### 研究ノート

## The Publisher of the Woodcut Triumph of the Christian Knight after Battista Franco

# Michiaki KOSHIKAWA

The woodcut commonly called 'The Triumph of the Christian Knight' or 'The Triumph of the Christian Hero' (fig. 1) has long been known as a principal iconographic source for the central panel of El Greco's early work, *The Modena Triptych* (c. 1568-69, Galleria Estense, Modena).<sup>1</sup> It depicts a Christian knight fighting against the Deadly Sins in the lower right, and his glory in Heaven in the upper center. In the lower left we see the three Theological Virtues and St. Paul preaching. In the rather rare impressions of the original woodcut, the image is surrounded by various quotations from the Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul, either in Italian or Latin.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription seen in the much later chiaroscuro woodcut version by Andrea Andreani<sup>3</sup> confirms definitively that the designer of the original woodcut was Battista Franco (c. 1510–1561), and his preparatory drawing for the entire composition survives in the Morgan Library & Museum in New York.<sup>4</sup> At the bottom of the woodcut, we read the title 'Specchio de la via, verita, e vita del Fedel Guerrier christiano' and the copyright



fig. 1 Anonymous (after Battista Franco), The Triumph of the Christian Knight, 1555, woodcut, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

and date, 'Stam[pato]. C[on]. G[razia] E. P[rivilegio]. D[el]. 1.II[lustrissimo]. Sen[ato]. Ven[eto]. MDLV.' Obviously the title derives from Christ's words during the Last Supper in John 14:6, "I am the way, the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me." The print was issued in 1555 with the *privilegio* of the Venetian Senate, but the name of the publisher is not credited. I have given a lengthier discussion of the iconography of the woodcut in my paper read at the symposium *El Greco: The Cretan Years* held in Heraklion in June 2014.<sup>5</sup> The present short notes are an update of my research and intended to identify the publisher of this woodcut on documentary basis and to add some pertinent consideration about the genesis of Franco's interesting design.

#### Publisher of the woodcut

In a document conserved in the Archivio di Stato of Venice, it is recorded that the publisher Michele Tramezzino was granted the decade-long *privilegio* for several publications, and here we find 'the drawing entitled Via, Verità, et Vita, and the drawing of resurrecting Christ, with their

#### Michiaki KOSHIKAWA, Research Notes : The Publisher of the Woodcut Triumph of the Christian Knight after Battista Franco

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figs. 2, 3 Document concerning the *Privilegio* granted to Zuan de Varisco and Michele Tramezzino, June 2, 1551. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, Registro 37, fols. 152r-152v

explanations,' among others (figs. 2, 3, and Appendix 1 below).<sup>6</sup> The document is dated June 2, 1551. In all probability, the former item can be identified with Franco's design for the woodcut *Triumph of the Christian Knight*, considering the same, rather uncommon title, the *privilegio* granted by the Venetian Senate, and the closeness of the dates. Consequently, we now have learned that Tramezzino's plan to publish the *Christian Knight* woodcut traces back to 1551, and probably the Morgan Library drawing should also be dated to around the same year.

Michele Tramezzino and his brother Francesco were active as book dealers in Rome in 1527.<sup>7</sup> Due to the sack of Rome they moved to Venice, but soon Francesco returned to Rome, while Michele remained in Venice. Michele began publishing books in the late 1530s, and his shop was prosperous until his death in 1579. He primarily published works on literature, history and jurisprudence, but he also published prints. An engraving by Nicolas Beatrizet after Francesco Salviati, *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, bears the insription 'Romae/ Michaelis Tramezini Formis/ Cum Privilegio Summi. Pont./ MDLIII'.<sup>8</sup>

In our context, it is important to note that the Tramezzino brothers ran their shops both in Venice and in Rome. In June 1551, when the *privilegio* for the woodcut was granted in Venice, Battista Franco was still in Rome. Although documents indicating Franco's whereabouts during the years 1550-1552 are scarce, critics generally consider that he returned to Venice in 1552 after a brief stay in Urbino toward the end of 1551.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the contacts between the publisher perhaps Francesco Tramezzino — and the artist would have occurred in 1550 or 1551 in Rome. According to Vasari, at that time Franco held an ambitious plan to make a book of copies of Roman antiquities,<sup>10</sup> and this may have been the cause for the publisher's interest in Franco's activities. In fact, during the 1540s and the early 1550s, the Tramezzino brothers' press was very active in publishing books on Roman antiquities, issuing books by Andrea Fulvio, Lucio Fauno and Pirro Ligorio.<sup>11</sup>

### The Christian Knight and the Resurrection

In the Senate document of June 1551, the other print item was 'disegno di Christo resuscitante', the Resurrection of Christ. Although the author of the drawing is not specified, we are inclined to consider that it was also designed by Battista Franco. In 1550 the artist engaged, with the assistance of Girolamo Muziano, in the fresco decoration of the Gabrielli Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, and painted the *Resurrection of Christ* (fig. 4) on one of the Chapel's side walls.<sup>12</sup> Three drawings related to this work have been identified in the Louvre's collection, and

one of these, inv. 4932 (fig. 5), shows an idea for the figure of Christ sketched in pen.<sup>13</sup> In this sheet Anne Varick Lauder has noted that, besides the study of Christ, there is a sketch of a figural group with a soldier attacking another figure with a dagger, which she convincingly connected to the figure of the Christian knight in the lower right section of the Morgan Library drawing (figs. 6, 7).<sup>14</sup>

The coexistence of these two sketches for different purposes — and in the same fluent drawing style — on the same sheet further supports that Franco must have started designing the *Triumph of the Christian Knight* in 1550 or 1551. Probably he drew the small sketch of the attacking warrior in a marginal space available on the sheet slightly after he used it for the study of Christ in the Gabrielli Chapel *Resurrection*. It is unknown if the print of the *Resurrection* mentioned in the Senate document of 1551 was ever published, but Franco's 'disegno' for it must have been closely related to the composition of the Gabrielli Chapel fresco.<sup>15</sup> We may even suppose that the highly finished compositional study for the *Resurrection* fresco (Louvre, inv. 4963) might have served as a model for this print.<sup>16</sup>

### Historical Context from Rome to Venice

The Senate document attests to the fact that Battista Franco provided two drawings for publication to the publisher Tramezzino before June 1551 in Rome. But many related questions are still to be answered: Who devised the unusual subject and the iconographic contents of the *Triumph of the Christian Knight*? What was the intention of its publication? Why was the woodcut not published until 1555 in Venice?



fig. 4 Battista Franco, *The Resurrection of Christ*, c. 1550, Gabrielli Chapel, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome



fig. 5 Battista Franco, Study of the Resurrected Christ and a Group of Fighting Figures, c. 1550, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphique, inv. 4932



fig. 6 Detail of fig. 5



fig. 7 Battista Franco, The Triumph of the Christian Knight (detail), c. 1550-51, Morgan Library & Museum, New York, inv. 1982.39

Considering that the concept of the 1555 woodcut is heavily based on the Pauline Epistles, its iconographer seems to have been a reform-minded person with sophisticated theological knowledge. In fact he was possibly inspired by Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, the woodcut shows a strong emphasis on the Sacrament of Eucharist by including an angel holding chalices from which Christ's blood pours, which is no doubt a demonstration of a Catholic point of view. In fact, in the quotation from the Epistle to the Colossians in the Latin version, mentions of Christ's blood are emphasized in capitals (see Appendix 2). Further, the Latin texts are, understandably for the time, near-exactly faithful to the Vulgata Bible, not to the Erasmian translation in *Novum Instrumentum*.<sup>18</sup>

In my previous paper,<sup>19</sup> I tentatively suggested that the 1555 woodcut may have been related to the appeal of orthodoxy by the Patriarch of Aquileia Giovanni Grimani (1506-93) who was struggling to overcome hostile accusations of heterodoxy against him and to achieve his ambition for cardinalate.<sup>20</sup> In 1554 Grimani's attempt, strongly backed by the Venetian government, looked almost successful in the end, but the death of Pope Julius III in March 1555 and the election of the Inquisitor-General Gian Pietro Carafa as Paul IV in May 1555 made his promotion impossible.<sup>21</sup> I wondered if the woodcut's iconography may have been invented in this critical phase of affair as a sort of manifestation of militant spirit of orthodoxy on the part of the Patriarch. Now that the genesis of the woodcut's iconography has been proven to trace back to 1550-51, this hypothesis might seem invalid, since Giovanni Grimani's important commission from Franco was only given nearly ten years later in Venice. However, it is plausible that Franco already had contact with the Grimani family in the early 1540s when he is thought to have engraved some cameos in the collection of Cardinal Marino Grimani, elder brother of Giovanni.<sup>22</sup> Here I would like to note that Giovanni Grimani's negotiation with Pope Julius III had already started in 1550 in Rome. After the Pope was elected in February 1550, Giovanni went to Rome in August of that year and saw the Pope to clear the suspicion of his heretical beliefs. His stay lingered, and after reluctantly committing himself to a canonical purgation, he returned to Venice in June 1553.<sup>23</sup> It is quite probable that during his stay in Rome Giovanni Grimani may have seen the decoration of the Gabrielli Chapel and viewed its author, the former protégé of Cardinal Francesco Corner,24 with much interest.

In any event, soon after his arrival in Venice Battista Franco established his fame thanks to the favor of the noble Venetian papalist faction, namely the Barbaro, the Foscari and the Grimani.<sup>25</sup> The hypothesis connecting the invention of the *Triumph of the Christian Knight* to Giovanni Grimani's affair remains conjectural, but, I believe, contextually not impossible. El Greco, who chose this woodcut as his model for the central panel of the *Modena Triptych*, certainly had some contact with the Grimani family during his Venetian period c. 1568-70.<sup>26</sup>

\*The author is grateful to Dr. Martha J. McClintock for editing his English text.

#### Notes

- 1 The woodcut after Battista Franco was first pointed out as El Greco's visual source by A.L. Mayer ("Notes on the Early El Greco", *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 74, no. 430, Jan. 1939, p. 28). For El Greco's *Modena Triptych*, see J. Álvarez Lopera, *El Greco: estudio y catálogo, vol. 2, catálogo de obras originales: Creta. Italia. Retablos y grandes encargos en España*, Madrid, Fundación Arte Hispánico, 2007, pp. 23-34, no. 4, with previous bibliography.
- 2 The print was published in two versions, with Italian or Latin texts. The impression with Italian texts reproduced here is in the volume BC-6-FOL (fol. 103), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes. The size of the printed image is 181 x 122 mm., while the paper size is 300 x 192 mm. I am deeply grateful to Mme. Séverine Lepape

and M. Philippe Rouillard of the BnF for their kind help in locating this print. Another impression with Latin texts was reproduced in R. Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis. Studien zur Rezeption einer antiken Bildbeschreibung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1973, fig. 119, without specifying the location of the impression reproduced.

- 3 Bartsch XII, 136.14. See *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 48, *Italian Chiaroscuro Woodcut*, ed. by C. Karpinski, New York, 1983, p. 223, no. 14 (136). It is inscribed "Essendo longo tempo come stato sepolto nelle mie mani questo nobile dissegno del Semoleo, . . . "
- 4 Pen and brown ink, 345 x 395 mm. New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, inv. no. 1982.39. See K. Oberhuber and D. Walker, *Sixteenth Century Italian Drawings from the Collection of Janos Scholz* (exh. cat.), Washington, D. C., The National Gallery of Art, 1973, p. 126, no. 103; A. Varick Lauder, *Battista Franco (Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques. Inventaire Général des Dessins Italiens, tome VIII*), Paris, Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2009, pp. 133-134, 239-240, under no. 70, pp. 243-244, under no. 73.
- 5 M. Koshikawa, "Andrea Schiavone, Battista Franco and the Grimani Family: On the Historical Context of the *Modena Triptych* and its Visual Sources", to be published in the proceedings of the International Conference *El Greco: The Cretan Years*, Basilica of St. Mark and Historical Museum of Crete, Heraklion, June 21-23, 2014.
- 6 Archivio di Stato, Venice, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, Registro 37, fols. 152r-152v. For the transcription, see Appendix 1 below. I am grateful to the Archivio staff for having helped me to transcribe the text. The document was previously mentioned by Alberto Tinto and Christopher Witcombe, but they did not identify the prints. See A. Tinto, Annali tipografici dei Tramezzino, Venice, 1968, p. XXVI; C.L.C.E. Witcombe, Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2004, p. 113.
- 7 For the publisher Tramezzino, see Tinto, op. cit.; Witcombe, op. cit., pp. 112-122.
- 8 Bartsch XV, 261.43.
- 9 M. Hochmann, Venise et Rome 1500-1600: Deux écoles de peinture et leurs échanges, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 2004, pp. 296-311; Varick Lauder, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 33-37.
- 10 Vasari, ed. Bettarini-Barocchi, V, p. 466. For Franco's drawings related to this project, see R. Parma Baudille, "Disegni dall'antico di Battista Franco e le copie eseguite nell'atelier di Cassiano dal Pozzo", in G.C. Sciolla (ed.), Nuove ricerche in margine alla mostra: Da Leonardo a Rembrandt. Disegni della Biblioteca Reale di Torino. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Torino 24-25 ottobre 1990, Turin, 1991, pp. 147-166; Varick Lauder, op. cit., p. 33.
- 11 Witcombe, op. cit., pp. 112-119.
- 12 For Franco's decoration of the Gabrielli Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, see R. Parma Baudille, "L'ultimo lavoro romano di Battista Franco: la cappella Gabrielli in Santa Maria sopra Minerva", Arte Documento, vol. 6, 1992, pp. 183-196; A. Coliva, "Battista Franco e Girolamo Muziano nella Cappella Gabrielli in Santa Maria sopra Minerva: una ipotesi di collaborazione", Arte Documento, vol. 6, 1992, pp. 197-205; Hochmann, op. cit., p. 308; F. Biferali and M. Firpo, Battista Franco «pittore viniziano» nella cultura artistica e nella vita religiosa del Cinquecento, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2007, pp. 149-158; Varick Lauder, op. cit., pp. 33-36.
- 13 Pen and brown ink, 199 x 135 mm. Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphique, inv. 4932.
- 14 Varick Lauder, op. cit., pp. 243-244, no. 73.
- 15 The two known prints by Franco representing the Resurrection, i.e., an engraving (Bartsch XVI, 157.13) and an etching (Bartsch XVI, 125.18), are later works inspired by Titian's models. The former is closely related to Franco's fresco in the Grimani Chapel in S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice, from 1560-61. See Parma Baudille, "L'ultimo lavoro ...", cit., pp. 187, 195, notes 30-32.
- 16 Pen and brown ink with brown wash, 250 x 144 mm. Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphique, inv. 4963. See Varick Lauder, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-242, no. 71. The left section of the composition is lost. The drawing style, meticulously finished and heavily hatched, seems to suggest a preparatory sheet for a print.
- 17 For instance, we find in Erasmus's *Enchiridion* the following passage which derives from the Epistle to the Ephesians 6: 10-23, just as the iconography of the *Christian Knight* woodcut: "You will find the weapons of God by which you can endure an evil day. On your right you will find the arms of justice, on your left the armor of truth, the breastplate of justice, and the shield of faith, a shield with which you can ward off the fiery darts of the devil. You will find also the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit which is the word of God." (Erasmus, *Handbook of the Militant Christian*, trans. by J.P. Dolan, Notre Dame (Indiana), 1962, p. 74)
- 18 The texts in the Latin version are transcribed in Appendix 2 below, based on the reproduction in Schleier, op. cit. (note 2), fig. 119. For instance, the initial part of the quotation from the Epistle to the Ephesians reads: "DE CETERO Fratres confortamini in domino, & in potentia virtutis eius. Induite vos totam armaturam Dei: vt possitis stare aduersus insidias diaboli". The Vultaga text of the same section is: "De caetero, fratres, confortamini in Domino, & in potentia virtutis eius. Induite vos diaboli" (*Testamenti Novi Editio Vulgata*, Lyon,

Theobaldus Paganus [Thibaut Payen], 1554, p. 138), while Erasmus's translation reads: "Quod superest fratres, sitis fortes in domino, & in potentia roboris illius, Induite totam armaturam dei, ut possistis stare aduersus assultus diaboli" (*Novum Instrumentum Omne*, Basel, Froben, 1516, p. 91).

- 19 For my previous paper, see note 5 above.
- 20 I followed the line of thoughts proposed by Fabrizio Biferali and Massimo Firpo who, however, interpreted the Morgan Library drawing as 'a kind of spiritual testament' of Giovanni Grimani, dating it to around 1561. See Biferali and Firpo, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp. 322-324.
- 21 P. Paschini, "Giovanni Grimani accusato d'eresia", in *Tre illustri prelati del Rinascimento. Ermolao Barbaro-Adriano Castellesi-Giovanni Grimani (Lateranum*, nova series, an. xxiii, n. 1-4), Rome, Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1957, pp. 142-151; P.J. Lavin, "The *Causa Grimani* and its Political Overtones", *The Journal of Religious History*, vol. 4, no. 3, June 1967, pp. 191-195.
- 22 Hochmann, op. cit. (note 9), p. 300.
- 23 See Paschini and Lavin, cited in note 21.
- 24 Franco is documented in 1536 as resident in the house of Cardinal Corner in Rome. See Hochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 296, note 14.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 308-311; Varick Lauder, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 36-47.
- 26 For El Greco's visit to Palazzo Grimani of Santa Maria Formosa, see C. Robertson, "El Greco and Roman Mannerism", in N. Hadjinicolaou (ed.), *El Greco in Italy and Italian Art* (exh. cat.), Athens, National Gellery, 1995, p. 398; F. Marías, "El Greco da Candia a Venezia, da Venezia alla Spagna", in S.G. Franchini et al. (eds.), *Venise et la Méditerranée*, Venice, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2011, pp. 111. See also: F. Marías, "Crete, Italy, Toledo", in F. Marías (ed.), *El Greco of Toledo: Painter of the Visible and the Invisible* (exh. cat.), Fundación El Greco 2014, p. 129; M. Constantoudaki-Kitrimilides, "Views of the Landscape of Mount Sinai from Byzantium to Domenikos Theotokopoulos", in N. Hadjinicolaou (ed.), *D. Theotokopoulos between Venice and Rome* (exh. cat.), Heraklion-Athens, 2014, pp. 29-31; Id., "El joven Greco: la espinosa cuestión de su etapa veneciana y el estado actual de la investigación", in *Simposio Internacional El Greco 2014, 21-24 May 2014*, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, 2014, pp. 9-10; F. Marías, "*Miles Christi,* once again: El Greco and his clients in Venice", to be published in the forthcoming proceedings *El Greco: The Cretan Years* (as in note 5). I am grateful to Professor Fernando Marías for allowing me to consult his typescript before publication.

Appendix 1: ASV, Senato Deliberazioni Terra, Registro 37, fols. 152r-152v (underlines by the author)

[fol. 152r]

# MDLI

# Die ij Junij

Che per autorità di questo Consiglio sia concesso a Zuane de Varisco che niuno altro, che lui, senza sua permissione non possi stampar, ne far stampare in questa città et in tutto 'l dominio nostro, ne stampare altrove vender in quello, le deche di Pietro Martire delle cose del mondo Novo, tradotta di latino in vulgare, et la nova Macharonea di Merlino, per anni X sotto pena, a chi facesse in contrario, di perder le opere stampate, et ducati X per cadauna opera, un terzo della qual pena sia di quello che darà la denontia, l'altro terzo dell'Arsenal, et lo altro della pietà; Et il simile sia concesso a Michiel Tramezino libraro alla Sibilla, per le rime di ms Gandolfo Pozzino per l'opera del R.do Domino Gio: ber.do Dias Episcopo di Casatiera titolata delli avisi di coloro, c'hanno cura d'anime, tradotta in lingua [fol. 152v] volgare da Zuan Traccagnota per le rime di Giulio Bidelli sanese, et la sua centona cavata del Petrarcha, per il disegno titolato Via, Verità, et Vita, et per il disegno di Christo resuscitante, con le sue dechiarationi; Per il formulario di procuratori con le additioni de preposito Card.le Alessandrino, et altri dottori, et per le annotationi, et additioni d'Antonio Maria Papazzoni in le nove decisioni di Rota:

| De parte      | +155 |
|---------------|------|
| De non        | 6    |
| Non sync[eri] | 15   |

Appendix 2: Transcription of the texts in the Latin version, Speculum viae, veritatis, ac vitae Fidelis militis christiani

[top] OMNIA MIHI TRADITA SVNT A/ patre meo. Et nemo nouit filium, nisi pater: neque/ patrem quis nouit, nisi filius, & cui voluerit filius reuelare./ VENITE AD ME OMNES QVI LABORATIS, ET ONERATI ESTIS: ET/ ego reficiam vos. Tollite iugum meum super vos, & discite à me quia mitis sum & humilis/ corde: & inuenietis requiem animabus vestris. Iugum enim meum suaue est,/ & onus meum leve. S. MATTH. CAP. XI.

[left] GRATIAS agamus Deo Patri qui dignos nos fecit in par-/tem sortis sanctorum, in lumine, qui eripuit nos de potestate/ tenebrarum, & tran-/stulit in REGNVM Fi-/lij dilectionis suae, in/ quo habemus redem/ptionem per SANGVI-/NEM IPSIVS REMIS/SIONEM PECCATO-/RVM, qui est Imago/ Dei inuisibilis, pri-/mogenitus omnis crea/turae quoniam in ip-/so condita sunt vni-/uersa in caelis & in/ terra, visibilia, & inui/sibilia, siue Throni,/ siue Dominationes,/ siue Principatus, siue/ Potestates, omnia per/ ipsum, & in ipso crea/ta sunt, & ipse est an-/te omnes, & omnia/ in ipso constant. Et/ ipse est Caput corpo/ris Ecclesiae, qui est/ principium, primo-/genitus ex mortuis:/ vt sit in omnibus ip-/se primatum tenens:/ quia in ipso compla-/cuit patri omnem ple-/nitudinem diuinita-/tis inhabitare: & per/ eum reconciliari om-/nia in ipso, pacificans/ per SANGVINEM CRV/CIS EIVS siue quae in/ terris, siue quae in coe/lis sunt. Et vos cum/ essetis aliquando alie-/nati & inimici sensu,/ in operibus malis:/ nunc autem reconci-/liauit in corpore car/nis eius per mortem,/ exhibere vos sanctos/ & immaculatos, & irreprehensibiles coram ipso: si tamen per-/manetis in Fide fundati, & stabiles & immobiles à Spe Euan-/gelij quod audistis, quod

praedicatum est in vniuersa creatura/ quae sub coelo est, cuius factus sum ego Paulus minister. Qui/ nunc gaudeo in passionibus meis pro vobis. Colos. I.

[right] DE CETERO Fratres confortamini in domino, & in/ potentia virtutis eius. Induite vos totam armaturam Dei: vt possi-/tis stare aduersus in-/sidias diaboli: quo-/niam non est nobis/ colluctatio aduersus/ carnem & sanguinem:/ sed aduersus princi-/pes, & Potestates, ad-/uersus mundi recto-/res tenebrarum ha-/rum, contra spiritualia/ nequitiae, in coelesti-/bus. Propterea acci-/pite vniuersam arma/turam Dei: vt possi-/tis resistere in die ma/lo & in omnibus per/fecti stare. State er-/go succincti lumbos/ vestros in VERI-/TATE, & induit LO-/RICAM IVSTITI-/ AE, & calciati pedes/ in praeparationem/ EVANGELII PACIS:/ in omnibus sumen-/tes SCVTVM FIDEI,/ in quo possitis om-/nia TELA nequissimi/ IGNEA extinguere:/ & GALEAM SALV-/ TIS assumite: & GLA-/DIVM SPIRITVS (quod/ est VERBVM DEI) per/ omnem orationem, &/ obsecrationem oran/tes omni tempore in/ spiritu: & in ipso ui-/gilantes in omni in-/stantia, & obsecratio/ne: pro omnibus san/ctis: & pro me, ut de-/tur mihi sermo in a-/pertione oris mei cum/ fiducia notum face-/re mysterium Euan-/gelij mei, pro quo legatione fungor in catena ista, ita ut in ipso/ audeam, prout oportet me, loqui. Pax fratribus, & Charitas cum/ Fide à Deo patre nostro & domino IESV CHRISTO. Gratia/ cum omnibus qui diligunt Dominum nostrum IESVM CHRI-/ STVM in incorruptione. Amen. Ephes. VI.

[bottom] Vos igitur Fratres laborate sicut boni milites CHRISTI IESV. Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotijs secularibus: vt ei/ placeat cui se probauit. Nam & qui certat in agone: non coronabitur, nisi legitime certauerit. 2. Thi. 2.

Fratres abiiciamus opera tenebrarum, & induamur Arma lucis. Sicut in die, honeste ambulemus: non in comessationibus,/ & ebrietatibus: non in cubilibus, & impudicitijs: non in contentione & aemulatione: sed induamini dominum IESVM CHRISTVM,/ & carnis curam ne feceritis in desiderijs. Ro. XIII. Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, & dabo tibi coronam vitae. Apo. VI./ Speculum viae, veritatis, ac vitae Fidelis militis christiani. Impres. C. Grat. Et Pri. Ill. Sen. Venet. MDLV.

#### **Illustration Sources:**

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (fig. 1); Archivio di Stato, Venice (figs. 2, 3); Hochmann 2004 (fig. 4); Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des arts graphique (figs. 5, 6); The Morgan Library & Museum, New York (fig. 7)