# University of Kent, Canterbury <br> Freie Universität Berlin / Free University of Berlin <br> School of Arts 

Fachbereich Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften / Department of Philosophy and Humanities, Peter Szondi-Institut für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft / Peter Szondi Institute of Comparative Literature

## Text and Event in Early Modern Europe (TEEME)

An Erasmus Mundus Joint Doctorate

Ph.D. Dissertation

## THE FUNCTIONS OF TEXTS IN PRINTED IMAGES:

## Text and Image in Reproductive Prints by Hieronymus Cock, Antonio Salamanca, and Antonio Lafreri

## VOLUME 2: ILLUSTRATIONS

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## CATALOGUE

of the analysed prints, and figures referenced in the text, following the order of mention, with transcriptions and translations of the inscriptions.

For the Biblical texts, I used the modern English translation of the New International Version (London: Hodder \& Stoughton, 2014), and always indicated the appropriate book and passage.

Except when indicated otherwise in the footnotes, other translations are my own.

Abbreviations:
BML $=$ British Museum, London
BNE $=$ National Library of Spain, Madrid

The digital images are from the online databases of the British Museum, the Rijksmuseum, the National Library of Spain, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Ashmolean Museum or scanned from secondary literarture. Some images are photos of the author of the thesis taken in the study rooms of the indicated museums or libraries.

PART I: ANTWERP

HIERONYMUS COCK

cat. 1. Pieter van der Heyden after Frans Floris: Raising of the Brazen Serpent, 1555, $583 \times 901$ mm, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (Hollstein VI.95)

MAGNO HEROI D ANTON PERE-/NOTO EPISC ATREBAT CAROL / V CAES A CONSIL PRIMARIO, / INSIGNIVM INGENIOR MECOE-/NATI DICAT // PAME [monogram] // FRANCISCVS FLORVS / INVENTOR / HIERONYMVS COCK PICTOR EXCVDEBAT 1555 CVM CAESARIAE GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO PER AN SEX

Adspice, que dictis coelum irrita[ve]rat amaris / Stirps antiquorum degener Isacidum, / Et Pelusiacae nidoribus ausa culinae / Divinas fuerat posthabuisse dapes / Vt Patris aetherij iusto iactata furore / Desuper immisso supplicium angue luat. / Parte alia, (o, pietas) malo ut conspectus ab alto / Adtulerit laesis anguis ahenus opem. / Tu tamen, impia gens, seclis ne forte futuris / Ignotum scelus hoc posse latere putes, / Non modo sacra tui Mosis te scripta, sed olim / Prodet Apellae Florus et ipse manu. // DOMINICVS LAMPSON

Behold, with the bitter words, the degenerate race of the ancient house of Isaac had enraged heaven and had dared to have subordinated divine sacrificial feast to the fumes of Pelusian place for burnt offerings, so that she (the race of Isaac) was punished by the just anger of the heavenly Father, (which was) sent from above by means of a snake thrown away. Another one ( 0 , piety) was brought forth to the beam so that looking (at it) from below, the brazen serpent will bring help for the ones injured. Nevertheless you, impious people, should not think by any chance that this unknown sin can remain hidden in coming ages, not only the sacred writings of your Moses, but in the future also Floris himself by his Apellean hand will reveal (it).

cat. 2. Dirck V. Coornhert after Frans Floris: Meeting of Sheba and Solomon, 1557, 375 x 540 mm , British Museum, London (Hollstein V.77)

## H COCK EXCVDE CV G ET PRIVILEGIO 1557 FRANCISCO FLORIS INVEN

Quam tua longinquis Arabum sapientia ab oris / Reginam Solymos traxit ad usq[ue] tuos, / Vt coram, Salomon, stupuit te mira loquentem: / Sic tibi respondens et stupor ipsa fuit. / Egregiam Flori laudem. sic pinxit utrumq[ue], ut / Mirandus dubites, hic sit, an illa magis.

Your wisdom brought the queen from the very distant country of the Arabians to your people of Jerusalem, so that speaking wonders before you, oh Solomon, she was amazed, thus responding to you, even she herself was stupidity. I would praise the excellence of Floris, because he painted them so that you hesitate whether he is the one who should be admired or she is the greater.

cat. 3. Philips Galle after Giulio Romano (?): Apollo and Diana Killing Niobe's Children, 1557, $300 \times 433$ mm, BML (Hollstein VII.382)

## IVLIVS MANTVA INVE // H COCK EXCVDE 1557 // PHILIPE GALLE FECIT

En Niobae proles coelestibus obruta telis, / Materni fastus nobile supplicium, / Et saxi iacet ipsa parens induta figuram, / Latonam, et geminos despicere ausa Deos. / Scilicet hinc operis divini Iulius auctor, / Non alium arte tulit cui sua Roma parem, / Ne nostrae obliti sortis terrena propago / Aequemus superis nostra ve[l], nos ve[l], monet.

See, the offspring of Niobe (are) struck down by the heavenly weapons - the famous punishment of maternal haughtiness - and the mother herself is broken down and turned into the shape of a rock (because) she dared to despise the twin gods and Latona. Hence you may see, that Giulio, the creator of the divine work, to whom noone else has been equal in skills in the Rome of his time, warns (us) not to forget that our children have mortal fate (and) that we should not compare neither ours, nor ourselves equal to the celestial deities.

cat. 4. Giorgio Ghisi after Raphael's fresco in the Vatican (School of Athens): Paul's Preaching at the Aeropagus, 1550, $521 \times 815 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.394.24)

PaVLVS athenis Per epicVraeos / et Stoicos qVOSDAM PHILOSO-/PHOS aDDVCTVS IN MARTIV[M] VICV[M], / STANS IN MEDIO VICO, SVMPTA OC-/CASIONE AB INSPECTA A SE ARA. / DOCET VNVM ILLVM, VERVM, IPSIS / IGNOTVM DEVM. REPREHENDIT IDO-/LOLATRIAM, SVADET RESIPISCENTIA[M]. / INCVLCAT ET VNIVERSALIS IVDICII / DIEM, ET MORTVORVM, PER REDIVI/VVM / CHRISTVM / RESVRRECTIONEM. / ACT. / XVII

RAPHAEL VRB / IN / GEORGIVS MNT/VANVS / F // HIERONYMVS COCK PICTOR
EXCVDEBAT 1550 CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO P AN 8
Paul in Athens, brought by the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers to the Areopagus, standing in the middle of the hill. Taking the opportunity from an altar he had seen, he teaches of the one great, true God, unknown to them. He censures idolatry and exhorts them to repentance. He also teaches of both the day of universal judgment and the resurrection of the dead through the reborn Christ.
Acts $17.24^{1}$

[^0]
cat. 5. Giorgio Ghisi after Raphael's fresco in the Vatican (Disputa): The Heavenly Hosts Praise the Trinity, 1552, $\mathbf{5 1 0 \times 8 5 0} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Bartsch XV.394.23)

HIERONY/MVS / COCK / PICTOR / EXCV / MDLII / CVM / GRATIA / ET / PRIVIL/EGIO // RA/PHA/EL / VRB / IN // GIE/OR/G / MN/TVA/N / F

COLLAVDANT HIC TRINI / VNIVSQVE DEI MAIESTATE[M] / COELITES. ADMIRANTVR / AC RELIGIOSE ADORANT / SACROSANCTAE ECCLESIAE / PROCERES. QVIS VELISTOR / EXEMPLO PROVOCATVS AD / PIETATE[M] NON INFLAMETVR // MAGNO HEROI D ANTON PERE/NOTO EPISC ATREBAT CAROL V / CAES A CONSIL PRIMARIO INSI/GNIVM INGENIOR MOECONATI / DICAT

Here the Heavenly Hosts praise the majesty of the triune and the one God. They admire and religiously adore the princes of the sacred Church. Who, roused by that example, would not be inflamed to piety? ${ }^{2}$

[^1]
cat. 6. Giorgio Ghisi after Lambert Lombard: The Last Supper, 1551, $356 \times 553 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.387.6)

MAGNO HEROI D ANTON PERENOTO / EPISC ATREBAT CAROL V CAES A / CONSIL PRIMARIO INSIGNIVM IN/GENIOR MOECOENATI DICAT

PER ADMIRANDAE MANSVETVDINIS EXEMPLV[M]. / NOVIT PRAESENTEM PRODITOREM, SE PRODITV[M] / IRI INDICAT. PRODITOREM NON PRODIT. MAT. XXVI.

LAMBERTVS LOMBARDVS / INVENTOR / HIERONYMVS COCK EXCVDE / CVM GRA[TIA] ET PRIVILEGIO 1551

An example of very admirable clemency. He knows the betrayer is present. He announces that He will be betrayed. He does not betray the betrayer. Matthew XXVI ${ }^{3}$

[^2]
cat. 7. Anonymous engraver after Lombard: Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles, 1557, $355 \times 575 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein XI.93)

REVERENDISS[IMO] ET NOBILISS[IMO] / DOMINO D ROBERTO / A BERGIS EPISCOPO LEOD / D BVL COMITI LOSS // L Lombardus Inuent / Cock excudebat

OMNIVM DOMINVS AD SERVORVM SVORVM / PEDES LAVANDOS SE IN GENVA PROSTERNIT. / O SINGVLARIS HVMILITATIS EXEMPLVM. // Cum gratia et privilegio

The Lord humiliates himself on the knee by washing the feet of all his servants. Oh, (such) an example of extraordinary humility!
cat. 8. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Labours of Hercules, 1563, $222 \times 282 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein VI.47-56)


AD NICOLAVM IVNIVM ANVERPIENSEM, PRO HIERONYMO COQVO.


OS, Varalaig gatar Herculat rili Coguer lateror dedicats, Imiturur ills, artequor minalda Divina Flori dexteas
Sec anidia dowi taue colenter Expm/ut : ution Bedgire
Dofts innidire Halia, co orptom fit Dolere paluen drokest.
 Qyoe min megio, guàm corpori
Exión nulna, Flari opcribat aurrie Sant digne campearrier:
 Hacc pertiax Coyui lalor
 'Minala Figri chertaitio)
Sion alowwor mithat atilcr miger, Qnat ruminoren civive
 e Anderfatator ertam,
Tewaritrìiden of ofor forides, Hytujue inarafuiwes,
Nor gitatup prye Japerbí Anerpien eldytraffiniatj jauptilus
Nombio perindr oner panuifer modiv, ViFlivic forlea maw.

Quddf/agexisfor/en boc furtian Cogni Cubachi, wow of tidi
Quare poudelue, hac na wilforv Ofinid a dies sumblar:

Perors mumen mitere
Fiori, tuangac nand donogued abditse efriud froue, puar ghinis ell.
Imperir mas ergo, mintere, Coparar mals Initatiase p piymerit
Falwon futrers' atgme, his error fif fir Supphárie alive mos poutef:
 Taros per cinnos dies
 Sptaw ribli Artes exprinit.
 Exalfore leminia
Mixtaw witi artu ommin puidborriwes Garii malyptanm form.
Qusiboc, vibivifysededonatiperit, Sink fariig gandis:
Eanum rgo anur ie fypui Tiontij Hervir axenplen canaw,
Qxiporforendis ingiger laboribur R(ey fili, fodelli Pryfirt.

cat. 8.a. Dedication to the Labours of Hercules, 1563, $222 \times 283 \mathrm{~mm}$, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels ${ }^{4}$

AD NICOLAVM IVNIVM ANVERPIENSEM, / PRO HIERONYMO COQVO.
Hos, Nicolaë, gratus Herculis tibi
Coquus labores dedicat,
Imitatus illos, arte quos mirabili
Divina Flori dextera
Sic vividis domi tuae coloribus
Expressit: ut iam Belgicae
Docta invidere Italia, et ereptam sibi
Dolere palmam debeat.
Quod illa si negabit, haec tantum videns,
Quae non magis, quam corpori
Exilis umbra, Flori operibus aureis
Sunt digna compararier:
(Quippe inscio te, nec probante forsitan,

[^3]Haec pertinax Coqui labor
Collegit e[x] rudioribus imitantium
Miracla Flori chartulis
Suos alumnos mittat aedes visere,
Quas tu minorum civium
Natus bono, potens opum, sed omnium
Ardens amator artium,
Tenacitatis idem et osor sordidae,
Hostisque iuratissimus,
Non usitatis prope superbam Anverpiam
Ad astra structas sumptibus
Nullis perinde ornare quivisses modis, Vt Flori Apellea manu.
Quod si sagacis forsan hoc furtum Coqui
Culpabis, unus et tibi
Quae possidebas hac via vilescere
Obiecta dices omnibus:
Ignosce sic se posse credidit virum
Per ora nomen mittere
Flori, tuumque nam domo quod abditae
Artis decus, quae gloria est.
Impune nos ergo, inquies, Coquus mala
Imitatione presserit?
Factum fatetur atque, hic error si sine
Supplicio abire non potest:
Haud se recusat, quin tuae cogas domi
Totos per ocium dies
Reliqua imitari, Florus ingenuas quibus
Septem tibi Artes exprimit.
Illa aeneis incisa diligentia
Exactiore laminis
Mixtam utili artis omnium pulcherrimae
Gnaris voluptatem ferent.
Quos hoc, tibi nil unde donanti perit,
Si tu bearis gaudio:
Eorum ego unus te sequi Tirynthij
Heroïs exemplum canam,
Qui perferendis impiger laboribus
Non sibi, sed orbi profuit.
Lampsonius

## To Nicolaus Junius from Antwerp, on behalf of Hieronymus Cock

Grateful Cock dedicates to you, Nicolaus, these labours of Hercules that imitated those (images) in your house that the divine right hand of Floris created with extraordinary skill so that now the learned Italy looks at the Belgians and must suffer her victory being taken away. Whoever will deny that when seeing such things which are not more than the thin shadow to the body, and are not worthy to be compared with the magnificent works of Floris (indeed, you don't know, and you may have not approved the pertinacious work of Cock to bring the miracle of Floris by rough imitation on small papers), would send one's pupils to view the houses which you - born of a humble family but powerful by the means of fortune from (your) work, the passionate lover of the arts, but a hater and sworn enemy of sordid parsimony - constructed to the skies near proud Antwerp with extraordinary expenses, and which could not have been embellished in any other manner than by the Apellean hand of Floris.

And if you perhaps will condemn this theft of keen Cock and if you will say that you are reproached by everyone that this way what you possess becomes worthless: forgive him (Cock) because he believed it is possible to give expression this way with the name of Floris and yours to the splendor of hidden art of the house, that is fame itself.

Then will have Cock oppressed us, you will say, with bad imitation?
And the deed is confessed, this error cannot pass without punishment: by no means he refuses, if you urge, to copy what is left in your house, the seven liberal arts which Floris created for you, in all the days in peace.
Those engraved in thin piece of metal with accurate diligence will bring pleasure mixed with benefits of the most beautiful art of all for the connoisseurs. Nothing disappears from here if you give it away, but you would make them happy by the means of delight. I am the only one of them who will celebrate in a song that you follow the example of the hero from Tiryns who, by bearing through the labours indefatigably, benefitted not himself, but the world.

cat. 8.b. The Abduction of Hippodamia
F. Floris inuentor H. cock excudebat 1563

PIRITHOO PVLCRAM HIPPODAMEN AVFERRE VOLENTES STERNIT CENTAVROS HERCVLES ACRE GENVS

When the Centaurs wish to strike their cruel blow by stealing the fair Hippodamia from Pirithous, Hercules strikes them down. ${ }^{5}$

[^4]
cat. 8.c. Hercules Slays the Nemean Lion, $222 \times 285 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
Ffloris inuentor H. Cock exc.
CAEDITVR HERCVLEIS MOLES NEMEAEA LACERTIS ARVAQ[VE] SVNT PRECIBVS TVTA MOLORCHE TVIS

The Nemean monster is killed by Hercules' hands, and at your request, Molorchus, the fields are safe. ${ }^{6}$

[^5]
cat. 8.d. Hercules Casts Cerberus into Chains, $225 \times 286 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML

## F. FLORIS INVENTOR / H. COCK EXCVDEBAT

## FATA PHERAECIADAE MISERANS VXORE REDEMPTA ABSTVLIT ALCESTEN CERBERE SAEVE TIBI

Having rescued the wife of Pheres' son, out of pity for her husband, he stole Alcestis from your clutches, cruel Cerberus. ${ }^{7}$

[^6]
cat. 8.e. Hercules Slays the Dragon Ladon, $225 \times 285 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
Franciscus floris / inuentor / H. Cock excude.
TRVNCATVM HESPERIDES ETIAM FLEVERE DRACONEM RAPTA QVOD EX HORTIS AVREA POMA FORENT

Even the Hesperides wept for the maimed dragon because the golden apples had been stolen from the garden. ${ }^{8}$

[^7]
cat. 8.f. Hercules Defeats the Hydra of Lerna, $223 \times 282$ mm, BML
franciscus floris / inuentor / h. cock excu.
INDEFESSA GERENS REDIVIVIS BELLA COLVBRIS ARGOLIS AD LERNAE TVNDITVR HYDRA VADVM

Waging war indefatigably, as the serpents constantly revive, the Hydra is defeated by the water of Lerna in Argos. ${ }^{9}$

[^8]
cat. 8.g. Hercules and Achelous, $223 \times 285 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
F. FLORIS INVE[N] / H. Cock excu

MVTILAT INDEFESSVM ACHELO[R]VM DIVITE CORNV CAVSA TRVCIS PVGNAE DEIANIRA FVIT

He tears off the precious horn of the indefatigable Achelous; Deianeira was the cause of their bitter struggle. ${ }^{10}$

[^9]
cat. 8.h. Hercules Slays Cacus and Hercules Feeds Diomedes to his own Mares, $225 \times 285$ mm, BML
H. Cock excudebat Franciscus floris / inuentor

RAPTORE[M] TRVNCAT CACON IPSVMQ[VE] TYRANNVM HOSPITIBVS PASTIS DAT DIOMEDEN EQVIS

He maims the plunderer Cacus, and gives the tyrant Diomedes himself to the marest hat have been fattened with guests. ${ }^{11}$

[^10]
cat. 8.i. Hercules Captures the Caledonian Boar and Hercules Slays Geryon, $225 \times 285$ mm, BML

Franciscus floris / inuentor / H. Cock ex.
STERNITVR ARCAS APER, PROCVL ARMENTOQ[VE] OPVLENTO CEDITVB ABDVCTO GERYON ORE TRIPLEX

The Arcadian boar is struck down and the three-headed Geryon slain after his rich livestock has been transported far away. ${ }^{12}$

[^11]
cat. 8.j. Hercules Defeats Antaeus, $220 \times 285 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
FF INVE[N] H. cock excu.
DEFICIT HIC PVGNAX ANTAEVS IN AERE VICTVS NVLLAQ[VE] SVBLATO TERRA FEREBAT OPEM

Here the warlike Antaeus succumbs, vanquished in the air, nothing can come to his aid, raised as he is above the ground. ${ }^{13}$

[^12]
cat. 8.k. Hercules supports the world for Atlas, $223 \times 285 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
Franciscus floris Inuentor H. Cock excude.
PONDERE QVOD VICTVS SVDARET OLYMPIFER ATLAS HERCVLES ASTRIFEROS SVSTINET IPSE POLOS

Because Atlas was sweating, overcome by the weight of Olympus, Hercules himself took the starbearing firmament upon his shoulder. ${ }^{14}$

[^13]
cat. 9. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Hercules and the Pygmies, 1563, $325 \times 465 \mathrm{~mm}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein VI.57)
franciscus / floris inuentor // H Cock excudebat // 1563
DVM DORMIT, DVLCI RECREAT DVM CORPORA SOMNO, / SVB PICEA, ET CLAVAM CAETERAQ[VE] ARMA TENET. / ALCYDEN PYGMEA MANVS PROSTERNERE L[A]ETHO, / POSSE PVTAT, VIRES NON BENE DOCTA SVAS. / EXCITVS IPSE VELVT PVLICES, SIC PROTERIT HOSTEM, / ET SAEVI IMPLICITVM PELLE LEONIS AGIT.

Andrea Alciato: Emblematum liber (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531), emblem titled IN EOS QVI SVPRA VIRES quicquam audent.

While he sleeps, while he gives his limbs renewed vigour in a sweet sleep beneath a pine tree and while he has his club and other weapons in his hands, a host of pygmies, ignorant of his powers, think that they can lay Alceus' descendant in death. He awakens, crushes his foes as if they were fleas and takes them with him, having first wrapped them in the hide of the fierce lion. ${ }^{15}$

[^14]
cat. 10. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Adam and Eve Lamenting Abel, 1564, 340 x 435 mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein VI.16)
f. floris in. / h cock excu / 1564

VNGIBVS VT TENERVM LEO FORMIDABILIS AGNVM / DILACERAT SIC HEV LACHRIMANTE VTROQ[VE] PARENTE, / ECCE MANVS MACVLAT FRATERNO SANGVINE FRATER, / IDQ[VE] ODIO SATANAE, QVI TANTI EST FVNERIS AVTOR

Like the fearsome lion that tears the helpless lamb to pieces with its claws. Behold, while their parents weep, a brother has defiled his hands with fraternal blood, incited by the hatred of devil, the instigator of this awesome death. ${ }^{16}$

[^15]
cat. 11.a. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Grammatica from the series of the Seven Liberal Arts, 1565, $233 \times 280 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein VI.63-69)

GRAMMATICA / DIOMEDES / DONATVS / PRISCIANVS / PALEMON / SERVIVS / Ffloris inue

GRAMMATICA OS TENERVM PVERI, BALBVMQVE FIGVRAT, / SCIENTIARVM CETERARVM IANITRIX // SVMMO PICTVRAE AMATORI NICOLAO IONGELINC CIVI ANVERPIENSI

Grammar shapes the stammering and tender speech of the child, (she is) the door-keeper of the other sciences.

To the utmost lover of painting, the Antwerp citizen, Nicolaas Jonghelinck.

Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat, / torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem. Horace: Epistulae II. lines 126-127.

cat. 11.b. Cort after Floris: Dialectica from the series of the Seven Liberal Arts, 1565, $225 \times 278 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML $^{17}$

FRANC. FLORVS / PINXIT IN SVBVR-/BANO NICOLAI / IONGEIINC PROPE / VRBEM ANVERPIA[M] / HIERONYMVS / COQVvS EXCVDEBAT / 1565

## DIALECTICA / GORGIAS / LVCIANVS / ZENON / ARISTOTELES / LIBANIVS

## VTI HOMINEM RATIONE DOCET DIALECTICA QVARE / MERITO ARTIVM APICEM MAGNVS HANC PLATO VOCAT

Frans Floris painted (this) in the suburban (villa) of Nicolaas Jonghelinck, close to the city of Antwerp. Hieronymus Cock published (it) in 1565.

Dialectic teaches men how to employ reason, the great Plato therefore rightly refers to it as the highest of the arts. ${ }^{18}$

[^16]
cat. 12.a-b. Anonymous engraver after Frans Floris: Grammatica and Dialectica from the series of the Seven Liberal Arts with Apollo and Minerva, 1551, $300 \times 203 \mathrm{~mm}$ and $305 \times 204$ mm, BML (Hollstein VI.184)
m.f.v / HIRONEMVS COCX / ECVDEBAT CVM / GRATIA ET PREVE/LEGIO 1551

PRIMA EGO AS INGENVAS ARTEIS FVNDAMINA PONO
I (am) the first, I put down the foundation for the liberal arts.

DIALECTICA / SONVS / QVESTIO / ARGVMENT / VERITAS / FALSITAS / 1510
PROMPTAM STERNO VIAM BENE PER COMPENDIA FANDI
I pave the clear way by the means of efficient speaking.

cat. 13. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Pastoral goddesses, 1564 (Hollstein VI.33-40)
a. Flora, $273 \times 195 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML

## FLORA // 1 // FF // CHLORIS ERAM QVAE FLORA VOCOR. OVID

I am now called Flora (and) was formerly called Chloris.
Ovid: Fasti V. 195

cat. 13.b. Cort after Floris: Pales, $270 \times 192 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
PALES // 2 // FF // H. Cock excude 1564 // ALMA PALES FAVEAS PASTORIA SACRA CANENTI. OVID

Oh kind Pales, favour me when I sing of pastoral rites.
Ovid: Fasti IV. 723

cat. 13.c. Cort after Floris: Ceres, $270 \times 192 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
CERES // FFloris inuentor H Cock excudebat // 3 // 1564 // OFFICIVM COMMVNE CERES ET TERRA TVENTVR. OVID

Oh, public duty, behold Ceres and the Earth!
Ovid: Fasti I. 672

cat. 13.d. Cort after Floris: Pomona, $268 \times 191$ mm, BML
POMONA // 4 // FF // RVS AMAT, ET RAMOS FELICIA POMA FERENTES. OVID
She loves the fields and the boughs that bear abundant fruits.
Ovid: Metamorphoses XIV. 627

cat. 13.e. Cort after Floris: Dryas, $270 \times 191$ mm, BML
DRYAS // 5 // FF // DRYADVM SILVAS, SALTVSQVE SEQVAMVR INTACTAS. VIRG.
We go to the untouched woods and forests of the Dryads.
Virgil: Georgics III.40-41

cat. 13.f. Cort after Floris: Napaea from the Pastoral goddesses, $270 \times 193 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
NAPAEA // FFloris inuentor // 6 // H. Cock excudebat // FACILES VENERA[R]E NAPAEAS. VIRG.

You shall adore the gracious dell-nymphs!
Virgil: Georgics IV. 535


NAIADES RUQOEER. SVMMIS IN MONTIBVS ORTE. ovid.
cat. 13.g. Cort after Floris: Naias from the Pastoral goddesses, $270 \times 193$ mm, BML
NAIS // 7 // FFloris inuentor H. Cock excu / 1564 // NAIADES AEQVO[R]EAE SVMMIS IN MONTIBVS ORTAE. OVID.

Oh, Naiads of the sea, descended from the top of mountains! Ovid: Metamorphoses XIV. 557

cat. 13.h. Cort after Floris: Daphne from the Pastoral goddesses, $270 \times 193 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
DAPHNE // FFloris inue / H. Cock ex // 8 // PRIMVS AMOR PHOEBI, DAPHNE PENEIA. OVID

Peneian Daphne (was) Apollo's first love.
Ovid: Metamorphoses, I. 452

cat. 14. Frans Huys after Frans Floris: Apollo and the Muses, 1565, BML (Hollstein IX.14)

Franciscus floris Inventor / F. H. fecit / Hier. / Cock / excu-/debat / 1565
MVSARVM INVENTA / CLIO historiam / THALIA plantarum artem / EVTERPE tibias / MELPOMENE cantilenas / TERPSICHORE tripudium / ERATO nuptialia / POLYMNIA agriculturam / VRANIA astrologiam / CALLIOPE poesim.

Inventions of the Muses: Clio (invented) history, Thalia the art of laughter, Euterpe the flute, Melpomene the (tragic) songs, Terpsichore dance, Erato nuptial (poetry), Polymnia agriculture, Urania astrology, Calliope (epic) poetry.

The text is a shortened paraphrase of the passage on the Muses in Giglio Gregorio Giraldi: Historia Deis Gentium, (Basel, 1548) vol. 8, 357. ${ }^{19}$

Clio enim historiam invenit: Thalia (...) hoc est plantarum artem: Euterpe tibias: Melpomene oden, id est cantilenam: Terpsichore (...) id est tripudium: Erato nuptialia, et faltationem: Polymnia agriculturam : Urania astrologiam: Calliope poesin.

[^17]
cat. 15. Frans Menton after Frans Floris: Diana and Actaeon (this state published by Hubert Goltzius), 1575-1595, $221 \times 290$ mm, Rijksmusum, Amsterdam (Hollstein IX.96)
F. floris Inuentor / Goltzius excud / FME // Fingitur Actaeon nova sumere cornua cervi / Dum videt et comites, et sine veste Deam / Scilicet ingenio consuescunt esse feroci, / Quos nimium sylve, predaq[ue] capta iuvant.

Johannes Posthius, Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metamorphoses (Frankfurt, 1563).
Actaeon is shown while he takes the antlers of a stag, because he has seen the goddess and her companions naked. Those who enjoy too much the woods and the hunting booty of course are inclined naturally to be wild. ${ }^{20}$

[^18]
cat. 16. Engraver from the circle of Lambert Suavius after Lambert Lombard: Roman Sacrificial Procession, $106 \times 699 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
H. Cock excudebat // L. Lom. // SIC VETERES QVONDAM, RECTIGENS INSCIA DIVVM / NVMINA PLACABANT, CAESIS DE MORE IVVENCIS. / SIC SALSAS FRVGES, SIC VINCTI TEMPORA VICTTIS / THVRA DABANT, MVLTOSQ[VE] CRVOR FVMABAT AD ARAS.

Bold line from Virgil: Aeneid VIII. 106
This is how the ancients, people ignorant of what was right, once placated the will of the gods, after they had slaughtered young bulls according to their custom. This is how they sacrificed salted flour, this is how they made their sacrifice of incense, their temples bound with bands, and much blood lay steaming by the altars. ${ }^{21}$

[^19]
cat. 17. Pieter van der Heyden after Lambert Lombard: The Sacrifice to Priapus, 1553, $\mathbf{2 8 4} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{4 0 3} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Hollstein IX.28)

H COCK EXCV 1553 // Fulmina sub Ioue sunt. Neptuni fuscina telum: / Ense potens Mars est: hasta Minerua tua est. / Sutilibus Liber committit pr[a]elia thyrsis: / Fertur Apollinea missa sagitta manu. / Herculis armata est inuicta dectera claua / At me terribilem mentula tenta facit.

The thunderbolts are subordinated to Jupiter. The trident is the weapon of Neptune. Mars is powerful with (his) sword, and you, Minerva, with your lance. Liber joins together the wreath of ivy and vine. The cast arrow is carried in the hand of Apollo. The unconquerable right hand of Hercules is armed with the club. But the erect penis is (more) terrible for me.

Poem from the Priapeia, published for example by Aldus in 1534, in Venice under the title Diversorum veterum poetarum in Priapum lusus.

cat. 18.a-d. Anonymous engraver after Lambert Lombard: The Four Seasons, 1568, 245 x 204 mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein XI.19-22)

Lambertus lombard Inuent / H. cock excudebat 1568 // VER PINGIT VARIO GEMMANTIA PRATA COLORE.

IGNEA VESTIT AGROS CVLMIS CEREALIBVS AESTAS.
Lambertus Lomba Inuent / H. Cock excud 1568 // VITIBVS AVTVMNVS TVRGENTES DETRAHIT VVAS.

FRIGORE AT HIBERNA EST GRAVIBVS NIVE NVBILVS AETHER.
Spring paints the buds and the meadow with various colours.
Fiery Summer covers the fields with the straws of Ceres.
Autumn makes the tumid grapes fall from the vines.
The cold sky of winter sends snow from the heavy clouds.
Vomanius in Carmina XII sapientum (cap.75) ${ }^{22}$

[^20]
cat. 19. Philips Galle after Frans Floris: Allegory of musical instruments (this state published by Goltzius), Rijksmuseum, Asmterdam (Hollstein VII.787)

FF. inuentor / Philippus galle fecit // Goltzius excud // VT QVIDAM MAGNETES FERRVM ATTRAHVNT, AT THEAMEDES QVI IN AETHIOPIA NASCITVR FERRV ABIGIT, ITA EST MVSICES GENVS, EST QVOD SEDAT AFFECTVS, EST QVOD INCITET.

Just as certain magnets attract iron, but tourmalines which are produced in Ethiopia repel iron, so there are (different) kinds of music, some calm the mind, some incite it.

From Desiderius Erasmus: Parabolae Sive Similia, Basel, 1545, p. 109.

cat. 20.a. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Auditus from the series of The Five Senses, 1561, $215 \times 265 \mathrm{~mm}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein VI.70-74)

AVDITVS // FF inve h. cock excu.
AVDITVS SENSORIVM EXTERIVS EST AVRIS ET CRASSVS QVIDAM IN EA AER INTERIVS VERO NERVI AB AVRIBVS AD CEREBRVM PERTINENTE

The exterior organ of the sensation of hearing is the thick ear in which there is air and nerves stretch out from the ear to the brain.

The excerpt is from Juan Luis Vives' treatise, De anima et vita (first edition: Basel 1538). ${ }^{23}$

[^21]
cat. 20.b. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Tactus from the series of The Five Senses, 1561, $209 \times 268$ mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

TACTVS // franciscus floris inuentor / h. cock excu
TACTVS SENSORIVM PER TOTVM CORPVS EXPANSVM EST, AC PROINDE ETIAM EIVS ORGANVM

The sense of touching is spread out in the whole body therefore the whole body is the organ of touching.

The excerpt is from Juan Luis Vives' treatise, De anima et vita (first edition: Basel 1538). ${ }^{24}$

[^22]
cat. 21. Philips Galle after Frans Floris: Gaius Mucius Scaevola placing his hand on a burning altar, 1563, $313 \times 418 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein VI.94)

Franciscus Floris inuentor / Philippus Galle fecit / Heeronimus Cock excudebat / 1563

## ET AGERE ET PATI FORTIA ROMANVM EST.

To lead and to endure are the strengths of the Romans.
Text from Livius' Ab Urbe Condita II.12.

cat. 22.a-b. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Perseverantia and Concordia from the series of Virtues, 1560, BML (Hollstein VI.75-82)

PERSEVERANTIA // Perfer et obdura: Non si praesente prae maris fortuna, similis postmodo sortis eris

Bold part from Ovid's Elegy XI, line 6
Perseverance. Endure and persist! If the sea of fortune is not present, or it is in front of you, or behind you, you will have a chance.

CONCORDIA // Este pares et ob hoc concordes venite: nam vos et decor atq[ue] aetas et sociant amor

Paraphrase of a part from Calpurnius Siculus' second eclogue (Bucolica)
Harmony. Be equal and come together for the sake of harmony! For you (harmony), beauty, time, and love all unite.

cat. 23.a-b. Hans Collaert after Lambert Lombard: Caritas and Cognitio from the series of the Cardinal Virtues, 1557, $111 \times 71$ mm, BML (Hollstein IV.34-41)

CARITAS
L. L. / I[N]VE // Cock excud. / 1557 // COGNITIO

cat. 24. Anonymous engraver after Lucas van Leyden: Holy Family, $231 \times 247$ mm, BML (Hollstein X.27)

L INVENTOR // H COCK EXCVDE // HOC AVTEM TOTVM FACTVM EST VT IMPLERETVR QVOD DICTVM FVERAT PER / PROPHETAM DICENTEM ECCE VIRGO PREGNANS ERIT ET PARIET FILIVM ET VO-/CABVNT NOMEN EIVS EMANVEL // Lucas de Leyda Hollandus Inuentor

All this took place to fulfill what the Lord had said through the prophet: "The virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and they will call him Immanuel."

Matthew 1:22-23

cat. 25. Dirck V. Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck: St. Paul Baptising in Ephesos, 1553, $295 \times 410 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein V.96)

Martinus Hemsk / inVentor. Cock excu / 1553
PAVLVS EPHESI IOHANNIS TANTVM BAPTISMO BAPTIZATOS, CHRISTO IN AVGVRAT. Act 19

Paul and John baptising many people of Ephesus and prophesising in (the name of) Christ.

cat. 26. Cornelis Cort after Giulio Clovio: Madonna and Child (this state published by Goltzius, Cock's name erased), $\mathbf{2 6 6} \mathbf{x} 215 \mathbf{~ m m}$, Albertina, Vienna (Hollstein V.104) ${ }^{25}$

Magnificat anima mea Dominum Et exultauit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo. Quia respexit / humilitatem ancille sue. Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent o[mn]es generationes. Quia fecit mihi / magnifica qui potens est, et sanctum nomen eius. LVC CAP I Goltzius excud. / Cor Cort fec.
My soul glorifies the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Savior, for he has been mindful of the humble state of his servant. From now on all generations will call me blessed, for the Mighty One has done great things for me, holy is his name.
Luke 1:46-49

[^23]
cat. 27. Pieter van der Heyden after Lambert Lombard: Christ with Martha and Mary Magdalene, 1556, $270 \times 406 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein XI.47)

## H. COCK PICTOR EXCVD 1556

Martha Martha solicita es, et turbaris erga plurima. Porro vnum est necessarium, Maria optimam partem elegit, que non auferetur ab ea. Lu. io

## PAME [monogram]

"Martha, Martha, you are worried and upset about many things, but few things are needed, or indeed only one. Mary has chosen what is better, and it will not be taken away from her."

Luke 10:41-42

cat. 28. Philips Galle after Pieter Brueghel: Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, 1560-1563, $223 \times 291$ mm, BML (Hollstein III.123)

Ecce sponsus uenit exit obuiam / Non noui nos // H. cock excu. // BRVEGEL INV
DATE NOBIS DE OLEO VESTRO, QVIA LAMPADES NOSTRAE EXTINGVNTVR / NEQVAQVAM, NEQVANDO NON SVFFICAT NOBIS ET VOBIS math 25

Here is the bridegroom! Come out to meet him!
Matthew 25:6
They don't accept us.
"Give us some of your oil; our lamps are going out." "No," they replied, "there may not be enough for both us and you. Instead, go to those who sell oil and buy some for yourselves."

Matthew 25:8-9

cat. 29. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Brueghel: Last Judgment, 1558, 226 x 295 mm, BML (Hollstein IX.18)

Brueghel inue[n]t / H. Cock excude. cum privileg 1558 // PAME [monogram]
VENITE BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI IN REGNVM AETERNVM / Compt ghy ghebenedyde myns vaders hier. / ITE MALEDICTI PATRIS MEI IN IGNEM SEMPITERNVM / en ghaet ghy vermaledyde in dat eewighe vier.

Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the kingdom that is prepared for you since the creation of the world.

Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire.
Matthew 25:34, 41

cat. 30. Cornelis Cort after Hieronymus Bosch: Last Judgment, c. 1560-1565, $338 \times 500$ mm, BML (Hollstein III.131)

## HIERONYMVS BOS INVENTOR / HIERONYMVS COCK EXCVDE.

IVSTORVM ANIMAE IN MANV DEI SVNT, NEC / ATTINGIT ILLOS CRVCIATVS. // TOLLITE O PORTAE CAPITA VESTRA ATTOLLIMINI FORES / SEMPITERNAE, VT INGREDIETVR REX ILLE GLORIOSVS // IMPII MVLTABVNTVR PRO COGITATIONIBVS / SVIS, VT QVI A D[OMI]NO DEFECERINT.

But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them.
Wisdom 3:1

Lift up your heads, you gates; be lifted up, you ancient doors that the King of glory may come in. Psalm 24:7

But the ungodly shall be punished according to their own imaginations, which have neglected the righteous, and forsaken the Lord. Wisdom 3:10

cat. 31. Pieter van der Heyden after Brueghel: Descent into the Limbo, 1561, $233 \times 289$ mm, BML (Hollstein IX.14)

PAME [monogram] // H cock excu. // Bruegel Inuent // TOBLITE O PORTE, CAPITA VESTEA, ATTOLLIMINI FORES SEMPITERNE, ET INGREDIETVR REX ILLE GLORIOSVS

Lift up your heads, you gates; be lifted up, you ancient doors that the King of glory may come in. Psalm 24:7

cat. 32. Anonymous engraver after Frans Floris: Last Supper, $190 \times 282$ mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
fra[ns] floris Inventor // H. Cock excude // Desiderio (inquit Jesus) desideraui hoc pascha manducare uobiscum, Et vnus uestrum me traditurus est, Discipulus ille quem diligebat Jesus cum / recumberet super pectus Domini dixit, Domine quis est qui tradet te? Dicit Jesus, Ille est, cui ego intinctum panem porrexero. / Mat 26 Mar 14 Luc 22 Ioan 13
"With ardent desire," says Jesus, "I wished to eat this Passover feast with you. And one of you will betray me." The disciple that Jesus loved so much that he could recline on (his) breast said, "Lord who is the one that betrays you?" Jesus says, "He is the one to whom I will have offered the bread."

cat. 33. Pieter van der Heyden after Lambert Lombard: Conversion of St. Paul, $\mathbf{3 3 0} \mathbf{x}$ 421 mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein IX.9)

PAME [monogram] // H. cock excude // SAVL SAVL, QVID ME PERSEQVERIS? DIXIT AVTEM: QVIS ES DOMINE? DOMINVS AVTEM DIXIT EGO SVM IESVS, QVEM TV / PERCEQVERIS, DVRVM EST TIBI CONTRA STIMVLOS CALEITRARE, IS TREMENS AC STVPE[N]S DIXIT DOMINE QVID ME VIS / FACERE? ET DOMINVS AD EVM: SVRGE, ET INGREDERE CIVITATE[M], ET DICETVR TIBI, QVID TE OPORTEAT FACERE. Actuum Apostol 9
"Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" And he said, "Who are you, Lord?" And the Lord said, "I am Jesus whom you persecute: it is hard for you to kick against the pricks." And he trembling and astonished said, "Lord, what will you have me to do?" And the Lord said to him, "Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told you what you must do."

Acts of the Apostles 9:4-7

cat. 34. Pieter van der Heyden after Lambert Lombard: The Miraculous Draught of Fishes, 1556, $335 \times 430 \mathrm{~mm}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein IX.7)

PAME [monogram] // LAMBERTVS LOMB / INVENTOR / Hieronymus Cock / excudebat 1556

Simon Petrus audiens quia Dominus est, tunica succinxit se (erat enim nudus) et misit se in mare, alii autem nauigio venerunt: Afferte inquit / Jesus de piscibus: quos prendidistis nunc. Et nemo discipulorum audebat interrogare eum. Tu quis es, scientes quia dominus est. Ioan 21

As soon as Peter heard Simon say, "It is the Lord," he wrapped his outer garment around him (for he had taken it off) and jumped into the water. The other disciples followed in the boat. (...) Jesus said to them, "Bring some of the fish you have just caught." (...) None of the disciples dared ask him, "Who are you?" They knew it was the Lord.

John 21:7-8, 10, 12

cat. 35. Dirk V. Coornhert after Frans Floris: The Judgment of Solomon, 1556, 318 x 412 mm , BML (Hollstein IV.76)

## H. Cock excud cum gratia et priuilegio 1556 // FRA[NS] FLORIS INVE

REX SALOMON OMNIVM MORTALIVM PRVDENTISSIMVS EX AFFECTVS MATERNI IVDITIO, PRO VERA MATRE DICIT SE[N]TE[N]TIA[M] DATE INQVIT / HVIC INFA[N]TEM VIVVM, QVA[N]DOQVIDEM HEC EST MATER EIVS. ET TIMVERVNT OMNES REGEM, VIDENTES DEI SAPIE[N]TIAM ESSE IN EO. 3 REG 3

After judging from the maternal feelings, King Solomon, the wisest man among all the mortals says the sentence to the real mother, "Give the living child to this (woman)," he says, "since she is his mother." And everybody feared the king, seeing the wisdom of God in him.

cat. 36. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: St. Jerome, ca. 1560, $280 \times 198$ mm, BML
FF inuentor / H cock excu. // MEMORARE NOVISSIMA TVA ET IN AETERNVM NON PECCABIS.

Remember your end and you will never $\sin$. Ecclesiastes 7.40

cat. 37. Cornelis Cort after Lambert Lombard after Hieronymus Bosch: Carrying of the Cross, 1560, $326 \times 411$ mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein III.130)

## H. Cock excu // Hieron Bos inuenit // L. Lomb restituit

Vincitur in sano patrum plebisq[ue] tumultu / Pontius atq[ue] lupis agnum dat paeles iniquus / Cumq[ue] datus saeuis ad poenam sanctus abiret / Militibus Chlamydem rubri seub tegmine cocci / Vestitur vilem species vt cuncta cruentae / Mortis imageo foret spinis circumdedit almum / Nexa corona caput quoniam spineta benignus / Omnia nostrorum susceperat ille malorum.

Sedulius: Carmen Paschale V.164-169 (except the first two lines of the inscription).
Pontius was won over by the wild tumult of the elders and the people, and the unjust procurator gave the lamb to the wolves. And when the Holy one, having been surrendered to the fierce soldiers, went forth to receive his punishment, he was dressed in a cheap robe with reddish purple thread, so that his entire appearance would be an image of his bloody death. A crown plaited from thorns adorned his noble head, seeing that he had voluntarily taken upon him all the thorns of our sins. ${ }^{26}$

[^24]
cat. 38. Anonymous engraver after Raphael: Adoration of the Magi, $141 \times 221$ mm, BML

## Cock excudebat // $R$

Hic preciosa Magi sub virginis ubere Christo / dona ferunt puero, myrrheq[ue], et thuris, et auri / Miratur genitrix tot casti ventris honores, / Seque Deum genuisse, hominem regemq[ue] supreти [m].

Here the wise men bring costly gifts to the Christ Child on the Virgin's breast, of myrrh and incense and gold. The mother marvels at all the honors paid to the fruit of her pure womb, and that she has given birth to God and man and king supreme. ${ }^{27}$

[^25]
cat. 39. Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck: Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1560, $202 \times 257$ mm, The Metropolitan Museum, New York (Hollstein VIII.281)

Cock Excu. // M. Heemskerc Inuen. // P. Galle f.
Hic preciosa Magi sub virginis ubere Christo dona ferunt puero, myrrheq[ue], et thuris, et auri.

Here the wise men bring costly gifts to the Christ Child on the Virgin's breast, of myrrh and incense and gold. ${ }^{28}$

[^26]
cat. 40. Philips Galle after Frans Floris: Solomon building the temple, 1558, 340 x 418 mm, BML (Hollstein VII.80)

Franciscus floris / Inuentor / Philips galle fecit // H COCK EXCVDE 1558
AEDIFICAT TEMPLVM SAPIENTIA PER SOLOMONIS / OBSEQVIVM REGINA AVSTRI GRAVE CONGERIT AVRVM / TEMPVS ADEST TEMPLVM HO[MIN]IS SVB PECTORE CHRISTVS / AEDIFICAT QVOD GAZA COLANT QVOD BARBARA DITET

Ann 480 post Iudeorum ex Aegypto emigrationem 150000 hominum opere 7 annis a Solomone conditum, sub Zedechia dirutum et incesum est cum stetisset an 440 Ante Christum 600.

Wisdom builds a temple by Solomon's obedient hands, and the queen of the South piles up a great weight of gold. The time is at hand when Christ shall build his temple in the heart of man, and Palestine shall reverence it and barbarous/foreign lands enrich it. ${ }^{29}$

480 years after the Jews had left Egypt, 150000 men worked for 7 years to build (the temple) for Solomon, attacked and destroyed 600 years before Christ, under Zedekiah, after standing for 440 years.

[^27]

PREMI SALTATRIX POSCIT FVNEBRIA NIRGO, IOANNIS CAPVT, ABSCISSVM GVOD LANCE REPORTAT
INCEFTE, AD GREMIVM MATRIS FERT REGIDA DONVM, PSALTRU RESPERSIS MANIBNS DE SANGNINE IVS'TO
cat. 41. Pieter van der Heyden after Andrea del Sarto: Arrest of St. John the Baptist, $237 \times 307 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein IX.13)

PAME [monogram] // H. cock excu.
PREMI SALTATRIX POSCIT FVNEBRIA NIRGO, IOANNIS CAPVT, ABSCISSVM QVOD LANCE REPORTAT / INCEFTE, AD GREMIVM MATRIS FERT REGIDA DONVM, PSALTRIA RESPERSIS MANIBNS DE SANGNINE IVSTO

A dancing-girl demands a deathly fee, the head of John cut off so that she may carry it back on a plate to lay it in her impure mother's lap. The royal artist bears the gift, her hands bespattered with righteous blood. ${ }^{30}$

[^28]
cat. 42.a. Anonymous engraver after Agnolo Bronzino: Crossing of the Red Sea, 334 x 431 mm, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels

ANG BRONSINO INVE / H. Cock excude cum priuileg Re // TVTVS AGIT VIR IVSTVS ITER, VEL PER MARE MAGNVM, / ECCE DEI FAMVLIS SCISSIM, FRETA RVBRA DEHISCVNT, / QVVM PECCATORES RABIDOS, EADEM FRETA MERGVNT, / OBRVITVR PHARAO, PATVIT VIA LIBERA MOSI.
The righteous man passes on his way in safety even through the great waters. Behold, the Red Sea yawns apart for the servants of God, while the same sea drowns the furious evil-doers. Pharaoh is overwhelmed, but the way was free and open for Moses. ${ }^{31}$

42.b. Agnolo Bronzino:

Crossing of the Red Sea, c. 1542.
Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

[^29]
cat. 43.a. Pieter van der Heyden after Andrea del Sarto: The Baptism of Christ, 1553, $\mathbf{2 8 3} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{4 0 4} \mathbf{~ m m}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein IX.5)

Andrea del Sarto inue / Cock excudebat 1553 // Perfundit fluuio pastus Baptista locustis, / Syluarumq[ue] fauis, et amictus ueste cameli, / Tinxerat et Christum, sed spiritus aethere missus / Testatur tinctam, qui cunctis trimina donet

The Baptist, who fed on locusts and on honey from the woods and clothed himself in camel's hair, bathes his followers in the stream. He baptised Christ too, when suddenly the Spirit sent from heaven bears witness that it is He who forgives sin to the baptised who has himself been baptised. ${ }^{32}$

43.b. Andrea del Sarto:

The Baptism of the Multitude, 1515-1517. Chiostro dello Scalzo, Florence

[^30]
cat. 44. Pieter van der Heyden after Floris: Susanna and the elders, 1556, $208 \times 275 \mathrm{~mm}$, Albertina, Vienna (Hollstein IX.26)

COCK EXCVD / 1556 // PAME [monogram]
Eximiae castitatis exemplar Susanna; sua innocentia \& animi fortitudine improbis senibus / resistere maluit, quam libidini vacare, \& Dominum Deum suum offendere.

Susanna, the example of extraordinary chastity. With her innocence and the strength of (her) soul, she chose to resist the wicked elders, so that she would be free from desire, and find her Lord God.

cat. 45. Anon. after Andrea del Sarto: Holy Family, ca. 1550, $370 \times 255$, BML
Andreae Sarty Florentius inuent // H. Cock ex.
IOANNES INFANTEM INFANS VENERATVR IESVM. QVID MIRVM? IN MATRIS LATITANS QVEM NOVERAT ALVO.

The child Johannes venerates the new-born Jesus. Is this a wonder? They had (already) recognised (each other) hidden in the womb of (their) mother .

cat. 46. Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum after Frans Floris: The Resurrection of Christ, 1557, $\mathbf{6 3 8} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{4 4 5} \mathbf{~ m m}$, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (Hollstein VII.107)

FRANCISCVS / FLORVS INVENTOR / 1557 // Abolita uictor rediuiuus morte triumphat / Parta redit miseris, gratia, uita, salus / Morte luis poenam, uictor sed Christe resurgens / Das uitam mundo, iustitiamque nouam / Qui cruce sustinuit mortem suspensus acerbam / Surrexit tumulo, uiuus et astra petit. // HIERONIMVS / COCK / EXCVDEBAT

Once destroyed death, and had accomplished grace, life, health return from wretchedness, the resurrected conqueror celebrates the triumph. You pay off the punishment to death, oh Christ, but (as) resurrecting conqueror you give life and new justice to the world. Who bore bitter death, hanging from the cross, resurrects from the tomb alive and aims at the stars.

cat. 47.a. Giorgio Ghisi after Agnolo Bronzino: Nativity (or Adoration of the Shepherds), 1553, $662 \times 452 \mathrm{~mm}$, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (Bartsch XV.385.3)

Maria / Heli F / Omnium / foeminarum felicibus so/la inter virgines foecunda, / parit tot saeculis expec/tatum Salvatorem Me/ssiam. Anno, Mundi / MMMDCCCCLX / pl. mi.

Haec eadem, / ut illum mirifice ex / se natum alacriter edu/cavit, ita et grandia fa/cientem, gravia tolerantem, / morientem, resurgentem ad / patrem redeuntem, con/spexit, carum mox sequutura fili/um

ANGILO BRON/SINI FIORE[N]TINO / INVE H COCK / EXCVD 1554 // Cum gratia et priui per An 6

Maria, daughter of Heli, most fortunate of all women, alone fruitful among the maidens, bears the Saviour Messiah awaited for so many centuries. In the year of the world 3960 plus or minus.

The same woman as she had reared him who was wonderfully born of her, so she also saw him doing great things, enduring painful things, dying, rising from the grave, returning to his father. She is soon to follow her dear son. ${ }^{33}$

47.b. Agnolo Bronzino: Adoration of the Child, around 1540. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

[^31]
cat. 47.c. Giovanni Battista Cavalieri after Agnolo Bronzino: The Adoration of the Child, 1565, BML

Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emanuel. (Isaiah 7:14)
ESAIAS CAP IX / Paruulus natus est / nobis et filius datus est / nobis et factus est principa/tus super humerum eius / et uocabitur Deus Fortis

For to us a child is born, to us a son is given, and the government will be on his shoulders. And he will be called Mighty. (Isaiah 9:6)

1565 / IOANES / BAPTISTA / DE CAVALIE/RIS INCIDE // ANGILO BR / NSINI FLOR / INVEN
$O$ admirabile commercium creator generis humani animatum corpus sumens de uirgine nasci dignatus est, et procedens homo sine semine largitus est nobis suam deitatem. / Maria omnium foeminarum felicissima post tot secula expectatum salvatorem IESVM parit Anno a mundi origine MMDCCCCLX et Ab Vrbe condita DCCLI

cat. 47.d. Anonymous engraver after Agnolo Bronzino: Nativity, 17th century (?). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX

cat. 48.a. Cornelis Cort (?) after Rogier van der Weyden: Deposition, 1565, $320 \times 406$ mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
H. Cock excud 1565 // ML Rogerij Belgae inventum // PECCATA NOSTRA IPSE PERTVLI[T] QVO PECCATISMORT[V]I IVSTITIAE VIVEREMVS

He himself bore our sins so that we might die to sins and live for righteousness. 1 Peter 2:24

48.b. Rogier van der Weyden:

Descent from the Cross, c. 1435.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid


Details from Weyden's painting and Cort's print.


Details from Weyden's painting and Cort's print.

cat. 49.a. Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck: Christ on the Cross between the two thieves, c. 1554-1559, central panel $405 \times 265 \mathrm{~mm}$, side panels each $405 \times 130 \mathrm{~mm}$, Albertina, Vienna (Hollstein IV.115)

DVC fe [monogram] // MHeemsk Inventor // Cock excudebat cum gratia et priuilegio.
CREDE DEVM TIBI FACTVM HOMINEM TIBI ACERBAQ[VE] PASSVM, VITAQVE SIT FIDEI CONSONA, SALVVS ERIS.

Believe in God who created the Man for you and for you he endured misfortunes so that life will be in accordance with faith and you will be saved.

## Left wing translation:

For I am the LORD your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Savior (...) Before me no god was formed, nor will there be one after me. I, even I, am the LORD, and apart from me there is no savior (...)I, even I, am he who blots out your transgressions, for my own sake, and remembers your sins no more. Isaiah 43:4, 11, 25

I am the resurrection and the life. He who believes in me will live, even though he dies; and whoever lives and believes in me will never die. John 11:25-26

I am the way and the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me. John 14:6

Look, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world! John 1:29
For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life. John 3:16

For it is by grace you have been saved, through faith, and this not from yourselves, it is the gift of God, not by works, so that no one can boast. For we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to do good works, which God prepared in advance for us to do. Ephesians 2:810
...he humbled himself and became obedient to death - even death on a cross! Philippians 2:8

## Right wing translation:

Therefore, since we have been justified through faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ Romans 5:1

If God is for us, who can be against us? He who did not spare his own Son, but gave him up for us all, how will he not also, along with him, graciously give us all things? Who will bring any charge against those whom God has chosen? It is God who justifies. Who is he that condemns? Christ Jesus, who died, more than that, who was raised to life, is at the right hand of God and is also interceding for us. Romans 8:31-34

But God demonstrates his own love for us in this: While we were still sinners, Christ died for us. Since we have now been justified by his blood, how much more shall we be saved from God's wrath through him! For if, when we were God's enemies, we were reconciled to him through the death of his Son, how much more, having been reconciled, shall we be saved through his life! Not only is this so, but we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received reconciliation. Romans 5:8-11

Death has been swallowed up in victory. Where, oh death, is your victory? Where, oh death, is your sting? The sting of death is $\sin$, and the power of $\sin$ is the law. But thanks be to God! He gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Corinthians 15:54-57

cat. 49.b. Gossen van der Weyden: Virgin and Child, late 15th century. Museum of Fine Arts, Tournai
cat. 49.c. Ambrosius
Benson: Virgin and Child, 1533. Groeningemuseum, Bruges

cat. 49.d. Workshop of Adriaen Ysenbrant: Passion triptych, ca. 1520. Our Lady of the Pottery Museum, Bruges

cat. 49.e. Anonymous painter: Adoration of the Magi, 1545. St. John's Hospital, Bruges

cat. 49.f. Anonymous painter: Crucifixion, 1554. Our Lady of the Pottery Museum, Bruges

cat. 50. Pieter van der Heyden after Lambert Lombard: Crucifixion, 1555, $318 \times 429$ $\mathbf{m m}^{34}$ (Hollstein IX.10)

H Cock excudebat. Cum / gratia et priui. per An 6. / Petrus Mirycinus fecit 1555.
CREDE DEVM TIBI FACTVM HOMINEM TIBI ACERBAQVE PASSVM, VITAQVE SIT FIDEI CONSONA, SALVVS ERIS.

Believe in God who created the Man for you and for you he endured misfortunes so that life will be in accordance with faith and you will be saved.

[^32]
cat. 51. Anonymous engraver after Lambert Lombard: Christ on the Cross with the Instruments of the Passion, 1563, 247 x 188 mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Hollstein XI.13)

IOAN 3 / Ecce agnus DEI ecce qui tollit peccata mundi. // 1563 // Lambert Lombardus / inuen // H. Cock ex.

SIC DEVS DILEXIT MVNDVM, VT FILIVM SVVM VNIGENITV[M] DARE, VT OMNIS QVI CRE-/DIT IN EVM, NON PEREAT SED HABEAT VITAM / AETERNAM ioan iii

Look, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world! John 1:29
For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life. John 3:16

cat. 52. Cornelis Cort after Michiel Coxcie: Christ Carrying the Cross, 1564, $317 \times 204$ mm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

ECCE AGNVS DEI ECCE QVI TOLLIT PECCATA MVNDI // SIC DEVS AMAVIT MVNDVM, VT FILIVM SVVM VNICVM DEDERIT / VT QVISQVIS EI FIDEM HABEAT, NON PEREAT, SED VITAM HABEAT / SEMPITERNAM. IOHANNIS CAP. iii // H. COCK EX 1564

Look, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world! John 1:29
For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life. John 3:16

cat. 53. Pieter van der Heyden: Lamentation, ca. 1550, $355 \times 370 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein IX.12)

PAME [monogram] / H. cock excude
Qui proprio filio non pepercit, sed nobis omnibus tradidit illum, qui fieri potest, ut non et cum eodem omnia nobis donet / Rom 8

He who did not spare his own Son, but gave him up for us all, how will he not also, along with him, graciously give us all things? Romans 8:32

cat. 54. Anonymous engraver after Lambert Lombard: Crucifixion, 1557, BML (Hollstein IX.11)

Lambertus Lomb. inventor // Cock excud. 1557
MIHI, ABSIT GLORIARI, NISI IN CRVCE / DOMINI NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI / CHRISTVS VVLNERATVS EST / PROPTER INIQVITATES NOSTRAS

May I never boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Galatians 6:14
Christ was pierced for our iniquities.
(Isaiah 53:5 ...ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras...)

cat. 55. Philips Galle after Luca Penni: Fighting gladiators, 1562, 339 x 470 mm, BML (Hollstein VII.79)

Philipe Galle fecit // L pene iuen 1562 / H cock excu
EXEQVIARVM VETVSTI RITVS CVM LVDIS GLADIATORIIS QVOS IN FVNERIBVS ILLVSTRIVM VIRORVM APVD / ANTIQVOS PIETATIS AC VERAE RELIGIONIS IGNAROS EDI MAGNA CRVDELITATE SOLENT.

In ancient times, men knew nothing about brotherly love or true religion, and for the funerals of famous men they held gladiatorial contests of the utmost cruelty. ${ }^{35}$

[^33]
cat. 56. Giorgio Ghisi after Giovanni Battista Bertani: The Judgment of Paris, 1555, 413 x $\mathbf{5 3 5} \mathbf{~ m m}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Bartsch XV.408.66)

BAPTISTA BERTANO MA[N]TVA/NVS INVENTOR / GEORGIVS GHISI MANTVANVS / FECIT / HIERONYMVS COCK EXCVDE. / MDLV / CV[M] GRAET. PRE. CAES. M. AD. SEXENIVM

Inscription below the image in the third state:
QVANTVM FORMA FVGAX, QVANTVM VENVS IMPROBA POSSIT, EXEMPLO EST STOLIDI IVDICIVM PARIDIS.

The judgment of the uncultivated Paris is an example of how fleeting beauty is and how dishonorable Venus can be. ${ }^{36}$

[^34]
cat. 57. Cornelis Cort (?) after Giulio Romano (?): Bacchanalia, 1556, $227 \times 295 \mathrm{~mm}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam ${ }^{37}$
H. Cock excud 1556

## VT VENVS ENERVAT VIRES SIC COPIA BACCHI.

This is how Venus weakens the power (of men) in Bacchian abundance.
Text from Carmina XII sapientum, cycle XII, sap. 140, Basilius: De libidine et vino, line 3. ${ }^{38}$ Published for example by Aldus in 1534, in Venice under the title Diversorum veterum poetarum in Priapum lusus.

[^35]
cat. 58. Pieter van der Heyden after Raphael: Sacrifice of Isaac, 1552, $244 \times 199 \mathrm{~mm}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

RAPHAEL / VRBIN / INVENT / IVLIVS / GOLTZIVS / EXCVDEBAT
Abrahae fides tentatur, Filium suum Isaac imolare iubetur. Angelus Abraham acclamat, ne filium occidat. genesis xxii

To prove his faith, Abraham was commanded to sacrifice his son, Isaac. (But, finally) the angel exclaimed against killing his son.

The text is from Historiarum veteris testamenti icones ad vivum expressae (by Gilles Corrozet and Jean Frellon, published in 1539, 1547, 1551 in Lyon).

cat. 59. Pieter van der Heyden after Andrea del Sarto: Zachariah and the Angel Gabriel, 1551, $313 \times 300 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein IX.4)
H.cock. excu. 1551. / Andrea. del. Sarto. floren / inventor

APPARET ZACHARIE SACERDOTI AD ARAM THYMIAMATIS, ANGELVS, GABRIEL, / PROMITTITQ[VE] ILLI EX STERILI VXORE FILIVM, MOX ADFVTVRI CHRISTI PR[A]ECONE[M], Luc 1

The angel Gabriel appears to the priest, Zachariah, at the altar of incense, and promises him a son from (his) barren wife, who will be the herald of Christ.

cat. 60. Dirk V. Coornhert after Heemskerck: Balaam and the angel (left part of the whole print), 1554, $295 \times 425 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein IV.63)

Hieronymus / Cock excude / 1554 / DVC fecit // Cum gratia et priuilegio / per An 6 // Martinus / Hemskerck / Inuentor

QVO VAESANE RVIS? QVID VERBERE CEDIS INIQVO / INSONTEM BALAAME ASINAM? DABIS IMPIE POENAS. // COGNOSTI VERVM, SED VERO OBSISTERE PERGIS / CONSILIO HORRENDO, NEC TE MENS CONSCIA TERRET.

Where do you run, you insane man? Balaam, why don't you stop beating the innocent donkey with (your) unjust rod? You give the punishment impiously. You recognise the true way but you dare opposing it with your terrible choice, (your) conscious judgment does not frighten you either.

cat. 61. Anon. after Lambert Lombard: Esther before Ahasuerus, 1553, $260 \times 422$ mm, BML (Hollstein VI.6)

Lambert Lomb inve / H Cock excud 1553 // Hester Iudaice gentis seruatrix, optime / principis exemplo, priuatam salutem, / multorum postponens, (contra legem / Persarum) regem inaccita, supplex adit: / supplicium ab iniquissimo Haman Iudeis / destinatum, deprecatur. malum in autoris / caput conuertitur.

Esther, savior of the Jewish people, the best example from among the ancestors, (was) neglected for long, not called upon (by the king). But she (acting against the Persian law) approaches the king on her kneels. In a determined petition, she pleads against the most unjust Jew, Haman. The punishment is reversed to the head of the instigator.

cat. 62. Cornelis Cort after Francesco Primaticcio: The assembly of the gods on Mount Olympus, ca. 1565, 450 mm (diameter), BML (Hollstein V.184)

TOMASO VINCIDOR / DE BOLONIA. INVE / H. COCK XCVDE.
PANDITVR INTEREA DOMVS OMNIPOTENTIS OLYMPI CONCILIVMQVE VOCAT DIVVM PATER ATQVE HOMINVM REX

Meanwhile, the palace of the almighty Olympian opens its gates and the Father of gods and King of men convenes the assembly. ${ }^{39}$

Virgil, Aeneid, 10.1-2.

[^36]
cat. 63. Anonymous engraver after Primaticcio (?): Mars and Venus, 1553, $231 \times 260$ mm, BML

Cicero / Malorum esca, / voluptas qua ho-/mines capiuntur, / ut hamo pisces / Cock excud. 1553

In mediis ambo depraensi amplexibus h[a]erent Turpiter. atq[ue] aliquis de Diis non tristibq[ue], optat sic fieri turpis.

Desire is the bait of evil with which men are caught like fishes with the hook.
In the middle of (their) filthy embrace they both were caught, and some of the gods were not sad about this but wished for it shamefully.

cat. 64. Cornelis Cort (?) after Giulio Romano (?): Scene with Bacchus, 1552, $223 \times 303$ mm, BML

## H. COCK / EXCVDE/BAT / 1552

LaNGVIDVLAM REFOVE NATVRAM MVNERE BAC[C]HI / SI MOEROR MORBVS SIVE SENECTA PREMAT / SIN SOLIDAE VIRES ET SANGVINE CORPVS ABVNDAT / MVNERA LAETA DEI TRANSILIISSE CAVE.

You shall revive (your) limp temper with the gift of Bacchus if grief, disease, or old age overwhelms (you). However, if (your) body is abundant with blood and full of energy, beware enjoying the joyful gift of the god to excess.

cat. 65. Cornelis Cort after Giulio Romano: The Three Fates, 1561, $220 \times 263 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML IVLIVS MANTVA INVE / H COCK EXCVDE 1562

## CLOTHO COLVM BAIVLAT, LACHESIS NET ATROPOS OCCAT.

Clotho holds the distaff, Lachesis spins, and Atropos cuts the thread. ${ }^{40}$

[^37]
cat. 66. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris: Allegory of Virtue, 1564, $320 \times 410 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein VI.62)

VIRTVS PARIT HONOREM / DIGNITATEM GLORIAM / DAT OPES RERVM COPIAM / MITRAS SCEPTRA CORONAS / OSTENDITQVE ACCESSVM / AD IMMORTALITATEM // Franciscus floris inventor / H Cock excu

Virtue bears honor, worth, and glory, (she) gives power, and the abundance of things, mitres, scepters, crowns, and shows the way to immortality.

PART II: ROME

ANTONIO SALAMANCA

cat. 67. Anonymous engraver after Raphael: Transfiguration, 1538, $344 \times 240 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.19.9)

SIC ROMAE DEPINXIT RAPH VRB IN TEMPLO D PETRI IN MONTE AVREO / ANT SALAMANCA EXCVDEBAT MDXXXVIII

Raphael of Urbino painted this in Rome, in the church of St. Peter on the Golden Hill.

cat. 68. Enea Vico after Andrea del Sarto: Visitation, 1561, $300 \times 417 \mathrm{~mm}$, National Library of Spain, Madrid

Quam vides, hanc Divae Mariae et Helisabeth visitationem, Andreas / Florentinus cognomento Sutoris, celeberrimus aetatis suae pictor, / elegantissime Annuntiationis pro templo Florentiae pinxit; cuius / typum ab ... formis / aereis concessum, Antonius salamanca imprimi publicaviq. curavit. / Romae anno à Sal. Hum. gen. $\propto$ DLXI

What you see here (is) the Visitation of Saint Mary and Elisabeth that Andreas from Florence, (known) by the surname of Sutor (cobbler), the most famous painter of his age, painted for the most elegant church of the Annunciation of Florence, this image was formed of copper, Antonius Salamanca took care of the printing and published (it), in Rome, 1561.

cat. 69. Nicolas Beatrizet after Francesco Salviati (?): Death of Meleager, 1543, 305 x 416 mm, BML (Bartsch XV.260.41)

PIangesi qVI DI MELEAGRO IL FATO. DIE DE LO STIZZO CH'ALVI FATATO. PER VN' ATTO CH'AL GIOVIN' FV VSATO. TVRBATA ALLA SVA MADRE PE I FRATELLI. / PERCHE LA MADRE AL FVOCO RIO VORACE. CH'AL AMOR D'ATHALANTA COSI PIACE. DA GLI ZII QVELLI VCCISE ONDE LA PACE. MORTI TAL MALE AGGIVNSE AI DOLOR FELLI // EXCVDEBAT ANT S 1543

One weeps here for the fate of Meleager. On the day of anger (his) intestines were enchanted. He acted as it had been usual among the youth. He made his mother upset when (killing) her brothers, and that is why the voracious mother put (the brand) back on the fire. He cherished the love of Atalanta so much that he killed those uncles for (her) delight. With the murder, he had added bad poison to the pain (of his mother).

cat. 70. Anonymous engraver after Francesco Salviati (?): The Killing of Niobe's Children, 1541, $337 \times 450 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.42.13)

ANT S ROMAE AN[NO] 1541 // NATORVM NIOBE ET NVMERO ET VIRTVTE SVPERBA / Latonae sprevit nvmina Sancta deat / discite qVam nvLLI tvtvm CONTEMNERE DIVOS / QVAM STVLTVM HVMANIS FIDERE DIVITIIS / AVFERT VNA DIES BISSEPTEM PIGNORA NATOS / ET NATAS MATER VERTITVR IN LAPIDEM / redDidit antoni manvs omnia Sed Sine Sensv / hVNC NIOBE LAEDENS NVMINA NON HABVIT

Proud of the number and excellence of (her) children, Niobe despised the sacred divinity of the goddess Latona. You should all learn that no one (is) safe to condemn the gods! She was (so) foolish to trust in human riches, one day the goddess takes away the seven sons and seven daughters and the mother is turned into stone. The hand of Antonius has expressed all this here, (showing) even the vanity of Niobe, who has no fear offending the divinities.

cat. 71. Anonymous engraver: Diana in her Chariot, 1541, $305 \times 392 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.39.9)

CARRO DE DEANA EXCVDEBAT ANT. SALAMANCA MDXLI
The chariot of Diana.

cat. 72. Copy of Marcantonio Raimondi's print after Raphael: The Judgment of Paris, ca. 1520-1550, $292 \times 437$ mm, Metropolitan Museum, New York (Bartsch XIV.197.245)

SORDENT PRAE FORMA / INGENIVM VIRTVS / REGNA AVRVM // RAPH VRB / INVEN // Ant Sal exc

Intelligence, virtue, and wealth appear worthless in comparison with beauty.

cat. 73. Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo: Tityus, 1540-1560, $290 \times 418 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.259.39)

MICH AB / INVENT // ANT SALAMANC EXCVDEBAT // TITIVS GIGAS A WLTVRE DIVERSISQ[VE] PENIS LACERATVS

The giant Titius (is) tormented by the hostile vulture as (his) punishment.

cat. 74. Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo: The Dream, c. 1520-1562, $438 \times 293 \mathrm{~mm}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Ant Sal exc.// MICHAEL ANGELVS IN VEN

cat. 75. Enea Vico after Parmiggianino: Suicide of Lucretia, c. 1542, $303 \times 204 \mathrm{~mm}$, MET (Bartsch XV.289.17)
E. V. / FRAN. PAR. / INVENTOR // Mentre' che m'apri ferro, il casto Petto; / Trando teco di caldo Sangue' u Rio: / Sara lo spirto testimonio a Dio; / E'l sangue all' Huom', ch' in me no fu difetto. // Ant Sal exc

As I turn the sword to my chaste breast, I am swimming with you in the warm stream of blood, the spirit will be the witness to God, and the blood be the witness to Man that in me there had been no fault.

cat. 76. Enea Vico: Venus and Mars, 1533-1567, 300 x 208 mm, Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (Bartsch XV.292.21)
AE.V. // Qui tra Venere e Mart' e la Battaglia / Con piaceuoli assalti, è non feroci; / Ch' Amor' non gli consente tant' atroci / Come fur quei di Cesare' in Tesaglia // Ant Sal exc

Here (is) the battle between Venus and Mars with pleasant assaults instead of cruel attacks because Amor does not allow such dreadful deeds as the rage of Caesar in Thessaly.

cat. 77. Anonymous engraver after Baccio Bandinelli: Birth of the Virgin Mary, 1540, $382 \times 435 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.13.1)

NATIVITAS / GLORIOSE VI/RGINIS MARIE / EXCVDEB ANT / SALAMANCA 1540

The birth of the Virgin, oh glorious Mary!

cat. 78. Nicolas Beatrizet (?): The Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli, 1548, $403 \times 308 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML

1548 // A. S. Excudebat

cat. 79. Anonymous engraver: Abigail and David, 1543, $296 \times 432 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.12.8)

ANT. S. EXC. ROMAE 1543 // Peseguir' dauit i principi altieri / Dei filistini popoli lassate: / Hauea le donne sole, che dai fieri / Nemici fur de la citta cauate / Con le richezze ma poi chei sentieri / Adrieto volse, furon liberate / In sieme con la preda, e’ qui siuede / Dilui la carita, di lor la fede'.

In order to follow the proud principles of the Philistine people, (Abigail) had left the women alone who, by the proud enemies of the city, were drawn out with the riches. But since the paths turned around (they) were liberated along with the prey and here one sees his charity and their faith. ${ }^{41}$

[^38]
cat. 80. Master of the Die after Michiel Coxcie: The first sheet of the series of Cupid and Psyche, $195 \times 230$ mm, BML (Bartsch XV.212.39)

Ant Sal exc. // Narra Apuleo che (mentr' egli cangiato / In asino, serviva a genti ladre) / Vna sposa rubbaro il destinato / Dide le nozze le rapaci squadre, / Cui (per farle scordare un sogno ingrato) / Dona conforto una canuta madre / Che l'havea in guardia, et con grata favella / Le racconta di Psiche la novella.

Apuleius tells that (while he was transformed into a donkey, he served dishonest folks) a bride, who was captured by the gang of thieves from her wedding, to whom (to make her forget the nightmare) an old woman, her guardian, gave comfort by telling the story of Psyche.

cat. 81. Anonymous engraver after Raphael: God Creating the Animals, 1540, 301-408 mm, BML (Bartsch XV.5.1)

DEVS ENIM OMNIA CREAVIT / EXCVDEB ANT SALAMANCA MDXL

Because, you see, God created everything.

cat. 82. Anonymous engraver after Giulio Romano: Meeting of Scipio and Hannibal, 1541, $393 \times 557$ mm, BML (Bartsch XV.31.5)

SCIPIO ET HANNIBAL CO[N]LOQV[V]NTVR / EXCVDEBAT ANT SALAMANCA 1541

Scipio and Hannibal conversing.

cat. 83. Nicolas Beatrizet: Cain killing Abel, 1540, 230 x 154 mm, BML (Bartsch XV.243.8)

FRATRICIDIVM ABELLIS PER CAYM INVIDVM PRIMA / EFFVSIO SANGVINIS SVPER TERRAM / 1540 N. B. F. / Ant sal exc

The envious murder of Abel by Cain, the first outpouring of blood on the earth.

cat. 84. Jacopo Caraglio after Rosso Fiorentino: Battle of the Romans and the Sabines, 1527 (retouched and reissued by Salamanca after 1540), $357 \times 503 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.96.63)

RAPTVS / SABINARO // ROMVLE MILITIBVS SEISTI / DARE CONMODA TVIS // Ant Sal. exc

The Rape of the Sabines.
Text in the left lower corner is from Ovid, Ars Amatoria, book 1, lines 131-132:

Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus: / Haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero.
Rejoice, ye Roman soldiers, in your urns, your ensigns from the Parthians shall return. ${ }^{42}$

[^39]
cat. 85. Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael: Quos Ego, 1515-1516, $418 \times 323 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XIV.264.352)

AEOLVS IMMITTIT / VENTOS IVNONE / PRECANTE // TROIANOSQ VAGOS / LIBYCAS EXPELLIT / IN ORAS // SOLATVR VENEREM / DICTIS PATER IPSE / DOLENTEM // AENEAM RECIPIT PVL/CHRA CARTHAGINE / DIDO // CVI VENVS / ASCANII SVB / IMAGINE / MITTIT / AMOREM // Ant Sal exc

Text by Vomanius in Carmina XII sapientum, sap. 97
Aeolus sends the winds for the command of Juno, and he drives the wandering Trojans to the Libyan borders. The father Jupiter himself consoles the suffering Venus. The beautiful Carthagian Dido receives Aeneas, to whom Venus sends Amor in the image of Ascanius.

cat. 86.a. Nicolas Beatrizet after a lost drawing of Baccio Bandinelli: Combat of Reason and Lust, 1545, $426 \times 560 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.262.44)

BACCIVS / BRANDIN / INVEN // ANT SALAMNC EXCVDEB ROMA 1545 // EN RATIO DIA EN HOMINVM AERVMNOSA CVPIDO / ARBITRIO PVGNANT MENS GENEROSA TVO / TV VERO HINC LVCEM FACTIS PR[A]ETENDIS HONESTIS / ILLINC OBSCVRA NVBE PROFANA TEGIS / SI VINCAT RATIO CVM SOLE MICABIT IN ASTRIS / SI VENVS IN TERRIS GLORIA FVMVS ERIT / DISCITE MORTALES TAM PR[A]ESTANT ASTRA NVBIBVS / QVAM RATIO IGNAVIS SANCTA CVPIDINIBVS

See there, divine Reason and miserable human Lust fight each other, with you, noble Mind, as arbitrator. But here you throw light on honourable deeds, and there you cover profane acts with dark clouds. If Reason wins, he will shine with the sun in the skies, if Venus (wins), her glory will be smoke on the earth. You should all learn, oh mortals, that the stars stand as high above the clouds as sacred reason stands above idle desires.

86.b. Detail from Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 997-21

86.c. Detail from Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 996-21

cat. 87. Master of the Die after Raphael (?): Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, and Amor, 15301560, $190 \times 226$ mm, BML (Bartsch XV.200.24)

Ant. Sal. exc. // Venere e bella e madre d'Amore' / il sole è bello et è figliol di Gioue' / il sole e fatto Rè d'ogni splendore' / E questa a fiamme l'universo moue' / Questi riscalda et questa sparge ardor / E l'uno l'altro fa mirabil proue'. / E ad ambo duo son seruo et nullo toglio /

## Ch'io medesmo non so quel ch'io mi voglio

Last line from Petrarch's Canzoniere, sonnet nr. 132. ${ }^{43}$

Venus is beautiful and the mother of Love; the Sun is beautiful and the son of Jupiter; the Sun became the king of all radiance, and she moves the universe with flames, ${ }^{44}$ he (the Sun) warms while she (Venus) spreads love and one and the other perform wonders. And I serve both of them and receive nothing because I myself do not know what I wish for myself.

[^40]
cat. 88. Agostino Veneziano after Raphael (?): Allegory of the Two Lovers, 1530-1560, $180 \times 222$ mm, Escorial, Madrid (Bartsch XV.202.26)

L'uno mi prende, et l'altro mi tien[e] stretto / Vn mi diletta assai, l'altro mi piace / Vn coi bei lumi mi trafigge il petto, / Et l'altro col bel guardo il cor mi face // Gioia mi porge l'un, l'altro diletto / Chi con bei strali, et chi con dolce face / Et l'uno, et l'altro mi darebbe il c[u]ore. / Che debbio far. che mi consigli Amore'// Ant. Sal. exc.

## Last line from Petrarch's Canzioniere, sonnet nr. 268. ${ }^{45}$

The one seizes me, the other holds on to me, the one delights me very much, the other pleases me; the one pierces my breast with beautiful eyes, while the other takes my heart with beautiful look; the one gives me joy, the other gives pleasure; the one with the beautiful arrows, and the other with sweet face, and the one and the other would give me the heart. What should I do, what do you advise me, Amor?

[^41]
cat. 89. Agostino Veneziano after Raphael(?): The Sailing Amor, 1520-1536, $190 \times 229$ mm, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archeology, Oxford (Bartsch XIV.188.234)

Con tal destrezza Amor trappassa e arte' / Del mar ch' io spargo il periglioso varco, / Del uelo fa le uele a l'aura sparte', / La barca e la faretra, il remo e l'arco, / Le corde' del bell'arco son[o] le' sart[i]e' / L'arbore' un stral di foco, e fele' car[i]co, / Cosi s'e fatto nel mio largo humore' / Tiphi e Jason senza maestro Amore'. // Ant. Sal. exc.
Bold phrase from Petrarch's Canzioniere, sonnet nr. 91. ${ }^{46}$
Amor passes through the sea with such a great skill and such a great knowledge as I traverse the perilous gate. His sails, made of his veil, are stretched by the breeze, the boat is his quiver, the oar is his bow, the strings of his nice bow are the shrouds, the mast is an arrow made of fire and gall. This is how Amor, without Tiphys and Jason, became the master in the open sea of my humour.

[^42]
cat. 90.a. Anonymous engraver (after Baccio Bandinelli?): Allegory of Love or Allegory on the Cruelty of Love, $\mathbf{3 9 2} \times 474 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.54.11)

S' io porto in man[o] d'Amor l'alto vessillo / Et ogn' hor colmo il ciel di strida ardenti / Et se'n un punto agghiaccio ardo et sfavillo / Et vivo et moro et fo risa et lamenti / S' ogn' hor dagli occhi fiamma et acqua stillo / Cose' non son[o] da spaventar[e] le genti / Che' la mia madre un di per gran furore / Mi perse a dadi col fanciullo Amore

Mia madre che del giocho have[v]a trastullo / Anzi del mio gran stratio et del martoro / Pose' ne la gran mensa me fanciullo / Dargento in vece di zaffiri et d'oro / Tal[e] materia non mai scrisse catullo / Ne Vergilio ordi mai simil lavoro / Che quella cruda del bel gioco acensa / Comincio a trar[r]e i dadi per la mensa // Ant. Sala. exc.
Allo' n contro Amor pose icori et l'alme / I ratti da i corpi d'altri afflitti amanti / Et poi di braccia et petti tante salme / Quant'io spargo hora dolorosi canti / Et queste son[o] le
gloriose palme / D'Amor. che vive di rapine, et pianti / Rubbando ogn'hor col guardo pien d'ardori / Occhi lingue petti alme et braccia et cori

If I hold in (my) hand the lofty banner of Amor, every time I fill the sky with passionate cries, and in the same instant I freeze, burn, and sparkle, and I live and die, laugh and lament, every time I distil water and flames from (my) eyes - these things do not frighten people because my mother in great passion had lost me while playing dice with the child Amor. My mother who has played the game in spite of my great torment and suffering, she had put me, the child, on the big table instead of silver, sapphires and gold - Catullus had never written of such a subject, neither Virgil had ever written about such a horrible deed. When this cruel woman was incited by the nice game, she began to toss the dice on the table.

Then, against her, Amor had put Ichor and souls, taken from the bodies of other troubled lovers, and also arms and breasts and so many remains as many painful songs I deliver now, and these were the glorious prizes of Amor who is living on robbery and stealing cries, and every time I see (him) he is full with passion, eyes, tongues, breasts, souls, and arms and hearts.

90.a. detail, b. Michelangelo: Sistine Chapel ceiling, Delphic sibyl (Rome, Vatican)

90.a. detail

90.c. Michelangelo: Bacchanal of the Children, ca. 1533, The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

cat. 91.a. Monogrammist O.O.V.: Allegory of the Passions, 1542, $360 \times 257 \mathrm{~mm}$, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Non di laocoonte il duro esempio, / Non chi cesar lego tra i fiori, e l'herba / No'l figlio di chi 'l ciel su 'l dosso serba, / No'l Thosco sembro, a cui fu amor tant empio / Ma, d'ogni alto dolor un viuo Tempio; / Qual puo chiaro mostrar mia vita acerba / Qui in preda a un aspe a una lena soperba / E i lor[o] feri desiri ogn' hor piu adempio. / Né bramo vita hor, che mia luce e priua / Del suo caro Thesor, ch' in fuga e uolto / Il qual uia piu d' ogn' altro il cor mi tragge: / É amor, e a chi mi diede e[gl] preso e inuolto, / Nel mezzo a queste fere aspre et seluagge / Quinci uuol (lasso) ogn' hor morendo viua // ANT SAL EXC 1542
„e Cesar, che in Egitto / Cleopatra lego tra i fiori e l’ herba" from the Triumphus Cupidinis I, line 89-90
„che di luce privar mia vita spera" from Petrarch's Canzioniere, sonnet nr. $179^{47}$ ,"a seguitar costei che 'n fuga è volta" from Petrarch's Canzioniere, sonnet nr. $6^{48}$ „sospiri, che del cor profondo tragge" and „sono un deserto, e fere aspre e selvagge" from Petrarch's Canzioniere, sonnet nr. $310^{49}$

This is not the tough example of Laocoon, not Caesar who is bound amid flowers and grass, not the son whom heaven keeps above the ground, not the Tuscan to whom love had been so cruel, but (it is) a living temple of all the deep pain which can clearly show my bitter life that (is) prey to an asp, to a haughty procuress, and I fulfill most of their wild desires all the time. I am not longing for life (anymore) now that my light is robbed of his precious treasure which turns and flees, (and) this is the way she draws my heart more than any other.

It is Love to whom she had given me, he took and put me among these wild and savage beasts, therefore now, alas, I am dying alive.

[^43]
91.b. Correggio: Allegory of Passions, 1528, Musée du Louvre, Paris

ANTONIO LAFRERI

cat. 92. Giorgio Ghisi after Raphael: Madonna of the Veil, 1575, $298 \times 215 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.386.5)

GMF // Arridet dulci puer, arridetq[ue]parenti. / Husquam oculos, nati flectit ab ore parens // Ant. Lafreri formis Rom[a]e 1575

The boy smiles at his dear mother, and the mother smiles. The mother does not turn her eyes anywhere away from the face of her son. ${ }^{50}$

[^44]
cat. 93. Sebastiano di Re: Holy Family, 349 x 258mm, Biblioteca Nacional de España,

## Madrid

Deus, qui salutis eternae beatae Mariae virginitate fecunda: humano generi praemia praestiti: tribue quesumus ut ipsam pro nobis in-/tercedere sentiamus per quam meruimus authorem vitae suscipere Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. ame[n]. // Sebastianus a Regibus Clodiensis in aere incidebat

Oh God, who, by the fruitful virginity of blessed Mary, gave mankind the reward of eternal salvation: we appeal to you that we may experience her intercession, through whom we have been made worthy to receive the author of life, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.
(Oremus in Alma Redemptoris Mater, Marian hymn, sung at the end of the office of Compline)

cat. 94. Nicolas Beatrizet: Madonna di Loreto, second version, $314 \times 244 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.251.26 copy)

SVCCVRRE / MISERIS / IVVA PVSIL/LANIMES. // INTERCEDE / PRO DEVOTO / FEMINEO / SEXV. // ANT. LAFRERI SEQVANI FORMIS EXPRESSA ROMAE // Sancta Maria di Loreto fatta rettrar per il R.mo Cardinal di Augusta

Help the miserable, encourage the faint-hearted! Intervene for the faithful women!

cat. 95. Nicolas Beatrizet after Francesco Salviati: Madonna di San Lorenzo in Damaso, $\mathbf{3 2 5} \times 247 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.252.27)

DEVOTA HEC IMAGO IM[M]ACVLATE CONCEPTIONIS GLORIOSE DEIPARE EST DEPICTA SACELLO / EIVSDEM IN ECCLESIA DIVI LAVRENTII IN DAMASO VBI PLENARIA HABETVR INDVL/GENTIA PERPETVA // ANT. LAFRERI TIPIS

This image is devoted to the Mother of God of Immaculate Conception. It is depicted in the same shrine in the church of Saint Lawrence in Damaso where absolute, everlasting indulgence is held.

cat. 96. Nicolas Beatrizet after Giotto: Navicella, 1559, $360 \times 475 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.246.16)
amice qVISQVIS ES EN TIBI atril Vaticani PISCATORVM NAVICVLAM OPERE MVSIVO OLIM A IOTTO PICTORE FLORENTINO ANNO $\infty C C C X X X V ~ C V M ~ S V I S ~$ PISCATORIBVS CETERIS Q. / ALIIS ORNAMENTIS EFFIGIATAM PERELEGANTER NVNC AVTEM EAM ITA VT VIDES NICOLAVS BE- ATRIZIVS LOTHARINGVS AHENEIS TABELLIS INCISAM NON MINORI ARTEFICIO / ET ELEGANTIA REPRAESENTAVIT ROMAE $\propto D$ L I X // ROMAE ANT LAFRERI

Whoever you are, oh friend, see here for yourself the boat of the fishermen of the Vatican hall, the mosaic work of the Florentine painter, Giotto, from 1335, the fishermen and other different ornaments depicted in a very fine manner. But now you see this as incised in the copper plate, the Lotharingian Nicolas Beatrizet has displayed this with not less skill and elegance, in Rome, 1559.

cat. 97. Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo: Last Judgment, 1562, $1230 \times 1050 \mathrm{~mm}$,
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Bartsch XV.257.37)
Nicolaus Beatrizit / lotaringiensis / Incidit et formis // MICHAEL ANGELVS INVENTOR // ANTI LAFRERII FORMIS // IVCVNDISSIME LECTOR AC BONARVM / ARTIVM CVPIDISSIME / ACCIPE DIVINI JVDICII DIEM ARTE ET INGENIO / MICHAELIS ANGELI BONARROTAE MIRIFICE PENICILLO / REPRAESENTATAM EADEMQ. POSTEA VT VIDES NICOLAI / BEATRICII LOTHARINGI LABORE ET INGENIO TABELLIS / AENEIS INCISAM ELEGANTISSIME EFFIGIATAM / MDLXII ROMAE PII III P M A II

O reader of good art, take the day of divine judgment depicted admirably with the skill and genius of Michelangelo Buonarroti and with his brush. Hereafter you can see (the image) incised in copper plate by the Lotharingian Beatrizet with effort and intelligence, depicted in the most elegant way.

cat. 98. Cornelis Cort after Raphael: Transfiguration, 1573, $590 \times 393$ mm, BML (Hollstein V.46.63)
Cornelio Cort fe. // CHRISTI se transfigurantis imaginem, quam Romae in aede Principis Apostolorum in monte aureo Raphael Vrbinas olim pinxit, nunc aenea tabella expressam. / AMPLISSIMO PATRI AC D[OMIJNO D. ANTONIO PERRENOTTO. S. R. E. PRESB. CARD. GRANVELANO ARCHIEPISCOPO MECHILINIENSI NEAPOLISQ[VE] PROREGI.

The image of Christ's transfiguration, that Raphael of Urbino once painted, in the church of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome, is now presented in (this) copper plate.

cat. 99. Enea Vico after Andrea del Sarto: Visitation, 1561, $\mathbf{3 0 0} \times 417 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
Quam uides, hanc Diuae Mariae et Helisabeth uisitationem, Andreas / Florentinus cognomento Sutoris, celeberrimus aetatis suae pictor, / elegantißime Annuntiationis pro templo Florentiae pinxit; cuius / typum ab $\qquad$ formis / aereis concessum, Antonius Lafrerius Sequanus imprimi publicariq. / curauit. Romae anno à sal. Hum. gen. $\propto D L X I$

What you see here (is) the Visitation of Saint Mary and Elisabeth that Andreas from Florence, (known) by the surname of Sutor (cobbler), the most famous painter of his age, painted for the most elegant church of the Annunciation of Florence, this image was formed of copper, the Gallic Antonius Lafreri took care of the printing and published (it), in Rome, 1561.

cat. 100. Adamo Scultori after Michelangelo: Pietà, 1566, $358 \times 280 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE (Bartsch XV.418.3)

MICH ANG BONAROTVS signa haec, quae in uaticano uisuntur, ita exacte perfecit, ut potius Parentem virginem extremo spiritu exanguem et confectam et nati corpus miserabile emortuum doleas, quam de marmore positum putes. // Formis Romae M D LXVI / Romae Ant Lafrerij

This is the image that is to be seen in the Vatican, Michelangelo Buonarotti completed it in this exact way so that you feel the pain that consumed the bloodless Virgin Mother and (you feel) her last breath, and the miserable, dead body of (her) child rather than you see the marble statue.

cat. 101. Anonymous copy of the print by Agostino Veneziano after Raphael: Christ Carrying the Cross, $\mathbf{4 3 0} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{2 8 9} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BNE (Bartsch XIV. 34.28 copy)

Ipse tuam bone Christe crucem portare iuberis: / Admonitus cesso cur ego ferre meam. // Ipse gemis diri tanto sub pondere ligni: / Cur grave Christe, tuum iam videtur onus! // Romae Ant. Lafrerij

You yourself are commanded to bear your cross, oh good Christ, (thus) rebuking (me) why I stop carrying mine. You yourself groan under the great weight of the tremenduous cross. Why, oh Christ, does your burden seem (so) heavy now?

cat. 102. Anonymous copy of the print by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael: Descent from the Cross, after 1521, $\mathbf{4 2 6} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{2 8 6} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BNE (Bartsch XIV.37.32)

Mortuus e cruce detrahitur descendere uiuus / Cum posset. nostri tantus adegit amor // Excipite exanguem dominum pia turba lacertis / Atq[u]e humeris: non uos dulce grauabit onus. // Romae Ant. Lafrerij

Dead, he is being taken down from the cross, although, he could descend from it alive. Such a great love for us moved him (to do this). Oh pious crowd, receive the lifeless Lord in your arms and on your shoulders! This sweet burden will not burden you.

cat. 103. Andrea Marelli after Raphael: The Ascension of Christ, 1567-1572, $421 \times 347$ mm, BML

It coelo uictor uictricis mortis, euntem / Cara oculis, uellent quoq[ue] corpore turba sequuntur. // Antonij Lafrerij

The vanquisher of the all vanquishing death rises up to heaven. The crowd dear to him follow his rising up with their eyes. It is what they would like to do with their bodies (as well).

cat. 104. Girolamo Fagiuoli after Francesco Salviati (?): Adam and Eve with a Child, $359 \times 260 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML

Cum dulce arridens pueriliter oscula matris / Captat, blanditiis miscet et illa puer, / Laetitiam tota manifestaq[ue] gaudia mente, / Concipit, ex charo pigore, uterq[ue] parens. / Este hylares, vobis cumulata haec gaudia crescunt, / Haec diuturna, atq[ue] iis vos [estis] potiora, manent. // Ant. Lafrerij Romae

The one smiling captures the kisses of the mother in a boyish manner, sweetly, and combines them with pleasure. And the boy that she brought about from sinful flesh brings happiness with that total manifest joy in her mind. Be joyful, this ever increasing joy grows for you, and this joy remains longlasting and from it you are more powerful.

cat. 105. Girolamo Fagiuoli after Francesco Salviati (?): Adam and Eve lamenting Abel, $388 \times 266 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML

Vt vero natum maesti videre parentes, / Fratris inhumana procubuisse manu. / Quis dolor hen facinus, turbata in pectora venit? / Vt misere infandum planxit uterq[ue] nefas? / Creditur, extincti complexos membra iacentis / Vitae pertaesos et voluisse mori.

Look how the parents, full of sadness, looked at (their) offspring who had been broken down by the brutal hand of (his) brother. Behold this crime, what pain comes in the troubled hearts? Did they both lament about the wretched, unspeakable $\sin$ ? It is believed that the ones embracing the limbs of the one lying, having been destroyed, were tired of life and wanted to die.

cat. 106. Cherubino Alberti: Carrying of the Cross, $250 \times 158 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE (Bartsch XVII.57.20)

Ne lachrymis, matres, me neu decorate querelis / Vosmet uos, uestra et pignora flere magis. // Antonij Lafrerij

You shall not weep, oh mothers, and you shall not honor me with (your) lamentations, you and your beloved ones should rather weep for yourselves!

cat. 107. Anonymous engraver after Titian (?): Ecce Homo, 1566, $151 \times 191$ mm, BNE Aspicite, ut caput implicitum quam plurima figat / spina, nec in nobis pars uacet ulla plagis. // Vos Homines mihi causa horum, uos serua tulisse / Supplicia et mortem post obiisse cruces. // Ant. Lafrerij Formis Romae M D LXVI

Behold, since the head is fastened with the thorn, as much encircled as possible, none among us would be free from wounds. You, oh men, (are) the reason of that, you shall keep carrying the punishment and death for me after I have died on the cross.

cat. 108. Tobias Cicchino: Crucifixion, 1570, $417 \times 291 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML
Summa Deum pietas, nostraeq[ue] iniuria culpae / Factum hominem saeuam iussit adire crucem. / Unde uidere licet quantus sit criminis horror, / Et quanto constet nostra labore salus. // Romae Ant Lafrerij // Tobias Aquitanus FECIT M D LXX

Severe Piety, highest among the gods, commanded man to go to the cruel cross, the deed of our sin, so that one can see how great the horror of crime is, and how much suffering our salvation consists of.

cat. 109. Giulio Bonasone after Michelangelo: Judith giving the head of Holofernes to her servant, $\mathbf{3 1 8 \times 4 5 2} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Bartsch XV.115.9)

Per satiar l'ingiuste', è ingorde' voglie' / Tanto il Crudo Holoferne, al ber si diede', / Ch'ci fatto un tronco, perse huomini, è Spoalie', / Judit sicura per l'armato Campo, / Passò co'l brutto teschio, in panni auolto / Cagion ch'Assiri in fuga, hebber mal scampo. // Michael Angelus pincit In Vaticano, // ANT LAFRERI

To satisfy the unjust and avid desires, the bestial Holofernes gave himself to drink so much that he becomes drunk, loses man and spoils. Judith goes through the armed camp safely with the ugly skull wrapped in cloths, causing the Assyrians in retreat an evil outcome. ${ }^{51}$

[^45]
cat. 110. Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo: Titius, 1540-1560, $290 \times 418 \mathrm{~mm}$, Victoria \& Albert Museum, London (Bartsch XV.259.39)

M aNG INVENT // ANT / LAFRERI / FORMIS // TITIVS GIGAS A WLTVRE DIVERSISQ[VE] PENIS LACERATVS

The giant Titius (is) tormented by the hostile vulture as (his) punishment.

cat. 111. Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo: Ganymede, 1542, $\mathbf{4 2 1 \times 2 7 7 \mathrm { mm } , \text { BML }}$
ANT LAFRERI / SEQVANI FORMIS // GANIMEDIS IVVENIS TROIANVS RAPTVS A IOVE The young Troyan, Ganymede, (is) carried off by Jupiter.

cat. 112. Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo: Pieta, 1547, $368 \times 260 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.215.25)

NO[N] VI SI PENSA QVANTO SANGVE COSTA / M. ANGELVS INVE / ROMAE 1547 // NB They don't think of how much blood it costs.

cat. 113. Philippe Soye after Michelangelo: Crucifixion (second state published by Thomassin, no reference to Michelangelo in the first state), $538 \times 368 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein XXVII.237.3)
PECCATA NOSTRA IPSE PERTVLIT, VT PECCATIS MORTVI IVSTITIAE VIVAMVS CVIVS LIVORE SANATI SVMVS // Michelangelus Bonarotus inuentor / Philippus Sylicus fecit / Rome Phli Thomassinus excudit // ILL.MO D. FR. IVLIO CAESARI SANTINELLIO EX comitibvs metvlae comendatario hierosolimitano d[omi]no col.mo SINGVLARIS OBSERVANTIAE ARGVMENTVM

He himself bore our sins so that we might die to sins and live for righteousness; by his wounds we are healed. 1 Peter 2:24

cat. 114. Philippe Soye after Michelangelo: Madonna del Silenzio, 1566, $439 \times 304 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE (Hollstein XXVII.238.5)
Philippus Sericus Fecit // stvdio / Pietatis immobilis erga Deum / Galesij Reguardi Episcopi Balneorigiensis / Pij iiij Papae Datarij / D // DORMIENTE PVERO IESV / DIVINA MENS VIGILAT // Michael Angelus Bonarotus Florentinus / inuentor / Ant. Lafrerij formis Romae M. D. LXVI / cum Priuilegio

While the child Jesus is sleeping, the divine soul is vigilant.

cat. 115. Philippe Soye after Michelangelo: Madonna del Silenzio, 1565, $395 \times 278$ mm, BML (Hollstein XXVII.239.6)
NE EXCITETIS PVERVM DORMIENTEM QVIDEM CORPORE ANIMO VERO VIGILANTEM // Ant. Lafreri formis Romae MD LXV

Do not wake up the sleeping child, because indeed, (he is asleep) in (his) body but awake in (his) soul.

cat. 116.a-b. Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo: Jesus and the Samaritan woman, version $\mathbf{1}$ and 2, $\mathbf{4 0 0} \times \mathbf{2 9 0} \mathbf{m m}, \mathbf{3 9 9} \times 295 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV. 247.17 and copy)

## N. B. L. MICH. ANG. INV

DIXIT IESVS MVLIERI SAMARITANAE / Qui bibit ex aqua hac sitiet iterum, qui autem biberit ex aqua / quam ego dabo ei non sitiet in aeternum. Ioann. cap. iiij // Ant. Lafrerij Formis

Jesus said to the Samaritan woman, "Everyone who drinks this water will be thirsty again, but whoever drinks the water I give them will never thirst. Indeed, the water I give them will become in them a spring of water welling up to eternal life."
John 4:13-14

cat. 117. Copy of Martino Rota's print after Michelangelo: Last Judgment, after 1569, $290 \times 160 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE (Bartsch XVI. 260.28 copy)
Hoc speculo genus humanum se spectet, et ante / Discat iter, per quod uitaq[ue], morsq[ue] uenit. / Discat, ut e totis surgant rediuiua sepulchris / Corpora, quidq[ue] Deo Iudice quenq[ue] manet // Arte, colore, manu Bonaroti expressa tremendi / Haec simulachra fori cerne, reuolue, paue. / Et si non animus, si mens non deficit, illo, / Dic mihi quis nobis tempore sensus erit? // ANT LAFRERI SEQVANI FORMIS

The human race should look at himself through this mirror, and in front of it he should learn the way through which life and death come. He should learn that the revived bodies would rise from all the tombs, everybody who awaits for divine judgment. You should examine, reflect upon, (and) fear this image of the dreadful court of justice exhibited through the skill, color, and hand of Bonarotus. And if we will be left without soul and mind, (then) tell me how will we experience that time?

cat. 118.a-b. Anonymous engraver: Christ as Salvator mundi, and the most beautiful Virgin, $288 \times 217$ mm / $290 \times 216$ mm, Escorial, Madrid

Omnipotens mundi rector seruator et auctor / Laetifica uultu pectora nostra tuo // Ant Lafrerij

Almighty ruler of the world, savior and creator, let our hearts rejoice in your face!
Foeminei tu sola chori pulcherrima Virgo / Vna Dei pariter filia sponsa parens // Ant Lafrerij You, most beautiful Virgin, (are) unique among the choir of women, at the same time daughter, bride, and mother of God.


## 118.c. Woodcut illustration from

Petrus Canisius, De Maria Virgine incomparabili et Dei genitrice sacrosancta libri quinque

cat. 119.a. Cornelis Cort: Virgin Immaculate with Marian symbols, 1567, $290 \times 212 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE (Hollstein V.51.105)

Cum uarios multi tibi nominis addat honores, / Admirata tuum pagina sacra decus / Maiores, pluresq[ue] tibi debentur honores, / Sed quos non hominum mensue, liberue capit. / A. Stat. / Ant. Lafrerj Formis Romae 1567

As the Holy Scriptures add different honors of many titles to you, your glory (is) admired (and) more and greater graces are devoted to you, but the judgment and book of men do not contain those.

119.b. Woodcut illustration from Petrus Canisius, De Maria Virgine incomparabili et Dei genitrice sacrosancta libri quinque

cat. 120.a-b. Nicolas Beatrizet: Madonna di Loreto, first version, $300 \times 218$ mm, BML (Bartsch XV.251.26) and woodcut illustration from Petrus Canisius, De Maria Virgine incomparabili et Dei genitrice sacrosancta libri quinque

## VERO RETRATTO DO SANCTA MARIA DI LORETO

The real image of St. Mary of Loreto.

cat. 121. Anonymous engraver after Cornelis Cort after the painting of Marco Pino: Adoration of the shepherds, after 1568, $413 \times 259 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE

En Opifex rerum tecto sub paupere natus / Excipitur uili cespite, stratus humi. // Disce domos Tyrias nec quaerere uestes / O cinis, O puluis faetide, homo. // Romae Ant. Lafreri // MR Senesis Inue

See, the Creator of things, born under the poor roof, is received lying on the cheap grass of the earth. You shall learn not to look for the Tyrian houses and clothes, oh ashes, oh disgusting dust, oh man.

cat. 122. Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccari: Annunciation with Prophets, 1571, 460 x $\mathbf{6 8 0} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Hollstein V.42.26)
"The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren" Deuteronomy 18:15
"Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son" Isaiah 7:14
"of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne" Psalm 131:11
"Let my beloved come into his garden" Canticle 5:1
"For the Lord has created a new thing on the earth: a woman encompasses a man" Jeremiah 31:22
"Yet one little while (...) and the desired of all nations shall come forth" Haggai 2:7-8

Opus quod in aede Virginis Deiparae Annunciatae Collegii Romani societatis IESV. Federicus Zuccarus S. Angeli in Vado ad Ripas Mitauri perfecit aeneis tabellis expressum.

This work (is) in the cathedral of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, of the Roman College of the Society of Jesus.

cat. 123.a-b. Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccaro: Presentation in the temple, 1568, and the copy published by Lafreri, $288 \times 205 \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Hollstein V.52)

Aspicit optatum Simeon longaeuus IESVM, / Et manibus puerum dum tenet ille piis, / Sic ait, alme Deus, saturata haec lumine tanto / Lumina nunc placida nunc mihi morte tegant. // A. Stat. // Federicus Zuccharus de S. Angelo inuen.

Aspicit optatum Simeon longaeuus IESVM, / Et manibus puerum dum tenet ille piis, / Sic ait, alme Deus, saturata haec lumine tanto / Lumina nunc placida nunc mihi morte tanto // Federicus Zuccharus de S. Angelo inuen. // Ant. Lafrerij

The elder Simeon looks at the chosen Jesus, while he holds the child in (his) pious hands, he says, "oh nourishing God, and she filled with such a great light! The gentle light disguises (you) now to me, later from death."

cat. 124.a-b. Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccaro: Moses and Aaron before the pharaoh, and the copy by Lafreri, $\mathbf{3 8 8} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{2 7 0} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Hollstein V.18)

## Federicus Zuccharus de S. Angelo inuen. // A. statio // Romae ex Typis D. Salamanca

Inmitis Pharao monstris non territus ullis / Neglegit inuicti iussa minasq[ue] dei./ At / Moyses fraterq[ue] manent quae damna tyrannum, / Verbaq[ue] signaq[ue] per tristia multa monent.
// Federicus Zuccharus de S. Angelo inuen. / Antoni Lafrerij Formis

The barbarous Pharaoh, not frightened by any monsters, despises the orders and threats of the unconquerable God. But Moses and (his) brother continue to teach the tyrant by the means of many sad losses, and words, and signs.

cat. 125. Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccari: Coronation of Mary by angels, 1574, 420 $\mathbf{x} \mathbf{2 8 8} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Hollstein V.51.109-110)

1574 / Cornelius Cort fe // Edidit haec terrae ac coeli Regemque Deumque / Vnde salus terrae stat decus unde polo / Coelicolae hanc merito cingunt decorantque corona. / Ecquid Terrigenae? dent pia corda py. // Federicus Zuccarus Inuen. // Ant. Lafrerij

She has raised God and the King of earth and sky, on whom the salvation of the earth and the glory of the heavens rest. Heaven dwellers surround her and embellish her for (her) merit with a crown. And the earth-born? The pious shall offer (their) pious hearts.

cat. 126. Anonymous engraver after Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccari: Coronation of Mary by Christ, after 1576, $411 \times 306 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE

Ecce humilis Virgo, Mater castissima CHRISTI, / Accipit a Nato praemia summa suo; / Esto humilis, purusque vocato in vota MARIAM. / Scandere vt sydereos possis et ipse gradus. // Romae Antonij Lafreri Formis

See how the humble virgin, the most chaste mother of Christ receives the highest reward from her Child. Be humble and chaste, and invoke Mary in (your) prayer, so that you would be able to ascend to heaven.

cat. 127. Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccari: Justice Rewarding the Worthy, 1566, $\mathbf{2 4 8 \times 3 0 7} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Hollstein V.59)

Fed[eri]cus Zuccarus Vrbin' Inuent. // 1566 // IVSTICIA AEQVATO PERPENDENS OMNIA LANCE, CVIQ[VE], SVIS TRIBVIT PRAEMIA PRO MERITIS

Justice carefully weighs everything with the evened pan of the scales, and she grants everybody the favors according to their merits.

cat. 128. Anon. copy of Cort's print after Federico Zuccari: The Calumny of Apelles, 1572, $300 \times 405 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML

Fed Zuccarus inue // Infandae heu scelerum species Calumnia Frausq[ue] / Et furor, ac Sordes, mensq[ue] inconsulta Tiranni / Sed quas securo contemnat pectore Virtus, / Et custos sine labe animi facundia praesens. // Romae Antonij Lafreri Formis

Behold the monstrous figures of wickedness, Calumny, and Deceit, and Fury, and Squalor, the tyrants who did not respect the Mind, but Virtue despises them with careless heart, and in the presence of Eloquence, the guardian of the flawless soul.

cat. 129. Cornelis Cort after Taddeo Zuccari: Presentation of Mary in the Temple, 1570, $\mathbf{2 7 5 \times 1 9 9} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Hollstein V.41.21)
C. Cort f. // 1570 // Lumina conscendens ultro petit ardua templi, / Ipsa eadem templum / Virgo futura Dei. // Ant. Lafrerij

Climbing up from beyond, she aims at the lofty lights of the temple, while at the same time, she herself (is) the shrine, the future Virgin of God.

cat. 130. Anonymous engraver after Federico Zuccari: Ascension of Christ, before 1577, $297 \times 213 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE

Federico Zuccharo / de S. A. inuen // It coelo uictor uictricis mortis, euntem / Cara oculis, uellent quoq[ue] corpore turba sequuntur. // Antonij Lafrerij

The vanquisher of the all vanquishing death rises up to heaven. The crowd dear to him follow his rising up with their eyes. It is what they would like to do with their bodies (as well).

cat. 131. Nicolas Beatrizet after Girolamo Muziano: Christ resurrects the daughter of Jairus, $520 \times 380$ mm, BML (Bartsch XV.246.15)

HIERONVMO / MVCIANO / BRIXIANO / INVENT. // ARCHISVNAGOGI FILIAM IAM MORTVAM / IESVS CHRISTVS A MORTVIS SV[S]CITAT / MARCVS CAP V // NICOLAVS BEATRICIVS / LOTHARINGVS INCIDIT / ET FROMIS EXC.

Jesus Christ resurrects the already dead daughter of the head of the synagogue. Mark 5:21-43.

cat. 132. Nicolas Beatrizet after Girolamo Muziano: St. Elisabeth, $440 \times 350 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.255.31)
SANCTA ELISABETH REGIS / VNGARIE FILIA VAS VIRTV/TVM ET MIRACVLORVM MA/GNITVDINE CLARA QVAE / PARENTVM GENEROSITATE / ET DIVITIARVM IACTANTIA / CONTEMPTA PRO CORONA / CINERE[M] ET PRO PECTORALI / FASCIA CILICIVM SVSCIPIENS / MVNDO SE FECIT IGNOBILEM / VT NOBILIS CVM CHRISTO / EFFICERETVR IN COELIS. // HIERONVMO / MVCIANO / BRIXIANO / INVENT // Romae Ant. Lafrerij // NICOLAVS BEATRICIVS / LOTHARINGVS INCIDIT / ET FORMIS SVIS EXC.

Saint Elisabeth, daughter of the Hungarian king, virtuous and marvelous, and famously great, she despised the nobility of (her) parents and the ostentation of wealth, taking up ashes instead of jewelled clothes, and a cloth made of goat hair instead of the despised crown, she supported the ignoble (people of low birth) in the world, so that she would be proved noble (to be) with Christ in heaven.

cat. 133. Cornelis Cort after Girolamo Muziano: Stigmatisation of St. Francis, 1567, 415 x 545 mm , BML (Hollstein V.52.128)
D. FRANCISCI STIGMATA MIRACVLIS CELEBRATA / EX HIERONYMI MVCIANI BRIXIANI ARCHETYPO / ANTONIVS LAFRERIVS ROMAE EXCVDEBAT / ANNO SAL. MDLXVII. / C. Cortf. 1567

The miraculous and celebrated stigmatisation of Saint Francis, from the archetype of Hieronymus Muzino of Brescia, Antonius Lafreri published in Rome 1567.

cat. 134. Cornelis Cort after Girolamo Muziano: Stigmatisation of St. Francis, 1568, 431 x 300 mm , BML (Hollstein V.52.129)

Hieronymo Muciano Brixiano Inuent. // Ant. Lafrerij formis Romae 1568 // Qui tum, qui sensus, quae mens, quiq[ue] extitit ardor, / Diue, tibi, uenit cum sacra flamma polo. / Vt nouus ille tui testis fuit ardor amoris, / Incrementum ignis sic sacra flamma tui. / Nec tacitas solum penetrauit flam[m]a medullas: / Impressit membris stigmata sancta crucis.

What then, what feeling, what sense, and what ardor appeared to you, oh Saint, when the sacred flame came from heaven? It was a new flame of love that you witnessed, and this is why the sacred flame (transformed into) the growth of your fire. The flame has not only entered the hidden marrows, (but) it has imprinted the divine marks of the cross on the limbs.

cat. 135. Cornelis Cort after Giulio Clovio: Adoration of the Magi, 1566, $278 \times 220 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE (Hollstein V.43.37)

Sidereo Infanti Reges haec dona tulerunt / Aurum, Thus, Myrrham, munera trina trium. / Dant Regi aurum, Thura Deo, Myramq[ue], Sepulchro / Quod Rex, quodq[ue] Deus, quod moriturus erat. // Pet. Stephanij // Ant Lafrerij Formis Romae M D LXVI

The kings carried these gifts for the divine child: gold, incense, myrrh, each of the three (carried) one gift. They offer gold, incense and myrrh at the grave to God, to the King. The King who (is) God, who will die.

cat. 136. Cornelis Cort after Giulio Clovio: Lamentation of Christ, 1568, $351 \times 268 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein V.49.92)

Omnis creatura compatitur Christo morienti, solus miser homo non compatitur, pro quo solo Christus patitur. // Romae Ant. Lafrerij

All the creatures have compassion for the dying Christ, only the wretched man does not feel pity, for whom alone Christ suffered.

cat. 137. Cornelis Cort after Giulio Clovio: Crucifixion, 1568, $351 \times 258 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Hollstein V.48.84)

Don Iulio Clovio / de crovatia inuentor // Quid mundo, si nulla quies reperitur oberras? / Huc ades: aethereum crux tibi pandit iter. / Cur, age, ferre crucem cunctaris, homuncio, pro me: / Quandoquidem pro te iam Deus ipse tuli? / Nam mea uita fuit, tua mors: morte' sed obiui / Ipse tuam: uitam tu quoq[ue] uiue meam.

Where would you wander if you do not find peace? You arrive at hither: the cross unfolds the divine path for you. Why do you hesitate? You shall move, carry the cross for me, little man, since indeed, God himself has already carried it for you! For my life has been your death, but I have gone to meet your death itself: you shall live my life, too.

cat. 138. Aliprando Caprioli after Cornelis Cort after Giulio Clovio: The Conversion of St. Paul, c. 1576, $366 \times 482 \mathrm{~mm}$, BNE (this is the second state published by Duchetti in $1586^{52}$ )

Don Julius clouius Illiricus inu. / Apud heredes Claudij duchetti formis Romae 1586 // Dum patrios ritus, priscaeq[ue] oracula Legis, / Saulus perpetuo salua manere cupit. / Fit lupus ecce rapax: spirans caedesq[ue] minasq[ue] // CHRISTE tuum properat dilaniare gregem / At prostratus humi, coelesti lumine tactus, / Vt mores, Nomen coepit habere nouum // De saulo PAVLVS, populorum, ex milite, Doctor / Agnus de rabido fitq[ue], repente lupo / Vas domini electum, Magnus fit Apostolus, orbis // Iudex: inspector, raptus in alta poli / Facta stupenda DEI qui contemplaris, in uno / PAVLO Conuerso, q[uo]d mediteris habes.

Saulus wishes to keep alive forever the gentile rites and the prophecy of the ancient law. See (what) happens to the furious wolf: in order to be inspired, you will fall and be threatened. Oh Christ, he (Saul) hastens to tear your flock to pieces, but casted down to the ground, hit by heavenly light, he begins to have a new name and new morals. He suddenly becomes Paulus from Saulus, teacher of people from soldier, a lamb from the rabid wolf, he becomes the chosen instrument of the Lord, the great apostle of the world. Oh viewer, (you are) the judge, you shall observe how at the same time the converted Paulus was carried off to the high heavens and made benumbed by God, this (is) what you shall reflect on.

[^46]
cat. 139. Dominico Zenoi after Giulio Clovio: Crucifixion, 1563, $493 \times 384 \mathrm{~mm}$, ING Rome
Divi C. Cypriani ad Christum crucifixum Carmen // Cur sic despectus rigidaq[ue] sub arbore pendes? / Tam diram pateris cur bone Christe necem? / Cur tenerum tanto macerauit uerbere corpus? / Transfixitq[ue] tuas gens maledicta manus? / Cur pateris tantos sanctorum sancte dolores / Quos neque famosus fur tolerare solet? // Proh dolor infoelix ego sum cui congruit ignis. / Qui mereor stygias viuus adire domos. / Has ego proteruus debeo persoluere poenas. / Haec me sanguineum mors furibunda decet. / Tu vero innocuus quo nunquam purior alter, / Cur geris immeritam Agne benign[e] Crucem? // Christi crucifixi, responsio. / Ill.mo et R.mo D. Domino Otho. Truk. a / Waldpurg Cps. Card. Albanen. // Huc me sydereo descendere iussit Olympo, / Hic me crudeli vulnere fixit amor. / Langueo, nec quisquam nostro succurrit amori, / Quem nequeunt durae frangere iura crucis. / Pungentem capiti Dominum portare coronam / Fortis amor docuit verbera tanta pati. // Felle sitim magni Regis satiauit amaro: / Pectus vt hauriret lancea fecit amor, / De me solus amor potuit proferre triumphum: / Ille pedes clauis fixit et ille manus. / Si cupis ergo animi mihi signa rependere grati, / Dilige: pro tantis sat mihi solus amor.

Why do you hang this way, disdained, on the rough tree? Oh good Christ, why do you suffer so long the fearful death? Why has the tender body been tormented so much with the whip? Why did cursed people have pierced your hands through? Why do you, oh sacred of the saints, suffer such great pains that a well-known thief is not used to endure?
O sorrow, I am miserable, with whom the fire unites, I deserve to enter the houses of the Styx alive. I myself, the impudent, am responsible to pay for these punishments. Now raging death has become of bloody me but innocent you, no one ever has been purer (than you), why you, oh benevolent Lamb, bear the cross that you did not deserve?
Love has commanded me to come down from divine Olympus, (and) here love has inflicted a cruel wound on me. I faint, (but) no one comes to help our love that the law of the harsh cross cannot break (into pieces). Powerful love has taught the Lord to bear the piercing crown on (his) head, (and) to suffer such scourges.
Love has satisfied the thirst of the great King with bitter gall and made the lance to drain (his) breast, only Love could triumph over me that has pierced my feet and hands with nails. Therefore, if you wish to recompense me, you shall express the grateful soul and you shall esteem which is only good enough for me, that is love.


Cur sic despectus rigidaque sub arbore pendes? / Tam diram pateris cur bone Christe necem? / Pro me cuncta quidem suffers, mea crimina portas: / In cruce tu moreris, ne crucifigar ego. / Omne igitur toto mihi quod contingit in orbe / Atque animis iuncto corpore semper habe. // Romae Ant Lafrerij // Haec Cypri.

Why do you hang this way, disdained, on the rough tree? Oh good Christ, why do you suffer so long the fearful death? In fact, you suffer all this for me, you take my crimes. You die on the cross, so that I am not crucified. Therefore everything that happens to me in the whole world, you shall always hold for the soul and for the adjoining body.

cat. 141. Jacob Bos: Crucifixion, 1564, $508 \times 347 \mathrm{~mm}$, BML (Bartsch XV.18.7)

cat. 142. Anonymous after Jacob Bos: Crucifixion, 1566, 467 x 346 mm, BNE (Bartsch XV. 18.7 copy)

cat. 143. Giorgio Ghisi after Correggio: The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, 1575, $\mathbf{2 6 8 \times 2 1 0} \mathbf{~ m m}$, BML (Bartsch XV.389.11)

GMF // Diuini felix uirgo cape pignus amoris / Dignatur thalamis te Deus ipse suis. // Ant. Lafreri formis Romae 1575

Happy maiden, take this pledge of divine love. God himself deems you worthy of his marriage bed. ${ }^{53}$

[^47]
## PLATES TO PART III: FRAMES

Framing the image with text


Plate 1. Jan van Eyck: A. Portrait of a Man with Red Turban, 1433, $260 \times 190 \mathrm{~mm}$, National Gallery, London B. Portrait of Jan de Leeuw, 1436, $245 \times 190 \mathrm{~mm}$, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.


A


Plate 2. Jan van Eyck: A. Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine and Michael, 1437, $330 \times 275 \mathrm{~mm}$, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; B. Madonna in the Church, c. 1438, $310 \times 140 \mathrm{~mm}$, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; C. Annunciation diptych, c. 1435-1441, $778 \times 472 \mathrm{~mm}$, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.


A


C

B


D

Plate 3. Jan Gossart: A. Virgin and Child, 1531, $500 \times 380 \mathrm{~mm}$, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland; B. Virgin and Child, c. 1525-1530, $480 \times 380 \mathrm{~mm}$, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; C. Virgin and Child, c. 1527, 307 x 243 mm , National Gallery, London; D. Venus and Cupid, 1521, $320 \times 240 \mathrm{~mm}$, Royal Museum of Art, Brussels.


B

Plate 4. A. Frans Floris: Family portrait, 1561, 1300 x 2250 mm , Stedelijk Museum, Lier; B. Maarten van Heemskerck: Lamentation, 1566, 1400 x 1960 mm, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft.


Plate 5. A. Donato de' Bardi: Crucifixion with Mary Magdalene, c. $1440,1650 \mathrm{x} 2380 \mathrm{~mm}$, Pinacoteca Civica, Savona; B. Domenico Ghirlandaio, Adoration of the Shepherds, 1485, $1670 \times 1670$ mm, Santa Trinità, Florence; C. Filippino Lippi, The Vision of St Bernard, 1485, $2100 \times 1950 \mathrm{~mm}$, Badia, Florence; C. Sandro Botticelli, Annunciation, 1489, 1500 x 1560 mm, Uffizi, Florence.

## Printed frames of texts



E


F

## Plate 6.

Details of prints published by Salamanca: A. Master of the Die after Coxcie: Cupid and Psyche, second sheet of the series, cat.80; Veneziano: Allegory of the Two Lovers, cat.88; Anon.: Abigail and David, cat.79; Anon. after Salviati: The Killing of Niobe's Children, cat. 70.

Details of prints published by Cock: E. Coornhert after Heemskerck: Balaam, cat.60; F. Heyden after Lombard: The Miraculous Draught of the Fishes, cat. 34.


A


B


C


D


E


F


G
Plate 7.
Details of prints published by Salamanca: A. Beatrizet after Bandinelli: Combat of Reason and Lust, cat.86; B. Veneziano: The Sailing Amor, cat.89.

Details of prints published by Cock: C. Galle after Brueghel: Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, cat.28; D. Cort after Romano (?): Scene with Bacchus, cat.64; E. Cort after Romano (?): Bacchanalia, cat.57; F. Coornhert after Floris: Solomon and Sheba, cat.2; G. Heyden after Raphael: The Sacrifice of Isaac, cat. 58.


## Plate 8.

Details of A. Raimondi after Raphael: Quos Ego, cat.85; B. sarcophagus from BML; C. sarcophagus from Torcello cathedral; D. printed illustration from Jacopo Mazzocchi: Epigrammata antiquae urbis, Rome, 1521.

A


B


C


E

## Plate 9.

Details of prints published by Salamanca: A. Vico: Venus and Mars, cat.76; B. Vico after Parmiggianino: Lucretia, cat.75; C. Beatrizet: Cain and Abel, cat.83; D. Anon.: Allegory on the Cruelty of Love, cat.90; E. Monogrammist O.O.V.: Allegory of the Passions, cat.91.


A


B


C


D


E


F


G

## Plate 10.

Details of prints published by Cock: A. Coornhert after Heemskerck: St. Paul in Ephesos, cat.25; B. Anon. after Primaticcio (?): Mars and Venus, cat.63; C. Heyden after Sarto: Zachariah and Gabriel, cat.59; D. Heyden after Lombard: Sacrifice to Priapus, cat.17; E. Cort after Floris: Hercules and the Pygmies, cat.9; F. Cort after Romano: The Three Fates, cat.65; G. Anon. after Sarto: Holy Family, cat. 45 .


## Plate 11.

Details of prints published by Cock: A. Ghisi after Raphael: School of Athens, cat.4; Anon. after Lombard: Esther before Ahasuerus, cat.61; Heyden after Floris: Brazen Serpent, cat.1; Galle after Romano: Apollo and Diana Killing of Niobe's Children, cat.3.


D


E
Plate 12.
Details of prints published by Cock: A. Cort after Floris: Dialectica from the series of the Liberal Arts, cat.11.b; B. Cort after Floris: Allegory of Virtue, cat.66; Huys after Floris: Apollo and the Muses, cat.14; Ghisi after Lombard: The Last Supper, cat.6; Anon. after Lombard: Christ washing the feet of the apostles, cat.7.


Plate 13.
Detail of the print published by Cock: A. Anon. after Lombard: Crucifixion, cat. 54.
Detail of the print publsihed by Lafreri: B. Vico after Sarto: Visitation, cat. 99.

## Crossing the frames



## Plate 14.

Jacopo Caraglio after Rosso Fiorentino: A-C. Three sheets from the series of The Battles of Hercules: Hercules Killing Nessus, Hercules Fighting Cacus, and Hercules Fighting the Centaurs, 1520-39, 220 x 180 mm , BML (Bartsch XV.85.45); D. First sheet of the series Gods in niches, Saturn, 1530, 207 x 102 mm, BML (Bartsch VIII.273.26)


A


B


C


D

## Plate 15.

Details of prints published by Cock: A. Cort after Floris: Grammatica from the series of the Seven Liberal Arts, cat.11.a; B. Cort after Floris: Auditus from the series of the Five Senses, cat.20.a; C. Cort after Floris: Tactus from the series of the Five Senses, cat.20.b; D. Cort after Primaticcio: The Gods on Mount Olympus, cat. 62 .


## Plate 16.

Detail of the print published by Salamanca: A. Beatrizet after Salviati (?): Death of Meleager, cat.69.
Detail of the print published by Lafreri: B. Fagiuoli after Salviati (?): Adam and Eve with a child, cat. 104 .

Details of prints published by Cock: C. Cort after Floris: Adam and Eve Lamenting Abel, cat.10; D. Cort after Floris: Daphne from the series of the Pastoral Goddesses, cat.13.h.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Tr. from Boorsch, The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi, 61.
    ${ }^{2}$ Boorsch, The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi, 68.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Boorsch, The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi, 68.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Tr. from Boorsch, The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi, 64.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Photo by the author of the thesis.

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 91.

[^5]:    ${ }^{6}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 91.

[^6]:    ${ }^{7}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 91.

[^7]:    ${ }^{8}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 93.

[^8]:    ${ }^{9}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 93.

[^9]:    ${ }^{10}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 93.

[^10]:    ${ }^{11}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 95.

[^11]:    ${ }^{12} \mathrm{Tr}$. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 95.

[^12]:    ${ }^{13}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 95 .

[^13]:    ${ }^{14} \mathrm{Tr}$. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 97.

[^14]:    ${ }^{15}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 78.

[^15]:    ${ }^{16} \mathrm{Tr}$. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 22.

[^16]:    ${ }^{17}$ For images of the rest of the series (five more sheets), transcription and translation of all the inscriptions see Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 131-137.
    ${ }^{18} \mathrm{Tr}$. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 133.

[^17]:    ${ }^{19}$ Van de Velde, "Introduction," 13.

[^18]:    ${ }^{20}$ Van de Velde, "Introduction," 14-15.

[^19]:    ${ }^{21} \mathrm{Tr}$. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 122.

[^20]:    ${ }^{22}$ Friedrich, Das Symposium der XII sapientes, 54.

[^21]:    ${ }^{23}$ Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600," 138-139.

[^22]:    ${ }^{24}$ Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600," 138-139.

[^23]:    ${ }^{25}$ Image scanned from Pelc, Prints after Giulio Clovio, 66.

[^24]:    ${ }^{26}$ Tr. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 65.

[^25]:    ${ }^{27}$ Tr. from The Loeb Classical Library, Prudentius, vol. 2, 359.

[^26]:    ${ }^{28}$ Tr. from The Loeb Classical Library, Prudentius, 359.

[^27]:    ${ }^{29}$ Tr. from The Loeb Classical Library, Prudentius, 357.

[^28]:    ${ }^{30}$ Tr. from The Loeb Classical Library, Prudentius, 363.

[^29]:    ${ }^{31}$ Tr. from The Loeb Classical Library, Prudentius, 361.

[^30]:    ${ }^{32} \mathrm{Tr}$. from The Loeb Classical Library, Prudentius, 361.

[^31]:    ${ }^{33} \mathrm{Tr}$. from Boorsch, The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi, 71.

[^32]:    ${ }^{34}$ Image from Riggs, Hieronymus Cock, fig. 154.

[^33]:    ${ }^{35}$ Tr. from Hieronymus Cock, ed. Joris van Grieken et al, 142.

[^34]:    ${ }^{36}$ Tr. from Boorsch, The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi, 79.

[^35]:    ${ }^{37}$ The print does not include any inscriptions referring to the original artist or the source of the depiction, but it is usually attributed to the engraver Cornelis Cort and after Giulio Romano. Riggs, Hieronymus Cock, 368.
    ${ }^{38}$ Friedrich, Das Symposium der XII sapientes, 73.

[^36]:    ${ }^{39} \mathrm{Tr}$. from Sellink, Cornelis Cort, 113.

[^37]:    ${ }^{40}$ Tr. from Hieronymus Cock, ed. Joris van Grieken et al, 144.

[^38]:    ${ }^{41}$ Tr. from Archer, The Illustrated Bartsch, Commentary, vol. 28, 9.

[^39]:    ${ }^{42}$ Archer, The Illustrated Bartsch, Commentary, vol. 28, 201.

[^40]:    ${ }^{43}$ Petrarca, Rerum vulgarium fragmenta, 227.
    ${ }^{44}$ This first half of the translation is from Dora Thornton and Timothy Wilson, Italian Renaissance Ceramics: a catalogue of the British Museum collection (London, British Museum Press, 2009), 181.

[^41]:    ${ }^{45}$ Petrarca, Rerum vulgarium fragmenta, 422-431.

[^42]:    ${ }^{46}$ Petrarca, Rerum vulgarium fragmenta, 159.

[^43]:    ${ }^{47}$ Petrarca, Rerum vulgarium fragmenta, 286.
    ${ }^{48}$ Petrarca, Rerum vulgarium fragmenta, 9.
    ${ }^{49}$ Petrarca, Rerum vulgarium fragmenta, 488.

[^44]:    ${ }^{50}$ Tr. from Boorsch, The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi, 172.

[^45]:    ${ }^{51}$ Tr. from Archer, The Illustrated Bartsch, Commentary, vol. 28, 228.

[^46]:    ${ }^{52}$ For the first state of Lafreri's copy see Sellink, Cornelis Cort, vol. 2, 32.

[^47]:    ${ }^{53}$ Tr. from Boorsch, The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi, 170.

