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*Plus semper quam pingitur:*  
The Catholic Bruegel

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Much has been written about the religious views of Pieter Bruegel, although the documentary evidence for a reconstruction of Bruegel's personal religion is rather thin. The archival sources reveal that his engagement took place in August 1563 in the cathedral of Antwerp that was as a matter of course Roman Catholic.<sup>1</sup> They further reveal that the marriage took place, that it was executed according to Catholic rites, that the fees were paid: 'Pieter Bruegel, Mayken Cocks, paid'.<sup>2</sup> He seems to have been a respectable citizen whose orthodoxy no one doubted when the city council decreed on 18 January 1569 'to relieve Master Pieter Bruegel of the Spanish soldiers residing in his house and to offer him a certain compensation from the treasury of our city, so that he can continue his work in this town'.<sup>3</sup> He died the same year and was buried in the same church in which his marriage had been registered.<sup>4</sup> That he was buried as a Catholic is testified by the memorial erected by his sons many years after his death, and the pictorial ornament of this memorial was furnished by no one else than the undoubtedly Catholic Rubens.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, modern interpreters did not see the publicly executed sacrament of marriage and the Catholic burial as evidence of Bruegel's religious allegiance or as the expression of his individual belief, mainly because both were enacted in times of religious persecution.<sup>6</sup> Rather, the idea that Bruegel hid his true beliefs behind a façade of Catholic decency seemed to be more in keeping with the image of the humorous and critical

Pieter Bruegel which had already been propagated in Karel van Manders' time and thus at the beginning of art literature. Bruegel's Nicodemism, however, as imputed by a number of studies, is even more difficult to verify than the assumption suggested by the sources that everything could be as straightforward as it seems at first glance.<sup>7</sup> Whether wanting to show that Bruegel was Catholic or the opposite, Karel van Mander does not bear witness to either.<sup>8</sup> The painter's first biographer does not mention matters of religious denomination at all in his remarks.<sup>9</sup> The frequently quoted report that even on his deathbed Bruegel had had someone burn a couple of his too critical drawings – some of them with marginal notes – is and remains unprovable.<sup>10</sup> And even if we consider this as a reliable anecdote, it hardly allows for any conjecture as to whether Bruegel feared the inquisition, a charge of *lèse-majesté* or simply the wrath of the bereaved for van Mander never mentions the content nor the motifs of these drawings. Although these sheets are lost – if they ever existed – the remaining works have been used time and again to draw conclusions from them about the religious denomination of the painter.<sup>11</sup> This procedure may have its justification, but it is problematic. Presupposing that Bruegel had imbued his paintings with a comprehensible meaning necessitates not only the search for the painter's intended meaning; it also means to ask whether the painting's meaning was bound up in its making or was also intelligible to contemporary viewers.<sup>12</sup> Both early modern artists and their viewers generally assumed that an image represented a meaningful unity, that it was produced as a visual message, and that it should be understood as such.<sup>13</sup> The visual discourses were expressed in rhetorical terms and insisted on a high level of comprehensibility, which, next to decorum or appropriateness, was a central requirement demanded from texts and images.<sup>14</sup> In this contemporary conception the work was only realized through the collaboration of recipients who were prepared to participate in an interpretive way.<sup>15</sup> The question what the painter had in mind while painting was by far not as important as it is today. Those who painted in these times knew that and would have considered this in the production of their paintings. Especially painters like Pieter Bruegel, whose pictorial inventions appealed to an intellectual audience and were sought after in courtly circles, would have paid careful attention to the viewer's interpretative participation.<sup>16</sup>

At the very beginning of his career Bruegel collaborated on the glovemakers guild's altarpiece in Mechelen.<sup>17</sup> This work has never been used for an argument concerning Bruegel's religious denomination. With good reason, as the views and intentions of the patron are unquestionably more prevalent in a commissioned work than those of the executing painter.<sup>18</sup> Clear evidence for this is the oeuvre of Maarten de Vos who was one of the most important visual propagandists of the early Counter-Reformation period, besides being a professed Lutheran.<sup>19</sup> As far as is

nowadays known, Bruegel's oeuvre consists mainly of religious or religiously determined images that were not designed as altarpieces. However, little is known about the audience of Bruegel's paintings and their possible patrons. Thus, for instance, it is not documented whether Nicolaes Jonghelinck, who was acting as a guarantor for his friend Daniel de Bruyne on 15 February 1566, then indebted with 16,000 guilders, only owned the paintings by Bruegel listed in this document or whether he had also commissioned them. The latter is highly likely.<sup>20</sup> Just as little is known about the hanging of the paintings and whether or how they interacted with other works in their original context. The document allows for the conclusion that Jonghelinck owned an extensive collection of paintings which hung in various rooms of his country house. How the 'sixteen paintings by Bruegel, among them the Tower of Babel, a painting with the title Christ carrying the Cross, the twelve Months of the Year, and all the others whichever they might be', were presented is not known. It is likely that an extensive cycle of large-sized paintings, such as the 'Tweelf maenden', was commissioned with their hanging and location in mind. Nevertheless, it has to remain open in how far the topics and motifs were dictated by the constraints of the commission. In these circumstances a reconstruction of the artistic intention is extremely difficult. However, the same 'veto right of the sources', as a term coined by Reinhart Koselleck has it, should be applied to images as well as any other historical document.<sup>21</sup> Thus the large body of material evidence, the pictures, records and documents do not determine what can or should be said about the historical context, but they do determine what cannot be said. This allows for speculations of any kind.

As indicated, a lot has been written about Bruegel's religious beliefs. Some of it is hardly reconcilable with existing sources. The allegation, for instance, that Bruegel had been a reformist witness of Calvinist hedge sermons (*hagepreken*) and that he had consequently paid tribute to such an event with his *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* is untenable with view on the reception of these images [Fig. 1].<sup>22</sup> Had there been a suspicion of a clandestine meaning in this subject, the painting would not have found its way into the collection of the archdukes and would not have enjoyed such great popularity in the Catholic city of Antwerp during the Counter Reformation.<sup>23</sup> However, since the early provenance of the original version by Pieter Bruegel the Elder is unclear, historically valid statements remain difficult to make.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, there are also paintings about whose former context more is known, thus allowing for more reliable statements. The *Death of the Virgin* is one of them [Fig. 2].<sup>25</sup> The small format suggests that the painting was executed without being specifically commissioned and from early on it belonged to the overall well-documented collection of the geographer Abraham Ortelius.<sup>26</sup> This Antwerp humanist was a friend of Bruegel and paid the latter an often-quoted posthumous tribute in his *Album Amicorum*, which was created between 1574 and

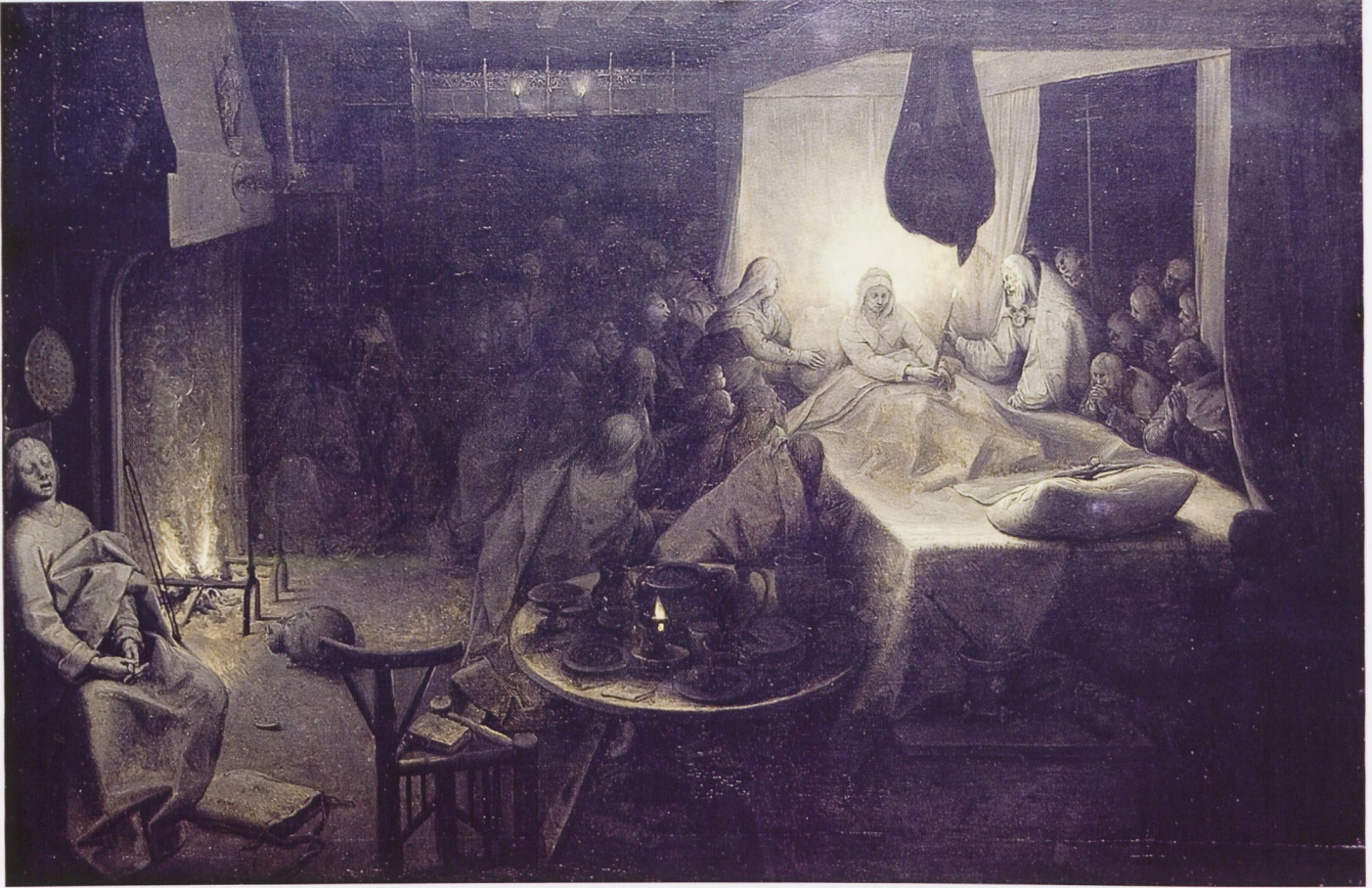


1. Pieter Bruegel, «Sermon of Saint John the Baptist», oil on panel, 95 × 160.5 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum

1596.<sup>27</sup> Ortelius developed his praise of Bruegel in three argumentative steps leading from a panegyric in the style of eulogy to the comparison with well known artists from antiquity. Ortelius praises Bruegel as a painter who was drawn to the imitation of Nature and who had painted things impossible to paint – things that always embodied more than he had painted there. The famous phrases use literary topoi but do not affect the seriousness or the credibility of his statements.<sup>28</sup> The topical character of the statements simply added an additional subtext to the image, intelligible for the learned. This was considered an enrichment of the statement and a reinforcement of what was said by his contemporaries. To be on a par with antiquity was already deemed the highest praise. To surpass it within its own authoritative categories was the insurmountable summit of early modern panegyric.

Ortelius was not only a primary owner of the work by Bruegel and acquainted with the artist, he was also an eloquent scholar who even commented on the work in his possession. Further, much more is known about the profusely communicating and publishing humanist, who left his archival mark in

various contexts, than about the painter Bruegel or most other people of his times. There is no consensus, however, about the religious affiliation of the geographer – at least among scholars of Bruegel. This has little to do with the documentary evidence. Rather, various nineteenth-century discoveries of historians of cartography had soon made their way into the Bruegel corpus and consequently became an unchallenged certainty.<sup>29</sup> Time and again Bruegel biographies state that the geographer had been a Protestant or had belonged – just as the Antwerp printer and publisher Christopher Plantin – to a Christian sect, the 'Huis der Liefde'.<sup>30</sup> This claim has become a commonplace in recent Bruegel research, even leading to conclusions regarding his religious affiliation.<sup>31</sup> It was not deemed necessary to examine the sources anew and to ask whether this claim was actually justifiable. Thus, before looking at the pictures, the following will tackle this long neglected issue and place it alongside all that can be said about the religious views of the geographer Ortelius on the basis of archival sources. Nonetheless, in the course of this investigation, recent historical criticism has to be considered, which proposed that history was more



2. Pieter Bruegel, «The Death of the Virgin», oil on panel, 36 × 55 cm, Banbury, Upton House

complex than had previously been acknowledged. Especially the history of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation are considered as more pluralistic and chronologically fluid than the older scholarship had been inclined to recognize.<sup>32</sup> This allows some interpretative leeway especially for the practices of belief. However, the specificity of creed was important for contemporaries of all faiths, and the various milieus of faith can be defined.

Ortelius's grandfather was a good Catholic who had even built a stone crucifix, which was however damaged during the iconoclasm.<sup>33</sup> While Ortelius's closest relatives joined the Reformation, he himself lived as a Catholic and was buried as one.<sup>34</sup> The extant archival sources from the time of the Eighty Years' War distinctly attest to this fact. After the capture of Antwerp by the forces of Alessandro Farnese in 1585, the whole town magistrate was manned with faithful Catholics who replaced the former Protestant majority in the council.<sup>35</sup> Under-

standably, the new masters immediately endeavoured to cleanse the militias and the six armed war guilds from religiously dubious people and to document the religious denomination of all men fit for military service.<sup>36</sup> A '+' was added to the name of Abraham Ortelius in these records, the sign for faithful Catholics.<sup>37</sup> Two almost identical reports from 10 February 1588 point to the same direction: they reveal that the weapons found in Ortelius's house had been wrongly confiscated.<sup>38</sup> In it, the Catholic city clerk Hendrik de Moy attests that the geographer conducted himself as a true Catholic and certifies that he was to be exonerated from the suspicion of reformist activities.<sup>39</sup> Thus Abraham Ortelius was a Catholic and gave his contemporaries no cause to doubt his orthodoxy.<sup>40</sup> Already in 1573, at the instigation of Benito Arias Montano, Ortelius had been appointed 'Geographicus Regius' by Philipp II. He received his certificate of appointment from the hands of the Duke of Alba.<sup>41</sup> Next to being an acknowledgement of his academic merits, this certificate should also be



3. Philipp Galle after Pieter Bruegel, «Death of the Virgin», engraving (first state of two), 30.6 × 41.8 cm

seen as proof of his orthodoxy, which, however, was liberal in principle as his substantial correspondence shows.<sup>42</sup> In this highly sensitive time concerning questions of faith after the Council of Trent, Ortelius commented more or less publicly on issues of faith, while especially his published texts leave no doubt about his Catholic orthodoxy. But during high times of the Inquisition's rule, nothing else should be expected from the court historiographer of the most Catholic king. A letter written by the French mystic Guillaume Postel to Abraham Ortelius on 24 April 1567 has nevertheless been interpreted as hinting to a trace of heterodoxy in Ortelius's view of public religion. In this letter Postel bids the geographer to convey his regards to the publisher Plantin<sup>43</sup>:

Please salute Plantin and tell him that the chief disciples of the 'family of Love' are not unknown to me and that, though bound up with no particular set of men, he has explained as early as 1553 (in a letter printed by Oporinus at the end of his work *De Originibus*), which advocates of the reformation he esteems, and that, while abhorring the sanguinary devices of the followers of David Joris and other wicked people, he will adhere to the Society of Love.<sup>44</sup>

To infer Ortelius's sect membership from these scanty lines would take it too far, especially considering the many records for his stable religious belief – however liberal it might well have been in real life.<sup>45</sup> Thus recent scholarship on Ortelius's life

and work considers him a liberal Catholic who would neither have doubted transubstantiation, nor the virgin birth of God incarnate.<sup>46</sup>

Marian veneration and piety were among those areas of the Catholic pictorial world that were most criticized by reformed groups of all kinds. In contrast to that, the Catholic side postulated in the 1564 decree of Trent that the images of Christ, of the always virginal mother of God, and of other saints, should be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration should be given to them.<sup>47</sup> After the Council of Trent, the Louvain theologian Johannes Molanus compiled a canon of recommended and prohibited images. He does not mention the Death of the Virgin explicitly, but he does see the apocryphally related scenes from the lives of Mary, Joseph, Anna and Joachim among the subjects deemed worthy to be depicted and thus recommended.<sup>48</sup> But Luther as well considered the 'Holy Virgin' as exemplary on the way of faith and as a teacher of true Christian humility, because 'the tender mother of Christ teaches us by the example of her experience and her words how to know, love and praise God'.<sup>49</sup> At the same time, the reformer warns emphatically against the – in his eyes – wrong elevation of the mother of God and against invoking her in order to seek salvation: 'She does not want you to come to her, but to come through her to God'.<sup>50</sup> The particular Catholic concept of bodily assumption into heaven, mentioned in those legends which are the basis for Bruegel's painting, was categorically rejected by the Reformed. This is why there is a quasi Catholic monopoly on images showing scenes from the Life of the Virgin. It is in those images that the religious gaze comes to fruition.<sup>51</sup> Bruegel's grisaille with the Death of the Virgin had been in Ortelius's possession for some years, when he had a reproduction made 'on behalf of himself and his friends' in 1574, to which a detailed Latin subscription was added [Fig. 3].<sup>52</sup> The engraving reproduces the painted panel very faithfully, and the engraver not only considered the reversal of the plate in the printing process but also endeavoured to reproduce the subtle nuances of shade. That the engraver considered the reversal of the plate to ensure the same spatial orientation in the engraving as in the panel is worth mentioning as it is indeed the absolute exception in the graphic reproduction of these times. The left and right in Bruegel's painting was obviously seen as an integral and essential part of its pictorial narrative. As a matter of fact, the compositionally directed movements of the gaze determine the visual comprehension of the shown narrative. The spatial disposition and the shading can be likened to the rhetorical-grammatical arrangement of a spoken or written text. Already some years ago, in an observant analysis of Bruegel's painting, Walter S. Melion shed some light on the possible pictorial message against the background of the pictorial tradition.<sup>53</sup> 'In this carefully argued exposition, Melion not only provides a plausible context for the original creation of Bruegel's Death of the Virgin

and the later response to Galle's copy, but also illuminates an important aspect of Counter-Reformation devotional practices and their development in the Netherlands during the last third of the sixteenth century'.<sup>54</sup> The subscription, possibly composed by Ortelius himself, emphasizes the inextricably linked emotions of joy and suffering wrought by the death of Mary. Bruegel mirrors this emotional turmoil in the faces of the figures surrounding Mary. This was admired already by his contemporaries.<sup>55</sup> In a letter of appreciation of 30 March 1590, Benito Arias Montano expressed his gratitude for the received engraving and remembered to have once seen the original which he characterized as a finely painted example of godliness.<sup>56</sup> It might have been this convincing account of emotions torn between joy and sadness, also echoed in the subscription, that appealed to the painter Peter Paul Rubens.<sup>57</sup> He bought an original Bruegel for his collection.<sup>58</sup> What is more, he owned a drawing after Bruegel that he reworked himself in order to reinforce the pictured affects.<sup>59</sup> Rubens appreciated Bruegel as a painter, but he was also a pious man who lived his beliefs. According to his nephew, he started each day with an early mass unless he was incapacitated by gout.<sup>60</sup> Another expression of his lived Marian devotion is the fact that he had a copy of the *Officium Beatae Mariae* bound shortly before his death.<sup>61</sup> Unquestionably, Rubens must have seen more in Bruegel's painting than only an impressive work of art.

Bruegel addressed not only the artistic sense in his pious viewers but also their religious feelings. This is indicated by the subscription of the engraving, but also by all other contemporary sources concerning the reception of this impressive image, and it should be taken seriously. For it is highly debatable that an interpretation which was most likely provided by Bruegel himself was misunderstood by its first recipient, a highly educated Catholic. The *dissimulatio* was unquestionably a widespread rhetorical and social practice but it cannot prove definitely that *dissimulatio* was at work here. It is more promising to consider Bruegel's panel as a highly valued expression of Catholic Marian devotion, especially in the context of the many other extant sources.

Placing Bruegel's image in the context of devotional practices and the Catholic theology of images puts the much admired painting from the collection of the Catholic geographer in relation with another small-format grisaille, whose early provenance is unfortunately even less documented. The picture shows *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [Fig. 4].<sup>62</sup> At first glance, this depiction should not be classified as a decidedly Catholic image, as multiple variations on this subject are known from the Cranach workshop.<sup>63</sup> In the concepts of art historical research, the origin alone made this scene, otherwise rarely painted in the German-speaking region, into a prototype of a Protestant picture.<sup>64</sup> However, this modern attribution, which excludes other readings and contexts, needs to be revised and



4. Pieter Bruegel, «Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery», oil on panel, 24.1 × 34.4 cm, London, Courtauld Institute of Art

differentiated.<sup>65</sup> A more detailed analysis of Bruegel's image can even be taken as evidence for a Catholic interpretation of the subject. Recently Walter S. Melion has proven with the greatest philological precision imaginable that Bruegel's painting minutely depicts Catholic concepts and doctrine.<sup>66</sup> It is of course more than doubtful whether Bruegel and his audience really knew all the texts referred to by Melion. Nevertheless, these writings were easily available on the highly restricted book market of these times. Their contents were also the subject matter of popular vernacular lore with which Bruegel and his viewers would have been very familiar at least.

Both *grisailles* mentioned were made without any commission having an impact on content or form, and they suggest that

Bruegel not only lived and died as a Catholic, but was also familiar with the contents of Catholic theology to which he gave artistic form. Thus it seems time to dismiss the idea of the painter favouring clandestine and arcane teachings. It rather appears to be reasonable to see Bruegel as being close to the circles of the Catholic elite and the Habsburg court, as well as to posit him living in a markedly Catholic environment. Investigating Bruegel's works from the angle of a conservative Catholic mainstream could be an exciting and promising endeavour. It is time to remember once again what every early-modern Dutch painter must have considered if he wanted his paintings to be understood: even in the Dutch Republic the majority of inhabitants were Catholic. To see a Catholic painter in Pieter Bruegel

who painted for a predominantly Catholic audience, would render the lives and works of his sons into exactly that consistent continuation of his work that was acknowledged and praised by their contemporaries.

My brief sketch of Bruegel as a Catholic of his times should be understood as a first impulse to opening up new spheres for other interpretations dealing with the quest for Bruegel's personally held religious beliefs. Such an impulse was deemed

necessary especially in the light of the sources regarding this topic known to us today – and it will remain necessary especially if no other historical sources are to be found in the future and Bruegel's oeuvre itself will still have to counterbalance the lack of written records. Because more was embodied in the works of Bruegel than he had painted, as already the Catholic geographer Ortelius recognised: *In omnibus ejus operibus intellegitur plus semper quam pingitur*.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Antwerp, Stadsarchief, PR#191 (Huwelijksregister 1563–1566), fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. This document was discovered by Jean Bastiaensen, 'De verloving van Pieter Bruegel de Oude. Nieuw licht op de Antwerpse verankering', *Openbaar Kunstbezit Vlaanderen*, 51, 2013, pp. 26–27. I thank Yoko Mori, Tokyo, for bringing this document to my attention and for discussing the following ideas with me. I am also grateful to Stefan Bartilla, Jamie Edwards, Sergiusz Michalski, Anna Pawlak, Stephanie Porras, Larry Silver and Joris Van Grieken for their critical reading and their annotations.

<sup>2</sup> 'Peter brúgel | Mayken cocks soluit', Brussels, Archief van de Stad Brussel, Kapellekerk, Huwelijksregister, 1563, fol. 5. See P. and F. Roberts-Jones, *Pieter Bruegel de Oudere*, Ghent, 1997, p. 20; R. H. Marijnissen, *Bruegel: Das vollständige Werk*, Antwerp, 1988, p. 12; G. W. Menzel, *Pieter Bruegel der Ältere*, Leipzig, 1966, p. 66 (with reproduction of the document).

<sup>3</sup> 'Eodem die (XVIIIa januarii XCcLXVIII, stylo Babantie), per eosdem (Van Os, Busleyden, Dongelberge, Pipenpoy, Jacobs, Noot, Hert, Hellinckx, Menens, Hullegarde, Pape, Mol) es geresolveert dat men meesteren Peeteren Van Bruegel zal ontslaen van de Spaenschen soldaden binnen zynen huuse wezende, zoo verre doenlyck zy, ende dat de Rentmeester deser stadt den selven Bruegel zullen beschincken met zekere gratuityt, ten eynde hy zyne neringe ende exerditie binnen dese stadt blyve continueren'. See N. Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft*, Göttingen, 2000, p. 229, n. 40; A. J. Wauters, 'La famille Breughel', *Annales de la Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, 1, 1888, pp. 7–79 (here p. 74). One has to be careful with this document because 'Peeteren Van Bruegel' may have been another person. See B. Claessens and J. Rousseau, *Unser Bruegel*, Antwerp, 1969, pp. 47–48.

<sup>4</sup> Bruegel's daughter Maria was also baptised in this church in 1566 as Jamie Edwards (Birmingham) will show in his forthcoming dissertation.

<sup>5</sup> A. Pawlak, 'Künstlerruhm und Konfession: Das Grabmal Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. in der Notre Dame de la Chapelle in Brüssel', in *Künstlergrabmäler. Genese, Typologie, Intention, Metamorphosen*, ed. by B. U. Münch, M. Herzog and A. Tacke, Petersberg, 2011, pp. 80–96; L. Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, New York, 2011, p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, J. Müller, 'Of Churches, Heretics, and Other Guides of the Blind: The Fall of the Blind Leading the Blind by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and the Esthetics of Subversion', in *Imago Exegetica. Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400–1700*, ed. by W. S. Melion, J. Clifton and M. Weemans, Leiden, 2014, pp. 737–790; B. Kaschek, *Weltzeit und Endzeit: Die "Monatsbilder" Pieter Bruegels d. Ä.*, Munich and Paderborn, 2012, pp. 34–38; Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, p. 42; *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, ed. by N. Orenstein, exh. cat. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 24 May – 5 August 2001; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25 September – 2 December 2001, New York, 2001, p. 9; J. Müller, *Das Paradox als Bildform: Studien zur Ikonologie Pieter Bruegels d. Ä.*, Munich, 1999, pp. 19–30.

<sup>7</sup> For the idea that Bruegel was a Catholic, see the valuable contribution of Y. Mori, 'A Proposal for Reconsidering Bruegel: an Integrated View of his Historical and Cultural Milieu', in *The world of Bruegel: The Copée collection and eleven international Museums*, Tokyo, 1995, pp. 41–58, esp. pp. 53–56. The ideas of P. Zagorin, 'Looking for Pieter Bruegel', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, LXIV, 2003, pp. 73–96, where rightly criticized by Kaschek, *Weltzeit und Endzeit*, p. 34, n. 73.

<sup>8</sup> Especially considering that Van Mander was a much later and, above all, Protestant author. I am grateful to Larry Silver for this comment.

<sup>9</sup> Karel Van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, fols 233<sup>r</sup>–234<sup>r</sup>; *idem, The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604)*, 6 vols, Doornspijk,



- 1994–1998, here vol. I, pp. 190–194; vol. III, pp. 252–267. See also H. Miedema, 'Pieter Bruegel weer; en de geloofwaardigheid van Karel van Mander', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, 1998, pp. 309–327.
- 10 'Veel vreemde versieringhen van sinnekens sietmen van zijn drollen in Print: maer hadder noch seer veel net en suyver geteyckent met eenighe schriften by, welcke ten deele al te seer bijtigh oft schimpich wesende, hy in zijn doot-sieckte door zijn Huysvrouw liet verbranden, door leetwesen, oft vreesende sy daer door in lijden quaem, oft yet te verantwoordt mocht hebben', Van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 234<sup>r</sup>.
- 11 Müller, *Das Paradox als Bildform*, p. 30.
- 12 For the early modern perception of images, see N. Büttner, *Einführung in die Ikonographie der Frühen Neuzeit*, Darmstadt, 2014; U. Heinen, 'Argument – Kunst – Affekt. Bildverständnisse einer Kunstgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit', in *Die Frühe Neuzeit als Epoche*, ed. by H. Neuhaus (Historische Zeitschrift, Beihefte N.F. 49), Munich, 2009, pp. 65–234; C.-P. Warncke, *Sprechende Bilder – sichtbare Worte: Das Bildverständnis in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden, 1987.
- 13 F. Büttner, 'Argumentatio' in Bildern der Reformationszeit. Ein Beitrag zur Bestimmung argumentativer Strukturen in der Bildkunst, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LVII, 1994, pp. 23–44, esp. p. 27.
- 14 Büttner, 'Argumentatio' in Bildern', pp. 99–100.
- 15 T. Michalsky, *Projektion und Imagination. Die niederländische Landschaft der Frühen Neuzeit im Diskurs von Geographie und Malerei*, Munich, 2011, p. 240; W. S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter*, Berkeley, 2006, pp. 91–103, 117; A. Pawlak, *Trilogie der Gottessuche. Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. 'Sturz der gefallenen Engel', 'Triumph des Todes' und 'Dulle Griet'*, Berlin, 2011, p. 200.
- 16 For the intellectual ambitions of Bruegel's early modern audience see T. Michalsky, 'Imitation und Imagination: Die Landschaft Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. im Blick der Humanisten', in *Künste und Natur in Diskursen der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by H. Laufhütte, vol. I, Wiesbaden, 2000, pp. 383–405; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Interpretation von Bruegels Landschaft. Ästhetischer Landschaftsbegriff und Stoische Weltbetrachtung', in *Pieter Bruegel und seine Welt. Ein Colloquium des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Freien Universität Berlin und dem Kupferstichkabinett*, ed. by O. von Simson and M. Winner, Berlin, 1979, pp. 73–142; M. Sullivan, *Bruegel's Peasants. Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1994; B. Wyss, *Pieter Bruegel. Landschaft mit Ikarussturz. Ein Vexierbild des humanistischen Pessimismus*, Frankfurt a. M., 1994; M. A. Meadow, 'On the structures of Knowledge in Bruegel's Netherlandish proverbs', *Volkskundig bulletin*, XVIII, 1992, pp. 141–169; A. E. Popham, 'Pieter Bruegel and Abraham Ortelius', *Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1931, pp. 184–188; J. Muylle, 'Pieter Bruegel en Abraham Ortelius. Bijdrage tot de literaire receptie van Pieter Bruegels werk', in *Archivum artis Iovaniense. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de kunst der Nederlanden, opgedragen aan Prof. Em. Dr. Jan K. Steppe*, ed. by M. Smeyers, Leuven, 1981, pp. 319–337.
- 17 A. Monballie, 'P. Bruegel en het Altar van de Mechelse Handschoenmakers (1551)', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, 66, 1964, pp. 92–110.
- 18 But one should bear in mind that Bruegel was in close contact with Granvella, as Tine Meganck has shown. See T. Meganck, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Fall of the Rebel Angels. Art, Knowledge and Politics on the Eve of the Dutch Revolt*, Milan, 2014, pp. 140–167. For the problem of drawing conclusions on an artist's religiosity on the basis on his works in general, see also F. Biferali, *Paolo Veronese tra Riforma e Controriforma*, Rome, 2013, and M. Prestwich, 'Patronage and the Protestants in France, 1598–1661: Architects and Painters', in *L'age d'or du Mécénate*, ed. by R. Mousnier, J. Mesnard, Paris, 1985, pp. 77–88.
- 19 Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, GA#4830 (Wijken, Burgerlijke Wacht, 1585), fol. 293'. J. Van Roey, 'De Antwerpse schilders in 1584–1585. Poging tot sociaal-religieus onderzoek', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, XVII, 1966, pp. 107–132, here p. 113 and 125; A. Zweite, *Marten De Vos als Maler. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1980, p. 26.
- 20 Kaschek, *Weltzeit und Endzeit*, pp. 49–54; Müller, *Das Paradox als Bildform*, p. 19; Claessens/Rousseau, *Unser Bruegel*, p. 32.
- 21 'Strenggenommen kann uns eine Quelle nie sagen, was wir sagen sollen, wohl aber hindert sie uns, Aussagen zu machen, die wir nicht machen dürfen. Die Quellen haben ein Vetorecht. Sie verbieten uns, Deutungen zu wagen, die aufgrund des Quellenbefundes schlichtweg als falsch oder als nicht zulässig durchschaut werden können. Falsche Daten, falsche Zahlenreihen, falsche Motiverklärungen, falsche Bewußtseinsanalysen: all das und vieles mehr läßt sich durch Quellenkritik aufdecken', R Koselleck, 'Standortbindung und Zeitlichkeit. Ein Beitrag zur historiographischen Erschließung der geschichtlichen Welt', in *idem, Vergangene Zukunft: zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, Frankfurt a. M., 1995, pp. 176–207, here p. 206.
- 22 Pieter Bruegel, *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 95 × 160.5 cm; Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Inv. no. 51.2829. See Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, pp. 265–271; M. Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings and Prints*, Gent, 2007, pp. 232–233; Marijnissen, *Bruegel*, pp. 304–305. Stefan Bartilla rightly pointed out that Bruegel's forest stands in a long-lasting tradition of a visual equivalent to the desert. For this tradition see S. Bartilla, *Die Wildnis: visuelle Neugier in der Landschaftsmalerei: eine ikonologische Untersuchung der niederländischen Berg- und Waldlandschaften und ihres Naturbegriffes um 1600*, Freiburg, 2005, pp. 123–126.
- 23 C. Currie and D. Allart, *The Bruegel(H)el phenomenon. Paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Pieter Bruegel the Younger, with a Special Focus on Technique and Copying Practice*, Turnhout, 2012, vol. I, pp. 143–144. A picture with this subject ('een predicatie van St. Jan, van den Ouden Brueghel') is listed in Isabella's inventory, compiled between 1633 and 1650; see M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, pp. IX, 423. Nothing is known about the date at which this picture entered Isabella's collection, and the dimensions given by the inventory ('hooch 7 l/breet 7 2/'; 127.8 × 198 cm) are larger than the dimensions of the picture now preserved in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the notary included the dimensions of a frame. See J. Edwards, *Still looking for Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, MA thesis, University of Birmingham 2013, p. 14, n. 77 (<<http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/4164/>>, accessed on 12 May 2017).
- 24 M. Auner, 'Pieter Bruegel. Umriss eines Lebensbildes', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LII, 1956, pp. 109–118, suggested a provenance for the picture now in Budapest from the Batthyány family. There is no documentary evidence for its commission by Boldizsár Batthyány (1543–1590), who converted to Protestantism in 1570. The earliest definite record of the picture was in an 1896 exhibition that took place in Hungary, the painting having been discovered in an old castle belonging to the Batthyány in Némethújvár. See Edwards, *Still*

- looking for, p. 14. For further information on Boldizsár Batthyány, see D. Bobory, *The Sword and the Crucible. Count Boldizsár Batthyány and Natural Philosophy in Sixteenth-Century Hungary*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2009.
- 25 Pieter Bruegel, *The Death of the Virgin*, oil on panel, 36 × 55 cm, Banbury, Upton House. See Meganck, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, pp. 67–68, fig. 31; Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, pp. 302–305; Sellink, *Bruegel*, pp. 194–195, with earlier literature. For the artistic tradition of this image see S. Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination*, University Park, PA, 2016, pp. 134–135. Marian iconography is a highly complicated issue. For its complex traditions in early modern Europe, see M. Crăciun, 'Marian Imagery and Its Function in the Lutheran Churches of Early Modern Transylvania', in *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by A. Spicer, Farnham, 2012, pp. 133–164, and P. Hrachovec, 'Maria honoranda, non adoranda: Studie k poznání role obrazů a umělecké výzdoby v luteránském kostele éry konfesionalizace', in *In puncto religionis: Konfesní dimenze předbělohorské kultury Čech a Moravy*, Prague, 2013, pp. 233–251.
- 26 For Ortelius's collection, see N. Büttner, 'De verzamelaar Abraham Ortelius', in *Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) cartograaf en humanist*, exh. cat. Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, 1998, pp. 169–180.
- 27 For the text, see *Album amicorum Abraham Ortelius*, ed. by J. Puraye and M. Delcourt, Amsterdam, 1969, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>r</sup>, pp. 21–22. For a translation, see Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, pp. 42–43; W. Stechow, *Northern Renaissance Art 1400–1600. Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1966, p. 37. Ortelius and Bruegel's friendship was first recognised by A. E. Popham who first published the eulogy, see Popham, 'Pieter Bruegel and Abraham Ortelius', pp. 184–188. The text was brought into the discussion of Bruegel's oeuvre by J. Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Interpretation von Bruegels Landschaft', pp. 73–142. For further interpretation of the text, see Kaschek, *Weltzeit und Endzeit*, pp. 63–69; Michalsky, 'Imitation und Imagination', pp. 383–405; Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft*, p. 275, n. 275; W. S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilderboeck*, Chicago, 1991, pp. 174–178; M. A. Meadow, 'Bruegel's Procession to the Calvary. Aemulatio and the Space of Vernacular Style', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XLVII, 1996, pp. 180–205, here: pp. 192–196. On the *Album Amicorum*, see J. Harris, 'Het album amicorum van Abraham Ortelius: codicologie en verzameling', *De Gulden Passer*, LXXXV, 2005, pp. 117–135; *idem*, 'The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship during the Dutch Revolt', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, XXXVII, 2005, pp. 299–325.
- 28 Michalsky, 'Imitation und Imagination', pp. 385–386.
- 29 Müller, *Das Paradox als Bildform*, p. 29; D. Freedberg, 'Allusion and Topicality in the Work of Pieter Bruegel: The Implications of a Forgotten Polemic', in *The Prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, ed. by D. Freedberg, Tokyo, 1989, pp. 53–65, here: p. 59.
- 30 Müller, *Das Paradox als Bildform*, p. 29; Freedberg, 'Allusion and Topicality', p. 59.
- 31 A. Weismann, *Pieter Bruegel d. Ä.*, Reinbeck bei Hamburg, 2015, pp. 76, 135.
- 32 See D. Bagchi and D. Steinmetz, 'Introduction: the scope of Reformation theology', in *Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, ed. by D. Bagchi and D. Steinmetz, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 2–3; C. Ocker, 'The German Reformation and Medieval Thought and Culture', *History Compass*, X, 2012, pp. 13–46; G. H. Tavard, 'The Catholic reform in the sixteenth-century', in *Church History*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 275–288.
- 33 M. van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598): Life, Works, Sources and Friends*, Bilthoven, 2015, pp. 11–12.
- 34 Franciscus Swertius, *Insignium huius aevi poetarum lacrymae in obitum [...] Abrahami Ortelii [...] Philippi II. Hisp. [...] indefessi antiquitatum scrutatoris variarumque cognitione rerum mirabilis. [...] colligebat dedicabatque*, Antwerp, 1601; for an English translation, see van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius*, pp. 9–11.
- 35 F. Prims, *Geschiedenis van Antwerp*, vol. XIX, Antwerpen 1941, pp. 213–216.
- 36 Antwerp, Stadsarchief, GA#4830 (Wijken, Borgerlijke Wacht, 1585) and GA#4617 (Gilden, Leden, IV: Oude en Jonge Handboog, Oude en Jonge Voetboog, Schermers en Kolveniers), evaluated and presented by R. Boumans, 'De getalsterkte van katholieken en protestanten te Antwerpen in 1585', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Philologie en Geschiedenis*, 30, 1952, pp. 741–798. See also N. Büttner, 'Antwerpen 1585: Künstler und Kenner zwischen Krieg und Neubeginn', in *Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft aus Kunst: Antwerpener Malerei und Graphik in und nach den Katastrophen des späten 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by E. Leuschner, Petersberg, 2016, pp. 45–65, here: pp. 48–49; K. Jonckheere, *Antwerp art after iconoclasm: experiments in decorum, 1566–1585*, Brussels, 2012, pp. 47–53.
- 37 Antwerp, Stadsarchief, GA#4830 (Wijken, Borgerlijke Wacht, 1585), fol. 305<sup>r</sup>.
- 38 Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Pk#278 (briefwisseling magistratuur, 1588–1589), sub dato. Mentioned in R. Boumans, 'The Religious Views of Abraham Ortelius', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVII, 1954, pp. 374–377.
- 39 Boumans, 'The Religious Views of Abraham Ortelius', pp. 375–376.
- 40 For a proof about Ortelius remaining true to the Catholic faith, for all his openness for spiritualist beliefs, and a summary of the corresponding discussion, see J. Harris, 'The Religious Position of Abraham Ortelius', in *The Low Countries at the Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. by A. J. Gelderblom, J. L. de Jong and M. Van Vaeck, Leiden, 2004, pp. 89–139. See also van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius*, pp. 19–30.
- 41 F.-V. Goethals, *Histoire des lettres, des sciences et des arts en Belgique et dans le pays limitrophes*, 3 vols, Brussels, 1840–1842, here: vol. III, p. 77; J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche Kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, 2 vols, Antwerp, 1912–1913, vol. II, pp. 61–62.
- 42 See van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius*, pp. 20–21, with further literature.
- 43 *Abrahami Ortelii et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum epistulae cum aliquot aliis epistulis et tractatibus quibusdam ab utroque collectis (1524–1628)*, ed. by J. Hessels, Cambridge, 1887, pp. 46–49, no. 20.
- 44 The translation after van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius*, p. 20. See *Abrahami Ortelii*, p. 48: 'Saluta, Plantinum nostrum, et dicas illi scholæ charitatis summos alumnos mihi no[n] esse ignotos, et licet mihi nullum sacramentum cum vlla hominum societate sit, me tamen jam ab anno 1553. salutis in vna epistola impressa ab Oporino ad finem libri de Originibus testificatum posteritati reliquisse, quos maxime probem et complecti velim, inter eos qui reformationi student, et licet exhorresco illas sanguinarias æruscationes quibus et se et suos et mundum corrumpere Daudianj et ceteri impij homines, tamen veritates omnes sacras quibus impie sunt abusi me in consortij charitatis vsum, nosse et semare'.

- <sup>45</sup> See for example his damnation of Anabaptism on the reverse of his Map of Münster, as quoted by van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius*, p. 22.
- <sup>46</sup> See van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius*, pp. 20–21, with further literature.
- <sup>47</sup> 'Firmiter assero, imagines Christi ac Deiparae semper Virginis, nec non aliorum Sanctorum, habendas et retinendas esse, atque eis debitum honorem ac venerationem impertiendam', C. Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie der frühen Neuzeit: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*, Berlin, 2012, p. 20.
- <sup>48</sup> Johannes Molanus, *De historia ss. imaginum et picturarum pro vero earum usu contra abusus libri IV*, Antwerp, 1617 [II, 32], p. 116.
- <sup>49</sup> Martin Luther, 'Magnifikat Kommentar', in *Luthers Werke*, Berlin, 1905, p. 172.
- <sup>50</sup> Luther, 'Magnifikat Kommentar', p. 200.
- <sup>51</sup> See W. S. Melion: "'Ego enim quasi obdormivi": Salvation and blessed sleep in Philip Galle's Death of the Virgin after Pieter Bruegel', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XLVII, 1996, pp. 14–53.
- <sup>52</sup> Philipp Galle after Pieter Bruegel, *Death of the Virgin*, engraving; first state of two, 30.6 × 41.8 cm, inscribed in the cartouche in the lower left margin: 'Sic Petri Brugelij | archetypu[m] Philipp. | Gall[a]eus imitabatur' ('Thus Philips Galle reproduced the prototype by Pieter Bruegel'); in the cartouche in the lower right margin: 'Abrah.[amus] Ortelius, | sibi & amicis, | fieri curabat' ('On behalf of himself and his friends Abraham Ortelius took care [of the production]'); at the bottom centre below the line of the cartouche in the lower margin: '1574'; in lower margin: 'Gnati certa tui Virgo cum regna petebas | Complebant pectus gaudia quanta tuum? | Quid tibi dulce magis fuerat quam carcere terre | Migrare optati in templa superna poli? || Cumq[ue] sacram turbam, fueras cui pr[a]esidium tu, | Linquebas, nata est qu[a]e tibi maestitia | Quam m[a]estus quoq[ue], quam l[a]etus spectabat eunte[m] | Te, nati atq[ue] idem grex tuus ille pius? || Quid magis his gratum, quam te regnare, quid [a]eque | Triste fuit, facie quam caruisse tua? | M[a]estitia [a]e l[a]etus habitus, vultusque probonuni Artifici monstrat picta tabella manu?' ('Virgin, when you sought the secure realms of your son, what great joys filled your breast! What would have been sweeter for you than to migrate from the prison of the earth to the lofty temples of the longed-for heavens! And when you left the sacred group [of followers of Christ] whose mentor you had been, what sadness sprang up in you. How sad as well as how joyful was that pious gathering of you and your son as they watched you go. What was a greater joy for them than for you to reign [in heaven], what greater sadness than to miss your appearances? This picture, created by a skilful hand, shows the happy bearing of sadness on the faces of the just'.) Melion, "'Ego enim quasi obdormivi"', pp. 14–53; W. S. Gibson, 'Review of Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek [XLVII, 1996]', *Simiolus*, XXVI, 1998, pp. 120–129, here pp. 123–124; *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, pp. 258–261; *Pieter Bruegel ongezien! De verborgen Antwerpse collecties*, ed. by M. Sellink and M. P. J. Martens, exh. cat. Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, 16 June – 14 Oct. 2012, Leuven, 2012, pp. 90–95.
- <sup>53</sup> Melion "'Ego enim quasi obdormivi"', pp. 14–53.
- <sup>54</sup> Gibson, 'Review', p. 124.
- <sup>55</sup> See Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii*, pp. 175–176. In a poem, dated 15 July 1578, Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert praises the print by Galle, who was a close friend and Coornhert's former pupil. See also *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, p. 258.
- <sup>56</sup> 'Ex hoc genere memini videre apud te tabellam de virginis matris ex hac mortali vita separatione, et dexterrimè et valde piè depictam: quam tu Philippo Gallæo nostro ad imitationem dabas en æs incisuro'; see Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii*, p. 428.
- <sup>57</sup> K. De Clippel, 'Rubens meets Brouwer: Confrontations with low-life genre painting', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, LV, 2004, pp. 302–333, here: p. 315.
- <sup>58</sup> J. M. Muller, *Rubens. The Artist as Collector*, Princeton, 1989, p. 128, no. 193.
- <sup>59</sup> Anonymous, retouched by Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of the Virgin*, pen and brown ink and wash, 265 × 417 mm, Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Inv. no. 19.720. See K. Lohse Belkin, *Rubens. Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and later Artists. German and Netherlandish Artists* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XXVI, 1), 2 vols, London and Turnhout, 2009, here vol. I, pp. 199–200, no. 94; vol. II, pl. 265.
- <sup>60</sup> N. Büttner, *Pietro Paolo Rubens*, Regensburg, 2015, p. 64; F. A. F. T. de Reiffenberg, 'Nouvelles Recherches sur Pierre-Paul Rubens, contenant une vie inédite de ce grand peintre par Philippe Rubens, son neveu. Présenté à la séance du 17 janvier 1835, *Nouveaux mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles*, 10, 1837, pp. 4–13, here p. 10. See also R. de Piles, *Conversations sur la connoissance de la peinture*, Paris, 1677, p. 213.
- <sup>61</sup> P. Arents, *De Bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens: een reconstructie*, ed. by A. K. L. Thijs, Antwerp, 2001, p. 206 [E212]: 'A Mons' Albert Rubens pour son Père 1 Officium B. Mariae in-24° fin sp. leer a fil ritulit f 1:10'.
- <sup>62</sup> Pieter Bruegel, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, oil on panel, 24.1 × 34.4 cm. London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Inv. no. P.1978.PG.48. See Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, p. 49; Sellink, *Bruegel*, p. 214, with references to earlier literature. For the artistic tradition of this image see Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination*, pp. 135–137.
- <sup>63</sup> See <[http://cranach.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/wiki/index.php/CorpusCranach:Christus\\_und\\_die\\_Ehebrecherin](http://cranach.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/wiki/index.php/CorpusCranach:Christus_und_die_Ehebrecherin)> (accessed on 15 Nov. 2016).
- <sup>64</sup> See the detailed chapter 'Reformatorsche Themen' in *Lukas Cranach. Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik*, ed. by D. Koepplin and T. Falk, exh. cat. Kunstmuseum Basel, 2 vols, Basel and Stuttgart 1974–1976, vol. II, pp. 498–522, which lists 'The Woman Taken in Adultery' among other Reformation motifs. Although the authors argue for a more open notion of the Protestant art of Cranach (p. 503), the exclusive reformational or Protestant reading of Cranach is still prevalent, see among others B. D. Spira, 'Lucas Cranach, der Maler Luthers. Der Hofmaler und der Reformator – Bindung, Bilder und Bedeutung', in *Bild und Botschaft. Cranach im Dienst von Hof und Reformation*, exh. cat. Gotha and Kassel, Heidelberg, 2015, pp. 51–62, especially pp. 59 and 62.
- <sup>65</sup> For this see K. Frank, *Die biblischen Historien der Cranach-Werkstatt im Zeitalter der Reformation* (forthcoming).
- <sup>66</sup> W. S. Melion, 'Visual Exegesis and Pieter Bruegel's Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (Introduction)', in *Imago Exegetica*, pp. 1–41.
- <sup>67</sup> See note 27.