with the spiritual martyrdom of St. Clare, the two paintings posit two different modes of violence: reflective, in the realm of meditation and prayer, versus imagined. Both, however, are related to medieval reality—the first refers to medieval warfare, and the second to juridical punishment.<sup>19</sup>

The four scenes of Guido's reliquary shutters stage what Leslie Abend Callahan has defined as a theatrical spectacle of violence, which seems to embody four different notions of violent behavior.<sup>20</sup> St. Francis's shows inward and reflexive violence, turning back upon its initiator; St. Bartholomew's is physical and external; St. Clare's is passive and reflective; and St. Catherine's is external and imagined. This is a double pairing—vertically, the image shows spiritual martyrdoms versus physical; horizontally, the scenes are reflexive and reflective versus physical/juridical and imagined. While admitting multiple readings of the martyrdom scenes as relating to devotional practices of late medieval affective piety, relic claims, and the discourse on the fragmented body, the unique ensemble of four differentiated modes of violence in Guido's panels would not merely have encouraged the *imitatio Christi* through somatic identification, but could also have decontextualized the imagery from its exclusive religious content, and relocated it in an ethical discourse, conceptualizing violence as a moral problem and a matter of artistic speculation.<sup>21</sup> How, then, might these have been perceived by the thirteenth-century Christian spectators?<sup>22</sup>

For Caroline Bynum, late medieval imagery of bodily partition and bloodshed in its historical context is not violent.<sup>23</sup> In the religious context of late medieval mysticism, wounds and mutilated organs were about access to the body of Christ and participation in it. Disfigured bodies were not a reflection of a violent society, exhausted by famine, wars, religious controversy, and epidemics. They, instead, constituted a religiosity of blame and self-reproach in which suffering was experienced as a form of ecstasy and love, evoking the sacrifice of Jesus. In Bynum's opinion the so-called violent imagery is not violent in the modern sense of the word, which implies a negative meaning. It has, instead, a positive meaning, associated by inversion with joy, love, comfort, and hope.<sup>24</sup> Bynum examines thirteenth- to fifteenth-century texts and images, mostly depicting female saints and mystics meditating upon the bleeding body of the crucified Christ, as offering the reader/viewer role models for imitation, identification, and self-indoctrination. As she rightly argues, such figures display devotional or calm emotions. Their bodies might reveal signs of past violent acts, but their expressions remain detached. This imagery emphasizes the supernatural impassibility granted to the saints. Both the saints and their viewers are denied any direct somatic response to the violence they are experiencing, and their reaction is transposed instead to comfort and hope, a key for participating in Christ's Passion.

Bynum's interpretation thus echoes the Augustinian dichotomy between body and *anima* in which cruelty and violent acts are primarily spiritual, not physical.<sup>25</sup> According to Augustine, although the dead body does not suffer, the soul, being eternal, continues to suffer. Sensory pain was a function of the soul not of the body. In Augustine's view, the human soul has a concept and similitude of the body (*similitudo corporis*) and this is the part that suffers in Hell. Only after the resurrection and reunification of body and soul will sensory pain become purely and fully physical, residing in the body—that which resides in the soul will be purely emotional.<sup>26</sup> Until then, however, violent acts that harm the soul are what constitute genuine cruelty. Such cruelty and violence are reflexive because they can be committed by a person against his or her own soul, and thus are not necessarily interpersonal violence.

The notion that physical violence is negligible was also suggested in Tertullian's theological formulation of the medical metaphor of pain as a system in which a violent act executed upon the body was compared to the pain of a medical operation.<sup>27</sup> As such, physical violence had healing qualities and was conceived as positive. Playing with the ambiguity of the concept of the body, Jerome compared the physical body of the individual to the Church as the body of the believers. Just as ailing members of the body should be removed, so too should ailing members of the Church; the act of amputation is only outwardly violent as in fact it contributes to the healing process.<sup>28</sup> Real violence was internal, reflexive, and reflective and was enacted upon one's *anima*, such as forcing someone to deny his or her faith. Jerome's notion of the medical metaphor, which circulated widely in the Middle Ages, denied the negative aspects of violent behavior. If the individual suffers for the sake

of his or her own redemption, exposure to physical brutality has positive qualities, and cannot therefore be considered as violence in the modern sense of the word. It was through the immersion and pleasure taken in suffering that the love of God was revealed.<sup>29</sup>

Guido's left shutter seems to embody this notion of violence: both St. Francis and St. Clare experience a reflective or reflexive violence. St. Francis enacts a true violence in the Augustinian sense. It is a non-interpersonal suffering that he enacts upon himself and which takes place in the realm of the soul. St. Clare, whose monastery/church—and by implication her belief—is under attack, experiences true violence. Her reflection and prayers cleanse the body of her church in a manner similar to the medical metaphor employed by Tertullian and Jerome. The images were not, however, a mere demonstration of Augustinian/Tertullian thinking but were situated within a thirteenth-century devotional mysticism that transposed pain and suffering into happiness and love.

Daniel Baraz has noted that while Early Christian thinkers considered true violence either as reflexive or reflective, the first systematic discussion on *crudelitas* (and its derivative physical *violentia*) arose only during the thirteenth century in Thomistic thought and its new attitudes toward the relation between body and *anima* and the conceptualization of sensory pain.<sup>30</sup> According to Aquinas, impassibility could be attributed to two human categories, both exempt from the laws of nature and neither of which had undergone martyrdom: Adam and Eve before the Fall, and the spiritual bodies of the Blessed in Paradise that are free from bodily sensation.<sup>31</sup> Impassibility, therefore, can hardly serve as an interpretive category for the representation of the martyrs before their heavenly reward. Reconciling the Augustinian dichotomy, Aquinas also maintains that the *anima* is the form of the body.<sup>32</sup> For him, body and *anima* are an inseparable unity. Although Aquinas is not entirely free of the hierarchical conception of the two entities, this relative coherency, equilibrium, equability, and transparency between appearance and essence (echoing the twelfth-century ethics of intention) suggests that such imagery as that in Guido's panels should not be read within a merely metaphorical devotional framework but, rather, more literally. What one sees—in other words, emotionally moving violence—is what is there.

The modern concept of violence aspires to be objective and quantifiable. Violence is conceptualized according to legal, comparable, and measurable categories regarding the potency of pain inflicted upon another's body. While Aquinas offered for the first time in medieval theology a systematic discussion on the term, similar efforts were also being invested in contemporaneous juridical discourse.<sup>33</sup> During the later Middle Ages, the first monitoring and recording systems arose in European towns providing detailed reports of violent behavior within the city walls and establishing criteria for quantifying and conceptualizing violence.<sup>34</sup> The civic milieu was also the place, as noted by Esther Cohen, where the heroic bearing of pain was replaced by a new sensibility to it.<sup>35</sup> From the late thirteenth century on, ordeals and duels were

replaced by a judiciary system that gradually cut into the jurisdiction of the Church and categorized crimes and violent behavior, allotting them their measurable appropriate penalization (albeit still arbitrary and with many loopholes).<sup>36</sup> Decollation, for example, was preserved for crimes committed by the aristocracy against the state, such as treason; dragging by horses was the punishment for well-known criminals; impaling or live burial for rapists; boiling for sodomites or for those who attempted suicide; and breaking on the wheel was a punishment for many crimes, from simple theft to murder, but from 1362 it was especially reserved for traitors. Flaying alive was by far the most terrifying punishment. In his study on medieval legal accounts, William R.J. Barron argues that flaying was a rare penalty in medieval reality, relying more on old traditions than on formal law.<sup>37</sup> In most cases the realization of a sentence of flaying was either eventually avoided or carried out by a furious mob. When flaying was performed, it was considered terrifying not only because of the physical pain it caused, but also because the skin was regarded as a protective boundary between external and internal and as a cloth or vellum on which human identity was written.<sup>38</sup> Paradoxically, because it was only seldom performed and constituted an extremely shocking experience for the public, it incited the medieval imagination and featured frequently in vernacular writings and the collective memory.<sup>39</sup>

The martyrdoms of St. Bartholomew and St. Catherine on Guido's right shutter seem to reflect the discourse and realities of late medieval penalties, while equally evoking an imaginative dimension. Bartholomew's executioners are depicted as professional tanners, processing his skin into vellum and the representation thus seems to be a concrete and accurate depiction of the process. Bearing in mind, however, the gap between the infrequency of flaying in medieval society and its prominent place in contemporary literature, this particular punishment was more imagined than real for viewers. St. Catherine's suffering, in contrast, is constructed otherwise. While torment on the wheel was deeply anchored in the medieval punitive system, the scene seems to materialize a form of imagined suffering from which the saint was in fact spared. It is only in this scene that a terrified audience is portrayed, materializing contemporary fears of violence. In both cases, the torments refer concomitantly to the saint's *vita*, juridical reality, and the viewers' imaginations. These scenes were probably experienced somatically and physically as highly threatening for the contemporary viewer. The representations on this shutter thus move from theological to juridical concerns on violence, questioning the criteria of violent behavior within the visual apparatus.<sup>40</sup> As such, the panels could possess both a religious and a civic meaning, allowing multiple and varying readings by the viewers.

A similar correlation between the visual arts and juridical punishment is clearly evident in the fourteenth-century "effigies of shame," the *pittura infamante*, depicting the punishments of criminals in such cases in which the transgressors were beyond the reach of the law and no legal remedy was available.<sup>41</sup> A similar imagery of violence appears in the scenes of

executions of criminals depicted in legal treatises and chronicles, such as the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century *Fleurs des Chroniques*. This universal chronicle was compiled by the inquisitor Bernard Gui, who died in 1331, and it was then translated from Latin and continued at the order of Charles V.<sup>42</sup> It includes several chronicles and treatises (on the papacy; genealogy of the French monarchs; a treatise on the mass; and on Limousin's saints as well as various prayers), and a juridical treatise, demonstrating the rituality and technicality of executions and their excess of violence. The book includes scenes of amputating the hands of forgers (1321); decapitation of Norman lords in Rouen (1356); execution with an axe of Nicolas le Flamand (1382), and many others.<sup>43</sup> All these images can hardly be distinguished from the contemporary martyrdom scenes, neither from the iconographic point of view nor from their syntax—both constitute series of violent behavior. It is more than reasonable to assume that Guido's panels evoked for spectators the so-called liturgy of execution and the art of punishment or violence. As noted by Mitchell B. Merback, the boundaries between the "spiritual athletes" of God and the executed criminals were often blurred, with the latter frequently also being viewed as Christ-like.<sup>44</sup> The interplay between the spectacle of violence in punitive judgment, in devotional practices, and in the visual arts, and its rhetorical emotionalism—inviting the viewer to look and feel—constituted what Merback has aptly termed the "medieval paradigm."<sup>45</sup> Merback, however, is engaged with a much later imagery than that of Guido da Siena and with spectacular yet repetitive narratives of the Crucifixion. The imagery discussed here represents a range of variations on the theme of violence, and with no one performance repeating the other, but with each demonstrating a specific notion of violence.

Violence as a subject per se in late medieval art raises many questions that have yet to be resolved. Images are always involved with sight and image theory. What, therefore, were the norms and rules of representations of violence? What was the sensibility of the viewers? What is the relation between visual excess and perception? Was violent imagery considered as entertainment—which can be psychologically labeled "soft-core violence" that does not evoke a somatic experience in the viewer—or did it invite physical identification and was, therefore, "hard-core violence"?<sup>46</sup> The excessive violence with which Guido's panels address their viewers seems to have offered a new subtext. Rather than being merely an exemplum of devotional imitation, the unmediated brutality of the martyrdoms seems to reshape the entire context of the sacred narrative and, consequently, the viewers' experience. To quote Merback: "Without an audience capable of experiencing disgust, disgusting imagery is robbed of its antagonist power. And without this power it can have no meaningful cultural purpose ...."<sup>47</sup> Linda Williams has defined strong violence as having the capacity to elicit unmitigated and unsocialized emotions, acting on the mind by refusing it glib comfort and immediate resolutions, and thereby evoking a somatic response.<sup>48</sup> Depicting the martyrs in a state of suspended torture,



to paraphrase Robert Mills,<sup>49</sup> and not in the aftermath (either death or rewarded in heaven), evokes a similar experience. If a socialization process depends on neutralizing the extremes, then strong violence works to the contrary, suspending rationality and offering a glimpse of the ultimate questions usually denied. The executions depicted in Guido's martyr scenes are indeed rooted in contemporaneous devotion, but concomitantly open up a world of threat and a sense of immense absence.

Returning to Guido, the panels appear to combine Franciscan piety and the local cult of the saints with a visual exposition on violence, drawn from contemporary theological and juridical discourses. Unlike later depictions stressing the *imitatio Christi* and gender transformation, here both female and male martyrs are subjected to the same play of physical versus spiritual violence.<sup>50</sup> It is intriguing that almost all the depictions are unique for the period: portraying the stigmatization of St. Francis by means of three rays was rare at that time;<sup>51</sup> the scene of St. Clare subduing the Saracens is the earliest known depiction of the episode and has almost no sequels;<sup>52</sup> the flaying of Bartholomew is among the earliest known representations of this martyrdom; and the brutal subjection of St. Catherine to the razor wheels is also a rare depiction. All the scenes thus play on the border between the familiar *legendae* of easily identified saints, and visual representations not yet rooted in conventional formulae. According to Mary Carruthers, images as mnemonic aids were stored in the memory, available for reaction.<sup>53</sup> Viewers were expected to recall the entire *passio* narrative when viewing the dramatic culmination of the saint's martyrdom. For the contemporaneous observer, the initial encounter with Guido's unique scenery, not yet encoded in a solid pictorial tradition to be enacted through memory, must have been experienced not only through the lens of the devotional cathartic inversion so cherished by Bynum but also may have elicited another set of associations—that of the contemporaneous liturgy of punitive execution, the new juridical and ethical discourses regarding the body and its violation, and daily-life realities. It is my contention that the four modes of violence—reflexive, reflective, physical, and imaginative—in Guido da Siena's panels are being addressed as a subject of artistic, devotional, and moral reflection.

## Notes

- 1 For the panel's iconography, dating, style, and ascription, see James H. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1964), 21–23. This still remains the main study on the panels and the standard interpretation. On Guido's oeuvre, see also Dieter Weidmann, *Zur Genese der Trecentomalerei in der Generation zwischen Cimabue und Giotto* (Munich: Tuduv Verlag, 1993), 61–99.
- 2 On stigmatization as a substitution for a martyrdom, see William R. Cook, "Giotto and the Figure of St. Francis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto*, ed. Anne Derbes and Mario Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 135–56.

- 3 Similar violent representations can be found in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts such as the "Menologion" of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613), c. 1000 CE. However, the variety of scenes and martyrs, as well as the narrative structure, is completely different. I am grateful to Linda Safran and Mati Meyer for bringing this to my attention.
- 4 Violence is currently a "hot topic" in late medieval studies. Earlier studies interpreted similar imagery as reflecting medieval alterity; see Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1935), 1–36; Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976), 1: 277; David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 18–40. Others have argued that this was part of the religiosity of self-inflicted pain associating, by inversion, joy, love, and redemption, for example: Caroline Walker Bynum, "Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 30 (2002): 3–36; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). Recent publications have discussed the interplay between violence imagery and the spectacle of violence in punitive judgment and the historical realities of persecutions, for example: Mitchell Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel. Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Edelgard E. DuBruck and Yael Even, eds., *Violence in Fifteenth-Century Text and Image*, *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 27 (Rochester NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2002); Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010). Others considered the visual culture of violence and its spectatorship through the lens of postmodern and feminist criticism, for example: Valentin Groebner, *Defaced. The Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Pamela Selwyn (New York: Zone Book, 2004); Robert Mills, *Suspended Animation. Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005). For a critical reading of Mills's work, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Overkill, or History that Hurts," *Common Knowledge* 13, nos. 2–3 (2007): 404–28.
- 5 Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, 21. This still remains the main study on the panels and its canonical interpretation.
- 6 Her legend was commissioned by Pope Alexander IV; see Miles Pattenden, "The Canonisation of Clare of Assisi and Early Franciscan History," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 59, no. 2 (2008): 208–26.
- 7 Tommas da Celano, *Vita Prima*, book 2, ch. 3, 94, in *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies. English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, ed. Marion A. Habig, trans. Raphael Brown et al. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973), 308–09. For a recent study on stigmatization, see Arnold Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or, How St. Francis Received the Stigmata," in Caroline A. Jones, Peter Gallison and Amy Slaton, eds., *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (London: Routledge 1998), 101–24.
- 8 "On a certain morning about the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, while Francis was praying on the mountainside, he saw a Seraph with six fiery and shining wings descend from the height of heaven. And when in swift flight the Seraph had reached a spot in the air near the man of God, there appeared between the wings the figure of a man crucified, with his hands and feet extended and fastened to a cross ... He rejoiced because of the gracious way

Christ looked upon him under the appearance of the Seraph, but the fact that he was fastened to a cross pierced his soul with a sword of compassionate sorrow.” See Bonaventure, *The Life of St. Francis*, trans. Ewert Cousins (New York: Paulist, 1978), ch. 13: 3, 305–06.

- 9 Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, 23.
- 10 There is no known literary source for this visual motif.
- 11 Paul Halsall, ed., *Medieval Sourcebook: Thomas of Celano: Lives of St. Francis*; see <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/stfran-lives.html> (accessed August 25, 2012).
- 12 For a discussion on Celano’s view on martyrdom, see John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan. A Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 65–66.
- 13 Historical evidence on the social class of the tanner is scant; most records mention that they tended to live on the peripheral parts on the cities in order to prevent water pollution. For seminal studies, see Leslie A. Clarkson, “The Organization of the English Leather Industry in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century,” *The Economic History Review* 13, no. 2 (1960): 245–56; Sarah Kay, “Original Skin: Flaying, Reading and Thinking in the Legend of Saint Bartholomew and other Works,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36, no. 1 (2006): 36–50.
- 14 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. and ed. William Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 112.
- 15 Regis Armstrong, ed., *Clare of Assisi: Early Documents* (New York: New City Press, 1993), 208.
- 16 “Saint Clare, with a fearless heart, commanded them to lead her, sick as she was, to the enemy, preceded by a silver and ivory case in which the Body of the Saint of saints was kept with great devotion ... Suddenly a voice like that of a child resounded in her ears from the tabernacle: ‘I will always protect you!’ ‘My Lord,’ she added, ‘if it is Your wish, protect also this city which is sustained by Your love.’ Christ replied, ‘It will have to undergo trials, but it will be defended by My protection.’ Then the virgin, raising a face bathed in tears, comforted the sisters: ‘I assure you, daughters, that you will suffer no evil; only have faith in Christ.’ Upon seeing the courage of the sisters, the Saracens took flight and fled back over the walls they had scaled, unnerved by the strength of she who prayed.” See Armstrong, *Clare of Assisi*, 208–09. For a discussion of her role as defender against the Saracens, see Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, “St. Clare Expelling the Saracens from Assisi: Religious Confrontation in Word and Image,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, no. 3 (2012): 643–65.
- 17 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 338.
- 18 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 339.
- 19 On the dialectics between the iconography of martyrdoms, warfare, and juridical punishment, see the seminal study by Lionello Puppi, *Torment in Art. Pain, Violence, and Martyrdom* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), 11–18.
- 20 Abend Callahan suggested that the late medieval representations of violence could be classified into three types: the “iconic” portrait, which depicts a serene martyr holding the instrument of his torment as an attribute; the “clinical” image, in which a calm and motionless martyr experiences a torture

- that resembles a contemporary medical procedure; and the “theatrical” image, in which the brutal torments are staged as a theatrical spectacle. See Abend Callahan, “The Torture of Saint Apollonia: Deconstructing Fouquet’s Martyrdom Stage,” *Studies in Iconography* 16 (1994): 119–38. Marla Carlson has suggested three models for response by fifteenth-century spectators to the tormented body of the saint: seeing the body as object; identifying with it; and entering into dialogue with it; with these, as she argued, being dependent on the spectator’s gender, they become six models; see Marla Carlson, “Spectator Responses to an Image of Violence: Seeing Apollonia,” *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 27 (2002): 7–20, esp. 7–8.
- 21 For example: cephalophoric imagery of saints delivering post-mortem their decapitated head to a chosen location could have served to create a link between the martyr and his burial church, to relate to a relic acquisition and claims, or a specific saint-cult, and to imply a continuity and miracle-working power beyond death, see S.B. Montgomery, “Mittite capud meum ... ad matrem meam ut osculetur eum: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just,” *Gesta* 36, no. 1 (1997): 48–64, esp. 53–56.
  - 22 On the problem of the reception of violence in late medieval art, see Silke Tammen, “Gewalt im Bilde: Ikonographien, Wahrnehmungen, Ästhetisierungen,” in *Gewalt im Mittelalter. Realitäten, Imaginationen*, eds. Manuel Braun and Cornelia Herberichs (Munich, Wilhelm Fink, 2005), 307–40, esp. 307–09, 321–22; Groebner, *Defaced*, 14, 23–35.
  - 23 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 1–22; Bynum, “Violent Imagery,” 31–32.
  - 24 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 31–22; Bynum, “Violent Imagery,” 31.
  - 25 See Daniel Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 15–17. According to Augustine, physical cruelty is natural to man after the Fall; see Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 22:22, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 48, ed. Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955).
  - 26 After Esther Cohen, “The Animated Pain of the Body,” *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 36–68 and 42–43.
  - 27 Tertullian, *Scorpiace* 5.6–8, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 2, ed. August Reifferscheid and Georg Wissowa (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 1077–78.
  - 28 Jerome, *Epistulae*, 40.1, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 54, ed. Isidore Hilberg (Leipzig: Freytag, 1910), 309, 495.
  - 29 *Philopassionism*, as coined by Esther Cohen, was aimed at invoking physical sensation because it was considered useful, not pleasurable, paving the path to salvation. For a discussion on suffering and pleasure, see Esther Cohen, “Towards a History of European Physical Sensibility. Pain in the Later Middle Ages,” *Science in Context* 9, no. 1 (1995): 56–62; Cohen, “The Animated Pain of the Body,” 36–68; and Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls. Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 89. The literature on the late medieval body in pain is vast; I refer here only to the most recent publications; see Jas Frans van Dijkhuizen and Karl A.E. Enenkel, eds., *The Sense of Suffering. Construction of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). A useful standard work is that by Wolfgang Böhme and Martina Wehrli-Johns, eds., *Lerne leiden: Leidensbewältigung in der Mystik* (Karlsruhe: Evangelischen Akademie Bad Herrenalb, 1985).

- 30 On the re-emergence of cruelty, see Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty*, 20–24. On Aquinas's attitude toward sensory pain, see Etienne Gilson, *The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Edward Bullough (New York: Dorset Press, 1929), 204–20; Brian Davies, *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 207–26; Daniel Baraz, "Seneca, Ethics, and the Body. The Treatment of Cruelty in Medieval Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 2 (1998): 196–202.
- 31 Cohen, "Towards a History of European Physical Sensibility," 57.
- 32 See *Summa contra gentiles* 2:67–72 (Rome: Editio Leonina, 1934), especially 2:71: "ostensum est enim [cf. chs. 68, 70] quod anima unitur corpori ut forma eius."
- 33 Edelgard E. DuBruck, "Violence and Late Medieval Justice," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 27 (2002): 56–67.
- 34 See Groebner, *Defaced*, 14–18.
- 35 See Cohen, "The Animated Pain of the Body," 61–63; Cohen, "Pain in the Late Middle Ages," *Zmanim* 78 (2002): 28 (Hebrew).
- 36 See DuBruck, "Violence and Late Medieval Justice," 56–59;
- 37 In most cases, the flaying penalty was not carried out; see William J.R. Barron, "The Penalties for Treason in Medieval Life and Literature," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 190–93.
- 38 See Mills, *Suspended Animation*, 64–68. Sarah Kay also discuss the skin as a site of identity interrelated to the body of Christ, and the preparation of parchment with his blood as ink and the wounds as brushes; see Kay, "Original Skin," 36–50.
- 39 Barron, "The Penalties for Treason," 197. Flaying was especially connected to juridical injustice and prevarication, as in the story of the corrupt Persian judge, Sisamnes, who was flayed and whose skin was stretched on the throne on which the following judge—his son—sat. The story entered many medieval accounts; see Hugo van der Velden, "Cambyzes for Example: The Origin and Function of an *Exemplum Iustitiae* in Netherlandish Art of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Simiolus* 23 (1995): 5–39.
- 40 The first to note the equivalence between juridical progress and late medieval imagery was Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., *Pictures and Punishment. Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 21–58; for a critical essay on the relation between the civic juridical process and the tortured body of Christ, see Valentin Groebner, "'Abbild' und 'Marter'." *Das Bild des Gekreuzigten und die städtische Strafgewalt*," in *Kulturelle Reformation. Sinnformationen im Umbruch 1400–1600*, eds. B. Jussen and C. Koslowsky (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 225–34; Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 126–57.
- 41 On the *pittura infamante*, see Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 59–90; Gherardo Ortalli, *La pittura infamante nei secoli XIII–XVI* (Rome: Società Editoriale Jouvence, 1979).
- 42 Thirty-seven exemplars of the chronicles are known, richly ornamented. The last line of the first page testifies that it was translated into French by the Carmelite monk Gloein in 1369. See Thomas M. Antoine, "Un manuscrit de Charles V au Vatican. Notice suivie d'une étude sur les traductions françaises de Bernard Gui," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1 (1881): 259–83. For English translation and introduction, see "Les Fleurs des Croniques: An Edition with Introduction and Commentary," ed. Th. J. Coffey (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1974).

- 43 Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, *Les Fleurs des Chroniques*, MS 677, fols. 76v, 88v, 96v, 107, 122v, respectively.
- 44 Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 157.
- 45 Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 125–57 and 298–303.
- 46 I have borrowed these psychoanalytical categories from recent media studies; see Devin McKinney, "Violence: The Strong and the Weak," *Film Quarterly* 46, no. 5 (1993): 16–17, 19–21.
- 47 Both viewed violence as an impulse of nature; see Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1, 21–23; Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, 1: 277; Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 102.
- 48 Linda Williams, "Film Bodies: Gender, Genre, and Excess," *Film Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1991): 2–13.
- 49 Mills defined the suffering of the damned in Hell according to St. Augustine as "suspension in death," namely, in the process of dying for eternity; see Mills, *Suspended Animation*, 93.
- 50 Female martyrs underwent a transgender metamorphosis, culminating in the mutilation of their sexual organs and their depiction as emotionless *in forma crucis*—epitomizing thereby the idea of the *imitatio Christi*. Although experiencing extreme violence and mutilation, their bodies never appear injured in the monumental art, and their expressions remain placid. In their *vitae*, it was not only their body that was masculinized but also their *anima*, expressed in their impassibility, apathy, and eloquent oratory; their decapitation—practically enforced silencing—reflects the poor attempt by the persecutor to bring this inversion of gender function to an end; see Madeline Harrison Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages. Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 83–124; Martha Easton, "Saint Agatha and the Sanctification of Sexual Violence," in *Studies in Iconography* 16 (1994): 83–118; Elizabeth Robertson, "The Corporeality of Female Sanctity in the Life of Saint Margaret," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 268–87; Jane Tibbets Schulenberg, "The Heroics of Virginity. The Brides of Christ and Sacrificial Mutilation," in *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Literary and Historic Perspectives*, ed. Mary Beth Rose (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 29–72; Alison Stones, "Nipples, Entrails, Severed Heads, and Skin Devotional Images for Madame Marie," in *Image and Belief. Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 47–70.
- 51 There are only a few similar depictions dated from the mid-thirteenth century, and they are not found again until the fourteenth century, see Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, 22.
- 52 I am grateful to Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, for drawing my attention to the idiosyncrasy of this iconography; see Servus Gieben, "L'iconografia di Chiara d'Assisi," in *Chiara d'Assisi. Atti del Convegno XX Centro Internazionale, Assisi 15–17 ottobre 1991* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1992), 189–236; Gieben's article with the same title in *Italia Francescana* 68 (1993): 7–100; Dominique Rigaux, "Claire d'Assise: Naissance d'une image XIIIe–Xve siècles," in *Sainte Claire d'Assise et sa postérité: Actes du colloque international organisé à*

*l'occasion du VIII<sup>e</sup> centenaire de la naissance de sainte Claire*, ed. Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichonet et al. (Nantes: Desclée, 1995), 155–85; and William R. Cook, “The Early Images of St. Clare of Assisi,” in *Clare of Assisi: A Medieval and Modern Woman*, ed. Ingrid Peterson (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1996), 15–29.

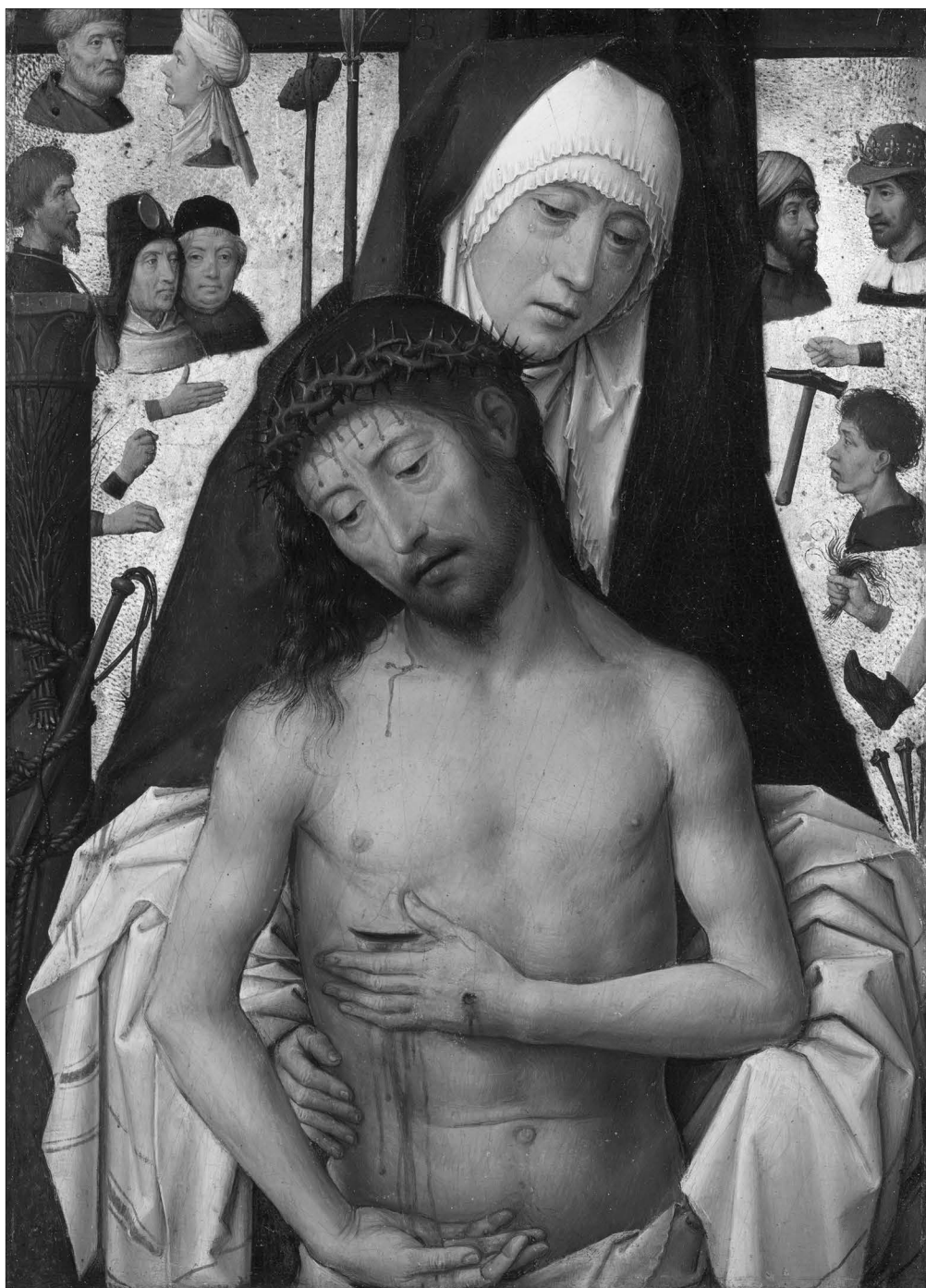
- 53 Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 222.

## The Suffering Christ and Visual Mnemonics in Netherlandish Devotions

Mitzi Kirkland-Ives

The most widely deployed broken body in the European tradition, the body of Christ appeared throughout the late medieval and early modern periods in a range of visual, literary, and dramatic traditions, and served an array of purposes—social, political, juridical, theological, and devotional, among others. One such devotional deployment is exemplified by a panel attributed to Hans Memling now preserved in the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne (Figure 2.1).<sup>1</sup> Christ's broken and bloodied body is gently cradled by his weeping mother, who wraps a striped white cloth around his torso. The dark blue triangle of her robed body is topped by her bright white wimple; a small brown cloth that frames her grieving face seemingly hangs from the top member of a wooden cross behind the figures, blocking view of the upright beam of the cross. Here Christ appears as the *Schmerzensmann*, the *imago pietatis* or Man of Sorrows, both alive and dead, displaying the outcome of his torture and death in the arms of his mother in a manner reminiscent of both the Pietà and the Trinitarian *Gnadenstule*—the “seat of mercy.”<sup>2</sup> This form of Christ appears to have emerged around 1400 and was connected by legend to a miraculous Byzantine image of Christ preserved at San Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome, which in turn was associated with the legend—also late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century—of the Mass of Saint Gregory, in which, during the celebration of the Good Friday mass, a vision of the crucified Christ appeared to the pope as verification of the miracle of transubstantiation.<sup>3</sup> This evocative topic itself clearly dwells in the complex territory between icon and narrative, as the suffering Christ and his mother have been distilled out of the larger chronological narrative context of the Passion and adapted into something less firmly tied to scripture. This *Andachtsbild* is but one example of a genre of extra-narrative devotional images that cobble together and conflate a number of themes into a single image that is not only beyond the confines of the narrative but narratively impossible.<sup>4</sup>





2.1 Hans Memling, *The Man of Sorrows in the Arms of the Virgin*,  
1475 or 1479, oil and gold leaf on wood panel, 27.4 × 19.9 cm  
(National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne acc. no. 1335-3)

Rendered in Memling's characteristically decorous style, the treatment here goes far beyond the basic requirements of the replication of the famed icon in Rome (as seen in Israhel van Meckenem's well-known indulgence print), instead displaying a host of additional visual details and mnemonic prompts.<sup>5</sup> Christ appears with the crown of thorns still firmly pressed into his flesh, rivulets and shiny droplets of blood streaming down his forehead towards his eyes, briefly arrested by his furrowed brow; a stream of blood continues down his neck towards his breast, pooling in the depression above his clavicle before continuing on its course. He reaches weakly with one hand to the flow of blood from the wound in his side—as much an effort to display it as to halt it—gingerly lifting an index finger to allow the viewer visual access to the broken flesh, at which Christ himself also gazes. The blood streams across the fold of his abdomen and into his other cupped hand resting limply against his hip. The green cast of his flesh and bluish lips contrast with the pink skin of his mother above, as the crimped fabric of her wimple and the large shiny tears coursing down both of her cheeks visually echo the crown of thorns and drops of blood on his forehead juxtaposed nearby.

The background of this painting, furthermore, appears as a shining gold field against which the *arma Christi*—the weapons and other instruments used during Christ's Passion—and other devices float: a catalogue of devices familiar to the Christian devotee, such as the cross itself, the varied whips (here a switch made from branches and a cat of nine tails are specified) and the column against which Christ was bound and scourged, the hammer and nails, the lance and sponge of vinegar.<sup>6</sup> Floating busts of key players in the Passion narrative spur memories of specific episodes of the infliction of pain, humiliation, and torture: Peter with Caiaphas' servant who recognized him, the red-haired Judas with his purse of coins, the high priests Annas and Caiaphas, Pilate and Herod, and individual disembodied limbs striking out and gesturing: viewers recognize a lock of hair that has been torn from Christ's head, a kicking foot, various slapping hands, insulting gestures, and spitting faces.

Such a catalogue-like approach to imagery might appear eccentric to the modern viewer, perhaps dismissed as a pictorial failure by the terms of art historical narratives that relate an ever-increasing sense of illusionism over the course of fifteenth-century painting, privileging Albertian *istoria* and Aristotelian unities. This constellation of elements seemingly emancipated from narrative context serves, however, as a collection both of icons and of memory prompts recalling moments from the extended Passion narrative, drawing out each individual painful episode for explicit consideration. This chapter seeks to explore the apprehension of such vividly graphic images by their viewership in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by considering them in the context of concrete devotional practice. Clearly, the distillation of the Passion and similar narratives into the individual elements seen in such topics as the *arma Christi* facilitated their service as mnemonic devices,

through which the narratives involved were re-constructed in the devotee's imagination. An examination of the body of devotional literature dedicated to the Passion and the relationship between these texts and analogous images in a selection of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prayer books from the Low Countries provides an example of how an image such as Memling's would have operated, underlining the implicit narrative and experiential character of the negotiation between the Christian devotee and the devotional object of the broken body of Christ, and how more brutal and graphic examples of the same topic deployed the explicit sense of pain and endured savagery in these images to devotional ends.

Over the course of the medieval period an increasing volume of literature appeared dedicated to aiding the reader in a vivid (and potentially lurid) imaginative reconstruction of biblical narratives, especially the events of Christ's life, Passion, and death. Even in early works such as the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi* and Ludolfus of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, readers were encouraged to experience the narrative personally, and to imagine themselves as witnessing or even participating in the unfolding drama.<sup>7</sup> This drive towards a devotional experience as commensurate as possible with the Passion of Christ plays into a wider trend of meditational practice among both clerics and the laity in the late Middle Ages. Through the *Meditationes* and similar texts, readers were encouraged to visualize the events and experience the setting, to listen to the words and sounds of the action, and to deeply empathize with characters within the narrative. Ludolfus of Saxony, for example, exhorts his readers to imagine events as if they were experienced personally, as illustrated by a passage from the *Vita Christi*, appearing in the section of the Prologue headed "Method with which to meditate on the Passion of Christ":

And thus, although many of these things are told as in the past, you should meditate on all of them as if they were in the present; because without doubt you will taste a greater pleasantness from this. Therefore, read about what was done as if it were being done. Place before your eyes past actions as if they were present, and thus to a great extent you will taste things as more savoury and delightful.<sup>8</sup>

Such episodic texts concerning the Passion proliferated in the late medieval period, including hybrid texts such as the Bonaventuran-Ludolfian lives of Christ that appeared around 1400 and Heinrich van Suso's *Hundred Articles of the Passion*, both in its original 1330s form and various translations.<sup>9</sup> Like Ludolfus, in his *Meditations on the Passion* the Augustinian author Jordanus van Quedlinburg arranged a set of meditations around the liturgical hours, while the Carthusian Dominic of Prussia in the early fifteenth century composed a rosary cycle of fifty points based on the Life and Passion of Christ.<sup>10</sup> Through such works devotees sought to re-imagine the events of the Gospels in as vividly detailed a manner as possible, to evoke in themselves feelings of deep compassion (which

doubtless bordered, frequently, on horror and anguish), and to implicate themselves into the narrative in *imitatio* and in an *actus conformationis* with Christ's suffering.

The body of devotional literature dedicated to the Passion encouraged readers to imagine the stories considered in as detailed and vivid a manner as possible, leading readers through a carefully organized narrative meditation. While Ludolfus may have encouraged readers to enjoy his *Vita Christi* narrative in a manner "savoury and delightful," in the later Middle Ages more violent and graphic aspects of the sacred stories in particular became widespread. The Dutch-language translations and adaptations of Suso's *Hundred Articles of the Passion*, for example, remained popular, arranging over a series of days contemplations on individual episodes and details from the Passion narrative.<sup>11</sup> In the meditation scheduled for Monday for Prime, for example, one version of the text, preserved in a manuscript from the cloister of Sint-Hieronymusdal at Sint-Truiden, praises Christ for his enduring of a number of catalogued trials to his various senses:

Our most beloved Lord Jesus Christ, they led you out of the city and hanged you on the gallows of the cross between two murderers, so that your death should appear shameful. There from bitter pain your clear eyes were darkened. Your holy divine ears were befouled with mockery and with slander. Your noble sense of smell was breathed into by foul stench. Your sweet mouth was fed with bitter drink. They beat you, wounded you, and they cruelly tore your tender flesh so that the streams of your blessed blood that followed webbed and entirely covered your holy tender body.<sup>12</sup>

Myriad text and prayer cycles emerged that structured such devotions, arranging the devotee's imagined narrative rehearsal of the Passion around various armatures: the Five Wounds of Christ, the Seven Effusions of Blood, the Seven Falls, the Sorrows of the Virgin, and, naturally, the Stations of the Cross. Introducing the Seven Falls of Christ, for example, a representative text explains,

Here begin seven remarkable devout prayers with which to revere the seven separate and most difficult and painful falls of our Lord that he fell at seven hours in his holy Passion; reading these with devotion and compassion earns much grace. O dear lord Jesus Christ I thank you for the painful blows that you received on my behalf, pushed from the bridge so disrespectfully and contemptuously into the creek Cedron, and dragged through it so contemptuously.<sup>13</sup>

The prayer continues to consider the Falls of Christ in order, addressing Christ at each point: at Herod's palace as he suffers a variety of abuses to all of his faculties (including being trampled underfoot and trumpets blasted in his ears, "daer sij v hooft ende sinnen seer mede ghepijnicht hebben" (which caused you great pain to your head and to your senses), on the steps in front of Pilate's mansion where he is unjustly judged, after he is whipped while bound to the column, and he carries the cross.<sup>14</sup> A sixth fall is described as Christ is forced to the ground to be nailed to the cross, and a last fall occurs during the raising of the cross:

And I pray to you for the painful fall when you were raised upon the cross, and the wicked Jews let you so cruelly fall again with the cross, so that your holy face was impressed unto the earth, and so that your veins split and your sinews burst; and it was the most suffering that you experienced on the earth.<sup>15</sup>

As in the other meditations already discussed, the Passion narrative was recalled here with a wealth of evocative and often lurid mnemonic prompts for readers, who could follow Christ's movements and abuses in their minds and imagine in vivid detail the physical experience of Christ's suffering.

As with the Stations of the Cross devotions that developed during the same era, over time a range of visual and physical aids appeared to assist devotions to the Falls of Christ, providing material to enrich these imaginative exercises through explicit imagery and through somatic and haptic elements in which the physical suffering of Christ could be bodily imitated.<sup>16</sup> Near the end of the fifteenth century, for example, installations of sculptures and paintings of the Seven Falls of Christ were erected along paths and within churchyards in Germany and the Low Countries, and simpler two-dimensional versions appeared as well. In a vividly hand-colored woodcut likely produced in Nuremberg in the last years of the fifteenth century, for example, viewers are confronted with a depiction of each of the Seven Falls of Christ accompanied by a short inscription identifying each individual event (Figure 2.2).<sup>17</sup> The vignette entitled, "*Der anderen val do der her in der gasen under vil von herodes zo pilato gefur,*" for example, depicts the second Fall in which Christ falls in the street while led en route from Herod's mansion to the Praetorium of Pilate. Christ, burdened by two spike-blocks and a metal chain around his neck, falls face-first into the ground, his hands bound behind his back with a length of rope, the ends of which are being forcefully tugged in opposite directions by two soldiers.<sup>18</sup> Another soldier blasts a trumpet directly towards Christ's head as a number of other soldiers watch on. In the background John and Mary watch as the scene unfolds, a sword of sorrow projecting from her torso—thus a combination of the Falls with another popular devotional construction, the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin (indeed, the title of the woodcut sheet announces this: "*O mensch betracht dy siben vell Cristi und dy siben hertenlaydt marie*" (O, man, contemplate the seven falls of Christ and the seven heart-aches of Mary)). In the depiction of the fourth Fall, "*Der iiii val do det herr gayselt wa machtlos inn vil von der Seule*" (the fourth Fall in which the lord was whipped and powerless fell before the column), the rope binding Christ to the column of the flagellation has snapped and his nude body has collapsed and lies supine upon the ground. As presumably Pilate and an advisor look on, three soldiers continue their torment; one continues to enthusiastically beat Christ as the other two handle the frayed rope and the column itself; each holds a different type of whip: two are composed of reeds and sticks, while another whip is a cat of

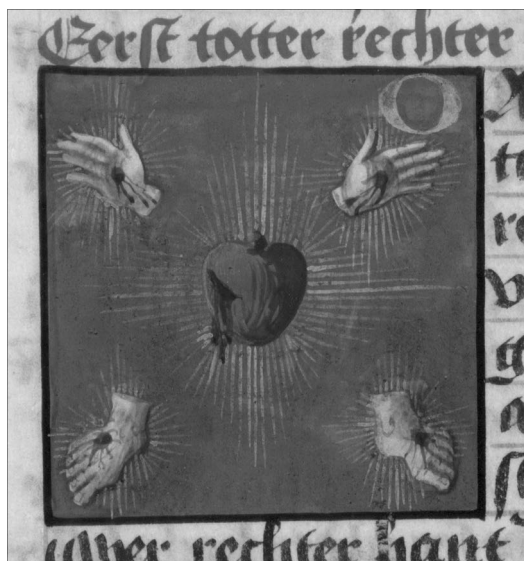


nine tails. A fourth whip, apparently constructed from metal chains, lies on the floor alongside the end of the rope still attached to Christ's wrist. The sequence of Falls concludes with a depiction of the Mass of Saint Gregory surrounded by, like Memling's Christ, the *arma Christi* with such additional devices as the heart of Christ and the *sudarium*—the cloth with which Veronica wiped Christ's face as he carried the cross to Calvary, miraculously imprinting it with his features—included as antependium decorations: this is a concise reference to a broader catalogue of torments. Viewers of such series of prints and illuminations would have been able to consider each in sequence, imagining the narrative detail of one scene in depth before proceeding mentally to the moment and *locus* of the subsequent episode.

Similarly, the texts and images that emerged in commemoration of the “Bloetstoringhen”—the Effusions of Christ's Blood—further demonstrate the extent of the graphic character of many such prayer cycles.<sup>19</sup> In a collection of prayer tracts, a sequence is introduced, “Hier na volghen die xv bloetstoringhen ons liefs Heeren Iesu Christi” (here follow the fifteen effusions of the blood of our dear Lord Jesus Christ); the prayers recount each episode in some detail, from the Circumcision, through Gethsemane and the remaining numerous injuries received during the Passion (ending with the spear-wound received from Longinus), including separate treatments for each nail driven through his extremities.

2.2 “The Seven Falls of Christ,” late fifteenth century, hand-colored woodcut, Nuremburg (?)

(Albertina, Vienna. Inv. DG1930/70)



2.3 "The Five Wounds of Christ," late fifteenth century, manuscript illumination, Dendermonde (?)

(Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 1, fol. 20r)

The tenth Effusion of Blood. I thank you blessed lord Jesus Christ that you shed your holy precious blood when the wicked Jews struck your left hand up against the cross with your body so hard that all of the sinews and veins of your body broke; when they nailed your left hand to the cross, the nail was very plump and large and did you such great distress that your holy blood spurted out onto the Jews.<sup>20</sup>

While the Seven Falls, the Effusions of Blood, and, of course, the better-known Stations of the Cross are explicitly episodic and narrative, other less overtly narrative visual motifs are found in conjunction with texts that suggest how these more iconic images were received in a narrative fashion.<sup>21</sup> In one volume of a late fifteenth-century set of prayer books traced to a Bridgettine cloister in Dendermonde, the

reader encounters a memorable inset historiated initial depicting the pierced and bleeding holy heart surrounded by Christ's disembodied and wounded limbs; each bleeding limb floats with its own set of gilded rays against a flat blue-grey background (Figure 2.3).<sup>22</sup> The text it introduces reads:

Here follow devout prayers to the five wounds of our dear lord Jesus Christ that lead to all of our salvation. First to the right hand of Christ: O most benevolent lord Jesus Christ to the praise and glory of the most holy wound of your right hand. Through this holy wound, so forgive me all of my sins that I have committed, as with thoughtful words and deeds and with the neglect of myself in evil pleasures, sleeping or awake, knowingly or unknowingly. And on account of your bitter Passion, so let me commemorate your bitter death and your holy sufferings and your most holy wounds.<sup>23</sup>

The remainder of a prayer in praise of the wounded right hand in question follows, followed in turn by individual prayers considering the wounded left hand and each of Christ's feet:

O dear lord Jesus Christ praise and respect to you a hundred thousand-fold for the wounds of your left foot. And on account of these holy wounds please give me grace and forgiveness of all my sins. That I may deserve your help, in undergoing the ordeal of abuses; And on account of your bitter passion so let me receive your praiseworthy body and your precious blood in respect for your praiseworthy name and to the salvation of my soul.<sup>24</sup>

Returning to the *arma Christi*, one finds that the motif is used in such prayer texts in very similar circumstances, as prayer cycles dedicated specifically to the *arma Christi* developed in the late Middle Ages as well, doubtlessly connected to the flowering cult of relics. In the twelfth century Egbert von Schönau praised them in a meditation, and in the fifteenth century no less

a scholar than Thomas à Kempis lavished attention upon a veritable catalogue of objects considered.<sup>25</sup> Visual aids for such devotions emerged as well: for example, in the third volume of the same prayer book set from Dendermonde one finds an image rather similar to Memling's *Man of Sorrows* panel in Melbourne (Figure 2.4). The facing page introduces the associated text: "So who reads this, before the arms of our lord with contrition of his sins, the following prayers, he earns from the Pope one hundred and sixty thousand, one hundred and sixty years and 184 days (out of purgatory)—the sum of Saint Gregory."<sup>26</sup> Christ as the Man of Sorrows, as if revealed by parted curtains, stands upright in the



sepulchre surrounded by elements of the *arma Christi*: the column of the flagellation, two forms of whips, the hammer and three nails, dice, a lamp, the spear and the vinegar sponge, jars of salve, and the ladder used in the Deposition tucked in behind the left curtain. The prayer itself begins directly to the right of the image: "O Lord Jesus Christ, I pray to you, hanging on the holy cross and wearing on your head a Crown of Thorns. I pray of you that your cross might protect me from the persecuting angel."<sup>27</sup> The text found here is the start of an apparently ancient cycle of prayers on the Passion attributed, like many others, to Pope Gregory the Great (sometimes attributed as author, sometimes simply cited as the first to have offered an indulgence in connection to the prayers; variants of the cycle appear with five, seven, and up to ten prayers).<sup>28</sup> The prayer continues to consider in turn Christ on the cross, his individual wounds, Christ's death and entombment, the harrowing of Hell, and the Ascension. Notably, the objects cited in these prayers—the cross, the crown of thorns, the gall and vinegar he was offered as drink, the aromatic embalming salves, burial shroud and the sepulchre—provide a substantial starting inventory of the contents of the *arma Christi* image. Gregory's seven prayers here appear in convenient pairing with the so-called Gregorian *Schmerzensmann* image: an indulgenced image wedded to a fitting prayer cycle.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, in the first volume of the set we find essentially the same prayers accompanied by a fuller miniature of the miracle of the Mass of Saint Gregory itself, a topic that overtly ties together the *arma Christi* indulgence with the original Gregory legend (Figure 2.5). Inset within the beautiful Ghent-Bruges style floral border, as the pope kneels before the altar, the battered figure of the Man of Sorrows appears to have come to life before the grisaille backdrop of an *arma Christi* altarpiece, standing upright in a now three-dimensional sepulchre.<sup>30</sup>

2.4 "The Man of Sorrows with the *Arma Christi*," late fifteenth century, manuscript illumination, Dendermonde (?)

(Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 3, fols. 40v–41)





2.5 "The Mass of Saint Gregory with the Man of Sorrows,"  
late fifteenth century, manuscript illumination, Dendermonde (?)

(Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 3, fol. 65v)



2.6 "The Mass of Saint Gregory," 1505, woodcut, from *Dits een boecxkē vā goed' deuociē en een oefeninge. Hoemē God biddē sal en om sijn passie te ouerdencken*, Leiden

(Leiden University Library, Print Collection, 1371 G34)

A similar treatment is found in printed works of the same era. Considering an example in a prayer tract bundle in Leiden, a printed woodcut image of the same topic of the Mass of St. Gregory is again paired with a version of the Pseudo-Gregorian prayers, as the components of the *arma Christi* have spread out beyond the altarpiece and annexed the surrounding space (Figure 2.6).<sup>31</sup> The individual prayers in this example are somewhat abbreviated, but an additional two prayers to the Passion have been appended to the end of the text, for a total of nine. The same tract, however, demonstrates that the *arma Christi* with Man of Sorrows motif is found in a variety of contexts: the frontispiece to the volume as a whole depicts Christ standing before the sepulcher, embracing the cross and the scourging column while holding two separate whips, surrounded by a range of other Passion devices (Figure 2.7). The accompanying text informs us, "This is a little book of good devotions. How one should pray to God and how to contemplate upon his Passion." The text that follows introduces an exercise on the Holy Cross (introduced by a narrative image of the Crucifixion with Mary and John the Disciple), a sequence on the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, one on the Passion divided into seven days—each day with its own exercises—and several others: thus the *arma Christi* imagery here serves as a devotional aid for any number of more narratively focused Passion-based meditations.

Likewise, in a similar printed manual, the Man of Sorrows with *arma Christi* appears as frontispiece for a well-known "virtual pilgrimage" text, entitled



"Een devote meditatie op die passie ons heeren ende van plaetse tot plaetse dye mate gestelt daer onse lieve here voor ons gheleden lef met dye figuren ende schone oracien daer op dienende" (A devout meditation on the Passion of our lord and how our dear lord was led from place to place where our dear lord suffered for us, with the figures and beautiful prayers to serve this meditation) (Figure 2.8). The text begins:

If you wish to go to the mount of Calvary, then contemplate devoutly in your heart that before you, you see the abused, bloody Jesus walking laden with the heavy beam of the cross and bent down heavily toward the ground and falling with his crowned head onto the hard stones.<sup>32</sup>

What follows is a devotion divided up among the days of the week, with accompanying narrative images: "Monday: item, first from the house where our dear lord ate his last supper with all his dear apostles, to the mount of Olives. That measures thirty-five hundred ells. Offer here devoutly a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria." The text continues on to introduce each episode site by site, providing distances between one and the next: where Christ left the sleeping disciples, where he prayed in Gethsemane, where he encountered Judas, and where he was arrested. Later in the week some abbreviated and iconic pictorial images are introduced; during Thursday's recounting of the carrying of the cross the *sudarium* appears as a supplement to a more narrative pictorial treatment of the encounter



(top left) 2.7 "The Man of Sorrows with the Arma Christi," 1505, woodcut, frontispiece to *Dits een boecxkē vā goed' deuociē en een oefeninge. Hoemē God biddē sal en om sijn passie te ouerdencken*, Leiden

(Leiden University Library, Print Collection, 1371. G34)

(bottom left) 2.8 "The Man of Sorrows with the Arma Christi," woodcut, from *Een devote meditatie op die passie ons liefs heeren ...* (Antwerp, 1551)

(Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 3743/2)

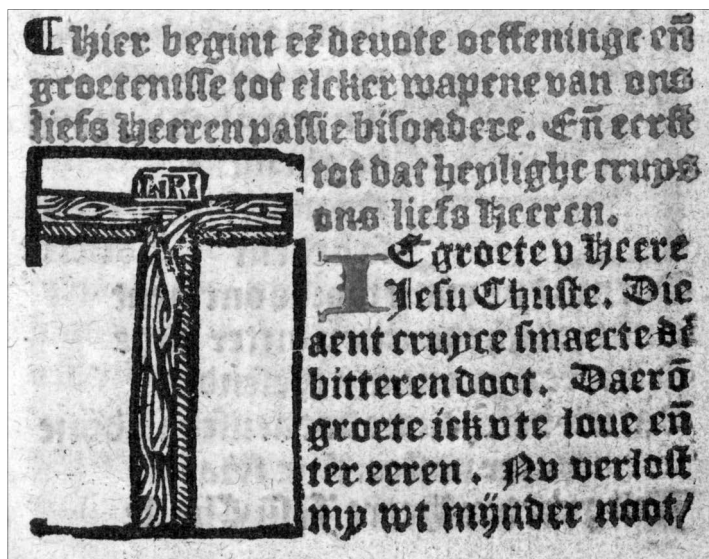


2.9 *Sudarium* with instruments of the Passion and rosary, woodcut, from *Een devote meditatie op die passie ons liefs heeren ...* (Antwerp, 1551)

(Leiden University Library, Print Collection HS LTK 237)

with Veronica, and on the Friday, after a narrative treatment of the crucifixion itself, a prayer to be said in front of the holy cross is accompanied by a lone image of the cross. Inserted into the middle of a set of manuscript prayers we find a printed edition of a closely related text, the “Indulgence of Calvary” virtual pilgrimage guide attributed to one Heer Bethlehem, “Dit is den Aflaet vander Heiligher stadt van Calvarien.”<sup>33</sup> Here the same topic of the *sudarium* used to illuminate the carrying of the cross is embellished into a merging of the *sudarium*, the five wounds, the *arma Christi*, and rosary imagery (Figure 2.9).<sup>34</sup>

The *arma Christi* motif thus appears to have served as a flexible mnemonic image with which prayers and meditations on any number of Passion-related topics could be efficiently embellished and extended; it was a way in which the individual narrative episodes of the torments of Christ could be presented to the viewer in a single dense image. Over time texts considering the individual instruments of the Passion in turn appeared, with each object involved “unpacked,” receiving individualized textual and pictorial attention. One printed version introduces itself: “Hier begint een devote oeffeninge ende groetenisse tot elcker wapene van ons liefs heeren passie bisondere” (Here begins a devout exercise and praise of each separate instrument of our lord’s Passion). This introduction is followed by rhyming prayers to each of the individual instruments of the



2.10 The Cross, woodcut, from *Ortulus anime in duytsche, met die getijden vander weken* (Antwerp, c. 1550)

(Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent 3743/4)



2.11 Instruments of the Passion, woodcut, from *Ortulus anime in duytsche, met die getijden vander weken* (Antwerp, c. 1550)

(Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent 3743/4)

Passion accompanied by a bordered woodcut illustration, beginning with an isolated tau-cross with the *titulus* (Figure 2.10):

And firstly to the holy cross of our dear Lord. I greet you lord Jesus Christ. Who on the cross suffered a bitter death. For that I greet you out of praise and in honor. Now deliver me from my plight. I pray to you lord my request, that your cross and your blood, rescue me from the den of Hell, and remain for all time my preservation.<sup>35</sup>

This prayer concludes with a Pater Noster and Ave Maria, and then continues to consider in sequence the *sudarium* of Veronica, again with rhyming lines. The prayers that follow consider in rhyming text and depict in imagery, in turn, the cloak and the dice with which the soldiers gambled for it, the lantern and torches used at the arrest in Gethsemane, the column and whips, and the crown of thorns and levers used to install it (Figure 2.11): “I greet you Lord Jesus Christ/With the crown of thorns pressed into your head/that I a sinner of small person/to be sure very flawed; Your holy blood spurted outwards/from your head in seventy-two places/O Lord I have now seen you/Show me your mercy.”<sup>36</sup> The prayer continues on to the five wounds, the ladder and tongs used by Joseph of Arimathea to remove Jesus from the cross, the gall and vinegar Christ drank, the nails and hammer used to affix him to the cross, and finally the sepulcher and shroud. This sequence is followed by a short succession of narrative recollections of key moments in the Passion narrative starting with the Last Supper and prayer in Gethsemane and finishing with the Crucifixion, with special attention paid to the five wounds. The *arma Christi* here serves, like the imagery considered earlier, as a mnemonic armature for a fuller and more narrative treatment of the Passion as meditational material.

The late medieval and early modern artist was, as Baxandall has so well described, a “professional visualizer of the holy stories,” providing works to aid the imaginative devotional efforts of Christian votaries: avid amateurs in the same practice as they recalled the narratives from the scriptures—especially the Passion of Christ—in vivid and explicit detail.<sup>37</sup> We might understand Memling’s painting of the Man of Sorrows and the instruments of the Passion as a “deluxe edition” of those more modest renderings of the same topics found within the manuscripts and tracts examined here, as its users could have brought any number of these and similar devotions to bear on the work. The graphic depictions considered here of violent topics including the Seven Falls of Christ, the *arma Christi*, the *Bloetstortinghen*, and the Man of Sorrows were experienced by early modern viewers not as “mere images” but as catalogues of material that assisted their viewers in a variety of extended devotional exercises that involved time and process: a practice that paired these visual responses to the narratives invoked with a rich literary tradition that was likewise geared toward a detailed recollection of the torture and death of Christ and, ultimately, to fostering a sense of devotional *medelijden* and *medevormicheit*: *compassio* and *conformitas*.



## Notes

- 1 Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, acc. no. 1335–3. See Dirk de Vos, *Hans Memling: Het Volledige Oeuvre* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds Paribas, 1994), 136–38. De Vos suggests that this panel once served as the corpus of a triptych completed by panels of angels holding the sword of the Last Judgment and an olive branch, respectively (Wallace Collection, London, inv. P.528. and Louvre inv. R.F. 1993–1): he notes, further, that the topic of the Man of Sorrows flanked by the angels of the lily and sword became popular in German-speaking lands in the mid-fifteenth century; Memling's exchange of the lily for an olive branch, he notes, is surprising, and perhaps inspired by Sienese treatments. See de Vos, 162.
- 2 As de Vos notes, "Dit iconografisch type, waarbij de Man van Smarten—Christus die zijn lijden aan de gelovig toont—door Maria gedragen wordt, is niet zo frequent. Het is in feite een fusie van de mariale Piëta, waar Maria haar dode zoon op haar schoot omhelst, en de Triniteitspiëta, waar God de Vader Christus na diens kruisdood voor zich vasthoudt" (This iconographic type, in which the Man of Sorrows—Christ displaying his wounds to the faithful—is held by Mary, is not so frequent. It is in fact a fusion of the Marian Pieta, in which Mary embraces her son upon her lap, and the Trinitarian Pieta, where God the Father holds the dead Christ before him). See de Vos, *Hans Memling*, 136. For a thorough overview of the history of the *arma Christi* motif see also Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 3, no. 6 (1955): 35–152; Robert Suckale, "Arma Christi: Überlegungen zur zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 6 (1977): 177–208.
- 3 Gertrud Schiller, "The 'Arma Christi' and Man of Sorrows," in *Iconography of Christian Art* (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), 199–200.
- 4 See Panofsky's discussion of narrative *Historienbilder*, devotional *Andachtsbilder*, and cultic *Repräsentationsbilder* as well as the complex host of scholarly responses to this taxonomy. Erwin Panofsky, "'Imago Pietatis.' Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Mediatrix,'" in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig: Seeman, 1927), 261–308; Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, 2nd ed. (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 1984); Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion* (New Rochelle NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1990), 29–65. Responses have also focused on the "Man of Sorrows" motif in particular: Michael Camille, "Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages: A Double-Sided Panel by Meister Francke," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, eds. A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos and R.M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 183–210; Bernhard Ridderbos, "The Man of Sorrows: Pictorial Images and Metaphorical Statements," in *The Broken Body*, 145–82.
- 5 On the icon in Rome and early responses to it, see Carlo Bertelli, "The Image of Pity in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolph Wittkower*, eds. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton Lewine (London: Phaidon, 1967), 40–55; Josef Anton Endres, "Die Darstellung der Gregorius-Messe im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Christliches Kunst* 30, no. 11/12 (1917): 146–56; Romuald Bauerreiss, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ: Ein frühes eucharistisches Bild und seine Auswirkung," in *Pro Mundi Vita. Festschrift zum Eucharistischen Weltkongress 1960* (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1960), 49–67.

- 6 For a literal presentation of these “arms” in a print close to Memling’s composition, see the Monogrammist F’s print of the same topic (one exemplar is preserved as British Museum 1861,1109.637).
- 7 Mary Bodenstedt, *Praying the Life of Christ: First English Translation of the Prayers Concluding the 181 Chapters of the Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian: The Quintessence of His Devout Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Analecta Cartusiana 15 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1973); Charles Abbott Conway, *The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centered on the Incarnation: A Descriptive Analysis*, Analecta Cartusiana 14 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1976); P. Columban Fischer, OFM., “Die ‘Meditationes Vitae Christi.’ Ihre handschriftliche Ueberlieferung und die Verfasserfrage.” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 25 (1932): 3–35, 175–209, 305–48, 449–83.
- 8 Conway’s translation; Conway, *The Vita Christi of Ludolph*, 124. “Et ideo quamvis multa ex his tanquam in praeterito facta narrantur, tu tamen omnia tamquam in praesentia fierent, mediteris; quia ex hoc majorem sine dubio suavitatem gustabis. Lege ergo quae facta sunt tamquam fiant; Pone ante oculos gesta praeterita tamquam praesentia, et sic magis sapida senties et jucunda.” Proem, 1:11. Ludolf von Sachsen, *Vita Jesu Christi: Ex Evangelio et approbata ab Ecclesia Catholica doctoribus sedule collecta*, ed. L.M. Rigollot, *Editio novissima*, 4 vols. (Paris: Victor Palme, 1870), 1:9.
- 9 For example, see Jan Bergsma, ed., *De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch*, Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1895); W.H. Beuken, ed., *Vanden Levene Ons Heeren; Teksten, Inleiding en Toelichting door W.H. Beuken*, 2 vols, Zwolse Drukken en Herdrukken voor de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 60 (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1968); W.H. Beuken and James Marrow, eds., *Spiegel van den Leven ons Heren (Mirror of the Life of Our Lord): Diplomatic Edition of the Text and Facsimile* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1979); Cebus Cornelis de Bruin, *Tleven Ons Heren Ihesu Cristi: Het Pseudo Bonaventura Ludolfiaanse leven van Jesus*, Verzameling van Middelnederlandse Bijbelteksten, Miscellanea 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1980). For Suso’s *Hundert Betrachtungen und Bekehrungen* (the third section of the *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit*) and its relatives, see H.U. Meyboom, “Suso’s Honderd Artikelen in Nederland,” *Archief voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 1, no. 2 (1885): 173–207; Jan Deschamps, “De Middelnederlandse vertalingen en bewerkingen van de Hundert Betrachtungen und Bekehrungen van Henricus Suso,” *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 63, no. 2–4 (1989): 309–69; José van Aelst, *Passie voor het Lijden: De Hundert Betrachtungen und Bekehrungen van Henricus Suso en de oudste drie Bewerkingen uit de Nederlanden*, Miscellanea Neerlandica 33 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005). A survey of similar literature can be found in Cebus Cornelis de Bruin, “Middeleeuwse levens van Jezus als leidraad bij meditatie en contemplatie,” *Nederlandse Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 58, 60 (1977–78, 1980) 129–55; 162–81; Thomas Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); James Marrow, “‘Christi Leiden in einer Vision Geschaut’ in the Netherlands,” *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 43 (1969): 337–80; Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, eds., *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology 35 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); André Vincke, ed., *Bouc van ons Heeren Levene: Een W Vlaamse Vertaling van de Meditationes Vitae Jesu Christi door Pseudo Bonaventura* (Ghent, 1948); Philip E. Webber, “A Medieval Netherlandic Prayer Cycle on the Life of Christ. Princeton Library Garrett Ms.



- 63," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 52, no. 3/4 (1978): 311–62; Philip E. Webber, "Varieties of Popular Piety Suggested by the Netherlandic Vita Christi Prayer Cycles," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 64, no. 1–3 (1990): 195–226.
- 10 J. M. Willeumier-Schalijs, "De Lxv artikelen van de passie van Jordanus van Quedlinburg in middelnederlandse handschriften," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 53 (1979): 15–35. Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 22–25. See also Robrecht Lievens, *Jordanus van Quedlinburg in de Nederlanden: Een Onderzoek van de Handschriften*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal en Letterkunde, 6e Reeks, Bekroonde Werken 82 (Ghent: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor taal en Letterkunde), 1958; J. Stadlhuber, "Das Laienstundengebet vom Leiden Christi in seinem mittelalterlichen Fortleben," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 72 (1950): 282–325.
  - 11 José van Aelst, *Passie voor het Lijden*; Meyboom, "Sus'o's Honderd Artikelen," 173–207.
  - 12 Translations by the author unless otherwise noted. "Eija aldersuetste here Ihesus christe sij leijden v wter stadt ende hinghen v aen die galghe des crucen tusschen twee moordenaeren op dat v doot te schandelijcker schijnen soude. Daer worden van dijer bitter pijnen v claer ooghen verdonckert. Uwe heijlighe godtlicke ooren waeren veruult met spotte ende met laster. Uwe edele rieken was beademt met vuilen stancke. Uwe soete mont ghespijst met bitteren dranck. Sij sloeghen v, sij wonden v, ende sij schoerden v teeder vleesch wreedelijck alsoe dat die rijuiere ws ghebenediden bloets daer nae volchde die v heijlige teeder lichaem netten ende bedeckten." Luc Indestege, ed., *Een Diets gebedenboek uit het begin der zestiende eeuw herkomstig uit het voormalig Klooster Sint-Hieronymusdal te Sint-Truiden* (Ghent: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1961), 56.
  - 13 "Hier beghinnen seuen merkelijcke deuote oratien om mede te eeren die seuen sonderlinge ende alder swaerste pijnlicste vallen ons heeren die hij viel te seuen stonden in sijner heijliger passien diese met deuotien ende medelijden leest verdient veele gracen. O Lieve heere Ihesus christe ick dancke v des pijnlijcken stotens dat ghij om mijnen wille sijt ghestoten vander steijgher oft vonder soe oneerlijck ende versmaedelijck in dat rijuierken Cedron Ende daer soe versmaedelijck doer ghesleijpt." Indestege, *Een Diets*, 46–48.
  - 14 Indestege, *Een Diets*, 47.
  - 15 "[E]nde ick vermaen v den pijnlijcsten val doen ghij metten [cruce] op gericht waert, ende die felle ioden lieten dij soe wreedelijck metten cruce neder vallen, alsoe dat dijn heijlighe aensicht gheprint waert inder eerden alsoe dat alle dijn aederen schoorden ende dijn senuen borsten Ende dit was dat meeste lijden dat ghij opter eerden gheleden hebt." Indestege, *Een Diets*, 48.
  - 16 Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, "Alternate Routes: Theme and Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 40, no. 1: 249–70; Karl Alois Kneller, *Geschichte Der Kreuzwegandacht, von den Anfängen bis zur völligen Ausbildung*, Stimmen aus Maria-Laach 98 (Freiburg: Herder), 1908; Victor Sempels, "Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het ontstaan van de kruisweg in onze gewesten," in *Miscellanea Moralia in Honorem Eximii Domini Arthur Janssens* (Leuven: Nauwelaerts; Gembloux: Editions J. Duclot, 1948), 601–20.
  - 17 Schreiber 206 (no. 641m.), Albertina inv. no. 1930–70.

- 18 For the use of the spike-block motif, see James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*, *Ars Neerlandica: Studies in the History of Art of the Low Countries* 1 (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979), 170–89.
- 19 On this topic see Kathryn M. Rudy, “Laat-Middeleeuwse Devotie tot de Lichaamsdelen en Bloetstorting van Christus,” in *Geen Povere Schoonheid: Laat Middeleeuwse Kunst in Verband met de Moderne Devotie*, ed. Kees Veelenturf (Nijmegen: Valkhof, 2000), 111–33.
- 20 “Die x. bloetstortinghe. Ic daenk u gebenedide heere Iesu Christi dat ghi wt storte u heylyghe dierbaer bloet doen die bese Ioden u slincke hant aent cruyce sloegen doen vanden si u lichaem ende recten u al so seer dat al u zenuwen ende aderen in u lichaem braken/doen nagelden si u slincke handt aent cruyce/dien naghel was seer plomp ende groot/hi dede u so grooten not/dat u heylyghe bloedt op dye Ioden liep.” *Ortulus anime in duytsche, met die getijden vander weken* (Antwerp, c. 1550 [Thantwerpen ... by die weduwe van Heinrick Peeterssen]), Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent 3743/4.
- 21 Among the sizable corpus of literature on the Stations of the Cross, see: Herbert Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross: An Account of Their History and Devotional Purpose* (London: Burns & Oates, 1906); Notker Eckmann, *Eine kleine Geschichte des Kreuzweges: Die Motive und ihre Darstellung* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1968); Kneller, *Geschichte der Kreuzwegandacht*; Peter Amédée de Zedelgem, “Aperçu historique sur la dévotion au chemin de la croix,” *Collectanea Franciscana* 19 (1949): 45–142.
- 22 Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 1, fol. 20r. On other instances of the five wounds in art see Douglas Gray, “The Five Wounds of Our Lord,” *Notes and Queries* 208 (1963): 50–51, 63–68, 82–89, 127–34.
- 23 “Hier volgen deuote bedinghen tot den ghebenedyden vijf wonden ons liefs heeren Ihesu Christi daer alle onse salicheit in leit. Eerst totter rechter hant Christi.  
  
O Aldaer goedertierenste here ihesu christi zij lof ende glorie voer die alder heilichste wonde van uwer rechter hant. Duer dese heilighe wonde zoe verlaet my alle mijn sonden die ic ye ghedede als met ghepensen woerden ende werken ende met versuymelicheit mijns selfs. In quaden ghenuechten slapende oft wakende wetens oft onwetens. Ende ouermids uwer bitter passie zoe gheeft mij uwen bitteren doot ende u heilich lijden ende u aldaer weerdichste wonden altoes te ghedincken.” Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 1, fol. 20r.
- 24 “O Lieve heere Ihesu Christi lof ende eere zij u hondert duysent werf voor die wonde vus luchteren voets. Ende ouermids deser heiligher wonden zoe verleent mij ghenade ende vulcomen verghefenesse alle mijnder sonden: Dy dat ic verdiene mach ouermids uwer hulpen te ontgaen dat oerdeel den wraken Ende ouermids uwer bittere passien zoe gheeft mij te ontfanghen u weerdich lichaem ende u presiose bloet totter eeren vus weerdeghen naems ende totter salicheit mijnder zielen.” Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 1, fol. 21v.
- 25 Maria Meertens, *De Godsvrucht in de Nederlanden. Naar handschriften van gebedenboeken der xve eeuw*, vol. 2, *Lijdensdevoties*, *Historische Bibliotheek van Godsdienstwetenschappen* (Antwerp: Standaard, 1930), 82–84.

- 26 “Soe wie leest voer die wapen ons heeren met berou van sijnen sonden dese navolghende gheben/die verdient van vese paeusen hondert ende sestich dusent ondert ende sestich Iaren. Hondert ende vierentachtich daghen. De some van Sunte gregorius.” Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 3, fol. 40v.
- 27 “O Heere Ihesu XPC. Ic aenbede dij hanghende aen den heylighen cruce. Ende een doorne croone op dijn hooft draghende Ic bidt dij dat dijn cruce mij behoeden moet van slaenden enghel. Amen.” Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent HS 205, vol. 3, fol. 41r.
- 28 Meertens, *De Godsvrucht*, vol. 2, 86–87.
- 29 On this topic of indulgenced images see Flora Lewis, “Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images,” in *The Church and the Arts. Papers Read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 190–92.
- 30 Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent 205, vol. 1, fol. 65v.
- 31 Leiden University Library, Print Collection, 1371 G34 (impressum in colophon: Gheprent te Leidē: bimij Hugo Ianszoen van Woerdē) (Leiden: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden) [1505]. Here the prayer is attached to an indulgence of 22,024 years and 53 days.
- 32 “Als ghy totten berch van Calvarien gaen wilt so overdenct devotelic in u herte dat ghy den mismaecten bloedighen Ihesum voor u siet gaen so deerlick gheladen den swaren balc des cruys ende seer ghenegyhet ter aerden dicwils vallende met zijn ghecroonde hooft op die herde steenen ....” *Ortulus anime in duytsche, met die getijden vander weken* (Antwerp, c. 1550 [impressum in colophon: Thantwerpen ... by die weduwe van Heinrick Peeterssen]), Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent 3743/4.
- 33 *Een devote meditatie op die passie ons liefs heeren*, after 1514, imprint Leiden University Library LTK 237, fol. 70r.
- 34 *Een devote meditatie*, fol. 81v. On rosary devotion and early imagery, including printed matter, see Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*; Urs-Beat Frei and Fredy Bühler, eds, *Der Rosenkranz: Andacht, Geschichte, Kunst* (Bern: Benteli, 2003).
- 35 “Ende eerst tot dat heylighe cruys ons liefs heeren. Ic groete u heere Iesu Christe. Die aent cruyce smaecte den bitteren doot. Daer om groete ick ute love ende ter eeren. Nu verlost my wt mijnder noot/Ick bid u here dye my gheboot/Dat u cruyce ende u bloet/My verlosse vander hellen stoot/Ende weest altijt in mijn behoet.” *Ortulus anime in duytsche*.
- 36 “Ich groet u Heere Iesu Christe/Met die doornen croon in u hooft gedout/Daer mi sondaer cleyn van persone/Aft te spreken seer verfloudt/U heylige bloet quam daer wt ghespout/Van uwen hoofde tot lxxii steden/O Heere al heb ic u geschoudt/Thoont mi u ontfermhertichede.” *Ortulus anime in duytsche*.
- 37 Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer on the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 45.

**A Chopped-Off Head on a Golden Plate:  
Jan Mostaert's *Head of Saint John the Baptist  
on a Plate Surrounded by Angels***

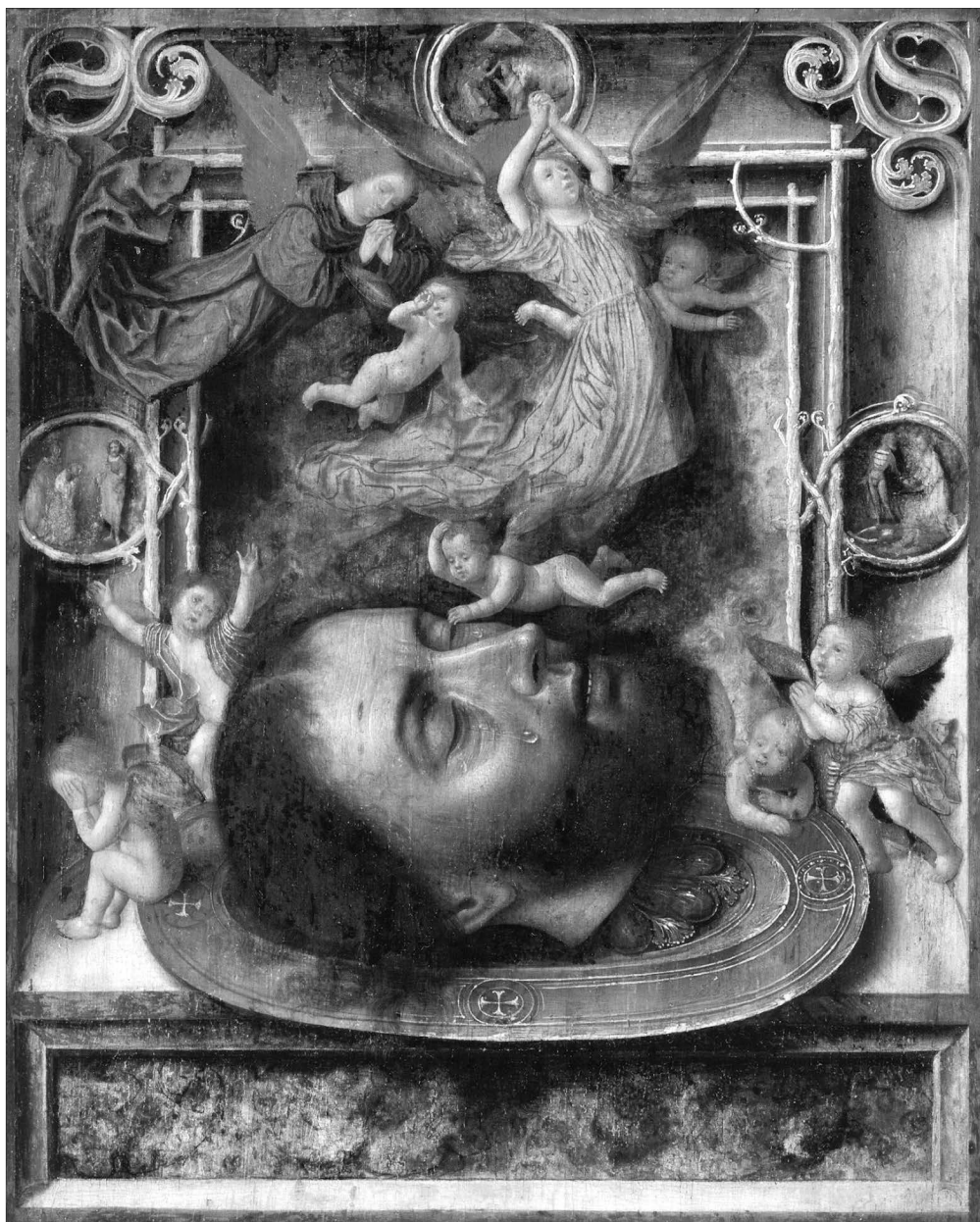
*Soetkin Vanhauwaert*

A chopped-off head on a golden plate. The eyes almost closed; the bottom line of teeth visible in a half-open mouth; tears shining on both cheeks. Nine angels circle the head, mourning, full of sorrow, praying. Their wings almost cover the three medallions, scenes from the life of the deceased, and part of the late Gothic ornamental background of this painting. *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels* (1525–50), attributed to Jan Mostaert, depicts the sinister ending of the life of St. John the Baptist (Figure 3.1).<sup>1</sup> According to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the saint was beheaded and his head presented on a platter to Salome, Herodias's dancing daughter. This story was the source of the veneration of the head of John the Baptist and led eventually to the creation of an iconographic tradition around the *caput in disco*.

This chapter will explore the popularity of this gruesome artistic motif—the dancer's trophy, the decapitated head on a platter—and thereby contribute to the further understanding of this imagery of death and its religious importance in the late Middle Ages. It will become clear that the head on a platter can be seen as a Christological symbol, a typological link between the sacrifice of the Precursor and the sacrifice of Christ. In the case of Mostaert's painting, this interpretation is strengthened by some interesting details. But before turning to the examination of the painting in question, I will focus on the phenomenon of the *Johannesschüssel* as such in order to create a better understanding of the motif.<sup>2</sup>

**From Story to Object**

The story of the death of John the Baptist is told in the Gospels according to St. Matthew (Mt 14:1–12) and St. Mark (Mk 6:14–29). He was imprisoned



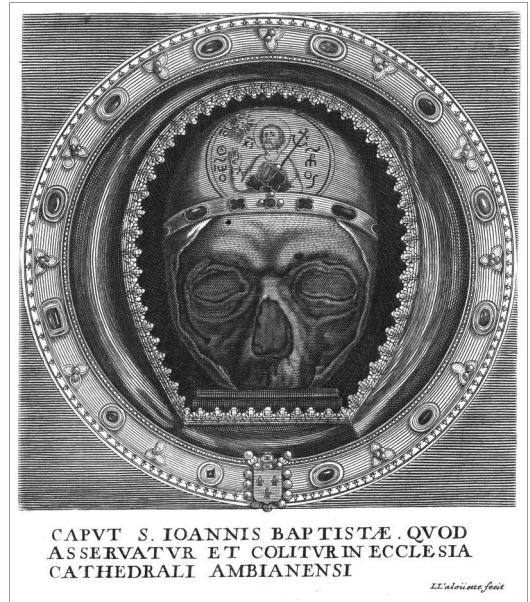
3.1 Jan Mostaert, *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels*, c. 1525–50, oil on panel, 41 × 33 cm

(Saint-Georges-sur-Meuse, Castle of Warfusée, collection of Count d'Oultremont. Image © KIK-IRPA—Brussels)

because of his protest against the marriage of Herod and Herodias, the former wife of Herod's brother Philip. At the feast for Herod's birthday, Herodias's daughter danced for the guests, and Herod promised to give her anything she wanted. At the instigation of Herodias, the girl asked for, and received, the head of John the Baptist on a platter. Both Gospel accounts of the episode conclude with the saint's followers burying his body.

This biblical story, from which the expression *caput in disco* derives (see Mt 14:8; Mk 6:25), is the basis of a rich textual and iconographical tradition. The Bible does not record what happened to the head on the platter next. Nevertheless, various stories emerged that in their turn gave rise to an extensive adoration of the head of John the Baptist. According to various traditions, the head was discovered on three different occasions.<sup>3</sup> First, the head was found in Jerusalem, brought to Cosilaos and eventually deposited in Hebdomon on March 21, 392 CE. The second discovery took place during the reign of Constantine the Great (r. 306–337). The head was uncovered in Emesa, stolen and hidden in a cave, and eventually found on February 18, 453. In 823 it was brought to Constantinople. The third head surfaced in Komana and in the time of Michael III (r. 842–867) was also brought to Constantinople. It is not clear if these three discoveries concern one, two, or three different skull relics. Fortunately, all three heads seem to have ended up in Constantinople. As a result of the Crusades, various relics from Constantinople were spread all over the Christian world.<sup>4</sup> Among them were relics of the Baptist, most famously the skull found in Constantinople by Wallon de Sarton and festively carried into Amiens Cathedral on December 17, 1206.<sup>5</sup> In the 1419 inventory of the cathedral of Amiens the relic was described as being set on a silver plate with gems and pearls. Later, the silver dish was replaced by a golden version (Figure 3.2).<sup>6</sup>

Salome's original platter was supposedly kept in Jerusalem for a long time.<sup>7</sup> Later on, the will of Pope Innocent VIII (1492) mentions an agate plate among the gifts bequeathed to the cathedral of Genoa, with the note that this was the plate on which Salome delivered the head of John the Baptist to Herodias.<sup>8</sup> The platter was placed next to the ashes of John the Baptist in the chapel of St. John and was venerated there as a secondary relic.<sup>9</sup> Around 1420–30, a small head of St. John in gold and enamel was placed in the center.<sup>10</sup> Both relics—head and platter—are clearly connected and intertwined with one another: the relic head was placed on a platter, the platter relic was given a head. Over time, both parts become inseparable iconographically.



3.2 Jacques Le Paultre, Engraving of the skull relic of Amiens. Engraving in Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Traité historique du chef de S. Jean-Baptiste ...* (Paris: chez Sebastien Cramoisy & Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1665, 132.)

(Image © Universiteit Gent)



3.3 Pilgrim badge, 1270–1350, lead alloy, diameter 5.2 cm

(London, British Museum, inv. no. 1855,0625.10.

Image © Trustees of the British Museum)



3.4 *Johannesschüssel*, 1210–20, platter replaced in the sixteenth century, limewood, head approximately 27 cm

(Naumburg, Treasury of the Cathedral. Image © Bildarchiv der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz, Fotograf: Torsten Biel)

Between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, pilgrim insignia were produced *en masse* all over Europe in order to provide pilgrims with tokens of their devotional trips.<sup>11</sup> It is then not surprising that Amiens, after the new and valuable relic of the Precursor was placed there, took advantage of this lucrative market. A priest, showing the relic and flanked by two acolytes or two angels with candles, is the most frequent image on the Amiens pilgrim insignia, as can be seen in an example preserved in the British Museum (Figure 3.3). The shape of the head is repeated, strengthened in the shape of the badge, which also is reminiscent of the shape of the plate.<sup>12</sup> On seals too, the tectonic, round quality of the motif was used.<sup>13</sup>

Shortly after the transfer of the skull relic to Amiens (December 1206), the head and the platter of John the Baptist were also brought together in sculpture; the oldest known example is preserved in the Naumburger Dom, dating back to c. 1210–20 (Figure 3.4).<sup>14</sup> Due to the timing and the curious puncture of the forehead of some heads of St. John, it has been suggested that the relic of Amiens prompted the origin of the sculpted artifact.<sup>15</sup> However, the earliest *Johannesschüsseln* are of German origin, and no conclusive evidence has been found that links these platters to the Amiens relic. Furthermore, the motif of the head on a platter does not seem exclusively connected with the pilgrimage site in Amiens and, as Reed writes, the motif “seems to have flourished independent of his [John the Baptist’s] relic cult.”<sup>16</sup>

Much variation occurs in the sculptures. Some heads stand upright on the platter, others rest on the back of the head or sideways. Some sculptures focus on the saint’s painful death, showing an anguished and pained expression and thereby evoking empathy, while others offer a serene countenance. A few *Johannesschüsseln* contain relics, which points toward a connection with the medieval relic cult. This also exposes one function of this object type.<sup>17</sup> Other St. John’s heads were cult objects in churches and chapels, were carried around in processions, were put on the altar during the feast days of the Baptist, and were venerated and invoked against illnesses, even if they did not contain relics.<sup>18</sup> Further, it has been suggested that some *Johannesschüsseln* could have functioned as props in Passion plays.<sup>19</sup> Other St. John’s heads, like the Nottingham alabasters, were clearly meant for a private, domestic atmosphere.<sup>20</sup> Here they functioned as an aid to devotion and contemplation. As we will see, many of the *Johannesschüsseln* in the painted medium also tended to be used as devotional images.

### The Reversal of Medium: Mostaert and the *Johannesschüssel* in Painting

Some fifty years before Mostaert painted this subject, a tradition of painted heads of St. John, running parallel to the sculpted examples, originated.



3.5 After  
Dirk Bouts,  
*Johannesschüssel*,  
oil on panel,  
diameter 28.5 cm

(Brussels, Royal  
Museums of Fine  
Arts of Belgium,  
inv. no. 1383.  
Image © KIK-  
IRPA—Brussels)



The first traces of this tradition appear in the context of the production of devotional images in the atelier of Dirk and Albrecht Bouts.<sup>21</sup> About twenty very similar tondi, based on a lost prototype by Dirk Bouts (c. 1410–75) and variations by his son Albrecht (c. 1460–1549), show the head of John the Baptist on a plate in *trompe l'oeil* (Figure 3.5).<sup>22</sup> The round shape of these panels coincides with the round platter on which the head of the Precursor is presented. This strengthens the illusion of three-dimensionality and invests these platters with a sculptural nature.

Produced in series, they were most likely meant for the open market.<sup>23</sup> A connection can be made with the popular *Salvator coronatus* from the same atelier. Just like the motif of the *Johannesschüssel*, Dirk Bouts created the model for this theme and Albrecht reproduced it.<sup>24</sup> Further, the *Salvator coronatus* was often painted on a round panel, as was the *Johannesschüssel*. The diptych of *Salvator coronatus* and *Mater dolorosa* and the Boutsian *Johannesschüssel* are also similar in function. Both themes are believed to have functioned as *Andachtsbilder* meant to stimulate private devotion.<sup>25</sup> One shows the lifelike, decapitated head of the Baptist, the other depicts the beaten and tortured



3.6 Giovanni Bellini, *Johannesschüssel*, 1464–68, oil on panel, diameter 28 cm

(Pesaro, Musei Civici. Image © KIK-IRPA—Brussels)

Christ, crowned with thorns, crying. Both image types focus on the tortures each endured in the service of the divine plan of salvation and work to provoke empathy and instigate contemplation.

Around the same period, the Italian painter Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516) also painted the head of St. John the Baptist on a tondo (c. 1464–68) (Figure 3.6).<sup>26</sup> Contrary to the Boutsian *Johannesschüsseln*, Bellini's tondo does not contain a painted evocation of the platter. The panel's form, however, does bring the platter to mind. The painter depicted a foreshortened view of just the head on a round panel. This choice focuses the viewer's attention on the most gruesome part of the subject, the open neck wound.<sup>27</sup> Blood still drips from the wound and reinforces the impression that the beheading only just happened. Because of the foreshortening, the half-opened eyes seem to place more emphasis on the victim's dying expression than the Boutsian *Johannesschüsseln*. Although the emphasis on the neck wound and the dead man's facial expression do not immediately signal a contemplative subject, this painting originally hung in the sacristy of San Giovanni of Pesaro and seems to have served as a devotional image.<sup>28</sup>

Some years later, another variation on the theme of the head of John the Baptist on a platter became popular in Italian art. The example of Andrea Solario (1460–1524), signed and dated 1507, is the most striking (Paris, Louvre).<sup>29</sup> Several copies exist.<sup>30</sup> According to Combs Stuebe, “the existence of a half dozen variations, all of which are closely related, indicates that an important painting must lie at the base of the tradition.”<sup>31</sup> This time, the original seems to have been a lost painting by Leonardo da Vinci.<sup>32</sup> While the painters of the Bouts group and Bellini used a round panel as a two-dimensional platter, Solario shows the whole of the *Johannesschüssel*—head and platter as unit—on a square surface.<sup>33</sup> As Solario did not paint a background, but left the setting dark, all the attention rests on the head and platter in the center of the painting. Away from the sculptural influence and removed from the narrative context of the motif, this painting focuses on the macabre aspects of the story, and of the saint’s life. The head, however, looks very serene and absolutely no stress is put on the neck wound, which contributes to the peaceful atmosphere. Further, the painter did not choose the familiar dish-like platter, but depicted a platter on a foot, often called a *tazza*.<sup>34</sup> Around the border of the dish, and at the foot of the *tazza*, are subtle reflections. Using modern technology, Béguin declared these to be a double reflection of a male face. The identity of the man is unclear: it could be a portrait of the patron, Georges d’Amboise (a theory defended by Brown and Galichon) or of Andrea Solario himself (defended by Badt and Béguin).<sup>35</sup> Whoever the man represents, Solario succeeded in drawing the real world into the painting by means of the reflection from outside it. This connects the beholder to the depicted scene and reinforces its dramatic strength as an *Andachtsbild*. In this way, Solario showed his skills as a painter and situated his work within the paragone discussion.<sup>36</sup>

The Flemish tradition of the Boutsian tondo and the Italian paintings originated largely in the same period, namely around the turn of the sixteenth century. The tondi of the Bouts group evoke three-dimensional objects, like the *Johannesschüssel* sculptures, by having the panel impersonate the dish. Bellini omits the dish in the painting, only referring to it by the form of the panel. These round paintings form a gradual but indispensable transition between the sculpted and painted *Johannesschüsseln*. Very different from these paintings is the Italian tradition exemplified by Solario’s work and its many copies. The platter loses its role as a carrier and becomes part of the painting. The step from sculpture to painting is definitely made.

One thing all three types of painted St. John’s heads seem to have in common is their purpose. The Boutsian tondi are part of a serial production meant to be sold on the free market in the context of private devotion. The Solario painting, too, most likely was painted in order to promote prayer and meditation. Commissioned by Cardinal Georges d’Amboise (1460–1510), Solario’s painting was probably meant to be a personal, devotional image for the cardinal’s private chapel.<sup>37</sup> And although Bellini’s doleful painting does not call for it, as it was originally hung in the sacristy of San Giovanni in

Pesaro, it was probably used as a source of inspiration for the prayers of the faithful. By this point, the pictorial *Andachtsbild* of the head of St. John had come into being.

The painting by Jan Mostaert central to this analysis is closely connected with the previous versions of the motif. Like Solario, Mostaert depicted the platter and the head as a unit inside the image. Unlike his Italian counterpart, however, he surrounded head and platter with angels and decorative elements. Further, in the execution of St. John's head in Mostaert's painting a Boutsian influence can be felt. Henderiks believes that "Mostaert pourrait avoir vu des oeuvres de l'atelier qui étaient vendues en grande quantité sur le marché."<sup>38</sup>

This renewed Flemish version of the *Johannesschüssel* chose different accents in the depiction of the motif; here, a division between North and South can be detected. In the second part of the chapter, Jan Mostaert's painting of the *Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Platter Surrounded by Angels* will be discussed. Some details of the painting will be explored further, leading to an exploration of the deeper meanings of the motif.

### Jan Mostaert's *Saint John the Baptist as a Devotional Image*

In the center of the painting the head of St. John the Baptist lies on a golden plate, turned with its right cheek towards the viewer (Figure 3.1). The saint is depicted as a well-groomed but hairy man. His longish black, curly hair, parted in the center, lies on the plate and on his chin and cheeks a dark beard spreads. St. John's mouth is slightly opened, which makes his lower teeth visible to the viewer. His eyes are very nearly closed. An angel flying above the head seems to be closing the left eye in a gesture of respect for the deceased. In comparison with the complexions of the angels flying around it, St. John's head is sallow and ashen, indicating the discoloration that accompanies rigor mortis. The neck wound, evidence of the beheading, is almost invisible. There is no blood flowing out of the wound; no emphasis at all is put on this gruesome detail of the painting. The head as a whole is placed on a plate, as told in the story in the Bible. In this case, it is a golden dish, the edge of which is decorated at four places.<sup>39</sup> Spaced out equally, each cross of the Knights of St. John is inscribed within a circle; the three visible circles and the fourth implied circle are connected through simple linear decorations. In addition, the central part of the platter is decorated with chased lobes, or apses.<sup>40</sup>

The plate presenting the head is placed in a stage-like setting. At the bottom of the painting, a marble-like architectural element recalls a niche for sculpture.<sup>41</sup> In the left and right upper corners, seemingly gothic framework caps the niche. In the background, a second framework, looking as if it is constructed out of branches and dry twigs, forms a rectangular frame, which carries three medallions. They show the Baptist's preaching, the baptism of Christ and the beheading of the saint.

## THE ANGELS

In the “niche,” the void around and above the head is filled with nine angels, seven of them child angels or putti. In comparison to the head, they are all very small. Because of this scale difference, emphasis is put on the head of St. John the Baptist. Four of the putti stand on the same platform as the platter with the head, the other three fly around in the company of two adult angels. They make dramatic gestures and pray, and thereby disturb the serene atmosphere. Surrounding the head, they direct the viewer’s attention to the sadness of what is presented, namely the result of the beheading. This focus evokes the viewer’s empathy and invites him or her to meditate on the passion of this saint.

Reliquaries themselves are often adorned with angels as “*Assistenzfiguren*,”<sup>42</sup> displaying the image as a celestial object. An example of this is the *Johannesschüssel* preserved in St. Bavo’s Cathedral in Ghent in which the spread wings of four kneeling angels support the head and platter (Figure 3.7).<sup>43</sup> Such reliquary angels originated in the later Middle Ages, which was the same period when the visibility of relics became an issue, and were partly a means of addressing doubts about the authenticity of relics. As Reed writes, “figures of angels, pointing or gesturing to the relics inside, were added to stress the visual reality of the saintly remains.”<sup>44</sup> The faithful became used to the connection between relics and angels, and in the long run an image of a relic accompanied by angels was granted the same authenticity as the relic itself. Moreover, an image of a relic had the advantage over the actual relic in



3.7 Master with the Lion’s Head, *Johannesschüssel* reliquary, 1625–26, silver, partially gilded, 43.5 × 57 × 52.5 cm

(Ghent, Saint Bavo Cathedral. Image © KIK-IRPA — Brussels)

that the saint to whom the relic belongs could be made recognizable. In this way, the image surpassed the relic, which often remained anonymous: "*Die Reliquie war dem Bild bisher überlegen, ... Jetzt wird das Bild ein Konkurrent.*"<sup>45</sup>

In addition, the presence of angels was often associated with the Passion of Christ. In a Eucharistic context, they not only accompany his sacrificial death in all stages, they also stand close to his body and blood. Angels were believed to be present during Mass, worshipping the host, especially at the Consecration. The prayer of the officiator even mentions the presence of angels at this moment:

Humbly we implore you, almighty God, bid these offerings be carried by the hands of your holy angel to your altar on high in the presence of your divine majesty, so that those of us who, sharing in the sacrifice at this altar, shall have received the sacred Body and Blood of your Son may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace.<sup>46</sup>

In the Middle Ages, people believed that angels were responsible for communication between the altar and the throne of God, especially in relation to the consecration of the host.<sup>47</sup> When angels mourn the suffering or deceased Messiah in a Deposition from the Cross, a Lamentation or an Entombment, underneath always lies that deeper, Eucharistic shade of meaning.<sup>48</sup> According to Schrade, an angel should always be seen as a symbol of the Eucharist.<sup>49</sup> In this context, the angels in Mostaert's painting could easily be interpreted as referring to and reinforcing the Eucharistic meaning of the *Johannesschüssel* (see below).

Images of the Baptist's head are occasionally accompanied by angels. As we have already seen, angels are part of the pilgrim insignia of Amiens (Figure 3.2) and they accompany the relics of the saint (Figure 3.7).<sup>50</sup> Additionally, a specific type of sculpture regularly shows the motif of the head of St. John the Baptist on a platter combined with angels. According to Cheetham, these "alabaster representations of the head were popular domestic devotional objects during the fifteenth century."<sup>51</sup> Some of these sculptures only represent the head of the saint with or without dish, but most of them are more complex.<sup>52</sup> On an example from the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), two winged angels dressed in long gowns with sleeves carry the vertically presented dish on which the head of St. John the Baptist is placed (Figure 3.8). Underneath the dish and in between the angels, the *Agnus Dei*—the symbol of Christ and also the attribute of John the Baptist—is depicted. Above, two angels receive the soul of the saint in a cloth.<sup>53</sup> Other alabasters are often more elaborate, with saints added to both sides of the dish; on later examples, the *Agnus Dei* is replaced by the Man of Sorrows.<sup>54</sup>

The symbol of the *Agnus Dei*, derived from the famous words of the Baptist—"Behold the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world"—has a strong Eucharistic connection; the Man of Sorrows, however, explicitly shows the sufferings of Christ during his Passion. Representing both together with the head of St. John the Baptist on a platter increases the connection



3.8 *Johannesschüssel*, fifteenth century, alabaster panel, 27.8 × 21.4 cm

(London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.204-1946.

Image © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

between the saint's death and the (Eucharistic) sacrifice of Christ. In the next part of this chapter, the establishment of St. John's head as Eucharistic symbol will be further discussed.

#### THE JOHANNESCHÜSSEL AS EUCHARISTIC SYMBOL

The life of John the Baptist prefigured the life of Christ in many ways: his birth, his preaching, his martyrdom.<sup>55</sup> In his death too, John the Baptist preceded Christ's sacrifice, which gave rise to an affinity between the devotion of the head of John the Baptist on the platter and the devotion of the Eucharistic body of Christ.<sup>56</sup> This affinity causes an indirect connection between the *Johanneschüssel* and the Eucharist. Caspers explains that an image of the Passion of Christ is always meant to refer to the Eucharist as part of the contemplation of his suffering, which was vital to worthily partaking in Communion.<sup>57</sup> As the head of St. John on a dish can be understood as a reference to the sacrifice of Christ, possibly this image could also have served as a meditation aid for earning salvation through the sacrament. Some sources make this Eucharistic connection more concrete.

In a liturgical text, based on a New Testament commentary of Irish origin, the Eucharistic body of Christ is explicitly associated with the head of the celebrated saint: "*Caput Joannis in disco, significat corpus Christi in altari.*"<sup>58</sup> The New Testament commentary was once attributed to Jerome and thus considered as authoritative. Various authors drew upon this commentary, for example Paschasius Radbertus, who emphasized the symbolism of the head:

Give me [the head] on a platter, [the girl] said. Why, then, on a platter, unless to signify the sacrament of our redemption? For precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his faithful ones [Psalm CXVI, 15]. So that, on a platter as on the altar table, where the body of Christ, that is, the head of the martyrs, is consecrated, [the faithful] may partake of eternal salvation with the head as an offering.<sup>59</sup>

Additionally, the *Glossa ordinaria* made the connection between the passion of John the Baptist and the sacrifice of Christ on the altar visible. In chapter 6, above the "*caput eius in disco*" of verse 27 "*altari*" is written,<sup>60</sup> and in verse 28 "*caput*" is linked with "*Christi*" and "*eius*" with "*Legis*."<sup>61</sup> These texts make clear that, as Barb writes, "these St. John-heads' veneration as a symbol—a pre-figuration, as it were, of the Eucharistic sacrifice—was acknowledged by the Roman Church."<sup>62</sup>

On an iconographical level, the platter on which the head rests evokes the Eucharist. The consecrated host is presented on a paten, which can very easily switch places with the dish on which the head of the Precursor lies. In Mostaert's painting, the decorative apses on the central part of the platter specifically refer to the Eucharist paten. As Barb reminds us, patens with similar lobes were developed in the course of the twelfth century in the Western Church, and this type of paten remained very popular



### 3.9 Patens with lobes

(Photo: Barb, *JWCI*  
19, no. 1 (1956),  
plate 3)



throughout the Middle Ages (Figure 3.9).<sup>63</sup> Using this type of decoration, it is clear that Mostaert wanted to tie the platter in his painting to the Eucharistic dish.

Finally, one last element contributing to the Eucharistic meaning needs to be discussed. In Mostaert's painting, the head of the Baptist shows a wound on the forehead.<sup>64</sup> Herodias allegedly caused this mark by stabbing the head in fury.<sup>65</sup> The position of the wound above the right eyebrow can be associated with the wound in the side of Christ.<sup>66</sup> Gurewicz's article on the position of the side wound of Christ notes that since the *Rabula Gospels* the wound—although anatomically incorrect and not lethal—was traditionally positioned on Christ's right side.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, "would not the wound on the right side of the head be a further detail to show that '*caput Johannis in disco signat corpus Christi* ...?'"<sup>68</sup>

### THE TEARS

Next to the head wound, Mostaert depicted another peculiar detail. Three tears are visible on St. John's cheeks.<sup>69</sup> On each cheek, a tear is still close to his eyes, and on the right another makes its way down the cheek, as if the head was still held upright.<sup>70</sup> The presence of a tear on the cheek of a decapitated head is peculiar *in se*—after all, a dead person cannot physically produce tears. Because of the evanescence of a tear's existence, it creates the impression that the saint's death has just occurred. Or could the artist have meant to depict the saint not dead, but living? This could again be explained by St. John's affiliation with Christ, as the latter is also occasionally depicted



3.10 Maerten van Heemskerck, *Man of Sorrows*, 1532, oil on panel, 85 × 72.5 cm

(Ghent, Museum of Fine Arts. Image © KIK-IRPA – Brussels)

after his death yet still alive. For example, in the *Man of Sorrows* (1532) by Maerten van Heemskerck Christ shows his wounds, but has his eyes open and he is clearly alive (Figure 3.10).<sup>71</sup>

Whether or not they are overtly Christological, however, the tears are significant as they occupy a special place in Christian theology. Various biblical passages form the scriptural basis for the origin of this theology of tears, including a verse of the Sermon on the Mount: “Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted.”<sup>72</sup> As early as the foundation of the monastic tradition, tears were a valued part of prayer.<sup>73</sup> St. Benedict (480–547) confirmed the *gratia lacrimarum* in his monastic rule: prayers should be coupled with tears as proof of repentance and sincerity of heart.<sup>74</sup> Following the Church Fathers,

tears were seen as a response to the insight of the fragility of life. As Apostolos-Cappadona writes, “this early Christian theology of tears espoused by Tertullian, Athanasius, John Cassian, Ambrose, Augustine and John Climacus advocated that tears were the visual, yet silent symbol of the purification of the soul following the recognition of human finitude and guilt.”<sup>75</sup>

In spiritual circles, tears are almost always combined with compunction. Adnès distinguishes compunction from repentance: compunction not only aims at divine mercy, as repentance does, but tries at the same time to erase all the results, the traces, and the multiple effects of the sin committed. This could be a long-lasting process, which is why medieval believers praised endless tears. Sometimes, tears were stimulated by the fear of God’s final judgment, especially when death came knocking at the door, but just as often they were caused by intense meditation on God’s grace. When tears came for no apparent reason and without effort, John Climacus (the seventh-century monk and writer) marked them as a sign that God came to that person unbidden.<sup>76</sup>

At the end of the thirteenth century, another sort of tears appeared in theological writings, namely the tears of compassion caused by the thought of or the confrontation with the Passion of Christ. The origination of lay spirituality and private devotion stimulated contemplation of the different stages of the Passion of Christ. In the Northern Netherlands, the *Devotio Moderna* was widely popular during the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>77</sup> This movement inspired many religious communities and although it was known for its inclination towards austerity, new devotional themes and types were introduced in iconography under its influence.<sup>78</sup> The publication of *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380–1472) certainly influenced private devotion and the medieval cult of empathy and pity for the Passion of Christ. Images of the Passion were used during meditation and prayers in order to make Christ’s sacrifice accessible for human emotions. During the late Middle Ages, images became more and more explicit to intensify emotions and evoke empathy. How could this *affectio* be more efficiently evoked than by the tears shed by the subject of the image itself?<sup>79</sup>

As the Passion of St. John the Baptist is connected with the Passion of Christ, an explicit confrontation with a representation of his severed head would have had a similar effect. The tears, subtle as they may seem, still disrupt the unmoved and peaceful image of the Precursor after his death. They draw the viewer into the painting, stirring up emotions, evoking empathy and compassion for the man who has just died. On a more visual level, and in the context of the Modern Devotion, the tears on this painted *Johannesschüssel* can be connected with the crying Christ in various *Ecce Homo* paintings. This popular theme, which focuses specifically on the suffering of Christ when he is shown to the crowd, is meant to reinforce the empathetic feelings of the viewer and stimulate his or her prayers. One striking characteristic of this image type is that Christ is sometimes depicted with tears rolling down his cheeks.<sup>80</sup> An exceptional example is the *Ecce Homo* (c. 1510–15) painted by Mostaert himself, and preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New



3.11 Jan Mostaert, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1510–15, oil on panel, painted surface 29.2 × 21 cm

(New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.25))

York (Figure 3.11). Christ is represented at the left side of the painting, gashes all over his body and the crown of thorns on his head. He is chained with a cord around his wrists and covered with a white sheet. On the right two people are talking to him, but he looks down, his eyes almost closed. Two big tears roll down his cheeks. The tears on Christ's face enforce the dramatic scene, and evoke even more compassion from the viewer. The same process is used in Jan Mostaert's *Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Platter Surrounded by Angels*. Teardrops, in combination with the violence both men have been subjected to—flagellation, humiliation, and a crown of thorns for Christ, and the ultimate violence, death by beheading, for his Forerunner—generate compassion in the viewer.

The tears in Mostaert's painting can, in a spiritual context, be seen as an expression of John the Baptist's experience of the finitude of human life, and of his belief in salvation. In the hour of his death, the saint experienced the purifying power of his tears, evoked by compunction, and in addition, his tears can be seen as a symbol of God's presence in his being. After all, because of his death he paved the way for the coming of the Messiah, which granted humankind salvation. God would not forsake him.

#### SOME CLOSING REMARKS

A few aspects of Jan Mostaert's painting have not yet been discussed. To complete this study of the *Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels*, however, I will briefly address two of them. A primary element is the existence of two other, almost identical painted heads of St. John. The National Gallery in London<sup>81</sup> (Figure 3.12) and the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon<sup>82</sup> (Figure 3.13) each possess a slightly different version of the Warfusée painting (see pages 74–75). The Dijon and Warfusée paintings are almost identical, with only three details that are different. The first, the addition of an angel in the top medallion of the Dijon painting, is not relevant to this story. The second and third, however, are. In the Dijon painting neither the head wound, nor the tears on John the Baptist's cheeks are depicted. Further, a difference in finish and style can be noticed.<sup>83</sup> With the London painting there are more differences. First, the framework around the head has changed: there are two medallions instead of three, and some scenes from the saint's life are depicted in the marble-like front. Further, the London dish is much brighter, almost making the lobes invisible, and is placed on a dark green cushion with golden tassels.<sup>84</sup> A more notable difference is the presence of two more putti. And again, neither the head wound nor the tears are part of the London composition.

As the Warfusée painting had hitherto remained unknown in the literature on Mostaert's oeuvre and on the motif of the head of John the Baptist on a platter,<sup>85</sup> it is important to discuss its possible relationship to the paintings in London and Dijon. It is crucial to see that the London painting has been acknowledged as being within Mostaert's oeuvre, whereas the

Dijon *Johannesschüssel* is labeled as a copy. As Krischel mentions, it seems plausible that—like the Boutsian tondi—the paintings of Mostaert were produced in series.<sup>86</sup> The differences between the compositions and the use of material could be explained by different demands from the art market, or by the need to create differences in price and quality. However, the question remains whether Mostaert was the only painter producing these paintings. Given the panels seem to differ slightly in handling, it is possible that Mostaert worked together with other painters or assistants. No evidence has been found that Mostaert had assistants at his disposal for his painting jobs, however.

In this scenario, the London painting could be seen as an earlier version of the composition, rethought later on with various paintings using the composition of the Warfusée and Dijon paintings as a result. It is my opinion that the changes made in the composition made the latter two paintings more balanced than the London version. Their nine angels do not distract as much as the eleven in the London painting, and the empty strip beneath the platter makes their compositions more peaceful, as opposed to the London *Johannesschüssel*. Consequently, the larger proportions of the head in the Dijon and Warfusée paintings put emphasis on the essence of the depicted head, while in the London painting more attention is given to the surroundings.

But are the Dijon painting and the Warfusée painting made by the same hand, and thus both copies? Or is the Warfusée painting made by Mostaert and the one in Dijon a copy, not of the London version, as suggested in literature, but of the hitherto unknown Warfusée painting? Without further material-technical research it is for now impossible to determine the place of the painting in Mostaert's oeuvre.

A second element that still needs some discussion is the reference to the Order of the Knights of St. John in Mostaert's paintings. The paintings in Warfusée and Dijon show the Maltese cross on the border of the dish; the clothed angels in the London painting show the cross on their chests. The crosses positioned on the chests of the angels in the London version elevate them to a celestial range, while the crosses on the platter in the Warfusée and Dijon renditions are connected with the relic itself, and with the parallel concept of the Eucharist. As Jan Mostaert originated in Haarlem and spent most of his time there, it is possible that he received a commission from the Haarlem Commandery.<sup>87</sup> The Order of the Knights of St. John in Haarlem were patrons of art in their city, most famously in the case of Geertgen tot Sint-Jans (c. 1440–c. 1480).<sup>88</sup> Geertgen enjoyed the patronage of the Order of Knights of St. John of Haarlem and painted numerous works at their command, for example the *History of the Remains of John the Baptist* (c. 1484).<sup>89</sup>

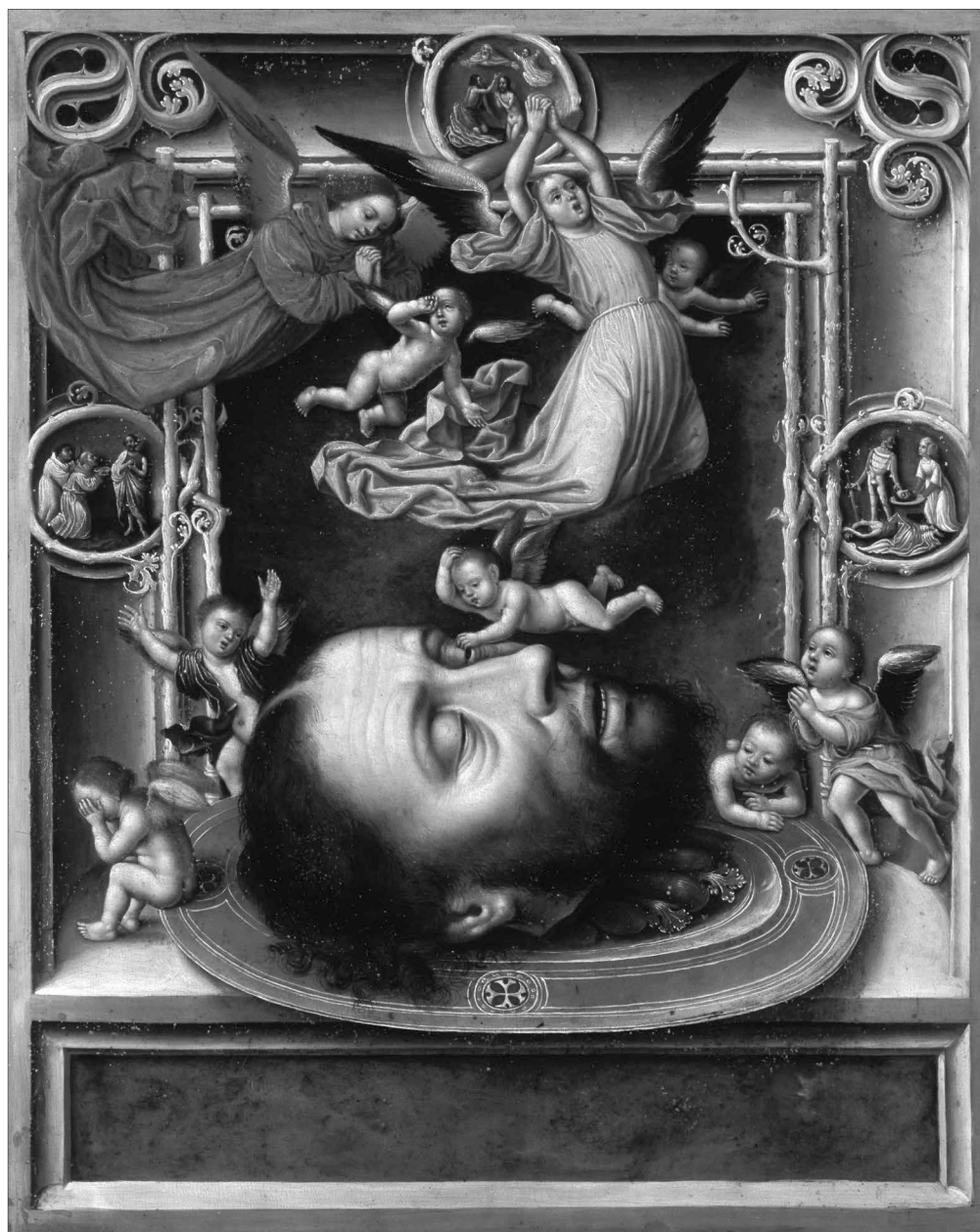
In addition, it is noteworthy that Dirk Bouts was also born and raised in Haarlem. As the Boutsian *Johannesschüsseln* were based on his prototype, it may be interesting to consider the possibility of a role for the Order in the origin of the painted *Johannesschüsseln* in the Low Countries. After all, St. John



3.12 Jan Mostaert, *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels*, c. 1510–20, oil on panel, 26 × 17.1 cm

(London, National Gallery. Image © The National Gallery, London)





3.13 Copy after Jan Mostaert, *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Plate Surrounded by Angels*, sixteenth century, oil on copper, 41.5 × 33.7 cm

(Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Image © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon. Photo François Jay)



the Baptist was the patron saint of the Order and they had already chosen the motif of the *Johannesschüssel* as representative on many of their seals.<sup>90</sup> Unfortunately, it has not been possible to link either painter to the Haarlem Commandery, and beyond the display of the Maltese cross on Mostaert's paintings there is no indication of their involvement. But could this all just be a coincidence?

### Art and Death

As this volume testifies, violence was all around in late medieval art. One group of people often depicted as being exposed to violence was the community of saints. Violence, after all, is inherent to the concept of "martyrdom." Through their subjection to violence, saints showed their fidelity to God and thereby attested to God's greatness.<sup>91</sup> Most of the time, the saint was killed after a series of ineffective torture sessions. Even with the saint's eventual death, the persecutor does not win, for the death of a saint is also his (or her) birth in heaven. Images of violence against saints are focused on pain and glory, showing the love of the saints for their Savior and the sacrifice they are willing to make to join him in heaven.

Although St. John the Baptist was not tortured like so many saints, he was beheaded and is seen as the first of martyrs (*protomartyr*). Among them, he occupies a special spot as Precursor of the Messiah, foretelling the coming of Christ and preceding him in his Passion. In medieval imagery, the head of John the Baptist was often seen in this context. The severed head of the Precursor represents the violence St. John had to endure but at the same time it shows the victory of the saint and refers to the Eucharistic body of Christ, made possible through his sacrifice. Jan Mostaert included some details in his painting to reinforce that link: the lobes on the platter, the angels, and the wound on the right side of his forehead. Further, the presence of the mourning angels and the tears on the martyr's cheeks help increase the emotional impact of the image for the viewer. The painting pushes the faithful towards contemplation and meditation on the sufferings of John the Baptist by intense visualization and thereby points the viewer towards the Passion of Christ. The head of St. John the Baptist is presented as the Eucharistic body of the Messiah on a paten, and is mourned by angels, symbols of the Eucharist.

In the course of the Middle Ages, the motif of the head on the platter eventually appeared in all sorts of art objects (sculpture, seals, precious metals, architectural elements, and so on) and these objects also appear in various contexts: ecclesiastical, domestic, and popular culture. The *Johannesschüssel* was a popular motif in the Middle Ages, despite—or precisely because of—the violence implicit in the image. Through the image of the sacrifice of Christ's predecessor, the viewer reaches the sacrifice of Christ, and prays for redemption.

## Notes

This case study is written in the context of the research project *Caput Johannis in disco. Iconology of the Johannesschüssel: Object-function-medium* funded by Scientific Research-Flanders under the supervision of Prof. Dr. B. Baert (KU Leuven) and Dr. C. Stroo (KIK-IRPA Brussels). I would like to thank P. Arblaster for correcting my English text, and C. Stroo and J. De Mol for the interesting conversations and helpful comments during my research and writing process.

- 1 Oil on panel, 41 × 33 cm. The painting is preserved in the private collection of the Count of Oultremont in the Castle of Warfusée, Saint-Georges-sur-Meuse.
- 2 Some of the main publications on the topic of the *Johannesschüssel* that I have made use of are as follows: Isabel Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel. From Narrative to Reliquary to Andachtsbild," *Marsyas. Studies in the History of Art* 14 (1968–69): 1–16; Hella Arndt and Renate Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie des Johannesschüssel," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 38 (1969): 243–328; Barbara Baert, *Caput Joannis in Disco [Essay on a Man's Head]*, Visualising the Middle Ages 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- 3 The different accounts of the three findings are clearly brought together in the article by John Wortley, "Relics of 'The Friends of Jesus' at Constantinople," in *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 147–49. Theodor Innitzer also explains the different traditions; see his *Johannes der Täufer. Nach der heiligen Schrift und der Tradition* (Vienna: Mayer, 1908), 398–401. In his *Legenda aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–98) relates the different discoveries of the head by describing it as the finding of one skull. This makes it more confusing, as they are based on two different and chronologically irreconcilable traditions. One tradition follows the story of Sozomenos (c. 400–c. 450), amended by Cassiodorus (c. 490–c. 585). See Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica—Kirchengeschichte*, *Fontes Christiani* 73, no. 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004) VII, 21 (912–17); M. Aurelii Cassiodorus, "Historia Tripartita IX," in PL 69, 1158–59. The other version was told by an anonymous Greek author, and was translated into Latin by Dionysius Exiguus (c. 470–c. 544); see Exiguus Dionysius, "De inventione capitis Joannis Baptistae," in PL 67, 419–32. Jacobus de Voragine, *De hand van God. De mooiste heiligenlevens uit de "Legenda aurea"*, trans. V. Hunink and M. Nieuwenhuis (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak en Van Gennep, 2006), 208–10.
- 4 John Wortley, "Relics and the Great Church," in *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 631–47.
- 5 The skull relic in Amiens was not the only one in Western Europe. By the end of the Middle Ages, more than ten skull relics of John the Baptist were known. For example, in the San Silvestro in Capite in Rome another famous skull of John the Baptist is preserved. Innitzer, *Johannes der Täufer*, 402–03; Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel," 2; Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 245. For information about the Rome relic, see Ilaria Toesca, "Il reliquiario della testa di San Giovanni Battista nella chiesa di San Silvestro in Capite a Roma," *Bollettino d'arte* 4, no. 46 (1961): 307–14.
- 6 Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 246; Baert, *Caput Joannis*, 36. All but the relic itself were lost during the French Revolution. The engraving in the *Acta Sanctorum* shows how the relic was presented. Godefridus Henschen and Daniël Van Papenbroeck, *Acta Sanctorum, Junius*, IV (Antwerp: Henricum Thiellier, 1707), cols. 687–808, col. 750.
- 7 Innitzer, *Johannes der Täufer*, 403.

- 8 The pope was given this plate by an ancestor of the French Cardinal Jean Balue who supposedly brought it back from a church in the East, or, as Clario di Fabio suggests, received it as a royal gift. John F. Cherry, "The Dish of the Head of St. John the Baptist in Genoa," in *Tessuti,oreficerie, miniature in Liguria XIII–XV secolo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Genova-Bordighera, 22–25 maggio 1997*, ed. Masetti A.R. Calderoni, C. Di Fabio, and M. Marcenaro (Bordighera (Genoa): Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 1999), 135.
- 9 When the body was burned during the imperial reign of Julian the Apostate (fourth century CE), the ashes of John the Baptist were saved and from 1098 were preserved and venerated in Genoa. See Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 243. The plate is still preserved there in the Cattedrale di San Lorenzo.
- 10 Also the inscription on the silver edging around the plate (dated around 1300) reminds the pilgrim of St. John: "INTER NATOS MVLIERVVM NON SVRREXIT MAIOR JOHANNES BAPTISTE." See Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 252–53; Cherry, "The Dish," 136. This inscription appears on some sculpted *Johannesschüsseln* as well, for example on the head of St. John preserved in Museum M in Leuven.
- 11 Jos Koldeweij, *Geloof en Geluk. Sieraad en devotie in middeleeuws Vlaanderen* (Arnhem: Terra, 2006), 9–15.
- 12 Sometimes, the round shape of the head/insignia is connected with the shape of the sun. Baert, *Caput Joannis*, 63–65.
- 13 The motif of the Baptist's head was widely used on seals, for example by the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. See Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 260–71.
- 14 The plate, with inscription, is of a later date. See Markus Hörsch, "I.11. Johannesschüssel," in *Der Naumburger Domschatz. Sakrale Kostbarkeiten im Domschatzgewölbe*, ed. H. Kunde (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2006), 90–97. Around 1250 architectural decoration with the motif arose too. Some of these reliefs were placed on a keystone, which has a strong symbolical meaning in Christianity. See Baert, *Caput Joannis*, 45 (n. 3), 179–82.
- 15 We can ask ourselves whether the motif originated in the beginning of the thirteenth century or if it was only then that the oldest preserved *Johannesschüssel* was produced. The skull that arrived in Amiens in 1206 had a mark above one of the eye sockets which was explained by an anecdote Jerome recorded in his *Apologia adversus libros Rufini* centuries before: "This is what Fulvia did to Cicero and Herodias to John. They could not bear to hear the truth, and therefore they pierced the tongue that spoke truth with the pin that parted their hair." Jerome, "Jerome's Apology for Himself against the Books of Rufinus," in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Second Series 3 (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1979), 539–40. Connected with the mark on the relic of Amiens, the act was soon transformed into a more dramatic (and visible) motif, with a more obvious weapon: the story arose that Herodias in anger stabbed the head of John the Baptist on the plate with a table knife. Some *Johannesschüsseln* show a wound on the forehead as a reminder of this incident and thus indirectly refer to the Amiens relic.
- 16 Victoria Spring Reed, "Piety and Virtue. Images of Salome with the Head of John the Baptist in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance" (PhD diss., Rutgers University, New Brunswick, 2002), 30.
- 17 Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 275–76; Soetkin Vanhauwaert and Georg Geml, "(Don't) Judge a Head by Its Cover. The Johannesschüssel and Its

- Materiality as Reliquary," in *Late Medieval Devotions: Images, Instruments and the Materiality of Belief* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014) (forthcoming).
- 18 Paul Sartori, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ed. E. Hoffmann-Krayer and H. Bachtold-Staubli (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1931–32), vol. 4, col. 740–41. The *Johannesschüssel* of Museum M (Leuven) is known to have functioned in the context of the chapel of St. Peter's Hospital in Leuven in the early sixteenth century, and was venerated on the feast day of the beheading of St. John the Baptist (August 29). Like the relic in Amiens, this "stand-in" was invoked for help against headaches and sore throats. See Maurits Smeyers, "Sint-Jan-in-disco," in *Schatten der Armen. Het artistiek en historisch bezit van het O.C.M.W.-Leuven*, exh. cat. (Louvain: Stedelijk museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, 1988), 144–47; Barbara Baert, "The Head of St. John the Baptist on a Tazza by Andrea Solario (1507). The Transformation and Transition of the Johannesschüssel from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance," in *Cultural Mediators. Artists and Writers at the Crossroads of Tradition, Innovation and Reception in the Low Countries and Italy 1450–1650*, ed. A. De Vries (Louvain: Peeters, 2008), 93.
  - 19 Oskar Thulin, *Johannes der Täufer im geistlichen Schauspiel des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit*, Studien über christliche Denkmäler 19 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1930); Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 302–03; Combs Stuebe, "The Johannesschüssel," 5; Baert, "The Head of St. John the Baptist," 93. In her book about dismemberment in late medieval and early Renaissance drama, Owens establishes a link between these plays and an illusion called "the decollation of John Baptist," during which a head is cut off and put on a platter. As in Passion plays, a "dummy head" (a *Johannesschüssel*?) could have been used as a prop. Bruno Roy, "The Household Encyclopedia as a Magic Kit. Medieval Popular Interest in Pranks and Illusions," in *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Josie Campbell (Madison WI: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1986), 32; Margaret E. Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment. The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 116–19.
  - 20 Francis Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005).
  - 21 Dirk Bouts en zijn tijd, exh. cat. (Louvain: s.n., 1975), 325; Maurits Smeyers, *Dirk Bouts, schilder van de stilte* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 1998), 120; Cyriel Stroo, "After Dirk Bouts. Head of St. John the Baptist on a Charger," in *The Flemish Primitives*, vol. 2, *The Dirk Bouts, Petrus Christus, Hans Memling and Hugo van der Goes Group*, ed. Cyriel Stroo and Pascale Syfer-d'Olive, Catalogue of Early Netherlandish Painting in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium (Brussels: Brepols, 1999), 127–28; Valentine Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts (1451/55–1549)*, Bijdragen tot de studie van de Vlaamse Primitieven 10 (Brussels: Koninklijk instituut voor het kunstpatrimonium. Studiecentrum Vlaamse primitieven, 2011), 298–309.
  - 22 An initial list of all the copies then known was made by Schöne, who mentions 11 copies; see Wolfgang Schöne, *Dirk Bouts und seine Schule* (Berlin and Leipzig: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938), 140–42. The most recent study by Valentine Henderiks mentions 23 tondi; see Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts*, 298–309. The concept seems to have been very popular. Copies were made into the seventeenth century; see Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts*, 303–04; Smeyers, *Dirk Bouts*, 118–20.
  - 23 Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts*, 212.

- 24 Valentine Henderiks, "L'atelier d'Albrecht Bouts et la production en série d'oeuvres de dévotion privée," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 78 (2009): 15–28.
- 25 Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel," 9; Henderiks, "L'atelier d'Albrecht Bouts," 15.
- 26 Preserved in the Musei Civici, Pesaro. Although it is peculiar that a very similar sort of painting was created in the same period in both Italy and the Low Countries, there is no evidence that Bellini was inspired by a Boutsian tondo, in painting or in print. As the Boutsian tondi were exported to Spain and other European countries, there is a possibility that one of them also reached Italy, but no traces of such a connection have been found.
- 27 Relating to the realistic representation of the neck wound, Combs Stuebe mentions an anecdote about the brother of Giovanni Bellini, Gentile Bellini (c. 1429–1507). During his visit to Constantinople in 1479, he painted a *Johannesschüssel* for Mehmed II. To prove to the painter that he painted the severed neck incorrectly, the Sultan had a slave beheaded. Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte* (Venice: Presso Giovanni Battista Sgava, 1648), 40–41; Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel," 10. The neck wound painted by Giovanni Bellini is, however, also anatomically incorrect.
- 28 Renato Ghiotto and Terisio Pignatti, *L'opera completa di Giovanni Bellini*, *Classici dell'Arte* 28 (Milan: Rizzoli, 1969), 91 (no. 54).
- 29 The painting is preserved in the Musée du Louvre in Paris as inventory number MI 735. Generally, this painting is seen as a commission by Cardinal Georges d'Amboise (1460–1510). See Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel," 10–11; David Alan Brown, *Andrea Solario*, exh. cat. (Milan: Banca del Monte di Lombardia, 1987), 161–65. See especially Baert, "The Head of St. John the Baptist."
- 30 For a list of copies that have passed down through the ages, see: Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel," 10 nn. 61–63; Brown, *Andrea Solario*, 206; Baert, "The Head of St. John the Baptist," 104.
- 31 Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel," 10.
- 32 This attribution can be traced back to Suida, who found a reference to a *Head of Saint John* painted by Leonardo in inventories from 1574 and 1584; Wilhelm Suida, *Leonardo und sein Kreis* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1929), 156. A further argument can be made by use of the drawing by Solario, preserved in the Louvre, on which he drew John's head in great detail. Brown suggests that the drawing is close to the style of Leonardo, which could mean that Solario made this drawing after Leonardo's lost original. The drawing seems to have been used as a study for Solario's painting of 1507. See Brown, *Andrea Solario*, 161–65.
- 33 This was not the first *Johannesschüssel* painted on a square surface; see, for example, the painting of Marco Palmezzano, preserved in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan, dated around 1490.
- 34 Arndt and Kroos as well as Combs Stuebe connect this type of platter with a common form of reliquaries of John the Baptist. Baert adopts this association and connects it with the seals and Byzantine iconography. See Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 258; Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel," 4; Baert, "The Head of St. John the Baptist," 95–99.
- 35 Brown, *Andrea Solario*, 161–65; Baert, "The Head of St. John the Baptist," 101–03.

- 36 Baert, *Caput Joannis*, 197–98.
- 37 Solario was invited to the cardinal's archiepiscopal castle in Normandy in order to provide some family portraits for the choir of the private chapel in the same year the discussed painting was dated. Baert, "The Head of St. John the Baptist," 87–88.
- 38 Valentine Henderiks, e-mail messages to author, August 5, 2010 and August 27, 2012. Reproduced with permission.
- 39 Only three crosses are visible, the fourth presumably hidden behind the head of St. John.
- 40 I have adopted the terms used in Alphons Augustinus Barb, "Mensa sacra: The Round Table and the Holy Grail," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19, 1–2 (1956): 40–67.
- 41 In recent research, this so-called *marbre-faux* is interpreted as "an expression of the pictorial stage that precedes figuration." See Baert, *Caput Joannis*, 208–09; Paul Vandenbroeck, "Matrix Marmorea. The Sub-Symbolic Iconography of the Creative Energies in Europe and North Africa," in *New Perspectives in Iconology. Visual Studies and Anthropology*, ed. B. Baert, A.-S. Lehmann and J. Van Den Akkerveken (Brussels: ASP, 2011), 180–210.
- 42 Hans Belting, "Die Reaktion der Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts auf den Import von Reliquien und Ikonen," in *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, exh. cat. (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 1985), 177.
- 43 Elisabeth Dhanens, *De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk te Gent in de 15de eeuw*, Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België 44, 1 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1983), 87–88, ill. 2.
- 44 Spring Reed, "Piety and Virtue," 49.
- 45 Belting, "Die Reaktion der Kunst," 177.
- 46 "*Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae; ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur*" (The Roman Canon of the Mass, mid-fourth century). See Gert Von der Osten, "Engelpietà," in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* 5 (Munich: Druckemüller, 1960), 603; James F. Puglisi, ed., *Liturgical Renewal as a Way to Christian Unity* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2005), 225.
- 47 Peter Browe, *Die Eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Breslau: Müller and Seiffert, 1938), 6–12.
- 48 Heinrich Schmidt and Margarethe Schmidt, *Die vergessene Bildersprache christlicher Kunst. Ein Führer zum Verständnis der Tier-, Engel- und Mariensymbolik* (Munich: Beck, 1982), 184.
- 49 Hubert Schrade, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Schmerzensmannbildes," in *Deutschkundliches. Friedrich Panzer zum 60. Geburtstage*, Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 16 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1930), 164–82; Von der Osten, "Engelpietà," 603–04.
- 50 Some examples are given by Arndt and Kroos. They also mention the London painting of Jan Mostaert (see below); see Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie,"

294–99. Another peculiar painting of the head of St. John the Baptist on a platter with two angels is preserved in the Gemeentemuseum Weert. It is currently ascribed to Carlo Dolci and believed to be one of his original works. As this painting is dated a century later than the painting of Mostaert, I did not include it in this research.

- 51 Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, 317.
- 52 For a clear distinction of the different types, see Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, 317–18.
- 53 Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, 321, no. 245. Unfortunately, the proportions of the panel have been adjusted and the scene on top has been partially cut off.
- 54 Combs Stuebe, “The Johannisschüssel,” 7; Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, 322, no. 246. As Cheetham writes (Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, 45–48), alabasters were a popular export product, which means Mostaert certainly could have known this image type. Could the surroundings of the alabaster heads have influenced Mostaert’s composition, in which the head of St. John the Baptist is surrounded not with other saints, but with angels and scenes of his own life? If the alabaster *Johannesschüsseln* had any influence on Mostaert’s panel, this could also give an indication on the panel’s function. The alabaster creations were made specifically for private devotion and were, as said, very popular domestic devotional objects.
- 55 This parallelism between John the Baptist and Christ was discussed in many sermons of Church fathers as Ambrose and Augustine, and adopted in devotional texts like the *Vita Christi* and the *Legenda Aurea*. Therefore it can be assumed that it was widely recognized. See Spring Reed, “Piety and Virtue,” 61–62.
- 56 Combs Stuebe, “The Johannisschüssel,” 6.
- 57 Charles Caspers, “Het laatmiddeleeuwse passiebeeld. Een interpretatie vanuit de theologie- en vroomheidsgeschiedenis,” in *Beelden in de late middeleeuwen en renaissance*, ed. R. Falkenburg et al., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 45 (Zwolle: Waanders, 1994), 167–71.
- 58 PL 30, 553. A variation on this commentary can be found in a medieval breviary of York, used on August 29, the feast day of the decollation of St. John the Baptist: “*Caput Iohannis in disco signat corpus Christi quo pascimur in sancto altari*” (St. John’s head on the platter signifies the body of Christ, which feeds us on the holy altar). See Barb, “Mensa sacra,” 46; Combs Stuebe, “The Johannisschüssel,” 7.
- 59 PL 120, 514. “*Da mihi, inquit, in disco. Cur autem in disco? Nisi ut sacramentum figuraretur nostrae redemptionis. Quia pretiosa in conspectus Domini mors sanctorum eius. Ut in disco et mensa, quo corpus Christi sacrat, quod est caput martyrum, ipsi participarent cum suo capite in oblatione aeternae salutis.*” For the translation, see Spring Reed, “Piety and Virtue,” 136.
- 60 Mk 6:27: “*sed misso speculatore praecepit adferri caput eius in disco et decollavit eum in carcere.*”
- 61 Mk 6:28: “*et adtulit caput eius in disco et dedit illud puellae et puella dedit matri suae.*”
- 62 Barb, “Mensa sacra,” 46.

- 63 Barb, "Mensa sacra," 42–44. She connects these patens with altar tables, which were decorated with a very similar sort of apses, and the Holy Grail, seen as a symbol of the Eucharist.
- 64 Not all *Johannesschüsseln*, painted or sculpted, show this head wound. Regarding the Boutsian platters, only three of them bear the wound: the tondi of Oldenburg (Landesmuseum), Warsaw (Muzeum Narodowe), and Portugal (Antonio de Pandeira Collection). See Stroo, "After Dirk Bouts," 133, n. 22.
- 65 See note 16.
- 66 There seems to be some confusion about on which side the mark is visible on the forehead of the skull of the saint in Amiens. Both Arndt and Kroos and Combs Stuebe refer to the place above his left eyebrow; see Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 301–07; Combs Stuebe "The Johannisschüssel," 5. The head wound is depicted on this side on the Naumburger *Johannesschüssel* and the *Johannesschüssel* preserved in the Musée national du Moyen Age in Paris, amongst others. As we will see, other *Johannesschüsseln*, for example some of the Boutsian tondi and the *Johannesschüssel* of Mostaert, depict the head wound above his right eyebrow. Baert states that the wound was placed there, on his right side; see Baert, *Caput Joannis*, 35–36. This head wound was also mentioned in the description of the head relic in the *Acta Sanctorum*: "Super oculum dextrum notatur foramen oblongum." The text refers to the wound as above the right eye, but is that the right eye for the beholder, or the figure's right eye? Let it be clear that the position of this wound, left or right, varies and is often discussed. However, the engraving (Figure 3.2) and the skull in Amiens seem to show a puncture above his left eye, and thus the right eye for the beholder. See Henschen and van Papenbroeck, *Acta Sanctorum: Junius*, iv, col. 749. For a discussion on the symbolism of the position of the head wound, see Baert, *Caput Joannis*, 95–98.
- 67 Vladimir Gurewich, "Observations on the Iconography of the Wound in Christ's Side, with Special Reference to Its Position," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957): 362.
- 68 Barb, "Mensa sacra," 61, n. 63.
- 69 Tears appear rarely on a *Johannesschüssel*. One other known example of a later date is the sculpture preserved in St. John's Chapel in Overpelt (Belgium).
- 70 The placement of this tear looks like it was copied from a painting with a standing, crying person. A tear of a person lying down would take a different course.
- 71 Preserved in the MSK Ghent.
- 72 Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Age* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000), 16.
- 73 Nagy, *Le don des larmes*, 55–74.
- 74 Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, "'Pray with Tears and Your Request Will Find a Hearing.' On the Iconology of the Magdalene's Tears," in *Holy Tears. Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, ed. Kimberly Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 205.
- 75 Apostolos-Cappadona, "'Pray with Tears,'" 206.
- 76 Pierre Adnès, "Larmes," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité. Ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire* 9 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1976), cols. 289–94; Nagy, *Le don des larmes*, 95–104.
- 77 Huizinga specifically mentions "de Haarlemsche school," referring to Dirk Bouts, in the context of the austerity and the modest character of the painting



- influenced by the Modern Devotion; see Johan Huizinga, *Herfstij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1919), 448–49.
- 78 James E. Snyder, "The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part II: Geertgen Tot Sint Jans," *The Art Bulletin* 42, no. 2 (1960): 122.
  - 79 Adnès, "Larmes," col. 299; Kees Veelenturf, "Inleiding: de Moderne Devotie en de kunst," in *Geen povere schoonheid. Laat-middeleeuwse kunst in verband met de Moderne Devotie*, ed. K. Veelenturf (Nijmegen: Valkhof, 2000), 9–30; Apostolos-Cappadona, "'Pray with Tears,'" 206. Imorde mentions that Horace was the first to express the knowledge that the orator or actor in a play, who functions as artist, should shed tears himself in order to make the audience cry; see Joseph Imorde, "Tranen met tuiten," *Kunstschrift* 43, no. 3 (1999): 28.
  - 80 Another connection can be made with the image type of the *Salvator coronatus* or the *Christ with the Crown of Thorns* of the Bouts group. Very often, Christ was here also presented crying. Remarkably, some were executed on a tondo. See Henderiks, *Albrecht Bouts*, Figure 252.
  - 81 This painting is attributed to Mostaert by Friedländer and dated between 1510 and 1520; see Max J. Friedländer, *Lucas van Leyden and Other Dutch Masters of His Time*, Early Netherlandish Painting 10 (Leyden: Sijthoff, 1973), A21. It is painted on a wooden surface of 26 × 17.1 cm. See Roland Krischel, "63. Kopf Johannes' des Täufers mit trauernden Engeln," in *Genie ohne Namen: Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars*, ed. Rainer Budde and Roland Krischel, exh. cat. (Cologne: DuMont, 2001), 378–79.
  - 82 The attribution has been much debated, but at present it is seen as a copy after the London painting of Mostaert. It is painted on a copper plate of which the painted surface measures 41.5 × 33.7 cm. It is dated in the sixteenth century. Roland Krischel, "64. Kopf Johannes' des Täufers mit trauernden Engeln," in *Genie ohne Namen: der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars*, ed. Rainer Budde and Roland Krischel, exh. cat. (Cologne: DuMont, 2001), 380–81.
  - 83 The painting in Warfusée appears less finished than its equal in Dijon. This is, for example, particularly obvious in the clothing of the right adult angel. Overall, the Warfusée painting has a "softer" look.
  - 84 Relics are sometimes presented on a cushion. Could this be a reference to the relic cult? A drypoint of the Hausbuch-Meister also shows the head on a platter on a cushion. See Alfred Stange, *Der Hausbuchmeister. Gesamtdarstellung und Katalog seiner Gemälde, Kupferstiche und Zeichnungen*, Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte 316 (Baden Baden and Strasbourg: Heitz, 1958), 16, 37, 63, ill. 36–37; Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 258–59, ill. 16; Combs Stuebe, "The Johannisschüssel," 9.
  - 85 Krischel mentions that Wurzbach knew two other similar paintings, one in Brussels and one in Cologne. Wurzbach indeed mentions a Brussels "*Kopf Johannes des Täufers*," with repetitions in Cologne and Dijon. However, he attributed these paintings to Martin Schongauer. It also appears he did not know about the London variant. See Alfred Von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon* 3 (Vienna and Leipzig: Halm und Goldmann, 1911), 143; Krischel, "64. Kopf Johannes des Täufers," 380. In the course of this research, I contacted several Cologne museums, but could not track down the mentioned Cologne painting.
  - 86 Krischel, "64. Kopf Johannes' des Täufers," 380.

- 87 Jan P. Filedt Kok, "Jan Mostaert," in *Vroege Hollanders, Schilderkunst van de late Middeleeuwen*, ed. F. Lammertse and J. Giltaij (Rotterdam: Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2008), 164–65.
- 88 The Haarlem branch of this crusading order was founded in 1310. For more information, see Eltjo Aldegondus van Beresteyn, *Geschiedenis der Johanniter-orde in Nederland tot 1795* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1934), 53–63.
- 89 Snyder, "The Early Haarlem School," 122–23.
- 90 Arndt and Kroos, "Zur Ikonographie," 260–71. Some priories of the Hospitallers of St. John also possessed a sculpted *Johannesschüssel*. In the visitation report of the priory in Steinfort (1495), a "*caput Sancti Johannis in disco argenteum*" is mentioned. See Johanna Maria Winter, *Sources Concerning the Hospitallers of St. John in the Netherlands, Fourteenth–Eighteenth Centuries*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 80 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 476. I would like to thank Dr. C. Stroo for this reference.
- 91 Oren Falk, Mark D. Meyerson, and Daniel Thiery, "Introduction," in "*A Great Effusion of Blood*?" *Interpreting Medieval Violence*, ed. Oren Falk, Mark D. Meyerson, and Daniel Thiery (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 10.



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## Reviving Martyrdom: Interpretations of the Catacombs in Cesare Baronio's Patronage

*Kelley Magill*

Before ascending to the cardinalate, Cesare Baronio commented on the dilapidated state of SS. Nereo e Achilleo during one of his frequent visits to Rome's seven pilgrimage churches along the route to the basilica and catacombs of San Sebastiano.<sup>1</sup> He exclaimed: "What will the heretics say when they come to Rome?"<sup>2</sup> When Baronio reluctantly accepted the cardinalate from Pope Clement VIII in the spring of 1596, he chose SS. Nereo e Achilleo as his titular church, and he immediately began restoring and adorning the fourth-century basilica with a complex decorative program representing the sacrifice and triumph of Rome's early Christian martyrs (Figures 4.1–4.3).<sup>3</sup> Baronio's team of artists, which included Girolamo Massei,



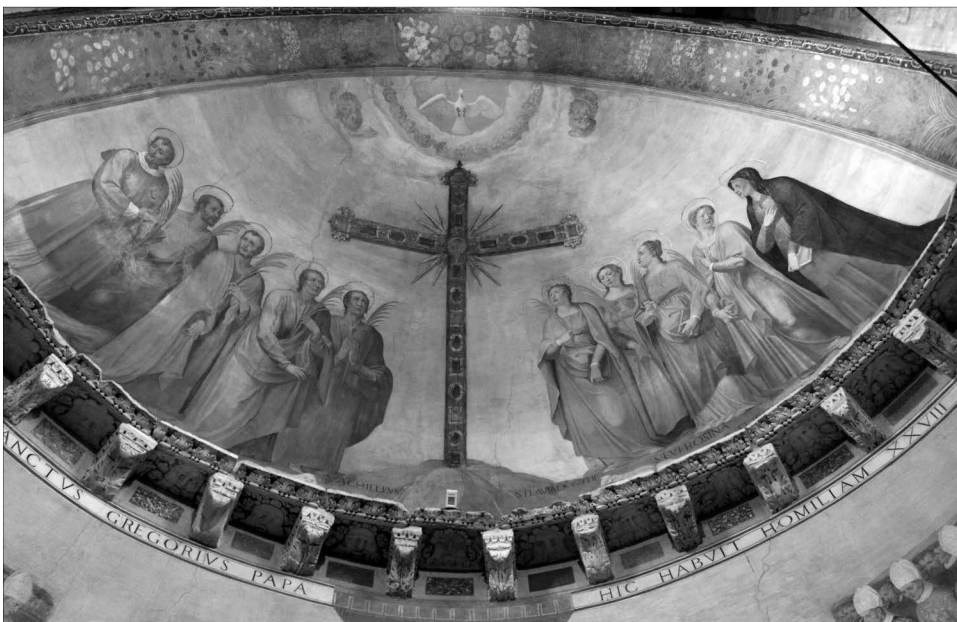
4.1 Girolamo Massei, painted façade, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome  
(Photo: author)



4.2 Interior view facing the apse, restored c. 1597, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome  
(Photo: author)



4.3 Entrance wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome  
(Photo: author)



4.4 Girolamo Massei, apse fresco, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome  
(Photo: author)



4.5 Retrofaçade of sanctuary, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome  
(Photo: author)

Domenico Cerroni, Paris Nogari, and Cristoforo Roncalli, quickly restored and decorated the church in preparation for the translation of the relics of Sts. Flavia Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilleus with an elaborate procession to the church on May 11, 1597.<sup>4</sup> In the sanctuary, martyrdom scenes, depictions of saints and the instruments of their martyrdoms, and allegorical figures of victory created a liturgical environment that inspired meditation on the history of the early Church and encouraged devotion to its martyrs (Figures 4.2, 4.3).<sup>5</sup> As one approached the church on the Via Appia, the painted façade of SS. Nereo e Achilleo announced the theme of martyrdom with grisaille paintings of spikes, lances, and other instruments of cruelty suspended and bundled with decorative bows flanking the entrance. Inside the sanctuary, the theme continues with fresco cycles depicting the martyrdom of the Apostles along the sidewalls and imagery of the lives and martyrdoms of the church's patron saints in the nave clerestory. The themes explored in the martyrdom cycles along the nave and side aisles reach their climax in the apse fresco depicting a large jeweled cross with five male saints and five female saints on either side, which replaced a damaged medieval mosaic (Figure 4.4).<sup>6</sup> The final image that a visitor would encounter, as one departed the sanctuary, is a painting on the retrofaçade showing Sts. Nereus, Achilleus, and Domitilla and their companions receiving crowns and palms: symbols of their heavenly victory (Figure 4.5).

Art historical analysis of Cesare Baronio's patronage has focused on how the prolific church historian used his knowledge of Christian antiquities to incorporate early Christian liturgical furnishings and symbols in the restoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo in 1597 (Figure 4.2).<sup>7</sup> However, scholars have argued that the church's martyrdom imagery and gruesome narrative scenes were based on contemporary devotional imagery rather than early Christian sources.<sup>8</sup> In the light of Baronio's concern for incorporating Christian antiquities throughout his restoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo, it seems more likely to me that early Christian sources also inspired the

church's complex martyrdom imagery. I argue that Baronio's restoration and decoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo with imagery of the saints' gruesome and bloody deaths and the heavenly rewards of martyrdom created a liturgical setting that was reminiscent of what post-Tridentine Catholics imagined worship would have been like in the catacombs.

As a prolific early modern Catholic scholar of church history, Baronio interpreted Rome's early Christian monuments as manifestations of the city's sacred history and landscape,<sup>9</sup> and he applied his knowledge of early Christian history and antiquities to restore Rome's ancient pilgrimage sites based on authoritative early Christian models.<sup>10</sup> In the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607), a multi-volume history of the Church from the first to the twelfth century, Baronio frequently described and illustrated important images, monuments, and inscriptions as historical sources that defended the ancient origins of the sacred images.<sup>11</sup> Consistent with these interests, Baronio supported and closely followed the exploration of the catacombs following the discovery of the painted catacombs on Via Salaria in 1578.<sup>12</sup>

The discovery of early Christian images adorning the catacombs on Via Salaria addressed urgent, timely problems concerning the Catholic tradition of sacred art and image veneration, which had been attacked by Protestant iconoclasts.<sup>13</sup> Following the Council of Trent (1545–63), the proper role of sacred images in liturgical worship became an important topic of study and discussion among Catholic reformers. Several post-Tridentine treatises on sacred art described early Christian images and architecture as models for reform.<sup>14</sup> Although several catacomb sites in Rome had remained accessible since antiquity, for many centuries past they had been viewed primarily as mines of relics.<sup>15</sup> The ancient Christian paintings adorning these sites had not received attention from pilgrims or antiquarians until the discovery of the painted catacombs in 1578 presented early modern Catholic reformers with powerful sources to defend and reform the Catholic tradition of sacred art.<sup>16</sup> Early modern Catholics believed that the early Church had worshiped in Rome's catacombs and venerated the relics and images of the martyrs buried there.<sup>17</sup> Based on the assumption that the catacombs had been devotional spaces for the cult of martyrs, sixteenth-century historians and antiquarians who explored the catacombs and formed the first collections of drawings of these sites often interpreted the ancient paintings found in Rome's catacombs as images of martyrs.<sup>18</sup> As ancient devotional sites, the catacombs were ideal sources of inspiration for the reform of sacred art, which provided ancient and authoritative iconographic models for Counter-Reformation martyrdom imagery.

The Counter-Reformation war on idolatry and the embrace of early Christian art necessitated a dramatic shift in Renaissance art theory. While classical antiquities had been admired by artists and collectors since the early fifteenth century on account of their formal qualities,<sup>19</sup> scholars using the art of the catacombs to justify the existence of Counter-Reformation devotional art developed new criteria for interpreting and emulating Christian antiquities



that allowed them to value these works for qualities beyond style and artistic skill. In discussing Christian antiquities, Counter-Reformation scholars often avoided the issue of style and quality, or else they developed theories to justify the style of early Christian art, which seemed crude and unsophisticated by Renaissance standards.

Although Baronio enthusiastically promoted the exploration of the catacombs and scholarship of Christian antiquities, he also acknowledged the problematic issue of style in his discussion of the Arch of Constantine (c. 315) in the third volume of his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1592).<sup>20</sup> Baronio noted the stylistic differences between the exceptional classical sculptures on the Arch of Constantine taken from monuments built under Emperor Marcus Aurelius (121–180) and the early fourth-century reliefs created for Emperor Constantine (272–337). He described the sculptures borrowed from earlier monuments as extraordinary and expertly made, while he considered the works created during the time of Constantine to be crude and lacking in refinement.<sup>21</sup> While Renaissance art theorists such as Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) had blamed the Church for the destruction of pagan antiquities and the decline of classical style,<sup>22</sup> Baronio argued that Emperor Diocletian (245–316) was culpable for the lack of accomplished artists in Rome during the reign of Constantine. He asserted that the skilled Christian artists had been martyred during Diocletian's great persecutions of the late third and early fourth centuries.<sup>23</sup> This argument, however, relied upon the assumption that Constantine would not have commissioned pagan artists. Baronio also interpreted Constantine's use of *spolia* from earlier monuments as propaganda, rather than as merely a product of necessity due to the shortage of skilled artists.<sup>24</sup> Baronio argued that Constantine's appropriation of sculptures from earlier monuments demonstrated the Christian emperor's triumph over pagan superstition and idolatry.<sup>25</sup>

Because Baronio thought the style of early Christian art during the era of Constantine lacked the skill and sophistication of the monuments created for earlier Roman emperors, he would have considered early Christian painting and sculptural decorations to be poor stylistic models for fresco cycles adorning his titular church. The painted catacombs, however, gave Baronio a dramatic iconographic and ideological source for the martyrdom imagery at SS. Nereo e Achilleo. In the second volume of the *Annales*, Baronio described the discovery of the painted catacombs on Via Salaria as confirmation of the accounts by St. Jerome (c. 340–420) and Prudentius (c. 348–413) that described early Christian worship and devotion to the cult of martyrs in Rome's ancient cemeteries.<sup>26</sup> Baronio also made numerous pilgrimages to the Roman catacombs and was deeply moved by these ancient sites of devotion.<sup>27</sup> As early Christian worship spaces that continued to inspire the devotion of pilgrims in the late sixteenth century, the catacombs were compelling models for the restoration and revival of Rome's early Christian churches.

### Rome's "Hidden Cities": Baronio's Account of the Discovery of 1578

Descriptions of the catacombs from the late sixteenth century demonstrate how these sites would have inspired the emotionally charged martyrdom imagery created for Baronio's titular church. The sacred images discovered in the catacombs provided Catholic scholars with evidence in support of the antiquity of the cult of images, which had been challenged by numerous Protestant theologians and historians.<sup>28</sup> An anonymous description from 1578 of the catacombs discovered on Via Salaria identifies the polemical significance of the painted catacombs:

There can be seen plainly with one's own eyes, how, in the time of the pagans and idolaters, those pious and holy friends of God, who could not be in public in the light of day, painted and venerated pious images in caves and caverns. But now even among Christians, oh great blindness of this time, there are some who with reckless daring presume to scrape them away and to strike them down from holy temples.<sup>29</sup>

As this document argues, the discovery of the painted catacombs defended the ancient origins of image veneration against the Protestant iconoclasts, that caused the "great blindness of this time." The paintings found in the catacombs also supported the traditional idea that the sites functioned as chapels and worship spaces for the early Church in times of persecution; the painted catacombs provided Catholic reformers with authoritative models of proper liturgical spaces, surrounded by the images and relics of the martyrs.

This interpretation continued in the anonymous document's description of the iconography of the catacomb paintings:

In many places in the said cemetery, one can see painted the shepherd bearing a sheep on his shoulders, also more often Ignatius seen between two lions, the sacrifice of Abraham, and a woman holding a sponge in her hands. They believe this to be the image of St. Praxedes whose body like that of St. Pudentiana, her sister, sacred histories also testify to have been buried in that same place. There remain traces of many other images, which on account of their great antiquity cannot be identified.<sup>30</sup>

Based on the assumption that the sacred images found in the catacombs depicted the martyrs buried there, the author associated the scene of a man with two lions as the martyrdom of the early Christian St. Ignatius of Antioch, rather than the more likely Old Testament subject of Daniel and the lions.<sup>31</sup> The description of the woman holding a sponge as St. Praxedes was likely based on stories that the holy sisters gathered the blood of the martyrs with a sponge and collected it in vessels when they prepared the martyrs' burials.<sup>32</sup> The author's detailed list of subjects found in the catacombs reflects the value of these images as sources of early Christian iconography and demonstrates how sixteenth-century views on the devotional function of the catacombs impacted interpretations of these paintings as scenes of persecution and images of saints and martyrs associated with the history of the Roman catacombs.

Because of his privileged position within Rome's community of ecclesiastical scholars and reformers, Baronio had access to the discoveries being made in the catacombs, and he participated in the early explorations of the painted catacombs on Via Salaria with Alfonso Chacón and Philips van Winghe, the two antiquarians who formed the first collections of drawings documenting the frescoes discovered at this site.<sup>33</sup> Baronio also acted as a consultant for the relic trade that was connected to the exploration of the catacombs, and on numerous occasions the Pope and other Catholic leaders asked Baronio to evaluate the authenticity of relics.<sup>34</sup> In the second volume of the *Annales* (1590), Baronio described the discovery on Via Salaria and the importance of the Roman catacombs in the history the early Church's devotion to the martyrs:

The City was astounded to recognize that in her suburbs she had hidden cities, once colonies of the Christians in times of persecution, but now just filled with tombs; what she read in documents or saw in other partially opened cemeteries she then fully understood: indeed, that which she had read by St. Jerome and Prudentius, regarding [them] with her own eyes, she observed with great wonder.<sup>35</sup>

Baronio and his contemporaries misidentified the site discovered in 1578 as the catacombs of Priscilla because medieval guidebooks and early modern antiquarian studies reported that this site had been located on the Via Salaria,<sup>36</sup> but modern scholarship has identified this discovery as the anonymous catacombs on Via Anapo.<sup>37</sup> Baronio's reference to the accounts of Jerome and Prudentius, which he quoted elsewhere in this volume of the *Annales*,<sup>38</sup> supported his interpretation of the catacombs as worship sites for the early Church's veneration of sacred relics and images of the martyrs.

Both Jerome and Prudentius wrote about their pilgrimages to the catacombs to venerate the tombs and relics of Rome's early Christian martyrs. St. Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel includes a passage that is the earliest known description of a catacomb.<sup>39</sup> Writing as a mature man at least fifty years after his pilgrimage in Rome as a youth, Jerome recounted visiting the crypts as a boy and described the ominous setting of the catacombs:

When I was a boy and being instructed in the liberal arts, I often used to visit the tombs of the Apostles and martyrs on Sundays with others of my age and inclination, and to enter the crypts, which having been excavated in the depths of the earth, contained the bodies of the entombed along both sides of the walls; and since everything was dark, it was almost as though that prophecy, "They descend to the infernal regions alive" were being fulfilled; and light, admitted sporadically from above, tempered the horror of the shadows, so that one might think of it less as a window than as an aperture of admitted light; and since it was necessary to make ones way back slowly, having been submerged in blind night, that Virgilian line came to one's mind: "Horror everywhere for the spirit, the silences themselves terrify."<sup>40</sup>

Jerome's account of navigating the dark and disorienting labyrinth of corridors in Rome's underground cemeteries captured the emotive power of these sites. This description of the catacombs as terrifying and awe-inspiring

spaces informed Baronio's sense of wonder at the discovery of 1578 and shaped his interpretation of the catacombs as "hidden cities" from the era of Rome's ancient martyrs.

Baronio's reference to Prudentius is particularly significant because he wrote the only known description of a work of art in the catacombs written prior to 1578.<sup>41</sup> In Hymn XI of the *Peristephanon*, Prudentius described a painting in the catacombs that he claimed to have seen over the tomb of St. Hippolytus that depicted the saint's martyrdom and the mournful response of his followers:

Painted on a wall, showing in many colors the wicked deed in all its details; above the tomb is depicted a lively likeness, portraying in clear semblance Hippolytus's bleeding body as he was dragged along. I saw the tips of rocks dripping, most excellent Father, and scarlet stains imprinted on the briars, where a hand that was skilled in portraying green bushes had also figured the red blood in vermillion. One could see the parts torn asunder and lying scattered in disorder up and down at random. The artist had painted too his loving people walking after him in tears wherever the inconstant track showed his zigzag course. Stunned with grief, they were searching with their eyes as they went, and gathering the mangled flesh in their bosoms. One clasps the snowy head, cherishing the venerable white hair on his loving breast, while another picks up the shoulders, the severed hands, arms, elbows, knees, bare fragments of legs. With their garments also they wipe dry the soaking sand, so that no drops shall remain to dye the dust; and wherever blood adheres to the spikes on which its warm spray fell, they press a sponge on it and carry it all away.<sup>42</sup>

A painting that resembles Prudentius's description has never been found in the area of Hippolytus's tomb on Via Tiburtina.<sup>43</sup> For Baronio and many of his contemporaries, this captivating description, however, overshadowed the visual evidence found in the catacombs. Prudentius's ekphrasis encouraged early modern Catholic historians and antiquarians to envision dramatic scenes of martyrdom and the extreme acts of devotion taken to care for and collect the bodies and even the blood of the martyrs as appropriate subjects for paintings in the catacombs. Prudentius's evocative description of the painting over St. Hippolytus's grave and his accounts of Rome's ancient cemeteries were frequently cited in early modern treatises about early Christian art and the catacombs by scholars such as Onofrio Panvinio, Jean L'Heureux, and Antonio Bosio.<sup>44</sup> By citing Prudentius, Baronio and his contemporaries provided a historical foundation for early modern interpretations of frescoes found in the catacomb as martyrdom imagery.

In the second volume of the *Annales*, Baronio also praised the good fortune of his contemporaries, who could imitate their ancestors by venerating the relics of the martyrs, even if it was in churches rather than in their original tombs.<sup>45</sup> By comparing early Christian worship in the catacombs to contemporary devotional practices, Baronio demonstrated the continuity of Catholic tradition. As a patron, Baronio also sought to imitate the ancient church in his restoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo.

### Jesuit Contributions to Early Christian Revival

Baronio's restoration and decoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo with imagery of the sacrifice and triumph of Rome's early Christian martyrs continued and expanded upon martyrdom cycles commissioned by the Jesuits in the 1580s for several early Christian and medieval sanctuaries given to the Order, including S. Stefano Rotondo, S. Apollinare, and S. Tommaso di Canterbury.<sup>46</sup> The restoration projects led by Pope Gregory XIII and the Jesuit Order at S. Saba, S. Apollinare, and S. Stefano Rotondo suggest that these patrons' approaches to early Christian revival and the reform of liturgical art changed in the late sixteenth century, following the 1578 discovery of the painted catacombs on Via Salaria (Figures 4.6–4.8).

Prior to the discovery of the painted catacombs on Via Salaria in 1578, the decoration of Rome's early Christian pilgrimage sites, such as S. Saba, most often focused on restoring altarpieces and apse frescoes that mimicked the style and iconography of medieval mosaics (Figure 4.6).<sup>47</sup> S. Stefano Rotondo's artistic program in the early 1580s reflects a dramatic shift in the restoration of early Christian Rome, which shaped sacred art and architecture in the final decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>48</sup> The Jesuits commissioned the first large-scale martyrdom cycle in Rome for the German-Hungarian College at S. Stefano Rotondo in 1582. Niccolò Circignani created an elaborate history of early Christian martyrs adorning the ambulatory walls that completely encircled the sanctuary with 32 painted panels, organized chronologically and geographically (Figures 4.7, 4.8).<sup>49</sup> Each panel represented several events marked with letters that corresponded to alphabetized captions in Latin and Italian identifying the different scene. The lettered captions acted as an itinerary for the viewer traversing the image in meditation.<sup>50</sup>



4.6 Apse fresco,  
c. 1575, San  
Saba, Rome

(Photo: author)



4.7 Interior view of the central altar and ambulatory, S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome  
(Photo: author)



4.8 Interior view of the central altar and ambulatory, S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome  
(Photo: author)

While the style of Circignani's frescoes have been compared to the catacomb paintings, the catacombs inspired Counter-Reformation art and the restoration of Rome's early Christian churches in other ways. Thomas Buser commented that Circignani's paintings had a "crude look," and he suggested "perhaps he tried to give the series a primitive look, like the paintings in the ancient catacombs that had just been rediscovered."<sup>51</sup> But Circignani's gruesome frescoes of early Christian martyrdom set in expansive landscapes did not resemble the late antique style of the early Christian frescoes in the catacombs. For example, Circignani's fresco panel depicting persecutions under Emperors Maximinus II (270–313) and Licinius (c. 263–325) represents a young man's dismembered and bleeding body laying on a table in the foreground (Figure 4.9). A Roman persecutor stands over the martyr's mutilated body with his arms raised holding a knife over his head, bringing his right arm across his body and shifting his weight, ready to strike his victim again.<sup>52</sup> Bloody corpses fill the middle ground of the landscape. In the background, lions and wild boars attack Christians in an arena while a town lies in the distance along the horizon line, beyond the violent scenes.<sup>53</sup> Unlike Circignani's detailed landscape settings and his use of continuous narrative, the early Christian frescoes found in the catacombs typically only represented one or two principal figures in narrative scenes and had minimal landscape details. Circignani's muscular and dynamic figures also differ from late antique paintings. Circignani's painting style was not informed by early Christian paintings in the catacomb. As previously discussed, early modern Catholics, including Baronio, avoided or reframed the issue of style in their recommendations of early Christian images as models for the post-Tridentine reform of sacred art.

The common modern assessment of Circignani's martyrdom series as unsophisticated and archaic also starkly contrasts the late sixteenth-century reception of these paintings.<sup>54</sup> S. Stefano Rotondo's martyrdom cycle received numerous praises from early modern Catholic leaders, such as Pope Gregory XIII, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, who visited the church soon after its restoration.<sup>55</sup> Michele Lauretano (1537–87), the rector of the Jesuit German-Hungarian college from 1573 to 1587 who oversaw Circignani's decoration of S. Stefano Rotondo, asserted that S. Stefano Rotondo's martyrdom series gave "great edification to everyone" because "the painting is of a restrained beauty but very devout."<sup>56</sup> Lauretano and his contemporaries extolled the virtue of Circignani's frescoes for their devotional effect, which was aided but not overshadowed by the "restrained beauty" of the artist's style. Although the style of Circignani's frescoes at S. Stefano Rotondo does not resemble early Christian art in the catacombs, I argue that Rome's ancient cemeteries inspired the iconography of Circignani's martyrdom cycle and contributed to its devotional effect.

The Jesuit's restoration and decoration of S. Stefano Rotondo reflects the Order's active role in promoting the cult of martyrs and the veneration



4.9 Niccolò Circignani, *Persecutions under Emperors Maximinus II and Licinius*: A Christian Tortured (A), with Others Attacked by Beasts (B), Bishop Peter of Alexandria in Prayer while Others are Killed (C), 40 Soldiers Thrown into a Lake (D), and Bishop Simeon and Sixteen Thousand Christians Cut into Pieces (E), 1581–82, fresco XXVII, ambulatory of S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome

(Photo: author)



of saints' relics. While the Roman Oratory of St. Filippo Neri has often been credited for the birth of Christian archeology, the Jesuit Order's high demand for relics of the saints also encouraged their interest in the exploration of the catacombs.<sup>57</sup> A few years before the famous accidental discovery of the painted catacombs in 1578, the Jesuit Order requested permission from Pope Gregory XIII in 1575 to excavate Rome's ancient cemeteries and exhume the relics of saints found at these sites.<sup>58</sup> The discovery of 1578 reinforced the Jesuit Order's prior interests in excavating Rome's ancient cemeteries.

The first *avviso urbanate* from June 28, 1578 issued by Pope Gregory XIII announcing the discovery recorded that the Fourth Superior General of the Jesuit Order, Everard Mercurian (1514–80), was one of three church officials whom the pope sent to the site along with Cardinal Giacomo Savelli, the Vicar General of Rome, and the celebrated French humanist, Marc Antoine Muret.<sup>59</sup> As one of the first church leaders sent to the newly discovered site by the pope, Mercurian represented the Jesuit Order's active role in the excavation of the catacombs. Following the discovery of 1578, the analysis of early Christian images and antiquities in the catacombs provided a new source that would have likely inspired the Jesuits' martyrdom imagery and their innovative approach to the restoration of S. Stefano Rotondo in the early 1580s. This form of early Christian revival reached its most sophisticated expression under the patronage of Cesare Baronio in the 1590s.

### **Baronio's Use of Antique Sources at SS. Nereo e Achilleo**

With the continued exploration and scholarship of the catacombs throughout the 1580s and 1590s, Baronio had a more extensive knowledge of these sites than his Jesuit precursors. Although Baronio's decorative program is more complex and varied than the martyrdom imagery at S. Stefano Rotondo from the 1580s, these restoration projects both successfully revived early Christian sources in a way that also appealed to contemporary aesthetics and devotional practices.

The martyrdom imagery at SS. Nereo e Achilleo included symbols from Christian antiquities found in the catacombs and iconographic themes associated with these holy sites. First, the signs of martyrdom found on ancient inscriptions in the catacombs provided an early Christian source for the grisaille paintings of spikes, lances, and other torture devices on the façade of SS. Nereo e Achilleo attributed to Girolamo Massei (c. 1540–1616).<sup>60</sup> Baronio was familiar with such inscriptions found in the catacombs of Callixtus,<sup>61</sup> and Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea* illustrated symbols of palms, crowns, flames of fire, and burning pots and combs found on grave markers in the catacombs.<sup>62</sup> The signs of martyrdom found in the catacomb inscriptions supported the antiquity of these emblems and promoted early modern fascination with the history of violence and torture endured by the

martyrs.<sup>63</sup> Early modern antiquarians also interpreted these inscriptions as grave markers for martyrs' tombs.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, the signs of martyrdom on the façade of SS. Nereo e Achilleo marked the church as the new site of the relics of Sts. Nereus, Achilleus, and Domitilla. The signs of martyrdom also alluded to the history of the early Church's devotion to the relics of Sts. Nereus and Achilleus in the catacombs of Domitilla where the saints were originally buried on Via Ardeatina.<sup>65</sup>

Rather than imitating the style of early Christian art, the decorative program for the interior of SS. Nereo e Achilleo drew upon Baronio's interpretation of the catacombs and his vision of the setting of early Christian devotion to the martyrs. Violent and bloody scenes of the martyrdoms of the Apostles attributed to Domenico Cerroni fill the walls along the side aisles (Figure 4.10).<sup>66</sup> Illusionistic grisaille paintings depicting sculpted figures of the Apostles triumphantly holding the instruments of their martyrdom flank the narrative scenes. The martyrdom scenes of the Apostles at SS. Nereo e Achilleo have a clarity that resembles the restrained and devout manner of early Jesuit art in Rome, such as Niccolò Circignani's fresco cycle depicting a history of Rome's early Christian martyrs at S. Stefano Rotondo (Figures 4.7–4.9). The Michelangelesque forms and contorted bodies depicting the Apostles' triumph represent a strain of late sixteenth-century Mannerism. These stylistic choices at SS. Nereo e Achilleo are consistent with Baronio's view that late antique art during the time of Constantine was crude and inferior to earlier classical styles, as we saw in his critique of the Arch of Constantine.<sup>67</sup>



4.10 Attributed to Domenico Cerroni, *Martyrdom of St. Simon*, c. 1597, fresco, side walls, SS. Nereo e Achilleo

(Photo: author)



4.11 Attributed to Domenico Cerroni, *Martyrdom of St. Jude Thaddeus*,  
c. 1597, fresco, side wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome

(Photo: author)



4.12 Attributed to Domenico Cerroni, *Martyrdom of St. Paul*,  
c. 1597, fresco, side wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome

(Photo: author)

The bloody and broken bodies depicted in the scenes of the Apostles' martyrdoms reflect early modern interpretations of the catacombs. In each martyrdom scene, the artist placed the Apostle in the foreground of the composition, confronting the viewer at eye level with the saint's blood and his mutilated body.<sup>68</sup> The bloody scenes along the sidewalls of SS. Nereo e Achilleo recalled Prudentius's description of a painting in the catacombs of St. Hippolytus's "bleeding body ... parts torn asunder and lying scattered in disorder,"<sup>69</sup> which Baronio cited in the *Annales*.<sup>70</sup> Prudentius also noted scenes of Hippolytus's followers "gathering the mangled flesh" of the martyr and collected the "shoulders, the severed hands, arms, elbows, knees, bare fragments of legs."<sup>71</sup> Evoking this description of broken bodies, SS. Nereo e Achilleo's fresco cycle of the martyrdom of the Apostles depicted decapitated heads and dismembered arms, hands, and feet (Figure 4.11). These scenes of the martyrs' blood scattered across the landscape may have also alluded to the popular story of St. Praxedes and her sister St. Prudentius soaking up the blood of the martyrs with sponges and preserving it in vessels as they buried the martyrs in the catacombs of Priscilla. The gory imagery of the Apostles' mutilated bodies characterized the relics of the saints that the pious early Christians collected, buried, and venerated in the catacombs.<sup>72</sup>

At the same time, the classical architectural settings in which these scenes were set promoted Rome's status as the sacred city of the martyrs, who metaphorically baptized the city with their blood and sanctified it with their relics. The scenes included specific monuments associated with the location of the martyrs' deaths. For instance, the image of the beheading of St. Paul depicts the event outside the city walls, supporting the tradition that the Apostle died on Via Ostiense near the pyramid of Caius Cestius (Figure 4.12).<sup>73</sup> The martyrdom cycle along the sidewalls of SS. Nereo e Achilleo recreated Baronio's vision of Rome's "hidden cities, once colonies of the Christians in times of persecution, but now just filled with tombs."<sup>74</sup>

A fresco cycle depicting the lives and martyrdoms of the church's patron saints Nereus, Achilleus, and Flavia Domitilla in the clerestory above the nave attributed to Girolamo Massei and Paris Nogari continued the narrative imagery of martyrdom begun in the side aisles (Figures 4.2, 4.3).<sup>75</sup> Borrowing the technique used in Jesuit devotional prints and the martyrdom cycle at S. Stefano Rotondo, lettered captions annotate these images and identify the episodes from the saints' lives being represented (Figure 4.9).<sup>76</sup> The Roman princess Flavia Domitilla from the Flavian dynasty (69–96 CE) was the master of the slaves Nereus and Achilleus: she features prominently in the clerestory fresco cycle. Although Sts. Nereus and Achilleus are the basilica's patron saints, the life of Domitilla intersected with important figures in the early Church, including St. Peter and Pope Clement. Domitilla's connection to both imperial and early Christian Rome also made her an ideal exemplar for Baronio's theme of Christian triumph over pagan Rome.

The narrative cycle along the clerestory wall begins near the high altar and progresses in a clockwise direction along the central aisle with three scenes

4.13 Girolamo Massei, *St. Peter's Baptism of Flavia Domitilla and Her Mother Plautilla*, c. 1597, fresco, clerestory wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome  
(Photo: author)



on each wall. Walking away from the altar and towards the entrance, pilgrims would encounter the first scene on their left depicting St. Peter's baptism of Flavia Domitilla and her mother Plautilla. Flavia Domitilla's servants, Nereus and Achilleus, also appear in the image of Flavia Domitilla's baptism as witnesses to the sacrament (Figure 4.13). The series continues in the center of the wall with an image of Flavia Domitilla receiving the veil from Pope Clement I (Figure 4.14). The veil represented the consecration of Flavia Domitilla's virginity and her vow of chastity. The next scene on the same wall near the entrance depicts Flavia Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilleus before Emperor Domitian, the narrative moment that officially began the saints' path to martyrdom. The opposite wall continues the story of the saints' arrest, torture, martyrdom, and burial. Returning to the altar, pilgrims would observe the final scene in the series depicting the martyrdom and burial of Domitilla, Teodora, and Eufrosina (Figure 4.15). This last image in the narrative portrays the saints' torture and death in a fiery furnace and the subsequent burial of the martyrs by St. Cesareus. The scene of St. Domitilla's martyrdom by fire may have recalled frescoes in the catacombs depicting the three youths in a fiery furnace described in the Book of Daniel in the Hebrew scriptures. The imagery of St. Cesareus burying the three female saints also illustrated the importance of the early Church's funerary traditions and the sacrifices made by pious individuals, such as St. Cesareus, who risked persecution to provide a proper burial for the martyrs.

Placed across from each other near the high altar, the cycle paired scenes of Domitilla's baptism and burial, two defining sacramental events in the Christian life that signified death to sin and rebirth through Christ (Figures 4.13, 4.15). The relationship formed between these two scenes emphasized the



4.14 Girolamo Massei, *Flavia Domitilla Receiving the Veil from Pope Clement I*, c. 1597, fresco, clerestory wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome

(Photo: author)



4.15 Girolamo Massei, *The Martyrdom and Burial of Domitilla, Teodora, and Eufrosina*, c. 1597, fresco, clerestory wall, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, Rome

(Photo: author)

importance of these sacraments and more generally affirmed the liturgical traditions of the early Church. While the fresco of Domitilla's burial would have likely caused viewers to meditate on Rome's early Christian cemeteries, the scene of St. Peter baptizing Domitilla may have also reminded erudite viewers in Baronio's network of scholars of the *Acts* of Pope Liberius, which reported that St. Peter had also baptized Christians in the Ostrianum Cemetery.<sup>77</sup> Because Baronio and his contemporaries believed that the early Church had performed these liturgical celebrations in the catacombs, the imagery of Domitilla's baptism and burial recalled the early Church's ritual practices in the cemeteries.<sup>78</sup>

The diverse and carefully selected early Christian and medieval sources in Baronio's restoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo reflect the patron's historical scholarship and his knowledge of Christian antiquities. By combining martyrdom scenes, historical narratives, saints' portraits, and emblems of the martyrs' triumph, Baronio created a liturgical setting that was reminiscent of what sixteenth-century Catholics imagined worship would have been like in the catacombs. Baronio's innovative and theatrical adaptation of early Christian sources reinforced the cardinal's historical and spiritual claim that the contemporary Church continued the apostolic tradition.

### Locating SS. Nereo e Achilleo in Rome's Sacred Landscape

The location of Cesare Baronio's titular church on the Via Appia, approximately 1.2 kilometers from the Aurelian Walls of Rome and the Porta Appia, placed SS. Nereo e Achilleo at an important crossroads in Rome's sacred landscape. The church stood at a symbolic gateway between monuments of Rome's pagan legacy throughout the city center and its early Christian heritage connected to the extensive catacomb complexes that filled the suburban landscape of the Via Appia outside the Aurelian Walls. Located at the threshold to the Via Appia and its collection of ancient cemeteries, Baronio's restoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo created a worship space that evoked the spirit and imagery of popular pilgrimages to the ancient basilica and catacombs of St. Sebastian, located approximately 2.5 kilometers beyond the city walls and the Porta San Sebastiano.<sup>79</sup> The basilica of SS. Nereo e Achilleo also stood between Rome's city center and the original site of the tombs of Sts. Nereus, Achilleus, and Domitilla in the catacombs of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina, adjacent to the Via Appia and one kilometer west of the catacombs of St. Sebastian.<sup>80</sup> Baronio's translation of the relics of Sts. Nereus, Achilleus, and Domitilla from S. Adriano in the Roman Forum to his titular church moved the saints' remains closer to their original tombs beyond the city walls.

For the translation of the relics of Sts. Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilleus from S. Adriano in the Roman forum to Baronio's titular church, the cardinal staged an elaborate procession on May 11, 1597, incorporating the monuments and symbols of ancient Roman triumphs to represent the victory of the church and

its martyrs over their pagan persecutors.<sup>81</sup> The procession of the relics began at S. Adriano, and then visited Il Gesu, where an altar placed in front of the church displayed the relics and music played. Then the procession ascended the Capitoline Hill with the saints' relics, and stopped before the statue of Marcus Aurelius. Next, they proceeded along the Roman triumphal course through the Roman Forum but reversing the route from its traditional order: they began at the Arch of Septimius Severus, and then passed through the Arch of Titus, and finally crossed under the Arch of Constantine. From the Roman Forum, the procession continued to S. Gregorio Magno, before concluding at SS. Nereo e Achilleo after passing through a temporary honorific arch that had been built for the occasion outside Baronio's titular church.<sup>82</sup>

The procession and translocation of the saints' relics demonstrated Baronio's understanding of the Christian meaning and heritage ingrained in Rome's urban landscape, which included ancient pagan and Christian monuments. Inscriptions written for the translation marked the processional route and created a narrative that Christianized the ancient Roman triumph.<sup>83</sup> The placement of the inscriptions at the Capitoline Hill and on the three ancient Roman triumphal arches on the Via Sacra co-opted Rome's ancient imperial monuments to celebrate the martyrs' triumph and the Church's victory over its imperial persecutors. St. Domitilla's imperial lineage and her status as a Roman princess made the saint an ideal figure for Baronio's Christian triumph. The inscriptions placed along the processional route repeatedly asserted that Domitilla's martyrdom brought Rome greater glory and triumph than the military victories of its emperors.<sup>84</sup>

Baronio's restoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo and the translations of the saints' relics in a triumphal procession exhibited Rome's early Christian history and the faith of its martyrs as being superior to the power and legacy of imperial Rome. Baronio's appropriation of the ancient arches in the Roman forum for his triumphal procession and the inscriptions placed along the processional route to SS. Nereo e Achilleo demonstrated the Church's victory over paganism and the city's transformation from an imperial capital to a Christian capital.<sup>85</sup> As monuments of Rome's sacred history, Baronio promoted Christian antiquities over Rome's classical, pagan art and monuments. By incorporating early Christian iconography and martyrdom imagery associated with the early Christian catacombs, Baronio created a liturgical environment that supported the continuity of Catholic tradition. Pilgrims to SS. Nereo e Achilleo could imagine their veneration of the martyrs as a continuation of the devotional practices and piety of the early Church in the catacombs.

Although previous scholarship has identified individual sources for the various elements of Baronio's restoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo, the catacombs present a provocative model for the cardinal's approach to the themes of martyrdom and continuity expressed in the church's decorative program. Baronio's scholarship of early Christian Rome and his knowledge of the Christian antiquities discovered in the catacombs provided the cardinal



with numerous and varied sources to inspire his restoration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo. As the assumed worship site of the Rome's early Christian church in the era of the Apostles, the painted catacombs discovered in the last decades of the sixteenth century served as authenticating models of devotionally inspiring liturgical settings. By creating a liturgical setting that recalled what Baronio and his contemporaries imagined early Christian worship would have been like in the catacombs, pilgrims and worshipers at SS. Nereo e Achilleo could envision their devotional practices as a continuation and revival of the piety of the early Church.

## Notes

- 1 Several collected volumes have addressed Baronio's contributions to sacred history, hagiography, antiquarian scholarship, and sacred art in post-Tridentine Rome: Filippo Caraffa, ed., *A Cesare Baronio: Scritti vari* (Sora: Vescovo di Sora, 1963); Romeo De Maio, Luigi Gulia, and Aldo Mazzacane, eds., *Baronio storico e la controriforma: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora, 6–10 ottobre 1979*, Fonti e studi baroniani 1 (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 1979); De Maio et al., eds., *Baronio e l'arte: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 1984*, Fonti e studi baroniani 2 (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 1985); Luigi Gulia, ed., *Baronio e le sue fonti: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 2007*, Fonti e studi baroniani 4 (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009); Patrizia Tosini, ed., *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Frosinone, Sora, 16–18 maggio 2007* (Rome: Gangemi, 2009); Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, Raimondo Michetti, and Francesco Scorza Barcellona, eds., *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, Studi e ricerche 29 (Rome: Viella, 2012).
- 2 "Ecco là la chiesa dei Santi Nereo et Achilleo a che è ridotta ... che diranno gli heretici che vengono a Roma?" BVR, MS. Q 56. fol. 47; as cited and translated in Richard Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph in 1597," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon, 1967), vol. 2, 174.
- 3 Alessandro Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano attraverso le imprese artistiche promosse da Cesare Baronio," *Storia dell'arte* 13 (1981): 171–93; Zuccari, "Restauro e filologia Baroniana," in *Baronio e l'arte*, 489–510; Alexandra Herz, "Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de' Appia," *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (1988): 590–620; Maria Grazia Turco, *Il titulus dei Santi Nereo ed Achilleo: Emblema della riforma cattolica* (Rome: Dedalo, 1997); Zuccari, "Baronio e l'iconografia del martirio," in *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, 445–501.
- 4 For the attribution of the painted façade and interior fresco cycles at SS. Nereo e Achilleo see Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio," 171–93. For Baronio's translation of the relics of Sts. Flavia Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilles in a triumphal procession see Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph," 174–78.
- 5 Herz, "Baronio's Restoration," 619–20; Zuccari, "Baronio iconografo della Controriforma," 185.
- 6 Herz, "Baronio's Restoration," 607. Noted in the inscriptions below the figures, the male saints represented from left to right are Cesareus, Servilianus,

- Sulpicius, Achilles, and Nereus. From left to right, the female saints are Flavia Domitilla, Eufrosina, Theodora, Felicola, and Plautilla.
- 7 Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph," 174–78; Herz, "Baronio's Restoration," 590–620; Turco, *Il titulus dei Santi Nereo ed Achilleo*, 59–122; Turco, "Cesare Baronio e i dettami Tridentini nelle sistimazioni presbiteriali Romane," in *Arte e committenza nel Lazio*, 87–108; Steven F. Ostrow, "The 'Confessio' in Post-Tridentine Rome," in *Arte e committenza nel Lazio*, 19–31.
  - 8 Herz, "Baronio's Restoration," 607; Zuccari, "Fonti antiche e moderne per le iconografie di Baronio," in *Baronio e le sue fonti*, 867–932; Zuccari, "Baronio e l'iconografia del martirio," 445–501.
  - 9 Simon Ditchfield, "Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c. 1586–1635," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 171–78.
  - 10 While this study focuses exclusively on Baronio's patronage at SS. Nereo e Achilleo, the historian also oversaw the restoration and decoration of other churches in Rome. For Baronio's patronage at S. Gregorio Magno see Maryvelma Smith O'Neil, "The Patronage of Baronio at San Gregorio Magno," in *Baronio e l'arte*, 146–71. For literature on Baronio's influence in the restoration of S. Cesareo de' Appia see Herz, "Baronio's Restoration," 590–620. W. Chandler Kirwin has also addressed Baronio's influence over the artistic programs for the crossing of New St. Peter's; see W. Chandler Kirwin, "Cardinal Baronius and the Misteri in St. Peters," in *Baronio e l'arte*, 3–20.
  - 11 Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. (Rome: Extypographia Vaticana, 1588–1607). The *Annales* was reprinted in Mainz in 1600–1608 and is available in the Digital Library of the Catholic Reformation. Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tomi I–XII. Editio postrema ab isopomet aucta et recognita (Mainz: Sumptibus Ioannis Gymnici, & Antonii Hierati Coloniens, 1601–08). For Baronio's scholarship of antiquities and images in the *Annales* see Ingo Herklotz, "Historia sacra und mittelalterliche Kunst während der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in Rom," in *Baronio e l'arte*, 60–72; Philip Joshua Jacks, "Baronius and the Antiquities of Rome," in *Baronio e l'arte*, 75–96; Mariarita Sgarlata, "L'epigrafia cristiana nell'età di Cesare Baronio," in *Arte e committenza nel Lazio*, 49–68; Danilo Mazzoleni, "Il cardinale Cesare Baronio e le iscrizioni cristiane," in *Baronio e le sue fonti*, 411–34; Guazzelli, "La documentazione numismatica negli *Annales ecclesiastici* di Cesare Baronio," in *Baronio e le sue fonti*, 489–548.
  - 12 On Baronio and the catacombs see Pietro Fremiotti, *La riforma cattolica del secolo decimosesto e gli studi di archeologia Cristiana* (Rome: Federico Pustet, 1926), 55–66; Carlo Cecchelli, *Il cenacolo filippino e l'archeologia Cristiana*, Quaderni di studi romani 3 (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1938); Gisella Wataghin Cantino, "Roma sotterranea: Appunti sulle origini dell'archeologia Cristiana," *Roma nell'anno 1600: Pittura e giubileo, il revival paleocristiano, Roma sotterranea, Caravaggio "pittore di storia"*, Ricerche di storia dell'arte 10 (Rome: La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1980), 5–14; Massimiliano Ghilardi, "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea' tra pietà oratoriana e interessi gesuitici," in *Baronio e le sue fonti*, 435–87; Lucrezia Spera, "Cesare Baronio, 'peritissimus antiquitatis,' e le origini dell'archeologia Cristiana," in *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, 393–423; Ingo Herklotz, "Chi era Priscilla? Baronio e le ricerche sulla Roma sotterranea," in *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, 425–44.
  - 13 For image theology during the Reformation period and debates about sacred art see Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, Studies in the Reformation, vol. 2 (Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 1979); Linda B. Parshall

- and Peter W. Parshall, *Art and the Reformation: An Annotated Bibliography*, Reference Publications in Art History (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1986); Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992); Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe*, 1st English ed. (New York: Routledge, 1993). For a detailed analysis of the discovery of 1578 and recent scholarship identifying the site as the anonymous catacombs on Via Anapo see Johannes Georg Deckers, Gabriele Mietke, and Albrecht Weiland, eds., *Die Katakombe "Anonima di Via Anapo": Repertorium der Malereien*, 3 vols., Roma sotterranea cristiana 9 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1991); Roberto Giordani, "La scoperta della catacomba sotto la vigna Sanchez e la nascita degli studi d'antichità cristiane," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 83 (2007): 277–315.
- 14 Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997).
  - 15 John Osborne, "The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1985): 278–328; Irina Taissa Oryshkevich, "The History of the Roman Catacombs from the Age of Constantine to the Renaissance" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2003).
  - 16 Oryshkevich, "The History of the Roman Catacombs," 6.
  - 17 Late sixteenth-century treatises on the catacombs and reports about the discovery of the painted catacombs on Via Salaria in 1578 described these sites as devotional spaces. Onofrio Panvinio, *De Ritu Sepeliendi Mortuos apud Veteres Christianos, et Eorundem Coemeteriis Liber* (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1568), 18–24; H. von Sauerland, "De coemeterio D. Priscillae Romae invento in Canicularibus anno 1578," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 2 (1888): 209–17; Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tomus I (Rome: 1588; reprint Mainz: 1601), annus 57, 623; Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tomus II (Rome: 1590; Mainz: 1601), annus 130, 103. For early modern devotional exercises in the catacombs see Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, "San Filippo Neri, le catacombe di San Sebastiano e le origini dell'archeologia cristiana," in *San Filippo Neri nella realtà romana del XVI secolo: Atti del Convegno di studio in occasione del IV centenario della morte di San Filippo Neri (1595–1995): Roma, 11–13 maggio 1995*, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria 39, ed. Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo and Niccolò Del Re (Rome: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 2000), 105–30.
  - 18 Alfonso Chacón and Philips van Winghe formed the first extensive collections of drawings documenting the early Christian frescoes, sarcophagi, and inscriptions found in the catacombs in the 1590s. Chacón's collection of drawings after the catacombs is held in the Vatican Library (BAV), Vat. lat. 5409. Federico Borromeo obtained a copy of Chacón's drawings, which are in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (BAM), F229 inf. A manuscript in the Royal Library Albert I, Brussels (RLAB) is the only existent work from Philips van Winghe's stay in Rome in the scholar's original hand: RLAB, inv. no. 17.872-3. Copies of Philips van Winghe's drawings are in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana (BVR), Vatican Library (BAV), and Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (BNP): BVR, MS. G.6; BAV, Vat. lat. 10545; BNP, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2343; BNP, Fonds latin 8957–58. On the sixteenth-century copies of paintings from the catacombs see Joseph Wilpert, *Die Katakombengemälde und ihre alten Copien. Eine ikonographische Studie* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1891), 4–45.

- 19 For the collection and interpretation of classical antiquities in Renaissance Rome, see Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
- 20 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus III* (Rome: 1592; reprint Mainz: 1601), annus 312, 108–09; see Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1993), 122; Oryshkevich, “Cultural History in the Catacombs: Early Christian Art and Macarius’s *Hagioglypta*,” in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 256.
- 21 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus III*, 109.
- 22 Haskell, *History and Its Images*, 112–21.
- 23 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus III*, 109; see Oryshkevich, “Cultural History in the Catacombs,” 256.
- 24 Baronio’s interpretation of *spolia* specifically countered Vasari’s argument that the reuse of earlier monuments on the Arch of Constantine was an effect of the declining quality of the arts in Rome during Constantine’s rule. See Haskell, *History and Its Images*, 122.
- 25 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus III*, 109; see Haskell, *History and Its Images*, 122.
- 26 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus I*, annus 55, 551–52; Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus II*, annus 130, 103.
- 27 Fremiotti, *La riforma cattolica*, 74; Ghilardi, “Baronio e la ‘Roma sotterranea,’” 472.
- 28 Protestant historians such as Heinrich Bullinger and Matthias Flacius Illyricus argued that the medieval papacy had corrupted the traditions of the early Church by introducing idolatrous practices, including the veneration of images. Bullinger, *De Origine Erroris* (Basel: Thomas Wolffius 1529); Bullinger, *De Origine Erroris* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1539); Matthias Flacius Illyricus et al., *Ecclesiastica Historia, Integram Ecclesiae Christi Ideam, quantum ad Locum, Propagationem, Persecutionem, Tranquillitatem, Doctrinam, Haereses, Ceremonias, Gubernationem, Schismata, Synodos, Personas Miracula, Martyria, Religions extra Ecclesiam, & Statum Imperii Politicum Attinet, secundum Singulas Centurias, Perspicuo Ordine Complectens*, 13 vols. (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1559–74); see Euan Cameron, “Primitivism, Patristics and Polemic in Protestant Visions of Early Christianity,” in *Sacred History*, 29–32.
- 29 Sauerland, “De coemeterio D. Priscillae Romae invento in Canicularibus anno 1578,” 212: “Ibi manifestissime oculis ipsis cernitur, quod ethnicorum et idolatrarum temporibus pii illi et sancti dei amici, cum publice et in huius saeculi luce non possent, in antris saltem et cavernis terrae pias imagines pingebant et venerabantur. Nunc autem inter christianos ipsos, o nimiam tempestatis huius caecitatem, non desunt, qui eas e sacris templis abradere et deturbare temerario ausu praesumunt.” This is my translation: the passage is cited and translated in Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), vol. 19, 267–68.
- 30 Sauerland, “De coemeterio,” 211: “In pluribus autem dicti coemiterii locis est videre pictum pastorem ovem in humeris gestantem, saepius pariter v: Ignatium inter duos leones, Abrahae sacrificium, et mulierem spongiam in manibus habentem. Hanc credunt esse Sanctae Praxedis imaginem, cuius corpus et

pariter sanctae Potentianae eius sororis ibidem conditum fuisse sacrae testantur historiae. Extant quoque signa aliarum imaginum, quae prae nimia antiquitate cognosci non possunt."

- 31 Deckers et al., *Die Katakombe "Anonima di Via Anapo"*.
- 32 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 374.
- 33 For Baronio's participation in the exploration of the catacombs see Fiocchi Nicolai, "San Filippo Neri," 118; Ghilardi, "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea,'" 472.
- 34 One of the most famous cases that Baronio surveyed concerned the discovery of the tomb of St. Cecilia. In *Historia Passionis B. Caeciliae Virginis* (*The History of the Passion of the Blessed Virgin Cecilia*, 1601), Antonio Bosio recorded that Baronio had inspected the body and authenticated the relics upon the request of Pope Clement VIII. Antonio Bosio, *Historia Passionis B. Caeciliae Verginis Valeriani, Tiberti et Maximi Martyrum necnon Urbani et Lucci Pontificum et Mart. Vitae atque Paschales Pape I Literae de Eorumden Sanctorum Corpum Inventionem et in Urbem Translationem* (Rome: Stephanum Paulinum, 1600), 160. Cf. Ghilardi, "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea,'" 442; Fremiotti, *La riforma cattolica*, 64–65.
- 35 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus II, annus 130*, 103: "Obstupuit Urbs, cum in suis suburbis abditas se novit habere civitates, Christianorum tempore persecutionis olim colonias, modo autem sepulchris tantum refertas; & quod legebat in chartis, vel videbat ex aliis coemeteriis aliqua solum ex parte reclusis, tunc plenius intellexit: quae enim de iisdem apud sanctum Hieronymum vel Prudentium legerat, suis ipsius oculis intuens, vehementer admirabunda spectavit." This translation is mine: the passage is cited and translated in Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 19, 268–69.
- 36 In the chapter dedicated to Roman cemeteries, the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* also reported that the catacombs of Priscilla were located near the Ponte Salaria; *Mirabilia urbis Romae: The Marvel of Rome, or a Picture of the Golden City*, trans. Francis Morgan Nichols (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1889), 28. The sixteenth-century antiquarians Andrea Fulvio and Onofrio Panvinio also noted that the cemetery of Priscilla was on Via Salaria; Andrea Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis* (Rome: Marcellus Silber, 1527), libro IV, cap. XXXII; Panvinio, *De Ritu Sepeliendi*, 19.
- 37 Deckers et al., *Die Katakombe "Anonima di Via Anapo"*; Giordani, "La scoperta della catacomba," 291–96.
- 38 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus II, annus 226*, 435–36.
- 39 Oryshkevich, "The History of the Roman Catacombs," 12–15.
- 40 Jerome, *Commentariorum in Ezechielem Lib. XII*, Patrologia Latina Database, vol. 25 (Alexandria VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1996), col. 375; cited and trans. in Oryshkevich, "The History of the Roman Catacombs," 12.
- 41 Oryshkevich, "The History of the Roman Catacombs," 76.
- 42 Prudentius, *Peristephanon Liber XI*, 125–44, in *Prudentius II*, Loeb Classical Library 398, trans. H.J. Thomson (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 312–15; see Oryshkevich, "The History of the Roman Catacombs," 76–77.
- 43 Oryshkevich, "The History of the Roman Catacombs," 77.
- 44 Panvinio, *De Ritu Sepeliendi*, 11–12; Panvinio, *Le sette chiese romane* (Rome: Heredi di Antonio Blado, 1570), 119–20; Jean L'Heureux, *Hagioglypta sive Picturae et*

- Sculpturae Sacrae Antiquiores, Praesertim Quae Romae Reperiuntur Explicatae*, ed. Raffaele Garrucci (Paris: J.A. Toulouse, 1856), 62–63, 66, 112. In 1605, L'Heureux received permission from the Inquisitor of St-Omer to publish *Hagioglypta*, but the treatise was not published until 1856. Bosio's discussion of Prudentius's account of the tomb of Hippolytus appears in book 1 of the author's original manuscript for *Roma sotterranea*, which the posthumous editor Giovanni Severano omitted in the published edition of the treatise (see note 62). Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome (BVR), MS. G. 31, fols. 123r, 185v–186r, 204v.
- 45 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus II, annus 226*, 435–36.
  - 46 The martyrdom cycles at Sant'Apollinare and San Tommaso di Canterbury were lost in subsequent renovations of these churches but are known through print series after the late sixteenth-century martyrdom cycles. Therefore, my analysis of early Jesuit art focuses on the martyrdom cycle at S. Stefano Rotondo. For the print series after these Jesuit martyrdom cycles see Giovanni Battista Cavallieri, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea ... Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum Depictae* (Rome: Bartholomaei Grassi, 1584); Cavallieri, *Beati Apollinaris Martyris Primi Ravennatum Episcopi Res Gestae* (Rome: Bartholomaei Grassi, 1586). The second edition of Cavallieri's *Ecclesiae Militantis Triumphus ... in Ecclesia S. Stephani Rotundi* bound the series after S. Apollinare's martyrdom cycle with the prints after S. Stefano Rotondo. On early Jesuit art and martyrdom imagery see Leif Holm Monssen, "The Martyrdom Cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo, Part I," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia: Series Altera in 8 2* (1982): 175–317; Monssen, "The Martyrdom Cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo, Part II, the Frescoes and Santo Stefano Rotondo," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia: Series Altera in 8 3* (1983): 11–106; Alexandra Herz, "Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context," *Storia dell'arte* 62 (1988): 53–70; Leslie Korrick, "On the Meaning of Style: Niccolò Circignani in Counter-Reformation Rome," *Word and Image* 15, no. 2 (1999): 170–89; Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).
  - 47 Flavia Strinati, "La ristrutturazione della chiesa di S. Saba tra il 1573 e il 1575: Il rapporto con l'antico tra Lauretano e Baronio," in *Baronio e le sue fonti*, 579–713.
  - 48 Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, 122–52.
  - 49 Monssen, "The Martyrdom Cycle, Part I," 175–317. In this study, Monssen presented a detailed description and analysis of each panel in the fresco cycle.
  - 50 Thomas Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (1976): 424–33.
  - 51 Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," 432.
  - 52 Monssen, "The Martyrdom Cycle, Part I," 264–89.
  - 53 Monssen, "The Martyrdom Cycle, Part I," 264–89.
  - 54 Korrick, "On the Meaning of Style," 170–89.
  - 55 Michele Lauretano, "Memoria delle cose che occorreno giornalmente nel Collegio Germanico cominciando alli 28 Ottob. 1582," Archivio del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico, Rome (ACGU), Rome, MS Hist. 103, fols. 32, 49, 57; cited in Korrick, "On the Meaning of Style," 170, 185 n. 4.
  - 56 ACGU, Hist. 103, fol. 49a. The entire passage reads: "Et è cosa che move molto à divotione per vedere infinite sorti di tormenti, et tanto gran numero de' Martiri,

et per esser la pittura mediocrementemente bella, ma molto divota, molti non la possono vedere senza lagrime, et moti spirituali." Published in Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, 310–11 n. 140. For a discussion of Laureti's use of the phrase "mediocramente bella" see Korricks, "On the Meaning of Style," 177.

- 57 See Ghilardi, "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea,'" 435–87.
- 58 Ghilardi, "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea,'" 439–40. The Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) preserves the formal request, called an *Idultum extrahendi reliquias*, written by Giovanni Nicolò Notari, the leader of the Jesuit provinces in Rome and Tuscany; see ARSI, Busta 152/1526, doc. 3. Ghilardi found the document and published it in the appendix to his article; Ghilardi, "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea,'" 473.
- 59 BAV, Urb. Lat. 1046, fol. 256.
- 60 For the attribution of the façade paintings to Girolamo Massei see Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori e architetti dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a tempi di Urbano VIII nel 1642*, ed. Valerio Mariani (Rome: E. Calzone, 1935), 104; cited in Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio," 174.
- 61 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus II*, annus 226, 433–36; see Mazzoleni, "Baronio e le iscrizioni cristiane," 411–34.
- 62 Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1635), 196.
- 63 For example, Antonio Gallonio wrote a treatise on the instruments of martyrdom published in 1591 that included engravings by Antonio Tempesta with similar triumphal imagery of torture devices. See Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio, e delle varie maniere di martoriare usate da' gentili contro christiani, descritte et intagliate in rame* (Rome: A. e G. Donangeli, 1591).
- 64 Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, 196–97.
- 65 The relics of the saints were translated from the catacombs of Domitilla to the church of S. Adriano in the Roman Forum in 1228. See Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph," 176.
- 66 Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio," 179; Zuccari, "Fonti antiche e moderne," 886; Zuccari, "Baronio e l'iconografia del martirio," 445–501.
- 67 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus III*, annus 312, 108–09.
- 68 Zuccari, "Baronio e l'iconografia del martirio," 445–501.
- 69 Prudentius, *Peristephanon Liber XI*, 125–44; see Oryshkevich, "The History of the Catacombs," 76–77.
- 70 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus I*, annus 57, 626; Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus II*, annus 130, 103.
- 71 Prudentius, *Peristephanon Liber XI*, 125–44.
- 72 Herklotz, "Chi era Priscilla?" 425–44.
- 73 Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio," 178.
- 74 Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus II*, annus 130, 103: "Obstupuit Urbs, cum in suis suburbiis abditas se novit habere civitates, Christianorum tempore persecutionis olim colonias, modo autem sepulchris tantum refertas." The translation is mine: the passage is cited and translated in Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 19, 268–69.

- 75 Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio," 179; Zuccari, "Fonti antiche e moderne," 886; Zuccari, "Baronio e l'iconografia del martirio," 445–501.
- 76 The images depicting the lives of the church's patron saints were based on *Historia della vita di SS. Nereo, Achilleo, e Flavia Domitilla* by Antonio Gallonio. The publication of hagiography coincided with the inauguration of SS. Nereo e Achilleo following Baronio's restoration in 1597. See Gallonio, *Historia della vita e martirio de' gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla vergine, Nereo, et Acchilleo, e piu altri, con alcune vite brevi de' santi parenti di S.Flavia Domitilla, et alcune annotazioni, opera di Antonio Gallonio Romano sacerdote della Congregazione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1597); see Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio" 179.
- 77 See Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici, tomus II, annus 226, 434*. Baronio owned a copy of Panvinio's *De Ritu*, which also cited this account from the *Acts* of Pope Liberius. See Panvinio, *De Ritu Sepeliendi*, 18. Alfonso Chacón also referred to the tradition that Peter had baptized Christians in the catacombs in a notation that accompanied his collection of drawings copying the catacomb paintings. BAV, Vat. lat. 4509, fol. 8r; see Wilpert, *Die Katakombengemälde und ihre alten Copien*, 5–6; Oryshkevich, "Roma sotterranea and the Biogenesis of New Jerusalem," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56 (2009): 178.
- 78 Early modern treatises on the Roman catacombs, such as Panvinio's *De Ritu* and Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea*, focused on the ancient origins of the Church's liturgical traditions in the catacombs. See Ditchfield, "Text before Trowel: Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea* Revisited," in *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, *Studies in Church History* 33, ed. Robert Norman Swanson (Suffolk: Boydell, 1997), 343–60.
- 79 Fiocchi Nicolai, "San Filippo Neri," 105–30.
- 80 In his *Notationes* for the feast day of Sts. Nereus and Achilleus on May 12, Baronio identified the cemetery of Domitilla on Via Ardeatina as the original sites of the saints' tombs. See his *Martyrologium Romanum ad Novam Kalendarii Rationem, et Ecclesiasticae Historiae Veritatem Restitutum. Gregorii XIII Pont. Max. Iussu Editum. Accesserunt Notationes atque Tractatio de Martyrologio Roman. Auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano Congregationis Oratorii Presbytero. Cum Privilegio et Permissu Superiorum* (Rome: Extypographia Dominici Basae, 1586), 213–14. In *Roma sotterranea*, Bosio also identified the catacombs of Domitilla as the saints' original burial place and described Baronio's translation of the relics to his titular church; Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, 192.
- 81 Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph," 174–78.
- 82 Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph," 176.
- 83 Antonio Gallonio recorded the inscriptions placed along the processional route in a manuscript held in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana. See BVR, MS. G. 99, fols. 14r–16v; see Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph," 176–77.
- 84 Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph," 178.
- 85 Pope Sixtus V's program to renovate Rome's urban center by placing Christian figures and symbols on ancient imperial monuments, such as Trajan's Column, provided a precedent for Baronio's approach to the Christianization of Rome's ancient triumphal processions. For the changing urban topography of Rome under Pope Sixtus V see Maria Luisa Madonna, ed., *Roma di Sisto V: Le arti e la cultura* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1993).





# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## The Authorizations of Torture: John Bale Writing Anne Askew

Natalia Khomenko

Post-Reformation England witnessed a great deal of disparagement directed at the formerly popular Catholic saints, and an overwhelming wave of mockery of their martyrdoms. While early modern Protestants repudiated most of the medieval saints and rejected their *vitae* as a mix of nonsense and superstition, the martyrological genre did not lose its appeal. Throughout the sixteenth century, the reformers' cause continued to produce its own martyrs and to publish various documents—letters and narratives—related to these martyrs' interrogation, torture, and death.

The descriptions of torture and suffering in martyrological accounts, and especially those concerning women, can present difficulties for the modern academic, since they are too easily read as a spectacle of disenfranchisement and silencing. This has been the case with *The Lattre Examynacyon of Anne Askewe*, the second of two interrogation narratives published by John Bale in 1546/47. This particular text, outlining the interrogation and eventual execution of the English gentlewoman Anne Askew, offers a particularly fertile field for inquiry because of its unusual nature: shaped by Askew's first-person account, it also contains numerous, and lengthy, interpolations by John Bale. In contrast to Askew's own focus on the issues of faith and references to scriptural authority, Bale seeks to establish the author's spiritual authority by forcefully drawing the readers' attention to her tortured and injured body. However, his participation in the narrative has consistently been viewed as an intervention that misreads and counteracts Askew's goals in making this account public, and emphasizes her body at the expense of spiritual agency and authority.

This reading, to a certain extent, is informed by Elaine Scarry's hugely influential *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*, which imagines torture as a process that robs the prisoner of the ability to relate or speak to the rest of the world, firmly situating her within her own body and within her body only.<sup>1</sup> In Scarry's words, "ultimate domination requires

that the prisoner's ground become increasingly physical and the torturer's increasingly verbal, that the prisoner become a colossal body with no voice and the torturer a colossal voice (a voice composed of two voices) with no body."<sup>2</sup> Through the experience of intense pain inflicted in torture, "[w]orld, self, and voice are lost, or nearly lost"; inflicted by one person onto another, it is always an experience of disempowerment and disintegration.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, exploring the significance of pain and wounding in religious imagination, Scarry points, in her reading of the Hebrew scriptures, to its potential for offering visible substantiation of the divine power at the expense of selfhood and suggests that "wounding re-enacts the creation because it re-enacts the power of alteration that has its first profound occurrence in creation."<sup>4</sup> She sees the advent of Christianity as a shattering of this separation between the divine power and the human body—a shattering that manifests in "God's willing taking on of a body and, simultaneously, his willing disembodiment of men and women in earthly acts of healing ... and in the elimination of the human body as a source of analogical verification."<sup>5</sup> In this transformation of categories, Scarry identifies no movement in the other direction, where the experience of physical pain or wounding may enable and confirm the awareness of the divine power, establish and re-affirm the individual's relationship with this power, and thus mean not the loss but recovery and strengthening of her world, self, and voice.

Medieval martyrological texts are characterized by just such a recovery and empowerment authorized through torture. At the center of a *passio* lies an encounter in which the pagan or heretic interrogators are rendered impotent while the saint draws on the pain as a source of authority and is empowered by it to preach to and convert the onlookers. The medieval cult of saints ensured that the saint's body retained this power even after death, when it was worshipped in the form of relics and remained a symbol both of the terrible tortures inflicted on the saint and of her abiding popularity and influence. Writing his commentary in the throes of the Reformation, Bale could not fail to be influenced by the medieval models; his treatment of Askew buttresses her voice not by lessening the power of pain but by amplifying it and thus extending the authorizations it permits.<sup>6</sup>

The context of the torture, in other words, is of crucial importance, and the applicability of Scarry's theory of pain to pre-modern martyrological texts is open to re-examination. In the past, reading martyrdom-related texts directly through Scarry's lens produced a variety of curious disjunctions, such as, in some cases, an assertion that the martyr's voice is possible because her suffering is merely an illusion.<sup>7</sup> Building on Scarry's productive theoretical framework, I would like to offer a qualification and argue that, in certain contexts, torture does not automatically underwrite disempowerment and silencing, or transfer of voice and power to the torturer. Rather, in the cases of early modern religious persecution, the suffering endured by the faithful believer could confirm her devotion to the religious cause, re-affirm her

identity as a true Christian, and place her in a position of authority as a model for other believers.

Some of this ground has already been covered by Janel M. Mueller, who argues that, in early modern episodes of persecution against the reformers, "Catholic enactment of authority serves protestant truth—to the extent that the condemned maintain, during their torture, the integrity of self-possession that signifies the truth of their being."<sup>8</sup> Mueller focuses, for the most part, on the texts generated in the course of the Marian persecution and compiled by John Foxe in the second half of the sixteenth century, and treats the foregrounding of the tortured body as the Protestant response to and resistance against the "Catholic ontology of presence," achieved through the miracle of transubstantiation. This foregrounding, in her view, serves to underscore the gap between the two doctrines.

I, instead, turn my attention to an earlier Protestant martyrological account and underscore the extent to which an early modern writer's view of torture and its potential effect on his audience is informed by the medieval models.<sup>9</sup> Seeking to extend Scarry's view of torture, this chapter will contend that Bale consciously emphasizes this aspect of the interrogation in order to present Askew as a recognizable and powerful figure. Occupying the space of transition between two religious ideologies, Bale's commentary is sharply aware of the medieval hagiographical tradition and, working to supersede it, seeks to present to its readers a martyrdom more dramatic, more intense, and more explicit than anything offered by the Catholic tradition. Accepting Jennifer Summit's argument that "Askew is superior to these Catholic saints not because her story reverses their examples but because it does a better job fulfilling them," I argue against her further remark that Bale "demonstrates unwittingly how grounded in their example she is."<sup>10</sup> Forced, by long familiarity and absence of other models, to use the genre available to him, Bale seeks to highlight Askew's superiority by deliberately intensifying the features he has inherited from Catholic *passio*. Supplying commentary for the first-person narrative, Bale acts as Askew's hagiographer and, seeking to present her in the most advantageous light, places her tortured body in the foreground as the greatest evidence of her spiritual authority, constancy, and lasting influence.

### **"Tryumphaut Sufferynge of the Martyrs": Bale as Co-Author and Hagiographer**

In recent years, with the rising interest in women writers, Askew has attracted a great deal of attention as an author who "does unfold her essential self, that is, her identity as a Christian woman" in her autobiography.<sup>11</sup> This focus on Askew's personal voice has led, in some cases, to dissatisfaction with the fact that the first editions of her two examinations (1546 and 1547) contained prefaces, conclusions, and extensive commentary by John Bale, the publisher. Indeed, quantitatively speaking, Bale's text overpowers the reader,

breaking Askew's own narrative into small paragraphs sometimes found pages away from one another. Understandably, the scholars interested in Askew's authorial voice have tended to see Bale's commentary as intrusive and sometimes found it lacking. David Loewenstein calls it "intemperate" and "oblivious to the nuances of Askew's varied polemical strategies,"<sup>12</sup> while Patricia Pender suggests that Bale "fails to grasp" Askew's argument and "is misled into reading her rhetoric of modesty literally."<sup>13</sup> At the end of her article, Pender admits that Bale's "failure to recognize the more subversive challenges of her modesty rhetoric may very well be deliberate" and acknowledges his own manipulation of rhetoric in "trying to secure her as an appropriate figure for Protestant hagiography," but even in this concession she continues to see Bale as unsuccessful at engaging properly with Askew's narrative.<sup>14</sup> In this, she is only the most recent among the scholars holding the view that Bale, either through naiveté or malice, works at cross-purposes with Anne Askew, obscuring her intentions and appropriating her voice.<sup>15</sup> The scholarly view that Askew and Bale are writing against one another persists even when Bale is acknowledged as an author in his own right. Megan Matchinske, for example, speaks of Bale's "authorial involvement" but argues that his "elucidations only marginally interact with Askew's initial court responses, revealing instead Bale as writer, exile, and as written subject ...."<sup>16</sup> In other words, when acknowledged as an author, Bale is further alienated from Askew and her text; now, his commentary is read as a personal project of identity construction.

However, to see Bale as an appropriator and Askew as the silenced voice is to ignore the historical moment in which *The Lattre Examinacyon* was produced. Both converts into Protestantism, they pursue the same goal, which is to make Anne Askew's reformer beliefs and her travails known to the wider public, strengthening the like-minded and educating those of little knowledge.<sup>17</sup> Although gender plays an important part in Askew's account, and she is aware of its importance, her gender identity takes a second place, in the narrative, to her identity as a reformer, a disseminator of "true" faith, and, eventually, a martyr to her religious cause. This is a view fully shared by Bale, who earnestly urges the readers to see Askew as such, pointing out that "[i]n thys lattre part, she sheweth the nature of Christes lyvelye member, and of a perfyght christen martyr ... Thus is she a Saynt canonyed in Christes bloude, though she never have other canonymsacyn of pope, prest, nor Byshopp."<sup>18</sup> In the absence of the official canonization and the authorized *vita*, Bale's own task is to offer a close substitute for it.

I propose, then, to treat Bale not as an editor who arrives at the scene after the author's death and seeks to appropriate her work to his own ends but, rather, as a hagiographer—an author who works to disseminate Anne Askew's statement of faith by "packaging" her martyrdom for public consumption.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, Bale tells us as much in the first line of his address to the "Christen Readers" that serves as the preface to *The Lattre Examinacyon*: "In the prymatyve church, as the horrible persecucyons increased, manye dylygent writers collected the godlye answers and tryumphaunt sufferynge

of the martyrs, as necessarye examples of Christen constancye to be folowed of other."<sup>20</sup> The import of this opening is clear: Askew is the new Protestant martyr, who will reinstate and continue the traditions of original Christianity so perverted by the Catholic Church, and serve as the model for sixteenth-century defenders of the faith. Bale, on the other hand, is the "diligent writer" without whom the martyr cannot become fully known. The first sentence of what is, essentially, Askew's *passio* presents "godly answers" and "tryimphaunt sufferynge" as the two necessary components of a successful martyrological account. The godly answers to the interrogators' questions are provided by Askew herself, but it falls to Bale to supply the absent sufferings.

A dedicated Carmelite friar until his conversion in 1530s, Bale worked closely with Catholic devotional and hagiographical works, and, as his writing shows, had a special devotion to the Virgin; there is no question that he was closely familiar with the conventions of writing a *passio*.<sup>21</sup> While he insists throughout the commentary that the Catholic models exert no influence on his text, the insistence itself betrays an anxiety of influence that arises from close familiarity. His task is a distinct and formidable one: to negotiate the requirements of the genre that is, in the 1530s, still intimately familiar to his audience, and to design the new Protestant martyr whose appeal to the public imagination will be greater than that of its Catholic predecessors.<sup>22</sup> Bale's explicit intention lies not in defending his view of the Protestant woman martyr from Askew herself, as some scholars have contended, but in attempting to distinguish and defend it from the medieval hagiographical heritage, as well as to shield it from the possible Catholic readers and detractors.<sup>23</sup> The exaggerated scenes of torture are intended not to drown out Askew's pronouncements on the articles of faith but to place her firmly at the apex of martyrdom—a location on the spiritual terrain from which she can be seen more clearly and heard far and wide.

### The Unmartyred Martyrs: Bale's Take on the Catholic Saints

Preparing his readers for the descriptions of Askew's torture, Bale seeks to increase its impact by arguing that Catholic saints revered in the Middle Ages did not suffer physical hardship and therefore cannot wield the same authority. Having warned the readers that he will be "conferryng these martyrs, the olde with the newe, and the popes with Christes," Bale launches into a lengthy list of Catholic saints whose deaths, according to him, were sudden and inglorious:

Saynt Clare of Orchestre ... made hymselfe an ydell prest, and was byheaded in hys owne gardene by procurement of a woman. S. Clytanke of Southwales, who was in lyke case stabbed in with a dagger, bycause a yonge mayden loved him ... Saynt Edwyne beyng wele armed, was slayne in battayle at Hatfelde in the North, and S. Edward rydyng a Huntynge in the forest of Warham in the weast, was kyllid upon hys horse in drynkyng a cuppe of wyne.<sup>24</sup>

While Bale is obviously trying to undermine these deaths by connecting them rhetorically to the moments of various excesses, he also emphasizes the absence of prolonged suffering, as well as the general immediacy of death and lack of physical detail. In some cases, this emphasis is made at the expense of being true to the available sources.

So, describing the martyrdom of St. Winifride, Bale writes that she, “dysdaynouslye refusyng the marriage of a prynce christened, lost her head for it,” and does not include the rest of the legend, in which a healing well is formed in the place where Winifride’s head falls, while the virgin herself is miraculously restored and goes on to a long and virtuous life.<sup>25</sup> Bale’s Catholic past, as well as the detailed knowledge of Catholic hagiography he displays in other parts of the commentary, makes it extremely unlikely that he is simply not aware of the events following Winifride’s decapitation. Rather, he quite deliberately excises from the narrative the saint’s resistance to physical fragmentation, and the constructive force of such fragmentation. Of course, these details of Winifride’s martyrdom do not quite amount to torture as it is commonly understood, but Bale’s omission of them, after he has proclaimed his desire to compare, makes the absence all the more glaring. Having made reference to dozens of Catholic saints, and having revealed fairly detailed knowledge of their Lives, Bale manages to avoid a single mention of pain, wounding, and injury—beyond vague participles “byheaded,” “stabbed,” or “kylled”—in discussing a genre defined by these very things.

This suppression forcefully brings to the foreground the significance Bale ascribes to the physical aspect of martyrdom: proclaiming the inferiority of the Catholic models, he carefully edits out all suggestions of prolonged suffering or even, in Winifride’s case, of complex physical alteration. In the context of the rest of her *vita*, Winifride’s beheading is that very wounding of which Scarry speaks—the wounding that re-stages the act of creation by recalling the boundless power of alteration. In a saint’s life, however, the alteration extends in both directions: injury flows into wholeness, the head is reattached, and the blood spurting from the headless neck is imitated by the miraculous stream that spurts from the ground when Winifride’s head hits it. There is nothing to prevent Bale from mocking this artless episode of suffering and healing, but its significance for him is too great, and he chooses to forget it, as if it has never existed. In Bale’s version, Winifride simply winks out of existence, and her head is, as Bale puts it, “lost.” The scenes of torture and physical disorder cannot be mocked because they are the scenes that offer the final authority to a narrative of dying for faith. In martyrological context, then, an absence of the scenes of torture and physical suffering means a loss of authoritative voice for the martyrs. Excising these scenes from the Catholic accounts he covers, Bale is able to declare, triumphantly, “Soch pylde popysh martyrdomes, compared to the martyrdome of Anne Askewe and her faythfull cumpanye, is as is rusty yron compared to pure sylver.”<sup>26</sup>

### Outpiling Pilate: Bale and Askew's Interrogators

Arguing for the silver quality of Askew's martyrdom, Bale carefully outlines the details of this gruesome performance and, in particular, allocates a sizable portion of his text to the discussion of Askew's interrogators. His presentation of the interrogators is easily traced to the pagan official of medieval texts—a stock figure distinguished by single-minded bloodthirstiness that verges upon and slides into insanity. This official, who can occupy a variety of ranks, is especially frequently encountered in the virgin martyr Lives, where he is obsessed with bodily harm to the heroine; he re-appears in the mystery plays as ranting Herod and, in the Towneley cycle, as raging Pilate. In his own commentary, Bale uses this medieval model to create the image of Askew's interrogators as men rather improbably obsessed with causing grievous harm to his heroine: they are “bloudthurstye wolves,” and persecutors of “vertuose ladyes and most noble women, whose lyves [they] cruellye seke in [their] madde ragynge furye, as ravyshynge lyons in the darke.”<sup>27</sup> Managed by these villains, the interrogation quickly turns into a deeply personal, sadistic, and mad affair. Bale admonishes his readers to take note of this transformation:

Marke here an example most wonderfull, and se how madlye in their ragynge furies, men forget themselves and lose their right wittes now a dayes. A kynges high counsellor, a Judge over lyfe and deathe, yea, a lorde Chauncellour of a most noble realme, is now become a most vyle slave for Antichrist, and a most cruell tormentoure. Without all dyscreesson, honestye, or manhode, he casteth of hys gowne, and taketh here upon hym the most vyle offyce of an hangeman and pulleth at the rake most vyllanouslye.<sup>28</sup>

In its emphasis on insanity and the progressive descent of formerly dignified officials into animalistic state, this description clearly owes much to Catholic hagiography and drama. The Lord Chancellor is a close cousin, for example, of the three judges of St. Christina of Tyre, so tormented by anger and hatred that they could not live through the night after encountering the martyr.<sup>29</sup>

This alignment of Catholic officials with pagan antagonists of medieval works is not in itself unusual: after all, Protestants argued that Catholicism itself represented a lapse from the true Church into superstition, heresy, and ultimately paganism. More than fifty years later, Samuel Harsnett will still maintain that Catholicism is “naught els but a perfect apisme and imitation of Gentilisme and Hethenish superstition.”<sup>30</sup> Medieval martyrdom narratives, therefore, presented no problem for the early modern Protestants, since they only needed a few slight adjustments in description to be transformed into the more acceptable tales of the reformist cause.

At the same time, perfectly aware of his sources, Bale takes the additional step of directing his narrative in such a way as to suggest that his staging of martyrdom does not only emulate but, in fact, far surpasses the medieval models. In particular, the description of the interrogators presents them as being greatly superior in their villainy to all who had gone before them.



The shedding of the high counselor's gown alone is a gesture that indicates unthinkable disorder of social categories: these new pagans torturers do not only issue orders but, in the blink of an eye, are capable of falling to the very bottom of the social hierarchy and assuming the "the most vyle offyce of an hangeman." Bale's use of superlatives in this passage is also intended to indicate the urgency and unique quality of the narrative. Far from being a common run-of-the-mill tormentor, the Lord Chancellor has become "a most vyle slave for Antichrist," and his service is thus directly implicated in the ongoing apocalyptic battle. In such a charged religious context, scenes of Askew's torture are raised to new significance, symbolizing, as Bale suggests, the spiritual battle of these last days.<sup>31</sup> The readers, in other words, are urged to transfer their attention from martyrdom accounts belonging to the past several centuries and to other nations, and, focusing on this much more captivating struggle, "perceyve our Englysh rulers and judges in their newe Christyanyte of renounyng the pope, to exceed all other tyrauntes in all crueltye, spyght and vengeaunce."<sup>32</sup>

So intent is Bale on emphasizing the unmatched cruelty and viciousness of Askew's interrogators that he even extends his comparison as far as the medieval Passion play, speaking of "the judges without all sober dyscreesson, ronnyng to the racke, toggyng, halyng, and pullyng thereat, lyke tormentours in a playe."<sup>33</sup> Having made the connection, he argues that the frantic activity and lack of restraint of Askew's interrogators possibly place her trial on par with Christ's tribulations, since "Pylate shewed the accused all faver possible" and, acting as the first hagiographer, "proclaimed [Christ's title] gloryouse unto all the worlde" by writing it on the cross.<sup>34</sup> The 39 lashes ordered by this gentle judge are quietly omitted from the account, as were earlier the references to physical travail and bodily transformations in the legends of Catholic saints. Instead, according to Bale, Pilate is distinguished by the refusal to mingle law and religion and to participate in the bloodthirsty madness of the pagan priests: "[s]lacke eare gave Pylate to the prestes, he regarded not ther displeasure, he detected their protervouse madnesse, by delays, he dyfferred the sentence." Even the famous washing of hands is here interpreted as an action that speaks positively for Pilate, proving not his abandonment of Christ but, rather, his decisive refusal to participate in the dealings of the priests: according to Bale, he "fynallye washed hys hands as one that was clere from their tyrannye."<sup>35</sup>

Bale's reinterpretation of Pilate as a harmless facilitator of Christ's cause, and the absence of physical harm in his retelling, are all the more striking considering that the Towneley cycle, with its raging Pilate plays, was still being performed in England in the 1540s, and both Bale and his readers would have been well aware of the popular presentation of this figure.<sup>36</sup> The discreet rearrangement of sources strengthens the typological link between Askew and Christ and suggests, indirectly, that while Askew of course cannot surpass the Son of God, perhaps the dire circumstances of her *passio* bring her into dizzying proximity to the sufferings of Christ. Bale, in any case, feels

it appropriate to insist that “[a]fore tyme hath not bene seane, soch frantyeck outrage as is now.”<sup>37</sup> As in the medieval accounts and images of the Passion, with the center invariably occupied and dominated by the tortured body of the Savior, Bale carefully outlines the setting and the characters only to bring into stark relief the tortured body of Anne Askew, the centerpiece of his commentary.

### **The Passion of Anne Askew and the Re-Structuring of the World**

In Bale’s commentary, the torture of Anne Askew is an intense, personal rearrangement of the martyr’s body that arrives as a culmination of the interrogators’ various cruelties: “... they enprysoned her, judged her, condemned her, and racked her at the last with their owne polluted bloudye tormentours handes, tyll the vaynes and synnowes brast.”<sup>38</sup> This is, then, the central symbol of the narrative: the body that not simply suffers but is bent out of shape irrevocably, blood vessels and muscle exploding into chaos. When the tormentors exceed all other historical precedents in their viciousness and personal dedication to the project, the body to which the torments are being applied must, accordingly, exceed all other suffering bodies in sheer disquieting impact, if it is to re-enact the dissolution of the old, corrupt order and to underwrite the creation of the new faith.

Preparing the ground for this impact, Bale reminds his readers on at least two occasions that Askew is not physically suited for any hardship: she is “a woman, frayle, yonge, and most delyciouslye brought up,” and later “a yonge, tendre, weake, and sycke woman.”<sup>39</sup> Quite apart from invoking indignation at the racking of a gentlewoman, these descriptions point specifically to a body that, in a country not thrown into chaos by religious conflict, would call for most careful handling and preservation from harsh elements and immodest eyes. Instead, Bale shows Anne Askew rudely exposed to the public gaze and literally torn into pieces. The recurring image of this fragmentation is central to a complex network of signification: Askew is the symbol of unnatural religious conflict in which the true Church is persecuted by infidels who call themselves Christian, and of the explosion of the social hierarchy brought on by this conflict. At the same time, the display of brutal fragmentation is underlain with flawless spiritual integrity and endurance is in itself an argument for the forceful restructuring of the social body, which will become whole and fully functional only after it is able to suffer through violent disarrangement and dismemberment. As the direct heir of the medieval female martyr, and thus unafraid of public speech and self-exposure, Askew does not let modesty prevent her from the unnatural contortions of suffering.

This, in itself, differs radically from the lesser-known martyr of the primitive Church on whom Bale claims to have modeled his heroine—Eusebius’s Blandina, a servant girl martyred along with her mistress and other early Christians in Lyon, France. Bale’s choice of this character was

probably motivated by at least some practical considerations: it is likely that, as a “French” saint, she would not have been associated with Catholicism in medieval England, despite still being venerated in a Catholic country. Bale offers a detailed analysis of Blandina’s similarities to Askew in the preface to *The First Examinacyon*, but an examination of the source text reveals a woman martyr who under torture becomes disembodied and, while suffering and dying for the glory of God, modestly exists on the margins of the *passio*, as an allusion rather than an image. Having pointed out that many of Blandina’s group were “a spectacle for the world throughout that day in place of the usual variety of gladiatorial combats,” Eusebius continues: “*but* Blandina was hung on a stake and was offered as food for the wild beasts.”<sup>40</sup> The coordinating conjunction here indicates an emphatic opposition of actions and firmly argues that the illustrious Blandina was *not* made a spectacle for the world. The question of how visible she might have been while hanging on the stake is neatly elided and propriety reigns: the female martyr’s body disappears from the text. There are only oblique references to “all the horrors” and “the different nature and number of the tortures” experienced by the saint, and the reader must assume her triumph rather than be told about it.<sup>41</sup>

Bale, then, creates his dramatically effective martyr by revising the model he has himself chosen as acceptable, as well as by extending and adding detail to Askew’s own narrative. The difference in length and emphasis between Bale’s and Askew’s descriptions of torture is quite striking, and readily highlights Bale’s concerns in constructing his narrative. Askew offers only the briefest of mentions:

Then they ded put me on the racke, bycause I confessed no ladyes nor gentyllwomen to be of my opynyion, and theron they kepte me a longetyme. And bycause I laye styll and ded not crye, my lorde Chauncellor and master Ryche, toke peynes to racke me their owne handes, tyll I was nygh dead.<sup>42</sup>

In a later paragraph, she also comments on her “werye and payneful bones.”<sup>43</sup> Bale, however, writes a three-page commentary for Askew’s three sentences, staging the scene of the torment, outlining the details I have traced earlier, and returning repeatedly to the transformative violence inflicted on the martyr. Askew lay on the rack, he writes, “tyll the synnowes of her armes were broken, and the strynges of her eys peryshed in her heade”; her “wearye and payneful bones” are expanded in the commentary into “Anguish and payne of her broken jointes and broused armes and eyes.”<sup>44</sup> In each case, Bale emphasizes the aspect of visible disarrangement and chaos attendant on the torture: the integrity of the martyr’s veins, sinews, nerves, and bones is insistently compromised, and her body parts seem to be held together by inertia alone, while the impact of torture manifests itself in bruises on the surface.

The imagery of chaotic re-making persists and is eventually linked both to dramatic performance and to the collective body of reformed believers when

Bale asks his readers rhetorically, "Is it not (thynke yow) a proper frayenge playe, whan our armes and eyes are compelled to leave their naturall holdes?"<sup>45</sup> This rhetorical question shows especially clearly that Askew's travail in the interrogators' hands symbolizes disorder experienced by the social body on the whole: her members become "our," and the terror engendered by this "playe" must be shared by everybody in the audience. This terror, as Bale portrays it, is invoked by the female body taking on grotesque proportions as its parts "leave their naturall holdes," and is fresh, immediate, and unparalleled, in his text, by any earlier precedent, either textual or dramatic. The Catholic saints, to whom he attributes such immodest conduct but such uneventful deaths, cannot compete with the trice-reiterated image of Askew assuming an unnatural, monstrous shape while continuing to produce her assertions of faith.

Bale challenges, having described the torture, "I wolde but knowe of them whych are common readers of chronicles and Sayntes lyves, where they ever redde of a more fervent and lyvelye faythe than was in thys godlye yonge woman."<sup>46</sup> In other words, having surpassed all chronicles and saints' *vitae* in her astonishing suffering, and ability to endure this suffering, Askew has not lost but reaffirmed an integral part of her self—her faith. This is the moment of which Scarry speaks—the moment of alteration capable of re-enacting creation, and this moment is controlled not by the interrogators or God of the Old Testament but by the martyr herself. With the support of the *passio* through which she lives and which Bale then composes, Askew's voice undergoes a metaphorical "canonization" and can now ring through the lands, educating and converting the readers.

### Torture and Authority for Early Modern Women: Some Conclusions

Bale's images of torture are rather unsettling for the modern reader and scholar, who might have difficulty with accepting the writer's intentions in inserting the gruesome scenes of near-dismemberment into this narrative. Scarry's *Body in Pain* is perhaps also partly to blame for the fact that some of Bale's sources for these scenes, in particular the medieval *vitae* of virgin martyrs, have long been criticized for reducing their heroines to helpless bodies, denying them voices, and turning them into a voyeuristic spectacle for the male gaze, both that of the torturers and of the audience.<sup>47</sup> While this view has been repeatedly and successfully challenged, most famously by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, it continues, it seems, to hold a sort of instinctive validity for the modern mind. This is perhaps why Bale's commentary on Askew's text has been sometimes interpreted as a misreading of her intentions or even as a hostile invasion.

However, when evaluated on its own terms, Bale's commentary reveals a complex re-negotiation of the genres inherited from the English Middle Ages, as well as from his own Catholic past. In his effort to make Askew heard,

Bale-as-author allows a disordered female body to occupy the center of his narrative and to wield not disorder and destruction but creative power. By deliberately raising the stakes and increasing the dramatic pitch of the torture scenes—the cruelty of the interrogators, and the damage done by the rack—Bale argues, on behalf of his heroine, that her voice deserves to drown out the words of the Catholic saints and preachers. Moreover, this opportunity for high visibility, offered to a woman in a martyrological narrative, was in itself closely tied to the historical moment of the Reformation, and would soon cease to be available. As the influence of medieval *passio* lessened in early modern England, there was a reluctance concerning the explicit portrayal of women in pain, accompanied by a reluctance to acknowledge women as worthy spiritual models.

As Thomas Freeman suggests, Elizabethan martyrologists were most comfortable with women in the role of supporting characters: in their texts, women are particularly distinguished not by their ability to underwrite their faith through the spectacle of pain but by their devotion to male martyrs and Protestant divines.<sup>48</sup> Foxe's seventeenth-century abridgers, untroubled by the historical agenda and more concerned with presenting suitable models, moved along this trajectory and blithely transformed subversive female characters into the models of "virtuous female domesticity ... patient self-deprivation ... family attachment and loyalty."<sup>49</sup> Thus we see these women martyrs progressively separated from the high physical visibility characteristic for medieval female saints. The transformation is not achieved by the Reformation alone but, rather, is a continuation of the evolution through the late Middle Ages, whereby the female saint is made more "appropriate" as a model, acquiring meekness, obedience, and deference to the male authority, and becoming progressively invisible.

In the first edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563), the description of Askew's suffering is omitted, save for a vague reference to her "so great distres."<sup>50</sup> Reintroduced in the 1570, her tortures are tastefully muted: the most Foxe allows himself, in his commentary, is to tell the reader that the martyr's "bones and joints were *almost* plucked asunder"—but, obviously, not quite.<sup>51</sup> In her discussion of Foxe's treatment of Anne Askew, Frances E. Dolan comments on "the idealization of female martyrdoms in post-Reformation English texts."<sup>52</sup> She argues that the accounts of executions composed in the second half of the sixteenth century show a suppression of the suffering female body "in deference to a decorum that shapes representations of the executions of wrongfully accused or martyred women."<sup>53</sup> In other words, the erasure of the female bodies disordered by suffering ensures that their conduct in the readers' eyes is always appropriate to their sex. Askew's "so great distres" and arrival at the place of her execution in a chair is, in other words, simply the aftermath, while the focus of Foxe's commentary lies elsewhere. Once the mesmerizing spectacle of Askew's disorderly body has been, in the 1570 version, edited down to the mere possibility of disorder that never materializes, the narrative appeal is transferred from the jolting display

of the martyr's body to the fast-paced account of Sir Anthony Knevet's attempt to rescue this damsel in distress. Leaving Askew in prison, the readers follow, with bated breath, Knevet's struggle of conscience and mad dash from the rack to the court of Henry VIII, in order to notify the king of the untoward proceedings taking place without his knowledge.

Ironically, the removal of torture from Foxe's martyrological commentary means that the active role is transferred to the male rescuer, while Bale's hagiographical treatment of the account consistently focuses on Askew as an active and heroic martyr. In Bale's narrative, torture emerges as a creative force, crucial in forming and affirming a new and superior religious identity, and in bestowing on Askew the authority to disseminate this religious identity among her audience. Far from seeking to appropriate the martyr's voice, Bale, as Scarry puts it, assists Askew with "worldly self-expression" (50), and his assistance takes the form of amplifying the narrative of torture as a channel for Askew's own voice. I do not wish to idealize or valorize Bale, whose reading and writing practices are highly idiosyncratic, but a re-examination of his commentary in its religious and literary context allows modern scholars to re-think their intentions and perhaps drop some of the accusations leveled against this writer. Situated in the wake of the English Reformation, deeply indebted to the medieval models, Bale's narrative offers an important extension of Scarry's model, illustrating, as it does, the potential power of torture and physical pain to invest the sufferer with authority and, through bodily alteration, to create an unforgettable female voice.

## Notes

- 1 Because my focus is on female martyrs, I will be using the feminine pronoun.
- 2 Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 57. All further references are to this edition.
- 3 Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 30.
- 4 Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 183.
- 5 Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 241.
- 6 See Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 250–51.
- 7 Marla Carlson, in her analysis of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim's play *The Martyrdom of Holy Virgins Fides, Spes, and Karitas*, argues that the heroines "are protected from the experience of bodily pain" and thus "what looks like subversion to a twentieth-century feminist can just as easily be read as a model for covert coercion designed to benefit those in power" ("Impassive Bodies: Hrotsvit Stages Martyrdom," *Theatre Journal* 50, no. 4 (1998): 473–87, esp. 487). This reading does not discuss, for example, Spes' exclamation, as she witnesses her sister's torture, "Oh, if I could only imitate her in suffering!" (O utinam admeruissem illam imitari patiendo!); in the context of a *passio*, "patiando" has the specific implications of physical hardship (in *Hrotsvithae Opera*, ed. H. Homeyer (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1970), V 16, translation mine).

- 8 Janel M. Mueller, "Pain, Persecution, and the Construction of Selfhood in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*," in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, eds. Claire McEahern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 161–87, esp. 165–66.
- 9 On this indebtedness in early modern martyrology, see Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), ch. 3, "Material Witnesses," 53–78.
- 10 Jennifer Summit, *Lost Property: The Woman Writer and English Literary History, 1380–1589* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 155.
- 11 Elaine V. Beilin, "Anne Askew's Self-Portrait in the *Examinations*," in *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Patterson Hannay (Kent OH: Kent State University Press, 1985), 76–91, esp. 79; this article is expanded in ch. 2 of Beilin's book, *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 29–47. See also her "Anne Askew's Dialogue with Authority," in *Contending Kingdoms: Historical, Psychological, and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth-Century England and France*, eds. Marie-Rose Logan and Peter L. Rudnitsky (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 313–22; and "'The Word Reproov'd': Writing Faith and History in England," in *Culture and Change: Attending to Early Modern Women*, eds. Margaret Mikesell and Adele Seeff (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), 266–80, esp. 267–72; as well as Paula McQuade, "'Except that they had Offended the Lawe': Gender and Jurisprudence in *The Examinations of Anne Askew*," *Literature and History* 3 (1994): 1–14; Joan Pong Linton, "The Plural Voices of Anne Askew," in *Write or Be Written: Early Modern Women Poets and Cultural Constraints*, eds. Barbara Smith and Ursula Appelt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 137–53; Tarek Samra Graban, "Feminine Irony and the Art of Linguistic Cooperation in Anne Askew's Sixteenth-Century *Examinacions*," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 25, no. 4 (2007): 285–411; Megan L. Hickerson, "'Ways of Lying': Anne Askew and the *Examinations*," *Gender and History* 18, no. 1 (2006): 50–65; and Elizabeth Malson-Huddle, "Anne Askew and the Controversy over the Real Presence," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 50, no. 1 (2010): 1–16.
- 12 David Loewenstein, "Writing and the Persecution of Heretics in Henry VIII's England: *The Examinations of Anne Askew*," in *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture*, eds. David Loewenstein and John Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11–39, esp. 14.
- 13 Patricia Pender, "Rhetorics of Figuralität in *The Examinations of Anne Askew*," *Expanding the Canon of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Paul Salzman (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 222–33, esp. 229.
- 14 Pender, "Rhetorics of Figuralität," 230. Although, in what appears to be a more recent article, Pender is more receptive to Bale's rhetorical strategies, she still views the 1546/47 text as a battlefield: "[s]igns of interpretive struggle between author and editor are littered throughout the *Examinations* ..." ("Reading Bale Reading Anne Askew: Contested Collaboration in *The Examinations*," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010): 507–22, esp. 519).
- 15 In his article "Anne Askewe, John Bale, and Protestant History," Thomas Betteridge suggests that Bale, by definition, wins this battle, for his "additions to Askewe's testimony implicitly make her words nonauthoritative, almost meaningless, without the polemical framework that his glosses provide for

- them" (*Journal of Medieval and Early modern Studies* 27 (1997): 265–84, esp. 265). On the other hand, Boyd M. Berry concludes derisively that "Askew's writing might be said to have compelled Bale to function as Anne Askew's handmaiden. What could Bale do other than to follow along, verbosely, behind this woman's words?" ("Of the Manner in Which Anne Askew 'Noised It'," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 96, no. 2 (1997): 182–208), esp. 198). See also Kimberly Anne Coles, "The Death of the Author (and the Appropriation of Her Text): The Case of Anne Askew's *Examinations*," *Modern Philology* 99, no. 4 (2002): 515–39. The struggle to reclaim Askew's voice from this usurpation has led to some confusion as to what may be acceptable as authentically hers: for example, according to Theresa D. Kemp, Bale emphasizes the martyr's silence in order "to tame her voice ... and use it for his own purposes" ("Translating (Anne) Askew: The Textual Remains of a Sixteenth-Century Heretic and Saint," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (1999): 1021–45, esp. 1033), but for Elizabeth Mazzola Askew's silence is an active personal strategy that enables her to remain a secret subject ("Expert Witnesses and Secret Subjects: Anne Askew's *Examinations* and Renaissance Self-Incrimination," *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women*, eds. Carole Levin and Patricia A. Sullivan (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 157–71).
- 16 Megan Matchinske, *Writing, Gender, and State in Early Modern England: Identity Formation and the Female Subject* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 40.
  - 17 I am grateful to David Goldstein of York University for sharing the chapter on Anne Askew in his book manuscript, now published as *Eating and Ethics in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). His view of Askew and Bale as collaborators dovetails neatly with my argument.
  - 18 *The Lattre Examinaeyon of Anne Askewe*, in *The Examinations of Anne Askew*, ed. Elaine V. Beilin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 73–161, esp. 148.
  - 19 This is a view to some extent shared by Sarah E. Wall and Thomas S. Freeman, who point to the impossibility of somehow extricating Askew's "authentic" text from the form in which it presently appears as couched in Bale's and Foxe's commentaries. See Sarah E. Wall, "Editing Anne Askew's *Examinations*: John Bale, John Foxe, and Early Modern Textual Practices," in *John Foxe and His World*, eds. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 249–62; and Thomas S. Freeman and Sarah Elizabeth Wall, "Racking the Body, Shaping the Text: The Account of Anne Askew in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,'" *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2001): 1165–96. See also Oliver Wort, who believes that accepting Bale as an independent martyrologist "allows us to expose, as distracting, studies that seek to recover Askew's 'authentic' voice as something distinct from Bale's adornments" ("The Double Life of Anne: John Bale's *Examinations* and *Diue Anne Vitam* (sic)," *The Review of English Studies* 58, no. 237 (2007): 633–56, esp. 655); and Thomas S. Freeman, "Publish and Perish: The Scribal Culture of the Marian Martyrs," in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 235–54, esp. 253.
  - 20 Beilin, *Lattre Examinaeyon of Anne Askewe*, 75.
  - 21 See Peter Happé, *John Bale* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), 1–4. See also the first two chapters of Leslie Fairfield's *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette IN: Purdue University Press, 1976).



- 22 This, I think, is an important correction to the view that Bale makes a simple decision to present Askew as a typical, “timeless” Protestant martyr, as McQuade suggests (“Except that they had Offended the Lawe,” 237); in 1547, there is no widely accepted model for Protestant martyrdom. See Wort, “The Double Life of Anne,” for the discussion of Bale’s use of Catholic models.
- 23 See, for example, Susannah Brietz Monta, “The Inheritance of Anne Askew, English Protestant Martyr,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 134–60.
- 24 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 80–81.
- 25 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 82.
- 26 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 82–83.
- 27 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 22.
- 28 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 128.
- 29 There are various medieval versions of this popular saint’s *vita*; see, for example, the version in the *South English Legendary*—“De Sancta Cristina,” in *South English Legendary*, vol. 1, eds. Charlotte d’Evelyn and Anna J. Mill (London: Oxford University Press, 1956–59, EETS, o.s. 236), 315–27; William Paris’s *Life of Saint Christina*, in *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, ed. Sherry L. Reames, with assistance of Martha G. Blalock and Wendy R. Larson (published for TEAMS. Kalamazoo MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), 227–48; and Osbern Bokenham’s *The Life of St. Christine*, in *A Legend of Holy Women: Osbern Bokenham, Legends of Holy Women*, trans. and ed. Sheila Delany (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 43–61.
- 30 Samuel Harsnett, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (London: James Roberts, 1603), in *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham*, ed. and intro. F.W. Brownlow (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1993), 193–335, esp. 271.
- 31 See Bale’s *The Image of Both Churches* (London: John Day, 1550) for an explication of his apocalyptic views.
- 32 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 125.
- 33 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 151.
- 34 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 151, 153.
- 35 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 152.
- 36 See the introduction to *The Towneley Plays*, eds. Martin Stevens and A.C. Cawley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, EETS, s.s. 13–14), xv–xvi. At the same time, Bale is here entering troubled terrain, since only a year later, in 1548, the feast of Corpus Christi is suppressed, and the cycles themselves are edited; see John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 193.
- 37 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 151.
- 38 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 153.
- 39 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 107, 127.
- 40 Eusebius Pamphili, *Ecclesiastical History*, books 1–5, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1953, rpt. 1965), 282. Italics mine.

- 41 Eusebius Pamphili, *Ecclesiastical History*, 285, 277. Compare to the torture of Sanctus, part of her group: "[a]nd his body was a witness of what happened to him, being all one wound and bruise, wrenched and torn out of human shape ..." (278).
- 42 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 127.
- 43 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 132.
- 44 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 129, 132–33.
- 45 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 135.
- 46 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 133.
- 47 The two often-quoted book-length studies that champion this argument were published in the early nineties: see Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); and Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991). However, this view has since resurfaced in many works, including Catherine Innes-Parker, "Sexual Violence and the Female Reader: Symbolic 'Rape' in the Saints' Lives of the Katherine Group," *Women's Studies*, 24, no. 3 (1995): 205–18; and, more recently, Beth Crachiolo, "Seeing the Gendering of Violence: Female and Male Martyrs in the *South English Legendary*," in *"A Great Effusion of Blood": Interpreting Medieval Violence*, eds. Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004), 147–63.
- 48 "'The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuose Women': The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs," *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 8–33.
- 49 Megan L. Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 170.
- 50 John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (1563 edition) (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011), available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> (accessed November 30, 2013), book 3, 733.
- 51 John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (1570 edition) (accessed November 30, 2013), book 8, 1458.
- 52 Frances E. Dolan, "'Gentlemen, I Have One Thing More to Say': Women on Scaffolds in England, 1563–1680," *Modern Philology* 92, no. 2 (1994): 157–78, esp. 167. All further references are to this text. Although Dolan is primarily interested in the events that take place on the scaffold, her argument, I think, is applicable to the representations of private torture in public texts.
- 53 Beilin, *Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, 162.



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## **PART 2**

### **SOCIAL VIOLENCE, THE CREATION OF CIVIC IDENTITIES**



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## Killing and Dying at *The Death of Decius Mus*

Renzo Baldasso

“To catch a death actually happening and embalm it for all time is something only cameras do, and pictures taken by photographers out in the field of the moment of (or just before) death are among the most celebrated and often reproduced of war photographs.”<sup>1</sup> In writing this statement, Susan Sontag had in mind famous photographs such as *Falling Soldier* by Robert Capa and *Execution of a Viet Cong Prisoner* by Eddie Adams.<sup>2</sup> Despite the medium and temporal distance, her words offer a fitting challenge for understanding the rationale of the moments of killing and dying that Peter Paul Rubens painted in *The Death of Decius Mus*, the subject of the present inquiry (Figure 6.1). This Baroque scene is centered on the consul Decius giving his life to ensure the victory of the Roman army and the survival of the Republic. His selfless act of devotion is surrounded by un-epic deaths and fighters overcome by the fear of their incumbent demise. Most strikingly, in the lower right the painter “caught” a different death in the making through a man who is being strangled and is gasping for air (Figure 6.2). By picturing the emotions that the killer and the victim experience, Rubens explored *terra incognita*. His effort to make this pair into believable figures sets apart this passage from common representations of killing and serves as counterpoint for conventional representations of purposeful deaths and martyrdoms, in which heroes and martyrs—like Decius—embrace death confident of the upcoming reward, while their killers act mechanically.<sup>3</sup> Aware of the power of the representation of pain and the gruesome, Rubens capitalized on our attraction to the horrific and the unspeakable, and on the same voyeurism for suffering that contributed to make works such as the *Laocoön* and Titian’s *Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr* into icons and reference points of the Western artistic tradition.<sup>4</sup>

Even if intended to comment on war photography, Sontag’s words raise pertinent questions. Is Rubens’s brush better at capturing the action of killing and the moment of death? Did this passage contribute to the success of the Decius Mus cycle? And above all, why did Rubens



6.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, c. 1617, oil on canvas, 288 × 497 cm  
(Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum)





6.2 Peter Paul  
Rubens, *The  
Death of Decius  
Mus*, detail

(Vienna,  
Lichtenstein  
Museum)



include this strangulation? In considering these and related questions, it is important to note that the moments of death that surround the immolation of the hero are absent in the narrative descriptions of Decius's story. Their deliberate inclusion indicates that Rubens had an agenda that went beyond the fabrication of a historical reality based on classical sources. As I shall argue, rather than Rubens's pacifist and stoic commitments, this picture, and specifically the strangulation passage, reflects his engagement with pictorial and art critical traditions, while also challenging the limits of what is appropriate and decorous in art.

*The Death of Decius Mus* is the centerpiece of a seven-scene cycle that Rubens created for a tapestry series in 1616. It is extant as five finished *modellos*, seven large-scale canvas paintings, and several tapestry series.<sup>5</sup> This picture and the cycle mark an important moment in the artist's career: this is the first narrative cycle he undertook, and through it, he solidified his international stature, confirming not only his creative skills but also his ability to manage a large project, including the successful rendering of his designs into tapestries. To understand the contents of this narrative cycle, it is useful to consider its context from the perspectives of the commission and its literary sources.

Although we can only speculate about the names of the patrons, surviving documents indicate that Rubens received the commission from Genoa, and

that it was managed by Franco Cattaneo, a Genoese cloth merchant active in Antwerp. Rubens's Genoese connections were many and included Niccolò Pallavicini, banker of the Gonzagas, who served as godfather to his son Nicholas in 1618.<sup>6</sup> No picture related to the cycle survives in Genoa, but early modern sources confirm that several noble houses owned tapestries based on Rubens's design, and a 1773 inventory of the Doria palace mentions "*Una battaglia di Rubens*."<sup>7</sup> Similarly, we do not know when the large canvases that are now part of the collections of the Prince of Lichtenstein in Vienna were completed, but Reinhold Baumstark has argued convincingly—against Giovanni Pietro Bellori's attribution to Anthony Van Dyck in his *Vita* of 1672—that they are primarily by the hand of Rubens.<sup>8</sup> If Van Dyck as assistant to the master was in fact involved in them, which is likely, it may be safe to assume that the paintings are contemporary with the weaving of the first tapestries. These were woven by Jan Raes the Elder and Frans Sweerts, two leading masters of this craft in Antwerp. Their correspondence informs us that a contract was already in place and Rubens already at work by November 9, 1616; other documents praise the enterprise in 1617. Moreover, in a letter to Dudley Carleton written in May 1618, Rubens mentions that the tapestries are being woven from "*cartoni molto superbi*" (which do not survive).<sup>9</sup>

Rubens's is the first known interpretation of the consul's story in visual form. His contemporaries knew Decius only as one of the Roman *virii illustres*, an exemplary leader who devoted his life for his own country.<sup>10</sup> Earlier representations show him in iconic form. The most famous Renaissance interpretation of the subject, one of only a handful, is the fresco featuring Decius in the company of Scipio and Cicero painted by Domenico Ghirlandaio in Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, and it confirms that Decius was a name rather than the hero with a famous story.<sup>11</sup> He was mentioned by Niccolò Machiavelli in his *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* and by St. Augustine in *De civitate Dei*, but early modern readers probably learned about him through Valerius Maximus's reference in his popular *Facta et dicta memorabilia*.<sup>12</sup> These authors' as well as Rubens's source was the story narrated by Livy in Book 8 of *Ab urbe condita*; reviewing it in detail clarifies the choices made by the artist in devising a visual narrative.

Publius Decius Mus was consul at a difficult time during Rome's expansion on the Italian peninsula: the Campanians and Latins, Rome's allies, had secretly decided to wage war against her.<sup>13</sup> Decius's story begins the night preceding the decisive battle. In their sleep, both consuls have an identical vision in which a divine figure foretells that the commander who will devote his life will ensure his army's victory. The following morning the consuls have sacrifices made to verify their dream's reliability. In rendering both the sacrifice and the announcement of the news to the lieutenants, scenes informed by extensive antiquarian learning, Rubens chose to create a visual narrative focused on Decius—the other consul appears only at the funeral. According to the established display of the narrative, the artist also

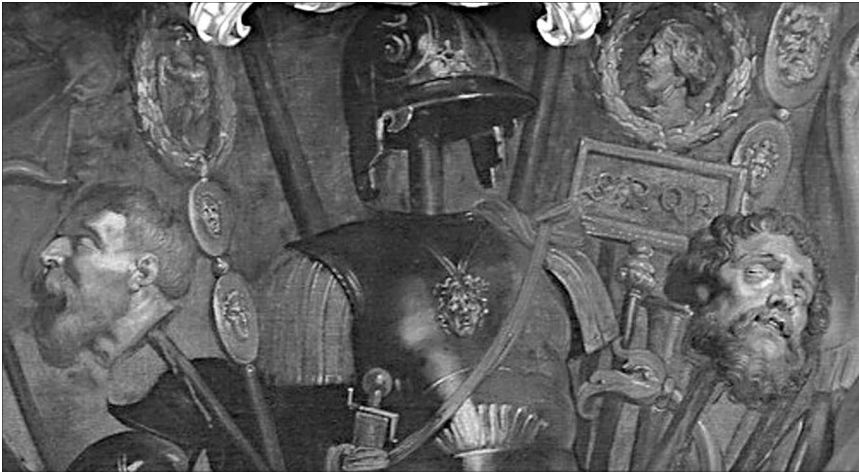
altered the sequence of events, presenting the allocution before the sacrifice; conversely, according to Livy, the consuls conferred privately (*inter se*) about their dream before the sacrifice, and informed their men only after consulting the soothsayers.<sup>14</sup>

Livy's account continues with a long episode featuring the son of the other consul, Manlius Torquatus. Having encountered some enemies during a scouting mission, challenged into a duel, the youngster kills their commander. In spite of the victorious fight, because his solo act of bravery amounted to disobeying the order to never leave the ranks during combat, his father put him to death to "set a stern example, but a salutary one, for the young men of the future," an example of military discipline, respect for authority, and devotion to the Republic.<sup>15</sup> After describing the spectacle of the execution, including the powerful frames of the axe raised over the young man's head and then the blood gushing out from the severed neck, the historian stresses that it deeply impressed the soldiers, making them more obedient.<sup>16</sup> In exemplifying the emotional power of these gruesome moments, the episode might have also impressed Rubens, who might have found in these lines the inspiration to impress his own audience by presenting equally horrific killings.

After this detour and another one on the composition of the Roman legion, Livy's account returns to the principal narrative. Per the agreement with his colleague, at the first sign that his side is suffering a setback, Decius decides to devote his life for his army and country.<sup>17</sup> Rubens portrays the scene immediately following: the pontiff lays his hand over the veiled head of Decius and sanctions the decision to devote his life for the sake of the army and the country.<sup>18</sup> Once again, the painter selects events from the text to fit his own agenda: silencing Decius' long and solemn declamation recounted by Livy, Rubens focuses on the religious approval of the consul's action, a blessing that makes Decius into a martyr—sacrificing his life for a just and honorable cause rather than committing a senseless suicide.

The next episode in both the text and the visual narrative presents Decius about to mount his horse and giving the last instructions to his sorrowful lictors to promptly report his decision to the other consul. Fearless of his destiny, in the next frame Decius thrusts himself in the thick of the enemies. As Livy remarks, such an unexpected and brave act created havoc among all combatants, while also ushering the divine prediction that as Decius is killed, the Latins begin to take flight. In rendering the pivotal event, Rubens departs from the text in one important aspect: instead of Livy's rain of missiles, a killing that interposes a definite distance between the killers and Decius, the artist presents Decius receiving the *coup de grace* at the center of a complex vortex of action that includes several combatants and different killing moments.

Following the victory of the Romans, Livy recounts that the body of Decius was found only the following day: "covered with missiles, in a great heap of enemies, and [it] was given burial by his colleague in a manner



6.3 Peter Paul Rubens, detail from *The Obsequies of Decius Mus*, c. 1617, oil on canvas, 289 × 515 cm

(Vienna, Liechtenstein Museum)

befitting his death.”<sup>19</sup> These few lines gave *carte blanche* to Rubens to create a pompous burial that not only further displays his antiquarian knowledge, but also allows him to include more horrors of war through the impaled heads of enemies adorning the background (Figure 6.3), the desperation of a mother carrying her infant child, and of prisoners brought in to be slain in the foreground. To complement the main scenes, Rubens added two and possibly three *entre-fenêtres*.<sup>20</sup> Of these, the Liechtenstein collections have canvases of *The Trophy* and, probably uniting two into one, *Victoria and Virtus*.<sup>21</sup>

In Livy’s as well as the other textual sources, Decius’s story exemplifies the motto of “*dulce et decorum pro patria mori*,”<sup>22</sup> which would have had positive resonance in the Genoese context. In fact, in addition to the popularity of history paintings for palace decoration, Decius’s story embodied particularly relevant morals to Genoese audiences because, since the 1570s, *nobili nuovi* had been integrating into the ranks of the old aristocracy and their social status was based on a new notion of nobility dependent not on blood line but on personal merits and actions done for the sake of the Republic.<sup>23</sup> Decius matches precisely these ideals because he was not born into an aristocratic family and had become consul thanks to his virtues. Taken together, these considerations explain the appropriateness of the subject in spite of its obscurity. Moreover, from Rubens’s perspective, the erudition of the subject offered the occasion to demonstrate his profound knowledge of classical culture, while the lack of an established iconography for Decius’s story allowed him not only to prove his inventiveness, but in creating it also to engage art critical traditions. Most importantly, by creating the visual narrative, Rubens gained control of its meaning and acquired the power to layer meanings.

As anticipated above, as the artist’s first narrative cycle commission and a golden opportunity to launch his workshop into the lucrative tapestry business, the Decius cycle was a high-stakes project for Rubens. The many

tapestry sets based on his design of this and other subjects prove the artist's and the project's success. In this respect, it should be remarked that he met several challenges beyond the invention of the narrative sequence, including the integration of baroque drama and the rendering of the scenes through colors that when translated into threads preserve the legibility of individual details as well as the overall picture.<sup>24</sup> The importance of this commission for Rubens and the straightforward exemplification of the moral of *dulce et decorum pro patri mori* offered by Decius's story press the question of why the painter included other, less than heroic moments of death. Specifically, why did he include the strangulation passage, a scene that simply cannot be ignored by viewers and that detracts from the main subject?

We may begin to answer this question by noting that in surrounding Decius's death with those of unknown soldiers, Rubens juxtaposed the heroic and the anonymous death. By coupling this juxtaposition with the consideration, suggested by the soldier being strangled, that at death human emotions are not lofty but extreme, spectators may conclude that for the individual, hero and commoner alike, *mori* is not *dulce*, even when *pro patria*. Rather than challenging the motto and denying that those who give their lives for their country or other noble causes deserve to be celebrated, the inclusion of raw violence makes their sacrifice real, enhancing its value. In this respect, the *Death of Decius* acquires a wider significance. Through it the artist represented a battle scene without abstracting it into history painting and without trivializing it into visual entertainment.<sup>25</sup> He relayed the real suffering and primal emotions experienced by soldiers to a public for whom the battlefield remained if not inaccessible, certainly distant.<sup>26</sup> This reminder about the brutality of battle may bring to the fore the moral responsibility of waging war. However, while it is possible to align such meaning with Rubens's pacifist conviction, which historians have recognized in several paintings, including the *Massacre of the Innocents* (c. 1611–12; Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario), *Minerva Protects Pax from Mars* (1629–30; London, National Gallery), and *The Horrors of War* (1637–38; Florence, Pitti Palace), it does not appear to be the aim of the artist in this work.<sup>27</sup> Above all, Decius's death and the strangulation scene offer no clear moral lesson about war that challenges the received opinion that it is one's duty to kill enemies to save oneself and one's country.<sup>28</sup> More importantly, they do not have the cathartic power that helps the viewer purge sentiments of pity and fear by inviting to vicariously repeat the past in the present. Without directing the audience to higher dimensions, the lasting impression of these acts of killing and dying remains anchored in the human emotions captured by the artist and the art of their creation.

The connoisseurs among the viewers would have addressed the question of the presence of the brutal struggle by referencing Leonardo da Vinci's *Battle of Anghiari* (Figure 6.4). Specifically, his battle scene includes two soldiers in a hand-to-hand combat immediately below the central pocket of

action.<sup>29</sup> The original fresco had been covered by the mid-sixteenth century but Rubens knew this work well as a copy, as proven by the sixteenth-century drawing that he reworked, now in the Louvre.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, in this case, familiarity with the actual work was not crucial and perhaps even less important than the art critical tradition it had generated. In fact, in the biography of Leonardo, Giorgio Vasari had singled out the fighting duo:

on the ground, between the legs of the horses, there are two figures in foreshortening that are fighting together, and the one on the ground has over him a soldier who has raised his arm as high as possible, that thus with greater force he may plunge a dagger into his throat, in order to end his life; while the other, struggling with his legs and arms, is doing what he can to escape death.<sup>31</sup>

Given the *Battle of Anghiari's* iconic status, which Benvenuto Cellini called "*una scuola del mondo*" for young artists, Leonardo's picture emerges as both a source of inspiration for Rubens and a challenge against which to measure his own artistry and ability to represent a battle scene.<sup>32</sup> Yet precisely the differences in the fighting soldiers, which in Vasari's description includes a dagger—this weapon is omitted in Louvre drawing—and which is transformed by Rubens into a strangulation, call for a detailed formal analysis of *The Death of Decius*.

Rubens organized the picture so that in "reading it" the beholder has to negotiate the conflict between the "photographic" stillness of the slaying of Decius in the center and the continuous dynamism of what is happening in both the immediate and the more distant space around Decius. The lance piercing his neck anchors the focus of the scene and serves as its pivoting axis, but this mortal stabbing does not absorb the attention of the viewer. In fact, it is only one element of the pocket of action that the artist has singled out to capture the fervor of the fighting. The impression of confusion projected by this central vortex effectively invites viewers to peruse the picture's many details. Fueled by the visual cues planted by the artist, this process of discovery does not progress linearly: many passages are mesmerizing for their gruesome quality and force the beholder's eye to a halt. The preferred viewing sequence through which the beholder sequentially explores the figures that animate this action vortex starts at the eye of Decius's horse, the only one looking out from the painting.

Rearing to a standstill and aided by its large body, the horse has a commanding presence in the picture and functions as a refuge of clarity to which the eye of the beholder retreats from the confusion of the high octane interaction of Decius and two riders.<sup>33</sup> Our sight instinctively follows the direction of the face of Decius's horse, along its chest into the curved neck of the horse below which rounds the corner of the viewing trail. With its head touching the ground and the right front leg bent unnaturally, the body of the brown horse rests in a contorted position; its eye stares at the ground, forcefully communicating a sense of loss—the animal seems to know well it will never gallop again (Figure 6.5). Flickering in the adjacent

6.4 Copy from  
Leonardo da  
Vinci, *Battle of  
Anghiari*, mid-  
sixteenth to  
seventeenth  
century, Rubens  
et al., drawing,  
brown ink,  
brush and pen,  
heightened  
with gouache  
and lead white,  
45 × 64 cm  
(Paris, Louvre)









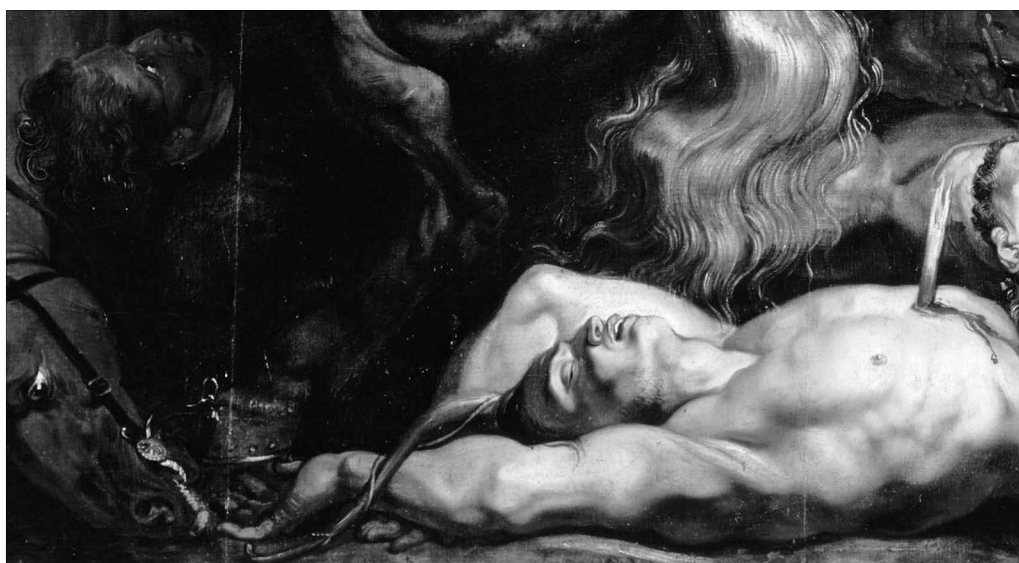
6.5 Peter Paul  
Rubens, *The  
Death of Decius  
Mus*, detail

(Vienna,  
Lichtenstein  
Museum)



shadows, the eye of its rider invites the audience to take a second look and read his facial emotions. In a subtle but clear juxtaposition with that of his horse, this eye reveals instead the fear of incumbent death.

The flow moves forward horizontally thanks to the attraction exerted by the intense light that Rubens shines on the torso of the body of the dead soldier stretched out on the foreground (Figure 6.6).<sup>34</sup> Upon examining this



motionless body along its length, from the hand reaching for the face of the fallen horse to the foot pressed by the head of another victim, one returns to its center anchored visually by the broken lance, which, in turn, secures the beholder's attention. The chromatic contrast with the pallor of the flesh tones intensifies the blood that is still flowing, slowly descending along the side of the soldier's abdomen. Its red resonates with the blood smeared on the temples of the head next to the broken lance; though lifeless, the eye of this other fallen soldier meets ours (Figure 6.7). At once, another dynamic antithesis becomes apparent: these two bodies are hardened by death—their open mouths speaking eloquently of their condition—while the participants above them are frozen in action.

The sword over the dead soldier's head, which we recognize as Decius's sword, points to the duo fighting in the lower right, reaching the edge of the painting. A glance at the pair suffices to make anyone recoil and refocus to follow instead a different visual momentum. Jumping over the two dead bodies, a horse propels our sight toward the upper right corner of the picture. However, its thrust is interrupted by the animal's head and turned neck, creating a tight curve in the flow of the vortex. The eye of this horse leads ours to the apex of the vortex's center. Forming a sort of arch over its sides, the torsos and raised arms of the two raiders invite the beholder's eye to descend along the diagonal of the spear planted in Decius's neck. In partial alignment with the direction of the spear, the lines of sight of the consul and his killer accent the emotional contrast of their faces: the killer is not engaged in his action, while Decius is composed and serene (Figure 6.8). Their unnatural expressions invite the audience to ponder Decius's accomplishment. Rather than an emotionally wrenching idea, to him death was a consular duty. He meets his fate and suffers the mortal blow with no fear, despair, or pain.



6.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail

(Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum)



Unlike those around him, Decius submits himself to his sanctioned fate in stoic fashion.

The comparison between Decius and his killer brings forth the important differences between the finished oil sketch and the canvas (Figure 6.9). Notably, in the Prado *modello* a Victory appears in the sky above Decius (Figure 6.10). Even though she bears a laurel crown and a palm, and her arms stretch out forming a welcoming embrace, their lines of sight do not meet, which suggests that Rubens wanted to avoid sanctioning a martyrdom. Nonetheless, she absorbs Decius's attention to the point that he seems blind to what is happening to him and oblivious to the pain inflicted by the lance piercing his neck. The absence of Victory in the Vienna canvas is the most significant difference between two versions, and it suggests that Rubens was closely involved in the production of the canvases. Her disappearance renders Decius's sacrifice more human, while the opening of the sky emitting light erases the pagan identity of Victory and becomes the seat of divine power, allowing for the christening of Decius into a protomartyr. The expression of his killer was also revised. Against his accomplishment of slaying the leader of the opposing army, the wide-open eyes in the sketch convey deep fear, making him incapable of motion (Figure 6.11). A second look confirms that the rider galloping next to Decius bears the same armor and helmet, identifying him as a member of the Roman cavalry. Reasonably, Decius's killer is frightened because he has left his back unprotected and is about to receive a mortal blow himself. On the contrary, in the canvas he remains emotionless. He looks past Decius toward the incoming rider, but he has yet to process



(top left) 6.7 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail

(bottom left) 6.8 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail

(both photographs Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum)



6.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, c. 1616, *modello* (finished oil sketch), 99 × 138 cm  
(Madrid, Prado Museum)



6.10 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, c. 1616, *modello*, detail  
(Madrid, Prado Museum)



6.11 Detail  
from Figure 6.9  
(Madrid,  
Prado Museum)

what his eyes are seeing and express through emotions awareness of his imminent fate.

As Decius falls off his rearing horse, his body brings our attention back to the bodies below and to the strangulation scene. Compared to the killing of the consul and his killer, both actions which are completed in a single stroke, in the lower right of the picture Rubens offers the beholders a different tempo of killing and dying: not the mortal blow, but the slow death. Here dying and killing are actions extended in time (Figure 6.2). Staring at the beholders is a man who gasps for air as he is being strangled. He is no longer fighting for his life, no longer pushing back his enemy, no longer capable of using his dagger. Rubens portrayed his last spasms of life, and made him bare his humanity: his right hand no longer grabs the forearm that is strangling him, but his tense fingers express

his need to hold on to his fellow man at this dire moment. The suffocated groan together with the powerful grip of the forearm that is doing the killing reverberates inside the beholder (who confronts these near-life size figures in the Vienna canvas). Repelled by the victim's grimace of pain and his tongue sticking out, instinctively we respond instead to the tight grasp of the muscular forearm. Embodying it, for a moment we too maintain a firm grip on the throat of the victim. In turn, this leads to a careful assessment of the emotions involved. Leaving aside ours, we explore those painted by Rubens.

Although vivid and powerful, the exact emotions expressed by the victim's eyes, forehead, and distorted face resist a definite reading. Going beyond pain and anger, these are extreme and primal emotions, truly unspeakable passions, like those of the *Laocoön*. Likely, Rubens intended them to be perceived and labeled as such, because through them he captured the moments in which body and soul part ways. Conversely, the face of the killer, even though obfuscated by a penumbra, has clear psychological dimensions. He is determined to finish off his enemy, an exclusive focus as indicated by his squinting. At first glance, he seems either to have a grim smile of accomplishment or to be biting his teeth tightly in an instinctive move reflecting the prolonged deadly grip his left hand has on the throat of his enemy. However, a more careful inspection uncovers a mouth that is partly open, giving him almost a hissing face. The actions and emotions of these two fighters may appear "rational" in a battlefield context. However, not only do they appear inhuman—in the sense of lacking humanity—but also, and more importantly, as the beholder experiences them vicariously,

they prove repugnant. Through them, the audience gains awareness of what it takes to kill another human being and, by extension, of the moral burden of fighting and waging war.

By stepping back and reconsidering the picture as a whole, echoes of the foreground violence come into focus from the background in the figures and faces from four distinct groupings. On the left side, three groups feature respectively foot soldiers, cavalry fighters, and trumpeters. Charging forward with great determination, a young soldier distinguishes himself for displaying the same exclusive focus of the man who strangles his enemy on the lower right, confirming that his sole purpose is to kill enemies (Figure 6.12). Next to the youngster, an older fighter holding a spear enters into the pictorial frame; his wide-open eyes and empty stare embody the insanity of the battlefield. Underneath these two figures, a powerful leg steps upon a young man, introducing another face of death. The blond hair of this youth, not stained by the blood that taints the ground, sets him apart from the cruel passions shared by men around him (Figure 6.13). Above this group, horsemen come to blows, and their horses, mimicking their riders, bite one another. On the upper left, clad in feline skins, trumpeters blow their instruments with all their breath to incite the Romans to charge forward, their sounds seemingly towering over the clamor of the fighting. A second look to take better stock of these various happenings reveals that amid this confusion there is a half-lit face displaying outmost terror (Figure 6.14). As he falls on the ground, this Latin fighter becomes aware of his pending fate. His fear finds an echo on the right edge of the picture, where the Latin cavalry and soldiers are in flight, in accordance to the promise of the gods to whom Decius sacrificed his life (Figure 6.15). Rubens illuminates a Raphaelesque figure with outstretched arms, a man who is about to be crashed into by a horse. Next to him, an archer turns his head and, having understood the menace of the advancing Romans, he is petrified by fear.

The many faces embodying terror, fury, and killer instinct endure in the beholder's mind and clarify that *The Death of Decius Mus* is layered with meanings beyond the motto *dulce et decorum pro patria mori*. In addition to pairing the martyr-like self-sacrifice of Decius to un-heroic deaths, Rubens presents Decius as an active partaker of the carnage. His sword drips thick blood, in stark contrast to Livy's image of the immaculate hero who kills no one and who is killed by anonymous projectiles—the painter also denied him a pure white stallion. In short, Rubens placed the consul and his action into a believable battlefield, where Decius shares the center stage with the dead, the dying, the furious, the frightened, and killers.

The memorable moments of violence punctuating the scene not only clarify that Rubens chose not to transform Decius's devotion into proto-martyrdom, but also accent the talents of the artist and place *The Death of Decius Mus* in the tradition of great battle paintings.<sup>35</sup> Rubens emulated Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* and met the pictorial challenges defined



6.12 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail  
(Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum)



6.13 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail  
(Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum)



6.14 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail  
(Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum)



6.15 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Decius Mus*, detail  
(Vienna, Lichtenstein Museum)



by the usher of the *terza età*.<sup>36</sup> Specifically, concerning the “The way to represent a battle,” Leonardo writes,

If you make anyone fallen you must make the mark where he has slipped on the dust turned into blood-stained mire ... Make the conquered and beaten pale, with brows raised and knit, and the skin above their brows furrowed with pain ... Show somebody using one hand as a shield for his terrified eyes with the palm turned towards the enemy ... Make the dead partly or entirely covered with dust, which is mingled with the oozing blood and changed into crimson mire, and let the blood be seen by its color flowing in a sinuous stream from the corpse to the dust. Others in the death agony grinding their teeth, rolling their eyes ... You may see some maimed warrior fallen on the ground, covered himself with his shield, and the enemy bending down over him and trying to give him the death stroke.<sup>37</sup>

Rubens’s figures not only answer these prescriptions, but in several occasions also go beyond them particularly with respect to the representation of fear.<sup>38</sup>

The three faces embodying the fear of incumbent death indicate that in *The Death of Decius Mus* Rubens also took the opportunity to “answer the challenge” posed by Titian and made famous by art theorists discussing what was reputed to be the Venetian’s best painting, the lost *Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr*.<sup>39</sup> The art critical tradition had made this altarpiece into an exemplum, a model for the rendering of the passions of incumbent violent death.<sup>40</sup> In an early response (1537), Pietro Aretino noted that the high points of the painting are the martyr’s “vivid fear of death” and “the whiteness of cowardice and the pallor of fear” in his fleeing companion.<sup>41</sup> In his *Dialogo* (1557), Ludovico Dolce underscored that the saint’s face expresses “the pallor that the faces of those about to die have” and that his companion’s is “full of terror, making viewers believe to hear the screaming, while his movements are most vigorous, as appropriate for those who are truly frightened.”<sup>42</sup> In his *Lives* (1568) Vasari remarked that the martyr’s face “shows the horror of death” while his fleeing companion’s “the fear and terror of death.”<sup>43</sup> The archer on the right side of our painting embodies pallor and cowardice—he is abandoning his bow while the fighter next to him has already ditched his spear and runs as fast as he can.

Dolce’s comments bring attention to Rubens’s choice in rendering the sonic dimension of the scene: unlike Titian and, more importantly, unlike Leonardo who makes the four horsemen in the *Battle of Anghiari* scream, Rubens paints his fighters midway between inhaling and exhaling. Notably, most figures—and the horses—in *The Death of Decius Mus* have parted lips, which becomes a leitmotif, and aptly depict different stages of “the speech of the soul,” from death to both slow inhaling (the falling horseman) and prolonged exhaling (the strangler). We hear their soft sounds despite the clamor of the battle around them.

Through the inclusion of the suffocation scene in *The Death of Decius Mus*, Rubens addressed yet another issue of consequence pertaining to the contemporary art critical discourse, the boundaries of decorum in painting. In this respect, it should be recalled that in 1607 Rubens played an instrumental

role in the Gonzagas' acquisition of Caravaggio's *The Death of the Virgin* (Louvre), the rejected altarpiece that presented the Virgin with a bloated abdomen.<sup>44</sup> This canvas shocked and defied the conventions of decorum by setting its subject into the reality of death and dying. The strangulation scene painted by Rubens brings the heroism—and stoicism—of Decius into a realistic battlefield, effectively counterbalancing its theatricality.<sup>45</sup> Unexpected and uncalled for by the sources and the tradition of visual representations of martyrdoms, unlike the pierced neck of Decius, the suffocation shocks viewers for its immediacy and lifelikeness, transfixing the memory of beholders—its power deriving from the impact of witnessing up close and vicariously reenacting the slow killing.<sup>46</sup>

It is impossible to know whether Rubens breached the wall of his public's sophisticated indifference armored by art criticism. I would like to imagine that upon praising Decius's act of self-devotion, many paused in silence contemplating the acts of killing and the fear-stricken fighters that surround and implicitly comment on the consul's death. Rather than facilitating a learned discourse about the juxtaposition of values, the reaction sought by the master—one that rings true for spectators past and present alike—is dual: self-reflection about the many facets of our humanity, and praise for his "catching" not a death but an actual killing in the making.

## Notes

- 1 Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003), 59.
- 2 On these two photographs and the subject of war photography more generally, see Raphael Sassower and Louis Cicotello, *War Images: Fabricating Reality* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2010).
- 3 The engravings that Antonio Tempesta created to illustrate the *Trattato de gli strumenti di martirio* by Antonio Gallonio (Rome, 1591) epitomize the emotionless deaths of martyrs; see the reproductions in *The Illustrated Bartsch 35: Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), 224–72. For cues about the transformation of the visual and verbal representation of violence that was unfolding in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Philip Benedict, *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2007).
- 4 In *Naturalis Historia*, book 36, 37, Pliny the Elder presents the *Laocoön* as the best work of art. Giorgio Vasari considered *The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr* the best painting by Titian; see his *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1881), vol. 7, 438–39. On the significance of this altarpiece, see Patricia Meilman, *Titian and the Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). On the 1506 recovery of the *Laocoön*, see Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 1–17; more generally on the art critical tradition on this sculptural group, see Simon Richter, *Laocoon's Body and the Aesthetics of*

*Pain* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992). Notably, Rubens studied the *Laocoön* extensively and integrated its lessons in his own works, most famously by reworking *Laocoön*'s body in that of Christ in *The Descent from the Cross* for Antwerp Cathedral (1611), for which he also completed a *modello* now at the Courtauld Institute of Art.

- 5 On the oil sketches and for a general introduction to the series, see Julius S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalog*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), vol. 1, 21–30.
- 6 Rubens's connections to Genoa are summarized in a 1628 letter, in which he also ascribes the city's political and social tensions to the restriction of government participation to the members of the nobility (old and new): "sono stato più volte a Genova et avuto intrinsechezza grandte con alcuni personaggi eminenti di quella Repubblica"; May 19, 1628, letter to Pierre Dupuy in Paris, reproduced by Max Rooses and Ch. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens ed Documents Epistolaires*, 6 vols. (Soest, Holland: Davaco, 1887–1909), vol. 4, 422–23. For a detailed overview of the interaction of the artist with Genoa and a catalog of his works that were owned by Genoese patrons, see Pietro Boccardo, "Genova e Rubens. Un pittore fiammingo tra i committenti e i collezionisti di una Repubblica," and Boccardo and Anna Orlando, "Dipinti di Rubens a Genova e per Genova," in Boccardo, ed., *L'Età di Rubens: Dimore, committenti e collezionisti genovesi* (Milan: Skira, 2004), 5–11 and 23–53.
- 7 As noted in the *Description des beautés de Genés [et de ses environs]* (Genoa, 1773, 105) and reported by Giuliana Biavati in "Il recupero conoscitivo dei Rubens genovesi," in *Rubens e Genova: Catalogo della mostra, 18 dicembre 1977/12 febbraio 1978* (Genoa: La Stampa, 1977), 149–202, and specifically note 72 on page 180. Boccardo reviews the Genoese leads, which include mention of *Storie del console Decio Mure* tapestries in the Brignole house, tapestries based on Rubens's design in the Grimaldi's palace, a "*Historia di Detio ... di disegno del Rubens*" among the possessions of Paolo Gerolamo Franzone, but concludes that the commission was intended for the open market rather than for Genoese patrons, a speculation that, given the remote subject for such an expensive series, seems very unlikely. See Boccardo, "Arazzi rubensiani a Genova. Le *Storie del console Decio Mure* 'ad istanza delli Genovesi' e le altre serie documentate," in *L'Età di Rubens*, 102–09.
- 8 See Reinhold Baumstark in *Masterpieces from the Collection of the Princes of Liechtenstein* (New York: Hudson Hill Press, 1980), 146–51; Baumstark, *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 338–55; and most recently, Johann Kräftner, ed., *Liechtenstein Museum Vienna: The Collections* (Munich: Prestel, 2004), 222–57. The canvases were acquired in 1693 with an attribution to Van Dyck, but already in the eighteenth century were reattributed to Rubens by the curators of the Liechtenstein collection. For the provenance and attribution history, see Johann Kräftner, "La collezione dei Rubens della casa regnante del Liechtenstein," in Sergio Gaddi, ed., *Rubens e i fiamminghi* (Milan: Silvana, 2010), 63–66. In *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (Rome: Mascardi, 1672), 254, Bellori specified that Van Dyck "*fece li cartoni e li quadri dipinti per le tapezzerie dell'istorie di Decio*."
- 9 See Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, vol. 2, 150.
- 10 For the cultural context of these frescoes, see Maria Monica Donato, "Gli eroi romani tra storia ed *exemplum*. I primi cicli umanistici di Uomini Famosi," in Salvatore Settis, ed., *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, 3 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), vol. 2, 97–154. On the Renaissance fortune of the Roman *exemplum*

- of self-sacrifice for the survival of the Republic, see Maria Barbera, "Civic Self-Offering: Some Renaissance Representations of Marcus Curtius," in Karl Enenkel et al., eds., *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 147–65.
- 11 Four more representations of Decius have been identified: an early fifteenth-century fresco in Foligno, a small bronze plaque by Veronese in the Sala del Collegio of the Doge Palace in Venice (c. 1577), the illustration of Decius's death by Tobias Stimmer for a 1574 edition of Livy (Strasbourg), and another woodcut illustration of Decius's death in a 1541 German edition of Livy. See Susanne Tauss, *Dulce et decorum? Der Decius-Mus-Zyklus von Peter Paul Rubens* (Tübingen: Universitätsverlag, 2000), 366–67 and 374. Tauss's book is the best reference for the documentary evidence and includes the transcription of the original contract she found at the Archivio Storico del Comune in Genoa, 270–271.
  - 12 See Machiavelli, *Discorsi sulla prima deca di Tito Livio*, II, 16 and III, 45, and Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, 5.18, and Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, I: I, 7, 3 and V, 6, 5. In both passages, each a paragraph long, the author does not expand on the details of the consul's story—the first reference occurs in the section "on dreams" while the second in the one "on piety towards parents and brothers and country." Concerning the importance of the impact of Valerius Maximus on Renaissance culture, see Roberto Guerrini, "Dal testo all'immagine. La 'pittura di storia' nel Rinascimento," in Settis, ed., *Memoria dell'antico* (see note 10), vol. 2, 45–95; specifically, see the section entitled "Valerio Massimo e la pittura paradigmatica," 45–49.
  - 13 Livy, book 8, iii, 1–3. For the Loeb translation, see *Livy with an English Translation by B.O. Foster in Thirteen Volumes* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), vol. 4, 21ff. For an extensive commentary on the text, see S.P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy Books VI–X*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), vol. 2, 425–51 and 477–505. The Latins' betrayal was motivated by the Romans' unwillingness to allow their allies to hold posts of political and military leadership.
  - 14 Livy narrates the story keeping the consuls acting together; Peter C. Sutton's suggestion that "each general conveyed the dream to his officers" is misleading; see *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 104.
  - 15 Livy, book 8, vii, 16–18.
  - 16 Livy, book 8, vii, 21. Livy's linguistic choices are significant, as he qualifies Manlius's sentence and the killing as *atroci imperio* and *atrocitas poenae*. Moreover, the duel itself ended with a brutal frame: "Manlius plunged his lance into his [Maecius's] throat so that it came out between the ribs and pinned him to the ground." See Livy, trans. Foster, vol. 4, 27. Despite the graphic details, Oakley (*Commentary*, vol. 2, 438) rightly notes that in narrating this episodes "Livy manages to convey emotion without sensationalism"; the same tone may be seen in Rubens's narrative of Decius's devotion.
  - 17 For a thorough analysis of this act, contextualized within Roman laws and customs, see Luigi Garofalo, *Rubens e la devotio di Decio Mure* (Naples: Jovene, 2011).
  - 18 Livy, book 8, viii, 6–9.
  - 19 Livy, book 8, x, 10–11.

- 20 The contract between Cattaneo and Jan Raes the elder mentions three, but we only have examples of two.
- 21 Presenting them as works by the workshop, Baumstark discusses these two canvases in his *Liechtenstein*, 354–55. More recently they have been attributed instead to the master: see Kräftner, *Liechtenstein Museum Vienna*, 227; and Kräftner, *Rubens e i fiamminghi*, 106–09. Another possible addition to the cycle, “a departure of two consuls for the war is in the Hermitage” has been noted by Leo van Puyvelde; see his *The Sketches of Rubens* (London: Kegan, 1947), 26.
- 22 Another relevant motto is “*optima facere pro patria*.” Elizabeth McGrath noted that Rubens’s interpretation makes Decius’s story also into an exemplum of *pietas erga patriam*; see *Rubens: Subjects from History*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), vol. 1, 78.
- 23 History painting as a genre flourished in Genoa, because of the custom to host foreign dignitaries and diplomats in private palaces, transforming them into official and public buildings and requiring decorations celebrating the city’s glorious history and republicanism. See Fiorella Caraceni Poleggi, “La committenza borghese e il manierismo a Genova,” in Colette Bozzo Dufour et al., eds., *La pittura a Genova e in Liguria* (Genoa: Sagep, 1987), vol. 1, *Dagli inizi al Cinquecento*, and specifically the text and illustrations in the section “Epica letteraria e fasto militari nei primi anni del ‘600,” 269–80. Good illustrations of Genoese palaces’ decoration appear in Elena Parma, ed., *La pittura in Liguria: Il Cinquecento* (Genoa: Banca Carige, 1999); and in Julian Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte: La grande decorazione nelle dimore italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento* (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 1993) and, specifically, the section “Genoa: Stato e stirpe,” 131–58. For a detailed account of Genoa’s history after it became an independent republic (1528), see Claudio Costantini, *La repubblica di Genova* (Turin: UTET, 1986).
- 24 On these technical aspects, see *Rubenstextiel/Rubens’s Textiles* (Antwerp: Luc Denys, 1997), and specifically the essays by Guy Delmarcel, “Rubens and Tapestry” and “The History of Decius Mus,” respectively 28–37 and 39–57.
- 25 On the affirmation of battle painting as an independent genre in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Federico Zeri, “La nascita della ‘Battaglia come genere’ e il ruolo del Cavalier d’Arpino,” in Patrizia Consigli Valente, ed., *La battaglia nella pittura del XVII e XVIII secolo* (Parma: Banca Emiliana, 1986), ix–xxvii, which was reprinted in *Giorno per giorno nella pittura, 1988–1998, Scritti sull’arte italiana del Sei e Settecento. Recensioni e altri saggi* (Turin: Allemandi, 1998), 15–20. Also important for understanding this evolution are *The Night of St. Bartholomew* (second of three pictures in the “Extirpation of the Huguenots”) painted by Vasari in the Sala Regia of the Vatican (1571–72), and the undated work (but probably completed sometime between the second and third decades of the seventeenth century), *Battles between Christians and Turks* by Belisario Corenzio in the Palazzo Reale, Naples—this latter presents in the foreground a suffocation scene.
- 26 Most palace dwellers were unfamiliar with the carnage of the battlefield, but surely had witnessed the public spectacle of the execution of criminals, which was recurrent in the pre-modern society. Though rare, some of the punishment rituals, such as the wheel and crucifixion, were particularly violent. Mitchell Merback has argued that such spectacles were not alienating but part of the communal experience and identity; see *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 20. The 1559 print by Peter Brueghel the Elder entitled *Iusticia* epitomizes the civic dimension of these executions.

- 27 In *Art and War* (New York: Tauris, 2007), 27–28, Laura Brandon writes, “Rubens was also, to all intents and purposes, an anti-war artist ... his approach was allegorical and drew on classical and religious symbols. In 1611–12 ... Rubens may have chosen this brutal and emotionally charged subject [the *Massacre of the Innocents*] to reference the 1576 sack of Antwerp (his home town). ... Nearly two decades later he tried to use art to effect political change: in London, charged with promoting peace, he presented King Charles I with a dramatic painting, *Minerva Protects Pax from Mars* (1629–30), an allegory of war and peace that argues that peace is good for the economy and war is destructive. ... Seven years later, Rubens returned to this theme in *The Horrors of War* (1637–38), a far darker allegorical work, in which the benefits of peace now lie shattered at the feet of Mars.” Some of these beliefs, together with Rubens’s admiration for heroic stoicism, will receive new attention in the exhibition.
- 28 Possibly following the conjecture of Julius Held, Mark Morford claimed that the cycle’s significance rests with the Stoic values of *virtus* and *pietas*; see Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 197–203, and Held, *The Oil Sketches*, vol. 1, 24. Although the relevance of Stoicism to the Genoese context remains unqualified, the *Death of Decius* can be interpreted as embodying Stoic values in the juxtaposition of Decius’s composed demeanor at death to those of the other combatants who die and kill overtaken by uncontrolled emotions. In arguing for a Stoic interpretation, Morford considered only the *Funeral of Decius*, of which he notes: “The contrast is remarkable with the horror of the decapitated victims on the trophy in the background, and the violent emotions of the prisoners in the foreground. The scene is Stoic.” See *Stoics and Neostoics*, 200. However, precisely this scene counters a Stoic interpretation, placing emphasis—and Morford implicitly does—on the “inhuman” behavior of combatants even after the battle as they are ready to harm even women and children.
- 29 This passage is ambiguous in the extant copies of the *Battle of Anghiari*: Rubens’s own reworked drawing presents an unclear struggle that involves no weapon (that is also the case in the Vienna painting), the Hoffman copy hints at the dagger, and the Rucellai copy introduces dagger and sword. For the images and discussions of the many copies, see Carlo Pedretti, ed., *La mente di Leonardo al tempo della “Battaglia di Anghiari”* (Florence: Giunti, 2006).
- 30 See *The Fight for the Standard* (Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, n.20271); on this drawing, see catalogue entry 135 in Carmen Bambach, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci Master Draftsman* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 671–78. Michael Jaffe attributes to Rubens also the *Battle for the Standard* canvas painting that is now in the Gemäldegalerie in Vienna; see his *Rubens: Catalogo completo*, trans. Germano Mulazzani (Milan: Rizzoli, 1989), 156–57 and catalogue entry no. 47. Renate Trnek concurs in dating it to Rubens’s Italian period but leaves the attribution with a question mark; see Johann Kräftner, Wilfried Seipel, and Renate Trnek, eds., *Rubens in Vienna. The Masterpieces* (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 2004), 37–38.
- 31 The text is the same in the 1550 and 1568 edition, and in the original reads “in terra, fra le gambe de’ cavagli, v’è due figure in iscorto, che combattendo insieme, mentre uno in terra ha sopra uno soldato, che alzato il braccio quanto può, con quella forza maggiore gli mette alla gola il pugnale per finirgli la vita, e quello altro con le gambe e con le braccia sbattuto, fa ciò che egli può per non volere la morte.”

- 32 See Benvenuto Cellini, *Vita*, intro. Paolo d’Ancona (Turin: UTET, 1927), 30.
- 33 Rubens painted a similar horse to create a comparable effect in the *Defeat of Sennacherib* (c. 1615, Alte Pinakothek, Munich). Although this painting has a focal point in the eye of Sennacherib, the comparison of these two horses is instructive to counter the tendency of “roll-call of models used earlier” by the artist, and to have instead “insight into his creative development,” to use the words of David Jaffe from *Rubens: A Master in the Making* (London: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 189 and 41.
- 34 The comparison between this and the outstretched body in the 1613–14 canvas entitled *Victory Crowns the Hero*, now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen of Kassel, demonstrates Rubens’s interest in recording the violent death suffered by the victim. This he achieved not only by adding the broken lance and flowing blood, but also by changing the posture of the feet, opening the mouth, and producing the nosebleed. For a Stoic reading of this painting and its relation to an earlier one with the same title, see Lisa Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics and Allegory in the Art of Rubens* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 79–86.
- 35 This tradition, which has ancient roots—seen in the first century BCE floor mosaic from Pompeii representing Alexander the Great battling Darius—has few but important interpretations in the Renaissance, including (known to Rubens) the fresco of the *Battle of the Milvian Bridge* by Raphael’s atelier (1520s, Vatican Palace), the *Battle of Pavia* tapestry series woven from the cartons by Bernard van Orley (1528–31, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples), Tintoretto’s canvases of the Gonzaga cycle (1574–80), and Antonio del Pollaiuolo’s engraving of the *Battle of the Nudes* (c. 1470). For a selective overview of its Baroque flourishing, see Giancarlo Sestrieri, *I Pittori di Battaglie: Maestri italiani e stranieri del XVII e XVIII secolo/Battle Painters: Italian and Foreign Masters of the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Rome: De Luca, 1999).
- 36 *The Battle of Anghiari* does not focus on the violence of the battlefield, but on the fury and energy that fuels it. Moreover, it should be noted that mythological references pervade Leonardo’s picture, especially in the presentation of Francesco Piccinino as Mars, and that this dimension is absent in Rubens’s rendering of Decius’s battlefield. See Frank Zöllner, *La Battaglia di Anghiari di Leonardo da Vinci fra mitologia e politica* (Florence: Giunti, 1998), 15–21.
- 37 See Leonardo da Vinci, *Notebooks*, selected by Irma A. Richter and ed. Thereza Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 174–76; the original passage is found in the codex Ashburnham II, 30–31.
- 38 Useful comparisons to appreciate Rubens’s success in painting believable fighters and their killing and dying actions in the battlefield are the frescoes by Giuseppe Cesari, better known as Cavalier d’Arpino, *Battle between Romans and Veients* (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 1597), and Lazzaro Tavarone, *Battle of Bet-Zekaryah and Sacrifice of Eleazar* (ceiling of the *piano nobile* of the Villa Franco Borsotto in Genoa, 1617).
- 39 Although now lost, a large copy of Titian’s altarpiece was among the possessions of Rubens at his death. See Jeffrey M. Muller, “Oil-Sketches in Rubens’s Collection,” *Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975): 371–77 and specifically 373, and *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 95, where Muller also speculates that it was bought by Rubens after 1626. Conversely, Harold E. Wethey reasons that the “oil sketch must have been made

- by Rubens himself after Titian." See *Titian and His Drawings with Reference to Giorgione and Some Close Contemporaries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 143–45 and figures 30–36 and specifically 144. The debt of the Flemish painter to the Venetian master is reviewed by David Freedberg, "Rubens and Titian: Art and Politics," in *Titian and Rubens: Power, Politics, and Style* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998), 29–66. The importance of the altarpiece for the development of Baroque painting is confirmed by the large (243 × 149 cm) copy attributed to Annibale Carracci (London, Trafalgar Galleries).
- 40 Notably, Dolce and Vasari connected Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr* with his *Battle*. This large painting was burned in the 1577 fire of the Ducal Palace, but it was recorded through engravings and drawings, and its influence on Rubens may be seen in the *Battle of the Amazons* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich). See Patricia Meilman, "Historical Tradition and Political Strategy: Titian's *Battle* Painting," in Joanna Woods-Marsden, ed., *Titian: Materiality, Likeness, Istorica* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 97–111.
  - 41 See Pietro Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*, ed. Ettore Camesasca, 3 vols. (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1957–60), vol. 1, 73.
  - 42 See Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della pittura intitolato l'Aretino*, in Mark Roskill, *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (New York: New York University Press, 1968), 190.
  - 43 See Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 7, 438.
  - 44 For the most recent contribution to the discussion about the rejection of this painting, see Valeska van Rosen, "Implicit Decontextualization: Visual Discourse of Religious Paintings in Roman Collections circa 1600," in *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500–1900*, ed. Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Ebert-Schifferer (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011), 39–54.
  - 45 The theatricality in the gory slayings painted by Caravaggio and Artemisia Gentileschi, exemplified by their *Judith Beheading Holofernes*—perhaps the most important precedent of an act of killing in the making—effectively shields the beholder. Specifically, in Caravaggio's painting, the expressions and motions of both Judith and her attendant challenge, if not preclude, the beholder's internalization and reenactment of the beheading.
  - 46 In this respect, Titian's *The Death of Marsyas* (Kromnerize, Poland) is an important precedent.





# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## Dracula, the Turks, and the Rhetoric of Impaling in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Germany

*Heather Madar*

In 1985, a Serbian farmer in Kosovo was found in a field with a bottle inserted into his rectum. Although his story would later change, the man, Djordje Martinovic, initially claimed that three Albanians had placed the bottle on a stick and used it to sodomize him. The Serbian response to this event, encouraged by the media and Slobodan Milosevic, conjured up a collective memory of historical trauma centered around the act of impaling. In the words of a memorandum produced by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1986, the event was “reminiscent of the darkest days of the Turkish practice of impalement,” while a 1989 magazine discussion of the event commented “here we are dealing with the remains of the Ottoman Empire, in the use of a stake ... In the time of the Turks, Serbs were also fixed to stakes.”<sup>1</sup> The conflation of Ottoman identity with the atrocity of impaling has a long history in Europe, as does its use for war propaganda and anti-Muslim polemic. Indeed, the practice of impaling had been linked in European consciousness to absolute tyranny and the exotic East since at least the time of the Greeks. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Germany, impaling became a distinctive signifier of non-European Otherness. The practice was linked to contemporary adversaries such as the Ottomans and Vlad Dracula, to distant locales known only through travel narratives, such as the natives of Calicut, and also functioned in a looser sense to figure contemporary foes as historical persecutors of Christians, whether Herod, Roman emperors or ancient Persian tyrants.

The practice of impalement as a method of capital punishment has a long history, and can be found in numerous cultures. Impalement was practiced in the Ancient Near East, and its use by Neo-Assyrian rulers is particularly well documented. An inscription from Ashurnasirpal II states: “I captured soldiers alive [and] erected [them] on stakes before their cities.”<sup>2</sup> Impaled victims are also shown on several examples of Assyrian art, for example in a section of a relief depicting Sennacherib’s conquest of Lachish in Judea found in his palace at Nineveh.<sup>3</sup> Impalement was used as a method of capital punishment in Ancient

Egypt and India.<sup>4</sup> A number of classical writers also mention impalement. Herodotus's *Histories* describes numerous instances of impaling, primarily linked to Persian kings, where impaling becomes a key signifier of their reputed cruelty and tyranny.<sup>5</sup> Among Roman writers, impalement is mentioned by Strabo, who links it to Druidic sacrificial practices,<sup>6</sup> as well as by Seneca, Philo, Lucian, and others.<sup>7</sup> In the post-classical world, impalement was a permissible method of capital punishment in the Byzantine Empire.<sup>8</sup> By the early modern period, however, impaling was a relatively uncommon execution technique in Western Europe, making its appearances and depictions noteworthy.

German depictions of impaling confirm that the practice was viewed as a particularly barbarous method of punishment and was understood primarily as a phenomenon that occurred outside of Europe. In 1515, a German language edition of Ludovico de Varthema's *Travels to the Holy Land and South East Asia* was published in Augsburg with illustrations by the artist Jörg Breu.<sup>9</sup> Varthema's text is a travel narrative and records his journeys in the Middle East and India between 1502 and 1508. Breu's 46 woodcuts were designed to accompany the text, although the artist had not travelled to any of the featured locales. Of relevance here is an illustration to a passage in the text describing crime and punishment in Calicut. On the left side of the image is a depiction of a creditor seeking restitution while the right-hand side shows two men impaled on stakes.<sup>10</sup> The text explains the event thus:

With respect to the laws which are in use among these people: If one kills another, the king causes a stake to be taken four paces long and well pointed at one end, and has two sticks fixed across the said stake two spans from the top, and then the said wood is fixed in the middle of the back of the malefactor and passes through his body, and in this way he dies. And this torture they call uncalvet.<sup>11</sup>

Yet as Elio Brancaforte and Lisa Voigt has shown, this image, along with a number of other images by Breu from the Augsburg edition of Varthema's text, had an unexpected afterlife, as they were reused in 1556 to illustrate an edition of Hans Schiltberger's *Reisebuch*.<sup>12</sup> Schiltberger's text details his captivity and subsequent travels in the Middle East in the early fifteenth century after fighting the Ottomans in Hungary in 1396 under King Sigismund. The image of impalement is used twice in the 1556 edition of Schiltberger's text. On one occasion, the image accompanies discussion of the king-sultans of Arabia. The text describes impaling as follows:

It is the custom in this kingdom, that when two fight for that kingdom, whichever overcomes the other ... brings him to prison ... dresses him like a king, and leads him to a house made for the purpose in which there are iron spikes, and he is put on one of those spikes, so that it comes through at the neck, and on the spike he must rot.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps more interesting, however, is the use of the image earlier in the text, where it accompanies a description of the cruelties of Sultan Bayazid in the aftermath of battle (Figure 7.1). While the text provides a detailed recounting of the decapitation of European captives by order of the sultan, and slightly

idocon dopoi/gesprochen/fraw tum her gang mit disem der ist dein man/So spricht das weyb/Endi gesprochen/ warumb oder sagstu war antwurt der man/Hognam patanga ciolli/Das ist ya ich sag war so spricht die fraw/pergam anuo/es gefolt mir wol/gnam poi/so gang ich vn also get sy mit seinem gesollen in sein hauf/ so spricht darnach sein fraund zu seynem weyb/ das sy mit dem anderen gang/ das muß sy thon vnd solllicher massen verwechseln sy die weyber/ die kinder aber beleyben in aines yeden vatters hauf/ vnd vnder der andern schar der edlen vor genant/so helt ain fraw fünf sechs syben vn bey weylen acht man/vn ligt ainer ayn nacht bey ir die ander nacht ain and/vn also fyr vn fyr/vn wan aine ain kynd gepirt sagt sy das kind ist diß vnd das ander dises mans/ dem selben irem sagent gelau ben sy vnd sein darmit zu friden. **Capitel von der speys der edlen vnd des gemaynen volcks zu Calicut.**

**O** Je gemelten edlen essen auff der erden auß schislen gemacht vñ glogten speys/vnd fyr die löffel prauchen sy ain plat vñ ainem pom essend stettigs reys vnd fisch gewurtz vn frucht/die zway geschlech t aber die pauen essen mit den henden auß den hafen/vnd so sy das reys her auß nemen/heben sy die hend über den hafen/Vnd machend kuglen daraus die schyben sy dan in den mund.

**Capitel vñ d gerechtigkeit die gehalten wirt zu calicut**



**V**on der gerech tigkeit die sy haltē ist so ainer ainen tod schlächt vnd vmb Bringt Vnd das der selb betreten wirt/So last der künig nemen ain pfal Fyer schyde lang wol ge spytzt vnd geleich zu oberst  
E ij

7.1 Jörg Breu, image from Hans Schildtberger, *Ein Wunderbarliche und kurzweilige History* (Frankfurt am Main, 1556)

(John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island)

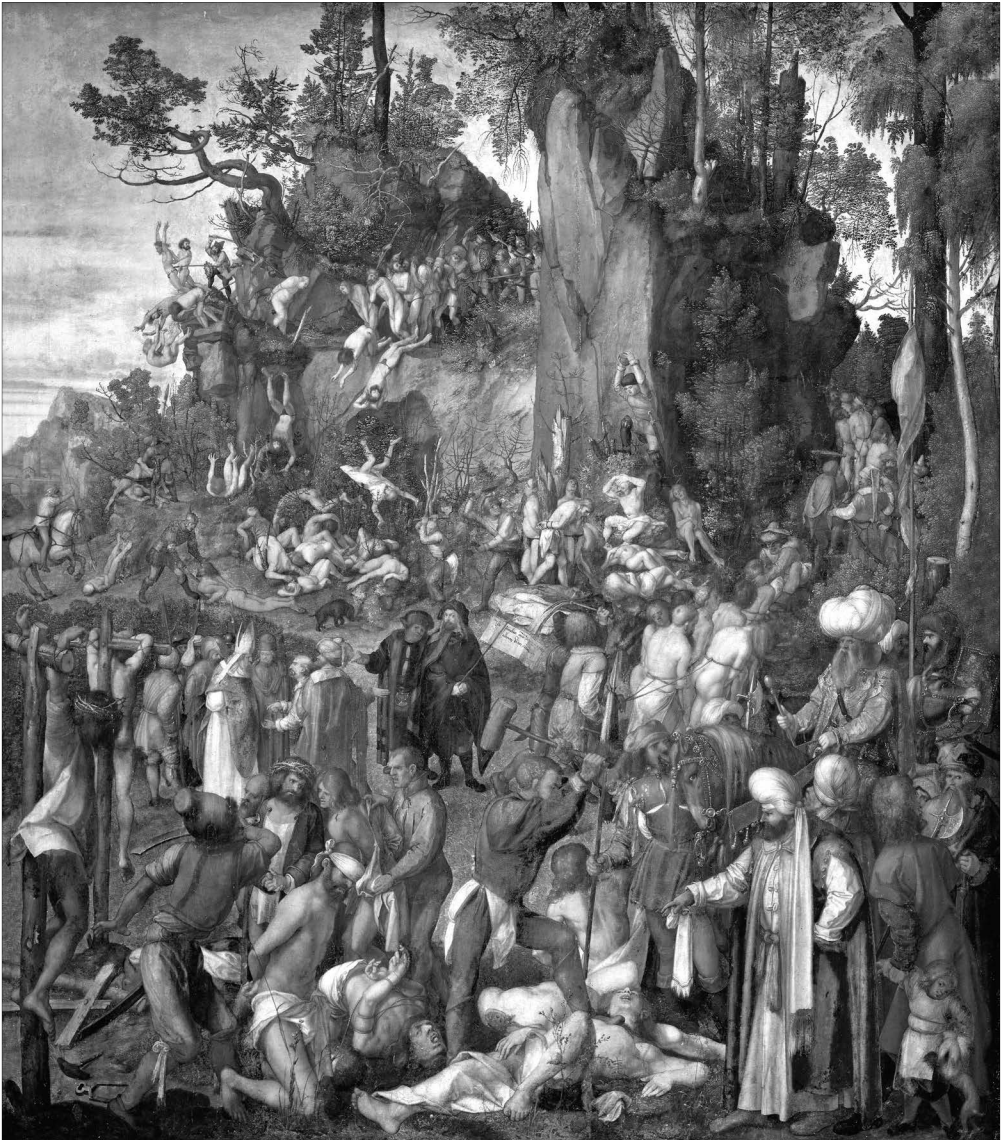


7.2 Albrecht Dürer, *Martyrdom of the 10,000*, 1495, woodcut  
(National Gallery of Art, Washington DC)

later in the text there is a mention of a head impaled on a spike, there is no mention in the text of full-body impaling. The larger phenomenon of the reuse and recontextualization of the Breu images is beyond the scope of this paper. Yet I would suggest that the linking of impalement to an Ottoman sultan in the mid-sixteenth century, despite its incongruity with the text, is significant, and deliberately plays on a larger assumption about the Ottomans, atrocities and impalement that was active in Western Europe by this point.

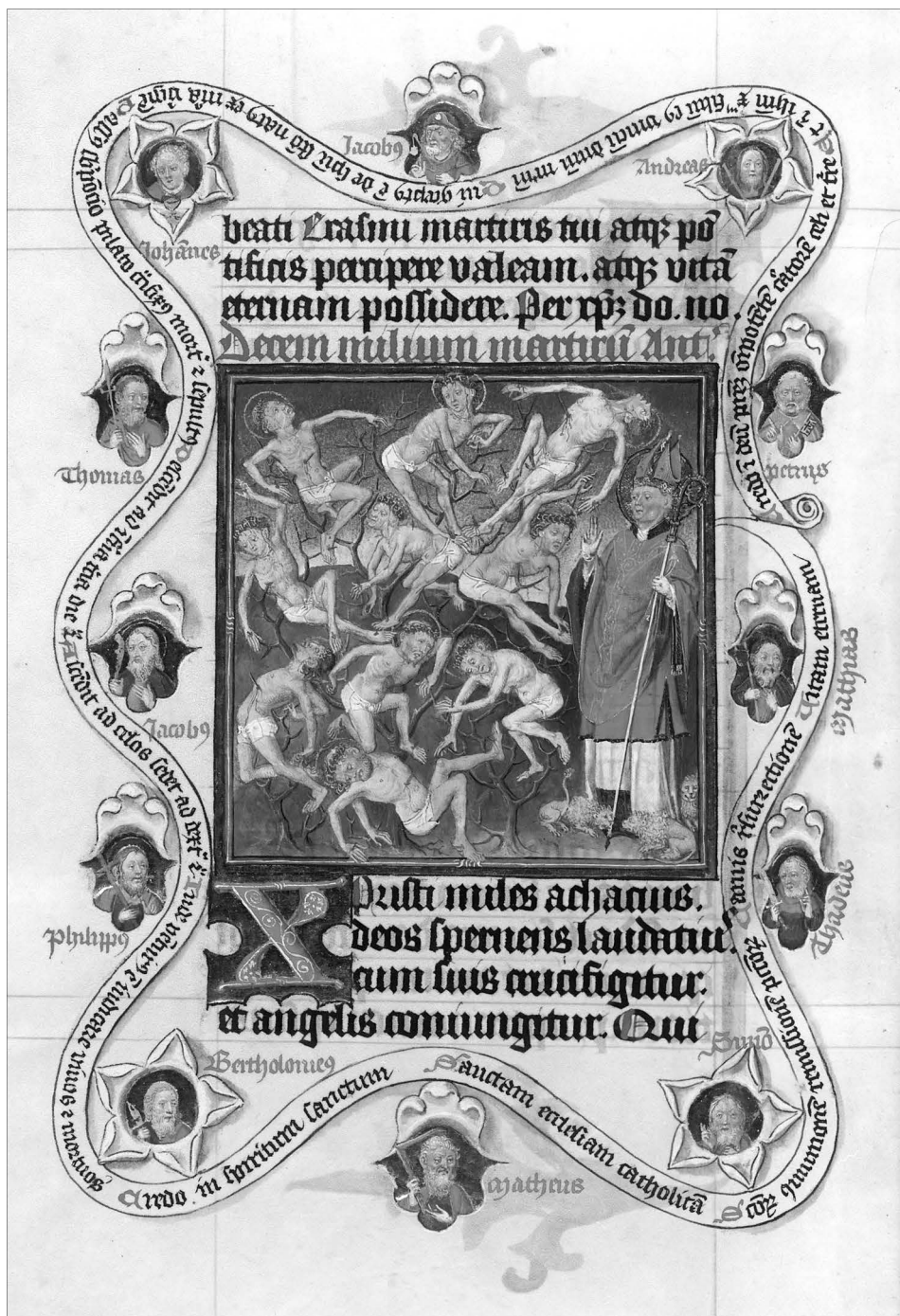
The connection of the Ottomans to impaling in German print culture is present from at least the late fifteenth century. In 1495 and 1508 Albrecht Dürer made two images, a woodcut and a painting, of a comparatively unusual subject matter: the Martyrdom of the 10,000 (Figures 7.2, 7.3). The images, which differ in a number of details, have in common their brutal depiction of the punishments endured by the martyred—they are crucified, flayed, beheaded, have their eyes bored out, and, most notably, in both versions, are bound together and forced up and off a hill, to fall and be impaled on large thorns beneath. The precise scene depicted is a matter of some debate, as there are several apocryphal stories involving 10,000 early Christian martyrs with similar details.<sup>14</sup> One legend involved the martyrdom of 10,000 Roman soldiers under the Emperors Hadrian and Antonius. The pagan soldiers, fighting on a campaign in the Euphrates, were converted to Christianity by an angel, as a result of which they won their battle, only to be pressured into recanting by Hadrian. At their refusal, they were crucified. A similar tale relates the torture under Emperor Diocletian of an unspecified number of Christians, including the bishop Anthimos, whose torture included being thrown into thorns.<sup>15</sup> A third possibility is the martyrdom of Achatius,<sup>16</sup> sometimes specified as a bishop, and 10,000 companions who were crucified on Mt. Ararat by an army under the leadership of Sapor II of Persia.<sup>17</sup> Dürer's images may show one or more of these stories, or may conflate details from different versions. This narrative ambiguity has obvious implications for interpretation.

While the Martyrdom of the 10,000 was not a commonly depicted scene, several precedents do exist, for example a c. 1410–15 painting from Cologne by the Master of the Little Passion, today in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, and an illustration from the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (Figure 7.4). While I am not suggesting that Dürer knew either image specifically, he likely visited Cologne while on his journeyman travels, and the iconography of his martyrdom scenes in particular has been linked to his travels through the lower Rhine region.<sup>18</sup> While both images include impaling on thorns, clearly understood as a key element of the story, Dürer's version amplifies the narrative, adding landscape, additional scenes of torture, and, most notably, distinctive and identifiable costume. In both versions, key figures involved in the massacre wear exoticized dress: turbans, long robes with elaborate patterning, and carry curved scimitar-like swords. Yet this dress is not indiscriminately exoticizing: it bears a specific religious and cultural



7.3 Albrecht Dürer, *Martyrdom of the 10,000*, 1508,  
oil on panel transferred to canvas  
(Erich Lessing/Art Resource NY)





7.4 Martyrdom of the 10,000 from the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, fol. 262, c. 1440

(The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. MS M.917. Purchased on the Belle da Costa Green Fund and with the assistance of the Fellows, 1963)



coding and, significantly, is attached only to figures who perpetrate the atrocities, not to the victims. In the woodcut version (Figure 7.2), the turbaned figure beside the crowned ruler gestures towards the dead bishop as if to claim responsibility for the act. An additional turbaned figure behind the ruler and the figure behind him in a folded-over cap are presumably additional officials, while the turbaned figure with a scimitar on the hillside drives the chained band of Christians up the hill with a whip. In the painted version (Figure 7.3), the mounted ruler figure in the right foreground wears a prominent turban, as do several other figures involved in the massacre. By contrast, in both images the dress worn by the victims is either minimal drapery or European in style.

The exoticized costume worn by the perpetrators is specifically Ottoman dress, and marks these figures as Ottoman. Their dress includes the distinctive Ottoman turban form, where the white cloth of the turban is wrapped around a felt cap or *taj* and the janissary *bork*, with a folded-over, pointed tip.<sup>19</sup> The elaborately patterned robes worn by the figures are suggestive of Ottoman kaftans while the curved sword is similar to a specific sword type used by the Ottomans, which was by then widely recognized in Europe as a characteristic Ottoman weapon. An additional conflation of the Martyrdom of the 10,000 with Ottoman identity is seen in a woodcut by the Nuremberg artist Sebald Beham from 1540, where a rather sketchily depicted Ottoman figure, identifiable through his turban and robe, again forces the victims off the hillside to be impaled on the thorns below.

The presence of figures in these two scenes who are marked as Muslim and as Ottoman through a surprisingly accurate depiction of costume is not particularly surprising in the work of Dürer. In 1494–95, Dürer made the first of two visits to Venice.<sup>20</sup> While both visits would contribute to his work in fundamental ways, Dürer gained knowledge of Ottoman costume, in particular the Ottoman turban type, after copying the work of Gentile Bellini, presumably during his first Venetian sojourn. Gentile Bellini famously travelled to Constantinople in 1479 to work at the court of Sultan Mehmed II.<sup>21</sup> While most of Bellini's eclectic commissions from the sultan have been lost, he did produce at least two images of Mehmed II, and returned to Venice with a direct knowledge of Ottoman figure types and a body of drawings done in Constantinople that he continued to draw on throughout his career. Bellini moreover disseminated a newly authentic image of Ottoman dress, and it is his image of Ottoman dress that is reflected in Dürer's work.<sup>22</sup> Dürer's direct study of Bellini's Ottoman figures is documented by his *Three Orientals* drawing from 1495, which copies three turbaned figures in Bellini's *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* (Figure 7.5).<sup>23</sup> In the wake of his 1495 trip, Dürer included figures wearing Ottoman dress in a variety of works, from Passion scenes to genre scenes to costume studies. While the meaning of these figures varied, it is important to note that Ottoman dress did not always signify Ottoman identity for Dürer, although sometimes it clearly did. In some instances, Dürer's turbaned



7.5 Albrecht Dürer, *Three Orientals*, c. 1495, colored drawing  
(© Trustees of the British Museum)

figures follow a long-standing visual convention where any non-Christian figure could be denoted as such through a turban, for example, when he shows Pilate wearing Ottoman dress in his Large Passion series. At the same time, a number of genre scenes and costume studies by Dürer clearly show Ottoman figures who are intended to be understood as Ottoman.

The meaning of Ottoman dress in Dürer's *Martyrdom of the 10,000* scenes is not wholly clear, in part due to the narrative ambiguity present in both images. In the woodcut version, Ottoman dress may signify Roman identity. This may indicate that the image depicts the torture of Anthimos and his companions, which is further supported by the bishop in the foreground and the martyrdom of the Christians on thorns. While it is possible that Dürer could here be using an Oriental costume to indicate that the events occurred under an Eastern ruler, namely Sapor II, the specific details of this image make that less likely. In the painted version, however, the addition of the crucifixion scene suggests the version of the story occurring under Sapor II, and it is tempting to read the scene as an attempt to add accuracy to an historical scene through the use of contemporary exotic costume. While this is not seen elsewhere in Dürer's work it was a common move in contemporary Venetian Orientalist works.<sup>24</sup> The continued presence of the bishop figure and the victims impaled on thorns, however, suggest that this image may in fact conflate several versions.

Narrative issues aside, the presence of exotic dress, specifically dress coded as Muslim and as Ottoman had a potent additional resonance in this scene of extreme brutality and atrocity, as the continued use of Ottoman dress in the version by Beham suggests.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, any scene including Ottoman figures and violence would have had great resonance for the European population during this time period given the reality of the Ottoman advance into Europe and ongoing Ottoman raids and border skirmishes, particularly in Eastern Europe. Moreover, the threat posed by the Ottomans had further revived a view of Muslims, now specifically the Ottomans, as warlike, bloodthirsty, and mercilessly cruel.<sup>26</sup> Stories abounded describing the cruelty exhibited by the Ottomans towards conquered towns. The ferocity and absolute despotism of the sultans similarly was another commonplace in Western European writings on the Ottomans.

The story of the *Martyrdom of the 10,000* in particular also has clear overtones with a well-publicized contemporary event, notably the Ottoman siege of Otranto in Apulia in 1480, where actions on the part of the Ottoman troops were widely reported as atrocities against innocent Christians. Reportedly, a group of 800 townspeople were offered death or conversion to Islam. The 800 were said to have refused and thus met their death. Moreover, the archbishop of Otranto was said to have met his death in a particularly horrific manner, and in total, 12,000 were killed.<sup>27</sup> Dürer's martyrdom scene suggests a conflation of the recent and historical past, where innocent Christian victims, steadfast in their faith, are subjected to physical torment by merciless tyrants, and are ultimately made martyrs for their faith.

The specific details of Dürer's martyrdom images are further suggestive of Otranto in the manner in which the impaling is shown. The story and previous images stress the impaling of the martyrs on thorns, and the images show the impaling occurring on the same spatial plane as the rest of the action. Dürer's depiction of the figures in both images, by contrast, feature a group of victims being forced up a hill only to be impaled at the hands of Ottoman figures. This shift has a clear echo of reports from Otranto, which described the 800 as led to the top of a hill and as meeting their death through either impalement or beheading. There were also reports of impaling by the Ottomans at the siege of Negroponte, a Venetian outpost on the Greek island of Euboea, which occurred in 1470. A sixteenth-century English translation of a 1512 commentary by Andrea Cambini, for example, describes how "the Turks ... with unspeakable cruelty put to death all the Italianes that they coulede laie hands on, impaling them upon longe stakes ... all the stretes of Negroponte were fylled with dede boddies and washed in Christian bloude."<sup>28</sup>

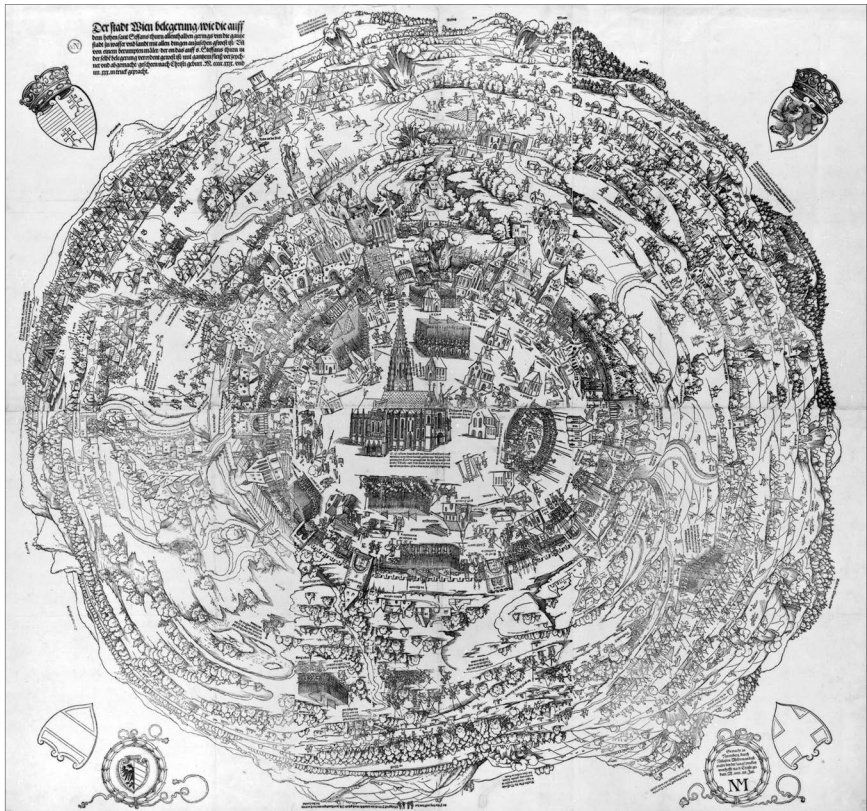
Impaling moreover became a key signifier of Turkish atrocities in later German propaganda prints, particularly prints related to the Ottoman siege of Vienna under Sultan Suleyman in 1529. Numerous texts and images related to the siege of Vienna focus above all on Ottoman attacks on civilians. In addition to descriptions of death by the sword, rape, enslavement, and capture, media reports also featured impalement as a distinctive form of torture allegedly utilized by the Ottomans.<sup>29</sup> A Nuremberg pamphlet by Niclas Meldeman from 1530 that describes the siege in detail notes, for example, the thousands murdered, the gruesome bloodthirstiness of the Turk, and comments specifically about children being torn from their mothers and impaled on spikes.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps the best-known, and most visually impressive depiction of the Siege of Vienna is a large-scale, six-sheet woodcut panorama executed by Sebald Beham and published by Niclas Meldeman shortly after the end of the siege (Figure 7.6).<sup>31</sup> While the panorama focuses on events within and immediately around the city walls, numerous scenes of atrocities are depicted occurring on the outskirts of Vienna. Corpses, some clearly beheaded, litter the outer edge of the image, while the text describes the murder of thousands of men, women and children. A row of spikes with several impaled bodies is visible near a caption noting that "here many children were impaled."<sup>32</sup>

An image by Erhard Schön from another major print project associated with the siege of Vienna, a series of prints depicting Ottoman participants of the Siege of Vienna from 1530, echoes the small detail from the panorama. It features stakes, impaled infants, massacred women and an Ottoman soldier splitting a baby in two (Figure 7.7). The text caption places the event in the Viennese woods, and describes it as including the murder of girls and women as well as the splitting apart of children down their middle and their impalement on pointed stakes.<sup>33</sup> A second image from the same series similarly depicts a janissary who nonchalantly carries an impaled infant on a battle standard while leading his adult captives along by their necks.

7.6 Sebald  
Beham, *Siege  
of Vienna, 1529*,  
woodcut

(Erich Lessing/Art  
Resource NY)

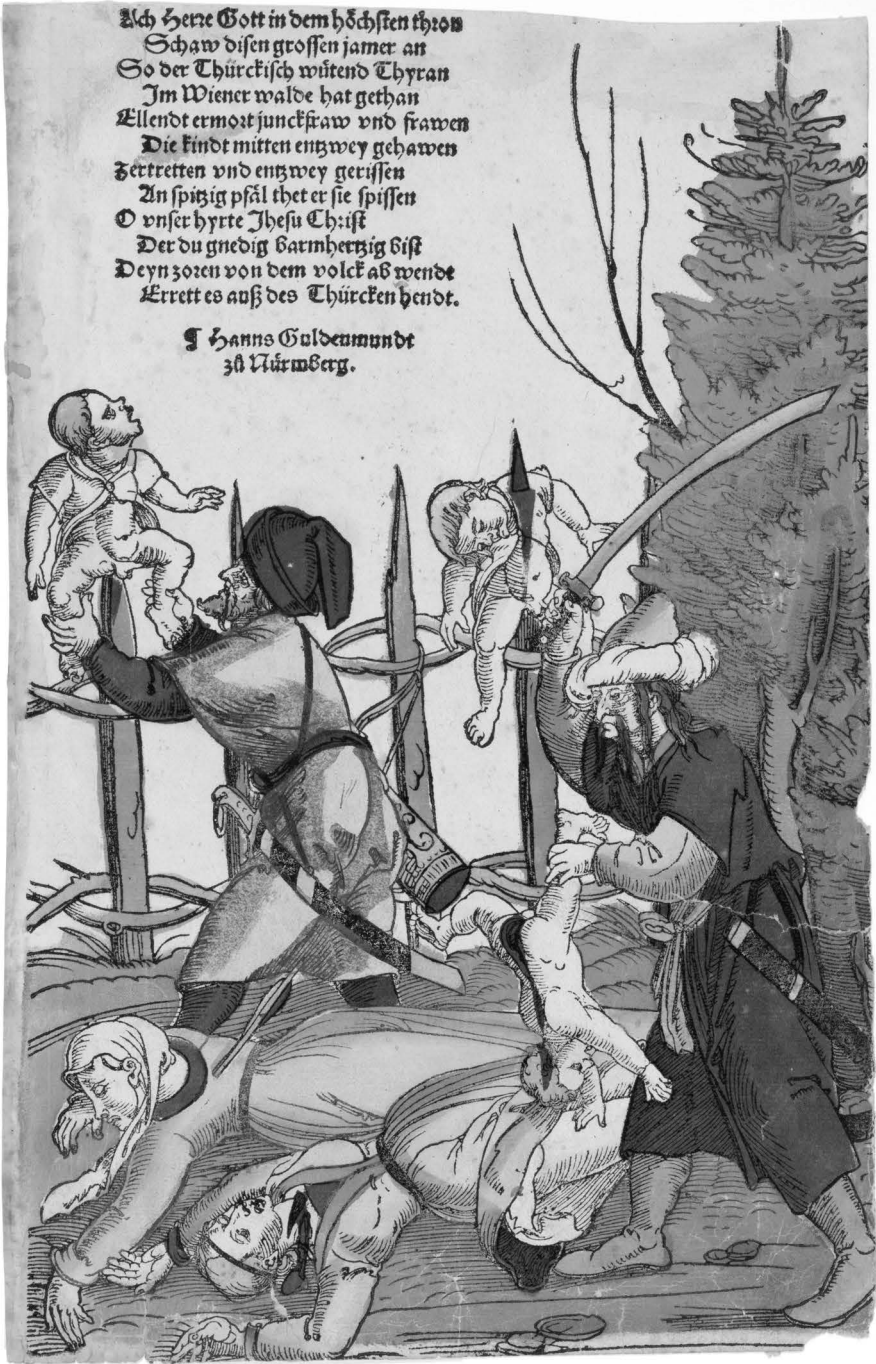


Of note in the *Siege of Vienna* materials, both image and text, is the specific stress on the impaling of children. In the first Schön image, impaled children are shown along with a child being hacked apart by the distinctively curved sword of the Ottomans. The title page to a popular pamphlet titled “The Terrifying Turkish Siege and Departure from the City of Vienna” uses a scene of Ottoman atrocities, namely the splitting apart of a child, to stand in as the sole representation of the siege. This scene is also very similar to an image that appeared in a popular pamphlet detailing Ottoman conquests in Hungary in 1526.<sup>34</sup> The title page to this pamphlet further underlines Ottoman atrocities to civilians, showing a chaotic scene of turbaned figures massacring unarmed men, women and children in a city square (Figure 7.8). While images of massacred children and defenseless women are clearly intended to stir outrage on their own, these repeated images of infanticide together with images of mothers unable to defend their children have a larger resonance. To any fifteenth- or sixteenth-century viewer, such a scene would have clear narrative overtones and visual parallels to the biblical story of the Massacre of the Innocents.

Two late fifteenth-century German images of the Massacre of the Innocents, one by the Monogrammist PM (c. 1480) and the other by Israhel van Meckenem (c. 1470), show scenes of infants pierced and hewn in two by the swords of

Ach Herr Gott in dem höchsten thron  
 Schau disen grossen jamer an  
 So der Thürkisch wüthend Thyran  
 Im Wiener walde hat gethan  
 Ellendt ermordt junckfraw vnd frawen  
 Die kindt mitten entzwey gehawen  
 Zertretten vnd entzwey gerissen  
 An spizig psäl thet er sie spissen  
 O vnser hyrte Ihesu Ch:ist  
 Der du gnedig barmhertzig bist  
 Deyn zoren von dem volck ab wende  
 Errett es auß des Thürcken hendt.

J hanns Goldenmunde  
 zu Nürnberg.



7.7 Erhard Schön, "Turkish Atrocities," from *Participants in the Siege of Vienna, 1530*, hand-colored woodcut

(Museum Boijmans van Beunigen)

**Hernach volgt des Blüt  
hunds / der sych nennet ein Türckischen  
Keiser / gethaten / so er vnd die seinen / nach eroberung  
der schlacht / auff den xxviii. tag Augusti nechster  
gänge geschehē / an vnsern mitbrüdern der Vngriſche  
lantſchafften gāz vnmēſchlich tribē hat / vñ noch teglichs tūt.**



7.8 Title page to *Hernach volgt des Bluthunds*, 1526, woodcut, Augsburg edition

(Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)





Herod's soldiers (Figure 7.9). They are both strikingly parallel to one another, and to the similar actions shown in the *Siege of Vienna* images. In a reverse of the process seen in the *Martyrdom of the 10,000* images, the *Siege of Vienna* images underscore the horror of contemporary atrocities through conflation with a biblical moment of atrocity. This linkage amplifies the larger resonance of the event by suggesting a larger significance of the persecution of the faithful by non-Christian adversaries, and further stresses the enormity of the cruelties shown. These are not commonplace horrors of war; the acts of the soldiers are rather understood as equivalent to the actions of the biblical soldiers, acting at the behest of a sultan who is thereby linked to Herod.

An additional image featuring impaling of body parts, if not whole bodies, as a sign of Ottoman atrocities, is Schön's *Procession with the Turkish Emperor* (1532). Preceding the enthroned sultan, mounted riders in turbans carry battle standards with decapitated heads impaled on their tips. The background depicts the battle of Güns (now Köszeg, Hungary, then part of Austria), which took place in 1532. The accompanying title text again underlines Turkish atrocities, stating "A lament to God about the gruesome, manifold excesses of the bloodthirsty Turks and a plea for gracious help."<sup>35</sup> The decapitated heads on spikes echo contemporary reports of the Ottoman practice of the display of decapitated enemy heads, frequently impaled on pikes.

Any discussion of impaling and its resonance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would be incomplete without a discussion of Vlad III of Wallachia, better known as Vlad Dracula, Vlad the Impaler or Vlad Tepes, whose atrocities, particularly his executions by impaling, are notorious. While estimates of Vlad's victim total vary widely, a conservative count numbers

7.9  
Monogrammist  
PM, *Massacre of  
the Innocents*,  
c. 1480, engraving  
(© Trustees of the  
British Museum)



40,000 over six years, although some contemporary estimates numbered as high as 100,000.<sup>36</sup> Vlad utilized impaling as an execution device against his own citizens, particularly in his clashes with the *boyars*, the landowning class, and also against captured Ottoman soldiers. Other contemporary Balkan rulers also used impaling as an execution technique, notably Stephen of Moldavia.<sup>37</sup> Contemporary narratives describe stakes for impaling set up permanently outside Vlad's castle at Tîrgoviste and in public spaces in his capital city. They also detail his specific methods of impaling—generally from the buttocks, but also through the chest or stomach. The Greek chronicler Chalkondyles, recording the Ottoman attack on Tîrgoviste in 1462, described Mehmed II's decision not to attack as a result of his view of over 20,000 decomposing, impaled corpses in a gorge outside the city. The sultan, according to the chronicle, "admitted that he could not win the land" after viewing this grisly sight.<sup>38</sup> The legend of Vlad Dracula took firm root in Western European consciousness in the later fifteenth century, when reports of his cruelties began to circulate in the 1460s. Printed pamphlets describing Vlad's atrocities, notably the text *Dracole Wayda*, were first published in Nuremberg in 1488 and circulated widely throughout German-speaking lands.<sup>39</sup> The final printing of the pamphlet occurred in Augsburg in 1568.

Interest in Vlad's actions in the German-speaking world was not simply a prurient fascination with horror and tyranny, although that was certainly part of it. The political connections between the Habsburgs and Vlad's family went back to his father, Vlad II, who spent considerable time at the court of Emperor Sigismund and was inducted by him into the chivalric Order of the Dragon, the origin of the Dracula sobriquet.<sup>40</sup> Vlad III's political entanglements with the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus, which ultimately resulted in his imprisonment, made him of great interest in Vienna, where his actions, including his atrocities, were recorded in the form of a 1,000-line poem by the *meistersinger* Michel Beheim in 1463.<sup>41</sup> Among Vlad's victims were also ethnic Germans, the so-called Transylvanian Saxons, whose prosperous merchant communities in Romania came into increased conflict with Vlad between 1459 and 1461.<sup>42</sup> Refugees from these communities became the source of eyewitness reports on the atrocities that formed the basis of several early German-language reports. The texts stressed the absolute tyranny of Vlad and the unthinkable nature of his atrocities. Beheim moreover underscored the epic nature of his evil through comparing him to historical tyrants such as Herod, Diocletian, and Nero. These same historical figures, understood as enemies of the faith, were commonly understood as antichrist types in apocalyptic literature.<sup>43</sup>

The horror of impaling featured prominently in the German-language texts. A woodcut depiction of Vlad dining amongst numerous impaled victims illustrates the aftermath of an attack on Transylvanian Saxons in Kronstadt, now Brasov, Romania (Figure 7.10). The event is described in the pamphlet as follows: "When day came, early in the morning, he had women and men, young and old, impaled around the hill by the chapel and sat down among

Wie sacht sich an gar ein graussem  
liche erschreckenliche hystorien. von dem wilden wü-  
trich Dracole weyde Wie er die leüt gepist hat vnd  
gepraten vñ mit den hainbtern yn einē kessel gesotten



7.10 Image of impalement from *Dracole Wayda*, 1499, woodcut, Nuremburg  
(Germanisches Nationalmuseum)



7.11 Title page of *Von dem Dracole Wayda ...*, 1560s, woodcut, Augsburg edition (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin)

them and ate his breakfast with enjoyment.”<sup>44</sup> First appearing in a Nuremberg edition of 1499 and republished in subsequent editions, the image provided a graphic view of this distinctive form of execution and helped to further cement the image of Vlad as a bloodthirsty tyrant to a German-speaking audience. The text goes on to describe a number of other instances of impaling, along with other atrocities. The horror of these acts together with Vlad’s sadistic pleasure is underscored by the text: “He devised dreadful, frightful, unspeakable torments, such as impaling together mothers and children nursing at their breasts ... He had all kinds of peoples impaled sideways ... He had his amusement in this way.”<sup>45</sup>

Despite Vlad’s notoriety, his reputation was not completely negative in Western Europe, principally due to his entanglement with the Ottoman Turks.<sup>46</sup> Taken prisoner by the Ottomans as a child, Vlad was installed as the ruler of Wallachia by Mehmed II in 1448. While he lost the throne one year later, he returned to power again in 1456 and ruled for six years before being deposed by Matthias

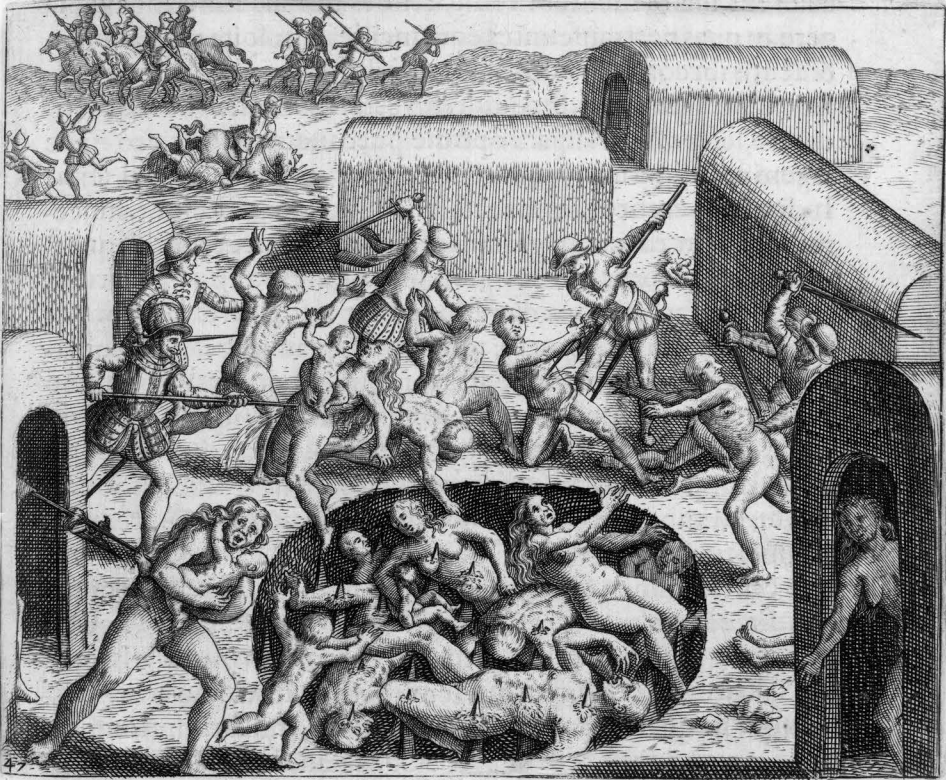
Corvinus. During his reign, Vlad engaged in a military campaign where he attempted to free his territory from the Ottomans, who had conquered Bulgaria and Wallachia in 1393 and held them as vassal states. To Western Europe, Vlad could be seen as defender of the Christian faith, a ruler, who, like his father before him, was sworn to crusade against the Ottomans. Yet at the same time his long association with the Ottomans and his vassal status made him potentially suspect. A forged letter, purportedly written by Vlad to the sultan in 1462, made public in Vienna in 1463, revealed a supposed plot by Vlad to hand Transylvania over to Mehmed and to thus “bring all Hungary under your [Mehmed’s] power.”<sup>47</sup>

The resurgence of interest in Vlad in late fifteenth-century Germany, 12 years after his death and several decades after the atrocities described by the texts, is curious and not wholly explained. William Layher has recently argued that the renewed interest in Vlad corresponds to a rise in interest in the exotic East generally and the Ottomans in particular in late fifteenth-century German print culture.<sup>48</sup> Visual support to Layher’s argument is provided by the title page illustration to a 1560s edition of the Dracula pamphlet where Vlad is now shown clad in Ottoman dress, most notably an Ottoman-style turban with *taj* (Figure 7.11).<sup>49</sup> This is despite earlier depictions of Vlad, notably a portrait appearing in the pamphlet

literature and a painted portrait from the sixteenth century, seen as a copy of a lost original, which show him wearing the costume of a Hungarian nobleman.<sup>50</sup> Vlad, as a figure caught between East and West, became linked with the Ottomans in Western European perceptions, not only due to his historical circumstances, but also in no small way due to the perception of his cruelties as Othering. The Augsburg image identifies Vlad as Ottoman through costume, and makes him non-European through the addition of the turban.

There is no direct link, whether visual or textual, made between Vlad's atrocities and the atrocities attributed to the Ottomans in Vienna, Otranto or Negroponte. Yet the majority of the materials discussed here, whether Dürer's Martyrdom of the 10,000 images, the Beham and Schön scenes of the Siege of Vienna or the printed pamphlets showing Vlad and his impaling, emerged from the same context, notably Nuremberg and its printing industry. The remainder are from the nearby center of Augsburg. Dürer's godfather, Anton Koberger, was a major print publisher in Nuremberg and he also spent part of his apprenticeship in Michael Wolgemut's Nuremberg workshop working on the major collaborative print projects of the early 1490s. It is thus probable that he knew the Dracula publications, given his deep and ongoing connections with Nuremberg's printing industry. Schön and Beham, working in Nuremberg in the generation of artists following Dürer, were influenced by his work and also had close ties to the Nuremberg publishing industry. In this tightly knit context, these images of impaling, whether associated with Vlad, the Ottomans or scenes from Christian history take on a larger resonance, particularly when seen as a group.

The link between Ottoman identity and impaling moreover extended beyond German print culture, and became a long-standing association in Western European discourse around the Ottomans and their purported cruelties. In addition to the previously mentioned reuse of Breu's depiction of impaling in Calicut to characterize atrocities performed by Sultan Bayazid I, other examples underline this association. The portrait of Sultan Selim II on the frontispiece to the Venetian *Lamento et Ultima Disperatione de Selim Gran Turco* (1575), for example, includes a prominent depiction of impalement to the right of the sultan. The image actually refers to the treatment of the Venetian Marcantonio Bragadin after the siege of Famagusta in 1571—Bragadin was flayed alive, his skin stuffed with straw and placed, trophy-like, on a mast. Yet the depiction of this torture clearly evokes the specter of impaling, again linking impaling to the Ottomans, and to what is characterized here as the defining cruelty of Selim.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the seventeenth-century *Voyages de M. de Thévenot tant en Europe qu'en Asie et en Afrique* includes a scene of impalement in Ottoman Egypt while the text describes impaling as "a very ordinary punishment with them" and includes a graphic description of the precise methods employed.<sup>52</sup> The Yugoslav example discussed at the outset



Cernentes Indij, neque humilitate, neque donis, aut patientia, tam inhumana, & ferocia corda placari, seq; sine vlla ratione ita maētari, consilium ceperunt colligendi se, & ad arma concurrendi: tutius quippe esse ducebant, cū mors illis malum esset necessarium, armata manu, vindictam de hostibus sumendo cædi, quā sine vindicta, ab illis necari. Cū autem armorum inopiam, nuditatem, & debilitatem suam cernerent, neq;

7.12 Theodore de Bry, illustration to Bartolomé de las Casa, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (Frankfurt, 1598)

(John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island)

moreover indicates that this association continued to have resonance even into the twentieth century.

Impaling, through its twin association with Vlad III of Wallachia, the ambivalent, not-wholly Western figure of legendary brutality, and the Ottomans, similarly demonized as the perpetrators of unthinkable atrocities, became a signifier of both absolute cruelty and absolute otherness, a marker of the barbarous East and its threat to the civilized, Christian West. The visual linking of impaling to events of Christian history, whether the Massacre of the Innocents or the Martyrdom of the 10,000, or the linking of Vlad to Herod, Diocletian or Nero, furthermore utilized a familiar Christian typological thinking. The ultimate rightness and absolute wrongness of the perpetrators is underscored, and the sufferings of beleaguered European Christians against the expansionist forces of the Muslim Ottomans is explained as part of a larger divine plan.

Yet impalement as a signifier of absolute tyranny and horrific brutality was also remarkably fluid. As figures as disparate as the ancient Persian tyrants of Herodotus, Vlad the Impaler, and un-named Calicut rulers could become Ottoman (and vice versa) through their association with impaling, so too could the power of impaling as a trope be transferred elsewhere to similarly signal a message of unthinkable cruelty. Impaling makes an appearance, for example in the *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* by Bartolomé de las Casas from 1542, which discusses cruelties perpetrated by the Spanish on indigenous Americans. Discussing atrocities in Guatemala, las Casas describes how the Spanish dug

ditches and holes into the highway ... and fixing therein purposely sharp and burnt posts ... afterward the Spaniards took this course ... and made this a law, that as many of the Indians of what age or sex soever as were taken, should be cast into these ditches that they had made. Nay they threw into them women with child, and as many aged men as they laid hold of, till they were all fill'd up with Carcasses. It was a sight deserving commiseration, to behold women and children gaunched or run through with these posts.<sup>53</sup>

In 1598, a volume of las Casas with illustrations by Théodore de Bry was published in Frankfurt.<sup>54</sup> The engravings included a depiction of this scene, where nude men, women, and children flail helplessly in a dark pit, their bodies impaled on spikes, while Spanish soldiers chase and skewer additional figures with pikes (Figure 7.12).<sup>55</sup> The image is remarkably reminiscent of both earlier religious imagery of the Massacre of the Innocents or the Martyrdom of the 10,000 and its echoes in images of Ottoman atrocities. In another image, Spanish soldiers grill a man over a fire, while a stake is shown piercing his rectum.<sup>56</sup> Las Casa and de Bry, widely understood as inaugurating the so-called Black Legend of Spanish colonial atrocities, here signally incorporate an already familiar sign of barbaric horror perpetrated by agents of absolute tyranny to help convey the larger point of Spanish cruelty. That sign, of course, is impalement.

## Notes

- 1 Both quoted in Linda Boose, "Crossing the River Drina: Bosnian Rape Camps, Turkish Impalement and Serb Cultural Memory," *Signs* 28, no. 1 (2002): 87. Andrew Wheatcroft also discusses this event in *Infidels: A History of the Conflict Between Christendom and Islam* (New York: Random House, 2004), 154. Boose argues for the resonance of Ottoman impalement within Serbian cultural memory, epitomized by a pivotal scene in Ivo Andrić's *The Bridge on the Drina*, which describes in graphic detail the impalement of a sixteenth-century Serbian peasant on order of the Ottomans. Yet Boose also sees this as a false memory, noting the ahistoricity of legends of Ottoman impalement; Boose, "Crossing the River Drina," 81–89.
- 2 Erika Bleibtreu, "Grisly Assyrian Record of Torture and Death," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 17, no. 1 (1991).
- 3 Bleibtreu, "Grisly Assyrian Record."
- 4 David Lorton, "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt through the New Kingdom," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20, no. 1 (1977): 25–26. Sukla Das, *Crime and Punishment in Ancient India c. AD 300–AD 1100* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1977), 76.
- 5 William Desmond, "Punishments and the Conclusion of Herodotus' Histories," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004): 34–35.
- 6 Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4.5.
- 7 David Chapman, *Ancient Jewish and Christian Perceptions of Crucifixion* (Ada MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 8–9, 13. It should be noted that among Roman-era sources there is often ambiguity about the precise method of punishment described due to terminology and translation issues. A resultant blurring thus occurs in some instances between descriptions of impaling on a stake and crucifixion.
- 8 Marcus Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 30.
- 9 *Die Ritterlich un lobwirdig rayß*. The text was first printed in Italian in 1510. See Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), ch. 5, for discussion of this text.
- 10 See Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography*, 128, for a brief discussion of this image.
- 11 Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, trans. John Winter Jones (New York: Burt Franklin, 1863), 147.
- 12 Elio Brancaforte and Lisa Voigt, "The Traveling Illustrations of Sixteenth Century Travel Narratives," *PMLA* (May 2014). The illustrations were also used in a 1549 edition of Schiltberger.
- 13 *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, trans J. Buchan Telfer (London: Hakluyt Society, 1879), 51.
- 14 Klauner dates the story to the thirteenth century; see Friedrike Klauner, "Gedanken zu Dürers Allheiligenbildern," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien* 75 (1979): 59.
- 15 Charles Talbot, *Dürer in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 160.

- 16 Stöcker argues persuasively that the naming of the bishop as Achatius is an iconographic error. Citing contemporary liturgical texts, including texts known in late fifteenth-century Nuremberg, he states that the bishop in the scene should be correctly named Hermolaus, who was also the baptizer of the 10,000. Achatius was instead a soldier and one of the leaders of the 10,000. Christoph Stöcker, "Dürer, Celtis und der falsche Bischof Acatius. Zur Ikonographie von Dürers 'Marter der Zehntausend'" *Artibus et historiae* 5, no. 9 (1984): 121–37.
- 17 Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 50.
- 18 Fedja Anzelwesky, *Dürer, His Art and Life* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1980), 136.
- 19 An exception is the two standing turbaned figures in the left foreground, whose taller turbans with the double-cross strap reflect the turban style of the Mamluk empire. Dürer briefly experimented with Mamluk dress after his 1505 visit to Venice. See Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London: Islamic Art Publications, 1982).
- 20 Katherine Crawford Lubert has questioned the long-standing assumption that Dürer travelled to Venice in 1494, noting that only circumstantial evidence supports it. *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 40–76. Most scholars, however, continue to accept the first journey. See Andrew Morall, "Dürer and Venice" in *The Essential Dürer*, ed. Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 99–114.
- 21 On Bellini's visit see Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, *Bellini and the East* (London: National Gallery, 2005); and Raby, *Venice, Dürer*, ch. 1.
- 22 See Raby, *Venice, Dürer*, and Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown, *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer and Titian* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 266, for further discussion of Dürer's borrowings from Gentile Bellini. The possibility that Dürer also encountered actual Turks while in cosmopolitan Venice cannot be dismissed. Such exposure, although it cannot be established one way or another, might also have influenced his depictions. See also Heather Madar, "Dürer's Depictions of the Ottoman Turks: A Case of Early Modern Orientalism?" in James Harper, ed. *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 155–84, for discussion of Dürer's Ottoman imagery in his *Apocalypse*.
- 23 Dürer's drawing *Three Orientals* is a direct copy from a figure group in Bellini's *Procession in the Piazza San Marco*, except that Dürer has made one of the three into a black African. See Aikema and Brown, *Renaissance Venice*, 266, for a discussion of this image. Lubert, doubting the first Venetian stay, sees this image as copied not directly from Bellini, but rather suggests a pattern book as the original source and points to turbaned figures in Erhard Reuwich and the Nuremberg Chronicle; see Lubert, *Albrecht Dürer*, 57–58. The issue of where and how Dürer viewed Bellini's work is less important here than the fact of Dürer's clear knowledge of and reliance on Bellini's figures.
- 24 There is a growing literature on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venetian Orientalism. In addition to Raby, *Venice, Dürer*, see Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007).
- 25 Vittorio Carpaccio, a key exponent of Venetian Orientalism, also included Ottoman dress in his depiction of the scene from 1515 and further underscored



- Ottoman identity through the presence of a crescent moon banner, by then widely understood in Europe as a symbol of the Ottoman empire.
- 26 This is amply documented in contemporary sources. For discussion, see Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk, 1453–1517* (New York: St. Martins, 1967); Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Ottomans* (London: Viking, 1993), ch. 8; John Bohnstedt, “The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 58, no. 9 (1968): 1–58; and Constantinos Apostolos Patrides, “The Bloody and Cruelle Turk: The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 126–35.
  - 27 Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent*, 132.
  - 28 *Two very notable commentaries, The one of the original of the Turcks and Empire of the house of Ottomanno written by Andrewe Cambine* (London: Rouland Hall, 1562), 32.
  - 29 The larger issue of the Ottomans and their actual use of impaling is somewhat murky. Sources tend to agree that they did practice impaling, although assertions as to what extent, from what date and on whom vary. Boose, for example, states that impaling “was reserved exclusively for traitorous members of their own officer corps.” Boose, “Crossing the River Drina,” 82.
  - 30 Niclas Meldemann, *Warhafftige handlung wie und welchermassen der Türck die stat Ofen und Wien belegert* (Nuremberg, 1530), 7. “Die weyber und kind sind den merern teyl in der türcken hand kumen/und so tyrannisch un erbermlich mit inen gehandelt worden/das nit wol außzusprechen und zu beschrieben ist.” Discussing atrocities in Styria, the text comments on page 10: “die leut vil tausent jamerlich ermordt/erschlagen/un weg gefurt/und das zum erbermlichsten/die kinder auß muter leib geschniten/weg geworren oder an die spyß gestecht.”
  - 31 The literature on images of the siege of Vienna is not extensive. Brief discussions of this image can be found in both Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 77–78, and David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 227–28. On images of the Siege of Vienna generally see *Wien 1529: Die Erste Türkenbelagerung*, ed. Günther Dürriegl (Graz: Hermann Böhlau, 1979).
  - 32 “Hie hat man vil kinder an die zeun gespist.”
  - 33 “So der Thürckisch wutend Thyran/Im Wiener walde hat gethan/Ellendt ermort junckfraw und frawen/Die kindt mitten entzwey gehawen/zertretten und entzwey gerissen/an spitzig pfal thet er sie spissen.”
  - 34 *Hernach volgt des Bluthundts, der sych nennedt ein Türckischer Keiser, Gethaten, so er und die Seinen nach Eroberung der Schlacht, auff den 8. Tag Augusti nechst vergangen geschehen, an unsern Mitbrüdern der Ungrischen Lantschaften gantz unmenschlich* (Augsburg: Steiner, 1526).
  - 35 “Ein klag zu Gott/uber die grausamliche manigfaltigen wütereÿ/deß Blutduristigen Türcken umb gnadige hilff.”
  - 36 Radu Florescu, *Dracula: A Biography of Vlad the Impaler* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1973), 75.
  - 37 Florescu, *Dracula: A Biography*, 78. Ivan the Terrible also occasionally used impaling, as de Madariaga suggests “where he felt particular personal

- vindictiveness." She indicates that he likely got the idea from the Ottomans and/or from tales of Vlad the Impaler. Isabel de Madariaga, *Ivan the Terrible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 45.
- 38 Florescu, *Dracula: A Biography*, 99.
- 39 See William Layher, "Horrors of the East: Printing *Dracole Wayda* in Fifteenth-Century Germany," in *Consuming News: Newspapers and Print Culture in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, eds. William Layher and Gerhild Scholz Williams (also *Daphnis* 37, no. 1–2 (2008): 11–32). See also Matei Cazacu, *L'Histoire du Prince Dracula en Europe centrale et orientale XVe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2006).
- 40 Radu Florescu and Raymond T. McNally, *Dracula: Prince of Many Faces* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), 40–42.
- 41 See Layher, "Horrors of the East," 20. See also William MacDonald, *Whose Bread I Eat: The Song-Poetry of Michel Beheim* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1981), 216–17.
- 42 See Florescu, *Dracula: A Biography*, 71–75.
- 43 See Richard Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 119. Ottoman sultans were also commonly compared to such historical persecutors of Christians.
- 44 "Auch als der tag deß morges frwe kam do ließ er drawe un man iung und alt pey der capelln um den perck laßen spisse und hat sich mitten unter sie gesetzt und das morgen mal mit freuden geessen." *Die geschicht Dracole Waida* (Nuremberg: Marx Ayser, 1488), n.p. Translation from *Dracula: A Translation of the 1488 Nürnberg Edition*, trans. Beverley D. Eddy (Philadelphia: Rosenbach Museum and Library, 1985), n.p.
- 45 "Erschröckenliche forschtsame unausprechenliche pein hat er erdacht dz er hat lasen muter un kind an de bruste seu geht mite in ander spissen ... Item mensche hat er seitling lasen spissen allerlai volck ... also hat er sein freud gehabt." Translation from Eddy, *Dracula: A Translation*.
- 46 See Layher, "Horrors of the East," for this point as well as key details of his history, particularly 12–21. The major details of his history are also detailed in Florescu, *Dracula: A Biography*, and Florescu and McNally, *Dracula: Prince*.
- 47 Layher, "Horrors of the East," 22.
- 48 Layher, "Horrors of the East," 26–29.
- 49 Layher, "Horrors of the East," 29. The relevant edition is *Von dem Dracole Wayda dem grossen Thyrrannen gedruckt zu Augsburg durch Mattheum Francken* (1559–68).
- 50 Florescu, *Dracula: A Biography*, 47–49.
- 51 The larger point of the image is to show the ultimate punishment of Selim for his acts. See Bronwen Wilson, "Reflecting on the Turk in Late Sixteenth-Century Venetian Portrait Books," *Word and Image* 19, no. 1 (2003): 39–40. The image is also briefly discussed in Nebahat Avcioglu, "Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny in the Frontispiece to Georges Sandys's 'Relation of a Journey,'" *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 208.
- 52 *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant*, pt 1 (London: H. Clark, 1687), 259.
- 53 Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (Teddington: Echo Library, 2007), 37–38.

- 54 See Tom Conley, "De Bry's Las Casas," in *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus*, eds. René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992): 103–31.
- 55 Conley describes this scene in "De Bry's Las Casas," 114–15.
- 56 Conley, "De Bry's Las Casas," 110.

## Execution by Image: Visual Spectacularism and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe

*Allie Terry-Fritsch*

In recent years, scholars of late medieval and early modern culture have paid increasing attention to the ways in which images once responded to their beholders.<sup>1</sup> Images that “worked,” to use a phrase by Richard Trexler, were active intercessors in human lives; they healed, protected, nourished and fulfilled desires.<sup>2</sup> Not only did individuals pray in front of images, that is, pray at a physical distance from images and connect to the saint or scene represented through the ocular gaze, they also touched, kissed, caressed, and even sometimes ate holy images or applied them to their bodies in efforts to activate their holy power.<sup>3</sup> When holy images did not “work,” thwarted beholders sometimes scratched, threw dung at, or stabbed them.<sup>4</sup> Images were powerful, and late medieval and early modern individuals tried to negotiate this power through physical interaction.<sup>5</sup>

This analysis builds upon this rich body of scholarship to investigate a particular kind of image that is no longer extant, but which was used continuously from the thirteenth century throughout the entire early modern period in Europe: effigies of missing criminal-subjects that were tried, processed, tormented, and executed in full view of the community.<sup>6</sup> As opposed to the sacred performative images that have been the focus of art historical scrutiny in recent years, these punishment effigies served a quasi-secular function in the late medieval and early modern city, town or village. Commissioned by the judiciary in situations in which a criminal could not physically be conjured and attached to a crime—such as in cases of a criminal’s escape before execution, premature death, or inconclusive identification—the effigies not only represented the missing criminal body but also assumed the definitive performative presence of that offender within the process of justice. They were free-standing, portable objects in either two- or three-dimensions that could be nailed to scaffolds, hung by a noose, or beheaded then burned in a pyre so that they could be used to substitute the live criminal’s body in the punishment process. If a punishment effigy was executed properly, that is, if

its form was destroyed during the punishment ritual, then justice was served and the populace assuaged.

These objects were “efficacious images,” that is, they were believed to “work” under particular conditions and were seen as active interlocutors between a present viewing beholder and an absent referent. I use the term “efficacious image” to signal that category of images that were expected to work in front of beholders. Like other forms of efficacious images, including the miracle-working images discussed by Richard Trexler, David Freedberg, Megan Holmes, and others, these effigies were not valued necessarily for their aesthetic or material worth, but rather for their ability to act or affect a new reality.<sup>7</sup> They worked, just as miraculous images, in the presence of faithful beholders. But unlike miraculous images, which revealed their power to select individuals only *after* creation and then were protected by sacred tabernacles and shrines, these effigies were manufactured with the intent of efficacy through destruction. As I argue, their “faithful beholders” were the members of the community who bore witness to the annihilation of the image and, simultaneously participated in the construction of a purified community.

To highlight the performative value of these effigies in late medieval and early modern Europe, I purposefully draw on two terms—“visual spectacularism” and “iconoclasm.” Drawing on the cinematic terminology of “visual spectacularism,” I suggest that the execution of these effigies were performative events analogous to certain films that are predicated on “the creation of visually impressive alternate worlds, and the realization of events and beings liable to amaze.”<sup>8</sup> The spectacle of the execution of the punishment effigy produced an extraordinary scene of justice to the crowds of witnesses that would line the streets during the effigy’s procession and gather around the site of execution. As with other scenes of justice performed against live offenders, the efficacious punishment of effigies was contingent on the display of the offender, represented by the material stuff of the effigy, and the public punitive retribution enacted against it.<sup>9</sup>

However, since these same effigies were not, in fact, live offenders, they must be understood as purposefully constructed “offending images,” which through their very visibility, challenged the social and religious fabric of the community.<sup>10</sup> By rendering violence onto these governmentally sanctioned effigies, the citizens of a given community stripped away their power and rendered them inert through the imposition of judgment and, ultimately, justice. Drawing attention to the performative act of iconoclasm itself, I want to point to the ways in which iconoclasm in these cases triangulated the image, the offender, and the community as a whole.<sup>11</sup> In this way, I build on the provocative claim made by W.J.T. Mitchell that there is a “kind of theatrical excess” in the rituals of iconoclasm that “turns the punishment of images into a spectacular image in its own right.”<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, this chapter seeks to explore the visual and social significance that iconoclastic spectacles of effigy execution may have had for beholders in the late medieval and early

modern period, and to examine the power of images to stand in for and suffer, just as a live criminal body.

Punishment effigies, or image-substitutes of absent criminal-subjects, are recorded for both human and animal criminals in contempt of the law from the thirteenth century through the eighteenth century throughout Europe, including Italy, France, Germany, Greece, Denmark, and Switzerland.<sup>13</sup> The judicial practice was exported to the New World and was in use in Colonial America through the 1780s and beyond.<sup>14</sup> Punishment effigies assumed a wide range of forms and were developed in both two and three dimensions. For example, it is recorded that in 1606 in Leons de Chartres, a man and a dog were convicted of bestiality but were nowhere to be found. Effigies of both were made and attached to the scaffolds of justice and exposed to the community—in this case, they are recorded as two-dimensional pictures; the effigies were first hanged then were burned in order to carry out the prescribed punishment.<sup>15</sup> Other examples are recorded as three-dimensional, such as the straw effigy that was used to punish Jacques Lefrançois for murder in 1693. The straw effigy was burned in the town square of Grainville-le-Teinteur in France; its destruction fulfilled the prescribed terms of justice, even though the live body of the criminal never felt the heat of the flames.<sup>16</sup>

To understand their form and function, punishment effigies must be placed in the context of late medieval and early modern systems of penal justice in Europe since the effigies clearly participated in and, indeed, underscored the systematic objectification of the criminal body that occurred in the punishment process.<sup>17</sup> The public punishment of an offender was considered a means toward collective renewal after a crime. Highly elaborate rituals surrounded the prosecution and punishment of convicted offenders so as to visualize both the enactment of justice and the regeneration of the purity of the civic center for the communities that had been tainted by criminal wrongdoings.<sup>18</sup> These rituals crafted a visual focus upon the bodies of convicted offenders for the crowds of witnesses that would line the streets and surround the execution site. The criminal body often was isolated and raised above the populace during punishment rituals to provide clear visual access to it. In this mode, justice was literally played out before the crowd's very eyes.

The use of punishment effigies to substitute the live human body in penal executions confirms the important status once held by medieval and early modern images, since their destruction in front of the collective gaze of the community endowed these effigies with equal weight as "the real thing."<sup>19</sup> That is, the work of art was interchangeable with the missing human subject in rituals of justice. Since punishment effigies were used only when it was impossible for a live offender to surface in bodily form to receive justice through punishment before the community, they could be taken in earnest as official performative presences.<sup>20</sup> In this way, the punishment effigy became the site of justice, just as the human body was the site of justice in most other punishment rituals.

Punishment effigies drew from several different visual traditions to ensure their efficacy. They belonged to that group of artistic works identified by Samuel Edgerton and others as officially sanctioned and actively used by late medieval and early modern European governments in the penal process, including a variety of effigies and costumes of shame, images of judgment and justice, and works of art used to facilitate redemption.<sup>21</sup> Yet, the effigies under examination here also feature significant differences from those judicial works, not least of which was the motivation for their creation: the substitution for and destruction of the criminal body. In order to render the punishment effigies recognizable to the public, artists referenced the formal and theoretical relationship between image and prototype in portraiture.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, however, the visual form of punishment effigies was necessarily shaped by the materials used in their construction, since performative efficacy on the scaffolds (in other words, destruction) was the most important factor in their creation above aesthetic considerations.<sup>23</sup>

The substitution of an image—both in two and three dimensions—for a living individual was a well-known practice throughout the entire late medieval and early modern period. From at least the fifteenth century, the portrait was revived as an independent genre of art.<sup>24</sup> Portraits served diverse purposes, including the documentation of an individual's real or desired status, commemoration of an event or rite of passage, and the expression of social alliances. While portraits commonly were used to memorialize deceased individuals, they were also used as stand-ins for live presence when an individual was unable to attend major events.<sup>25</sup> They thus served both indexical and performative functions.

The ability of portraits to make “absent men present” was due, in large part, to the highly mimetic character of portraits from at least the fifteenth century.<sup>26</sup> In two dimensions, new drawing techniques and new mediums better allowed the artist to capture the minute details of a sitter's physiognomy, and to capture the motions of the mind of their sitters as well.<sup>27</sup> In three dimensions, sculptors took casts of their sitters' facial features to literally impress the physiognomy of their sitters into the material stuff of their sculpted portraits.<sup>28</sup> The Renaissance artistic desire to faithfully reproduce sitters' appearances complicated the relationship between image and referent, or portrait and prototype, and fostered affective ties between the beholder and the beheld in the portrait. While for centuries Church authorities concisely delineated rules for proper attitudes toward and interaction with images, the Florentine government found it necessary in 1425 to reiterate in a law that images were not analogous to their prototypes.<sup>29</sup> Despite the official declarations, Renaissance beholders continued to experience intimate relations with their images.<sup>30</sup> Leon Battista Alberti claimed that it was natural to kiss and talk to images, and to “cry with the crier, laugh with the laugher, [and] sorrow with the sorrowful.”<sup>31</sup> Leonardo da Vinci exclaimed that a portrait of a beloved had the ability to compel its lover to interact with and speak to it, such was the power of a painted likeness of a subject.<sup>32</sup>

In sacred contexts, portraits and other forms of effigies expressed the devotional focus of a patron's worship. Portraits of patrons and members of their families appeared in countless chapel frescoes and altarpieces. The painted effigy of the patron stood in for and perpetuated the prayers of the live patron to the holy figures included in the image or on the altar, even when the live presence of the said patron was removed. Likewise, three-dimensional portraits were also a common feature at important cult sites; these life-sized effigies, made of wood, wax or terracotta, even more forcefully perpetuated the simulated presence of individuals through their scale, coloring, and detailed modeling.

In cities such as Florence, an entire industry was built around the commissioning and production of these three-dimensional votive effigies.<sup>33</sup> In the Florentine church of Santissima Annunziata alone, hundreds of life-sized wax and wooden figures of contemporary citizens and other devotees to the Virgin graced the aisles, altars, and ceilings of the church and cloister.<sup>34</sup> The "reality effect" of these votive effigies was considered a key component for their efficacy.<sup>35</sup> The facial features were crafted from life masks, or casts, so as to faithfully represent the physiognomy of the devotee.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, while the bodies of the votive figures were constructed of generic wooden frames, real clothing bearing distinctive insignia and other visual markers further signaled the identity of the patron represented. Lorenzo de' Medici famously dressed his wax effigy at Santissima Annunziata in his torn and bloodied shirt, a sign of his special gratitude to the Virgin for his delivery from harm during the Pazzi Conspiracy.<sup>37</sup> Such strategies for the recognition of the figure ensured that the prototype—that is, the patron represented in the effigy—was given due credit for devotion to the Virgin Mary by both the saint and the community of Florentines that came to worship at her altar.

Since no punishment effigies are extant, is impossible to fully know how the aesthetic appearance of the punishment effigies related to the developments in portraiture during the period. However, select historical descriptions of punishment effigies give a sense of their wide-ranging forms. Certain punishment effigies used mimetic realism to augment the "reality effect" of the execution. One notorious case, recorded in detail by Pope Pius II, placed great emphasis on the vivid appearance of the punishment effigy. In 1462, the pope commissioned the sculptor Paolo di Mario Taccone to create a life-sized, three-dimensional portrait of Sigismondo Malatesta, which he then burned publicly on the steps of Saint Peter's basilica in Rome as he condemned the malefactor to hell.<sup>38</sup> In this case, Sigismondo was "found guilty of treason against the Pope, of presuming to make impious assertions in regard to the Christian religion, of living a foul life with every crime and infamy ... and was subjected to those punishments which the laws of men have decreed for heretics and traitors" (that is, burning).<sup>39</sup> The effigy was to imitate "the wicked and accursed man's features so exactly that it seemed a real person rather than an image."<sup>40</sup> The punishment effigy of Sigismondo was placed on top of "a great pyre of dry wood" and, so "that no one should make any

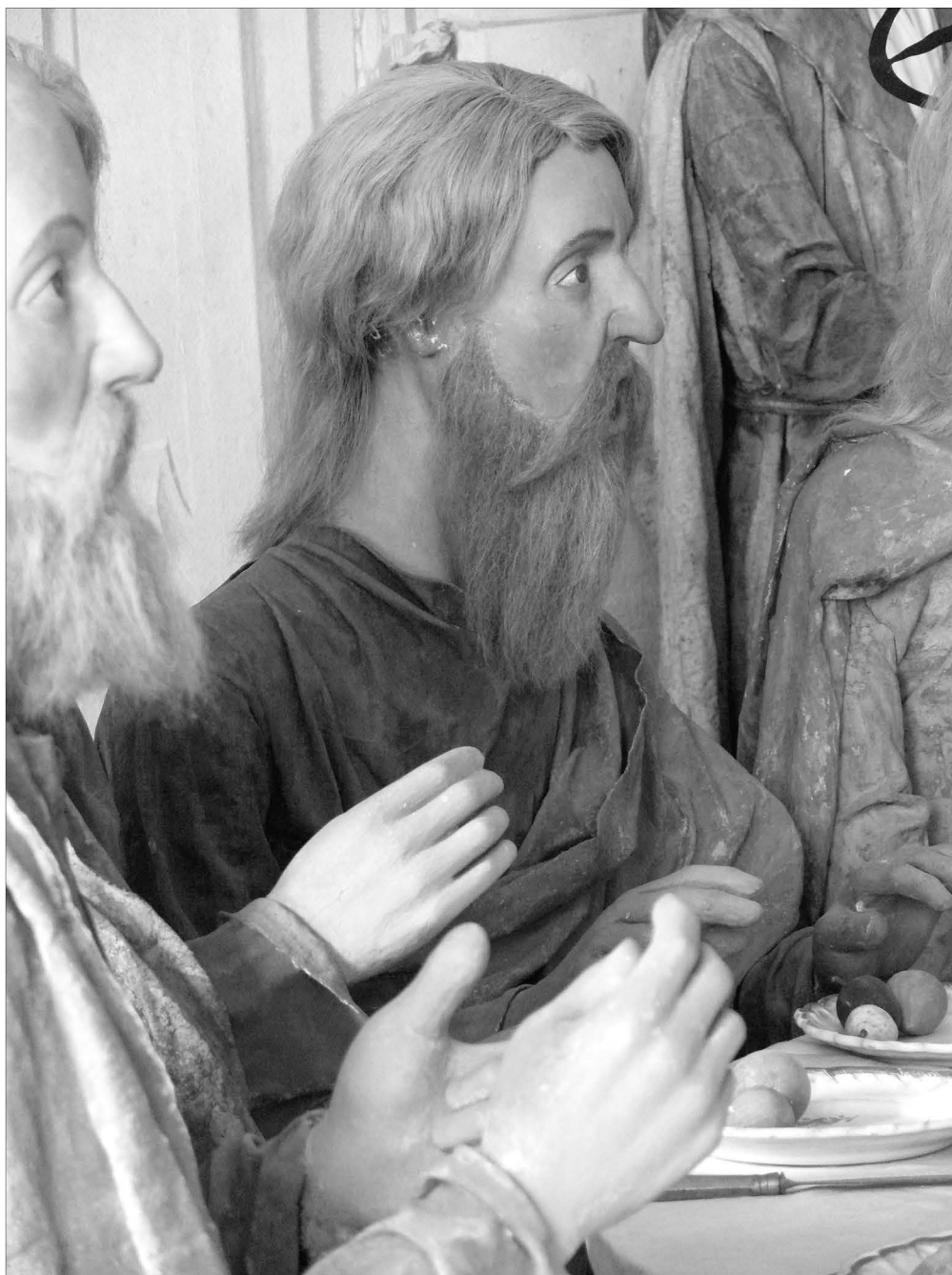


mistake about it, an inscription issued from the figure's mouth which read, 'Sigismondo Malatesta, son of Pandolfo, King of Traitors, hated of God and man, condemned to the flames of the holy Senate.'" Between the vivid mimesis of the offender's face and the inscription scroll, the punishment effigy clearly identified the criminal-subject to all who looked upon it.

The textual scroll issuing from the three-dimensional portrait of the malefactor held visual affinities with a type of illustration that accompanied the literary genre called "*Vado Mori*" (literally, "I go to die"), which blended the visual traditions of *danse macabre* and *memento mori*. As Jessica Brantley has argued, late medieval reading practices of devotional image-texts such as the *Vado Mori* fostered performative reflection and interaction, analogous to witnessing a sacred drama or pageant.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, a spectator of the effigy execution of Sigismondo was encouraged to look upon his face and read his scroll aloud, momentarily playing the part of the judge who condemns the malefactor "to the flames." The identification of the offender was then followed by the performance of the execution itself: greatly facilitated by the large quantity of wood comprising the pyre, the effigy of Sigismondo was literally consumed by the fire.

The 1661 trial and execution of Kai Lykke in Copenhagen also relied on mimetic realism to augment the performative reality of the penal ritual. The convicted traitor was absent from the country, thus the judiciary ordered that his punishment be effected on an effigy.<sup>42</sup> The body of the effigy was constructed out of wood and fashioned with moveable arms and legs. Its wooden frame was then covered with human clothing and its wooden hands with white gloves. The head, constructed of wax, bore the detailed facial features of Lykke. Finally, a wig made of hair (presumably horse) topped the figure. An extant sculpture of an apostle at the Last Supper from the holy mountain of Varallo in Sesia, made by an unknown artist in the last years of the fifteenth century and with later additions, provides a visual analogy to Lykke's punishment effigy (Figure 8.1). This figure and the other apostles which accompany it were made with kinetic potential so as to provide maximum flexibility for potential compositional configurations of the life-sized devotional tableaux in which it took a part.<sup>43</sup> The original viewers of his sculptures were allowed to enter into the architectural space and interact with the sacred figures during nighttime spiritual exercises led by a Franciscan.<sup>44</sup> The organic movements of the sculptures helped to heighten the sensation that the devotee was in the same lived space as the apostles and thereby fostered the devotee's spiritual connection to the holy persons and their stories.<sup>45</sup>

In the same way, the kinetic punishment effigy of Lykke also was used to augment the performative realism of the penal ritual. Lykke's effigy was manipulated to process across the town, kneel before executioners, be blindfolded, and stripped of its necktie.<sup>46</sup> The effigy then patiently waited for beheading by the executioner as hundreds of witnesses stood by.<sup>47</sup> After the execution, the decapitated wax head was displayed alongside the gloved



8.1 Anonymous, detail of *Last Supper*, Sacro Monte di Varallo, moveable figures made at end of fifteenth century, current configuration of chapel completed in 1780

(Photo: author)

hands in the pillory in the marketplace so that witnesses could affirm the “death” of the offender.<sup>48</sup> The kinetic potential of Lykke’s punishment effigy allowed for the performance of the punishment ritual to play out just as it ideally would with a human convict on the scaffold.

In other cases of executions using punishment effigies, such as those commissioned by the Florentine Signoria on the occasion of the defection of three *condottieri* in 1529, the aesthetic quality of the effigy was much cruder.<sup>49</sup> Described by Benedetto Varchi as “made of rags” (“*contaffatti di cenci*”), the effigies were hanged by the foot on the hillside of San Miniato and accompanied by texts that identified each offender and his crime.<sup>50</sup> In this way, the sculpture had less affinity with those veristic sculptures at Varallo than it did with certain familiar forms of protest effigies from the twenty-first century (Figure 8.2). The sculptor, Sandro di Lorenzo, was paid 34.15 lire to create the bodily forms, clothes, and masks, while the painter Giovanni d’Antonfrancesco was paid 8.16 lire to make the epitaphs, and two others paid 2 lire 9 soldi to hang the effigies to the rampart.<sup>51</sup> Faithful mimesis seems not to have been the driving force in this representation; rather, the punishment effigies were identified by both epitaph and the location of the hanging—the traitors were supposed to have been guarding the hillside when they defected. The payment record for “masks” could indicate a personalized facial resemblance but we do not have extant examples to refute or support this claim.<sup>52</sup>

On a practical level, most punishment effigies were subjected to a final punishment by fire; thus, the effigy had to be constructed with materials that could be completely destroyed through burning. Although straw and rags as artistic mediums were not particularly conducive to detailed artistic manipulation, they were highly flammable materials that contributed to the spectacle of the punishment (Figure 8.2). The use of wax masks personalized the visage of the offensive figure, while at the same time featured a material that readily broke down within the heat of the fire. The human clothing and any real or artificial hair that was added to certain figures similarly were made of combustible materials. The effigy was completely destructible.

Punishment effigies belong to a large and varied group of images that suffered sanctioned violence in late medieval and early modern Europe. They share affinities with certain forms of *damnatio memoriae* and *pittura infamanti*, although it is important to also elucidate their distinction from these traditions in their performative efficacy. *Damnatio memoriae*, wherein images become sites of violent aggression in order to efface the memory of an individual within a given community, generally was restricted to images that had previous lives as objects and had assumed a status as a particular kind of image associated with power. The rendering of violence onto the image was a symbolic transfer of power through aggressive performative acts. Certain accounts of *damnatio memoriae* indicate that iconoclasts took pleasure in the physical destruction of the image; the act served, as Eric Varner has suggested, as a cathartic practice



for a community in a state of power transition.<sup>53</sup> A particularly rich ancient account is provided by Pliny the Elder, who described how the golden statues of Domitian that the ancient emperor had placed throughout Rome during his period of power became key targets of communal violence once he no longer held the imperial throne.<sup>54</sup>

Renaissance accounts of *damnatio memoriae* share a similar affective perspective, as might be seen in the punitive retribution rendered onto objects and sites associated with traitors to the Florentine Republic. In the wake of the expulsion of the so-called Duke of Athens, Walter of Brienne, the Signoria ordered that every visual sign of his presence in the city was to be destroyed, including objects owned or touched by him.<sup>55</sup> His memory had to be expelled along with his body; by erasing his images, the traitor to the Florentine Republic became formless or what Valentin Groebner has described as “*ungestalt*” (defaced).<sup>56</sup> The intentions behind this form of sanctioned violence against images are similar to the destruction of punishment effigies, yet with a fundamental ontological difference. The punishment effigies did not bring to the occasion of the execution a previous material history. They were made on commission with the specific intention of destruction through execution by the government. Thus their efficacy lay in their ephemerality, not in the retribution enacted upon an object with an accumulation of powerful associations.

Another close correspondence to the punishment effigies under scrutiny here was the genre of punishment images known as *pittura infamanti*, or effigies of shame, commissioned by the government when offenders evaded judicial repudiation by fleeing the city. They combined image and text to defame the missing criminal-subject through caricature and satire.<sup>57</sup>

8.2  
Demonstrators at the funeral of an assassinated Sri Lankan journalist, burning an effigy of the Sri Lankan President, Mahinda Rajapaksa (January 12, 2009)

(Photo: Indi Samarajiva (originally posted to Flickr as P1020145). CC-BY-2.0, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>, via Wikimedia Commons)

Displayed in prominent locations with wide access by the public, such as the exterior of the Palazzo del Podestà (now known as the Bargello) in Florence, the image-texts enacted justice by imposing shame upon the reputation of the missing criminal-subject through vulgar representations and bawdy verses. The shame suffered by the missing criminal-subject for being represented in such derogatory fashion was understood as punishment in and of itself.<sup>58</sup> While defaming was certainly connected to any punishment ritual in the late medieval and early modern period, the punishment effigies under investigation here are fundamentally different from the *pitture infamanti* in both their intent and use. As opposed to the larger-scale and longer-lasting defaming frescoes, the punishment effigies were made for temporary display within a performance of justice. The effigies not only represented the criminal body but also assumed the definitive performative presence of that offender within the process of justice.

Rather than dependence on an aesthetic precondition, whether mimetic realism or distorted characterization, the punishment effigies worked when the ritual conditions of the execution were followed. In all of the cases of the execution of punishment images described thus far here, the punishment was contingent on a visual spectacularism that constructed an active image of justice for the populace.<sup>59</sup> Whatever the particular aesthetic appearance of a given punishment effigy, the image was an active agent in the production of justice in the late medieval and early modern city. Just as in the punishments of live offenders, the execution of a punishment effigy followed a strict choreography of ritual gestures and actions. If the proper sequence of events were performed, the image was perceived to “work”; it “felt” the pain of torture and punishment, which was a necessary component of the judicial process.<sup>60</sup> Yet these punishment effigies should not be equated with so-called “live images,” which animated materially before spectators and were perceived to feel and react just as a sentient being.<sup>61</sup> No records describe a punishment effigy acting out on its own. Rather, the effigy was an emphatically passive actor in the judicial theater.

A description of the 1660 trial of Oliver Cromwell and John Bradshaw in Dorset reveals that execution by effigy could be enacted even on deceased individuals. The men had participated in the trial and execution of King Charles I in 1649; however, when Charles II regained his royal seat in 1660, he placed Cromwell and Bradshaw, now deceased, on trial for regicide. The judicial proceedings were carried out on effigies:

The judges asked the senseless images whether they would submit themselves to the judgment of the court; and when they did not reply, they were accused of High Treason because of the murder of Charles I. The surrounding crowd shouted Justice! Justice! ... whereupon they were condemned to hang on two gallows, each forty feet high.<sup>62</sup>

Even though the effigies represented dead men, the community that survived them participated in their condemnation. The public proclamation of “Justice!”

affected a new reality.<sup>63</sup> Gathered around the scene of execution of the offenders to the regime, the populace socially demonstrated new allegiances under a new power and affirmed their status as members of the community.

The great emphasis on burning punishment effigies once their prescribed sentencing was enforced underscored this sense of justice and contributed greatly to the spectacle of the execution of the image. The multisensory activation of public space through the lighting of the wooden pyre was felt bodily. Heat from the flames warmed all those who surrounded the burning pyre, while the air was pregnant with the smell of the burning effigy and the crackling sounds of consumed wood in the piazza. The sensorial activation of the site of execution marked the event as extraordinary. In the glowing light of the burning effigy, the community bore witness to the renewal of itself.

The religious associations of the fiery pyre with the eternal fires of hell certainly would have come into play within these punishments.<sup>64</sup> There existed a popular understanding of hell as a place of fire, which was underscored in contemporary sermons and literature and visualized in the rich tradition of Last Judgment imagery found throughout Christian Europe. Among the sinners found in hell were those who did not “die well” by confessing before death.<sup>65</sup> Since the criminal-subject was absent in this form of punishment, he did not undergo the extensive comforting rituals that were standard procedure before executions of human offenders.<sup>66</sup> Thus, his soul was not prepared for the End of Days and he was, indeed, condemned to the eternal inferno. The effigy burning in the flames of the pyre visualized this judicial punishment.

We know from certain effigy executions that the crowds would remain until the effigy was completely annihilated and the ashes disintegrated into the air. This form of prolonged witnessing served the purpose of recording the complete erasure of the criminal body. For example, straw effigies were used in the punishment of the Marquis de Sade and his manservant in a town square in Aix in September 12, 1772. The marquis’s effigy was decapitated while the manservant’s was hanged. Both effigies were then burned and, as a contemporary witness recorded, their ashes were “strewn to the wind.”<sup>67</sup> In this way, the executed criminal was also denied a proper Christian burial, another mode of displacing the soul of the convicted in eternal condemnation.<sup>68</sup>

The system of late medieval and early modern justice was contingent on the visualization of the criminal body as a site upon which the government, together with the community, enacted judgment. An absent criminal body was a sign of ineffectual justice. By rendering the offenders visible through the commissioning of punishment effigies, the government created tangible sites onto which the populace projected their angers, fears, and anxieties. Then, through the sanctioned destruction of the punishment images, it made their crimes invisible through the erasure of their bodies. While the effigy was burned to the ground and its ashes strewn to the wind, the image that remained was the united image of the community that stood together in the glowing light of the pyre.

## Notes

Portions of this paper were delivered on the panel, “Bent, Broken and Shattered: European Images of Death and Torture, 1300–1650,” at the *Annual Renaissance Society of America Conference* in Washington DC in March 2012, and I thank my fellow panelists and audience members for their helpful feedback. I would also like to thank my colleagues at Bowling Green State University, especially Phil Dickinson, Stefan Fritsch, Stephanie Langin-Hooper, Scott Magelssen, and Jolie Sheffer, for their insightful suggestions to move the project forward.

- 1 Peter Brown famously argued that to understand a work of art, one needs to investigate “the crowd beneath the mosaics”; Peter Brown, “The View from the Precipice,” *New York Review of Books*, October 3, 1974, 3. Among the influential art historians who have promoted the study of Renaissance beholders, see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) and John Shearman, *Only Connect ... Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).
- 2 Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1980).
- 3 An entire sub-discipline has developed out of this research, pioneered by studies such as Richard Trexler, “Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 7–41; David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson, Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Recent publications on late medieval and early modern viewer experiences have pushed the theoretical model further, including *Renaissance Theories of Vision*, eds. John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carmen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); David Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011); Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); and Fredrika Jacobs, *Votive Panels and Popular Piety in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- 4 Trexler, “Florentine Religious Experience,” 26–29. An excellent case-example is provided in William J. Connell and Giles Constable, *Sacrilege and Redemption in Renaissance Florence: The Case of Antonio Rinaldeschi* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008).
- 5 The purposeful cultivation of viewers’ bodies to enhance aesthetic experiences is investigated in my current book project, *Somaesthetic Experience and the Renaissance Viewer in Florence*, which is in progress.
- 6 Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 257ff; Esther Cohen, *Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), 113.
- 7 Trexler, *Public Life*, esp. 61–73; Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 274ff; Megan Holmes, “The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence,” *Art History* 34 (2011): 432–65.
- 8 Carl Rhodes and Robert Westwood, *Critical Representations of Work and Organization in Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2008), 77.

- 9 Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Proof in Pierced Flesh: Caravaggio's *Doubting Thomas* and the Beholders of Wounds in Early Modern Europe," in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
- 10 See W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), esp. 125–44.
- 11 On the medieval history of Christian iconoclasm, see Charles Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). On the iconoclasm of holy images in Renaissance Florence and the resulting punishments, see Connell and Constable, *Sacrilege and Redemption*.
- 12 Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*, 126–27.
- 13 Animal offenders were also represented in punishment effigies. For example, when a murderous horse was sentenced to death but escaped, the execution was carried out on an image; Cohen, *Crossroads of Justice*, 113.
- 14 Steven Wilf, *Law's Imagined Republic: Popular Politics and Criminal Justice in Revolutionary America*, Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- 15 Edward Payson Evans, *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals* (London: Faber and Faber, 1906 [1998]), 148.
- 16 Zoë A. Schneider, *The King's Bench: Bailiwick Magistrates and Local Governance in Normandy, 1670–1740* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 190.
- 17 The list of scholars working on art and punishment in the Renaissance period has become too extensive to cite all here. However, Samuel Edgerton's pioneering scholarship continues to be extremely influential; see *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1985). In addition, see Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Allie Terry, "Criminal Vision in Early Modern Florence: Fra Angelico's Altarpiece for 'Il Tempio' and the Magdalenian Gaze," in *Renaissance Theories of Vision*, eds. John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carmen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 45–62. For the Byzantine context, see Galina Tirnanic, "The Art of Punishment: The Spectacle of the Body on the Streets of Constantinople" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2010).
- 18 As Richard Trexler has examined, late medieval and early modern communities went to great efforts to construct and maintain the purity of the civic center through ritual purification and prayer; see his *Public Life*. Esther Cohen has emphasized that the documents of the justice system record "not how the law worked but how people saw it working"; Esther Cohen, "'To Die a Criminal for the Public Good': The Execution Ritual in Late Medieval Paris," in *Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon*, ed. Bernard S. Bachrach and David Nicholas, *Studies in Medieval Culture* 28 (Kalamazoo MI: Western Michigan University, 1990), 300.
- 19 Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill NC and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
- 20 Erving Goffman, "Performances: Belief in the Part One is Playing," *The Performance Studies Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Henry Bial (London: Routledge, 2007), 61–65.



- 21 Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*.
- 22 According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the verb “effigiate,” although rarely used today, was in common usage in the early modern period. <http://0-www.oed.com.maurice.bgsu.edu/view/Entry/59747?redirectedFrom=effigiate#eid> (accessed 19 March, 2012).
- 23 This emphasis on performative efficacy distinguishes my approach from that of Freedberg, who claimed that verisimilitude was the key feature of these works of art; Freedberg, *Power of Images*, esp. 261–62.
- 24 For a comprehensive bibliography, see the recent exhibition catalogue, *The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini*, eds. Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 387–412.
- 25 Jás Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), esp. 159–89.
- 26 Leon Battista Alberti, *De pictura*, 1435, book 2, 25.
- 27 Jodi Cranston, *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 28 *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008).
- 29 Archivio di Stato, Firenze, *Prov.*, 115, fol. 129rv; cited in Trexler, *Public Life*, 55.
- 30 Trexler, “Florentine Religious Experience,” 40.
- 31 Moshe Barash, “Der Ausdruck in der Italienischen Kunsttheorie,” *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 12 (1967): 36, 38. See also Trexler, *Public Life*, 61.
- 32 Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting*, 28.
- 33 Aby Warburg, “The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie,” in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999), 190.
- 34 Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1932), vol. 1, 116–19; Trexler, *Public Life*, 99.
- 35 On the “reality effect” of polychrome sculpture, see Alessandro Nova, “‘Popular’ Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo,” in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 113–26.
- 36 Roberta Panzanelli, *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 100.
- 37 Lauro Martines, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- 38 The effigy is described in Pius II’s memoirs, *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II*, ed. and trans. Leona G. Gabel (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1959), 186, 232.
- 39 Pius II, *Memoirs*, 232.
- 40 Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 70. It is known that Florentine artists, for example, actively used wax sculptures as models when devising other kinds of punishment images like *pittura infamanti*, thus it would not be surprising if

- Paolo di Mario Taccone used a life cast for his production; Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 114.
- 41 Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
  - 42 Fredrik Grøn, "Über den Ursprung der Bestrafung in Effigie," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis/Revue d'histoire du droit* 13 (1934): 320–81; cited in Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 261.
  - 43 Nova, "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy," 119. Interestingly, this same kinetic potential allowed for full-scale reuse of the sculptures in later reiterations of the Franciscan complex. For the original layout, see Stefania Perrone and Giovanni Testori, eds., *Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varallo* (Borgosesia: Valsesia, 1987), 27–47; Annabel Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 137.
  - 44 Nova, "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy," 113–26; William Hood, "The Sacro Monte of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. Timothy Gregory Verdon (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 291–312; and Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the *Sacro Monte di Varallo*," *Open Arts Journal* (Special Issue: "Touch Me, Touch Me Not: Re-Evaluating the Senses, Gender, and Performativity in Early Modernity," eds. Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli), forthcoming, January 2015.
  - 45 On the relation of realism to belief, see Rudolph Wittkower, "'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps," in *Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 175–83.
  - 46 Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 261.
  - 47 According to the description of the event, over 400 musketeers and 200 cavalry were in attendance, in addition to the public; Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 261.
  - 48 In reality, Kaj Lykke returned to live in Denmark before his death in 1699.
  - 49 Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina* (Milan, 1845), vol. 2, 220–21.
  - 50 Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, vol. 2, 221.
  - 51 John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 2, 402. The three-dimensional effigies were reiterated in painted form on the façade of the Mercatanzia by Bernardo del Buda, a pupil of Andrea del Sarto, in vivid likeness.
  - 52 Descriptions of certain "unofficial" executions that were performed without official governmental sanction—such as the effigy of the Florentine Guido Antonio Vespucci that was burned by *giovani* outside his home in the late 1490s—also give an indication that faithful mimesis was not necessary for an effigy's effectiveness; that is, the power of the punishment effigies was not necessarily linked to their mimetic affiliation with the referent. See Trexler, *Public Life*, 516.
  - 53 Eric C. Varner, "Punishment after Death: Mutilation of Images and Corpse Abuse in Ancient Rome," *Mortality* 6, no. 1 (2001): 45–64.
  - 54 Pliny the Elder, *Pan*, 52.4–5.
  - 55 Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 78–85.
  - 56 Valentin Groebner, *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Middle Ages*, trans. Pamela Selwyn (New York: Zone Books, 2004).

- 57 These paintings were placed on palaces of justice, like the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence, as well as on other public buildings such as the guild halls and on the city gates; see Ortalli, “*Pingatur in palatio*”: *La pittura infamante nei secoli xiii–xvi* (Rome: Jouvence, 1979), 43; Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 71–72.
- 58 *Pitture infamanti* were displayed on the exteriors of buildings until a request for “depainting” was made; see Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 96–97.
- 59 On iconoclasm as a visual spectacle, see Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*, 126.
- 60 Esther Cohen, “The Animated Pain of the Body,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (February 2000): 36–68.
- 61 Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 283–316.
- 62 W. Brückner, *Bildnis und Brauch: Studien zur Bildfunktion der Effigies* (Erich Schmidt: Berlin, 1966), 294–95; cited in Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 261.
- 63 J.L. Austin, “How to Do Things with Words: Lecture II,” in *The Performance Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Bial (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 177–83.
- 64 Wilf, *Law’s Imagined Republic*, 96.
- 65 Donald Weinstein, “The Art of Dying Well and Popular Piety in the Preaching and Thought of Girolamo Savonarola,” in *Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, ed. M. Tetel, R.G. Witt, and R. Goffen (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1989), 88–104.
- 66 Terry, “Criminal Vision in Early Modern Florence,” 45–62.
- 67 <http://www.executedtoday.com/2010/09/12/1772-the-marquis-de-sade-and-his-servant-in-effigy/> (accessed 19 March, 2012).
- 68 Certain religious rituals, such as those performed during the Holy Week, used effigies in trials, processions, and executions to dole out justice to offenders against Christ, such as Judas Iscariot. Likewise, effigies were used in popular celebrations of the vernal equinox, in which an effigy of a female—often made of straw—was burned or drowned to celebrate the end of winter. On Mesoamerican rituals of Holy Week, see Cecelia F. Klein, *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks), 212. The custom of burning a female figure, commonly referred to as “Marzanna,” to celebrate the vernal equinox is still performed in parts of Poland, Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

## A Shameful Spectacle: Claes Jansz. Visscher's 1623 News Prints of Executed Dutch "Arminians"

Maureen Warren

In 1623, a downtrodden but dignified Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt, the Lord of Groenveldt, trekked from his prison cell toward the *Groene Zoodje* (Green Sod), the official Dutch execution site in The Hague, to be beheaded for treason. He walked in the footsteps of his father, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who just four year earlier was beheaded in the same city, for the same charge. The judges allowed Reinier to wear his hat, cape, and sword and granted him the additional courtesy of arriving unencumbered by chains or a soldier escort. The last and most significant clemency they granted Reinier was burial in consecrated ground after his body had been wrapped in a shroud.<sup>1</sup> The judges denied burial, by far the most significant of these leniencies, to two of Reinier's accomplices who were executed on the same day.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Lord of Groenveldt, their headless bodies were quartered after their death and their body parts hung from gallows on three major avenues leading into The Hague and at the official gallows field for the court of Holland near Rijswijk.

Despite the many courtesies the judges granted Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt, the artist and publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher chose to reference only his burial (his body being carried in a shroud, shown in the panel labeled C) in his news print of 1623 (Figure 9.1).<sup>3</sup> Moreover, rather than showing Reinier in gentlemanly attire, Visscher depicted him wearing peasant's clothing—humiliating garb for a Lord (he holds a walking stick and wears a sailor's cap, in the middle of a group of three men at middle right, labeled 5). Visscher's image shows a beheading in front of a backdrop of important government buildings, including Prince Maurits's tower, the court chapel, and the *Gevangenvoort* prison. Portraits of the three executed men and another accomplice appear below, surrounding scenes of execution (labeled B, D, and E) and a panel that denounces the seditious pamphlet "*De klaer-lichtende fackel*" (The Bright-Shining Torch) by Hendrick Slatius (labeled F).<sup>4</sup>



9.1 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Execution of Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt, David Coorenwinder and Adriaan van Dijk*, 1623, etching, 26.8 × 31.7 cm (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.044A)

This chapter investigates five news prints Visscher etched and published in 1623 in response to a foiled plot to murder Prince Maurits, which was characterized as “Arminian treason.”<sup>5</sup> Today Visscher, one of the most important Dutch publishers in the first half of the seventeenth century, is best known for his innovative landscape prints and wall maps.<sup>6</sup> This analysis is one of several in recent scholarship to explore Visscher’s news print production and aims to further elucidate his compositional choices and the propagandistic function of his works.<sup>7</sup> Visscher’s 1623 execution prints should be considered with regard to notions of honor in the Dutch Republic, especially as it relates to the physical body, prestige, and punishment. Visscher’s choices to include or obscure aspects of the execution ritual in his depictions of the deaths of Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt, Hendrick Slatius, and their co-conspirators not only participated in an active campaign to shame the individuals depicted but also sought to disgrace those who shared their bloodlines or political proclivities. Because Visscher’s imagery functioned within the framework of contemporary legal practice, an analysis of these news prints can help to elucidate not only the events of 1623, but also the early modern Dutch political and judiciary system more broadly.

## Honor in the Dutch Republic

Because honor has many meanings in common parlance (credit, fame, prestige, goodness, etc.), it deserves to be more clearly defined. Some scholars distinguish between inner honor (personal virtue) and outer honor (public reputation). This can be problematic as it is not always clear to which type of honor an author refers or the exact relationship between the two categories. Anthropologist Frank Stewart helps remedy this problem by theorizing that these two categories (virtue and reputation) merge once honor is defined as a right to be treated with respect.<sup>8</sup> Honor is a “claim-right” because it obligates others to perform specific duties for or show deference to the right-holder.<sup>9</sup> Seen in this light, Visscher’s images are not necessarily about persuading viewers that the executed men did not have the internal virtue or external position required to be respected (although some must have thought as much) but rather that the men no longer had a legitimate claim to respectful treatment from society at large, regardless of what individuals may have thought. This distinction is important because it clarifies the profound stigma facing someone without honor in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. The loss of honor radically altered a person’s social standing instead of merely changing the personal opinions of people in their community.

Honor entitled early modern men in the Dutch Republic to more than just deferential treatment. It was a prerequisite for political and military office as well as a requirement for negotiating contracts. Anne Goldgar stresses the importance of honor for Dutch men in her groundbreaking study on the great tulip crash of 1637. When speculation caused the market for tulip bulbs to collapse, it was not the loss of large sums of money that deeply distressed people but rather the questioning of social and financial bonds created by honor, and with it corresponding expectations about prestige and contractual obligation.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, according to Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, appropriate appearance and restrained behavior in public was paramount for maintaining one’s honor in Dutch society.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, rather than demonstrating their honor through public displays of bravado and violence, as was the case in many early modern Mediterranean cultures, Dutch men evidenced their honor by controlling family finances and successfully managing business transactions.<sup>12</sup>

In the Dutch Republic, as elsewhere in early modern Europe, the honor of an individual affected the honor of his or her family.<sup>13</sup> Because they were related to an executed criminal, the sons of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt faced not only the immediate loss of their government jobs and incomes but also the ongoing refusal of any standing in the community. Their peers were loath to interact with them, either publicly or privately, for fear that their own honor would suffer and they too would face ostracization. Seventeenth-century historian Gerard Brandt reports that after their father was beheaded, Willem and Reinier “were looked upon with an evil eye

by all those who either were in the Government, or aspired to it. None of those durst hold any correspondence with them, for fear of rendering themselves obnoxious."<sup>14</sup>

### The Unfortunate End of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt

Reinier's father Johan van Oldenbarnevelt had been the Advocate of Holland, the chief elected official in the Dutch Republic.<sup>15</sup> In 1618, Oldenbarnevelt had a falling out with Prince Maurits of Orange, the *Stadhouder* (who commanded Dutch military forces). Maurits wanted to continue an unprofitable war with Spain to win back territory in the Spanish Netherlands and to maintain his own authority and revenue. Oldenbarnevelt, who brokered the 12-years truce in 1609, sought lasting peace. The political stalemate ended when Maurits staged a coup in 1618. He replaced representatives who were sympathetic to Oldenbarnevelt in town councils and ordered the arrest of Oldenbarnevelt and his chief supporters. In 1619, Oldenbarnevelt, a 71-year-old statesman who had fought in the war for independence and laid the foundations for the young republic, was beheaded for treason on trumped-up charges.

Oldenbarnevelt's execution inspired Visscher to create an iconic image that presents the *Binnenhof* (home to both the States General and Prince Maurits) in bird's-eye view so as to capture the large, orderly crowd in attendance. Oldenbarnevelt is shown kneeling, about to be beheaded, but he is diminutive in the overall composition. Although Maurits sought to avert civil war, those sympathetic to Oldenbarnevelt remained combative. Visscher's image and the many anonymous copies of it only further inflamed the two factions. The States General—in a rare act of censorship—subsequently banned prints depicting Oldenbarnevelt and his key supporters, citing the need to preserve peace in the land.<sup>16</sup>

### Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt's Humiliation and Demise

Oldenbarnevelt's execution enraged friends and supporters, but perhaps none more so than his two sons. Not only did Prince Maurits arrange for their patriarch's death, but he also stripped Willem and Reinier of their government positions even though they had not been accused of a crime. The court seized Oldenbarnevelt's estate and his family was denied their inheritance. To add insult to injury, there was an inundation of prints that ridiculed their father, and these continued to circulate in spite of the ban. According to Brandt:

The country swarmed with the most reproachful ... Lampoons, Ballads and Pictures, which were dispersed everywhere, pasted up against [Willem and Reinier's] houses, and ... in all of which their father was painted in the most odious colours, and represented as a traitor to his country; which not a little exasperated and imbibited (sic) the minds of these Gentlemen.<sup>17</sup>

The use of these prints recalls medieval German *Schandbilder*: privately commissioned images disparaging of people who defaulted on loans that were posted in public (and occasionally on the home of the debtor) to shame them into compliance. *Schandbilder* sometimes depicted the debtor being executed, although they were not actually sentenced to death for their crimes, as a means of dishonouring them.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, Oldenbarnevelt's enemies employed satirical prints (and in all probability execution prints) to shame the statesman's sons. And for some, this affront to the family's honor demanded revenge.

Johan van Oldenbarnevelt's son Willem devised an absurdly complicated plan to murder Prince Maurits, which involved buying a chest full of guns and hiring a group of sailors to shoot the prince on the road he traveled daily between The Hague and Rijkswijk to visit his mistress. However, a few of the sailors told the authorities and the conspirators had to flee for their lives. Most of them were caught and over the course of about two months, from late March to early July, the government convicted and publicly executed 15 men in connection with the plot. Printmakers responded to the scandal with a flurry of images. In their rush to scoop competitors, most printmakers created images that were necessarily crude and clumsy. Claes Jansz. Visscher, on the other hand, produced much more elaborate and sophisticated images with innovative compositions, which he skillfully etched and printed on high-quality paper.<sup>19</sup> These prints must have taken longer to produce and thus were not esteemed for their news value, *per se*. They could hardly have contained many facts that were not already known by the general public via word of mouth, correspondence, *corantos* (newspapers), and more rudimentary prints. These execution prints are similar to Visscher's later news maps, which Michiel van Groesen argues took longer to produce than his competitors' prints and appealed to buyers for more than just the information they conveyed.<sup>20</sup> Prints such as these challenge the still too prevalent notion in the scholarship that early modern news prints served only to sate the buyer's fickle and short-lived desire for information and that artistic considerations were of little or no concern.

Visscher's prints must have appealed to buyers for both aesthetic and ideological reasons. Although early modern Europeans were no strangers to capital punishment, few people actually chose to surround themselves with depictions of contemporary executions.<sup>21</sup> It is important to consider the context in which these images were viewed. In addition to keeping prints in albums, people tacked prints on the walls of their home or business. News prints, like other large-scale printed images, could be used as wall decoration. Owners sometimes framed prints or affixed them to fabric and hung them from rollers, as was done with wall maps.<sup>22</sup> News prints—even execution prints—were sometimes hand colored, usually by someone associated with the publisher, to make them more desirable to buyers.<sup>23</sup> More skillful images, especially when created by a respected artist (such as Visscher) would have been especially appealing for use as interior decoration. By the time he created



his images of the Oldenbarnevelts, Visscher was already renown for other printed images that could easily serve as interior decoration, such as his wall maps with decorative borders. It bears repeating, however, that few people would display an execution print simply because it was finely crafted. Such prints must have catered to those who backed Prince Maurits and despised the conspirators.

Visscher amplified the propagandistic content in his 1623 execution prints by focusing on demeaning the convicted traitors and by taking liberties with the facts in order to do so. As previously mentioned, the judges allowed Reinier to walk unchained and unaccompanied. They even allowed him to carry a sword—the hallmark of a gentleman. Although Reinier disguised himself in peasant's clothing when he fled The Hague, he wore his own first-rate garments on the day of his execution. In fact, the caption for panel C identifies Reinier's servant, who carries his master's cloak, hat, (lace) collar, gloves, and similar items he removed before his beheading.<sup>24</sup> And yet, Visscher belies the seeming naturalism of the execution scene (panel A) by including in the lower right corner Reinier and two other conspirators wearing the lower-class clothing they wore when fleeing the country (Hendrick Slatius is labeled 4, Reinier is 5, and Adriaan van Dijk is 6). The men look all the more ridiculous when compared to the three tall gentlemen standing on the opposite side of the scene, who are dressed in fashionable hats, ruffs, capes, and boots, and who wear swords. These dapper men echo the three conspirators except that they are seen from behind and have silhouettes that emphasize their height and elegance. They are typical of young men in the 1620s who dressed to resemble dashing cavaliers.<sup>25</sup> The high-heeled leather boots with floppy tops flatter their slender, well-muscled legs and their baggy "bombast" breeches are fitted at the knee, just below where the hem of their cloak juts out. Their cloaks taper to the shoulders and then flare out again with either a wide collar or a ruff. The young men's large hats have either wide brims or high crowns, both of which were chic, and the long, slender swords they carry appear to be rapiers, which required more skill to wield than the standard sword.<sup>26</sup>

The three conspirators and the three cavalier-esque men function as figural *repoussoirs* and their juxtaposition only makes the former look more lowly and ridiculous. The conspirators' round-toed shoes were decidedly unfashionable; men of this period favored square-toed shoes or boots.<sup>27</sup> Their clothing is made for comfort and practicality, not elegance. Slatius, on the left, has on a *pij* or loose smock, which can be found in many depictions of working-class Dutch people from this period.<sup>28</sup> He carries an oversized beer tankard, which relates to the story of his capture (as discussed below). Reinier wears a fisherman's smock and a thrummed wool cap, which was popular with fishermen and sailors alike.<sup>29</sup> Van Dijk is dressed in a simple jerkin and split-leg breeches. All of them wear thick mittens, which are far removed from the fashionable gloves elites wore for practical purposes as well as to signify their wealth, status, and taste. The three conspirators do display some outward indications of their position in society. Reinier has a pointed beard

and mustache, which along with the goatee was popular in the 1620s and 1630s, and Van Dijk stands in an elegant upright pose, with one fist resting against his abdomen and the other at the small of his back.<sup>30</sup> However, when combined with their working-class disguises, these signs of refinement and status only serve to make Slatius, Reinier, and Van Dijk look more absurd.

In imagining this trio, Visscher altered not only the men's clothing but also their geographic location by creating a grouping that never occurred in real life. Reinier, Slatius, and Van Dijk were not all arrested or executed on the same day and there is no evidence they assembled while wearing their disguises. Slight awkwardness in the composition reveals that Visscher had some difficulty making this fictional rendezvous fit within the larger scene. He subtly suggests a shift of time and place by making these men the largest, placing them in front of an architectural backdrop, and having them stand on a narrow platform. However, the lack of a frame or other enclosure makes the group fit somewhat ambiguously within the larger composition, especially as they are the only figures to address the viewer directly.<sup>31</sup> His depiction of the trio of conspirators must have resonated with viewers despite the somewhat awkward relationship of these three men to the larger scene as other printmakers copied them, both in larger execution scenes as well as in prints where the three men are the primary focus.<sup>32</sup>

### Hendrick Slatius: From the Gallows to the Grave and Back Again

Visscher depicted the dismissed Remonstrant preacher Hendrick Danielsz. Slatius with considerable callousness in several other prints related to the plot against Prince Maurits.<sup>33</sup> His image of Slatius's capture must have been very popular, judging by the many extant copies (Figure 9.2).<sup>34</sup> In one etching, Visscher shows Slatius after his capture, shackled, and wearing his humiliating disguise of peasant clothing and a floppy hat. The text along the left side of the print mocks Slatius for the outlandish behavior that led to his arrest. While on the run, he stopped at an inn in the village of Rolde in Drenthe and ordered a tankard of beer but was spooked by the arrival of a group of soldiers. They did not recognize Slatius and he might have gone unnoticed but he abruptly left the tavern, leaving his beer untouched. His rash behavior made the soldiers suspicious and led to his capture. Visscher alludes to this bizarre tale by including a beer tankard at Slatius's feet, soldiers escorting the prisoner on the left, and the inn on the right.

At the top of the image, Visscher identifies the man as a former preacher in Bleiswijk: "*Hendrick Danielsz Slatius, gewesene Predicant tot Bleijswyck, naer t'leven afgebeeld den 12 Maert 1623.*" The phrase "*naer het leven*" here indicates that Visscher depicted Slatius from life, which avows the accuracy of the likeness. While many early modern images erroneously claim to have been taken from life or from models that were themselves taken from life, the historian Brandt substantiated this claim. Brandt states that Visscher drew Slatius wearing

9.2 Claes Jansz. Visscher, Hendrick Danielsz. Slatius in Hand- and Leg-Shackles, 1623, etching and letterpress, 43 × 25 cm

(Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.048)



peasant clothing on March 12, after Slatius arrived in Amsterdam by ship, and then etched and published the print with a “rude” poem accusing the Remonstrants of orchestrating the conspiracy against the prince.<sup>35</sup> Whether Brandt (who wrote his historical account in the late seventeenth century, long after Visscher’s death) knew of this event from another source or was simply relying upon the caption on the print, it indicates that some seventeenth-century viewers believed Visscher was a firsthand witness and thus a reliable source, at least in terms of the likeness he fashioned.

It is certainly possible that Visscher (whose publishing house was located in the bustling Amsterdam *Kalverstraat*) could have seen Slatius wearing his disguise when he disembarked in the nearby harbor. Whether he actually saw or only heard about Slatius’s arrival, Visscher found a way to maximize profits. Previously, he had included a portrait of Slatius in a box in the lower right corner of his print depicting the execution of Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt (Figure 9.1). However, he reworked the plate and replaced Slatius’s portrait with a portrait of Slatius’s brother-in-law Cornelis Gerritszoon, who was a relatively unknown cabinetmaker from Rotterdam.<sup>36</sup> Such a choice would have made the first print slightly less appealing, but it made Visscher’s subsequent, larger portrait of Slatius even more desirable. In essence,

Visscher obliged customers to purchase two prints in order to obtain an individual likeness of each of the main protagonists in the ongoing tale of the conspirators' capture, trial, and execution.

Visscher made Slatius look a fool in the image of his capture, but addressed the more serious charge of God's displeasure in the next print (Figure 9.3). When Slatius and three others were executed a little over a month after Reinier, Visscher created a print that depicts each man in a roundel accompanied by two small scenes of their beheading and burial.<sup>37</sup> Slatius was not buried, so the second scene near him shows two hands, one severed and another dangling by a thread. As the text explains, Slatius reached up to adjust his blindfold just as the executioner swung the sword and the executioner accidentally cut off Slatius's right hand and almost severed the left. Text from both Visscher's print and contemporary Nicolaes van Wassaenaer's historical account claim this was a sign of divine intervention and proof of how much Slatius deserved his punishment, reminding readers of the proverb that "the judge determines the sentence but God carries it out."<sup>38</sup> Visscher remarks that the right hand was cut off completely, the hand with which Slatius wrote his heretical texts (including "The Bright-Shining Torch," which advocated for armed rebellion against Prince Maurits) and carried out tasks to coordinate the assassination attempt.<sup>39</sup> Below the image of Slatius's hands is a book with the words "[For] such work, such rewards."<sup>40</sup>

Visscher made a telling omission in his composition. On the day of the executions, many people climbed the trees behind the *Groene Zoodje* in order to get a better view. However, their weight proved to be too much and a large branch broke, killing one onlooker and injuring many more. Nearly every other print about these events portrays spectators in the trees and some printmakers even included people tumbling towards the ground, which made the already dramatic story that much more sensational.<sup>41</sup> Visscher chose not to include either the fall or the jumbled array of observers in the trees, glossing over any disarray. His print evinces nothing but the orderly dispensation of justice.

Visscher's decision to depict Slatius as the object of God's wrath might have been based in part on his personal religious beliefs—even though he undoubtedly weighed the commercial incentives of such work. Later in life Visscher was an outspoken Counter-Remonstrant who belonged to the most orthodox of the reformed churches in Amsterdam: the New Church. He actively engaged with spiritual issues in his earliest prints and he eventually held the position of deacon at the New Church. Brandt called Visscher "a zealously religious man."<sup>42</sup> Counter-Remonstrants had strong political and spiritual ties to Prince Maurits. Seven years earlier, in 1617, Maurits escalated the conflict between himself and Oldenbarnevelt by publicly attending a Counter-Remonstrant church and thus siding with their faction in the Dutch Reformed Church. Oldenbarnevelt supported the smaller group of Remonstrants (also called Arminians) who championed

9.3 Claes Jansz.  
Visscher, *Execution  
of Hendrick Slatus,  
Willem Perty, Jan  
Blansaert, and  
Abraham Blansaert,*  
1623, etching  
and letterpress,  
29.5 × 33.4 cm

(Rijksmuseum,  
Amsterdam,  
RP-P-OB-2505)

**Cozt verhael ende afbeeldinghe der Ju-  
stitie/ gheschiedt den 5. May 1623. in 't Gra-  
den Haghe.**

**B**eminde menschen/ het oude spreek-woordt  
wert gemeenelijck waer/ te weten/ dat geen goet  
onghelooft/ noch geen quaet ongestraft en blijft/ en  
mede blijft den bloeck ghemeenelijck in sijn hoeck.  
't Waer met dese lieden eden alsoo/ sy propheteren (soo  
sy meppen) een ander de waercke Godts/ ende 'twert  
sels haer epgen beurt: Want

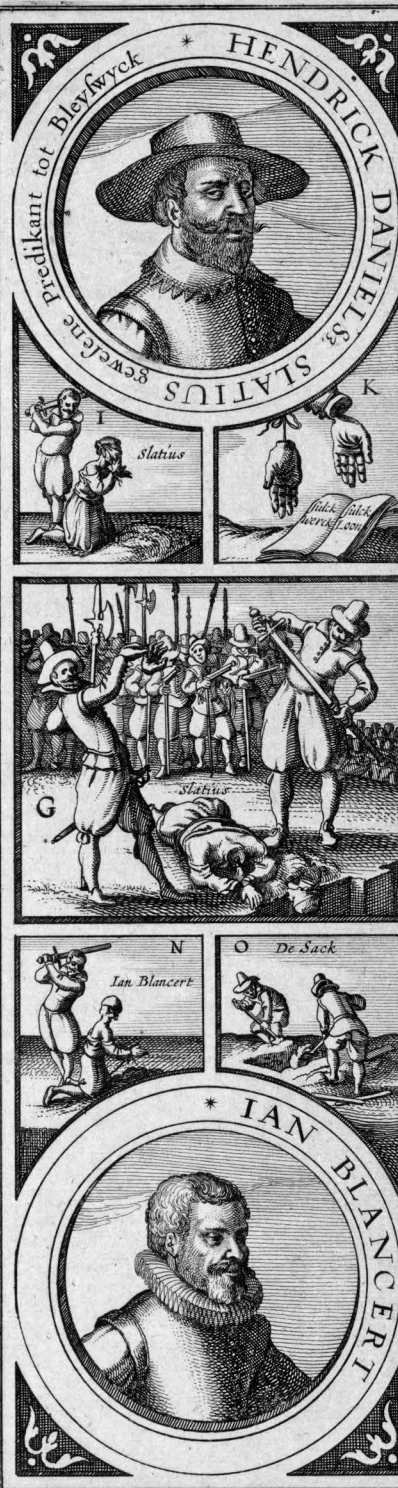
Duck Dalf noyt quader dacht, Noch Spaengien snoder wracht Als dit boos verkeert gheslacht, Die alle haer raet Daer heenen gaet, Om 'egantlicke Landt Te doen slaen in lichten brandt,	Dies zijn sy nu verheert, En schandelijck onteert, Door waeckgheijghe begheert, VWant Godt haer laeck, Mer strenghen wraeck V Vil voeten uyt Eer de Pits sijn ooghen sluyt.
---	---

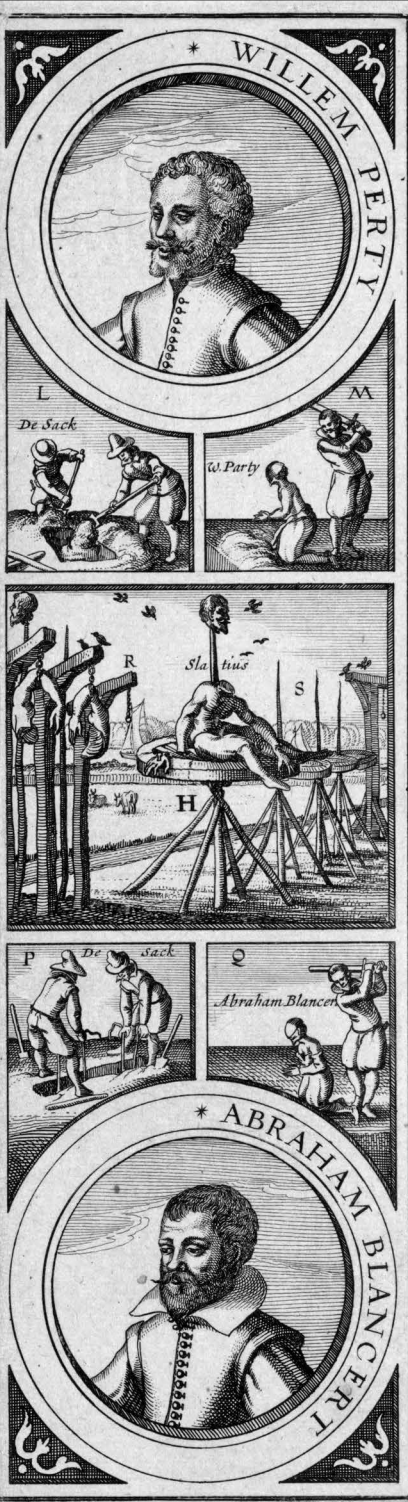
Verhalben siet een vegelijc toe wat sy dooz neemt/  
't sy teghen Godt ofte Godts dienareffe/ want sy het  
Swaert niet te vergheefs en doert/ haer macht van  
Godt ontfanghen hebbende. Laet ons volghen de  
Leere des Apostels Pauli/ een veghelijcke Siele sy de  
doozenemelijcke macht onderdaniel/ insonderheyt soo  
langhe als wy moghen/ een pebet sijn gheboelen byp  
leven/ ende niet mer vier en sweert werden ghedwoon-  
gen/ te Biecht/ te Wisse/ ofte ter Predicatie te komen/  
Jem in onse upterste/ met Olien Idenighen/ ofte  
Paepseke Broodt-Goden ghepleecht werden/ tot  
doodelijcke pichelen en tozimenten van een gheruste  
Conscientie/ en gheslozden zijnde (sonder alle dese beu-  
selingen te genieten) als honden onwaerdich/ hier on-  
der de Galtghe/ daer aen de Delf/ ja dickwils in t byer  
begraven en verbrant te werden.

Om nu te komen tot ons voornemen/ sullen wy in't  
hozt verhalen 't gene op den 5. May 1623. in 't Gra-  
denhaghe gepasseert is/ op welken dach sijn gejusti-  
ceert dese nabolgende personen/ te weten/ Hendrick  
Danielz Slatus/ gewesene Predicant tot Bleyswijc/  
Jan ende Abraham Blansaert/ met Willem Partp/  
alle drie woonende tot Leyden/ alsoo dese 'sdaechs te  
doozen was aengesep't dat sy sterben souden/ werden  
haer bygeschiet/ eenige Predicant om haer te troosten/  
dien sy somtijts spottende/ somtijts disputerende seer  
halstarrich en wrevelich ontmoete/ sustinerende vzeem-  
de en seltsame dinghen/ hier te langhe te verhalen.

Dese voornoemde personen sijn den 5. May vooz  
middach gebracht van de Dagen-Doort na het Hof/  
op een plaetse genoot de Kof/ om aldaer haer Sen-  
tentie te ontfanghen/ elck i'nt besonder.

I. K. Slatus de eerst zijnde/ toonde gantse gheen  
leerwisen/ sellende sijn aenghesicht ende ghelaet meer  
grimmich en recht boos/ als verlaecht ofte bedroeft/  
den Raedt aensende met een doncker suer ghesicht/  
lochende somtijts eenighe pointills die sy nochtans  
bupten pijn bypwillich hadde gheschreven en bekennt/  
van daer op het schabot komende als een onverschacht  
opgeblasen cout mensche/ sprack tot de ghemeente/  
hier siet ghy dien Henricum Slatum/ naer wien men  
soo getracht heeft/ diemen so verbolgt/ ende naer wel-  
kers bloet men soo gheboest heeft/ ick en ben soo snoo-  
den waan niet ghetweest/ tis waer dat ick in dese salte  
wat ben gewickelt/ maer dit Landt hangt noch een  
grootte straffe over 't hooft/ met noch eenighe vierghe-  
lijcke propoosten/ waer op sommige van de gemeente  
riepen/ wy hoopen neen/ eenige andere riepen/ helpt de  
schelm van kant/ men behoort hem te vrieden/ als  
hem de Predicanten wilden vermanen tot berouw en  
bekeringe/ om alsoo een genadigen Godt te bekomen/  
soo heeft sy deselve met sijnen stouten mont en onbe-  
schaemde handen van hem gheslooten/ daer naer een  
vuyt siet ofte neus doet upt sijn sack halende/ wilde sijn  
dat vooz/ sijn ooghen binden/ maer den Scherp-rechter  
een schoonder hem toonende/ stact de sijne weder op/  
sijn handen ghebonden zijnde/ knielde neder/ en meen-  
de den doek wat op te schuppen/ hem hanghende een  
wepnich vooz de mont/ den scherp-rechter toe slaende/





hoef hem 'thoof ende de rechter hant af / ende den  
fincher handt hing by daer aen een veder sien kan de  
rechtveerdige straffe des albergh vogten / want hy met  
dien handt hadde beleeden de ware gereformeerde sie-  
lighe / en met den selve weer lasterlyche dinghen daer  
teghen ghedaen / krupt gedwocht / vogels gegotey /  
Pistolen gereet gemaecht / om so vromen Doozlich-  
te en hooch-gebooren Prince verradelijc te moorden:  
ja op het uperste / de Leeraers des v. Evangeliums /  
mitsgaders hare goede vermaningen daer mede van  
hem gestoeten. Hier mach niet recht geseyt werden:

Den Richter 'vonnis sluyt,  
Maer Godt die voert het uyt

G. De afgheshoutwen handt heeft een Dienaer om  
hooch gheseten ende voort volck getoont.

H. Sijn lichaem is by sijf wyck op een stad ge-  
stelt / ende 'thoof op een staek / sijn afgheshoutwen hant  
op het stad vast genagelt / ghelijc hier sulcx perfecte-  
lyc is afghebeelt.

N.O. Jan Blansaert ontfingh sijn Sententie met  
een bedroeft gelaet / doch sonder tranen / had goede ho-  
leur / ende sprack voer de Heeren geen woort / alleenlyc  
met den Lichame neppende / ende den staet groeten-  
de / op het Schavot komende / sprack hy tot het Volck /  
mijn meeninge is niet gheweest den Prince van Ora-  
gnien om te brengen / 'tis waer dat ick daer van ghe-  
woeten hebbe / en van de Secretaris van Berckel 157.  
dobbele Pistoletten ontfanghen hebbe / die ick / mijn  
Broeder / ende Willem Perty te samen gedeelt hebbe /  
maer onse meeninge is geweest den Secretaris te be-  
dzien en diergelijche reden meer / waer van me best  
de rechte gront en waersheyt / in de Sententien / al be-  
vinden / sprack self seer bzaef sijn ghebedt / en sturf (soo  
scheen) met een Christelijc berou / onthalt zynde / wert  
in een plaetse (de Sack ghenaemt) begraven.

P.Q. Abraham Blansaert voer de Richters ko-  
mende / was bestorven van aenghesicht / anders (soo  
scheen) wel gemoet / hoorende met verdach sijn Sen-  
tentie / dat sechen sonthids wat binne / want  
daer teghen te willen segghen / vraghende tot twee  
repen toe / of hy de Aerde soude hebben / 'welck hem  
van de Grefier werde toegheseyt. Op't Schavot ko-  
mende / sprack mede veel tot den volck / al hy naer als  
sijn Broeder Jan gedaen hebbende / seyde te hebben  
een Vrouw met vijf kinderen / verzoekende dat se haer  
niet en wilden verwijten / epndelijc sijn ghebedt me-  
de selver sprekende / wert als de voorgeaende onthalt /  
ende in de Sack begraven. Terwijl desen tot het  
Volck sprack / is eenen grooten Tack van de middel-  
ste Boom / op den Vyverbergh staende recht neffens  
het Schavot / afgheshoeken / door de meenichte der  
Wenichen daer op sittende / vallende op de lieden daer  
onder staende / daer van een oude vrouwe doodt bleef  
en veel andere haer dapper befeerden.

L.M. Willem Perty een Man op't beste van sijn  
leven / quam gantich resluyt om sijn Sententie te  
hooren / sonthids daer yet tusschen sprekende / ende  
soonen hem silentie wilde imponeren / sprack stoute-  
lijc ick meene dat ick hier wel voer mijn selven mach  
spreken / sultimerende doorgaens in den sin gehadt te  
hebben / den aenslach te ontdekken / epndelijc hooren-  
de dat sulcx inde Sententie werde aengeroot / maer  
'rgel soo langh ontfanghen hebbende / ende den aen-  
slach ghesheelt / dat hy daer over met den swaerde sou-  
de gheslact werden / soo heeft hy gheseyt [ ick sie wel  
datmen my gheen baruchteicheyt en bewijst / ghe-  
lijc ick den Prince ende D. L. meenden te doen / had  
ich tijt ghelacht om seyt te komen ontdekken ] op het  
Schavot komende / dede een seer lange harangue ver-  
halende de gantsche saecke / epndelijc siende gheen  
ghenade te verwerven / knielde nebet / de ghemeente  
om verginghe biddende / en sprack seer vromedich /  
selver sijn ghebedt / dit gheepndicht zynde / wert ont-  
halt / en mede in den Sack begraven.

R.S. Sijn de bestolen Galij en Staders.

t'Amsterdam, voor Claes Janz. Vlucher, 1623.

religious tolerance. Prince Maurits crushed this minority, destroying Oldenbarnevelt and banishing Remonstrant preachers. In all likelihood, Visscher held Reinier and his co-conspirators in greater contempt because they plotted against not only his Prince but also the defender of his particular school of reformed religion. Scholars of early modern prints are careful not to attribute too many work-related decisions made by print publishers to personal beliefs—and rightly so as their profession was based on an unpredictable and precarious market. However, in this instance the two were mutually beneficial. The large number of extant copies after Visscher's designs proves that there was a substantial market for these images, which are more vehement in tone and more graphically violent than his earlier execution imagery.

Even if Visscher's personal beliefs influenced his decision to depict the conspirators in the worst possible light, authorial intent cannot fully dictate the reception of an image. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that later States Party supporters (the political descendants of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt) never appropriated these images by reissuing copies, although they reproduced Visscher's 1619 print of the execution of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (albeit with alterations to the captions to secure a pro-States Party interpretation of the image).<sup>43</sup> For instance, one print after Visscher's image of Oldenbarnevelt's execution includes an inscription referencing Tacitus that celebrates Oldenbarnevelt as a tragic hero.<sup>44</sup> Other copies have small banderols that include Oldenbarnevelt's last words about dying a patriot.<sup>45</sup> However, none of Visscher's 1623 execution images were appropriated to create States Party propaganda, or at least no such image survives. All extant copies after Visscher's design (as well as all other representations of the 1623 executions) include text that vilifies the would-be assassins and none of them challenges the verdict or implies any sort of martyrdom.<sup>46</sup> Two factors probably stopped printmakers from making sympathetic or even more neutral images. First, public opinion overwhelmingly supported the conviction of Reinier and his co-conspirators.<sup>47</sup> Second, and perhaps more importantly, Visscher's graphic depictions of death, bodily fragmentation, and disgrace were much more difficult to cast in a positive light than the 1619 print, in which Oldenbarnevelt appears intact and still very much alive.

The level of brutality in Visscher's 1623 prints far surpassed not only his earlier images of contemporary executions but also the pictorial conventions for such imagery.<sup>48</sup> In the center of the print depicting the execution of Slatius and three other conspirators, a man gestures to the executioner while Slatius's head rolls off the platform (left) and Slatius's headless body appears again on a wheel with his head above it on a pike (right) (Figure 9.3). This form of display was further punishment; it indicates that the judges determined that Slatius deserved to be broken on the wheel.<sup>49</sup> This practice was one of the most dishonorable forms of execution though not solely because of how excruciating it must have been (the executioner broke the criminal's limbs prior to death). Florike Egmond argues that the degree of shamefulness determined the



severity of punishment in the early modern period and that both exposure on the city gallows and bodily fragmentation substantially increased this shame.<sup>50</sup> Slatius's body was subjected to additional fragmentation and exposure with the amputation of his hands and his display on the wheel. These aspects of punishment are further amplified in Visscher's prints. The four conspirator's bodies are shown both intact as they kneel before the executioner and after they have been hung from the gallows or placed on the wheel. Visscher actually depicted Slatius five times in this print, often focusing on the mutilation of his body and making the dishonor associated with him and the others who shared his political and religious beliefs that much more conspicuous. In print, the punishment is endless; the bodies are exhibited to a much larger audience and for an indefinite amount of time. Visscher also includes birds perched on the gallows and circling in the sky, which in addition to being a realistic—if grisly—detail was another outward sign of ignominy.<sup>51</sup> Although these scenes of beheading resemble his etching of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt's beheading to a certain degree, in the later prints the scenes are larger and placed inside frames to serve as focal points, not lost amidst a more detailed setting. Thus the bodily mutilation Visscher portrayed in 1623 was unprecedented with regard to images of contemporary European executions both in size and quantity.

Unfortunately for those who were dismayed by this visual assault, there was nothing they could do to stop the dissemination of these prints. Several individuals (whom Visscher later referred to as "certain seditious and troubled people" and who may have been Slatius's wife Bernardina Tielle and other relatives) stole the corpses from the gallows field near Rijswijk, almost a week after the execution, in an attempt to minimize the shameful exposure.<sup>52</sup> Risking criminal charges, they endured the task of moving the heavy, decomposing corpses. They stole Slatius's body and the quarters of two men hanging near him—one of whom was Slatius's brother-in-law Cornelis Gerritszoon—and buried the body parts in a field.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, a farmer plowed that same field a few days later and discovered the bodies. The farmer summoned the authorities and the corpses were returned to the gallows and put back on display, but not without the help of bystanders because of the bodies' weight, which must have been especially unpleasant for the bystanders. In the early modern period, people avoided direct contact with executioners and executed criminals because they carried a terrible stigma.<sup>54</sup> When the executioner had Slatius's body lifted on a plank in order to get it back on top of the wheel, the plank broke—leaving Slatius's naked, headless body swinging by the ankles (Figure 9.4). Someone finally sent a messenger to The Hague for a ladder and Slatius was put back on the wheel, with his hands nailed to the rim and his head on a pike.

Most people must have assumed the affair was settled. They were wrong. The body of Slatius was stolen again and never recovered. Yet, this second extralegal intervention is not depicted or mentioned in any of Visscher's prints, even though some of the impressions were likely published after the fact. Visscher references the event only indirectly. Some of the copies of his



9.4 Claes  
Jansz. Visscher,  
Discovering,  
Towing Away, and  
Rehanging Slatius',  
Coorenwinder's  
and Gerritsz.'  
Body Parts,  
1623, etching  
and letterpress,  
28.5 × 40.5 cm

(Rijksmuseum,  
Amsterdam,  
RP-P-OB-81.061)

**Waerachtich verhael / hoe Hendric Sla-  
cius naer dat hy gefolien was / weder te boorschyn  
gecomen is / hier tot onser memorie s'gauerlijck afgebeelt.**

O M nu in 't hooft te verhalen de gheschiedenis van  
Hendrick Daniel Slatius / (hier afgebeelt) desen  
is geblucht in een vzeemt habijt/onkenbaer / doch is  
door Gods sonderlinge bestieringe in handen geraect  
russche Groeningen en Coeverden/ hem self noemen-  
de Jan Harmanfz. Ende is den 13. Maert 1623.  
in 's Ghaben-haghe ghebracht/albaer op de Dange-  
Doozt bewaert/ tot op den 5. Meep des selfden Jaers /  
op welken dach hy is gejusticeert / ende is boort hy  
Krijf-wijck/ ter geozdonneerde plaetse op een Kac ge-  
stelt/ sijn hooft op een staech/ ende alsoo sijn rechter  
handt door Gods wonderlijcke bestieringhe / mede  
was afgehouden/ is dese be neffens 't lichaem op het  
Kact genagelt. Hier te veel int ooch staande van seke-  
re oproerige en ongeruste menschen/ is van daer ghe-  
stolen des nachts tusschen den 11. en 12. Meep/ met de  
twee quartieren en hoofden/ van David Coornwin-  
der/ gewesen Secretaris van Berckel/ ende Cornelis  
Gerritsz. Schijnwercher/ dit kirapen-aes te samen in  
een buys hi si gelept zijnde/ is begraven in een Acher/  
dicht by de Oest-buig/ ontrent een spit onder d'aerde/  
ende is gebonden den 16. Meep/ in manier als volcht.

I. Den hupf-man desen doorscheyden Acher vlo-  
gende/ quam ten laetste dicht aen de hepminge/ en also  
hy een wepmich ter zjden de vloech trac/ font sijn eene  
hoer in d'aerde/ waer door hy (omsiende) sach dat de  
aerde was omghewoet/ hem selfen inbeelende dat  
daer wel eenich gefolien goet mocht begraven wesen.

II. Doch luttel denckende op sulchen buys / begon  
te graven en vordz/ oberderte schoppen/ doch niet veel  
waerbijch/ mer een hoofdeloose romp/ en twee vloechte  
doch seer onsinnelijcke houten/ den Voer bphans een  
popelspe op 't rissf krijghende / siep terfont naer den  
haech / alwaer hy 't selve aen gaf / waer ober eenige  
Dienaers werden heen geschickt/ om sulks te on-  
dersoecken / die daer homende/ door den grooten toe-  
loop van 't volck/ eenich ghelt ghenoten/ vermits 3p'e  
de lieden door gelt sijcken lieten.

III. Middeler tijdt waer ordz gestelt/ om 't gefo-  
len des weder te hengen/ ter plaetse daert van daen  
gecomen was / is noch aenmerckens waert/ dat daer  
toe den Scherp-rechter maereenen Dien aer tot hulpe  
mede nam / daer mede hy niet sussesant en was / so  
waren stuck bleesch te handelen / tracht derhalven in  
de kist een tou bindende aan Slatius voeten/ hem al-  
so mer hulp des Dienaers ende eenighe ongeschick-  
te Jonghers/ upt den kist langhs den Acher/ ober hol  
over boi stepende naer den Schuyt / daer sy hem in  
sineten / om soo naer het gherecht te voeren.

IIII. 3p de Molen van 't Galshe- belt homende/  
hept hem/ mitsgaders de quartiere ten dele langs  
de werch/ als ooc door de sloot/ elck op sijn oude plaets.

V. Slatius door 't stепен sijn hemdp verloren heb-  
bende/ wert van haer daer na opgeraeyt/ en in plaet-  
se van een sack ghebruycht / om de drie hoofden be-  
quamelijck in te vraghen.

VI. Dit gedaen sijnde sloegen een Tou boben om  
den Staech/ om Slatius so te bequamer op te hysen /  
doch de Staech niet sterck ghenoech sijnde. viel van  
boben neber 't welk haer betonzaeckte een Planch te  
nemē/ die sy seldbetegens 't Kact/ om hem daer hy op te  
reken/en also den Scherp-rechter op het Kact was  
gestomme/ haelden sy de beenen eerst om hooch de sel-  
ve vast maekende/ om van boorts het Lichaem op te  
halen/ de Planch haer mede begehende is hy haer we-  
derom onballen/ en also aen 3pn beenen (vast gemaect  
sijnde) bphangen/ so lange dat sy in den haech een  
Vadder haelden. En is eindelijc weder op sijn plaetse  
gheraecht als ooch de andere quartieren/ mitsgaders  
de hoofden/ op den 16. dach van Maep 1623.

Of ghy den boef al roof/en seven mael noch steelt,  
Soo ist een yder hier genoechsaem afgehebelt.





**W**at kroobers zijn hier opt of noder Gallisch-dieben  
 Ghebonde/als die nu dees moorders gaen belieuen/  
 Om haer booz' sweerelts noch te berghen onder 't sanc/  
 En brenghen dees daer haer in noch meerder schant/  
 Met recht men seggen mach/dat irapen blien by irapen:  
 Soo doen dees moorders ooch/sp kennien geen sint's schapen:  
 Dooz dat den rechter eens sal strassen haer misdaet/  
 En stellen dan den dief daar nu den moorder staet.  
 Ghy die hier'trecht besteelt/en soect haer macht te brenghen/  
 Meent ghy dat Godt u daer min als haer doen sal waken/  
 Bester eens hoe hy haer verbodcht mer straf of straf/  
 Ja d'Werde was te goet/ dies moeten sy het graf/  
 Met schande rupmen weer/en woerden als de krenghen  
 Ontwaerdigh heen gesleert/tot dat mensche weer brenghen  
 Daer God haer hebben wil/tot spiegel booz' ghesiet/  
 Wat daer u't rooben nu van't waechse galgen-belt/  
 Siet waer hem ober komt/die Princen soecht te moorden/  
 En dat noch segghen der mer onbeschaemde woorden/  
 Dat men wel een Tyrann mach moorden/om soo hy  
 Te werden van zijn boos en wrede Tyrann/  
 En noemen een Tyrann/de boomste Prins wiens baden  
 Wat al de Werelt roemt/een Prins die ons ontladen  
 heest/en ons vaderlandt (naest Godt) van 'tware Luch  
 Des Tyrans Tyrann/en Spagniaers wreet ghebuck/  
 Daer ons Dooz-ouders krom haer moesten onder buggen/  
 Ghelicht mondelingh noch woeren te gheuyghen:  
 En daer zoo veel af is noch by ons in gedacht/  
 Dat wy alijt daer op wel moghen nemen acht/  
 Beght eens verkeerden hoop en opghelichte gupten/  
 Waer upt ghy wilt of kent sijn Tyrann besluypen.  
 Of om dat hy u dooz bebel der Staten doet  
 Verghen Tyrann ontfinnich en verwoet  
 Besluypen in u hart/en u belet te quellen  
 De boommen/en die Landt in lichten brandt te stellen.  
 Waer op den Wyandt boozt mer macht sou komen an/  
 En jaghen u en ons gelijckelijc daer van:  
 Was dan u moet ghehoelt/is dit al u begeeren/  
 Soo mach men u mer recht wel upt dees Landen weerren/  
 Want ghy u selben noemt Hierhebbers van die Landt/  
 Doch in u hart en schuyt maer enkel moort en brandt.  
 Maer Godt den Vader sal ons booz u list bewaren/  
 En ons u doen alijt (ghelijc nu) openbaren/  
 Op dat u moorder en u sijlen beract/  
 In gheenderhande wijs verandert onsen staet/  
 Veel min dat ghy u lust aen ons sult moghen boeren/  
 En in 't onschuldich bloet eens baden ulve woeren/  
 Daer ghy mer lijf en siel soo puerich na tracht/  
 Dat ghy self in u bloet rechtvaerdelijc vermach.  
 Nu wert u 't Dossen bel eens ober't hooft ghetoghen/  
 En zijt dooz u bedoch self/aldermeest bedogghen.  
 Ghy ghebepden hoerz/ moerwillichen verdoopt/  
 Wat hebt ghy inenich met u balchen schijn verlaet/  
 In snood Conscience kon in 't minst u niet toe laten/  
 Dat ghy gehoozsaemheyt betoonen sout u Staten/  
 Maer wel u Wyandt/daer ghy bebel en begheert  
 't Geen u de Staten hier hadden ghepsefent.  
 Waer loopt die anders heen/als dat ghy dese Landen  
 Wilt lederen dooz haer in onsen Wyandts handen.  
 Cplaes verkeerden Mensch/is die al u verlangh/  
 In vaderlands verberf en maechschaps ondergangh/  
 Doozseker Godt en sal dat nimmermeer ghehenghen/  
 Maer u veel liever met u aenhangh 't onder brenghen/  
 Bester maer eens 't begin dat hier is afgebeelt/  
 Hoe dat de waechse Godts mer het beginsel sleet/  
 Soo sal u Pharoos hert ten minsten wat verfoeren/  
 Of sal dooz weder-waech in u verherben moeren/  
 Tot dat ten laetsten ghy dees Landen soo langh quelt/  
 Dat u de groote Godt ghelijc ter neber bel/  
 En wy met open heel bly-geestich moghen singen/  
 Godt heeft aen ons ghebaen veel wonderlijcke dinghen/  
 Hy heeft ons haters met haer aenhangh en haer macht  
 Ghelijckelijc verniet/en schandich 't onderzacht/  
 Dies laet ons mer doormoet den Heere bidden'samen/  
 Dat sijn ghenad' alijt by ons wil blijven Amen.

image of the discovery of Slatius's body include an added line of text, in a different font in the lower left corner, likely printed on existing impressions after the body disappeared for good. The text warns: "Even if you snatch the criminal, and steal him seven more times, even so everyone here is depicted well enough."<sup>55</sup> Visscher asserts that his depiction of Slatius's corpse alone is sufficient for justice to be maintained, regardless of whether the real body sits on the wheel in plain sight or is buried and hidden from view. This is a bold claim for the shaming potential of his images; they are able to stand in for and even replace the real criminal body, thus continuing to subject Slatius, his family, and those affiliated with him to the shame and humiliation of his execution and public display.

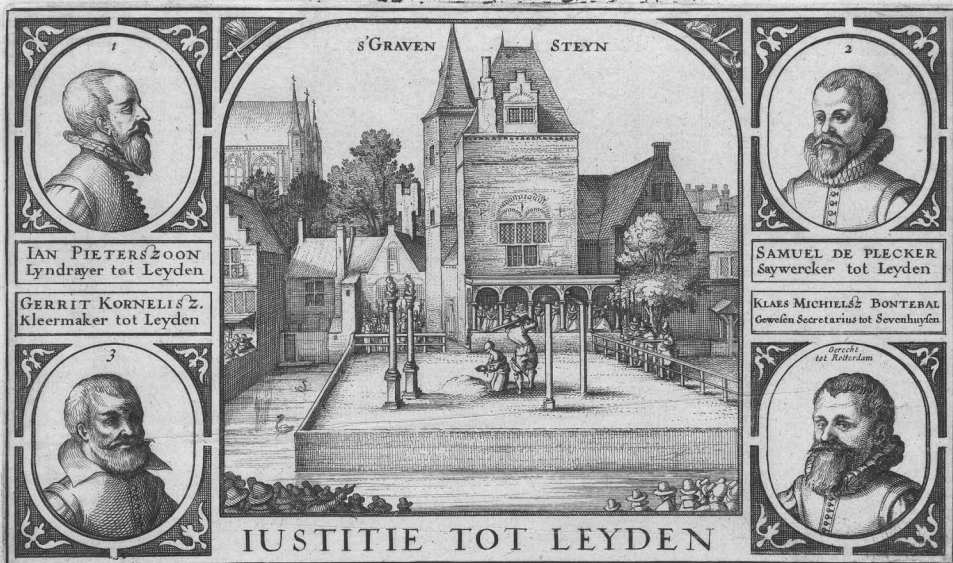
With regards to the print, it should also be noted that Slatius's body, while disgraced and naked, is still pictured as impossibly fit and unblemished. By the time someone first stole Slatius's body almost a week after his execution, it would have shown considerable signs of decay. It had been displayed outdoors on the gallows and exposed to the elements, birds, and rodents. The pristine nude in the image is another indication that a totally realistic portrayal was not Visscher's aim. Issues of decorum, pictorial precedent, and ideology also affected his choices.<sup>56</sup> Just like the omission of the spectators in the trees in his aforementioned print, the state of Slatius's body evinces Visscher's emphasis on the point rather than (and sometimes in spite of) the particulars.

### Visscher's Grand Finale

Visscher's final execution print in connection with the plot against Prince Maurits appeared over a month later, when three men were beheaded in Leiden and another in Rotterdam.<sup>57</sup> Again, his image includes portraits of the criminals and an elevated view of an execution. Perhaps because these men were not very well known outside their respective cities, Visscher chose a simplified composition accompanied by a brief and straightforward account (Figure 9.5). This is also the only execution image Visscher did not sign, either on the plate or in the text. And yet, it is still more finely crafted and skillfully etched than most of the execution prints his competitors made in 1623.

These final executions, which were of relatively unknown men who did not live in either the metropolis of Amsterdam or court-city of The Hague, were a somewhat anticlimactic ending to the saga of the conspiracy against Maurits. Visscher, in keeping with his previous behavior, manipulated his images to make them more compelling to prospective buyers. He issued an enormous print that incorporated all four of the previous execution images, cutting two of the plates in half in order to frame the central scene (Figure 9.6).<sup>58</sup> He issued an accompanying sheet of text that is half as wide as the print and just as long. In this way, Visscher created a fitting grand finale: a print with copious images of execution, bodily mutilation, and public display.

# Afbeelding der Justitie/ soo tot Leyden als Rotterdam Over eenighe Arminiaensche Verraders.



## Justitie ghedaen binnen Leyden/ den 27. Junij.

**D**E Justitie tot Leyden is gheschied op het Pleyn van 's Gra-vesteyn/ den 27. Junij 1623. al waer gejusticeert zijn dese 3. volgende personen / Jan Pieterz. Lyndrayer Burgher tot Leyden was de eerste/ comende op de Richt-plaets thoonde groot berou en leetwelen/ tot dien eynde veel reden regghen de Burgherij ghebruyckende / knielende daer naer neder / den Predicant D. Fel-tus/ dede het ghebedt / dit ghedaen zijnde/ nam hy epndelijck aen eenen peggelijcken oozlof gevende de Pre-dicanten de Hant/ den Scherp- rech-ter hem een root Bultken ober d'oo-gghen doende / ende zijn hembb van de schouderen strijkende / dede hem voozt knielen/ en sloech hem het Hooft af / treckende wat ter zijden. De tweeden was Samuel de Plec-

ker mede Burgher tot Leyden en Leeraer der Remonstranten / desen met zijn boven Lijf naeckte op de Rechte-plaets comende/ nam zijn af-scheyt als boven / en dede selfs een gebedt/ den Scherp-rechter hem het Bultken mede ober de oogghen ghe-daen hebbende/ sloech hem 'thooft af. Doen volghde de derde / zijnde een Cleermaecker/ genaemt Gerrit Cor-nelisz. desen mede den omstaenders mitsgaders de gemeente om vergif-fenisse ghebeden hebbende/ nam zijn afscheyt als boven / een peder de hant gevende/ende Adieu leggende/ den Predicant D. Fabritius 'gebet ghedaen hebbende/ hant den Scherp-rechter hem een Afschoeck vooz de oogghen/ ende hy nederknielende/ wert onthalt als vooz / ende dese alle drie zijn secretelijck begraven.

## Iustitie gedaen binnen Rotterdam, den 3. Julij.

**T**ot Rotterdam is onthalt op den 3. Ju-lij 1623. Claes Michielsz. Bontbal/ ge-wefene Secretaris tot Sebē-huyfen/ naer dat hy sijn Ssententie hadde hooft selen / is op het Schavor geromen seer verbaect / een lange re-den hebbende tot de gemeente/ hem seer becla-gghende/ de overbloedige welsaden Godts soo schandelijck misbruyckte te hebben/ waer door hy den regghenwoozdigen roozn Gods ( soo hy septe) op sijn hert gheparck voelde/ en dat ober het Delict/ daer hem de boosen Satan/ en val-sche verleyders/ door quaden raet toegebrachte hadden. Doch eventuel van herten vertrou-wende/ dat de goede God hem sulcx soude ver-geven/ badt hy de gemeente/ datte hem souden helpen bidden/ en alsoo nederknielende/ dede self seer heerlijck sijn gebedt/ dit ghedaen zijnde / dede hem den Scherp-rechter een root Bultken ober d' oogghen/ hem leydende voozt sandt/ en geknielt hebbende/ wert onthalt / en terstont secretelijck begraven.

9.5 Claes Jansz. Visscher, Beheading of Jan Pieterszoon, Gerrit Kornelissoon, and Samuel de Plecker at the Gravensteen in Leiden and Klaas Michielssoon Bontbal in Rotterdam, 1623, etching and letterpress, 37.4 × 29.1 cm

(Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.064)





Combined, these prints exponentially increased the dishonor conveyed by the individual images, making it a singular tour de force of political propaganda.

When Visscher decided to create and publish these execution prints he was motivated by far more than a journalistic impulse; he saw the opportunity to make both propaganda and profit. These images work as a mechanism to publicly dishonor the men, much like the actual public executions, which punish by disseminating shame. Visscher's prints seize upon these state-sanctioned punishment practices and visually exploit them in order to further defame the men depicted. Although Visscher refrained from showing graphic violence in his 1619 print of the execution of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, in 1623 he chose to depict shocking, close-up scenes of death and mutilation. In light of the dishonoring effect of bodily dismemberment and public display in the early modern period, these news prints are not neutral, anecdotal, or even reportorial. These prints, which repeat and re-present the beheading, mutilation, and corpses of Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt and his co-conspirators, served to shame the men, their families, and their colleagues, thereby denying their suitability to govern or even to exist as part of the community of respected citizens in the Dutch Republic.

## Notes

My dissertation, "Politics, Punishment, and Prestige: Images of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and the States Party (*Staatsgezinden*) in the Dutch Republic, 1618–1672," (anticipated 2015) contains a more extensive analysis of seventeenth-century images of executed political figures as well as other, related political images and objects. My heartfelt thanks go to my advisor, Dr. Claudia Swan, and to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation for facilitating my research.

- 1 Geeraert Brandt, *Historie Der Reformatie En Andre Kerkelijke Geschiedenissen in En Ontrent De Nederlanden* (Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1704), vol. 4, 1049–52.
- 2 Reinier van Oldenbarnevelt, Adriaan Adriaanzoon van Dijk, and David Coorenwinder were executed on March 29, 1623.
- 3 Early modern prints that depict contemporary events, usually with a title and explanatory text, can be referred to as broadsheets or history prints (*historieprenten* or *zinneprenten* in Dutch and *Flugblätter* in German) but I prefer the more descriptive term "news print," as advocated by Ilja Veldman in "Een Riskant Beroep, Crispijn de Passe de Jonge als Producent van Nieuwsprenten," *Prentwerk/Print Work* (2002), 155.
- 4 Hendrick Slatius, *De klaer-lichtende fackel, om de verduysterde ooghen der ... ingesetenen deser Vereenighde Nederlanden zo toe te lichten, dat se ... mogen zien het ghevaerlicke perijckel ... onses lieven vaderlands* (1623), Leiden University THYSPF 3038. This pamphlet, written to promote the conspiracy, viciously attacked Maurits and urged Dutch citizens to oppose him by means of armed rebellion.
- 5 Arminians (also called Remonstrants) belong to a Protestant denomination based on theological ideas developed by Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609). However, the word "Arminian" was also used as a pejorative for individuals of any creed who supported political positions associated with Remonstrants,

- namely state control of church affairs and provincial sovereignty at the expense of the stadholder's authority. See Jill Stern, "A Righteous War and a Papist Peace: War, Peace and Religion in the Political Rhetoric of the United Provinces 1648–1672," in *War and Religion after Westphalia 1648–1713*, ed. David Onnekink (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 198.
- 6 Maira Simon, "Claes Jansz. Visscher" (PhD diss., Albert-Ludwig-Universität zu Freiburg, 1958); Nadine Orenstein, "Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620," in *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580–1620*, eds. Ger Luijten, Ariane van Suchtelen, Reinier Baarsen, and Walter Kloek (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 167–200; Tony Campbell, *Claes Jansz Visscher: A Hundred Maps Described* (London: Map Collectors' Circle, 1968).
  - 7 Michiel van Groesen, "A Week to Remember: Dutch Publishers and the Competition for News from Brazil, 26 August–2 September 1624," *Quaerendo* 40, no. 1 (2010), 26–49; Elizabeth Sutton, "Possessing Brazil in Print, 1630–54," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5, no. 1 (2013); and forthcoming works by Van Groesen and Sutton.
  - 8 Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1994), 21.
  - 9 Henderson Stewart, *Honor*.
  - 10 Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 18.
  - 11 Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, "Points of Honor: The Limits of Comparison," in *The Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 43–66, esp. 59.
  - 12 Egmond and Mason, "Points of Honor," 64.
  - 13 Egmond and Mason, "Points of Honor," 58; and Petrus Cornelis Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 89.
  - 14 Geeraert Brandt, *The History of the Reformation and Other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low-Countries ...* (London: T. Wood for Timothy Childe, John Childe, and John Nicks, 1723), 450.
  - 15 Henceforth, "Oldenbarnevelt" will refer to Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (the father) and his sons will be called by their first names: Willem and Reinier.
  - 16 November 7, 1619, "Aan de provincies wordt geschreven dat de afbeeldingen van Oldenbarnevelt, Hogerbeets, Grotius, Uytenbogaert en van anderen van hun factie dagelijks worden gedrukt en in het openbaar verkocht, hetgeen in strijd is met 's lands plakaten. Verzocht wordt de afbeeldingen en platen in beslag te nemen en de plakaten uit te voeren, daar dit nodig is voor der rust van het land." See J.D. Smit, *Resolutiën Staten-Generaal Oude en Nieuwe Reeks 1576–1625*, vol. 4, 1619–20 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 296.
  - 17 Brandt, *History of the Reformation*, 450.
  - 18 Samuel Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 73; Silke Meyer, "An Iconography of Shame: German Defamatory Pictures of the Early Modern Era," in *Profane Images in Marginal Arts of the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 263–83, esp. 267 and 280.

- 19 My thanks to An van Camp, curator of Dutch and Flemish drawings and prints at the British Museum, for drawing my attention to the unusually fine paper that Visscher used for the 1623 execution print in their collection. I subsequently discovered that he used such paper for all of the execution prints except for the last one, depicting men executed in Leiden and Rotterdam, which is on thinner, more variegated paper.
- 20 Van Groesen, "A Week to Remember."
- 21 There are exceptions, especially when one includes images that have gallows as a small part of a larger composition, which occurs in landscape imagery and the corners of maps. However, I refer here to secular images that focus on contemporary public executions.
- 22 For more on decorative and other uses of prints, see Jan van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: Van Kunst tot Kastpapier* (Rotterdam: Waanders, 2006).
- 23 Colored impressions of Visscher's image of Johan van Oldenbarnvelt's execution can be found in the Atlas van Stolk in Rotterdam and *Museum Het Catharijneconvent* in Utrecht, among others. I have not found colored impressions of his 1623 execution prints but the survival rate for news prints, especially colored ones, is poor. For more on hand-colored prints see Truusje Goedings, "Kunst- en Kaartafzetter: Gekleurde Prenten en Kaarten," in *Romeyn De Hooghe: De Verbeelding van de Late Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), 204–21.
- 24 "12. Is Groenevelts Dienaer/met hem draghende zijn Meesters Mantel/hoet/kraghe/hantschoen/en dierghelijcke uytghetrocken kleederen."
- 25 Benjamin Roberts, *Sex and Drugs before Rock 'n' Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 54.
- 26 Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, 120.
- 27 Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, 54.
- 28 Email from Bianca du Mortier, curator of costumes and accessories at the Rijksmuseum, September 25, 2012.
- 29 Jan Amelisz published a print with Reinier in disguise and the text states that he wears a "*dreumelt hoetje*" (thrummed hat) and "*Visschers Py*" (fisherman's smock). RP-P-OB-81.018A. For more on these knitted woolen hats (which can be more or less shaggy), see Sally Pointer, "Knit a Thrum Cap: With a Short Commentary and Sources on Thrummed Caps," 2009, at [www.sallypointer.com](http://www.sallypointer.com).
- 30 Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, 53.
- 31 A proof impression at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France shows that Visscher added the smaller building with the stepped gable behind Slatius and Reinier at a later stage, probably in an attempt to further segregate this group from the larger scene.
- 32 Nicolaes van Geelkercken loosely copied Visscher's print and added more conspirators to the group, but he misidentified Reinier as Van Dijk and vice versa, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-81.022. An anonymous printmaker copied the conspirators, in reverse, RP-P-OB-81.056. Jan Amelisz published a print with the three conspirators in the foreground, RP-P-OB-81.018A (first state), and RP-P-OB-81.019 (second state).



- 33 The conflict between the States Party and the Orangists was conflated with a controversy within the Calvinist church between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, which was primarily about issues of predestination. However, for some the religious conflict was merely a means to gain political and economic advantage. For more on this conflict see Arie Theodorus van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen: Kerk en Kerkvolk ten Tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Van Gorcum: Van Gorcum's Historische Bibliotheek, 1974).
- 34 Several different copies are extant in public Dutch collections and have Dutch, French, or German text, demonstrating the international appeal of the image and story.
- 35 "Van Swol bright men hem t'scheep op Amsterdam, daer hy den twaelfden Maert aenquam, en ten selven daege near 't leven in sijn boere kleederen wierdt afgebeeldt, voorts in 't koper geetst, door Klaes Jansz. Visscher, die sijn print straks uitgaf, met een lomp gedicht, dat de Remonstranten schendig overhaelde, als of de Conspiratie uit hunne boesem quam ...." See Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie*, 4: 994–95.
- 36 One impression shows Slatius at lower left and the rectangle with the allegorical scene is blank (Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-81.043). Because printed text was pasted on the bottom of the image it was probably sold and not merely an artist's proof. The state with Slatius's portrait is not mentioned in the Hollstein volume on Visscher. Cornelis Gerritsz. had been executed earlier, on February 27, along with three sailors who were implicated in the plot: Herman Hermansz. from Embden, Jan Claesz. from Zuidland and Dirk Leendertsz. from Katwijk.
- 37 Willem Perty, Jan Blansaert, and Abraham Blansaert were executed along with Slatius on May 5, 1623.
- 38 "De Richter 't Vonnis sluyt, Maer God die voert het uyt." Nicolaes van Wassenaer, *t'Vyfde-deel of T'vervolgh Van Het Historisch Verhael Aller Gedencwaerdiger Gheschiedenissen, Die ... Van Aprili Deses Jaers 1623 Tot October Toe, Voorgevallen Sijn*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam: J. Hondium, 1624), 57; and in Visscher's text: "Hier mach met recht geseyt werden: Den Rechter 'tvonnis sluyt/Maer Godt die voert het uyt ...."
- 39 "... by daer aen een ijder sien kan de rechtveerdige straffe des alderhoogsten, want hy met dien handt hadde beleden de ware gereformeerde ... om so vromen Doorluchtegen en hooch-gebooren Prince verradelijc te moorden ...."
- 40 "Sulck werck, sulck Loon."
- 41 Spectators falling from the trees are depicted in news prints published by Nicolaes van Geelkercken (Rijksmuseum RP-P-08-01-022) and Jan Amelisz. (Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-81.019).
- 42 "... een yvrig kerkelijk man ...." See Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie*, 4: 303.
- 43 In 1670 Rotterdam publisher Johannes Naeranus issued a biography of Oldenbarnevelt with a copy of Visscher's etching of the execution but he replaced the word "justice" in the main caption with "execution."
- 44 See, for example, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-80.885. These prints probably date from the second half of the seventeenth century or later.
- 45 "Mannen gelooft het vry, ik ben geen Land-verrader, Maar sterf een Patriot, getrouw voor 't Vaderland" appears over Oldenbarnevelt. See, for example, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-80.883.

- 46 Jan Amelisz, Cornelis Blaeu-Laken, Nicolaes van Geelkercken, Hendrick Hondius, and Dirk Eversen Lons also made prints that depict the execution of Reinier and his co-conspirators, all which can be found in the Rijksprentenkabinet. It is possible that such a print may have existed and not survived or exists in a collection I have not consulted, but even if such a print were to exist it would have been exceptional.
- 47 Remonstrant leaders were quick to deny any connection to the plot and wrote tracts strongly condemning the use of violence, decrying the conspirators as fringe extremists, and urging unity between the warring religious and political factions.
- 48 See, for example, Dutch and German images of the execution of Counts Egmont and Hoorn, in which the men are generally depicted much smaller in the image and with less emphasis on bodily fragmentation. In addition to the Oldenbarnevelts, Visscher depicted the execution of the conspirators in the English Gunpowder Plot in 1606 and the execution of François Ravaillac, who assassinated King Henry IV of France, in 1610.
- 49 H.G. Jelgersma, *Galgebergen en Galgevelden in West- en Midden Nederland* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1978), 60.
- 50 Florike Egmond, "Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy: A Morphological Investigation," in *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 92–128, esp. 106.
- 51 Birds were also pictured in *Schandbilder* to underscore the debtor's wrongdoing. See Meyer, "An Iconography of Shame," 274.
- 52 "... sekere oproerige en ongeruste mensen ..." on figure 4. Authorities accused Bernardina Tielle and her friends or family of being involved with the theft of Slatius's body, which she denied. *Nationaal Archief, Hof van Holland*, inv. nr. 5228, nr. 5.
- 53 The body of Slatius was discovered, as were quarters of David Coorenwinder and Cornelis Gerritszoon (sometimes called Cornelis Gerritsz.).
- 54 Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 91.
- 55 "Of ghy den boef al roof, en seven mael noch steelt,/Soo is een yder hier genoechaem afghebeelt." I would like to thank Tom van der Molen for discussing this and other seventeenth-century Dutch excerpts. Any mistakes are, of course, my own.
- 56 Christi M. Klinkert, *Nassau in het Nieuws: Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus Militaire Ondernemingen uit de Periode 1590–1600* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005). Klinkert makes a persuasive and much-needed argument about the need for scholars to consider these issues and the desire to order and clarify a narrative when examining news prints (in her case military imagery) to avoid considering any deviation from the actual events (as reported by textual sources) as an error on the printmaker's part.
- 57 Officials in Leiden ordered the execution of Jan Pieterzoon, Samuel de Plecker, and Gerrit Korneliszoon on June 21 and Rotterdam officials had Claes Michielsz, Bontenbal beheaded on July 3. For more on the latter, see P.J. Bontenbal, *Het Zuid-Hollandse Geslacht Bontenbal: De Oudste Twaalf Generaties* (Rijswijk: Bontenbal, 2005), 68–69.

- 58 Visscher cut the plates in half and used them to print three different ensemble prints (smaller, medium, and larger) as well as printing the bisected plates side-by-side by themselves and issuing single-sheet impressions of the original compositions with the accompanying text. The variants he produced include: 1) the etching of the execution of Reinier, Coorenwinder, and Van Dijk with the plate depicting Slatius's execution cut in half vertically to frame it, 2) the same with the plate depicting the discovery of Slatius's body cut in half horizontally and placed along the top, and 3) the latter with the image of the Rotterdam and Leiden executions at bottom center. Impressions of the first two ensemble prints can be found in the University of Amsterdam Special Collections and the third in the British Museum.

## Conclusion: Closing Thoughts

John R. Decker

The studies in this volume end at the seventeenth century, though it would be possible to extend the book's scope to include eighteenth- to twenty-first-century depictions of death, torture, and the broken body as well. Films such as Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ*,<sup>1</sup> the television series *The Walking Dead*,<sup>2</sup> video game franchises like *Dead Space*,<sup>3</sup> and graphic scenes of sexual violence and torture in novels like Stieg Larsson's *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*,<sup>4</sup> to name but a few examples, demonstrate how deeply embedded narratives of pain, suffering, death, decay, and violence continue to be in contemporary artistic and literary works as well as popular entertainment. The same holds true, too, for the various social, religious, political, and theoretical concepts each of the authors explores throughout *Death, Torture, and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650*. This is most evident, I think, in the still-lingering debates on the death penalty (especially those involving the most humane forms of execution, which take for granted the usefulness of state-sanctioned death) and the probity of torture as a tool for dealing with perceived threats to governmental structures and ideologies. The moral/ethical questions raised in these social discussions has changed very little indeed from those informing works like Gerard David's *Justice of Cambyses* (Figure I.1).

A compilation such as this, however, can never claim, or even aspire, to present a complete or definitive view of such complex phenomena. It must, instead, be content with occupying its own topography within the larger discursive landscape and pointing beyond itself in order to encourage others to continue identifying and investigating the near-infinite paths still waiting to be explored. The scholarship assembled here marks out some of these potential routes, though not necessarily as trail heads. It would be interesting, for instance, for scholars to delve more deeply into the paradox of creation and destruction that forms the leitmotif of this volume. The discussion of the imaginative tensions that images of death, torture, and disassembled or deformed bodies evince has roots reaching back to Bernard of Clairvaux and, likely, earlier. Tracing the extended history of this paradox to its origins

would perhaps shed light on the deeper social and psychological functions overtly disturbing depictions of the human form serve. Another route ripe for ongoing investigation involves the role of media and mediation in the creation and reception of images of violence, death, and torture. As Terry-Fritsch and Warren make clear in their contributions, the types of depiction under discussion in this volume are not innocent and neither is their use in, or as, popular media. These studies demonstrate that images of the disassembled body, the punished body, and the body open to public sanction are powerful when marshaled in the service of larger socio-political agendas. One need only think about twenty-first-century debates about journalistic detachment, arguments over what actually constitutes “fair and balanced,” and the persuasive power and truth claims of broadcast images to see how trenchant these issues still are. Finally, *Death, Torture, and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650* limits its examination to European art and the European experience. Expanded explorations of non-European, non-Western approaches would be invaluable, as would more diachronic and synchronic cross-cultural comparisons.

To be sure, each of the paths I have mentioned above is not *terra incognita* and there are already books and articles that touch on many of these ideas (as the bibliography included in this volume attests). My suggestions are not meant as declarations of hitherto unseen blind spots in the scholarship on death, torture, and the broken body. Similarly, they are not meant as an enumeration of all of the possibilities to be found in this convoluted field of study. They are, instead, an invitation for others to join the fascinating work already being done and a sincere attempt at furthering the discussion of a subject that many still find uncomfortable.

## Notes

- 1 Fox Studios, 2004.
- 2 Turner Broadcasting, American Movie Classics Channel.
- 3 Electronic Arts Entertainment.
- 4 Stieg Larsson, *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, trans. Reg Keeland (New York: Vantage Books, 2008).

## Bibliography

- Aelst, José van. *Passie voor het Lijden: De Hundert Betrachtungen und Begehungen van Henricus Suso en de oudste drie Bewerkingen uit de Nederlanden*, Miscellanea Neerlandica 33. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.
- Aikema, Bernard and Beverly Louise Brown. *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer and Titian*. New York: Rizzoli, 2000.
- Ainsworth, Marian. "Gerard David's Drawings for the 'Justice of Cambyse's' Once Again." *The Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1024 (July 1988): 528–30.
- Amédée de Zedelgem, Peter, OFM. "Aperçu historique sur la dévotion au chemin de la croix." *Collectanea Franciscana* 19 (1949): 45–142.
- Antoine, Thomas M. "Un manuscrit de Charles V au Vatican. Notice suivie d'une étude sur les traductions françaises de Bernard Gui." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1 (1881): 259–83.
- Anzelwesky, Fedja. *Dürer, His Art and Life*. New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1980.
- Apostolos-Cappadona, Diane. "'Pray with Tears and Your Request Will Find a Hearing'. On the Iconology of the Magdalene's Tears." In *Holy Tears. Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, edited by Kimberly Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 201–28. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Areford, David. *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Aretino, Pietro. *Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*, edited by Ettore Camesasca. 3 vols. Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1957–60.
- Armstrong, Regis, ed. *Clare of Assisi: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 1993.
- Arndt, Hella and Renate Kroos. "Zur Ikonographie des Johannesschüssel." *Aachener Kunstblätter* 38 (1969): 243–328.
- Augustine of Hippo. *De civitate Dei*, 22:22, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 48, edited by Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955.
- Augustyn, Wolfgang. "Passio Christi Est Meditanda Tibi: Zwei Bildzeugnisse Spätmittelalterlicher Passionsbetrachtung." In *Die Passion Christi in Literatur und Kunst des Spätmittelalters*, edited by Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, 211–40. Fortuna Vitrea, Bd. 12. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1993.

- Austin, J.L. "How to Do Things with Words: Lecture II." In *The Performance Studies Reader*, edited by Henry Bial, 177–83. New York and London: Routledge, 2007.
- Avcioglu, Nebahat. "Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny in the Frontispiece to Georges Sandys's 'Relation of a Journey.'" *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 203–26.
- Baert, Barbara. *Caput Joannis in Disco [Essay on a Man's Head]*, Visualising the Middle Ages 8. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- . "The Head of St John the Baptist on a Tazza by Andrea Solario (1507). The Transformation and Transition of the Johannesschüssel from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance." In *Cultural Mediators. Artists and Writers at the Crossroads of Tradition, Innovation and Reception in the Low Countries and Italy 1450–1650*, edited by A. de Vries, 85–127. Louvain and Paris: Peeters, 2008.
- Baglione, Giovanni. *Le vite de' pittori scultori e architetti dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a tempi di Urbano VIII nel 1642*, edited by Valerio Mariani. Rome: E. Calzone, 1935.
- Bailey, Gauvin A. *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Bale, Anthony. *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages*. London: Reaktion Books, 2010.
- Bale, John. *The Image of Both Churches*. London: John Day, 1550.
- Bambach, Carmen, ed. *Leonardo da Vinci, Master Draftsman*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.
- Barash, Moshe. "Der Ausdruck in der Italienischen Kunsttheorie." *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 12 (1967): 33–69.
- Baraz, Daniel. *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- . "Seneca, Ethics, and the Body. The Treatment of Cruelty in Medieval Thought." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 2 (1998): 196–202.
- Barb, Alphons Augustinus. "Mensa sacra: The Round Table and the Holy Grail." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19, no. 1–2 (1956): 40–67.
- Barber, Charles. *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Barbera, Maria. "Civic Self-Offering: Some Renaissance Representations of Marcus Curtius." In *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period*, edited by Karl Enenkel, 147–65. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Barkan, Leonard. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of the Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Baronio, Cesare. *Annales ecclesiastici*. 12 vols. Rome: Extypographia Vaticana, 1588–1607.
- Barron, William J.R. "The Penalties for Treason in Medieval Life and Literature." *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 190–93.
- Bauerreiss, Romauld. "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ: Ein frühes eucharistisches Bild und seine Auswirkung." In *Pro Mundi Vita. Festschrift zum Eucharistischen Weltkongress 1960*, 49–67. Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1960.

- Baumstark, Reinhold. *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985.
- . *Masterpieces from the Collection of the Princes of Liechtenstein*. New York: Hudson Hill Press, 1980.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Beilin, Elaine V. "'The Word Reproov'd': Writing Faith and History in England." In *Culture and Change: Attending to Early Modern Women*, edited by Margaret Mikesell and Adele Seeff, 266–80. London: Associated University Presses, 2003.
- . "Anne Askew's Dialogue with Authority." In *Contending Kingdoms: Historical, Psychological, and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth-Century England and France*, edited by Marie-Rose Logan and Peter L. Rudnitsky, 313–22. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991.
- . *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- . "Anne Askew's Self-Portrait in the Examinations." In *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, edited by Margaret Patterson Hannay, 76–91. Kent OH: Kent State University Press, 1985.
- , ed. *The Examinations of Anne Askew*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Bellori, Gian Pietro. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*. Rome: Mascardi, 1672.
- Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- . *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*. New Rochelle NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1990.
- . "Die Reaktion der Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts auf den Import von Reliquien und Ikonen." In *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, exh. cat. 173–83. Cologne: Schniitgen Museum, 1985.
- Benedict, Philip. *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2007.
- Beresteyn, E.A. van. *Geschiedenis der Johanniter-orde in Nederland tot 1795*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1934.
- Bergsma, Jan, ed. *De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch*, Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1895.
- Berliner, Rudolf. "Arma Christi." *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 3, no. 6 (1955): 35–152.
- Berry, Boyd M. "Of the Manner in Which Anne Askew 'Noised It'." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 96, no. 2 (1997): 182–208.
- Bertelli, Carlo. "The Image of Pity in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme." In *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolph Wittkower*, edited by Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton Lewine, 40–55. London: Phaidon, 1967.
- Bestul, Thomas. *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.



- Betteridge, Thomas. "Anne Askewe, John Bale, and Protestant History." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997): 265–84.
- Beuken, W.H., ed. *Vanden Levene Ons Heeren; Teksten, Inleiding en Toelichting door W.H. Beuken*. 2 vols., Zwolse Drukken en Herdrukken voor de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 60. Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1968.
- and James Marrow, eds. *Spiegel van den Leven ons Heren [Mirror of the Life of Our Lord]: Diplomatic Edition of the Text and Facsimile*. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1979.
- Bleibtreu, Erika. "Grisly Assyrian Record of Torture and Death." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 17, no. 1 (1991): 52–61, 75.
- Blick, Sarah and Laura Gelfand, eds. *Push Me, Pull You. Imaginative and Emotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Boccardo, Pietro, ed. *L'Età di Rubens: Dimore, committenti e collezionisti genovesi*. Milan: Skira, 2004.
- Bodenstedt, Mary. *Praying the Life of Christ: First English Translation of the Prayers Concluding the 181 Chapters of the Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian: The Quintessence of His Devout Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Analecta Cartusiana 15. Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1973.
- Böhme, Wolfgang and Martina Wehrli-Johns, eds. *Lerne leiden: Leidensbewältigung in der Mystik*. Karlsruhe: Evangelischen Akademie Bad Herrenalb, 1985.
- Bohnstedt, John. "The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 58, no. 9 (1968): 1–58.
- Bokenham, Osbern. *The Life of St. Christine*. In *A Legend of Holy Women: Osbern Bokenham, Legends of Holy Women*, translated and edited by Sheila Delany, 43–61. Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.
- Bontenbal, P.J. *Het Zuid-Hollandse Geslacht Bontenbal: De Oudste Twaalf Generaties*. Rijswijk: Bontenbal, 2005.
- Boose, Linda. "Crossing the River Drina: Bosnian Rape Camps, Turkish Impalement and Serb Cultural Memory." *Signs* 28, no. 1 (2002): 71–96.
- Bosio, Antonio. *Roma sotterranea*. Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1635.
- . *Historia Passionis B. Caeciliae Verginis Valeriani, Tiberti et Maximi Martyrum necnon Urbani et Lucci Pontificum et Mart. Vitae atque Paschales Pape I Literae de Eorumden Sanctorum Corpum Inventione et in Urbem Translatione*. Rome: Stephanum Paulinum, 1600.
- Boyden, James M. "The Worst Death Becomes a Good Death: The Passion of Don Rodrigo Calderon." In *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by B. Gordon and P. Marshall, 240–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Brancaforte, Elio and Lisa Voigt. "The Traveling Illustrations of Sixteenth Century Travel Narratives." *PMLA*. Forthcoming, 2014.
- Brandon, Laura. *Art and War*. New York: Tauris, 2007.
- Brandt, Geeraert. *Historie der Reformatie en Andre Kerkelijke Geschiedenissen in en Ontrent de Nederlanden*. Vol. 4. Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1704.

- . *The History of the Reformation and Other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low-Countries* .... London: T. Wood for Timothy Childe, John Childe, and John Nicks, 1723.
- Brantley, Jessica. *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Browe, Peter. *Die Eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters*. Breslau: Müller und Seiffert, 1938.
- Brown, David Alan. *Andrea Solario*, exh. cat. Milan: Banca del Monte di Lombardia, 1987.
- Brückner, Wolfgang. *Bildnis und Brauch: Studien zur Bildfunktion der Effigies*. Erich Schmidt: Berlin, 1966.
- Bruin, Cebus Cornelis de. "Middeleeuwse levens van Jezus als leidraad bij meditatie en contemplatie." *Nederlandse Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 58, 60 (1977–78; 1980): 129–55; 162–81.
- . *Tleven Ons Heren Ihesu Cristi: Het Pseudo Bonaventura Ludolfiaanse leven van Jesus*, Verzameling van Middelnederlandse Bijbelteksten. Miscellanea 2. Leiden: Brill, 1980.
- Budde, Rainer and Roland Krischel, eds. *Genie ohne Namen: Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars*, exh. cat. Cologne: DuMont, 2001.
- Bullinger, Heinrich. *De Origine Erroris*. Basel: Thomas Wolffius, 1529; Zurich: Chritoph Froschauer, 1539.
- Buser, Thomas. "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome." *The Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (1976): 424–33.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*. New York: Zone Books, 2011.
- . *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- . "Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety." *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 30 (2002): 3–36.
- Calenzio, Generoso. *La vita e gli scritti del Cardinale Cesare Baronio*. Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1901.
- Callahan, Abend. "The Torture of Saint Apollonia: Deconstructing Fouquet's Martyrdom Stage." *Studies in Iconography* 16 (1994): 119–38.
- Cambine, Andrew. *Two very notable commentaries, The one of the original of the Turcks and Empire of the house of Ottomanno written by Andrewe Cambine*. London: Rouland Hall, 1562.
- Cameron, Euan. "Primitivism, Patristics and Polemic in Protestant Visions of Early Christianity." In *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, edited by Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan, 29–32. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Camille, Michael. "Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages: A Double-Sided Panel by Meister Francke." In *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, edited by A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos, and R.M. Schlusemann, 183–210. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998.

- Campanelli, Daniela. "Le arti negli Annales." In *Baronio e l'arte: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, edited by Romeo De Maio et al., 385–407. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 1985.
- Campbell, Caroline and Alan Chong. *Bellini and the East*. London: National Gallery, 2005.
- Campbell, Charlie. *Scapegoat: A History of Blaming Other People*. London: Duckworth Overlook, 2011.
- Cantino, Gisella Wataghin. "Roma sotterranea: Appunti sulle origini dell'archeologia Cristiana." In *Roma nell'anno 1600: Pittura e giubileo, il revival paleocristiano, Roma sotterranea, Caravaggio "pittore di storia"*, Ricerche di storia dell'arte 10, 5–14. Rome: La Nuova Scientifica, 1980.
- Caraffa, Filippo, ed. *A Cesare Baronio: Scritti vari*. Sora: Vescovo di Sora, 1963.
- Carboni, Stefano, ed. *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.
- Carlson, Marla. "Spectator Responses to an Image of Violence: Seeing Apollonia." *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 27 (2002): 7–20.
- . "Impassive Bodies: Hrotsvit Stages Martyrdom." *Theatre Journal* 50, no. 4 (1998): 473–87.
- Carruthers, Mary J. *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Casas, Bartolomé de las. *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. Teddington: Echo Library, 2007.
- Caspers, Charles M.A. "Het laatmiddeleeuwse passiebeeld. Een interpretatie vanuit de theologie- en vroomheidsgeschiedenis." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 45 (*Beelden in de late middeleeuwen en renaissance*) (Zwolle: 1994): 160–75.
- Cavallieri, Giovanni Battista. *Beati Apollinaris Martyris Primi Ravennatum Episcopi Res Gestae*. Rome: Bartholomaei Grassi, 1586.
- . *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea ... Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum Depictae*. Rome: Bartholomaei Grassi, 1584.
- Caviness, Madeline Harrison. *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages. Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Cazacu, Matei. *L'Histoire du Prince Dracula en Europe centrale et orientale XVe siècle*. Geneva: Droz, 2006.
- Cazelles, Brigitte. *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Cecchelli, Carlo. *Il cenacolo filippino e l'archeologia Cristiana*, Quaderni di studi romani 3. Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1938.
- Cellini, Benvenuto. *Vita*, introduction by Paolo d'Ancona. Turin: UTET, 1927.
- Chapman, David. *Ancient Jewish and Christian Perceptions of Crucifixion*. Ada MI: Baker Academic, 2010.
- Cheetham, Francis. *English Medieval Alabasters with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005.
- Cherry, John F. "The Dish of the Head of St. John the Baptist in Genoa." In *Tessuti,oreficerie, miniature in Liguria XIII–XV secolo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*

- Genova-Bordighera, 22–25 maggio 1997, edited by Anna Rosa Masetti Calderoni, C. Di Fabio, and M. Marcenaro, 135–48. Bordighera (Genoa): Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 1999.
- Christensen, Carl C. *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, Studies in the Reformation 2. Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 1979.
- Christian, Kathleen Wren. *Empire without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Christiansen, Keith and Stefan Weppelmann, eds. *The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011.
- Clarkson, Leslie A. "The Organization of the English Leather Industry in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century." *The Economic History Review* 13, no. 2 (1960): 245–56.
- Cohen, Esther. *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- . "Pain in the Late Middle Ages." *Zmanim* 78 (2002): 28.
- . "The Animated Pain of the Body." *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (February 2000): 36–68.
- . "Towards a History of European Physical Sensibility: Pain in the Later Middle Ages." *Science in Context* 8, no. 1 (1995): 47–74.
- . *Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993.
- . "'To Die a Criminal for the Public Good': The Execution Ritual in Late Medieval Paris." In *Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon*, Studies in Medieval Culture 28, edited by Bernard S. Bachrach and David Nicholas, 285–305. Kalamazoo MI: Western Michigan University, 1990.
- Coles, Kimberly Anne. "The Death of the Author (And the Appropriation of Her Text): The Case of Anne Askew's *Examinations*." *Modern Philology* 99, no. 4 (2002): 515–39.
- Combs Stuebe, Isabel. "The Johannisschüssel. From Narrative to Reliquary to Andachtsbild." *Marsyas. Studies in the History of Art* 14 (1968–69): 1–16.
- Conley, Tom. "De Bry's Las Casas." In *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus*, edited by René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, 103–31. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.
- Connell, William J. and Giles Constable. *Sacrilege and Redemption in Renaissance Florence: The Case of Antonio Rinaldeschi*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008.
- Conway, Charles Abbott. *The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centered on the Incarnation: A Descriptive Analysis*, Analecta Cartusiana 14. Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1976.
- Cook, William R. "Giotto and the Figure of St. Francis." In *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto*, edited by Anne Derbes and Mario Sandona, 135–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . "The Early Images of St. Clare of Assisi." In *Clare of Assisi: A Medieval and Modern Woman*, edited by Ingrid Peterson, 15–29. New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1996.

- Costantini, Claudio. *La repubblica di Genova*. Turin: UTET, 1986.
- Crachiolo, Beth. "Seeing the Gendering of Violence: Female and Male Martyrs in the *South English Legendary*." In *"A Great Effusion of Blood": Interpreting Medieval Violence*, edited by Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk, 147–63. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004.
- Cranston, Jodi. *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Das, Sukla. *Crime and Punishment in Ancient India c. AD 300–AD 1100*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1977.
- Davidson, Arnold. "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or, How St. Francis Received the Stigmata." In *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, edited by Caroline A. Jones, Peter Gallison, and Amy Slaton, 101–24. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Debby, Nirit Ben-Aryeh. "St. Clare Expelling the Saracens from Assisi: Religious Confrontation in Word and Image." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, no. 3 (2012): 643–65.
- Decker, John R. *The Technology of Salvation and the Art of Geertgen tot Sint Jans*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Deckers, Johannes Georg, Gabriele Mietke, and Albrecht Weiland, eds. *Die Katakombe "Anonima di Via Anapo": Repertorium der Malereien*, 3 vols., Roma sotterranea cristiana 9. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1991.
- Delmarcel, Guy. *Rubenstextiel/Rubens's Textiles*. Antwerp: Luc Denys, 1997.
- Deschamps, Jan. "De Middelnederlandse vertalingen en bewerkingen van de Hundert Betrachtungen und Begehungen van Henricus Suso." *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 63, no. 2–4 (1989): 309–69.
- Desmond, William. "Punishments and the Conclusion of Herodotus' Histories." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004): 34–35.
- Deursen, Arie Theodorus. *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen: Kerk En Kerkvolk Ten Tijde Van Maurits En Oldenbarnevelt*, Van Gorcum's Historische Bibliotheek 92. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974.
- D'Evelyn, Charlotte and Anna J. Mill, eds. "De Sancta Cristina." In *South English Legendary*, vol. 1, 315–27. Early English Text Society, original series 236. London: Oxford University Press, 1956–59.
- De Vos, Dirk. *Hans Memling: Het Volledige Oeuvre*. Antwerp: Mercatorfonds Paribas, 1994.
- Dhanens, Elisabeth. *De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk te Gent in de 15de eeuw*. Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België 44, 1. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1983.
- Dijkhuizen, Jas Frans van and Karl A.E. Enenkel, eds. *The Sense of Suffering. Construction of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Dirk Bouts en zijn tijd, exh. cat. Louvain: s.n., 1975.
- Ditchfield, Simon. "Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c. 1586–1635." In *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 167–92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

- . "Text before Trowel: Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea* Revisited." In *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Studies in Church History 33, edited by Robert Norman Swanson, 343–60. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.
- . *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Dolan, Frances E. "'Gentlemen, I Have One Thing More to Say': Women on Scaffolds in England, 1563–1680." *Modern Philology* 92, no. 2 (1994): 157–78.
- Dolce, Lodovico. *Dialogo della pittura intitolato l'Aretino*. In *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, edited by Mark Roskill. New York: New York University Press, 1968.
- Donato, Maria Monica. "Gli eroi romani tra storia ed *exemplum*. I primi cicli umanistici di Uomini Famosi." In *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, 3 vols., edited by Salvatore Settis, 2: 97–154. Turin: Einaudi, 1985.
- DuBruck, Edelgard E. "Violence and Late Medieval Justice." *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 27 (2002): 56–67.
- and Yael Even, eds. *Violence in Fifteenth-Century Text and Image*, *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 27. Rochester NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2002.
- Dürriegl, Günther, ed. *Wien 1529: Die Erste Türkenbelagerung*. Graz: Hermann Böhlhaus, 1979.
- Easton, Martha. "Saint Agatha and the Sanctification of Sexual Violence." *Studies in Iconography* 16 (1994): 83–118.
- Eckmann, Notker. *Eine kleine Geschichte des Kreuzweges: Die Motive und ihre Darstellung*. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1968.
- Eddy, Beverley, trans. *Dracula: A Translation of the 1488 Nürnberg Edition*. Philadelphia: Rosenbach Museum and Library, 1985.
- Edgerton, Samuel. *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Egmond, Florike. "Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy: A Morphological Investigation." In *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture*, edited by Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg, 92–128. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- and Peter Mason. "Points of Honor: The Limits of Comparison." In *The Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology*, 43–66. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Elias, Norbert. *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*. 2 vols. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976.
- Elsner, Jaś. *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Emmerson, Richard. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.
- Endres, Joseph Anton. "Die Darstellung der Gregorius-Messe im Mittelalter." *Zeitschrift für Christliches Kunst* 30, no. 11/12 (1917): 146–56.
- Eusebius Pamphili. *Ecclesiastical History*, books 1–5, trans. Roy J. Deferrari. Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1953, rpt. 1965.

- Evans, Edward Payson. *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals*. London: Faber and Faber, 1906.
- Fairfield, Leslie. *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation*. West Lafayette IN: Purdue University Press, 1976.
- Falk, Oren, Mark D. Meyerson, and Daniel Thiery, eds. *"A Great Effusion of Blood"? Interpreting Medieval Violence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Farmer, David, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Filedt Kok, Jan Piet. "Jan Mostaert." In *Vroege Hollanders, Schilderkunst van de late Middeleeuwen*, edited by F. Lammertse and J. Giltaij, 164–65. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2008.
- Fiocchi Nicolai, V. "San Filippo Neri, le catacombe di San Sebastiano e le origini dell'archeologia cristina." In *San Filippo Neri nella realtà romana del XVI secolo*, edited by M. Teresa Bonadonna Russo and Niccolò del Re, 105–30. Rome: Società romana di storia patria, 2000.
- Fischer, P. Columban, OFM, "Die 'Meditationes Vitae Christi.' Ihre handschriftliche Ueberlieferung und die Verfasserfrage." *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 25 (1932): 3–35, 175–209, 305–48, 449–83.
- Florescu, Radu. *Dracula: A Biography of Vlad the Impaler*. New York: Hawthorne Books, 1973.
- and Raymond T. McNally. *Dracula: Prince of Many Faces*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1989.
- Foxe, John. *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition*. Introduction by George Townsend, edited by Stephen Reed Cattley. London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1838.
- . *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (1563 edition) (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011), available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> (accessed November 11, 2013).
- Freedberg, David. "Rubens and Titian: Art and Politics." In *Titian and Rubens: Power, Politics, and Style*, 29–66. Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998.
- . *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Freeman, Thomas S. "Publish and Perish: The Scribal Culture of the Marian Martyrs." In *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, edited by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, 235–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . "'The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuouse Women': The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs." *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 8–33.
- and Sarah Elizabeth Wall. "Racking the Body, Shaping the Text: The Account of Anne Askew in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.'" *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2001): 1165–96.
- Frei, Urs-Beat and Fredy Bühler, eds. *Der Rosenkranz: Andacht, Geschichte, Kunst*. Bern: Benteli, 2003.
- Fremiotti, Pietro. *La riforma cattolica del secolo decimosesto e gli studi di archeologia Cristiana*. Rome: Federico Pustet, 1926.

- Friedländer, Max J. *Lucas van Leyden and Other Dutch Masters of His Time*, Early Netherlandish Painting 10. Leyden: Sijthoff, 1973.
- Fulvio, Andrea. *Antiquitates Urbis*. Rome: Marcellus Silber, 1527.
- Gallonio, Antonio. *Historia della vita e martirio de' gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla vergine, Nereo, et Acchilleo, e piu altri, con alcune vite brevi de' santi parenti di S. Flavia Domitilla, et alcune annotazioni, opera di Antonio Gallonio Romano sacerdote della Congregazione dell'Oratorio*. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1597.
- . *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio, e delle varie maniere di martoriare usate da' gentili contro christiani, descritte et intagliate in rame*. Rome: A. e G. Donangeli, 1591.
- Garofalo, Luigi. *Rubens e la devotio di Decio Mure*. Naples: Jovene, 2011.
- Die geschicht Dracole Waida*. Nuremberg: Marx Ayrer, 1488.
- Gesta Romanorum: Entertaining Moral Stories*. Translated by (Reverend) C. Swan, revised ed. London: George Bell & Sons, 1891.
- Ghilardi, Massimiliano. "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea' tra pietà oratoriana e interessi gesuitici." In *Baronio e le sue fonti*, edited by Luigi Gulia, 435–87. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009.
- Ghiotto, Renato and Terisio Pignatti. *L'opera completa di Giovanni Bellini*. Classici dell'Arte 28. Milan: Rizzoli, 1969.
- Gieben, Servus. "L'iconografia di Chiara d'Assisi." *Italia Francescana* 68 (1993): 7–100.
- Gilson, Etienne. *The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas*, translated by Edward Bullough. New York: Dorset Press, 1929.
- Giordani, Roberto. "La scoperta della catacomba sotto la vigna Sanchez e la nascita degli studi d'antichità cristiane." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 83 (2007): 277–315.
- Goedings, Truusje. "Kunst- en Kaartafzetters: Gekleurde Prenten en Kaarten." In *Romeyn De Hooghe: De Verbeelding van de Late Gouden Eeuw*, 204–21. Zwolle: Waanders, 2008.
- Goffman, Erving. "Performances: Belief in the Part One is Playing." *The Performance Studies Reader*, 61–65. 2nd ed. Edited by Henry Bial. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Goldgar, Anne. *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Grabar, Tarek Samra. "Feminine Irony and the Art of Linguistic Cooperation in Anne Askew's Sixteenth-Century Examinacions." *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 25, no. 4 (2007): 285–411.
- Gravdal, Kathryn. *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Gray, Douglas. "The Five Wounds of Our Lord." *Notes and Queries* 208 (1963): 50–51, 82–89, 127–34, 163–68.
- Groebner, Valentin. *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Middle Ages*. Translated by Pamela Selwyn. New York: Zone Books, 2004.
- . "'Abbild' und 'Marter.'" Das Bild des Gekreuzigten und die städtische Strafgewalt." In *Kulturelle Reformation. Sinninformationen im Umbruch 1400–1600*, edited by B. Jussen and C. Koslofsky, 225–34. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.



- Groesen, Michiel van. "A Week to Remember: Dutch Publishers and the Competition for News from Brazil, 26 August–2 September 1624." *Quaerendo* 40, no. 1 (2010): 26–49.
- Grøn, Fredrik. "Über den Ursprung der Bestrafung in Effigie." *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis/Revue d'Histoire du Droit* 13 (1934): 320–81.
- Guazzelli, Giuseppe Antonio. "La documentazione numismatica negli *Annales Ecclesiastici* di Cesare Baronio." In *Baronio e le sue fonti*, edited by Luigi Gulia, 489–548. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009.
- . "Cesare Baronio e il Martyrologium Romanum: Problemi interpretative e linee evolutive di un rapporto diacronico." In *Nunc alia tempora alii mores: Storici e storia età postridentina*, edited by Massimo Firpo, 47–89. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2005.
- , Raimondo Michetti, and Francesco Scorza Barcellona, eds. *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, Studi e ricerche 29. Rome: Viella, 2012.
- Guerrini, Roberto. "Dal testo all'immagine. La 'pittura di storia' nel Rinascimento." *Memoria dell'antico* 2 (1985): 45–95.
- Gulia, Luigi, ed. *Baronio e le sue fonti: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 2007*, Fonti e studi baroniani 4. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009.
- Gurewich, Vladimir. "Observations on the Iconography of the Wound in Christ's Side, with Special Reference to Its Position." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957): 362.
- Halsall, Paul, ed. *Medieval Sourcebook: Thomas of Celano: Lives of St. Francis*. Available at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/stfran-lives.html>.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F. "Overkill, or History that Hurts." *Common Knowledge* 13, nos. 2–3 (2007): 404–28.
- Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 4, edited by E. Hoffmann-Krayer and H. Bachtold-Staubli. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1931–32.
- Happé, Peter. *John Bale*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996.
- Harsnett, Samuel. "A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures (London: James Roberts, 1603)." In *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham*, edited and introduced by F.W. Brownlow, 193–335. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1993.
- Haskell, Francis. *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press 1993.
- Hecht, Christian. *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997.
- Held, Julius S. *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalog*. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Henderiks, Valentine. *Albrecht Bouts (1451/55–1549), Bijdragen tot de studie van de Vlaamse Primitieven* 10. Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium: Brussels, 2011.
- . "L'atelier d'Albrecht Bouts et la production en série d'oeuvres de dévotion privée." *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 78 (2009): 15–28.

- Henderson Stewart, Frank. *Honor*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Hendrix, John Shannon and Charles H. Carmen, eds. *Renaissance Theories of Vision*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Herklotz, Ingo. "Chi era Priscilla? Baronio e le ricerche sulla Roma sotterranea." In *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, Studi e ricerche 29, edited by Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, Raimondo Michetti, and Francesco Scorza Barcellona, 425–44. Rome: Viella, 2012.
- . "Historia sacra und mittelalterliche Kunst während der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in Rom." In *Baronio e l'arte: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, edited by Romeo De Maio et al., 60–72. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 1985.
- Hernach volgt des Bluthundts, der sych nennedt ein Türckischer Keiser, Gethaten, so er und die Seinen nach Eroberung der Schlacht, auff den 8. Tag Augusti nechst vergangen geschehen, an unsern Mitbrüdern der Ungrischen Lantschaften gantz un menschlich*. Augsburg: Steiner, 1526.
- Herz, Alexandra. "Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de' Appia." *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (1988): 590–620.
- . "Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context." *Storia dell'arte* 62 (1988): 53–70.
- Hickerson, Megan. "'Ways of Lying': Anne Askew and the Examinations." *Gender and History* 18, no. 1 (2006): 50–65.
- . *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Holmes, Megan. *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- . "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence." *Art History* 34 (2011): 432–65.
- Hood, William. "The Sacro Monte of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion." In *Monasticism and the Arts*, edited by Timothy Gregory Verdon, 291–312. Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984.
- Hörsch, Markus. "I.11. Johannesschüssel." In *Der Naumburger Domschatz. Sakrale Kostbarkeiten im Domschatzgewölbe*, edited by Holger Kunde and Uwe John, 90–97. Petersberg b. Fulda: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2006.
- Huizinga, Johan. *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over levens-en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden*. Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1935 [1st ed. 1919].
- . *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*. Translated by Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- The Illustrated Bartsch 35: Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Abaris Books, 1984.
- Imorde, Joseph. "Tranen met tuiten." *Kunstschrift* 43, no. 3 (1999): 28–33.
- Indestege, Luc, ed. *Een Diets gebedenboek uit het begin der zestiende eeuw herkomstig uit het voormalig Klooster Sint-Hieronymusdal te Sint-Truiden*. Ghent: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1961.
- Innes-Parker, Catherine. "Sexual Violence and the Female Reader: Symbolic 'Rape' in the Saints' Lives of the Katherine Group." *Women's Studies* 24, no. 3 (1995): 205–18.

- Innitzer, Theodor. *Johannes der Täufer. Nach der heiligen Schrift und der Tradition*. Vienna: Mayer, 1908.
- Jacobs, Fredrika. *Votive Panels and Popular Piety*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Jacks, Philip Joshua. "Baronius and the Antiquities of Rome." In *Baronio e l'arte: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora 10–13 ottobre 1984*, Fonti e studi baroniani 2, edited by Romeo De Maio, Luigi Gulia, and Aldo Mazzacane, 75–96. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca. 1985.
- Jacobus de Voragine. *De hand van God. De mooiste heiligenlevens uit de "Legenda aurea."* Translated by V. Hunink and M. Nieuwenhuis. Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak en Van Gennep, 2006.
- . *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints*, vol. 2, translated and edited by William Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Jaffe, David. *Rubens: A Master in the Making*. London: National Gallery of Art, 2005.
- Jaffe, Michael. *Rubens: Catalogo completo*. Translated by Germano Mulazzani. Milan: Rizzoli, 1989.
- Jelgersma, H.G. *Galgebergen en Galgevelden in West- en Midden Nederland*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1978.
- Jerome, "Jerome's Apology for Himself against the Books of Rufinus." In *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Second Series 3, 539–40. Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1979.
- Kay, Sarah. "Original Skin: Flaying, Reading and Thinking in the Legend of Saint Bartholomew and Other Works." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36, no. 1 (2006): 36–50.
- Kemp, Theresa D. "Translating (Anne) Askew: The Textual Remains of a Sixteenth-Century Heretic and Saint." *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (1999): 1021–45.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. *Unquiet Souls. Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- King, John N. *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Kirkland-Ives, Mitzi. "Alternate Routes: Theme and Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions." *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 40, no. 1: 249–70.
- Kirwin, W. Chandler. "Cardinal Baronius and the Misteri in St. Peters." In *Baronio e l'arte: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora 10–13 ottobre 1984*, Fonti e studi baroniani 2, edited by Romeo De Maio, Luigi Gulia, and Aldo Mazzacane, 3–20. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 1985.
- Klauner, Frederike. "Gedanken zu Dürers Allheiligenbildern." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien* 75 (1979): 57–92.
- Klein, Cecilia F., ed. *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks*. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001.
- Kliemann, Julian. *Gesta dipinte: La grande decorazione nelle dimore italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 1993.
- Klinkert, Christi M. *Nassau in het nieuws: Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590–1600*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005.

- Kneller, Alois. *Geschichte Der Kreuzwegandacht, von den Anfängen bis zur völligen Ausbildung*, Stimmen aus Maria-Laach 98. Freiburg: Herder, 1908.
- Koldeweij, Jos. *Geloof en Geluk. Sieraad en devotie in middeleeuws Vlaanderen*. Arnhem: Gruuthusemuseum, 2006.
- Korricks, Leslie. "On the Meaning of Style: Niccolò Circignani in Counter-Reformation Rome." *Word and Image* 15 (1999): 170–89.
- Kräftner, Johann. "La collezione dei Rubens della casa regnante del Liechtenstein." In *Rubens e i fiamminghi*, edited by Sergio Gaddi, 63–66. Milan: Silvana, 2010.
- , Wilfried Seipel, and Renate Trnek, eds., *Rubens in Vienna. The Masterpieces*. Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 2004.
- Krautheimer, Richard. "A Christian Triumph in 1597." In *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, edited by Douglas D. Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton Lewine, 174–78. London: Phaidon, 1967.
- Krischel, Roland. "63. Kopf Johannes' des Täufers mit trauernden Engeln." In *Genie ohne Namen: Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars*, exh. cat., edited by Rainer Budde and R. Krischel, 378–79. Cologne: DuMont, 2001.
- . "64. Kopf Johannes' des Täufers mit trauernden Engeln." In *Genie ohne Namen: Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars*, exh. cat., edited by Rainer Budde and R. Krischel, 380–81. Cologne: DuMont, 2001.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Landau, David and Peter Parshall. *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Lauretano, Michele. "Memoria delle cose che occorreno giornalmente nel Collegio Germanico cominciando alli 28 Ottob. 1582." *Archivio del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico*, Rome ACGU, Rome, MS Hist. 103, fols. 32, 49, 57.
- Layher, William. "Horrors of the East: Printing *Dracole Wayda* in Fifteenth-Century Germany." In *Consuming News: Newspapers and Print Culture in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, edited by William Layher and Gerhild Scholz Williams. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008. Also *Daphnis* 37, no. 1–2 (2008): 11–32.
- Leitch, Stephanie. *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Leonardo da Vinci. *Notebooks*. Selected by Irma A. Richter and edited by Thereza Wells. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Lewis, Flora. "Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images." In *The Church and the Arts. Papers Read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, edited by Diana Wood, 190–92. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- L'Heureux, Jean. *Hagioglypta sive Picturae et Sculpturae Sacrae Antiquiores, Praesertim Quae Romae Reperiuntur Explicatae*, edited by Raffaele Garrucci. Paris: J.A. Toulouse, 1856.
- Lievens, Robrecht. *Jordanus van Quedlinburg in de Nederlanden: Een Onderzoek van de Handschriften*. Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal en Letterkunde. 6e Reeks: Bekroonde Werken 82. Ghent: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor taal en Letterkunde, 1958.

- Linton, Joan Pong. "The Plural Voices of Anne Askew." In *Write or Be Written: Early Modern Women Poets and Cultural Constraints*, edited by Barbara Smith and Ursula Appelt, 137–53. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Livy. *Livy with an English Translation by B.O. Foster in Thirteen Volumes*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1926.
- Loewenstein, David. "Writing and the Persecution of Heretics in Henry VIII's England: *The Examinations of Anne Askew*." In *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture*, edited by David Loewenstein and John Marshall, 11–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Lorton, Davis. "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt through the New Kingdom." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20, no. 1 (1977): 25–26.
- Luber, Katherine Crawford. *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Ludolf von Sachsen. *Vita Jesu Christi: Ex Evangelio et approbata ab Ecclesia Catholica doctoribus sedule collecta*, edited by L.M. Rigollot, Editio novissima, vol. 1 (4 vols.). Paris: Victor Palme, 1870.
- MacDonald, William. *Whose Bread I Eat: The Song-Poetry of Michel Beheim*. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1981.
- Madar, Heather. "Dürer's Depictions of the Ottoman Turks: A Case of Early Modern Orientalism?" In *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750*, edited by James Harper, 155–84. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Madariaga, Isabel de. *Ivan the Terrible*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Madonna, Maria Luisa, ed. *Roma di Sisto V: Le arti e la cultura*. Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1993.
- Malson-Huddle, Elizabeth. "Anne Askew and the Controversy over the Real Presence." *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 50, no. 1 (2010): 1–16.
- Marrow, James. *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*, *Ars Neerlandica: Studies in the History of Art of the Low Countries* 1. Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979.
- . "'Christi Leiden in einer Vision Geschaut' in the Netherlands." *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 43 (1969): 337–80.
- Martines, Lauro. *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Martyrologium Romanum ad Novam Calendarii Rationem, et Ecclesiasticae Historiae Veritatem Restitutum. Gregorii XIII Pont. Max. Iussu Editum. Accesserunt Notationes atque Tractatus de Martyrologio Roman. Auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano Congregationis Oratorii Presbytero. Cum Privilegio et Permissu Superiorum*. Rome: extypographia Dominici Basae, 1586.
- Matchinske, Megan. *Writing, Gender, and State in Early Modern England: Identity Formation and the Female Subject*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Matthias Flacius Illyricus et al. *Ecclesiastica Historia, Integram Ecclesiae Christi Ideam, quantum ad Locum, Propagationem, Persecutionem, Tranquillitatem, Doctrinam, Haereses, Ceremonias, Gubernationem, Schismata, Synodos, Personas Miracula,*

- Martyria, Religions extra Ecclesiam, & Statum Imperii Politicum Attinet, secundum Singulas Centurias, Perspicuo Ordine Complectens*, 13 vols. Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1559–74.
- Mazzola, Elizabeth. "Expert Witnesses and Secret Subjects: Anne Askew's Examinations and Renaissance Self-Incrimination." In *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women*, edited by Carole Levin and Patricia A. Sullivan, 157–71. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.
- Mazzoleni, Danilo. "Il cardinale Cesare Baronio e le iscrizioni cristiane." In *Baronio e le sue fonti*, edited by Luigi Gulia, 411–434. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009.
- McGrath, Elizabeth. *Rubens: Subjects from History*. 2 vols. London: Harvey Miller, 1997.
- McKinney, Devin. "Violence: The Strong and the Weak." *Film Quarterly* 46, no. 5 (1993): 16–17, 19–21.
- McQuade, Paula. "'Except that They had Offended the Lawe': Gender and Jurisprudence in *The Examinations of Anne Askew*." *Literature and History* 3 (1994): 1–14.
- Meertens, Maria. *De Godsvrucht in De Nederlanden. Naar Handschriften Van Gebedenboeken Der Xve Eeuw*. Vol. 2, *Lijdens Devoties*. Historische Bibliotheek Van Godsdienstwetenschappen. Antwerp: Standaard, 1930.
- Meilman, Patricia. "Historical Tradition and Political Strategy: Titian's *Battle Painting*." In *Titian: Materiality, Likeness, Istorica*, edited by Joanna Woods-Marsden, 97–111. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.
- . *Titian and the Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Meldemann, Niclas. *Warhafftige handlung wie und welchermassen der Türck die stat Ofen und Wien beleget*. Nuremberg, 1530.
- Merback, Mitchell B. *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, 1999, 2001.
- Meyboom, H.U. "Sus'o's Honderd Artikelen in Nederland." *Archief voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 1, no. 2 (1885): 173–207.
- Meyer, Silke. "An Iconography of Shame: German Defamatory Pictures of the Early Modern Era." In *Profane Images in Marginal Arts of the Middle Ages*, 263–83. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- Michalski, Sergiusz. *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe*, 1st English ed. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Mills, Robert. *Suspended Animation. Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture*. London: Reaktion Books, 2005.
- Mirabilia urbis Romae: The Marvel of Rome, or a Picture of the Golden City*, translated by Francis Morgan Nichols. London: Ellis and Elvey, 1889.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Monssen, Leif Holm. "The Martyrdom Cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo, Part II, The Frescoes and Santo Stefano Rotondo." *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia: Series Altera in 8 3* (1983): 11–106.

- . "The Martyrdom Cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo, Part I." *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia: Series Altera* in 8 2 (1982): 175–317.
- Monta, Susannah Brietz. *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- . "The Inheritance of Anne Askew, English Protestant Martyr." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 134–60.
- Montgomery, Scott B. "Mittite capud meum ... ad matrem meam ut osculetur eum: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just." *Gesta* 36, no. 1 (1997): 48–64.
- Morall, Andrew. "Dürer and Venice." In *The Essential Dürer*, edited by Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, 99–114. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Morford, Mark. *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Moxey, Keith. *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Mueller, Janel M. "Pain, Persecution, and the Construction of Selfhood in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*." In *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, edited by Claire McEahern and Debora Shuger, 161–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Muller, Jeffrey M. *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- . "Oil-Sketches in Rubens's Collection." *Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975), 371–77.
- Nagy, Piroska. *Le don des larmes au Moyen Age*. Paris: 2000.
- Nelson, Robert S., ed. *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*. Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Nova, Alessandro. "'Popular' Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo." In *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, edited by Claire Farago, 113–26. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Oakley, S.P. *A Commentary on Livy Books VI–X*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- O'Neil, Maryvelma Smith. "The Patronage of Baronio at San Gregorio Magno." In *Baronio e l'arte: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora 10–13 ottobre 1984*, Fonti e studi baroniani 2, edited by Romeo De Maio, Luigi Gulia, and Aldo Mazzacane, 146–71. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca. 1985.
- Orenstein, Nadine. "Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620." In *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580–1620*, edited by Ger Luijten, Ariane van Suchtelen, Reinier Baarsen, and Walter Kloeck, 167–200. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Ortalli, Gherardo. "Pingatur in palatio": *La pittura infamante nei secoli xiii–xvi*. Rome: Jouvence, 1979.

- Ortulus anime in duytsche, met die getijden vander weken*. Antwerp, ca. 1550  
[Thantwerpen ... by die weduwe van Heinrick Peeterssen].
- Orvell, Miles. *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Oryshkevich, Irina Taissa. "Cultural History in the Catacombs: Early Christian Art and Macarius's *Hagioglypta*." In *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, edited by Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . "Roma sotterranea and the Biogenesis of New Jerusalem." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56 (2009): 174–81.
- . "The History of the Roman Catacombs from the Age of Constantine to the Renaissance." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2003.
- Osborne, John. "The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1985): 278–328.
- Ostrow, Steven F. "The 'Confessio' in Post-Tridentine Rome." In *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Frosinone, Sora, 16–18 maggio 2007*, edited by Patrizia Tosini, 19–31. Rome: Gangemi, 2009.
- Owens, Margaret E. *Stages of Dismemberment. The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- . "'Imago Pietatis.' Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Mediatrix'." In *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstage*, 261–308. Leipzig: Seeman, 1927.
- Panvinio, Onofrio. *Le sette chiese romane*. Rome: Heredi di Antonio Blado, 1570.
- . *De Ritu Sepeliendi Mortuos apud Veteres Christianos, et Eorundem Coemeteriis Liber*. Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1568.
- Panzanelli, Roberta, ed. *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008.
- . *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008.
- Paris, William. *Life of Saint Christina*. In *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, edited by Sherry L. Reames, with assistance of Martha G. Blalock and Wendy R. Larson, 227–48. Kalamazoo MI: Medieval Institute Publications/TEAMS, 2003.
- Parma, Elena, ed. *La pittura in Liguria: Il Cinquecento*. Genoa: Banca Carige, 1999.
- Pastor, Ludwig. *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vol. 19, edited by Ralph Francis Kerr. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930.
- Patrides, Constantinos Apostolos. "The Bloody and Cruelle Turk: The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace." *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 126–35.
- Pattenden, Miles. "The Canonisation of Clare of Assisi and Early Franciscan History." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 59, no. 2 (2008): 208–26.
- Pedretti, Carlo, ed. *La mente di Leonardo al tempo della "Battaglia di Anghiari"*. Florence: Giunti, 2006.



- Pender, Patricia. "Reading Bale Reading Anne Askew: Contested Collaboration in *The Examinations*." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010): 507–22.
- . "Rhetorics of Figurality in *The Examinations of Anne Askew*." In *Expanding the Canon of Early Modern Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Salzman, 222–33. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010.
- Perrone, Stefania Stefani and Giovanni Testori, eds. *Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varalle*. Borgosesia: Valsesia, 1987.
- Pius II, Pope. *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II*, edited and translated by Leona G. Gabel. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1959.
- Poleggi, Fiorella Caraceni. "La committenza borghese e il manierismo a Genova." In *La pittura a Genova e in Liguria*, 2 vols., edited by Colette Bozzo Dufour, vol. 1, *Dagli inizi al Cinquecento*, 269–80. Genoa: Sagep, 1987.
- Puglisi, James F., ed. *Liturgical Renewal as a Way to Christian Unity*. Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2005.
- Puppi, Lionello. *Torment in Art. Pain, Violence and Martyrdom*. New York: Rizzoli, 1990.
- Puyvelde, Leo van. *The Sketches of Rubens*. London: Kegan, 1947.
- Raby, Julian. *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*. London: Islamic Art Publications, 1982.
- Ragusa, Isa and Rosalie B. Green, eds. *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology 35. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Rautman, Marcus. *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.
- Rhodes, Carl and Robert Westwood. *Critical Representations of Work and Organization in Popular Culture*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Richter, Simon. *Laocoon's Body and the Aesthetics of Pain*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.
- Ridderbos, Bernhard. "The Man of Sorrows: Pictorial Images and Metaphorical Statements." In *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, Mediaevalia Groningen 21, edited by A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos, and R.M. Schlusemann, 143–82. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998.
- Ridolfi, Carlo. *Le Maraviglie dell'arte*. Venice: Presso Giovanni Battista Sgava, 1648.
- Rigaux, Dominique. "Claire d'Assise: Naissance d'une image XIIIe–Xve siècles." In *Sainte Claire d'Assise et sa postérité: Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du VIIIe centenaire de la naissance de sainte Claire*, edited by Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon et al., 155–85. Nantes: Desclée, 1995.
- Ringbom, Sixten. *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*. 2nd ed. Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 1984.
- Robertson, Elizabeth. "The Corporeality of Female Sanctity in the Life of Saint Margaret." In *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, 268–87. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Rooses, Max and Ch. Ruelens. *Correspondance de Rubens ed Documents Epistolaires*, 6 vols. Soest (Holland): Davaco, 1887–1909.

- Rosen, Valeska van. "Implicit Decontextualization: Visual Discourse of Religious Paintings in Roman Collections circa 1600." In *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500–1900*, edited by Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, 39–54. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011.
- Rosenthal, Lisa. *Gender, Politics and Allegory in the Art of Rubens*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Roskill, Mark. *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*. New York: New York University Press, 1968.
- Rothstein, Bret. "Looking the Part: Ruminative Viewing and the Imagination of Community in the Early Modern Low Countries." *Art History* 31, no. 1 (2008): 1–32.
- Roy, Bruno. "The Household Encyclopedia as a Magic Kit. Medieval Popular Interest in Pranks and Illusions." In *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages*, edited by Josie P. Campbell, 29–38. Madison WI: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1986.
- Rudolph, Conrad. "Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia* as a Description of Cluny, and the Controversy Over Monastic Art." *Gesta* 27, no. 1/2 (1988): 125–32.
- Rudy, Kathryn M. "Laat-Middeleeuwse Devotie tot de Lichaamsdelen en Bloetstorting van Christus." In *Geen Povere Schoonheid: Laat Middeleeuwse Kunst in Verband met de Moderne Devotie*, edited by Kees Veelenturf, 111–33. Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Valkhof Pers, 2000.
- Sartori, Paul. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, edited by E. Hoffmann-Krayer and H. Bachtold-Staubli. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1931–32, vol. 4, *Hieb- und stichfest—Knistern*.
- Sassower, Raphael and Louis Cicotello. *War Images: Fabricating Reality*. Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2010.
- Sauerland, Heinrich Volbert von. "De coemeterio D. Priscillae Romae invento in Canicularibus anno 1578." *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 2 (1888): 209–17.
- Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Scavizzi, Giuseppe. *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992.
- Schiller, Gertrud. "The 'Arma Christi' and Man of Sorrows." In *Iconography of Christian Art*. Vol. 2, 184–210. London: Lund Humphries, 1972.
- Schiltberger, Johann. *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, translated by J. Buchan Telfer. London: Hakluyt Society, 1879.
- Schmidt, Heinrich and Margarethe Schmidt. *Die vergessene Bildersprache christlicher Kunst. Ein Führer zum Verständnis der Tier-, Engel- und Mariensymbolik*. Munich: Beck, 1982.
- Schneider, Zoë A. *The King's Bench: Bailiwick Magistrates and Local Governance in Normandy, 1670–1740*. Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008.
- Schöne, Wolfgang. *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*. Berlin and Leipzig: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938.
- Schrade, Hubert. "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Schmerzensmannbildes," in *Deutschkundliches. Friedrich Panzer zum 60. Geburtstage*, Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 16, 164–82. Heidelberg: Winter, 1930.

- Schulenberg, Jane Tibbets. "The Heroics of Virginité. The Brides of Christ and Sacrificial Mutilation." In *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Literary and Historic Perspectives*, edited by Mary Beth Rose, 29–72. Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986.
- Schuppisser, Franz Oskar. "Schauen mit den Augen des Herzens: Zur Methodik der Spätmittelalterlichen Passionsmeditationen, Besonders in der Devotio Moderna und bei der Augustinern." In *Die Passion Christi in Literatur und Kunst des Spätmittelalters*, Fortuna Vitrea, Bd. 12, edited by Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, 169–210. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1993.
- Schwoebel, Robert. *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk, 1453–1517*. New York: St. Martins, 1967.
- Sempels, Victor. "Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het ontstaan van de kruisweg in onze gewesten." In *Miscellanea Moralia in Honorem Eximii Domini Arthur Janssens*, 601–20. Leuven: Editions Nauwelaerts; and Gembloux: Editions J. Duclot, 1948.
- Sestrieri, Giancarlo. *I Pittori di Battaglie: Maestri italiani e stranieri del XVII e XVIII secolo/Battle Painters: Italian and Foreign Masters of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Rome: De Luca, 1999.
- Sgarlata, Mariarita. "L'epigrafia cristiana nell'età di Cesare Baronio." In *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Frosinone, Sora, 16–18 maggio 2007*, edited by Patrizia Tosini, 49–68. Rome: Gangemi, 2009.
- Shearman, John. *Only Connect ... Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- . *Andrea del Sarto*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Simon, Maria. "Claes Jansz. Visscher." Diss., Albert-Ludwig-Universität zu Freiburg, 1958.
- Sindbaek, Tea and Maximilian Hartmuth. *Images of Imperial Legacy: Modern Discourses on the Social and Cultural Impact of Ottoman and Habsburg Rule in Southeast Europe*. Berlin: W. Hopf, 2011.
- Smeyers, Maurits. *Dirk Bouts, schilder van de stilte*. Louvain: Davidsfonds, 1998.
- . "Sint-Jan-in-disco." In *Schatten der Armen. Het artistiek en historisch bezit van het O.C.M.W.-Leuven*, exh. cat., 144–47. Louvain: Stedelijk Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, 1988.
- Smit, J.D. *Resolutiën Staten-Generaal Oude en Nieuwe Reeks 1576–1625, Deel 4, 1619–20*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981.
- Snyder, James E. "The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part 2: Geertgen Tot Sint Jans." *Art Bulletin* 42, no. 2 (1960): 113–32.
- Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003.
- Sosti, Stefano. "Le fonti per l'arte negli Annales Ecclesiastici di Baronio." In *Baronio e l'arte*, edited by Romeo De Maio, 247–60. Sora: Società romana di storia patria, 1985.
- Sozomenos. *Historia ecclesiastica–Kirchengeschichte*, Fontes Christiani 73, 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

- Spera, Lucrezia "Cesare Baronio, 'peritissimus antiquitatis,' e le origini dell'archeologia Cristiana." In *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, Studi e ricerche 29, edited by Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, Raimondo Michetti, and Francesco Scorza Barcellona, 393–423. Rome: Viella, 2012.
- Spierenburg, Petrus Cornelis. *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Spring Reed, Victoria. "Piety and Virtue. Images of Salome with the Head of John the Baptist in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance." Unpubl. doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick: 2002.
- Stadlhuber, Josef. "Das Laienstundengebet vom Leiden Christi in seinem mittelalterlichen Fortleben." *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 72 (1950): 282–325.
- Stange, Alfred. *Der Hausbuchmeister. Gesamtdarstellung und Katalog seiner Gemälde, Kupferstiche und Zeichnungen*, Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte 316. Baden Baden and Strasbourg: Heitz, 1958.
- Stern, Jill. "A Righteous War and a Papist Peace: War, Peace and Religion in the Political Rhetoric of the United Provinces 1648–1672." In *War and Religion after Westphalia 1648–1713*, edited by David Onnekink. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Stevens, Martin and A.C. Cawley, eds. *The Towneley Plays*. Early English Text Society, second series 13–14. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Stöcker, Christoph. "Dürer, Celtis und der falsche Bischof Acatius. Zur Ikonographie von Dürers 'Marter der Zehntausend.'" *Artibus et historiae* 5, no. 9 (1984): 121–37.
- Stones, Alison. "Nipples, Entrails, Severed Heads, and Skin Devotional Images for Madame Marie." In *Image and Belief. Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, edited by Colum Hourihane, 47–70. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Strinati, Flavia "La ristrutturazione della chiesa di S. Saba tra il 1573 e il 1575: Il rapporto con l'antico tra Lauretano e Baronio." In *Baronio e le sue fonti*, edited by Luigi Gulia, 579–713. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009.
- Stroo, Cyril, "After Dirk Bouts. Head of St. John the Baptist on a Charger." In *The Flemish Primitives*, Catalogue of Early Netherlandish Painting in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, edited by Cyril Stroo and Pascale Syfer-d'Olné, vol. 2, *The Dirk Bouts, Petrus Christus, Hans Memling and Hugo van der Goes Group*, 125–34. Brussels: Musée royaux des beaux-arts, 1999.
- Stubblebine, James H. *Guido da Siena*. Princeton: New Jersey, 1964.
- Suckale, Robert. "Arma Christi: Überlegungen Zur Zeichenhaftigkeit Mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder." *Städel-Jahrbuch* 6 (1977): 177–208.
- Suida, Wilhelm. *Leonardo und sein Kreis*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1929.
- Summit, Jennifer. *Lost Property: The Woman Writer and English Literary History, 1380–1589*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Sutton, Elizabeth. "Possessing Brazil in Print, 1630–54." *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5, no. 1 (2013).
- Sutton, Peter. *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Talbot, Charles. *Dürer in America*. New York: Macmillan, 1971.

- Tammen, Silke. "Gewalt im Bilde: Ikonographien, Wahrnehmungen, Ästhetisierungen." In *Gewalt im Mittelalter. Realitäten, Imaginationen*, edited by Manuel Braun and Cornelia Herberichs, 307–40. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2005.
- Tauss, Susanne. *Dulce et decorum? Der Decius-Mus-Zyklus von Peter Paul Rubens*. Tübingen: Universitätsverlag, 2000.
- Telfer, J. Buchan, trans. *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1879.
- Terry, Allie. "Criminal Vision in Early Modern Florence: Fra Angelico's Altarpiece for 'Il Tempio' and the Magdalenian Gaze." In *Renaissance Theories of Vision*, edited by John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carmen, 45–62. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Terry-Fritsch, Allie. "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the *Sacro Monte di Varallo*." *Open Arts Journal* (Special Issue: "Touch Me, Touch Me Not: Re-Evaluating the Senses, Gender, and Performativity in Early Modernity"), edited by Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli. Forthcoming November 2014.
- . "Proof in Pierced Flesh: Caravaggio's *Doubting Thomas* and the Beholders of Wounds in Early Modern Europe." In *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie, 15–37. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- and Erin Felicia Labbie, eds. *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- Thévenot, Jean de. *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, part 1. London: H. Clark, 1687.
- Tommaso da Celano. *Vita Prima*, book 2, ch. 3, 94, in *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies. English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, edited by Marion A. Habig, translated by Raphael Brown et al. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973.
- Thulin, Oskar. *Johannes der Täufer im geistlichen Schauspiel des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit*, Studien über christliche Denkmäler 19. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1930.
- Thurston, Herbert. *The Stations of the Cross: An Account of Their History and Devotional Purpose*. London: Burns & Oates, 1906.
- Tilley, Maureen A. "The Ascetic Body and the (Un)Making of the World of the Martyr." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 467–79.
- TirnaŃiç, Galina. "The Art of Punishment: The Spectacle of the Body on the Streets of Constantinople." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2010.
- Toesca, Ilaria. "Il reliquiario della testa di San Giovanni Battista nella chiesa di San Silvestro in Capite a Roma." *Bolletino d'arte* 4, no. 46 (1961): 307–14.
- Tolan, John. *Saint Francis and the Sultan. A Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Tosini, Patrizia, ed. *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Frosinone, Sora, 16–18 maggio 2007*, edited by Patrizia Tosini. Rome: Gangemi, 2009.
- Trexler, Richard. *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1980.

- . "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image." *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 7–41.
- Turco, Maria Grazia. "Cesare Baronio e i dettami Tridentini nelle sistimazioni presbiteriali Romane." In *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Frosinone, Sora, 16–18 maggio 2007*, edited by Patrizia Tosini, 87–108. Rome: Gangemi, 2009.
- . *Il Titulus dei Santi Nereo ed Achilleo: Emblema della riforma cattolica*. Rome: Dedalo, 1997.
- Valerius Maximus. *Memorable Deeds and Sayings. One Thousand Tales from Ancient Rome*. Translated by H.J. Walker. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2004.
- Vandenbroeck, Paul. "Matrix Marmorea. The Sub-Symbolic Iconography of the Creative Energies in Europe and North Africa." In *New Perspectives in Iconology. Visual Studies and Anthropology*, edited by Barbara Baert, A.-S. Lehmann, and J. Van Den Akkerveken, 180–210. Brussels: ASP, 2011.
- Vanhouwaert, Soetkin and Georg Geml, "(Don't) Judge a Head by Its Cover. The Johannesschüssel and Its Materiality as Reliquary." In *Late Medieval Devotions: Images, Instruments and the Materiality of Belief*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014 (forthcoming).
- Van Miegroet, Hans. "Gerard David's 'Justice of Cambyzes': *Exemplum iustitiae* or Political Allegory?" *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 18, no. 3 (1988): 116–33.
- Varchi, Benedetto. *Storia fiorentina*. Milan: Borroni e Scotti, 1845.
- Varner, Eric C. "Punishment after Death: Mutilation of Images and Corpse Abuse in Ancient Rome." *Mortality* 6, no. 1 (2001): 45–64.
- Varthema, Ludovico da. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, translated by John Winter Jones. New York: Burt Franklin, 1863.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari*, edited by Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols. Florence: Sansoni, 1881, vol. 7.
- Veelenturf, Kees. "Inleiding: De Moderne Devotie en de kunst." In *Geen povere schoonheid. Laat-middeleeuwse kunst in verband met de Moderne Devotie*, edited by Kees Veelenturf, 9–30. Nijmegen: Valkhof, 2000.
- Velden, Hugo van der. "Cambyzes for Example: The Origin and Function of an *exemplum iustitiae* in Netherlandish Art of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 23, no. 1 (1995): 5–62.
- Veldman, Ilja. "Een Riskant Beroep, Crispijn de Passe de Jonge als Producent van Nieuwsprenten" in *Prentwerk/Print Work* (2002): 154–85.
- Vincke, André, ed. "Bouc van ons Heeren Levene: Een W Vlaamse Vertaling van de Meditationes Vitae Jesu Christi door Pseudo Bonaventura." Diss., University of Ghent, 1948.
- Von dem Dracole Wayda dem grossen Thyrrannen gedruckt zuo Augspurg durch Mattheum Francken*. Augsburg: Francken, 1559–68.
- Von der Osten, G. "Engelpietà." In *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 5. Munich: Druckenmüller, 1960.
- Waals, Jan van der. *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: Van Kunst tot Kastpapier*. Rotterdam: Waanders, 2006.

- Wall, Sarah E. "Editing Anne Askew's *Examinations*: John Bale, John Foxe, and Early Modern Textual Practices." In *John Foxe and His World*, edited by Christopher Highley and John N. King, 249–62. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Warburg, Aby. *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999.
- . *Gesammelte Schriften*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1932.
- Webber, Philip E. "Varieties of Popular Piety Suggested by the Netherlandic Vita Christi Prayer Cycles." *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 64, no. 1–3 (1990): 195–226.
- . "A Medieval Netherlandic Prayer Cycle on the Life of Christ. Princeton Library Garrett Ms. 63." *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 52, no. 3/4 (1978): 311–62.
- Weidmann, Dieter. *Zur Genese der Trecentomalerei in der Generation zwischen Cimabue und Giotto*. Munich: Tuduv Verlag, 1993.
- Weinstein, Donald. "The Art of Dying Well and Popular Piety in the Preaching and Thought of Girolamo Savonarola." In *Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, edited by M. Tetel, R.G. Witt, and R. Goffen, 88–104. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1989.
- Wethey, Harold E. *Titian and His Drawings With Reference to Giorgione and Some Close Contemporaries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Wharton, Annabel. *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Wheatcroft, Andrew. *Infidels: A History of the Conflict Between Christendom and Islam*. New York: Random House, 2004.
- Wilf, Steven. *Law's Imagined Republic: Popular Politics and Criminal Justice in Revolutionary America*, Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Willeumier-Schalij, J.M. "De Lxv artikelen van de passie van Jordanus van Quedlinburg in middelnederlandse handschriften." *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 53 (1979): 15–35.
- Williams, Linda. "Film Bodies: Gender, Genre, and Excess." *Film Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1991): 2–13.
- Wilpert, Joseph. *Die Katakombengemälde und ihre alten Copien. Eine ikonographische Studie* Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1891.
- Wilson, Bronwen. "Reflecting on the Turk in Late Sixteenth-Century Venetian Portrait Books." *Word and Image* 19, no. 1 (2003): 38–54.
- Winston-Allen, Anne. *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
- Winter, Johanna Maria. *Sources Concerning the Hospitallers of St. John in the Netherlands, Fourteenth–Eighteenth Centuries*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 80. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Wittkower, Rudolph. *Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.
- Wheatcroft, Andrew. *Infidels: A History of the Conflict Between Christendom and Islam*. New York: Random House, 2004.
- Wort, Oliver. "The Double Life of Anne: John Bale's Examinations and Diue Anne Vitam (sic)." *The Review of English Studies* 58, no. 237 (2007): 633–56.

- Wortley John. *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Zeri, Federico. "La nascita della 'Battaglia come genere' e il ruolo del Cavalier d'Arpino." In *La battaglia nella pittura del XVII e XVIII secolo*, edited by Patrizia Consigli Valente, ix–xxvii. Parma: Banca Emiliana, 1986.
- Zöllner, Frank. *La Battaglia di Anghiari di Leonardo da Vinci fra mitologia e politica*. Florence: Giunti, 1998.
- Zuccari, Alessandro. "Baronio e l'iconografia del martirio." In *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, Studi e ricerche 29, edited by Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, Raimondo Michetti, and Francesco Scorza Barcellona, 445–501. Rome: Viella, 2012.
- . "Il cardinale Baronio iconografo della Controriforma." *Studi romani* 57, no. 1/4 (2009): 182–97.
- . "Fonti antiche e moderne per le iconografie di Baronio." In *Baronio e le sue fonti*, edited by Luigi Gulia, 867–932. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009.
- . "Restauro e filologia Baroniana." In *Baronio e l'arte: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 1984*, Fonti e studi baroniani 2, edited by Romeo De Maio, Luigi Gulia, and Aldo Mazzacane, 489–510. Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca. 1985.
- . "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano attraverso le imprese artistiche promosse da Cesare Baronio." *Storia dell'arte* 13 (1981): 171–93.





# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# Index

## A

Abraham 93  
Achilleus, Saint 90  
*Actes and Monuments* 128, 130  
Adam and Eve 25  
Agnus Dei 65  
Alberti, Leon Battista 37, 194, 204  
Ambrose, Saint 70, 82  
*Andachtsbild* 35, 50, 60, 62–63, 77  
*Annales Ecclesiastici* 91–92, 109–15  
Antichrist 123–24, 180, 189  
Apollinare, Saint 96, 113  
*Apologia ad Gullielum abbatem* 10, 15  
aristocrat, aristocracy 26, 143  
Aristotelian 37  
Arma Christi 12, 37, 41–43, 45, 47, 49, 50  
Ascension 43  
Askew, Anne 12, 117–33  
*Assistenzfiguren* 64  
Augustine, Saint 19, 24, 31, 33

## B

Bale, John 12, 117–31  
Baronio, Cesare 12  
beat, beaten, beating 5, 22, 39, 40, 60, 156  
Beham, Sebald 172, 174, 175, 176, 183  
beheading 7, 26, 27, 33, 61, 63–64, 72, 79, 82, 103, 122, 163  
Bellini, Gentile 80, 172, 187  
Bellini, Giovanni 61–62, 80

Bellori, Giovanni Pietro 141, 158  
Benedict, Saint 69  
Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint 3, 10, 15, 231  
Bernard of Gui 27, 32  
bleed, bleeding 21, 22, 24, 42, 95, 98, 103  
*Bloetstortinghen* (Effusions of Christ's Blood) 41, 42, 49  
blood, bloody, bloodied, bloodshed, bloodthirsty 7, 11, 19, 24, 35, 37, 39, 42, 46, 49, 61, 63, 65, 91, 93, 95, 98, 101, 103, 122, 123, 124, 125, 142, 143, 149, 153, 156, 174, 175, 179, 182, 195, 208  
Bonaventure, Saint 21, 30  
Bouts, Albrecht 60, 79–80, 84  
Bouts, Dirc 3–5, 7  
break, breaking, broken 1, 2, 3, 7, 10, 23, 26, 35, 37, 38, 103, 120, 126, 218, 231  
Breu, Jorg 166, 167, 169, 183  
*Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* 185  
Brienne, Walter of 199  
Bry, Theodore de 184, 185, 190  
burn, burned, burning 1, 6, 78, 100, 163, 185, 191, 193, 195, 198–99, 201, 205, 206  
  
C  
Cambyses 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 32, 231

- capital punishment 7, 165, 166, 203, 211  
 Caravaggio, Michelangelo Mieresi di 203  
 Casas, Bartolome de las 185, 189, 190  
 Cassian, John, Saint 70  
 chapel 57, 59, 62, 79, 81, 83, 93, 180, 195, 197, 203, 207, 251  
 Charles I 161, 200  
 Charles II 200  
 Charles V, Emperor 27, 32  
 Christ in the Winepress 3, 10  
 Cicero 78, 141  
 Clare, Saint 19, 21–23, 25, 28–30, 34  
 Clement I, Pope 103, 104, 105  
 Clement VIII, Pope 87, 112  
 coercion 3, 129  
 corpse, corpses 98, 156, 175, 180, 219, 222, 225  
 Council of Trent 91  
 create, created, creative, creation, creativity, creator, creators 1, 2–3, 6–8, 10–13, 21, 55, 60, 68, 73, 90–93, 96, 103, 106–08, 118, 122–23, 125–29, 140–44, 149–50, 192, 194–95, 198, 201, 209, 210–11, 213, 215, 218, 222, 225, 231–32  
 Crown of Thorns 37, 43, 49, 72, 84  
 Crucifixion; crucified 9, 11, 21, 22, 24, 27, 29, 35, 45, 47, 49, 161, 169, 174, 186  
 Crusade 57  
 cry, crying *see also* tears 61, 70, 83, 84, 126, 194
- D**  
 d'Amboise, Georges, Cardinal 62, 80  
 d'Antonfrancesco, Giovanni 198  
 Danielsz., Hendrick 213, 214  
 David, Gerard vii, 3, 5, 15  
 decapitation, decollation *see also* beheading  
 Decius Mus 12, 137–38, 141–42, 150–51, 154–57, 160  
 deform, deformed, deformation, deforming, deformity 1, 10, 231  
 Deposition 43, 65  
 destruction, destructive, destroyed 1, 2–3, 6–7, 10–11, 13, 92, 128, 185, 192–94, 198–99, 201, 218, 231  
*Devotio Moderna* (Modern Devotion) 70, 84  
 Dijk, Adriaan van 208  
*Dracole Wayda* 180, 181, 182, 189  
 Duke of Athens *see also* Brienne, Walter of  
 Dürer, Albrecht 168, 169, 170–75, 183, 186, 187  
 Dyck, Anthony van 141
- E**  
*Ecce Homo* 70–71  
 effigy, effigies 13, 26, 191–96, 198–206  
 Effusions of Christ's Blood *see also* *Bloetstortinghen*  
 Entombment 43  
 Eucharist; Eucharistic 50, 65, 67–68, 73, 76, 81, 83  
 Eusebius 125, 126, 132, 133  
 execution, executioner, executed 2, 3, 7–10, 13, 14, 21, 22, 24, 26–28, 63, 84, 117, 128, 137, 141, 161, 166, 175, 179–82, 191–93, 195–96, 198–201, 203, 205–16, 218–19, 222, 224–31  
 exemplar, exemplary, exemplarity 2, 8, 9, 13, 32, 51, 103, 141
- F**  
 Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal 104  
*First Examinacyon* 117  
 Five Wounds of Christ 12, 39, 42  
 flay, flayed, flaying 7–9, 15, 19, 21–22, 26, 28, 32, 169, 183  
 Fourteen Holy Helpers 6  
 Foxe, John 119, 128, 129  
 Francis, Saint 19–23, 25, 28–30, 51, 53  
 Franciscan 19, 28, 29, 34, 51, 53, 196, 205  
 Friedrich II, Emperor 22
- G**  
 Geertgen tot Sint-Jans 16  
 Gerritsz., Cornelis 214, 219, 228, 229

Ghirlandaio, Domenico 141

*Glossa Ordinaria* 67

*Golden Legend* 5, 6, 14, 21, 23, 30, 112

Gregory the Great, Pope (Saint) 35, 41, 43–45

Gregory XIII, Pope 96, 98, 100

Guido da Siena 11, 19–23, 25–30, 33

## H

Heemskerck, Maerten van 69

Herodotus 7, 8, 14, 15, 166, 185, 186

humiliation 2, 37, 210, 222

## I

imagine, imagined, imaginative,  
imagination (re-imagine, re-  
imagined) 2–3, 9–13, 19, 22–23, 26,  
28, 38–41, 49, 91, 106–08, 117–18,  
121, 157, 213, 231

*Imitatio Christi* 19, 23, 28, 33

impaled, impaling, impalement 13,  
26, 150

imprisoned, imprisonment *see also*  
prison, prisoner

Innocent VIII, Pope 57

## J

Jerusalem 57, 78, 115, 205, 251, 258

Jesuit 96, 98, 101–03, 113–14

Jews, Jewish 29, 40, 42

John the Baptist, Saint 2, 55–57, 59, 61,  
63–65, 67, 70

## K

Kempis, Thomas 43

Koberger, Anton 183

## L

Lamentation 65

*Lamento et Ultima Disperatione de Selim*  
*Gran Turco* 183

Leonardo da Vinci 194, 204

Livy 12, 141–42, 156, 159, 160

Lucian 166

Ludolf of Saxony 38

## M

Machiavelli, Niccolo 141

Malatesta, Sigismondo 195–96

Man of Sorrows 10, 35, 36, 43–46, 49, 50

martyr, martyrs, martyred, martyrdom,  
martyrologies 1–3, 5–7, 9, 11–12,  
19, 21–23, 25–28, 67, 76, 87, 90–96,  
98, 100–01, 103–04, 106–07, 117–29,  
137, 142, 150, 153, 156, 157, 169,  
172, 174, 175, 179, 183, 185, 218

Mass of St. Gregory 41, 43–45

Massacre of the Innocents 145

Meckenem, Israhel van 37, 176

Medici, Lorenzo de' 195

*Meditationes vita Christi* 38, 51

*Meditations on the Passion* 38

Memling, Hans 35–38, 41, 43, 49–51

memory 26, 28, 37, 157, 165, 198, 199

mnemonic 28, 35, 37, 40, 47, 49

Modern Devotion *see also* *Devotio*  
*Moderna*

Mostaert, Jan 55, 59, 63, 65, 67–68, 70,  
72–73, 76

Muslim, anti-Muslim 30, 165, 172, 174,  
185

mutilate, mutilated, mutilating,  
mutilation 5, 21, 24, 98, 103, 219,  
225

## N

Nereus, Saint 90, 101, 103–04, 106

## O

Oldenbarnevelt, Johan van 207,  
209–11, 218–19, 225–26

Oldenbarnevelt, Reinier van 13,  
207–08, 210, 214, 225–26

Ottoman 165, 166, 169, 172, 174–76,  
179–83, 185–89

## P

Paleotti, Gabriele, Cardinal 98

Passion 1, 9–12, 14, 24, 35, 37–43, 45–51,  
53, 59, 64–65, 67, 70, 72, 76, 79, 112,  
124–25, 153, 156, 169, 172, 174, 231

*pittura infamante* (images of shame) *see*  
*also Schandbilder* 26

Pius II, Pope 195

Pliny the Elder 158, 199, 205

prison, prisoner 5, 55, 117, 118, 129,  
 137, 143, 161, 166, 180, 182, 207,  
 213

punish, punished, punishing,  
 punishment *see also* capital  
 punishment 6–10, 13, 23, 26, 27,  
 165, 166, 169, 183, 191–96, 198–201,  
 208, 211, 215, 218–19, 225, 232

## Q

Quedlinburg, Jordanus van 38, 52

## R

Radbertus. Paschasius 67

Raphael Sanzio 157

Rubens, Peter Paul 12, 137, 140–50,  
 152–53, 156–57

## S

Savelli, Giacomo, Cardinal (the Vicar  
 General of Rome) 100

*Schandbilder see also pittura infamante*  
 211, 229

*Schmerzensmann* 35, 43, 50, 81

Schön, Erhard 175, 176, 177, 179, 183

Schonau, Egbert von 42

Scipio 141

Seneca 32, 166

shame, shamed, shameful, shaming 1,  
 13, 26, 39, 194, 199, 200, 207, 208,  
 211, 218–19, 222, 225

shatter, shattered, shattering 10, 23,  
 118

Sisamnes 7–10, 32

Sorrows of the Virgin 39, 40, 45  
 stigmata, stigmatization 19, 21, 22,  
 28, 29

Suso, Heinrich von 38, 39, 51, 52

Sweerts, Frans 141

## T

Tacitus 218

tears *see also* cry, crying 30, 37, 55,  
 68–70, 72, 76, 83, 84, 95

Tertullian 24, 25, 31, 70

Titian (Tiziano Vecelli) 156–58, 163,  
 187

transform, transformed,  
 transformation, transforming 1,  
 5, 6, 11, 28, 107, 118, 123, 124, 126,  
 128, 145, 153

Turkish, Turks 13, 161, 165, 175–79,  
 182, 186–89

## V

*Vado Mori* 196

Varchi, Benedetto 198, 205

Vasari, Giorgio 92, 145, 156

Visscher, Claes Jansz. 13, 207–16,  
 218–19, 222–30

*Vita Christi* 28, 29, 51, 52, 82

Vlad the Impaler 179, 185, 188–89

Voragine, Jacopo de 5, 6, 14, 30

*Voyages de M. de Thevenot tant en*  
*Europe qu'en Asie et en Afrique*  
 183

## W

wheel 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 32,  
 33, 161, 203, 218–19, 222