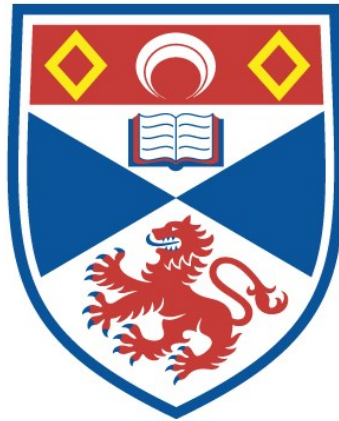# THE THEME OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS AS PART OF THE LAST JUDGEMENT ICONOGRAPHY IN FLANDERS AND ITALY IN THE LATE 15TH AND THE 16TH CENTURIES

Josephine Mary Alexander

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
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ABSTRACT

The parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is told in Matthew's Gospel, Ch.25, v1-13, as an allegory of the Last Judgement. This thesis sets out to examine firstly, how closely the parable is related to the iconography of the Last Judgement in the art of the 15th and 16th centuries; secondly to demonstrate how its interpretation came to be broadened by association with other biblical themes, themselves part of the Last Judgement iconography.

Part I traces the origins and development of the theme from early Christian times to the 15th century. In these early sources the artistic tradition of linking the parable to the Last Judgement was first established; the Wise and Foolish Virgins were also linked with Ecclesia and Synagogue and with the Virtues and Vices; and the typological tradition of biblical illustration broadened the theme further by pairing it with other biblical feasts.

Appendix I is a handlist of the Wise and Foolish Virgins up till the late 15th century and it illustrates how popular the theme had become by the Middle Ages.

Part II treats the parable in the late 15th and the 16th centuries. Chapter I looks at examples of Wise and Foolish Virgins in prints and drawings in the early years of the 16th century, and demonstrates how the virgins were treated individually, how the theme was secularised and tended to degenerate, sometimes into mere costume studies of contemporary, fashionably-dressed maidens; sometimes into rather sensual nudes.

Chapter II shows the theme restored to its original biblical context by Netherlandish artists; while Chapter

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III examines how later Northern artists, greatly influenced by contem-
porary drama and philosophy, bestowed upon the theme certain wider
interpretations and depicted it with strong moral and didactic overtones.

Chapter IV examines the contributions
of Hans Eworth, Marten de Vos, and Crispin de Passe the Elder to the theme,
and shows how the ideas of both the Renaissance and Reformation influenced
these artists in their portrayals of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

Chapter V treats the theme as it
appeared in Italian art - notably in renderings by Parmigianino and
Tintoretto.

Chapter VI draws conclusions and sees
the theme essentially as a mirror reflecting the social, philosophical and
religious climate in 16th century Europe.

Finally, a handlist of the Wise and
Foolish Virgins in the late 15th and the 16th centuries concludes the
study.

THE THEME OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS AS PART OF

THE LAST JUDGEMENT ICONOGRAPHY IN FLANDERS AND ITALY

IN THE LATE 15th AND THE 16th CENTURIES.

NAME: Josephine Mary Alexander

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of

Philosophy, University of St. Andrews, 1981.

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CERTIFICATION

I certify that Mrs. J. M. Alexander has
completed three terms of research work in the
University of St. Andrews, that she has fulfilled
the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations
of the University Court, and that she is qualified
to submit the accompanying thesis in application
for the degree of Master of Philosophy.

PROFESSOR J. R. STEER.

SUPERVISOR.

DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that the following is a record of the research work carried out by me, that the thesis is my own composition, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree in the University of St. Andrews or elsewhere.

signed

St. Andrews,

April, 1981.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

who were always willing to make prints in a hurry, and without whose assistance the photographic content of this thesis could not have been completed ; and to Mrs. Dorothy Hutton whose care and accuracy in typing has produced the final manuscript.

My greatest personal thanks, however, goes to my husband, to whom I dedicate this thesis. Without his continued support, inspiration, patience and unerring faith in my ability, this study would never have reached its final state. To Richard, who has learned to play quietly while his mother studied, I offer my apologies and gratitude.

To all the people and institutions mentioned, and to any unwittingly omitted, I owe my deepest appreciation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

15. Strasbourg Cathedral.   West facade, right (South) portal.
    (1280-1300).

16. Strasbourg Cathedral.   West facade, right (South) portal. Detail
    of <u>Bridegroom & a Wise Virgin</u>. (1280-1300).

17. Strasbourg Cathedral.   West facade, right (South) portal. Detail
    of <u>Prince of the World & the Foolish Virgins</u>. (1280-1300).

18. Nuremberg, St. Sebaldus.   North side, East door, "Brauttür" -
    <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u>. (early 14thC).

19. Dura-Europos.   Baptistery. (3rdC) General view of reconstruction.
    (Now in New Haven, Yale University, Art Gallery).

20. Dura-Europos. Baptistery. (3rdC) Reconstruction. Detail of
    <u>Good Shepherd</u> on end wall. (New Haven, Yale University, Art
    Gallery).

21. Dura-Europos.   Baptistery. (3rdC) Reconstruction. Wall with
    <u>Wise Virgins</u>. (New Haven, Yale University, Art Gallery).

22. Dura-Europos.   Baptistery. (3rdC) Pijoan's Reconstruction. (New
    Haven, Yale University, Art Gallery).

23. St. Quirce de Pedret.   Catalan fresco of the <u>Wise and Foolish
    Virgins</u>.   Detail of <u>four Foolish Virgins and Ecclesia</u>.(10-12thC).

24. St. Quirce de Pedret.   Catalan fresco of the <u>Wise and Foolish
    Virgins</u>.   Detail of <u>two Wise Virgins</u>. (10-12thC).

25. Rome, S. Ciriaca.   Catacomb fresco of the <u>Wise and Foolish
    Virgins</u>. (4thC).

26. <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u>.   Codex Purpureus Rossanensis.
    Lectionary.   Rossano, Archbishop's Palace. fol.2v. (6thC).

27. <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins & the Feast of Belshazzar</u>. Speculum
    <u>Humanae Salvationis</u>.   Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Clm 146,
    fol.43r. (c1448).

28. Christ-Judge & the Parable of the Talents. Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Clm 146, fol.43v.(c1448).

29. Wise and Foolish Virgins & the Feast of Belshazzar. Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 43, 1950 Spec. No.35, fol. 18r.

30. Wise and Foolish Virgins & Queen Esther's Banquet. Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Cambridge University, Add. 6447, Chapter 40, fol.45.

31. Wise and Foolish Virgins & Mary Magdalen. Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Haarlem, Gemeentemuseum. (1483).

32. Wise and Foolish Virgins. Detail of plate 31.

33. Lucas Moser. Magdalen Altarpiece. (Signed and dated 1432). (Tiefenbronn Church).

34. Wise and Foolish Virgins. Speculum Virginium. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Co. Phill. No. 1701 Saec.XII .fol.67r.

35. Last Judgement. Illustrated Bible. Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Cod.2772.fol.56r. (c1460).

36. Wise and Foolish Virgins. Illustrated Bible. Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Cod.2772.fol.56v.(c1460).

37. Martin Schongauer. 1st Wise Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

38. Martin Schongauer. 2nd Wise Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

39. Martin Schongauer. 3rd Wise Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

40. Martin Schongauer. 4th Wise Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

41. Martin Schongauer. 5th Wise Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

42. Martin Schongauer. 1st Foolish Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

43. Martin Schongauer. 2nd Foolish Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

44. Martin Schongauer. 3rd Foolish Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

45. Martin Schongauer. 4th Foolish Virgin. Engraving (c1480).

46. Martin Schongauer. 5th <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Engraving. (c1480)

47. Martin Schongauer. <u>Christ enthroned between two angels</u>. Engraving.

48. <u>Christ enthroned between the Wise and Foolish Virgins</u>. Gradual. Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Ms.5011, p628.(c1480).

49. Martin Schongauer. <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Engraving. (c1490).

50. Martin Schongauer. <u>Standing Girl</u>. Pen drawing. (Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Kunst).

51. Martin Schongauer. <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Pen drawing. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum).

52. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Girl with yarnwinder</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

53. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Foolish Virgin with broken Lamp</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

54. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Girl with fur-trimmed cloak</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

55. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schonauger. <u>Girl with Mirror</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

56. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Wise Virgin</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

57. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Wise Virgin</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

58. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Girl holding her dress</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel,Kupferstichkabinett).

59. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Wise Virgin with a Turban</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

60. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Foolish Virgin with a Turban</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

61. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Foolish Virgin with</u>
<u>Headdress</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

62. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Pen
drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

63. Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer. <u>Foolish Virgin with</u>
<u>Headdress</u>. Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

64. Albrecht Dürer. <u>Wise Virgin</u>. Pen drawing. (London, Count Seil-
ern Collection) (c1493)

65. Albrecht Dürer. <u>Wise Virgin.</u> Pen drawing (Vienna, Albertina
Museum) (c1494-5).

66. Urs Graf after Martin Schongauer. <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Engraving.
(Basel, Kupferstichkabinett). (c1513 ?).

67. Urs Graf. <u>Venus as a Foolish Virgin</u>. Engraving. (Basel, Kupfer-
stichkabinett). (Signed and dated 1513).

68. Urs Graf. <u>Venus riding on the clouds.</u> Pen drawing. (Nuremberg,
Germanisches Nationalmuseum). (c1521).

69. Urs Graf. <u>Wise Virgin.</u> Pen drawing. (Basel, Öffentliche
Sammlung) (c1513).

70. Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Charcoal drawing. (Basel,Kupfer-
stichkabinett (c1516-17) One of a set of five sheets of <u>Foolish</u>
<u>Virgins</u>.

71. Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Woodcut. (Basel
Kupferstichkabinett). (c1518). One of a series.

72. Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Woodcut. (Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett). (c1518). Another of the same series
as plate 71.

73. Master of the Antwerp Adoration of the Kings. <u>The Ascension.</u>
Panel painting. (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum. Inv.No.
441) (1st ¼ of 16thC).

74. Master of the Antwerp Adoration of the Kings. <u>Christ before</u>
    <u>Caiphas</u>. Panel painting. (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum,
    Inv. No. 440) (1st ¼ of 16thC).

75. Master of the Antwerp Adoration of the Kings. <u>Temptation of Christ</u>
    <u>in the Desert ; Wise and Foolish Virgins ; Christ and the Virgin</u>
    <u>kneeling before God the Father</u>. 3 panels. Destroyed. (formerly
    in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum) (1st ¼ of 16C).

76. Vrancke van der Stockt. <u>Last Judgement</u>. Panel painting. (Berlin-
    Dahlem Picture Gallery Cat. No. 600) (late 15thC).

77. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Last Judgement</u>. Triptych. (Utrecht, Archie-
    piscopal Museum) (after 1550).

78. Lucas van Leyden. <u>Last Judgement</u>. Triptych. (Leyden, Stedelijk
    Museum) (1526-7).

79. Bernard van Orley. <u>Last Judgement</u>. Triptych. (Antwerp, Musées
    Royaux des Beaux-Arts) (1525).

80. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Death</u>. Preparatory drawing for Plate 77.
    (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett). (1550).

81. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Christ-Judge</u>. Preparatory drawing for Plate
    77. (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett). (c1550).

82. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Wise Virgins</u>. Detail of Plate 77.

83. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Foolish Virgins</u>. Detail of Plate 77.

84. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Last Judgement</u>. One side of a double-sided
    panel. (Münster, Landesmuseum). (c1555).

85. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Last Judgement</u>. Preparatory sketch for Plate
    84. (Vienna, Albertina Collection).

86. <u>Refraining from Good Works</u>. Woodcut illustration for Ch. 106 of
    Sebastian Brant's <u>Das Narrenschiff</u>. (1494).

87. Pieter Bruegel the Elder. <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u>. Engraving.
    (New York, Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Foundation).
    (c1560-1)

130. Tintoretto. <u>Washing of the Feet</u>. Painting (Wilton House). (c1545).

131. Tintoretto. <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins.</u> Painting. (Rotterdam, Boymans-van-Beuningen Museum). (c1547-8).

132. Tintoretto. <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u>. Painting. (National Trust, Upton House, Warwickshire). (1548).

133. Tintoretto. <u>Last Supper</u>. Painting. (Venice, S. Trovaso). (c1560).

134. Tintoretto, school of. <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u>. Painting. (Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection). (c1548).

REFERENCE.

New Testament - Matthew Ch. 25, v1-13.

Vulgate Text.

"Tunc simile erit regnum caelorum decem virginibus : quae
accipientes lampades suas exierunt obviam sponso et sponsae.
Quinque autem ex eis erant fatuae, et quinque prudentes : sed
quinque fatuae, acceptis lampadibus, non sumpserunt oleum secum :
prudentes vero acceperunt olem in vasis suis cum lampadibus. Moram
autem faciente sponso, dormitaverunt omnes et dormierunt. Media
autem nocte clamor factus ets : Ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam
ei. Tunc surrexerunt omnes virgines illae, et ornaverunt lampades
suas. Fatuae autem sapientibus dixerunt : Date nobis de oleo
vestro : quia lampades nostrae extinguuntur. Responderunt
prudentes, dicentes : Ne forte non sufficiat nobis, et vobis,
ite potius ad vendentes, et emite vobis. Dum autem irent emere,
venit sponsus : et quae parate erant, intraverunt cum eo ad
nuptias, et clausa est ianua. Novissime vero veniunt et reliquae
virgines, dicentes : Domine, Domine, aperi nobis. At ille
respondens, ait : Amen, dico vobis, nescio vos. Vigilate, itaque,
quia nescitis diem, neque horam".

Modern Translation (King James Authorised Version)

"Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which
took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five
of them were wise and five were foolish. They that were foolish
took their lamps, and took no oil with them : But the wise took oil
in their vessels with their lamps. While the bridegroom tarried, they
all slumbered and slept. And at midnight there was a cry made,
Behold the bridegroom cometh ; go ye out to meet him. Then

all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish

said unto the wise, Give us of your oil ; for our lamps are gone

out. But the wise answered saying, Not so ; lest there be not

enough for us and you : but go ye rather to them that sell, and

buy for yourselves. And while they went to buy, the bridegroom

came ; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage ;

and the door was shut. Afterwards came also the other Virgins,

saying, Lord, Lord open to us. But he answered and said, Verily, I

say unto you, I know you not. Watch therefore, for ye know neither

the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh."

CONTEXT.

The above parable belongs to the final

section of the Gospel of St. Matthew. In the final chapters, the gos-

pel mounts steadily to a climax, and, according to F.W. Green in his

Gospel according to St. Matthew[1], the author uses every opportunity to

heighten the drama of the denouement, namely the Last Judgement.

Unlike the other gospel writers, Matthew

separates the theme of vigilance from that of unexpectedness on the final

day. The injunction to stay awake in Chapter 24, v.42, "Watch there-

fore : for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come.", is repeated in

the last verse of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Chapter

25,v.13) and this indicates that the three parables included between

Chapter 24,v.42 and Chapter 25,v.13, namely that of the thief in the

night ; the Good and Bad servant ; and the Wise and Foolish Virgins,

are to be bracketed together and viewed as aspects illustrating the

same main point of warning to be vigilant and prepared for the coming

of the Lord.

The parable of the Wise and Foolish

Virgins is regarded by F.W. Green[2], H.B. Green[3], A.H. McNeile[4] and

others in their commentaries on this gospel, as the feminine counter-

part of the preceding parable of the Good and Bad servant. Accord-
ing to McNeile[5], the Virgins are symbolic of the Christian Church,
their sleep representing the period of waiting after death before
the final judgement. The bridegroom is intended to represent Christ
and his delay is again symbolic of the uncertainty of the exact dur-
ation of the waiting period before Judgement day. There are fairly
precise traces of Palestinian or Syrian marriage customs beneath the
detail of the parable, and these customs would require that the Vir-
gins would be maidservants at the house of the bride's father.

There is no intended blame attached to
the fact that all the Virgins fall asleep, but the implication is that
the Wise could sleep the sleep of the just, while the Foolish wasted
the time in which they could have rectified their mistake of failing
to bring enough oil. The oil has been variously interpreted, but,
broadly, may be taken to represent all that was necessary for a state
of preparedness, the point being that at the crucial moment of judge-
ment, it will be futile to depend on others for one's salvation.

The Wise Virgins' reply is to be taken
as inevitable, rather than selfish, since sharing the oil would result
in no lamps having enough to be functional. It is significant, however,
that the following parable is that of the Talents (Matthew, Chapter 25,
v.14-30) and obviously, the thought of making fruitful and wise use of
one's allotted time was in Matthew's mind.

Clearly, then, the parable, in its
original biblical context is to be viewed as one of a group of alleg-
ories foretelling the coming of the Son of Man on the day of Judge-
ment. A warning to be ready for that day is sounded clearly and there
is perhaps some exhortation too, in Matthew's account, to make wise

and fruitful use of one's time. The parable is firstly an allegory
on the Last Judgement and an injunction to man to be vigilant and
prepared for the coming of the Son of Man.

INTRODUCTION.

The main purpose of this study is to look closely at the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins as part of the iconography of the Last Judgement, in the late 15th and the 16th centuries. There are, however, so many instances of artistic renderings of this subject in the preceding centuries, that it would be wrong to ignore this large corpus of early examples. It seemed necessary to examine some of the early sources of the parable, in order to put the 15th and 16th century examples in their proper artistic context. By tracing the development of the theme from its origins in the early Christian era through to the medieval period, the early iconographic development of the subject may be clearly demonstrated.

Part I must be viewed primarily as background material, as the environment whence the later works appeared, and as an introduction to the main body of the research which is incorporated in Part II. Indeed, Part I may serve to illustrate just how popular the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins had become by medieval times. If the medieval period saw the flowering of the theme, however, it was the 16th century which was to witness new and divergent developments in its iconography, before the theme disappeared into obscurity by the end of the century.

This preliminary chapter sets out

to investigate some of the early sources, to trace some of the
instances where the parable appears in different artistic med-
iums, and to throw light on the possible reasons for its pop-
ularity as a choice of artistic subject.   At the end of the
chapter, I have included a preliminary handlist of artistic
renderings of the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins from
early Christian times up till the end of the 15th century.[1]
A logical mind might hope that the early sources would be
dealt with in chronological order.   It has proved more
satisfactory, however, to consider first of all, the sculp-
tural cycles of the Gothic cathedrals of the 12th and the 13th
centuries, where much of the most important iconography and
symbolism occurred.

2. SOURCES.

   a) SCULPTURAL CYCLES.

                         It was in the sculpted
cycles of the Gothic cathedrals in France and Germany, in the
12th and the 13th centuries, in Amiens, Chartres, Laon,
Sens, Basel, Berne, Freiburg, Magdeburg, Strasbourg,
and others that the theme of the Wise amd Foolish Virgins

Virgins first became popular. It seems to have been widely
believed that the millenium, or the reign of Christ on earth, would
commence in the year 1000AD [2] and when it failed to come about,
Christian teaching began to lay emphasis on the concept of the Last
Judgement. It is not unnatural at such times, that man's thoughts
should turn to his ultimate destiny, and this factor must surely
be one of the reasons for the widespread representations of the Last
Judgement in the Middle Ages. The linking of the Wise and Foolish
Virgins to the Last Judgement was to become prevalent in the 12th
century, in the sculptural decorations of several French Gothic
cathedrals, and in the later German sculptural cycles the theme
was modified, developed and transformed.

In French sculpture the Virgins
were conceived as a subordinate motif. The more important figures
of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the apostles and disciples and the
Prophets occupy the more prominent places in the sculptural decora-
tion, - these appear in portals, tympani, and niches, while the Wise
and Foolish Virgins are placed as adornments on doorposts [3] and in
other cases on the inner arch of an archivolt.[4] In the church of
St. Denis [PLATE 1] (c1140) the parable is, for the first time in
sculpture, linked with the Last Judgement.[5] The arrangement is very
interesting as it interprets the actual doorway of the church as the
Gate of Paradise. The West Portal, centre doorway depicts the Last
Judgement and the Virgins are placed on either side of the door,
adorning the doorposts, the Wise on the side of the Chosen and the
Foolish on the side of the Damned. At first sight, the number seems
incomplete, until one looks up to the tympanum to see one Wise
Virgin near the Gate of Heaven and one Foolish on the threshold

of Hell. The association of the parable with Last Judgement icon-
ography was continued in other French sculpture cycles,[6] the same
programme being repeated in Last Judgement portals in both Notre-
Dame in Paris [PLATE 2] and at Amiens Cathedral [PLATES 3,4].
At Sens Cathedral [PLATE 5] there is an interesting addition. The
Wise Virgins are on the left and the Foolish on the right doorpost
of the West portal. Above the archivolt are two medallions. The
one above the Wise Virgins shows an open door with the Bridegroom
waiting ; that above the Foolish Virgins shows a door which is
firmly closed. In short, the 12th & 13th centuries saw the tradition
of associating the Wise and Foolish Virgins with the Last Judgement
firmly established in French cathedral sculpture.

In the 13th century, in French sculpture
the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was occasionally included
in portals devoted to the Virgin Mary, the latter being seen as a
Wise Virgin par excellence. This programme was used, for example,
at Chartres Cathedral [PLATE 6] and at St.-Thibault-en-Auxois
[PLATE 7]. The iconography is complex, but originally the traditional
figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue were linked to the figures of the
Wise and Foolish Virgins in the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of
Hohenbourg, c1170 (fol.251r and 253v) [PLATES 8,9]. The Wise
Virgins appear in the illustration of the Last Judgement along
with the Apostles and Martyrs of the Church, while the Foolish are
places alongside the Jews and heretics.[7]

The link was further developed in
liturgical drama, where Ecclesia and the Wise Virgins represent the
Chosen, while Synagogue and the Foolish Virgins represent the
Damned.[8] It was both the literature of the Hortus Deliciarum and

and the drama of the medieval plays which was to inspire the
sculptors of the Cathedral cycles in their choice of subject matter.[9]

The two themes became so intertwined
in drama and art that symbols were sometimes transferred. In
Tournai Cathedral, in the Shrine of St. Eleutherus (1247) the
figure of Synagogue carries an upturned oil-lamp,the symbol of the
Foolish Virgins [PLATE 10]; while in the late 12th century Parish
Church at Moissat, in the Chapel of St. Lomer, the figure of
Ecclesia bears the lighted oil-lamp of the Wise Virgins [PLATE 11].
A similar migration of iconographic symbols is seen in the Marienkirche
at Lübeck. On the baptismal font by Hans Apengeter (1337) three of the
Foolish Virgins carry broken standards and rams' heads, emblems of
Synagogue [PLATE 12].

The later Marian cult of connecting the
Virgin Mary with Ecclesia[10] explains how the tradition of regarding
Mary as a kind of supreme example of a Wise Virgin arose. The linking
of the Virgin with Ecclesia and of Ecclesia and Synagogue with the
Wise and Foolish Virgins, also explains the rapid rise in popularity
of the parable in sculptural Cathedral decoration during the 13th and
14th centuries.

By the end of the 13th century, first
at Madgeburg (c1245) [PLATES 13,14] and then at Strasbourg,
Freiburg, Nuremberg, Basel, Berne and Münster, German sculptors
had taken the French theme and transformed it by monumentalising it.
They had raised the statues of the Wise and Foolish Virgins to the
larger proportions and to the more prominent positions of the
Apostles, Prophets and Saints.

At Strasbourg (1280-1300), the
parable of the virgins appears on the right (South) portal of the
West facade. The tympanum of the central portal portrays the life
of Christ from his entry into Jerusalem to the Ascension.[11] In the
niches, the monumental figures of the prophets are depicted. The
left (North) portal depicts, on the tympanum, scenes from Christ's
early life, while the personifications of the Virtues and Vices
occupy the niches on either side of the doorway. The tympanum of
the right [PLATE 15] portal contains the resurrection of the dead,
the separation of the Chosen and the Damned and Christ in Judgement.
The Wise and Foolish Virgins, with the new additions of the Bride-
groom [PLATE 16] and the Tempter or "Prince of the World", [PLATE 17]
are arranged in the niches on either side of the portal. The Virgins
and their companions, and the personifications of the Virtues and
Vices are on the same monumental scale as the figures of the prophets.
In addition to this new monumentality, the iconography of the Wise
and Foolish Virgins is developed in a new direction at Strasbourg.
For the first time in art, the theme is linked with the Virtues and
Vices. In short, the Wise Virgins, the Bridegroom, Virtues, the
Elect and also the figure of Ecclesia,[12] are all opposed by the
corresponding figures of the Foolish Virgins, the Tempter, Vices
the Damned and the figure of Synagogue.

Germany broadened the theme too, and
did not always restrict the Wise and Foolish Virgins to portals of
the Last Judgement or of the Virgin Mary. At St-Sebald in Nuremberg,
for example, the Virgins decorate the so-called "Portal of the Bridal
Couple" [PLATE 18] to serve as a lesson to newly-weds, and here the
parable appears perhaps in its most literal context as a nuptial theme.

b) DURA-EUROPOS FRESCO

The popularisation of the Wise and
Foolish Virgins in sculptural cycles, and more specifically, the
linking of the parable with other religious themes, was to have a
strong influence on 15th and 16th century art, but long before this
popularisation, the Virgins had made their first appearance. In the
3rd century, in a house in the Syrian town of Dura-Europos, the
theme was linked with baptismal rites.[13] This house was discovered
shortly after the First World War,[14] and the remains of it were
moved to the Art Gallery of Yale University, where they have been
reconstructed [PLATE 19]. The baptistry was simply one room in the
house set apart for Christian worship.[15] It appears to have been a
long rectangular-shaped room with a wooden roof. A stone font stood
at one end. Behind the font, on the end wall, the Good Shepherd
is depicted [PLATE 20] with a lamb on his shoulders and the rest
of his flock around him. To the lower left of the composition Adam
and Eve are visible in the Garden of Eden. The message would appear
to be that the Good Shepherd (Christ) has come to redeem man from
his state of original sin (Adam). Less than half of the paintings
remain on the other walls, but the scheme seems to have depicted
the miracles of Christ - St. Peter walking on the water and the
healing of the paralytic testify to this. The lower section of the
walls contains much larger figures on a red ground, and only one
scene can be clearly deciphered [PLATE 21]. It was first believed[16]
to be the three Marys at the Sepulchre - the fact that three figures
were visible was the chief reason for suggesting that it might be
this scene. L. Reau[17] and others have now claimed that it is in
fact the five Wise Virgins of whom two are missing. It is

interesting to speculate as to why the Wise Virgins should appear in a baptismal context, but clearly, to a Christian, the way to salvation is impossible without Baptism. "... except a man be born of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God".(John 3, v.5) - so that, once baptised, the way would be open to follow the ways of the Wise Virgins to eternal salvation.

On the other hand, Pijoan[18] argues that the room may not have been a baptistry but a chapel where, traditionally the virgins baked the unleavened bread to be used in Communion services. Since it was virgins who were responsible for baking the bread, the parable of the virgins is entirely appropriate. Pijoan makes his own reconstruction [PLATE 22] and claims that the room was much longer than it appears in the Yale University model. He maintains that there is space for another two Wise Virgins along the wall beside the three that are visible. He further claims that on the adjacent wall (i.e. the one making a right angle with the wall where the Wise Virgins appear) there are the remains of another five female figures and he suggests that these might in all probability be the Foolish Virgins. Certainly Pijoan's ingenious reconstruction makes sense, and his suggestion that the scene is the Wise Virgins and not the three Marys at the sepulchre is further supported by his mention of the fact that the large star visible, would seem to indicate that the scene is set at night. While the timing is correct for the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins,[19] it would hardly be appropriate for the scene at the sepulchre, for scripture states[20] that the Marys went to the tomb at dawn, when no lamps would be necessary and no stars would be shining. Perkins[21] agrees with Pijoan on the reconstruction, but claims the scene is two

episodes in a narrative - depicted in two halves - of the Holy Women
at the tomb. The first scene on the end wall is the women arriving
at the tomb. They progress through the door to the sepulchre itself.
In the Gospel of St. Mark, Chapter 16 v 5, it is recorded that the
three Holy Women went into the sepulchre. While Perkins' argument
seems to make sense, it must be noted that if he agrees with the
reconstruction, he allows for five women at the tomb. Also, there
is no mention in scripture of the women at the tomb carrying lamps
or tapers. The number of Holy Women varies according to which
Gospel one reads. Mark (Ch.16 v 1) mentions three, and this is the
most usually depicted number. Matthew (Ch. 28 v 1) however, mentions
only two Marys and artists have occasionally followed Matthew's
version.[22] There never seems to have been more than three Marys
depicted, and since there is space in the Dura-Europos fresco for
five figures, Perkins' argument cannot be taken seriously. Pijoan's
theory is by far the most plausible and likely interpretation of
the original intention.

Pijoan makes some illuminating
remarks about the part of the fresco to the left of the Wise Virgins -
the part that was formerly taken to be the tomb,[23] and also about
the fresco of the Wise and Foolish Virgins from the church of
S. Quirce de Pedret (10-12th Century) which he suggests might be
the link between the Dura-Europos fresco and the sculptural cycles
of the French and German cathedrals.

The Romanesque frescoes at S. Quirce
in the now deserted town of Pedret, have been the focal point for a
re-examination of Catalan church decoration.[24] Attempts have been
made by Muns[25] and others[26] to date these frescoes, but damage

to the architecture and subsequent remodelling and renovation of
the church have combined to destroy much of the original fresco and
to render any attempt at dating on stylistic grounds almost impo-
ssible.

The parable of the Wise and Foolish
Virgins [PLATES 23,24] appears on the right apse and was originally
paired on the left apse with another banqueting scene.[27] So damaged
is the latter that the subject is no longer clear, but Pijoan[28]
suggests it is the Apostles seated at a table. Post[29] claims it could
be the Last Supper or the Feast in the House of Simon but favours the
Marriage Feast at Cana, on the grounds that the forms appear to be
feminine.

The Wise and Foolish Virgins are
presented on either side of the apse at the right or epistle side of
the church. The first three Wise Virgins have all but disappeared
with the piercing of the wall into the sanctuary - only their heads
remain. The fourth and fifth are seated (as presumably were the first
three) at the wedding feast. They wear crowns and hold lighted tapers.
A hand, presumably that of the Bridegroom, is extended over the table
and the additional figure of the archangel Gabriel is present at
the feast. Above, on a frieze, are the words QVIQVE PRVTETE (quinque
prudentes). Beyond the Wise Virgins is a small window and beyond
that, the standing figures of four of the original Foolish Virgins,
bearing inverted tapers. Their oil jugs lie on the ground beside
them.

The fresco is completed by the
allegorical figure of Ecclesia. Her head is surrounded by a halo,
she holds a leafy branch in her right hand and sits enthroned upon

a miniature basilica. It is this personification of Ecclesia which
leads Pijoan to suggest the influence of the Christian East, and
more particularly, of the Syrian house of Dura-Europos on the
Catalan fresco. He draws a parallel between the temple or sepulchre
building in the Dura-Europos mural and the personification of
Ecclesia in S. Quirce de Pedret.[30]

                         While Pijoan suggests the influence
of Eastern Christianity on this Catalan fresco, it is likely that
contemporary liturgical drama was a more immediate source. Around
1100, a play from Ripoll in Catalonia[31] which presented the story of
the Marys at the sepulchre and the Resurrection, was performed during
the Easter watchnight service.[32] This vigil took place, and still
does, on the evening of Holy Saturday and continues into the early
hours of Easter Sunday morning. Part of the ceremony involves the
blessing of the new fire and lighted candles are handed out to the
congregation. This is symbolic of the faithful watching and waiting
for the coming of the Lord. A Catalan Missal[33] of this time contains
a passage during the Easter service (as the new fire is being
blessed) where the priest tells the watchnight congregation;

> "Dignum est ut sponsi coruscantis adventum accensis presto-
>   letur fidelis turba luminibus;   ne nuptialis habitaculi
>   respuat habere consortes;quos sub veterum umbraculo pecca-
>   torum invenerit dormientes .... " [34]

Thus the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is linked to the
Easter liturgy. Another play from Limoges, called the Sponsus,[35]
tells the story of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Axton[36] suggests
that a play on this theme must have been known around the mid-
11th century in Catalonia, since it is in the Sponsus that the

angel Gabriel first appears along with the Virgins at the wedding feast, as he is presented with them in S. Quirce de Pedret. Liturgical drama was clearly an important source for artists. This tradition continued throughout the next five centuries and will be considered in Part II, in the light of its impact on 16th century depictions of the parable.

c) CATACOMBS

The portrayal of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in frescoes, started at Dura-Europos, was continued in the catacombs in Rome. In S. Ciriaca (4th Century A.D.) [PLATE 25], for example, the theme is depicted in a fairly literal and straightforward manner. The figure of Christ is flanked on one side by the Wise Virgins with their torches burning brightly, and on the other, by the Foolish Virgins all with their torches unlit and the three foremost ones with them inverted as of to emphasize the utter hopelessness of their situation. In these early renderings there is none of the complex iconography which characterises some of the later examples, such as the cathedral cycles already looked at.

d) TYPOLOGY

No survey of the sources and early examples in art of the parables of the Wise and Foolish Virgins would be adequate without reference to the general theory of typology and a brief explanation of its application in this case.

In the early Christian theology the events and characters of the Old Testament were regarded as precursors of the New Testament. This is a standard tradition,[37] which actually has its source in the bible itself, where Christ says,

> "Search ye the scriptures (i.e. the Old Testament); for
> in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they
> which testify of me".   (John 5 v 39)

and again in Luke 24 v 44,

> ".........All things must be fulfilled which were
> written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets,
> and in the psalms concerning me".

Early examples of typological illustrations in art, appeared in the catacombs in Rome[38] and became increasingly popular in early Christian church decoration. Some examples of the correspondence between the Old and New Testaments include the brazen serpent erected by Moses to save the Jews (Numbers 21 v 9) as a precursor to Christ on the cross, thereby saving all mankind (John 3 v 14); the Israelites gathering manna in the wilderness (Exodus 16 v 4) as a parallel to the Last Supper (John 6 v 31); and Jonah's three days in the belly of the whale (Jonah 1 v 17) prefiguring Christ's descent into Limbo (Matt. 12 v 40).

The tradition was continued over the centuries and in medieval Europe was popular in stained glass window decoration,[39] in choir decoration,[40] and in enamelwork.[41] With the widespread appearance in the later Middle Ages of illustrated books, the typological tradition of biblical illustration was developed further. The two most popular types of blockbooks[42] were the Biblia Pauperum (c1300) and the Speculum Humanae Salvationis (c1324).[43] These originally restricted themselves to the strict biblical typology, but gradually wider sources were introduced, chiefly the Legend Dorée by Jacobus de Voragine, a collection of folklore and pious traditions handed down through twelve centuries of

Christianity, and also the Historia Scholastica by Peter Comestor,
written in the 12th century and composed as a compendium of earlier
biblical commentaries.[44]

In applying the theory of typology to
the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, it is necessary to
examine several   specific examples from early Christian manu-
script illumination through to the blockbooks of the 14th and 15th
centuries.

The Codex Purpureus Rossanensis (6th
century) is the oldest codex of the Gospels that contains miniatures,
and it is now preserved in the Archbishop's Palace at Rossano, on
the east coast of Calabria. It was a liturgical book - a lectionary -
whose miniatures and Old Testament verses owe their selection,
pairing and sequence to the liturgical tradition.

The parchment of the Codex is in purple
and the letters are in silver.[45] On fol 2v, in the scene of the Wise
and Foolish Virgins [PLATE 26] the setting is Paradise, with four
rivers springing up and trees flowering behind the heads of the Wise
Virgins. The Wise Virgins carry lighted lamps and oil, and Christ
stands in front of a door - the Gate of Paradise - and beyond the
closed door, outside the garden of Paradise, the Foolish Virgins are
led by the black-clad figure of a nun.[46] Their lamps are burnt out
and their oil jars are empty. The Codex illumination is visual
evidence therefore, that, as early as the 6th century, the story of
the Wise and Foolish Virgins was understood in terms of the Last
Judgement.

Below this scene there are four

figures, three of David, and on the far right, one of the prophet
Hosea. Each of the four carries a scroll and points with raised
arm to the group to whom his text, in Greek, refers. The relation-
ship between the miniatures and their corresponding Old Testament
verses is most interesting. (The two verses below the Wise Virgins
refer to the Foolish and vice versa). Under the Wise Virgins, and
therefore referring to the Foolish, held up by David, is Psalm 53
v 5 ;

>".... Thou hast put them to shame because God
>
>despised them".

and held up by Hosea is Hosea 7 v 13;

>"Woe unto them ! for they have fled from me ..."

Under the Foolish Virgins, and referring to the Wise ones, is Psalm
45 v 14, held up by David;

>".... the virgins her companions that follow her
>
>shall be brought to thee".

and Psalm 45 v 13, again held up by David;

>"The King's daughter is all glorious within".

Thus the prophets' words from the Old Testament are used as prec-
ursors to the image of the New Testament parable. The author of
the Codex Purpureus Rossanensis has used a verbal   (Old Testament)—
visual (New Testament) arrangement to illustrate this Gospel book.
The typology would tie in with the liturgical readings scheduled for
the day, so that the Old Testament would be seen to prophecy the
New.

In this page from the 6th century
lectionary the parable was depicted as an illustration of the Last
Judgement.   The Wise Virgins are in Paradise, the Gate of Heaven
having been opened for them, while it has been closed in the faces

of the Foolish Virgins. The association of the parable with the
Last Judgement was to occur in art again and again as the use of
biblical typological illustration became more widespread.

The continuing tradition of typology
is evident in other illustrated manuscripts and blockbooks. The
latter were written and illustrated by monks and scribes, in many
languages including Latin, Greek, French, Flemish, German and
Italian. The earliest blockbooks used only biblical typology, but
out of these strictly religious books grew a number of others of a
slightly broader and more fanciful nature, and among these, are
the so-called Speculum Humanae Salvationis and the Biblia Pauperum.
These are both meditative books,[47] written first in the 14th
century and then reproduced and multiplied in the following century
when the newly discovered medium of printing was becoming more
widely used. In essence, the Speculum and the Biblia Pauperum
describe in figurative language the history of the Fall and
Redemption. They were intended for use by the clerks who were
literate but who could not, perhaps, afford to buy an expensive copy
of the bible in its entirety The "poor man's bible" provided a kind
of "potted" version of the bible, a genealogy from Adam to Christ
with stories of the most important characters in between. The
structure of the books is such that in each chapter one section
is the biblical history, and the other sections present mirrored
precursors of this story.

Applying the theory of typology to
the case of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, it appears that the parable
is most often paired with Belshazzar's Feast. The parable of the
Wise and Foolish Virgins is a story about a wedding feast and it is
therefore not unnatural that it should be paired typologically with

an   Old Testament feast.   The story is recorded in Daniel Chapter
5, where Belshazzar prepares a great feast and commands that the
gold and silver vessels which his father, Nebuchadnezzar had taken
from the temple in Jerusalem, be brought forth for the occasion, and
a thousand kings, queens and lords came and drank and made merry.   In
verse 5 we read, "In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand
and wrote ..... on the wall....".   Daniel was brought to interpret
the writing and explained that Belshazzar had been weighed in the
balance and found wanting and his kingdom was to be divided.

In the Speculum now in Munich,
Staatsbib, Clm.146 fol. 43r., dated around 1448 [PLATE 27] there are
three illustrations to complement the New Testament scene of Christ
as Judge.   These are the parable of the Talents (Matt. 25 v 14-30)
[PLATE 28], the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and Daniel
reproving Belshazzar.

Similarly, in the manuscript of
St. Omer, No. 184 fol. 24r., dated around the mid 15th century, the
same three "types" are used as precursors to the illustration of
the Last Judgement.[48]   Here the text is written in octets and the
eight lines referring to the Wise and Foolish Virgins are as follows;

> " A che judgement bien s'accorde
>
> De Jhesus Christ les paraboles
>
> Quant l'Huile de misericorde
>
> Nye fut aix chincq vierges folles;
>
> Ainsi le moustrent les parolles
>
> Que au filz Nabugodnosor
>
> Et a nous sont belles escolles;
>
> Chi les peux lire en lettre d'or".

Again the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, 43, 1950 Spec. No. 35, Fol. 18r, are paired with the Feast of Belshazzar [PLATE 29] where Daniel tells the King that his kingdom is to be divided (Daniel 15 v 28).

More rarely the Wise and Foolish Virgins are paired with another banquet recorded in Esther Chapter 5, where the Queen is offered half the kingdom and instead asks King Ahasherus to attend a banquet she has prepared (Esther 5 v 3). This pairing is used in the Speculum in Cambridge University Add. 6447, Chapter 40, fol. 45 [PLATE 30].

One illustration from a copy of the Biblia Pauperum[49] is most interesting because of its originality in choice of comparisons. Christ is shown in the garden at the time when the soldiers sent to take him away have fallen to the ground (John 18 v 6) and the precursors to this are the Fall of the Rebel Angels (2 Peter 2 v 4) and the five Foolish Virgins with their lamps extinguished. This ingenious comparison shows the physical fall of the soldiers, the spiritual fall of the angels from Heaven into Hell, and the impending fall of the Foolish Virgins on the day of Judgement.

In another 15th century copy of the Speculum in Haarlem[50] [PLATES 31,32] the Wise and Foolish Virgins are paired with Mary Magdalen - a rather unusual, but a very inter-esting textual comparison. Here the Wise Virgins with their lamps burning are ascending the steps of a building to be welcomed by Christ and an angel. The Foolish Virgins with lamps burnt out and empty are coming down the steps on the other side, straight into the jaws of Hell. The parable is clearly seen in the context of the Last

Judgement and the pairing with Mary Magdalen, penitent in the
house of Simon (Luke 7 v 37), is meant to convey the idea that she
was once a sinner (Foolish Virgin) but through her repentance will
achieve salvation (Wise Virgin).

This pairing of Mary Magdalen with the
Wise and Foolish Virgins perhaps needs some further explanation
in the light of Mary Magdalen's role and popularity in medieval
literature, drama and art. From the 11th century onwards,[51] in
Europe, a Mary Magdalen cult grew up and intensified with the
appearance of the Legend Dorée by Jacobus de Voragine in the 13th
century. Relics of the Magdalen were believed to be in numerous
places,[52] and pilgrimages in her honour became popular. Many plays
and liturgical dramas centred on her life,[53] and many hymns were
written contrasting her life before and after her conversion.[54]

But, long before she became one of
the most popular saints of the Middle Ages, Mary Magdalen was an
important figure in the early Christian Church. She appears in the
books of the Apocrypha, notably the Gospel of St. Philip (2nd or
3rd century), the Gospel of Mary (3rd century) and the Pistis Sophia
(3rd century). The latter, written by some Eastern gnostic, is a
curious story. Known to us through the Coptic manuscript (Add 5114)
in the British Museum,[55] it concerns Christ's life with the disciples
and Mary Magdalen after the Resurrection. He talks about sin and
salvation, particularly in answer to questions asked by Mary Magdalen.
She is Christ's companion, his feminine counterpart, a kind of
Christian goddess of wisdom.

One of the early Church Fathers,

Origen, in his 3rd century commentary on the <u>Song of Songs</u> ,[56]
identifies Mary Magdalen with the Bride of the <u>Song of Songs</u>. She
is Christ's sister-bride, his "soror mea sponsa". Gregory the Great
(6th C) also sees a parallel between the Magdalen in search of
Christ on Easter morning and the church seeking the same Bridegroom
in the <u>Song of Songs</u> 3 v 1-4.[57]

In a 4th century reading in St.
Augustine's <u>Brevarium Gothicum</u>,[58] on St. Mary Magdalen's Feast
day, he suggests a link between the saint and the Wise and Foolish
Virgins in the passage from Proverbs 31, where at v.18, it reads;
".... non extinguetur in nocte lucerna ipsius".[59]

In a 12th century sermon, St. Bernard
of Clairvaux,[60] like Origen, emphasises the love and yearning of the
Bride-Magdalen-Church-Soul figure for the Bridegroom-Christ.

In short, Mary Magdalen had figured
prominently in the sermons and hymns of the Christian church from
the 3rd century onwards. C.M. Gayley,[61] adequately expresses her
role thus; "Wonderful as the career of the virgin mother was ....
her career could never have awakened the peculiar interest,dramatic
and humane, that was stirred by the legend so often dramatised of
the wayward, tempted, falling but finally redeemed and sainted
Mary of Magdala".

The 11th century Provencal legend,[62]
relates that after her conversion, Mary Magdalen set sail with her
sister Martha, her resurrected brother Lazarus, Bishop Maximus,
and the other Marys, for Marseilles where she converted the pagan
prince to Christianity and then retired to a cave to spend thirty

years in penitence.   This legend, together with the 13th century
Legend Dorée account of her life, and all the other church liter-
ature on Mary Magdalen, had the effect of isolating her from the
other Marys of the Quem quaeritis,[63] plays. She had become impor-
tant enough to serve as the subject of several liturgical dramas
and mystery plays, such as the 12th century Easter play from Tours,
the 13th century Ludus de Passione [64] from Benediktbeuern,the 15th
century Digby play, Mary Magdalen,[65]and Jean Michael's Mystère de
la Passion.[66]

She also figures in a mystery play,
performed at Eisenach in Germany in 1322, entitled Das Spiel von der
Klugen und Törichten Jungfrauen.[67] A contemporary chronicler,
making some comments about the performance of the play, stated;[68]

> "There was, AD.1322 exhibited at Eisenach, before the
> Margrave Frederick of Misnia, the mystery concerning
> the five wise and as many foolish virgins.
> The wise were S. Mary, S. Catherine, S. Barbara,
> S. Dorothy, and S. Margaret ...."

Thus, Mary Magdalen, - the "St. Mary" named by the chronicler, is
listed as a Wise Virgin. It is precisely this background - the
growth of the Magdalen cult with the legends, sermons, hymns,
plays and folklore, where the figure is variously seen as a
converted sinner, ("justificata peccatrix"[69] as one hymn refers to
her) a personification of the Church, the "synagoga vitiorum",[70]
and even as a precursor of the virtues and vices[71] - which led to
the pairing of Mary Magdalen with the Wise and Foolish Virgins in
the Speculum copy [PLATE 31].

The only other example I know of in

art, where the Wise and Foolish Virgins are linked with Mary
Magdalen, is in the Magdalen Altarpiece [PLATE 33] in the church
at Tiefenbronn, near Pforzheim in Baden. This altarpiece, dated
1432, and signed "Lucas Moser", is the only work that can be
attributed conclusively to him.[72] It contains various events from
the life of Mary Magdalen which derive from the 11th century
Provençal legend and the 13th century Legend Dorée. At the top
of the altarpiece is the feast in the house of Lazarus and the feast
in the house of Simon joined together in a single scene. On the
left hand panel is depicted Mary's journey to Marseilles, and on
the right the Last Communion of the Saint. The centre panel shows
her appearing to the pagan prince while her associates lie sleeping
in the foreground below. This centre panel is hinged and covers
a carved centre-piece, depicting Mary Magdalen's ascension into
heaven. In the predella below, the half-length figures of the Wise
and Foolish Virgins with their lamps, are separated by the central
figure of Christ. There is no more obvious link in the altarpiece
than this, but having looked briefly at the background of the
medieval Magdalen cult it is not difficult to establish the con-
nection between the story of Mary Magdalen and the parable of the
Wise and Foolish Virgins. The altarpiece seems to me to reinforce
the interpretation suggested and supported by Christian writings
and sermons, by religious drama and mystery plays, by hymns and
visionary literature, namely that Mary Magdalen was once a sinner
(i.e. Foolish Virgin) but has finally, by her ascension into Heaven
achieved the status of a Wise Virgin by gaining eternal salvation.

The rise in popularity of Mary Magdalen
during this period is matched only by the cult of the Virgin Mary.
As discussed[73] Mary was often linked with the figure of Ecclesia.

This is illustrated in a late 12th century miniature in the
Speculum Virginium, (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. Co. Phill. No.
1701 Saec. XII , fol. 67r) [PLATE 34] where the parable of the
Wise and Foolish Virgins is depicted in two parts. The lower
roundels contain the two groups of sleeping virgins, between two
trumpeting angels, with the inscription "Media nocte clamor factus
est". Above this, the middle scene depicts a house with one open and
one closed door. On the left the Wise Virgins with oil jugs and
burning candles look upwards to see the Bridegroom in the top
section; while on the right the Foolish Virgins are knocking on
the closed door, and, realising their fate, throw their jugs and
candles to the ground. The top section shows Christ seated in
Judgement, flanked by two angels and the intercessing figures of
the Virgin Mary and Ecclesia.

One further manuscript merits mention
as a good example of the further development of biblical illustration.
It is an illustrated bible in two volumes, now in the Österreichi-
schen Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and dates around 1460.[74].
Executed by Evert van Soudenbalch who was the Bishop of the Cathedral
of Utrecht from 1445-1503,[75] the first volume deals with the Old
Testament and second illustrates the New.

It is the work of a Netherlandish
workshop, and Pächt and Jenni[76] detect the work of six distinct
hands in this Codex (2771/2772). They list these as Master Evert van
Soudenbalch, the Master of the Federwolken, Master of Gysbrecht de
Brederode, and three other unidentified masters. Stylistically,
Pächt and Jenni point out[77] that this is a major work of great im-
portance for the history of Netherlandish book illumination. From

the point of view of the quality, originality and decoration of the miniatures, the Codex marks a turning point in the development of bible illustration. For the first time, attempts are made to reach a direct and a personal depiction of the scriptural material. This new element of inventiveness, apparent in the work of all six artists in the Codex, prepares the way for a new freedom in the treatment of religious subject matter which would reach its culmination in the religious works of Rembrandt.

Evidence of the new style is seen in folios 56r and 56v., which illustrate the Last Judgement [PLATE 35] and the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins [PLATE 36] respectively. Pächt and Jenni[78] attribute both of these to the Master of the Federwolken. Of the two, the Last Judgement is perhaps depicted more literally. Christ appears on the clouds of Heaven, with his feet on a globe and to either side of him a lily and a sword. Two angels sound the trumpets of the Last Judgement. The figures of the two traditional intercessors, John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary, dressed as a nun, kneel on either side of their Saviour. Below, rising from their graves at the moment of judgement, are the naked figures of men and women. The biblical text which is the source for this illustration is from Matthew 24 v 30-31;

> "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man
>   in Heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the
>   earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man
>   coming in the clouds of Heaven with power and
>   great glory. And he shall send his angels with
>   a great sound of a trumpet...."

This account in Matthew of the events of the final days is followed
by a chapter in which Christ tried to explain the Last Judgement
by means of various parables. The artist here has chosen to
illustrate that of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Again Christ sits
in Judgement but now he is enthroned.[79] He turns towards the Wise
Virgins, some kneeling, others standing and all carrying lighted
lamps. The Foolish Virgins on the opposite side of the illustra-
tion turn away from Christ and all carry inverted lamps. This can
hardly be called a literal depiction of the parable. There is no
Bridegroom, no ushering of the Wise Virgins to the wedding feast.
Neither is there the scene where the Foolish Virgins knock on the
door and are refused entry, such as contained in the Rossano Gospels,
and the Speculum Virginium. Rather, the artist has interpreted the
allegory correctly and transformed it into the wider context of the
Last Judgement. The end product is a much more personal, powerful
and positive pictorial message than the Rossano Gospels achieved.

The Rossano Gospel book, the early
blockbooks, the Speculum Salvationis, the Biblia Pauperum, the
Speculum Virginium and the other manuscript illustrations discussed,
all make extensive use of the theory of typology to reiterate the
message of the New Testament parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.
The idea that the Foolish Virgins have lost out on eternal salvation
is emphasized by reference to various passages from Old Testament
and other New Testament scripture, where the evil have fallen and
the wicked have been punished. In short, the parable is interpreted
in terms of Last Judgement iconography.

It has thus been demonstrated, by
reference to the typological method, and also to the earlier

catacomb paintings, the early Christian frescoes and the sculptural
cycles of the Gothic cathedrals in France and Germany, that the
parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was a popular theme,
particularly in medieval times, and that the tradition of associating
the parable with the Last Judgement was already established in the
6th century   Codex Rossanensis. The Gothic sculptural cycles re-
inforced the allegorical nature of the parable and broadened the
theme by linking it with other biblical themes and characters.

3. APPENDIX 1

PRELIMINARY HANDLIST OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS IN THE

PERIOD UP TILL THE 15th CENTURY.

This list is arranged chronologically, and then by medium.

DATE	MEDIUM	PROVENANCE
3rd CENTURY		
1. 3rd century	Fresco	Dura-Europos (Syria), in a house.
4th CENTURY		
2. 4thC. 2nd half	Fresco (mutilated)	Rome, S. Ciriaca, catacomb - arco decoration.
6th CENTURY		
3. 6thC. 1st half	Manuscript	Rossano, Bib. Arcivescovado, Gospel Book, fol.2v.
9th CENTURY		
4. 844-847	Metalwork	Rome, S. Martino ai Monte, plaque, silver.
10th CENTURY		
5. 996-1002	Manuscript	Ivrea, Bib. Capitolare 86, Sacramentary of Warmundus, fol.158r.
6. 10th - 12thC	Fresco	Barcelona, Mus. Arte de Catalunya, ex. S. Quirce de Pedret, apse.
11th CENTURY		
7. 11thC. 1st half	Manuscript	Rome, Bib. Vatican, Lat. 5729 Farfa Bible, fol. 368v.

11th CENTURY (cont'd)

8.	11thC.	Manuscript	Venice, Chiesa Giorgio dei Greci, lectionary, fol.138r.
9.	11thC.	Metalwork	Reiningue Church, casket - reliquary.
10.	11th-12thC.	Manuscript	Smyrna, Lib Evang. School B8 - Physiologus-Cosmas Indicopleustus, fol. 7v.

12th CENTURY

11.	1129	Metalwork (restored)	Xanten Cathedral, casket - St. Victor reliquary.
12.	1130	Sculpture	Fenioux Church, Exterior, West.
13.	1130	Sculpture (mutilated)	Argenton-Chateau, S. Giles, Exterior, West.
14.	c1148	Mosaics	Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, Exterior, West.
15.	1150-1170	Fresco (mutilated)	Brauweiler Abbey, Chapter House.
16.	c1156	Sculpture	Nájera, S. Maria la Real, sarcophagus of Blanche.
17.	1160-c1210	Sculpture	Laon, Cathedral Notre-Dame, Exterior, West.
18.	c1175	Fresco (mutilated)	Gildebrand, Church decoration - Nave, East Wall.
19.	12thC	Fresco	Idensen, Church decoration.
20.	12thC	Fresco	Bonn, Cath. Cassius and Florentius, Chapter House, Choir decoration.

12th CENTURY (cont'd)

21.	12thC	Fresco (mutilated)	Friesach, deutsche Ritterorden-skirche, Nave, North Wall.
22.	12thC	Manuscript	London, B.M. Arundel, 44, Spec. Virginium fol.57v.
23.	12thC	Manuscript	New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. 521 miniature verso.
24.	12thC	Manuscript	Paris, Bib. Nat. Supp. gr. 27 lectionary fol. 59r.
25.	12thC	Manuscript	Paris, Bib. Nat. gr. 74, Gospel Book fol. 49v.
26.	12thC	Sculpture	S. Denis, Abbey Church, Exterior West.
27.	12thC	Sculpture	Aulnay-de-Saintoine, S. Pierre Exterior West.
28.	12thC	Sculpture	Chadenac, S. Martin, Exterior North.
29.	12thC	Sculpture	Civray, S. Nicholas, Exterior North.
30.	12thC	Sculpture	Corme-Royal, Church, Exterior, West.
31.	12thC	Sculpture	Mimizan, Abbey Church, portal.
32.	12thC	Sculpture	Pont-l'Abbé-d'Arnoult, S. Pierre, Exterior West.
33.	12thC	Sculpture	Toulouse, Museum, capital (No.392).
34.	12thC	Sculpture	Toulouse, Museum, capital,(No.393).
35.	12thC	Sculpture	Arles, S. Trophime, cloister.
36.	12thC	Sculpture	Perignac, S. Pierre, Exterior,West.
37.	12-13thC	Fresco	Pürgg, S. Johanneskirche,decoration.

12th CENTURY (cont'd)

38.	12-13thC	Fresco	Castel Appiano Church, decoration.
39.	12-13thC	Metalwork	Hildesheim Cathedral Treasury, casket.
40.	12-13thC	Manuscript	Troyes, Bib. Municipale 252, Spec. Virginium fol. 58v.
41.	12-13thC	Sculpture	Asnieres, Abbey Church, choir and transept.
42.	12-13thC	Sculpture	Basel, Cathedral, Exterior, North.
43.	late 12-13thC	Manuscript	Berlin, Staatsbib. Phill 1701 Spec. Virginium fol 67r.
44.	late 12-13thC	Sculpture	Sens, Cathedral Etienne, Exterior West.
45.	late 12-13thC	Sculpture	Tongres, Cathedral Notre-Dame Exterior, North.

13th CENTURY

46.	c1220-1230	Sculpture	Paris, Notre-Dame, Exterior, West.
47.	1260	Manuscript	Baltimore, Gall. Waters, 539 Gospel Book fol.106v.
48.	1290	Metalwork	Rostock, Chiesa Maria, font, bronze.
49.	early 13thC	Manuscript	Maihingen, Lib. Wallerstein, 1.2. qu.19, Psalter, fol.124r.
50.	13thC 1st half	Manuscript	St. Gall, Lib. Stiftsbib. 402, Breviary, fol 13r.
51.	13thC 1st half	Sculpture	Amiens, Cathedral Notre-Dame, Exterior, West.
52.	13thC 1st half	Manuscript	London, B.M. Harley, 1526-27 Bible Moralisée II, fol. 46r.
53.	13thC 1st half	Manuscript	Paris, Bib. Nat. Lat 1156 Bible Moralisée, fol. 138r.

13th CENTURY (cont'd)

54.	13thC 1st half	Sculpture (mutilated)	Longpont, Cathedral Notre-Dame, Exterior, West.
55.	13thC 1st half	Sculpture	Magdeburg, Cathedral, choir.
56.	13thC 1st half	Sculpture	Magdeburg, Cathedral, Exterior North.
57.	13thC	Fresco	Summaga, Chiesa Maria Assunta, decoration.
58.	13thC	Fresco (destroyed)	Windsor Castle, decoration.
59.	13thC	Glass	Bücken, Church, windows.
60.	13thC	Metalwork	Paris, Bib.Nat. book cover, (lat. 8892)
61.	13thC	Manuscript	Leningrad, Public Lib. Lat.Qvl 78, Breviary, fol. 189v.
62.	13thC	Manuscript	Osek, Lib. Cistercian Monastery 576, Homilies fol. 124r.
63.	13thC	Manuscript	Wolfenbüttel, Lib. Herzog. August, Helmst 569 (522), Missal, end sheet (back).
64.	13thC	Sculpture	Bremen Cathedral, statues from West gable.
65.	13thC	Sculpture	Angers, Chiesa Serge, decoration.
66.	13thC	Sculpture	Eguisheim, Church, Exterior.
67.	13thC	Sculpture	Rheims, Cathedral Notre-Dame, Exterior North.
68.	13thC	Sculpture	Charioux, Abbatiale Church, reliefs.

69. 13thC	Sculpture	Chartres, Cathedral Notre-Dame Exterior, North.
70. 13thC	Sculpture	Chartres, Cathedral Notre-Dame Exterior, North.
71. 13thC	Sculpture	Chartres, Cathedral Notre-Dame, portal South.
72. 13thC	Sculpture	Galdácano, S. Maria, Exterior, West.
73. 13thC	Sculpture	Minden, Cathedral Peter, Exterior South.
74. 13thC	Sculpture	Paderborn, Cathedral, Exterior, South.
75. 13thC	Sculpture	Paris, S. Germain l'Auxerrois, Exterior, West.
76. 13thC	Sculpture	Triers, Liebfrauenkirche, Exterior West.
77. mid 13thC	Sculpture	S. Pere-sous-Vezelay, S. Pierre Narthex.
78. 13thC 2nd half	Fresco	Nideggen, Church, Decoration.
79. 13thC 2nd half	Glass (fragment)	Sankt Michael, Chapel Walburgis, windows.
80. 13thC 2nd half	Metalwork	Paris, Louvre, polyptych, - (shrine).
81. 13thC 2nd half	Manuscript	Cambridge, Univ. Lib.Ee4.24, Psalter fol. 24r.
82. 13thC 2nd half	Sculpture	Poitiers, Cathedral Pierre, Exterior West.
83. 13thC 2nd half	Sculpture	Bourges, Cathedral, Exterior West.

13th CENTURY (cont'd

84.	13thC 2nd half	Sculpture	Lincoln, Cathedral Exterior, South.
85.	13thC 2nd half	Sculpture	St. Thibault-en-Auxois, Church Exterior, North.
86.	13-14thC	Fresco	Curtea de Arges, Nicoara Church, Apse.
87.	13-14thC	Manuscript	Leipzig, Univ. Lib.665, Spec. Virginium, fol. 75v.
88.	13-14thC	Manuscript	Paris, Bib. Nat. gr.54, Gospel Book, fol. 91r.
89.	13-14thC	Sculpture	Auxerre, Cathedral Etienne, Exterior.
90.	13-14thC	Sculpture	Freiburg, Cathedral, Narthex.
91.	late 13-14thC	Manuscript	Paris, Bib. Nat. Lat 11907, Miscellany, fol. 232r.
92.	late 13-14thC	Sculpture	Rouen, Cathedral Notre-Dame Exterior, North.
93.	late 13-14thC	Sculpture	Strasbourg, Cathedral, Exterior West.
94.	late 13thC	Sculpture	Marienburg, Castle Chapel, portal.

14th CENTURY

95.	1337	Metalwork	Lübeck, Marienkirche, font.
96.	1356	Manuscript	London, B.M. Add 39627, Gospel Book, fol. 73r.
97.	1379	Sculpture	Hamburg, Kunsthalle, retable, (Petri Altar)

14th CENTURY (cont'd)

98.	1393	Sculpture	Milan, Cathedral, Sacristy, Exterior, South.
99.	14thC 1st half	Fresco	Stein an der Donau, Chapel Göttweigerhof, decoration.
100.	14thC 1st half	Glass	Mulhouse, Etienne Chapel, Decoration.
101.	14thC 1st half	Sculpture	Marienburg, Castle Chapel, Exterior, North.
102.	14thC	Fresco	Lesnovo, Mihailo Church, Narthex.
103.	14thC	Glass	Troyes, Cathedral, windows of choir.
104.	14thC	Manuscript	Munich, Staatsbib. Clm 146, Speculum Humanae Salvationis, fol. 43r.
105.	14thC	Sculpture	Bordeaux, Cathedral André, Exterior South.
106.	14thC	Sculpture	Erfurt, Cathedral, Exterior North.
107.	14thC	Sculpture	Nuremberg, S. Sebaldus, Exterior North.
108.	14thC	Sculpture	Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Church of the Heiligkreuz, statues from choir portal.
109.	14thC	Painting	Hanover, Provincial Museum.
110.	late 14thC	Manuscript	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. 43-1950, Speculum Humanae Salvationis. No.35.

15th CENTURY

111.	c1400	Sculpture	Lübeck, S. Annen Museum, statues from choir of Burgkirche.
112.	1432	Painting by Lucas Moser	Tiefenbronn Church, Magdalen Altar, predella.
113.	c1460	Manuscript	Vienna, Österreichischen Nat. Bib. Codex 2772, fol 56v.

PART II

THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS IN THE LATE 15th AND THE 16th CENTURIES.

CHAPTER 1.

The 'Secularisation' of the theme.

CHAPTER 2.

Return, in a Netherlandish Altarpiece, to a biblical interpretation of the parable.

CHAPTER 3.

Didactic purposes in Northern depictions of the parable.

CHAPTER 4.

The Wise and Foolish Virgins - A Reformation theme ?

CHAPTER 5

The Italian Problem.

CHAPTER 6.

Conclusions.

APPENDIX II : PRELIMINARY HANDLIST OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS IN THE LATE 15th & THE 16th CENTURIES.

CHAPTER 1.

THE 'SECULARISATION' OF THE THEME.

Part I examined the background
sources and the art historical significance of the theme of the
Wise and Foolish Virgins as it appeared in different contexts and
in various mediums up till the 15th century.

In Part II the theme, as it appears
in the late 15th and the 16th centuries is examined, and some of the
reasons for the immense popularity which the parable enjoyed both
in drama and art, during the period, are considered.

SCHONGAUER

By the end of the 15th century,
with the discovery of printing, and later, the innovation and sub-
sequent popularisation of moveable print, the theme of the Wise and
Foolish Virgins had ceased to figure in monumental sculpture,[80] and
had found refuge in the printed medium. At the same time, it seems to
have become laicised and secularised. It is claimed by Louis Réau[81]
that the parable is no longer interpreted as an allegory of the
Last Judgement. He maintains that Martin Schongauer's cycle of ten
engravings of the Wise and Foolish Virgins [PLATES 37-46] in which
he represents each virgin separately, is no more than a costume
study.[82]

Closer examination of these ten
engravings which belong to Schongauer's late period,[83] will reveal
that they may perhaps be regarded as part of the iconography of
the Last Judgement. The five Wise Virgins, each carrying a
lighted lamp and wearing a crown, all face to the right and may
be viewed as a kind of procession[84] advancing from the left.

Similarly, the five Foolish Virgins who carry empty lamps held inverted, and whose crowns[85] have fallen to the ground, all face towards the left and may be seen as a group processing from the right. In short, the Wise and Foolish Virgins may be seen as two opposing groups.[86]

There is an engraving of <u>Christ enthroned between two angels</u> [PLATE 47] which Charles Minott[87] has suggested was created as a centrepiece between the two processions of Virgins. Minott's theory is based on two factors.[88] First, he argues that although this engraving is larger, the figures are in proportion and the "rectangular format is also proportional".[89] Secondly he points out that Christ's gaze is directed towards the Wise Virgins and the angel at the left is pulling back the curtain (opening the Gate of Heaven) while the angel at the right is drawing forward the curtain to shut off the Foolish Virgins from Christ.[90]

There is further support for his argument, however, in contemporary copies after Schongauer's work.

A set of ten engravings of the <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u> after Schongauer, by the Master AG[91] is so close to the originals as to be barely distinguishable from the master's own hand. Lehrs[92] claims that the Master AG was a pupil of Schongauer. Unlike Israhel van Meckenem who copied almost all of Schongauer's engravings,[93] the only two other engravings which the Master AG copied after Schongauer are the <u>Death of the Virgin</u>[94] and the <u>Christ enthroned between two Angels.</u> It is possible that the Master AG found the latter along with the ten Virgins.

Another contemporary work, a Gradual in Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Ms 5011

[PLATE 48] by the illuminator Matthaeus, reveals on the lower border of page 628 Christ enthroned between the Wise and Foolish Virgins of whom the two foremost Virgins are copies of Schongauer's fourth Wise and his third Foolish Virgin.[95]

If Schongauer's engraving of Christ enthroned between two Angels is accepted as a centrepiece for the two processions of Virgins, then the artist interpreted the parable as an allegory of the Last Judgement.

The first of the Foolish Virgins, however, is pointing a finger, seemingly beckoning to the leader of the Wise Virgins. This surely derives from the biblical source,

"And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your

oil; for our lamps are gone out". (Matt.25 v.8)

Perhaps the two processions of Wise and Foolish Virgins should be viewed in isolation. The centrepiece suggested by Minott might perhaps be more convincing if the leading virgin in each group, or at least the first Wise Virgin was directing her eyes towards the figure of Christ instead of discoursing with her opposite number. It is, however, the beckoning gesture by the leading Foolish Virgin, together with the fact that the third and fifth Foolish Virgins are crying, which must surely confirm beyond doubt that Schongauer intended his ten Virgins to be more than mere costume studies. Whether he engraved them as a series to be viewed on their own, or with a centrepiece, he was surely treating them as a biblical and not a secular theme.

There is another single engraving by Martin Schongauer, again a late work, possibly executed c1490, of a Foolish Virgin [PLATE 49]. It is a bust-length figure, holding an upturned oil lamp and wearing a low-cut dress. One art

historian[96] has claimed she has an unmistakably "Moorish" appearance.[97]
There is much speculation about whether or not this print was partly
or wholly executed by another artist, since the lower part of the
engraving seems to be unfinished.[98] It has to be considered in
isolation as it does not seem to be part of a series, or at least
if it was to be part of a series, it was the only one ever executed.[99]

Why did Schongauer introduce the
theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins into the medium of printing ?
Why did he revive the theme at all ? I do not believe he was merely
using the female figures as excuses for costume studies, a tendency
which was to become prevalent in the early decades of the following
century.

It was, however, the norm for this
medium to be used more frequently for reproduction than for original
ideas. Within a century of its inception, as Hayter[100] points out,
".... the vast majority of prints produced were interpretations by
skilled artisans of originals already existing as drawings, paintings.
or sculptures...." It was usual to make printed copies after
original paintings, drawings or sculptures. This leads one to
speculate that these engravings by Schongauer might be copies after
another artist. What was his source ? He would probably have seen
some copies of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis or the Biblia
Pauperum where the parable appeared, and he may have seen other
manuscript illuminations of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, but his
treatment of the subject is so different as to exclude these as
sources.

Some drawings on the theme of the
Virgins by Schongauer,and some others after lost studies by him, all

treat the virgins individually. One of a <u>Standing Girl</u> (Leipzig,
Museum der bildenden Kunst) [PLATE 50] and a drawing of a <u>Foolish
Virgin</u> (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) [PLATE 51] by Schongauer are the
only two original studies on the theme which survive. There is,
however, a set of drawings in the Kupferstichkabinett in Basel,
mostly of Wise and Foolish Virgins [PLATES 52-63] by Jörg Schweiger,
a Basel goldsmith[101] which are copies after Schongauer[102]. Schongauer's
study of the <u>Standing Girl</u> is, according to Lehrs,[103] a discarded
early study for a Foolish Virgin of the engraved series. The <u>Foolish
Virgin</u> (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) seen in profile, is dressed
fashionably and wears an Oriental turban. Winzinger[104] suggests that
this drawing is so expressively modelled and extensively defined
and detailed that it is questionable whether it represents a rejected
study as Lehrs again suggests. He considers it to be a finished
work in its own right.

The drawings by Jörg Schweiger
are so like Schongauer's style that there can be no doubt that he
saw the originals.[105] The two extant drawings by Schongauer appear
exactly, among Schweiger's copies [PLATES 54 & 63] and one can assume
that the other figures are similarly close to Schongauer's studies.
These drawings indicate that Schongauer always viewed the story as
a series of individual Virgins. He never attempted to portray the
parable any other way.

In the light of this fact, the most
immediate and obvious prototype for his <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u>
series is the sculpted cycles of the cathedrals. The cathedrals
of Strasbourg, Freiburg and Basel would be within reasonable radius
of his native Colmar, and he would certainly have seen the sculpted

portals of these cathedrals, where the virgins are arranged in niches,
and each is treated separately. Neither his drawings nor his engravings
are close in style to the figures at Strasbourg, Freiburg or Basel,
but these monumental cycles are likely to have been the source of
inspiration, the starting point from which Schongauer could trans-
late the parable into his own style and medium.

While it is quite possible that the
source may have been the Last Judgement portals of the cathedrals,
Schongauer was engaged, around the time of the Wise and Foolish
Virgins series, in the execution of a large fresco cycle on the theme
of the Last Judgement at the Breisach Münster (1489-91). Karl
Gutmann[106] points out that the Last Judgement in Breisach contains
a number of elements which derive directly from medieval mystery
plays,[107] particularly with reference to Schongauer's painting on the
South Wall where he represents Paradise. If it is likely that
medieval drama was a source for his Last Judgement, then it is
equally possible that the plays of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, very
popular during Schongauer's lifetime, were the source of his drawings
and engravings of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

Whatever his source, and whatever
his reasons for reviving the theme, I believe, in the light of his
treatment of the individual virgins, and of his other contemporary
work, that Schongauer at the very least regarded his virgins as a
religious rather than a secular theme, and it is quite probable
that he intended them, at least indirectly as an allegory of the
Last Judgement.

DÜRER

It was in the expectation of meeting
Schongauer, that the young Albrecht Dürer arrived in Colmar in 1492,
only to find the great master already dead. He moved on to Basel,[108]
and around this period, c1493,[109] executed a drawing of a <u>Wise Virgin</u>
(London, Count Seilern Collection) [PLATE 64] which the Tietzes[110] call
"late Schongaueresque" and which Panofsky[111] claims "bears witness
to his absorbing interest in Schongauer's drawings and prints".
Winkler[112] calls it "eins der Hauptwerke der Wanderjahre".

The figure's long, slender fingers,
the folds of her drapery, the curly hair falling loosely over the
shoulders, the wispy crown on her head, and the type of lamp she
carries are all distinctly Schongauerish and testify to his influence
on the younger artist. Winzinger[113] suggests that the work was
probably based in a drawing Schongauer had intended for a projected
series of Wise and Foolish Virgins of which he only executed the
<u>Foolish Virgin</u> of c1490.

Another pen drawing of a <u>Wise Virgin</u>
(Vienna, Albertina Collection)[PLATE 65]   by Dürer, executed c1494-95[114]
which Conway[115] suggests may belong to the same set as the earlier
<u>Wise Virgin</u> in the Seilern Coll.,   is a profile view of an elegantly
dressed figure bearing the traditional attribute of a Wise Virgin.
Strobl[116] describes this as a 'costume study'. The costume has been
the cause of dispute, Conway[117] and Römer[118] claiming that the work
was done in Strasbourg during Dürer's travels, while Von Seidlitz[119]
suggests it was executed in Venice. The Tietzes[120] thought it might
have been drawn from   Dürer's memory of a costume study by Giovanni

Bellini, rather than from life. It was finally established by
Meder[121] that the costume worn by Dürer's <u>Wise Virgin</u> of c1494-
95 was Friulian.[122] The same headdress is repeated in two engravings
by Dürer, the <u>Hercules at the Crossroads</u> (1498-9) and the <u>Four
Witches</u> (1497). Dürer would have been able to see these costumes
in Venice, as Stadler points out.[123]

How does Dürer treat the subject
of the Virgins ? The earlier drawing is obviously strongly influ-
enced by Schongauer. Schongauer must have been the source for this
study and Dürer appears to treat the theme in the same way as the
earlier master. The Virgin's lamp is borne carefully, the attitude
is reverent. This is one of the dutiful and vigilant <u>Wise Virgins</u>
of the parable.

Conway's suggestion that the two
drawings might belong to a set, was made at a time when the earlier
drawing had disappeared.[124] He would surely not have made the
suggestion otherwise, for the later drawing is treated differently.
Much more sketchily drawn, it pays more attention to the costume,
particularly to the headdress. The Virgin's face is emotionless and
the lamp she carries is drawn with so few brief lines that it is
almost unnoticed. It certainly looks like an added extra and
clearly is not the reason for the drawing. While Dürer's earlier
study is a reminder of his debt to Schongauer, the later drawing is
a costume study of a contemporary secular figure - who plays no
part in the Last Judgement story. In this sense Dürer's second
drawing looks forward to the treatment of the theme in the early
decades of the following century.

The 16th century was an age of
change throughout Europe.   Alongside the religious upheavals of
the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, there were changes in
social, economic, philosophical and political ideas which were to
affect the life, and which were reflected in the art, of the period.
The theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is important because, at
this time, it underwent many significant developments, and these
developments reflect, to a large extent, the controversial climate
of the age.

In the early years of the century,
the theme was most popular in the printed medium.   Following the
Schongauer tradition, two other Northern artists, Urs Graf and
Niklaus Manuel Deutsch executed several drawings, engravings and
woodcuts of Wise and Foolish Virgins.

URS GRAF

Urs Graf was born in Solothurn
c1485 and was probably first trained as a goldsmith in his father's
workshop.[125]   He is reputed to have been a thoroughly scandalous
character.   He is described as " a cutthroat, a swindler, a bully
and a lecher.   He beat his wife and amused himself by abominable
practical jokes".[126]

He is know to have visited
Strasbourg, Basel, Zurich,[127] and he fought as a mercenary in Italy
and France.[128]   His art is a swirling, swaggering, brutal, lustful
extravaganza.   He was a bold and daring artist who brought a new
sense of vitality to Northern art.   He concealed nothing, as Major
and Gradman state, "Who had ever dared.... draw a wanton beauty
so that her wantonness was branded on her face ?".[129]

His oeuvre consists of some 200 drawings, over 100 woodcuts and a few etchings and engravings,[130] most of which were executed between 1510 and 1522.[131]

Among his works is an engraving of a Foolish Virgin [PLATE 66] which is almost an exact copy in reverse of the bust-length Foolish Virgin [PLATE 49] c1490 by Schongauer. It is so like the earlier master's work, in fact, that it must be assumed that Urs Graf saw a copy of the Schongauer original. While he clearly modelled the Foolish Virgin on Schongauer's engraving, two other works by Urs Graf on the same theme, are quite different and highly individual interpretations.

One of these is an engraving of a Foolish Virgin [PLATE 67] (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett) signed and dated 1513. The salient point about this virgin is that she is nude. She is actually in the process of taking off her only garment, as she tosses her lamp scornfully aside. She is, in fact, less of a Foolish Virgin and rather closer to a classical goddess - Venus - seen trampling the globe beneath her feet. A pen drawing of c1521, entitled Venus riding on the Clouds (Nuremberg, Germanisches Museum) [PLATE 68] by Urs Graf, portrays a similar figure standing on a globe. Though this Venus is clothed, the swirling play of her skirt is treated in the same way as the draped garment of the Foolish Virgin. The bare thighs and rhythmic movement of the bodies are distinctly erotic. The source for this print and the Foolish Virgin may have been Dürer's engraving of Nemesis (c1501-2) or perhaps the earlier Dürer engraving of Four Naked Women (1497). The latter contains a similar figure with a swirling robe, whilst the former includes both the garment and the globe on which the figure stands.

The nude Foolish Virgin by Urs Graf might also derive from Dürer's
figure of Eve, perhaps from the 1504 version of Adam and Eve. Whilst
the influence of Dürer can clearly be seen in this Urs Graf print,
it is possible to detect a knowledge of Jacopo de Barbari's style.
Urs Graf may have seen de Barbari's engravings of Mars and Venus
(c1510), of Cleopatra and of Victory and Glory. All three contain
more ample female figures than those of Dürer and may perhaps have
been the direct source for Urs Graf's nude Foolish Virgin.

Urs Graf is the first artist to
depict a nude Foolish Virgin.. It is possible that he used her nudity
as symbolic of her heathen state. Certainly Bruegel portrays nude
Virgins more than forty years later, in his engraving of the Wise
and Foolish Virgins [PLATE 87] but he shows both Wise and Foolish
Virgins nude as they reach the gate of heaven. This is a much more
traditional custom whereby the dead rise up naked before God on the
day of judgement.[132] Nudity in the Bruegel engraving is symbolic
of man stripped of all wordly disguises. In the Urs Graf engraving
nudity represents the voluptuous and sensual elements of human nature.
His classic nude is happy to toss aside her chastity along with her
oil lamp. There is nothing other than the oil lamp to relate this
Foolish Virgin to the biblical text. Graf uses the theme as an
excuse for the depiction of a lusty prostitute. His female figures
fall into two distinct categories - he sometimes portrays blatantly
seductive, full-bodied women, and at other times he depicts a much
more comely, homely type, such as evident in his pen drawing of a
Mother and Child (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung),[133] of 1514.

A pen drawing of a Wise Virgin

(Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung) [PLATE 69] of c1513 by Urs Graf,
is a good example of the second category. She is a complete contrast
to the nude Foolish Virgin. Again a single figure, this time seen in
profile, she carries a lighted oil lamp. An air of modesty, devout-
ness, charm and delicacy pervades this drawing. The words "OWEMI"
(woe is me)[134] are inscribed on the Virgin's bodice. Perhaps this
means that if her carefully carried lamp goes out, all will be lost,
or perhaps Urs Graf's conscience intends the motto to be applied to
himself. There is a document which gives an insight into the
artist's inner conscience. It is a page of calligraphy[135] now in
Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, dated 1523 and written in cipher.
The text has been deciphered by Dr. Eduard His[136] and is the German
version of a Latin antiphon to the Holy Ghost. Luther translated
Latin hymns for use in German services, and, as Major and Gradman
point out,[137] Urs Graf probably saw a German hymn sheet, was impressed,
and copied one of the hymns. Careful to avoid any suspicion of
heresy (Graf was a Roman Catholic) or alternatively, somewhat em-
barassed by his turn to religious subject matter, Graf wrote the hymn
in cipher. Whichever the reason for the secret code, the document
gives evidence of a dualism in Graf's nature. His art, too, reveals
two opposite extremes. A crudeness, brutality and erroticism is
evident in the Foolish Virgin [PLATE 67]; while a sense of delicacy,
homeliness and an awareness of moral values is seen in the Wise
Virgin [PLATE 69].

Urs Graf's depictions of the Wise
and Foolish Virgins sum up the two extremes in his art. Each is a
highly individual, intensely personal rendering; neither can be
viewed in the context of the Last Judgement. Graf may have intended
the motto on the bodice of the Wise Virgin to be an indirect reference

to man's ultimate destiny, but in essence his Virgins are contemporary, secular figures, whose oil lamps are the only connection with the biblical text.

NIKLAUS MANUEL DEUTSCH

Another artist who portrayed the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins around this period was Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. Borne in Berne c1484,[138] most of his works were executed between 1515 and 1520.[139] Not much is known about his formative years,[140] but from 1521 onwards he is known to have supported the Reformation.[141]

All Niklaus Manuel Deutsch's drawings, engravings and woodcuts of the Wise and Foolish Virgins were executed in the years c1516, 1517 and 1518, and all have the monogram NMD and a Swiss dagger, His interest in this parable seems to coincide with his work in Berne Cathedral, where the Wise and Foolish Virgins, executed 1490-1500 by Erhart Küng adorn either side of the main portal.[142]

It is almost certain that NMD would have known of Schongauer's engraved series of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, [PLATES 37-46] and like Urs Graf, he follows the Schongauer device of treating each Virgin separately and dressing her in a fashionable costume. His Wise Virgins hold oil lamps and the Foolish Virgins carry upturned ones, but, unlike Schongauer, NMD sometimes places his figures in extensive landscapes. In one of the series he portrays two trees with hanging mossy branches, a motif very popular with the Danube School [143] of painters. This suggests that NMD must have come into contact with this School.

It seems likely that the drawings
are studies for the woodcut series, although there is no evidence, in
the set of charcoal studies (probably executed c1516-17) of <u>Foolish</u>
<u>Virgins</u> (Basel , Kupferstichkabinett) of any landscape background.
The five separate sheets each represent merely a single figure. NMD
combines the religious subject matter with a costume study.   In
one study [PLATE 70] the elegant Foolish Virgin moves forward
gracefully, holding the folds of her skirt with one hand and her up-
turned oil lamp in the other.

In the woodcut series of the <u>Wise</u>
<u>and Foolish Virgins</u> c1518, NMD again uses individual figures and one
of the <u>Foolish Virgins</u> [PLATE 71] is particularly interesting from
the point of view of her dress. Like the traditional figure of
the Foolish Virgin, she carries her attribute - an upturned and
unlit lamp. She has a peculiarly impudent expression on her face,
and is not at all repentant or forlorn as the scriptural text relates.
As if to emphasise this deliberately defiant attitude, she is bare-
foot and her dress is slit right up to her thigh. In fact, she
looks more like a personification of Lust[144] than a Foolish Virgin.
The medieval version of the Wise and Foolish Virgins' story has
been given a new interpretation. The Foolish Virgin has become the
camp follower of the mercenary soldiers and is seen entirely in
a secular light.

In a further modification of this
series, there is another woodcut of a <u>Foolish Virgin</u> [PLATE 72]
executed around the same time. Here again the Virgin is dressed
fashionably and stands in a landscape. She carries her upturned
oil lamp as if it is some kind of obsolete and useless object she no
longer requires. Her overall attitude is one of haughty arrogance
and once again there is nothing repentant about her attitude.

There is, in Niklaus Manuel
Deutsch, as in the Urs Graf works on the theme of the Wise and
Foolish Virgins, no evidence of any association with the Last
Judgement. There is no strict adherence to scriptural text. Rather
the theme has become laicised and secularised. It has, in fact,
degenerated into little more than an excuse for the portrayal,
firstly of costume studies, and then also of a kind of lustful
nudity which barely falls short of pornography.

Both these artists have gone much
further than Schongauer and Dürer in taking a biblical subject and
transforming it into a secular theme. The Wise and Foolish Virgins
of NMD and Urs Graf are elegant, contemporary and fashionably dressed
women. In addition, by their rather daringly lustful appearance, it
is evident that they are intended, almost in a pornographic way, to
be seen as prostitues and camp-followers who have nothing apart from
the attribute of the oil lamp, to link them to the parable or to the
theme of the Last Judgement.

CHAPTER II

THE RETURN, IN A NETHERLANDISH ALTARPIECE, TO A BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION
OF THE PARABLE.

A group of paintings, now in the
Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, is ascribed to "Antwerpen,
1 Viertel des 16 Jahrhunderts (Meister der Antwerpener Anbetung der
Könige ?)"in the catalogue of the Museum.[145]   These paintings depict
The Raising of Lazarus(Inv. No. 436); Christ and the Samaritan
Women (Inv.. No. 437); The Ascension (on the reverse of No. 437)
(Inv. No. 441) [PLATE 73]; The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes
(Inv. No. 438); Christ before Caiphas (on the reverse of No. 438)
(Inv. No. 440) [PLATE 74] Christ and the Pharisee (inv. No 439) with
Pentecost on the reverse; The Holy Kindred (Inv. No. 442) and The Mass
of St. Gregory (Inv. No. 443).

Three further panels by the same
artist which were in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg were
destroyed during the Second World War. These three are approximately
the same size as the Cologne paintings,[146] and depict The Temptation
of Christ in the Desert, the Wise and Foolish Virgins and Christ
and the Virgin kneeling before God the Father [PLATE 75].

It has been suggested by Hiller
and Vey[147]that the Cologne and Nuremberg panels were once the wings
and shutters of an altarpiece. Any attempt at a reconstruction,
however, would be very difficult, as the centrepiece and perhaps
one or two panels are now missing.

Many attempts have been made, on
the other hand, to identify the artist responsible for the panels
and to date them. Passavant [148] dates The Raising of Lazarus and

<u>Christ and the Samaritan Women</u> to the beginning of the 16th century. The Cologne exhibition catalogue of 1840[149] describes the paintings as "altkölnisch" while the 1854 exhibition catalogue[150] describes them as "kölnisch aus dem Anfange des 16 Jahrhunderts" and the same catalogue[151] says of <u>The Raising of Lazarus</u> and <u>Christ and the Samaritan Women</u> that they were "früher für de Bless gehalten". Later catalogues point out the influence of the Van Eyck School[152] and describe the whole group of paintings as "niederländisch".[153] The Nuremberg panels from the same cycle were attributed by the Boisérée brothers[154] to Patenir. In 1882 Woltmann and Woermann[155] ascribed the whole series to the Master of Linnich. Janitschek[156] on the other hand, believed it to be the work of Joos van Cleve, while Scheibler[157] thought it the hand of an Antwerp Mannerist under the influence of Joos van Cleve. Friedländer[158] attributes the cycle to the Master of the Antwerp Adoration, a name which derives from the artist's <u>Adoration of the Magi</u> altarpiece now in Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Inv. No. 208-210). In 1956 Philipott[159] set himself the same problem of identifying this artist and mentions the monogram G which came to light when the altarpiece of the <u>Adoration of the Kings</u> in Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique[160], by the same artist, was restored. Philipott suggests[161] that these panels are for the most part weak, workshop reproductions, and are, perhaps, only partly executed by the Master of the Antwerp Adoration. The 1969 catalogue of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum[162] suggests that the identification of the artist is best left open to debate.

All that seems to have been established concerning the artist of this cycle of paintings in Cologne and Nuremberg, is that he was Netherlandish and was active in the first quarter of the 16th century. The series of panels

are approximately the same size and seem to fit the traditional type
of Netherlandish altarpiece of the period, when it was customary to
have a centrepiece surrounded by a large number of smaller panels on
the wings and the shutters. The scenes for the most part depict the
life of Christ with stories from his early years, from the miracles
he performed and from his Passion. There would appear to be twelve
major scenes, with a few subsidiary ones on predella panels.

The panel of the Wise and Foolish
Virgins is the only scene which tells the story of one of the
parables told by Christ, the others being more directly related to
the life of Christ. This scene shows the five Wise Virgins with their
lamps ready, their eyes raised upwards to see the bridegroom in the
form of Christ the Redeemer on the clouds of heaven. Angels, one with
a scroll, hover over the scene and to the left background there is a
church-like building with a wide portal, representing the Gate of
Heaven. In contrast, the Foolish Virgins, with lamps upturned and
eyes cast downwards, some of them talking to each other, are
completely oblivious of the coming of Christ. In the lower right
foreground, just under the feet of the Foolish Virgins, a gaping
hole opens up and a grotesque devil appears to drag the Foolish
Virgins down into Hell.[163] Clearly, this is an allegory of the
Last Judgement. The Wise Virgins are the Chosen who are about to
receive their reward; the Foolish Virgins are the Damned who are
on the point of being delivered into the clutches of Satan.

If one looks at all the scenes in
chronological order, starting with the Annunciation, which is shown
in one of the predella panels, and followed by Christ among the
Doctors when Christ was twelve years old, it is significant that

almost all the important landmarks in the story of Christ are depi-
cted with the exception of the most important scene of all - the
Crucifixion. Could this have been the centrepiece for the altar ?
Hiller and Vey[164] posit a sculpted centrepiece but do not suggest
a subject. In any event, the chronology continues with the Ascension,
Christ and the Virgin before God the Father, Pentecost and last of
all one might expect to see the Last Judgement - the logical end
to the narrative cycle. It is precisely because there is no
traditional Last Judgement scene with all the angels and saints
in ranks on the clouds of heaven, that one is drawn to believe that
the scene of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is indeed that last scene.
The figure of Christ on the clouds, the portal of heaven and the
angels, are indications that the Day of Judgement is at hand.   The
theory that this is an allegorical representation of the Last Judge-
ment scene and that the missing centrepiece might have been a
Crucifixion are supported by an earlier, late 15th century Nether-
landish altarpiece, painted in the same tradition by the artist
Vrancke van der Stockt.   The Altarpiece of the Salvation (Madrid,
Prado)[165] has now been ascribed by Hulin de Loo[166] to a follower of
Rogier Van Der Weyden, whom he calls Vrancke van der Stockt, (born
1420, died 1495) the town painter of Brussels after Rogier's death
and a devoted follower of his master.

This altarpiece shows the
Crucifixion in the central panel, Adam and Eve on the left wing, and on
the right wing, the Last Judgement in a kind of late Gothic archi-
tectural framework, with the Works of Mercy on either side.

Another Last Judgement panel of
around 1475 and now in the Town Hall of Valencia [167] is probably the

work of the same artist. The syle is very similar to that of the
Altarpiece of the Salvation and again the Works of Mercy appear,
although this time, because of the need for symmetry, an eighth Work
has been introduced, namely the Washing of the Feet. Two roundels
at the top, to the left and right of the Last Judgement scene, depict
the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the Feast of Belshazzar[168] respecti-
vely, a motif and parallel which derives from the Speculum Humanae
Salvationis tradition where both were used as typological parallels
for the Last Judgement.

A further Last Judgement panel
by the same artist - ascribed to Vrancke van der Stockt by Hulin de
Loo[169] is in the Berlin-Dahlem Picture Gallery [PLATE 76], and it is
this panel which may be regarded as a forerunner to the one by the
Master of the Antwerp Adoration, in which he depicts the Wise and
Foolish Virgins. In the Berlin panel by Van der Stockt the traditional
Netherlandish Last Judgement scene is shown. The scene is very
similar to the Prado and Valencia panels by the same artist, and shows
the extent of his debt to Rogier Van Der Weyden[170]. In all three,
Christ-Judge appears on a rainbow with his right hand raised and
his feet resting on a globe. Angels sound the trumpets of Judgement
day and the traditional figures of Mary and John the Baptist appear as
intercessors. In the Berlin panel two additional angels are seen
holding the traditional instruments of the Passion. Gone is the
architectural framework of the Prado and Valencia panels, and the Last
Judgement scene is pushed upwards so that it occupies less than half
the picture space - just as it does in the panel of the Wise and
Foolish Virgins by the Master of the Antwerp Adoration - so that the
scene below assumes more importance. Below, in the middle distance,

angels and devils separate chosen from damned as the souls of the
dead rise up naked before God on the Day of Judgement. In the
centre the jaws of hell open up to welcome the souls of the damned.
The immediate foreground is occupied with representatives of the
living - the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The Wise on the left, with
lamps lit are being met by an angel, whilst the Foolish on the right
bear empty lamps and the last of their number begs some oil from the
last Wise Virgin opposite. The scene is very similar to the one by
the Master of Antwerp Adoration, and perhaps van der Stockt's Berlin
panel may have been the source for the later master's work.

Both are surely strictly biblical
interpretations of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.
Vrancke van der Stockt moved from featuring the Wise and Foolish
Virgins along with the Feast of Belshazzar in the roundels, as
parallels to the Last Judgement (in the Valencia panel) to a change
of emphasis in the Berlin painting. There he gives the Wise and
Foolish Virgins much greater prominence, and shows the parable as an
allegory of the Last Judgement just as it is related in Matthew's
Gospel. The message is clear. The Wise Virgins who watch and wait
with lamps lit and ready, will attain salvation on the Judgement Day.
The Foolish Virgins who are unprepared will be handed over to the devil.
This follower of Rogier Van Der Weyden has depicted the parable in
its original scriptural context.

In a similar way, in the second
decade of the 16th century, after the theme had been laicised and
secularised by the artists Urs Graf and Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, the
Master of the Antwerp Adoration, following the late 15th century
tradition of Vrancke van der Stockt, has used the parable of the

Wise and Foolish Virgins as an allegory of the Last Judgement and thus, with a hint of the didactic style of Netherlandish painting, is seen, in the early 16th century, a return to a biblical interpretation of the parable. It is this tradition, rather than the secular approach of Niklaus Manuel Deutsch and Urs Graf, which later 16th century Netherlandish and German artists were to follow.

CHAPTER III.

DIDACTIC PURPOSES IN NORTHERN DEPICTIONS OF THE PARABLE.

While Italian art sought the beauty, harmony of form and colour, and balance of composition which reached its culmination in the achievements of what is now termed the "High Renaissance", the aims of Northern art were rather different. Although Italy was considered the centre of artistic inspiration and during the 15th and 16th centuries it became the norm for Flemish and German artists to spend some time in Italy studying the great masters, nevertheless, most tended to absorb and digest much of what they saw, without losing the essence of their Northern tradition.

In the 16th century, in particular, Northern art often had an underlying moral aim, as well as a marked tendency to use inconographical symbols and images, so that a painting had to be studied and solved almost like a puzzle.

It was into this atmosphere that a young German artist, Hermann Tom Ring ventured when he visited the Netherlands in the early 1540s,[171] to be greatly influenced by the works of leading Flemish artists, especially those of Lucas van Leyden.[172]

Hermann Tom Ring (1521-97) was the eldest son of Ludger Tom Ring (1496-1547) who was a leading Protestant in the Westphalian town of Münster.[173] The artistic work of both father and son displays certain similarities with Netherlandish painting.[174] Hermann had returned from the Netherlands to Westphalia by 1544[175] and his triptych of the Last Judgement [PLATE 77]

executed after 1550, and now in the Archiepiscopal Museum in Utrecht, shows how much he was influenced by Lucas van Leyden and other contemporary painters.[176] The Last Judgement (Leyden, Stedelijk Museum) [PLATE 78] of 1526-7 by Lucas van Leyden, merits mention for several reasons. First, the "bell-shaped" top of the triptych is an innovation which serves to create an airiness consistent with the celestial beings occupying the upper part of the altarpiece. Tom Ring, by comparison, uses the same basic shape, but compresses and reduces the length of the rounded top. It becomes immediately apparent that the Flemish work is technically superior. In the German painting no illusion of space is created between the writhing human figures and the calm serenity of the celestial order. Both van Leyden and Bernard van Orley in his Last Judgement (Antwerp, Musees Royaux des Beaux-Arts) [PLATE 79], 1525, achieve this division and both make very effective use of the landscape - the line of the horizon serving to distinguish earth from heaven. Tom Ring follows Lucas van Leyden's device of continuing the landscape right across the triptych and this gives a greater degree of unity to the whole composition.

Another compositional feature of van Leyden's Last Judgement is that, unlike Jan Provost,[177] he reduces the size of the figure of Christ the Redeemer at the top of the altarpiece. Bernard van Orley had used this device to great effect a year earlier and Hermann Tom Ring follows the Flemish example in this respect too.

The basic composition is similar in both van Leyden's and Tom Ring's altarpieces. Both depict the scene at the Day of Judgement in the centrepiece, the Chosen being

taken up to heaven by the angels of the Last Judgement on one wing, and the Damned being cast down into Hell on the other. Van Leyden's altarpiece mixes Northern with Italian elements (in many ways the scene in hell recalls Bosch, but in the classic nude figures of the centrepiece he shows an Italian style which is not far removed from that of Signorelli,[178] and in the angel looking out of the painting on the left wing, he displays a certain affinity with Pontormo[179]). Tom Ring's Last Judgement in Utrecht fuses Northern and Italian elements in a similar way. The central figure of death is immediately reminiscent of Bosch, as are the devils on the hell wing; whilst the nude bodies of the dead in the foreground of the hell Wing recall the style of Rosso,[180] and the foreground figures in the central panel, that of Michelangelo's Last Judgement (Rome, Sistine Chapel). It is probable that the most important Italian sources for Tom Ring's altarpiece were, in fact, engraved copies of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling frescoes, which, as Riewerts and Pieper[181] point out, were widely distributed throughout Europe by this time.

The figure of Death is the most striking feature of Tom Ring's Last Judgement altarpiece. It achieves the central role of the whole work, and beside it, Christ on the clouds of heaven recedes a little. There are two preparatory drawings for the altarpiece now in the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett. One is of Death[182] [PLATE 80]; the other of Christ-Judge [PLATE 81]. Obviously the artist intended these two figures to be the central pivots of the altarpiece.

Death fills the place usually occupied by St. Michael. It was traditional in Last Judgements for St. Michael to assume a central role between the opposing groups of

the Chosen and the Damned.[183]   More rarely the figure of Death is

included along with St. Michael.   In the Last Judgement panel in

New York, Metropolitan Museum by Van Eyck, the figure of Death,

supported by the inverted bodies of the Damned, actually dominates the

composition.   St. Michael is present but assumes a secondary role.

The Last Judgement by Van Eyck dates to around 1424[184] and it is

possible that Tom Ring saw it during his visit to the Netherlands

in the 1540s.   His source for the figure of Death, however, may

have lain in more contemporary works, for the theme of the Dance of

Death had an important influence on 15th and 16th century Northern

art.[185]   The most famous version of the Dance of Death was Hans

Holbein the Younger's series of wood engravings executed 1524-26,

and published 1538[186].   The history of the Dance of Death has been

treated at length by Francis Douce and others.[187]   It had become a

prominent theme in art and literature by the 15th century and as

Clark points out,[188] "the allegorical meaning of the pictures and

poems that represent this idea (ie. the Dance of Death) is perfectly

clear ; the power of Death and the equality of all men before him is

expressed in unequivocal language".   Man's preoccupation with his

ultimate destiny resulted in the personified figure of Death appearing

in morality plays,[189] in artistic rendering of the Dance of Death, and

in Last Judgement paintings.

In Tom Ring's altarpiece the

figure of Death has become important enough to replace the figure

of St. Michael.   Tom Ring is not the first artist to do this, how-

ever.   In Jorg Breu the Younger's woodcut of the Last Judgement with

the Ages of Man and Death [190] of 1540, the whole of the Last Judgement

scene is secondary to the dominant figure of Death as an archer.

Similarly, in a woodcut of the <u>Last Judgement with the Ages of Man</u>
<u>and Death</u> [191] of c1545, by Cornelius Anthonisz, the Last Judgement
recedes into the distance and is seen through an archway while Death,
clutching arrows in both hands, looks down on the whole scene from
above. Tom Ring's Death as the dominant figure of the composition
is not new. The innovation lies in the pose of Death. He looks
straight out at the spectator and prepares to shoot an arrow at him,
thereby bringing a new sense of immediacy, of involvement and of
didacticism to the traditional Last Judgement scene.

The upper part of the centrepiece
is largely consistent with Netherlandish convention. Christ appears
on the clouds of heaven, his right hand raised in blessing, his left
hand pointing downwards. At his feet is a cross and the Judgement
book; to his left a hand appears bearing a chalice and to his right
one with a sword. Beside him are the two intercessors, the Virgin
and John the Baptist. Peter and Andrew, Moses and Aaron, recognisable
by their attributes, are also present along with the other elders. [192]
Above them hovers a dove representing the Holy Spirit, and above
that is the word "JAHWES" in Hebrew letters. [193]

The foreground section is completely
dominated by Death on a litter preparing to shoot his arrow at the
onlooker. In front of him is a group of sprawling bodies, over-
lapping each other in a confused muddle. To the right and left,
mankind is divided into the traditional groups of the Chosen and
Damned, here clearly recognisable as the Virtues and Vices. [194]

The wings of the altarpiece reveal
the extent of the artist's ingenuity. The Chosen and the Damned
appear again, this time represented by the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

On the left wing, [PLATE 82] the Wise Virgins with arms held aloft,
carry lighted oil lamps and jars of oil, and are shepherded up a spiral
staircase into the celestial spheres. A trumpeting angel with a lily
hovers over the scene and is balanced on the other wing by a similar
angel with a sword.[PLATE 83] Below the sword-bearing angel on the
right wing, the Foolish Virgins with their upturned and, sometimes
discarded oil lamps, symbolise the Damned and are pushed into hell
by demons.

There can be no doubt that there is
a huge discrepancy between the inventiveness and clever interpretation
of biblical allegory displayed in the work, and the actual execution.[195]
The various threads are so neatly tied in, to depict, in one altar-
piece, the story of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Virtues and
Vices, Death, Judgement, heaven and hell - and to relate and inter-
relate them one to the other in the manner used in the sculptural
cycles of the Gothic cathedrals.[196] The execution, on the other
hand, is weak, almost clumsy and careless. The colours are unhar-
monious, and the grouping of the figures muddled. The final result
in no way matches the lofty idea and the outcome is confusing for the
spectator. Beauty and harmony of form were clearly not the artist's
first priority. His main concern was to make his didactic message
abundantly plain to his audience, to sound a powerful and forceful
warning trump.

Contemporary Northern poetry and
drama displayes the same strong didactic element as Tom Ring's work.
The theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins had been popular in
plays and poetry in medieval times, and continued to be popular into
the 16th century. The Eisenach play of 1322 Das Spiel von der klugen

und der törichten Jungfrauen [197] was performed in the vernacular for popular audiences. Its appeal was wide. It attempted to explain the symbolic meaning of the biblical parable, while showing the reasons for the damnation of the Foolish Virgins. The latter are seen dancing and indulging in frivolous ball-games. It is probable that this medieval drama might have been an important literary source for the sculptural cycles of the cathedrals. Both drama and sculpture may have contributed as sources for Tom Ring's altar-piece.

The considerable influence which medieval drama exerted on art is demonstrated in a collection of plays of the 12th century [198] from Limoges, one of which is the play of the Wise and Foolish Virgins entitled Sponsus. Partly in Provençal French and partly in Latin, [199] the play tells the story of the coming of the Sponsus who is Christ, and of the Virgins who have waited for him. The Foolish Virgins who have wasted their oil, try fruitlessly to acquire some more by various means. It is significant that in this play, for the first time appears the detail of the Foolish Virgins holding their lamps upside-down. There is no mention of this in scripture, but the play is quite specific on this point, as Émile Male has described. [200] In early Christian renderings of the parable [201] the Virgins all hold long torches or tapers, either lit or unlit, but it is in drama that the idea of the Foolish Virgins holding their lamps upside-down first appears. Artists soon followed the example of drama in this detail.

Having failed to obtain any oil, the Foolish Virgins of the Sponsus play wait, along with the Wise, for the advent of the Sponsus. He finally arrives and says to the Foolish

Virgins;

"amen, dico, vos ignosco,...."

There is a further and most important innovation in the Sponsus,
namely the introduction of devils into the story. These do not
say anything at all. Their task is to cast the Foolish Virgins into
hell. Their introduction serves the dual function of heightening
the dramatic tension and also of stressing the element of punishment
and damnation upon which the clergy of the day wished to lay emphasis.

The parable of the Wise and
Foolish Virgins became a popular theme in drama, thus bringing its
moral message to many, in much the same way as the Biblia Pauperum
and Speculum Humanae Salvationis. The appearance of the parable in a
dramatic context also introduced new elements into the narrative, and
many of these new elements were to provide added stimuli for artists.

Another Last Judgement (Münster,
Landesmuseum) [PLATE 84] of c1555,[202] by Hermann Tom Ring displays
evidence of the influence of mystery plays. This is a double-sided
panel, with the Last Judgement on one side and Christ as the Saviour
of Mankind on the reverse. The panel is well documented thanks to
Max Geisberg's research.[203] It was executed for the Church of the
Fraterhaus at Münster and the two donors seen praying at the lower
left are probably Father Johann Campe and Johann Ducker, the procurators
of the monastery.[204]

This second Last Judgement by
Hermann Tom Ring, along with a preparatory study in the Albertina
Collection in Vienna [PLATE 85] is one of the most dramatic and
imaginative of all 16th century representations of the scene. A
layer of sky has fallen down and hovers, like a stage, midway between

heaven and earth. The heavenly ranks of saints and martyrs are seen in an amphitheatre arrangement at the top of the panel; trumpeting angels, the traditional intercessors and an angel holding up the book of Judgement, occupy the middle layer; while on earth, the two donors at the left foreground watch, as the separation of the chosen from the damned takes place before them. The souls of the dead rise and angels and devils carry out their appointed tasks. Among the blessed is a Wise Virgin carrying a lighted lamp. Tom Ring again includes the parable in the Last Judgement scene.[205] The text of the parable is inscribed on the left hand book held up by a trumpeting angel standing on the middle layer of sky.[206]

Between the inception and the final execution, the artist makes some significant changes. In the Albertina drawing everything is depicted in solid, concrete three-dimensional volumes. The sky is like a solid roof; the layer which has dropped down, a solidly constructed stage. The heavenly orders are clearly defined and sit in ascending ranks. In the finished panel, the middle section has become a film of wispy cloud and the heavenly layer is filled with a much more atmospheric light. The two donors, who have become monks in the final version, watch the drama like spectators watching a play unfold on the stage before them. The construction of the midway "stage" between heaven and earth is an accurate visualization of the same device used in medieval plays.[207] Perhaps Tom Ring was influenced by a contemporary drama. Certainly his imagery and style influenced his contemporaries. Hubert Goltzius, painted a <u>Last Judgement</u>[208] (in 1557, for Venlo Town Hall) which is an adapted version of Tom Ring's Münster <u>Last Judgement</u>.

The aim of bringing a moralising message to the attention of the common man was furthered by a moral satire entitled Das Narrenschiff, (1494) written by Sebastian Brant. It was to enjoy remarkable and sustained popularity throughout the whole of the following century,[209] its universal appeal being measured by the fact that, between the years of 1497 and 1650 it was translated into Latin, Low German, French, English, Flemish and Dutch.[210]

Brant (1458-1521) lived all his life in an atmosphere of impending change.[211] His was the period immediately preceding the wave of 16th century humanism and of the Reformation, but Brant was never to take any active part in the latter. His views were essentially conservative.[212] He wished to reform the church from within, to maintain the status quo, and to support a moral regeneration.[213] His was essentially an outlook of humanism, optimism and rationalism.[214] He believed that it was to the literate common folk and not only to scholars versed in Latin that his words were relevant, and thus translated his own and others' works into German.[215] The German verse of his Narrenschiff shows flair, purity and succinctness and it must be considered a work of great literary talent, as well as one of real significance for its moral and didactic aims.[216]

On his Narrenschiff Brant collected all the groups of contemporary figures whom he wished to criticise. The book is divided into chapters and each is accompanied by a woodcut illustration. The woodcut for Chapter 106, "Refraining from Good Works" shows five Foolish Virgins [PLATE 86] with upturned oil lamps. All five wear the caps and bells which are the traditional costume of jesters or fools.[217] The foremost is knocking at a heavy door

which remains firmly closed.   The corresponding text is as follows ;

    " A fool is he, who, if he lives,

        When God his final judgement gives,

        To self-blame and culpations bound

        Because he has supressed his pound

        Which God did give him once of yore.

        Wherewith he should acquire more.

        From him God takes his pound away,

        He suffers pain by night and day.

        So they who have their lamp upset

        Or not their oil have lighted yet

        And go to seek oil everywhere

        When far away the soul would fare".[218]

Clearly Sebastian Brant was issuing a moral warning in this Chapter,
as he was throughout his whole satire.

                        It is in connection with Brant's
work that an engraving of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (o1560),
[PLATE 87] by Pieter Bruegel the Elder will be considered.   Executed
during the artist's Brussels' period, the engraving can be linked
thematically with a whole group of works by him done around the same
time, on the subject of the vices of gluttony and sensuality.

                        It appears at first glance that the
artist has depicted this parable accurately according to the scriptural
passage. On the left are the five Wise Virgins, with their lamps
burning brightly, while the five empty burnt-out lamps of their counter-
parts lie abandoned on the right hand side.   The angel of the Last
Judgement hovers over the scene and in the far background Christ the
Redeemer welcomes the Wise Virgins into his Kingdom, while the Foolish

Virgins are barred entry. The kingdom of heaven is depicted in the traditional medieval manner as a Gothic church structure.

The Wise Virgins, who watched and waited, have attained eternal salvation. Bruegel is not content, however, merely to let the Wise Virgins sit about waiting for the Bridegroom. Rather, they make valuable use of their time - they spin, sew, wind and wash and are a veritable "hive of activity". This is an elaboration of scripture, an extension of the parable which would coincide with the moral ideas and atmosphere in 16th century Flanders.[219] Sebastian Brant's satire advocated this kind of fruitful endeavour and good use of one's time. To Brant and other contemporary moralists,[220] the sin of sloth was the root of all evil. Brant says in Chapter 97 on the vice of sloth;

> "The devil notes all idleness
> And sows his seeds in wickedness.
> One cause of sinfulness is sloth,
> The Israelites it rendered wroth.
> When David too was idle he
> Did kill and do adultery." [221]

This work ethic would probably have appealed to the new materialism of Antwerp,[222] where passages such as the parable of the Talents (Matt. 25 v.14-30) would be taken to mean that servants must invest their master's money and make a profit,[223] and where it would be deemed right and proper for the rich to become richer and the poor poorer (Matt. 25 v.29). This strangely unchristian idea that profit-making and capitalism were to be considered fair and laudable was quite prevalent in Flanders during this period and fitted the social and economic climate of Antwerp which had superceded Bruges as

one of the most important trading cities in Europe.[224]

The influence of Brant and also of some of the narrower ideas of the Reformation, with their rather disapproving views on dancing and merry-making,[225] may have had some bearing on Bruegel's art, for in this engraving, contrasted with the industry of the Wise Virgins, is a scene of dancing, merry-making and bag-pipe playing,[226] in which all five Foolish Virgins participate. Perhaps Bruegel's sympathies lie with Reformation teaching.   This may be further supported by one or two of his paintings executed about the same time.   In the Wedding Dance in the Open Air (Detroit, Institute of Arts) of 1566, where the marriage ceremony has been subordinated to the dancing, the gestures, postures and facial expressions of the dancers indicate that merry-making leads to lust-ful behaviour, just as Brant warns in his Chapter "On Dancing".[227] Brant maintains that unless the motive behind the dance is purely one of physical exercise, then it can lead to deadly sin !   This would seem to concur with the stricter line of Reformation teaching, which was prevalent where the influence of Calvin was strongest.[228] In Geneva, at this time, for example, dancing between members of the opposite sex was a criminal offence.[229]

In the Wise and Foolish Virgins, it was not Bruegel's intention to depict a pure genre scene, although, as always, he seized the opportunity to exploit a genre possibility to the full.   The Wise and Foolish Virgins engraving, however, is meant to be read on more than one level.   The tree in the foreground is one of the iconographical symbols to be interpreted in an allegorical way.   It is the withered and flowering tree which has both biblical[230] and mythological[231] sources.   The branches on the Wise Virgins' half are flowering, while those on the other side are dead.   Bruegel

uses this motif as an allegory of good and evil or virtue and vice, in the same way as the French cathedral sculptors had done in the 13th century. [232] He uses the same symbolism in another engraving, the Triumph of Time [PLATE 88] which contains a globe with a tree growing out of it, and this tree has withered branches on the left and flowering limbs on the right.[233] The globe serves to separate the two halves of the landscape background (just as the tree divides the print into two halves in the Wise and Foolish Virgins) and at the same time to symbolise the contrast between the good times and the bad; between the dead of winter and the new growth that comes with each new spring. Bruegel's message in the Triumph of Time is that, in the end, it is Time who wins the battle, and even the flowering tree has no real defence against the inevitable march of Time.

In the engraving of the Wise and Foolish Virgins the tree serves the dual purpose of dividing the composition into two halves, and of separating the Wise from the Foolish Virgins, or Good from Evil. What is the artist's purpose in this work ? One could argue that he is pointing the finger at the Foolish Virgins and chiding them in the same way as Brant had done in Das Narrenschiff, for passing their time in wanton pleasures. Ultimately, though, Bruegel is more concerned to fill out the biblical passage and to lay emphasis on the mere telling of the story, rather than on stressing any moral message.

A comparison between this engraving and the Last Judgement by Hermann Tom Ring of c1550 shows the same theological intention but two entirely different approaches. Bruegel is much more concerned with the living - the activities of the Virgins on earth.His are real Flemish peasants engaged in everyday domestic pastimes.

The Last Judgement scene is in the background. Tom Ring's didactic purpose is much more evident. He is concerned with Death which none can escape. The bodies of the dead are strewn across the foreground. Angels and devils separate the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Tom Ring is concerned with the fate of the Virgins after death; Bruegel concentrates on their activities in this life.

Another Northern contemporary of Bruegel, whose work merits examination, is Jerome Francken the Elder (1540-1610).[234] Having learnt under Frans Floris,[235] Francken went to Italy in 1542, both to Rome and then to Venice, and by 1547 was back in Antwerp.[236] According to Van Mander[237] he was one of a group of young Flemish painters to go to Fontainebleau in 1556 and thence to Paris, before returning to Antwerp in 1571.

From an art historical point of view, this artist's most significant contribution was perhaps in the field of fêtes and bourgeois interior scenes.[238] He was really the innovator of this type of genre scene and his Venetian Ball (Aachen, Sauermondt Museum) [PLATE 89] of 1564, his first monogrammed and dated work,[239] is a good example of such a scene. It fuses Italian, Flemish and French elements in an elegant mannerist style. There is a strong Venetian influence[240] which explains the choice of subject and of costumes, and at the same time the female figures are distinctly Flemish. In the same year as he painted the Venetian Ball, Jerome Francken the Elder painted the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Warsaw, Narodne Museum) [PLATE 90] and also the Palace Ball (Stockholm, University Museum) [PLATE 91]. The latter two share many common stylistic and compositional elements. In each the grouping is compact, and the foreground dominated by a klavier. The lady

playing the klavier in the <u>Palace Ball</u> is a very similar type to the Foolish Virgin playing the same instrument at the left hand side of the <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins.</u>

The <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u> by Jerome Francken is an elegant and sophisticated composition. The Foolish Virgins at the left are dressed fashionably in elegant gowns. They are arranged around the klavier, which one Virgin plays while a second accompanies her on a lute and a third on a violin. A fourth Foolish Virgin, with wineglass to her lips, sits before a table laden with food, while the last of the five sits with her head on the table, sound asleep. In the left foreground, various discarded and broken oil lamps lie around, along with a flagon of wine,[241] playing-cards,[242] fruit, and paint brushes.[243] In short, the Foolish Virgins are surrounded by instruments representing Music and the Arts. This painting presents the first example of a new interpenetration of profane and religious themes. On the wall behind the Foolish Virgins, reinforcing the intermingling of myth and religion, is a painting of a mythological scene with various nude figures bathing. This is exactly balanced on the wall behind the Wise Virgins where an "Ecce Homo" is visible. A candle is placed on either side of the latter and before this little 'altar' one of the Wise Virgins, hands clasped together, is praying. In front of her, the other four Wise Virgins sit round a table. Several elements in this painting are similar to Bruegel's engraving of the <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins.</u> Three of Francken's Wise Virgins are engaged in domestic activities. One is filling an oil lamp, while the other lamps are all lit and burning. Another virgin is occupied with yarn-winding while her companion is embroidering. In the right foreground a work basket is clearly

visible. Like Bruegel's Wise Virgins, those in Francken's version make
good use of their time. The fifth Wise Virgin deserves closer attention,
because it appears that in her, Francken has added another new dimension
to the parable. The Wise Virgin at the extreme right is sitting with
an open prayer-book on her lap, and a set of rosary beads between her
praying hands. Before her, on the table, is a crucifix and along-
side it on the table is a second rosary. I believe the Wise Virgin
has been depicted as a personification of Faith.[244] Although the
other four Wise Virgins cannot be interpreted quite so tightly,
nevertheless, Francken is, in an elegant and decorative way, pointing
a strong message.

Unlike Tom Ring and Bruegel, he
omits the Last Judgement. He evokes moral overtones, nevertheless,
and no contemporary onlooker would have had any doubt as to the ultimate
destinies of the respective groups. The Foolish Virgins who waste their
time in the worthless and wordly pursuit of the Arts and Music are
equated with folly and vice and represent the Damned; the Wise Virgins
with their oil lamps filled, trimmed and lit, who watch, pray and make
valuable use of their time, are equated with virtue and represent the
Chosen.

There is, in this painting, a
further dimension, another innovation, which bears examination. By
the inclusion, primarily of the two sets of rosary beads, but
supported by the crucifix with the figure of Christ upon it,[245] and
also by the lighted candles and the Wise Virgin praying before a
picture, Francken represents his Wise Virgins specifically as Roman
Catholics. All the above elements are distinctly recognisable aspects
of the Roman Catholic faith, all of them the subject of debate at this

time of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The Foolish

Virgins, by contrast, represent the Arts and Music.[246] The artist

is making a very clear statement. Not only are the virgins on the

right wise and therefore eligible for eternal salvation, but they

are also equated with Roman Catholicism; the Foolish, by contrast

waste their time in the Arts and Music and lose out on salvation.

They are also specifically shown to be non-Catholics. Seen in this

light, the painting becomes more than a typical Northern example

of moral didacticism. It is rather a product of Reformation

influence, a definite sectarian statement. No longer is it enough

to watch and wait like the Virgins in Tom Ring's Last Judgement; it

is not even enough to indulge in useful and fruitful activities like

Bruegel's Wise Virgins. Francken points out, through his rendering of

the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, that in order to attain

eternal salvation, it is necessary to shun the temptations of the Arts

and Music and to adhere to the Roman Catholic faith !

CHAPTER IV.

THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS - A REFORMATION THEME ?

Chapter III examined how the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was used to point a message. The parable was depicted with a distinctly didactic purpose. Tom Ring's Wise Virgins who "watched and waited" were rewarded by eternal salvation. Bruegel developed the moral still further and his Wise Virgins indulged in a variety of useful activities while waiting for the bridegroom. Finally, in the work of Jerome Francken the Elder, rosary beads were introduced to make a specifically sectarian statement.

Clearly, the latter painting was executed amid the turbulence and religious upheavals of the Reformation era, and as such it captures one aspect of the climate of the age. It is precisely this aspect which will be looked at more closely in this chapter. How far were artists influenced by the historical, economic, social and religious events of that age ? How was this influence reflected on their canvases ?

An attempt will be made to answer these questions by reference to some works by three artists - Hans Eworth, Marten de Vos and Crispin de Passe the Elder.

HANS EWORTH

Not very much is known of the background of the artist Hans Eworth and the situation is not helped by the transformations his name undergoes. He is generally acknowledged to be the same person as Jan Eeuwowts or Euworts who was listed as a freeman of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke in 1540.[247] He is also sometimes known as Hans (Haunce) Euwottes.[248] Most of his work bears

the monogram HE and it is known that he was active in England[249] in
the mid 16th century, as an official court painter.[250] Investi-
gations into the work and importance of Hans Eworth have further been
hampered by the fact that until fairly recently[251] he has been con-
fused with the artist Lucas de Heere,[252] who actually only arrived
in England in 1568, some twenty-five years after Eworth came to
Britain. Some art dictionaries have still not corrected this
mistaken identity.[253]

Eworth's painting of the Wise and Foolish
Virgins (Copenhagen State Museum, Royal Collection)[PLATE 92] signed
with the monogram HE and dated 1570, is, like the earlier Bruegel
engraving on the same subject, so full of inconographic symbols
and images that it has almost to be studied like a puzzle. It must
be worked out and solved before one can understand fully the artist's
intention.

In its ornate decorativeness and
elegance, the painting shows the influence of the mannerist school
of Italian painting. The gesturing figure of the Wise Virgin nearest
the centre of the composition recalls the foreground figure of Folly
in Bronzino's Allegory of Time (London, National Gallery), although
the figure is reversed. Stylistically, Eworth also shows marked
affinities with the Antwerp mannerists, and Roy Strong[254] suggests
the influence of Jan Scorel.

The scene in the Wise and Foolish
Virgins is set out of doors, with the two groups of virgins seated
at two tables in the foreground. There is no bridegroom in evidence,
but, hovering in the sky is the archangel Michael, the Angel of the

Last Judgement, bearing the trumpet which scripture tells us will
be sounded on the day of Judgement (Matt. 24 v.31).

The background is to be read, as
it were,in two halves. On the left is the gate of heaven, with
the words "Via, Veritas et Vita" inscribed on it, and the traditional
figure of Christ the Redeemer, bearing the banner of the Resurrection,
is receiving the five Wise Virgins (who correspond exactly to the
group of five at the left table in the foreground). All is light, and
heavenly angels herald the Chosen to their salvation. Outside the
realm of the "Clouds of heaven" (Matt. 24 v.30) left in the darkness
below, are the five Foolish Virgins who look forlorn and distressed,[255]
and are beseeching their Lord to let them in. The rest of the land-
scape beyond is in utter darkness,[256] and the sinister moon is
shining as opposed to all the light of heaven. The message is
obvious - the sinners have been cast out into the darkness.

There is a castle on the dark side
of the painting and it is only reachable by a bridge which leads over
a river. This. must be the River Styx, one of the five rivers of the
underworld, according to mythology.[257] The castle may have been
included as a contrast to the architectural portal, very remini-
scent of a church, which constitutes the Gate of Heaven. In Northern
and Italian Renaissance painting, landscape background was sometimes
used to reinforce the moral allegory.[258] A church and a castle were
often used to differentiate between sacred and secular figures in
the foreground,[259] and this is probably the device employed in Eworth's
painting of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

In the middle distance, beyond the

foreground figures, there is, on the left, a flock of sheep; on the
right goats; and in the centre, the shepherd, separating the sheep
from the goats - a literal depiction of the biblical passage,

> "And before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He
> shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd
> divideth his sheep from the goats; And He shall set
> the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left".
>
> (Matt. 25 v. 32-33)[260]

This middle distance scene is linked inconographically to the fore-
ground group of Virgins by the fact that one single sheep stands
by the group of Wise Virgins and one goat sits beside the table at
which the Foolish Virgins are sitting.

The allegorical nature of the work
is, therefore, spelt out very clearly. The Wise Virgins are equated
with the sheep and are seen to represent the Elect; the Foolish
are equated with the goats and are seen to miss out on eternal
salvation.

Comparisons may be made between the
two foreground groups of Virgins. The Wise on the left, are dressed
modestly, are trimming their lamps, according to the biblical text,
but are also surrounded by instruments for yarn-winding, for lace-
making, for spinning and sewing, - another instance of the influence
of Brant and other contemporary moralists. Once again the moral is
that industry is virtuous. The Foolish Virgins, by contrast, are
not so chastely dressed (one has her breast exposed in a manner
reminiscent of Schongauer's Foolish Virgin of c1490 [PLATE 49]) and
they are surrounded by objects which by Northern traditions symbol-
ise vice and evil - casks and flasks of wine;[261] a backgammon set[262]
(this may be seen as roughly equivalent to the chess-sets and other

board games often seen in Garden of Love iconography[263] or to card
games as disapproved of by Brant in Das Narrenschiff.[264])

The key to the ultimate significance
of this painting lies in the rosary beads[265] [PLATE 93] in the left
hand of the foremost Foolish Virgin on the right hand side. This can
only mean that the painting, like that by Jerome Francken the Elder,
was a product of Reformation thought and that Eworth, unlike Francken,
must have been sympathetic to the cause.[266] He is, in the final
analysis, equating wisdom with Protestantism and folly with Catho-
licism. This point is perhaps further supported by a comparison
between the two tables. The Wise Virgins sit around a simple table
on which lies an open book, with the words 'Verum Dei' written on
it. If this table can be regarded as an altar, then the other table
with the white linen cloth and the goblets (chalices ?) could be taken
to symbolise a Catholic altar, in much the same way as Cuttler[267]
has suggested in his article on the Ship of Fools (Paris, Louvre)
[PLATE 94] by Bosch. Cuttler argues that the dangling pancake in
Bosch's painting represents the Host, that the board is symbolic of
an altar and that the cup and paten represent the eucharist.

Eworth has, in ·the Wise and Foolish
Virgins, made some transformations in iconography. While the original
meaning of the parable is that the Wise will be chosen and the Foolish
damned, the implication in Eworth's version is much more specific
and sectarian - namely, that Protestantism leads to salvation and
Catholicism to damnation.

A contemporary engraving by an anony-
mous artist will demonstrate how deeply involved art was in the
religious unrest of the period. The print [PLATE 95] illustrates
a parable from St. John's Gospel (John 10 v. 1) ".....He that entereth
not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way,

the same is a thief and a robber". In this print there is a cart,[268]
pulled along by the Pope, and cardinals. The group is trying to
enter the fold through a hole in the wall and not by the door. This
is a typical example of an anti-Catholic print.

Eworth's position is interesting, part-
icularly in the light of much of his earlier work. He is accepted[269]
as having been an official court painter of the Catholic Mary Tudor,
and most of his sitters were of staunch Catholic background.[270] The
most notable and powerful sympathisers of the Reformed religion do
not appear among his portraits.[271] By the time he painted the Wise
and Foolish Virgins in 1570, however, Elizabeth I was Queen, and the
atmosphere in courtly England was quite different. It has been claimed
by Cust[272] that Eworth was a Protestant, and thus one must assume
that the Wise and Foolish Virgins is an accurate representation of
his own religious views, while his earlier portraits of exclusively
Catholic sitters were a reflection of his position as court painter
to a Catholic queen.

MARTEN DE VOS

Another Flemish artist whose work is
of particular significance at the time of the Reformation
is Marten de Vos (c1531-1603). He was born in Antwerp just at the
time in that city's history when it had taken over from Bruges as
the most important city in Flanders.[273] In fact, because of its
geographical position, Antwerp had become the most important economic
and industrial city in Europe.[274] Side by side with the influx of
foreign shipping and merchants of every nationality - alongside this
material wealth, came the flow of the new ideas of humanism and of
the Reformation. This new blossoming of Antwerp in social, economic

and philosophical spheres, created an ideal atmosphere for a cultural
Renaissance, and artistic eyes turned naturally towards Italy for
inspiration. It was in this cosmopolitan atmosphere, where the art
of the period had begun to reflect foreign influences, that Marten
de Vos served his early days as an apprentice to Frans Floris.[275]
Influenced by his master's enthusiasm for Italian art, de Vos
followed Floris' example by going to Italy. Although the exact date
of his departure seems uncertain,[276] it has been established that
he met and worked under Tintoretto,[277] and much of his oeuvre shows
the combined influences of both his Flemish and Venetian masters[278]
Other influences contributed to the mature style of de Vos. In form,
content and iconography, however, his art remains essentially
Flemish, while showing, nevertheless, some definite traces of the
mannerist style he would have learned from Frans Floris.

In the painting of the Wise and
Foolish Virgins of c1580 (La Fère, Musée Jeanne d'Aboville) [PLATE 96]
de Vos displays the Italianate manner of Floris.[279]Stylistically· this
is a mannerist rendering of the parable, with the exaggeration of
gesture, elongation of form and decorative design which characterises
mannerist art. The scene, as in the Eworth painting, is set out-of-
doors. The Wise Virgins are busily trimming and filling their elegant
crystal lamps while their counterparts are engaged in altogether
different activities and are not prepared with lamps filled and lit,
for the arrival of the bridegroom. The angel of the Last Judgement
hovers over the scene and provides a link between the foreground and
background of the composition by directing the Wise Virgins upwards
to the scene at the gate of heaven in the left background. As Eworth
had done, de Vos uses the device of continuous narrative, so that in
the background he depicts the next stage in the story - the day of

Judgement. On the clouds of heaven the figure of Christ appears,
bearing the banner of the Resurrection and welcoming the Wise Virgins
into his kingdom. In the darkness, as in the Eworth rendering, the
helpless Foolish Virgins have been excluded from eternal life.
Marten de Vos clearly portrays the parable in the context of the Last
Judgement, but a closer examination of the figures in the foreground
reveals some deviations from, and broader interpretations of, the
scriptural passage. The Virgins are not arranged in two separate
groups in this painting, but are instead strung out across the entire
width of the foreground space. One has to look closely to identify
exactly which are the Wise Virgins. It is perhaps easier to locate
the Foolish Virgins first, as some of their lamps lie unlit and dis-
carded on the ground. Three Foolish Virgins may be identified in
this way. This leaves seven Virgins holding up lamps. Of these seven,
two are requesting oil from Virgins with oil containers and fillers.
It must be assumed, since this follows the biblical text exactly, that
the two begging figures are also Foolish Virgins. Thus is seen a
more complex arrangement of figures and integration of the two
opposing groups than had hitherto been attempted by any artist port-
raying this subject.

One of the Foolish Virgins, the foremost
figure in red at the right hand side of the painting, bears a lamp
and requests oil from one of the Wise Virgins. She also has a globe
and compasses on her lap, and a marked-off rod leaning against her.
This is the personified figure of Geometry.[280] Iconographically,
de Vos has mingled profane and religious themes in this painting. Not
only is this Virgin Foolish and therefore damned, but she is also a
representative of the Sciences.

Another Foolish Virgin, seen with musical instruments, and sheets of music at her feet, is a personification of Music. Her companion with her overturned oil-lamp lying at her feet, reads from a book and symbolises the Arts. These two Foolish Virgins, along with the two at the extreme left of the canvas, are arranged almost like a concert of the Muses, and represent the Arts and Music. The grouping is similar to that of de Vos' Apollo and the Muses of 1568 in Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts. De Vos has thus added another dimension to the parable. His Foolish Virgins are represented as the Arts, Sciences and Music.

De Vos makes an overt reference to the Arts and Sciences in another painting, now in the Collection of Venancio Lopez de Ceballos in Madrid [PLATE 97].The latter is an allegory on the Arts and Sciences who are represented as the three figures being crowned on the left hand side of the composition. The figures are identified by Tervarent[281] as Astronomy or Astrology with the globe and sextant; behind her, Music reading a score and behind her, Philosophy listening to the advice of an old man. These representatives of the Arts and Sciences are balanced on the right hand side of the painting by a young couple who have given themselves up to the pursuit of love, and a third figure who tries to bring them out of their oblivion and warns them of the threat from above. In this work the Arts and Sciences are praised, whereas in the Wise and Foolish Virgins it is the Foolish Virgins who represent the Arts, Sciences and Music.

In de Vos' painting of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Wise Virgins are more chastely dressed - they all have long-sleeved dresses, while their counterparts wear more

ornate, fashionable, short-sleeved garments. The figure of the Wise
Virgin dressed in grey is a puzzling problem. She sits on the right
of the angel of the Last Judgement, looking very much like many of
de Vos' Madonna figures,[282] and carries an open book on her lap.
She holds an oil lamp and rests her foot on a slab of stone.[283] The
iconography is fairly complex, but the public of de Vos' time would have
known, particularly in the Counter-Reformation atmosphere, that the
figure of Faith was often depicted as carrying an open book, sometimes
with a cross lying across it to show that it represents the scriptures.[284]
The foot resting on the slab is symbolic of the stability and unshake-
able foundation of her belief.[285] At her feet, however, there is also
a jar which is immediately reminiscent of the ointment jar tradition-
ally carried by Mary Magdalen. Perhaps de Vos represents this figure
of the Wise Virgin both as Faith and also as Mary Magdalen, thereby
implying that Mary Magdalen who acquired faith is now acceptable as
a Wise Virgin, and will be received into the kingdom of heaven.[286]
Certainly Mary Magdalen had been a popular figure in medieval drama
and art,[287] and she was to become a favourite saint again in the art
of the Counter-Reformation period[288] - the concept of a sinner, the
"repent and ye shall be saved" idea, appealed very much to Counter-
Reformation thought.

In the middle distance, at the
extreme right, is the sculpted figure of a River God, possibly Tiber.[289]
This must be a reference to Roman classical mythology. Further refer-
ence to the classical age is made by the inclusion of the pyramidal-
shaped building in the background. This is surely a painter's
version of a pagan mausoleum. It bears more than a passing resem-
blance to the Greek mausoleum of Halicarnassus.[290] The building to

the right of this, a large, domed cathedral-like structure, is very
Italianate and with its distinctive dome, it is not unlike the church
of St. Peter's in Rome. It is known that before going to Venice,
Marten de Vos did stay in Rome,[291] where he made a number of studies
and sketches of, for example, the Belvedere and the Villa Madama.
The dome of St. Peter's was only completed in 1585, so perhaps, as
Sulzberger[292] suggests, this is merely an imaginary building. The
same church, however, figures in so many of de Vos' paintings, drawings
and engravings, including his Triumph of Christ (Antwerp Cathedral)
and St. Paul on the Island of Malta (Paris, Louvre). It was known
what St. Peters was going to look like and de Vos probably saw the
models of the dome and made copies after these models he saw in Rome.

Since it was a standard Northern
tradition to use symbols and iconography in the background to rein-
force the action and message of the foreground, it is likely that
de Vos intended the background buildings and sculpted figure to
be relevant to the Wise and Foolish Virgins. It seems that the back-
ground makes a distinction between pagan, classical mythology,
symbolised by the mausoleum and the River God, and Christianity,
and perhaps more particularly Roman Catholicism, represented by the
church of St. Peter's. This comparison of profane and sacred; or
of pagan and Christian ties, in iconographically with the foreground
figures, where the Foolish Virgins represent the Arts, Sciences and
Music - or the secular; and the Wise Virgins, led by the figure of
Faith, epitomise the idea that religious belief - Faith and the
Virtues - leads to salvation. The inclusion of St. Peter's is
perhaps a hint that de Vos was making a slightly more specific state-
ment. It is possible that he was advocating the Roman Catholic faith,

but clearly he warned that the secular way of life would not lead
to salvation.

Marten de Vos' possible sympathy
with the Catholic faith, as displayed in his Wise and Foolish
Virgins, is interesting in the light of some of his other work, and
in particular, in connection with a cycle of paintings decorating
the Castle chapel of the Lutheran Duke of Brunswick and Lüneberg, at
Celle, near Hanover. This series was executed in 1569-1570 by
Marten de Vos and adorns the back of the pew on the south wall of the
chapel.[293] The subject matter is the Last Judgement [PLATE 98],
flanked on the left by a panel depicting the figure of Faith
[PLATE 99], on the right by one of Charity [PLATE 100] and below are
the scenes of the six biblical Works of Mercy [PLATES 101-106].[294]

The complexity of the choice of
subject needs to be examined. It is significant that the Works of
Mercy are smaller than, and appear below, the larger panels of Faith
and Charity, and that they are not physically connected to the
Last Judgement. The inscriptions around Faith are essential to
an understanding of the whole cycle. These are as follows;

   Habakkuk 2 v. 4 - "Behold, his soul which is lifted up is not
         upright in him; but the just shall live
         by his faith".

   John 3 v. 36 - "He that believeth on the Son shall have
         everlasting life; and he that believeth
         not the Son shall not see life; but the
         wrath of God abideth on him".

and Romans10 v.9 - "That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth
         the Lord Jesus and shalt believe in thine

heart that God hath raised him from the
dead, thou shalt be saved".

These quotations make it clear that Faith is the most important

element necessary for salvation, and then comes Charity and then,

perhaps necessarily, the good works follow. It is a statement of

the Lutheran doctrine of justification by Faith alone, and the

subject matter was obviously chosen to highlight the difference

between Lutheranism and both Roman Catholicism and Calvinism.   For

Roman Catholicism, faith alone was not sufficient for salvation

without the added ingredient of good works; while for Calvinism, it

was impossible to cling to one's faith while leading the life of a

sinner.   One of the most important documents relating to the Lutheran

belief about the controversy over good works was issued in 1580

(ten years after de Vos' work at Celle) and was entitled the

Formula of Concord.[295]   The latter attacked both Roman Catholic

and Calvinist dogmas on good works and stated the Lutheran tenet

that, while good works are not necessary for eternal salvation, as

man is saved by faith alone, it is also true that no believer would

not practice good works.   It is significant that Martin Chemnitz,[296]

an important figure in Brunswick and a theological adviser to the

Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, was one of the main authors of the

Formula of Concord.[297]   It is also significant that Marten de Vos'

series of paintings commissioned by the same Duke for his Chapel, were

executed some ten years before the first official statement of the

Lutheran beliefs it set out to depict.

In the same chapel at Celle, another

painting by Marten de Vos,[298] entitled The Victory of the Christian

Protestant Church [PLATE 107] contains many iconographical signs and

symbols relevant to this study. It also illustrates further, de
Vos' sympathies with the Lutheran cause.

The painting is dominated by the
central female figure of the Church. She is very similar to the
figure of the Wise Virgin who is personified as Faith in de Vos'
later painting of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. In the Celle work the
central figure is Faith, the Bride of the Church, the Virgin and the
Protestant Christian Church all combined into one personage. In
her left hand she bears the shield of faith, on which is an inscri-
ption from Ephesians 6 v. 16 [299] "Above all, taking the shield of

> faith,wherewith ye shall be able
> to quench all the fiery darts
> of the wicked ".

In her right hand she holds the book of scripture and on the table in
front of her, a book lies open, showing two quotations again from
scripture. These are "Then said Jesus to those Jews which believed

> on him, If ye continue in my word, then ye
> are my disciples. And ye shall know the
> truth, and the truth shall make you free".
> John 8 v.31-33.

and "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light
> unto my path". Ps. 119 v. 105.

This central figure is flanked on the left by Frau Welt and the figure
of Death with an arrow held aloft; on the right by the "angel of
light" and behind him the grotesque figure of the Devil.

Throughout the painting there are
several relevant quotations from scriptural passages,[300] so that the
meaning of the painting is made quite explicit. Frau Welt, a

fashionably dressed, contemporary figure with a sphere on her head,
a bowl of fruit and a glass of wine in her hands, a chest and a huge
sack of money before her, is contrasted with the angel holding the
book of scripture, who points the way to the opposite kind of life -
the life of the spirit, as opposed to that of the flesh. In the
background, the Devil holding the sword, symbolises the Temptor
who tries, by any means available, to divert the struggling Christian
from the ways of God; while above, on the clouds, an angel of the
Lord brings the palm of peace and the crown of everlasting life to
the loyal and long-suffering Christian Protestant Church. The figure
of Death with the arrow makes the same point as he does in Hermann Tom
Ring's Last Judgement (Utrecht) [PLATE 77].

This final presentation of Lutheran
doctrine in the Schlosskapelle at Celle is almost an inventory or
pictorial glossary of the iconographical symbols and motifs popular
in Reformation art. Most significantly, it shows that Marten de Vos
was commissioned to work abroad, a measure of his considerable status,
and it shows him working for a Lutheran patron.

It is interesting that some ten years
after his work at Celle, de Vos painted the Wise and Foolish Virgins,
a work in which he seems to concur with Roman Catholic views. There
are other works by him, executed around the same period, which are,
perhaps, more obvious Roman Catholic representations. His Last
Judgement , signed and dated 1570, for the Augustinian Monastery
in Seville was a Roman Catholic commission[301] and significant in the
painting is the depiction of souls being rescued from Purgatory -
a clear Roman Catholic statement. Nor is the Celle series of panels
the only work by de Vos executed for an avowed Protestant patron.[302]

What is the explanation for this apparent paradox ? The facts are few, but one important point is that Marten de Vos was listed as a Lutheran in 1584-85.[303] It is also known, however, that in the Netherlands it was required by law that everyone stated their religious beliefs at this time,[304] and that in many cases, if one wished to remain in one's native land, one had of necessity to submit a false claim, so that not too much reliance can be placed on these religious registers. In any case, de Vos was a member of the Erasmian humanist circle in Antewerp, and as such, he would, like Bruegel, Ortelius, and Coornhert, have objected to the excesses of both Catholicism and Protestantism. As an artist, caught up in the middle of the upheavals of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, de Vos possibly saw the value of using art as a conciliatory tool in an attempt to resolve the religious conflicts of his age.

The painting of the Wise and Foolish Virgins by Marten de Vos has many elements in common with the Hans Eworth painting on the same subject. Part of this would be due to a common Northern tradition. The iconography is largely standard.[305] Many compositional features, however, are also similar and it is possible that de Vos saw or knew of Eworth's version. This argument is supported by an engraving of the Last Judgement (London, British Museum) which is signed "Marten de Vos inventor. G. de Jode excudebat". Though not dated, this print bears a very strong resemblance to Eworth's Wise and Foolish Virgins. It bears the inscription "Cum venerit filius hominis tunc congregebunt ante eum omnes gentes terrae et seperabit iustos ab iniustos. Sicut seperat pastor oues ab hoedus". The angel of the Last Judgement, dressed as a shepherd with a crook, looks just like the shepherd in Eworth's painting and along

with other angels he separates the Chosen from the Damned.   Christ
the Redeemer appears in the upper part of the print, surrounded by the
Elect.   Sheep and goats are also apparent in the foreground of the
print and make the same point in both works.   These are biblical
allusions which do not appear at all frequently in Northern Renaissance
iconography.

There is no obvious common source
for the de Vos and Eworth works, but it is possible that, as
Sulzberger suggests,[306]   Jean Radermacher, who was in the employ of
Gilles Hoofman, a well-to-do Antwerp merchant and who was greatly
involved in the choice of subject matter of Marten de Vos' commission
to decorate Hoofman's dining room, may have seen the Eworth painting on
a trip to London (departing Antwerp in 1567) and have reported back
details of it to the Antwerp artist.

Before leaving the work of Marten de
Vos, several prints designed by him and executed by Crispin de Passe
the Elder, on the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, should be
considered.

Born around 1565-70,[307] Crispin de
Passe the Elder is thought possibly to have been a pupil of Dirck
Coornhert (1522-1590).[308]   Coornhert was an author and moral philo-
sopher[309] and a disciple of Sebastian Franck (1499-1542), the
Catholic priest who became an evangelist preacher in the Reformed
Church[310] and who eventually turned against Luther on religious
grounds.   Franck had an essentially pessimistic outlook.   He believed
that no matter how hard God might strive to help the world, man's
basic selfishness and greed always led him to folly.   Franck rejected
all forms of external religion in the end, as he found them all futile,[311]

and instead he advocated what was later to be labelled "spiritualism".
Coornhert's philosophy was a more tolerant and modified version of the
teachings of Franck. He never actually broke away from the Catholic
church, although he condemned much of its intolerance and malpractice.[312]
He moved in the circle of Ortelius, the famous geographer, and the
humanists, writers and artists such as Frans Floris, Marten de Vos,
Marten Heemskerck and Pieter Bruegel.

Such then was the background against
which Crispin de Passe served his apprenticeship. He entered the
Antwerp guild as a master engraver, lived in Cologne from 1594-1610
and worked in Utrecht from 1612 until his death in 1637.[312]

He made a series of seven engravings
after Marten de Vos on the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and
for these he engraved a frontispiece. Each scene is accompanied by
four lines of inscriptions and all seven have the name "Martino
Vossio inventor" inscribed on them. There is speculation that the
final plate is not the work of Crispin de Passe the Elder, but one
of the other members of the prolific de Passe family.[314]

Hollstein[315] lists the seven plates
as follows ;

1. The Wise Virgins at various occupations.

2. The Wise Virgins doing acts of mercy.

3. Foolish Virgins making merry beneath a trellis.

4. Foolish Virgins at the ball.

5. Lord calling the Virgins.

6. Wise Virgins received by the bridegroom.

7. Foolish Virgins in the darkness.

The frontispiece of the series
[PLATE 108] quotes the verse from the Gospel of St. Matthew (Ch.25)
which bids man to "watch and pray for we know not the day nor the
hour when the Son of Man will come".[316] There are two female figures
depicted, one with her hands together praying and the other holding
a book and clock. These objects are intended as symbols of vigilance
and spiritual pursuits.[317] At the bottom centre of the frontispiece
there is a little cherub lying against a tree, propped up on his
elbow. His elbow rests on a skull which is lying on the ground and
in one hand he holds an hour-glass. The skull is a traditional
attribute of Death[318] and the hour-glass is used to represent Father
Time.[319] A winged hour-glass, logically enough, is symbolic of
the fleetingness of time,[320] and this is how the cherub with the
hour-glass is to be interpreted in this print. Thus, the key-note
of vigilance is set right at the outset of this series of the
Wise and Foolish Virgins.

In the first print of the series
[PLATE 109], only the Wise Virgins are presented, in an enclosed court-
yard with arches and pillars. All five have lamps burning and all
are busily engaged in different activities. One is winding yarn, one
is weaving, one sewing, another reading, and the fifth writing the
score for a piece of music. Once again, worthwhile use of one's
time which was applauded and advocated by Sebastian Brant and other
moralists in their writings, and depicted by Bruegel, Hans Eworth
and Jerome Francken in their artistic renderings of this parable, is
evident in this print.

There are one or two features of
this print which are reminiscent of three much earlier paintings by

Tintoretto which will be examined in Chapter V. There is a balcony
and balustrade at the top left hand side of the engraving, although
in the print the balcony is unoccupied, whereas in Tintoretto's
Wise and Foolish Virgins (Rotterdam, Boymans-Van-Beuningen Museum)
[PLATE 131] the Wise Virgins are placed up on the balcony. There is
also a doorway at the left in the background with a figure standing
framed in it. This calls to mind the Upton House version of the
Wise and Foolish Virgins [PLATE 132] by Tintoretto which includes
three similar background figures.

The second engraving [PLATE 110]
employes an ingenious, though not entirely original idea, whereby
two biblical stories are combined into one. The corporal works of
mercy and the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins are told in
scripture as part of the description of the Last Judgement. The
parable comes first and then in Matt. Ch.25 v. 34-40 one reads ;

> "Then shall the King say unto them on his right
> hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the
> kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of
> the world; For I was an hungred and ye gave me
> meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I
> was a stranger and ye took me in; Naked and ye
> clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I
> was in prison and ye came unto me; Then shall
> the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw
> we thee an hungred and fed thee or thirsty and
> gave thee drink ? When saw we thee a stranger
> and took thee in ? or naked and clothed thee ?
> Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison and came

unto thee ? And the King shall answer and say

unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye

have done it unto one of the least of these my

brethren, you have done it unto me".

In a Northern tradition where
industry was virtue, it was a very logical step to make the Wise
Virgins not only perform the normal domestic tasks of sewing,
weaving and embroidering, but also to carry out the corporal works
of mercy as advocated in the bible. As Harbison[321] points out,
since both the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the works of mercy are
linked to the theme of the Last Judgement, it is not altogether
surprising to find sometimes that the Virgins are substituted for
the works of mercy in the Last Judgement scenes.[322] In other examples,
such as in the illustrations for Das Narrenschiff, Sebastian Brant
had used the Foolish Virgins with their upturned oil lamps (Ch.
106, "On Refraining From Good Works")[323] [PLATE 86] to represent
the "fools" who did not carry out good works. De Passe depicts the
converse here. One Wise Virgin is visiting someone in prison, another
is giving a ragamuffin child a drink from a large jug, another clothing
a naked old man, another holding out food to a cripple, and the fifth
virgin is accompanying a male figure, holding him by the hand - pre-
sumably she is welcoming a stranger, and he certainly is "strange".
He looks very like a traditional satyr figure, with a beard and long
wild hair.

If the Wise Virgins performing the works
of mercy are the epitome of all that Brant would have considered
virtuous, then the Foolish Virgins in the third print [PLATE 111],
who are making merry beneath a trellis, sum up all that he would

have described as evil. They are arrayed around a table in a kind
of bower and are engaged in various "evil" activities. Two are playing
cards, an empty lamp on the table in front of them; one holds an
unlit lamp in her right hand and has her left raised aloft as if
engaged in a dance; one is pouring wine into a flat goblet for her-
self, her empty discarded lamp lying at her feet; and the fifth is
seated with her lover who is caressing her breast. These virgins are
guilty of the deadly sin of sloth, which, as Brant warns, leads to all
kinds of lewdness and sin.[324]

In the print of the Foolish Virgins
at the ball [PLATE 112], there is a continuation, as it were, or
another episode in the lives of the Foolish Virgins. They have
moved from the bower to the dance floor where all kinds of evil are
bound to ensue.[325] It is interesting to note that the dancing male
figure is the same character who appeared with the Foolish Virgin
at the table in the previous print. There is also the presence of
musical instruments, and perhaps particularly noteworthy is the
tambourine which is a traditional attribute of evil.[326]

From the dance floor, the next scene,
the Lord calling the Virgins [PLATE 113] moves on to the moment in
the parable when the bridegroom comes, or when the Son of Man comes
to judge all men. This is the episode which Eworth, Bruegel and de
Vos chose, to depict the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.
Since de Vos was the inventor of these scenes, it is hardly surprising
that there are many similarities between them and his painting on this
subject. In common with the painting are the clouds of heaven, and
the angel of the Last Judgement, although no Redeemer figure is
visible in the de Passe print. The moon is rising and it is obviously

night-time. The Wise and Foolish Virgins are not in two distinct
groups but are scattered about. The Wise Virgins are distinguishable
by the fact that their lamps are lit. The Foolish Virgins are all
asleep - this is a literal interpretation of the biblical text.
The Wise Virgins have just wakened up with the coming of St. Michael
and they are reaching for their lamps. The heedless Foolish Virgins
sleep on, their lamps unlit and unfilled. It is significant, too,
that the St. Peter's-like church which appeared in the c1580 de Vos
painting of the Wise and Foolish Virgins appears once more here.

The final two prints show the latter
stages of the parable. They depict, in effect, the fates of the
two groups of Virgins. Print six shows the Wise Virgins being
received by the bridegroom [PLATE 114] and the last print depicts the
Foolish Virgins in the darkness. In short, these are the two scenes
which appear in the background of the Bruegel, Eworth and de Vos
renderings of the parable. The depictions are similar to those of
Bruegel, Eworth and de Vos. Print six shows the Wise Virgins on
the clouds of heaven, being welcomed by Christ into the kingdom
of heaven; whilst below, the Foolish Virgins rush off to acquire some
oil. Print seven shows the final destiny of the Foolish Virgins,
as they are left in the darkness, forever excluded from eternal life.

There is a further print by Crispin
de Passe, after Marten de Vos, on the theme of the Wise and Foolish
Virgins [PLATE 115]. It belongs to a series of small (c2½-3 inches in
diameter) circular prints, each depicting a different parable. There
is one, for example, of the Prodigal Son a very popular theme at
this time,[327] and one of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Some of
the prints are dated - one bears MDCIII (1603), another simply "1604"

and one "1596". Some say "Marten de Vos innuent. Crispin de Passe fecit". But the print of the <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u> is neither signed nor dated. One can only assume that it was probably executed around the approximate period of c1596-1604. It carries the inscription around the edge which reads "None fatvas recipis Prvdentes Sponse Puellas. Mortva Friget, Habet Praemia Viva Fides.Matt.25".

Like the print of the Lord calling the Virgins, the scene depicts the moment of the Last Judgement. Similarly too, it shows the virgins in a single group of ten - not in separate groups as Eworth, and Bruegel had chosen. This engraving seems much more hurried, almost unfinished compared to the rest of the series. It is a very simple composition. Everything has been reduced to the simplest possible formula - complete economy of composition. The print contains nothing superfluous at all, merely the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Redeemer who appears on the clouds of heaven at the top left hand side of the print and the characteristic lamps and books. There is no banner of the Resurrection, no angel of the Last Judgement, and no non-biblical activities such as weaving, sewing or spinning, or card-playing, music-making or dancing. There is no landscape background, no satyrs, no castles or churches - in fact no complex iconography at all. All has been sacrificed to the main characters.

The Wise and Foolish Virgins are all intermingled, the Wise distinguishable only by their filled and lighted lamps. The topmost Wise Virgin is looking straight at the Redeemer and the others are holding bibles - symbols of their faith. The lamps are of assorted shapes and sizes, some flat and very similar to those in Hans Eworth's painting and one looks very

much like the alabaster jar noted in both the Eworth and the de Vos
paintings, although here it does seem to be a lamp. The Foolish
Virgins' lamps are lying on the ground, unlit and unfilled. One
Foolish Virgin stretches out her hand towards a Wise Virgin asking
for oil for her lamp; and another points at her lamp and asks for
more oil. This adheres strictly to the scriptural text, but is not
depicted very frequently.[328] The foremost Foolish Virgin is sitting
back in a most unchaste manner with her legs apart and her breast
bared. She, like the Foolish Virgin in the print of the Lord calling
the Virgins, is sound asleep and quite oblivious of the scene going
on around her.

This print, though showing many
similarities and links with other de Passe engravings and with the
Marten de Vos painting on the same subject, differs from them in
that it seems to make no real contribution to, or statement about,
the current religious atmosphere. There is nothing here to link
de Passe either to the Lutheran or the Roman Catholic side of the
Reformation debate.

There is one other work, a drawing of
the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Paris, Louvre) ascribed to Crispin de
Passe the Elder [329] [PLATE 116]. It might possibly have been a study
for a painting or an engraving, but no finished work along these lines
survives. The scene, sketchily drawn, depicts the five Wise Virgins,
their lighted lamps held aloft, being welcomed at the steps of a
building by the bridegroom who waits, framed in an open doorway. The
latter is very similar to the traditional Christ type. He wears a
crown of thorns, and carries the banner of the Resurrection in his
right hand.

In the background the five Foolish
Virgins are visible. Two of them are sitting helplessly on the ground,
their burnt out lamps lying discarded before them. One of the others
is knocking on a door which is firmly closed.

There is no connection between fore-
ground and background figures. Neither group of virgins seems aware
of the existence of the other , and the Christ-figure seems only to
notice the Wise Virgins before him. It is not entirely clear, but
it looks as though the door on which the desperate Foolish Virgins
are knocking in vain, is part of a different building altogether from
the one where the Wise Virgins are being received.

The two separate buildings and the two
separate doors appeared in earlier renderings of the parable. In
Part I, mention was made of the sculptural cycle at Sens Cathedral,[330]
where there are two medallions above the two groups of Wise and
Foolish Virgins. The one above the Wise Virgins shows an open door
with the bridegroom waiting; the medallion above the Foolish Virgins
shows a door which is shut. Similarly, the fact that Christ seems
only to notice the Wise Virgins has been seen before, in the
postulated centre-piece for the Schongauer series of prints [PLATES 37-46]
and in the manuscript illumination by the illuminator Matthaeus
[PLATE 48] which depicts Christ enthroned between the two groups of
Virgins. In the latter Christ's gaze is directed to the right, to
where the procession of Wise Virgins approaches his throne; he
ignores the procession of Foolish Virgins on his left.

It would, on the other hand, be
possible to interpret the two groups of Virgins in the de Passe
drawing as two distinct religious sects, oblivious to each other.

The two separate buildings and the two distinct doors could be an allusion to the Roman Catholic versus Protestant debate. The drawing, however, must be regarded as a preliminary study, the details of which are left to be worked out fully. It certainly bears little resemblance, either in content or style to the earlier engraved series after Marten de Vos, and it is perhaps an original idea by Crispin de Passe the Elder, rather than a design by de Vos.

In this Chapter it has been demonstrated that in some cases, as in the engraved work of de Passe the Elder, current religious controversy seems to have been largely discounted, or at least de Passe has not let his personal beliefs show through in his art; and his purpose most certainly was not to preach a particular sectarian massage. He resorts rather to the general Northern tradition of didacticism, to the ideas that worthwhile use of one's time is virtuous, that card-playing and merrymaking are to be frowned upon, and that lewd behaviour is evil. On the other hand, in the painting of the Wise and Foolish Virgins by Hans Eworth, it is clearly evident that the latter had sided, at least in this particular painting, with the cause of the Reformed religion. He made it very clear that rosary beads and all such Popish items were to be identified with folly and evil, and advocated most strongly that the plain, simple wooden altar, the bible, and fruitful endeavour opened up the way to eternal salvation.

Marten de Vos, by contrast, shows perhaps the most complex reaction to the upheavals of his age, for, as already seen, he completed commissions for the Spanish Catholics and for the Lutheran Germans. He was registered as a Lutheran; and belonged to the humanist circle of Antwerp, a group which advo-

cated a society of tolerance, one which accepted Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism and which lived in peace, harmony and respect for one another's personal beliefs. His was perhaps a more personal didacticism than that of the other artists looked at in the Chapter, but more importantly, the art of Marten de Vos gives us a mirror of the atmosphere and feelings prevalent in the 16th century in Flanders.

CHAPTER V.

THE ITALIAN PROBLEM.

The biblical story of the Wise and
Foolish Virgins suits the iconographic and didactic tradition of
Northern art, and this particular parable, which on first reading,
seems strangely selfish and almost unchristian in its message, is
very difficult to imagine in an Italian Renaissance context. One would
not imagine that the subject would appeal either to Italian artists
or patrons. So much so that Louis Réau[331] has stated categorically
that the theme was unknown in Italy.

There is, however, a decorative
cycle by Francesco Mazzuoli, know as II Parmigianino, which he
executed c1531-39 for the church of Santa Maria Annunziata della
Steccata in Parma. Among the principal figures in this cycle are the
Wise and Foolish Virgins. There are also three versions of the
parable executed c.1548 from the workshop of Tintoretto (1518-1594).
Clearly these two Italian artists were interested in the parable
of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

PARMIGIANINO

Parmigianino (1503-1540) was the most
important member of a whole family of painters in Parma[332] and his
early style was greatly influenced by Correggio.[333] In 1522 he was
awarded a contract for the decoration of a chapel in the Cathedral of
Parma.[334] This work was never actually executed, but the award of
the contract is significant in that it is a measure of Parmigianino's
high reputation at a very early age. He spent three years in Rome from
1524-27,[335] and there he met both Rosso Fiorentino and Perino del Vaga.[336]

Following the Sack of Rome in 1527, he moved to Bologna where he lived for four years before returning to his native city in 1531.[337] In Parma in 1531, Parmigianino secured an important commission for the decoration of part of Santa Maria Annunziata della Steccata. His contract was a project for the apse of the 'Capella grande' (the eastern apse of the church), the barrel vaultings of the transept which led up to it, the 'sottarchi' or arch faces, and the frieze and cornices. The terms of the contract, dated 10th May, 1531, were laid down by the notary Benedetto del Bono,[338] and the project was to be completed within eighteen months.

The funds for the decoration had been provided by Don Bartolommeo Montini, a prominent Parmesan citizen and a prior of the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Steccata.[339] In Montini's will dated 25th October 1510, he left a donation to the Confraternity for the purpose of providing dowries for poor maidens of good repute, ".... ad venerabilem confraternitatem Sancte Maria Annuntiate de Stechata institute ad dotandes et maritandes pauperes et honestas domincellas...."[340] and in a codicil to the will, dated 1524, he left another donation for the decoration of the 'capella maggiore', ".... perficiendo et ornando capellam maiorem oratorij noviter cepti edifficati in civitate parmae".[341]

Though Montini cannot have had anything to do with the selection of Parmigianino as the artist to carry out the commission,[342] it is significant that Montini's name is specifically mentioned in the artist's contract of 1531 as the benefactor of the project. Parmigianino is recorded as receiving ".... a magnifico domino equite Scipione de la Rosa ex et de denariis quos tenetur erga didum confraternitatem pro legato facto

per quondam reverendum d. Bartholemeum de Montinis dictae confra-
ernitati". (10th May 1531).[343]

The documents show that Parmigianino
was most dilatory in his efforts, and there was little done at all
after eighteen months. The contract was renewed in September 1535,[344]
and after more delay, many arguments with the "Fabbriccieri", the
artist was finally relieved of his commission is 1539,[345] and
imprisoned on his failure to refund the money paid to him for work
left uncompleted.[346]

The various disputes, extensions and
new contracts has an advantage for the art historian as it means
that Parmigianino's progress was fairly fully documented. And although
it is impossible[347] to arrange the many designs and drawings in
exact chronological order, it is possible to follow the general
trends in the evolution of his ideas for the project.

Many art historians[348] argue that
much of the finished work is not by Parmigianino's hand, but by an
unidentified pupil or pupils after Parmigianino's designs. Without
doubt the North wall and the faces of its arches are certainly
by the artist himself, and the South wall is very close to his own
designs and style, but the Coronation of the Virgin in the apse was
painted by Michelangelo Anselmi after a design by Guilio Romano.[349]

The principal figures on the walls of
the vaultings are the Wise and Foolish Virgins [PLATES 117, 118].
The Wise Virgins appear on the South wall and the Foolish ones
opposite them on the North wall. There are only three Wise and three
Foolish Virgins instead of the biblical five, but since they carry

lamps, they have generally been recognised, as far back as Vasari,[350] as the virgins from the biblical parable.

It is fortunate from an iconographic standpoint, that several preparatory drawings for this project have come down to us. A double-sided sheet of studies in the British Museum in London is one of the most important and according to Popham,[351] perhaps one of the earliest studies for the scheme. This sketch and its companion on the verso, show the broad outlines of Parmigianino's early ideas - the six circular 'rosoni' (which became fourteen in the final version) are shown, as are the square 'lacunari' or shallow depressions in the stonework, in which the rosoni would be sunk. Popham[352] claims that the recto sktech [PLATE 119] shows the earliest hint of the figures of the Virgins in the lower oval medallion. In the drawing in the British Museum (Cacherode F. f.1.86) [PLATE 120] of the principal figures, Parmigianino has already decided on the compositional arrangement of the three main figures. It is important to note that in this drawing, as in many others, such as the study in the Louvre (Paris, Louvre 646bb.) [PLATE 121] the three female figures do not carry lamps, but rather they balance vases of flowers delicately on their heads. The source for this has generally been recognised[353] as the woman with pitchers full of water, at the right hand side of Raphel's Incendio dell'Borgo (1514) (Vatican, Stanza Dell' Incendia). In most of the preparatory drawings the virgins balance these rather odd vases of flowers on their heads and it is only rarely - in a small design in the Louvre [PLATE 122] and on the verso of a double-sided sheet in the Galleria Estense in Modena [PLATE 123] - that the lamps of the final version are shown. The sheet in Modena is interesting in that it does feature the lamps and also because it shows

five virgins.[354] Popham[355] suggests that the lamps are an after-
thought - a very late addition in the evolution of the project and he
suggests that the patrons may have preferred the idea of the Virgins
of the biblical context to the pagan dancing girls Parmigianino
was proposing.

There are many sketches and studies
for the Virgins and Popham[356] suggests that some were not conceived
as developments in the creative process, but rather are what he terms
"automatic repititions" of what was occupying the uppermost thoughts
in Parmigianino's mind during the period. The study at Chatsworth
[PLATE 124] is a self-portrait with two virgins in the background and
Popham[357] claims that this is a drawing made for show, which includes
the virgins as a kind of advertisement of the artist's important
commission.

Freedberg[358] points out the differences
in style between the preparatory sketches and studies for the Virgins
and the final version. While the drawings are in much the same
style as the Madonna del Collo Lungo of c1535 (Florence, Uffizi),
displaying a similar elegance and elongation of form; the finished
Virgins are much more restrained, more dignified and monumental.
They are almost statuesque and recall the antique.[359] They are much
nearer a classical style than any of Parmigianino's earlier work,
and the accessory figures of Moses and Adam on the North wall and
Aaron and Eve on the South wall display something of the gravity
and monumentality of Michelangelo,particularly the figure of Moses
who is on the point of crashing down the tablets in his wrath at the
people of Israel.

The choice of biblical figures in
this scheme is most surprising. How did Parmigianino evolve a
programme so that the Coronation of the Virgin, the Wise and
Foolish Virgins, Moses [PLATE 125] Aaron [PLATE 126] Adam[PLATE 127]
and Eve [PLATE 128] came to be the principal figures ? One might be
forgiven for thinking there is little iconographic justification
for the scheme. Certainly the programme does faintly echo the scul-
ptural cycles of the Gothic cathedrals. In St. Thibault-en-Auxois
[PLATE 7] of 1240-1250 the Wise and Foolish Virgins appear on
the archivolt of the portal of the North transept along with the
main scene of the Coronation of the Virgins. In other cycles the parable
was depicted alongside Old Testament prophets,[360] and in portals
devoted to the Virgin Mary, the Virgin was seen as the supreme example
of a Wise Virgin.[361]

Using the tradition of the sculptural
cycles, it is possible to view the Virgins, as Freedberg does,[362]
as attendants to the Virgin Mary at her Coronation. Freedberg puts
forward the hypothesis[363] that Adam and Eve committed Original Sin
and Moses and Aaron prophecied Christ's coming to redeem mankind
from Original Sin, and sees this as the connection between the four
figures, But Freedberg also identifies the figures on both North
and South walls as Wise Virgins - and fails to notice the important
distinction between lit and unlit lamps. Clearly both Wise and
Foolish Virgins are depicted and it seems odd to consider that the
Foolish Virgins would also wait in attendance to the Virgin at her
Coronation. The Foolish Virgins most certainly cannot be identified
with Freedberg's "brides of Christ" who crown the Virgin.[364]

On the other hand, Marcello and
Maurizio Fagiolo Dell' Arco[365] argue that each element of the
decoration of Parmigianino's project for the Santa Maria della
Steccata is the result of a precise design which the artist came to
formulate through a long and tortuous process. They claim that the
iconographic programme is meticulously worked out and they proceed
to interpret the theme of the decoration as a kind of reinforcement
of the fact that the church is dedicated to the Madonna. They
identify the theme of the entire project as the Immaculate Conception
and the Virginity of Mary and they interpret the scenes as the Wise
and Foolish Virgins of Matthew's Gospel, Adam and Eve who represent
the ancestors of Mary, and Moses and Aaron who are Old Testament
prefigurations of the Virginity of Mary. They further interpret
the number seven - of each row of lacunari and rosoni, as an allusion
to the Seven Joys and Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.   This argument,
however, can hardly be taken seriously if one takes into account
the preparatory sketches and drawings. The drawings do not show
evidence that Parmigianino had any such tight iconographic programme
in mind, either at the beginning or at any later stage in the evolution
of his programme for the decoration of the Steccata.

One wonders what were his sources for
the iconographic scheme he eventually selected ? Was the project
in fact based loosely on the sculptural cycles of the Cathedrals ?
Or was Parmigianino taking into consideration Bartolommeo Montini's
original donation to the Confraternity of the Steccata for the
purpose of providing dowries for poor but honest maidens ? Perhaps
the fact that he included Montini's coat of arms in the decoration is
added evidence that Parmigianino was mindful of the benefactor and
perhaps this might have been a source for the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

Whatever the logic and reasoning behind the artist's choice of subject matter, and whatever the relationship which links the Wise and Foolish Virgins with Adam and Eve and Moses and Aaron, the fact is that this project achieves success from the new sense of monumentality and grandeur achieved by Parmigianino and from the intrinsic beauty and elegance, particularly of the Virgins. The religious significance and the iconography is difficult to interpret and in the final analysis Parmigianino does not depict the Wise and Foolish Virgins in terms of Last Judgement iconography. There is no hint of a Last Judgement scene and his classical, balanced, dignified Wise and Foolish Virgins carry their lamps as an optional extra, in much the same way as did the Foolish Virgins of Urs Graf [PLATE 67] and Niklaus Manuel Deutsch [PLATE 72]. There are no moral overtones or hints of didacticism here; Parmigianino's figures are much more like pagan dancing maidens and have little, apart from their traditional attribute, in common with their biblical counterparts.

TINTORETTO

The other Italian artist who painted three versions of the scene of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was Tintoretto, The versions are now in Rotterdam, Boymans-van-Beuningen Museum (and this is perhaps the earliest of the three)[366]; in the possession of the National Trust in Upton House, Warwickshire, (the latter is dated 1548 by Berenson[367]); and the final version is in Johnson Collection, Philadelphia and is generally considered to be a school version.[368]

Why did Tintoretto choose to paint

this subject ? All three paintings show an interior scene at the
bridegroom's house, and each depicts the most dramatic moment in the
parable, the point where the bridegroom arrives and the Wise Virgins
go in with him to the marriage feast, while the Foolish Virgins find
the door locked and the bridegroom says to them ".... I say to you,
I do not know you". (Matt. 25 v 12).

There is not much evidence in these
paintings of all the complex iconographical symbols of Northern art.
In fact, in the Rotterdam version, the Wise Virgins do not even
appear to be carrying the lighted oil lamps which is their traditional
attribute. Even in the Upton House painting, they are not carried, but
rather are lying about casually on the handrail of the balcony. There
is no hint of any deeper meaning to the scene - no indication that
this is a parable or allegory about the Last Judgement. There is
no reference at all to the Last Judgement. There is no Christ-Judge
figure, such as is seen in the sculptural cycles of the French and
German Cathedrals, no angel of the Last Judgement such as introduced
in the slightly later works of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Hans Eworth
and Marten de Vos. The artist resorts to none of the complex
associations and comparisons of Virtue and Vice; Heaven and Hell;
Church and Synagogue, and eventually Catholic and Protestant which
so fascinated and absorbed his Northern contemporaries.

In all three renderings, the serenity
and calmness of the group of Wise Virgins upstairs provides a
striking contrast to the swirling gestures of consternation and
dismay of the Foolish Virgins locked out downstairs, and as was
Tintoretto's wont, he manages to blend realism with mannerist elements -
the inclusion of the little dog in the foreground adds a homely touch

and calls to mind the same device used in the Washing of the Feet
(Madrid, Escorial) [PLATE 129] and in the Washing of the Feet
(Wilton House) ([PLATE 130].

It is necessary to examine the three
versions of the Wise and Foolish Virgins from the Tintoretto
workshop, separately, in order to assess their individual achievements.
In the Rotterdam rendering [PLATE 131] the bridegroom stands in the
background of the upstairs group and seems to be somewhat thrust aside
by the surrounding virgins. He is not addressing the Foolish Virgins
himself, but his gaze is fixed. He stares directly ahead of him,
straight out of the picture, oblivious of the scene going on around
him.

It appears that the artist depicts a
straight parable, literally, and with little hint of any underlying
level of understanding. One sees a moment in a story - and it could
almost be a secular story for that matter, for if it were not for
the title of the painting and the scrolls,[369] one could be for-
given for not realising that it had a biblical source. It could
simply be a moment chosen, possibly for its dramatic tension and for
the contrasts it offers in mood between the upper and lower sections.
If this were a Northern painting, one might tend to place some
significance on the fact that the Wise Virgins are upstairs, as if on
some elevated plane, perhaps, and the Foolish Virgins on a lower
level, but Tintoretto's arrangement of the composition is much more
likely to have been for artistic rather than iconographic reasons.
The relegation of the bridegroom to a background position is in
keeping with Tintoretto's technique in many of his other paintings.[370]

The artist and his school seem not

to have been influenced by the effects of the religious upheavals
which were affecting their Northern contemporaries in all aspects
of life, not the least of these in literature and art. Tintoretto
is quite content to depict feasting and dancing as good, right and
proper pastimes in which the Wise Virgins are about to participate,
while in the North, Bruegel and his fellow countrymen were showing
the Foolish Virgins as indulging in such evils as dancing, merry-
making and playing the bagpipes. The introduction of scrolls in
this version immediately calls to mind the later Bruegel version
of this parable [PLATE 87] where scrolls are predominant. In
the Italian painting the Foolish Virgin knocking on the door, says
the words of scripture "Signore, Signore, apertici" (Matt. 25 v.11)[371]
and the banner, incidentally, held up by one of the Wise Virgins and
not by the bridegroom replies "In verita vidicho io non vi conochio".
(Matt. 25 v.12).[372] The scrolls, therefore, serve to speak the words
of the players on the stage, as it were, rather like the "balloons"
coming out of the mouths of characters in modern strip cartoons. They
also serve as a pointer to the source of the painting.

From a stylistic point of view,
this very early painting by Tintoretto recalls many of the features
apparent in his other works of around the same period. The hair-style
of the Virgins comes close to that in Leda and the Swan (Florence,
Contini Collection) of c1550. Similarly, the figure seated at
the table upstairs at the extreme right of the Rotterdam painting,
is almost a replica of the figure of the apostle with white hair and
a beard seated on the left of the table in the Washing of the Feet
(Madrid, Escorial) [PLATE 129] of c1547.

There are one or two modifications

made in the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Upton House [PLATE 132]. This
painting is rarely mentioned in catalogues of Tintoretto's works, [373]
but it is probably the work of the artist himself and not one of
his pupils. In the balcony upstairs there is, in the centre, a
ballroom where couples are dancing while two musicians play for them
on the far right. In the other room upstairs the bridegroom stands
in the centre of the group of Wise Virgins and is identifiable by a
glow of light or halo around his head. The small beard he wears draws
him much closer to the traditional depiction of the figure of
Christ than the Rotterdam bridegroom. In fact, the Upton House Christ
is rather reminiscent of the figure of Christ in the Escorial Washing
 of the Feet [PLATE 129]. It seems that in the Wise and Foolish Virgins ,
different kinds and levels of reality are being portrayed side by
side, as if Tintoretto wants to show that we are living in two worlds -
the spiritual and the physical - and the boundaries between them are
never clearly defined.

Architecturally, the Upton House
version is the most ambitious of the three. Like the Rotterdam
painting, the setting reflects contemporary Venetian palaces, with a
large sala placed immediately above the entrance vestibule. The
Upton House version has the added feature of the iron railing round
the projecting balcony, a detail which reminds one of the Palazzo
Valmarana in Vicenza, designed by Palladio. Instead of the windows
and the landscape background beyond, which appeared in the Rotterdam
version, the interior scene is extended in the Upton House painting,
by means of arches and pillars. This produces a veduta-like effect of
depth and again creates a different kind of reality from the rest of
the scene. In the Rotterdam version the figures are spread out across

a shallow stage, whereas in the Upton House <u>Wise and Foolish Virgins</u>
Tintoretto is much more concerned with creating the illusion of
depth and three-dimensional space. The checkered courtyard and the
archways help to achieve this sense of depth. Both versions show
evidence of the artist's innovation, recounted first by Ridolfi,[374]
of using models in wax or clay and arranging them in little boxes
with windows cut in the sides, and then shining torches and candles
through the windows to study the play of light and shadow. Both
the Rotterdam and the Upton House versions of the <u>Wise and Foolish
Virgins</u> display this "theatrical" handling of light.

There are three rather puzzling
additional figures in the background of the Upton House version.
They have no precedent in the scriptural source and one must assume
that they are guests on their way to attend the marriage feast.
But the foremost figure of the three, carrying the torch, is very
like the apostle type of figure which Tintoretto had been painting
in recent works, such as the figure of St. Peter (?) having his
feet washed by Christ in the <u>Washing of the Feet</u> (Wilton House)
[PLATE 130] of c1545.[375] The figure on the left of the other two
background figures in the Upton House painting also recalls the
Judas leaning against the pillar in the Wilton House <u>Washing of the
Feet</u> [PLATE 130].[376] These figures seem to have a shadowy, unreal
air about them, almost as if they are dematerialised and exist on
some other spiritual level. Perhaps Tintoretto is making some sort of
subtle parallel here. Is he comparing St. Peter with the lighted
candle to the Wise Virgins; and Judas to the Foolish Virgins ?
Or perhaps the St. Peter figure is included as a symbol for Heaven,
since traditionally it is St. Peter who holds the Keys of the Gate.
These seem to be concepts and symbolism rather unfamiliar to Italian

artists, and much more like a Northern approach. One cannot help wondering how the Northern public would have loved to have puzzled over the problems of the significance of these background figures. Cert- ainly the St. Peter/Judas contrast makes the same biblical point as the Wise and Foolish Virgins, since, according to scripture, St. Peter was surely assured of salvation, whereas Judas was told that he was damned "it had been better ...... if he had not been born"(Matt.26v.24). But would this parallel really have occured to an Italian artist ? And would it have been appreciated by an Italian public ? One is led to wonder why the artist was interested in this theme at all. It is certainly not popular elsewhere in Italian art.

In the third version of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins [PLATE 134], generally recognised as a slightly later work,[377] possibly executed around 1548 or later and now in the John G. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, there is evidence that this is not from Tintoretto's hand. This is probably a workshop execution, possibly by a Northern pupil. It has none of the puzzling background figures, nor the arches or checkered courtyard of the Upton House version. Neither has it the domestic kitchen scene at the left foreground, nor the typical homely touch of the dog[378] which Tintoretto included in both other versions. It does contain the same basic scene of the Foolish Virgins locked out downstairs, with the same swirling gestures of consternation being displayed, but there is no parallel group of Wise Virgins upstairs. All that can be seen in the upper section is a banquet scene with everyone seated around a large table. At the left hand section upstairs, three figures do seem to be linked with the downstairs group, but it is not clear what they are doing. One can assume that they are

making it plain to the Foolish Virgins that they may not enter.

There are one or two features of this version in Philadelphia which might tend to suggest a Northern influence. It might very possibly be the work of a Northern pupil of Tintoretto.[379] The musical players with long trumpets in the little balcony in the upper section of the painting, are at once reminiscent of Flemish art. They are very different from the two musicians in the Upton House Wise and Foolish Virgins. Also the figure at the right of the table upstairs is very Northern and looks very much like a much later Vermeer girl. From stylistic evidence, it seems possible that this, inferior version might be the work of one of the artist's Northern pupils.

What then, is the art historical significance of these three versions of the Wise and Foolish Virgins ? What is Tintoretto's contribution to the development of the theme ? If the answer to the latter question depended on how popular he caused the theme to become in Italy, then his contribution must be considered slight, for there are no later renderings of the parable by any other Italian artist. If, however, one looks at Tintoretto's contribution in terms of the whole corpus of works on the same theme, then one sees how much of an innovator he was.

Like Parmigianino, discussed earlier in this Chapter, Tintoretto's purpose does not seem to have been to point a moral, nor to link the story directly to the Last Judgement, nor even to use it as a Reformation tool in the argument either for Roman Catholicism or Lutheranism. Rather, his first task seems to have been to tell a dramatic story, one with both tension and action. He does, however, go much further than this.

He makes use of one or two iconographic elements, such as the dog, which he might intend as a general symbol of vigilance. He uses scrolls to make the biblical source of the painting quite clear to the spectator and he introduces the shadowy, rather ethereal background figures discussed earlier. These produce another level of reality in the paintings, almost in the same way as the background Last Judgement scenes in the renderings of this parable by Eworth, Bruegel and de Vos. Where the three Flemish artists actually show the Wise and Foolish Virgins on two distinct sides of the canvas, Tintoretto uses an up-and-down separation, with the Foolish Virgins outside and downstairs and the Wise Virgins upstairs at the feast. One is further made to feel that the artist is implying some kind of distinction between the physical and the spiritual. Spirituality and a feeling that this story is an episode in some deeper experience, are definitely hinted at, but there is nothing so obviously explicit as in the work of Bruegel, Eworth or de Vos.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSIONS

The parable of the Wise and Foolish
Virgins has been shown to have been a popular theme in art and
drama, particularly from the late Middle Ages to the 16th century.

Although it was first linked to the
iconography of the Last Judgement in the 6th century Codex Purpureus
Rossanensis, it was the influence of Abbot Suger and the church
of St. Denis which established the tradition of including the Wise
and Foolish Virgins in the monumental sculptural cycles decorating
the exteriors of the Gothic cathedrals. There followed interesting
and divergent transformations in iconography, so that the parable
was sometimes seen, along with the Virtues and Vices, as an allegory
of the Last Judgement; sometimes on portals devoted to the Virgin
Mary, and sometimes alongside the figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue.

The tradition of typological
biblical illustration, as used in the 14th and 15th century block-
books, broadened the application of the parable still further by
pairing it with other biblical feasts, such as the Feast of Belshazzar
and the Banquet of Queen Esther.

In the later 15th century, Martin
Schongauer's treatment of the theme marked a turning point in
its development. His depictions of the Virgins as individual,
elegant, and fashionably-dressed contemporary maidens, marked the
beginning of a secularisation of the theme, and by his use of the
printed medium, whereby copies could be disseminated widely, he
opened the way to the laicising and general degeneration of the theme

which occured in the prints of the early 16th century.

In the second quarter of the 16th century Northern artists sought to restore the parable to its original scriptural context and to infuse the theme with new didactic and moral overtones. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation witnessed the moral overtones becoming more clearly defined, and sectarian, so that the Virgins became representations of specific religious denominations; while, at the same time, the influence of Renaissance ideas endowed the parable with yet another dimension as parallels with the Liberal Arts and the Sciences were introduced.

The parable is essentially about the contrast between good and evil. Its wide appeal to artists and dramatists of the 15th and 16th centuries is due precisely to this contrast and also to its millenarian and eschatological associations. In all its diverse and complex associations - with Virtue and Vice; Ecclesia and Synagogue; Heaven and Hell; Catholicism and Protestantism; and Arts and Sciences, it is, with few exceptions, intrinsically connected with the iconography of the Last Judgement.

In the final analysis, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins may be seen to present a mirrored reflection of the atmosphere and the social and religious climate of 16th century Europe.

APPENDIX II.

PRELIMINARY HANDLIST OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS IN THE LATE 15th

AND THE 16th CENTURIES

This list is arranged chronologically.

	DATE	MEDIUM & ARTIST	PROVENANCE
1.	c.1475	Painting by Vrancke van der Stockt.	Valencia, Town Hall - Last Judgement with Wise and Foolish Virgins.
2.	c.1480	Engravings by Martin Schongauer.	c.15 examples in Berlin, Frankfurt, London, Vienna - series of 10 sheets.
3.	c.1480	Drawing by Martin Schongauer.	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum - one Foolish Virgin.
4.	c.1480	Drawing by Martin Schongauer.	Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Kunst - a standing girl, study for a Virgin.
5.	c.1480	Manuscript	Vienna, Österreichischen Nat.Bib.Ms5011, p.628 - Gradual, lower border of page.
6.	1483	Manuscript	Munich, Staatsbib. Conrad Grünenberg's Book of Armoury, fol. cc.
7.	c.1490	Engraving by Martin Schongauer.	c.20 examples in Basel, Cambridge, (Mass.), - single Foolish Virgin.
8.	c.1490-1500	Sculpture by Erhard Küng	Berne, Cathedral, main portal.

15th CENTURY (cont'd)

9. c.1493	Pen drawing by Albrecht Dürer.	London, Count Seilern Collection - one Wise Virgin.
10. c.1494 - 5	Pen drawing by Albrecht Dürer.	Vienna, Albertina Collection.- one Wise Virgin.
11. late 15thC	Painting by Vrancke van der Stockt.	Berlin-Dahlem Picture Gallery, Cat.No.600 - Last Judgement with Wise and Foolish Virgins.
12. 15thC	Manuscript.	Cambridge, University Lib. Add 6647 Ch.40 fol.45.
13. 15thC	Drawings by Jörg Schweiger after Martin Schongauer.	Basel, Kupferstich-kabinett.
14. 15thC	Engravings by Master AG after Martin Schongauer.	Copies in Boston, Berlin, Cambridge, Dresden, Lüttich, Vienna - series of 10 sheets.
15. 15thC	Engravings by Israhel van Meckenem after Martin Schongauer.	Copies in Berlin, Braunschweig, Vienna - series of 10 sheets.

16th CENTURY

16. 1502 ?	Drawing by Lucas Cranach the Elder.	Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum - 1 Foolish Virgin.

16th CENTURY (cont'd)

17.	1509-12	Frescoes.	Albi, S. Cecile, vault decoration.
18.	c.1513	Pen drawing by Urs Graf.	Basel, Öffentliche Kunst-sammlung - 1 Wise Virgin.
19.	1513	Engraving by Urs Graf.	Basel, Kupferstichkabinett - Venus as a Foolish Virgin.
20.	c1513 ?	Engraving by Urs Graf after Martin Schongauer.	Basel, Kupferstichkabinett - 1 Foolish Virgin.
21.	c1516-17	Charcoal drawings by Niklaus Manuel Deutsch.	Basel, Kupferstichkabinett - set of 5 Foolish Virgins.
22.	c1518	Woodcut series by Niklaus Manuel Deutsch.	Basel, Kupferstichkabinett - Wise and Foolish Virgins.
23.	1st ¼ of 16thC	Painted altar shutters by the Master of the Antwerp. Adoration.	Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, (destroyed in World War II) - Wise and Foolish Virgins.
24.	1531-39	Frescoes by Il Parmigi-anino.	Parma, S. Maria della Stecc-ata, vault decoration.
25.	c.1547-8	Painting by Tintoretto.	Rotterdam, Boymans-van-Beuningen Museum.
26.	c.1548	Painting by Tintoretto.	National Trust, Upton House, Warwickshire.
27.	c.1548	Painting from the workshop of Tintoretto.	Philadelphia, John G. Johnson collection.
28.	after 1550	Painted wings of a trip-tych by Hermann Tom Ring.	Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum - Last Judgement altar.

16th CENTURY (cont'd)

29. c.1555	Painted panel (double-sided) by Hermann Tom Ring.	Münster, Landesmuseum - Last Judgement.
30. c.1555	Preparatory sketch for No. 29.	Vienna, Albertina Collection - Last Judgement.
31. c.1560-1	Engraving by Pieter Bruegel the Elder.	New York, Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Foundation.
32. 1564	Painting by Jerome Francken the Elder.	Warsaw, Narodne Museum.
33. 1570	Painting by Hans Eworth.	Copenhagen, State Museum, Royal Collection.
34. c.1580	Painting by Marten de Vos.	La Fère, Musée Jeanne d' Aboville.
35. c.1600	Engravings by Crispin de Passe the Elder, after Marten de Vos.	London, British Museum - series of 7 sheets and a frontispiece.
36. c.1600 ?	Engraving by Crispin de Passe the Elder, after Marten de Vos.	London, British Museum.
37. c.1600 ?	Drawing by Crispin de Passe the Elder.	Paris, Louvre.

<u>FOOTNOTES FOR REFERENCE AND CONTEXT.</u>

1. F.W. Green <u>The Clarendon Bible. The Gospel according to St. Matthew.</u>
   (Oxford, 1936) p.216.

2. F.W. Green, <u>ibid</u>.

3. H.B. Green <u>The New Clarendon Bible. The Gospel according to Matthew.</u>
   (Oxford, 1975.) p. 2o4.

4. A.H. McNeile, <u>The Gospel according to St. Matthew.</u> (London, 1915)p.359.

5. A.H. McNeile, <u>ibid</u>. p.360.

FOOTNOTES FOR PART I AND PART II.

1. I am greatly indebted to P. Terlingen of the Index of Christian
   Art, at the Kunsthistorisch Instuut of the Rijksuniversiteit
   Utrecht, for painstaking help in supplying much of the inform-
   ation for this catalogue.

2. cf. O. Halecki The Millenium of Europe. (Univ. Notre-Dame Press,
   1963) p.115. Also cf. J. Migne Patrologia Latina. (Paris, 1844-
   64) Vol. 142, col.635ff.

3. eg. St. Denis, Abbey Church ; Amiens Cathedral, W. Portal ; Sens
   Cathedral etc.

4. eg. Chartres Cathedral, N. Transept, left doorway ; St. Thibault-
   en-Auxois, Priory Church, N. Transept.

5. For the importance of Suger's innovatory work at St. Denis and
   its influence on cathedral architecture, sculpture and stained
   glass, see E. Panofsky Abbot Suger, On the Abbey Church of St.
   Denis and its Art Treasures. (Princeton, 1946).

6. see L. Réau L'iconographie de l'art chrétien.(Paris, 1957) Vol.II,
   p.357 for list of Wise and Foolish Virgins in French sculptural
   cycles.

7. Hortus Deliciarum. Reconstruction and commentary under the direct-
   ion of Rosalie Green. (London / Leiden, 1979)

8. W. Seiferth Synagogue und Kirche im Mittelalter. (Munich, 1964)
   p.166.

9. Freiburg Cathedral, porch ; Erfurt Cathedral, West portal ; Trier
   Liebfrauenkirche, West portal ; Magdeburg Cathedral, Exterior,
   North.

10. Originally established officially at the Council of Epheseus

(431 AD.) where the Virgin was named as the mother, and the mystic bride of Christ and the personification of Ecclesia. cf. L.Réau op.cit. Vol.II p.58.

11. G. Delahache La Cathedrale de Strasbourg. (Paris, 1950)

12. The figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue appear on either side of Christ crucified, on the tympanum of the central portal.

13. cf. Nôtre-Dame at Wismar, where the parable appears on the baptismal font and is associated with Ecclesia and Synagogue iconography.

14. by an army officer, in 1921, see Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church. ed. F.L.Cross (Oxford, 1957) p.443

15. J. Pijoan Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins at Dura-Europos, in Art Bulletin, (1937), suggests that the whole house was used for worship. p.592.

16. M.I. Rostovtzeff The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of the Fifth Season of Work Oct. 1931 - March 1932. (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1934) p.270-5 ; P.V.C. Baur Les Peintures de la Chapelle Chrétienne de Doura, in Gazette des Beaux-Arts. (Paris, 1933) Series 6, Vol.10, p.74.

17.L. Réau op.cit. Vol.II, p.358.

18. J. Pijoan op.cit. Art Bulletin, p.592.

19. Matt. 25 v.6 "and at midnight there was a cry made, Behold the Bridegroom cometh..."

20. Luke 16 v.2 "And very early in the morning...."

21. A Perkins The Art of Dura-Europos.(Oxford, 1973) p.53-4.

22. eg. late 4thC. Roman ivory panel (Milan, Castello Sforzesco) ; 11thC. reliquary plaque (Paris, Louvre).

23. He suggests, in fact, that the Virgins might be making their way

to a kind of <u>temple</u>, rather than a tomb.

24. J. Pijoan <u>A Re-Discovered School of Romanesque Frescoes</u>, in <u>Burlington Magazine</u>, (1911) Vol.19, p.67-73.

25. F. Muns <u>S.Quirse de Pedret</u>, in <u>Certamen Catalanista</u> (Barcelona, 1887) p.305-27.

26. C.R.Post <u>A History of Spanish Painting</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) Vol.I, p.136 ; Gomez-Moreno <u>Iglesias mozarabes</u> (Madrid, 1919)

27. C.R. Post <u>op. cit.</u> p.131.

28. J.Pijoan <u>op.cit.</u> <u>Burlington Magazine,</u> p.72

29. C.R. Post <u>op.cit.</u>p.133.

30.J. Pijoan <u>op. cit.</u> <u>Art Bulletin</u>, p.592.

31. Text in K. Young <u>The Drama of the Medieval Church</u> (Oxford, 1933) Vol.I p.678.

32. R. Axton <u>European Drama of the Early Middle Ages</u> (London, 1974) p.68.

33. J. Migne ed. <u>op.cit.</u> Vol.85, <u>Missale Mixtum Secundum Reg. B. Isidori</u> (Paris, 1850) Col.441.

34.Translation " It is fitting that the congregation of the faithful should wait up for the advent of the radiant bridegroom with lights ready kindled ; lest at the wedding feast he refuse the company of those he finds sleeping beneath the shadow of old sins........ let us therefore be like the wise virgins and not like the foolish ones.

35. Text in K. Young <u>op.cit.</u> Vol.II, p.362.

36. R. Axton <u>op.cit.</u>p.101.

37. Adequately explained in eg, H Osbourne, ed. <u>Oxford Companion to Art.</u> (Oxford, 1970) p.1169ff.

38. eg. catacomb of Callixtus, early 3rd century - Jonah is the precursor of the Good Shepherd.

39. eg. St. Denis (1144), Chartres, Bourges, Canterbury (13thC).

40. eg. Peterborough Cathedral.

41. eg. ciboriums etc.

42. cf. M.J.Schretlen Dutch & Flemish Woodcuts of the 15thC. (New York, 1969) p.7-21, for a definition and description of block-books.

43. see below, Part I p.17 for definition of the Biblia Pauperum and Speculum Humanae Salvationis.

44. S. Hindman Dutch 15thC. Bible Illustration & the Historia Scholastica, in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol.37 (1974) p.131-44.

45. A. Muñoz Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano. (Rome, 1907) Ch.1, p.1.

46. This probably derives from Origen, one of the Early Church Fathers, who, in the 3rdC. AD. wrote a commentary and two homilies on the Old Testament book, The Song of Songs (Patrol-ogia Graeca ed. J. Migne Vol.13 , cols.37-58). St. Jerome translated the homilies into Latin in the 4thC. and in the second homily, Origen maintains that the Bride of the Song of Songs is black, but is becoming white through penitence, and he urges his congregation to be penitent too, so that they might attain "white souls".

47. J. Lutz & P. Perdrizet Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Leipzig, 1907) Vols.I & II.

48. cf. also the Speculum now in Paris, Bib. Nat. fr. 6275 (illust-rated in Lutz and Perdrizet op.cit. Vol.II, pl.35.)

49. _Biblia Pauperum_ (London, British Museum, King's Ms. 5.A.1.d.12.)

50. _Speculum Humanae Salvationis_ (1483) (Haarlem, Gemeentemuseum)

51. It was during the 11thC. that the Provençal legend arose. See
    C. Chabaneau _Ste.Marie-Madeleine dans la litterature provençale_
    (1887)

52. eg. Aix-en-Provençe, Vezelay, Paris, Ste. Madeleine.

53. eg.12thC. Easter play from Tours, text in K. Young _op.cit._ Vol.I
    p.518-32 ; 13thC. Benediktbeuern Passion play _Ludus de Passione,_
    text in Young _op.cit._ Vol.I p.438-47.

54. cf. J. Szöverffy _Peccatrix Quondam Femina : A Survey of the Mary
    Magdalen Hymns,_ in _Traditio_ (New York, 1963) Vol.19, p.79-146,
    for extensive survey.

55. G.R.S. Mead _Pistis Sophia_ - translation & introduction (London,
    1955)

56. J. Migne, ed. _op. cit._ _PG._ Vol.13, cols.37-58.

57. J. Migne, ed. _op.cit._ _PL._ Sanctus Gregorius Magnus XL Homilarium
    in Evangelia, Lib. II, Homil.XXV. Vol.76, col.1190.

58. J.Migne, ed. _op. cit._PL. _Breviarium Gothicum - In Festo Sanctae
    Mariae Magdalenae._ Vol.86, col.1335.

59. AV. translation "..... her candle goeth not out by night".

60. J.Migne, ed. _op.cit._ _PL._ _Sermones in Cantica, Sermon XXII._
    Vol.183, col.878-84.

61. C.M.Gayley, ed. _Representative English Comedies_ (New York &
    London, 1903) p.XXX.

62. C. Chabaneau. _op.cit._

63. see K. Young _op.cit._ Vol.I p.201-09 and 658-9.

64. see note 53 above.

65. Early English Text Society, Extra Series LXX (London, 1896)
    p.53-136.

66. K. Kruse Jehan Michel - Das Mystere de la Passion Jesu Crist.
    (Greifswald, 1907)

67. W. Golther Deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters (1922) p.489ff.

68. Cronica S.Petri Erfordensis Moderne, MGH, Scriptorum XXX (i)
    p.448-9.

69. J. Szöverffy op.cit. p.92.

70. J. Szöverffy ibid. p.125.

71. K. Young op. cit. Vol.I p.535.

72. A. Stange Deutsche Malerei der Gotik (Kraus reprint, Liecht-
    enstein, 1969) Vol.4, p.91-101.

73. Part I, p.6.

74. O. Pächt & U.Jenni Die Illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln
    der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Vol.3 Hollandische Schule
    (Vienna, 1975) p44ff.

75. O.Pächt & U. Jenni ibid. p.44

76 O. Pächt & U. Jenni ibid. p.49.

77. O. Pächt & U. Jenni ibid. p.79.

78. O. Pächt & U. Jenni ibid. p.69-70.

79. cf. Matt.25 v.31 "When the son of Man shall come in his Glory,and
    all the holy angels with him then shall he sit upon the throne of
    his glory." cf. also John Rev. 4 v.2 ".....and behold a throne
    was set in heaven, and one sat upon the throne."

80. Berne Münster (where the main portal decorated   by Erhard Küng
    c1485-1501, contains the Last Judgement and the Wise and Foolish
    Virgins) is the last Gothic cathedral on such a monumental scale
    with this programme. cf. Encyclopaedia of World Art (New York,
    1960-67) Vol.13, p.776.

81. L. Réau op.cit. Vol.II, p.357.

82. L. Réau ibid. Vol.II, p.357.

83. J. Baum Martin Schongauer (Vienna, 1948) p.48, lists the cycle as among his late engravings. M. Lehrs Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs in 15ten Jahrhundert. (Vienna, 1925) Vol.5, p.307, states that Conrad Grünenberg's Wappenbuch, fol.cc, completed in 1483, used copies of Schongauer's Wise and Foolish Virgins as models for the jousting queens.

84. C. Minott Martin Schongauer (Philadelphia, 1969) p.48.

85. The "crown" symbol derives from Church/Synagogue iconography. cf. the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ch.5, v.16 "The crown is fallen from our head".

86. M. Lehrs op.cit. Vol.5, p.307-19, has numbered the two groups of virgins from 1-5 and I have listed the plates according to his numbers.

87. C. Minott op.cit. p.48.

88. C. Minott ibid. p.48.

89. The Wise and Foolish Virgins are all approximately 122mm high x 85mm wide ; Christ enthroned .... is approximately 169mm high x 120 wide - this is roughly proportional.

90. cf. the prophets at the extreme right and left of Hugo van der Goes' painting of the Adoration of the Shepherds (Berlin), where the prophets draw aside a curtain and introduce the scene to the spectator. This connects Old and New Testaments in a way similar to the method used in the Speculum Humanae Salvationis. The prophets of the Old Testament foretold the Saviour's coming in the New.

91. J. von Sandrart _Teutsche Akademie der edlen Bau-, Bild, und Malereykunste._ (Nüremberg & Frankfurt, 1675-9) p.220, identifies the Master AG with Albrecht Glockendon. G.K.Nagler _Die Monogramm-isten_ (Munich, 1858-79) Vol.I, No.613, 18-22, claims him to be Ambrosius Gumplein.

92. M.Lehrs _op.cit._ Vol.6, p.84

93. M.Lehrs _ibid._ Vol.5, gives an extensive list of Israhel van Meckenem's copies after Schongauer.

94. M.Lehrs _ibid._ Vol.5., p.111.

95. M.Lehrs _ibid._ Vol.5, p.307.

96. E. Flechsig _Martin Schongauer._ (Strasbourg, 1951) p.203-06.

97. cf. A. Shestack _Complete Engravings of Martin Schongauer_ (New York, 1969) who points out, p.IX, that in several of Schongauer's drawings and engravings "Moorish" types are used to represent heathens.

98. For a summary of the arguments cf. M. Lehrs _op. cit._ Vol.5, p.324.

99. Winzinger _Dürers Verhältnis zu Martin Schongauer,_ in _Kunstchronik,_ 25, 1972, p.186.

100. S.W. Hayter _About Prints_ (London, 1962) p.9-10.

101. Jörg Schweiger cf. Winzinger _Die Zeichnungen Martin Schongauers_ (Berlin, 1962) p.18. Also cf. Thieme-Becker _Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart_ (Leipzig, 1907) Vol.XXX, p.374.

102. Winzinger _op.cit._ p.70, and J. Baum _op.cit._ p.48.

103. M. Lehrs _Schongauer-Zeichnungen in Dresden_ (1914) p.6-17.

104. Winzinger _op.cit._ p.71.

105. Winzinger _ibid._ p.106.

106. K. Gutmann <u>Martin Schongauer und die Fresken im Münster zu</u> <u>Breisach,</u> in <u>Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft</u> (1922) Vol.43; p.62-80.

107. K. Gutmann <u>ibid.</u> p.79.

108. E. Panofsky <u>The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer</u> (Princeton, 1943) Vol.I, p.24.

109. F. Winkler <u>Dürers Zeichnungen</u> (Berlin, 1936) Vol.I, p.27, points out that the drawing bears the date "1508", but is authentically dated 1493 on the back.

110. Tietze, H., & Tietze-Konrat, E., <u>Der junge Dürer. Verzeichnis</u> <u>der Werke bis zur venezianischen Reise im Jahre 1505</u> (Augsburg, 1928)

111. E. Panofsky <u>op.cit.</u> p.24.

112. F. Winkler <u>op.cit.</u> p.28.

113. Winzinger <u>op.cit.</u> p.186.

114. E. Panofsky <u>op.cit.</u> dates it thus ; Winkler <u>op.cit.</u> does not date it ; Strauss <u>The Complete Drawings of Dürer</u> (New York, 1974) Vol.I, p.256, dates it 1494.

115. M. Conway <u>Dürer and the Housebook Master,</u> in <u>Burlington Mag-</u> <u>azine,</u> 18, (1910/11) p.323.

116. A..Strobl <u>Dürer's Drawings in the Albertina</u> (London, 1972) p.58.

117. M. Conway <u>op.cit.</u> p.323.

118. E. Römer <u>Dürers ledige Wanderjahre,</u> in <u>Jahrbuch der preuss-</u> <u>ischen Kunstsammlungen</u> (Berlin, 1927) p.177.

119. W. von Seidlitz <u>Dürers fruhe Zeichnungen,</u> in <u>Jahrbuch der</u> <u>preusssischen Kunstsammlungen</u> (Berlin, 1907) p.8.

120. Tietze & Tietze-Konrat op.cit.

121. J. Meder op.cit.p.207ff.

122. J. Meder ibid.p.207ff identified the costume as Friulian by comparing it with the women's headdresses in Martino da Udine's St. Ursula and her virgins (Milan, Brera)

123. F. Stadler Dürers Apokalypse und ihr Umkreis (Munich, 1929) p.98.

124. Winkler op.cit. Vol.I, p.28.

125. E. Major & Gradman Urs Graf (Basel, 1945) p.8.

126. E. Major & Gradman ibid. p.5. Prefatory note by K. Clark.

127. E. Major & Gradman ibid. p.8.

128. E. Major & Gradman ibid. p.8.

129. E. Major & Gradman ibid. p.9.

130. H. Koegler Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Basler Handzeichnungen des Urs Graf. (Basel, 1926).

131. Urs Graf : Handzeichnungen, Holzschnitte, Kupferstiche, Radierungen, Niellen und Gravierungen (Solothurn, 1959) Exhibition Catalogue.

132. J.B. Knipping Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands (Leiden, 1974) Vol.I, p.61.

133. E. Major & Gradman op.cit. Plate 19.

134. cf. Lucas Moser's Magdalen Altarpiece with the inscription "Schri kunst schri und klag dich ser din begert iecz niemen mer so o we 1432 Lucas Moser maler von wil maister dez werx bit got vir in".

135. E. Major & Gradman op.cit. Plate 126.

136. E. His Urs Graf, in Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft, ed A. von Zahn (1873) Vol.XV, p.144-87.

137 . E. Major & Gradman op.cit.p.13.

138. Gruneisen Leben und Werke Niklaus Manuels (Strasbourg & Tubingen, 1837) p.82.

139. Thieme-Becker op.cit. Vol.IX, p.176. Article by L. Stumm.

140. Gruneisen op.cit. p.83.

141. Thieme-Becker op.cit. Vol. IX, p.176.

142. L. Mojon Das Berner Munster (Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Bern, Band IV) (Basel, 1960) p.142.

143. Danube School Catalogue of Prints and Drawings (Yale University, 1969) p.107.

144. see R. van Marle Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen age et à la Renaissance (Le Hague, 1931) Vol.II, fig.84. for Peter Dell's Lust.

145. I. Hiller & H. Vey Katalog der deutschen und niederländischen Gemälde bis 1550 im Wallraf-Richartz Museum (Cologne, 1969) p.15.

146. The Cologne paintings are mostly 194x77 cms. : the Nuremberg ones 194x80 cms.

147. I. Hiller & H. Vey op.cit. p.16.

148. J.D. Passavant Kunstreise durch England und Belgien (Frankfurt, 1833) p.399.

149. Verzeichnis der Ausstellung von Gemälden der Meister älterer Zeit aus den Sammlungen kölnischer Kunstfreunde in dem auf dem Rathhaus-plätze, dem Rathhaus gegenüber gelegenen städtische Gebäude (Cologne, 1840) No. 250,259.

150. Catalog für die Ausstellung altdeutscher und altitalienischer Gemälde auf dem Kaufhaussaale Gürzenich zu Köln (Cologne, 1854) No.87.

151. ibid. No.88.

152. Katalog des Museums Wallraf-Richartz in Köln, Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung (Cologne, 1862) No.277.

153. Katalog der Gemäldesammlung des Museums Wallraf-Richartz in Köln (Cologne, 1864) p.55, No. 288.

154. E. Firmenich-Richartz Sulpiz und Melchior Boisserée als Kunst-Sammler (Jena, 1916) 1.c.

155. A. Woltmann & K. Woermann Geschichte der Malerei II (Leipzig, 1882) p.497.

156. H. Janitschek Geschichte der deutschen Malerei (Berlin, 1890) p.521.

157. L. Scheibler Die altniederländischen und altdeutschen Gemälde der Kunsthistorischen Ausstellung in Deutschland 1904, in Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, 27, (1904) p.545.

158. M.J. Friedländer Early Netherlandish Painting (Leyden, 1933) Vol.XI, p.72, Cat. No.54, and Plates 54 and 55.

159. P. Philipott Le Monogrammiste G, maître de l'Epiphanie d' Anvers, in Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgiques, Vol.5, (1956) p.157-66.

160. Inv. No.579. Plate in Friedländer op.cit. Vol.XI, Plate 52.

161. P. Philipott op.cit. p.164-66.

162. I. Hiller & H. Vey op.cit. p.17.

163. cf. Speculum Humanae Salvationis, 1483 (Haarlem , Gemeentemuseum) [Pl.31] discussed in Part I, p.19.

164. I. Hiller & H. Vey op.cit. p.16.

165. Plate in Friedländer op.cit. Vol.II, Plate 66.

166. G. Hulin de Loo Vrancke van der Stockt, in Biographie Nationale de Belgique. (Brussels, 1926-9) Vol.24, Col.66ff.

167. Plate in K.M. Birkmeyer The Arch Motif in Netherlandish Painting of the 15thC. A Study in changing religious imagery II, in Art Bulletin, Vol.XLIII, (1961) Plate 23.

168. Correctly interpreted as such by K.M. Birkmeyer ibid. p.102.

169. G..Hulin de Loo op.cit. col.73.

170. cf. Rogier van der Weyden's Altarpiece of the Last Judgement (Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu.).

171. P. Pieper on Hermann Tom Ring in Kindlers Malereilexikon (Zurich, 1968) Vol.V, p.83.

172. T.R.Riewerts & P. Pieper Die Maler Tom Ring (Berlin & Munich, 1955) p.33.

173. K. Hölker on Ludger Tom Ring in Thieme-Becker op.cit. Vol.XXVIII, p.363.

174. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper op.cit. p.11.

175. P. Pieper op.cit. Vol.V, p.83.

176. eg. Jan van Scorel, Bernard van Orley.

177. cf. Jan Provost's Last Judgement (Bruges, Municipal Museum of Fine Art) of 1525, where , following the tradition of medieval art, the figure of Christ is over-lifesize.

178. cf. Signorelli's Resurrection of the Blessed (Orvieto, Duomo, Chapel of S.Biagio) 1499-1504.

179. cf. Pontormo's Deposition (Florence, S.Felicita) of 1525-8.

180. cf. Rosso's Moses and the daughters of Jethro (Florence, Uffizi).

181. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper op.cit. p.33.

182. This drawing is dated 1550 and is the basis for dating the altarpiece slightly later.

183. L. Réau op.cit. Vol.II, p.44 and p.50.

184. M.J. Friedländer op.cit.Vol.I, p.94.

185. J.S. Clark The Dance of Death (London, 1947) p.7-36.

186. F. Douce The Dance of Death (London, 1833) p.82.

187. W. Seelmann Die Totentänze des Mittelalters (Leipzig, 1892) ;

  L. Dimier Les danses macabres et l'idée de la mort dans l'art

  chrétien (Paris, 1908) ; & W. Stammler Die Totentänze des

  Mittelalters (Munich, 1922)

188. J.S. Clark op.cit. p.7

189. eg. the 14th century play Everyman.

190. F.W.H. Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts,

  1400-1700 (Amsterdam, 1957) Vol.IV, p.197, Cat. No.30.

191. W.Nijhoff Nederlandsche Houtsneden 1500-1550 (The Hague,

  1933-36) Plates 214-215

192. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper op.cit. p.82.

193. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper ibid. p.82.

194. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper ibid. p.32.

195. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper ibid. p.33, have noted this point.

196. eg. Strasbourg Cathedral, West facade, central and North and

  South portals.

197. cf. footnote 67.

198. M.M. Cloetta Romania and G. Paris Litterature francais au

  moyen age both assign the plays to the first half or the second

  third of the 12th century. M.J. Rudwin Der Teufel in den

  deutschen geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters und der Reform-

  ationzeit dates them to the first half of the 12th century.

199. K. Young op.cit. Vol. II, p.362-4 for text.

200. E. Mâle L'art du XII siècle en France (Paris, 1922) p.149.

201. eg. in the catacombs and in the Rossano Gospel book.

202. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper op.cit. p.83.

203. M. Geisberg Ein Hermann Tom Ring aus dem Fraterhaus in Münster,

  in Münsterischer Anzeiger 15/11/1931.

204. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper op.cit. p.83.

205. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper ibid. p.34.

206. T.R. Riewerts & P. Pieper ibid. p.82.

207. Histoire du theatre francais (1735)

208. J.H.A. Mialaret De Nederlandsche Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst V ,De Provinz Limburg II, Noord-Limburg (The Hague,1937) p.166, No.7.

209. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (Leipzig, 1875-92) Vol.III, p.257.

210. E. Zeydel The Ship of Fools by Sebastian Brant (New York, 1944) p.24, & Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie Vol.III, p.257.

211. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie Vol. III, p.256.

212. ibid. Vol.III, p.256.

213. E. Zeydel op.cit. p.25.

214. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie Vol.III, p.256 & p.259.

215. ibid. Vol.III, p.256-7.

216. ibid. Vol.III, p.258.

217. J.B. Knipping op.cit. Vol.I, p.34.

218. Translated in E. Zeydel op.cit. p.343-44.

219. cf. J. B. Knipping op.cit. Vol.I p.38. "the much preached warning of the day ..... 'Remember the hour of your death ; make the most of your time'."

220. eg. Sebastian Franck, D.V. Coornhert and Nicholas de Clemanges.

221. Translated in E. Zeydel op.cit. p.312 "Of Indolence and Sloth".

222. cf. A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero & S. Leathes eds. The Cambridge Modern History (Cambridge, 1902) Vol.I, p.509 "it followed , almost as a necessary consequence of the commercial activity of Antwerp, that this city should become a great monetary centre".

223. Also advocated in Brant, see E. Zeydel op.cit. Ch. 106, p.343-4 ;

    "Because he has suppressed his pound

    Which God did give him once of yore,

    Wherewith he would acquire more".

224. cf. A.W. Ward etc. op.cit. Vol.I, p.509 "Antwerp rose quickly

    from comparative importance to be the leading city in Europe."

225. cf. the Eisenach play of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, where

    the Foolish Virgins dance and play ball-games.

226. Bag-pipes are a symbol of evil. cf. Bosch's Garden of Earthly

    Delights (Madrid, Prado), right wing, where a tree-man is

    shown, along with a dance round a giant bag-pipe, in Hell. Also

    cf. E. Zeydel op.cit. Ch. 54 "Of Impatience & Punishment" p.186 ;

    "If bagpipes you enjoy and prize

    And harps and lutes you would despise

    You ride a fool's sled, are unwise."

227. E. Zeydel ibid. Ch.61, p.204-5.

228. For the strong influence of Calvinism on the Netherlands, see

    P.M. Crew A Question of Authority : Reformed Preaching and

    Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1543-1570 (Cornell University,

    Ph.D. Thesis, 1970, Michigan, USA.).

229. Dr. K. Hase Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas (London, 1880) p.182

    "As Calvin inflicted severe ecclesiastical penances on those who

    merely danced or even witnessed a dance at a marriage feast..."

230. Ezekiel 17 v.24 and Matthew 21 v.19.

231. Dead tree with a live branch is an attribute of Athena, Goddess

    of Wisdom.

232. eg Cathedral of Longpont, in Bazas, where a flowering olive tree

    is placed beside the Wise Virgins and a dead trunk beside the

    Foolish. Also cf. withered and flowering tree under the Wise and

    Foolish Virgins on the doorposts of the portal of Amiens Cathedral.

233. cf. Lorenzo Lotto's Allegory (Washington, National Gallery) of 1505, which uses the same central motif of the withered and flowering tree as a symbol of virtue and vice. Cf. also Lucas Cranach the Elder's Fall & Redemption of Man (Gotha, Schloss-Museum) of 1529 which again uses a central withered and flowering tree to separate the Old and New Testaments.

234. A. von Wurzbach Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon (Vienna-Leipzig, 1906-11) Vol.I

235. C. van Mander Het Schilder-boeck (Haarlem,1604) fol.242b.

236. K. Zoege , article on Francken in Thieme-Becker,op.cit. Vol.XII, p.348.

237. C. van Mander op.cit. fol.274b.

238. L. Puyvelde La peinture flamande au siècle de Bosch et Breughel (Brussels 1964) p.397.

239 K. Zoege op.cit. p.349.

240. Traceable through Frans Floris' influence on Francken . For biography of Floris, see among others M. J. Friedländer op.cit. Vol.XIII, p.34-9.

241. cf. Lotto's Allegory (Washington, National Gallery) where the satyr with the wine represents evil forces.

242. Disapproved of by Brant in Das Narrenschiff. See E. Zeydel op.cit.Ch.77 "Of Gamblers".

243. These also appear in Francken's Venetian Ball (Aachen, Sauer-mondt Museum).

244. J. B. Knipping op.cit. Vol.I ,p.23-4.

245. cf. J.B. Knipping ibid. Vol.II, p.284 ,where it is explained that, after the Reformation, non-Catholics tended to use a cross without the figure of Christ on it ; while Roman Catholics continued to use the crucifix (ie. the cross with the Saviour upon it).

246. This would contravene the ideals of the Council of Trent, cf.
     the Decree of the Council of Trent, promulgated on Dec. 3, 1563
     which reads, "......Nothing that is purely secular.......should
     be represented".

247. P. Rombouts & T. van Lerius De Liggeren der Antwerpsche Sint
     Lucāsgilde (Antwerp, 1872) Vol. I, p.139.

248. L. Cust The Painter HE, in the Walpole Society Vol. II, (1912-13)
     p.1-43, points out , on p.6, "no person acquainted with the
     eccentric transliteration and mispronounciation of foreign
     names in official lists would hesitate to identify ..... John
     Euwottes, paynter.......with..Haunce Eworth".

249. L. Cust ibid. p.6.

250. L. Cust ibid. p.6.

251. It was L. Cust in Burlington Magazine Vol. XIV (1909) p.366-68
     who discovered Eworth [although he was simultaneously discovered
     by G. Hulin de Loo in Bulletin Societe d'arch. de Gand Vol. XVII,
     (1909) p.49-50] thanks to the manuscript inventory of paintings
     belonging to John, Lord Lumley, in the reign of Elizabeth I.
     Through this inventory Cust established the distinction between
     HE and Lucas de Heere. He also explains how Lumley was a ready
     patron of painters from Antwerp - His father-in-law, the Earl
     of Arundel, was one of a group granted a royal charter of
     incorporation as merchant adventurers in 1555 by Philip and
     Mary. These merchants were thus closely connected with Antwerp,
     and were ready patrons for that city's artists.

252. The attribution to Lucas de Heere can be dated to 1689 when
     William Chiffinch compiled the catalogue of the paintings owned
     by King James II, in which the painting of Queen Elizabeth and
     the three goddesses is attributed to Lucas de Heere. George Vertue

252. (cont'd) in his diaries and notebooks, Vertue <u>Notebooks IV</u>
     p.36, also attributed certain portraits with the monogramm HE
     to Lucas de Heere and Horace Walpole in his <u>Anecdotes of</u>
     <u>Painting</u> (1752)ed. Wornum, Vol.I, p.153, also adopted the
      attribution.

253. eg. Bryan's <u>Dictionary of Painters and Engravers</u> (London,1904)
     does not mention Eworth, but places the few facts known about
     him under the entry on Lucas de Heere.

254. R. Strong <u>HE reconsidered</u> , in <u>Burlington Magazine</u> (1966)
     Vol.108, p.226.

255. cf. the shipwrecked figures in Eworth's <u>Allegorical Portrait of</u>
     <u>Sir John Luttrell</u> (London , Courtauld Collection)

256. cf. light/darkness which represents good/evil in Lotto's
     <u>Allegory</u> (Washington, National Gallery)

257. C.B. Avery ed. <u>The New Century Classical Handbook</u> (London,1962)
     p.1034.

258. cf. the contrast between the light and dark side of the painting
     in Lotto's <u>Allegory</u>. Cf. also the <u>Choice of Hercules</u> - a drawing
     by Pieter Vischer the Younger (after 1515) - which shows a
     contrast between the steep and rocky path of Virtue and the
     luscious and pleasant meadows of Voluptuousness.

259. cf. Bruegel's <u>Battle between Carnival and Lent</u> (Vienna, Kunst-
     historisches Museum) where the artist makes the contrast between
     a church and an inn in the background.

260. The separation of sheep from goats was depicted from early
     Christian times - eg. in the 6th century mosaic frieze in the
     nave of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.

261. cf. the satyr with the wine in Lotto's <u>Allegory</u> which represents
     evil forces.

262. cf. Bruegel's Triumph of Death (Madrid, Prado) which contains a backgammon set on the table at the right foreground.

263. eg. the Master of the Gardens of Love – Great Garden of Love engraving.

264. E. Zeydel op.cit. Ch. 77, p.255, "Of Gamblers".

265. The rosary beads were first positively identified by R. Strong HE Reconsidered op.cit. p.233. L. Cust A Further note on Haunce Eworth, in the Walpole Society (1913-14) Vol.III, p.114, suggests this painting was executed "under the influence of the Reformed Religion".

266. L. Cust op.cit. in Walpole Society Vol.II, p.2, maintains that Eworth was a member of the reformed religion.

267. C. Cuttler Bosch and the Narrenschiff ; A Problem in Relationships, in Art Bulletin Vol.LI, p.272-76.

268. G.C.Stridbeck The Combat between Carnival and Lent by P. Bruegel the Elder – An Allegorical Picture of the 16th Century, in the Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (1956) Vol.XXIX, p.96-109, suggests that the figure in the cart in the print [PLATE 95] parallels that of "Lent" in Bruegel's Combat between Carnival and Lent. He argues that the latter painting depicts a battle, in allegorical terms, between Lutheranism and Catholicism and justifies his argument by a careful explanation of the abundance of iconographical symbols. He concludes that, since Bruegel "pokes the finger of fun" at both sects, one must assume that he rejects one as being as foolish as the other.

269 . R. Strong op.cit., in Burlington Magazine, p.226

270. R. Strong ibid.p.226, lists these as Nicholas Heath, Viscount Montague, Countess of Lennox, Lord Darnley, Lord Charles Stuart, the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk & Lord Lumley – all well-known Catholics.

271. R. Strong _ibid._ p.226, lists as examples, the Cecils and the Dudleys, important patrons in the Elizabethan reign.

272. See footnote 266 above.

273. A.W. Ward etc. _op.cit._ Vol.I p.509.

274. A.W. Ward. _ibid._ p.509.

275. V.A. Dirksen _Die Gemälde des Martin de Vos_ (Parchim , 1914) p.14..

276. N. Dacos _Les peintres belges à Rome au XVI siècle_ (Brussels/Rome, 1964) p.49, suggests he left in 1552. S. Sulzberger _A propos de deux peintures de Martin de Vos,_ in _Revue Belges....._ (1936) Vol.6, p.122, suggests he went rather earlier, in 1548.

277. C. Ridolfi _Le Meraviglie dell'Arte._ (Padua, 1648) Vol.II, p.262 and p.265.

278. His painting of _St. Paul at Epheseus_ (Brussels, Musées des Beaux-Arts) of 1568 and the later _Marriage Feast at Cana_ (Antwerp Cathedral) of 1595-6 bear witness to his visit to Venice, as does his _Apollo and the Muses_ (Brussels, Musées des Beaux-Arts) of 1568 which shows marked affinities with Tintoretto's _Six Young Maidens making Music_ (Dresden, Galerie).

279. cf. M.J. Friedländer _op.cit._ Vol.XIII, p.34-9, for biographical details on Frans Floris.

280. É. Mâle _L'art religeux de XIII siècle au France_ (Paris, 1923) p.77.

281. G. de Tervarent _Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600_ (Geneva, 1958) p.351.

282. cf. Marten de Vos' _St. Luke painting the Virgin_ (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor schone Kunst) of 1602.

283. cf. Eworth's _Wise and Foolish Virgins,_ which contains a similar figure among the Wise Virgins. This Virgin has an ointment jar hanging from a string over her arm and by her feet a stone slab with the letters XPS inscribed on the stone.

284. J.B. Knipping op.cit. Vol.I p.24.

285. J.B. Knipping ibid. Vol.II p.360

286. cf. Lucas Moser's Magdalen Altarpiece (Tiefenbronn Church) discussed in Part I, p.23.

287. see Part I, p. 19-23.

288. L. Réau op.cit. Vol.III, p.850.

289. M. Bieber Ancient Copies : Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art. (New York, 1977) figs. 66 & 69 show good examples of the River Gods Nile and Tiber. cf. also C. Ripa Iconologia (1593) New edition with introduction by E. Mandowsky (New York, 1970) p.156.

290. cf. D.S. Robertson Greek and Roman Architecture (Cambridge, 1943) p.151.

291. N. Dacos op.cit. p.49.

292. S. Sulzberger op.cit. p.128, footnote 21.

293. V.A. Dirksen op.cit. p.34.

294. Only six works are mentioned in the bible - and here they symbolise Luther's strict adherence to biblical authority. A 7th work, that of burying the dead, was added (according to L. Réau op.cit. Vol.II, part 2, p.748) in the 12th century so that the Works of Mercy could be related to the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Deadly Sins, Seven Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin etc.

295. W.D. Allbeck Studies in the Lutheran Confessions (Philadelphia, 1952) p.254-91. cf. also C.H. Little Lutheran Confessional Theology (St. Louis, Missouri, 1943) p.139-78.

296. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Hannover - Stadt Celle III, Regierungsbezirk Lüneburg Heft 5 (1937) p.120.

297. H.A. Preus & E.Smits eds. The Doctrine of Man in Classical Lutheran Theology (Minneapolis, 1962) p.227.

298. <u>Die Kunstdenkmäler</u>...... <u>op.cit</u>. p.121.

299. The text is in German but I have used the English translation of the King James Authorised Version throughout.

300. Underneath Frau Welt the quote is from Matt. 4, v.9 "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Alongside Frau Welt is a verse from 1 John 2 v.16-17, "For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life, is not of the Father but is of the world." Alongside the Devil , the verse is Apoc.12 v.12, ".... Woe to the inhabitors of the earth and of the sea, for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." The 'angel of light' holds an open book with two verses, "For such are false prophets, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ. And no marvel for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light. Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be trans-formed as the ministers of righteousness ; whose end shall be according to their work." 2 Cor. 11 v.13-15, and also, "...... and by good works and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple." Romans 16 v.18.   In the front of the table before the Christian Church are three further quotations, from Ecc.2 v.1-2 "My son, if you come forward to serve the Lord, prepare yourself for temptation. Set your heart right and be steadfast and do not be hasty in time of calamity." , from 2Cor.4 v.8, "We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed ; we are perplexed but not in despair." , and from Ps.34 v.19, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous ; but the Lord delivereth him out of them all." Finally, underneath the painting, is the quotation from John 10 v.27-28, "Jesus spoke, My sheep hear my voice, and I know them

300. (cont'd) and they follow me ; And I give unto them eternal life ; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand."

301. C. Harbison The Last Judgement in 16th.century Northern Europe (PhD. Thesis, New York / London, 1976) p.155 notes this as an example of orthodox Roman Catholic doctrine.

302. cf. S. Sulzberger op.cit. p.124.

303. J. van Roey De Antwerpsche Schilders in 1584-5. Poging tot sociaal-religeus onderzoek, in Jahrboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor schone Kunst te Antwerpen (1966) p.124.

304. D. Freedburg Iconoclasm and Painting in the Netherlands 1566-1609 (unpublished PhD. thesis, 1972) p.173.

305. eg. the angel of the Last Judgement, the continuous narrative with the Last Judgement scene in the background.

306. S. Sulzberger op.cit. p.123.

307. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (Leipzig, 1887) Vol.XXV, p.208.

308. ibid. Vol. XXV, p.208.

309. ibid. Vol.IV, p.460.

310. ibid. Vol.VII, p.214-5.

311. ibid. Vol. VII, p.215.

312. ibid.Vol.IV, p.460.

313. Franken L'oeuvre gravé des van der Passe (Amsterdam / Paris, 1881) p.IX-XI.

314. Franken ibid. p.198

315. F.W.H.Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Wood-cuts (Amsterdam, 1974) Vol.XV, p.142-3

316. Actual quote is, "Vigilate quia nescitis diem neque horam qua filius hominis viene." Matth. 25 cap.

317. J.B. Knipping op.cit. Vol.I, p.38.

318. J.B. Knipping ibid. Vol.I, p.38.

319. J.B. Knipping ibid. Vol.I, p.37.

320. A Whittick Symbols, Signs and their Meaning (London, 1971) p.258.

321. C. Harbison op.cit. p.109.

322. eg. follower of Rogier van der Weyden Last Judgement (Berlin-Dahlem)

323. E. Zeydel op.cit. p.343-44.

324. E. Zeydel ibid 'Ch. 97 "On Sloth" p.312.

325. E. Zeydel ibid. Ch. 61 "On Dancing" p.204.

326. G. de Tervarent op.cit. p.369, classifies the tambourine as an attribute of Voluptuousness,"oppossée a la Vertu ".

327. cf. Dürer's Prodigal Son engraving of 1496 ; Jan Hemessen's Prodigal Son (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts)

328. Eworth uses this device, perhaps to link the two groups of Virgins. De Vos also uses the same device in his Wise and Foolish Virgins of c1580 [PLATE 96]

329. F. Lugt Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord. Maîtres des anciens Pays-Bas, nes avant 1550 (Paris,1968) p.93.

330. Part I, p.5.

331. L. Reau op.cit. Vol.III, p.354.

332. Vasari, G., Le vite dei più eccellenti Pittore, Scultori ed Architetturi (1568. Ed. Gaetano Milanesi, Florence, 1878) Vol. V, p.218-9.

333. S.J. Freedberg Parmigianino. His Works in Painting (Westport, Conn., 1950) p.37.

334. I. Affo Vita dell'graziosissimo Pittore Francesco Mazzoli detto Il Parmigianino (Parma, 1784) p.31-4 for transcript of the contract.

335. Vasari op.cit. Vol.V, p.221-22.

336. Vasari ibid. Vol.VI, p.10.

337. Vasari, ibid. Vol.V, p.229

338. The documents are in the Steccata archives in Storia dell' Ordino Constantino - Pitture ed Architetture nella Chiesa Magistrale -

338. (cont'd) Anno 1531-1547 Vol.VI, and in the file of the notary
Benedetto del Bono in the Archivio Notarile of Parma.
Parmigianino's contract is translated from the above in full in
A.O. Quintavalle Il Parmigianino (Milan, 1948)

339. P. Humfrey The Altarpieces of Cima (PhD. thesis, Courtauld
Institute of Art, 1977) p.96.

340. Archivio Notarile di Parma, Testamenti F. Pelosi, 25th October,
1510.

341. Archivio Notarile di Parma, Testamenti G. Piazza, 26th January,
1524.

342. Since the commission was dated 1531, and Montini died c1524,
according to P. Humfrey op.cit. p.96.

343. A.O. Quintavalle op.cit. p.52, No.42.

344. L. Testi Santa Maria della Steccata in Parma (Florence, 1922)
p.126, quotes the contract.

345. The whole sequence of arguments is dealt with fully in S.J.
Freedberg op.cit. p.189-92.

346. The clearest evidence of Parmigianino's confinement is in the
document of Sept.19th , 1544, quoted in L. Testi op.cit. p.137.

347. A.E. Popham Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino 3 Vols.
(Yale, University Press, 1971) Vol.I, p.22.

348. S.J. Freedberg op.cit. p.94 ; L. Testi op.cit.

349. Giulio's contribution was a water-colour design and from this,
Anselmi finished the work - see Rogito del Bono, May 8th, 1541,
in the Archivio Notarile di Parma.

350. Vasari op.cit. Vol.VI, p.485-6.

351. A.E. Popham op.cit. Vol.I, p.24.

352. A.E. Popham ibid.Vol.I, p.24.

353. A.E. Popham ibid. Vol.I p.24 ; S.J. Freedberg op.cit. p.95.

354. A.E. Popham ibid. Vol. I, p.101.

355. A.E. Popham ibid. Vol.I, p.24.

356. A.E. Popham ibid. Vol.I, p.24.

357. A.E. Popham ibid. Vol.I, p.24.

358. S.J. Freedberg op.cit. p.94.

359. They imply a knowledge of the famous relief of the Borghese
     Dancers now in the Louvre, Paris.

360. Amiens Cathedral, West portal ,central doorway - see [PLATE 3]

361. eg. Chartres Cathedral.

362. S.J. Freedberg op.cit. p.97.

363. S.J. Freedberg ibid.p.97.

364. S.J. Freedberg ibid. p.97.

365. M. & M. Fagiolo Dell'Arco Il Parmigianino. Un saggio sull'ermet-
     ismo nel Cinquecento (Rome, 1970)

366. R. Pallucchini La Giovinezza del Tintoretto (Milan, 1950) p.110
     dates it to 1547-8.

367. B. Berenson Venetian Pictures of the Renaissance (London ,1957)
     p.178.

368. R. Pallucchini op.cit. p.110. Also B. Berenson Catalogue of the
     Johnson Collection (Philadelphia, 1913) Vol.I, No.211, where it is
     described as "School of Tintoretto", with the name Palma Giovane
     suggested. Also B. Sweeney Catalogue of the Italian Paintings in
     the Johnson Collection (Philadelphia, 1966) p.76 ascribes it to
     the "School of Tintoretto".

369. Discussed later in the Chapter on p.115.

370. cf. the position of Christ and the Virgin in the Marriage Feast
     at Cana (Venice, Sta.Maria della Salute) of 1561. cf. also Christ's
     position on the Last Supper (Venice, Scuola di S. Rocco)

371. Translation is, "Lord, Lord, open unto us."

372. Translation is, "Truly, I say unto you, I do not know you."

373. R. Pallucchini op.cit. omits the Upton House version, but
     mentions both the Rotterdam and the Johnson Collection render-
     ings.

374. C. Ridolfi op.cit.

375. cf. the faces in each case.

376. cf. also the Judas in the Last Supper Venice, S. Trovaso)
     [PLATE 133] where, like the Upton House painting, he is accomp-
     anied by a second figure.

377. R. Pallucchini op.cit. p.110.

378. cf. the Italian fresco painters of the 16th century who decor-
     ated the vault of the cathedral at Albi. They used a dog
     barking fiercely alongside the Wise Virgins and one lying
     sound asleep alongside the Foolish ones.

379. E. Newton Tintoretto (New York, 1972) p.65., lists Tintoretto's
     Northern pupils as Marten de Vos, Paolo Fiammingo, Hans Rotten-
     hammer and Peter Ulerick.

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2. Paris, Nôtre-Dame. West Portal, centre doorway. Wise & Foolish Virgins on doorposts. Before 1230.

1. St. Denis, Abbey Church. West Portal, centre doorway. Wise & Foolish Virgins on doorposts. c1140 .
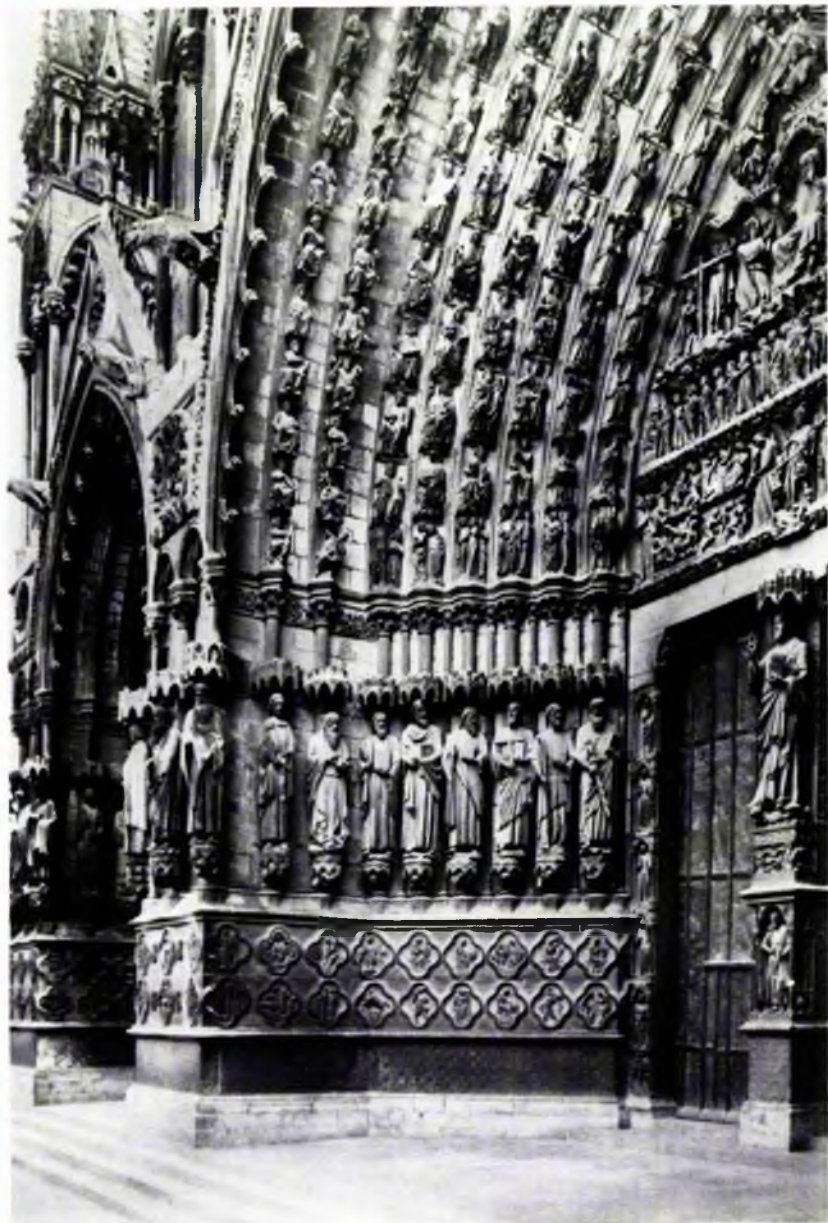
3. Amiens Cathedral. West Portal, centre door-
way. Wise & Foolish Virgins on doorposts.
1225-35.

4. <u>Foolish Virgin</u>. Detail of
Plate 3.
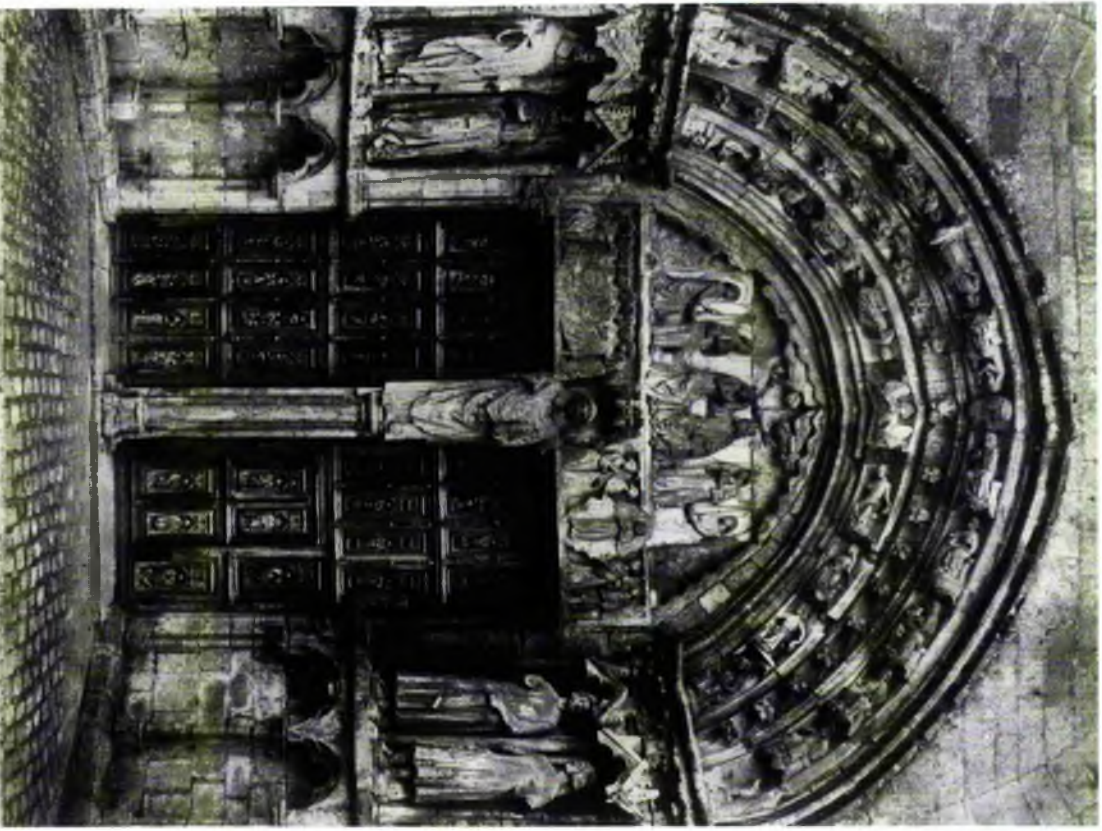
7. St. Thibault-en-Auxois, Priory Church. North transept, portal. Wise & Foolish Virgins on archivolt. c1240-70.
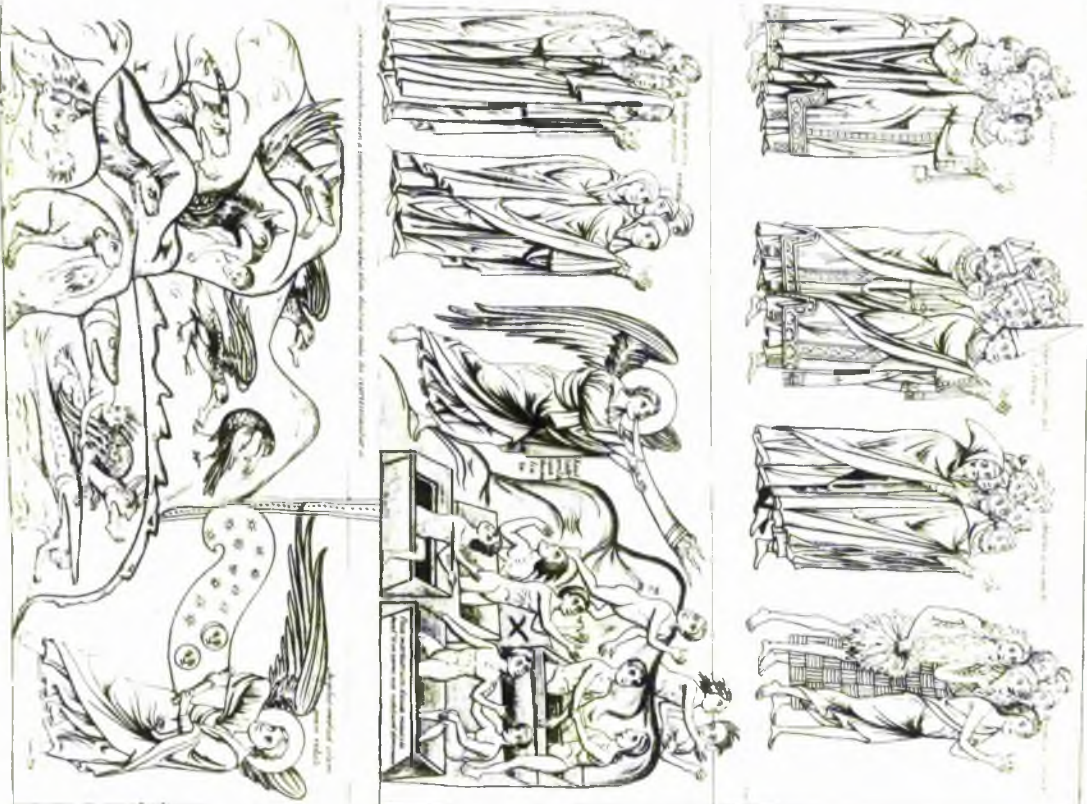
8. Wise Virgins with Apostles & Martyrs. Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Hohenbourg, fol.251r. c1170. (19thc. engraving)

6. Chartres Cathedral. North transept, left doorway. Wise & Foolish Virgins on archivolt. c1220.

5. Sens Cathedral. West Portal, centre doorway. Wise & Foolish Virgins on doorposts. After 1168.

11. Moissat Parish Church.
Chapel of St. Lomer. Detail
of Ecclesia.   12thC.

12. Lübeck, Marienkirche. Baptismal font by
Hans Apengeter. Detail of three Foolish Vir-
gins.   1337.

9. Foolish Virgins with Jews & Heretics. Hortus
Deliciarum of Herrad of Hohenbourg, fol.253v.
c1170.   (19th C. Engraving)

10. Tournai Cathedral. Shrine of St.Eleutherus,
Detail of Synagogue with an upturned oil
lamp. (1247)

15. Strasbourg Cathedral. West facade, right
(South) portal. 1280-1300.

16. Strasbourg Cathedral. West facade, right
    (South) portal. Detail of the Bridegroom &
    a Wise Virgin. 1280-1300.

13. Magdeburg Cathedral. Paradise Portal. Wise
Virgins on jamb. c1245.

14. Magdeburg Cathedral. Paradise Portal. Foolish Virgins on jamb. c1245.
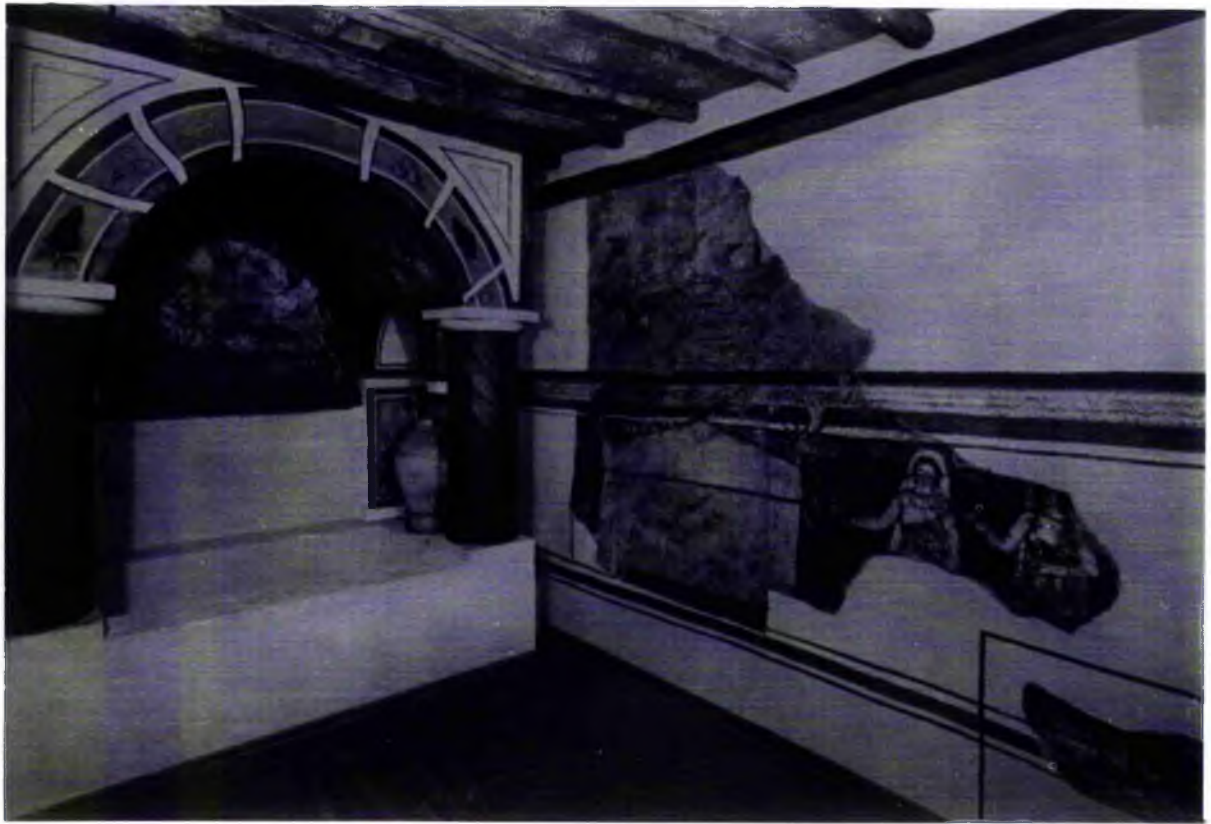
19. Dura-Europos, Baptistery. 3rdC. General
    view of reconstruction.(now in New Haven,
    Yale University, Art Gallery.)

20. Dura-Europos, Baptistery. 3rdC. Reconstruct-
    ion. Detail of Good Shepherd on end wall.
    (New Haven, Yale University, Art Gallery)

17. Strasbourg Cathedral. West facade, right
    (South) portal. Detail of the Prince of the
    World & the Foolish Virgins. 1280-1300.

18. Nuremberg, St. Sebald. North side, east door, "Brauttür". Wise & Foolish Virgins. Early 14thC.

23. St. Quirce de Pedret. Catalan fresco of the Wise & Foolish
Virgins. Detail of 4 Foolish Virgins & Ecclesia. 10-12thC.

24. St. Quirce de Pedret. Catalan fresco of the Wise & Foolish
Virgins. Detail of 2 Wise Virgins. 10-12thC.
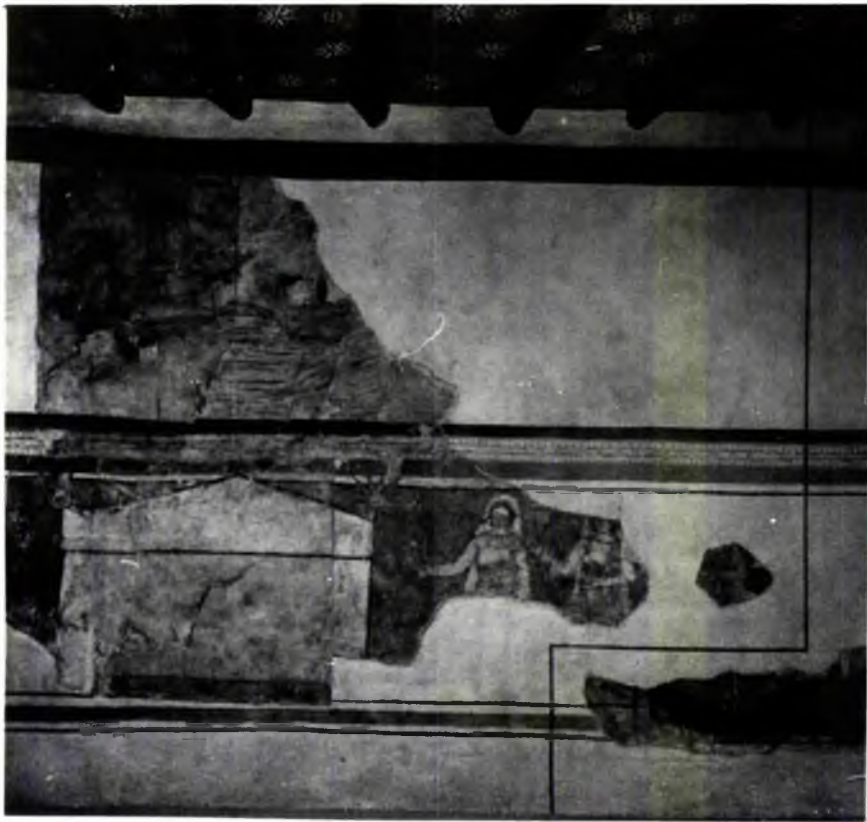
21. Dura-Europos, Baptistery. 3rdC. Reconstruct-
ion. Detail of wall with Wise Virgins. (New
Haven, Yale University, Art Gallery)
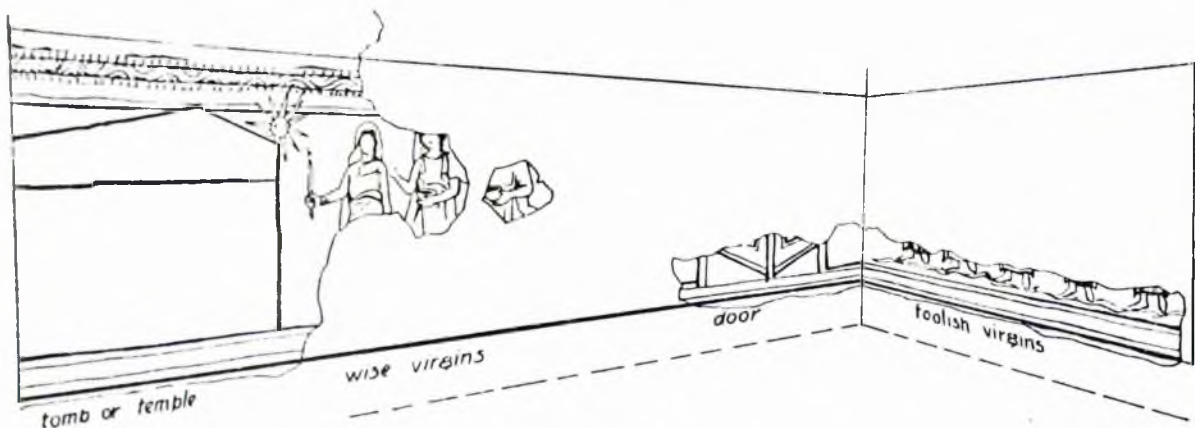
FIG. 5—*Reconstruction of the Original Arrangement*

New Haven, Yale University, Gallery of Fine Arts: Fresco from Dura-Europos

22. Dura-Europos, Baptistery. 3rdC. Pijoan's
reconstruction. (New Haven, Yale University,
Art Gallery)

25. Rome, S.Ciriaca. Catacomb fresco. Wise &
Foolish Virgins. 4thC.

26. Wise & Foolish Virgins. Codex Purpureus
Rossanensis. Lectionary. Rossano, Arch-
bishop's Palace, fol.2v. 6thC.

27. Wise & Foolish Virgins & Feast of Belshazz-
ar. Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Munich,
Staatsbibliothek. Clm.140 fol.43r. c1443.

28. Christ-Judge & Parable of the Talents.
Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Munich,
Staatsbibliothek. Clm.140 fol. 43v. c1443.
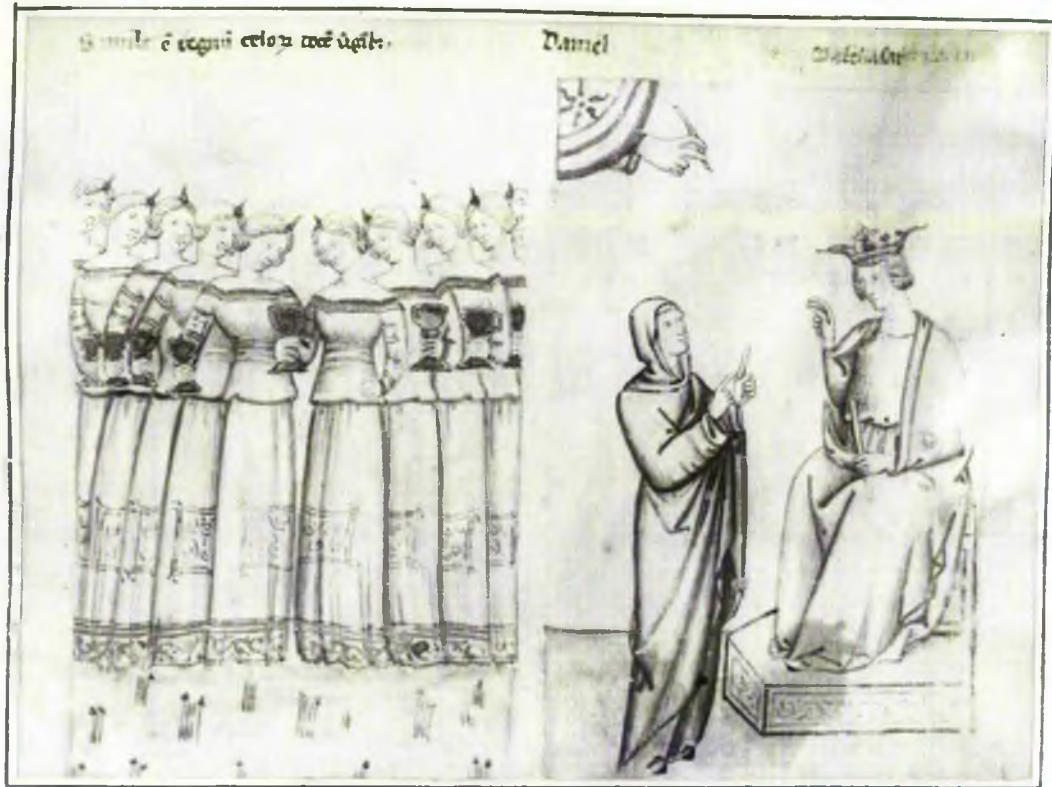
29. Wise & Foolish Virgins & Feast of Belshazzar. Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 43, 1950 Spec. No.35, fol.13r.

30. Wise & Foolish Virgins & Queen Esther's Banquet. Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Cambridge, University, Add. 6447 Chapter 40, fol.45.

31. Wise & Foolish Virgins & Mary Magdalene.
Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Haarlem,
Gemeentemuseum.   1433.

Ragnii celoni fife bire urrginibus

8 JU59

32. Wise & Foolish Virgins. Detail of Plate 31.

33. Lucas Moser. Magdalen Altarpiece. Signed
& dated 1432. (Tiefenbronn Church)

34. Wise & Foolish Virgins. Speculum Virginium.
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms.Co. Phill.
No.1701 Saec. XII. fol.67r.

35. Last Judgement. Illustrated Bible. Vienna,
    Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Cod.
    2772 fol.56r.   c1460.

36. Wise & Foolish Virgins. Illustrated Bible.
    Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek,
    Cod. 2772 fol.56v.   c1460.

37. Martin Schongauer. First Wise Virgin. Engraving. c1430.

38. Martin Schongauer. Second Wise Virgin.
    Engraving.   c1480.
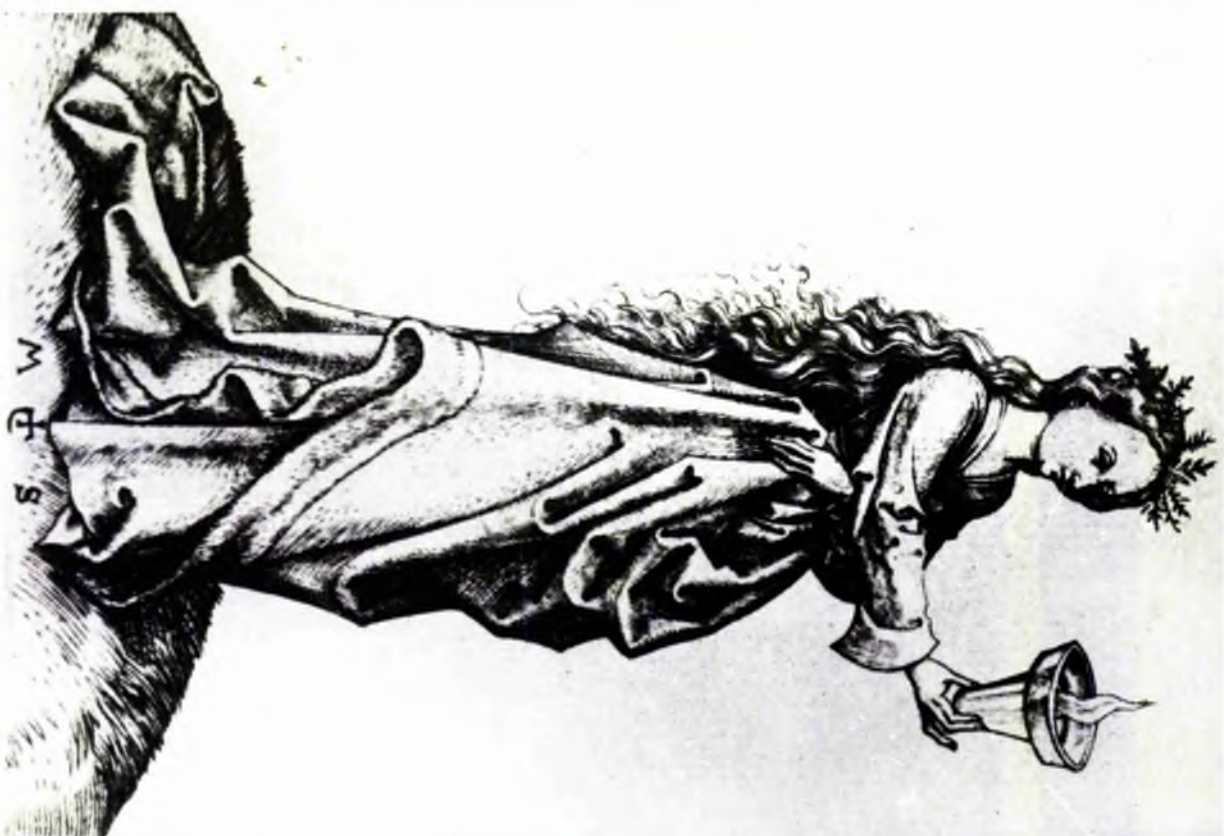
39. Martin Schongauer. Third _Wise Virgin_.
    Engraving. c1430.
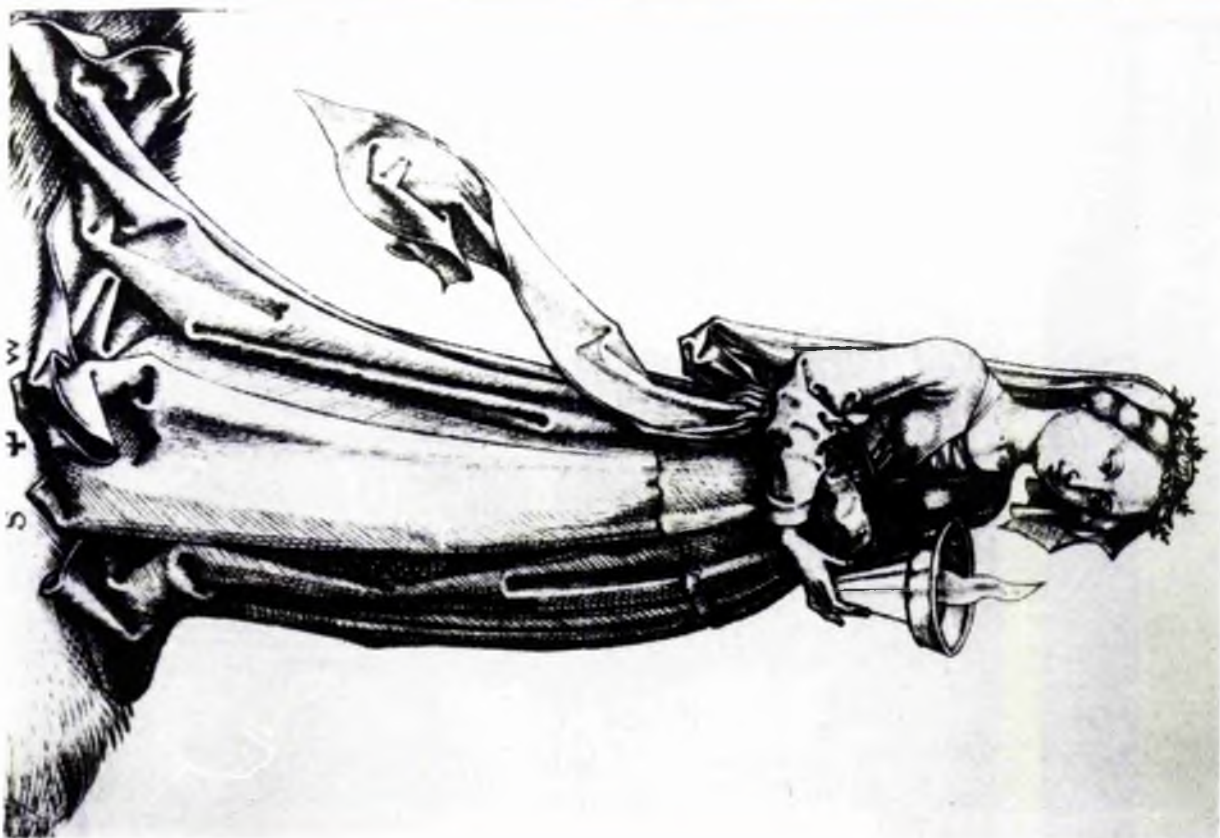
40. Martin Schongauer. Fourth _Wise Virgin_.
    Engraving. c1480.

41. Martin Schongauer. Fifth Wise Virgin.
    Engraving.
    c1430.
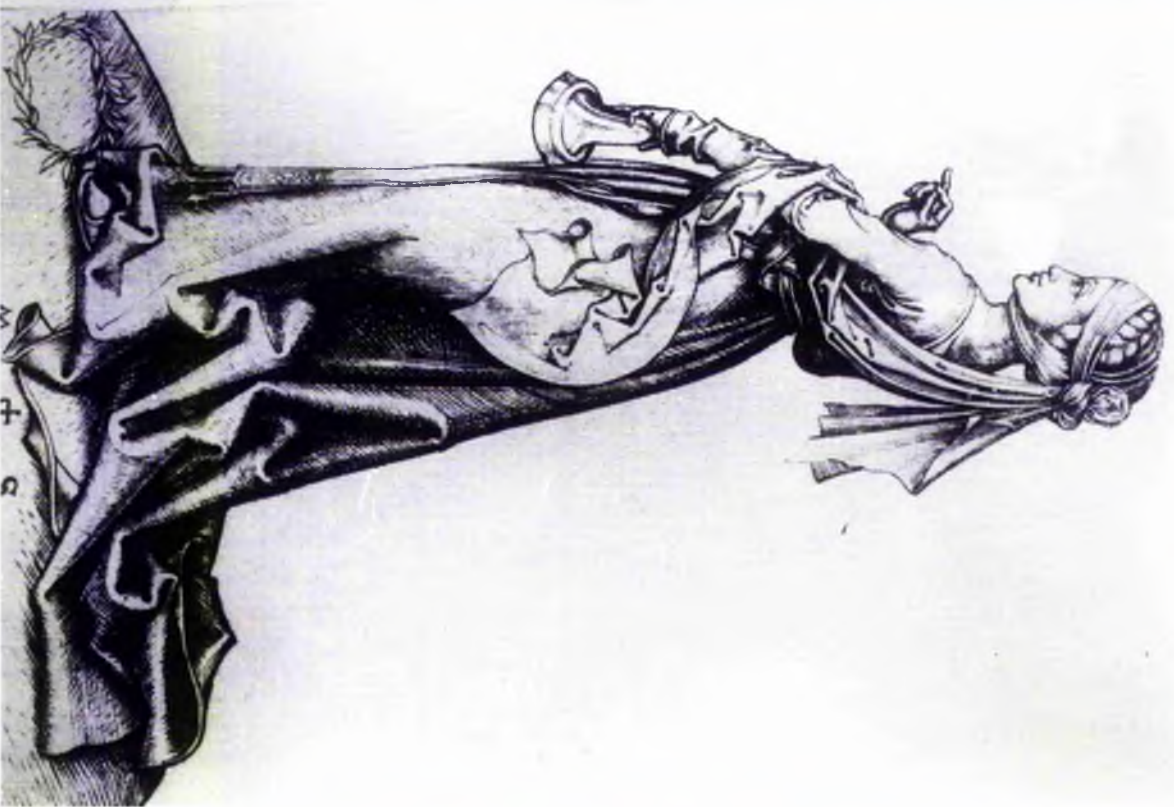
42. Martin Schongauer. First Foolish Virgin.
    Engraving.
    c1450.

43. Martin Schongauer. Second <u>Foolish Virgin</u>.
Engraving. c1430.

44. Martin Schongauer. Third <u>Foolish Virgin</u>.
    Engraving.   c1480.

47. Martin Schongauer. Christ Enthroned between two Angels. Engraving.

45. Martin Schongauer. Fourth <u>Foolish Virgin</u>.
Engraving.   c1480.

46. Martin Schongauer. Fifth _Foolish Virgin_.
Engraving.   c1480.

49. Martin Schongauer. Foolish Virgin. Engraving
    c1490.

50. Martin Schongauer. Standing Girl. Pen
    drawing. (Leipzig, Museum der bildenden
    Kunst)   c1480.
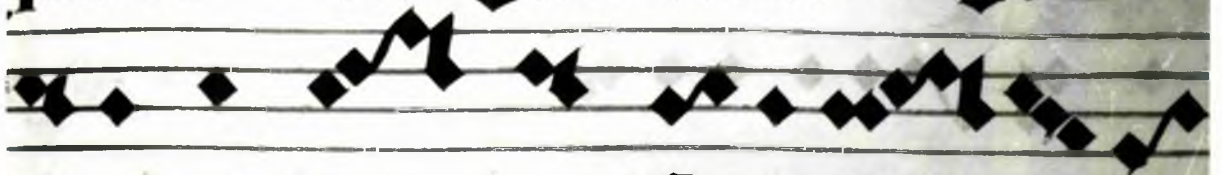
43. Christ Enthroned between the Wise & Foolish Virgins. Vienna, Österreichischen National-bibliothek. Ms.5011 p.628. c1480.

51. Martin Schongauer. Foolish Virgin. Pen
    drawing. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) c1480.

52. Jörg Schweiger after M. Schongauer. _Girl with Yarnwinder._ Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett.)

53. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schongauer. _Foolish Virgin with broken lamp._ Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett).

54. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schongauer. _Girl with fur-trimmed cloak._ Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett)

55. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schongauer. _Girl with Mirror._ Pen drawing. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett)

56. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schon-
gauer. Wise Virgin. Pen
drawing. (Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett)

57. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schon-
gauer. Wise Virgin. Pen draw-
ing. (Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett)

58. Jörg Schweiger after M.Sch-
ongauer. Girl holding her
dress.Pen drawing. (Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett).

59. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schon-
gauer. Wise Virgin with Tur-
ban. Pen drawing. (Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett)

60. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schon-
gauer. Foolish Virgin with
Turban. Pen drawing. (Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett)

61. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schon-
gauer. Foolish Virgin with
Headdress. Pen draw-
ing. (Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett)

62. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schon-
gauer. Foolish Virgin. Pen
drawing. (Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett)

63. Jörg Schweiger after M.Schon-
gauer. Foolish Virgin with
headdress. Pen drawing.
(Basel, Kupferstichkabinett.)

66. Urs Graf after M. Schongauer. Foolish Virgin. Engraving.
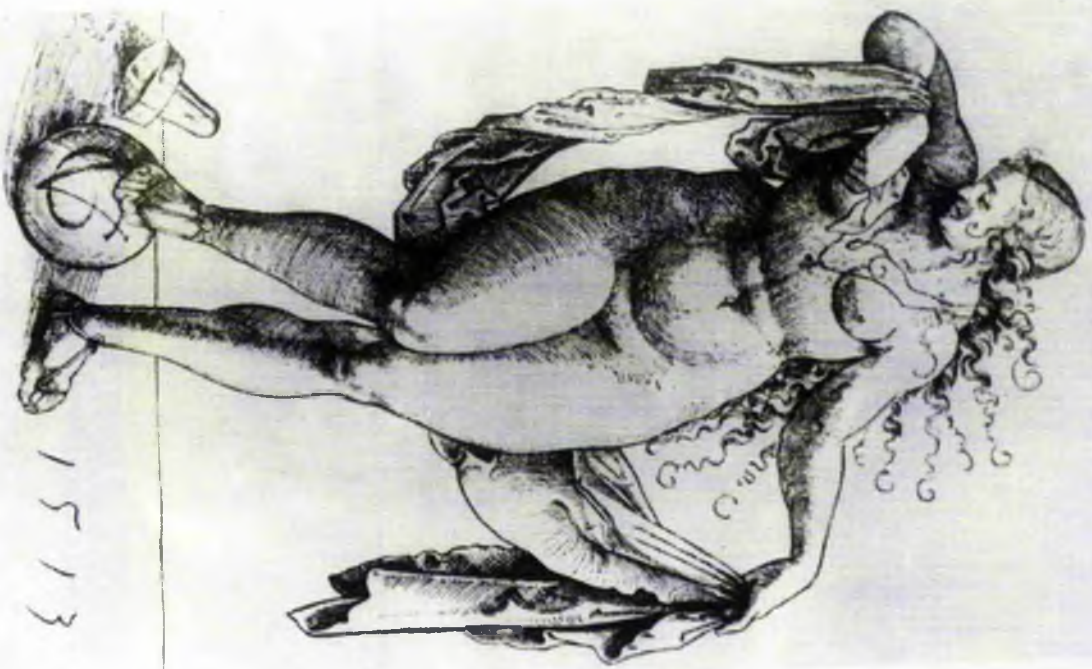
67. Urs Graf. Venus as a Foolish Virgin. Engraving. (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett) Signed & dated 1513.

64. Albrecht Dürer. Wise Virgin. Pen drawing. (London, Count Seilern Collection) c1493.

ō5. Albrecht Dürer. <u>Wise Virgin</u>. Pen drawing.
(Vienna, Albertina Collection) c1494-5.

70. Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. Foolish Virgin.
    Charcoal drawing. (Basel, Print Room)
    c1510-17.
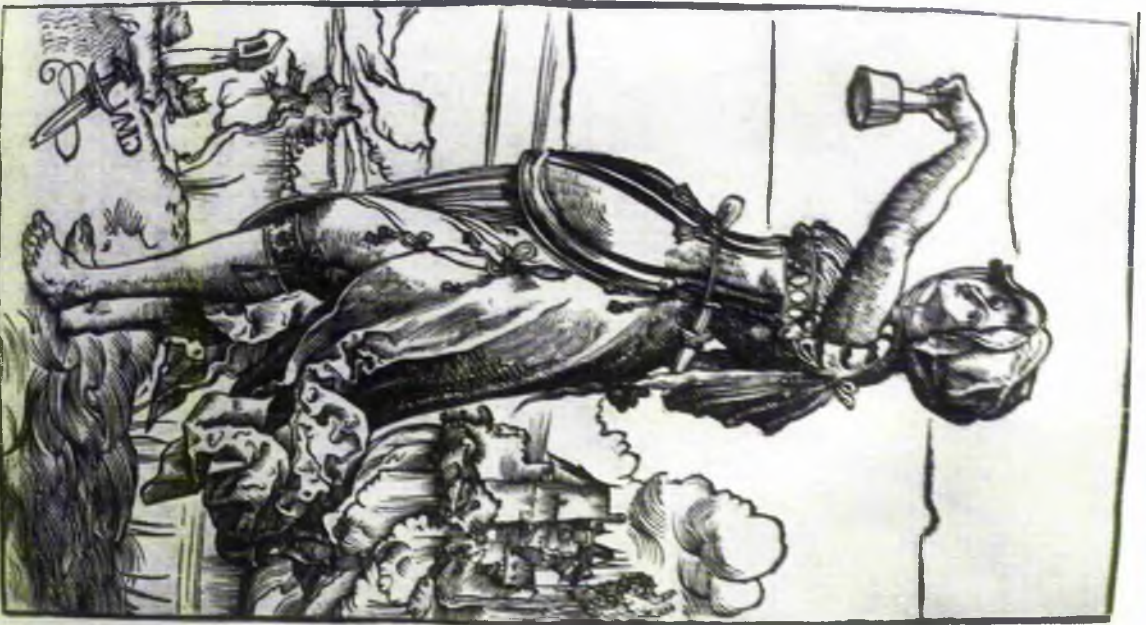
71. Niklaus Manuel Deutsch.
    Foolish Virgin. Woodcut.
    (Basel, Print Room) c1518.

69. Urs Graf. Wise Virgin. Pen drawing. (Basel, Öffentliche Sammlung) c1513.

68. Urs Graf. Venus riding on the clouds. Pen drawing. (Nuremberg, Germanisches National-museum) c1521.

74. Master of the Antwerp Ador-
ation. Christ before Caiphas.
Panel painting. (Cologne,
Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cat.
No.440) 1st quarter 16thC.

75. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Temptat-
ion of Christ in the Desert; Wise & Fool-
ish Virgins; Christ & the Virgin before
God the Father. Three panels. Destroyed.
(Formerly in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nat-
ionalmuseum). 1st quarter 16thC.

72. Niklaus Manuel Deutsch.
Foolish Virgin. Woodcut.
(Basel, Print Room) c1518.

73. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. The Ascension. Panel painting. (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cat. No. 437). 1st quarter 16thC.

78. Lucas van Leyden. Last Judgement. Triptych
    (Leyden, Stedelijk Museum)   1526-7.

79. Bernard van Orley. Last Judgement. Triptych
    (Antwerp, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts)
    1525.

77. Hermann Tom Ring. Last Judgement. Triptych. (Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum) after 1550.

76. Vrancke van der Stockt. Last Judgement. Panel painting. (Berlin-Dahlem Picture Gallery, Cat. No.600) late 15thC.

82. Hermann Tom Ring. Wise Vir-
gins. Detail of Plate 77.

83. Hermann Tom Ring. Foolish
    Virgins. Detail of Plate 77.

80. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Death</u>. Preparatory drawing for Plate 77. (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett). 1550.

81. Hermann Tom Ring. <u>Christ-Judge</u>. Preparatory drawing for Plate 77. (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett). c1550.

86. Refraining from Good Works. Woodcut illustration for Chloe of Sebastian Brant's Das Narrenschiff. 1494.
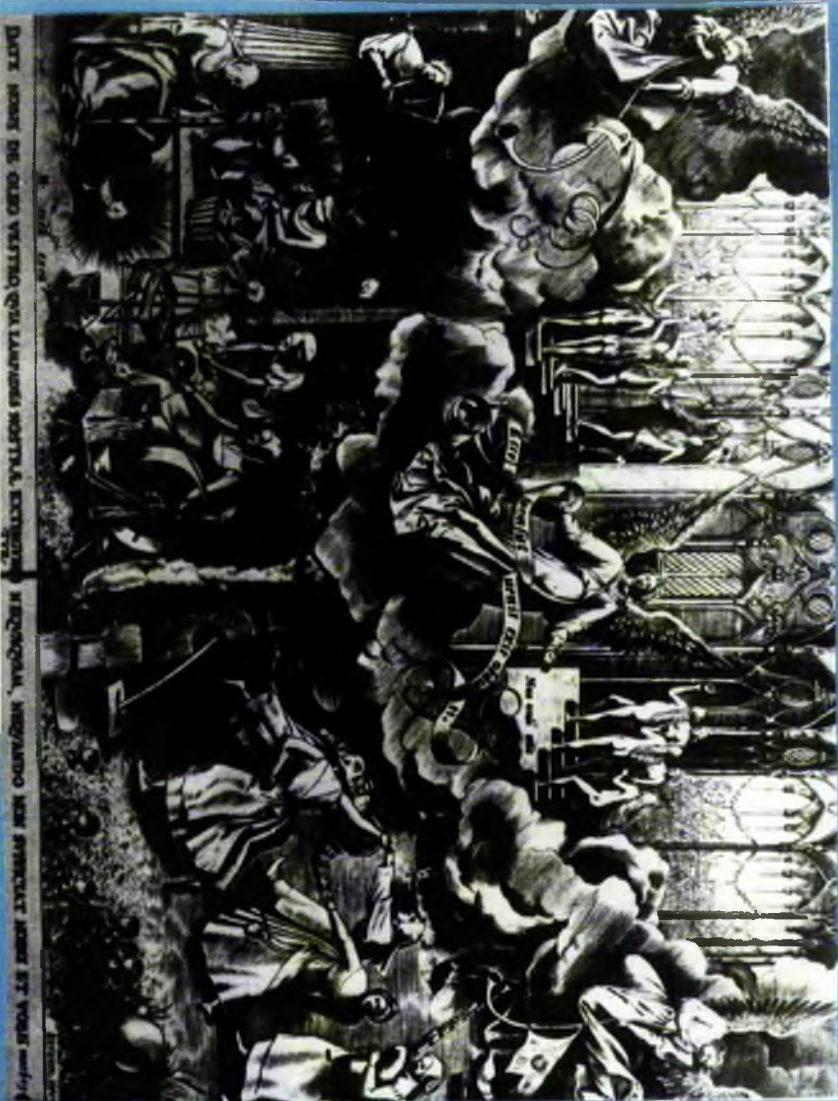
87. Pieter Brueger the Elder. Wise & Foolish Virgins. Engraving. (New York, Metropolitan Museum.) c. 1560-1.
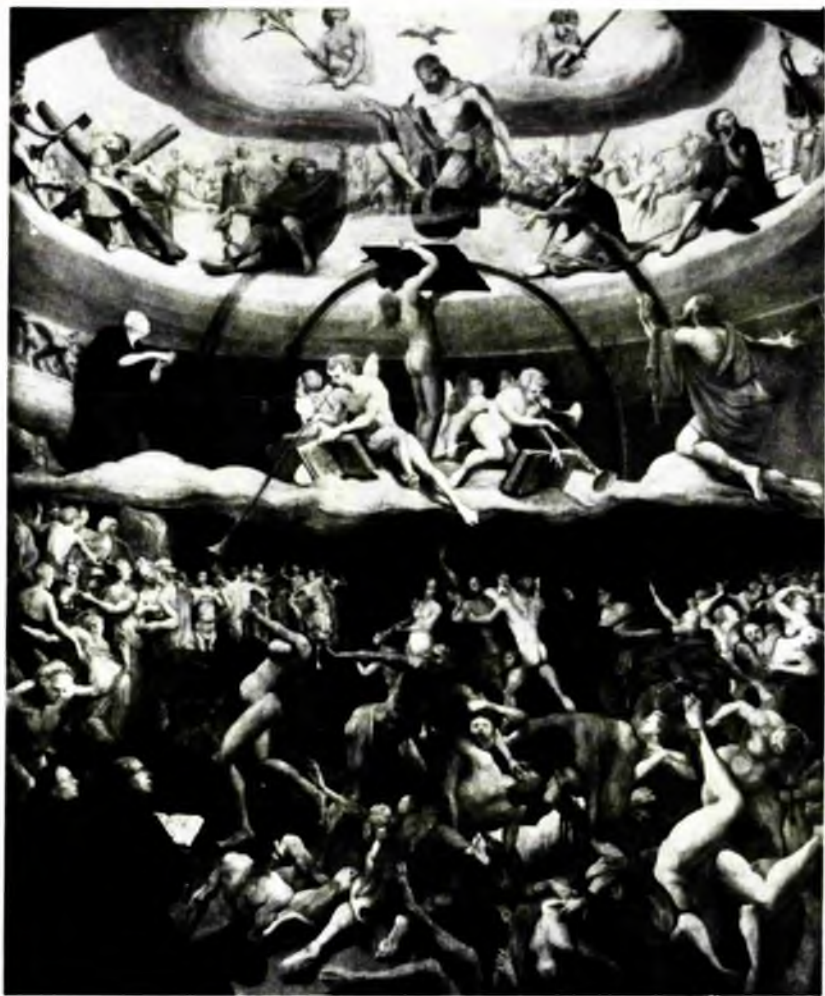
84. Hermann Tom Ring. Last Judgement. One side of a double-sided panel. (Münster, Landesmuseum) c1555.

85. Hermann Tom Ring. Last Judgement. Preparatory sketch for Plate 84. (Vienna, Albertina Collection).

90. Jerome Francken the Elder. Wise & Foolish
    Virgins. (Warsaw, Narodne Museum)
    1564.

TEMPVS OMNIA ET SINGVLA CONSVMENS.

88. Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Triumph of Time.
    Engraving.

89. Jerome Francken the Elder. Venetian Ball.
    Painting. (Aachen, Sauermondt Museum)
    1564.

92. Hans Eworth. <u>Wise & Foolish Virgins</u>.
Painting. (Copenhagen, State Museum, Royal
Collection) Monogramm HE & dated 1570.

93. Hans Eworth. <u>Foolish Virgin with Rosary
Beads</u>. Detail of Plate 92.

31. Jerome Francken the Elder. Palace Ball.
(Stockholm, University Museum)
1564.

96. Marten de Vos. Wise & Foolish Virgins.
Painting. (La Fère, Musée Jeanne d'
Aboville.)   c1580.

35. Anon. Illustration from John's Gospel Ch.10, v.1 - "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up by some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." Engraving. (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

34. Hieronymus Bosch. Ship of Fools. Painting. (Paris, Louvre.)

98. Marten de Vos. Last Judgement. Paint-
ing. (Celle, Schlosskapelle.) 1569-70.

99. Marten de Vos. Faith. Painting. (Celle,
Schlosskapelle.) 1569-70.

97. Marten de Vos. Allegory of the Arts & Sciences. Painting. (Madrid, Collection Venancio Lopez de Ceballos.)

102. Marten de Vos. 2nd Work of Mercy.
Painting. (Celle, Schlosskapelle.)
1569-70.

103. Marten de Vos. 3rd Work of Mercy.
Painting. (Celle, Schlosskapelle.)
1569-70.

100. Marten de Vos. <u>Charity</u>. Painting.
(Celle, Schlosskapelle.) 1569-70.

Within the painting:

MATTHAEVS 5 CAP

ICH BIN HVNGERICH GEWESE

101. Marten de Vos. 1st Work of Mercy.
Painting. (Celle, Schlosskapelle.)
1569-70.

ICH BIN GEFANGEN GEWESEN VND

106. Marten de Vos. 6th Work of Mercy.
Painting. (Celle, Schlosskapelle.)
1569-70.

107. Marten de Vos. Victory of the Christ-
ian Protestant Church. Painting.
(Celle, Schlosskapelle.) 1569-70.

105. Marten de Vos. 5th Work of Mercy. Painting. (Celle, Schlosskapelle.) 1569-70.

104. Marten de Vos. 4th Work of Mercy. Painting. (Celle, Schlosskapelle.) 1569-70.

110. C.de Passe the Elder after M.de Vos.
Wise Virgins doing acts of mercy.
Engraving. (London, British Museum.)
c1600.

111. C.de Passe the Elder, after M.de Vos.
Foolish Virgins making merry beneath
a trellis. Engraving. (London, Brit-
ish Museum.) c1600.

109. C.de Passe the Elder, after M.de Vos. Wise Virgins at various occupations. Engraving. (London, British Museum.) c1600

108. C.de Passe the Elder, after M.de Vos. Frontispiece for the series of the Wise & Foolish Virgins. Engraving. (London, British Museum.) c1600.

Engraving caption text (Latin):

Propterea et gens Virginum prudentum
... ... te censet Caelestia in habitacula

Multis quidem petunt ... ... blandulis
Oleum sibi fieri, repulsam sed ferunt.

114. C.de Passe the Elder, after M.de Vos.
Wise Virgins received by the Bride-
groom. Engraving. (London, British
Museum.) c1600.

Inscription around the engraving: PRAEMIA VIVA FIDES . MATH 25 . ✴ NON FATVAS, RECIPIS PRVDENTES SPONSE PVELLAS . MORTVA FRIGET HABET

115. C. de Passe the Elder after M. de Vos.
Wise & Foolish Virgins. Engraving.
(London, British Museum.)   c1600 ?

Lux nulla vbi est, densas tenebras esse ibi
Certum est. Libidinem carnis sequens suam
Marten de Vos inuentor

Sine dubio praecepta negligit Dei :
Ideoque Luce et Oleo priuatur sacro .
Crispin de passe fecit

112. C.de Passe the Elder, after M.de Vos.
Foolish Virgins at the ball. Engrav-
ing. (London, British Museum.) c1600.

Vildía. Ministri noctê sed vox intonat :
— ormentes seduli expergiscite ,
... lti morere.

Sponsoíque alacres obviam procedite .
Obcedit huic pars sana : stertit altera .
Crispin de Passe fecit et exc

113. C.de Passe the Elder, after M.de Vos.
    Lord calling the Virgins. Engraving.
    (London, British Museum.)   c1600.
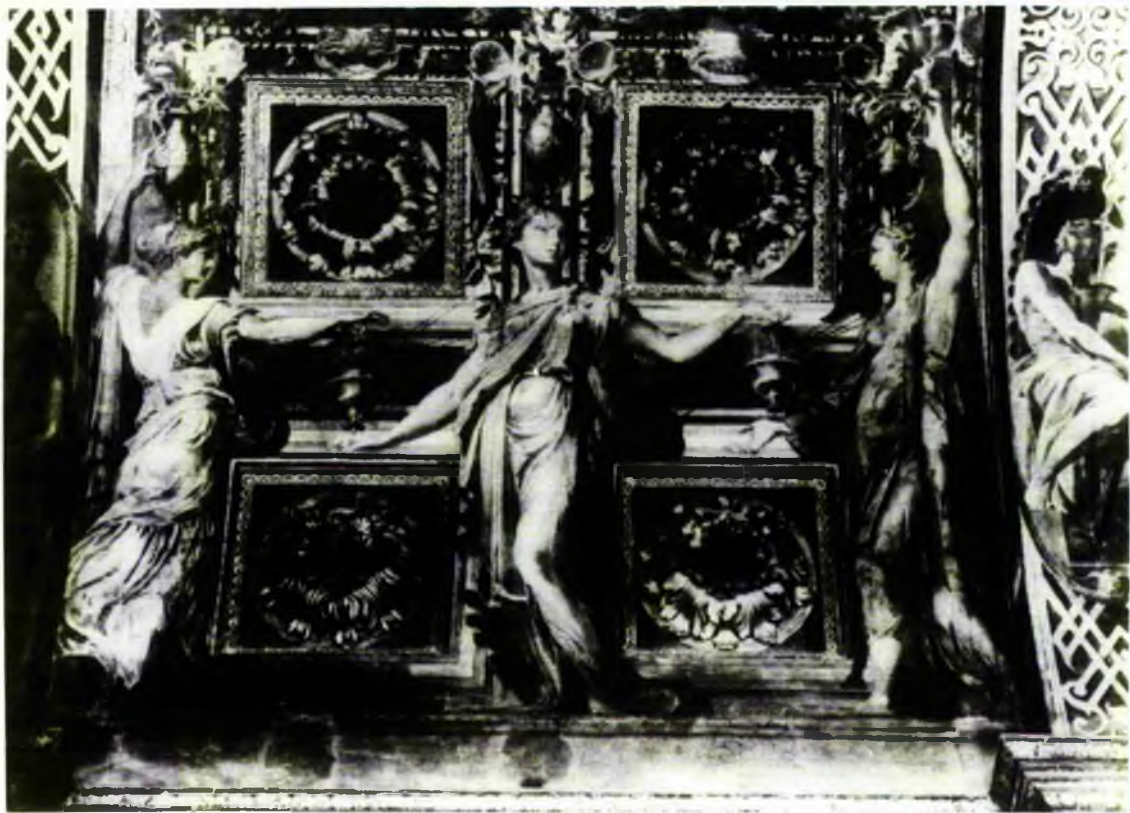
117. Il Parmigianino. 3 Wise Virgins.
Fresco. (Parma, S.Maria della Stecc-
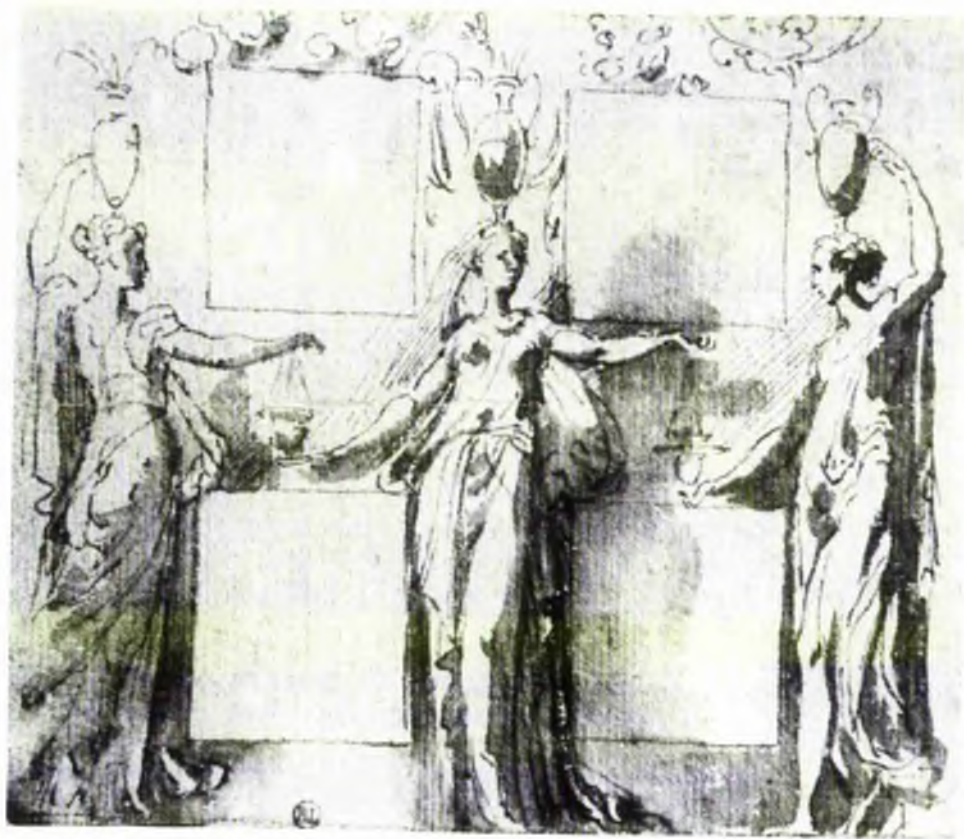ata, S. Wall.)   1531-9.
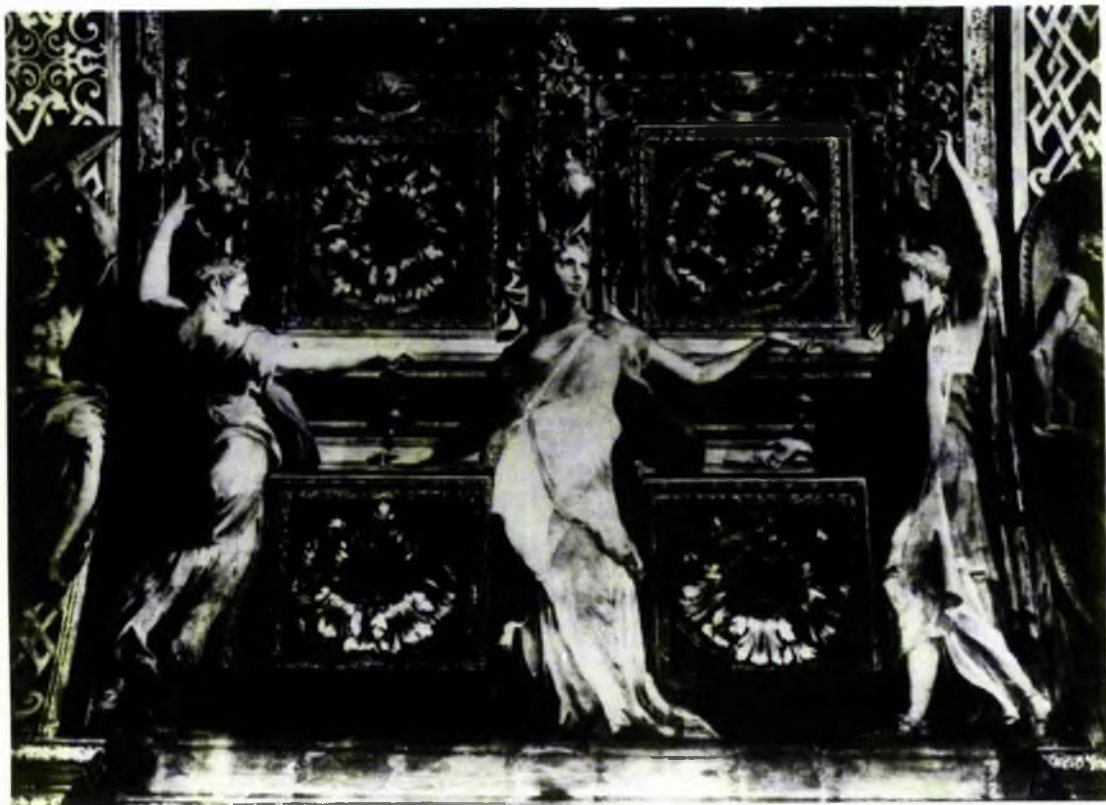
118. Il Parmigianino. 3 Foolish Virgins.
Fresco. (Parma, S.Maria della Stecc-
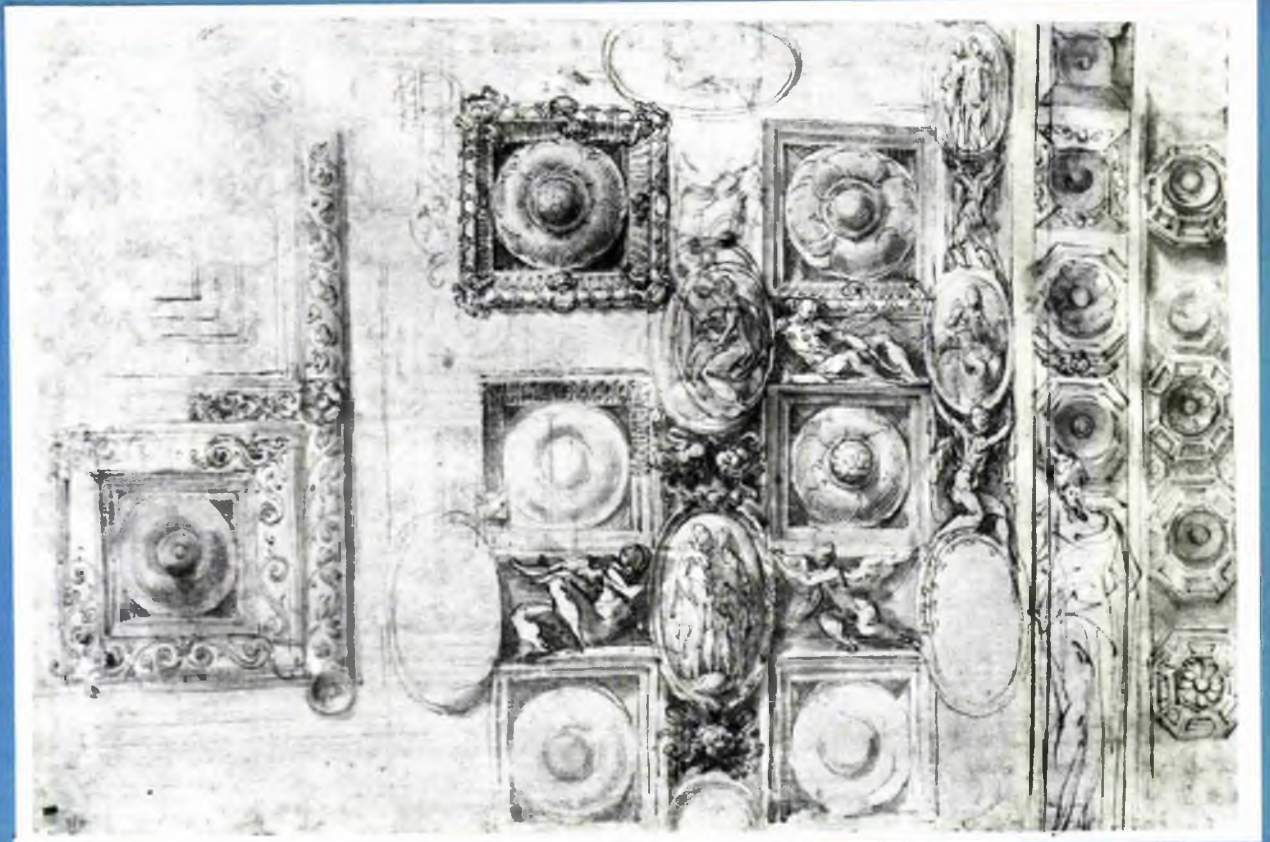ata, N. Wall.)   1531-9.

116. C.de Passe the Elder. Wise & Foolish
     Virgins. Drawing. (Paris, Louvre.)
     c1600 ?

121. Il Parmigianino. Drawing for the S.Mar-
ia della Steccata project. (Paris,
Louvre, 646bb.)

122. Il Parmigianino. Drawing for the S.Maria della Steccata project. (Paris, Louvre.)

119. Il Parmigianino. Preparatory sketch
for the S.Maria della Steccata project.
(London, British Museum.)

120. Il Parmigianino. Study for the S.Maria
della Steccata project. (London, Brit-
ish Museum, Cacherode, F.f.1.13.)

125. Il Parmigianino. Moses. Fresco.
(Parma, S.Maria della Steccata, N.
Wall.) 1531-9.

126. Il Parmigianino. Aaron. Fre-
sco. (Parma, S.Maria della Ste-
ccata, S. Wall) 1531-9

123. Il Parmigianino. Drawing for the S. Mar-
ia della Steccata project. (Modena,
Galleria Estense.)

124. Il Parmigianino. Self-Portrait. Drawing. (Chatsworth.)

129. Tintoretto. Washing of the Feet.
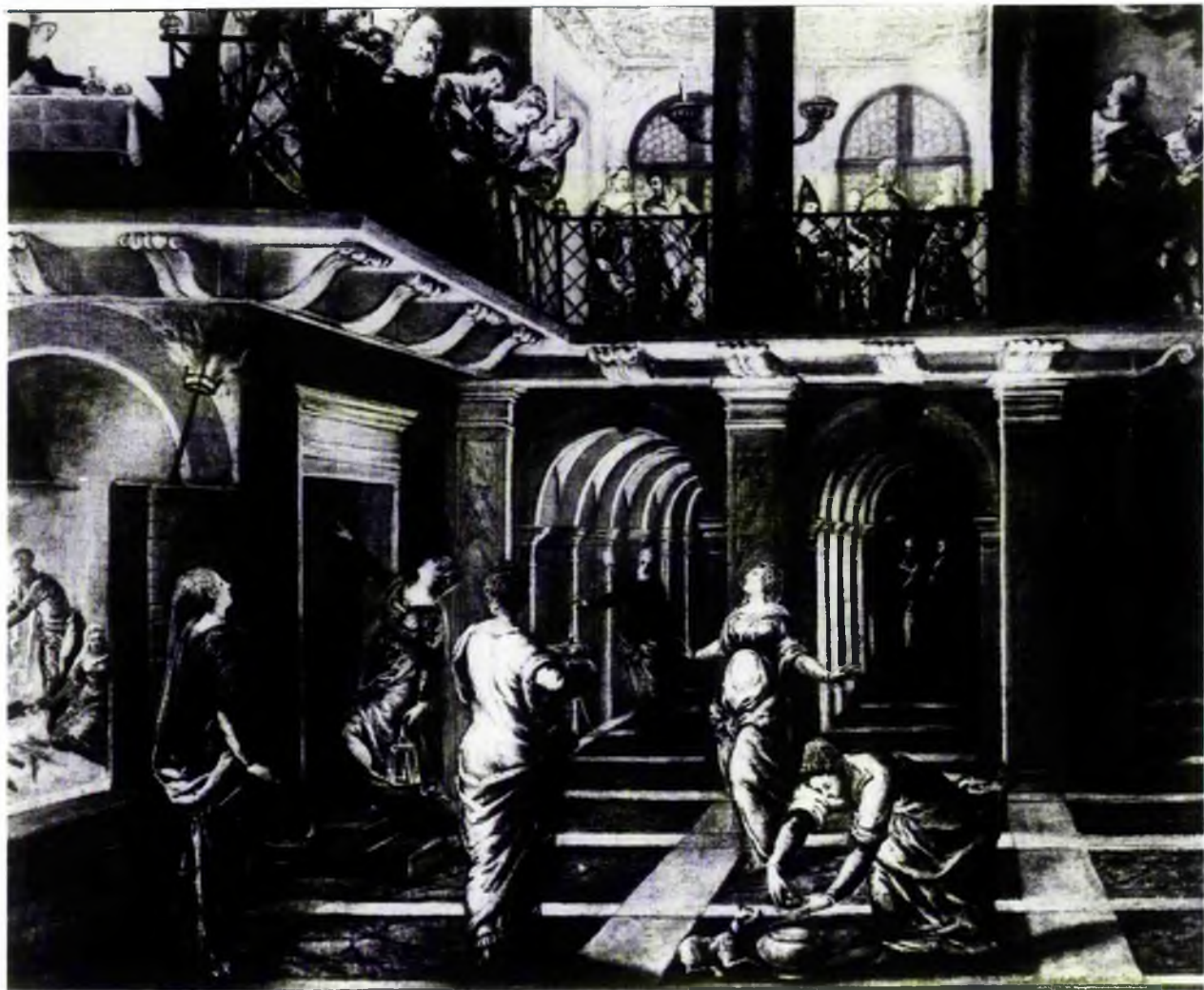   Painting. (Madrid, Escorial.) c1547.

130. Tintoretto. Washing of the Feet.
     Painting. (Wilton House.) c1545.

123. Il Parmigianino. Eve. Fresco (Parma, S.Maria della Steccata S. Wall.) 1531-9

127. Il Parmigianino. Adam. Fresco. (Parma, S.Maria della Steccata, N. Wall.) 1531-9.

132. Tintoretto. Wise & Foolish Virgins.
Painting. (National Trust, Upton House
Warwickshire.) 1543.

131. Tintoretto. Wise & Foolish Virgins.
Painting. (Rotterdam, Boymans-van-
Beuningen Museum.) c1547-8.

134. Tintoretto, school of. Wise & Foolish
     Virgins. Painting. (Philadelphia,
     Johnson Collection.) c1548.

133. Tintoretto. Last Supper. Painting.
(Venice, S.Trovaso.) c1500.