Els Stronks

LITERATURE AND THE
SHAPING OF RELIGIOUS
IDENTITIES: THE CASE
OF THE PROTESTANT
RELIGIOUS EMBLEM IN
THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

In 1567, in the midst of the religious turmoil caused by outbursts of iconoclasm, the French poet Georgette de Montenay published her *Cent emblemes chrestiens*, the first religious emblem book ever made.¹ De Montenay composed one hundred militantly Christian emblems and dedicated the volume to Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, a well-known supporter of Calvinistic ideas in France. The emblem, invented by the Italian lawyer Andrea Alciato in 1531, can be seen as the ultimate attempt to blur the boundaries between the visual and the literary: word and image were to be combined in the emblem, a genre dedicated to achieving a

This research was carried out as part of a project, "The Religious Emblem Tradition in the Low Countries in the Light of Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria*," coordinated by Marc Van Vaeck and Els Stronks; see http://emblems.let.uu.nl/project_project_info.html#PiaDesideria. The project will culminate in the publication of a monograph, entitled *Negotiating Differences in Identity: Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). The research was sponsored by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research and the Research Foundation of Flanders. Partial translation of the present article (including all quotations originally in Dutch) was provided by Aleid Fokkema of Lighthouse Texts. All translations from the Latin are my own, unless otherwise noted. I thank Arnoud Visser for his very helpful suggestions.

¹ I rely here on Ian Green's definition of "religious literature" as literature related to the Bible and biblical stories or to the relationship between God and the believer. See Ian M. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ix.

balance between the two, following the tradition of *Ut pictura poesis*, the early modern quest for equilibrium in the arts.²

Together, the emblem's textual part and its visual part were intended (according to most present-day emblem theory) to create an effect more powerful than that of either single component³—an intention that when applied to an avowedly religious emblem was bound to clash with Protestant ideas at the time. In the history of Western Europe, discussions about the competitive relation between word and image have perhaps never been more intense than during the sixteenth century, when the issue came to be intertwined with religious controversies among Reformers and Roman Catholics.⁴ Reformers tried to establish the dominance of word over image in devotional practices, arguing that the word reveals, whereas the image conceals and coerces. Roman Catholics, on the other hand, defended the superiority of devotional imagery with the argument that the visual arts stimulate the imaginative and commemorative power of the human mind in ways texts cannot.⁵ These tensions over the issue eventually materialized as a historical phenomenon around 1566 in the iconoclastic breaking of images almost everywhere in Europe.

With de Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens*, religion and confessional strategies became a constitutive part of the emblematic tradition.⁶ Roman Catholic artists and poets soon followed de Montenay's example, deciding to "fight fire with fire"⁷ and create their own collection of religious emblem books.⁸ The religious emblem was favored by the Jesuit

² Lesley Stevenson, "Sister Arts or Sibling Rivalry? Cézanne and the Logic of the Senses," *Word and Image* 24 (2008): 152–61, esp. 156 and 157.

³ Bernhard F. Scholz, "'Libellum composui epigrammaton, cui titulum feci Emblemata': Alciatus's Use of the Expression *Emblema* Once Again," *Emblematica* 1 (1986): 213–26; Dorigen Caldwell, "Later Developments in Theory on the Imprese," *Emblematica* 11 (2001): 181–210; Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 16; and Peter M. Daly, "Emblems: An Introduction," in *A Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS, 2008), 1.

⁴ For a case study of this phenomenon, see, e.g., Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁵ For a detailed analysis of these discussions, see John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Joseph L. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004).

⁶ In the existent and continuing tradition of humanist emblem books in Latin derived from Alciato's example, religion also played a role, but it did so in an a-confessional mode, as recently argued by Arnoud S. Q. Visser, in "Escaping the Reformation in the Republic of Letters: Confessional Silence in Latin Emblem Books," *Church History and Religious Culture* 88 (2008): 139–67.

⁷ Sara F. Matthews Grieco, "Georgette de Montenay: A Different Voice in Sixteenth-Century Emblematics," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47 (1994): 793–871, quote on 794.

⁸ Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem: Statuts, fonctions, et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2005).

order for spiritual as well as didactic purposes, even more so after the publication of Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (Pious desires) in 1624.⁹ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, members of the Society of Jesus produced at least fifteen hundred editions of religious emblem books,¹⁰ reaching out to a very large and diverse audience in and outside the Jesuit order.¹¹

The propagandistic and meditative nature of these Jesuit emblem books found their origins in, for instance, engravings made by the Wierix brothers, who developed a full series of cardiomorphic prints entitled *Cor Jesu Amanti Sacrum* (The Sacred Heart of the loving Jesus) around 1586, using the image of the heart to represent the connection between the viewer and God (see fig. 1). In Wierix's engravings, Christ is preparing and protecting the believer's heart, a place where the love and grace of God can be received. The heart becomes a site for personal contemplation and self-improvement and the dwelling place for Christ.¹²

⁹ "In the hands of the Jesuits the emblem was both an artistic-ingenious and a persuasive means of communication. It made the spiritual insistently tangible, visible and admirable for the complete human being, viz. for the eyes and the other senses, the intellectual capacities, the heart, the emotions and the affects" (Karel Porteman, "The Use of the Visual in Classical Jesuit Teaching and Education," *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education* 36 [2000]: 178–96, quote on 181). In a sense, the innovative stimulus of Hugo's *Pia Desideria* was a limited one: Otto Vaenius had already introduced *amor divinus* in the religious love emblem in his *Amoris Divini Emblemata* (1615), the religious adaptation of his *Amorum Emblemata* (1608). On that occasion, the figure of the secular god of love, Cupid, was replaced by Vaenius, without authorial comment with a cherub with a halo to represent divine love: a type of representation that was indebted to the context of a spiritual environment already familiar with guardian angels and the Christ child. See Karel Porteman, "Boete Adamsz. Van Bolswert's *Duyfkens ende Willemynkens Pelgrimage* (1627); From the Religious Love Emblem towards a Devotional Strip for Girls," in *Toplore: Stories and Songs*, ed. Stefaan Top and Paul Catteeuw (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2006), 159. Vaenius's emblems bear the traces of both humanistic practices and Roman Catholic ideas. See Arnoud S. Q. Visser, "Commonplaces of Catholic Love," in *Learned Love: Proceedings of the Emblem Project Utrecht Conference on Dutch Love Emblems* (The Hague: Editia, 2007), 33–48.

¹⁰ Daly, "Emblems: An Introduction," 4.

¹¹ Around 1630 in the Southern Netherlands the somewhat elite nature of religious love emblems of the Jesuits, which were (in part) written in Latin, acquired a more accessible variant in the work of the priest Adriaan Poirter, who devoted himself to writing religious love emblems in Flemish for a nonintellectual public. See Johan Verberckmoes, "Comic Traditions in Adrianus Poirter in *Het masker van de wereldt afgetrocken*," in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 1996*, ed. John Manning and Mark van Vaeck, *Imago Figurata Studies*, vol. 1a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 341–52.

¹² See Emily J. Sargent, "The Sacred Heart: Christian Symbolism," in *The Heart*, ed. James Peto (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 102–14, esp. 113. See also Agnès Guiderdoni-Bruslé, "Images et emblèmes dans la spiritualité de saint François de Sales," *Dix-septième siècle* 2002, 35–54: "Dans la série emblématique des Wierix, le cœur du chrétien est la demeure de Dieu; l'état et l'aménagement de ce cœur constituent toute 'l'intrigue', depuis le grand ménage qui débarrasse le lieu de ses vices et autres souillures, jusqu'à son couronnement final. Il s'agit ici de la représentation de l'intériorité spirituelle de l'homme, dans toute sa matérialité paradoxale" (41).

FIG. 1.—Anton Wierix, print from the series *Cor Jesu Amanti Sacrum*, in Etienne Luzvic, *Cor Deo Devotum* . . . (Antwerp: Hendrik Aertssium, 1628), 104.

When the religious love emblem began to flourish in the Southern Netherlands, the custom of imparting religious instruction by means of images was as yet unestablished in the predominantly Protestant Dutch Republic. While elsewhere in Europe, for instance in England,¹³ Protestants produced religious literature in which the image and the word were combined, Protestant poets in the Dutch Republic were not accustomed in

¹³ See Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

FIG. 2.—“Templum Christj cor hominis,” *pictura* in Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625), fol. C2r.

the beginning of the seventeenth century to the use of devotional imagery in their religious work. This being the case, it is remarkable that a clear echo of Wierix's engraving is found in the Protestant emblem book *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales*, by Zacharias Heyns, published in the Dutch Republic in 1625 (see fig. 2). Within a burning heart, we see a representation of Christ holding a standard and being surrounded by a temple.

The reader is told, in the *motto* (“Templum Christj cor hominis”) and the *subscriptio* (epigram) of this emblem, that the human heart should be Christ’s temple.

Heyns’s *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* was, in the Dutch Republic, the first Protestant attempt to appropriate the Roman Catholic religious emblematic tradition. In this article, I will argue that studying Zacharias Heyns’s *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* leads to new insights with respect to the shaping of religious identities and the interrelation between different denominations in the Dutch Republic at the time. Heyns’s religious emblem book, in which Roman Catholic imagery plays an important role, allows us to establish the role of devotional actions in constructing religious identity. One of the questions asked in this paper is whether his emblems can be seen as an indication that Dutch Protestant poets around 1625 were reconsidering the self-imposed restrictions on the use of devotional images.

Although the focus of this article is on one Dutch emblem book and its Dutch context, this particular case contributes to a wider debate recently initiated by the emblem scholar Daniel Russell in his article “Emblems and Iconoclasm.”¹⁴ Russell, following the line of thought presented in Alain Besançon’s *The Forbidden Image*,¹⁵ attempts to situate the emblem in the history of imagery and iconoclasm in Western Europe.¹⁶ Russell argues that iconoclasm caused images to be detached from their iconic status, because images were no longer seen as the carrier of one particular message—as “icon” or “idol.” The emblematic genre, he argues, has its origins in this progressive desacralization of the image, a process that turned even religious images into empty rhetorical vessels. In support of this theory, Russell points to the English reception of the *Pia Desideria*. The English poet Francis Quarles successfully reworked Hugo’s emblems for an Anglican audience in 1635 without changing the *picturae* (images) and with very few changes to the texts accompanying the *picturae*.¹⁷ Russell therefore concludes that by that time “the iconoclastic tendencies of early English Protestantism had largely abated,”¹⁸ since the use of

¹⁴ Daniel Russell, “Emblems and Iconoclasm,” in *Emblemata Sacra: The Rhetoric and Hermeneutics of Illustrated Sacred Discourse*, ed. Ralph Dekoninck and Agnès Guiderdoni-Bruslé (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 39–52.

¹⁵ Alain Besançon, *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

¹⁶ The Catholic Church had a rich history of iconoclastic disputes even before the Reformation. See, e.g., Charles Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

¹⁷ Quarles’s *Emblems* came to be “the best-known emblem book in English history” (Aakanksha Virkar-Yates, “The Heart’s Bower: Emblematics in Gerard Manley Hopkins’s *The Wreck of the Deutschland* (1876),” *Literature and Theology* 22 [2008]: 32–47, quote on 32).

¹⁸ Russell, “Emblems and Iconoclasm,” 49.

Roman Catholic imagery in Protestant religious literature was more than acceptable to the Anglican audience.

According to Russell, then, religious emblems successfully reconciled imagery with the Protestant faith. Heyns's emblems offer an ideal opportunity to test out this thesis for the Dutch Republic. Iconoclasm also influenced sixteenth-century societies in an ideological way by setting limits to the poetic and visual expression of artists and poets.¹⁹ This aspect of iconoclasm played a part in the process of shaping and changing religious identities at the time.²⁰ The contrasting ideologies served as a means to stigmatize "the other" and, by doing so, to identify "the self."²¹ Heyns was the first to bring devotional images and Roman Catholic devotion into Dutch Protestant culture and worship in the seventeenth century, and he introduced them via the medium of religious emblematic literature. In this article, it is established whether his emblem book points to a growing confessional consensus in the Dutch Republic.

Emblem books are, for more reasons than one, useful aids in the reconstruction of early modern thought, serving to capture the process of shaping and changing (religious) identities at the time. In general, early modern literature is considered one of the most fundamental factors in shaping the connection between individuals and cultural practices and in demarcating confessional and cultural differences. Emblems were especially made to provide answers to questions concerning moral conduct and, in the case of religious emblems, also concerning religious conduct and ideologies.

In the following pages, I will first examine the Dutch historical context of Heyns's *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales*, which will pave the way for a discussion of a number of his emblems that are thematically concerned with the word-image issue. I will conclude by relating Heyns's work to the question of interconfessional cultural exchange.

¹⁹ Such a case is discussed by Kirsten Stirling, in "Imagined Corners: Space, Time and Iconoclasm in John Donne's *Last Judgement Holy Sonnets*," *Word and Image* 21 (2005): 244–51.

²⁰ Identity is understood here as the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others. It involves the representations (images) that are conveyed through media. Such representations involve construing differences and similarities between "us" and "them" according to multiple criteria: religion, gender, politics, artistic preferences, ethnic origins, and so on. For a description of the terminology used here, see Nancy T. Ammerman, "Religious Identities and Religious Institutions," in *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. Michele Dillon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 207–24; and, for variety of discussions on this subject, see Willem van Asselt, Paul van Geest, Daniela Muller, and Theo Salemink, eds., *Iconoclasm and Iconoclasm: Struggle for Religious Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

²¹ Ralph Dekoninck, "Querelle de l'image et image de la querelle," in *Controverses et polémiques religieuses: Antiquité–temps modernes*, ed. Ralph Dekoninck, Janine Desmulliez, and Myriam Watthée-Delmotte (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2007), 165–73.

CONTEXT

The sixteenth-century iconoclastic disputes had as their central issue the concept of visibility.²² Protestants believed faith to be “invisible but graspable,” basing their interpretation on, for instance, Hebrews 11:1: “Faith is the evidence of things not seen.”²³ Protestant readers were encouraged “to seek beyond the literal,” but images were to be employed only in support of the word. The use of images was viewed as a concession to (weak) human nature: humankind is by nature promptly stimulated and amused by visual representations, which are also easily remembered. Nevertheless, images were thought to be deceitful.²⁴

The Dutch disputes were dominated by Calvinist theology. Although Calvin was more severe in his condemnation of images than were other Reformers, he was not opposed to all visual art. He held that images should not be used in worship or in church and that all anthropomorphic representations of God or Jesus should be prohibited but that in the privacy of one’s home one could enjoy portraits, historical paintings, and still-life compositions.²⁵ As Randall C. Zachman recently concluded in his *Image and Word in the Theology of John Calvin*, Calvin distinguished between “living” and “dead” images of God. Living images of God can be found in the Word of God itself, and in the universe; dead images are images created by human hands. Zachman also concluded that an unresolvable tension lies at the heart of Calvin’s discussion of the living images of God:

On the one hand, Calvin contrasts the “dead images” that humans create, which are only the image of absent things, with the “living images” instituted by God, which truly represent the reality they represent. On the other hand, Calvin rejects the use of images in worship on the basis of the invisible nature of God, which cannot be represented in any symbol or image. He can at times so insist on the essential invisibility of God that he appears to undermine his whole under-

²² See John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 167. In the sixteenth century, public opinion had been influenced both by Protestant and by Roman Catholic publications such as Veluanus’s *Der leken wechwyser* (1554), Van der Heyden’s *Corte instructye* (1545), Hessels’s *Tractatus pro invocatione sanctorum* (1562), and Molanus’s *De Picturis et imaginibus sacris* (1570). See Alison Adams, “Van Haecht’s *Mikrokosmos* and Its Religious Context,” in Dekoninck and Guiderdoni-Bruslé, *Emblemata sacra*, 457–64.

²³ See Koerner, *Reformation of the Image*, 40–41.

²⁴ For an analysis of the sixteenth-century situation, see Phyllis M. Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

²⁵ Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), esp. 71. In other words, Calvin opposed only “the religious use of the visual arts” (Daniel W. Hardy, “Calvinism and the Visual Arts: A Theological Introduction,” in *Seeing beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corby Finney [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999], 1–16, quote on 16).

standing of divine self-manifestation in symbols and living images. Again, he creates this tension in order to maintain the dialectical relationship between the visibility and invisibility of God, and the presence and absence of God, which he thinks is maintained by images of divine creation but not by images of human devising.²⁶

These nuances in Calvin's opinions were lost during the second half of the sixteenth century, when Calvin's followers proved to be more fanatic than Calvin himself had ever been.²⁷ Iconoclastic violence reached a climax in 1566, when the breaking of images grew to be a nationwide phenomenon in the Netherlands. Around 1600, (public) discussions on the use of religious imagery in the Dutch Republic seem to have come to a rest, possibly because Protestantism had triumphed and extremist proclamations in its defense were no longer considered necessary.²⁸

One of the last attempts to stir up Protestant resistance was made by the minister Vincent Meusevoet in 1604, when he published *Waarschouwing teeghen de Afgooderye in de laatste Tyden*, a translation of a pamphlet by the English Puritan William Perkins, *A Warning against the Idolatrie of the Last Times* (1601).²⁹ Meusevoet's Dutch translation was never reprinted. Instead, some Protestant authors started to apologize openly for their fellow believers' behavior during the breaking of images in 1566.³⁰ During the seventeenth century, the process of revising and exchanging opinions on the matter continued. In general, although the Calvinists were very influential in the Dutch Republic, it is not possible to identify one specific denomination as the underlying force of Dutch culture in the seventeenth century.³¹ There was no real state church, and the principle of freedom of conscience, which had served as the legitimizing principle of the Dutch Revolt, assured some freedom of speech for Anabaptists, Remonstrants,

²⁶ See Randall C. Zachman, *Image and Word in the Theology of John Calvin* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 437–40, quote on 439–40.

²⁷ David Freedberg, "The Hidden God: Image and Interdiction in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 5 (1982): 133–53.

²⁸ Ilja M. Veldman, "Protestantism and the Arts: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," in Finney, *Seeing beyond the Word*, 397–421, esp. 421.

²⁹ Cornelisz. W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from the English into Dutch (1600–1700)* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 222.

³⁰ See, e.g., Karel van Mander, *Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem, 1604), fols. 210, 213, 224, 236, 224, 254; and Charles Ford, "Iconoclasm, the Commodity, and the Art of Painting," in *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, ed. Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 75–91.

³¹ See Reindert L. Falkenburg, "Calvinism and the Emergence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Landscape Art—a Critical Evaluation," in Finney, *Seeing beyond the Word*, 343–68, esp. 351.

Lutherans, and Calvinists also in the seventeenth century.³² Recently, Charles Parker presented a thesis in his *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age*, concluding that although confessional coexistence was practiced in the Dutch Republic, the Dutch Catholics—being a minority—were very restricted in displaying their confession in the public sphere.³³ His conclusion appends to Benjamin Kaplan's thesis as propounded in *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*: there was at that time a distinction between public space and private space that enabled magistrates to uphold the integrity of a Protestant political order while avoiding the social turmoil of religious violence.³⁴ The latitudes and limitations of confessional coexistence become visible in the case of the introduction by Heyns of Roman Catholic imagery in the Dutch Republic through the new genre of the Protestant religious emblem. The question is whether such an overt display in Protestant culture of Roman Catholic influences deriving from the tradition of the religious love emblem in the Southern Netherlands was acceptable in 1625.

During the first decades of the seventeenth century, imagery slowly made its way back into Protestant churches—not only in the form of text paintings (*tekstborden*, or “painted lines of texts”) but also in the form of stained-glass windows, chandeliers, decorative borders, and tombs.³⁵ In an attempt to gain a nuanced view of the impact of iconoclasm on Dutch society at the time, Mia Mochizuki describes how these *tekstborden* became an established fixture in Dutch Reformed churches in the early seventeenth century. The text paintings exhibit, as Mochizuki argues, “the broad reconsideration of word, image and society that reformation heralded both inside and outside the picture plane.” She concludes that the Dutch text paintings provide “at least one positive material legacy of the pictorial potential suggested by iconoclasm.”³⁶ These images did not have the same

³² Douwe W. Fokkema, *Accounting for the Past, 1650–2000* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), 95–96.

³³ Charles Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 238.

³⁴ Benjamin F. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³⁵ Mia Mochizuki has described this process for St. Bavo Church in Haarlem in detail; see Mia Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1670: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). See also, for more general observations: Mia Mochizuki, “Supplanting the Devotional Image after Netherlandish Iconoclasm,” in *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, ed. Anne MacClanan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 137–62; and Ilja M. Veldman, “Calvinisme en de beeldende kunst in de zeventiende eeuw,” in *Mensen van een Nieuwe Tijd: Een liber amicorum voor A.Th. van Deursen*, ed. Marijke Bruggeman et al. (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1996), 297–306.

³⁶ Mia Mochizuki, “The Dutch Text Painting,” *Word and Image* 23 (2007): 84.

objectives that devotional images had in the Roman Catholic churches, Mochizuki argues. For the Protestants, according to Mochizuki, these images “invoked reflection on the tenets of belief and stimulated the viewer’s intellect, rather than empathic sensory responses alone.”³⁷ The power of imagery was used “to articulate faith and reiterate biblical tutelage . . . rather than to recreate passionate devotion and stimulate idolatry.”³⁸

Protestants did not stop at reintroducing religious imagery in their churches but brought it to their houses as well. Scenes from the Bible—depicted according to a strict interpretation of biblical sources—served as subjects for paintings and prints.³⁹ Coinciding with Calvin’s thoughts on the admissibility of portraits, historical paintings, and still-life compositions, a preference for realism developed in the visual arts.⁴⁰ Landscapes also became popular, as nature was seen as God’s second book.⁴¹

While religious imagery was gradually making a comeback in Protestant churches and homes, in religious literature the primacy of the word remained. Protestant religious literature in the Dutch Republic—written by Calvinists, Remonstrants, and Anabaptists alike⁴²—during the first half of the seventeenth century consisted for a very large part of unillustrated prayer books and collections of hymns.⁴³ Even the title pages of these books mostly do not have any illustrations; the only visual effect publishers pursued were created by variations in the typography.⁴⁴ In the more sophisticated publications made for the elite, illustrations were also missing; the fact that the cheap hymn books and prayer books were not illustrated thus seems to be caused by ideological rather than economic considerations. The visual effects in the more expensive editions were also limited to typographical means. For instance, Willem Blaeu, the publisher of Constantijn Huygens’s *Heilighe Dagen* [Holy days],⁴⁵ decided to print every

³⁷ Mochizuki, “Supplanting the Devotional Image,” 147.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 148 and 151.

³⁹ Existent Roman Catholic representations of these biblical scenes were very often used and transformed. For instance, this process has been detected in the work practice of the Calvinist painter Adriaen Thomaszoon Key. See Koenraad J. A. Jonckheere, *Adriaen Thomasz. Key (c. 1545–1589): Portrait of a Calvinist Painter* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), esp. 32–48.

⁴⁰ Falkenburg, “Calvinism and the Emergence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Landscape Art,” 343–68.

⁴¹ Veldman, “Calvinisme en de beeldende kunst,” 304.

⁴² This is why I am using the term “Protestant” throughout this article, as a collective term for all affiliated Protestants.

⁴³ See Karel Porteman and Mieke Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur, 1560–1700* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2008).

⁴⁴ Els Stronks, “De ‘verborge werkkijng’ van het zeventiende-eeuwse Calvinistische liedboek,” *De boekenwereld* 11 (1994–95): 3–4.

⁴⁵ Constantijn Huygens, secretary to three successive princes of Orange, was the father of Christiaan Huygens. Willem Blaeu was, as a publisher, famous for his atlases.

sonnet of Huygens's series on a single leaf, to stimulate the reader to hang it on the wall as if it were a painting.⁴⁶

In contrast, opinions and habits regarding the illustration of religious literature were quite different in the Southern Netherlands in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The differences are evident when one compares Hugo's religious emblem book *Pia Desideria*, published in Antwerp in 1624, to Dirck Rafaelszoon Camphuysen's *Stichtelijke rijmen* (Educational poems), also published in 1624, which was one of the most popular collections of hymns in the Dutch Republic and ran to more than fifty editions.

Illustrations formed a crucial part of the *Pia Desideria*, since Hugo's engraver, Boëtius a Bolswert, transformed the *pictura* from a carrier of meaning into an expression of emotion, thus supporting Hugo in his meditative purposes.⁴⁷ The newness of the *Pia Desideria* consisted in its emphasis on the emotional dimension of love: human feelings and reactions to God occupy a central place in Hugo's emblems, not resulting—as was true in Wierix's case—in the visualization of the heart representing the human interiority in which the divine becomes inscribed but instead in a central focus on the theme of "looking." Different aspects of this theme are discussed in the programmatic opening emblem of the *Pia Desideria*. The relationship between the reader and God is visualized in the *pictura* by the arrows, which rise from the human heart to God's ears and single eye (see fig. 3). The accompanying *subscriptio* explains how an actor hides in every human being, thus revealing the meaning of the mask positioned on the left in the *pictura*: "O, how often the mind, as an actor, disperses false signals / while the eyes and facial expression contradict one's state of mind."⁴⁸ Only God can look through the false appearances of every human being, but in the rest of the *subscriptio* Hugo promises his readers that they can learn how to have a look at the true nature of at least their own soul by using his emblems.

The eye is also the central focus of the *pictura* in figure 4. The image shows the soul, wandering around at night and being guided by *amor divinus* holding a lamp. The soul is frightened by the darkness but realizes that she, being "in alien territory," should rely upon her eyes:

⁴⁶ See Constantijn Huygens, *Avondmaalsgedichten en Heilige Dagen: Uitgegeven en toegelicht door Frederik L. Zwaan* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1968), 26; see also Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Utrecht: Bijleveld, 1991, 59).

⁴⁷ See Porteman, "Boete Adamsz," 162.

⁴⁸ "O quoties fictas animus gerit histrio partes, / Et pugnant animo frons, oculique suo!" (Hermanus [Herman] Hugo, *subscriptio* to *pictura* "Desiderio collum æternorum Christo Iesu," in *Pia Desideria* [Antwerp: Hendrik Aertssium, 1624] fol. 9, verse 2, lines 15–16). See <http://emblems.let.uu.nl/hu1624front007.html>.

FIG. 3.—“Desiderio collum æternorum Christo Iesu,” *pictura* in Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp: Hendrik Aertssium, 1624), fol. 9.

FIG. 4.—“Anima mea desideravit te in nocte,” *pictura* in Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp: Hendrik Aertssium, 1624), fol. 1.

Woe, as often as the image of that night comes to me,
 So often also does dark night advance threateningly on my mind!
 Our eyes enjoy a better fate; for them in a fixed order,
 Moon and sun have their alternating turns!
 For what should reason, what should focused study do,
 The twosome⁴⁹ that the soul in alien territory has as its guides?
 A larger pain it is to have eyes when it is not given to use them,
 Than not to have had eyes at all to use.⁵⁰

This realization eventually leads the soul to God, because she now knows where to turn her eyes for salvation, as she utters over and over again in the rest of the emblems—for instance, in emblem 3:

Therefore, to which altars,
 Could I turn my eye—altars that Libitina⁵¹
 does not mark with funerals—but to those of Your divine power?⁵²

The eye will direct the other senses, the heart and the mind to God, and God's eyes are vital to the soul's existence:

I can do without beautiful hair and eyes,
 And no beauty holds me fettered in chains.
 However, I cannot live separated from your eyes, my life, my heart—
 It is the same as living without a heart.⁵³

The emphases on the eye and on sight underline Hugo's message that the pictorial images presented in the *picturae* were to replace mental images or provide an aid to the imagination as it formed mental images, thus serving as stimuli of the meditative process.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ The "twosome" is the eyes.

⁵⁰ "Heu, quoties subit illius mihi noctis imago, / Nox animo toties ingruit atra meo! / Sors oculis nostris melior, quibus ordine certo, / Alternas reparant lunáque sólque vices! / Nam quid agat ratio, quid agat studiosa voluntas, / Quas habet, vt geminos mens peregrina duces? / Maior, habere oculos, dolor est, vbi non datur vti, / Quàm, quibus vtaris, non habuisse oculos" (Hugo, *subscriptio* to *pictura*, "Anima mea desiderauit te in nocte," in *Pia Desideria*, fol. 1, verse 2, lines 3–10 (trans. Gerard Huijing), <http://emblems.let.uu.nl/hu1624001.html>).

⁵¹ Libitina is the Roman tutelary goddess of burials.

⁵² "Quas igitur spectem, vestri nisi Numinis, aras, / Funeribus nullis quas Libitana notat?" (Hugo, emblem 3, in *Pia desideria*, fol. 19, verse 3, lines 13–14, trans. Gerard Huijing). See <http://emblems.let.uu.nl/hu1624003.html>.

⁵³ "Possum formosisque comis, oculisque career, / Nullaque me vinctam compede forma tenet. / Attamen absque tuis oculis, mea vita, meum cor / Viuere, non aliter quàm sine corde, queo" (Hugo, emblem 7, in *Pia desideria*, fol. 19, verse 2, lines 9–12, trans. Gerard Huijing). See: <http://emblems.let.uu.nl/hu1624007.html>.

⁵⁴ In doing so, Hugo emphasized the visual even more than was generally the case in Jesuit teaching. See Porteman, "The Use of the Visual," esp. 181.

In contrast, the Remonstrant minister Camphuysen was opposed to all forms of the visual arts “enchantress of the eye that misinterprets the mortal.”⁵⁵ Even though once a painter himself, his *Stichtelijke rijmen* is not illustrated. Indeed, the work includes not only hymns dealing with the total sanctification of the Christian life⁵⁶ but also a rhymed translation of Johannes Geesteranus’s *Idolelenchus*, a pamphlet originally written in Latin, in which the use of all imagery was discussed and prohibited. Visual perception is deceitful: “What the eyes see and dwell upon, the sweet senses instantly like. / The idle image controls the weak inner.”⁵⁷ The eye cannot be trusted; the readers should instead rely on the capacities of their mind, stimulating it by reading God’s Word aloud—“sword to the human mind.”⁵⁸ The subtitle of Camphuysen’s *Stichtelijke rijmen*—“Om te lesen of te singen” (For the purpose of reading or singing)—indicates that music can be also be used as an aural stimulus. The lyrics form a guide to domestic life, supporting the believers’ private worship by integrating paraphrases of the biblical acts of God into day-to-day activities such as praying, eating, and working.⁵⁹ Eighteenth-century editions of these collections of hymns and prayer books were often lavishly illustrated, but in the original seventeenth-century editions images were excluded.⁶⁰

The custom in Protestant poetry of avoiding images as a means of religious instruction did not only result in the massive production of un-illustrated hymnals and prayer books among Protestants in the Dutch Republic; it also had ramifications for the development of the emblematic genre.⁶¹ These can be detected through the case of the Calvinist Jacob Cats,

⁵⁵ “Verleydt-Ster van ’t gezicht dat sich verstaart op ’t sterffelijck” (Dirck R. Camphuysen, “Tegen ’t Geestigdom der Schilderkunst,” in *Stichtelycke ryemen: Om te lesen of te singen* [Amsterdam, 1647], 224). In the 1647 edition, published long after Camphuysen’s death in 1627, the publisher Jacob Colom decided to illustrate the *Stichtelijke rijmen* with some copperplates. On Camphuysen’s vision of the visual arts, see Eric J. Sluijter, “Belering en verhulling? Enkele 17de-eeuwse teksten over de schilderkunst en de iconologische benadering van Noordnederlandse schilderijen uit deze periode,” *De zeventiende eeuw* 4 (1988): 3–28.

⁵⁶ See Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 51.

⁵⁷ “’t Geen d’oogen weyt en leyt, bevalt den sinnen soet. / En d’ydle beeltenis beheerst het swack gemoet” (Camphuysen, *Stichtelycke ryemen*, 223).

⁵⁸ “’t Zwaerd des Geest, Gods Woord” (Camphuysen, “Christelyk gevecht” [Fight of a Christian], in *Stichtelycke ryemen*, 80).

⁵⁹ See John D. Rempel, “Anabaptist Religious Literature and Hymnody” in *A Comparison to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700*, ed. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 419; and Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 49.

⁶⁰ See Rempel, “Anabaptist Religious Literature and Hymnody,” 410; and Piet Visser, “Jan Philipsz Schabaelje (1592–1656), a Seventeenth-Century Dutch Mennonite and His Wandering Soul,” in *From Martyr to Muppy: A Historical Introduction to Cultural Assimilation Processes of a Religious Minority in the Netherlands; The Mennonites*, ed. Alastair Hamilton, Sjouke Voolstra, and Piet Visser (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 103.

⁶¹ Oddly incongruent with the somewhat restrained development of the Dutch emblem was the contribution made by a number of outstanding engravers—Jacques de Geyn II,

the most representative author of Dutch emblems at the time. Cats's first emblem books are of a moralistic nature, as they are directed toward general human virtues.⁶² Karel Porteman concludes that within these first volumes "the emblem still remains . . . first and foremost a didactic method, a bimedral *genus scribendi* [manner of writing] with moral intentions."⁶³ Rather than representing religious acts or scenes in these emblem books, Cats made direct use of *realia* (real events and objects, often reflecting aspects of the weak and silly nature of human behavior) in his *picturae*. His decision to devote his poetic talents to the emblematic genre and expose his reader to imagery apparently required some explanation, since it is offered in the preface to *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* (1618 and 1627). Cats warns the reader to take nothing at face value, since underneath the image ("het uytterlijcke beelt") a deeper meaning can be found ("innerlijcken sin"). Cats's emblems invite the reader to investigate what at first sight does not seem to be there. The image itself should not be blamed if its deeper meaning confronts the reader with improper human behavior: "For it is not the image itself, but its deeper meaning, that is questionable."⁶⁴ Cats's later works bear the stamps of pietistic Puritanism, focusing on the inner experiences of Reformed doctrine and the sanctification of one's personal life.⁶⁵ These emblem books can be characterized as truly religious, aiming to tame the greedy eye by the inner heart, as explained by Cats in the dedication of *Invallende Gedachten*:

If our inner heart would make the best of everything
Seen by our eyes, we would learn very much!
But if the better part of us does not get any good out of it,
Our eye is the cause of much evil.⁶⁶

Cornelis Boel, and Adriaan van der Venne, among others—to the fame of Dutch emblem books and prints. Thanks to them, the pictorial element of Dutch emblematics became a model for foreign poets and engravers despite the reservations regarding the use of imagery.

⁶² They are moralistic for the most part, even though some love emblems are given a religious explanation in Cats's *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* [Images of meaning and love] (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1618 and 1627).

⁶³ See Karel Porteman, "Cats's Concept of the Emblem and the Role of Occasional Meditation," *Emblematica* 6 (1992): 65–82, quote on 67. Cats's other emblem books made in this period are *Maechden-plicht* [The maiden's duties] (1618) and *Spiegel van den Ouden en Nieuwen Tyt* [Mirror of old and new times] (1632).

⁶⁴ "mitsdien, niet so seer het beeldt, als den sin, uyt het beelt ontsaende, bedenckelijck is" (Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, 1627 ed.). See <http://emblems.let.uu.nl/c1627front005.html>.

⁶⁵ See Jacob Cats, *Dootkiste voor de Levendige* [A coffin for the living] (1647), *Hofgedachten* [Poems on the country estate] (ca. 1653), and *Invallende gedachten* [Incidental thoughts on accidental occasions] (ca. 1654); see also Porteman, "Cats's Concept of the Emblem," 71.

⁶⁶ "Indien ons innig hert ten goede wist te keeren / Al wat het oog siet, wat soumen kunnen leeren! / Maer als ons beste deel niet goets daer uyt en treckt / Dan is' et dat het oog ons menigh quaet verweckt" (Cats, *Invallende Gedachten*, quoted in Porteman, "Cats's Concept of the Emblem," 78).

In these emblems, the sight triggers pious reflections, resulting in occasional meditations on, for instance, a toenail growing into the flesh, the act of going to bed, trade with India, or repairs to a roof.⁶⁷

The idea that the making of an emblem is a manner of writing was pursued to its ultimate conclusion by Cats in these later emblem books, which mostly contain so-called *emblemata nuda*, emblems without pictures. Only a few of the emblems, all concerned with human pursuits, are illustrated. Cats chose to be very reserved with regard to imagery in the perception of faith, regardless of the fact that the prescriptions of the emblematic genre called for word and image to be combined in a productive manner. This does not mean that Cats had no eye for the power of the image; rather, Cats considered the image inferior to the word in religious matters. The lessons to be drawn from the occurrences Cats describes are addressed to the heart of the reader; the eye does not play any role in these occasional meditations.

The pivot of the Protestants' pietistic movement with which Cats was affiliated, Nadere Reformatie (Further Reformation), was the Utrecht University professor Gisbertus Voetius, whose thoughts on piety were shaped by polemics with Roman Catholic authors. At the time, the Dutch word *devotie* had a Roman Catholic connotation, but it was nevertheless used by Voetius and understood as the "despondency of the heart."⁶⁸ The central notions of Voetius's thoughts are explained in his *Exercitia Pietatis* (1664), an academic handbook on the practice of piety written to instruct future ministers and based on lectures given in the 1630s. In *Exercitia Pietatis*, Voetius maintains that the effect of conversion as a work of God can take shape in a conscientious life. In the sanctification of the believer's soul, the visual plays no part.⁶⁹ To Voetius, seeing God in the flesh during meditative exercises—a vision that many Roman Catholics claimed to have experienced—was impossible: "seeing God" to Voetius meant rationalizing God, using the intellect rather than the eye.⁷⁰ In this line of thought, Voetius even advised believers to close their eyes while praying: "the liberty of the external senses, especially of the eye"⁷¹ would disturb the *cultus internus*, the inner awareness of God's love toward us, which in-

⁶⁷ Porteman, "Cats's Concept of the Emblem," 78–79.

⁶⁸ Gisbertus Voetius, *De praktijk der godzaligheid (Ta asketika sive "Exercitia pietatis," 1664)*, ed. and trans. Cornelis A. de Niet [edition of the Latin text, with an introduction, translation into Dutch, commentary, and summary in English], 2 vols. (Utrecht: De Banier, 1996), 1:lxvii–lxviii.

⁶⁹ In his inaugural address at Utrecht, in 1634, Voetius already recommended Puritan avoidance in the use of literature for pietistic purposes, a kind of thinking that hindered the practice of religious poetry in Protestant circles, since Voetius was one of the prominent leaders of the Reformed Church. See Schenkeveld, *Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 48–49.

⁷⁰ "Licentia externorum sensuum, praecipue oculorum" (Voetius, *De praktijk der godzaligheid*, 2: cap. 3, p. 73).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 2: cap. 4, p. 148.

spires one to thankfulness and leads to obeying God's law in one's inner life.⁷² "Bound meditation, also called meditation based on a text" was recommended by Voetius,⁷³ while religious imagery is never mentioned in a positive sense. For instance, Voetius disapproved of using images of the sufferings of Christ in meditative exercises, "as if God's Word does not have sufficient power to touch the stony heart."⁷⁴ Instead, he acknowledged the importance of vocal expression and aural experiences: singing enforces the effects of praying.⁷⁵

Voetius's *Exercitia Pietatis* appears to reflect the widespread opinion in the Dutch Republic that in Protestant worship the function of sight was subordinated to the function of sound. Dutch Protestant poets lived and worked in a tradition that dictated reserve with regard to imagery in the practice of faith. Consequently, the strategy of enhancing one's religion by means of the religious imagery was not adopted by Cats or by any other Protestant emblematicist in the Dutch Republic in the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁷⁶

HEYNS'S EFFORT TO SUBVERT

In these inhospitable surroundings, Heyns published his *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* in 1625. In doing so, Heyns—who was a Protestant but never a member of the Calvinist, Anabaptist, or Remonstrant church⁷⁷—worked together with the engraver Jan Gerritszoon Swelinck, who had made one copperplate for Johan De Brune's *Emblemata* (1624) and the title print of the 1627 edition of Cats's *Sinne- en minnebeelden*.⁷⁸ Heyns's emblem book was published by Pieter van Waesberge, who also published

⁷² Ibid., 1:lxvii.

⁷³ "Astricta seu textualis meditatio" (ibid., 2: cap. 3, p. 60).

⁷⁴ "quasi non sufficeret malleus verbi divini ad petras cordium contundendas" (ibid., 2: cap. 4, p. 256). For an example of the Roman Catholic use of the imagery to which Voetius is referring here, see Walter S. Melion, "'Haec per imagines huius mysterij Ecclesia sancta [clamat]': The Image of the Suffering Christ in Jerome Nadal's *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*," introductory study in Jerome Nadal, *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, vol. 2: *The Passion Narratives*, trans. and ed. Frederick A. Homann (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2007), 1–73.

⁷⁵ Voetius, *De praktijk der godzaligheid*, 1: cap. 3, pp. 63 and 67.

⁷⁶ See Els Stronks, "Het embleem als pennenvrucht: De Brune's 'maniere van schrijven,'" in *De steen van Alciato: Literatuur en visuele cultuur in de Nederlanden*, cotitled *The Stone of Alciato: Literature and Culture in the Low Countries*, ed. Marc Van Vaecck, Hugo Brems, G. H. M. Claassens, and Karel Porteman (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), 841–60.

⁷⁷ See Hubert Meeus, *Zacharias Heyns, uitgever en toneelauteur: Bio-bibliografie met een uitgave en analyse van de Vriendts-Spieghel* (Louvain: Universiteit Leuven, 1990), 116–21.

⁷⁸ See Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland*, 228; and Meeus, *Zacharias Heyns, uitgever en toneelauteur*, 291. The title print of Heyns's *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625)—showing scholars, Christ, and a classical warrior standing around a pedestal on which the book's title is printed, teaching young people about the world, pointing at globes, while a hand points at the name of God in the clouds—is signed by Swelinck. The copperplates used in the emblems are not signed, but they seem to be made by the same hand.

Cats's *Sinne- en minnebeelden* in 1627.⁷⁹ Being a bookseller and publisher himself (in Amsterdam and Zwolle), Heyns was very knowledgeable about contemporary literary and printing traditions in the Southern Netherlands and the Northern Netherlands. Born in Antwerp, as the son of the Calvinist schoolmaster Peeter Heyns, who had migrated northward with his family in 1585, Heyns had many connections with publishers and writers taking refuge from the Spanish oppression during the Eighty Years' War after the fall of Antwerp.⁸⁰

What was Heyns's method of working when he tried to introduce the religious emblem in the Dutch Republic? In the title of his emblem book, and in many of his *subscriptios* in which he mentions de Montenay's name, Heyns paid tribute to de Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens*,⁸¹ but he borrowed many of the ideas for his *picturae* from Roman Catholic religious imagery.⁸² The similarities can easily be detected by looking at the imagery Heyns applied in emblem 5 of his *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales*, in the *pictura* of the burning heart, as shown in figure 2 above. Heyns did not simply copy devotional images from the Roman Catholic tradition. He reworked his models to adapt them to a different functional purpose, as can be seen in this *pictura* (the image of the risen Christ in the heart aflame), and in the *subscriptio* accompanying the *pictura*, in which the emphasis is laid on the central role of the church building and of singing in Protestant worship:

Although God's word, if taught or read to us
Alone, at home, can be of comfort,
What's learned in public, attentively,
Carries more weight and is after all more powerful.
He wants us to join our voices,
To sing his Praise, in competition with the angels.⁸³

⁷⁹ See Aad van Mameren, "Fondslijst van Pieter van Waesberghe," in *Rotterdam bibliopolis: Een rondgang langs boekverkopers uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, ed. Hans Bots, Otto Lankhorst, and Cees Zevenbergen (Rotterdam: Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1997), 63–95.

⁸⁰ See Hubert Meeus, "Zacharias Heyns: Een 'drucker' die nooit drukte," *De Gulden Passer* 73 (1995): 122–23.

⁸¹ No Dutch adaptation of de Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens* (Lyon: Jean Marcorelle, 1567) was printed in the Dutch Republic, though de Montenay's *subscriptios* were translated into Dutch by Anna Roemers Visscher, the daughter of the wealthy Amsterdam poet Roemer Visscher. Anna's handwritten versions of de Montenay's emblems at the time were known and read only in private circles. See <http://emblems.let.uu.nl/av1615.html>; and Alison Adams, "The Dutch Version of Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes* in the 1619 Edition," in Van Vaecck et al., *The Stone of Alciato*, 751–66.

⁸² Other less overtly religious emblems use birds, reptiles, and insects or imagery Heyns's readers must have recognized from the profane love emblem tradition.

⁸³ "Want hoewel Godes Woord geleert oft Voor-gelesen / Alleenlyck binnens huys ons troostelyck mach wesen / Het geen in 't openbaer geleert word met verdacht / Is van veel

The emotional function of Jesus's presence and the burning heart—characteristic of Wierix's use of such imagery—is reduced in Heyns's adaptation. While Wierix had portrayed *amor divinus* as a diminutive, childlike figure, Heyns deviates from that pictorial tradition by choosing to represent *amor divinus* as an adult man—indeed, as Jesus—diminishing the emotional overtone of the *pictura*. A less intimate relationship between readers and Christ is thus constructed within “Templum Christj cor hominis”; entering or probing the mystery of God through the use of the eyes and of sight seems not to be pursued by Heyns. Some confessional, Protestant overtones are added that address the readers' intellect rather than their senses. The image of the heart no longer serves as a stimulus for a meditative process; it simply visualizes how God, faith, and the believer's heart should be unified. In obtaining this unity, the image plays no role. Practicing piety is best done while reading and singing with other people. The church building depicted in the *pictura* underlines this message, even more so while Christ is pointing to the church towering over his head, directing the attention of the readers to the surroundings of the heart rather than to the heart itself. The church as an institution rather than the individual's emotions appears to be Heyns's focus.

There appear to have been limits to what Heyns could portray. Counteracting the impression that he might be encouraging physical worship of the (human) figure of God—obviously rather problematic in a Protestant context—Heyns cleverly avoids an anthropomorphic depiction of God in emblem 3, “Trinitas unitatis Simplicitem non excludit.” In the *pictura* (see fig. 5), the Holy Trinity—a controversial topic, even in the history of Roman Catholic iconography⁸⁴—is represented by two numbers. Heyns preserves the powerful effect of imagery on the human mind by representing the distinct unity of God, Holy Spirit, and Jesus—the numerals 1 and 3 are not simply placed next to each other but seem to descend from one another—but making sure not to mingle himself in the controversies surrounding the topic. Working in a visual tradition predicated upon the illegitimacy of pictorializing spiritual concepts, this typographical representation of the Holy Trinity substitutes for the traditional religious

meer gewichts, heeft al veel grooter kracht. / Hy wil dat wy aldaer ons stemmen lieflijck dwingen / En synen loff als om strijt als met syn Eng'len singen” (Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes*, fol. C3r).

⁸⁴ Twice in the history of the Roman Catholic Church a papal prohibition was issued against anthropomorphic depictions of the Holy Trinity. Theological objections to depicting the Holy Trinity in this manner were rife in the early modern era. See Jan Hallebeek, “Papal Prohibitions Midway between Rigor and Laxity: On the Issue of Depicting the Holy Trinity,” in *Iconoclasm and Iconoclasm*, 353–83; see also Volker Manuth, “Denomination and Iconography: The Choice of Subject Matter in the Biblical Painting of the Rembrandt Circle,” *Simiolus* 22 (1993–94): 235–52, esp. 245–46.

FIG. 5.—“Trinitas unitatis Simplicitem non excludit,” *pictura* in Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625), fol. B2r.

imagery, attempting to replace it with a visualization that seems designed to help explain the underlying theological concept. Again, the lesson in this emblem relates to the worship of God: “It is more respectful and sacred to believe in God than to try to know everything about him—just as Augustine has proclaimed one will know him better while living in sober ignorance.”⁸⁵ Solving the mystery of the Holy Trinity should not be the reader’s aim. God is best served by believing in him, not by trying to grasp his nature and doings. The image is used as an aid to the believer’s capacities to visualize an element of the Protestant doctrine, but it does not serve as a sign of the invisible.

⁸⁵ “Heyliger en eerbiediger te syn van God te ghelooven als te weten, dewijle hy (na de getuyghenisse Augustijn) beter word gekent in sobere onwetenheyt” (Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes*, fol. Biiir).

FIG. 6.—“Principijs obstas,” *pictura* in Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625), 21.

Adapting Roman Catholic imagery to his own purposes and needs, Heyns purposely made a distinction between the newness of his religious (Christian) emblems and the existing moralistic tradition, as is indicated by his book's title, *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales*. Heyns's book is divided into a part with religious (*chrestiennes*) emblems and another part with moralistic (*morales*) emblems. The *picturae* of Heyns's series of moralistic emblems clearly differ from the imagery used in the religious emblems in his volume. In fact, the *picturae* of Heyns's moralistic emblems show a remarkable similarity to Cats's imagery (see figs. 6 and 7), and Heyns's *subscriptios* in the moralistic part of his volume contain far fewer biblical quotes and are not directed to the worship of God.⁸⁶ Scenes

⁸⁶ There are seventy-three biblical quotations in the *Emblemes chrestiennes* and only nineteen in the *Emblemes Morales*. See Meeus, *Zacharias Heyns, uitgever en toneelauteur*, 276 and 290.

FIG. 7.—“Iam plenis nubilis annis,” *pictura* in Jacob Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1627), 266.

from daily life convey moral lessons such as “Good friends should be loyal to each other” (“Plorat en devorat”); “One should never pretend to be anything one is not” (“Vertumnus”); and “One should not gossip” (“Virtus prima compescere linguam”). In the case of the *pictura* shown in figure 6 (“Principijs obstas”), “One should raise one’s offspring well” is demonstrated by the process of the grafting of a tree which, if not done properly, will result in disaster. Just like Cats, Heyns used this image to explain how important it is for parents to raise their children well.

In order to accentuate the difference between the “religious” emblem and the “moralistic” emblem, Heyns inserted an element of the pictorial language from the series of religious emblems into one of the moralistic emblems, transforming it to profane imagery (see fig. 8). Again, the human heart is depicted, although this time it is not burning. Instead of seeing Jesus, we now see a globe—a well-known attribute in profane emblematics, often symbolizing the dangerous charms of the world’s luxury—in

FIG. 8.—“Hic fons & origo malorum,” *pictura* in Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625), 29.

the middle of the heart (fig. 8). Referring to Genesis 8:21 (“for the imagination of man’s heart is evil from his youth”), Heyns explains to the reader the sinful nature of the human heart. Instead of urging the reader to focus on the worship of God—as he would have done in one of the religious emblems—Heyns now gives advice on how to carefully avoid all worldly temptations.

Against the backdrop of the broader discussion among Protestants about the legitimacy of religious images, the first emblem of the collection

FIG. 9.—“Verbum Dominij perstat in æternum,” *pictura* in Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625), fol. A2r.

Emblemes chrestiennes (see fig. 9) can be perceived as a vindication of Heyns’s efforts to present the novelty of the religious emblems in the Dutch Republic. The word takes up a central position in the *pictura*—which shows God’s name in letters but not his figurative presence—as well as in the *motto* (“Verbum Domini perstat in æternum” [God’s Word lasts forever]) and in the *subscriptions*:

Everything on earth which exists in time will perish,
 Stars will fall, not a thing will persist,
 God's word, God's sacred word, shall last forever,
 Has been there from the beginning, while it creates all the time.
 His will lives in the word, the word in his will,
 In the word, after his will, he created light for us:
 O, my God, my Lord, please create a pure heart in me,
 So that I can leave the earth and willingly turn to you.⁸⁷

Everything on earth will perish, but God's Word created the world and will continue to exist—just as God's Word appears to dominate the world beneath it in the *pictura*. The lyrical "I" wishes to experience the benefits of God's Word upon his heart: the Word should make him or her want to turn away from earthly distractions. This message is repeated underneath the *pictura*. A quote from the Bible is used to represent God's voice. His words are subsequently redirected into a lesson learned by the lyrical "I":

Heaven and Earth will perish,
 But my words will not perish.
 Heaven and the earth will perish
 But you, Lord, stay on.⁸⁸

In the accompanying prose explanation, Heyns quotes from the Bible to express the same message once again, paraphrasing 1 John 1–3: "The tool and means used by God to create all things, is solely that almighty Word, which was with God in the beginning, yeah, was God indeed."⁸⁹ The priority and strength of God's Word is therefore reinforced over and over again at the beginning of Heyns's *Emblemes chrestiennes*. Although Heyns is not openly diminishing the importance of the visual, the emphasis on the dominance of the word exemplifies the textual element of his emblems and their textual reception.

Heyns's religious emblems were defended not only by himself but also by Joost van den Vondel, who was one of the most prominent and outspoken Dutch poets at the time and who had a complex and shifting

⁸⁷ "Al wat ter werelt is sijn tijt heeft, 'tsal vergaen / 't Gesternte vallen sal, geen ding en sal bestaen / Gods woort, Gods heylich woordt, in eeuwicheyt sal duren / Is van begin geweest en schept noch t'allen uren / Syn willen in het woord, 'twoord in syn willen leeft / Door 't woord na synen wil ons 't licht geschapen heeft: / Schept een reyn hert in my, o woord, myn God en Heere / Op dat ick 'taerds verlaet en willich tot u keere" (Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes*, fol. A1v).

⁸⁸ "Hemel en aarde zullen vergaen / Maer myne woorden sullen niet vergaen. / Hemel en de aerde sullen vergaen / Maer ghy Heere blyft" (ibid., fol. A2r).

⁸⁹ "Het werctuyg enden den middel daer door God alle dingen geschapen heeft, is alleen dat almachtich Woord, 'twelck in den beginne by God was, Ia God selfs" (ibid., fol. A2r).

denominational affiliation just like Heyns', in a preliminary poem to the *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales*. Vondel praises Heyns for his choice of imagery: his "Christian images" succeed in connecting the human mind with "God's nature and his Presence":

Come forth, contemplative soul, and create Godly wealth,
 From Heyns's sacred Rime and Christian images:
 Not images that arouse the mood negatively
 By carrying the Godless appearance of the Goddess Venus:
 Rather, they disengage our thought from idleness,
 and transport our Spirit far beyond all Stars,
 Until it tastes Heaven, just as it is heavenly,
 And resembles God's nature and his Presence.
 I think I'm there already—I am floating, wholly exuberant.
 I was blind in the realm of the Earth; here my eyes are opened.
 I can see true Salvation through *Zacharias's* eyeglasses,
 It is turbulent below; peaceful here above.⁹⁰

Vondel's poem is a compliment that, as was recently concluded by Karel Porteman and Mieke Smits-Veldt in their literary history *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*, would not have been misplaced in the context of the Jesuits' emblematics.⁹¹ However, Vondel appears to surpass Heyns's purposes: Heyns's imagery does not function as a means to "transport our Spirit far beyond all Stars." His images serve rather to visualize some key confessional doctrines of Protestant faith and have limited beneficial effect beyond this representation.

One remarkable emblem seems to move beyond the Protestant doctrine at the time. In emblem 4, Heyns explicitly pleads for religious tolerance, a plea already made in the Dutch Republic by Dirck Coornhert at the end of the sixteenth century but disregarded or forgotten by Protestants in the Dutch Republic during their controversies in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.⁹² During the Synod of Dordt (1618–19), the bounds of tolerance and religious freedom were narrowed as religious disputes

⁹⁰ "Komt ingetogen Ziel, schept Goddelijcke weelden / Uyt Heynsens heylich Rijm, en Christelick beelden: / Gheen beelden, die 't gemoed aenprickelen tot min / En 't Godloos Outer voen van Venus de Goddin: / Maer ons gedachtenis van d'ydelheyt ontwarren / En voeren onse Gheest verr' boven alle Sterren / Tot dat hy 't Hemels smaectt, geliic hy Hemelsch is / En swijmt na Godes aerd, en sijn geliickenis. / My dunct ick bender al, ick sweef gants opghetoghen. / Op 't aerdrijck was ic blind: hier krijgh ic open oogen. / Ic sie 'twarachtich Heyl door *Zacharias* bril. / Beneden ist gevvoel: hier boven isset stil" (Joost van den Vondel, preliminary poem, in Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes*, fol. A2v).

⁹¹ Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland*, 484.

⁹² Dirck Coornhert's main work, *Zedekunst dat is Wellevenkunste* [Ethics, that is, the art of living well] (1586) aimed at the training of human willpower led by true knowledge, which was provided by reason, not by theological doctrines.

within the Dutch Reformed Church between Remonstrants (Arminians) and Contra-Remonstrants (Calvinists) reached a climax, resulting, for instance, in the execution of the political leader (and Remonstrant) Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in 1619 and the removal of Remonstrant ministers from their ministries after 1618.⁹³

The quintessence of these disputes was centered on the meaning and role of God's Word in establishing the contours of the new faith and on the conviction that God's Word could have only a single meaning. In this matter, precisely, tolerance was hard to find. From the perception of Calvinists, the right interpretation of the Word ought to provide the foundation of the Reformed Church. Hence, for example, the decision, taken at the Synod of Dordt, to have the Bible translated into Dutch from the original Hebrew and Greek (known as the *Statenvertaling*, the Dutch States Bible) and the search for verbal rituals (formulae for baptism and communion) that could give shape to the sacraments of the church.

In these circumstances, a growth of religious tolerance was needed to guarantee a greater acceptance for Roman Catholic elements as applied in the religious emblems. For that reason, Heyns depicts in emblem 4 (see fig. 10) a landscape—the famous Vale of Tempe, whose beauty was celebrated by ancient poets, for example by Virgil in the *Georgics*. In this landscape, people are peacefully enjoying each other's company; Heyns sees a parallel between the Vale of Tempe and an exemplary church: "An example of the church, where many folk / Would like to live with a greater peace of mind."⁹⁴ And he wishes all controversies to end, so that this exemplary church will come into existence: "God give that the Root of all disputes, apart from damaging ambition, shall once be buried, so that the Church really compares to the most pleasant valley."⁹⁵ Accommodation of religious difference was thus pleaded through de-emphasizing the boundaries between the various communities of faith.

Heyns's plea for tolerance did not result in the wide acceptance of the religious emblem among the leading group of Protestants in the Dutch Republic, and his *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* was never reprinted. As one of the anonymous poets of a preliminary poem to the *Emblemes chrestiennes* predicted with foresight,⁹⁶ it would take decades before Heyns's initiative came to be appreciated by Protestant poets and

⁹³ One of the removed ministers was Camphuysen; consequently, his *Stichtelijke rijmen* was published secretly in 1624. See Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 51.

⁹⁴ "Een voor-beeld vande Kerck, waer inne menich mensch / Geruster van gemoet sou leven na syn wensch" (Heyns, *Emblemes chrestiennes*, fol. B3v).

⁹⁵ "God geve dat de Wortel van alle oneenicheden beneven de schadelijcke eersucht eenmael soo ghedempt werde, dat de Kercke te recht by het vermaekelijckste dal vergeleken mach worden" (ibid., fol. C1r).

⁹⁶ See ibid., fol. iiii.

FIG. 10.—“Non Zephyris agitate Tempe,” *pictura* in Zacharias Heyns’s *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625), fol. B4r.

readers.⁹⁷ The first Protestant adaptation of Hugo’s *Pia Desideria* in the Dutch Republic, *Goddelycke aandachten* (Divine meditations), by the Chiliast Petrus Serrarius, was not published until 1653 and went at first almost unnoticed by Protestants.⁹⁸ It took another twenty-five years before the *Pia Desideria* was reintroduced into Protestant circles to greater success, when Jan Luyken published his *Jezus en de ziel* (Jesus and the soul) in 1678. In Luyken’s emblems, realistic representations, as well as reflections of the reader’s own inner world, invite the reader to reflect

⁹⁷ Two works—Bartholomeus Hulsius’s *Emblemata sacra of Geestelyke sinnebeelden* (1631) and Cornelis P. Biens’s *Handboecxken der Christelijcke Gedichten, Sinnebeelden ende Liedekens* (1635, 2nd and illustrated ed.)—would, according to their titles, fall into the category of “religious Protestant emblem book” for the period between 1629 and 1653. Both volumes, however, can be characterized as “moralistic” rather than “religious.”

⁹⁸ See Ernestine van der Wall, “Petrus Serrarius (1600–1669) et l’interprétation de l’Écriture,” *Cahiers Spinoza* 5 (1984–85): 187–217.

upon the eternal and the divine. Just like Hugo, Luyken emphasized the importance of the visual and the use of the eye. In Luyken's view, earthly and human beauty offers a glimpse of God's eternal beauty; man and nature are not a reflection of the divine but, rather, a part of divinity. The theme of "looking" is prominent in Luyken's texts as well as in his *picturae*: viewing holes (looking out into the distance, the heavenly), for instance, invite the reader to further studying.⁹⁹ Luyken's example was soon followed by other Protestant emblematisers. Their work rapidly became widely popular: there was a succession of numerous reprints in a short period of time, and printers aimed at making the emblems available to a large public by publishing affordable editions or reprints of the *picturae* that were to be sold separately.¹⁰⁰

IN CONCLUSION

Heyns combined the characteristics of his own religious denomination with that of another, accepting Roman Catholic image material as a means to bolster confessional faith and to stimulate the viewer's senses without adding the Catholic emotional overtone to it and found himself needing to defend this choice in the first emblem of his collection. To enable his religious emblems to function among a Protestant audience and disseminate Protestant ideas, he altered and adapted the Roman Catholic imagery and its function, emphasizing the dominance of the word and the function of sound rather than sight.

What do Heyns's *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* tell us about interconfessional relations, the interaction in the devotional practices of Protestant and Roman Catholic congregations and the way in which devotional cultures define religious difference? On the one hand, the very existence of the *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* indicates that iconoclastic sentiments no longer restricted Protestant poetics. Heyns was apparently allowed to produce his religious emblems and to have them printed and distributed. The financial investment needed to create the *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales*—as far as we know, this investment was made by Heyns's publisher, Van Waesberge—can also be seen as an implied commitment to Heyns's ideological intentions.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ See Els Stronks, "The Revival of the Dutch Love Emblem," *Emblematika* 15 (2007): 319–42.

¹⁰⁰ See Els Stronks, "Dutch Religious Love Emblems: Reflections of Faith and Toleration in the Later Seventeenth Century," *Literature and Theology* 23 (2009): 142–64.

¹⁰¹ Only seven copperplates (not the ones discussed in this article) were ever reused. They can be found in Maria Heyns's *Bloemhof der doorluchtige voorbeelden* (published by Van Waesberge in 1647; Maria was the daughter of Heyns's brother Jacques). The publication of Heyns's *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* therefore proved to be a costly and unprofitable enterprise for Van Waesberge. We know the actual printing of the *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* was not done by Van Waesberge himself; he probably hired Jan Pieterszoon Walpot,

As a businessman, Van Waesberge perhaps hoped to profit from a concealed interest in meditational literature among Protestants in the Dutch Republic. But even in its adjusted form, the religious emblem was not cordially welcomed in the Dutch Republic around 1625, as can be concluded from Heyns's solitary and exceptional position among contemporary Protestant emblematisers and from the lack of success of his *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales*.

The existence of Heyns's *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales* also shows us that some Dutch Protestants indeed—supplementary to what Mochizuki concluded—tried to re-create passionate devotion through the use of devotional imagery. Heyns's emblems not only invoked reflection on the tenets of belief; they also stimulated the mind to visualize representations of the Holy Trinity or the unity of Christ and the believer. Heyns's efforts to evoke such responses with his religious emblems seem to coincide with Willem Teellinck's attempts to move the Dutch Reformed Church beyond reformation in doctrine and polity to reformation in life and practice. Teellinck published theological and spiritual works such as the *Sleutel der devotie openende de deure des Hemels voor ons* (The key of devotion opening the door of heaven for us), published in 1624, a two-volume work of dialogues that address questions about spiritual and practical Christian living.¹⁰² In his works, following the footsteps of the English Puritans, Teellinck emphasized Reformed spirituality and the enjoyment of sweet communion with Christ. According to Teellinck, sincere devotion to Christ—executed in the accurate and conscientious reading of his Word—was the means of experiencing a vibrant communion with Christ.¹⁰³ Teellinck's opinions on the need of spiritual enhancement of one's faith certainly did not govern the Reformed Church at the time, just as the input of other denominations on this issue was hardly welcomed or

a Protestant printer from Delft, to manufacture the printed text (see Meeus, *Zacharias Heyns, uitgever en toneelauteur*, 291). A handlist of Van Waesberge's total output shows that the rest of his surviving religious imprints all have Calvinistic origins (an emblem book by Cats, a catechism by Franciscus Ridderus, and theological treatises by Teellinck, for instance: see Van Mameren, "Fondsljst van Pieter van Waesberghe"). Additional research in archival sources could reveal Van Waesberge's motives to publish the *Emblemes chrestiennes et morales*. An exemplary case of the confluence of a printer-publisher's religious ideology and his trade is described in Peter McCullough, "Print, Publication, and Religious Politics in Caroline England," *Historical Journal* 51 (2008): 285–313.

¹⁰² In fact, the striving for a more spiritual status in the Reformed Church was never absent in the history of the Northern Netherlands, as is testified, for instance, by the work of David Joris and Coornhert, who both propagated the idea that service to God should have its seat in the heart of men, in "faith working through love." See Miriam G. K. van Veen, "Spiritualism in the Netherlands: From David Joris to Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 33 (2002): 129–50, quote on 129.

¹⁰³ See Herman Westerink, *Met het oog van de ziel. Een godsdienstpsychologische en mentaliteitshistorische studie naar mensvisie, zelfonderzoek en geloofsbeleving in het werk van Willem Teellinck (1579–1629)* (n.p., n.d.; repr., Zoete meer: Uitgevers, 2002).

tolerated.¹⁰⁴ The Amsterdam printer-publisher Dirck Pieterszoon Pers, who introduced the work of the German Lutheran writer Johann Arndt in the Dutch Republic, did not find much response.¹⁰⁵ Also the cautious attempts to provide visual support for meditation and internalization of the biblical texts, such as was advanced in the publication of two new editions of the *Emblemata Sacra* by Christophe Plantin and Bernardus Sellius, respectively, by the Arminian bookseller Michiel Colin (published in Amsterdam in 1613 and 1617, respectively), were also not continued in the 1620s.¹⁰⁶

Evidence for the restraining effect that iconoclastic sentiments must have had on these developments can be found in Heyns's confessional engagement. The fact that he never became a member of the Calvinist, Anabaptist, or Remonstrant church seems to have given him the kind of independence needed to use the achievements of the Roman Catholic emblematic tradition for his own purposes. It can hardly have been a coincidence that Vondel—a kindred free spirit—supported Heyns's endeavors, while both Cats and de Brune, being fervent Calvinists, were more restricted by their confessional engagement and did not follow Heyns's footsteps.

In contrast to Russell's thesis on the progressive desacralization of the image, the Dutch case shows that the religious image did not turn into an empty rhetorical vessel in the Dutch Republic in beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁷ Ideology still played a part in the use and choices of word and image that could be made by Protestant poets in the Dutch Republic around 1625. When we take into account that Heyns was not a member of any specific denomination and that almost all the Protestant emblematisers who worked after 1680 were Anabaptists, we realize that the transmission of Roman Catholic culture was initiated by representatives of a denomination that was not dominant in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁸ They created a visual piety that eventually

¹⁰⁴ See Joel R. Beeke and Randall J. Pederson, "Dutch Further Reformation Divines: Willem Teellinck," in *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), 785–86.

¹⁰⁵ As Ferdinand van Ingen concluded, the reception of Pers's edition of Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (1605) seemed to be restricted to a small group of (Lutheran) readers in the Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century. See Ferdinand van Ingen, "De receptie van Johann Arndt in Nederland," *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 29 (2005), 3–15.

¹⁰⁶ On these two editions, see Ralph Dekoninck, "Imagines Peregrinantes: The International Genesis and Fate of Two Biblical Picture Books (Barrefelt and Nadal) Conceived in Antwerp at the End of the Sixteenth Century," in *Intersections: Yearbook for Early Modern Studies* 3 (Leiden, 2004), 49–64, esp. 57.

¹⁰⁷ Russell's case is also weakened by Ernest Gilman's findings that Quarles made slight, but meaningful, changes in Hugo's *picturae* to please his Protestant readers (Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry*, chap. 4).

¹⁰⁸ Moreover, most of them were operating in Amsterdam, a city and region known for its relative toleration of Roman Catholics.

diminished the distinction between Protestant and Roman Catholic attitudes toward the image.¹⁰⁹ Rather than becoming an empty rhetorical vessel, the religious image regained power in the Dutch Republic with the revival of the religious love emblem at the end of the seventeenth century.

As it developed, the specific combination of word, image, and religion found in the emblematic genre seems to have thwarted acceptance rather than to have accelerated it. The use of imagery as described by Mochizuki, the *tekstborden* in the Protestant churches, does not involve the blending of the visual and the textual. This leaves the question of whether the image would perhaps have been more readily accepted by Protestants if it had not been accompanied by words. Perhaps the combination of word and image in the emblem collided with restrictions based on Protestant ideology, while ideological controversies were absent from the purely visual arts, in which such mingling of image and word was rare at the time. Similar problems seem to have occurred in another art form in which word and image were combined: early modern theater was, despite its secularism, subjected to Calvinist attacks grounded in specifically moral and religious terms.¹¹⁰

Heyns's failed attempt to introduce an aspect of Roman Catholic culture into Dutch literature thus reinforces and amplifies the conclusion recently drawn by Parker in *Faith on the Margins* that although confessional co-existence was practiced in the Dutch Republic, the Dutch Catholics—being a minority—were restricted in displaying their confession in the public sphere.¹¹¹ As a matter of fact, even among Roman Catholics in the Dutch Republic, hymns rather than religious emblems seem to have served for the instruction and comfort of the faithful in the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹¹² These restrictions were extended to the Protestant ma-

¹⁰⁹ In Bibles, the same development appears to occur: the first editions of the Calvinistic Dutch Bible, the so-called Dutch States Bible (1637), were not illustrated, but a collection of six maps later in the seventeenth century became the standard minimum of illustration for the Dutch States Bibles. The Dutch Bibles for Anabaptists and Remonstrants contained more illustrations (engravings of, e.g., the Dutch artists Christoffel van Sichem, Rembrandt van Rijn, and Claes Janszoon Visscher). See Peter van der Coelen, "Pictures for the People? Bible Illustrations and their Audience," in *Lay Bibles in Europe, 1450–1800*, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts and August A. den Hollander (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 185–205.

¹¹⁰ Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 14. This was also the case in England; see Marguerite A. Tassi, *The Scandal of Images: Iconoclasm, Eroticism, and Painting in Early Modern English Drama* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2005), 36.

¹¹¹ Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 238.

¹¹² Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 51. Also, the first results of the "Pia Desideria-Project" at Universiteit Leuven and Utrecht University show that the Roman Catholic publisher Pieter Jacobszoon Paets in 1628 could not print his edition of the *Pia Desideria* in Amsterdam; instead, he was using a printer's address in Antwerp. See Feike M. Dietz, "Under Cover of Augustine: Augustinian Spirituality and Catholic Emblems in the Dutch Republic" (paper presented at the conference "Augustine beyond the Book," NIAS, 2009); forthcoming in *Intersections: Yearbook of Early Modern Studies* 10 [2010]).

jority: the annexation or appropriation of the imagery of the Roman Catholics—or, more precisely, of the Jesuits—was not approved of in public utterances. It is very well possible that the privacy of their homes offered opportunities for Protestants' appropriation of Roman Catholic literature, but in the openly published emblem books such outspoken allusions were unwanted. Even though there were substantial areas of borrowing and overlap in the use of devotional literature,¹¹³ these practices and precepts could not be freely shared between the different confessions on the public production side. By 1625, the process of defining “the self” while rebuking “the other” had not yet stopped.

Universiteit Utrecht

¹¹³ See Philip Benedict, “Calvinism as a Culture,” in *Seeing beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul C. Finney (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 19–45, esp. 26.