WHERE IS PARADISE?

IMAGINING HEAVEN AND HELL IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

It was a difficult and therefore much-discussed question: where, exactly, was Paradise? Scholars were not quite in agreement. There was, however, no argument that it could be found and pinpointed precisely. Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), for example, who in 1570 published the first modern atlas, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Theater of the World), allotted the Garden of Eden a fixed, topographically determinable location. On a historical map of the pilgrimages of Saint Paul published in 1598, Ortelius sited Paradise in Syria, and in doing so marked it not as a garden but as a city.[1] Gerard Mercator (1512–1594), whose multipart *Atlas* became the namesake model for all subsequent map anthologies, also gave thought to the exact location of Eden, and crafted a detailed map of Paradise, placing it in what is now Iraq.[2] He took even greater pains than Ortelius to present a cosmographic work on the creation, the origin of the world, and its entire history through his day.[3] The universal claim that Mercator connected with his work corresponded with the interests and views of his contemporaries. Human existence and the natural world that surrounds humanity were understood and described in the context of a chronology determined by salvific history, which began with the creation of the world. Because Eve had succumbed to temptation shortly thereafter, humanity, which had grown sinful, was expelled once and for all from the Garden of Eden. Around the year 1604, Jan Saenredam (1565–1607) — working from a sketch by Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651) — transformed the dramatic moment of Adam and Eve's expulsion into an engraving (Figure 23).[4]

The beginning and the end of the divine plan for salvation were set down in the Bible. The events of ancient history recounted by classical authors were integrated into this general process, and at the same time, events of redemptive history were accorded a place within secular world history. Calculations were made going back past the medieval era into the time of the Roman Empire, to the founding of Rome and earlier, through

Page 37 and detail opposite
Figure 23

JAN SAENREDAM
After **ABRAHAM BLOEMAERT**
The Expulsion from Eden
from the series *The Story of Adam and Eve,* ca. 1604
Engraving
10 15/16 x 7 13/16 inches
Photo: The Minneapolis Institute of Arts

the epoch of the Greek Olympiads and the era of the Jewish kings, to Abraham and Noah, all the way to creation itself, which some maintained had occurred on March 21, 5507 B.C.E.[5] Even if not everyone followed this method of dating honored in the *Sächsische Weltchronik* (Saxon World Chronicle), it was certain that Paradise and the Fall belonged to the First Age, which opened at the beginning of time and ended with the Flood. This chronology continued through the Sixth Age—the present—and the swift coming of the Seventh was certain; it would start with the arrival of the Antichrist and, with the Apocalypse and Last Judgment, mark the end of time. This was the belief since the earlier Middle Ages, and it would not be until the eighteenth century that scientific biblical research and physico-theology were significantly superseded by modern scientific understanding.[6]

For the people of the Middle Ages and early modern times, the doctrine of salvation available in the Bible was a genuine presence. Paradise Lost, the Heaven of the blessed, and the Hell of the damned could not be grasped by everyone, yet these were no less real than the air that people breathed. Although the events of salvific history were in large part hidden from human view, there was no lack of ways to visualize them. These visions were shaped by the world of the imagination surrounding them, and printed and reproduced images contributed greatly to shaping those visions and the imaginations forming them.[7]

The most richly illustrated book from the beginnings of letterpress printing, the *Liber chronicarum* (Book of Chronicles), or Nuremberg Chronicle, issued in 1493 by the Nuremberg doctor and humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), provides a wealth of images.[8] Devoting one chapter to each of the Seven Ages, Schedel presented readers a world history oriented toward Christian redemptive history. It begins with the creation and a theologically guided explanation for the physical form of the planet, based on concepts from Aristotle and Ptolemy.[9] Here, Earth rests fixed at the center of ten concentric spheres. It is surrounded first by the other three elements—Water, Air, and Fire, the last of these indicated by a corona—and then by the celestial spheres, the seven planets, which are composed of ether, in keeping with Aristotelian notions: the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. These are enclosed and held together

Figure 24

CRISPIJN DE PASSE I
After **MARTEN DE VOS**
Saturnus, ca. 1580
From the series *The Seven Planets*
Engraving
9 3/16 x 6 15/16 inches
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection,
The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949
(49.95.1468)
Photo © 2005 The Metropolitan
Museum of Art

by a fixed-star sky with the signs of the zodiac. Just as Paradise Lost did, the Heaven of eternal blessedness had its fixed, cosmographically determinable location. The alignment of stars and planets could be depicted accordingly.

With the planets and fixed-star zodiacal sky, the gods of the ancient world, as well as the stories and sagas associated with them, had a tangible place in the sky of the Christian world. The deities of antiquity — who, in common belief, exerted a definite influence on temporal life — were present in the planets visible in the night sky. The planet Saturn in particular was said to have a lasting effect on human disposition. An engraving by Crispijn de Passe (1564–1637) after a sketch by Marten de Vos (1532–1603) shows people born under the sign of Saturn and their sinister actions (Figure 24).[10] The subterranean and the menacing clearly dominate the depiction of

the celestial spheres. Allusions to the characteristics ascribed to the planets and their related metals are rendered in great detail. Witches' Sabbaths and cannibalism, shipping disasters and melancholy—these are all linked to the children of Saturn. In view of such sinful humanity, it was no surprise that God had determined a swift end for His creation.

The waning fifteenth century was enduringly shaped by the idea of Last Judgment, which was believed to be imminent. Eschatological expectations, indeed eschatological hopes, not only had a definite place in popular piety but also informed the consciousness of the educated. Behind the doomsday mood was the alleged fulfillment of prophecies and visions that John the Evangelist had set down in the Book of Revelation.[11]

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) had worked on fifteen large-format woodcuts depicting the Apocalypse, described in the Book of Revelation, since around 1495–1496. Among the most vivid folios of the series is *The Four Horsemen* (Figure 25).[12] Dürer lets the spawn of the Devil, described in Revelation 6:1–8, descend on Earth from overcast darkness. Representatives of all types, men as well as women, the high-ranking and the low, meet their ends under the horses' hooves. On the right, the head of the first animal and, on the left, the hindquarters of the last are overlapped by the edge of the picture—a device Dürer employs to describe the procession of the riders as a continuous action that goes beyond the one being momentarily described. An angel leads them, for they are part of the divine

tribunal, "and power was given to them over a fourth of the earth, to kill" (Revelation 6:8). Dürer's riders are to be understood as emblems of the four scourges of humanity: plague, hunger, war, and death. Death was ubiquitous; sickness, famine, and conflict could strike the society of the late Middle Ages at any time, as the experiences of recent decades had shown. Indeed, in autumn 1494, a quarter of the population of Nuremberg had fallen victim to the plague. The concluding folio of the series was meant to put believers in a conciliatory disposition (Figure 26).[13] It depicts Satan's defeat (Revelation 20:1–3) and the vision of the New Jerusalem (Revelation 21:2, 10). The combination of the imprisonment of the Devil, which heretofore had never been associated with a directive from the New Jerusalem, underscores the positive interpretation of the Heavenly City watched over by angels, which Dürer portrayed as a community of the late Middle Ages.

Yet where, according to notions of the time, are those who died long before the date of the Last Judgment? For all who were at pains to find a coherent concept of the afterlife, this was quite a problem. Were the good and the evil together after death, or did they await the Day of Judgment separately? The first possibility was incompatible with the notions of justice cultivated in the Middle Ages, while the second called for a distinct, preliminary judgment that would divide the good from the evil immediately after death. For this reason, the idea of Purgatory was born — a temporary station on the way, one hoped, to Heaven.[14] The recovered Garden of Eden, the Heaven of the blessed, which was also depicted as a garden, would beckon. More or less abstract metaphors for light were used for depictions of the Garden, which, where needed, also included seven spheres of Heaven. The spectrum of widely held visions of Paradise and Heaven between the Middle Ages and early modern times is generally denoted with those metaphors for light, the blooming garden, the lap of Abraham (symbolizing security), and an architectural background.[15]

While the iconography of Heaven is largely exhausted in these few motifs, the fantasy applied to the imagination of Hell was nearly limitless. The generally abstract pictures of heavenly happiness pale against the seemingly infinite dire visions of Hell. Aside from the common theological

TOLLITE Ô PORTE, CAPITA VESTRA, ATTOLLIMINI FORES SEMPITERNE, ET INGREDIETVR REX ILLE GLORIOSVS

reference to unspeakability invoked in the Bible (1 Corinthians 2:9), little attempt has been made to explain why there are so many more and diverse visions of Hell. Ultimately, indescribable magnificence is an essential characteristic of Heaven, for it lies beyond the realm of human experience, imagination, and thought, and is thus ascertainable only in faith. The craven allusions to a heavenly blessedness contrast with the innumerable fantastical images of Hell, which are exemplified in an engraving after Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525–1569), depicting Christ's descent into Limbo (Figure 27).[16] The theme of Anastasis, the visit by Christ to Limbo, is seldom illustrated in Christian art; the source for the depiction is the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (chapters 13–17), where it is said that, after his death, Christ traveled there to free the saints and patriarchs of the Old Testament. Bruegel rendered this account with an elaborate portrayal of Limbo as part of Hell, where a multitude of the most varied demons do their evil.

More important than any text were the paintings and drawings by Bruegel's northern Netherlandish compatriot Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516). The enormous impact of his works and his influence on succeeding generations are suggested in an engraving (Figure 28) issued

IVSTORVM ANIMAE IN MANV DEI SVNT, NEC ATTINGET ILLOS CRVCIATVS.

TOLLITE O PORTAE CAPITA VESTRA ATTOLLIMINI FORES SEMPITERNAE, VT INGREDIETVR REX ILLE GLORIOSVS

IMPII MVLTABVNTVR PRO COGITATIONIBVS SVIS, VT QVI A DÑO DEFECERINT.

in the middle of the sixteenth century by the Antwerp publisher Hieronymus Cock (ca. 1510–1570).[17] The composition, supplied with an identifying note, "HIERONYMUS BOS INVENTOR," presents the three pictorial fields of the Last Judgment as a triptych, a framed winged altarpiece. The picture frame identifies the depiction as a panel painting and, consequently, as a real object. The publisher's intention is clear: to visualize the substance of the events, but also to reproduce a work of art.[18] Whether the engraving does in fact reproduce a work by Bosch may be disputed, but its general concept has much in common with his art. The print expresses a pessimistic perception of the just end to a sinful world. Against this background — with Satan's fall from the choir of angels and the lapse of belief and custom that accompanies the inevitable appearance of the Antichrist, and in the face of the firm expectation of swift judgment — Bosch's other works become comprehensible. His protagonists are assigned their roles

in the historical drama of redemption, the first act of which is Genesis and the last of which is Inferno. The Cock engraving shows a sinister vision of the Apocalypse, which was widely disseminated. In the central image, the multitude of angels, followers of the Archangel Michael, lead a battle that appears all but hopeless against ubiquitous evil, in the form of monsters and devilish figures who dominate the right wing and the central panel. The engraving illustrates the idea, ever present with Bosch, of an earthly world ruled by evil and threatened everywhere.[19] Bosch certainly did not stand outside the Church and society with his works, for the general pessimism and eschatological expectations that are palpable in his paintings characterize the spirit of his age.[20] Bosch's visions of Hell are in line with the apocalyptic visions of many of his contemporaries, such as Albrecht Dürer, with whom he shared the notion that sinful mankind is nearer to Hell than to Heaven. And that is one explanation for the greater number and variety of visions of Hell, in comparison with those of Heaven.

From the time of the promises resulting from the Fall — that humans, driven from Paradise, would henceforth consume their bread with sweat on their faces, that women would eternally give birth in pain — earthly existence was a scarcely interrupted series of hardships. Around 1560, Felipe de Guevara had written that Bosch "transferred his subject to Hell, for which he invented compositions of uncommon things, as he wanted to depict the Devil."[21] This explanation, at first glance plausible, under closer scrutiny does not really apply. The things that Bosch paints, as well as those that appear in the engraving issued with his name, no longer seem so uncommon. His devils and demons are composed of diverse elements gleaned from nature, they sport insect limbs, bird plumage, and other features of mammals or fish, yet always in such a way that the resulting monster seems possibly functional. And one also sees, in a scorched landscape illuminated by the glow of fire, precisely rendered contemporary musical instruments and cooking implements that are, however, misused as instruments of torture. A hare holds a person on a spit, a man is roasted by an egg — the world is inverted. Elsewhere, people are forged, dismembered, broken on the wheel, ground beneath millstones, or judged by the sword. Especially in the details, it is clear that Bosch's oppressive visions of Hell

are based not on the encounter with the unknown underworld, but rather much more on actual human behavior. Just as in criminal law, where the punishment is to fit the crime, so the sin corresponds with the hellish torment. It is a view propagated in devotional literature that one must suffer to the extent to which one has sinned.[22] Only the level of reference is displaced; the person is no longer the actor, but now the object of the action. The general lesson is simple: The ultimate consequence of the love for earthly things is damnation.

Sinfulness and suffering were so widespread as existential experiences that a large number of shared experiences of suffering made it possible to project them into eternity, to imagine the hellish torments acutely. Pain — how fire or weapons, say, cause a person pain — can be illustrated just as easily as it can be imagined, and its victims empathized with. Who wouldn't know what burn wounds or cuts feel like? Yet what does eternal happiness look like? What do heavenly joys feel like? In what sorts of pictures should one find illustrated the commonly shared experiences of limitless happiness? While one can imagine suffering, because of one's own unfortunate experiences and through empathy and sympathy, happiness remains a highly individual experience, particularly difficult to convey in pictures.

As imaginative as his visions of Hell are, Bosch limited himself in his intimations of the heavenly spheres to delicate illuminations and conventional iconography. Subsequent artists, though they may have produced ever more differentiated visions of Hell based on Bosch, restricted themselves in their depictions of Heaven to plays of light, or heaps of clouds upon which saints and the blessed were enthroned.

An emblematic vision of heavenly enthronement is seen in an engraving (Figure 29) prepared by Jan, or Johannes, Sadeler (1550–1600) after a sketch by the Amsterdam painter Dirck Barendsz (1534–1592).[23] Among an immense assembly of saints arranged like an audience in a theater sit Mary the mother of the Redeemer and, to her right, John the Apostle, both bathed in divine light. The notation on the engraving explains that this is the Fatherland, the safe haven of pious souls. Not shown is what lies beyond the banks of clouds at the foreground of Heaven. The Heaven of redemption is simply a spot in the clouds, not more precisely identified.

Saluete ô sanctis coelorum debita regna; Hanc nobis peperit Deus æthere missus ab alto,
Hæc patria, hæc statio est fida manēnç; pijs. Qui Patris hæredes nos dedit esse sui.

The cottony clouds would have brought to mind the home of the gods of antiquity, whose eternal dwelling place was traditionally imagined with the same artistic means as those that evoked the Heaven of the blessed. The assembly of the ancient gods is shown in an engraving (Figure 30) based on Bartholomeus Spranger's (1546–1611) sketch of the wedding of Cupid and Psyche.[24] Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), who made this marvelous copper engraving in 1587, tenderly adumbrates a view over the broad landscape beneath pliable swelling clouds. These are populated down to the last puff, and on them sit, stand, and recline overly modeled figures of the ancient divinities. Despite — and in fact perhaps because of — the multitude of individual scenes, the world in the clouds is a not quite credible place.

Whether it is in the classic Heaven of the gods or the eternal Heaven of the blessed, the fantasy of the artist always ends on that cloud upon which gods, saints, and the blessed are enthroned. Yet what lies beyond this? Heaven itself, as a paradise of immeasurable blessedness, is not depicted.

ILLV. ET GEN. D. D.
VVOLFGANGO KEMPF
LIBER BARONI A WEL...
S.C. Maiest. a consilijs...
memoriæ hoc et meritissi...
B. Spranger Belgam...
Tanq. P. & Maecenatem cleme...
dens, L. M. Q. qualemcunq...
longe. D. D.

Ea thalamos Psyches, et cælestis Hymenæus,
Inassumq. morum Venvs, sed Amans Amorum.
Fas sit, Speculi cæmenta haud vana sagaces.
Regali virginem, et probos totius Psyche.

Sed vultu risso, sed forma prima decore,
In se ituricomes Veneris tradvice honores;
Indignata Dea, geminatq. Cupidinis artes
Implorat; ipsa sed virgine protinus ardet.

(Flammiger ille puer, mandataq. Matris iniqua
Sincere Psyches flagrans mutuat amor.
Dilectam zephyris ad Dia palatia ducens
Cannubiq. fide secans, vinclaq. nuptiæ.

Felicem prima sortem imuliere Sorores,
Et æmula technis caturbavere beata,
Sacrata diuina thori nam uota, Fidemq.
Elevat, et vanis æquat frons æmula monstris.

Fila priva friuda
Post coantlant in Dea, et faliculus arcus
Comminatus hui quærq. mansit labores.
Arce recepta ph et tandem exorante manito,
paperiti ouas peremum

Dina Voluptatem, Superisq. admista triumphat.
Si licet exfetis quacqeam decipere ven,
Mel legere insar apes, uersiteq. relinquere Araah,
Et gentilitios non cohorentq. fumos.

Psyche hæc, illa Anima est diuino equata decori,
Quam malesuada Venus (meliore Cupidine Sponso)
Quamuq. feror, Mens illa preuat, qui mysta, Auctno
Angelico caturbata chore, et fouir alteri Curuis

Psychæ his replenauit opes, Sponsuq. misertus
superbus formam, Nectar, uitaq.
fastu.
Illichrie, incautam tanta oppressit ruina,
Quantam homines patimur, fugis, morlemq. fumenq.
Bellaq. et insidias, et fata rouissima, Mortem.
Non tulit hoc Amor ille sacer. Dauid Cupid.

Sed Patris explenauit opes...
superbus formam...
fastu.
Fecundam fato nulli intretium Voluptas.

Art theory, at least since the fifteenth century, supplies good reasons for limitations on imagining Heaven. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) was, in his day, among the first to apply the laws of rhetoric to the fine arts in order to require of pictures what was required of speech, which should please, instruct, and move in equal measure.[25] The demand for entertainment and instruction, which soon became an art-historical truism, was above all based on the then generally highly praised Latin poet Horace (65–8 B.C.E.), who had written in his *Ars poetica* that poetry should unite the useful with the enjoyable: *"Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci"* (*Ars poetica*, 343). This endlessly repeated and varied postulation to be instructive and, more than that, pleasurable, which previously had applied only to the rhetorician and the poet, was transferred by art theorists — likewise with reference to Horace — to painting. *"Ut pictura poesis,"* the

Figure 30

HENDRICK GOLTZIUS
After **BARTHOLOMEUS SPRANGER**
*The Wedding of Cupid
and Psyche,* 1587
Engraving in three sheets
17 x 33 3/4 inches
Photo: The Minneapolis
Institute of Arts

Roman poet had written: A poem should be like a painting (*Ars poetica*, 361).[26] From the ambition of the painter to share in the prestige of the poet, the inversion of this axiom — a painting should be like a poem — grew into the doctrine that what applied to pictures also applied to poems: they had to please (*delectare*) and to instruct (*docere*) and, in order to enthrall and ultimately convince listeners and viewers, stir and move (*movere*) emotionally.[27] Thomas Aquinas required of pictures with Christian content that they instruct the viewer and simultaneously excite devout passion ("*ad excitandum devotionis affectum*").[28] Pictures of evil especially were thought able to exert a direct sensory impression on viewers, and indeed even on those far removed from understanding divine mercy. The fear of evil bred by these images could awaken the slumbering desire for good, so that even the atrocities of Lucifer could not have been depicted

excessively.[29] A long ecclesiastical tradition regarded pictures as a medium superior to texts for conveying faith.[30] The limits of what could be depicted were known, for the highest spiritual passions could be only poorly transformed into pictures.

In the art theory of early modern times, what applied to visions of Hell was in no way to be seamlessly transferred to imagining Heaven. The lesser elaboration in the depictions of heavenly joy finds justification in such theory. In the rendering of visions of Paradise, a visual appeal to the imaginative powers of the viewer, rather than an excessive narrative clarity, was to open elemental access to religious experience and spiritual exhibition. It was an approach taken from rhetoric that something real but not present could be made comprehensible to the imagination of viewers solely through the use of a plausible, clear figurativeness, and that the strongest possible emotional effect could then unfold in the viewers' fantasies. In the Middle Ages and early modern times, Heaven and Hell had their established, precisely determinable locations, in both time and topography. There were always far more pictures of Hell than of Heaven, not only because Hell was nearer the here and now, but perhaps more so because Heaven's beauty unfurled its greatest influence only in the individual's fantasy. The power of the personal imagination was—and is— even more powerful than any painted or printed image.

1. See *Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), cartograaf en humanist*, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, and Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 10; and *Het aards paradijs: Dierenvoorstellingen in de Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw*, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Koninklijk Maatschappij voor Dierenkunde van Antwerpen, 1982), p. 143.

2. Ute Kleinman, "Wo lag das Paradies? Beobachtungen zu Paradieslandschaften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Die flämische Landschaft 1520–1700*, exh. cat. (Essen: Kulturstiftung Ruhr, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, and Lingen: Luca, 2003), pp. 278–285, especially p. 280 and figure 1.

3. Rüdiger Thiele, "Kosmographie als universale Wissenschaft—Zum Werk Gerhard Mercators," in *Gerhard Mercator, Europa und die Welt*, exh. cat. (Duisburg: Kultur- und Stadthistorisches Museum, 1994), pp. 15–36.

4. Jan Saenredam, after Abraham Bloemaert, *The Expulsion from Eden*, from the series *The Story of Adam and Eve* (ca. 1604). Engraving, 277 x 199 mm. Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger), vol. 23 (1980), p. 6, no. 4.

5. Christian Beutler, *Meister Bertram: Der Hochaltar von Sankt Petri: Christliche*

Allegorie als protestantisches Ärgernis (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1988), p. 28.

6. Irmgard Müsch, *Geheiligte Naturwissenschaft: Die Kupfer-Bibel des Johann Jakob Scheuchzer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 16–36.

7. William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1953), especially chapters 1 and 2, referred to the importance of prints as "precisely reproducible pictorial statement[s]."

8. See Stephan Füssel, "Die Weltchronik— Eine Nürnberger Gemeinschaftsleistung," *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch*, 9 (1994), pp. 7–30, especially p. 8.

9. See Christa Oechslin, "Der mittelalterliche Kosmos," in Peter Jezler, ed., *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer: Das Jenseits im Mittelalter*, exh. cat. (Zurich: Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, and Munich: Fink, 1994), pp. 369–370.

10. Crispijn de Passe I, after Marten de Vos, *Saturnus*, from the series *The Seven Planets* (ca. 1580). Engraving, 234 x 179 mm. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, vol. 15 (1964), p. 196, no. 537 (de Passe). See Stephan Brakensiek, "Die sieben Planeten," in Hans-Martin Kaulbach and Reinhart Schleier, *"Der Welt Lauf": Allegorische Graphikserien des Manierismus*, exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie, and Ostfildern-Ruit: Gerd Hatje, 1997), pp. 83–88, no. 17.

11. Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die große Wende* (Hamburg: Claassen & Goverts, 1948), pp. 165–169.

12. Albrecht Dürer, *The Four Horsemen*, from the series *The Apocalypse* (ca. 1498). Woodcut, 392 x 282 mm. Matthias Mende and Rainer Schoch, eds., *Albrecht Dürer: Das druckgraphische Werk* (Munich: Prestel, 2002), vol. 2, p. 76, no. 115. See also Gerd Unverfehrt, "Die Vier apokalyptischen Reiter," in Gerd Unverfehrt, *Dürers Dinge: Einblattgraphik und Buchillustrationen*

Albrecht Dürers aus dem Besitz der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, exh. cat. (Göttingen: Kunstsammlung der Universität, 1997), pp. 323–325, no. 84.

13. Albrecht Dürer, *The Angel with the Key to Hell [the Bottomless Pit]*, from the series *The Apocalypse* (ca. 1498). Woodcut, 396 x 285 mm. Mende and Schoch, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 2, p. 104, no. 126. See also Anna Spall, "Der Engel mit dem Schlüssel zum Abgrund," in Erich Schneider and Andrea Spall, eds., *Dürer als Erzähler: Holzschnitte, Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Sammlung-Otto-Schäfer-II*, exh. cat. (Schweinfurt: Bibliothek Otto Schäfer, 1996), pp. 106–107, no. 40.

14. Peter Jezler, "Jenseitsmodelle und Jenseitsvorsorge—Eine Einführung," in Jezler, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*, pp. 13–26.

15. Christa Oechslin, "Der Himmel der Seligen," in Jezler, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*, pp. 41–46.

16. Pieter van der Heyden, after Pieter Bruegel, *Christ in Limbo* (1558). Engraving, 263 x 333 mm. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, vol. 9 (1953), p. 27, no. 14. See Nadine M. Orenstein, "The Descent of Christ in Limbo," in Nadine M. Orenstein, ed., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), pp. 210–212.

17. Anonymous engraver (after Hieronymus Bosch), *The Last Judgment* (ca. 1550). Engraving, 337 x 500 mm. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, vol. 3 (1950), p. 131, no. 7. See Timothy A. Riggs, "Hieronymus Cock 1510–1570: Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds" (Diss., Yale University, 1972), p. 315, no. 17; Craig Harbison, *The Last Judgment in Sixteenth Century Northern Europe: A Study of the Relation Between Art and the Reformation* (New York: Garland, 1976), p. 69; Gerd Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch: Die Rezeption seiner Kunst*

im frühen 16. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Mann, 1980), p. 241, no. 5; and Timothy Riggs and Larry Silver, *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540–1640,* exh. cat. (Evanston, IL: Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, 1993), p. 125, no. 28.

18. Gerhard Langemeyer and Reinhart Schleier, *Bilder nach Bildern: Druckgraphik und die Vermittlung von Kunst,* exh. cat. (Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 1976), p. 62.

19. An analysis of Bosch's critique of his society is the task of a separate study, one associated with the question of the goal of his moralizing. The literature on this topic is as varied as it is complex. For a summary, see the exhibition catalogue by Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet, and Barbera van Kooij, *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2001), and its bibliography.

20. See Roger H. Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1988), p. 8; Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch,* p. 49n; and Walter S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch,* German trans. (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1974), p. 12.

21. Quoted from Charles de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch,* German trans. Leopold Voelker (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1973), p. 401.

22. See Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch,* pp. 97–99.

23. Jan (Johannes) Sadeler, after Dirck Barendsz, *Paradise,* from the series *De vier uitersten (The Four Last Things;* ca. 1581–1582). Engraving, 165 x 225 mm. Lower left marked "T.B."; lower right, "I.S."; inscription below: *"Salute ó sanctis coelorum debita regna; Haec patria, haec statio est fida manésq[ue] pijs. Hánc nobis peperit Deus æthere missus ab alto, Qui Patris hæredes nos dedit esse sui."* Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700,* vol. 21 (1980), p. 155, no. 453.

See M. Huygen-van Meyel, "De vier uitersten," in Jan Piet Filedt Kok et al., eds., *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm,* exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, and 's-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986), pp. 417–419, no. 310.3.

24. Hendrick Goltzius, after Bartholomeus Spranger, *The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* (1587). Engraving, 432 x 857 mm (3 sheets). Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700,* vol. 8 (1953), p. 111, no. 322. See Riggs and Silver, *Graven Images,* pp. 112, 127, no. 61.

25. Norbert Michels, "Bewegung zwischen Ethos und Pathos: Die Wirkungsästhetik italienischer Kunsttheorie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts" (Diss., Hamburg, 1985; Münster: LIT, 1988), pp. 54–69.

26. Fundamental to this is Rensselaer W. Lee, *"Ut pictura poesis:* The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *The Art Bulletin,* 22 (1940), pp. 197–269 (also published in book form, New York: W. W. Norton, 1967).

27. On the rhetorical triad *docere, movere et delectare,* see Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Sprechende Bilder, sichtbare Worte: Das Bildverständnis in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 255–294; as well as Ulrich Heinen, "Rubens zwischen Predigt und Kunst: Der Hochaltar für die Walburgenkirche in Antwerpen" (Diss., Cologne, 1994; Weimar: VDG, 1996), p. 202, especially n. 126.

28. Michels, "Bewegung zwischen Ethos und Pathos," p. 143.

29. Ibid., p. 146.

30. As early as the thirteenth century, the French prelate Guillaume Durand (1230/32–1296) wrote in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (I, 3, 4): *"Pictura namque plus videtur movere animum, quam scriptura"* ("For the painting seems to move the mind more powerfully than writing"). Quoted in Meg Twycross, "Beyond the Picture Theory: Image and Activity in Medieval Drama," *Word and Image,* 4 (1988), p. 591.