

Love and Togetherness in the Garden of Eden: the Divine Macrocosm Celebrating a Dutch Wedding

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Seventeenth-century Dutch epithalamia were made for an ephemeral purpose on a wedding day, and included illustrations that were often extravagant in the imagery. Commissioning luxury nuptial booklets of this kind was more than just a question of putting an advertisement to the family announcements section of a modern newspaper. It involved hiring popular poets, skilful artists and a specialised publishing house to print it. This new wedding custom was galvanised with the arrival of a new taste and craving on the part of Dutch elites and bourgeois society, especially in Amsterdam.¹ The words and images of epithalamic booklet displayed the patron's well-established social status, tokens of friendship, and mementos of strengthened alliances.

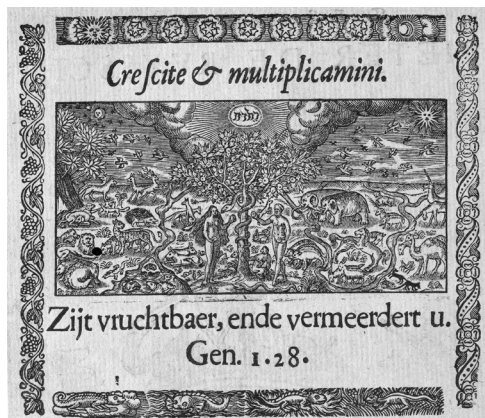
The advent of the illustrated epithalamic booklets and its rapid growth coincided with historic events in the Dutch Republic. The earliest booklets began appearing around the beginning of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609, and the vogue started petering out around the time of the Peace of Münster in 1648, when artistic inventiveness died out. The luxury ephemera were born in the global centre of book publishing market, where the publisher's strategies cultivated a diverse niche market for these bespoke publications. Investing money in the decorative illustrations enhanced the quality of the booklets and raised their commissioning to the level of conspicuous consumption². The very specific economic circumstances that allowed Amsterdam publishers to produce such lavishly illustrated booklets were not found in other towns, with the result that those local publications contain fewer illustrations and stylistic innovations.

Stunning illustrations in nuptial booklets were used as a vehicle for communication between poet, bridal couple and the wedding guests, while a poet recited his verses and all the guests joined together to sing the accompany song text at the end of the wedding banquet. Apart from the reading material, the elaborate images offered the audience the pleasure of ruminating on the meaning of the written words so as to in Horace's simile of *ut pictura poesis* by viewing the imagery itself. Beyond ornament, the epithalamic imagery encouraged the viewers, the wedding guests, to

reflect a virtuous and fruitful life.

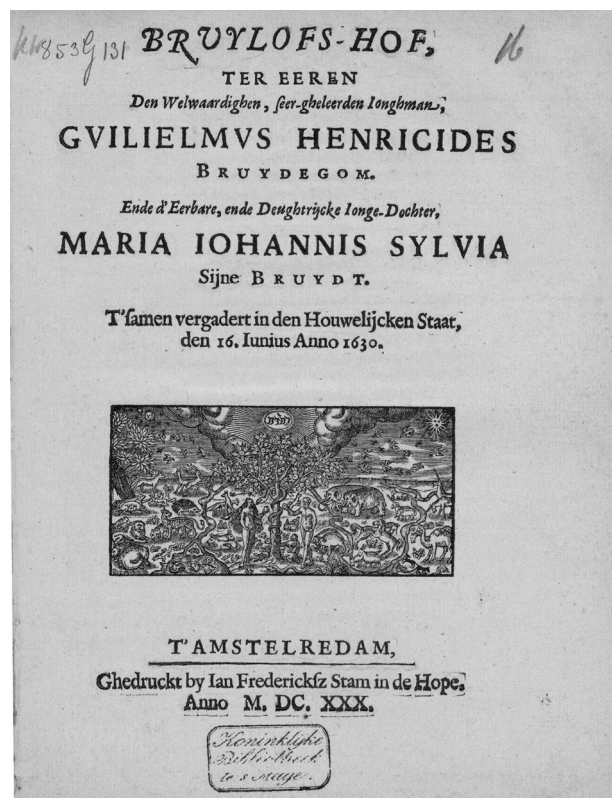
The words and images of Dutch nuptial booklets are a perfect reflection of private attitudes and the expression of family identity by building alliances through their children's marriages, as well as illustrating the social foundation and code of conduct towards wedding ceremony. This new development of literature and art was based on the social norms of Christian marriage, and biblical motifs were employed in the poetic devices and illustrations³. Presenting God's presence at the ceremony was a commonplace in verses and illustrations, while the repertoire relating to Adam and Eve was popular for adorning the title pages.

This paper aims to examine the context for the new iconography of the Paradise scene by depicting Adam and Eve with various species of animals, birds and fish. The pictorial theme itself was quite well known in the sixteenth, and seventeenth century through Dutch and Flemish prints and paintings, with the same subject being introduced later in Dutch epithalamic booklets in 1629 (Fig.1-ii) and 1630 (Fig.2). There are three aspects underlying the private and social circumstances surrounding the reception of the Paradise scene. Which social station of the families called for the



(Fig. 1-ii) The illustration of the Garden of Eden of the 1629 nuptial booklet

(Fig. 2) Anonymous, frontispiece of *Bruylofs-hof, ter eeren den welwaardighen, seer-gheleerden ionghman, Gvilielmvs Henricides bruydegom. Ende [...] Maria Iohannis Sylvia*, (Amsterdam, Jan Fredericksz Stam: 1630). The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands

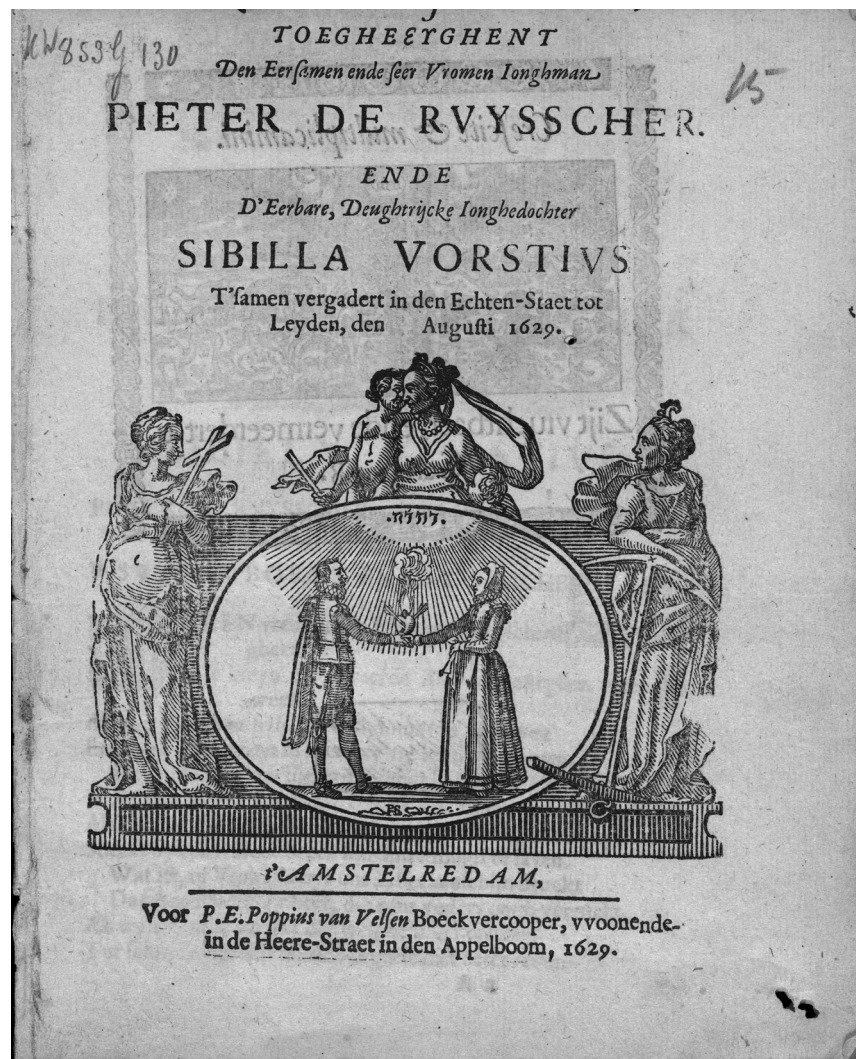


new image of the Paradise scene for their weddings? How did the illustration reflect the religious and political changes around 1630? What is the significance of the pictorial meaning in epithalamic illustration compared to other prints or paintings?

By examining the circumstances of patrons, publishers, and their belief and identity, it will be more obvious that the significance of the 1629 and 1630 booklets were not only seen as being for private use but also for the manifestation of social shifts when the Dutch Republic was still dealing with the dilemma of divisiveness versus harmony that arose as the result of the Synod of Dordrecht. The goal of this paper is to show how the epithalamic booklets can be seen as the byproduct of an urban culture which differentiated the religious, social and artistic circumstances surrounding the newly established custom of producing illustrated epithalamia in seventeenth-century wedding ceremonies.

The social status of the patrons for illustrated nuptial ephemera

The wedding booklet of Pieter de Ruyscher and Sibilla Vorstius is the first example to employ the Paradise scene⁴. In order to get the wedding guests in a festive mood, the epithalamist who signed with the initials V.G. opens the poems with a bit of word play by combining the spellings of bridal couple's names and making a verse with the display of the pure faith in religious context: V SVYVER BORST PRYST SALICHEIDS LEER, which translates as "O breast so pure, praise Re-demption's teaching". This was accompanied by four illustrations chosen from the Bible that highlight God's teaching and blessings for the married couple. The title page (Fig.1-i), is adorned with a woodcut depicting the personification of the three theological virtues that was designed by Philips Serwouters, derived from 1 Corinthians 13:13 "And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity", with their attributes, such as a cross, two infants, and anchor. In the central cartouche, the bridal couple in contemporary attire are clasping their right hands with the burning and arrow-pierced heart under the tetra-grammaton of God and his light⁵. This wood block was borrowed from previous epithalamia and was first used in 1620, when the nuptial imagery was revised following changes in the religious climate after the Synod of Dordrecht. The following illustration on the title verso page (Fig. 1-ii), depicts the Paradise scene from Genesis 1:28 "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth". The Latin inscription *Crescite & multiplicamini* was added in order to explain the



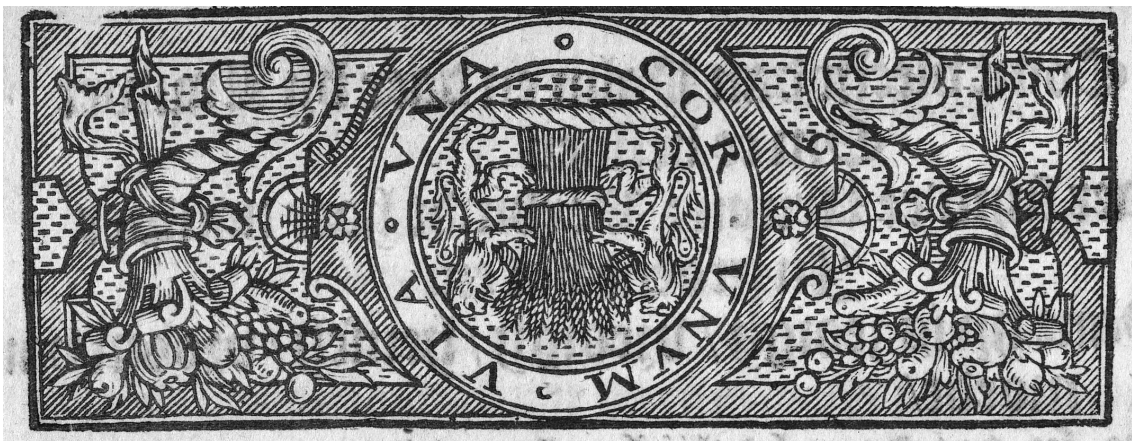
(Fig. 1-i) Philips Serwouters, frontispiece of *Bryllofs-ghedicht, toegheeyghent Den Eersamen [...] Pieter de Rvysscher. Ende [...] Sibilla Vorstivs, T'samen vergadert in den Echten-Staet tot Leyden, den ... Augusti 1629* (Amsterdam, Petrus Poppius and Jan Fredericksz Stam: 1629). The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands

illustration. Finally, two rectangular cartouches related to the function of the booklet for celebrating the couple's marriage start with blissful messages (Figs.1-iii and 1-iv). One shows the goddess Fortuna appearing half nude with wings and holding two cornucopia to symbolise fertility, fortune and abundance, while in the other the horns are tuned upside down accompanied by the Latin motto *Cor unum via una* (One heart, one way) derived from Jeremiah 32:39. The entire visual programme was designed in order to echo the blessing and homily about the righteous and prosperous states of the married couple.

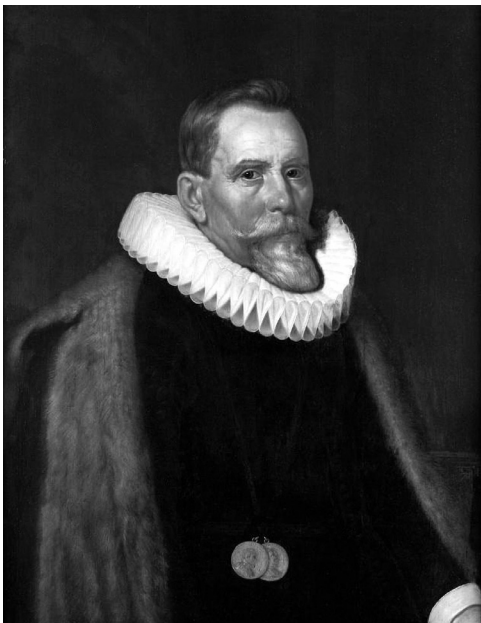
What kind of families' aspiration lay behind the use of these biblical injunctions? And in what way could they enjoy the religious and instructive visual messages? The groom of the 1629 booklet was born in Leiden, while the bride was the daughter of the



(Fig. 1-iii) A rectangular cartouche (fol. 2r) of the 1629 nuptial booklet



(Fig. 1-iv) A rectangular cartouche (fol. 3r) of the 1629 nuptial booklet



(Fig. 3) Joris van Schooten, *Portrait of Aelius Everhardus Vorstius* (1565–1624), c. 1620, Leiden, Leiden University

physician and professor of botany at Leiden University, Aelius Everhardus Vorstius (Fig. 3), and his wife Geertruida Corneliusdr van Voorst⁶. The bride's maternal relatives made up an intriguing intellectual network. Her aunt was Claesje van Voorst (Fig.4-i), who came from a family of artisans turned merchants in Utrecht, and was married to the lawyer and antiquarian Arnoldus Buchelius (Fig.4-ii)⁷. The Buchelius-Van Voorst couple were very close to Vorstius family not only through family ties but also through shared intellectual interests⁸. The patronage of artists to produce elaborate illustrations had intellectual foundations,



(Fig. 4-i) Paulus Moreelse, *Portrait of Claesje van Voorst* (1564 – 1644), 1610, Utrecht, Centraal Museum



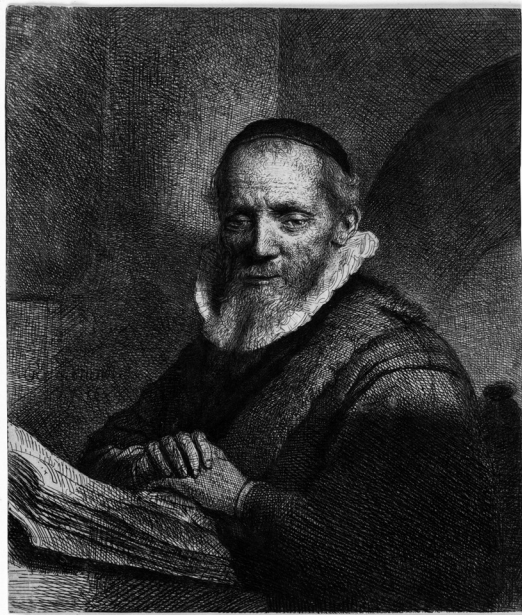
(Fig. 4-ii) Paulus Moreelse, *Portrait of Arnoldus Buchelius* (1565 – 1641), 1610, Utrecht, Centraal Museum

and the erudite perception of religious teaching was the key for conceiving the idea of converting the biblical motifs into epithalamic imagery.

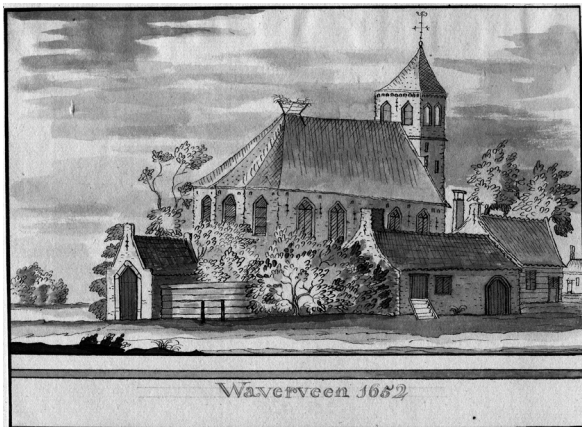
A year later the identical Paradise scene was reused in Rembrandt's milieu. The nuptial ephemera for the wedding ceremony of Wilhemus Henricides and Maria Sylvius, the fourth daughter of Aeltje Uylenburgh (Fig.5-i) and the Reverend Jan Cornelis Sylvius of Amsterdam's Old Church (Fig.5-ii), who were both closely involved in the marital life of Rembrandt and Saskia Uylenburgh as the legal guardian of the marriage, and godparent. Like his father-in-law Sylvius, the groom Wilhemus Henricides became the Orthodox Calvinist minister of the Reformed church in Waverveen near Amsterdam from the year following his marriage until 1653 (Fig.6)⁹. This family calling of church ministers embodied the respectable characteristics of Calvinist principles, just as the public image and social significance were clearly demonstrated by Rembrandt's portrait of the Amsterdam preacher Sylvius with the inscription, in translation: "Jesus could be better taught by leading a good life than by thundering speech" (Fig.7). Sylvius's gesture with his right hand increases the persuasive power of his sermon, and his left hand holding the Bible reveals the origin of duty and creed as the servant of God's word. For Sylvius's family, the Bible was the pivotal for birth, death, procreation, and



(Fig. 5-i) Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Aeltje Uylenburgh* (1572 – 1638), 1632, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



(Fig. 5-ii) Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Preacher Jan Cornelis Sylvius* (1564 – 1638), 1633, etching, Haarlem, Teylers Museum



(Fig. 6) Anonymous, *The Reformed Church in Waverveen*, 1652, pen drawing, Utrecht, The Utrecht Archives



(Fig. 7) Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Preacher Jan Cornelis Sylvius* (1564 – 1638), 1646, etching, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

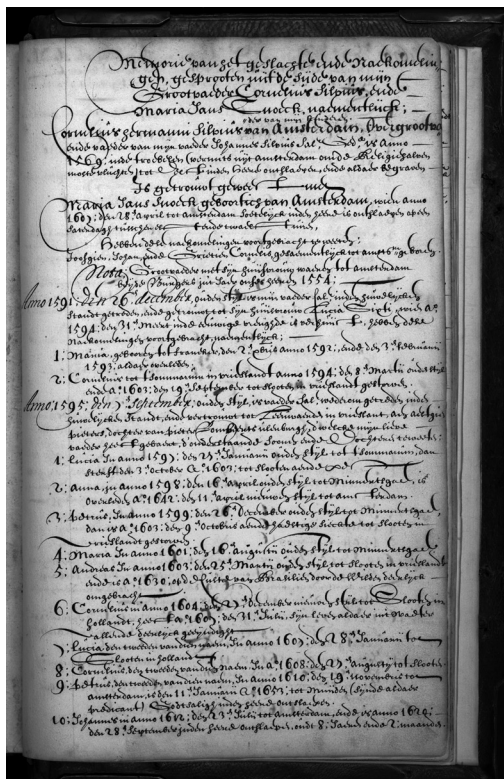
flourishing, and the receptacle for preserving the family's past and future, as can be seen from the archival description in the family that was written on the appended pages in the first edition of the States Bible (Figs.8-i and 8-ii)¹⁰. From these aspects, the choice and usage of the image from Genesis in Sylvius family's epithalamium proclaim their unyielding determination to preserve the family's identity.

Liberty regained: Remonstrant publishers' contribution to the epithalamic booklets with the Paradise scene

The 1629 and 1630 booklets appeared two decades after the first flowering of Dutch epithalamic booklets at the start the Twelve Years' Truce. Illustrated nuptial booklets became widespread in Amsterdam, but the tailor-made system for the private patrons was still suitable for small to medium-sized Amsterdam publishers, because their market share was not for a broad readership. Only a small number of publishers with keen business acumen who catered for patrons with diversified tastes were finally able to dominate the market. The artistic quality of the illustrations was enhanced by engaging experts to produce them, leading to a sum-ptuous class of wedding booklet



(Fig. 8-i) The cover of the States Bible owned by the Sylvius Family, Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt



(Fig. 8-ii) The annexed paper in the Sylvius Family Bible, Paris Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt

that manifested itself mainly after 1616, and the prime contributor to the enrichment of these booklets was Paulus van Ravesteyn, who spearheaded the innovations in Dutch epithalamia (Fig. 9)¹¹.

Van Ravesteyn had a great influence on the use of specific imagery for wedding days, with the result that the growth of the market for private nuptial publications was stimulated, as he improved the artistic standard of the title prints in the process. The publishers bore the primary financial responsibility for publishing epithalamia and only paid on delivery. Apart from the payment for poets' verses hired by bridal families or their friends, the production costs for the booklets, such as buying paper, paying the compositor, designing illustrations, buying and engraving copperplates and renting printing presses, would have been the outgoings that the publisher would have to pay before passing them on to the client¹². This presents another perspective on the financial aspects of epithalamic publishing, namely that the completion of epithalamia with ingenious illustrations raised the overall price with other conditions, such as the use of good paper, advanced printing techniques, modern typefaces and unique design of decorated initial blocks¹³. However, it was a marketable world of high risk and high return, so the publishers' initiatives in producing the high-quality epithalamic booklets were not really sustainable in the end, apart from Van Ravesteyn's printing house between 1614 and 1635 which also demonstrated that the highest quality could only be achieved before the end of the Twelve Years' Truce since then the innovative forms of imagery were not fully invented for the Amsterdam booklet in the mid-1620s.

In addition to the economics of the publishing market, the religious and political climate during the peak years of epithalamic publications in the latter half of the Twelve Years' Truce was very closely connected with the rapid rise in the popularity

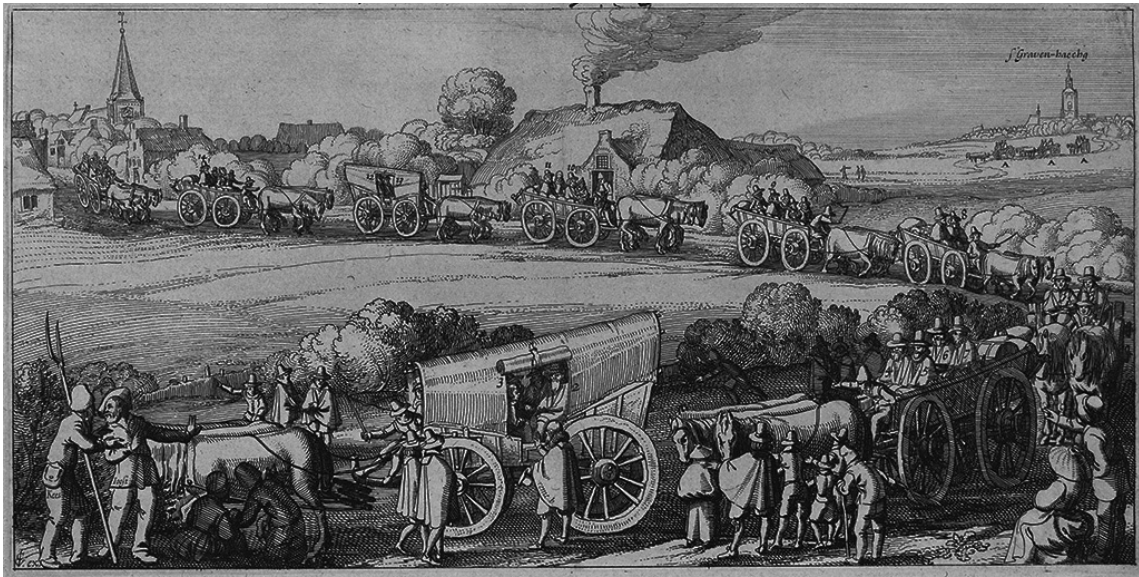


(Fig. 9) Claes Jansz Visscher, frontispiece of *Bruylofts-dichten* [...] *Rombout Jacobsen de Ionghe* [...] *Hillegonda van Baesdorp* [...] (Amsterdam, Paulus van Ravesteyn: 1616). The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands

of private nuptial ephemera. This coincided with the crisis of social cohesion sparked off by the religious dispute between the Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant factions, which culminated in a political upheaval that ended with the fall of the moderate Calvinists (Remonstrants) and Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and the latter's beheading. The nascent Republic of the United Netherlands was riven and well-nigh destroyed by a religious dispute developed to the fratricidal struggle in the end that split the country along deeply entrenched lines. On one side there was the strict, immutable and unforgiving Calvinist doctrine of predestination, which held that it did not matter how pious you were in life, nor how many good deeds you had done, because God had already decided before you were born that you could not enter heaven-ever.¹⁵ This was the stance adopted by the Counter-Remonstrants in the Dutch Republic. Ranged against them were the Remonstrants, whose beliefs were far more tolerant, in particular that the doctrine of predestination was conditional, not absolute as the Counter-Remonstrants believed. The growing rift came to a head in 1618-19, when the Synod of Dordrecht sided with the Counter-Remonstrants, leading to the persecution of Remonstrants and the banishment or imprisonment of their clergymen.¹⁶ While publishing a private booklet on the wedding day seems far from the propagandistic pamphlets setting out religious and political points of view, the new alliance through marriages was the best impetus for realising social mobility in the changeable situation, and the wedding booklets were the effective media for advertising the social ambitions to the small and closely knit elite of Amsterdam.

The best example of the highest quality combining both the publisher's drive to produce luxury ephemera and launch a new niche market, and the proficient craftsman who led the avid religious propagandists with his images was the 1616 extravagant title page (Fig. 8) that Claes Jansz Visscher's designed for the epithalamic cartouche and printing at Van Ravesteyn's printing press. There is no indication that Van Ravesteyn was very pro-active as the pamphlet publisher before and after the Synod of Dordrecht while he moved to Leiden in 1630s and invested his business for publishing the Staten Bible which would be the most important result of the 1619 Synod. However, Visscher's prints were the heart of slandering the Remonstrants, as he positioned himself as an ultra-orthodox Calvinist, and his hostile and propaganda against the libertine Remonstrant leaders did not stop even after the banishment of the Remonstrants abroad (Fig. 10).

The quality of the illustrations for the 1629 and 1630 epithalamia was mediocre compared to the zenith of the genre in 1616. However, the booklets made by the two publishers in 1629 and 1630, Petrus Poppius and Jan Fredericksz Stam, demonstrate



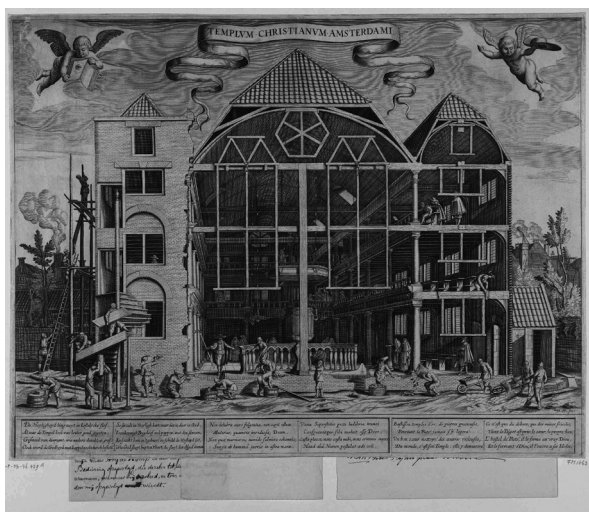
(Fig. 10) Cleas Jansz Visscher, *Departure of the Expelled Remonstrants from The Hague*, 1619, engraving, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

how keen they were to get into the new publishing market of private matrimonial ephemera. And in their case, the change in the political situation was the prime motive for publishing the 1629 and 1630 epithalamia. The publisher's address "Voor P. Poppius", meaning "printed for Poppius", bears witness to his initiatives, while the printing house's name is omitted on the title page of the 1629 booklet.¹⁷ However, the two publishers would have collaborated very closely on production of the two booklets. First, their stylistic similarity shows that these two booklets were designed by Stam's printing press. Not only the identical image of Adam and Eve in Paradise, but also, the letterpresses for the text including the heading letter block, and the textual design by indenting every two lines. Furthermore, the author would be the same as well, as the 1629 booklet ends with the initial of V. G. and that of I.V.G. in the 1630 booklet. The main reason for this collaboration was that Stam could be active as the second mover of this new publishing venture in Amsterdam after inheriting the print house through his marriage to Joris Veseler's widow, who had already published nine nuptial booklets that are now in the collection of the Royal Library in the Hague.¹⁸ Poppius acted as the creative director who hired poets for the epithalamium and artists for the illustrations, with Stam taking care of the consignment production. A year later, for the wedding of the daughter of Aeltje Uylenburgh and Jan Cornelis Sylvius, Stam relied heavily on the working method of previous epithalamic booklets.

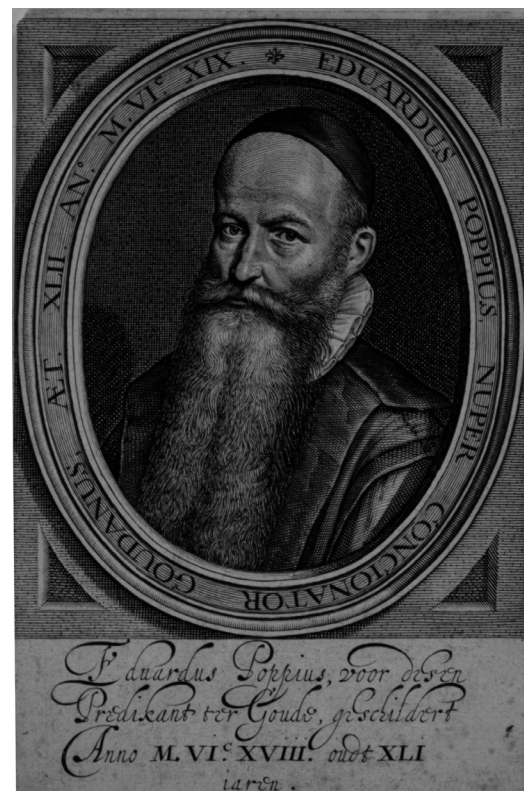
Secondly, the religious climate had changed after the death of Prince Maurits, with the exiled Remonstrant leaders being allowed to return. When the returned Remonstrant community built their church on Keizersgracht between 1629 and

1630 (Fig.11), publications bearing Poppius's name had an impact in the restored Remonstrant circles¹⁹. He was the son of the Remonstrant minister Eduard Poppius who had represented Remonstrants at the Synod of Dordrecht (Fig.12). This Remonstrant leader was imprisoned in Loevestein Castle after being betrayed, and died there before he could see the ultimate solidarity of the Remonstrants.²⁰ His publisher son continued living in Gouda, where his father had served as the minister, and acted as a centre of Remonstrant missionary work by publishing his father's religious treatises and by gaining combined commissions from the States of Holland, Amsterdam and Gouda.²¹ Similarly, Stam's printing house near Amsterdam's South Church was known to be a Remonstrant bastion, and was described as being "enclined to Arminianism" in a letter by the Puritan preacher John Paget's letter.²² Their common ground as Remonstrant publishers would have encouraged to expand their publishing activities through the elite network in Amsterdam.

This religious situation was the context in which Poppius and Stam chose a new illustration from previous popular examples. For instance, the fanatical proselytiser and publicist of the Counter-Remonstrant cause, Claes Jansz Visscher, made the extravagant devotional design for a Counter-Remonstrant epithalamic illustration in his crusade to produce propaganda prints to denigrate and trample on the exiled Remonstrants.²³



(Fig. 11) Frans Brun, *The Remonstrant Church at the Keizersgracht in Construction*, 1630, engraving, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



(Fig. 12) Willem Jacobsz Delff, *Portrait of Eduard Poppius*, 1618, Dordrecht, Dordrecht Museum

While Visscher's design for the wedding booklet (Fig.9) was reused after 1616 shows the combination of biblical episodes and love emblem of Cupid grafting, which is the metaphor of binding the bride and groom together, reveals the exemplary visual messages of the Christian marriage based on the Bible, the Remonstrant publisher's perspective would be adequate for using or borrowing pictorial motifs from Visscher's title page due to the ordeal launched by fervent ultra-orthodox Calvinists.²⁴ In that respect, the presentation of the scene of Adam and Eve in Paradise had a role not only as congratulatory ephemera for private use but also as the manifestation of the social identity of Remonstrants after regaining their liberty and solidarity ten years after the Synod of Dordrecht.

As regards the religious persuasion of the publishers, it is still a question of why they imparted the word and image for the scholarly and religious families of the 1629 and 1630 wedding booklets, because those families did not announce their position as Remonstrants before or after the Synod of Dordrecht.²⁵ However, in 1628 the effect of the social change initiated by the libertine leaders when the booklets were published were soon noticeable in the Amsterdam City Council, where the liberal and influential Remonstrant families redeemed the social position they had lost when being forced out by Prince Maurits and the conservative Counter-Remonstrants.²⁶ The most illustrious example was the reinstatement of the members of tolerant Bicker family, and during Andries Bicker's mayoralty from 1628 until the Peace of Münster in 1648, liberty and balance between different religious sects could be kept in balance.²⁷ Due to this change, region and intellectual activities were openly associated with the returned Remonstrant elites.

The illustration of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden should be differentiated from the first peak of epithalamic publications, which was driven by the segmentised publishing market and innovative illustrations during the Twelve Years' Truce. That is because the collaborative work of Poppius and Stam went beyond the business model, and relations between the patrons and the publishers show the cohesion of the Remonstrants at the blissful weddings of the respectable families when they were able to regain their liberty in the late 1620s.

The epithalamic illustration of God's macrocosmic garden

The anonymous artist portrayed the complete world created by God in six days as described in Genesis 1 (Figs.1-ii and 2). In the tiny copper plate (7.8 × 3.8cm) the components of geosphere, hydrosphere and atmosphere were carefully sculpted sorting

by an array of the categories. By seeing miniaturized the Garden of Eden with eyes, viewers can imagine the process of God's creation of the world and of Adam and Eve. The Tree of Knowledge with its flourishing fruits stands at the centre of the earth, just below the tetragrammaton surrounded by dramatic clouds. A compositional symmetry divides the scene into two halves, with the sun and the moon in each corner, and Adam and Eve in the centre. The variety of animals, fish, and birds highlighting the concept of copia can be seen in remarkable detail through a magnifying glass, remarkably differing the union of male and female of each animals, even unicorns, sheep, snails, and the coiled snake on the Tree of Knowledge paired with its mate crawling on the earth beneath.

In the nuptial illustration, the conversation and action between Adam and Eve are not emphasised at all. Instead of dramatising the consequences of taking the fruit of knowledge of good and evil, or the banishment from Paradise, the artist concentrated on creating a harmony between microcosm and macrocosm, which is the foundation of God's Paradise. Marriage between a man and a woman is the micro-unit for the world as a whole, just as the other coupled animals are in the God's Paradise. This scene shows the deliberate intention to portray the narratives from Genesis 1, without associating them with other episodes, such as the Temptation of Eve and the Exile from the Eden.

The pictorial tradition of the image of God's creation of animals, heaven and earth and Adam and Eve could have been an innovation in the collaboration by the Flemish artists Jan Sadeler as the engraver and Maarten de Vos as the designer in the late sixteenth-century, *Imago Bonitatis* (Image of Goodness), which consists the seven prints from Genesis 1:1 to 2:3. Maarten de Vos' s design is the best-known example of animals on display in the landscape of the Garden of Eden, with its concentration on contemporary zoological knowledge to visualize God's creation.²⁸ In this series, the Sixth Day (Fig.13-i) is depicted in two separate prints: one being the creation of Adam, Eve and the animals, the other (Fig.13-ii) being Adam, Eve and the animals Blessed by God. The former shows the dynamically animated process of God's creation of Adam, as can be seen with mankind made in God's likeness in the right foreground, and the mankind ruling all the creatures of the world in the right background, the creation of Eve from Adam's body in the left foreground, and God's intention to let Adam and Eve live together in the left background. Unlike the dynamism of God's creation, De Vos employed the solemn mood of the obedient Adam and Eve who are kneeling and putting their hands together as they are blessed by the God the Creator in the last print, which is similar to the 1629 nuptial illustration.



(Fig. 13-i) Jan Sadeler after Maarten de Vos, *The Sixth Day: The Creation of Adam, Eve and the Animals* (from: *Imago Bonitatis*), ca. 1587, engraving, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



(Fig. 13-ii) Jan Sadeler after Maarten de Vos, *The Sixth Day Adam, Eve and the Animals Blessed by God* (from: *Imago Bonitatis*), ca. 1587, engraving, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Almost twenty years after this invention of illustrating the animals became popular in the Southern Netherlands, a similar idea of the paradise scene was introduced in the north in 1606 through the collaborative printmaking of Hendrick Goltzius and Jacob Matham (Fig.14). Like the prints by Sadeler and De Vos, the artists' excellence is apparent from their faithful rendering of the animals in the Haarlem print. However, God could not be depicted in human form in the scene of Adam and Eve because of Protestant doctrine, and the part played by Adam and Eve is more focused on the scene of the Fall of Man by combining it with the episode of the Original Sin of eating the forbidden fruit.

In addition to the artist's curiosity and endeavor to create a composition with heaven and earth in printmaking, Jan Brueghel reached a zenith by creating an encyclopedic vision visualizing the beauty of God's creation formed by the flora and fauna combined with the elements of water, earth and air in his canvases dated between 1613 and 1615 (Fig.15). The elaborate pictorial treatment and anatomical faithfulness of the animals was mainly for his Catholic and royal collectors, such as Cardinal Borromeo, who treasured Brueghel's skillful and scientific accuracy to create curiosity in the episode from Genesis.²⁸ The role of Adam and Eve in the paradise painting was highlighted by Rubens's contribution, stimulating the viewer's imagination to experience the story of Original Sin, contrasting the perfection of God's world with the Fall of Man. As it was a collaborative work divided into two parts of nature and the animals by Brueghel and the original human couple of Adam and Eve by Rubens, it is as if the components of God's Paradise consisted of two groups, mainly animals and human beings. The actions of Adam and Eve are staged in the Garden of Eden, with



(Fig. 14) Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Fall of Man in the Garden of Eden*, 1606, engraving, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

(Fig. 15) Jan Brueghel the Elder, Peter Paul Rubens, *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*, c. 1615, The Hague, Mauritshuis



Adam receiving the forbidden fruit from Eve's right hand, who has stretched it out to pick it from the branch held in the snake's mouth. Adam is not showing any hesitation in pointing out the fruit with his left hand. The two figures are surrounded by diverse animals, such as a pet dog, hares, peacocks, monkeys, squirrels, cat, and birds, with a dominant horse beside Adam and an antlered female reindeer beside Eve. Most of them are also feeding themselves with nuts and fruits corresponding to the forbidden fruit. The main reason for this type of painting was the collaborative working system on Antwerp art market, which was designed to maximise the artist's best skills to the utmost, and its outcome created this embellished stage for the main characters of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

The most comparable example for the 1629 epithalamic illustration is the title page of the revised edition of Jacob Cats's love emblem, *Proteus, ofte Minnebeelden Verandert in Sinne-beelden* of 1627 (Fig.16), serving the same function as



(Fig. 16) Adriaen van de Venne, frontispiece of *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* (Rotterdam, Pieter van Waesberge: 1627), The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands

book illustrations and the similar years of the two publication of the love emblem and the illustrated epithalamia. Adriaen van de Venne's initiative of illustrating the emblem pictures crystalised in his design for the title page, and he employed the flock of paired animals, which is the reminiscent of the pictorial tradition of the Paradise landscape from Genesis. On top of the title page, the personification of Faith, one of the three Christian virtues, is holding the cross, the opened book with seals, and bridle in her hands, trampling death underfoot. The personification of Justice is holding her attributes of the sword and balance on the top right. Under the heavens Cupid is seated between the palm trees and the rose pergola as if he is the epicenter of the earthly world for his worshippers. All races of human beings and all different species of animals vigorously gather around Cupid from the background to the foreground, expressing their adoration to the god of love. The title page was mainly highlighted in order to guide the readers' understanding of the image by adding the commentary verses on the title page at the beginning of the book.

For the understanding reader, on the TITLE PRINT.

Behold here the wild wood and all tame animals,
Behold here the entire sky celebrating a naked boy
Behold here the whale and all the well-fed livestock
In the midst of the fire, in the midst of the sea
Behold here the people, even from all far-off countries
From the north, where it freezes, and from the barren strands,
Here behold the black Moor, and yellow Indians,
And each worships the hardest
Behold folk of every kind, behold women, servants, gentlemen,
Behold peasant and nobleman honouring their foolish desires
And whether all or none of these set to work more foolishly
They all have their own purpose;
All alike, they serve, they serve their lusts,
Be it in our company or on distant coasts,
They celebrate lasciviousness, lasciviousness is everywhere the same,
The animals with the humans, they bustle among each other.
Ah! Just as our stupid minds are not driven higher
We always lead a stupid life,
We go blindly forth to our carnal realm,
And our soul knows not true desire.
Rise, rise, ye human child, rise to true Reason
Rise, rise, ye Christian man, rise to pure modesty.
For he who does not rise through strength of spirit
Lives for the flesh alone, like any other beast.³⁰

It was already after the huge success of Cats's *Houwelijck* of 1625, also illustrated by Van de Venne.³¹ The meaning of the edifying characteristics of the combination of Cats's text and Van de Venne's image gained its readership by 1627. Of course, the religious depictions are limited in the heaven, but one can see Van de Venne's clear intention for composing the illustration by dividing into two: human being and animals / flesh and soul / lustful love and honourable Christian love. It is a different visual interpretation to employ animals in the title page of the love emblem from the prints and paintings of the part of God's creation, which were driven from Genesis. In contrast to God's blessed creatures in the Paradise landscape, the flock of animals symbolized an inferior quality in pursuing dissolute courtship which is the lesson for

the Dutch readers. It is an example to show how the companionship of animals with the archetype of mankind's love could shed light on different ways, one is the unit of the God's macrocosmic garden, and the other one is the features of the disordered world, mating and copulating.

While the title page of Cats's book of emblems alludes to the animals as illustrating bodily love, the coupled animals are presented in an adverse way, for they are all units in God's macrocosmic garden, unlike Cupid's ruling the world of amorous love. This favourable perspective came from a faithful interpretation of the Old Testament, and that was the ground for applying it to celebrate the start of the newly wedded couples' lives with prayers and blessings. In the 1629 booklet, the epithalamist did not directly mention the illustration on the verse title page of the Garden of Eden, but the audience could reflect on the paradise illustration when the poet recited the closing words; "I wish that the Supreme Lord would have as much favour descend upon you as there are constellations in heaven's blue halls, as grains of sand that are in the sea or on the barren strand, as hairs upon the cattle that graze upon the land."³² It is a contrast between the macrocosm and the minuscule life or object that shows God's divine power to create the world.

When the identical illustration was re-used for the wedding banquet of the Henricides-Sylvius couple, the poet gave his epithalamium the title "Bruylofs-Hof (Wedding-Garden)". He did not literally describe the biblical narratives in the Garden of Eden, but designed his occasional verses to appeal to his audiences' interest in comparing the illustration and his verses.

In the world's tangled thicket, where square sharp stones
And jaggedness unite in the traveller's burden
In the water-drinking sand, in the tangled matter,
O rare foundation, I build a more steadfast Garden.
[...]
A Garden that old Lady Nature compassionately
Has so generously besprinkled for the well-beloved
With a silvery blue flood from her tear-filled eyes,
That coolingly abates the stabs of the Sun.³³

While the poet freely applied various rhetorical motifs from the mythological figures like Dardanians, the Goddess Natura, Aquilo, and Phoebe, for the verses about the formation of the natural world, he turns his motifs for conveying the main messages

for the bridal couple to full account, as if the epithalamic verses paralleled to the title illustration, focusing on the presence of Adam and Eve.

And while the Palm-tree bends its tops, and sighs,
And the Lady bush caresses the pleasant fruit.
Where the white Poplar shrouds the high peaks
Of the splendid building, such that its glittering battlements
Reveal the lovers' pain, and the well-nigh cloud-enshrouded couple
Through new hope refreshed: depict the sweet gesture,
From the joyful feast here that they formerly did love
In Zebulun's tribe the lesser lands,
Where the Virgin birth, eternal God's image,
Has gloriously performed his latest miracle.³⁴

This symbiosis of word and image underpinned the characteristics of Dutch illustrated epithalamic, uniting the essential quality of religious marital virtues with the biblical illustration, which radically imposed Calvinist values on the wedding day. The stylistic manner of epithalamia could be revived by Scaliger's guidance which was included in his *Poetices*.³⁵ Scaliger's six loci communes for writing professional epithalamia, structuring the occasional verses followed by the sequences of the appropriate poetical devices, such as the groom's desire for the bride, the praise of the couple, good wishes, an allusion to amorous mood of nuptial night, hopes for fruitfulness in offspring and fortune, and an appeal to the guests to depart and let the couple retire to the nuptial bed, were gradually being given a more religious weight.³⁶ The key concept of word and image of seventeenth-century Dutch epithalamia resulted in a Christian emulation of classical forms and ideas. The biblical foundation is the main source for the illustrations and occasional verses, showing how Calvinist poems severely toned down the references to the wedding night and carnal pleasure, and tended to replace such traditional epithalamic components with strict Christian dogmas.

The innovations in visual iconography generated by Calvinist fervour aimed to renew the themes of classic epithalamia on a biblical basis, and the illustration of the Garden of Eden is the typical visual match for the poetical device of hopes for fruitfulness in offspring and fortune, as it was highlighted in Scaliger's treatise, "In the fifth section the poem promises offspring, makes vows and engages in prophecy".³⁷ It was replaced in the 1629 illustration caption, "Crescite & multiplicamini: Zijt vruchtbaer, ende vermeerdert u. Gen. 1. 28". The epithalamic variation of the Garden of Eden in

Dutch ephemeral booklets shows that the conventional praise for the bridal couple was implemented by adapting heavily from the Bible, and the macrocosm and microcosm of God's paradise was the ideal visual concept to embellish the best wishes for nuptial couples to remind them of the love and togetherness of Adam and Eve in the wedding garden.

The epithalamic booklets of 1629 and 1630 could be born from the social changes after the Synod of Dordrecht. The previous examples in the middle of the religious disputes between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, the epithalamic booklets were mainly used by the immigrants from the Southern Netherlands to mark their entry into the economic and cultural domains of an elite milieu, and when their second generation had to find a stable social station in Amsterdam. The enjoyment of word and image in Dutch vernacular epithalamia was not only for entertaining the guests on a wedding day, but also for showcasing the trend as the additional expense in the list of the wedding preparations. The Protestant reception for the epithalamic genre was accelerated in the light of the pious and devotional love and togetherness of bride and groom, and the Bible was the main source for divers poetical and visual adaptations for an honourable Christian life. It is intriguing that the new introduction of the illustration of the Garden of Eden was differentiated from the purpose of early epithalamic booklets. It was prompted by the return of formerly exiled Remonstrants, who were eager to strengthen their unity and solidarity after the middle of 1620, and the two booklets show the confidence of those libertine group after being persecuted for their dogma, and their determination to display their liberty and solidarity through producing epithalamic booklets for the milieus of Buchelius and Rembrandt. The illustration of God's macrocosmic garden employed by Poppius and Stam could be seen as their longing to be together in Dutch Republic, as the world made by God should be harmonious for everyone.

Annotation

- (1) On illustrated Dutch epithalamic booklets see J. Yang, "Prayers at the Nuptial Bed: Spiritual Guidance on Consummation in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Epithalamia", in M. Faini and A. Meneghin (eds.), *Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern World*, Leiden/Boston, 2018, pp. 182-205; J. Yang, "Starter's Contribution to a Frisian Wedding", in P. Boersma, H. Brand and J. Spoelstra (eds.), *Philologia Frisica Anno 2012*, Leeuwarden 2014, pp.155-173; J. Yang, "Trusting Hands: The Dextrarum Iunctio in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Iconography", *Dutch Crossing*, on-line publication 2016, DOI:10.1080/03096564.2016.1139786.
- (2) T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*, New York 1899.

On the subject of Amsterdam mercantile patrons and their epithalamic booklets in terms of Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption see J. Yang, "Amsterdam Mercantile Adaptation for Conspicuous Epithalamic Illustrations" (Symposium paper for *Illustrating Love: From Myth to Manuel*, Georgia Museum of Art, March 2019).

- (3) Especially, Yang 2018, pp. 185 - 193.
- (4) Most of the seventeenth-century epithalamic booklets entered the collection of the National Library of the Netherlands through a purchase in 1866 at the Beijers book auction house in Utrecht.

According to the 1866 sale catalogue, it amounted to more than 2,000 items covering the period 1616 to 1820. Marriage poetry made up half of the collection, and was bound in 25 volumes. There is a note on the physical form of the private booklets stating that "some of these poems have fine engravings on the title pages and music with the verses ("Enkele dezer gedichten hebben fraaije gravuren op den titel, en muziek bij de verzen"). In 1982 José Bouman published and included the titles of other booklets of occasional poetry up until 1700 that are now in the National Library of the Netherlands. J. Bouman, *Nederlandse gelegenheidsgedichten voor 1700 in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te's-Gravenhage*, Nieuwkoop 1982. The wedding booklet of Pieter de Ruyscher and Sibilla Vorstius is catalogued under no. 163. The title page has been trimmed too close to the title letters, resulting in the partial loss of adjoining text.

- (5) For more about clasped right hands, the so-called dextrarum iunctio, see Yang 2016; B.M. du Mortier, "Giving Each Other the Right Hand: Weddings in the Seventeenth Century", in M. Stoter and J. Lange (eds.), exhib. cat. *Rembrandt & Saskia: Love and Marriage in the Dutch Golden Age*, Leeuwarden (Fries Museum) 2018-19, pp. 101 - 105.
- (6) J. de Buyser, *Christelijck Huysboeck ende het Eendrachtigh Gheluyt in den Geestelijcken Tempel Salomons, oft Gemeyn te Iesu Christi*, (anonymous publisher, place unknown) 1643, pp. 920 - 92, describes Pieter de Ruyscher as a servant of the Leiden civic authorities. De Buyser says that his parents brought him up in the Old Flemish congregation, in which he was baptized and married, and 'chosen for the service by the votes of the aforesaid Brothers, examined by the elders as regards the commandments of Paul, and also ordained in the service of the Word'. Pieter Pieter de Ruyscher the Elder, son of Jacob de Ruyscher. Pieter was a 'ribboner' or ribbon merchant by trade.
- (7) J. Pollmann, Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: *The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641)*, Manchester 1999, p.74: Claesje's father, Cornelis van Voorst, had originally been a pewterer, as had his own father and one of his brothers, but he became involved in the grain trade and graziery, and married three of his daughters to merchants.
- (8) Pollmann 1999, p. 116: "Buchelius was very pleased when his sister-in-law eventually decided upon Everardus Vortius from Delft, the private physician of the Countess of Nieuwenaar and Meurs. Vorstius rapidly made a name for himself as a doctor, and became the Leiden professor of medicine in 1598, as well as the personal physician to Stadholder Maurits".
- (9) A.B. van der Vies, "Huwelijksintekeningen vóór 1680 van Predikanten in de Kerkelijke Registers te Amsterdam", *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 39 (1921), col. 60; A.J. van der Aa, *Biographische Woordenboeck der Nederlanden*, 21 vols., Haarlem 1852-1878, vol.20, p.462. Wilhelmus Hericides van Wijck wrote *Christelijke Bedenkingen over Job*, which was published in 1647.
- (10) M. Stoter, "*Spes mea Christus*: The Marriage of Aeltje Uylenburgh and Jan Cornelis from Amsterdam", in Leeuwarden 2018-19, pp.53-57, esp. p.54: The Sylvius family Bible is in the

- Fondation Custodia library, shelf mark. 67486. See also B. Broos and G. Panhuysen, "Predikant Johannes Sylvius, Neef en Vriend van Saskia en Rembrandt", *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* (2006), pp.42-68.
- (11) Yang 2014, esp. pp. 158-162; J. Yang, "Visscher's Adornment for a Wedding", Claes Jansz. *Visscher and His Progeny* (Conference paper, Leiden University, January 2013).
 - (12) The cost of printing presses, paper and other running expenses in sixteenth-century printing shops are detailed in L.B. Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1969-1972, vol.2, pp.19-126, 133, 379-386.
 - (13) This information comes from a three-page annotation dated 12 August 2008: *Information H. Borst, August 2008*. p.1: "Paulus' letterkasten bevatten textura ('gotische letter'), romein en cursief in diverse maten, en hij beschikt ook over een vaak smaakvol toegepaste civilité-letter" ("Paulus's letter cases contain textura (Gothic letters), Roman and italic in various sizes, and he also had an tasteful civilité letter").. See also P. Dijstelberge, "Over de Oceaan en Terug: Een Auteur op Avontuur", in D. van der Hoek and S. van der Veen (eds.), *Papieren Pracht uit de Amsterdamse Gouden Eeuw: Geschenken van het Dr. Th.J. Steenbergen Fonds*, Amersfoort 2011, pp.144-151, 264-266, esp. p.147: "Zijn [Van Ravesteyn's] werk is superieur. Het papier is altijd van de beste kwaliteit, het drukwerk onberispelijk, de letters modern en onbeschadigd, de sierinitialen uniek. Ook aan de vormgeving besteedde hij meer aandacht dan in Amsterdam in het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw gebruik was" ("His [Van Racesteyn's] work is outstanding. The paper is always of the finest quality, the printing is impeccable, the letters modern and undamaged, the ornamental initials unique. He also devoted more care to the design than was usual in Amsterdam in the first quarter of the seventeenth century").
 - (14) The main source for the last year of the illustrated epithalamic booklets published by Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn is Bouman 1982. The last booklet was published in 1635, then his son Nicolaes van Ravesteyn succeeded to the epithalamic publication business which can be seen from 1636 onwards.
 - (15) F.A. van Lieburg, *Synodestad: Dordrecht 1619-1619*, Amsterdam 2019.
 - (16) A. van Houten, *Kerk aan de Laan: Geschiedenis van de Remonstrantse Broederschap te's -Gravenhage en Omstreken*, Hilversum 1996, pp. 39-46.
 - (17) C. Smeenk, *Dirck Pietersz. Pers, een Amsterdamse Boekverkoper in de Zeventiende Eeuw*, thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam 2009, pp.17-18. The 1629 booklet indicates who took the initiative for print production, as described in "Voor P.E. Poppius van Velsen Boeckvercooper, Woonende in de Heere-Straet in den Appelboom, 1629". The same illustration appeared in the 1630 booklet, but now the publisher's name was changed to "Ghedruckt by Ian Fredericksz Stam in de Hope. Anno M. DC. XXX". "Voor" means that Poppius had no printing press in Amsterdam, and that he ordered the print from an owner of a press who was very probably Jan Fredericksz Stam in this case.
 - (18) Veseler's nine nuptial booklets are catalogued in Bouman 1982, cat. nos. 93, 96, 98, 103, 108, 109, 113, 118, and 141. Stam also published 6 editions in Bouman 1982, cat. nos.160, 163, 166, 167, 188, and 287.
 - (19) On the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the Synod of Dordrecht, Eduard Poppius was recently revisited as the founder of the Remonstrantism in Gouda through a symposium at Sint-Jans Kerk in Gouda about his religious legacy (November 2019). The eighteenth-century craftsman and art collector Jan Stolker identified Rembrandt's portrait of an 83-year-old woman

- of 1634 (National Gallery, London, possibly Aechje Claesdr.) as the widow of Eduard Poppius, Francoise van Wassenhove, but it is not accepted as the correct identification in J. Bruyn *et al.*, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, 6 vols., The Hague, Dordrecht etc. 1982 - 2011, Vol II, p.576.
- (20) G. Brandt, *The History of the Reformation, and other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low-Countries*, London 1723, p.532.
- (21) P.J. Verkruijsse, "Holland "gedediceerd". Boekopdrachten in Holland in de 17e eeuw", *Kunst in opdracht in de Gouden Eeuw*, Special issue of *Holland* 23 (1991), pp.225-242. Petrus Poppius published his father's book *De Enge Poorte, ofte Predicatie over Eenighe Voortreffelijke Texten der Heyliger Schrifture* in 1630 in collaboration with the Rotterdam printing house owned by the widow of Matthijs Bastiaensz..
- (22) K.L. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands 1600-1640*, Leiden 1994, pp.102-103; A.F. Johnson, "J.F. Stam and English Bibles", *The Library*, vol. s5-IX (1954), pp.185-193; P.G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkoopers bij de Beurs*, Amsterdam and Maarssen 1987, pp.105-112. Joris Veseler was also pro-Arminian, as can be seen from his imprisonment and fine in 1621. Verseler died in 1624 and Stam married his widow in 1628, who was from Gouda, so it is also possible to assume that Stam and Poppius were connected through the Remonstrant network based in Gouda.
- (23) M. Warren, "A Shameful Spectacle: Cleas Jansz. Visscher's 1623 News Prints of Executed Dutch 'Arminians'", in J.R. Decker and M. Kirkland-Ives (eds.), *Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300-1650*, Burlington 2015, pp.207-230.
- (24) About the iconography of Visscher's 1616 epithalamic illustration, see Yang 2018, pp.187-189.
- (25) Aelius Everhardus Vosrtius declared his religious position towards the Counter-Remonstrants in his letters to his circle, including his brother-in-law Buchelius, showing himself to be a committed and pious Calvinist around the time of the Synod of Dordrecht. Moreover, the bride Sibilla Vorstius later married Franciscus Gomarus in 1652, who was the nephew of Franciscus Gomarus, the original figure of all religious disputes between the Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant factions in Leiden. This shows that a certain closeness with anti-libertine families was still present in the Vorstius and Van Vorst offspring. However, it should be carefully examined whether there was a clear division by a sectarian strife, especially in the circle around Vorstius and Buchelius. As Judith Pollmann demonstrated, the religious situation in this period was imperative of toleration with the bond of family, friendship and broader social network. For instance, Pollmann described the religious identity of Buchelius as not following a strict model, highlighting his personal social behaviours as if he was belonged to "the middle group" in Dutch society, maintain friendly relations with Arminians and Catholics had been maintained. See further Pollmann 1999, pp. 49-72. Moreover, the official position as the orthodox Calvinist preachers, Sylvius and Henricides were not able to support the Remonstrant leaders in public. Unlike his other colleagues in Amsterdam's Old Church, Sylvius did not attack the Remonstrants by writing pamphlets, and did not criticise the Arminians during the Synod of Dordrecht unlike other Calvinist ministers of Amsterdam's Old Church.
- (26) S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *De Jonge Rembrandt onder Tijdgenoten: Godsdienst en Schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam*, Rotterdam 2006, pp.13-51, 239-267.
- (27) J.E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795*, 2 vols., Haarlem 1903-1905, vol. I, pp. xcii, lxxiv, 173-175; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *Van Amsterdamse Burgers tot Europese Aristocraten*, 2 vols., The Hague 2008, vol.I, pp.184-187; J.G. van Dillen, *Van Rijkdom en Regent: Handboek tot de Economische en*

Sociale Geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek, The Hague 1970, pp.200, 311.

- (28) A. Herrin, "Pioneers of the Printed Paradise: Maarten de Vos, Jan Sadeler I & Emblematic Natural History in the Late Sixteenth Century", in K.A.E. Enenkel and P.J. Smith (eds.), *Zoology in Early Modern Culture (Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 32)*, Leiden 2014, pp.328 -400.
- (29) T. Doherty, M. Leonard, and J. Wadum, exhib. cat. Rubens and Brueghel: *A Working Friendship*, The Hague (Mauritshuis) and Malibu (the J. Paul Getty Museum), Zwolle 2006.
- (30) J. Cats, *Proteus ofte Minne-beelden Verandert in Sinne-beelden*, Rotterdam 1627, p.2; "Aen den Verstandighen Leser op de *TITEL-PRENT*. / Siet hier het woeste Bosch, en alle tamme dieren, / Siet hier de gansche lucht een naeckten Ionghen vieren, / Siet hier de Walle-visch en al het gladde vee / Te midden inden brant te midden inde zee. / Siet hier de menschen selfs uyt alle verre landen, / Uyt Noorden, daer het vriest, en uyt de dorre stranden, / Siet hier den swarten Moor, den geylen Indiaen, / Een yeder bid om strijt een blinden lekker aen. / Siet alderhande volck, siet vrouwen, knechten, heeren, / Siet boer en edelman haer malle tochten eeren. / En of al dees of geen wat plomper gaet te werck. / Sy hebben allegaer het eyghen oogh-gemerck; / Sy dienen al gelijck sy dienen haere lusten, / Het sy in onsen ringh, of in de verre kusten, / Het vier het dertel vier is over al gemeen. / De dieren met den mensch die woelen onder een. / Ach! soo ons dom verstant niet hoogher wort gedreven / Wy leyden al te mael een onvernuftich leven, / Wy gaen een blindenwegh naer ons het vlees gebiet, / En van de waere lust, en weet de Ziele niet. / Op op ghy *Menschen-kint*, klimt tot de wijze *Reden* / Op op ghy *Christen-mensch* klimt tot de reyne *Seden* : / Want die niet op en stijght uyt krachte vanden Geest, / Leeft niet als voor het vlees gelijck een ander beest".
- (31) E. Buijsen, "De *Sinne-cunst* van Adriaen van de Venne in Theorie en Praktijk", in: *Oud Holland* 128 (2015), pp.83 - 124.
- (32) An initialled name with V.G., *Brvylofs-ghedicht, toegheeyghent Den Eersamen [...] Pieter de Rvysscher. Ende [...] Sibilla Vorstivs, T'samen vergadert in den Echten-Staet tot Leyden, den ... Augusti 1629*, Amsterdam 1629, fol. 2v.; "Ick wensch dat d' Opper-Heer u soo veel gunst laet dalen, / Als Hemels teecken aen 'sHemels blaeuwe Salen, / Als Zanden zijn in Zee, of op de woeste strandt, / Als hayrtjes op het Vee, als grasen op het landt".
- (33) An initialled name with I.V.G., *Brvylofs-hof, ter eeren den welwaardighen, seer-gheleerden ionghman, Gvilielmvs Henricides bruydegom. Ende [...] Maria Iohannis Sylvia*, Amsterdam 1630, fol. 2r.; "In t' swerelts kreupel-bosch, daer scherp ghekante steenen / En onghestreeelde kley, den reysers last vereenen, / In't vocht-drinckende sandt, in't kluwenighe stof, / O seldsaem fundament ick bouw' een vaster Hof. / [...] Een Hof dat d'oude Vrou, / Natura, uyt meedooghen / Van't welwaerdighe volck, uyt haer betraende ooghen, / Soo mildich heeft bedouwt met silver- blaeuwe vloet, / Dat't steken van de Son, coelend' verflaeuwen doet".
- (34) *Ibid.*; "En daer den Dadel-boom sijn toppen neycht, en sucht, / En 't Vrouwe-struyckje vleyt om d'aenghename vrucht. / Daer d' witte Populier benevelt d' hooghe pinnen / Van 't prachtighe ghebou, dat sijn glinst' righe tinnen / Vertooght der lievers pijn: en 'tschier beswerken paer / Door versche hoop verquickt: uytbeeldt het soet ghebaer, / Van d' heuchelijcke feest hier voormaels wel ghehouwen, / In *Zabulons* gheslacht de mindere landtsdouwen, / Daer 't maeghdelijck gheboort, het eeuwich Godes beeldt / Sijn laetste wonderdaen heerlijk heeft voorghespeelt".
- (35) I.C. Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem / Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, M. Fuhrmann and L. Deitz

(eds. and trans.), 6 vols., Stuttgart Bad-Cesar 1994- 2003, vol. III, pp.64 and 66.

(36) Yang 2018, esp. pp.186 -189.

(37) Scaliger 1994 -2003, p.66; "*Quinto loco sobolem pollicerur, vota facit, vaticinator*".

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