

The Representation of Martyrdoms during The Early Counter-Reformation in Antwerp

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# The Representation of Martyrdoms During The Early Counter-Reformation in Antwerp

NO one who has passed through those rooms in the Antwerp Gallery which contain the works of the generation before Rubens can fail to have been impressed by a group of vivid and often gruesomely depicted martyrdoms. They are, notably (and for the time being I give the current Gallery attributions): *The Martyrdom of Saints Crispin and Crispinian*, by Hieronymus Francken (Fig.2; centre panel of an altar-piece), *The Charity and Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian* (Fig.3; wings of an altar-piece), *Diocletian condemns St Sebastian to Death and St Sebastian beaten with Rods* (Figs.8 and 9; reverse of the wings of an altar-piece), and *Two Scenes from the Martyrdom of St George* (Fig.10; wings of an altar-piece), all by Ambrosius Francken.

As far as I know, the taste for martyrdoms in Antwerp at the closing of the sixteenth century has not yet been specifically discussed nor has the context in which they were produced received much attention. These are the matters I wish to deal with here, posing questions rather than answering them: not all of the documents which may throw light on these paintings have been discovered, and only a few of the attributional problems are capable, at this stage, of definitive solutions.

Two important historical events may be mentioned first. The wave of iconoclasm which swept the Low Countries in 1566 (in Antwerp on 21st and 22nd August of the same year) has been the subject of much research by historians<sup>1</sup> but has been undeservedly neglected by historians of art<sup>2</sup>. Much was destroyed, but some works of art were saved. Catholic services were soon restored. Artistic reputations – and in particular that of Martin de Vos<sup>3</sup> – were made on the basis of altar-pieces, or parts of altar-pieces, commissioned to replace those which had been lost in the iconoclasm. Immediately after the outburst a number of theological writers sprang to the defence of images, seeking to eliminate abuses in order to counter at least some of the Protestant criticism of image worship. The fact that three years earlier the Council of Trent had recommended the ecclesiastical supervision of images was used to the same end by these writers.<sup>4</sup>

The second event is the more peaceful iconoclasm which took place in Antwerp in 1581, when the recently elected Calvinist Town Council ordered the systematic removal of images from the local churches.<sup>5</sup> This took place behind

closed doors, to prevent any of the disorderliness which had marked the riotous behaviour of 1566. When Alexander Farnese, the victorious Prince of Parma, finally regained control of Antwerp in 1585, Catholic services were restored yet again, and the guilds and local churches busily started setting up their desecrated altars anew.<sup>6</sup> Some of the older paintings were returned, but most had been lost in the intervening period, either through neglect or, occasionally, as a result of wanton destruction. Again, new commissions were signed, and this time it was the first generation of Francken brothers – Hieronymus, Frans, and Ambrosius – who profited most.<sup>7</sup> We cannot deal with all such replacement altars here; let us examine, rather, the scenes of martyrdom which so often formed their subject.

Canon Floris Prims, the former Antwerp archivist, graphically recounted the fortunes of the altars concerned, although some of the documents he found were carelessly or superficially transcribed.<sup>8</sup> I begin with the altar-pieces from Antwerp Cathedral. The altar of the *Oude Handboog*,<sup>9</sup> for example, was seriously damaged in 1566, so in 1575 the officials of the guild commissioned a new altar-piece from the ageing Michael Coxcie. The centre panel, a straightforwardly traditional *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* (Fig.11) survives, but the wings were lost in the events of May 1581.<sup>10</sup> Along with a number of other guilds, the new deans of the *Oude Handboog* had submitted an application to the recently constituted Calvinist Town Council (clearly with some prompting from it) to do away with the ornaments of their altar. All these applications insisted on the idolatrous aspect of image worship, in keeping with contemporary Protestant criticism. In addition, they needed to sell their altar-pieces and other adornments in order to support the poorer members of their guild, who had suffered badly in the events of the preceding years, particularly during the reign of Alva.<sup>11</sup> But as soon as Catholicism was reestablished under Farnese, the Calvinist guild officials were deposed and new Catholic ones appointed. In the case of the *Oude Handboog*, they applied for the costs of having new wings made – we do not know how it came about that the central panel was saved – and the commission went to Ambrosius Francken.<sup>12</sup> On the

<sup>6</sup> PRIMIS, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> There is an inadequate monograph on the Francken family by DR. J. GABRIELS: *Een Kempisch Schildergeslacht: De Franckens. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch Romanisme*, Hoogstraten [1930]. For a comment on Dr Gabriels' book, see below pp.131-32.

<sup>8</sup> F. PRIMIS: 'Altaarstudien', in *Antwerpiensia* 1938 (series 12) Antwerp [1939], pp.283-339, and in *Antwerpiensia* 1939 (series 13), Antwerp [1940], pp.278-446. These articles are unfortunately not easily available, even in the Netherlands.

<sup>9</sup> Difficult to translate succinctly. The first guild of Longbowmen to be founded was called the *Oude Handboog*; that which was founded later was called the *Jonge Handboog*. The same applies to the *Oude* and *Jonge Voetboog*, the two Crossbowmen's guilds.

<sup>10</sup> It is wrong to suggest, as the Antwerp Museum Catalogue does, that the St George panels came from the altar of the *Oude Handboog* (*Koninklijk Museum voor schone Kunsten Antwerpen, Beschrijvende Catalogus*, Antwerp [1959], pp.63-64). They come from the altar of a Crossbowmen's Guild.

<sup>11</sup> PRIMIS: *Antwerpiensia* 1939, pp.357-63, and pp.183-88.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p.363.

<sup>1</sup> The literature on the subject is vast, ranging from general enquiries to detailed local accounts. A good summary of the present state of historical research is M. DIERICX: 'Beeldenstorm in de Nederlanden in 1566', *Streven*, xix [1966], pp.1040-48.

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing like JOHN PHILLIPS's recent *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660*, Berkeley [1973], for the Low Countries.

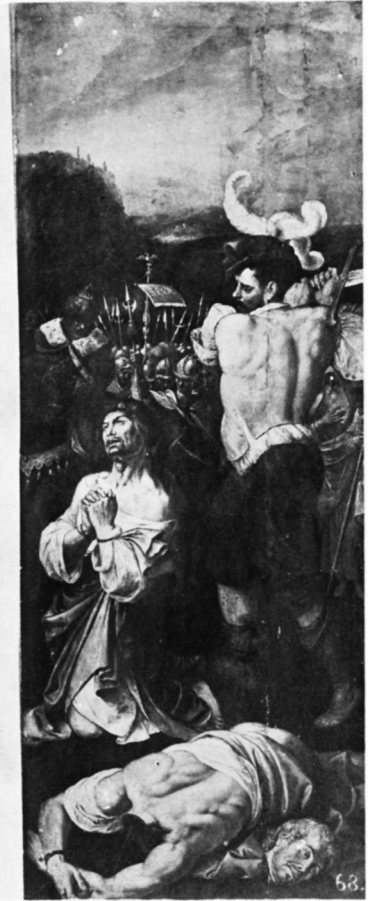
<sup>3</sup> A monograph on de Vos is much needed. The only one at present is V. DIRKSEN's outdated and very incomplete *Die Gemälde des Marten de Vos, Parchim* [1914].

<sup>4</sup> They are very numerous. A short list is given in P. POLMAN: *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Gembloux [1932]. For the Council's decree of 3rd-4th December 1563, see note 56 below.

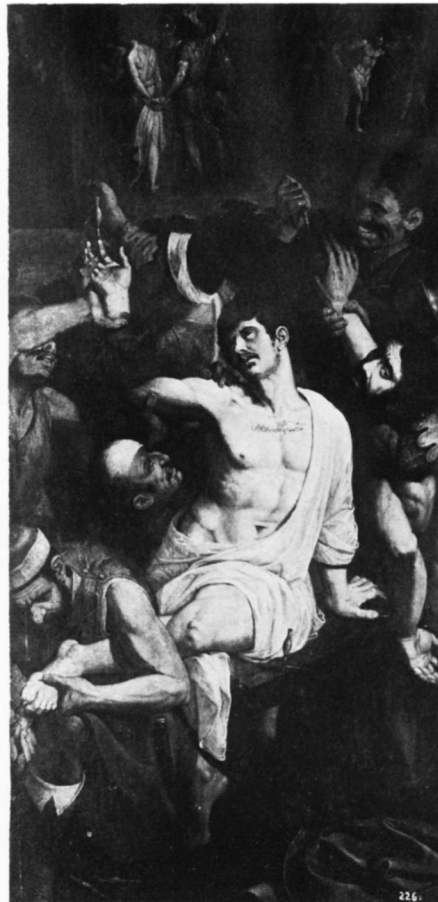
<sup>5</sup> See F. PRIMIS: 'De Beeldstormerij van 1581' in *Antwerpiensia* 1939 (series 13), Antwerp [1940], pp.183-89.



2. *Martyrdom of Saints Crispin and Crispinian*, by A.(?) Francken. Panel, 271 by 217 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



3. *The Charity and Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian*, by A. Francken. Panel, each 237 by 89 cm. (Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



4, 5. *Scenes from the Martyrdom of Saints Crispin and Crispinian*, by A.(?) Francken. Panels. (St Charles Borromeo, Antwerp).



6. *St Sebastian exhorting Marcus and Marcellinus*, by A. Francken. Panel, 283 by 112 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



7. *The Miraculous Healing of Zoe*, by A. Francken. Panel, 283 by 112 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



8. *Diocletian Condemning St Sebastian*, by A. Francken. Panel, 283 by 112 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



9. *St Sebastian beaten with Rods*, by A. Francken. Panel, 283 by 112 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).

interior of the wings were representations of *St Sebastian in Prison* (arousing the brothers Marcus and Marcellinus to die a christian death in the face of parental exhortations), and the *Miraculous Healing of Zoe* (Figs.6 and 7). On the outside are two scenes from his martyrdom (Figs.8 and 9). Diocletian, throwing himself backwards in anger, commands that Sebastian be taken to the place of execution. The grimacing faces – often toothless and bald – that characterize this group of works make their appearance behind the saint here. On the right hand panel, two executioners vigorously attempt to kill Sebastian by beating him with rods. His body is twisted into a violent contrapposto as he successfully resists their efforts, while a third executioner, lips apart and eyes staring, the muscles of his back prominently showing, displays a broken rod to the spectator. In the background, Diocletian with his army.<sup>13</sup> Prims gives a date of around 1590 to this work,<sup>14</sup> to which we will return later.

The altar of the Barbers and Surgeons suffered not dissimilar fortunes. On 5th May 1581, their Calvinist deans signed the usual request to do away with their altar in an orderly and peaceful fashion. This time the whole altarpiece was lost. Prims states that once order was reestablished, the commission for a new one went to Ambrosius Francken. He dates it 1593.<sup>15</sup> The centre panel was lost at the time of the French Revolution<sup>16</sup> and we do not know what it represented. The side panels (Fig.3), however, show, on the left, Cosmas and Damian replacing an amputated limb with an artificial one. Various healing activities take place on the raised level in the background. The right hand panel shows their martyrdom. In the foreground lies the headless torso of Cosmas, blood spurting from it. His head lies beside it. The muscles of his back, as so often in Francken, are depicted in a typically tubular and random fashion. Damian kneels in prayer before the executioner who has his sword uplifted in readiness for the final blow. Lysias mounted in the background, with his soldiers. The reverse of these wings represents the two saints in grisaille.<sup>17</sup>

The Shoemakers' altar suffered the same fate in May 1581. Only in 1589–90, however, did the new guild officials get round to submitting a request to cover the costs of repairing their altar and for new ornaments. They complained that the dean for 1581 and 1584, a certain Jacques van den Cuype (now fled to Middelburg), had taken it upon himself to sell the ornaments of their altar.<sup>18</sup> The new altarpiece they commissioned survives in its entirety (Figs.2, 4 and 5). Rarely has such a collection of grotesque and distorted faces been brought together for the portrayal of a martyrdom. On one panel the saints, in contorted positions, are being tortured by a group of four devilish figures, who insert awls behind their fingernails and wrench out their toenails with pincers; in the background they are being led off to further tortures and their execution, which takes place on the other panel. There, behind the praying saint, stands the executioner holding on to the head he is about to cut off. On the

ground below the saint's clasped hands lies the decapitated torso and head of his brother.<sup>19</sup> It looks out towards the spectator in the same way as in the Cosmas and Damian panels, and the Salome panel in Martin de Vos's *Furriers'* triptych of a generation earlier. The centre panel<sup>20</sup> has perhaps the most violent scene of all (Fig.2). Stretched out on benches, the saints are being flayed, but the miracle has already begun: the awls and other instruments spring back at the torturers, who shield themselves, scream, and gesticulate wildly. More astonishment is expressed by the Emperor in the scene to the right, where the saints flail about in a cauldron of oil. Other scenes take place in the background.<sup>21</sup>

Before discussing the representation of martyrdoms elsewhere in Antwerp and Flanders during the 1590's it may be worth commenting on Prims's suggested dating of these three altarpieces. No documents relating to their actual completion have yet come to light, and Prims himself only transcribed the documents relating to their preceding history. I would suggest placing these works in the first decade of the seventeenth century (thus largely agreeing with Zoege von Manteuffel's clear Thieme-Becker article<sup>22</sup>) on the following grounds: the martyrdoms and the St Sebastian wings show a considerable decline in quality when compared with the dated *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes* (Fig.13) which Ambrosius Francken painted for the Bakers' Guild in 1598.<sup>23</sup> They are clearly the work of an ageing artist, and even then one has to postulate a substantial amount of workshop participation. They cannot precede the *Multiplication*, because that stage is represented by the signed *Last Supper*<sup>24</sup> in Antwerp (Fig.12). The *Multiplication* is the work of an accomplished artist, one clearly working in the orbit of Martin de Vos. The draperies are skilfully treated, and the colours gleaming and deep. There are reminiscences of Tuscan Mannerism, and quotations from Raphael (as in the seated woman on the left). None of these features appear in the martyrdom group: there is nothing like the lost profile of the apostle on the left of Christ, nor the depth of the red of his cloak, nor the shimmering green of the background. In the martyrdoms, on the other hand, the colours are uniformly flatter, the draperies almost cursory in their treatment, and the muscles quite implausibly drawn. The St George wings (which I have not discussed with the rest of the group as they come from the High Altar of the St George's Church in Antwerp<sup>25</sup>) are closest to the *Multiplication*, especially in the treatment of the hair and the depth of the colours (Fig.10). They may be assigned to a date very close to 1600. The astonishing right hand panel prepares one for the vigour and viciousness of the martyrdoms to come, and the twisted body of St George is simply the St Sebastian in reverse. The St Sebastian wings come next, just after the turn of the century. As Zoege von Manteuffel pointed out in his 1933 review of Juliane Gabriels's misleading book on the

<sup>19</sup> The wings are reported to be in the St Charles Borromeo Church in Antwerp. They do not appear to be curved at the top as in the central panel, but I have unfortunately been unable to see them.

<sup>20</sup> Antwerp, No.145. *Beschrijvende Catalogus*, p.96. For a discussion of the attribution, see below p.132.

<sup>21</sup> See below p.137 for the literary sources.

<sup>22</sup> THIEME-BECKER, XII, pp.337–38.

<sup>23</sup> Antwerp, No.135. *Beschrijvende Catalogus*, p.90.

<sup>24</sup> Antwerp, Nos.136–40. *Ibid.*, pp.90–91.

<sup>25</sup> Antwerp, Nos.141–44. *Beschrijvende Catalogus*, p.91.

<sup>13</sup> Antwerp, Nos.151–54. *Beschrijvende Catalogus Oude Meesters*, pp.92–93.

<sup>14</sup> PRIMIS: *Antwerpiensia* 1939, p.361.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.319.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.320.

<sup>17</sup> Antwerp, Nos.146–49. *Beschrijvende Catalogus*, pp.91–92.

<sup>18</sup> PRIMIS: *Antwerpiensia* 1939, pp.390–92.

Franckens, the Cosmas and Damian panels can be dated a little before 1610, on the basis of their closeness to the monogrammed and dated *Carrying of the Cross* of 1610 in Ghent.<sup>26</sup>

The *Martyrdom of Saints Crispin and Crispinian* can on no account be given to Hieronymus Francken, as Dr Gabriels suggested in her book.<sup>27</sup> We now know enough about Hieronymus for the attribution to fail. Almost all of his life after 1566 was spent in Paris. He did return to Antwerp for a short period between 1585 and 1588, but he never became a citizen of the town nor a master in the Guild of St Luke.<sup>28</sup> The *Martyrdom of Saints Crispin and Crispinian* bears little resemblance to the one certain religious work by him, the *Nativity* in the Church of the Cordeliers in Paris (signed and dated 1585)<sup>29</sup>, of about the same time as Dr Gabriels wishes to date the Shoemakers' altar-piece.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand it may comfortably be said to belong to the group of martyrdoms by Ambrosius Francken and his workshop. It shows the same arbitrary treatment of muscles and drapery with the same flat and dull colours. On this basis it comes after the Sebastian wings, probably round the same time as the panels with Saints Cosmas and Damian. The fact that the documents on which Prims based his discussion all refer to the closing years of the sixteenth century does not really affect the argument. There are many instances during this whole period – most notably in the case of the High Altar of Antwerp Cathedral<sup>31</sup> – where requests were submitted for new altar-pieces, negotiations set under way and contracts signed long before the relevant work was finally delivered.

The representation of martyrdoms in all their vividness was of course not new in the Netherlands – in the sixteenth century one thinks immediately of the right wing of Quinten Massys's famous *Lamentation* altar-piece for the Joiners' guild, where the Evangelist was shown in his vat of boiling oil, surrounded by jubilantly grimacing onlookers.<sup>32</sup> Frans Floris's equally famous *Fall of the Rebel Angels* painted for the Swordsmen's guild in 1554<sup>33</sup> sparked off – and sustained – a growing interest in the possibilities of muscular sword-wielding figures and tumbling or fallen naked bodies. In 1577 Frans Pourbus painted his *Martyrdom of St George* (Dunkirk),<sup>34</sup> where, on the centre panel St George with his

hands crossed over his chest, awaits the blow from the sword-swinging executioner. In this respect he foreshadowed the Francken martyrdoms of a later period, and even more clearly on the left wing, where the saint is bound back to a wooden pole: he casts his eyes heavenward, while a half nude figure lies fallen towards the front edge of the picture and another lurches outwards, the whites of his eyes showing and his mouth emitting a cry of pain. In this painting, as in his *St Matthew and the Angel* of 1573 in Brussels,<sup>35</sup> Frans Pourbus explores possibilities which were only to be developed years later in the Netherlands.

Carel van Mander's *Martyrdom of St Catherine* which was painted in 1582 for the Linenworkers' guild in St Martin's in Courtrai<sup>36</sup> is not dissimilar to the Pourbus painting. It is his first known painting, and the only work to survive from his Flemish period, painted just before he fled to Haarlem. The wings were lost, but the centre panel shows St Catherine kneeling in much the same fashion as Pourbus's St George, although her eyes are modestly downcast. Behind her the executioner swings his sword, about to let it drop. On the left the Emperor on horseback, and in the right foreground lie a pile of decapitated torsos, their heads scattered beside them. The middle torso, seen from the back, is clearly derived from the same prototype as the fallen figure on the left wing of the painting by Pourbus.

But it was only after Farnese's reestablishment of the Catholic faith in Antwerp in 1585 that the representation of martyrdoms acquired the declamatory and monumental tone we have already seen in the Francken group. Expressions become emphatically vivid, instruments of torture are graphically depicted and the increasingly large paintings filled with figures and activity.

It must, to some extent, have been the growing popularity of Marten de Vos that made the old Michael Coxcie retreat from Antwerp to his home town of Malines. Before discussing the Antwerp martyrdoms that can definitely be assigned to the 1590's, we may briefly mention Coxcie's 1588 *Martyrdom of St George* (Fig. 14) for the Longbowmen's guild in the St Romuald in Malines.<sup>37</sup> It is one of the most turbulent of all such scenes. The centre panel shows the saint bound to a fearsome wheel, which the executioners are about to set in motion. It breaks, and the other torturers, beset by fear, take to their heels. In the top right hand corner an angel holds out the martyr's crown. The wings show St George before Diocletian, and, once again, the decapitation of the saint.

Now although it was fairly common practice for a guild whose patron saint was St George to have him represented on their altar-piece (just as Longbowmen's guilds of St Sebastian almost always had that saint depicted) what is surprising about this work is the fact that so gruesome and violent an aspect of his martyrdom was chosen, not only for the side panels, but for the centre panel as well. After all, there were other scenes from his life which might have been chosen for that. This is a question to which we shall return

<sup>26</sup> In *Belvedere* [1934], pp.43–46.

<sup>27</sup> See note 7 above. The attribution was repeated in DR GABRIELS's article in *De Kunst der Nederlanden*, I [1930–31], pp.57–64.

<sup>28</sup> See P. M. AUZAS: *Hierosme Francken dit Franco, peintre du roi Henri III et du roi Henri IV*, Brussels [1968].

<sup>29</sup> Illustrated in P. M. AUZAS: 'L'adoration des bergers' de Hierosme Francken', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art Français* [1966], pp.61–64, pl.1.

<sup>30</sup> In *De Kunst der Nederlanden I* [1939–41], p.59, Dr Gabriels claimed that she found the monogram HF on one of the wings in the Jesuit Church. If this were so, it could be that they are the initials of Hieronymus Francken II, who entered the workshop of Ambrosius in 1605.

<sup>31</sup> For a full and accurate account of the fortunes of this High Altar before it received Rubens's *Assumption of the Virgin* in 1625, and the various temporary altar-pieces borrowed for use on it until then, see C. VAN DE VELDE: 'De Aanbidding der Herders van Frans Floris', *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* [1961], pp.59–73.

<sup>32</sup> Antwerp, No.248.

<sup>33</sup> Antwerp, No.112. On the history of this work and its place in Floris's oeuvre, see C. VAN DE VELDE: *Frans Floris (1519/20–1570), Leven en Werken*, 4 vols, Ghent University doctoral dissertation [1971], especially ii, pp.44–46. I am grateful to Dr van de Velde for allowing me to consult his dissertation in its pre-publication form. It is now in the press.

<sup>34</sup> Illustrated *in toto* in G. FAGGIN: *La Pittura ad Anversa nel Cinquecento*, Florence

[1968], p.268, pl.163. The centre panel was lost in World War II; the wings survive in the Dunkirk Museum.

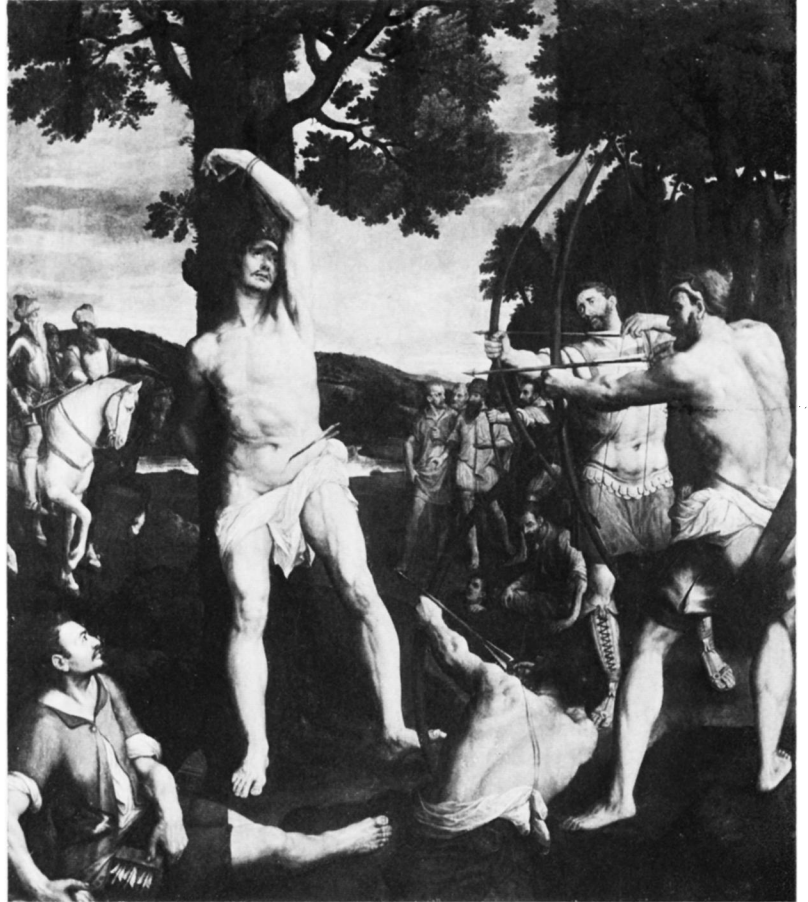
<sup>35</sup> Illustrated in G. FAGGIN, *op. cit.*, p.267, pl.162.

<sup>36</sup> See E. VALENTINER: *Karel van Mander als Maler*, Strasbourg [1930], pp.6–8, pl.1.

<sup>37</sup> See J. LAENEN: *Histoire de l'Église Métropolitaine de St Rombaut à Malines*, Malines [1920], ii, pp.239–42.



10. *Scenes from the Martyrdom of St George*, by A. Francken. Panel, each 270 by 90 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



11. *The Martyrdom of St Sebastian*, by Michael Coxcie. Panel, 267.2 by 235 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



12. *Triptych of the Holy Sacrament*, by A. Francken. Panel, centre, 275 by 240 cm.; wings, 255 by 115 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



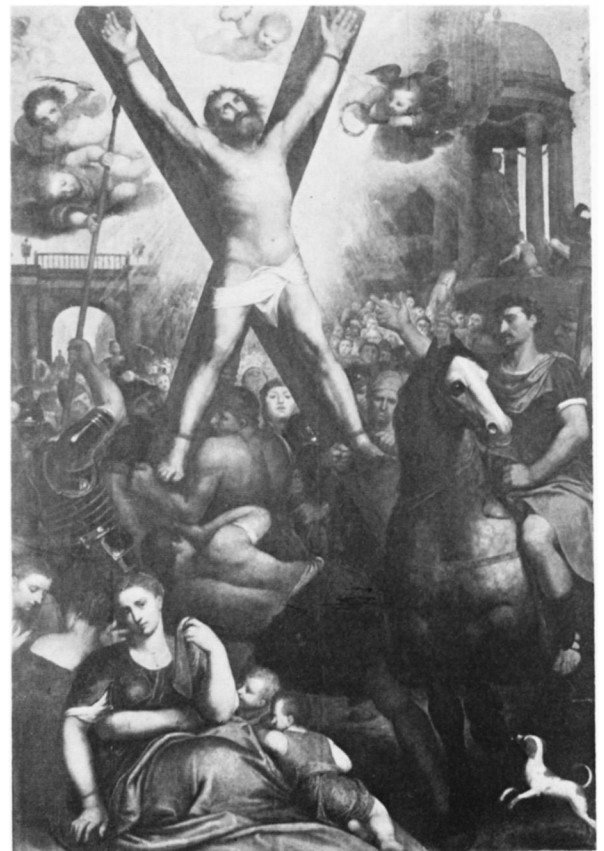
13. *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, by A. Francken. Panel, 280 by 212 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).



14. *The Martyrdom of St George*, by Michael Coxcie. Panel. (St Romuald, Malines).



15. *The Martyrdom of St James the Greater*, by Martin de Vos. Panel. (Formerly St James, Antwerp).



16. *The Martyrdom of St Andrew*, by Otto van Veen. Panel, 437 by 287 cm. (St Andrew, Antwerp).



later. In the meantime let us turn to two of the most important martyrdoms produced for Antwerp churches in the 1590's, by the two leading painters of the time.

In 1594 Martin de Vos (who for twenty years had been responsible for replacing the most important guild altars lost in 1566)<sup>38</sup> painted the *Execution of St James the Greater* for the High Altar of the Church of St James in Antwerp (Fig.15).<sup>39</sup> The bare-chested saint kneels in the centre, his hands clasped in prayer. Around him stand his three executioners, but only the left one stands in the contorted pose and with the sort of grimacing expression developed so fully by Francken. In comparison with the latter's works, this is a relatively calm scene, with the calling of the saint in the left background, the Transfiguration behind in the centre, and Herod Agrippa mounted in the background on the right, who wears the kind of orientalising turban common to all these works. The wings were painted by Ambrosius Francken in 1611. For once they do not show additional scenes of martyrdom, but rather Salome the wife of Zebedee praying for her sons James and John, and the Resurrection of the daughter of Jairus.<sup>40</sup>

Otto van Veen, the second master of Rubens, only became a master in Antwerp in 1593, although he had been producing independent works before that.<sup>41</sup> The following year he was commissioned by the Deacons of the Church of St Andrew to paint the high altar of their Church.<sup>42</sup> The final painting (Fig.16) was only delivered in 1599, after years of deliberation over the sketch and *modello*, both of which survive.<sup>43</sup> It is a very large panel (437 by 287 mm.) with no wings, entirely dominated by St Andrew's cross, bathed in rays of light, just as recounted by the *Legenda Aurea*. The mounted Roman governor sternly issues his command on the right; *putti* fly above with the laurel crowns; a coarse-faced figure completes the binding of St Andrew to the cross; and three straining and muscular figures help to erect it. The saint himself wears the briefest of loincloths, and, as usual, casts his ecstatic glance heavenward. Representations of the Crucifixion of St Andrew were not uncommon in the second half of the sixteenth century, but they generally formed only part of a series of paintings depicting the life of the saint, as in Frans Pourbus's series of small panels in St Bavo in Ghent.<sup>44</sup> In the Van Veen painting, however, the martyrdom of the saint is conceived as an independent scene on an impressive and overwhelming scale. It is work which cannot be for-

gotten when considering Rubens's treatment of the same subject in the closing years of his life.<sup>45</sup> There too are the women at the left, the mounted governor on the right, the muscular torsoes heaving up the diagonal cross and the laurel-bearing *putti*, all energetically transformed.

There is one further painting we need consider here. It is Wenzel Cobergher's *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* now in Nancy painted in 1598–99 while Cobergher was still in Rome for the altar of the guild of the *Jonge Handboog*.<sup>46</sup> This also had a chequered fortune as a result of the events of 1566 and 1581. Hans Vlieghe has published with admirable clarity the documents which relate to the commissioning of a new altar-piece in 1568, depicting a *Nativity* (delivered in 1572).<sup>47</sup> It was lost in 1581, and a replacement commissioned in 1586, with designs by Vredeman de Vries.<sup>48</sup> But for some reason – perhaps the new fashion for single-panelled altar-pieces enclosed in a monumental sculpted portico – the guild remained dissatisfied and between 1596 and 1598 commissioned yet a third new altar-piece. It was to be designed by Otto van Veen, with carved work by the de Nole brothers.<sup>49</sup> Wenzel Cobergher was commissioned to do the centre panel, which was sent from Rome on its completion in 1599.<sup>50</sup> As one might have expected from a guild of Longbowmen, it bears a representation of St Sebastian. But the martyr is not shown as the target of arrows: instead, he is being prepared for his martyrdom. His face wears an expression of patience and sublime anticipation, as he prepares to suffer for his unshakeable faith. Again, his eyes turn to heaven. An open-mouthed old man glowers up at him; two more bind his feet. In the middleground, various scenes from his life, including the Roman army led by a splendidly plumed rider. *Putti* bearing the laurel crown hover in the glowing light above his head.

This painting marks the end of the sixteenth century in Antwerp, and it shares some characteristics with the group of martyrdoms given to Ambrosius Francken. With some reservation I have suggested that these are to be dated shortly after the turn of the century, rather than before. But this is not one of the more important problems posed by these paintings.<sup>51</sup> What we would like to know is whether it is possible to account for this preference – one might almost

<sup>45</sup> *Klassiker der Kunst*, 4th ed. [1921], ed. R. OLDENBOURG, No.416. See also his *Crucifixion of St Peter* in the Peterskirche in Cologne, *Kdk.* [1921], No.421, from his late period as well.

<sup>46</sup> Good illustration in T. H. FOKKER: 'Wenzel Cobergher, Schilder', *De Kunst der Nederlanden* I [1930–31], p.176, Pl.7. When Cobergher returned to the Netherlands, he turned his efforts almost exclusively to architecture. See M. DE MAEYER: *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst*, Brussels [1955].

<sup>47</sup> H. Vlieghe: 'Het Altaar van de Jonge Voetboog in de Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk te Antwerpen' in *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder*, The Hague [1973], pp.342–46.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p.345, note 14.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p.344.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.344.

<sup>51</sup> I have also refrained from assessing their stylistic relationship with Italian paintings. The matter is an immensely complex one: ANTAL's essay 'The Problem of Mannerism in the Netherlands', in *Classicism and Romanticism*, London [1966], pp.47–196, explores some of the stylistic problems involved but does not altogether clarify them. Antal correctly pointed out that aside from Italian influences on late sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting one should also bear in mind parallel developments in both countries. He failed to consider the Francken paintings, which derive from the Floris-Heemskerck line, but on the whole he was right to emphasize the connection with Tusco-Roman mannerist paintings.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. the St Thomas Altar-piece, dated 1574, for the altar of the Furriers (Antwerp, Nos.77–81); the triptych with Christ Triumphant, dated 1590, for the altar of the *Oude Voetboog* (Antwerp, Nos.72–76); and the *Wedding Feast at Cana* (1596, Antwerp Cathedral) for the Vintners' Altar.

<sup>39</sup> Now kept *en dépôt* in the Antwerp Museum. See J. DE WIT: *De Kerken van Antwerpen*, ed. J. DE BOSSCHÈRE [1910], p.35; F. J. VAN DEN BRANDEN: *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp [1883], i, pp.222–25; and TH. VAN LERUS: *Notice sur les oeuvres d'art de l'église paroissiale et ci-devant insigne collégiale de St Jacques à Anvers*, Borgerhout [1855], pp.111–12.

<sup>40</sup> VAN DEN BRANDEN, *op. cit.*, p.352; the date, however, is not 1600 but 1611, as ZOEGE VON MANTEUFFEL pointed out in THIEME-BECKER, xii, p.337.

<sup>41</sup> See J. MÜLLER-HOFSTEDE: 'Zum Werk des Otto van Veen 1590–1600', *Bulletin, Musées Royaux de Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels [1957], pp.127–74.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p.142.

<sup>43</sup> In the collections of Frans Baudouin and the Besançon Museum respectively. MÜLLER-HOFSTEDE, *op. cit.*, pp.142–46 (the reproductions are incorrectly captioned: Pl.9 is Baudouin's sketch, Pl.10 the *modello* in Besançon, and Pl.11 the final painting).

<sup>44</sup> See E. DHANENS: *Sint-Baafskatedraal, Gent* (Inventaris van het kunstpatrimonium van Oost-Vlaanderen V), Ghent [1965], pp.194–97.

call it a taste – for the depiction of martyrdoms during this neglected period of Antwerp painting. It is the time of Rubens's youth. Catholicism is firmly reestablished. Painters' works are no longer threatened by iconoclasm, but a general awareness of Protestant criticism of images remains. The Council of Trent's decree on painting in 1563 failed to check such criticism and the host of pro-image works which were produced in the wake of the first iconoclasm was not an effective counter. What, therefore, may have encouraged the depiction of these martyrdoms, in the manner described above, from the time of Farnese's conquest of 1585 onwards?

It has occasionally been claimed that as a result of the Tridentine decree on painting the church authorities of Antwerp were concerned to restrict the central panels of altar-pieces to representations of Christ, and to have the saints and their martyrdoms relegated to secondary positions.<sup>52</sup> This may have arisen from their sensitivity to and self-consciousness about the cult of saints in the face of the attacks on that practice by both Calvinists and Lutherans. But it can obviously not apply to the period in which these vast and violent paintings were produced. Let us turn to some of the printed works which were published during this period, from the very beginning of Farnese's restoration of the faith.

We can begin with the immediately popular *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum* which first appeared in Antwerp in 1587, with a second edition and a French translation in the following year.<sup>53</sup> It depicts, in gruesome detail, the tortures to which contemporary martyrs were subjected by the Protestant heretics in Britain, France and Germany. These illustrations, in both words and engravings, prepare one for the Francken paintings of some years later (indeed, Michael Coxcie's *Martyrdom of St George* was already painted in Malines by 1588). There is the same interest in mutilated parts of the body, and in both book and painting the martyrs are often shown on the point of death, bearing final and exemplary witness to the faith they unwaveringly held. Thus were the true faithful to be encouraged.<sup>53a</sup>

In 1588 Plantin managed to publish the *Martyrologium* of Baronius, which he had hoped would be the definitive version.<sup>54</sup> In his introduction, Baronius pointed out its use: 'The commemoration of the innocence, charity, fortitude, and other virtues of the Saints provide us with the keenest possible stimuli. Not only do they greatly arouse us, but also, with their example set before us, make us acknowledge

our own idleness'.<sup>55</sup>

The idea was not a new one, and it was especially current in Italy at this time as well. It had already found a place as an integral part of the Tridentine decree on painting, so often – and unjustifiably – dismissed as an influence on the painting of the early Counter-Reformation. In reformulating the medieval doctrine of the profit to be gained from images (derived in particular from St Gregory and Thomas Aquinas) the decree stated that not only were the people reminded thereby of the benefits and gifts bestowed on them by Christ, but also that 'through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and to cultivate piety'.<sup>56</sup> Now although an attempt was soon made to introduce the council's decrees in the Netherlands, we know that they met with a hostile and resentful reception there, especially in Antwerp;<sup>57</sup> and the events of 1566 postponed their further execution for a number of years. It was only from 1585 that Farnese could ensure that they were fully implemented.<sup>58</sup>

One of the consequences of the 1566 iconoclasm, however, was the spate of writings it provoked in defence of images immediately afterwards, as I have already noted above. We cannot go into these here, but we should remember that devotion to images had long been intimately associated with the cult of saints, and so many of these works contained long passages on the importance of the saints within Christian worship. Some works dealt exclusively with this aspect of the image question,<sup>59</sup> emphasizing the exemplary nature of their lives, and, especially, their martyrdoms: they were to provide models for imitation, and their fortitude an encouragement to the true Christians who in those very times were being subjected to persecution for their steadfast adherence to the true and Catholic faith. Johannes Garetius, a Ghent Augustinian, for example, devoted the whole of his *De Sanctorum Invocatione Liber* (1570) to justifying the invocation of the saints.<sup>60</sup> Like so many other writers of the time, he

<sup>55</sup> 'Habet etiam Sanctorum innocentiae, charitatis, fortitudinis, ceterarumque virtutum commemoratio stimulos quosdam acerrimos, quibus tum maxime incitatur cum illorum propositis exemplis, nostram desidiam agnoscimus', *Martyrologium Romanum*, ed. C. BARONIUS, Antwerp [1588], p. iv.

<sup>56</sup> '... tum vero ex omnibus sacris imaginibus magnum fructum percipi, non solum quia admonetur populus beneficiorum et munerum, quae a Christo sibi collata sunt, sed etiam, quia Dei per sanctos miracula et salutaria exempla oculis fidelium subiiciuntur, ut pro iis Deo gratias agant, ad sanctorum imitationem vitam moresque suos componant, excitenturque ad adorandum ac diligendum Deum, et ad pietatem colendam'. *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. Centro di Documentazione, Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, Bologna, Freiburg-im-B. [1972], pp. 751-52.

An excellent commentary on the origin of the Decree is H. JEDIN: 'Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung', *Theologische Quartalschrift*, cxvi [1935], pp. 142-82 and 404-28.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, the entry for 19th August 1565 in the Diary of Godevaert van Haecht, in *De Kroniek van Godevaert van Haecht over de troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 tot Antwerpen en elders*, ed. R. VAN ROOSBROECK, Antwerp [1929], on the announcement of the publication of the Decrees at Antwerp: '... maer alle landen en waeren niet wel tevreden gheweest, want t'ginck meest al na 't Spaens sin'.

See also F. WILLOCK: *L'Introduction des decrets du Concile de Trente dans les Pays-Bas et dans la Principauté de Liège*, Louvain [1929].

<sup>58</sup> See WILLOCK, *op. cit.*, and G. MOREAU: *Histoire de l'église en Belgique* [1952], pp. 268, 436-37 and 443.

<sup>59</sup> E.g. JOHANNES HESSELS: *Tractatus pro invocatione sanctorum*, Louvain [1562, 1564, and 1568]; and the work of Johannes Garetius cited in the following note.

<sup>60</sup> JOHANNES GARETIUS: *De Sanctorum invocatione Liber*; in quo orthodoxorum Patrum testimoniis asseritur, Apostolicam esse traditionem, sanctorum animas post mortem in

<sup>52</sup> E.g. in L. VAN PUYVELDE: *La Peinture Flamande au siècle de Bosch et Bruegel*, Paris [1962], p. 382; and PRIMS: *Antwerpiensia* [1938], p. 287.

<sup>53</sup> R(ICHARD) V(ERSTEGEN): *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*, A. Huberti, Antverpiae [1587 and 1558]; and *Théâtre des cruautés des heretiques de nostre temps, traduit du latin*, A. Hubert, Anvers [1588]. On Verstegen, see E. ROMBAUTS: *Richard Verstegen, Een Polemist der Contra-Reformatie*, Brussels [1933].

<sup>53a</sup> The deaths of the famous Gorcum martyrs in 1572, for example, would still have been fresh in the minds of many. J. B. KNIPPING: *De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum [1939-40], i, pp. 136-37 has a brief passage on the commemoration of contemporary martyrs in the Netherlands.

<sup>54</sup> Gregory XIII brought out a new revision of the Martyrology, which was printed in Rome in 1582, Lyons in 1583, and Rome again in 1584. Plantin published his version, based on the Lyons edition, in 1586, with a second edition in 1589. Baronius himself was dissatisfied with the printings which his version of the Martyrology received in 1586 and 1587, and it seems likely that he was happy with Plantin's offer to publish it in Antwerp in 1588. Some years lapsed before it received somewhat mild official approval.

depended almost entirely on traditional arguments, but he did include a significant quotation which is not found in the other works specifically on image worship. It comes in the short section on the Usefulness of Painting (*Utilitas Picturae*) and is from Gregory of Nyssa. It is about a painter of the Martyrdom of St Theodore and is couched in terms which adumbrate the preoccupation with martyrdoms of the late sixteenth century. The painter, he said, expressed 'the glorious deeds of the martyr, his labours and tortures, the savage aspect of the tyrants, the violence, the blazing and flame-spewing furnace' in graphic detail. 'These he knowledgeably set forth, artistically describing the trials of the martyr as if in a speaking book . . . for he knew that even a silent picture on the wall speaks and contributes much that is useful'.<sup>61</sup> And with that Garetius lapsed into the commonplace terms of justification.

Only three years later (and again in 1577 and 1583), Johannes Molanus, arguably the most important writer for the pro-image party after the Council of Trent,<sup>62</sup> published his re-edition of the Martyrology of Usuardus in Louvain.<sup>63</sup> But it was a premature attempt to codify the sufferings of the saints, and we must wait, predictably, until the publication of the work of Baronius in 1588 for a more acceptable version. In addition, Molanus published a small work on the Belgian saints, the *Indiculus Sanctorum Belgii* (also 1573 and 1583),<sup>64</sup> a comforting parallel, perhaps, to all those Catholics who were then being made to undergo trials themselves at the hands of heretics; and in 1595, his executors succeeded in publishing a more substantial work, the *Natales Sanctorum Belgii*.<sup>65</sup>

None of these works, however, describe the martyrdoms of the saints in the same detail as the paintings I have discussed. What then was the major literary source to which the painters could turn for the scenes they chose to represent? The answer seems reasonably clear. Although Baronius gave the prime sources for the lives of the saints in his notes more fully than any of the preceding martyrologies had done – some, indeed, cited no sources at all – it was to the admirable work of Surius that painters would have turned for the fullest accounts of these martyrdoms. Surius's *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, published in six volumes in Cologne each year between 1570 and 1574<sup>66</sup> was soon accepted as the

authoritative version of the lives of the saints.<sup>67</sup> In it may be found every detail of the Francken martyrdoms. In the life of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, for example, he recounts their punishment on the *trochlea*, the stakes which sprang back at the executioners, their immersion in boiling lead, the molten metal which shot into the eye of their persecutor Rictiovarus, the wrenching out of their finger- and toenails, and so on.<sup>68</sup> The same fullness of detail may be found in the lives of Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint George and in the unusual scenes from the life of Saint Sebastian.<sup>69</sup> Surius's work, it should be emphasized, was the first of its kind to be regarded as acceptable by the post-Tridentine Church. The Golden Legend, on the other hand, did not contain all the above-mentioned scenes and was thoroughly disapproved of during this period; its favourite appellation, in the ecclesiastical writers, was the Leaden Legend, the *Legenda Plumbea*.<sup>70</sup>

Works such as the *Theatrum* and those of Garetius, Molanus, and Baronius indicate a general interest – and a most committed one – in the tribulations of the martyrs of the church, but they do not altogether account for the way in which the martyrdoms were expressed in these paintings. We must look further for parallels to their carefully depicted tortures, their grim and violent details. And was not Trent itself concerned to eliminate that which was apocryphal or not wholly canonical in the lives of the saints? It may be easy to account for a martyrdom of St Sebastian when it was intended to adorn the altar of a Longbowmen's guild, but why choose to depict the most actively gruesome aspects of the punishment and demise of saints like St George or Saints Crispin and Crispinian on all three panels of an altar-piece? We can never altogether understand the psychological need for such works, but we come closer when we look through the *Theatrum's* graphic illustrations of contemporary martyrdoms, or, indeed, when we go on to read in Baronius's letter to his readers of the way in which he conceived his task. He declared that he had taken particular care to discuss 'those instruments and machines with which the most abominable opponents of the faith crucified and tore apart, in the most terrible ways, the bravest and most courageous martyrs'.<sup>71</sup> And he hoped that he had not erred in the explication of the various instruments of their torture.

The literary and pictorial representation of torture scenes was by no means confined to the Southern Netherlands in these years, although their depiction on panel paintings was unparalleled elsewhere. One of the most disturbing illustrated books from the end of the sixteenth century is Antonio Gallonio's *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* which appeared in Rome in 1591.<sup>72</sup> It is a horrifying work. With little intro-

*caelesti gloria Angelis esse similes nostra non ignorare, pro nobis orare, a Deo exaudiri, ac a nobis invocandos*, Ghent [1570].

<sup>61</sup> 'Et pictor, artis suae flores in imaginibus, exprimens res Martyris praeclare gestas, labores cruciatus imagines tyrannorum aspectus, impetus, ardentum illam & flammam evomentem fornacem . . . Haec, inquam, nobis tamquam in libro loquente artificiose describens Martyris certamina, sapienter exposuit, . . . Novit enim etiam pictura tacens in pariete loqui, & utilitatis plurimum afferre', GARETIUS, *op. cit.*, fol. 21v.

<sup>62</sup> On Molanus, see DAVID FREEDBERG: 'Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxiv [1971], pp. 229–45.

<sup>63</sup> *Usuardi Martyrologium, quo Romana Ecclesia ac permultae aliae utantur: jussu Caroli M. Conscriptum ex Martyrologiis Eusebii, Hieronymi, Bedae et Floriac aliunde . . . Lovanii apud Hier. Wellaeum* [1568]. Further editions in 1573, 1577 and 1583, with the following addition to the title: *Cum addendis ex martyrologis romanae Ecclesiae et aliarum, potissimum Belgii, et annotationes auctorum qui de vita vel martyrio fuisse aut aliquando obiter nonnulla scripserunt*.

<sup>64</sup> J. MOLANUS: *Indiculus Sanctorum Belgii*, Lovanii apud H. Wellaeum [1573]; Antwerp. apud Phil. Nutium [1583].

<sup>65</sup> J. MOLANUS: *Natales Sanctorum Belgii*, Lovanii apud Masium & Zanyrium [1595]. New edition in Douai [1616], with a *Supplementum* in 1626.

<sup>66</sup> L. SURIUS: *De probatis sanctorum historiis, partim ex tomis Aloysii Lipomani, . . . partim etiam ex egregiis manuscriptis codicibus, quarum permultae antehac nunquam in lucem prodire nunc recens optima fide collectis per Fr. L. S. Carthusianum. Tomus primus complectens sanctos mensium januarii et februarii*, Cologne [1570]. Each year until 1575 a new volume appeared. A French translation by G. Gazet was published

in Rouen in abridged form in 1610.

<sup>67</sup> See *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, xiv, cols. 2842–2849.

<sup>68</sup> 25th October. SURIUS, *op. cit.*, v, 959–61.

<sup>69</sup> Saints Cosmas and Damian, 27th September, SURIUS, v, pp. 360–68; Saint George, SURIUS, ii, 798–822; and St Sebastian, 20th January, SURIUS, i, pp. 434–52.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. in J. MOLANUS: *De Historia Sanctarum Imaginum et Picturarum*, Louvain [1594], p. 89.

<sup>71</sup> 'Tum etiam plurimarum dictionum sane obscuram notionem ac vim declaravi, earum praesertim, quae ea instrumenta ac machinas designant, quibus terribili fidei oppugnatores fortissimos Martyres miris modis cruciarunt, divexaruntque; . . .', BARONIUS, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

<sup>72</sup> ANTONIO GALLONIO: *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio, e delle varie maniere di martoriare usate da gentili contro christiani*, Rome [1591]. Briefly referred to in E. MÂLE: *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris [1951], in his section on martyrdoms, pp. 109–16.

duction it simply categorised the various modes of torturing martyrs, illustrating each method by means of the most graphic of scenes. Chapter One, for example, was headed *Della Croce, e Pali, e modi di sospendere*, and included all sorts of variations on the methods of hanging. The plate on page eleven depicts seven different ways of hanging and crucifixion; on page thirteen there is a plate showing even worse forms of suspension; and the plates on the succeeding two rectos, still illustrating modes of suspension, are grimmer yet. Under each of these catalogue-entries, as it were, of tortures, are listed some of the martyrs who suffered them. Thus, in the chapter headed *Delle Rote Troclee e Torchio*, St George is cited beside that part of the plate which is explained by the caption *Martire legato al converso d'una rota stretta, e col corpo ignudo giranto sopra ferri taglienti*; in the same chapter a few pages on, Saints Crispin and Crispinian are cited as examples of the '*Martire stirato colla troclea*' beside the relevant illustration. The catalogue continues, through every variation of battering, stretching, whipping, stoning and squashing, to baking, burning, flailing and live burial, for over 150 fully illustrated pages. There are at least three plates, interspersed amongst the other illustrations, which are simply ornamental assemblages of various instruments of torture. With this sort of work emanating from Rome, it is clear that the Antwerp martyrdoms were by no means an isolated phenomenon.

Both Baronius and Gallonio were priests in the Congregation of the Oratory, but another, perhaps more important, group was responsible for the great torture cycles in Rome: the Jesuits. In his book on the Art of the Counter-Reformation and Scipione Pulzone, which attempts to assess what we mean by religious art round 1585, Federico Zeri has shown the connection between the Jesuits and the extraordinary frescoes in S. Tommaso di Canterbury, S. Stefano Rotondo, and S. Vitale.<sup>73</sup> The torture scenes are not always treated in the same way, but it is in the choir of S. Vitale that we find the closest parallel to the careful brutality of the Francken martyrdoms of some years later. Francis Haskell, in his provocative review of Zeri's book,<sup>74</sup> published one of the few documents which point decisively to Jesuit encouragement of torture scenes. The obituary of the rector of the German College, Padre Michele Lauretano (d.1587) claimed that he was the first to have the martyrdoms of the saints depicted in the churches, '*con le sue note che dichiararono le persone et le qualità di tormenti*'.<sup>75</sup> Amongst other examples of the growing

fashion cited by Haskell is S. Lorenzo in Damaso, decorated under the patronage of Cardinal Farnese.

It was, as we have seen, Farnese's reestablishment of the Catholic faith in Flanders in 1585 which saw the beginning of the taste for martyrdoms and torture scenes in the Netherlands. There is abundant evidence to indicate his support for the establishment and renewal of a number of religious orders, and his active encouragement of the Jesuits. Their programme of religious education and indoctrination soon got under way, and was intended as an important part of the programme for religious revival.<sup>76</sup> We might, of course, try to connect the Jesuits' direct and immediate appeal to the emotions as manifested in their approach to the faith with the martyrdoms which are contemporary with the growth of their houses in the Southern Netherlands, but it would be more useful if documents like those from Rome could be used to establish such connections. I have not been able to find such documents in the Antwerp archives, but a search for them would be a rewarding task.

By the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, there is a new attitude towards painting in the Southern Netherlands. At the time of the signing of the Truce in 1609, Catholicism had been set on a firm footing there. The new Archdukes, Albert and Isabella, continued to lend their support to the by now well established and influential Jesuit houses.<sup>77</sup> A certain mood of confidence prevailed, the true religion no longer so threatened by attacks from its opponents. Neither literary descriptions nor painted representations of the saints were required to be as didactically assertive as they had been in the preceding quarter century.<sup>78</sup> Qualities such as this would now yield to a search for authenticity and a return to the original sources. Heribert Rosweyde's sober *Fasti Sanctorum*, which proved to be but a specimen of the gigantic enterprise of the Bollandists, appeared in 1607.<sup>79</sup> And in 1608 Rubens returned from Italy to his native town of Antwerp.

<sup>73</sup> F. ZERI: *Pittura e Controriforma*, Turin [1957], pp.66-69. For the decoration of the Gesù and further instances of the Roman interest in martyrdoms at exactly this period, see H. HIBBARD: '*Ut picturae sermones*: The first Painted Decoration of the Gesù', in R. WITTKOWER and I. JAFFE, eds.: *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, New York [1972], especially pp.30-31.

<sup>74</sup> THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, C [1957], pp.395-99.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p.395. See also F. HASKELL: *Patrons and Painters*, London [1963], pp.66-67 for more on the ways of representing torture scenes in the churches mentioned here.

<sup>76</sup> See, for example, A. PASTURE: *La restauration religieuse aux Pays-Bas catholiques sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596-1633)*, Louvain [1925], Introduction; S. AXTERS: *Geschiedenis van de Vroomheid in de Nederlanden*, iv, Antwerp, [1960], pp.28-30; G. MOREAU, *op. cit.*, pp.265-66 and 371-72; L. VAN DER ESSEN: *Alexandre Farnèse*, Brussels [1937], i, pp.36-37.

<sup>77</sup> A. PASTURE, *op. cit.*, G. MOREAU, *op. cit.*, pp.372-73. For the Jesuits in the Netherlands generally, see A. PONCELET: *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 2 vols., Brussels [1927].

<sup>78</sup> Possible exceptions are the works of Martin de Vos's pupil, Henri de Clerck, such as his *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* (Asse, St Martin), and *Martyrdom of Chrysanthus and Daria* (Brussels, Kapellekerk). For these works, see CH. TERLINDEN: 'Henri de Clerck, Le peintre de Notre Dame de la Chapelle, 1570?-1630', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, xxi [1952], pp.81-112.

<sup>79</sup> HERIBERT ROSWEYDE: *Fasti Sanctorum quorum vitae in Belgicis bibliothecis manuscriptae*, Antwerp [1607]. See also *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, xiv, cols. 9-14.