Learned Love

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Churches as indicators of a larger phenomenon.
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Introduction and research topic

In 2002, the Vatican launched a campaign against celebrities wearing a bejeweled cross as a fashion statement. The papal news agency Fides published an edict in which the latest fashion trend was called 'an incomprehensible mania'. To convince people to stop wearing the crosses, the news agency asked: 'Is it consistent with the Gospel to spend millions on a copy of the sacred symbol of the Christian faith when people all over the world suffer and die of hunger?' (Kim and Kennedy 2002) It is quite possible the papal news agency was sincere in asking this question, but it seems there were other motifs too. The problem was also, so it seems, the context in which the sacred cross was placed. In the edict Fides mentioned a few names of celebrities violating an unwritten rule. Among those the name of actress Catherine Zeta Jones. A picture of her dating from 2002 sheds another light on the matter (Fig. 1). I am referring to this incidence to point at the value and weight of religious symbols in past and present. Since the cross has served as a sacred symbol for centuries[1], using it is never without meaning. The picture of Zeta Jones exemplifies how a symbol can trigger something far beyond it's modest appearance.

In this line of thought, I will focus in this article on the presence of another religious symbol in the corpus of the Dutch love emblematics as it was selected by the Emblem Project Utrecht (EPU).[2] On the basis of an overview of occurrences of church buildings in word and image in the EPU-corpus, I will examine how the profane and religious love emblematics were tied together in the period in which the religious genre came into being (1601-1615), and also take a closer look at the developments within the religious genre between 1615 and 1725.

In order to concretize this research topic, I will analyze emblems from the EPU corpus on which a church building is represented in the *pictura*, and/or emblems which refer to a church building in their text. Several reasons underlie the consideration of church buildings as an important theme in the Dutch love emblematics. The most significant reason is the omnipresence of church buildings in the lives of writers and readers of emblem books, both literally and figuratively. Church towers dominated the skylines of cities as a constant reminder of the importance of

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1 Not only in West-European culture, but elsewhere as well. In Western Europe, the cross served mostly as a Catholic symbol until the end of the nineteenth century, so it seems (Smith 2001, 705). I will readdress this issue later on in this article. Translation of this article: Jayme Blans

2 For a justification of the corpus selection and the use of the word 'Dutch', go to: http//emblems.let.uu.nl/project_procedures.html#corpus_selection. NB: all Internet websites named in this article were last accessed in August 2006.

Fig. 1: actrice Catherine Zeta Jones

religious aspects of daily life, and weekly routines were modelled around church visits on Sundays. In a figurative sense, the church building ('temple') played an important role as a biblical metaphor, as described by Paul Minear in his *Images of the Church in the New Testament*:

> [...] the New Testament pictured the temple as a dwelling place of the Spirit. Where God's spirit is, there is the temple. It may also have been the nuance which enabled Paul to speak of the body of each believer as a temple (1 Cor. 6:19) without excluding the idea that every congregation is also a temple (ch. 3:16-17) and without excluding the vision of the whole church as a temple (Eph. 2:21).[3]

As omnipresent as church buildings were in those days, they seem not to have played a significant role in emblem books that were published before 1567. Most

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3 Minear 1960, 97. Symbolic representation of a church can be found in numerous Christian literary works. For example, in *Den Tempel onser Sielen*, a Roman Catholic tract printed in Antwerp in 1543 and written by the same hand as *De grote evangelische Peerle* (1538), and in George Herbert's *The Temple* (1633) (see Amoe 1968, 64-65 and Hanley 1968, 121). For a more specific link between church and body, see Synnot 1992, passim. And for an elaborate explanation of the church's function as a 'space for the ascetic lifestyle' see Schroeder 2004, passim.

likely, this was the result of the fact that until 1567 – the year in which Georgette de Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens*, the very first religious emblem book, was published – emblem books were of a generally moralistic and didactic nature, and seem to avoid a specific, religious focus.[4] Before 1567, churches were scarcely, if at all, mentioned in prominent emblem books. This observation is based on research in the iconographic database with texts from the Glasgow French Emblems website[5] which includes editions of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (1531), Théodore de Bèze's *Icones* (1580), Gilles Corrozets's *Hecatomgraphie* (1540), Hadrianus Junius's *Emblesmes* (1567), Guillaume La Perrière's *Le theatre des bons engins* (1544) and *Devises heroïques* (1557), and Joannes Sambucus's *Emblemata* (1564).[6] In Henkel and Schöne's *Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, the church does not appear as an independent reference in the category 'Stätten und Bauwerke'. This indicates that churches neither played a significant role in the pre-1567 emblem books from Henkel and Schöne's selection that are not incorporated on the Glasgow website (Bartholomaeus Anulus's *Picta poesis* (1565), Achille Bocchius's *Symbolicarum* (1562) en Petrus Costalius's *Pegma* (1555)).

This all changed in 1567, and the change is symbolized, as it were, by a church building that is highlighted both pictorially and textually on the first emblem of De Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens*. I will discuss this emblem in more detail later, but for now I just give a description of its *pictura* and the Latin *motto*, 'Sapiens mulier ædificat domum' [A wise wife builds her building].[7] On the *pictura*, we see a distinguished-looking and crowned woman laying bricks on the four walls of an unfinished, yet reliable and stable-looking building.[8] A compass, ruler, right-angle, and plumb line emphasize the craftsmanship the woman puts into her work.[9] In addition, the unnatural smooth texture of the bricks comprising the perfectly angled four walls, suggest strength and stability. The building is flanked

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4 According to De Montenay's own words, she was the first to create religious emblems. In the preliminary pages of *Les Emblems ou Devises chrestiennes*, she writes: 'Alciat feit des Emblémes exquis//Lesquels voyant de plusieurs requis//Desir me prit de commencer les miens//Lesquels ie croy estre premier Chrestiens.' For the complete quote, go to http://emblems.let.uu.nl/av-1615front002.html

5 See http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php

6 For more information, also go to the Mnemosyne website: http://www.mnemosyne.org/mia.

7 The Latin 'domum' is used for the more general 'building' as well as 'house'.

8 Matthews Grieco 1994, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 1999, Peil 1999, Adams 2002, and Saunders 2002 all within their own research emphasized the active role of the woman portrayed. I, on the other hand, am mostly concerned with what it is she is so actively building, namely a church.

9 Matthews Grieco 1994, 864: 'Against the wall lie a compass, a ruler, and a right-angle, instruments that are often used in female personifications of the Arts and Sciences.' It seems to me – with thanks to Arie Gelderblom who made me aware – the attributs rather point to Ripa's 'Architectura', see: 'A stately woman, of a grave age; her sleeves tucked up unto the elbows; clothed in changeable silk; having in her one hand, a line with lead at the bottom, or plummet line, a square, and a compass; and in the other hand, a draft of a great building, divided according to the art of Geometry', http://www.levity.com/alchemy/iconol04.html

Fig. 2: *pictura* of emblem 1, G. de Montenay, *Cent emblemes chrestiens* (EPU site)

by a pillar, carrying an inscription (two letters and a cross) (Fig. 2). In line with De Montenay's example, the Dutch love emblematists emphasized the role of the church: it became a prominent and much employed element in Dutch love emblem books. Not relevant to the corpus selected by the EPU, but still a nice example of the importance of the church building for Dutch emblematics, is *Geestelijk gebouw met sinne-beelden verciert* ('Religious structure in one's mind, embellished with emblems') made by the Dutch minister Cornelis Udemans. In this emblem book without *picturae*, protestants are urged to see themselves as church. This church can be built with 'levende steenen' ('living stones', that is any work done to purify the soul and live without sins). The temple of Salomon is shown at the titlepage, as an example to the reader (Middelburg 1659, (a)2r) (Fig. 3). Beforehand, assumptions can be made about the dissemination of emblems in which the church manifests itself within the EPU corpus. It is plausible that with the publication of Otto Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615) – the emblem book marking the turn from profane to religious Dutch love emblematics – more churches emerge in the pictorial and textual elements of emblems. It can also be assumed that, while in

Fig. 3: titlepage of C. Udemans, *Geestelijk gebouw met sinne-beelden verciert* (courtesy of Zeeuws Documentatiecentrum-Zeeuwse Bibliotheek)

profane emblem books churches are portrayed as self-evident and thereby becoming an inconspicuous element in the depicted scenes of the emblem, in religious emblem books church buildings often carry a deeper and more significant meaning. However, by assuming this, the question also arises of whether one could indeed draw such a sharp line between the profane and religious emblem books within the corpus. Additionally, what happens after 1615? For one, could perhaps, in the religious section of the corpus of the Dutch love emblematics, differences and similarities be methodically identified simply on the basis of considering the church as a symbol? Moreover, could the church be considered as important a symbol in emblem books made by Protestant emblematists, e.g. Jacob Cats, as it is in the Roman Catholic emblematics, such as in for example *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* and *Typus mundi*?

Before I present and analyze the inventory of church occurrences, I will first comment on how the used examples were acquired. First and foremost, there is the difficulty of recognizing churches on *picturae* – what does and does not constitute a church? This dilemma is best illustrated in the *pictura* used to publicize the EPU conference (Fig. 4). Is it a house, at the right behind the trees, or is it a church? Even when zooming in, doubt remains: such instances are therefore categorized as 'disputable'.

Fig. 4: *pictura* of emblem 23, D. Heinsius, *Ambacht van Cupido* (in: *Nederduytsche poemata*) (EPU site)

In those cases in which it is apparent whether the illustration depicts a church and/or is described in a text, I utilized Dietmar Peil's categorization approach of 'architectural motifs' as proposed in 'Architectural Motifs as Significant or Decorative Elements in Emblems and Frontispieces.' Peil distinguishes three different levels on which 'architectural motifs' are used in emblems:

1. they may appear as main bearer of meaning, and whether they appear alone or together with other motifs they communicate the emblematical message
2. [they] may provide a well founded or arbitrary background to the emblematic bearer of meaning which derives from another field
3. [they] may support the emblematical message by providing additional notions or specific accentuations; in this case it is not always necessary to interpret them as allegorical motifs and they do not have to be interpreted in one way only. (Peil 1999, 212)

In actual practice, the distinction made by Peil can be conveyed by the degree of attention the churches attract: are they the central 'topic' of an emblem? For instance, is the church represented in the foreground or background, or does the text refer to a church that is visibly represented on the *pictura*? Peil's distinction is also connected with the difference between a literal and figurative meaning: when churches convey a figurative meaning, they usually play a more central role in the emblem.

With the aforementioned considerations in mind, I will now provide some specific examples to demontrate the inventory of emblems with church references.

Fig. 5: *pictura* of emblem 36, J. de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (EPU site)

As said before, in De Montenay's first emblem, the church is prominently present, both on the picture and in the text. Thus, this emblem falls into the category 'main bearer of meaning' (Peil's category 1). In addition, *picturae* on which the interior of a church is represented as a frame also fall into this first category. Opposite to this category, we find the example of Justus de Harduwijn's emblem No. 36, a Dutch translation of Herman Hugo's 'Quid enim mihi est in cælo' from the *Pia desideria*. The soul depicted here is seated on a globe on which the names of a few cities are recorded by the engraver. These cities, among others Antwerp and Brussels, are represented by a single church (Fig. 5). Instances such as these fall into Peil's second category, 'church presented in the background'.

One could argue that 'churches presented in the background' are easily subjected to overinterpretation. For instance, was is possible to imagine and engrave a Dutch landscape *without* a church building in it? In line with comments made by Russel on the meaning of pictures in the background ('background décor may help express, or at least emphasize, the message of an emblem' (Russell 1999, 78)) I would argue that a church represented in the background definitely can add mean-

ing to a *pictura*, as is shown by the above example in Hugo/De Harduwijn. It is true recent research into Dutch landscape painting has shown that landscapes, the visual world, was very often painted to show God's omnipotence and goodness. And that in these surroundings, church buildings were merely emphasizing the general message of the landscape (Bakker 2005, passim). However, research has also shown that it was not common practice to include human structures in Dutch landscape paintings. The classical theory of art showed a preference for portraying harmonic, symmetrical structures, but in the Netherlands existed, probably under the influence of Van Manders *Schilderboeck* (1604) a tendency towards the painting of buildings in decay. Both in the classical theory and the Dutch seventeenth century theory, buildings were not a mandatory, of even preferred element in landscape paintings (Bakker 1996, 54-55); much like Dutch country house poems in which the house it self is never the main focus of attention. The presence of a church building in a Dutch landscape is therefore less common than it might seem at first sight. In the case of the love emblems, it seems that many churches are purposely shown as extraordinary parts of a landscape. They are either separated from other elements in the *picturae*, or they are accentuated by some extra elements in the *picturae* (curly roads leading towards the church building for instance) to draw the reader's eyes towards it. As Peter Boot recently argued, even each tree and each plant in the background is proof of God's presence in the world in Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* (Boot 2007, 293). It seems therefore more than likely that special meaning should be attached to the presence of church buildings.

The advent of the church in the Dutch love emblem

In order to assess in which capacity the church made its appearance in the religious emblematics, I will now return to the opening emblem of De Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens*.

When reading the French *subscriptio*, the uncompleted building on the *pictura* appears to be a 'temple', a (Protestant) church building.[10] The text and picture both refer to the biblical metaphor of believers being a house of God; for instance, see 1 Corinthians 3:16-17: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? […] the temple of God is holy which temple ye are".[11]

The depicted woman is Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre and known advocate of the Protestant, or more specifically Calvinistic religion.[12] The image of the queen independently building a house of God is also described in the 'Dedication'

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10 In the sixteenth century, the French word 'temple' implied a Protestant church, while 'église' referred to a Catholic church (according to Matthews Grieco 1994, 862). Adams mainly emphasizes the Latin 'domum' in her analyses of the emblem (Adams 2003, 752-753). To me, it appears that the French word 'temple' together with the presence of a pillar guides the reader to a 'temple' rather than a 'house'.

11 Quote taken from the King James Version. See Adams 2002, 149 and Adams 2003, 751-753. Similar words can also be found in 1 Corinthians 6:19 and Ephesians 2:21-22.

12 De Montenay was D'Albret's lady-of-the-bedchamber.

Fig. 6: C. de Pisan, *Livre de la cité des dames*. Picture taken from http://expositions.bnf.fr/utopie/grand/1-56.htm/

of De Montenay's collection: "Que l'Immortel de vous faisant son temple//Vous façonna pour estre à tous exemple".[13]

In her 'Georgette de Montenay: A Different Voice in Sixteenth-Century Emblematics', Matthews Grieco rightly so pointed out that De Montenay's *pictura* shows many resemblances to an illustration from Christine de Pisan's *Livre de la cité des dames* (1405) "[…] [D]e Pisan helps Reason, a lady crowned like a queen, lay the foundations for the City of Ladies"[14] (Fig. 6). Imperative to my line of reasoning is De Montenay's conversion of De Pisan's image toward the construction of the foundations of a church. The (religious) pillar leaning against the church – looking like a buttress and on which D'Albret's initials are interwoven with a cross – supports such a message.

The temple metaphor indicates the communion of the believer with God. In De Montenay's French and Latin *subscriptiones*, we can gather that working hard at building a temple – concrete: a virtuous and pious life – leads to eternal life. In Latin, it says that she puts her *hands* to work, and in French it is her *cœur* doing the work. Anna Roemersdochter Visscher, who translated the emblem into Dutch several decades later, again refers to the *hands*.[15] Nevertheless, in all cases, the em-

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13 Quote taken from http://emblems.let.uu.nl/av1615front002.html

14 Matthews Grieco 1994, 867.

15 In 1567, *Cent emblemes chrestiens* was published with French subscriptiones. The 1584 republication also included Latin subscriptiones. Anna Roemersdochter Visscher utilized a

Fig. 7: frontispiece of J. de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (EPU site)

Fig. 8: *pictura* of emblem 32, *Typus mundi* (EPU site)

phasis lies on the physical labour in designing the church in which God and the believer can meet.[16]

With the publication of De Montenay's emblem book in 1567, this image was completely at odds with the ruling Catholic view of the believer's communion with God; the latter focussed on the physical experience of a different nature. Opposite to De Montenay's physical labour, which only indirectly (and in death) leads to the communion with God, the Catholic tradition considers physical suffering and physical exaltation – for some believers already during this lifetime – the path to communion with God (Treffers 1999, 94). This Catholic perspective on the physical is, on the *picturae* of love emblems, often visually represented by highlighting

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1602 reprint of the 1584 edition (see Adams 2003, 751). This reprint was digitalized within the framework of the EPU. The French text of emblem 1 in the 1584/1602 edition does not differ from that in 1567.

16 Minear (1960, 97-98) too observes this: 'The picture of the church as temple encouraged writers to include an emphasis on the temple's growth. The author of Ephesians indicates how the 'household of God' 'grows into' a holy temple in the Lord (Eph. 2:18-22). [...] This element of growth prompted Peter to speak of individual Christians as 'living stones' being built into a spiritual house (1 Peter 2:5)'.

the believer's heart; for example, by displaying believers pointing at their hearts or injuring their hearts, or by having the heart serve as a metaphor for the believer, as is the case in the Jesuit heart emblematics that originated in the seventeenth century (Treffers 1999, 102-104). An example of such a physical communion can be found in the EPU corpus, namely in the frontispiece of Hugo/De Harduwijn's *Goddelycke wenschen* (1629) (Fig. 7). The arrow points directly from the believer's heart toward God's listening ear and watchful eye. I will elaborate on his pictura later. A similar view on the union between God and the believer is found in the last emblem of the book *Typus mundi*, of which the Latin *subscriptio* begins as follows:

> Deus Cordis dominatur in aulâ,
> Vicit Amor, clausit Cor tibi, Munde, fores.

> [God rules in the temple of your heart; Love has conquered, and the heart has closed its portal to you, O world][17]

The accompanying *pictura* shows an image that reminds strongly of Hugo (Fig. 8). Contrary to this image of the physical communion of the believer with God is De Montenay's working woman. Although she seems physically very concerned with and involved in her work – after all, she is positioned right in the middle of the church she is building – she especially demonstrates the intellectual capacities needed for a believer to attain God. Building requires exact measurements, solid and straight walls. Also, the church the woman is building is a bare church ('brick church') stripped from all its statues and other objects.[18] The complete opposite is the Catholic tradition of physical emotions, which, as recently observed by Buschhoff and Porteman, are expressed in great detail in the *picturae* of Jesuit emblems (Buschhoff 2004, 263-270 and Porteman 2006, 161-162).

Interestingly, when Vaenius adapts De Montenay's emblem in 1615, he presents an altar with a cross on top in the church[19] together with a female believer working outside that same church (Fig. 9). De Montenay's example is imitated in the Dutch love emblematics, but not without providing one's own twist: the (finished) church in the background, the altar with the cross on top, the presence of the church bells, and the repositioning of the female believer all result in an image in which the focus is much more on the church as an institute, rather than on the personal endeavours of the individual believer. I will revisit the subject of the church/cross

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17 Translation taken from Moseley 1989, 186.
18 Michalski 1993, 186 and also Phillips 1973, passim. Description of the English situation of the transition from a Roman Catholic veneration of statues to the absence of statues in Protestant churches.
19 In a 1619 republication of De Montenay's book, a second Latin subscriptio is added which also discusses altars ('aras'). The pictura is similar to the ones in earlier editions of the book (see Adams 2002, 151-153).

Fig. 9: *pictura* of emblem 36, O. Vaenius,
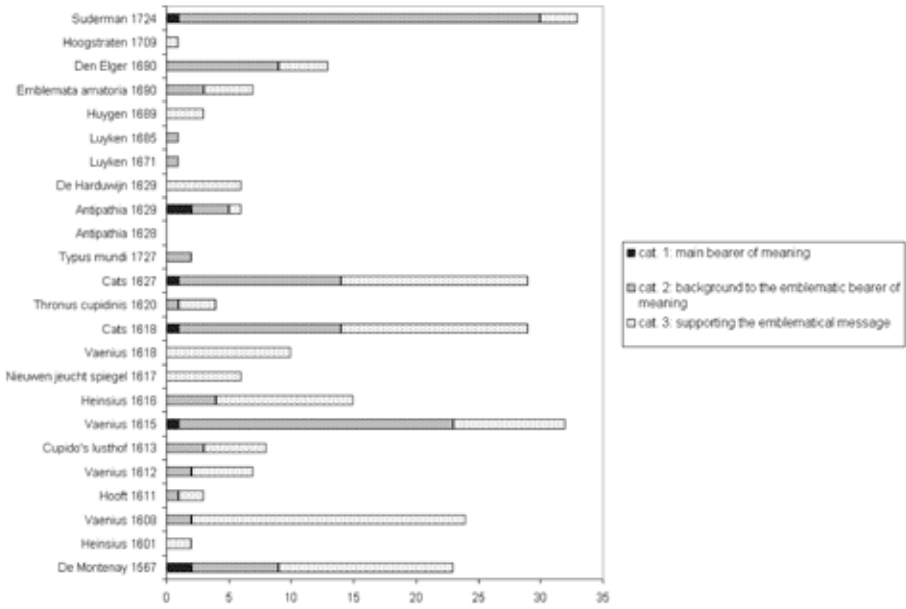*Amoris divini emblemata* (EPU site)

Fig. 10: overview of the occurrence of churches

Fig. 11: *pictura* 'Ni mesme la mort', D. Heinsius, *Emblemata amatoria* 1607/1608, engraver J. de Gheyn, c. 1601 (EPU site)

Fig. 12: *pictura* 'Ni mesme la mort', D. Heinsius, *Emblemata amatoria* (in: *Nederduytsche poemata*), engravers M. le Blon/S. VandePasse (EPU site)

relation later in this article. First, I will present an overview which shows in broad outlines the emblems in which references to a church are made within the EPU corpus[20] (Fig. 10). In 29 percent of De Montenay's emblems, churches play a considerable role. When in 1601 the first Dutch love emblem book was published – *Quaeris quid sit amor*, composed by Leiden professor Daniel Heinsius[21] – churches barely made an appearance. That is to say, in 8 percent of Heinsius's emblems, churches only play a minor role, are a décor, in the background of the *pictura*. Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* (1608) exhibits a different view. In 23 percent of his emblems, churches are found of which some play significant roles. And multiple reprints of Heinsius's *Quaeris quid sit amor* published between 1613-1616 reveal that the number of churches was increasing in Heinsius work too. In the collection of emblems included in Heinsius's *Nederduytsche poemata* (1616), 35 percent have some reference to a church.

I will demonstrate the rising trend in church metaphor usage on the basis of the development in the engravings made for one of the emblems from *Emblemata amatoria*. The engraving on the left is made by Jacques de Gheyn for the 1601/1607/1608 editions, and it belongs with emblem 17 along with the motto 'Ni mesme la mort' ['Not even death'] (Figs. 11 and 12). On the right, an adaptation

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20 See for a digital and more elaborate version in which the specific emblems are linked to the graph: http://emblems.let.uu.nl/church.html See for complete references of the author and titles mentioned in this graph: http://emblems.let.uu.nl/project_procedures.html#corpus_selection

21 As of the 1607/1608 reprints of this book were known as *Emblemata amatoria*. For a printing history of the book (it was published under a pseudonym, without a title, and without a listing of the year and place of publishing), see, among others, Fontaine Verwey (1973, 291-308).

of the abovementioned engraving is shown; made by Michel le Blon and Simon vande Passe[22] and from the 1616 reissue of *Emblemata amatoria*. Apart from some minor spelling variations, the Dutch epigram remained unaltered:

> Het een is gans vergaen, het ander staet noch schoone,
> En spreyt zijn rancken uyt seer rijckelick ten toone,
> Altijdt sijnd' even groen: soo gaet het oock met dy,
> O Venus lieflick kindt, die altijt woont in my.
> De doodt neemt wech den mensch', maer laet de liefde leven,
> Zy wordt noch door den doodt noch door den tijdt verdreven,
> Zy blijft alst al vergaet, zy bloeyt oock in den noodt,
> De doodt verwint het al, maer Venus oock de doodt.[23]

At first sight, the engravings from 1616 also seem unaltered. Other than the image being mirrored, Cupid is still represented in a similar position, and the in a vine-covered tree remains in both cases a bare, decayed plane-tree – as can be read in the *pictura*'s Latin caption.[24]

Yet, at a second glance, changes can be observed. In Le Blon and Vande Passe's adaptation, the tree is even more crooked and seems in a far more advanced stage of decay. Moreover, in the 1616 adaptation and visible right under a bunch of grapes, a church is added in the background. When revisiting the emblem from which Heinsius drew his inspiration – viz. 'Amicitia etiam post mortem durans' ['Even in death, friendship endures'] from Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (1531)[25] –

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22 For detailed bibliographic information, see Landwehr 1988, No. 292, and also visit the EPU's introduction on the digitalized edition of the 1616 reprint: http://www.emblems.let. uu.nl/he1616_introduction.html.
23 Dutch translation (by the author of this article): De ene is helemaal vergaan, de ander laat nog prachtig zijn altijd even groene takken zien. Zo gaat het ook met jou, Venus' liefelijke kind, dat altijd in mij woont. De dood neemt de mens weg, maar laat de liefde leven. De liefde wordt door de dood noch door de tijd verdreven, maar blijft als alles vergaat. Zij bloeit ook in tijden van nood. De dood overwint alles, maar Venus overwint ook de dood. Free English translation: One has perished, another still stands spreading its branches, lavishly displaying its evergreen self. So too will happen to you, Oh Venus charming child, ever residing in me. Death can take away man, but lets love live; Neither death, nor time can drive her out; She remains when all has gone; even in distress she thrives. Death may conquer all, but Venus conquers death.
24 'Nec platani lethum vitem, nec tollet amorem Nostrum, quæ tollit cætera, summa dies'. Dutch translation (by Jan Bloemendal): De dood neemt de wijnrank niet weg van de plataan, en zo neemt de laatste dag, die al het andere wegneemt, onze liefde niet weg. English translation: Death does not take away the vine from the plane-tree, and so the final day, that all other matters takes, does not our love take away.
25 Alciato abstracted from the imagery of the tree and grape to a lesson in friendship that even death could not interfere with. Heinsius argued that love even conquers death. Alciato, in turn, probably fell back on Ovidius's *Remedia amoris* ['Remedies for love'] in order to compose his 'Amicitia etiam post mortem durans'. In book V, vers 141-144 of *Remedia amoris*, a reference to an in a vine-covered tree can already be found. The quote goes as follows: 'Quam

Fig. 13: *pictura* 'Amicitia etiam post martem durans', A. Alciato, *Emblematum liber,* 1531, woodcut attributed to J. Breu, see http://www.mun.ca/alciato/c160.html

we can observe that in most prominent sixteenth century publications of the book no churches are shown in the background[26] (Fig. 13). In other words, the represented church in the 1616 adaptation is either Heinsius's own idea, or of his engravers. Unfortunately, I found little information on Heinsius's collaboration with his engravers; thus for the time being, it will be left unresolved who introduced this change. However, there is no denying that for the 1616 edition, Heinsius introduced major textual modifications in the set of emblems compiled under the title 'Ambacht van Cupido' ['Trade of Cupid']. Therefore, it is not inconceivable that he was also the one involved in the changes in the engravings.

When going back to two, shortly before 1616, published reissues of *Emblemata amatoria* (supplemented with a second collection of love emblems under the title *Ambacht van Cupido* for which a new set of oval plates was made), we find that there is no church depicted on emblem 17. Yet, in these two volumes, a change had set in: in the supplementary section of 'Ambacht van Cupido', 6 out of 24 emblems depict a church. Plus when Le Blon and Vande Passe make new plates for these 24 emblems as well, two more churches are added. And out of the 24 emblems from 1616, 5 depict a church in the background (including emblem 17, referred to

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platanus vino gaudet'. English translation: 'The way the plane-tree takes delight in the presence of the grape. Venus no more shuns exertion than the plane-tree is displeased with the grape'. 26 See the edition overview on the Studiolum website: http://www.studiolum.com/en/cd04-alciato.htm. The text belonging to this emblem reads as follows: 'A vine, covered in vibrant greenery, has embraced an elm, dry with age and even stripped of foliage. It acknowledges natural change, and gratefully gives back to its parent the reciprocal obligations of service. And so by example it counsels us to seek out friends those whose pact of friendship is not broken even by death'. For the original Latin text and English translation, see http://www.mun.ca/alciato/c160.html . The pictura is depicted the way it is included in the unauthorized version of the 1531 *Emblematum liber*; in the standard numeration based on the 1548 edition of *Emblematum liber*, this is emblem 160.

above) against the 2 in 1601. Consequently, Heinsius's emblems emanated a more and more ecclesiastical feel.

In the aforementioned overview of references made to a church within the EPU corpus, another matter attracts attention. Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* seems to lean towards Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615) rather than towards Heinsius' *Emblemata amatoria* (1601) – that is to say, that is to say: 8% in Heinsius 1601, 23 percent in Vaenius 1608 and 57 percent in Vaenius 1615. In addition, a book such as *Cupido's lusthof* [Cupid's garden of delight], published in 1613, already refers to a church in 57 percent of its emblems.

With such examples in mind, the question arises of whether it was only with the appearance of Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* that the love emblem gained a more moralistic, or rather strongly religious connotation. Moreover, when assuming that Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* appeared earlier than the new plates for the 1616 edition for which Heinsius made textual modifications, is it conceivable that Heinsius strengthened the religious connotation as well?

What happened after 1615?

From the inventory of 'church-emblems' of the EPU corpus, we can gather that after 1615, hence after the publication of Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata*, Cats often used the image of a church in his *Proteus* (1618) – later reprinted as *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (1627) – to draw the attention of his readers to a religious perspective of existence. In Cats's book, church references can be found just as often as in Vaenius' *Amoris divini emblemata*. Then, an interesting development began to unfold: in the Jesuit emblem books that appeared around 1625 in southern part of the Netherlands, the church figured as a symbol without any meaning attached. The percentage of 'church-emblems' in *Typus mundi* 1627, *Antipathia* 1628, *Antipathia* 1629, and De Harduijn 1629 is negligible.

Even later in the seventeenth century, this remained the case for the Northern Dutch Luyken and Van Hoogstraten. Only with Suderman did the church win ground; but that is mainly due to the fact that in the second part of his book, he included adaptations from Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata*. He left these intact. A significant role for the church was only reserved in the first part of his book with adaptations of Hugo's *Pia desideria*. In the *pictura* depicting a believer whose heart is directed towards heaven, Suderman included a church in the background, so as to leave no doubt of his intentions (Fig. 14). In contrasting the usage of a church as a symbol with the usage of a cross, an opposite movement can be detected. The latter symbol displays no specific value in books like Cats's *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, but appears in many of the books in which a church is absent (Fig. 15). It now becomes all the more evident that with the advent of the Protestant religion, the church was viewed in a different light and acquired a new symbolic meaning, which can be observed in De Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens* and by the fact that the symbol of the cross remained reserved for the Catholics.[27] An interest-

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27 The cross being dismissed as a symbol by Calvin, Michalski 1993, 66.

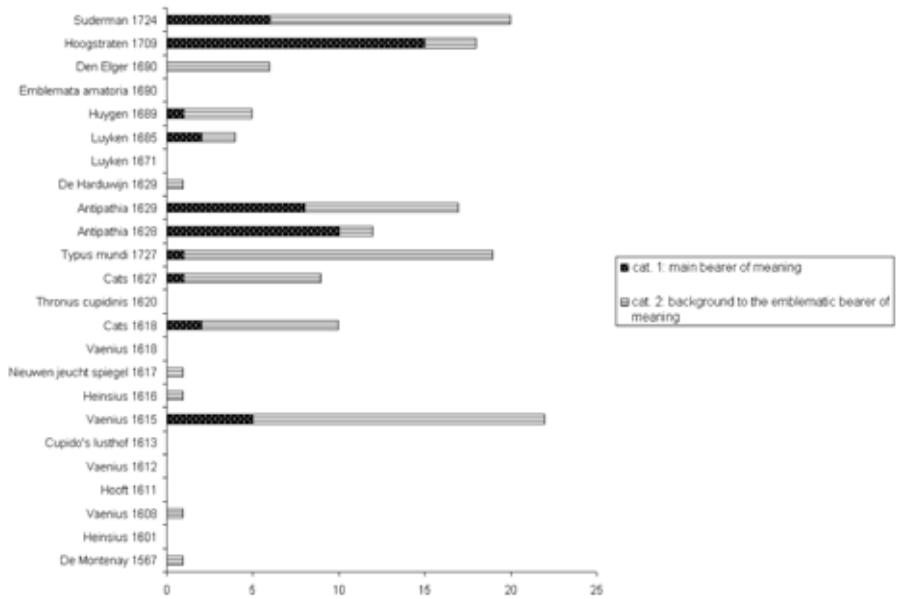Fig. 14: frontispiece of J. Suderman, *De godlievende ziel* (EPU site)

Fig. 15: overview of the occurrence of crosses

ing detail is the middle position taken up by Protestants such as Luyken and Van Hoogstraten.

Conclusion

To conclude all this, I can now say that the sharp line drawn between profane and religious emblem books needs to be reconsidered. Also, the connection between the part of the corpus created in the South, and the part created in the North needs reconsideration. A simplified classification as 'Protestant' or 'Catholic' is not enough to describe the actual practice of those days.

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