

**Local Terrains: The *Small Landscape* Prints
and the Depiction of the Countryside in Early Modern Antwerp**

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ABSTRACT

Local Terrains: The *Small Landscape* Prints and the Depiction of the Countryside in Early Modern Antwerp

Alexandra Kirkman Onuf

This dissertation reexamines the *Small Landscape* prints, two series of views of the local landscape around Antwerp published by Hieronymus Cock in the middle of the sixteenth century. Previously, art historical scholarship has focused on the anonymous designer of the compositions. In this study, greater attention is paid to the publisher Hieronymus Cock, who played a determining role in the production of the prints. Cock's emphasis on landscape prints indicates how radical and prescient his commercial aspirations for printmaking were.

A close examination of Cock's potential audience for the *Small Landscapes* reveals that the prints had cultural as well as aesthetic value for their purchasers. As Antwerp's urban citizens increasingly turned to the countryside as a place for both economic investment and spiritual refreshment, the prints helped to define urban understandings of and attitudes toward the local landscape. By situating the prints within this cultural context, the significance of the local landscape – imagined, represented, and real – comes into focus.

The *Small Landscapes* resurfaced in the seventeenth century as new publishers eagerly reissued them. An assessment of the later edition of the *Small Landscapes* reveals not only the complex publication history of the prints, but also their changing cultural meaning in the seventeenth century. The Eighty Years' War between Spain and

the rebel Northern Provinces devastated the Brabantine countryside. In the aftermath of this destruction and wastage, the *Small Landscapes* developed new visual and cultural resonances. Indeed, in the fourth and final edition of the prints, published in Antwerp in the 1630s or 40s, the plates were substantially altered to reflect contemporary artistic tastes and larger socio-cultural trends.

In the seventeenth century the *Small Landscapes* also exerted a powerful influence on other artists. An examination of their artistic afterlife clarifies the importance of the prints for the development of a distinctly vernacular landscape idiom both in the Southern and Northern Netherlands, shedding light on the continuing centrality of the local, both as an historical concern and as a category of artistic representation.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations.....	iii
List of Abbreviations.....	xix
Acknowledgments.....	xx
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Hieronymus Cock and the Market for Landscape Prints.....	13
Hieronymus Cock's Role in the <i>Small Landscapes</i>	20
Cock's Development of the Genre of Landscape.....	34
Cock's Audiences and the Market for Prints.....	56
Chapter Two: Real Land: The Appeal of the <i>Small Landscapes</i> at Mid-Century.....	76
Antwerp's Hinterlands Described.....	79
Real Land: Urban Ties to Rural Property.....	83
The <i>Speelhuis</i> Phenomenon.....	95
The Praise of the Country House and the Country Life.....	109
The <i>Landjuweel</i> of 1561: Propaganda and the Popular Perception of Country Life.....	129
Rural Countryside as Cultural Ideal.....	145
Chapter Three: The <i>Small Landscapes</i> Revisited:	
Later Edition of the Prints in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp.....	148
Antwerp, Crisis and Recovery.....	150
Philips Galle's 1601 edition.....	155
The Third Edition of the <i>Small Landscapes</i>	175
The Fourth Edition of the <i>Small Landscapes</i>	180
Print Publishers and the Persistence of the <i>Small Landscapes</i>	205
Chapter Four: The Afterlife of the <i>Small Landscapes</i>	207
Hans van Luyck and the Persistence of Printed Local Landscapes.....	210
"In Pictorum Gratiam:" The <i>Small Landscapes</i> as Models for Painters in Antwerp.....	222
Jacob Grimmer.....	223
Abel Grimmer.....	226

Pieter Brueghel the Younger.....	237
Jan Brueghel and Joos de Momper.....	242
The <i>Small Landscapes</i> Renewed.....	247
Epilogue: Claes Visscher and the <i>Small Landscapes</i> in the Northern Netherlands.....	250
Bibliography.....	265
Appendix I: Grouping of the 1559 and 1561 <i>Small Landscapes</i> series.....	304
Appendix II: Comparison of Martial's Epigram X 47, Lucas d'Heere's translation of Martial, and Christophe Plantin's Sonnet.....	308
Appendix III: Concordance of editions of the <i>Small Landscapes</i>	310
Illustrations.....	312

List of Illustrations

- Figure 1.1** Title-page to 1559 series of *Small Landscapes*, published by Hieronymus Cock
- Figure 1.2** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Draw Well*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 118)
- Figure 1.3** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms behind Stand of Trees*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 160)
- Figure 1.4** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Woodcutters*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 161)
- Figure 1.5** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Post Mill*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 154)
- Figure 1.6** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Road with Barn and Cottages*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 150)
- Figure 1.7** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street with Hay Cart*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 151)
- Figure 1.8** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 158)
- Figure 1.9** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Shed and Cottages with Manor House*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 159)
- Figure 1.10** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Shed and Draw Well*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 157)
- Figure 1.11** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Man Riding a Donkey*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 149)
- Figure 1.12** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Pond*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 153)
- Figure 1.13** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Archers*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 155)
- Figure 1.14** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Cows and Milkmaids*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 141)
- Figure 1.15** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Gateway*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 128)
- Figure 1.16** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Cattle, Herdsmen and Milkmaids*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 147)
- Figure 1.17** van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Castle with Lift-Bridge* (identified as het Kasteel Ter Meeren te Sterrebeek), 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 148)

Figure 1.18 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Geese*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 156)

Figure 1.19 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Fenced Cattle Pasture*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 152)

Figure 1.20 Title-page to 1561 series of *Small Landscapes*, published by Hieronymus Cock

Figure 1.21 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Church and Bridge*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 126)

Figure 1.22 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Sheep and Shepherd*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 131)

Figure 1.23 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Church Tower*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 132)

Figure 1.24 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Pond and Dovecote*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 146)

Figure 1.25 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Road with Draw Well*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 139)

Figure 1.26 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Horseman and Walkers*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 129)

Figure 1.27 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Road with Resting Couple*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 133)

Figure 1.28 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *The Roode Poort with Country Houses*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 119)

Figure 1.29 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Road with Logs*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 123)

Figure 1.30 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Large Farm with Draw Well*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 140)

Figure 1.31 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Large Farm with Couple in Corn Field*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 125)

Figure 1.32 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Church*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 143)

Figure 1.33 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Ploughed Field*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 136)

Figure 1.34 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road and Fields with Post Mill*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 142)

Figure 1.35 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street with Haystack*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 127)

Figure 1.36 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Walking Couple*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 130)

Figure 1.37 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Draw Well*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 138)

Figure 1.38 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 144)

Figure 1.39 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Courtyard*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 121)

Figure 1.40 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms and Inn at the Sign of the Swan*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 137)

Figure 1.41 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country House with Ditch*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 122)

Figure 1.42 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Castle with Stork's Nest* (identified as het Kasteel ter Vordenstein te Schoten), 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 120)

Figure 1.43 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Draw Well and Country House*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 134)

Figure 1.44 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Barns*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 145)

Figure 1.45 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farmstead*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 135)

Figure 1.46 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm and Row of Houses*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 124)

Figure 1.47 Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel, *Spring*, 1570, engraving

Figure 1.48 Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel, *Summer*, 1570, engraving

Figure 1.49 Johannes Wierix, *Portrait of Hieronymus Cock*, engraving from Domenicus Lampsonius' *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrum Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*, Antwerp, 1572.

Figure 1.50 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms behind Stand of Trees*, drawing, 13.4 x 19.7 cm, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (inv. no. P.D. 55-1963)

Figure 1.51 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Post Mill*, drawing, 12.3 x 19.9 cm, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (inv. no. 3784)

Figure 1.52 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Road with Barn and Cottages*, drawing, 13 x 19.5 cm, New York, Woodner Collection (inv. no. WD-550)

Figure 1.53 Master of the Small Landscapes. *Farm with Shed and Draw Well*, drawing, 12.9 x 19.8 cm, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum (inv. no. AE 432)

Figure 1.54 Master of the Small Landscapes. *Farms with Geese*, drawing, 13.1 x 19.8 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 843A)

Figure 1.55 Master of the Small Landscapes?, *Country Village with Church and Bridge*, drawing, 16.7 x 31.1 cm, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art (inv. no. 42 307)

Figure 1.56 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Sheep and Shepherd*, drawing, 12.5 x 39.8 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 1929:1097)

Figure 1.57 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Sheep and Shepherd* (detail), drawing, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 1929: 1097)

Figure 1.58 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Sheep and Shepherd* (detail), drawing, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 1929: 1097)

Figure 1.59 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Road with Draw Well*, drawing, 13.4 x 20.3 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 719)

Figure 1.60 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street*, drawing, 13 x 20 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 14 039)

Figure 1.61 Master of the Small Landscapes?, *Village Street*, drawing, 18.3 x 25.6 cm, Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Collection Frits Lugt (inv. no. 3440)

Figure 1.62 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms and Inn at the Sign of the Swan*, drawing, 12.5 x 18.1 cm. (sold Christie's, London, 12/1/70, no. 69)

Figure 1.63 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country House with Ditch*, 13 x 20 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 844B)

Figure 1.64 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Barns*, drawing, 13 x 20 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 844A)

Figure 1.65 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm and Row of Houses* (detail), drawing, 12.7 x 39.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 06.1042.6)

Figure 1.66 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Bleaching Fields before a Town*, drawing, 13.4 x 20.3 cm, Cambridge, Mass., The Fogg Art Museum (inv. no. 1994.137)

Figure 1.67 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Antwerp with the Kronenburg Gate*, drawing, 12.3 x 19.2 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 843B)

Figure 1.68 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Landscape with Goose Clubbing*, drawing, 13.1 x 19.5 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 842B)

Figure 1.69 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Landscape with Merry Company before a Castle*, drawing, 13.1 x 19.5 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 842A)

- Figure 1.70** Master of the Small Landscapes, *View of Antwerp*, drawing, 12.9 x 20.1 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 5719)
- Figure 1.71** Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village behind a Cornfield*, drawing, 12.6 x 19.3 cm, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (inv. no. 3783)
- Figure 1.72** Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village View*, drawing, 12.4 x 19.8 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, (on permanent loan, inv. no. N31)
- Figure 1.73** Master of the Small Landscapes?, *Village View*, drawing, 9 x 19.3 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, (on permanent loan, inv. no. N119)
- Figure 1.74** Master of the Small Landscapes?, *Village with Church behind a Stand of Trees*, drawing, 12.2 x 19.6 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst (inv. no. Tu 43.8)
- Figure 1.75** Master of the Small Landscapes?, *View of Farm Buildings with Pond*, drawing, 15.7 x 29.5 cm, London, British Museum (inv. no. SL 5236.60)
- Figure 1.76** Unidentified Monogrammist FvdR/FvCR, *Farm Buildings near Hoboken*, 1563, drawing, 15.3 x 19.8 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. 1953:457)
- Figure 1.77** The Master of the Small Landscapes or Joos van Liere?, *View of a Fortified City*, c.1560, drawing, 13.2 x 19.4 cm, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (inv. no. 7880)
- Figure 1.78** *Farmhouse*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p.161, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)
- Figure 1.79** *Farmhouse*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 112, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)
- Figure 1.80** *Landscape with Farm by a Pond*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 121, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)
- Figure 1.81** *Landscape with Windmill*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 94, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)
- Figure 1.82** *Landscape with Village Church*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 23, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)
- Figure 1.83** *View of Antwerp with the Roode Poort and Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 46v, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)
- Figure 1.84** *View of the Roode Poort*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 49r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)
- Figure 1.85** *Landscape with Farms and Mill on a Stream*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 26v, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)

Figure 1.86 *Landscape*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 38r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)

Figure 1.87 *Farmhouses*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 33r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)

Figure 1.88 *Farmhouses and Barns*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 34r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)

Figure 1.89 *Fortified Castles on Hilltops*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 25r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)

Figure 1.90 Giorgio Ghisi after Raphael, *School of Athens*, 1550, engraving on two plates published by Hieronymus Cock

Figure 1.91 Unidentified engraver after Andrea del Sarto, *The Holy Family with Saint John*, engraving published by Hieronymus Cock

Figure 1.92 Pieter van der Heyden after Lambert Lombard, *Women Sacrificing to Priapus*, 1553, engraving published by Hieronymus Cock

Figure 1.93 Hieronymus Cock, *The Siege of Mahdia*, 1550, etching

Figure 1.94 Hieronymus Cock, *Map of Parma*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.95 *Map of Piedmont*, 1552, etching on two plates published by Hieronymus Cock

Figure 1.96 *The Siege of Siena*, 1555, etching published by Hieronymus Cock

Figure 1.97 Melchisedeck van Hooren, *Triple View of Antwerp*, 1557, etching and engraving published by Hieronymus Cock

Figure 1.98 Hieronymus Cock, *Map of Antwerp*, 1557, etching

Figure 1.99 Hieronymus Cock, *View of the Colosseum*, from *Views of Roman Ruins*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.100 Hieronymus Cock, *Second View of the Colosseum*, from *Views of Roman Ruins*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.101 Hieronymus Cock, *Eighth View of the Colosseum*, from *Views of Roman Ruins*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.102 Hieronymus Cock, *Baths of Caracalla*, from the *Views of Roman Ruins*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.103 Hieronymus Cock, *Ruins of the Colosseum*, 1550, drawing, 21.7 x 32.5 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (inv. no. 1035)

Figure 1.104 Hieronymus Cock, *Vaulted Passage of the Colosseum*, 1550, drawing, 21.4 x 29 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (inv. no. 1034)

Figure 1.105 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Rhetorica*, from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.106 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Arithmetica*, from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.107 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Arithmetica* (detail), from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.108 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Grammatica*, from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.109 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Grammatica* (details), from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.110 Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock, *Flight into Egypt*, from *Landscapes with Mythological and Biblical Scenes*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.111 Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock, *Mercury with the Head of Argus*, from *Landscapes with Mythological and Biblical Scenes*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.112 Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock, *Tobias and the Angel*, from *Landscapes with Mythological and Biblical Scenes*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.113 Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock, *Landscape with the Sacrifice of Abraham*, 1551, etching

Figure 1.114 van Doetecums after Lucas Gassel, *John the Baptist*, from *Landscapes with Biblical Figures*, 1568, etching and engraving

Figure 1.115 van Doetecums after Lucas Gassel, *Saint Jerome*, from *Landscapes with Biblical Figures*, 1568, etching and engraving

Figure 1.116 van Doetecum Brothers after Lucas Gassel, *Saint Anthony*, from *Landscapes with Biblical Figures*, 1568, etching and engraving

Figure 1.117 van Doetecums after Hans Bol, *River Landscapes with High Cliffs*, from *River Landscapes* series, 1562, etching and engraving

Figure 1.118 van Doetecums after Hans Bol, *Landscape with Manor House*, from *River Landscapes* series, 1562, etching and engraving

Figure 1.119 van Doetecums after Hans Bol, *Peasant Kermis in a Village with Draw Well*, from *River Landscapes*, 1562, etching and engraving

Figure 1.120 van Doetecums after Hans Bol, *River Landscapes with City*, from *River Landscapes*, 1562, etching and engraving

Figure 1.121 Pieter Bruegel, *Landscape with Five Bears*, 1554, drawing, 27.3 x 41 cm, Národní Gallerie, Prague (inv. no. K 4493)

Figure 1.122 Hieronymus Cock after Pieter Bruegel, *The Temptation of Christ*, 1554, etching

Figure 1.123 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel. *S. Hieronymus in Deserto*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

Figure 1.124 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel. *Milites Requiescentes*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

Figure 1.125 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel. *Sollicitudo Rustica*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

Figure 1.126 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel. *Pagus Nemorosus*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

Figure 1.127 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel. *Plaustrum Belgicum*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

Figure 1.128 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel. *Euntes in Emaus*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

Figure 1.129 Lambert Suavius. *Portrait of Antoine Perrenot*, 1556, engraving

Figure 1.130 Lambert Suavius. *Portrait of Antoine Perrenot*, 1554, engraving

Figure 1.131 *Portrait of Robert de Berghes*

Figure 2.1 Map of the *Vrijheid* of Antwerp, 1582, engraving in *Rechten ende Costumen van Antwerpen*, published by Christophe Plantin

Figure 2.2 Map of the *Vrijheid* of Antwerp, from Voet, et. al., eds., *De Stad Antwerpen van de Romeinse Tijd tot de 17de eeuw*, figure 23 (translations of title and legend mine)

Figure 2.3 Frans Huys. *View of Antwerp*, 1557, engraving

Figure 2.4 Adriaen Collaert after Hans Bol. *The Meir*, engraving from *Venationis piscationis et aucupii typi*, 1582, published by Philips Galle

Figure 2.5 Unidentified engraver after Hans Bol. *Fish Market* (detail), engraving from *Venationis piscationis et aucupii typi*, 1582, published by Philips Galle

Figure 2.6 Pieter Aertsen. *Market Woman with Vegetable Stall*, 1567, oil on wood, 11 x 11 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Figure 2.7 Joachim Beuckelaer. *Market Woman with Fruit, Vegetables and Poultry*, 1564, oil on oak, 118 x 170.5 cm, Kassel, Staatliche Museen

Figure 2.8 Unidentified etcher after Peeter van der Borcht. *Saint Sebastian's Fair*, etching

Figure 2.9 Peeter van der Borcht. *Peasant Kermis*, 1559, etching and engraving

Figure 3.1 Hendrick Goltzius. *Portrait of Philips Galle*, 1582, engraving

Figure 3.2 Peeter van der Borcht. *View of a Village with a Flock*, etching

Figure 3.3 Peeter van der Borcht, *Water Castle*, etching

Figure 3.4 Peeter van der Borcht, *Village with a Beggar*, etching

Figure 3.5 Peeter van der Borcht, *Castle on a River*, etching

Figure 3.6 Title-page to 1601 edition of *Small Landscape* series, published by Philips Galle

Figure 3.7 Cornelis Cort, preparatory drawing for *Four Allegorical Landscapes*, c. 1595, etchings published by Joris Hoefnagel, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Prentenkabinet (inv. no. S.II.143036)

Figure 3.8 Cornelis Cort after Andrea del Sarto, *The Vineyard Owner Hiring Laborers*, from *Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard*, 1563, engraving published by Hieronymus Cock

Figure 3.9 Peeter van der Borcht, *Boat Trip*, from *Gardens* series, etching

Figure 3.10 Unidentified engraver after Peeter van der Borcht, *Summer*, from *Season* series

Figure 3.11 Abel Grimmer, *Polders of Antwerp*, c. 1596, oil on panel, 177 x 295 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Figure 3.12 Jacob and Abel Grimmer, *Landscape with Castle*, 1592, oil on panel, 93 x 138 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique

Figure 3.13 Abel Grimmer, *Spring*, 1599, oil on panel, 29 x 42 cm, France, private collection

Figure 3.14 Lucas Vorsterman after Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Theodoor Galle*, engraving

Figure 3.15 Detail of figures added in the fourth edition (lower left) to those from the first edition (upper right) of the *Small Landscapes* series

Figure 3.16 *Country Road*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with additional figures

Figure 3.17 *Country Village*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with additional figures

Figure 3.18 *Country Village with Church*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with additional figures

Figure 3.19 *Farms in a Court*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with new addition of violent encounter in foreground

Figure 3.20 *Village Street with Stacks of Hay*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with violent encounter in foreground

Figure 3.21 *Village Road*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with additional figures

Figure 3.22 *Farm and Row of Houses*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with added scene of peasant revenge

Figure 3.23 *Village Road with Draw-Well*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with added scene of military justice

Figure 3.24 Pieter Bruegel, *Peasant Couple Attacked by Soldiers*, 1567, oil on panel, 94 x 125 cm, Stockholm, Stockholms Universitets Konstsamling

Figure 3.25 Hans Bol, *Landscape with a View of the Schelde*, 1578, oil and tempera on canvas, 46.5 x 74.4 cm, Los Angeles, LACMA

Figure 3.26 Hans Bol, *River View with Ambush*, from *River Landscape* series, 1562, etching

Figure 3.27 Hans Bol, *The Surprise*, from series of roundels, etching

Figure 3.28 Jacob Grimmer, *The Ambush*, oil on panel, c. 50 cm diameter, Belgium, private collection

Figure 3.29 Lucas van Valckenborch, *The Ambush*, 1577, gouache, 28.6 x 42.2 cm, formerly New York, New York Historical Society

Figure 3.30 Gillis Mostaert, *The Sacking of a Village*, late sixteenth century, oil on canvas, 81.5 x 155 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Figure 3.31 Gillis Mostaert, *Peasant Revenge*, 1569, oil on panel, 42 x 69 cm, Paris, Louvre

Figure 3.32 Boëtius à Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *The Attack*, from *Peasant Sorrow and Revenge* series, 1610, engraving

Figure 3.33 Boëtius à Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *Soldiers at Table*, from *Peasant Sorrow and Revenge* series, 1610, engraving

Figure 3.34 Boëtius à Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *Peasant Revenge*, from *Peasant Sorrow and Revenge* series, 1610, engraving

Figure 3.35 Boëtius à Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *The Resolution*, from *Peasant Sorrow and Revenge* series, 1610, engraving

Figure 3.36 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Battle Scene*, oil on panel, 59.8 x 87 cm, Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie (on loan from Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung)

Figure 3.37 Sebastiaen Vrancx and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Ambush on Two Wagons*, c. 1612, oil on panel, 51.8 x 85.4 cm, Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie

Figure 3.38 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Village Plundered by Troops*, c. 1619, oil on panel, 52 x 66.5 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen

Figure 3.39 Pieter Snayers, *Village Plunder*, oil on panel, 73.5 x 104.5 cm, Delft, Legermuseum

Figure 3.40 Pieter Snayers, *Plunder of a Village*, oil on copper, 48.2 x 62.4 cm, Rome, Galleria 'Spada'

Figure 3.41 Jacques Callot, *Pillaging of an Inn*, from *Les Miseres et les Malheures de la Guerre*, 1633, etching

Figure 3.42 Jacques Callot, *Plunder of a Village*, from *Les Miseres et les Malheures de la Guerre*, 1633, etching

Figure 3.43 Jacques Callot, *Peasant Revenge*, from *Les Miseres et les Malheures de la Guerre*, 1633, etching

Figure 3.44 Satirical print of Frederik Hendrik's *brandschatting* in Brabant in 1622, published in the pamphlet entitled *Den Tocht van de Brandstichters*, 1622

Figure 3.45 Hans Collaert after Ambrosius Francken, *The Lament Over the Desolation of the Netherlands*, 1570s-80s, engraving

Figure 3.46 Frans Hogenberg, *Dalen*, 1568, engraving from *Abbildungen zur Europäischen Geschichte insbesondere zur Geschichte der Niederländischen Kriegen in den Jahren 1535-1600*, Cologne, c.1569-1600

Figure 3.47 Frans Hogenberg, *Oosterweel*, 1567, engraving from *Abbildungen zur Europäischen Geschichte insbesondere zur Geschichte der Niederländischen Kriegen in den Jahren 1535-1600*, Cologne, c.1569-1600

Figure 4.1 Anonymous copy after the *Small Landscapes*, late sixteenth century, folio 23, no. 224, Ambras album 6641, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Figure 4.2 Anonymous copy after the *Small Landscapes*, late sixteenth century, folio 23, no. 225, Ambras album 6641, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Figure 4.3 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *'t Hof van Brussel*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, published by Hans van Luyck, 1570s, engraving

Figure 4.4 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Zevenborren*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.5 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Het Slot te Rivieren*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.6 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Bosvoorde*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.7 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Stal*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.8 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Etterbeeke*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.9 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Elsen*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.10 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Ouer Muelen*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.11 Jacob Grimmer?, preparatory drawing for *Het Slot te Rivieren*, black chalk, pen and brown ink with brown and pink wash, 14.9 x 19.9 cm, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum

Figure 4.12 Jacob Grimmer?, preparatory drawing of *Ouer Muelen*, black chalk, pen and brown ink with brown, pink and yellow wash, 14.8 x 21.4 cm, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum

Figure 4.13 Jacob Grimmer, *Village with Church and Windmill*, 1589, pen and ink with watercolor, 21.8 x 34 cm, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Figure 4.14 Jacob Grimmer, *Village with Church*, 1589, pen and ink with watercolor, 21.7 x 33 cm, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Figure 4.15 Adriaen Collaert after Jacob Grimmer, *By Antwerpen* series, 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.16 Adriaen Collaert after Jacob Grimmer, *By Antwerpen* series, 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.17 Adriaen Collaert after Jacob Grimmer, *By Antwerpen* series, 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.18 Adriaen Collaert after Jacob Grimmer, *By Antwerpen* series, 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.19 Detail of Figure 4.16

Figure 4.20 Detail of *Small Landscape* print (Figure 1.8)

Figure 4.21 Detail of Figure 4.16

Figure 4.22 Detail of *Small Landscape* print (Figure 1.5)

Figure 4.23 Detail of Figure 4.15

Figure 4.24 Detail of *Small Landscape* print (Figure 1.17)

Figure 4.25 Julius Goltzius after Gillis Mostaert, *May*, from *Twelve Months* series, late 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.26 Julius Goltzius after Gillis Mostaert, *August*, from *Twelve Months* series, late 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.27 Julius Goltzius after Gillis Mostaert, *June*, from *Twelve Months* series, late 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

Figure 4.28 van Doetecums after Gerard van Groeningen, *June*, from *Months* series, c. 1574, etching and engraving

Figure 4.29 Philips Galle after Marten van Heemskerck, *Summer*, from *Four Seasons* series, 1563, engraving

Figure 4.30 Jacob Grimmer, *The Kiel by Antwerp*, 1578, oil on panel, 121.5 x 196.2 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Figure 4.31 Jacob Grimmer, *Summer*, oil on panel, diameter 29.1 cm, (sold Christie's, Amsterdam, 1986)

Figure 4.32 Jacob Grimmer, *Landscape of the Environs of Antwerp*, oil on panel, 23.5 x 56 cm, private collection

Figure 4.33 Jacob Grimmer, *Winter*, oil on panel, (sold Sotheby's, 1981)

Figure 4.34 Jacob Grimmer, *Return of the Herd*, oil on panel, 31.4 x 43 cm, private collection

Figure 4.35 Jacob Grimmer, *Autumn*, oil on panel, 33.5 x 44.5 cm, Amsterdam, collection Pieter de Boer

Figure 4.36 Jacob Grimmer, *Summer Landscape*, 1583, oil on panel, 38.5 x 60 cm, private collection

Figure 4.37 Detail from *Small Landscape* print (Figure 1.6)

Figure 4.38 Detail from *Small Landscape* print (Figure 1.25)

Figure 4.39 Detail from *Small Landscape* print (Figure 1.23)

Figure 4.40 Detail from *Small Landscape* print (Figure 1.23)

Figure 4.41 Detail from *Small Landscape* print (Figure 1.34)

Figure 4.42 Abel Grimmer, *Spring*, 1596, oil on panel, diameter 25.9 cm, private collection

Figure 4.43 Abel Grimmer, *Spring*, oil on panel, diameter 12.7 cm, Banbury, England, National Trust Upton House

Figure 4.44 Abel Grimmer, *Winter*, oil on panel, diameter 16.5 cm, private collection

Figure 4.45 Abel Grimmer, *Landscape*, 1593, oil on panel, 42 x 60 cm, private collection

Figure 4.46 Abel Grimmer, *Summer*, 1607, oil on panel, 33 x 47 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Figure 4.47 Abel Grimmer, *Spring*, 1565, oil on panel, 33 x 47 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Figure 4.48 Abel Grimmer, *Skating before Saint George's Gate, Antwerp*, 1602, oil on panel, diameter 18 cm, Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts

Figure 4.49 Abel Grimmer, *June*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection

- Figure 4.50** Abel Grimmer, *July*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection
- Figure 4.51** Abel Grimmer, *August*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection
- Figure 4.52** Abel Grimmer, *October*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection
- Figure 4.53** Abel Grimmer, *November*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, present location unknown
- Figure 4.54** Abel Grimmer, *December*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection
- Figure 4.55** Abel Grimmer, *January*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, present location unknown
- Figure 4.56** Abel Grimmer, *September*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, present location unknown
- Figure 4.57** Abel Grimmer, *Winter*, oil on panel, diameter 27.5 cm, St. Petersburg, Hermitage
- Figure 4.58** Abel Grimmer, *Autumn*, 1599, oil on panel, 29 x 42 cm, private collection
- Figure 4.59** Abel Grimmer, *Winter*, 1599, oil on panel, 29 x 42 cm, private collection
- Figure 4.60** Abel Grimmer, *Autumn*, 1604, oil on panel, 30 x 40 cm, private collection
- Figure 4.61** Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *The Encounter*, oil on panel, New York, private collection
- Figure 4.62** Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *The Drunkard*, oil on panel, Amsterdam, private collection
- Figure 4.63** Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Peasant Repast*, oil on panel, 44 x 58.5 cm, Prague, National Gallery
- Figure 4.64** Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Peasant Dance*, oil on panel, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum
- Figure 4.65** Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Village Street with Dancing Peasants*, 1609, oil on copper, 11 x 16 cm, Switzerland, private collection
- Figure 4.66** Joos de Momper, *Village Scene with Draw Well*, 1620s, oil on panel, 46 x 75 cm, Brussels, collection J. Nieuwenhuys (1955)
- Figure 4.67** Jan Brueghel the Elder and Joos de Momper, *Village Landscape with Cattle Market*, oil on panel, 58 x 85 cm, formerly Dieren, Galerie Katz
- Figure 4.68** Jan Brueghel the Elder and Joos de Momper, *Washing Fields in Flanders*, oil on canvas, 166 x 194 cm, Madrid, Prado
- Figure 5.1** Claes Visscher, copy after the *Small Landscapes*, 1612, etching (Holl 127)

- Figure 5.2** Claes Visscher, copy after the *Small Landscapes*, 1612, etching (Holl 126)
- Figure 5.3** Claes Visscher, copy after the *Small Landscapes*, 1612, etching (Holl 150)
- Figure 5.4** Claes Visscher, Title-page for series of copies after the *Small Landscapes*, 1612, etching
- Figure 5.5** Claes Visscher, *Road to Leiden*, from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching
- Figure 5.6** Claes Visscher, *Road to Leiden*, 1607, drawing
- Figure 5.7** Claes Visscher, Title-page from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching
- Figure 5.8** Claes Visscher, Table of Contents from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching
- Figure 5.9** Claes Visscher, *Huis ter Kleef*, from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching
- Figure 5.10** Claes Visscher, *Leper's Asylum*, from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching
- Figure 5.11** Claes Visscher, *Zandvoort*, from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching
- Figure 5.12** Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Farm Cottage*, 1614, etching
- Figure 5.13** Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Farm Cottages*, 1614, etching
- Figure 5.14** Hendrick Goltzius, *Landscape with Farmhouse*, 1590s, chiaroscuro woodcut
- Figure 5.15** Andreas Stock (?) after Jacques de Gheyn II, *Winter Landscape with Skaters*, from series of six landscapes, c.1610, engraving and etching
- Figure 5.16** Jan van de Velde, *Ruined Barn*, 1616, etching
- Figure 5.17** Esaias van de Velde, *Bridge over Waterway*, etching
- Figure 5.18** Rembrandt van Rijn, *Landscape with Trees, Farm Buildings and a Tower*, c. 1651, etching and drypoint
- Figure 5.19** Gillis Claes de Hondecoeter, *The Country Road*, early 1620s, oil on panel, 40.5 x 72 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
- Figure 5.20** Esaias van de Velde, *Riders in a Landscape*, 1614, oil on panel, 25 x 32.5 cm, Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe
- Figure 5.21** Jan van Goyen, *Farmhouse with Peasants*, 1630, oil on panel, 36 x 51 cm, United States, private collection

Figure 5.22 Salomon van Ruisdael, *Landscape with Farmhouse*, 1629, oil on panel, 30.6 x 42.5 cm. United States, private collection

Figure 5.23 Pieter de Molijn, *Dune Landscape with Peasants Traveling and Resting*, 1630, oil on panel, 41.6 x 65 cm. United States, private collection

Figure 5.24 Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Watermills with an Open Sluice*, 1653, oil on canvas, 66 x 84.5 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Museum

List of Abbreviations

- Hollstein F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*. Amsterdam, 1949-
- NHD F. W. H. Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, 1450-1700, Volume 5: The Van Doetecum family*. Roosendaal, Netherlands: Koninklijke van Poll in co-operation with the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1993-
- NHD Cort F. W. H. Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, 1450-1700, Volume 8: Cornelis Cort*. Roosendaal, Netherlands: Koninklijke van Poll in co-operation with the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1993-
- NHD Borcht F. W. H. Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, 1450-1700, Volume 12: Peeter van der Borcht*. Roosendaal, Netherlands: Koninklijke van Poll in co-operation with the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1993-
- NHD Collaert F. W. H. Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, 1450-1700, Volume 13: The Collaert dynasty*. Roosendaal, Netherlands: Koninklijke van Poll in co-operation with the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1993-

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Introduction

The Antwerp publisher Hieronymus Cock brought a series of exceptional landscape prints onto the market in 1559. Known as the *Small Landscapes*, the prints portray the local countryside surrounding Antwerp. Their compositions are simple, depicting humble villages, farmsteads and pastures in a straightforward and immediate fashion. The original series was popular enough to inspire Cock to publish a second series just two years later and by the end of the century, the two series were republished and copied by other printers both in Antwerp and in Holland. Yet for all of their apparent popularity, surprisingly little is known about the prints. Any records or account books from Cock's publishing house, *Aux Quatre Vents*, have been lost to time, and though the prints are mentioned in other archival sources, some of the most basic information about them remains elusive.

The most hotly contested issue among art historians has centered on the determining the designer of the prints. Since René van Bastelaer first attributed the designs for the prints to Pieter Bruegel the Elder in 1908, they have been firmly established as part of the canon of Northern Renaissance landscape art, and remain so even as the connection to Bruegel has been called into question.¹ Indeed, art historians have weighed in with a wide array of suggestions as to the identity of the anonymous Master of the Small Landscapes. To support their various claims of authorship, scholars have approached the *Small Landscapes* almost exclusively in terms of connoisseurship and formal analysis.

¹ René van Bastelaer, *Les Estampes de Peter Bruegel l'Ancien* (Brussels: G. van Oest & Co., 1908).

The impetus for this project stems from the conviction that there is far more to discover about these unique prints than the name of the artist or artists who drew the original designs. One of the most important questions to ask is why the prints were published at all. While such specific, local views were often to be found in the sketchbooks of artists in the sixteenth century, the *Small Landscapes* are the first instance of such compositions appearing in printed form. At a time when vast panoramic landscape paintings and allegorical landscape prints dominated the art market, the *Small Landscapes* look decidedly out of place. Why did Cock choose to publish these humble local views? By examining this issue, I endeavor to provide a fuller analysis of the prints and their contemporary significance that moves beyond more limited art-historical concerns.

The aims of this study are three-fold. First, it seeks to chart the emergence of the local as a typological form and aesthetic category in landscape art. With the *Small Landscapes*, the familiar rural terrain around the metropolis of Antwerp entered the formal and artistic idiom of printmakers and painters, and established an important precedent for the representation of unprepossessing local views in the Netherlands. Though the influence of the *Small Landscapes* on later developments in seventeenth-century Dutch landscape has been well studied, the impact of the prints on artists working in Antwerp in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has never before received sufficient attention. By evaluating the trajectory of the local landscape in Antwerp, the *Small Landscapes* come into focus as more widely and enduringly influential than previously believed.

But the prints are significant not only to the extent that they influenced other artists. My second aim is to determine the cultural functions of the prints among wider audiences in Antwerp and Europe. The reasons for their repeated publication and their popularity with both local and broader European audiences have remained a significant and overlooked historical riddle. The impact of the prints on the broader cultural field is certainly more difficult to pinpoint than their artistic influence, but I believe such a contextual investigation both necessary and rewarding with respect to the *Small Landscapes*. By studying contemporary uses of and attitudes toward the actual land which the prints purport to represent, the prints emerge as significant cultural documents as well as artistic products. As urban bourgeois audiences forged new, complex ties to rural land, the *Small Landscapes* helped both to clarify and justify the urban view of the countryside. The *Small Landscapes* were issued at particularly pivotal moments in Antwerp's history, first by Cock on the eve of dramatic political, economic, and social change, and later by Philips Galle and his sons during the perhaps even more uncertain times ushered in by the long war between Spain and the rebel United Provinces. These circumstances are not insignificant to our understanding of the prints, since they not only determined Antwerp's prospects as an international center of trade and commerce, but also radically altered the relationship between the city and its rural hinterlands.

The specific and changing resonances of the *Small Landscapes* over these volatile years find confirmation in other contemporary sources. Contemporary literature, including humanist texts and agricultural manuals, along with paintings and other prints all contribute to a deeper understanding of the role that the *Small Landscapes* played over

the course of their long period of publication, and help us to situate the images within the larger cultural discourse surrounding rural land.

Finally, this dissertation argues for the importance of print publishers in both the artistic and broader cultural life of Antwerp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By realigning attention to the *Small Landscapes* from a narrow concentration on connoisseurship and attribution to a consideration of their vital role as printed images, this study shifts the focus from the designer of the prints to their producer, that is to say, the print publisher. The *Small Landscapes* offer an opportunity to examine the careers and outputs of some of the most important print publishers of the period: Hieronymus Cock, the Galle dynasty, and Claes Visscher, as well as the virtually unstudied Antwerp publisher Hans van Luyck. Approaching the *Small Landscapes* from this perspective – as the collaborative products of active print shops under the direction of adept and talented publishers – we gain a new appreciation for the ways reproductive print publishers sought to meet the demands and exploit the opportunities of the art market. In their responsiveness to demand and taste, their publications reflect perhaps more immediately and subtly the exigencies of their socio-cultural context than works of art in any other medium.

There has been a steady stream of art historical scholarship devoted to the *Small Landscapes*, in large part due to the early attribution of the *Small Landscape* designs to Pieter Bruegel the Elder. The two most exhaustive studies are Ellen Spickernagel's 1972 thesis on the iconographic precedents for the *Small Landscapes* and Reinart Liess' three-

part formal analysis of their compositions published from 1979 through 1982.² The most current discussions of the *Small Landscapes* come from Manfred Sellink, who is planning an exhibition on the Master of the Small Landscapes in which he will attempt once again to revise our opinion of the artist responsible the designs.³

By approaching the *Small Landscapes* as prints, I take my cue not so much from these studies, but from scholars who have in recent years begun to delve into questions about the commerce of print publishing, the new audiences and markets for collectible artistic landscape prints, and the social and cultural impact of printed landscape imagery. Timothy Riggs groundbreaking dissertation on Hieronymus Cock launched the study of print publishing in the north, and has been an indispensable source for this study.⁴ Others have followed, including most notably Sellink's dissertation on Philips Galle and Nadine Orenstein's study of Hendrick Hondius.⁵ Scholarship on reproductive printmaking in the north has also benefited greatly from the New Hollstein series of Dutch and Flemish printmakers.⁶ These volumes, dedicated to cataloguing (and illustrating) the output of

² E. Spickernagel, "Die Descendenz der 'kleine Landschaften': Studien zur entwicklung einer Form des Niederländischen Landschaftsbildes vor Pieter Bruegel." (Doctoral dissertation, Westfälischen-Wilhelms-Universität, 1972); R. Liess, "Die kleine Landschaften Pieter Bruegels d. Ä im Lichte seines Gesamtwerks," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 15/16 (1979-1980); R. Liess, "Die kleine Landschaften Pieter Bruegels d. Ä im Lichte seines Gesamtwerks," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 17 (1981); and R. Liess, "Die kleine Landschaften Pieter Bruegels d. Ä im Lichte seines Gesamtwerks," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 18 (1982).

³ Sellink in Nadine Orenstein, ed., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (Exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 2001), 296-99. He indicates his intention to pursue an exhibition devoted to the Master in 297, note 10.

⁴ Timothy Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher* (New York: 1977).

⁵ M. Sellink, "Philips Galle (1537-1612): Engraver and Print Publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp" (Doctoral dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1997); Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrik Hondius and the Business of Prints in 17th Century Holland* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1996).

⁶ F. W. H. Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700* (Roosendaal, Netherlands: 1993-).

etchers, engravers as well as some of the most prolific print designers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, offer not only a crucial resource for scholars; they also showcase the importance of printmakers in a way that more traditional studies of *peintres-graveurs* and print designers do not, illuminating the skill, artistry, and creativity involved in every stage of the printmaking process. This study goes further still, arguing that the print publisher plays perhaps the most important part of all in this complex collaborative process.

There has been much recent interest in print imagery on a broader contextual level, with new studies on the use, collection, and value of prints in early-modern Europe. Foremost among these studies is Jan van der Stock's seminal 1998 book on printmaking in Antwerp, which has reshaped the field of print history through its careful analysis of the role and impact of printed materials across the entire social and cultural spectrum.⁷ Together with Parshall and Landau's *The Renaissance Print* (1994), his study offers a paradigm for a much deeper historical and socio-cultural understanding of prints.⁸ I attempt to add to this burgeoning field by analyzing the specific case of the *Small Landscapes* and the print publishers who issued them. Further, the work of Parshall, Griffiths, and Mark McDonald on sixteenth-century print collecting permits me to locate the *Small Landscapes* within the fertile context of Antwerp and European collecting more broadly.⁹

⁷ Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, 15th Century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1998).

⁸ D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven and London: 1994).

⁹ Peter Parshall, "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 42 (1982); Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994); Antony

While this sort of contextualizing historical work has been attempted only rarely in the field of sixteenth-century landscape prints, an animated field of scholarship has grown up around seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting and printmaking. Most recently Levesque, Leeftang, Bakker, and Gibson have offered political, social, economic and cultural readings of landscape prints of the local Dutch terrain.¹⁰ Their work on such a closely allied field of landscape imagery has pointed me toward the equally rich associations to be found in the *Small Landscapes*. However, as a result of this wealth of studies on Dutch landscapes, the *Small Landscapes* have long been swept up into this later context, understood as prescient forerunners to the great flowering of Dutch landscape prints. Without extracting them from this central position in the development of landscape, it is crucial to examine the *Small Landscapes* in their own historical moment.

Recent historical scholarship on Antwerp's economic, political and social structures provides a foundation from which to explore the cultural valences of the *Small Landscapes*. In particular, the analyses by Roland Baetens, Hugo Soly, and Michael Limberger of contemporary land use and property ownership and development in Antwerp shed new light on the urban economies and values that are at stake in the *Small Landscapes*.¹¹ Economic historians dealing with the plight of Antwerp in the wake of the

Griffiths, "The Archaeology of the Print," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500-1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (Andershot: Ashgate, in association with The Burlington Magazine, 2002); Mark McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial," *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1998); Mark P. McDonald, *The print collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488-1539): a Renaissance collector in Seville*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 2004).

¹⁰ See Epilogue, notes 18-21.

¹¹ Roland Baetens, "La 'Villa Rustica', Phénomène italien dans le paysage Brabançon au 16ème siècle," in *Aspetti della Vita Economica Medievale: Atti del Convegno di studi nel X Anniversario della Morte di Federigo Melis, Firenze - Pisa - Prato, 10-14 marzo* (Firenze: 1984); Roland Baetens, "La 'Belezza' et la

Dutch revolt have also convincingly revised the image of Antwerp as a declining and destitute backwater in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, suggesting instead that the city managed to rebound after its collapse in 1585. Though it never achieved its former glory and importance as an international metropolis, by no means did Antwerp remain in utter ruin. The work of J. A. van Houtte, Wilifred Brulez, and Roland Baetens makes clear that the city regained its economic footing around the turn of the century, though its markets were more limited and provincial than they had been formerly.¹² Art historians need only to think of Rubens and his remarkable artistic achievements to be assured that Antwerp also remained an important cultural capital. While Cock's edition of the *Small Landscapes* reached the market at the pinnacle of Antwerp's mercantile and commercial expansion, the later editions of the *Small Landscapes* were issued in the aftermath of war during a period of cautious recovery when new socio-economic and political practices took shape. This historical context is crucial to understanding the changing role of the *Small Landscapes* and, furthermore, to

'Magnificenza': Symboles du Pouvoir de la Villa Rustica dans la Région Anversoise aux temps modernes," in *Nouvelles approches concernant la culture de l'habitat: colloque international, Université d'Anvers, 24-25.10.1989*, ed. Roland Baetens and Bruno Blondé (Brepols: 1989); Hugo Soly, "The 'Betrayal' of the 16th-Century bourgeoisie, a myth? Some considerations of the behavior pattern of the merchants of Antwerp in the 16th century," *Acta Neerlandicae VIII* (1975); Hugo Soly, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16de eeuw: De stedeboekkundige en industriële ondernemingen van Gilbert van Schoonbeke* (Brussels: 1977); and Michael Limberger, "Sixteenth-century Antwerp and its rural surroundings: Social and economic changes in the hinterland of a commercial metropolis (ca.1450-ca.1570)" (Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit Antwerpen, 2000).

¹² J.A. van Houtte, "Onze zeventiende eeuw "ongelukseeuw"?" *Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren* XV, no. 8 (1953); J.A. van Houtte, "Déclin et survivance d'Anvers 1550-1700," in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1962); J. A. van Houtte, *An economic history of the Low Countries 800-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977); W. Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplieden op het einde van de 16de eeuw," *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* XV (1960); W. Brulez, "Anvers de 1585 à 1650," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* LIV (1967); Roland Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart: de diaspora en het handelshuis: de Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17de eeuw*, 2 vols. (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1976); Roland Baetens, "Tussen hoop en vrees," in *Antwerpen: Twaalf eeuwen geschiedenis en cultuur*, ed. Karel Van Isacker and Raymond Van Uytendaele (Antwerp: 1986).

gaining a fuller and more nuanced picture of sixteenth and seventeenth-century attitudes toward the land and its representation.

This study is divided into four chapters, the first of which defines Hieronymus Cock's role in the conceptualization and production of the *Small Landscape* prints. I argue that in conceiving, organizing, editing, and bankrolling the project, it is Hieronymus Cock who takes on the role of author, broadly defined, of the prints. The chapter goes on to place the *Small Landscapes* within Cock's larger output of landscape prints, which he published with great frequency throughout his career. This alone would mark Cock as an innovator in the nascent field of print publishing. However, the unique content and composition of the *Small Landscapes* stand out even in comparison to Cock's other landscape projects, testifying to Cock's artistic and commercial daring. The chapter ends with an analysis of the audiences to whom Cock targeted his prints, based on the dedications and inscriptions found on them, as well as other evidence from contemporary inventories and extant sixteenth-century collections. These sources suggest the range of purchasers to whom the *Small Landscapes* would have been available and of interest.

Chapter Two takes up the *Small Landscapes* in relationship to contemporary land use and property rights. One of the most striking phenomena of mid-sixteenth-century Antwerp is the unbridled popularity of *speelhuizen*, or country houses, among Antwerp's citizens. At the very time that Cock published the *Small Landscapes*, the sophisticated, urban viewers who made up Cock's target audiences were simultaneously investing vast sums of money in properties in the same countryside that the prints represent. The twin pulls of the country for urban dwellers as an ideal locus of relaxation on the one hand and

economic profit on the other help to explain the appeal of the *Small Landscapes*. The prints, touted on their title-pages as having been made “naer dleven” or after the life, offered a visual surrogate for and an ideal embodiment of the aspirations that urban audiences attached to the real landscape. Thus, the *Small Landscapes* both responded to and helped to shape the social economy of the local countryside. While it is clear that few of the city’s propertied citizens were willing or able to give up their urban enterprises for full-time residency in the country, the *Small Landscapes* offered an exemplary model of rural life as a positive and honorable alternative to the urban condition, while simultaneously masking the more worldly or venal attraction of the countryside for urban owners of rural land.

The third chapter investigates the hitherto unexamined later editions of the *Small Landscapes*, published in Antwerp by three successive generations of the Galle dynasty. It begins by reevaluating the cultural role of the *Small Landscapes* at the close of the sixteenth century, when Philips Galle first reissued them. Though urbanites still gravitated toward country properties, they did so for very different reasons than they had half a century earlier. The practical and ideological shifts in attitudes toward rural land affected the visual and cultural functions of the *Small Landscapes* as well, which now served to invoke an older, even old-fashioned, image of the countryside that had been irrevocably destroyed by the intervening years of war. For urbanites who were now leaving the city to assume the mantle of country gentlemen, the *Small Landscapes* held out the promise of a return to the prosperous bounty and peaceful ease that had characterized the local hinterlands for earlier generations.

The chapter goes on to examine the third and fourth editions of the prints, issued by Galle's son and grandson, respectively. Though these editions cannot be dated with any exactness, they too bear witness to the changing attitudes toward the countryside. Joannes Galle's edition, the last to be produced in the family workshop, is especially significant, as the publisher made radical editorial changes to the plates themselves. Large groups of figures, some enjoying typical rustic pleasures, others in startlingly violent clashes, occupy the previously uninhabited spaces of the images. Such substantial reworking of the original plates fundamentally alters the content and tenor of the series. The new narrative dimension of the images shifts the focus from the land itself to the poles of pleasant retreat and violent conflict that occupy the previously unpopulated countryside. The *Small Landscapes*, modified to coincide with the new status of the countryside, no longer present descriptive and convincing views of the local rural terrain, but rather exemplify the dialectical topoi of the *locus amoenus* and *locus terribilis*.¹³

The final chapter turns from the *Small Landscapes* themselves to evaluate the extent to which the prints impacted other artists working in Antwerp around the turn of the seventeenth century. The print publisher Hans van Luyck comes into focus as the producer of a number of new landscape series that echo the form and character of the *Small Landscapes*. Perhaps even more than the Galles, he can be given credit for carrying forth and developing the idiom of the local landscape in the wake of Hieronymus Cock's groundbreaking series. However, it was not only in the medium of print that the *Small Landscapes* left their mark. A number of painters also adopted the vernacular idiom of the prints and used them as compositional models in their paintings.

¹³ Klaus Garber, *Der locus amoenus und der locus terribilis: Bild und Funktion der Natur in den deutschen Schäfer- und Landlebendichtung der 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau, 1974).

Jacob and Abel Grimmer certainly knew and made use of the prints, as is attested by the many painted copies of the prints in Abel's oeuvre. Pieter Brueghel the Younger likewise painted landscapes based directly on the prints. Jan Brueghel the Elder and Joos de Momper, on the other hand, borrowed more indirectly from the prints, as can be seen in their choice of local rustic subjects and their unembellished style of painting. This diffuse influence of the *Small Landscapes* indicates how established the local had become as a category of artistic expression and invention in early seventeenth-century Antwerp.

The study concludes with a short epilogue on the importance of the *Small Landscapes* in the Northern Netherlands. Because he was not able to acquire the original plates from Antwerp, the Amsterdam printmaker and publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher issued a set of copies after the *Small Landscapes* in 1612. Examined in the context of his other landscape prints from the same years, including most importantly his *Plaisante Plaetsen* series of views from around Haarlem, the copied *Small Landscapes* clearly played a central role in setting in motion the development of a specifically Dutch idiom of the local landscape. The seminal importance of the *Small Landscapes* in this context has long been recognized, and this epilogue seeks merely to provide a slightly more nuanced account of the place of the *Small Landscapes* in the North by highlighting Visscher's handling of the original compositions, his intentions in producing the copies, and the variations on the theme that emerge in the other print series that he published. Following the *Small Landscapes* through to their arrival in Holland, we witness the prints emerging once more as a vital artistic and cultural force that helped to give representational form to the countryside and shape the complex attitudes and relationships of their audiences to the local landscape.

Chapter One:

Hieronymus Cock and the Market for Landscape Prints

With the *Small Landscapes*, Hieronymus Cock announced the arrival of a new kind of landscape imagery in printed form. The views present the villages, hamlets, manor houses, fields, and lanes of the immediate local countryside. They are small, spare, and intimate. While apparently so simple and unremarkable, the prints in fact mark a watershed in the depiction of landscape. Whether through aesthetic inclination or sheer entrepreneurship, Cock elevated the local scenery of the countryside to a new level of significance and set in motion a trend that would have long-lasting artistic and cultural implications.

The prints measure 13 x 20 cm (figs. 1.1-1.46). The forty-four separate views were printed two to a page, with the intention that they be cut down to individual sheets.¹ The first series contained eighteen of the images and was followed by a further twenty-six in the second series of 1561.² Cock probably intended the series to be brought

¹ A set of uncut sheets survive in the Gabinet Rycin Grafiki Objec, Muzeum Nordowe in Warsaw. The inventory of Cock's widow, Volcxken Diericx, which was drawn up on March 1, 1601, lists nine copper plates, followed by thirteen more, all described as "boerenhuyskens" or farm houses. If these are indeed the plates for the *Small Landscapes*, these listings corroborate that each plate contained two images that had not yet been cut apart. After they had passed into the possession of the Galle family, they were in fact cut; Theodoor Galle's inventory of 1636 lists 49 plates, 44 of which were probably the original *Small Landscape* plates plus the four additional plates which he added to his edition and a new title-page. For Volcxken Diericx's inventory, see Eric Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventatissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 6 vols. (Brussels: 1984), vol. 1, 34; for Theodoor Galle's inventory, see Duverger, vol. 2, 1989, 22. For the prints added to later editions, see Chapter Three below.

² Following Bastelaer, it has long been accepted that the first series consisted of fourteen prints and that the second was much larger, containing the remaining thirty prints. I believe that Bastelaer must have based these conclusions on an early nineteenth-century album that is now housed in the Koninklijke Prentenkabinet, Brussels, in which the prints are divided by the 1559 and 1561 title-pages into two groups, arranged in precisely the same order that Bastelaer would later designate as the earlier and later series. However, this is an extraordinarily late compilation of these prints into an album that I do not think should be trusted as a reflection of the original series. In the sixteenth-century royal print collections now in Vienna and El Escorial, the two series are mounted in groupings very different from Bastelaer's. It is my contention that the Ambras albums in Vienna (inv. nos. 6638 and 6641) more accurately reflects the

together and mounted in albums as two parts of a single project. He may have sold them that way or left them more loosely bundled to allow his buyers to mount them in their own collections.³ Cock commissioned the brothers Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum to etch the plates. They employed their signature technique for the task, reinforcing their etched lines with engraved ones, with the result that the prints are delicately and subtly drawn at the same time that they appear solidly modeled and deeply shaded.⁴

grouping of the two series. In album 6638, twenty-one prints follow the 1559 title-page and twenty-three follow the 1561 title-page. I suspect that the last three prints following the 1559 title-page actually belong to the second series of 1561. The eighteen *Small Landscape* prints in the 6641 album would then perfectly correspond with the prints in the 1559 group in the 6638 album. The collection in El Escorial varies slightly from these groupings, but overlaps in the main with its divisions. The particular group of prints that Claes Visscher copied for his own edition of the *Small Landscapes* in 1612 provides further evidence for this division of the prints. All but one of the twenty-four images that he copied from the *Small Landscapes* overlap with the second series in Ambras album 6638. Visscher, forced to copy the prints because he was unable to acquire the original plates for the series, was therefore probably working only from the 1561 series, and perhaps an intermediate copy for the twenty-fourth print, which is a strikingly modified version of an original print from the 1559 series. Manfred Sellink's suggestion that the series were made up of eighteen and twenty-three prints, based on the two listings of nine and thirteen plates respectively in Volcxken's inventory of 1601 (see note 1 above), corroborates my analysis. For a complete discussion of these groupings, see Appendix I. For van Bastelaer's original classifications, see René van Bastelaer, *Les Estampes de Peter Bruegel l'Ancien* (Brussels: G. van Oest & Co., 1908); on the Vienna collections, see Peter Parshall, "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 42 (1982); for the Escorial collection, Mark McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial," *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1998); and for the evidence from Diericx's inventory, see Sellink in Nadine Orenstein, ed., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (Exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 2001), 299, note 9.

³ Griffiths states that albums were the primary method used to store print collections and describes the various ways in which prints were bound and stored in them. See Antony Griffiths, "The Archaeology of the Print," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500-1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (Andershot: Ashgate, in association with The Burlington Magazine, 2002). In Plantin's records of books sent to his colleague Martin le Jeune for sale in Paris, Delen discovered several references to "livres de fermes" and "dorphyus boecken". This archival information will be discussed at greater length below, but it is worth noting here that the *Small Landscapes* are described as books, which suggests that they might have been bound into albums already before being sold. See A. J. J. Delen, "Christoffel Plantin als prentenhadelaar," *Gulden Passer* 10 (1932).

⁴ Though Ludwig Münz connects the *Small Landscapes* with the van Doetecum brothers, it was Konrad Oberhuber who first provided a detailed stylistic analysis of the brothers' work that allowed him to connect them to the majority of Cock's landscape projects. He bases his argument on the connections between the etching style of Cock's *Funeral Procession of Charles V* (1559), the only undertaking in which Cock directly names the van Doetecums as etchers, and the many other landscape series that Cock published, none of which are signed by the etchers or in any other way directly attributed to them. As a result of his findings, the van Doetecum brothers have emerged as the primary landscape printmakers in Cock's employ. Oberhuber also discusses their distinctive combination of etching and engraving, which allows for painterly lines while offering a greater strength and precision than is typical of etching alone. He quotes

The views are wholly focused on the countryside landscape around Antwerp. These are typical country settings, as, for instance, an inn in the center of a small village, a pond with a flock of sheep on its shores, or a rough dirt road leading past pastures of livestock toward barns and cottages. Most of the scenes are entirely rustic – only one image, which represents the *Roode Poort*, or Red Gate of Antwerp, approaches a more urban locale (fig. 1.28). The country settings range from isolated, dilapidated barns and cottages to more extensive and well-maintained agricultural domains, busy village centers, and even a couple of rather grand country estates. The scenes are often populated by figures walking along the roads and paths, while others ride along on horseback. Many of these people appear to be fairly well-to-do, perhaps urban dwellers out on a weekend stroll or travelers on business. Other prints focus more on the humble peasants that live on the land tending the livestock and fields, or show village pastimes like the simple pleasures of a flagon of beer at a country inn or an archery contest. In short, the *Small Landscapes* provide a compendium of typical rustic sites and activities outside Antwerp's urban ramparts and the many people that one would have encountered there.

What is so striking about these images is their utter lack of monumentality. One does not overlook vast expanses of the earth or enter into a rolling, animated terrain. Rather, these unprepossessing village scenes lie quietly centered in the middle of simple compositions, bounded by the surrounding trees and shrubs that block the vista into the

Mathias Quad's description of their technique. Quad praises their unique style, stating that connoisseurs had often mistaken their etchings for engravings because of their purity and fineness. See Ludwig Münz, *Bruegel: The Drawings* (London: 1961); and Konrad Oberhuber, *Die Kunst der Graphik IV: Zwischen Renaissance und Barock: Das Zeitalter von Bruegel und Bellange* (Exh.cat., Albertina, Vienna: 1968), 39-50, 114-122.

deeper space of the background. As a result, our eye remains resolutely focused on the immediate environment. In many of the prints, a path or road leads from the foreground into the middle of the scene, directing our gaze into the middleground and allowing us to enter and traverse the terrain of the countryside, but there is little or no opportunity to move beyond this middle distance. The space of the scenes is limited by the low horizon line and perspective from which the views are drawn. The sky, which is left blank except for a few long hatchings toward the top of some of the prints, emphasizes the flatness of the picture surface and discourages any suggestion of spatial depth beyond the central band of buildings and trees.⁵ As a result, the structures seem rooted to the flat surface of the earth and the viewer's eye is unable to rise above or pass beyond the barns and houses that dominate the center of the compositions.

The human figures included in the views always remain secondary staffage to the landscapes that encompass them.⁶ They are conspicuously small in proportion to their surroundings and they never themselves become the central protagonists in the scenes. Indeed, there is a striking absence of any unified event or significant human action in the prints. These are not heroic peasants at work as Bruegel would later depict them (fig. 1.47, 1.48) and their activities do not relate to mythological or biblical stories, as was common in other landscape prints. Rather, the figures exist in tandem with the country environment and as part of its quotidian rhythms, and are intended compositionally and iconographically to draw our attention into the modest scenes. They become surrogates

⁵ As with other elements in the prints to be discussed below, the hatchings in the sky were probably added to the original compositions by the editor. It was typical of Cock's landscape prints to include such conventional treatments of the sky, and it is likely that Cock himself made this editorial alteration to the original designs for these views. Close scrutiny reveals that these areas are far less delicately and sensitively rendered than other areas of the prints.

⁶ Cock's involvement in adding the staffage to these prints will be dealt with at length below.

inside the pictures for our own engagement with the landscape and its views. Through them, we too can follow the roads through the villages and past the manor houses of the countryside.

As one leafs through the pages of the series, the individual scenes often do not seem significant in their own right. Rather, they take on coherence within the context of the series as a whole, in which the reiteration of similar views produces a feeling of recognition and easy familiarity. No two barns or houses are identical and yet their similarities in type and arrangement create relationships among individual prints and consistent patterns across the two series as a whole. The series invoke an implicit cycle, as though one were traveling along a road through a circuit of villages, each with similar scenery and the same sorts of buildings and activities.

The views also often include seemingly insignificant and casual details. For example, in more than one of the prints, a few felled logs lie scattered on the side of the road (fig. 1.35). In another, a shutter has fallen loose from its hinge and hangs askew from a barn window (fig. 1.45). Often a few chickens peck at the ground in front of a barn or a couple of barrels lie haphazardly around the center of a village (figs. 1.18, 1.27). Along with the repetition of similar typological elements, these details serve to convince the viewer of the veracity of the images. They offer a kind of proof that the prints record the actual appearance of the countryside, down to the most ordinary details. In fact, the publisher made a particular point of stating on the title pages of both the first and second series that the views were drawn in the countryside surrounding Antwerp “naer ‘dleven” in Dutch or “ad vivum” in Latin (figs. 1.1, 1.20).⁷ However, the term

⁷ The text on the title-page of the first series, significantly given in both Latin and Dutch, states that the views were “al te samen gheconterfeyt naer dleven, eende meest rontom Antwerpen gheleghen sijnde.” that

'naer het leven,' or 'from life,' did not bear quite the same implications in the sixteenth century as we might assume it does today; rather than implying that an image directly and accurately reflects a living model or real view, David Freedberg has convincingly argued that a better interpretation of the term is 'in a lifelike manner' or 'as if drawn from life.'⁸

The claim that the *Small Landscapes* were plausible records of reality is essential to their effect and meaning. However, apart from the identification of the *Roode Poort* and suggested identifications of the two grandest manor houses in the series, the specific locations that the prints represent have not been and indeed cannot be determined.⁹ In

is, 'all portrayed from life, and mostly from around Antwerp' The second series of 1561 is also said to be "ad vivum", or from life, though it does not specify the region from which they were drawn as the first series does.

⁸ See David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: 1980), 10-11. For further elucidation of the 'naer het leven' issue, see also Peter Parshall, "Imago Contrafacto: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16, no. 4 (1993), 554-579; Lucia Nuti, "The perspective plan in the sixteenth century: the invention of a representational language," *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994), 108, esp. note 18; and Claudia Swan, "Ad vivum, naer het leven, from the life: Defining a Mode of Representation," *Word and Image* 11 (1995). Walter Gibson has also drawn my attention to two series of woodcuts by Bernard Salomon, representing figures and scenes from the Old and New Testaments. The titles of these two series, published together in 1557 in Lyons with Dutch texts by G. Borluyt, claim that the woodcuts were made "naer tlevene," which, given the subject matter, must be interpreted to mean 'in a lively manner' rather than anything like 'from life.' See catalogue entry of this publication in *Antiquariaat Forum: Short Title List with recent acquisitions and a selection from our stock: XVe Foire Internationale du Livre Ancien Paris, May 22-25 2003*, 2003, n. 8.

⁹ The print of the Roode Poort of Antwerp has been identified based on, among other sources, a drawing in the Antwerp Sketchbook in Berlin, which shows this gate with the city of Antwerp behind it (inv. No. 79 C 2, fol. 46 verso). The view is drawn not from within the city, but rather from outside in the surrounding countryside, just as it is in the *Small Landscape* print. The two large manor houses in the series have been identified as the castle Ter Meeren in Sterrebeek (fig. 1.17) and the castle Vordenstein in the neighborhood of Schoten (fig. 1.42), both outside of Antwerp. See Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, "Joos van Liere," in *Pieter Bruegel und Seine Welt*, ed. Otto von Simpson and Matthias Winner (1979) for evidence for the first of these two identifications, and Stefaan Hautekeete, "Van Stad en Land: Het beeld van Brabant in de vroege topografische tekenkunst," in *Met passer en penseel: Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels: Dexia, 2000), note 56 on the second identification. In his efforts to secure Cornelis Cort as the inventor of the *Small Landscapes*, Bierens de Haan argued that Vordenstein is actually a view of the Castle Oud-Alkemade near Warmond, on the road from Haarlem to Leyden, which Cort might have passed on his travels from Holland to Antwerp. He bases this identification on the work of Jhr. Beelaerts van Blokland (see J. Beelaerts van Blokland, "Varia Topographica," *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek: Vierde Serie van het Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond* 5, no. 1 (1936), 21-22, and esp. plate III). Gibson accepts this latter identification in Walter Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkeley: 2000).

fact, to the contemporary viewer, it must not have been the commemoration of particular villages or country landmarks that made the series so appealing. Their degree of topographical verisimilitude and faithfulness to actual locations is secondary to their plausibility and their truth to the experience of the countryside in a more general or conventional sense. The close attention to haphazard details and the repetition of consistent types of structures and compositions throughout the series are intended not to distinguish specific places so much as to reinforce the credibility of the illusion of reality of the series as a whole.¹⁰ Rather than serve as records of exact sites, the views draw upon particular topographically accurate details in order to offer genuine and convincing images that evoke the Brabantine countryside in its essence.

In all of these respects, the *Small Landscapes* are unique in the field of landscape prints in the mid-sixteenth century. Cock's publication of the prints was indeed unprecedented. Though by 1559 Cock was a well-established print publisher with a reputation for issuing landscape series, the *Small Landscapes* stand out so distinctly from the rest of his output and indeed from the graphic representation of landscape in the North in general. This chapter will take up the question of Cock's role in the formulation of the *Small Landscapes*, arguing that he must be credited as the creative force governing their conception and appearance on the print market. It was Cock's commercial initiative that made them possible. His willingness to experiment with innovative subject matter

¹⁰ In a related manner, Peter Parshall has argued that Cock's failure to credit the designer of the prints on the series' title-pages was a deliberate attempt to heighten the impression of the pictorial facticity of the series by eliminating the suggestion that the images were the product of an artist's invention. By reducing the suggestion of artistry in his presentation of the series, Cock seeks to imbue the images with an independent status as records of observed truth, where the emphasis rests not on the artist who does the recording but on the record itself. See Parshall 1993, especially 570-73. In fact, it was quite usual for Cock to leave off the name of a print's designer and printmaker; indeed it was more common for him to omit this information than to include it, and he does include it only in those cases when the name of the artist might prove commercially valuable.

and compositional types in the *Small Landscapes* sparked what would turn out to be a striking new direction in the genre of landscape in the medium of print.

However, the *Small Landscapes* did not emerge from a vacuum. Though an exhaustive treatment of the Netherlandish landscape tradition lies outside the scope of this dissertation, there are important precedents to these series that require consideration. Extant sketchbooks provide one key source for the sort of imagery that the *Small Landscapes* took up and imported into prints. Furthermore, there are intimations within Cock's other landscape projects of what was to emerge in the *Small Landscapes*, most notably in the many landscape prints after designs by Bruegel. Surveying this material will clarify both their indebtedness to and distinctiveness from the rest of Cock's landscape projects and will help to make sense of their place within his oeuvre as a publisher. Without a contextual placement of this unique series, it would be impossible to discern the commercial interest that Cock predicted for the *Small Landscapes* among nascent circles of print collectors. This placement of the prints will begin to explain the significance of the prints in the socio-cultural milieu of mid-century Antwerp.

Hieronymus Cock's Role in the *Small Landscapes*

Hieronymus Cock, son of the painter Jan Wellens de Cock and Clara van Beeringen, was born in Antwerp in 1518 (fig. 1.49).¹¹ Having probably trained in his

¹¹ The date of Cock's birth has been variously reported as early as 1507 and as late as the 1520s. Jan van der Stock has uncovered documentary evidence which supports a birth date of 1518. The document, dated July 31, 1568, attests that the then 50-year-old Cock acted as a witness to Gerard de Jode's purchase of a house on the St. Catelijnevest near the Beurs in Antwerp. See Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, 15th Century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1998), 145, note 17. It is worth noting that this document refers to Cock as a merchant rather than as an artist, printmaker, or even publisher. Van Mander provides a brief, rather uncomplimentary account of Cock's life, in which he states "I have not much to tell about his [Matthys'] brother Jeronimus Kock, for he abandoned the art and devoted himself to dealing in it... Thus Jeroon became rich and bought

father's workshop and later with his brother Matthys, he entered the Guild of Saint Luke as a painter and master's son in 1546, and also became a member of *De Violieren*, the chamber of rhetoric to which many artists in Antwerp belonged.¹² After a trip to Italy around 1546 to 1548, Cock set up shop as a print publisher in Antwerp.¹³ He issued his first publication in 1548, a series of ornamental designs by Cornelis Floris engraved by Balthasar Bos. This may have been an exceptional production before he had fully established his printing operations, since he did not publish anything else until 1550.¹⁴ By the time he died in 1570, however, over 1,100 prints bearing his imprint or that of his publishing house *Aux Quatre Vents* had reached the market.¹⁵ Though he began his

one house after another." See Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. Hessel Miedema, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: 1994), vol. 1, 186-87, with commentary in vol. 3, 240-45.

¹² There was significant overlap in membership between the Guild of Saint Luke and *De Violieren*. In his description of the city of Antwerp, Guicciardini suggests that the two were almost identical, though guild records indicate that there was also a large number of non-artists among the ranks of *De Violieren*. See Walter Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers* in the Age of Bruegel," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 431, esp. note 38. Cock's affiliation with *De Violieren* is suggested by van Mander, who refers to him as a rhetorician. Cock was also included among a list of the artists involved in the 1561 *landjuweel* in Antwerp, as published by van Even. Cornelis Floris' epitaph design for Cock also features the device of *De Violieren*. Cock's invention of a rebus and several rhyming poems punning on his own name and that of his wife suggest how deep his involvement in rhetoricians' culture was. See E. van Even, *Het Landjuweel van Antwerpen in 1561* (Leuven: 1861), 58.

¹³ His trip to Italy is confirmed primarily by the drawings that he made of ancient ruins in Rome, which later served as the basis for one of his early print series to be discussed in greater detail below. For his entry into the guild, see Ph. and Th. van Leuius Rombouts, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der antwerpsche Sint Lucasgild*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: 1864), vol. 1, 156.

¹⁴ Van den Branden explains this gap by arguing that in the intervening years Cock was busily employed preparing the decorations for the triumphal entries of Charles V and Philip II into Antwerp in 1549, citing payments made by the city of Antwerp to Cock. See F. J. van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool* (Antwerp: 1883), 157.

¹⁵ Cock's date of death is more certain than his birth date. Van Mander notes that he died in 1570. However, funerary records indicate that he died on October 3, while an epitaph design for his tomb, drawn by Cornelis Floris in 1575 and currently in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, gives the day of his death as November 20 instead. This epitaph, presumably intended to mark his grave the St. Pauluskerk in Antwerp, was never executed and Floris was likely simply mistaken about the exact date of Cock's death. See Ph. and Th. van Leuius Rombouts, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der antwerpsche Sint Lucasgild*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: 1864), vol. 1, 156, note 3; P. Génard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Province d'Anvers* (Antwerp: 1871), vol. 5, 114 and vol. VI, 240; A. J. J. Delen, "Un dessin de

career as a painter, draftsman, and etcher, other business concerns soon dominated his time.¹⁶ In addition to his printing activities, Van Mander describes him as a commissioner and dealer in paintings and Jan van der Stock has found documents that refer to him as a merchant.¹⁷ Despite these other activities, Cock maintained close control of his printing operations until shortly before his death, when his widow Volcxken Diericx took over the shop.¹⁸

As with so many of his productions, Cock played a crucial and determining role in the publication of the *Small Landscape* prints. Previously, art historians have been primarily concerned with attempting to determine the authorship of the several preparatory drawings that have come to light. As a consequence, the specific nature and importance of the *Small Landscapes* as *prints* and the extent of Cock's part in their production have been overlooked. A fuller investigation of Cock's role in their production will help to refocus our attention more appropriately onto the publisher

Corneille Floris." *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire d'art* II (1932), 322-324; and Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, "Drawings for Architecture and Tomb Sculpture by Cornelis Floris," *Master Drawings* 30, no. 2 (1992), particularly 189-90.

¹⁶ There are no known surviving paintings attributed to Hieronymus Cock, though he did often follow his name with 'pictor' or 'schilder' on the title-pages of many of his publications, even late into his career, including series after Vredeman de Vries dated 1560 and 1562 and after Jacob Floris dated 1567. See Riggs 1977, 28, note 15.

¹⁷ See note 11 above. Walter Gibson has also discussed a particular incident of Cock's role as a dealer: around 1555, he supplied his brother Mattys' pupil Willem van Santvoort with a group of painting which Santvoort then took to Venice to sell. For further detail on this incident and additional bibliography, see Walter Gibson, *"Mirror of the Earth": The World Landscape in 16th-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: 1989), 38. For further biographical information on Cock, see Manfred Sellink's concise entry in Andreas Klimt and Michael Steppes, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon bio-bibliographischer Index A-Z* (München: K.G. Saur, 1999-), vol. 20, 69-70.

¹⁸ Guild records indicate that Diericx paid dues in 1588-89. After Cock's death, she remarried a man named Lambert Bottin. At the time of her death in 1600, she still possessed an enormous collection of prints and plates, about which more below at the end of this chapter and in Chapter Three. See Ph. and Th. van Leuius Rombouts, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der antwerpsche Sint Lucasgild*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: 1864), vol. 1, 337.

himself and will elucidate the important place that the *Small Landscapes* hold in Cock's development of landscape as a noteworthy genre in the graphic arts.

The problem of the authorship of the designs is nonetheless a significant one. There are twenty-six drawings that have been associated with the Master of the Small Landscapes, thirteen of which were used as models for the prints and thirteen others which, though not used for the prints, have been connected to the group on compositional and stylistic grounds (figs. 1.50-1.77).¹⁹ None of the drawings is either signed or dated and there are no known contemporary records that discuss the *Small Landscapes*. As a result of this documentary void, an enormous variety of sixteenth-century artists has been proposed as the master responsible for these drawings; Pieter Bruegel,²⁰ Cornelis Cort,²¹

¹⁹ Hans Mielke, "Meister der Kleinen Landschaften," in *Pieter Bruegel die Ältere als Zeichner: Herkunft und Nachfolger*, ed. Matthias Winner et. al. (Exh. cat., Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin: 1975), 139-144; H. J. Nalis, "Introduction," in *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700, Volume 5: The Van Doetecum Family* (Roosendaal, Netherlands: Sound and Vision, 1993), 94-135. This does not include the badly damaged drawing signed by Joos van Liere that Begemann uses as the key to connect the *Small Landscapes* with this artist. For this and other additional drawings, see Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, "Joos van Liere," in *Pieter Bruegel und Seine Welt*, ed. Otto von Simpson and Matthias Winner (1979). Both Begemann and Mielke reject the drawing now in Cleveland that was first given to the Master of the Small Landscapes by Reinhart Liess as the preparatory design for NHD 126. See R. Liess, "Die kleine Landschaften Pieter Bruegels d. Ä im Lichte seines Gesamtwerks," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 15/16 (1979-1980), R. Liess, "Die kleine Landschaften Pieter Bruegels d. Ä im Lichte seines Gesamtwerks," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 17 (1981), R. Liess, "Die kleine Landschaften Pieter Bruegels d. Ä im Lichte seines Gesamtwerks," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 18 (1982). After having inspected the drawing myself, it does indeed seem to be by a different hand than any of the other drawings attributed to the Master of the Small Landscapes and appears to be more in the style of Roelant Savery's later soft, tightly controlled drawings. However, because it is so close to the print and includes certain details that the print omits, it is possible that it is simply evidence of another hand involved in the original designs. For further discussion of the drawings and the possibility that several hands were responsible for the original designs, see below.

²⁰ Claes Visscher was the first to attribute the designs to Pieter Bruegel when he issued a series of copies after the *Small Landscapes* in Amsterdam in 1612. It is far less likely that he actually believed that the prints were based on designs by the great master than that he simply wished to take commercial advantage of Bruegel's name. See Epilogue for further analysis of this problem. In the secondary scholarship dedicated to this debate, Bastelaer was the first to attribute the *Small Landscapes* to Bruegel. He was followed in his opinion by Romdahl and Friedländer. More recently, Liess has attempted to attribute some of the drawings to Bruegel, while giving others to a secondary artist whom he identifies as Cornelis Cort. See René van Bastelaer, *Les Estampes de Peter Bruegel l'Ancien* (Brussels: G. van Oest & Co., 1908); Max Friedländer, *Pieter Bruegel* (1921); A.L. Romdahl, "Pieter Bruegel d. Ä und sein Kunstschaffen," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 25 (1904/05); and Liess 1979-82.

Matthys Cock,²² an artist in the circle of Cornelis Massys,²³ Hieronymus Cock himself,²⁴ Hans Bol,²⁵ Cornelis van Dalem,²⁶ and the otherwise little-known Joos van Liere²⁷ have

²¹ The title-page of the 1601 edition of the *Small Landscapes* is the first to connect the print designs to Cornelis Cort. The suggestion has been taken up by Ludwig Burchard, "Cornelis Cort," in *Thieme-Becker* (1912), 475; and Ludwig van Baldass, "Die niederländische Landschaftsmalerei von Patinir bis Bruegel," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 34 (1917/1918), 154. Bierens de Haan accepts this attribution in his 1948 monograph on Cort, despite the fact that Cort was never known as a landscape artist and never functioned in that capacity for Cock. In fact, he worked for Cock solely as an engraver, not as a designer. He engraved prints almost exclusively in a monumental and Italianizing style after designs by artists like Andrea del Sarto, Frans Floris, and Maarten van Heemskerck. Nonetheless, Manfred Sellink continues to champion this suggestion, which he plans to explore further in an exhibition dedicated to the *Small Landscapes*, as yet unscheduled. See J. C. J. Bierens de Haan, *L'Oeuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort, graveur hollandais, 1533-1578* (The Hague: 1948), 216-222; Sellink in Nadine Orenstein, ed., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (Exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 2001), 289-299, especially 297. For further comment on the attribution to Cort, see Chapter Three.

²² Based on a drawing in the Frits Lugt collection in Paris (cat. No. 52) which he attributes to Matthys Cock, Karel Boon first suggested that Matthys was the author of a total of five drawings used for the *Small Landscapes* series (the four other putative drawings have been lost). The Matthys Cock drawing in the Lugt collection is loosely connected to one of the prints in the series (NHD 144), for which there is a closer preparatory sketch in Berlin (KdZ inv. no. 14039). See K. G. Boon, *L'Epoque de Lucas de Leyde et Pierre Bruegel: Dessins des Anciens Pays-Bays, Collection Frits Lugt Instituut Neerlandais, Paris* (Paris: 1981), 73-75. Mielke criticized Boon's position, arguing that through his detailed stylistic analysis, Boon lost track of the larger artistic context. Mielke points to the many fantastic landscapes that Matthys Cock produced for the *Biblical and Mythological Landscapes* series (1558) as more indicative of Matthys' style. Though he did not give up his attribution of the Lugt drawing to Matthys, Boon later tempered his judgment about the *Small Landscapes*, partially accepting Begemann's hypothesis of Joos van Liere as the draftsman responsible for many of the designs, but making a point not to rule out the possibility of Cort's involvement. He proposes that there were probably many draftsmen responsible for making preparatory drawings for the prints from loose sketches like the Matthys Cock drawing in the Lugt collection. See Hans Mielke, "Netherlandish drawings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries [Review of a monograph]," *Simiolus* 11, no. 1 (1980); and K. G. Boon, *The Netherlandish and German Drawings of the XV and XVIth centuries of the Frits Lugt Collection*, 3 vols. (Paris: 1992), xxii-xxiii and 87-91.

²³ Though de Tolnay admits that the author of the series cannot be definitely determined, he does suggest that the *Small Landscape* drawings follow in the direction of Cornelis Massys' style, as exemplified in his drawings dated 1540 in Brussels and 1541 in Berlin. See Charles De Tolnay, *The Drawings of Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (New York: 1952), 89-90.

²⁴ Ludwig Münz, *Bruegel: The Drawings* (London: 1961), 17. He bases this attribution on the style of the staffage and the foliage in the drawings, both of which were probably added in whole or in part by Hieronymus Cock himself. However, these are editorial additions to the original drawings and do not shed any light on the primary draftsman responsible for them.

²⁵ A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists in the British Museum*, vol. 5 (1932), 143. Popham bases his attribution on the figure types that he sees in two of the Chatsworth drawings (inv. no. 842a and 842b). The drawings that he cites were in fact entirely executed by a single hand, though in two different inks.

all been considered.²⁸ While some of these suggestions are more plausible than others, there is another possibility regarding the corpus of *Small Landscape* drawings that must be considered, namely that the designs for the *Small Landscapes* were executed by a number of different artists.²⁹ I believe that the drawings are probably the result of the work of several artists working in and around Antwerp in the 1540s or 1550s. These

²⁶ Otto Benesch, "Besprechung von Ch. de Tolnay, *The Drawings of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 1952*," *Kunstchronik* 26 (1953).

²⁷ The connection between the *Small Landscape* drawings and the little known artist Joos van Liere was first forwarded by Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, "Joos van Liere," in *Pieter Bruegel und Seine Welt*, ed. Otto von Simpson and Matthias Winner (1979). This argument, based on the formal connections between a signed drawing by Joos van Liere in Vienna, another drawing attributed to van Liere in Amsterdam and the drawings in the *Small Landscape* group, has failed to convince many art historians. As shall be argued below, I believe that the drawings cannot be the work of a single hand, since they differ so extremely from one another in style and execution.

²⁸ Oberhuber, Franz, Spickernagel, and Riggs refrain from attributing the designs to a particular artist and instead designate them simply as the work of the anonymous Master of the Small Landscapes. This approach has been followed by Nalis. Konrad Oberhuber, *Die Kunst der Graphik IV: Zwischen Renaissance und Barock: Das Zeitalter von Bruegel und Bellange* (Exh.cat., Albertina, Vienna: 1968), 43-45; Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei im Zeitalter des Manierismus*, 2 vols. (Graz: 1969), 216-221; E. Spickernagel, "Die Descendenz der 'kleine Landschaften': Studien zur entwicklung einer Form des Niederländischen Landschaftsbildes vor Pieter Bruegel." (Doctoral dissertation, Westfälischen-Wilhelms-Universität, 1972) and E. Spickernagel, "Holländische Dorflandschaften im frühen 17. Jahrhundert," *Städel-Jahrbuch* N.F. 7 (1979); Riggs 1977, 252-254; and H. J. Nalis, "Introduction," in *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700, Volume 5: The Van Doetecum Family* (Roosendaal, Netherlands: Sound and Vision, 1993), 94. Franz has highlighted Hieronymus Cock's influence on the young draftsman whom he argues Cock explicitly commissioned and directed in the execution of the preparatory sketches, both in a formal and stylistic manner. While I do not agree with Franz that Cock commissioned a single young artist for this project or that Cock himself was the printmaker, Franz' emphasis on Cock's role in the project is perhaps the closest to my own in the secondary literature to date.

²⁹ The suggestion that the *Small Landscape* drawings might have been the work of more than one artist has been forwarded by Liess in his series of articles dedicated to the *Small Landscapes*. He has identified the primary artist as Pieter Bruegel the Elder and the secondary one as Cornelis Cort. Though he may have been mistaken in his attributions, I believe that he was right to attempt to discern different stylistic groups within the larger umbrella category of the *Small Landscapes*. See Liess 1979-82. Mielke also believed that more than one hand was involved in the drawings, though he stops short of attributing the staffage additions to Cock himself and attributes them to an editor in Cock's workshop. Hans Mielke, "Meister der Kleinen Landschaften," in *Pieter Bruegel die Alter als Zeichner: Herkunft und Nachfolger*, ed. Matthias Winner et. al. (Exh. cat., Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin: 1975), 139-140. After Liess' publications, Mielke generally adopts his categories of drawings, though not his attributions. Hans Mielke, *Pieter Bruegel: Die Zeichnungen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 85-88. Most recently, Manfred Sellink has acknowledged that the uneven quality of the individual sheets indicates that they may be the work of more than one artist, but states that no consensus has been reached as to which drawings were the work of which artists. See Sellink in Nadine Orenstein, ed., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (Exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 2001), 297.

artists produced drawings in sketchbooks based on direct observations that they later worked into more composed designs in the studio.³⁰ The general consistency in the size of the drawings, almost all of which measure around 13 by 20 cm, that is, the same size as the prints themselves, is probably the result of the fact that they were drawn on the regularly sized sheets of a bound sketchbook. Such sketchbooks were in fact common in artists' workshops, providing models for use in larger compositions, primarily paintings. Landscapes like those in the *Small Landscape* drawings could serve as guides for the backgrounds of painted compositions, lending them both naturalistic detail and compositional variety.³¹

Two surviving examples of such sketchbooks are the so-called Antwerp Sketchbook, now in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett,³² and the Errera Sketchbook, now in the Brussels Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunste (figs. 1.78-1.89).³³ Both originated in Antwerp workshops and have been dated between the 1520s and the 1540s.³⁴ Though both sketchbooks include large numbers of imaginary and fantastic

³⁰ Both Mielke and Riggs have reasoned that the *Small Landscape* drawings might have originated in sketchbooks. See Mielke 1975, 142 and Riggs 1977, 254.

³¹ A composition in the Errera sketchbook shows up in two paintings ascribed to the circle of Herri met de Bles. We can only assume that this was a far more common practice than the surviving evidence might suggest, since so many of the paintings of the time, particularly those cheaper compositions that were mass produced for the open market and probably relied most heavily on sketchbook models, do not survive. Even more rare are the sketches and cartoons that were employed in these workshops. See Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, "Joos van Liere," in *Pieter Bruegel und Seine Welt*, ed. Otto von Simpson and Matthias Winner (1979), 23, note 24; and Walter Gibson, *"Mirror of the Earth": The World Landscape in 16th-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: 1989), 32, for the relationship of the Errera Sketchbook to the two paintings.

³² Inventory no. 79 C 2.

³³ Inventory no. 4630.

³⁴ The dimensions of the Errera Sketchbook (13.5 x 21 cm) are very similar to those of the individual *Small Landscape* drawings, further supporting the idea that the *Small Landscapes* were part of a standard-sized sketchbook. For the dating of the Errera Sketchbook, see Burton Dunbar, "Some Observations on the Errera Sketchbook in Brussels," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 21 (1972). For

scenes in keeping with the world landscape tradition of early sixteenth century, they also contain a select number of drawings of more naturalistic views that appear to have been done from life. The Antwerp Sketchbook includes a large number of drawings representing its namesake city and the surrounding countryside in images that were clearly based on direct observation. Both the Antwerp Sketchbook and the Errera Sketchbook also include a number of purely rural scenes depicting farmsteads, manor houses, and humble cottages in a gentle, rolling terrain. Though even these compositions often resemble the more vast and panoramic views in the world landscape tradition, they approach the local countryside with a directness and an eye for characteristic features that we also find in the *Small Landscape* drawings. What these examples demonstrate most fundamentally, however, is that drawing the local countryside was an established practice in the early decades of the sixteenth century. The sketchbooks and the *Small Landscape* drawings, though quite distinct formally, are nonetheless linked in the scope of their content and the manner of their observations.

I believe that the *Small Landscape* designs probably originated within this context and were not necessarily conceived as preparatory designs for prints. Unlike Bruegel, who took great pains to draw highly legible preparatory sketches for engravers and etchers that would transfer well both in their details and in their larger compositions, the *Small Landscape* drawings seem to take no account of these sorts of considerations, providing very few clear suggestions of shading or modeling that could help the

further discussion of the attribution of the Errera Sketchbook, see also E. de Callatay, "Cornelis Massys: paysagiste, collaborateur de son père et de son frère et auteur de l'album Errera," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* XIV (1965). For the Antwerp Sketchbook, see Holm Bevers, "The Antwerp Sketchbook of the Bles Workshop in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett," in *Herri met de Bles: Studies and Explorations of the World Landscape Tradition*, ed. Norman E. Muller, Betsy J. Rosasco, and James H. Marrow (Turnhout, Belgium and Princeton, N.J.: Brepols and Princeton University Art Museum, 1998), 39-50.

printmakers to reproduce spatial relationships convincingly. The ink work in many of the drawings is very sparing and light, with a number of minute details and overlapping forms that do not lend themselves to being transferred into the harder, more definite lines of a print. As a result, a comparison between a preparatory drawing and the resultant print shows how the print loses much of the subtlety and softness of the drawing and simplifies many of the details in favor of clearer compositional arrangements. This is not in itself surprising – these shifts are to be expected in the transfer in medium – but the distinction between the drawings and prints in the *Small Landscapes* is particularly striking, perhaps the result as much of the van Doetecums' stark etching technique as of the light suppleness of the drawings.

If the *Small Landscape* drawings were not originally commissioned and designed as preparatory sketches, it fell then to Hieronymus Cock to assemble them, perhaps from a variety of sources and sketchbooks, into a coherent group suitable for printing.³⁵ Indeed, it is this fundamental transition from drawing to print which is most significant. There was, in other words, an established practice of *drawing* the local terrain and humble rural subjects; what makes Cock's project so pivotal is his decision to move these images out of the sketchbooks of the artist's studio and to market them as prints. In so doing, he elevated such local landscape imagery from a strictly preparatory, secondary status to a central role as the main focus of printed works of art.

³⁵ It is possible that Cock purchased a sketchbook much like the Antwerp or Errera Sketchbook, from which he was able to choose the designs that he felt would work together best as a series. This must remain an entirely speculative idea, since there is no documentary evidence that might furnish us with any proof. It is also possible that even if Cock took the majority of the designs from such a source, he nonetheless commissioned a number of supplementary drawings to complete the sets. The process of his acquisition of the designs will unfortunately have to remain a mystery, but whether he purchased pre-existing sketches or commissioned new designs, I wish to emphasize that it was Cock who was directing this project and making both aesthetic and logistical decisions about how it should be executed.

However, the transition of visual material that traditionally had served a supporting artistic function to a position of primary attention demanded certain modifications. In Cock's efforts to make the scenes more marketable, he edited many of the original drawings to animate the otherwise static landscapes through the inclusion of typical staffage. Groups of figures, birds, and clouds have been added to several of the drawings in a different ink and with a stroke that has little in common with that used in the other elements of the drawings.³⁶ Striking examples of these editorial additions can be seen in the preparatory drawings now in Berlin, New York, and Chatsworth, in which the blacker ink that describes the figures and the birds does not match the rest of the drawing in style or execution (figs. 1.52, 1.60, 1.63, 1.64). There are a few drawings, particularly a related pair at Chatsworth, in which the figures were added later in another ink, but by the same artist (figs. 1.68, 1.69). However, none of the drawings in this group was used by Cock as a model for the prints. Rather, Cock only chose to employ those drawings that the original draftsman had left without staffage, preferring to edit the unadorned landscapes to his own specifications before printing. The added figures, with their pointed faces and elegant, if schematic, forms and gestures, closely match the staffage figure types that one sees in Cock's drawings and etchings after his own designs in his first *Roman Ruins* series, dated 1551, thus bearing out the notion that they are the

³⁶ It has been generally acknowledged, following Hans Mielke, that many of the drawings have been reworked by a second artist or editor, who is also responsible for the addition of much of the staffage. It has been only vaguely intimated that it was Cock himself who was responsible for these additions. I would like to emphasize this possibility, based on formal grounds, and my conviction that Cock, as the editor and publisher of these prints, must be credited with the larger conception and production of these images as prints, including whatever changes to the original designs he deemed necessary in order to make the series more commercially attractive. See Mielke 1975.

result of Cock's own editorial work (see figs. 1.99-1.104).³⁷ Hans Mielke wondered why it was that the original master, who was clearly a gifted figure draftsman, was not the one chosen to rework the drawings.³⁸ Clearly, Cock wished to control the final effect of the prints and to create a uniformity within the series through these additional elements. Indeed, reworkings of this kind are common to printmaking; the very nature of the medium allows for a significant level of intervention and an ongoing mutability of the image through editorial changes.³⁹ Cock used the many steps in the printmaking process to project his own artistic vision onto the final form that the *Small Landscapes* would take.

In fact, such editorial reworkings were a common practice for Cock. He also reworked preparatory drawings by his brother Matthys Cock, Lucas Gassel, Pieter Bruegel, and Hans Vredeman de Vries in much the same way in order to make these images better conform to his pictorial expectations. Perhaps his most significant intervention into the original design of a drawing is Bruegel's *Landscape with Five Bears* in the Národní Gallerie, Prague, dated 1554. Cock used this drawing as the model for a print which he etched himself, but in his version Cock substituted a scene of the

³⁷ This is a figure type that will crop up throughout the landscapes etched and engraved by the van Doetecum brothers. The brothers never developed any great skill in dealing with the small-scale human figures that were required of them for all of the landscape projects that they undertook for Cock. They seem rather to have internalized Cock's early model with great fidelity. Their reliance of Cock's rather angular and lanky figural form is typical of their working method, in which the quality of their etched products seems to follow closely the quality of the model from which they worked. The case of the *Small Landscapes* is no exception. By comparison, their figures in prints after designs by Bruegel are, though still rather blocky and graceless, far more convincing and well-modeled than are these.

³⁸ The lack of involvement of the original designer in these later stages of editing might be further evidence that Cock was culling his visual models from existing artistic sources, rather than dealing with commissioned artists.

³⁹ Such editorial changes are not limited to the preparatory designs. As we shall see in Chapter Three, the plates for the *Small Landscapes* also underwent editorial changes in later editions that dramatically changed the nature of the images themselves.

Temptation of Christ for Bruegel's five bears. The composition is reversed in the print and, aside from the absent bears, Cock followed Bruegel's design quite faithfully (see figs. 1.121, 1.122). Clearly Cock believed that the more weighty and richly narrative subject of Christ's temptation prominently featured in the left foreground would prove more commercially attractive and successful than the less significant bears. Though the focus of the image remains primarily directed toward the landscape with its dense woods on the left and distant vista of a river in the right background, that landscape is now charged with the pious import of the biblical story represented in the left foreground and referred to in the print's inscription.⁴⁰ Cock's changes to the content of the drawing's figural elements lends an entirely new significance to an otherwise identical landscape. This is a particularly extreme example, but it is important to bear it in mind in our consideration of the importance of Cock's editorial changes to the *Small Landscape* compositions.

With the *Small Landscapes*, Cock's staffage additions are limited to travelers and strollers walking and resting along the paths of the countryside; herdsmen and milkmaids and their livestock; and birds gliding through the sky which is often left blank if it is not embellished with Cock's clouds and aerial hatchings. Though none of these elements calls forth the kind of explicit meaning or story that Christ and the devil do in the *Temptation of Christ* print, Cock nonetheless deemed them necessary elaborations to the landscapes as presented in the drawings. They provide a point of reference for his viewers, offering them markers upon which they might anchor their perusal of the scenes. The staffage in the *Small Landscapes* follows the customary form that Cock had already

⁴⁰ The inscription reads: "Non in solo pane victurus est homo, sed omni verbo quod digreditur per os dei. Mar. 4. Deut. 8."

established in his previous landscape series, most significantly his own *Roman Ruins* series, thereby forging a kind of visual or typological connection to other prints that were already familiar to Cock's audiences and whose meanings were perhaps more immediately evident. Though they bear no historical, mythological or biblical associations, these figures nonetheless suggest an attitude or approach through which the landscape can be comprehended; they place the landscape in relationship to a human component that, however generic, fundamentally humanizes the scenes. The staffage additions to the *Small Landscapes* are therefore far more important than their diminutive scale and apparent inconsequence at first suggest. Indeed, they were Cock's method of making these humble local landscape views accessible to audiences more accustomed to prints with narrative frameworks or monumental figural compositions. In making these additions, Cock fundamentally changed the original character of the designs, because he understood the visual and iconographic requirements of the nascent print-collecting audience to which he was catering.

Due to his interventions, Cock must be credited with some degree of authorship of the *Small Landscapes* in their printed form. Indeed, the phrasing of the two title-pages leaves no doubt as to whom Cock believed to be the spiritual father of the series. Cock's name is the only one that appears on these introductory pages. He credits himself with having "now first newly printed and published" the first series in 1559.⁴¹ When he believes that the name of the designer or printmaker would help to sell a print, Cock

⁴¹ This part of the inscription reads: "Nu eerst nieuwe ghedruct ende wt laten gaen/ by Hieronymus Cock./ 1559." The strange claim that the series is "now first newly printed" has been seen as evidence that these prints were based on drawings that had been made long before the time of their first publication as prints. See, among others, K. G. Boon, *L'Epoque de Lucas de Leyde et Pierre Bruegel: Dessins des Anciens Pays-Bays*, Collection Frits Lugt Instituut Neerlandais, Paris (Paris: 1981).

certainly included this information, even when it is a clear commercial ploy rather than a truthful attribution, as is the case with at least one print after a design by Bruegel which he published as the work of the then much more famous and popular Hieronymus Bosch.⁴² In the case of the *Small Landscapes*, however, Cock was not banking on their stylistic connection to any popular master, but rather advertised them in terms of their new appearance in the form of prints and his own unique responsibility for them in this new context. In 1559, a decade into his career as a publisher, Cock had established a considerable reputation for himself and his publishing house. The inclusion of his name on the title-page in this capacity would therefore also have served to vouch for the quality of the images to be found within the series.

Cock himself claims credit for conceiving of the prints as a series and seeing them through production as a publisher. This was no small feat. Cock was responsible for putting up the initial capital for having the plates etched and printed. Though such costs were sometimes shared with a commissioner or a patron, there is no evidence from either of the two title-pages from 1559 or 1561 that there was any such outside assistance with this project. The financial outlays for acquiring the designs, buying the necessary copper, paper and ink, paying the etchers, and defraying any other additional costs associated with printing, binding, and distributing the prints were substantial.⁴³ With a total of forty-four prints etched on twenty-two copper plates, this project was among the largest that Cock ever undertook. It is perhaps because of the costs associated with such an

⁴² Cock made such a specious attribution when he published the *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* print by Pieter van der Heyden after Bruegel in 1557 (Hollstein, vol. 9, 28, no. 46).

⁴³ For the kinds of costs involved in commissioning plates, see A. J. J. Delen, "Christoffel Plantin als prentenhadelaar," *Gulden Passer* 10 (1932); and van der Stock 1998.

enormous undertaking that he published the series in two smaller sets, spaced over two years, rather than publishing them all at once in a single series, which would have been not only a crippling expense for him, but also prohibitively costly for many potential buyers. This arrangement also conveniently allowed Cock to gauge the success of the first series before committing himself to publishing a second set.

Cock's initiative spurred him to acquire the designs for this unique new series of landscapes. In producing them in two series of prints, he moved imagery that had previously been confined to artist's workshops into the broader realm of the art market, thereby asserting these humble local scenes as worthy of aesthetic appreciation in their own right. He reworked the drawings with a strong editorial hand in order to make that transition from artist's sketch to independent artistic print as visually comprehensible and aesthetically comfortable for his print-collecting clients as possible. He took sole charge of the substantial costs associated with such a large undertaking, with the expectation that he could recoup and indeed exceed his expenses through the sale of the series. It is therefore hardly surprising that Cock chose to include only his own name on the title-pages, since he considered himself the instigator and mastermind of the series. Given the primacy of his role in the project, it is essential to understand why Cock was willing to make such an investment in the *Small Landscapes* and how he thought they would add to his repertoire as a publisher of artistic prints.

Cock's Development of the Genre of Landscape

By 1559, Cock had established a reputation as the foremost print publisher in the North. There were certainly important printmakers working in the Netherlands before he

began his operations; for example, Cornelis Bos, who provided Cock with the first plates he published in 1548, already had an active printmaking career before Cock opened his workshop in Antwerp. Other printmakers who would later work for Cock, D.V. Coornhert and Lambert Suavius, were also active in the trade before 1548. Indeed, from the time of Dürer's trip to Antwerp in 1521, printmaking spread rapidly in the North, where Lucas van Leyden became one of the art's first major practitioners.⁴⁴ With the exception of Dürer, early printmakers before Cock did not realize the full commercial potential of the medium as he would at his publishing house, *Aux Quatre Vents*.⁴⁵ When he returned from an extended trip to Italy around 1548, Cock established *Aux Quatre Vents* on the model of the Italian printing business ventures of Antonio Salamanca and Antoine Lafreri with which he must have become familiar during his time in Rome.⁴⁶ He relied heavily on their example, not merely as a model for the organization of his operations and business, but also for the *kinds* of prints that he produced in the early years of his publishing career when Italian subjects and styles dominated his output.

⁴⁴ For a brief introduction to the principal printmakers in the early sixteenth century, with reference to further literature, see T. and L. Silver Riggs, eds., *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540-1640* (Exh. cat., Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois: 1993).

⁴⁵ When Cock originally set up his workshop, it was located at the intersection of the Korte and Lange Nieuwstraats and the St. Katalijnevest in the center of Antwerp close to the Nieuwe Beurs, where artists conducted business from 1540. Several other important print publishers worked in the same area, most notably Gerard de Jode. As Cock's success increased, he purchased a number of other properties, as mentioned so disparagingly by van Mander in his *Schilderboek*. Between 1565 and 1570, he moved his publishing operations from the neighborhood of the Beurs closer to the Arenbergstraat, near the Tappisier's market. See van der Stock 1998, 145, especially note 1, for the surviving documents that he has discovered relating to Cock's properties, including an archival record of the layout of his shop. On development of commercial print publishing, see also Riggs 1977, 13-21.

⁴⁶ On Antonio Salamanca's and Lafreri's enterprises, see Etienne Du Pérac and others, *Roma prima di Sisto V* (Roma: Danesi, 1908); Hülsen, "Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafréry," in *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki, bibliopolae florentino, sexagenario* (Munich: 1921); and L. Ozzola, "Gli editori di stampe a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 33 (1910). For a summation of the evidence of Cock's sojourn in Rome, including the quotation from Vasari's *Lives* that may indicate that Vasari knew Cock in Rome, see Riggs 1977, 29-30.

One of the first prints that Cock published was a large-scale engraving on two plates by Giorgio Ghisi after Raphael's *School of Athens* (fig. 1.90). The print is dated 1550. Aside from two maps from the same year and Bos' earlier series of ornamental vessels from 1548, this print announced Cock's entrance into the business of high-quality artistic graphic arts. Giorgio Ghisi was perhaps the most highly regarded Italian engraver of his day. Cock probably met him in Italy and invited him to come to work in Antwerp. We know that Ghisi was in Antwerp by 1551, when he registered with the Guild of Saint Luke.⁴⁷ He remained in the north until around 1554, when he is known to have produced a print for Salamanca back in Rome.⁴⁸ Ghisi produced a total of five prints for Cock, all of which were large works after Italian or highly Italianate compositions.⁴⁹ Soon several other engravers joined Cock's workshop and followed the stylistic example set by Ghisi.⁵⁰ In these early years, it was classical subjects engraved in Ghisi's monumentalizing, sculptural style that dominated Cock's artistic output.⁵¹ With these

⁴⁷ See Lydia de Pauw-de Veen, *Jerome Cock, editeur d'estampes et graveur, 1507?-1570* (Exh. cat., Brussels: 1970), vi.

⁴⁸ The print for Salamanca represents *The Vision of Ezekiel*. See Adam von Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, 21 vols. (Vienne: Degen, 1803), vol. 15, pt. 4, no. 69.

⁴⁹ *The School of Athens* (1550) and *The Disputà* (1552) after Raphael, each on two plates; a *Nativity* after Angelo Bronzino (1554); *The Judgment of Paris* after Giovanni Battista Bertani (1555); and *The Last Supper* after Lambert Lombard (1551), his only print after a Northern artist.

⁵⁰ Riggs provides a particularly thorough treatment of the influence of Ghisi's style on the other engravers in Cock's employ. He argues that Ghisi's technical and stylistic manner established a dominant model for the northern printmakers who came to know his work, offering them a rigorous system of hatching and modeling to create a sculptural and monumental impression of form and rich tonal variations in curvature and shading. Riggs sees his influence in the work of D. V. Coornhert, Philips Galle, Cornelis Cort, and to a lesser degree also Hans Collaert. Others have argued that Ghisi's influence was far more limited. For further treatment of Ghisi, see Michael Bury, "On Some Engravings by Giorgio Ghisi Commonly Called 'Reproductive'," *Print Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1993).

⁵¹ In addition to a number of prints after Italian subjects, Cock published great numbers of prints after Maarten van Heemskerck, Lambert Lombard, and Frans Floris, all of whom worked in a decidedly Italianate style.

sorts of works, Cock was able to establish himself and his printing house with art collectors in the nascent market for highly refined artistic prints. Such works were in high demand not only among other artists who sought models from which to work, but also among the sophisticated circles of collectors familiar with Italian art and eager for finely rendered reproductive prints after important works by masters like Raphael, Andrea del Sarto or Agnolo Bronzino (fig. 1.91). The burgeoning circles of Northern painters working in an Italian style were also greatly esteemed, and Cock traded on their success by producing prints based on their designs (fig. 1.92). In short, Cock was able to launch his printing house by catering to the predominant and well-established tastes among art collectors in Antwerp and abroad for Italian subjects and styles.

The other predominant branch of Cock's early print business was in the production of maps and topographic views. These were a commercial staple and could be banked on to bring in a considerable profit.⁵² Along with his Italianate art prints, maps and views provided the financial revenue that allowed Cock to establish his business with such success, especially in an environment like Antwerp's with its strong cartographic reputation.⁵³ Already in 1550, he engaged Balthasar Bos to engrave a large view of Lyon

⁵² The records of Plantin's office indicate that Plantin bought innumerable maps from Cock to distribute and sell. See Delen 1932; and J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche Kaartmakers in Betrekking met Plantijn*, 2 vols., Uitgaven der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen nr. 27 and 28 (Antwerp: 1912-1913). For a recent interpretation of Cock's chorographic maps, see Nina Eugenia Serebrennikov, "Plotting Imperial Campaigns: Hieronymus Cock's Abortive Foray into Chorography," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 52 (2001), 187-215.

⁵³ Antwerp was home to several of the most important mapmakers of the day and provided a point of production and sale for a truly international business in geographical treatises and maps. Abraham Ortelius, humanist, friend and patron of Bruegel, and associate of Plantin, began his career as a map illuminator and went on to produce the first comprehensive, standardized world atlas in 1570, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, which went through innumerable editions in several languages and was also published in a smaller epitome version in several languages beginning in 1577. Together with other artists, mapmakers and map publishers like Joris Hoefnagel, the van Doetecums, and Gerard de Jode and Hieronymus Cock, Ortelius assured Antwerp its reputation as one of the cartographic centers of Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. At the same time, metalworkers in Antwerp were also responsible for producing

on two plates and in the same year he etched a print of the siege of Mahdia (fig. 1.93). These were followed by maps and views of many Italian locales, including Parma (1551) (fig. 1.94), the Piedmont (1552) (fig. 1.95), Malta (1551), Sicily (1553), Savoy (1556), Florence (1557), and the Duchy of Milan (1560). Other European centers also appeared, including maps of Poland (1562) and Antwerp (1557), views of Ypres (1562), Hableneuf (1563), and another remarkable triple view of Antwerp (1557). Cock often produced maps of recent military events, such as the sieges of Siena (1555) (fig. 1.96), Ostia (1556), and Saint Quentin (1557) by Spanish troops. Cock's most remarkable cartographic projects were his huge map of North and South America engraved on six plates (1562), and maps of the Holy Land (1570) and Germany (undated), each engraved on nine plates.

In total, Cock published at least 27 maps and topographic views over the course of his career, which disseminated geographic and topographic information to a variety of audiences. The predominance of maps and views of Italian cities, for example, can be explained by the high numbers of Italian merchants in Antwerp, who would have relied on maps like Cock's to establish trade routes and maintain communications with their affiliates back home. The topical information about recent sieges and battles kept citizens abreast of the current progress of the wars in Europe, which often had a substantial impact of mercantile endeavors. Such maps could in fact provide too much information, as was the case with Cock's map of Burgundy, which the Duke of Alva

cartographic and astronomical instruments like astrolabes, quadrants, and compasses. For more on maps and views of Antwerp, see A. J. J. Delen, *Iconographie van Antwerpen* (Brussels: 1930); on Ortelius, see Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt, and Peter Meurer, eds., *Abraham Ortelius and the first atlas: essays commemorating the quadricentennial of his death, 1598-1998* (Houten, the Netherlands: HES, 1998), with further bibliography; for examples of cartographic and astronomical instruments made in Antwerp, see Jan van der Stock, ed., *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis, 16th-17th Century* (Exh. cat., Museum Hessenhuis, Antwerp: 1993), 299-308.

prevented from being published because of its potential tactical value to enemy armies.⁵⁴ Cock's monumental maps of the Americas, the Holy Land, and Germany must have been intended to be hung on the wall. In such a context, these cartographic documents must not only have communicated geographic information, but also served a decorative purpose akin to that of paintings and other decorative arts.

This aesthetic dimension of maps and topographic imagery may have been one of the spurs that allowed Cock to think that landscape prints might also meet with a similarly receptive audience. Indeed, there are many maps and city views that blur the boundaries between these two genres - compare *Small Landscapes* with Cock's views of Antwerp (figs. 1.97, 1.98). The apparent realism of the *Small Landscapes* certainly fits with the descriptive function of the views of the city, by extending the orbit of the topographic content of the views. It is as though the *Small Landscapes* proffer the inverse of van Hooren's triple view of Antwerp, looking out at the countryside at close range rather than in toward the city from a wide vantage point. The two are in this sense perfect complements. In publishing the *Small Landscapes*, Cock was probably rightly confident that the burgeoning taste for geographical information, to which he himself had contributed with his own map publications, would help to generate a similar interest in the modest landscapes.⁵⁵

Despite the connection between maps and landscapes and the potential for commercial overlap between them, it is important to distinguish the very different

⁵⁴ Riggs 1977, 394.

⁵⁵ Nils Büttner's dissertation provides an extensive compendium of the evidence for this taste for geographical information in Antwerp, including archival data indicating that maps hung on the walls of Antwerp homes and that geographical texts were often a crucial part of private libraries. See Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft: Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen: 2000).

conventions and functions of maps and landscape prints. Each relies on independent visual systems that emerged independently, if concurrently. Especially in the case of the comparison above, the underlying principles of the maps and the landscapes are entirely different; in monumentalizing formats, the maps not only describe but also aggrandize the city of Antwerp, while the *Small Landscapes* do exactly the opposite. They offer views that essentially lack a focal point and make no effort to enhance or enlarge the visual impact of the countryside. While Nils Büttner has made a strong case for the fact that the cartographic predisposition of the north occasioned the emergence of landscape as a genre, it is important to consider that these two strands of visual experience ran parallel rather than converging, and that maps and landscapes offered their viewers related but different forms of visual information and pleasure.

As Cock began to find his commercial footing and establish his business on an international level, he began to expand and vary his repertoire, moving away from the exclusive focus on cartographic projects and monumental, large-scale Italian and Italianate prints of his earliest years of production.⁵⁶ His success put him in a position of artistic and financial liberty to take calculated business risks with new subjects and styles. Gradually, he began to include more typically 'northern' subject matter, artists and styles on his publishing roster. Heralding this shift was the plethora of prints after or in the style of the great Northern master Hieronymus Bosch that he began issuing in the mid-1550s.⁵⁷ This was the same period in which Cock established a close relationship with

⁵⁶ Riggs has also noted this transition in Cock's output, but in his account he does not suggest that Cock's early success with Italianate prints provided him with the reputation and commercial foundation that then allowed him to experiment with other genres, formats and styles, as I will do. See Riggs 1977, 49.

⁵⁷ Cock published *The Big Fish Eats the Little Fish*, actually after Bruegel but attributed to Bosch, in 1557, but many other prints purportedly after Boschian compositions were left undated and could have been issued earlier.

Bruegel, who would go on to provide designs almost exclusively to Cock for years to come. It is not that Italianate prints and maps entirely dropped out of Cock's repertoire; indeed their sales continued to underwrite Cock's capacity to branch out into other fields of print production. However, these were no longer the arenas in which Cock produced his most daring and innovative prints. It was increasingly with more vernacular subject matter and styles that Cock began to experiment and initiate new graphic trends.

Landscape prints were one of these new fields, and from around 1555 it became a major genre in Cock's production. He published well over one hundred landscape prints between 1555 and 1562, most of which were produced and sold as sets. By surveying the various landscapes that Cock published during this period, it becomes clear that the *Small Landscapes* represent a new artistic course for the publisher. These humble sets of prints in fact boldly establish a form of landscape print entirely new for Cock, focused on the local surrounds and free of any extraneous detail or narrative elaboration. Though the landscapes that he published before these series provide little intimation of the radical new direction that he would take with the *Small Landscapes*, his earlier landscape projects nonetheless help to shed some light on the reasons why Cock might have felt licensed to make such a bold commercial move. Unlike the majority of other prints that he issued, landscape prints were etched rather than engraved and the plates were cut at first by Cock himself and then exclusively by the van Doetecum brothers, whose unique technique and style suited the landscape subject matter better than those of the Ghisi-inspired engravers in Cock's workshop. It is quite likely that Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum were trained by Cock and that he deliberately engaged them to take over his etching duties once he turned his attention entirely to running his business.

Cock's first foray into the production of landscape prints occurred in 1551, when he issued a set of twenty-four views of *Roman Ruins*, which he had designed and etched himself (figs. 1.99-1.104). The title page describes the series as "Records of several ruins of distinguished Roman antiquity, with lively views, skillfully etched for the purpose of an imitation of the truth, in most flourishing Antwerp by Hieronymus Cock in the month of May, 1551."⁵⁸ The images were probably largely based on sketches of the ruins that he had made himself during his time in Rome and which he then transformed into finished compositions in preparation for the printing process once he returned to Antwerp, as the title-page suggests.⁵⁹ The series is rather irregular, with prints in various sizes oriented both horizontally and vertically, indicating that Cock was still grappling with the problems associated with producing a unified set of images. Nonetheless, his series was a great success, quickly inspiring copies in Italy and France.⁶⁰

In keeping with his Italian focus in the early years at *Aux Quatre Vents*, these prints catered to the extraordinary interest in Roman monuments and antiquity that was blossoming in Antwerp and throughout Europe in this period. In some sense, they fall

⁵⁸ In Latin, the title-page reads: "Praecipuae aliquot romanae antiquitatis ruinarum monumenta, vivis prospectibus, ad veri imitationem affabre designata in florentiss. Antverpia per Hiro. Coc. Mense Maio, Anno .M.D.LI."

⁵⁹ Riggs also suggests that some of the prints might have been based on drawings by other artists, but that Cock is wholly responsible for the additional embellishments to the landscapes that transform these sketches into finished compositions. Several preparatory drawings for the series survive, though these are all most likely intermediate designs that negotiated the transfer from the original sketches to the final print. See Riggs 1977, 256-266.

⁶⁰ The series was copied unreversed by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, probably in the late 1550s, and in reverse by Battista Pittoni, published in Venice in 1551. Paulo Veronese also made extensive use of the designs in his decorations of the Villa Maser. For further literature, see Heinrich von Geymüller, *Les Du Cerceau: leur vie et leur oeuvre d'après de nouvelles recherches* (Paris: J. Rouam, 1887), 299-300; Johann David Passavant, Adam von Bartsch, and Jean Duchesne, *Le peintre-graveur* (Leipzig: R. Weigel, 1860), vol. 6, 169, no. 1; Mary Pittaluga, *L'incisione italiana nel Cinquecento duecento ottantanove figure e tavole* (Milano: U. Hoepli, 1930), 306-307; and Konrad Oberhuber, "Hieronymus Cock, Battista Pittoni und Paolo Veronese in Villa Maser," in *Munuscula Discipulorum, Festschrift für Hans Kauffmann zum 70. Geburtstag 1966* (Berlin: 1968), especially 217.

under the domain of classical illustrations rather than landscapes, strictly speaking. Though Cock enlivened many of the monumental views with landscape backgrounds, these remain peripheral and freely invented rather than closely observed.⁶¹ The imposing structures of the ancient city rise with almost anthropomorphic vigor to dominate the compositions, leaving little room or attention to spare for their settings. Cock's etched line is rough and agitated, lending the views a lively drama that is heightened by intense shadows and strong contrasts. Cock emphasized the mysterious grandeur that resides in these traces of a magnificent past and his views are shot through with a sense of both wonderment and melancholy. The landscapes behind these architectural figures appear as mere embellishments by comparison, included to further articulate the condition and status of the ruins themselves.

This is true of another of Cock's sets of prints of the *Liberal Arts* from the same year, which he executed in collaboration with Frans Floris. Floris' classically posed and adorned figures are shown in full length in the immediate foreground of the prints, completely filling the pictorial space (figs. 1.105-1.109). Behind them, Cock has added rolling mountainous landscapes, dotted with ruins that he must have borrowed from his own series. In order to suggest aerial perspective, Cock has made these landscape

⁶¹ Cock might have been influenced in his choice of subject matter and presentation by the work of Maarten van Heemskerck, who worked in Rome from around 1532 to 1536. Heemskerck would go on to produce a prodigious number of designs for publication in Cock's printing house, particularly of ancient Roman and classicizing subjects. Several of the designs from Cock's later series of *Roman Ruins* draw directly on Heemskerck's designs and Riggs has connected parts of several of Cock's compositions in this first series to sketches in Maarten van Heemskerck's Roman albums. In 1552, Cock also etched a print entitled *Saint Jerome in a Landscape with Ruins* after a painting by Maarten van Heemskerck. This is the only one of Cock's landscape etchings to fully credit another artist as the inventor of the design, perhaps because Heemskerck's name would serve as a selling point for the print. The image, which is elaborately composed and bursting with details, is of little concern to us here, since the landscape is even less developed and less prominent than in Cock's *Roman Ruins*.

backgrounds much lighter than Floris' figures.⁶² If more spatially convincing, this light treatment of the background diminishes the visual impact of the landscapes, turning them into little more than attractive, distant settings for the dominant figures. Like the elaborate attributes that they hold, the landscapes serve simply as registers through which to characterize the figures, much as the landscapes in the *Roman Ruins* series are employed to enhance their central subjects. These early series begin to explore landscape imagery, but still remain firmly within the bounds of the classical subject matter and Italianate treatment with which he established his print business.

The landscapes that he etched for the *Liberal Arts* series have much in common with another of Cock's major landscape projects during these early years. Though the set of *Landscapes with Mythological and Biblical Scenes*, which Cock etched after designs by his brother Matthys Cock, was issued in 1558, he probably began the series significantly earlier, perhaps as early as 1551.⁶³ Together with the *Landscape with the Sacrifice of Abraham* (1551), this series marks the elevation of the landscape to a new level of visual and compositional importance in Cock's oeuvre (figs. 1.110-1.113). No longer relegated to a secondary background role, it is the landscape that dominates the figural groups in these prints. The views extend to distant horizons and encompass mountains, valleys, forests, rivers, and seaside harbors. The panoramic scope of the

⁶² Cock used a process of stopping out during the etching process to create this lighter background. The process involves varying the lengths of time in which different areas of the plate are exposed to the acid that deepens the etched lines. Floris' figures would have been exposed to this acid bath longer than Cock's lighter background areas.

⁶³ The *Landscape with the Sacrifice of Abraham*, dated 1551, has often been compared with this series because of their stylistic and thematic continuity. This suggests that Cock probably began work on the plates for the series around the same time as he was working on the single print. This would also put the execution of the 1558 series closer to Cock's involvement with Floris' *Liberal Arts* series and helps to explain the connections between the landscapes in the two projects. In any case, Matthys' designs must significantly pre-date their appearance as prints, since he was already dead in 1548.

views is carefully controlled by means of a consistent perspective that bonds the vast expanses into a unified spatial envelope.⁶⁴ The figures, again largely editorial additions by Hieronymus Cock rather than original elements in his brother's designs, have been reduced to a diminutive stature in the foreground of each scene. No longer towering above the horizon line as Floris' allegorical figures or Cock's Roman monuments did, these slight personages are enveloped within the surrounding terrain and their stories play out as anecdotal events. It is the rest of the views that immediately capture our eye.

Fantasy reigns here. Rocky precipices jut out of the earth abruptly to form elegant natural bridges and perilous mountain ranges crowned with walled castles rise just beyond peaceful fields dotted with humble villages. The skies roil with twisting clouds. Nevertheless, for all of this imaginative confabulation, we find for the first time hints that elements within these scenes have been based on things seen in the local surrounds of Brabant. However generic their characterization, these landscapes are filled with details of farmhouses, villages, and mills that strike a naturalistic chord in otherwise fabulous views. The local here is still caught in a world of dynamic, spectacular animation, but the classical and purely imaginary realms have begun ever so slightly to yield to a recognizable local topography.

It is also essential to note that despite their small stature, the biblical and mythical stories in the foreground of these views nonetheless continue to inflect the surrounding landscapes. Indeed, one cannot separate the landscape from these narrative associations, especially since the scenes represented are all such charged and well-known stories. In

⁶⁴ This quality of Cock's landscapes sets them apart from the prevailing trends in landscape painting in Antwerp at the time and has often been attributed to the influence of Italian landscape models, particularly of the Venetian artist Domenico Campagnola.

many cases, the small figures are overseen by gods ensconced in the clouds above them. Even in those cases where there are no additional pictorial references to the foreground figures, their presence transforms the panoramas around them into extended stages imbued with the moral and allegorical connotations of their actions. This narrativizing of the landscape indicates that Cock continued to believe that landscape images demanded the justification of a conventional framework. In this series, that justification remains explicit with the inclusion of vignettes that connect these prints to the rest of Cock's vast output of more strictly religious and mythological prints.⁶⁵

The same narrative context persists in Cock's publication of a series of five *Landscapes with Biblical Figures* after Lucas Gassel (figs. 1.114-1.116).⁶⁶ The series is undated, but a surviving preparatory drawing for the *Landscape with Abraham and the Angels* in this series preserved in Berlin is dated 1568. The prints are the work of the van Doetecum brothers.⁶⁷ Their mixed etching and engraving technique allows here for much harder and surer lines than we see in any of Cock's etchings, with their softer, more erratic and more fluid lines. The format of the prints closely resembles the compositional structure often employed in landscape paintings by Gassel and others working in the tradition of Joachim Patinir. Despite efforts to unify the pictorial space through the use

⁶⁵ A sampling of Cock's publications in this vein are series of the *Four Evangelists* by Balthasar Bos after Frans Floris (1551); a print of *Samson and Delilah* after Maarten van Heemskerck (1553); *Moses Smiting the Rock* by Hans Collaert after Lambert Lombard (1555); and *Susanna and the Elders* by Pieter van der Heyden after Frans Floris (1556). Cock continued to produce enormous numbers of religious, mythological and allegorical prints throughout his career.

⁶⁶ Lucas Gassel is best known as a painter who worked in the style of Patinir and Herri met de Bles. According to van Mander he worked in Brussels, but the style of his earliest paintings suggest that he began his career in Antwerp. He was born around the beginning of the century and died around 1570. The preparatory drawing in Berlin discussed below is his last dated work. For further discussion of Gassel's career, workshop and output, see Gibson, "*Mirror of the Earth*": *The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting*, 17-21.

⁶⁷ These prints have often previously been attributed to Cock or to Gassel himself.

of receding perspectival devices and repoussoirs, the high horizon line and bird's-eye view over the panorama allow each spatial register to exist in a sort of independence. Because of this, the reappearance of the same figure within a single view appears less jarring, as in the case of the *Landscape with John the Baptist* where John shows up twice within the same prospect.

In this respect, the prints adhere to highly traditional landscape formulae typical in the north, but it is worth noting that the landscape itself is treated with less fantastical invention than Cock and his brother employed in their pictures. Gently rolling hills and wide valleys with steadily inclining mountains toward the edges of the compositions largely replace the sudden outcroppings of impossible cliffs and arches in the prints after Matthys Cock, with the effect that the land appears more even and calm. This should not be seen necessarily as a deliberate effort towards a greater naturalism, but rather an attempt to create a more inviting and populous human terrain in which these biblical figures make their way.⁶⁸ The central valley that reaches to the horizon in each print is filled with the evidence of human activity – a monastery, a village, a manor house. Each of these situations has a direct relationship to the biblical characters that are positioned in the foreground, as a context for their ascetic practices in the print of Saint Jerome before a monastery, or as a source for their demons as we see in the prints of Saint Anthony before a manor house and village, for example. Despite their typological differences, this is where we find the fundamental connection between this series and Cock's etchings

⁶⁸ One important exception to this is the jutting rock formation just below the castle in the distance in the *Saint John* print. Here we see the fantastic elements of more traditional landscape compositions inserted once again. It is not particularly surprising to see such fantastic elements combined in a single view with more naturalistic ones, especially since Gassel's work remains largely within the orbit of Patinir's influence. For him, naturalistic details were simply utilized as part of compositions which remained primarily imaginary.

after Matthys Cock. In all of these images, the landscapes are conditioned by the religious figures that occupy the foreground of the scenes. It is telling that Cock should continue to produce landscape series like this one, which is conservative both compositionally and thematically, so late in his publishing career. Such an ongoing conservative current in his output simply underlines how very daring and unique the publication of a series like the *Small Landscapes* must have been.

In 1562, Cock issued a series of twelve prints after designs by Hans Bol, once again executed by the van Doetecums.⁶⁹ These *River Landscapes* offer an interesting counterpoint to Gassel's landscapes, since they do not feature any of the biblical figures that Gassel's scenes do, but they set what appear to be quite everyday figures and activities in similarly expansive settings. The landscapes employed in the series differ considerably, from dramatic rocky precipices to rolling wooded hills (figs. 1.117, 1.118). In each view, however, a central river carries the viewer's eye deep into the distance. The activities are likewise varied; a peasant kermis fills the village at the right of one print, while in another only a few lonely travelers pass through the foreground of a view that offers a vista back to a city nestled on the banks of a river (figs. 1.119, 1.120). On the whole, however, despite the occasional topographic caprice, these views appear to be rooted in the domestic landscape, filled with manor houses, churches, farms, and villages of a local character, and the familiar figures of peasants, soldiers, travelers, and gentlefolk traversing the terrain. Given their date of 1562, it is quite possible that Cock commissioned these prints in response to success of the *Small Landscapes*, which had been issued in the years just prior. Even if this were so, however, the influence is

⁶⁹ For the preparatory drawings to this series, see Heinrich Gerhard Franz, "Hans Bol (1534-1593): Entwurfzeichnungen zur grossen Landschaftsfolge von 1562," *Weltkunst* (1988).

decidedly limited. It is essential to note how very differently these apparently local scenes have been treated. The views are busy, almost overwhelming to the eye. They require close observation to discover the many details hidden within every corner of the vast landscapes. For all their apparently domestic content, these prints nonetheless continue to rely upon the much older and more traditional formulae of landscapes construction.

The only prints issued by Cock that might be seen as harbingers of what was to come with the *Small Landscapes* are ironically some of the earliest that Cock issued. They are the landscape prints produced after designs by Pieter Bruegel the Elder.⁷⁰ Cock enjoyed an exclusive and fruitful relationship with Bruegel from around 1554 until the latter's departure from Antwerp in 1563.⁷¹ Their collaborations appear to have started off with landscapes and only later moved on to the Boschian and allegorical subjects that would dominate Bruegel's later designs for prints. Cock's etching of the *Landscape with the Temptation of Christ* and the van Doetecums' prints for the *Large Landscapes* series,

⁷⁰ Nadine Orenstein has recently argued that two of the prints in the Large Landscape series were not in fact designed by Bruegel but rather were added to fill out the series. She cites the atypical, additive arrangement of the landscape compositions of the *Fuga Deiparae in Aegyptum* and the *Nundinae Rusticorum* prints, along with the spindly trees and figures as reasons to attribute the designs for these sheets to the van Doetecum brothers, who were responsible for etching the entire series. While I certainly agree that these two sheets are remarkably distinct in composition and form from the rest of Bruegel's landscape designs, I am not convinced that they can be given to the van Doetecums. These printmakers are not known to have designed any works for Cock, but rather served him strictly in the capacity of etchers and engravers. It was not until much later in their careers that they designed prints and then they were primarily concerned with maps. Rather, if these two sheets in the *Large Landscapes* series are to be reattributed, it seems to me more likely that it was, again, Hieronymus Cock himself to whom we should turn. The more traditional additive treatment of space is reminiscent of his landscape compositions in the *Roman Ruins* series of 1551, as is the treatment of the figures. Even if he did not conceive of these compositions, he may have worked from existing sketches, even perhaps some preliminary studies by Bruegel, to put together these two sheets. In so doing, he would have taken his capacity as editor much further than he seems to have done in any other work, but such strategies of intervention are different in degree rather than kind from the kind of changes and additions he made to other series, including the *Small Landscapes*. For Orenstein's argument, see Orenstein 2001, 133-135, with further footnotes.

⁷¹ There are only two exceptions to the exclusivity of their artistic relationship: *The Kermis at Hoboken*, published by Batholomeus de Momper in 1559, and the so-called *Doyen de Renaix* from around 1557. Riggs argues that these designs might have been offered first to Cock and only after he refused them were they taken up by other publishers. See Timothy Riggs, "Bruegel and his Publisher," in *Pieter Bruegel und seine Welt*, ed. Otto von Simpon and Matthias Winner (1979), 167.

both after designs by Bruegel, established a new approach to the portrayal of landscape in Cock's production and, indeed, in northern printmaking in general. Though the links between Bruegel's pioneering work and the *Small Landscapes* are not direct in terms of formal composition or content, Bruegel's example opened up representational opportunities that the *Small Landscapes* would bear out only a few years later.

Bruegel's first involvement with the print shop *Aux Quatre Vents* came with Cock's previously discussed translation of a drawing by Bruegel now in Prague into the *Landscape with the Temptation of Christ* etching around 1554 (figs. 1.121, 1.122). As Riggs has argued, Bruegel's drawing was not initially intended as a preparatory sketch for an etching.⁷² Cock's replacement of the bears in the foreground of Bruegel's drawing with the suitably significant figures of Christ and the devil shows him adhering to his persistent tendency to lend landscape consequence through biblical narrative. There is, however, a notable difference in the format of the landscape from any of the prints previously discussed. The horizon is substantially lower, thereby condensing the view and bringing it down to a human perspective. The forest on the left side of the print is dense and the trees twist with lively animation. They give way on the right-hand side of the print to a serene river with windmills and villages scattered along its banks. Gone are the heaving mountainous terrains and the topographical caprices; in their place we are presented with a strikingly naturalistic vista. Though Bruegel's drawing is certainly composed, it conveys the unmistakable impression, if not of directly observed reality, then of the convincing immediacy of a real place. Perhaps because Bruegel conceived of

⁷² See Riggs 1979, 167 and Riggs 1977, 270-271. There is a drawing the Louvre (cat. no. INV 21093) that has been seen as an intermediate preparatory drawing from the print by Cock by Lugt and others. Riggs, following Arndt, suggests that it is instead a late sixteenth-century copy after the print. Riggs 1977, 242, with further bibliography.

it as a landscape without staffage, Cock's figures appear both stylistically and compositionally isolated within the otherwise cohesive, harmonious environment around them. The slight aridity of both Matthys Cock's and Gassel's designs is supplanted in Bruegel's composition by a thickness and density of atmosphere that even Hieronymus Cock's rather brittle, jagged etching style cannot dissipate and Cock's typical urge to harness the picture with a religious message does not compromise the new degree of autonomous vitality that this landscape possesses.

Soon after Cock's experiment with Bruegel's drawing, the publisher commissioned him to design a full series of twelve scenes known today as the *Large Landscapes* (figs. 1.123-1.128). Simultaneously, Bruegel drew a preparatory drawing for a single print of an *Alpine Landscape* of slightly larger dimensions, which Cock published without a title printed at the bottom of the sort that he attached to the prints that make up the series. Both the series and the single landscape were translated into prints by the van Doetecum brothers. For the designs, Bruegel drew upon a cache of sketches that he had made during his earlier trip to Italy probably between the years of 1551 and 1554, especially those he had made of his passage through the Alps. As Van Mander famously put it, "when [Bruegel] was in the Alps he swallowed all those mountains and rocks which, upon returning home, he spat out again onto canvases and panels, so faithfully was he able, in this respect and others, to follow Nature."⁷³ Again, despite their naturalism, it is misleading to assume that his designs for the series are accurate and realistic representations of specific Alpine locales. Nils Büttner has eloquently explained that "it was not [Bruegel's] goal to represent the individual physiognomic details of

⁷³ Van Mander-Miedema, vol. 1, 190.

particular areas of the alps, but rather to characterize the type of the alpine landscape through the striking, almost encyclopedic addition of all of these features into the narrow frame of each print," so that each print might more rightly be understood as a compendium of the experience of the Alps rather than a documentary description of a specific place within the mountain range.⁷⁴ The resulting sheets contain the massive, powerful cliffs and crags that one might expect of Alpine scenes, but these are rooted, solid formations, not the sort of arbitrary fantasies that characterize Matthys Cock's designs or Hieronymus Cock's background landscapes. In place of these generic formulations, Bruegel has created a vital terrain.

If the biblical figures that Cock inserted into the *Landscape with the Temptation of Christ* appear somewhat incongruous, the biblical staffage that he has included here has been even further sidelined. These figures, squeezed into tiny corners in some of the most dramatic mountainous landscapes, look like inconsequential addenda. They are hidden deep in shadows and would hardly draw our notice at all were it not for the

⁷⁴ Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft: Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen: 2000), 174. Büttner goes on to argue that because Bruegel's sixteenth-century audience did not have the same expectations of accuracy from topographic documents that we do, these viewers therefore understood Bruegel's depictions of the Alps as highly realistic. He cites Van Mander, Ortelius and Lampsonius, all of whom characterize Bruegel as a particular "natural" painter. It is worth noting that the commentators that he cites are all speaking in an idiom particularly oriented toward the emerging artistic categories of the day that distinguished Romanist and Italianate painters from the sort of "natural" vernacular style epitomized by Bruegel, not only or even especially in his landscapes. Thus, to whatever extent Bruegel's landscapes might have been read in a chorographic light, these contemporary writers stress his naturalism because of the role it played in artistic discourse rather than as a commendation of the documentary value of Bruegel's landscapes. On Bruegel's place in this discourse, see David Freedberg, "Allusion and Topicality in the Work of Pieter Bruegel: The Implications of a Forgotten Polemic," in *The Prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, ed. David Freedberg (Exh. cat., Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo: 1989). Art historians have nevertheless attempted to read Bruegel's Alpine drawings as carefully observed records of specific places. This pursuit, however satisfying to the curiosity it may be or helpful in attempting to chart the exact route of Bruegel's travels through the Alps, fails to account for the real importance of these drawings and the role that they eventually played in the creation of a new mode of landscape representation in prints.

inscriptions below, certainly added by Cock, that specifically single them out as the subjects of the images (fig. 1.123).

On the other hand, there are several prints within the series in which the figures appear more integrated within their surroundings; they are drawn more closely to scale and accord better with the style and character of the landscape itself, suggesting that they might have been part of Bruegel's original conceptions.⁷⁵ It is significant to note that, with few exceptions, these are not religious figures that bring with them an allegorical or symbolic message, but rather average peasants, soldiers, and travelers that serve to further articulate the landscape, rather than vice versa (figs. 1.124-1.128).⁷⁶ Their presence does not transform the landscape into a backdrop for a significant narrative, but rather helps to foreground and exemplify the character of the land itself. With this switch in focus, these prints are more truly and solely concentrated on the landscape than any of Cock's other undertakings. This key shift opened the way for Cock to develop a new vision of independent landscape as a viable artistic category in the graphic arts that we see in the publication of the *Small Landscapes*.

Several of the prints in the *Large Landscapes* also forecast the *Small Landscapes* in the distinctly local character of the landscapes that they depict. In particular, the

⁷⁵ The preparatory drawing for the *Solicitud Rustica* print provides a very close model for the entire landscape composition, but leaves the left foreground blank. Reversed in the print, this is precisely the area that is filled by the three figures and the wagon. Nonetheless, they bear a close resemblance to Bruegel's own peasant figures, so it is possible that the engravers were working from models provided by the artist but not included in the preparatory drawing or that they copied his figural types from other works, possibly paintings. When compared with the figures in the *Flight into Egypt* print, for instance, it is immediately clear that the *Solicitud Rustica* figures bear no resemblance to Cock's more pinched and slight figural types.

⁷⁶ The one exception is the *Euntes in Emmaus* print. This inscription transforms the three typical Flemish travelers that we see walking away from the picture plane in the right foreground into Christ with two of his disciples, as described in Luke 24:13-27. There is no other clues within the picture that would suggest this biblical association, and it may have been appended only when Cock added the titles at the bottom on the prints.

Pagus Nemorosus print abandons the majesty and enormous scope of the alpine views of the series, centering instead on the flatter, wooded terrain more typical of the Flemish countryside (fig. 1.126). The scene is peopled by two men driving a covered wagon along a flooded road as they follow another wagon which is already disappearing into the woods before them. They are accompanied by two soldiers. Another peasant, looking on from the left side of the road, raises his right arm in greeting. This encounter takes place in the heart of a village nestled within the woods, with a church steeple and several gabled roofs rising over the treetops on the left side of the print. The road, which leads out past the village and deeper into the woods, gives way to a river and city barely visible in the far background of the print. Such a representation of a commonplace setting and its occupants eschews the monumental grandeur of unfamiliar mountainous terrains, ancient ruins, or fantastical realms. Here it is precisely the local and the familiar that are showcased, transformed within the context of the expansive reach of the rest of the series into a significant component within the larger world.

Suggestions of the Flemish countryside are included in other of the *Large Landscapes* at the borders of the alpine expanses that rise toward the edges and in the far distance of the prints. For instance, *Plastrum Belgicum* depicts two peasants again driving a covered wagon, this time down a steep slope toward a large, fortified town situated along the banks of two converging rivers (fig. 1.127). On the far sides of both rivers rise the characteristic peaks of Bruegel's alpine mountains, but wedged between them lies the Flemish countryside, with its typical churches, manor houses, and farmsteads, on a rolling, but decidedly tamer, terrain. The *Euntes in Emaus* sheet almost entirely does away with the suggestion of an alpine setting, providing instead a vista over

the farms and pastures, villages and ports of a more domestic landscape with the same reach and majesty that is bestowed on the mountain scenes in the other prints (fig. 1.128).

The elevated point of view in these prints creates such extensive views that we feel that we can see to the very edge of the earth. The local Flemish scenes represented within them are encompassed within the universal reach of the prints, and thereby elevated to an equivalent visual status as the daunting alpine prospects. Bruegel's designs manipulate local signifiers into the universalizing context of the *Large Landscapes* series, compressing and combining diverse topographical and typological features into the confines of each single print. The resulting images bear scant relationship to the geographic reality of the Flemish countryside. Instead, they bring together the familiar and the unknown, the local and distant, into harmony with one another as the components of a single, unified world. The local Flemish landscape, previously overlooked as insignificant and unsuitable for artistic representation, comes into its own for the first time in Bruegel's prints. The publication of the *Large Landscapes* inaugurated the local as a site of artistic representation.

There is, however, an enormous leap between the *Large Landscapes* and the *Small Landscapes*, signaled already in their respective titles. The prints after Bruegel are monumental, never less than universal in scope. Though the *Pagus Nemorosus* print lowers the horizon line and brings the focus of the print onto a more particular locale, it is nonetheless set before a far-reaching vista that extends to a distant city and the sea, thus placing this highly specific, mundane scene into the same universal context of the series as a whole. By contrast, the *Small Landscapes* lack any suggestion of the larger world and the implications of universality and integrality that it brings. Instead, each of the

prints in the *Small Landscapes* is resolutely focused on the limited confines of the simple, rustic villages and farms of the local environs, with no visual or conceptual outlet to a grander context. If in the *Large Landscapes* the local was elevated to a monumental status, it is granted an independence in the *Small Landscapes* which asserts the native Flemish landscape as a subject of artistic value without reference to the world beyond.

Cock's Audiences and the Market for Prints

It is clear that Cock's prints quickly reached a wide and international audience. Already in his 1568 edition of the *Vite*, Vasari provides a long list of over 195 prints by Cock that he had seen and knew.⁷⁷ He tends to focus on the subject matter of these prints and attributes the printmaking to Cock himself, even when the name or initials of the actual engraver were clearly included on the print. Such misattributions likely stem from the fact that Cock consistently included his own name on prints that he published and was much less assiduous in crediting either the designer or printmaker. Prints seem to have been sold under his name, thus reinforcing Vasari's mistake.⁷⁸ That Vasari mentions so

⁷⁷ Vasari first included an extensive treatment of prints in his 1568 edition of the *Vite* in his "Life of Marcantonio." Here Vasari lists over 500 prints by artist both north and south of the Alps. He begins with the prints of Schongauer, Dürer, and Lucas van Leyden before turning his attention to Marcantonio. He then discusses contemporary printmakers in Italy and finally turns to their peers in the North. As Getscher's recent study of Vasari's interest in prints indicates, Vasari most frequently mentions prints according to their subject matter and lists rather than describes them. Getscher convincingly argues that, unlike paintings or sculptures, Vasari did not feel compelled to describe these prints, because, unlike his passages devoted to paintings, he could assume that his audience of collectors and artists knew these printed images well. Vasari's assumption of a familiarity with not only Italian prints but also the work of northern artists and publishers lends further credence to the idea that by the mid-sixteenth century, such prints regularly spread far beyond their places of publication. See Giorgio Vasari and Robert H. Getscher, *An annotated and illustrated version of Giorgio Vasari's History of Italian and northern prints from his Lives of the artists, 1550 & 1568*, 2 vols. (Lewiston N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), 11.

⁷⁸ Getscher pleads in Vasari's defence: "With Cock's name usually prominent on the engraving, do not fault Vasari for remembering it over the actual scribe of the lines. Prints seem to have been sold under his name much like a Dürer... and individual craftsmen ignored in the process." This must have been precisely the effect that Cock sought by signing his prints in the way that he did, since he deliberately

many of the prints published by Cock indicates both how accessible and how important Cock's output was in artistic circles in Italy. His prints must have been distributed and sold among the major print shops in Rome, Florence, and Venice.⁷⁹ There is also documentary evidence that Cock's prints were sold in Paris by the bookseller Martin le Jeune, who received prints from Cock via Christophe Plantin.⁸⁰ Cock's prints are also regularly mentioned in the catalogues of the Frankfurt bookfairs.⁸¹

Indeed, as Vasari's special attention to prints suggests, artists must have been one of Cock's primary markets. We have very little direct evidence about the specific audiences that Cock sought to reach with his prints, but he is explicit about the usefulness of his prints as artists' tools. Many of the title-pages of his sets specifically recommend the prints to artists; indeed, this was a traditional function for prints, which often served

wished to announce his enterprise as a publisher rather than highlight or spread the fame of any of the individual artists in his employ. See Getscher 2003, 11.

⁷⁹ In Lafreri's 1572 list of the prints available for sale in his shop in Rome, there are several entries that may refer to prints published by Cock, though his description of prints is so limited as to rule out a conclusive connection. On the other hand, Cock's prints often made up part of the *Speculum Romanae* collections that Lafreri collated to order for patrons, which indicates that Lafreri must have had a supply of Cock's prints, particularly those series of the ruins of ancient Rome, one designed and etched by Cock himself in 1551 and another after Cock's designs and etched by the van Doetecums in 1561. For Lafreri's handlist of prints, see Etienne Du Pérac and others, *Roma prima di Sisto V* (Roma: Danesi, 1908), 53-59.

⁸⁰ See Delen 1932.

⁸¹ See Bernhard Fabian, ed., *Die Messkataloge Georg Willers: Facsimiledrucke*, 5 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972-2001), vol. 1, for 1571 Fastenmesse sale catalogue: 365 for reference to Cock's *Small Book of Roman Ruins*; 366 for mention of the *Coenotaphiorum* after Vredeman de Vries and published by Cock in 1563; 367 for reference to the *Seasons* series after Pieter Bruegel and Hans Bol, engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and published by Cock in 1570. Also in volume 1, see the 1571 Herbstmesse catalogue: 400 for reference to the 1556 decorative series after Cornelis Floris. Three other works after Vredeman de Vries, *Caryatidum*, c. 1565; *Grottesco*, c. 1565-71; and *Artis Perspectivae*, 1568, all published by Gerard de Jode, also show up in the records of the 1571 Frankfurt Fair (see 366 and 400-401). Another work by Vredeman de Vries, *Exercitatio Alphabetica*, 1569, published by Willelmine Liefrinck and sold by Cristoph Plantin, was also sold at the fair (see 365). A map of the Netherlands by the van Doetecums and published by Gerard de Jode in 1566 is also recorded in the 1571 records and again in 1573 (see 474 and 534). Gastaldi's *Map of Africa*, published by de Jode c. 1569, sold at the fair in 1573 (see 534).

as models for painters, woodcarvers, intarsia workers, goldsmiths, and other craftsmen.⁸² Like drawings and sketchbooks in a master's workshop, prints often recorded designs and motifs that might easily be incorporated into paintings. On the title-page to the *Landscapes with Biblical and Mythological Scenes* after Matthys Cock, Cock advertises the series as "seer bequaem voer Schilders."⁸³ Many of the title-pages for Cornelis Floris' decorative grotesques and Vredeman de Vries' architectural series also bear such recommendations; Cock offers Vredeman de Vries' 1560 *Scenographiae* series "in gratiam pictorum," while Floris' 1557 decorative series is asserted to be "zeer beqwame voer beeltsniders an/tijksniders schilders en alle Constenaers." Certainly these kinds of cartouches and perspectival designs provided clear delineations of forms that may have been utilized by artists; however, as Riggs suggests, the light modeling and shading and

⁸² Claudia Goldstein has described how designs from prints have been used to decorate such household objects as ceramic jugs and tiles. See Claudia Goldstein, "Keeping up appearances: The social significance of domestic decoration in Antwerp, 1508-1600" (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2003), 84-97. In 1719, Pierre-Jean Mariette would complain of the quality of prints available in Italy, remarking that they had been "destroyed by the painters" who used them for copying. Though Mariette's comments come more than a hundred years later, there is much evidence to suggest that painters in the sixteenth century used prints in a similar fashion. See Chapter Four. My thanks to Mark McDonald and Michael Bury for their assistance in helping me to rediscover this anecdote, which is quoted in Antony Griffiths, "The Archaeology of the Print," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500-1750.*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (Andershot: Ashgate, in association with The Burlington Magazine, 2002), 21. Engraving was a debated art form in early sixteenth-century Antwerp, where the painters' guild sought to require printmakers to join them and follow the guild's regulations, while printmakers occasionally fought for the legal right to work independently, much as book printers did until the municipal authorities tried to establish oversight of their output in 1558. See van der Stock 1998, Chapter One. As van der Stock notes, the efforts of the painter's guild to incorporate printmakers into their ranks were almost entirely successful. However, the impetus behind the guild's interest in printmakers probably had more to do with an effort to limit and control competition than with an acknowledgment of the use to which prints could be put by painters and other members of the guild.

⁸³ Riggs notes that these prints were indeed used as models by other artists, as can be seen in the etched copies of many of the prints, by Veronese printmaker Angelo Falconetti among others, as well as several drawings attributed to Ulisse Severino da Cingoli, which borrow from these designs. See Riggs 1977, 274-279; J. Bolten, "Messer Ulisse Severino da Cingoli: A Bypath in the History of Art," *Master Drawings* 7 (1969); and Gianvittorio Dillon, "Stampe e libri a Verona negli anni di Palladio," in *Palladio e Verona*, ed. P. Marini (Vicenza: 1980), 273-74; and Gianvittorio Dillon, et. al., *La collezione di stampe antiche, Museo di Castelvechio, Verona, Italy* (Milano: Mazzotta, 1985), 30, who also suggests Hieronymus Cock's influence on Angelo Falconetti's landscape prints in general.

the dispersed compositions of landscape series would have lent themselves less easily to serving as pictorial models for artists as the title-pages so often suggest.⁸⁴

Rather, such prints must also have been equally targeted toward collectors who valued them for the subjects that they so artfully presented. Indeed, this is the other group of potential purchasers to whom Cock addresses himself in his title-pages, often in the same series that he directs towards artists. In addition to artists, Matthys Cock's *Landscapes with Biblical and Mythological Scenes* were recommended explicitly for the pleasure of "liefhebbers der consten," while the title-page of works after Vredeman de Vries or Cornelis Floris make overtures to this same kind of audience.⁸⁵ Like the collecting of finished drawings,⁸⁶ print collecting was fairly new in the mid-sixteenth century. It was Cock and other publishers like him who were largely responsible for initiating this new breed of collector with an appreciation for prints as aesthetic images, especially in the new field of landscape prints.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ See Riggs 1977, 196.

⁸⁵ The title-page to Cornelis Floris' 1556 decorative series was more generally offered "tot dienste van alle die de Consten beminne ende ghebruiken," while Vredeman de Vries' *Eersten Boeck* of architectural details, published by Cock in 1565, states that it is intended "voer Schilders, Beeltsnyders, Steenhouwers, Schrynwerckers, Gelaesmakers, en allen Constbeminners," thus setting collectors and enthusiasts at the end of a list of all the kinds of audiences to whom the series might appeal. It is interesting to note how closely associated these two audiences – artists and art lovers – were associated on these title-pages. Such proximity in these texts might bespeak a real connection between these groups, suggesting that these early art collectors were perhaps quite closely associated with artists, or were perhaps even practicing artists themselves who took to collecting as well as producing art.

⁸⁶ See Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft: Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen: 2000), 21-27 for the market for finished drawings by Bruegel and other artists in the middle of the sixteenth century.

⁸⁷ Woodcuts and also engravings had long been bought in connection with pilgrimages and for other functional purposes. However, the kind of collecting with which I am concerned here is the collection of prints as works of art with aesthetic and topical interest rather than collecting motivated by more affective or religious purposes.

The dedications of many of Cock's prints confirm that this was an important audience for Cock's artistic prints. Indeed, the dedicatees were often part of the very highest echelons of society and were probably responsible at least in part for bearing the costs of expensive projects. They might also have possessed a certain editorial power in the process of selecting, commissioning and coordinating the production of these prints in return for their financial backing, though this must have varied significantly from project to project.⁸⁸ Including the name of such notable patrons on his prints might also have served as a marketing strategy to boost the clout of the prints with which these influential people were associated.

Eight of Cock's projects were dedicated to Antoine Perrenot, including Cock's 1551 *Roman Ruins*, Vredeman's architectural views of 1560 and 1562, and several prints after Italian or Italianizing subjects.⁸⁹ Antoine Perrenot, who succeeded his father as Lord Granvelle in 1550, was a major figure in the Spanish administration of the Low Countries until his removal from his post as Margaret of Parma's chief counselor in 1564 (fig. 1.129). He was also a notable patron of the arts, as the inscription on this 1554 print by Lambert Suavius indicates (fig. 1.130).⁹⁰

⁸⁸ According to the inscription on the fourth plate in the *Baths of Diocletian* series (1558) dedicated to Granvelle, the patron was responsible for commissioning the drawings for the series and overseeing their engraving. He was likely also involved in financially sponsoring the series. See Riggs 1977, 48-49.

⁸⁹ Specifically, Cock dedicated the following prints and series to Granvelle: Cock, *Roman Ruins*, 1551; van der Heyden after Floris, *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, 1555; Ghisi after Lombard, *Last Supper*, 1551; van Doetecums after Sebastian van Noyen, *Baths of Diocletian*, 1558; Ghisi after Raphael, *Diputà*, 1552; van Doetecums after Vredeman de Vries, *Scenographia*, 1560; van Doetecums after Vredeman de Vries, *Architectural Views*, 1562; Unidentified artist and engraver, *Antique Vase*; van Doetecums after cartographer Giovanni Giorgio Septala, *Map of the Duchy of Milan*, 1560.

⁹⁰ The inscription at lower right reads: "Unice Mecaenas O illusterrime praesul en tibi quod veneror suavius autor opus vultus effigiem licuit non sculperere metis hoc tamen in votis si licuisset erat ut velut hinc vultus sic dos foret agnita metis qua servas artes et studiosus amas." This can be loosely translated as follows: "Mecaenas, O illustrious patron, [this is dedicated] singularly to you, because the artist Suavius reveres [you], it was not permitted that the portrait engrave a likeness of the mind, however if it should have been

Judging by the projects that bear his name, Granvelle's tastes ran mostly toward traditional religious and Italian subjects on a grand scale. His association with Vredeman de Vries' series is significant, since it indicates that, despite their clear appeal for artists, such projects were also of aesthetic interest to art patrons and collectors as well.

Robert de Berghes, the eighty-seventh bishop of Liège, is listed as the dedicatee on a print by Hans Collaert after Lambert Lombard of *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles*. Robert became bishop in 1557 (fig. 1.131).⁹¹ Curiously, he was one of the strongest voices of opposition to the rearrangement of the bishoprics of the Netherlands proposed by Philip II and most dogmatically carried out by Lord Granvelle.⁹² He was not the only one mentioned on Cock's dedication pages who countered the authority of the Spanish government and Granvelle in particular; though Pieter Ernst van Mansvelt, the dedicatee of Vredeman de Vries' oval architectural views of around 1560, ultimately remained loyal to the Spanish crown, he briefly joined with the rebelling nobles of the States General who opposed Granvelle's presence in the Netherlands and demanded his removal. Evidently, Cock was not as concerned with the conflicting political opinions of his patrons as he was with their financial assistance and the influence of their social

permitted by your wishes then hence, just as a portrait of the mind this gift should be understood by you who protect the arts and earnestly love [them]." My thanks to Caroline Goodson for her assistance with this translation, though any errors are mine, not hers.

⁹¹ Robert de Berghes was probably born around 1520. He was confirmed as bishop of Liège in 1557, but abdicated his position in 1564 as a result of mental infirmity. He later died in Bergen-op-Zoom in 1567. A book published in Antwerp in 1559 about the "spa waters" of the Ardennes, probably about the renowned town of Spa, was also dedicated to Robert de Berghes. See Académie royale des sciences des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, *Biographie nationale*, 28 vols. (Bruxelles: H. Thiry-Van Buggenhoudt, 1866-1944), vol. 2.

⁹² He was opposed to the organizational change, because with the creation of three archbishoprics in Cambrai, Utrecht, and Mechelen and fourteen new bishoprics in, among other places, Ruremonde, Bois-le-Duc, Antwerp and Namur, the bishop of Liège would lose his spiritual jurisdiction over the duchies of Brabant and Gelderland, and the marquisat of Namur. For further information on Robert de Berghes, see <http://perso.infonie.be/liege06/10dix0.htm#Robert%20de%20Berghes>.

prestige. The religious content of the print dedicated to Robert de Berghes is entirely in keeping with his spiritual position, just as Mansvelt's connection with a series by Vredeman de Vries might be connected in part to the interest he took in lavishly embellishing and decorating his palace in Luxembourg and his gardens at Clausen.⁹³

There are also indications that Philip II himself supplied the capital for a set of illustrations of fortifications after Francesco de Marchi for the Duchess of Parma.⁹⁴ Though in the end the series was never published by Cock or his widow and only finally appeared in Italy in 1590, the preliminary plans for this undertaking indicate that Cock entertained patronage of the very highest level. Philip II was probably also at least indirectly responsible for commissioning and financing the *Funeral Procession of Charles V*, the joint work of Plantin and Cock dated 1559. The project appears to have been commissioned and supervised by Pierre de Vernois, one of Philip II's heralds, and at least partially financed by Margaret of Parma.⁹⁵

In addition to these instances of direct involvement with Cock, Philip II would have been most familiar with the latter's output through his renowned chaplain, librarian and humanist, Benito Arias Montano, who purchased hundreds of prints both in Antwerp

⁹³ Mansfelt sponsored a major project of excavations throughout the province of Luxembourg in search of antiquities with which to decorate his gardens. See Académie royale des sciences des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, *Biographie nationale*, 28 vols. (Bruxelles: H. Thiry-Van Buggenhoudt, 1866-1944), vol. 13.

⁹⁴ On November 15, 1567, Cock was paid 128 livres toward this project, but the plates, if they ever existed, have not survived. It is possible that the prints were never finished because de Marchi died in 1567; the book was finally published in Italy in 1590. See Alexandre Joseph Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: documents inédits publiés et annotés* (Ghent: 1850), vol. 1, 141, 149, 166; vol. 2, 289.

⁹⁵ On the *Funeral Procession*, see Stephanie Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was': Ritual and Power in Charles V's 1558 Funeral Procession," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 49 (1998), 68-93. In addition, a map of North and South America, engraved by an unidentified engraver after cartographer Diego Gutierrez and published in 1562, was also dedicated to Margaret of Parma, who served as Governor General of the Netherlands on her brother's behalf until 1567.

and in Italy for Philip's collections.⁹⁶ Arias Montano was in active correspondence with the famed geographer Ortelius in Antwerp, through whom he obtained many prints for his royal patron, including one after a painting by Bruegel in Ortelius' possession and engraved by Philips Galle. He also resided in Antwerp between 1568 and 1575, when Philip II sent him to oversee Plantin's production of the monumental Polyglot Bible, which was published in 1572. Their extensive professional contact probably meant that Plantin was another of Arias Montano's main sources of prints.⁹⁷ On at least one occasion, Plantin furnished Arias Montano with Cock's prints, a set of portraits.⁹⁸ In all likelihood, Arias Montano also bought prints directly from Cock himself while he was in Antwerp and possibly after his return to Spain. Hundreds of prints issued by Cock eventually found their way into Arias Montano's collection at the Escorial.

Among them were copies of the *Small Landscapes* that, together with almost two hundred other prints originating from the Netherlands, France and Germany, made up part of an extensive album entitled "Paysages y Villages."⁹⁹ That landscape prints would be bound together in a volume and identified as such is worth noting, since it indicates

⁹⁶ Mark McDonald's research in the Escorial had yielded a great amount of information about this collection. It was made up of over 7,000 prints distributed in 36 albums. Even if Arias Montano was not solely responsible for compiling this collection, his extensive correspondence and records of his purchases of books indicate that he was a major buyer for Philip II. See McDonald 1998, 15 and 22. For further on Arias Montano and the arts, see Sylvaine Hänsel, *Der spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) und die Kunst*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft. Zweite Reihe; 25. Bd. (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1991).

⁹⁷ For the professional collaborations between Plantin and Arias Montano, see Karen Bowen, "Illustrating Books with Engravings: Plantin's Working Practices Revealed," *Print Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (2003).

⁹⁸ Plantin's records read: "1568. Adi 29 Decembris D. Arias Montano doibt pr les devant dictes protraictures eues de Jeronymus Cock la somme de fl. 80 que il les a eues toutes du M^e avec les deux Nativites que il les vendt. val. fl. 80." See Delen 1932, 6.

⁹⁹ The album in which the *Small Landscapes* were bound is Album 28-III-6. It contained a total of 240 prints. For a complete index of the prints in this and all of the albums in the Escorial Collection, refer to the appendix of Mark McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial," *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1998), 27-35.

that landscape was already an understood and accepted category among print collectors of the highest ranking.¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, the title page of the 1561 *Small Landscapes* series was mounted on the first page of this volume, though the prints themselves follow much later. Perhaps the title-page, which announces the *Small Landscapes* as a series of rustic villages and farms, was intended to serve as a gloss for the entire volume, reinforcing the general title of ‘landscapes and villages’ inscribed on the album’s cover. This is somewhat surprising, since many of the other prints in the volume offer very different kinds of content and compositions. Many of the prints included under this category also contain some sort of biblical or mythological subject. Philips Galle’s series of *Scenes from the Old and New Testament and of the Metamorphoses of Ovid* followed the 1561 title-page, and two series of the Fontainebleau artist Leon Davent’s landscapes with mythological stories after Leonard Thiry were also included. Allegories and personifications by Delaune were mounted next to a large series of prints of birds by Nelli. To categorize these various types of scenes and subjects as, first and foremost, landscapes realigns our reading of them. Rather than being sorted and mounted according to these nominal subjects, this collection encourages us to focus on the settings that surround these narrative or allegorical scenes. By placing them all under the aegis of the 1561 title-page, it is somehow the quality, content and scope of the *Small Landscapes* that are called upon to set the tone for the whole volume. Despite their disparate subjects, what holds these prints together was that they were collected and appreciated as landscape images.

¹⁰⁰ Philip II’s collection was bound together into these albums in the later sixteenth century, probably in the 1560s and 1570s, after the Escorial was founded in 1563 and when Arias Montano was most active as Philip’s librarian and buyer.

The album with the *Small Landscapes* was not the only one in the Escorial collection devoted to landscapes; a second one was entitled “Paysages. Ruynas Naves Y. Pescados”. The diversity of subjects in this heading indicates the wide range of prints to be found within it, but again the title signals that many of these images are also intended to be appreciated for their landscapes rather than their narrative subjects. The volume included, for example, Cock’s *Landscapes with Biblical and Mythological Scenes*, and landscapes after Hans Bol and Lucas Gassel, as well as all three of Cock’s *Roman Ruins* series.

There was another comparable sixteenth-century royal collection, organized according to similar criteria, into which the *Small Landscapes* also made their way. Ferdinand, the Archduke of Tyrol, amassed an enormous print collection at Ambras. More explicitly encyclopedic than Philip II’s, Ferdinand’s volumes were intended to complement his larger library and collection of objects and artifacts, which together offered a compendium of natural and human history and a taxonomy of the many different classes of things.¹⁰¹ The *Small Landscapes* feature in two of these albums, both of which were titled as collections of landscapes and included a range of prints by German, French and Italian artists.¹⁰² There are duplicates of many images in both albums; along with the *Small Landscapes*, Bruegel’s *Large Landscapes*, Bol’s *River Landscapes*, and Cock’s *Landscapes with Biblical and Mythological Scenes* and *Roman*

¹⁰¹ For the conceptual underpinnings governing print collecting in this kind of encyclopedic context, see E. M. Hajós, “The Concept of an Engravings Collection in the Year 1565: Quicchelberg, ‘Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi,’” *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958).

¹⁰² The two albums are Album 6638 and 6641, now both housed in the Kupferstichsammlung Ambras collection at the Kunstkammer, Vienna. For a catalogue of all of the albums in the collection, see Peter Parshall, “The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 42 (1982).

Ruins, among others, all show up in both. This overlap suggests that extra copies of the prints came into the collection at different times and were bound into different albums where adequate space could be found for them.¹⁰³ On the other hand, it is also possible that these duplications are more deliberate and that the images that are represented twice or even more frequently in the collection might have been deemed especially valuable, aesthetically interesting, or conceptually important for the collection.¹⁰⁴

Unlike the Escorial albums, there is no clear evidence of how or through whom the *Small Landscapes* and the many other prints published by Cock made their way into Ferdinand's collections. It is possible that Cock himself sent copies of prints to the Archduke, either upon request or as a ploy to gain the Archduke's favor. Both of the landscape albums contain extensive clusters of prints published by Cock, who may have sent large caches of his prints at a time to Ferdinand that were then incorporated *in toto* into the albums. He might also have employed a librarian with contacts in Antwerp, like Arias Montano for Philip II, and acquired his prints via this intermediary.

¹⁰³ In Album 6638, for instance, complete sets often occupy the rectos of several sequential pages, while the versos are used to mount other, often completely unrelated prints. Such an arrangement suggests that prints were first mounted onto the rectos and later, as space ran short, the backs of the pages were employed to house more recent acquisitions.

¹⁰⁴ In the case of Dürer's prints, for instance, it is quite likely that their value was central to their position in the collection; not only are Dürer's prints spread throughout the albums organized according to subject matter, his prints were also collected together in a more monographic way in three album dedicated exclusively to him. It is also possible that some prints were understood to illustrate more than one aspect of the encyclopedic scope of the collection and duplicates were therefore required so that these images could be catalogued in each of the relevant categories. This might have been a factor especially in the case of landscape prints that also include biblical subject matter, for instance, since such images might feature in albums dedicated to religious subjects on the one hand and landscapes on the other. It is less clear that there was a conceptual reason of this nature determining their inclusion in both albums dedicated to landscape prints. In other words, Albums 6638 and 6641 do not seem to be distinct enough in focus or arrangement to suggest that these duplicated prints might take on different interpretive resonances in each album.

From the evidence of his title-pages and his dedications, as well as the presence of his prints in royal collections, we can extrapolate that Cock's prints, and specifically his landscape prints, entered into the collections of royal patrons, other members of their courts, aristocratic collectors, humanists, and wealthy merchants in Antwerp and across Europe, as well as the studios of artists – that is, the broad spectrum of elite “Constliefhebers.” By the time that Cock's widow, Volcxken Diericx, struck a deal with Bartholomeus de Momper in 1582, in which she supplied the art dealer with loose and bound prints and maps from her stock to sell on her behalf, she could confidently refer to the “noblemen, burghers and others” that might be interested in purchasing them.¹⁰⁵ Among the prints that she entrusted to De Momper were fifty-one copies of two different books of landscape prints, as well as twenty-four books of prints of ruins, which makes clear that landscapes were certainly part of the print collector's aesthetic repertoire. The preponderance of landscapes in Cock's output in the busiest years of his enterprise and their incorporation into extensive royal collections as a distinct category further reinforce the idea that landscape prints had become an important component of any distinguished print collection.

Furthermore, inventories from Antwerp officials, merchants and tradesmen from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries often include mention, however cursory, of prints. Though not necessarily print collectors in any methodical way, these people certainly possessed printed images among their household goods. After their

¹⁰⁵ The contract refers to the prices that de Momper would be allowed to charge his customers for Cock's prints. For other print and art dealers – that is for wholesale transactions – the prices specified by Volcxken Diericx had to be followed, but for the individual “edelluyden, borgers oft andere” to whom he sold the prints, de Momper could charge whatever he pleased. See van der Stock 1998, Appendix 3, Document 56, 406.

deaths, their prints were then considered important or valuable enough to be included in inventories, particularly when they were framed. Though the prints are sometimes listed as being stored in rolls or bunches,¹⁰⁶ often prints are recorded as framed and therefore likely hanging on walls.¹⁰⁷ Many of these inventories specify a print as a *gedructe beelt* or *gedructe schilderye* – that is a printed picture - but notaries often simply describe works as *pampieren schilderykens*, that is ‘paper paintings.’¹⁰⁸ It is likely that in most cases, these refer to prints that may have been colored to resemble paintings as closely as possible, though the terminology is rather ambiguous. Often these printed pictures and

¹⁰⁶ Duverger, vol. 1, nos. 26, 46, 55, and 124, for example.

¹⁰⁷ Duverger, vol. 1, nos. 4, 9, 33, 48, etc. Prints seem to have been hanging on walls for some time already when Cock began selling his prints. The testimony of Catherine Massys during her trial on charges of heresy in 1546 makes mention of the fact that prints that were deemed heretical hung on her walls. See van der Stock 1998, 129 and Appendix 3, Document 25, 343-44. See also Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft: Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen: 2000), 36-38; and M Melot, "Note sur une gravure encadrée du XVIIe siècle," *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 9 (1973). In Italy, there is also evidence that prints were glazed, framed, and hung on walls. Indeed, several Italian printmakers took the eventual presentation of their works into account, leaving space between the image and the platemark to accommodate a frame or even engraving trompe l'oeil frames around their images. See D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven and London: 1994), 289.

¹⁰⁸ There has been no systematic study of sixteenth and seventeenth-century inventories that indicates how and with what frequency prints are recorded. The terminology and specificity of any individual inventory depends on the notary who recorded it. However, these terms appear repeatedly. While the terms *gedructe beelt* and *gedructe schilderye* clarify that the images are printed, I am convinced that other terms like *pampieren schilderykens* or *schilderyen op pa(m)pier* also refer to printed images. They could also refer to other sorts of images on paper, including drawings, though there is no evidence of drawings displayed in this fashion until well into the eighteenth century. I thank Jennifer Jones for this information in personal communication. See also her unpublished 2004 CAA talk and forthcoming dissertation. Maps are also often listed as *pampieren caertten*, as for example in Duverger, vol. 1, no. 63. This might lend further credence to the suggestion that *pampieren schilderykens* are in fact printed images, since many maps were also printed on paper and then colored by hand before being framed and hung on walls. In Hendrickx's transcriptions of the artworks in 133 sixteenth-century Antwerp inventories, six specifically refer to prints (some of these references seem to be to printed texts that were framed and hung rather than images, as for example in the case of a "tafel van geprinte revereynen in eenen herdde lyst" (Hendrickx boedelnummer 27)). In one case from 1581, the notary lists "dnye gedructe beelden van Raphael martelisatie" (Hendrickx boedelnummer 69). Fourteen more inventories include references to images *op papier*, many listed in large numbers without subjects. When the subjects are mentioned, they are in keeping with the subjects found in paintings, including the Ten Commandments and the Last Judgment. One unusual subject that appears frequently in both paintings and pictures on paper in these inventories is *poeterye*, or poetry. See Bert Hendrickx, "Het schilderijenbezit van de Antwerpse burger in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw: een socio-economische analyse" (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1997), boedelnummers 20, 26, 27, 45, 47, 53, 55, 61, 63, 65, 66, 69, 82, and 102.

paper pictures are said to be small and they are often mentioned in groups, with more than ten inventoried in a single entry.¹⁰⁹ It is worth noting that framed prints are mentioned together with paintings on both panel and canvas and that they are found in all of the same rooms in the house, both public and more private, as paintings and other luxury goods.

The majority of the framed and unframed works on paper are not specified according to subject matter. When they are, they are most frequently listings of maps.¹¹⁰ As has been discussed above, printed maps were a great impetus behind the expansion of the print trade in Antwerp, where interest in cartographic representation was prevalent among a broad cross-section of the city's population – nobles, government officials, merchants and humanists. That maps, therefore, should be one of the main sorts of prints to be framed and displayed is hardly surprising. However, they were not the only printed images to be granted a place on the walls of Antwerp's homes. When notaries do indicate the subjects of other prints, their content is strikingly similar to that of the framed paintings with which they shared wall space; images of devotional subjects like the Virgin Mary and various saints or images of the Last Supper and the Annunciation seem to be recorded by the notaries particularly frequently and often the same collection will

¹⁰⁹ Duverger, vol. 1, nos. 9, 19, and especially no. 33, which mentions "XIII Pampieren schilderykens op bert geplact in lysten" in a cabinet in a bedroom. No. 104 lists "Thien cleyn printe affgesette schilderykens de vyff vergult, al in lystkens," that is, ten small printed, trimmed (or with trim or borders) images, five gilt (colored?), all in frames.

¹¹⁰ Hendrickx finds maps listed in 23 of the 133 sixteenth-century inventories he surveyed. Many of these inventories include large numbers of maps in many different rooms of the house. The inventory of Michiel Bredesteyn de Oude, a surgeon, taken in 1574 lists ten maps of European countries and the whole world, including two specifically mentioned as by Mercator. See Bert Hendrickx, "Het schilderijenbezit van de Antwerpse burger in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw: een socio-economische analyse" (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1997), boedelnummer 27.

have these same subjects in painted and printed renditions.¹¹¹ Such comparable descriptions of framed prints and paintings signal that these images must have been regarded in a similar manner. Though framed prints might not have been as valuable as their painted equivalents, they certainly functioned in the same manner within the house where they were hung side by side.¹¹²

Individual prints could easily be framed, but the larger series of prints that Cock published were probably more likely to be bound in albums and stored together with books, more on the model of those royal albums discussed above rather than bundled

¹¹¹ Duverger, vol. 1, nos. 9, 33, 47, 66, and 109. The latter includes the following inventory items in various rooms: "Een gedruet Mariënbeeldek in lysten [a printed image of Mary in a frame], Drie gedruete beeldekens oft figuerkens: d'een Crucifix en d'ander van Erasmus Schetz [three printed images or figures, one of a crucifix and another of Erasmus Schetz], Drie afbeeldinghen op papier [three pictures on paper], Twee gedruete afgesette beeldekens Bootschap van Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe [two printed, trimmed (or bordered) images of the Annunciation], Een gedruete schilderye Hemelvaert afgeset in swerte lysten [a printed picture of the Resurrection set in a black frame], Figure Ons Heer ende van Maria gedruet op papier afgeset sonder lysten [the figure of Our Lord and Mary printed on paper with borders without a frame], Twee gedruete schilderykens op papier d'een afgeset in lysten [two printed pictures on paper, one set in a frame], Gedruete figure op papier van Erasmus Schetz in lysten [printed figure on paper of Erasmus Schetz in a frame], Drie gedruete schilderyen verlichterye van Sinte-Cecilia in lysten [three printed, illuminated pictures of Saint Cecilia in a frame], Een gedruete schilderyken verlicht Kersnacht in lysten [a printed, illuminated picture of the Nativity in a frame]." The terminology employed here is extremely consistent, with images generally referred to as either *beeldekens* or *schilderyen*, and almost all of the entries clarify that the images are on paper and whether or not they are framed (and, one can therefore assume, hung on the wall). Two images are also specified as illuminated, or colored, presumably so that they more closely resemble paintings. The use of the word *schilderyen* to refer to these images indicates that the term was not reserved for paintings, but could indeed refer to printed pictures, thus reinforcing the idea that the phrase *pampieren schilderyekens* used elsewhere may indeed refer to printed images, even when they are not more precisely specified as such. This inventory is notable also for the unusual mention of two printed portraits of Erasmus Schetz, *heer* of Grobbendonk in the mid-sixteenth century. Dated November, 1608, the inventory records the property of the late Jacomo de la Chiesa, husband of Anna Gramaye. It is perhaps unsurprising to find so many prints in Anna's household, since her name would suggest a familial connection to the financier and print collector Gerard Gramaye.

¹¹² Of course, paintings produced in large quantities from workshop models and sold on the open market were not especially expensive in this period, while print illumination and framing would have driven up the cost of these printed images far higher than the initial modest price of the print itself. On the economic and market forces driving painting in Antwerp during this period, see Filip Vermeulen, "Art and economics: the Antwerp art market of the sixteenth century" (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2002); Filip Vermeulen, *Painting for the market: commercialization of art in Antwerp's golden age*, Studies in European urban history (1100-1800); 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003); Elizabeth A. Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, Yale publications in the history of art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

together in cabinets or hung on walls.¹¹³ Though they may not have been sold in bound volumes, Cock's frequent inclusion of title-pages makes clear that these series were intended to be grouped together.¹¹⁴ The contract between Diericx and de Momper discussed above refers to Cock's print series as "boecken" or books, as does the inventory of her holdings after her death in March, 1601.¹¹⁵ Another interesting document that reaffirms that these series were considered books and likely bound is a list drawn up by Gerard Gramaye of his extensive collection of prints in 1581. It is likely Gramaye did not collect the more than 700 prints that he lists out of sheer personal interest, but rather that this collection played a role in his commercial activities.¹¹⁶ Many of the prints on the roster were published by Hieronymus Cock, and the series are again referred to as books. Among those listed, it is worth pointing out that Gramaye possessed a copy of "Dboek vanden Lantschappen" or the book of the landscapes. It is impossible to know which of Cock's landscape series this might refer to, but it reaffirms that

¹¹³ Inventories occasionally mention books of prints. See Duverger, vol. 1, no. 90 ("vier grootte dicke boecken met geprinte figuren") and no. 99 ("Een boecxken met diverse konstigh gedruete figuren oft beeldekens"), for example. For the storage of prints in the sixteenth century, see Antony Griffiths, "The Archaeology of the Print," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500-1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (Andershot: Ashgate, in association with The Burlington Magazine, 2002). On the other hand, Cock's single-sheet prints would have been perfectly suited for framing and hanging; in the high quality of their execution and printing, they must have rivaled paintings in their aesthetic appeal.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of a particular example of a sixteenth-century album of prints and its arrangement, see Antony and Anne Puetz Griffiths, "An Album of Prints of c. 1560 in the British Library," *Print Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1996).

¹¹⁵ See van der Stock 1998, Document 56; and Duverger, vol. 1, no. 1, 17-37, especially 24-25.

¹¹⁶ See van der Stock 1998, Appendix 3, document 53, 398-402. Gramaye, who was one of Antwerp's most famed financiers, who also served as treasurer of the city, was very much involved in the print trade. He possessed copper plates and used them as collateral in business deals, including the sale of a house to Hieronymus Cock, in which he accepted copperplates as collateral on the purchase. Again, see van der Stock 1998, 154-55.

landscape prints took their place beside the series of ruins, biblical subjects, and architectural treatises in the albums of Antwerp's savvy collectors and dealers.

The prices for which Cock sold his print series suggest that the potential audience for these prints was quite broad. Typically listed as costing somewhere between eight and twenty stuivers, these print series would not have been beyond the reach of artisans, small merchants and traders, and successful skilled laborers. Jan van der Stock has argued convincingly that the distinction between 'art' and 'folk' prints is useless when trying to understand the markets for and uses of prints in sixteenth-century Antwerp. Cheap prints, often produced by the ream and costing practically nothing, circulated widely and equally among the lowest as well as the highest echelons of society.¹¹⁷ Wallpaper and broadsheets were traded by the ream and peddlers sold prints on street-corners and even out in the villages of the countryside. Indeed, prints pervaded the visual life of Antwerp and found their way into public institutions and private homes alike. The more rarified subject matter and aesthetic appeal of Cock's prints probably made his audiences more limited and the prices for these prints were quite high when compared to the few pennies that cheaper prints would often go for. Plantin's records indicate that he regularly purchased copies of one or the other of the *Small Landscape* series, which he called the "dorphuysken boek" or the "livre de maisons de village," from Cock and later his widow for eight stuivers.¹¹⁸ Diericx's contract with de Momper likewise specifies

¹¹⁷ Van der Stock discusses how cheap prints were used by members of guilds and church confraternities and argues that these prints were not exclusively directed towards poorer and less educated audiences but must be understood in terms of how their content functioned across such social divisions. See van der Stock 1998.

¹¹⁸ These transactions are recorded in Plantin's records in July and December of 1568 and again in 1573, when Cock's widow had taken over her late husband's business, maintaining and utilizing the same contacts that her husband had. Delen also transcribes records of Plantin's transactions with Martin le Jeune in Paris. In 1558, he sent "3 livres de fermes de 10 s.," that is three copies of the book of farms costing 10

undetermined landscape books to be worth eight and nine stuivers respectively.¹¹⁹ Of course, to make a profit both Plantin and de Momper are likely to have charged more for these series when selling them to individual buyers, as must have Cock and Diericx as well, but the general range of these base prices reveals that they were not exorbitantly costly. Around the time the *Small Landscapes* were published, a fully employed assistant mason, for instance, was generally paid between five and a half and seven stuivers per day, while a master mason could expect around thirteen stuivers for a day's work.¹²⁰ Especially in the years around 1557 and 1561 when strong wages were paired with falling grain prices, it is not inconceivable that these workers, feeling more prosperous than usual, might have begun to put some of their surplus income towards prints, particularly if cheaper prints were part of their usual experience.¹²¹

stuivers to his colleague. The date of 1558 might seem to rule out the possibility that this item refers to the *Small Landscapes*, the first series of which is dated 1559 on the title-page, but it was common practice for publishers to post-date their series, particularly if the work was granted a privilege for a certain number of years. Thus, it is entirely possible that the *Small Landscapes* were in circulation in 1558 and had already reached as far as Paris before their official date of publication. If this reference does in fact refer to the *Small Landscapes*, it is also worth noting that Plantin raises the cost of the series from 8 stuivers – the price which Cock's widow charged for the series in 1572 – to 10 stuivers. This was likely an effort to offset the costs of shipping and to reap some reward for serving as a distributor. The same record refers to six books of landscapes, which were priced at 16 stuivers each – twice the price of the first series of *Small Landscapes*. This might refer to the *Large Landscapes* after Bruegel, which, because of their larger scale, would have cost proportionally more. The repeated mentions of the *Small Landscapes* in Plantin's records indicate that the series continued to circulate and sell long after the initial publication dates, contradicting the notion that the prints were a minor venture, little circulated and quickly forgotten. See Delen 1932, 5-7 and 10-11.

¹¹⁹ Van der Stock 1998, Document 56, 407.

¹²⁰ Etienne Scholliers, *De levensstandaard in de XVe en XVIe eeuw te Antwerpen: loonarbeid en honger* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1960), and Etienne Scholliers, *Le Pouvoir d'achat au XVIe siècle*, *Studia Historica Gandensia*, vol. 192 (Ghent: 1975). Verlinden records similar rates of pay; in the year 1550, he records the level of wages to be 9 to 12 denieren (4 ½ to 6 stuivers) for unskilled laborers and a somewhat lower rate of 12 to 15 denieren (6 to 7 ½ stuivers) for skilled workers. See Charles Verlinden, *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant (XVe-XVIIIe eeuw)*, *Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, werken uitgegeven door de faculteit van de letteren en wijsbegeerte*, vol. 125 and 136, (Bruges: 1959 and 1965), no. 136, 1965, 379-86.

¹²¹ Hugo Soly writes that despite the general trend, in which wages were rarely able to keep pace with the rising costs of living, the years 1557 to 1562 – that is, precisely the years in which the *Small Landscapes*

It is impossible to know the buying habits of artisans or laborers who have left no trace in the historical record. We can, however, take Cock's own word for it. He himself makes clever, jesting allusion to his intended audiences in many of the inscriptions he added to prints. He claims to be trying to please "'t volck" with his prints – a pun on his wife's name, but also a testimony that it was the "common people" to whom he directed his efforts.¹²² Jan van der Stock defines this "volck" as the burgeoning "totality of guilds and trades," that is, the wide middle section of society.¹²³ Even if not the kind of prints most often purchased by Antwerp's working classes, artistic prints like those that Cock published certainly would have been aimed at and accessible to these broad middle class sectors as well as the more elevated aristocratic circles that Cock's dedications and Diericx's contracts mention.

It is to this diverse Antwerp audience that I now wish to turn in order to discuss why these urban customers might have been interested in prints like the *Small Landscapes*. The visual functions of these two series must have been manifold and the images must have held different pleasures and connotations for different viewers. I would like to suggest just one approach to understanding the associations and implications that these prints might have inspired in contemporary audiences. It is important to note that during

were published – witnessed the inverse of this tendency and resulted in "an appreciable improvement in the standard of living." See Soly in Jan van der Stock, ed., *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis, 16th-17th Century* (Exh. cat., Museum Hessenhuis, Antwerp: 1993), 42.

¹²² Cock played on his wife's name in this manner in several of his prints. He writes "Laet de cock coken om tvolckx wille" at the bottom of a print in Hans Vredeman de Vries' 1560 *Scenographiae* series that probably shows Cock's own shop. The same device reappears in several other prints, and an extended verse with the same formulation was included in the final plate of a series of ornamental cartouches designed by Benedictus Battini and published in 1553. Here he framed his publishing efforts as attempts to satisfy the various tastes and expectations of his customers, "tvolck."

¹²³ Van der Stock defines "the common people" in this way, and not as the very lowest strata of society, through reference to the publisher Hans Liefrinck's own understanding of his customer base. See van der Stock 1998, 136.

this period, it was primarily the subject matter of prints that was of utmost significance, rather than aesthetic virtuosity. People looked at prints for what they portrayed far more than how they portrayed it. This was to change soon enough, but in the middle of the sixteenth century, the focus remained primarily on content. Even Cock's prints, which exhibit a high caliber of quality and artistic skill, were appreciated in this manner. In the case of the *Small Landscapes*, the text of Cock's 1559 title-page underscores this point. He enumerates the kinds of subjects to be found in the prints that follow: "Many and very fine situations of village houses, farms, fields, streets and the like, decorated with all sorts of animals. All together drawn from the life, and mostly being located around Antwerp."¹²⁴ When his customers looked at these prints, therefore, they were primed therefore to look to their content and to compare it with their own experience of the real terrain of the countryside outside of Antwerp, which most of them must have known well. How precisely these experiences of the real and the depicted landscape intertwined and informed one another will be investigated in the chapters that follow.

¹²⁴ The Flemish text reads: "Vele ende seer fraeye ghe-/legghentheden van diversche Dorphuysinghem, Hoe/uen, Velden. Straten ende dyer ghelijcken, met/ alderhande Beestkens verciert. Al te samen ghe-/conterfeyt naer dleven, ende meest rontom/ Antwerpen gheleghen sijnde" The Latin is more terse, announcing simply "Multifarium Casularum Ruriumq./ lineamenta cuiose/ ad vivum expressa."

Chapter Two:

Real Land: The Appeal of the *Small Landscapes* at Mid-Century

Sometime in the 1570s, Christophe Plantin wrote a poem extolling the virtues and pleasures of his country house in Berchem. His verses perfectly encapsulate the way Antwerp's urban citizens wished to experience the local rural countryside in the mid-sixteenth century:

To have a comfortable, clean and beautiful house,
A garden filled with fragrant espaliers,
Fruit, excellent wine, a modest household, a few children,
To possess a faithful wife without rumor;

To have no debts, no love affairs, neither lawsuit, nor quarrel.
Nor to argue with one's relatives,
To content oneself with little, not to hope for anything from great people,
To regulate all of one's aims according to a just model;

To live with frankness and without ambition,
To give oneself without scruple to devotion,
To tame one's passions and render them obedient;

To preserve free spirit and strong judgment,
To say one's rosary and tend to one's plants:
This is to wait at home quietly for death.¹

¹ The original French text reads: "Avoir une maison, commode, propre et belle./ Un jardin tapisé d'espaliers odorans./ Des fruits, d'excellent vin, peu de train, peu d'enfans./ Posséder seul, sans bruit, une femme fidèle./ N'avoir dettes, amour, ni procès, ni querelle./ Ni de partage à faire avecque ses parens./ Se contenter de peu, n'espérer rien des Grands./ Régler tous ses desseins sur un juste modèle./ Vivre avecque franchise et sans ambition./ S'adonner sans scrupule à la dévotion./ Domter ses passions, les rendre obéissantes./ Conserver l'esprit libre et le jugement fort./ Dire son chapelet en cultivant ses entes./ C'est attendre chez soi bien doucement la mort." This sonnet was first published only in 1694, but broadsheet copies in the Museum Plantin-Moretus are typographically similar to other broadsheets that Plantin published around 1579, leading scholars to conclude that the poem was originally composed around the same time. Scholars have also connected the sonnet to Martial's epigram X, 47 and have traced its influence on later seventeenth-century Epicurian poems, including most notably the French poet Vauquelin's "Sonnet de l'Epicurien." See Maurits Sabbe, *Le Sonnet de Plantin* (Antwerp: L. Opdebeek, 1928); Georges-Armand Masson and Georges Mongrédien, "Le Sonnet de Plantin," *La Revue Critique des Idées et des Livres* 29, no. 172 (1920); and Antonio R. Rodríguez Moñino, *El 'Avoir une Maison.' de Chr. Plantin y el 'Vitam quae faciunt beatiorum.' de Marcial* (Madrid: Artes Graficas Municipales, 1932).

Plantin's undertakings in the country are modest, tending his garden and living frugally. His home is intimate and comfortable, but not lavish. He places strong accents on virtuous personal conduct, self-reliance, freedom and natural bounty, all of which allow him to achieve a profound peace and contentment. This ideal life is first and only to be found in the countryside.

Plantin's sentiments were in perfect step with contemporary cultural attitudes and real-estate practices. Urban citizens began to buy property in the countryside to an unprecedented extent in mid-sixteenth-century Antwerp, transforming what had been old aristocratic domains into country houses and suburban developments. By usurping and transforming traditional models of rural landownership, urbanites forged a new relationship between city and country. Plantin's poem both confirms and cements this. No longer the domain of grand aristocratic estates, time-honored traditional privileges and feudal rights, Plantin's poem claims the countryside around Antwerp for the city's inhabitants, as a place for them to turn away from urban affairs and enjoy instead the humble pleasures and undisturbed ease of a simpler life. Though the reality of life in the countryside remained a far cry from this rosy ideal – a fact nowhere more poignantly demonstrated than at Plantin's own country house, where the artist Pieter van der Heyden is thought to have been killed by Spanish troops during the Spanish Fury of 1576 – Plantin's ideal was enthusiastically embraced by Antwerp's new landowning classes as a way of giving shape and expression to their own relationship to or aspirations for the countryside.²

² On van der Heyden's residence at Plantin's countryhouse, see See A. J. J. Delen, *Histoire de la Gravure dans le anciens Pays-Bas & dans le Provinces Belges*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1935), vol. 2, pt. 2, 75.

The simple, intimate images of the *Small Landscapes* confirm the *Antwerpenaar*'s place in the countryside in a very similar way. Framing the local terrain as a set of landscape views, they helped to ease the way for urbanites to take visual possession of the countryside, naturalizing and legitimizing the urban claim to rural land. The villages, fields, and farmhouses on display in the prints show off the quiet simplicity and harmonious ease to be found in the countryside, and they do so in such a way that the countryside appears to be immediately present to and possessable by the viewer. To the eye of Antwerp's new suburban pioneers, who did not so much retreat to the countryside as colonize it, such images gave powerful expression to a new ideal of rural land as an extension of and complement to the city. Urban residents would have looked on the *Small Landscapes* as a means of inhabiting, if only in image, the spacious rural terrain that existed outside their city's walls. In this chapter, I propose to consider the *Small Landscapes* in relationship to urban reactions to the rural hinterland in Antwerp. While the prints might look simple to our eye, for the sixteenth-century *Antwerpenaar* these views would have generated rich, multivalent associations that sprang, in the first instance, from the material relationships between Antwerp's citizens and the actual rural terrain the prints purport to represent. The *Small Landscapes* are therefore far more than merely convincing naturalistic images. They also play a key role in a larger cultural effort to define and consolidate the dialectic between city and country, as also witnessed in Plantin's poem and a host of other literary sources. The prints are therefore significant in sixteenth-century landscape imagery not merely because they break stylistically with the prevailing world landscape tradition, but also because they operate on this much

broader cultural level, assimilating the image of the rural landscape around Antwerp into the orbit of the city.

Antwerp's Hinterlands Described

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Antwerp's populace was increasingly large and diverse. As one of the most important mercantile and industrial centers in Europe, the city attracted several hundred large-scale merchants.³ Many of them hailed from all over the continent, and had been drawn to the city by its booming international markets, its relatively lenient financial restrictions, and its reputation for religious tolerance. These international merchants were also among the wealthiest inhabitants in the city, with great quantities of capital at their disposal. Their wealth generated further industry and stimulated new sectors of productivity within the city, which in turn drew immigrants from the countryside to sustain the seemingly limitless need for urban labor. By the middle of the century, Antwerp was bursting at its seams with an estimated population of about 100,000 at its peak at mid-century, making it one of the most populous cities in Europe.⁴ Land within the city walls that had long retained its rural character as gardens and orchards was increasingly transformed into new residential and

³ There is a unique source listing the many merchants who were active in Antwerp during its peak, 1562-1564, in the *Insolvente Boedelskamer, Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, Deel 35, 17-22, and reproduced in the *Fonds Plaisier*, Part III, 1551-1567. The list is part of the records of the Spanish merchant Juan Henricques, trader of goods and insurer of ships, and includes the names of 413 merchants with whom he had business dealings. See http://home.pi.be/~ma479346/fonds%20plaisier_3.htm. Baetens claims that 1,500 merchants were active in Antwerp around 1566, a third of whom were local to the region. He cites Jan van Roey, "De Bevolking," in *Antwerpen in de XVIde eeuw*, ed. W. Couvreur et. al. (1975), 99; and W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: 1959), 126-131 for this information. See Roland Baetens, "La 'Villa Rustica', Phénomène italien dans le paysage Brabançon au 16ème siècle," in *Aspetti della Vita Economica Medievale: Atti del Convegno di studi nel X Anniversario della Morte di Federigo Melis, Firenze - Pisa - Prato, 10-14 marzo* (Firenze: 1984), 175.

⁴ Van Roey 1975, 96-100.

business quarters. In an attempt to accommodate the needs of this swelling metropolis, the city magistrate undertook a massive campaign to expand the city walls from 1542 to 1545, bringing around 25 hectares of new land within the city's boundaries at the northern edge of town. However, with such an extreme density of population and the crowding, noise, and stench that came with it, the pressures of the city must have remained oppressive.

Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Antwerp's inhabitants should look to the countryside that lay outside the city's walls for relief from this urban environment. The famed Italian chronicler Lodovico Guicciardini describes this landscape in his *Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi*, first published in Antwerp by Willem Silvius in 1567.⁵ He extols the region of Brabant as bountiful and beautiful, notable for its salubrious air, advantageous rivers and lakes, numerous forests, and great plains of fertile land:

The air of Brabant is truly good everywhere and salubrious: the country is flat, and for the most part fertile, and fruitful, save for the region of the Kempen which is very sterile; it [Brabant] is also very well accommodated with lakes, ponds, and other waters, and with beautiful and very profitable rivers, the principal ones are the Meuse and the Schelde, already mentioned and described above. The country is sufficiently embellished with woods and forests, the principal of which are the Zonien, Zaventerlo, Groetenhout, Groeten-Heist, and Meerdal. But above all things, it is ennobled by very beautiful and famous cities, towns, castles, villages, and other Seigneuries.⁶

⁵ For recent scholarship on Ludovico Guicciardini and this text, see Pierre Jodogne, *Ludovico Guicciardini (1521-1589): actes du colloque international des 28, 29 et 30 mars 1990*, Travaux de l'Institut interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'humanisme, vol. 10 (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1991), especially articles by Classen and Desan on the tradition of *laus urbem* and the discourse on cities, respectively. See also H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "The history of Guicciardini's description of the Low Countries," *Quaerendo* 12, no. 1 (1982). For a history of the various editions of the text, see Raoul H. Touwaide, "Les éditions belges de le Description des Pays-Bas par Ludovico Guicciardini: Analyse iconographique et typographique," *Gulden Passer* 42; 48; 49 (1965, 1970, 1971).

⁶ The original Italian passage reads: "L'aria di Brabante, é veramente buona pertutto & salubre: il paese è piano, & per la maggior' parte fertile, & fruttifero, quantunque il suo paese di Campigna sia molto sterile: è accomodato oltre a laghi, stagni, & altre acque di belli & utilisimi fiume. i principali sono la Mosa, & la Schelda di sopra mentionati, & descritti. E ornato di selve & di boschi sufficientemente, i principali sono Sonien, Zauenterloo, Groetenhout, Groetenheist, & Meerdal. Ma sopra ogni cosa è nobilitato di bellissime

The rural swath of land immediately surrounding the city of Antwerp, known as the *Antwerpse Vrijheid*, was typical of Guicciardini's characterization of Brabant and indeed must have been particularly well known to him, since he resided in Antwerp from 1542 until his death there in 1589. The area, encompassing around 1,800 hectares of countryside, was bounded by the river Schelde to the west and extended well into the fertile lands to the south of the city, the polderlands to the north, and the sandy Kempen area to the east (fig. 2.1). The region was under the direct jurisdiction of Antwerp's magistrates and comprised cultivated farmsteads, villages, and landed estates and manors, with their fields, meadows, gardens, and orchards, making it at once a breadbasket and rural retreat for the city's inhabitants (fig. 2.2).⁷ Beyond this immediate band of territory, Brabantine villages dotted the rural landscape, with Hemiksem, Hoboken, Wilrijk and Edegem to the south, Deurne, Merksem and Schoten to the east, and Eekeren, Oorderen

& famose citta, terre, castella, villagi, & d'altre Signorie." Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di m. Lodouico Guicciardini patritio fiorentino, di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore: con piu carte di geographia del paese, & col ritratto naturale di piu terre principali: con amplissimo indice di tutte le cose piu memorabili*. (Antwerp: Guglielmo Siluio, 1567), 49. The French edition of 1582 qualifies the 1567 account of the Kempen, asserting that because of the diligence and work of its inhabitants, and the use of manures, the land has become quite good and fertile. For this extended description, see Lodovico Guicciardini, *Description De Tovts Les Pais-Bas, autrement appellés La Germanie Inferievre, Ov Basse Allemagne; Par Messire Lovis Gvicciardin Gentilhomme Florentin: maintenant reveue, & augmentée plus que de la moictié par le mesme autheur. Avec toutes les cartes geographicques desdicts pais, & plusieurs pourtraicts de villes tirés au naturel. Avec indice tresample des choses les plus memorables* (Anvers: De l'Imprimerie de Christophle Plantin, 1582), 81-82.

⁷ There was an official count to estimate the number and kind of properties of the southern area of the *Vrijheid* in 1537, undertaken by members of the *magistraat* – they counted 79 houses, 1 *huizing* (large residences), 75 *kamers* (rooms), 7 *loeven* (houses with gardens), and 25 *huizingen* with *hof* or court. In addition they counted 373 pieces of agricultural land, 33 *hovingen* (garden plots), 17 *hoeven* (farmsteads), 8 *hofsteden* (farmsteads), 9 *windmolen* (windmills), 2 with houses, 7 *smoutmolens* (oil mills), 4 with houses and 3 without, 7 *beemden* (meadows), 4 *bossen* (forests), 2 *schorren* (salt marshes), 1 *boomgaard* (orchard), 1 *hof* with *zomerhuis* (manor with cottage), 1 *hof* with *duivenhok* (dovecote), 1 *hof* with *neerhuis* (lower house, usually occupied by tenant farmers), 1 *schuur* (barn, shed), 1 *buitengoed* (country seat, estate), 1 *meestoof* (midden), 2 *brouwerijen* (breweries), 1 *domein* (the Hof te Beerschot), and 2 undescribed properties. See Francine De Nave, "De vrijheid van Antwerpen vanaf de middeleeuwen tot de tijd van Rubens," in *De Stad Antwerpen van de Romeinse tijd tot de 17de eeuw: Topographische studie rond het plan van Virgilius Bononiensis, 1565*, ed. L. Voet et. al. (Brussels: 1978), 66.

and Bergen-op-Zoom to the north. Though Antwerp repeatedly tried to bring this wider territory under its jurisdictional authority, most of these villages were under separate jurisdictions, either feudal or free. They nonetheless fell within the increasingly powerful orbit of Antwerp's urban influence.⁸

Frans Huys' 1557 view of Antwerp portrays the relationship that Antwerp cultivated with its hinterlands (fig. 2.3).⁹ Just beyond the city walls and gates lies a bustling, productive network of sown fields, meadows, windmills, and gardens, crisscrossed with canals and roadways that are filled with country peasants, strolling townsfolk, gentlemen on horseback, travelers and peddlers, as well as horse-drawn wagons and carts. Roads and fields alike are strewn with lumber and livestock. All of this agricultural bounty and activity is depicted under the dominant backdrop of the city itself, which rises above the countryside in the top half of the print. This compositional arrangement not only visually confirms Antwerp's authority over its surrounding countryside, but also makes clear that, like all of the roads that appear to lead toward the city, this land is intimately linked to and in the service of the metropolis that ascends above it. This view of the city stands in perfect counterpoint to the *Small Landscapes*. It is as though the *Small Landscapes* follow out from the roads in Huys' view, enjoining the viewer to venture deeper into the countryside along these paths to discover the quieter

⁸ A prime example of this phenomenon can be seen in the region of Flanders that lay directly across the river Schelde from the city of Antwerp. There, the village of Ste.-Anneken was a popular resort for Antwerp residents, who often made the short boat trip across the river to enjoy its more rustic pleasures. The area, including Ste.-Anneken, was in fact purchased by the city from the Count of Hoorn in 1559, though the sale was later annulled. For details on this sale and its repercussions, see A. Monballieu, "De 'Twee aapjes' van P. Bruegel of de Singerie (seigneurie) over de Schelde te Antwerpen in 1562," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1983); and Walter Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter*, (Berkeley: 2006), 89, and n. 62 and 63. On the iconography of this part of Flanders in relationship to Antwerp, see A.J.J. Delen 1930, cat. no. 11.

⁹ Hollstein, vol. 9, 163, no. 30.

and more sheltered villages and farms further away from the busy activity at the edges of the city. Though out of immediate sight, the city serves as the invisible backdrop in the *Small Landscapes*, just as it did in the actual countryside around Antwerp.

Real Land: Urban Ties to Rural Property

While there had been economic, demographic, political, and jurisdictional relationships between Antwerp and its surrounding territories for centuries, the sixteenth century witnessed a very particular shift in the nature and extent of property relations between the city and its hinterlands. More and more land, in the form of farms, meadows, forests, orchards, and manors, came to be concentrated in the hands of the urban bourgeoisie. From the beginning of Antwerp's economic bloom in the early decades of the century, property prices within the city had risen in tandem with the substantial economic and industrial growth and the increasing demand for property that resulted from the city's demographic explosion. One of the immediate consequences of this property shortage *intra muros* was a new demand for land in the immediate vicinity of the city but outside the increasingly constricting city walls. Foreign and local merchants, city officials, and craftsmen purchased extensive estates and farms as well as smaller plots of land in the countryside; some of the wealthiest owned several large rural properties.¹⁰ Though this trend was slowed temporarily by the economic recession of the

¹⁰ Soly gives several examples of Antwerp residents with substantial country holdings of over 100 hectares, including Vincent de Smit, Pauwel van Gemert, Jacob della Faille, Fernando de Bernuy, and Pieter Welser de Oude. Limberger cites further examples of such agglomerations of rural property in the hands of Francois Van der Cruyce, the second richest merchant in Antwerp after Vincent de Smit, and the Italian banker and merchant Jan d'Affaitadi. In a recent study, Limberger and Blondé have demonstrated that rural land values near Antwerp were the highest in all of Brabant, indicating the strong market for such properties. See Soly, *Urbanisme*, 60-64; Brulez 1959, 190-192; Michael Limberger, "Sixteenth-century Antwerp and its rural surroundings: Social and economic changes in the hinterland of a commercial metropolis (ca.1450-ca.1570)" (Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit Antwerpen, 2000), 230; and Bruno

early 1550s, property prices within the city remained high.¹¹ With the signing of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in April, 1559, and the boom years that followed, the recovered international markets, higher wages, and lower costs of living led Antwerp's bourgeoisie once again to invest their capital in real estate. As they had earlier in the century, they frequently turned to the countryside to find available and advantageous properties to purchase.

It is no coincidence that the *Small Landscapes* were published at precisely this moment. With the attention of Antwerp's citizens turned toward the immediate countryside as a site of acquisition and investment, the title-page to the first series of the *Small Landscapes*, published in 1559, reads almost like an advertisement of the sorts of properties these interested buyers might have been pursuing. It states that the series contains views of "many and very fine locations of various village houses, farms, fields, roads and the like... altogether drawn in a lifelike manner, and mostly located around Antwerp."¹² The views are not identified any more specifically on the individual prints, but the series would have offered the viewer a catalogue of the kinds of village estates

Blondé, and Michael Limberger, "Nieuwe geluiden en sterke tegenstellingen (1531-1629), De gebroken welvaart," in *De geschiedenis van Brabant, van het hertogdom tot heden*, ed. Raymond van Uytendaele et al. (Zwolle: 2004), 319.

¹¹ The economic slump of the early 1550s was caused by both a number of poor harvests and the resumption of hostilities between France and Spain. The recession largely curtailed speculative real estate transactions, which only tightened the real estate market, driving the prices for available properties ever higher in comparison with falling wages and incomes. On the economic recession, see Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)*, 2 vols. (The Hague: 1963), vol. 2, 209-222. For an extensive analysis of the real estate market in Antwerp in 1555 as compared with the more prosperous year of 1545, see Soly, *Urbanisme*, Chapter Two.

¹² The original Dutch text of the 1559 title-page reads: "Vele and seer fraeye ghelegentheden van diverssche Dorphuysinghen, Hoe-ven, Velden, Straten, ende dier ghelijcken... Al te samen ghe-conterfeyt naer dleven, ende meest rontom Antwerpen ghelegghen sijnde." F. W. H. Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700* (Roosendaal, Netherlands: 1993-), vol. 5, pt.1, 94, and 110, fig. a.

and farms they might expect or hope to purchase.¹³ In this context, the claim that the prints were made “after the life” has a deeper resonance than that discussed in Chapter One. The images, more than being true to life, provide an accurate guide to the kinds of real estate possibilities to be expected in the villages surrounding the city.

Merchants often had the most money to invest in real estate, and as a result they tended to purchase the most significant estates in the countryside. The most important figures of international trade in Antwerp invariably owned rural properties. The della Faille family, originally from the Low Countries but long established as merchants in Italy, possessed several pieces of property in the countryside, including a castle in Boechout, while the German Welsers owned a significant estate in nearby Hoboken.¹⁴ Vincent de Smit, the single richest merchant operating in Antwerp in the middle of the sixteenth century, owned almost 300 hectares of land connected with nine farmsteads spread around the perimeter of Antwerp in Bergen-op-Zoom, Merksem, Schoten, and in the recently reclaimed polder land to the north of the city.¹⁵ Alongside his many holdings within the city, Pauwel van Gemert owned numerous properties in the countryside that

¹³ It is important to note that the title-page does not state that the series represents villages, but rather large or expensive houses within villages. The word *huysing* or *huizing* implies a more substantial property than a simpler *huys* or *huis*. Within the city of Antwerp, the term *huizing* refers to the most exceptionally expensive and grand abodes that often cost an order of magnitude more than other homes. Likewise, the term *hoeven* generally refers to large farms of five bunders or more, whereas *steden* is the term used to designate smaller farms. Thus, the title-page already primes the viewer about what is significant within the images, and encourages him or her to seek out the largest and grandest structures within the views of rural villages. For definition of *huizing* versus *huis*, see Soly, *Urbanisme*, 86-87; and for the distinction between *hoeven* and *steden*, see Limberger 2000, 209.

¹⁴ Antonio della Faille purchased the manor in Boechout in 1520. Jacob della Faille eventually came to possess around 360 hectares of land, while Jan della Faille amassed several properties in Wevelgem, Kortrijk, and Zevenbergen, as well as a *huis* with a *hof* on the Markgravelei, about which more below. Pieter Welsler the Elder bought his estate “met Huysinghe, schuere, stallen, schaepskoyen, speelhuysen op hen selven, bogaerde” and eighteen hectares of land in Hoboken in 1543. On the della Faille family, see Baetens, “Villa Rustica,” 177, with reference to archival evidence of purchase of castle; and Brulez 1959, 185-192. On the Welsers, see Soly, *Urbanisme*, 114.

¹⁵ Soly, *Urbanisme*, 60-62.

were valued at 34,080 gulden at his death in 1574.¹⁶ The Italian Affaitadi family purchased a manor in Wommelgem in 1535, while Gregory de Ayala acquired the castle Vordenstein in Schoten in 1538, the very manor that is thought to be represented in one of the *Small Landscape* prints (fig. 1.42).¹⁷

Many of these major properties were amassed beginning as early as the 1520s, and with increasing frequency through the 1540s. The 1550s and 1560s, however, witnessed a veritable explosion of rural purchases. Well-established citizens bought up property throughout the region surrounding Antwerp during these years, particularly in Borgerhout, Berchem, Edegem, Wilrijk, Merksem, Kontich, and Mortsel (see fig. 2.2).¹⁸ Many urbanites also purchased property to the north of the city in the polderlands.¹⁹

¹⁶ Soly, *Urbanisme*, 63-65.

¹⁷ The Affaitadi family's property was called the Kasteel Selsaten, and was purchased from the powerful van Berchem family for 8.300 gulden. Sledsens reports that Jan d'Affaitadi rebuilt the manor "in the old Tuscan style." For more on the introduction of the Renaissance villa model into Brabant, see note 41 below. The property stayed in the Affaitadi family until the early nineteenth century. See Limberger 2000, 230; Alois Sledsens, *Wommelgem Vroeger en Nu: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van Wommelgem* (Wommelgem: Het Gemeentebestuur, 1962), 83-84; and J. Denucé, *Inventaire des Affaitadi banquiers italiens à Anvers de l'année 1568* (Antwerp: de Sikkell, 1934), 70-71 and 93. Roland Baetens refers to Vordenstein as a feudal domain in the possession of the noble van de Werve family in the fifteenth century and cites Gregory de Ayala's purchase of the property in 1538. See Baetens, "Villa Rustica," 174, note 13, and 177. There has been some debate about the identification of the property represented in NHD 120 with Vordenstein. Beelaerts van Blokland first identified it with the castle Oud-Alkemade near Warmond, which actually lies between Haarlem and Leiden rather than in Brabant. This identification is based on a seventeenth-century drawing that closely resembles the print. Alternatively, the drawing could have been informed by the 1612 copies of the *Small Landscapes* published by Claes Visscher in Amsterdam and might conform to that compositional model rather than having been drawn from life. More recently, Hautekeete has noted an inscription on a print from the series in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België in Brussels that labels the print as Vordenstein. This identification is more convincing because Vordenstein falls within the territory that Cock's title-page claims is represented in the series ("rontom Antwerpen"). See J. Beelaerts van Blokland, "Varia Topographica," *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek: Vierde Serie van het Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond* 5, no. 1 (1936); Stefaan Hautekeete, "Van Stad en Land: Het beeld van Brabant in de vroege topografische tekenkunst," in *Met passer en penseel: Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels: Dexia, 2000), 52, note 56.

¹⁸ In Borgerhout, a *speelhuys* was built by Dirk de Moelnere on land he'd purchased there in 1559, and in 1551 Gillis van den Bogaerde enlarged the Goed te Boelaer, which included a stone *huizing* with a moat and *hoeve*, and it became known as a *speelhof*. See Floris Prims, *Geschiedenis van Borgerhout* (Borgerhout: 1936), 160-161. In Berchem, the Hof Ter Nieuwerbrugge was sold by Karel van Malsen to Costen van Halmale and Catharina van den Werve in 1555, and the property known as the Wapenaghe was sold by Peeter van Hambroeck to Stephano Perret in 1559. See Floris Prims, *Geschiedenis van*

Much of this land was part of Philip II's ducal domain, which he was forced to sell in order to raise money to keep his government and court from bankruptcy after the conclusion of the war with France in 1559.²⁰ Beginning in the mid 1540s, members of the local nobility had also been forced to sell many of their manors, rights, and titles due to their straitened circumstances. Likewise, rural properties frequently came into the hands of the urban bourgeoisie when local rural landowners defaulted on loans, or *renten*, that had been made to them by urban financiers with the rural properties as collateral.²¹ Though in most cases these new urban owners did not interfere with the manner in which

Berchem tot bij de aanvang der XXste eeuw (Berchem: Gemeentebestuur van Berchem, 1949), 307-309. In Edegem, the Hof ter Linden was bought by Francois Michiels and Elisabeth van Welthoven in 1553, and the property Ter Elst was sold by the *Antwerpenaar* Jan Servilius in 1557. See Robert van Passen, *Geschiedenis van Edegem* (Edegem: 1974), 178 and 121. Limberger mentions that *Antwerpenaars* of high standing owned a total of 33% of the landed property in Boechout and 28.5% in Edegem. See Limberger 2000, 248. In Wilrijk, members of the Steudlin family purchased the castle De Steytelinck in 1560; the *hof van plaisantie* Standonk was purchased by the German merchant Lazarus Rentz in 1563; the property de Brandt was sold in succession to Antwerp merchant Michiel Anthoni in 1553, merchant Pasquier de Villamont in 1559, and Antwerp financier Cornelis van Lare in 1563; the Kasteel Elsdonk, which had been in the hands of Fernando de Bernuy, was sold to merchant Gaspar van Surck in 1567; the della Failles made a number of purchases in the area, including the Goet te Maloes *huizing* in 1563 and the Berkenrijk *speelhof* in 1564; the Hof ter Beke also passed into the hands of an Antwerp merchant, Cornelis Ysebout, in 1561-2. See Robert van Passen, *Geschiedenis van Wilrijk* (Wilrijk: 1982), 644-755; and F. Prims, *Geschiedenis van Wilrijk* (Wilrijk: Het Gemeentebestuur Wilrijk, n.d.), 325-384. In Merksem, where Antonis van Stralen had a *hof van plaisantie*, several other *Antwerpenaars* bought property as well, including Karel Cocquiel, who bought a *hof van plaisantie* called the Caterhof in 1555, and Jaspas Mouwe, who purchased a *hoeve* and *huis* called de Legane in 1569. See F. Prims, *Geschiedenis van Merksem* (Merksem: Het Gemeentebestuur, 1951), 209-211. In Kontich, the Antwerp sugar merchant Jan van den Broeck purchased quite a bit of property, including the Groeningenhof (1551) and the Hof van Helmont (1555), while an insurance agent from Segovia, Jean de Quellaer, bought the Pluysegemhof in 1554. See Robert van Passen, *Geschiedenis van Kontich* (Kontich: Het Gemeentebestuur van Kontich, 1964), 470-471 and 493. In Mortsel, the property Ten Dorpe was purchased by Jeronimus Mannaert in 1558. See H Dierickx, *Geschiedenis van Mortsel* (Mortsel: De Seizoenen, 1961), 252-253.

¹⁹ In Osterweel, a village in the polders to the north of the city, Prims has shown that several urban butchers and cattle-breeders owned land. Prims, "Antwerpen in het 'land van Oosterweel'," *Antwerpiensia* 21 (1950), 25-28. Soly also notes the speculative interest in polderlands, especially in Ossendrecht, near Bergen-op-Zoom, and Zeeland. See Soly, *Urbanisme*, 68-69. See also Limberger 2000, 234 and 237.

²⁰ Limberger 2000, 235.

²¹ Limberger writes that "the high degree of indebtedness often forced the owners to sell their holdings to one of their creditors, among which a great part were townsmen. Accumulated debts and arrears hence led to alienation, while for the creditors it brought about capitalization of their money, conquest of landed property and social promotion." Limberger 2000, 242.

the land had been used, and often leased it back to their original local owners for exploitation, there was throughout the mid-sixteenth century an increasing transfer of properties, both grand and modest, into the hands of Antwerp's citizens. In describing this phenomenon, historian Roland Baetens has characterized the powerful new urban influence in the rural hinterland as "the colonization of the countryside."²²

Though the substantial transactions of the wealthiest merchants are certainly the best known, the rural property market had expanded by mid-century to include not only the top merchant magnates of the city, but also less well-to-do merchants and artisans who purchased land and rural dwellings of a more modest nature. In Antwerp's registers from the years 1556-57, Michael Limberger has noted significant rural property transactions like those discussed above, but also the sale of smaller houses, farms, and plots of land, meadows, and woods of only a few hectares to purchasers as diverse as small merchants, a sugar-boiler, a mason, and a printer.²³ The appeal of country landowning was therefore clearly not reserved only for the upper echelons of the city's financial elite, but also attracted purchasers of more moderate means and aspirations.

The impetus behind buying land or a dwelling in the countryside often overlapped among these different classes of urban purchasers, but their motives were multifaceted and tailored to their particular circumstances and goals. For large-scale foreign merchants newly arrived in Antwerp, investing in property both within and outside the city was an effective means of establishing a reputation on the local level and asserting

²² Baetens, "Villa Rustica," 174.

²³ Limberger 2000, 240. In addition, Limberger makes clear that while urban citizens account for a major portion of rural land purchases around Antwerp, there were also very strong local markets in which properties were also sold among rural landowners, accumulating in the hands of local rural elites. It is important to keep this in mind, since it tempers the perception that all rural land was ineluctably bound to end up in urban hands.

one's financial solvency. These capital investments could then be parlayed into securing credit with other local businessmen and at the Beurs. For all large-scale merchant landowners, property was also one of the surest means of safeguarding equity, which was attractive to those who regularly invested their capital in more risky commercial undertakings. Agricultural holdings not only assured one's capital investment, but could also be relied upon to bring in regular profits; barring drought or crop failure, tenant farmers supplied urban landlords with a steady source of income either in cash or in kind, and sometimes in both. In years of shortfall, deft merchants could exploit the high demand for their agricultural produce, even selling it at a profit on the local markets.

For urban artisans and guildsmen, there were even more immediate practical advantages to owning land in the countryside. Bakers often owned farms in order to assure a steady supply of wheat and rye. Butchers fattened their livestock on grazing pastures in the polderlands to the north of the city. Urban brewers and taverners bought farms to keep themselves supplied with wheat for brewing beer, but also bought breweries and taverns in the countryside where the water was purer than in the city.²⁴

²⁴ The history of beer production, consumption and taxation in and around Antwerp in the sixteenth century is complex. Antwerp's water supply, contaminated by sea water from the river Schelde, made brewing in Antwerp costly. In addition, Antwerp brewers were taxed on the beer and wine that they produced in order to raise revenue for the city, as were all the brewers whose premises were located inside the rural area under Antwerp's jurisdiction, the *Antwerpse Vrijheid*. As a result, many of Antwerp's citizens would make weekend outings to near-by villages that lay beyond Antwerp's control in search of cheaper beer. Such pilgrimages to Hoboken are famously immortalized in images, poems, and songs from the period. To counteract this trend, Antwerp sought to gain authority over these outlying villages, purchasing jurisdictional privilege over Berchem, Wilrijk, Deurne, Kontich, and Waarloos in 1509. All of these villages reverted to the king after five years, with the exception of Berchem, but in 1559, the city of Antwerp once again managed to gain jurisdictional possession of Wilrijk, Deurne, and several villages in the polderlands, including Oorderen, Wilmarsdonk and Oosterweel. With their new authority, Antwerp imposed half-accijns, or half-taxes on beer and wine produced in these villages, in an effort to level the cost of beer in the city with that in the countryside, and also to raise further revenue for the city itself. Significantly, the owners of properties of six bunder or larger at the time of the tax's institution were exempted from it, as were abbeys and local churches. For Antwerp's purchases, see F Nooyens, *Geschiedenis van Deurne* (Deurne: Gemeentebestuur van Deurne, 1981-82), 481-488; Prims, *Wilrijk*, 86-87; and Prims, *Borgerhout*, 43-45. On the connection between these policies and prints of the Hoboken kermesses, see A. Monballieu, "De 'Kermis van Hoboken' bij P. Bruegel, J. Grimmer en G. Mostaert."

Carpenters and builders bought properties with loam pits and ovens for brick production in order to secure a direct and steady source of building materials.²⁵ Particularly during the booming years of Antwerp's greatest growth, these directly owned and exploited properties were a significant asset, allowing builders to forego the typical reliance on expensive imported materials and thereby increasing their own profit margins. Gilbert van Schoonbeke and Jacob van Hencxthoven, both urban builders and developers, owned brickworks in the countryside, located along the Schelde and Rupel rivers and in Hemiksem, respectively, which helped them to reduce their brick costs by up to 25%.²⁶

Rural properties were also often a speculative venture, acquired with the express purpose of reselling them at a profit. Though such property speculation was most widely practiced within the city limits, where van Schoonbeke was one of the most audacious and successful investors,²⁷ the same practice soon expanded to rural properties, with van Schoonbeke himself operating outside the city walls. Others, including Hendrik van Berchem, soon followed his example in the increasingly suburbanized areas immediately surrounding the city, and it was regular practice for rural properties to be bought and sold

Jaarboek van het Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen (1974); and A. Monballieu, "Nog eens Hoboken bij Bruegel en tijdgenoten," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1987). For an economic analysis of these circumstance and their relationship to patterns of property ownership, see Limberger 2000, 269-273. For a fascinating account of the connection between the raising of beer accijns to pay for the levying of troops and local riots in 1554, see Guy Wells, "Antwerp and the Government of Philip II, 1555-1567" (Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1982), 49-56.

²⁵ Limberger 2000, 239-241.

²⁶ Limberger stresses that urban ownership of brick works was fairly limited, and most notable only with these two large-scale building entrepreneurs. Van Schoonbeke's involvement with brick production was rather short-lived, spanning only from 1549 to 1553. Van Hencxthoven involvement lasted longer and was more substantial; he went so far as to buy the seigniorial rights to Hemiksem in 1559, in order to assert greater influence over the village in which he had such substantial property interests. See Limberger 2000, 277-279.

²⁷ Soly, *Urbanisme*, Part Two.

with great frequency on Antwerp's *Vrijdagmarkt*. The larger speculative projects of van Schoonbeke and van Berchem will be dealt with in greater detail below, but it is important to recognize that this expansion into and development of the countryside was often motivated by pragmatic economic interests, whether as a means of establishing credit, assuring a steady income, facilitating a commercial enterprise, or turning a profit.

There was, however, another side to the attraction of rural landholdings among Antwerp's citizens. Aside from their practical benefits, they could also confer a degree of prestige and status on their owners. As mentioned earlier, many of Antwerp's richest merchants acquired massive estates with a castle or grand manor house and extensive lands. Such estates were not just profitable enterprises, but also the means of raising one's public profile. In addition to the estates themselves, wealthy urbanites increasingly had the opportunity to purchase seigneuries, with which these manor houses and castles originally had been feudally bound as the seat of the local lord. The purchase of a seigneurie, or *heerlijkheid*, conferred jurisdictional authority, a gamut of rights, privileges, incomes, and the title of *heer*, or lord.²⁸ Paul van Dale became the lord of Berendrecht and Stabroeck in 1560, for example. Francois Schot, Gerard Gramaye, and Jacob van Hencxthoven also all rose to the position of seigneurial lord, as did, perhaps

²⁸ Seigneuries did not themselves necessarily entail the ownership of any land. Rather, these domains were strictly jurisdictional assignments over specific areas or groups of villages granted by the king, who held ultimate jurisdictional authority over the Duchy of Brabant, or in the case of non-ducal demesnes, by the seigneur or ultimate landholder. Seigneuries tended to be granted in exchange for funds and reverted to the king or landowner after a determined period of time. A seigneurie involved three levels of jurisdictional authority, namely high, middle and low seigneurial rights; the highest level involved authority over criminal affairs, and was almost always in the hands of the king or his appointee, while the lowest involved rights of local civic authority, and more frequently belonged to local lords. For a brief overview of this complex jurisdictional arrangement, see Limberger 2000, 59-60.

most famously, the three Schetz brothers, Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar.²⁹ While such jurisdictional authority certainly brought with it additional sources of income from taxes and traditional levies, a seigneurie was also, and for Antwerp's merchants perhaps primarily, a means of elevating one's social prestige. Long the special privilege of aristocratic and royal elites, the possession of seigneuries allowed urban merchants and citizens to imitate and appropriate the traditional signs of noble status.

In taking over these manorial estates with all of their attendant rights and titles, these urban merchants increasingly replaced the older feudal nobility as the primary landowners in the countryside surrounding Antwerp. While merchants could not be officially ennobled while actively participating in the trade and commerce that was their livelihood, the rise of this class of wealthy urban bourgeois merchants as rural landowners and seigneurs effectively supplanted the more traditional claims of the landed gentry and created a new standard of status based on the fruits of capitalist enterprise in the place of traditional feudal prominence.³⁰ Indeed, at the highest level of the social

²⁹ On Paul van Dale, see Limberger 2000, 235. Francois Schot became lord of Kontich, Reet and Waarloos in 1559. In 1567, he also bought the seigneuries of Boutersem, Pluysegem and Ijkele, as well as two bunders of land in Aarschot. It was not until 1567 that he came to own the seigneurial castle of Kontich. He would later sell the seigneurie to Cardinal Granvelle in 1572. See van Passen, *Kontich*, 431-433. Gerard Gramaye purchased the seigneurie of Schoten and 's-Gravenwezel in 1561. See Baetens, "Villa Rustica," 178. Jacob van Henckxthoven became lord of Hemiksem in 1559. See Soly, *Urbanisme*, 70. Erasmus Schetz was the first of his family to rise to the title of lord when he purchased the seigneurie of Grobbendonk in 1545, which he passed to his son Gaspar. In 1559 and 1560, Erasmus' son Melchior Schetz became lord of Rumst, Boom, Heindonk, Willebroeck, Ruisbroeck, Hinghene, Haasdonk and Witham, all in the Schelde-Rupel area to the south of Antwerp, while his brother Balthasar purchased the seigneurie of Hoboken. See H.L.V. de Groote, "De vermogensbalans van Melchior Schets en zij vrouw Anna van Stralen met hun testament van 1 juli 1596," *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 55 (1972), 233; Baetens, "Villa Rustica," 177-178; and Monballieu, "Kermis van Hoboken," and *ibid.*, "Nog Eens Hoboken."

³⁰ Hugo Soly has argued that these merchants were not concerned with attaining the status of nobles. In his analysis of the most prosperous merchants in Antwerp at mid-century, he reveals that extraordinarily few retired to the countryside to take up a traditional feudal lifestyle and to forfeit their business in order to officially attain noble rank. Their interest in rural property, he argues, was more strictly pragmatic. On the other hand, Marc Boone has attempted to nuance Soly's interpretation of the motivations governing land ownership by arguing that social aspiration and status were intrinsic to the attraction of purchasing and owning land and houses both inside and outside the city. He also considers the cultural attraction that the

hierarchy, powerful merchants with extensive property, both urban and rural, emulated the values of the nobility and eventually broke down the distinctions between nobility and bourgeoisie. Particularly in Antwerp, the distance between the urban patriciate – the descendents of noble families that had taken up citizenship in the city – and the wealthy urban bourgeoisie was increasingly difficult to sustain. It was common practice for successful merchants and businessmen to marry women from noble families, to take part in the city's governance, and to attain the legal and political power that had previously remained the exclusive domain of the oldest noble families, in part through the purchase of seigneuries.³¹ If they were not noble in a traditional sense, this new class of urban gentlemen nonetheless based their own standards of status and social distinction on many of the same functions of land, rights, and privileges that had traditionally characterized the aristocracy. In this atmosphere, aspirations to confirm or enhance one's social status

city exerted on the traditionally rural nobility, in order to stress that the movement of both people and capital was not simply a one-way traffic. See Soly, *Urbanisme*, 67; and Marc Boone, "La terre, les hommes et les villes: quelques considérations autour du thème de l'urbanisation des propriétaires terriens," in *La Ville et La Transmission des Valeurs Culturelles au Bas Moyen Âge et aux Temps Modernes: Actes du 17e Colloque International, Spa, 16-19 V 1994* (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1996), particularly 158-161. I would argue that while merchants did not seek to *become* nobles, they did effectively *replace* them as the most important class of landlords in the rural hinterland of the city, thereby changing both the purpose and condition of landowning and appropriating a traditionally feudal function towards a new model of bourgeois status.

³¹ Wells argues that Antwerp's ruling elite, which Guicciardini tries to designate as strictly comprised of *heren*, or noble lords, is in fact a more slippery group than Guicciardini was willing to concede. It included the likes of the Schetz family, who, though they came to possess significant quantities of land and seigneuries, could never be considered noble in this sense. Wells concludes that "in short, the *ridderen*, a group whose nobility was somewhat hazy never constituted more than a minority of the *Magistraat*." He concludes that Guicciardini stretched the truth about the nobility of the magistrate in order to make Antwerp's primary governing body accord more closely with his ideal model of political organization – ancient Sparta, as described by Polybius, whom he invokes in his introduction to the section on political institutions in his *Descrittione*. Beyond its political ramifications, it is clear that it was in the interests not only of the merchants themselves, but perhaps also of their humanist and noble colleagues to blur the traditional boundaries between noble and bourgeois. Guy Wells, "Antwerp and the Government of Philip II, 1555-1567" (Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1982), 101-107.

were clearly an important factor in the purchase of rural properties, particularly those with a distinguished noble lineage, extensive holdings, and associated rights.³²

Beyond the economic and social attractions of rural properties, there lay a further enticement in the countryside. As Antwerp swelled, and with it the levels of noise, dirt, and congestion, the countryside quickly became a place of retreat and relief from the oppressive atmosphere generated by the thriving urban metropolis. Townsfolk journeyed to nearby villages not just for the cheaper beer, but also for the fresh air and free, open expanses of the fields and woods. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the countryside and its villages were filled with Antwerp's citizens, seeking a rural escape. While the lowest laboring classes had to make do with weekend trips to village taverns, those who could, purchased *speelhuizen* or *speelhoven* – country houses or manors – where they could find a more permanent retreat. Urbanites visited their *speelhuizen* on weekends and holidays and for longer periods during the harvest in the summer.³³ A *hof* in the countryside was fundamentally different from a *stedelijke hof*, or mansion within the city. A rural *hof* almost always included extensive grounds and cultivated gardens, orchards, and fishing ponds, complemented and supported by a large working farm. As the development of the city pressed against the confines of its walls, the remaining

³² Walter Gibson has drawn my attention to the manner in which non-noble landowners styled themselves as *heeren* or lords of their manors, publicly proclaiming such status in both paintings and prints, and in miniature “joyous entries” into their villages and domains, in emulation of the joyous entries of rulers into cities and towns. Balthasar Schetz, for example, dubs himself the “Lord of Hoboken” in an etched portrait by Lambert Suavius dated 1561, and in a painting by Gillis Mostaert, mentioned by van Mander but now lost, the Schetz brothers are shown being ceremoniously received in Hoboken. See Hendrik Dierickx, *Geschiedenis van Hoboken: evolutie van plattelandsgemeente tot industrieel centrum, 1100-1950* (Antwerp: De Sikkkel, 1954), 116; Van Mander-Miedema, vol. 1, 305; and Walter Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkeley: 2000), 19.

³³ There had long been established specific legal measures in Antwerp to allow citizens to leave the city for up to forty days three times a year to allow them to oversee their properties in the country without compromising their urban citizenship. See Guido DeBrabander, *Na-Kaarten over Antwerpen* (Bruges: Uitgeverij Marc van de Wiele, 1988), 23.

agricultural properties of this scale *intra muros* were divided up and developed, leaving fewer and fewer such major estates within the city.³⁴ Even the largest mansions within the city failed to offer the sort of salutary, reclusive benefits of a rural property. Not only did the countryside furnish the opportunity to own large properties and reap substantial agricultural incomes; it held forth the promise of a healthful, solitary life of leisure and repose.

The *Speelhuis* Phenomenon

The phenomenon of the *speelhuis* realigned the relationship between Antwerp's citizens and the countryside that surrounded them. While *Antwerpenaars* bought up the castles, manors, farms and homes of the countryside and transformed them into rural retreats to escape the ills of city life, their presence in the countryside forged stronger, more complex ties between the spheres of city and country. In the most thoroughly developed areas, where scores of *speelhuizen* were concentrated, rural areas took on a thoroughly suburban character. Even in those areas where the land and land ownership patterns remained more typically feudal, the *Antwerpenaars'* voracious appetite for *speelhuizen* and rustic retreats could be felt and their impact on the local economic and social structures brought these country villages into the orbit of the urban metropolis.

³⁴ One example of this kind of development within the city occurred in the district known as the Hopland, which had come within the city walls around 1400 but retained its rural character until 1543. Gilbert van Schoonbeke bought a large portion of the area at public auction after the Florentine merchant Michel Berthy defaulted on his *renten*, and parcelled it out for sale to several merchants, thus more fully incorporating the area into the urban fabric. Around the same time, he developed the nearby areas to the west and the north (in the vicinity of the Meir) by cutting several new streets through the terrain and divided the remaining property into smaller lots, which he sold with the specific stipulation that new houses be built upon them. See De Nave, "De vrijheid," 68; and Hugo Soly, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16de eeuw: De stedbouwkundige en industriële ondernemingen van Gilbert van Schoonbeke* (Brussels: 1977), 150-161.

Because of its immediate accessibility from the city, the *Antwerpse Vrijheid* was one of the most fertile terrains for *speelhuizen*. Roland Baetens counts 156 *speelhuizen* in the *Vrijheid* in 1570.³⁵ The surrounding villages just outside the *Vrijheid* could also boast a large number of these country residences; Deurne contained at least 24, while neighboring Borgerhout had 28 or more. Merksem accommodated around 15 *speelhuizen*, and Wilrijk, which had never been a feudal domain and was therefore perhaps especially suited to the development of such country houses, had at least 14.³⁶ In total, Baetens suggests that there were at least 370 *speelhuizen* in the vicinity of Antwerp in the sixteenth century.³⁷

The grandest *speelhuizen* and *speelhoven* had often originally been castles or manor houses in the hands of noble families. As the sixteenth century progressed, these distinguished edifices, now in the possession of urban proprietors, no longer served as seats of aristocratic lines or as defensive fortresses. Instead, they were transformed into country manors by their new urban owners who used them as secondary residences while

³⁵ Roland Baetens, "La 'Belezza' et la 'Magnificenza': Symboles du Pouvoir de la Villa Rustica dans la Région Anversoise aux temps modernes," in *Nouvelles approches concernant la culture de l'habitat: colloque international, Université d'Anvers, 24-25.10.1989*, ed. Roland Baetens and Bruno Blondé (Brepols: 1989), 165-6. Francine De Nave discusses each of the areas of the *vrijheid* in detail. She indicates that throughout the area from Lobroeck to the northeast of the city to Beerschot in the south, many *speelhuizen* were to be found, with particular concentrations of such country retreats in the southern areas of van Schoonbeke's Markgravelei development, the de Lange Elst area, and Beerschot. She further argues that, later in the century, *Antwerpenaars* continued to own and make use of these vulnerable lands for pleasure despite the threat of the violence of war. See De Nave, "De vrijheid," particularly 81 and 88.

³⁶ Prims discusses the evolution of *hoven* and *huizen van plaisantie* and their distinction from older fortified castles, arguing that *speelhuizen* developed more often on rural farms rather than out of feudal manors, strongholds or castles. He also mentions Wilrijk's particular suitability to such development. Baetens offers a general overview of the proliferation of *speelhuizen* in each area, while van Passen and Prims offer close descriptions of many of these properties in their histories of individual villages. See F. Prims, "Het verschil tussen 'Burchten' en Speelhoven," *Antwerpiensia* 22 (1951); Baetens, "Belezza et Magnificenza," 166-167; Nooyens, 525 for list of *speelhuizen* in Deurne in 1581, and 543 for their value in relationship to other properties; Prims, *Borgerhout*, 158-161; Prims, *Merksem*, 198-211; Prims, *Wilrijk*, 325-385; and van Passen, *Wilrijk*, 644-756.

³⁷ Baetens, "Belezza et Magnificenza," 167.

maintaining their primary residences within the city. The *Small Landscapes* depict at least two such properties. One print is identified as the castle Vordenstein in Schoten, which, as already mentioned, was purchased by the Italian merchant Gregory de Ayala from the noble van de Werve family in 1553 (fig. 1.42).³⁸ In 1559, the property was reported to encompass 108 hectares, most of which was given over to agricultural production.³⁹ The print does not depict the castle within this large terrain, but instead focuses more closely on the castle itself, surrounded by a moat with a bridge and sheltered by a screen of trees in the background. A number of figures animate the foreground, setting off the massive grandeur of the castle. The couple strolling in the center, with fashionable slashed pants and long train and accompanied by a child and a dog, represent precisely the type of urban sophisticates that owned the castle at the time.

⁴⁰ Out for a stroll on their own property, they are depicted at the leisure that a *speelhuis*

³⁸ See note 17 above for identification.

³⁹ Baetens, "Villa Rustica," 177.

⁴⁰ Evidence from contemporary costume books makes clear that the male figures in the *Small Landscapes* with capes, spears, short plumed pants and feathered caps are of a more elite class than those with straight pants, simple caps and staves, who are often shown as shepherds or peasant laborers. The distinction between the female types employed in the *Small Landscapes* is more difficult to ascertain, since both noble and peasant women wore headdresses covering their hair and long-sleeved dresses with aprons. However, the dresses of peasant women tended to be slightly shorter, while those of a higher standing often wore dresses with a slight train. Hence, it is possible to surmise that the woman walking with a gentleman in front of the manor house in NHD 120 is probably a lady of similar rank, since her dress flows out behind her. Peasant women in the series tend to be identified by the jugs and baskets that they carry. For illustrations of contemporary costumes, see the woodcut illustrations in François Deserps, *A collection of the various styles of clothing which are presently worn in countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and the savage islands, all realistically depicted (1562)*, trans. and edited by Sara Shannon and with an introduction by Carol Louise Urness (Minneapolis: James Ford Bell Library; Distributed by the University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 44-47, 56-59, 72-73, and 78-81. Desprez' (misprinted Deserps) book was originally published in French in Paris in 1562; a second edition was published in 1564 and a slightly different third edition with a different publisher in 1567. In 1570, Guillaem van Parijs published a Dutch edition of Desprez' work in Antwerp with copies of the original woodcuts by either Antoni van Leest, or Antoni Bosch or Silvius. This was quickly followed by Jan de Bellerus' Latin version in 1572, using the same woodblocks. The woodblocks made their way to Holland with Bellerus' printer, Gillis van Rade, who later collaborated with Zacharias Heyns. Heyns reused the blocks in a Dutch version of the book, issued in Amsterdam in 1601. Himself an active member of the *rederijkeskamer* 'Het Wit Lavendel' in Amsterdam from 1598 to 1606, Heyns issued this book as a guide for costumes for the stage, with special attention to

was intended to provide. Haverkamp Begemann has identified the other large castle depicted in the series as the castle Ter Meeren in Sterrebeek, to the northeast of Brussels (fig. 1.17).⁴¹ Again, the print shows the castle at close range with its moat and bridge and without any suggestion of the large working farm that undoubtedly attended and provisioned the *speelhof*. The focus is entirely upon the role of the castle for its urban proprietors, that is as a secluded and peaceful residence unencumbered by work or business. Even though the image is empty of staffage that might suggest the presence of these urban owners, it nonetheless puts the manor house on display on a larger scale and with a greater centrality than can be seen any of the other compositions in the series. Together with the print of the *Roode Poort*, these *speelhoven* are the most significant structures depicted in the prints and the most visually commanding images of the series. This manner of depicting the grand properties of the countryside as both substantial and independent, and occasionally accompanied by their putative owners, reinforces the sense that the *Small Landscapes* show the countryside from a distinctly urban viewpoint, highlighting the aspects of the land, its structures, and its leisurely occupations that well-to-do city folk sought when they left the city.

Many of these splendid country manors were remodeled according to the principles of Renaissance design during this period, in order to emphasize their role as a

the old-fashioned Brabantine costumes. Heyns was originally from Antwerp and worked there as a pupil of Plantin and Moretus until he left to set up his publishing house in Amsterdam in 1592. It is interesting to note that many of the costumes that Desprez had attributed to other nationalities are attributed to Flemish and Brabantine figures in Heyns' version. See Zacharias Heyns, Herbert Meeus, and J. A. van Leuvensteijn. *Dracht-thoneel (1601)*, Fell, vol. 6 (Amsterdam: Buijten & Schipperheijn, 1989), 12-25. For further illustrations of female Belgian and Brabantine costume, see also the facsimile reprint of the Latin edition of Jost Amman's *Frauentrachtenbuch* (Frankfurt, 1586): Jost Amman, *The theatre of women*, ed. Alfred Aspland (Manchester: For the Holbein Society by A. Brothers; etc. etc., 1872), illustrations 95-97, 99 and 102.

⁴¹ Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, "Joos van Liere," in *Pieter Bruegel und Seine Welt*, ed. Otto von Simpson and Matthias Winner (1979), 23, note 25.

place of retreat and relaxation in line with the model established in Italy. Villas with broad facades, porticoes, galleries, wide windows, and decorated walls replaced the fortified towers and high enclosures of the older defensive structures.⁴² Alongside these

⁴² This new architectural paradigm had spread north from Italy through the works of artists and publishers like Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who translated both Vitruvius' *De architectura* and several books of Sebastiano Serlio's multi-volume treatise on architecture and decoration into Dutch. None of these volumes directly discusses the construction or decoration of villas, but there are several examples of ancient villas included in Book III of Serlio, with woodcut illustrations and general descriptions of their layouts and proportions, while Book IV included many examples of how the different orders might be used in domestic architecture, particularly in decorating fireplaces, doorways, and window frames. For examples, see Coecke's translation of Book III, Sebastiano Serlio and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Die aldervermaertste antique edificien* (Hantwerpen), microform, fol. lxx verso – lxxiii recto. For Book IV, see the early seventeenth-century reprint, with the same woodcuts: Sebastiano Serlio, *Het eerste -vijfde boeck van de architecturen Sebastiani Serlij* (Amsterdam: Hendrick Laurensz), microform. For a complete account of Coecke's editions of Serlio, which also included German and French translations, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "Pieter Coecke van Aelst and the publication of Serlio's book on architecture," *Quaerendo* 6 (1976). Pieter Coecke van Aelst's influence in this regard is indicated by two contemporary sources: in his *Pictorium aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Antwerp, 1572), Lampsonius' poem in praise of the artist includes the commendation that he "achieved great works and built beautiful houses. This did Serlio teach his countrymen, and you have done the same for your own people and for the French, as you are Serlio's bilingual interpreter." Likewise, van Mander asserts in his *Schilder-boek* that through his translation of Serlio, Coecke "introduced the correct manner of building (into the Low Countries) and ousted the manner then in use." Both quoted in Verwey, "Pieter Coecke," 193-194. The new decorative idiom was also promulgated through prints after Cornelis Floris and Vredeman de Vries, whose print series of decorative cartouches and strapwork grotesques introduced the Italian Renaissance decorative idiom to the North. Vredeman de Vries' books dedicated to the different classical orders and his collections of ideal architectural views were likewise an important step toward the introduction of classically inspired architectural form into the North. Hieronymus Cock, always the innovator, published many of these series of prints. The ready availability of such texts and illustrations in Antwerp must have been instrumental in spreading the new principles of villa construction and decoration to Brabant, especially among foreign merchants, many of whom were from Italy and must have been familiar with the villas of their native lands, and those eager to follow the new style. For publications by Cock after Cornelis Floris, see Riggs 1977, 327, nos. 63-66; and after Vredeman de Vries, see Riggs 1977, 364-366, nos. 206-217. It has been suggested by Verwey, among others, that the title-page to Coecke's German edition of Serlio's Book IV introduced grotesques into the Low Countries for the first time and was by Coecke's own hand. If that is the case, then Coecke can be seen as a forerunner to Floris and Vredeman in this increasingly popular field. See Verwey, "Pieter Coecke," 183 and 192-3. Wylleman and Plomteaux argue, on the other hand, that the rise of the new Renaissance architectural style was not particularly strong among the grandest rural *hoven* and that beyond these somewhat decorative changes and embellishments, the older, more traditional architectural style continued to dominate. Krista de Jonghe has argued for a more nuanced approach to Netherlandish architecture during this period, arguing that interest in Italian or "antique" forms was mixed with a fascination for contemporary developments in more local "gothic" idioms. See Prims, "Verschil"; and Greet Linda Wylleman and Rita Steyaert Plomteaux, "Over kastelen en buitenplaatsen, parken en tuinen," *Monumenten & Landschappen* 4, no. 5 (1985), particularly 15-18; and Krista de Jonghe, "The 'Triumph of the Renaissance' in 16th-Century Netherlandish Architecture: Historiographical Issues and New Definitions," paper presented at the 93rd Annual Conference of the College Art Association, Atlanta, Georgia, February 16-19, 2005.

rebuilt manors, new *speelhoven* sprang up that were built according to the same fashion.⁴³ After Maarten van Rossem's devastating rampage on his retreat from Antwerp in 1542, when the country houses, manors, and farms to the south and east of the city were reduced to ashes – properties in Merksem, Deurne, Borgerhout, and Berchem were particularly badly damaged – owners quickly undertook the reconstruction of their ruined country houses and castles, and many owners took advantage of the opportunity to recast their country properties in more fashionable architectural idiom of the Italian Renaissance model.⁴⁴

⁴³ Along with the texts and images that purveyed the new architectural fashion, the Italian Renaissance villa model must also have spread to Antwerp through the tastes of the hundreds of Italian merchants who worked there and invested in rural properties and *speelhoven*. As mentioned previously (note 17), Jan d'Affaitadi rebuilt the Kasteel Selsaten in the 'old Tuscan style'. Baetens states that shortly after 1543, Jan van Crombach built a Renaissance villa in Schoten. Michiel van der Heyden's Zurenborch in Berchem was a large *speelhuis*, lavishly decorated and appointed. Van der Heyden had syphoned off money, materials, and even laborers from the city's fortifications projects between 1542 and 1545 in order to build his luxury country residence, a scandalous case of corruption which the city magistrate investigated in 1553 and 1554, after van der Heyden's death. Nicolas Jongelinck's suburban country villa, newly built on the Markgravelei, must have been another particularly sumptuous countryhouse; it was richly decorated with series of paintings by both Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Frans Floris. On Kasteel Selsaten and Jan van Crombach, see Baetens, "Villa Rustica," 177; and Sledsens 1962, 83-84. On van der Heyden's activities, see A. Monballieu, "Bruegels 'Schaatsenrijden bij St.-Joris-poort te Antwerpen,' de betekenis van de jaartal 1553 en een archiefstuk," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1981); and on Jongelinck's country house, see Cornelis van de Velde, "The Labours of Hercules, a Lost Series of Paintings by Frans Floris," *Burlington magazine* 107 (1965); Iain Buchanan, "The collection of Niclaes Jongelinck: I, Bacchus and the planets by Jacques Jongelinck," *Burlington magazine* 132, no. 1043 (1990); Iain Buchanan, "The collection of Niclaes Jongelinck: II, the 'Months' by Pieter Bruegel the Elder," *Burlington magazine* 132, no. 1049 (1990); Claudia Goldstein, "Artifacts of domestic life: Bruegel's paintings in the Flemish home," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000). In her dissertation, Claudia Goldstein discusses both van der Heyden and Jongelinck: Claudia Goldstein, "Keeping up appearances: The social significance of domestic decoration in Antwerp, 1508-1600" (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2003).

⁴⁴ Hired by a coalition of the kings of France and Denmark against Charles V, Marten van Rossem led the Gelder army on a plundering raid into Brabant in July and August, 1542 and laid siege to Antwerp. Once his efforts were effectively repelled, he retreated and went on to try his luck in Leuven, plundering and burning the villages and properties along his path. Van Rossem's attacks became legendary. Popular songs, prints, and paintings all immortalized the notorious events. This imagery even adorned the inside of a small jewelry box, now in the Vleeshuis. I am thankful to Claudia Goldstein for bringing this small object to my attention. On Maarten van Rossem in Brabant, see Arend van Slichtenhorst, *XIV Boeken van de Geldersche Geschiedenissen* (Arnhem: J. van Biesen, 1654); Justus Dorotheus Willem Paape, *De levensgeschiedenis van Maarten van Rossem, voornamelijk met betrekking tot de tegenwoordige provincie Noord-Brabant, met eene nauwkeurige aanwijzig van zijn verblijf en zijne verrigtingen in dezelve* (s'-Hertogenbosch: H. Palier en zoon, 1847); Henri Pirenne and Franz Schauwers, *Histoire de Belgique des*

A great many of the rural properties that urbanites purchased were large working farms that continued to operate as such rather than imposing castles and manors. On such properties, a *neercamer* or *neerhof* was rented out to a tenant farmer, while a main stone house or *opperhof* was reserved for the exclusive use of the proprietors. Most of these properties functioned first and foremost as agricultural enterprises. Nonetheless, they accommodated their urban owners and their desire for a rural getaway, with tenants often required by stipulations in the lease to bring produce and meat from the farm to the urban residence of their landlords, and to fetch their landlords from town on weekends and holidays in a carriage and to return them to town when requested.⁴⁵ More modest examples of this type of property are also depicted in the *Small Landscape* series. In the clearest cases, the stone *opperhof* is part of a larger enclosed compound, surrounded by barns, stalls and other out-buildings (figs. 1.9, 1.31, 1.41). Each of these prints also depicts the meadows and livestock or sown fields that surround these farm buildings. However it is notable that, as in the prints of castles, these views do not show the properties as the sites of labor and toil as one might see in prints like the *Seasons* series after Bruegel and Bol. In the image of the farm with a ditch, the view includes no human actors at all, highlighting instead the quiet, peaceful isolation of the country house.

Though the print of the farm with sheep includes their attendant shepherds, these men are

origines a nos jours (Bruxelles: La Renaissance du livre, 1972); J.C. van der Does, *Maarten van Rossem: De glorieuse Geldersche legeraanvoerder* (Utrecht: 1943); B. H. van 't Hooft, *Honderd jaar Geldersche geschiedenis in historieliederen* (Arnhem: 1948); and Herman Pleij, "Anna Bijns als pamflettiste? Het refrein over de beide Maartens," *Spiegel der letteren: tijdschrift voor nederlandse literatuurgeschiedenis en voor literatuurwetenschap* 42, no. 3/4 (2000). While country manors were rebuilt quickly at this time, this was not so often the case after the devastations of the war between Spanish and Netherlandish troops that wracked the Brabantine countryside in the 1570s and 80s. Many of these properties are still described as desolate ruins well into the seventeenth century. See Chapter Three below.

⁴⁵ Dierick de Voogt, the owner of the *speelhuis* and large farm called Ten Runsvoot in Merksem, specifies this arrangement in his twelve-year contract with the tenants Cornelis Aertssems and his wife in 1553. See F. Prims, *Geshiedenis van Merksem* (Merksem: Het Gemeentebestuur, 1951), 211- 212.

depicted in relaxed conversation rather than hard at work. In the scene that sets a country house behind an expansive wheat field, the several depicted figures appear to be urbanites by their dress and deportment, as they stroll along the country road or pause to rest and chat. Indeed, one couple makes use of the privacy of the tall wheat for a more intimate encounter. Thus, while these views suggest the agricultural work carried out on these farm manors, this work is subsumed within the overriding atmosphere of leisure and tranquility in the scenes. In other words, these views present the countryside and its large farms as they were seen and imagined in the eyes of the urban population that was buying such properties during this period.

Once in the hands of urban owners, both the noble castles and agricultural farms of the countryside were used as *speelhuizen*. However, the real indication of the popularity of country homes can be seen in the rural properties that were developed by urban builders and speculators into entire neighborhoods of new suburban *speelhuizen*. Unlike the older properties, these developments were carved out of larger parcels of land without accompanying farms or plots of land. Indeed, without a working farm to provide an agricultural income or a noble pedigree to shore up social status, such a *speelhuis* functioned entirely as a retreat and place of leisurely repose outside the city walls.

The most notable development of new *speelhuizen* outside of the city was the so-called *Leikwartier*, a project undertaken by the ambitious Gilbert van Schoonbeke. In 1547, van Schoonbeke purchased a large property called the Goed ter Beke from Willem van de Werve just to the south of Antwerp's Saint George's Gate, along with several adjoining parcels of land.⁴⁶ He built a number of new roads and avenues through the 46

⁴⁶ In his work on van Schoonbeke's speculative enterprises, Soly includes a detailed account of this project which is an essential reference. See Soly, *Urbanisme*, 186-191.

hectares of the original estate and divided the acreage into smaller plots, which he sold to individual purchasers “on the condition that those who purchase them in order to build houses and *speelhoven* must plant a tree every twenty feet in front of their house or *hof*.”⁴⁷ This stipulation that the new owners build homes on their plots - he specifically refers to them as *speelhuizen* - and line the avenues in front of their properties with trees were measures intended to assure the residential character of the area and to emphasize its bucolic, rustic setting. This was to be a neighborhood of country houses, however contradictory such a notion might seem.

The project was an instant success. In 1547, the same year that van Schoonbeke bought the property, he sold 34 parcels of land totaling about 10.5 hectares – almost a quarter of the entire area of van Schoonbeke’s original investment. The size of these plots varied greatly, from as much as 600 roeden, or almost 2 hectares, to as small as just 8 roeden, a mere fraction of a hectare. The largest plots cost over 1,000 gulden and went to affluent merchants. More modest pieces of land, measuring around a half to a quarter hectare or less, were bought by builders, masons, surveyors, fishmongers, a smith, and a painter, while the smallest plots went to laborers, who paid as little as 26 gulden for the land.⁴⁸ Clearly, the pull of the countryside and the attraction of a *speelhuis* was felt across the entire spectrum of Antwerp’s population. These citizens saw in van Schoonbeke’s initiative an opportunity to own a country house, often at a much more

⁴⁷ The Dutch reads: “...op de conditie die van hem erven cochten om huysen ende speelhovens te maekcen, dat die elck 20 voeten voor sijn huys oft hoff eene boom moest planten.” Quoted in Soly, *Urbanisme*, 187.

⁴⁸ More than half of the plots were less than 100 roeden, that is, less than a quarter hectare. Soly notes that the fishmongers must have been attracted to the area because of the number of ponds in the area, so that in these cases pragmatic or professional advantages combined with the attractions of a country retreat. For a complete chart of the buyers, their professions, the size of their plots, and the amounts they paid for them, see Soly, *Urbanisme*, 188-190.

reasonable price than such a property in the city would cost, and with the added benefits and cachet of a “rural” retreat.

Of course, in constructing a network of avenues and dividing the land into small parcels, the area could hardly be considered rural in any real sense; it no longer supported agricultural activities or livestock, and it was owned entirely by urbanites and intensively developed. However, even without the farms, fields, and meadows typically attached to the older, truly rural properties that now often served as *speelhuizen*, these new structures nonetheless participated in the same idiom of rustic retreat and repose. For the essential quality of a *speelhuis* or *hof van plaisantie* was that it be a second residence outside the city that afforded its owners an alternative to their urban experience. These new *speelhuizen* indicate that the attraction to the countryside was driven by far more than the strictly economic and pragmatic motivations that were outlined above; the countryside was not just a place to invest and from which to profit. It embodied a conceptual alternative to the life of the city and fulfilled a desire to balance the strain and agitation of urban business and labor with the refreshment of rural leisure.

Between 1547 and 1554, van Schoonbeke sold a total of 55 plots. After the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis the rest of the land was parceled up and sold, so that by 1570 the *Leikwartier* comprised at least 100 *speelhuizen* along its avenues, with particular concentrations along the Markgravelei and the Nachtegaallei.⁴⁹ Van Schoonbeke made a 176% profit on his original investment of 18,617 gulden and, within the span of just over a decade, brought the phenomenon of the *speelhuis* to its apex. Though these new *speelhuizen* could hardly compare with the traditional prestige of larger and older landed

⁴⁹ This number is based on the records from the Hundredth Penny tax levied in that year, which was based on property values. See Baetens, “Beleza et Magnificenza,” 165-66.

estates, they offered a new and arguably more apposite sort of cachet that accorded with the specific desires and aspirations of the urban population, for whom the status of traditional gentry was no longer the standard. Indeed, by 1570 the most distinguished of these new *speelhuizen* were in the hands of some of Antwerp's notable new merchant-gentlemen including Nicolas Jongelinck, who housed his extraordinary collection of paintings by Bruegel and Frans Floris there, the Schetz brothers, Jan della Faille, Christopher Pruynen, Pauwel Tucher, and Jan Baptist Spinola.⁵⁰ Their presence in the *Leikwartier* clearly signals the reputation of the neighborhood and the social value that attached to its properties.

Van Schoonbeke's example soon spurred others to speculate on the appeal of country houses. A particularly interesting case is Hendrik van Berchem's development of a portion of his estate in Berchem into a neighborhood of *speelhuizen* dubbed the Papenmoer.⁵¹ In a fascinating instance of defeudalization, Hendrik van Berchem, himself a member of an old noble family and lord of his family's namesake seigneurie, appealed to the royal court with a request to detach seven hectares from his domain and apportion it into smaller properties in order to sell them, much as van Schoonbeke had, with the deliberate intention of creating a residential neighborhood of *speelhuizen*. His request was granted in 1556 and over the next several years, Hendrick constructed new avenues through the area, lined with trees and ditches as they were in the *Leikwartier*, and sold pieces of land to *Antwerpenaars* seeking a place for a country residence. In 1563, he sold

⁵⁰ Soly, *Urbanisme*, 191. Jan della Faille also owned a rural estate elsewhere. He bought the Berckenrijs in Wilrijk in 1564, close to his brother Jacob's nearby estate, called Maloos. See van Passen, *Wilrijk*, 723-724.

⁵¹ Hendrik van Berchem was married to Marguerite van den Werve, which made him a close relative of Willem van den Werve, who had sold his property the Goed ter Beke to van Schoonbeke in 1547. See Fernand Donnet, *Le "Papen Moer" à Berchem* (Antwerp: Secelle, 1921), 10.

a small plot of 43 roeden to the engraver Jan Liefrinck and his wife. By the time that Liefrinck's widow sold the property in 1574 to the silk dealer Melchior de Neufville for 500 gulden, it was described as "a *speelhuis* with a farmhouse, orchard, grounds."⁵² By 1570, there were 75 houses registered on the seven hectares of the Papenmoer, which indicates just how densely settled this "country" neighborhood became in the course of just a decade.

Christophe Plantin was among those who purchased land in the Papenmoer, and as we have already seen, he was eager to tout the joys and benefits of his country house there. He cultivated a garden on this property with exotic plants from seeds he exchanged with Benito Arias Montano. In a letter to humanist Justus Lipsius, he urges his friend "not to hesitate to come to my house, you will find there wine, good beers, nice meats... and a pretty garden!"⁵³ Lipsius was surely a regular visitor, as were Plantin's naturalist friends, Rembert Dodoens, Carolus Clusius, and Matthias Lobelius.⁵⁴ The printmaker Pieter van der Heyden, responsible for so many of the prints after Bruegel published by Hieronymus Cock and a regular employee of Plantin as well, lived at Plantin's *speelhuis* in the 1570s. It is clear that for Plantin, at least, the *speelhuis* was a place for social intercourse as well as restorative repose, and that he made use of it frequently. Another contemporary source indicates that *speelhuizen* were visited quite

⁵² The original Dutch text reads: "Een speelhuys meeten hove, bogaerde, gronde." Prims, *Berchem*, 143.

⁵³ The original French text reads: "n'hésitez pas à venir chez moi, vous y trouverez du vin, de bonnes bières, des viandes agréables...et un joli jardin!" See Christophe Plantin and others, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (Antwerpen: J. E. Buschmann; etc. etc., 1883), volume VII-IX, 79.

⁵⁴ Plantin published the texts of all of these naturalist in Latin, with the exception of one Dutch translation of Lobellius' *Kruydtboek*, published in 1581. For complete bibliography, see E. Cockx-Indestege and G. Glorieux, *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600: Catalogus librorum impressorum ab MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt* (Nieuwkoop: 1968).

frequently, and not just on special holidays. In his memoirs, Jacques van Wesenbeke describes how he narrowly eluded arrest on iniquitous charges in 1567; the authorities sought him “in my country house about two miles from Antwerp thinking to find me there (as I often retire there on Saturdays and Sundays, but by good fortune I wasn’t there)...”⁵⁵ Though Wesenbeke was not in the country on this particular weekend, he indicates that this was his general habit. A contemporary comic poem also mentions an *Antwerpenaar* going out to the countryside to visit his friends “out on their *plaisantien*” after getting himself into a number of scrapes in the city.⁵⁶ Once there, as Plantin’s letter to Lipsius has already suggested, eating and drinking were among their main occupations. The owners of *speelhuizen* often hosted elaborate dinner parties; Nicolas Jongelinck’s famed dining room, in which hung Bruegel’s *Seasons* series, must have been a particularly lavish setting for such social gatherings.⁵⁷

For Plantin, however, the *speelhuis* was a place not just for leisure and great dining, but also for humanist congregations, intellectual conversation, and spiritual reflection. Plantin’s poem makes this clear; after referring once again to the gardens,

⁵⁵ The original French text reads: “à ma maison de plaisance assisté à deux lieuës près d’Anvers, me pensant bien trover illec (comme souvent me retiroye illec les samedy et dimanche, mais de bone fortune adonc n’y fus)...”. See C. Rahlenbeck, *Mémoires de Jacques de Wesenbeke* (Brussels: M. Weissenbruch, 1859), 15. Also quoted in Baetens, “Belezza et Magnificenza,” 164.

⁵⁶ He goes on to play more tricks on his country hosts: “he besocht zijn vrienden vast rontsomme die stede / Alsse buyten op haer plaisantien quamen / Waer dat hy veel vreemde bootskens dede / Diese hem oock ten besten afnamen / Al was hy willecom, hy ghinck hem schamen / Dinckende datmen seyt vande stoute gasten; / Men can die vrienden wel overlasten.” In English, the passage reads: “He visited his good friends around the city/ As they came out on their *plaisanties*/ Where he played many strange jokes/ Which they enjoyed gladly/ Even if he was welcome, he went and shamed himself/ Thinking that one tires of a bold or naughty guest;/ One can in fact become a nuisance to one’s friends.” Cornelis Crul and C. Kruyskamp, ed., *Heynken de Luyere en Andere Gedichten*, Klassieke galerij, vol. 48 (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1950), 15, lines 463-469.

⁵⁷ On the habits of dining in country houses, see Claudia Goldstein, “Keeping up appearances: The social significance of domestic decoration in Antwerp, 1508-1600” (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2003)

fruit, and wine to be had there, Plantin stresses the natural endowments of the place and its freedom from the strains of the city, from which he suffered particularly in these years.⁵⁸ Then he sets up the *speelhuis* as the locus of simple and frugal living, and emphasizes the spiritual peace to be found there and, with an almost Stoic resignation, connects it to one's eventual retirement not just from the business of the city but from life itself.

Plantin suggests that the tranquility and repose of the countryside allowed one to be freed not only from the physical pressures of the city but also from the mental and social ones – from ambition, competition, worldly desires and the weakness to pursue them. Indeed, the elevation of the countryside as a place of moral righteousness and just living often took form in opposition to the perceived evils and moral corruption of urban existence, and spawned an entire literature in praise of country life of which Plantin's poem is only one example.⁵⁹ In what follows, we will consider further the nature and

⁵⁸ For a connection between this poem and Plantin's precarious situation as the royal publisher to Philip II in these years, see Maurits Sabbe, *Le Sonnet de Plantin* (Antwerp: L. Opdebeek, 1928). In particular, Plantin's exhaustive efforts between 1568 and 1572 to produce the monumental Polyglot Bible, originally commissioned and financed by the king, combined with his almost exclusive publication of missals and breviaries for the Spanish market during this period, nearly left the printer in financial ruin and permanently damaged his health. In 1575, Plantin's son-in-law, Jan Moretus, wrote to Benito Arias Montano, whose enormous scholarly efforts had brought the project of the Polyglot Bible to fruition, that "daily cares and tribulations prevent him [Plantin] from enjoying good health with us here at home [at Antwerp]." For an account of this project, see Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: 1969), vol. 1, 56-75 (quotation on 75).

⁵⁹ For a survey of this literature throughout Europe from antiquity on, see Paul H. Johnstone, "In Praise of Husbandry," *Agricultural History* 11, no. 2 (1937); and Anke-Marie Lohmeier, "Beatus ille: Studien zum 'Lob des Landlebens' in der Literatur des absolutistischen Zeitalters," *Hermaea: Germanistische Forschungen* N.F. Band 44 (1981), with further references. A poem by Gilles Correzet of 1539 in his collection entitled *Blasons domestiques*, like Plantin's verse, celebrates the country house as a place of abundance, beauty, and peace. However, unlike Plantin, Correzet is interested in the house itself and focuses much greater attention on its luxurious appointment and decoration. The poem is quoted in Mark Girouard, *Life in the French Country House* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 70. In seventeenth-century Holland, there also arose a strong tradition of country house poetry. See note 62 below for literature. In England, the phenomenon of the country house poem would also pick up on this trend and come into full bloom in the early to mid-seventeenth century. There is an extensive body of scholarship on this subject.

significance of such encomia, which offer a literary counterpart to the visual tribute to the rustic countryside that the *Small Landscape* prints propagate.

The Praise of the Country House and the Country Life

The mid-sixteenth-century examples of the praise of country life in Antwerp, like Plantin's verses, took their inspiration from a host of sources, but the bedrock for such texts lies in ancient models. In fact, Plantin's poem is little more than a loose translation and subtle recasting of Martial's *Epigram X, 47*, which reads, in prose translation:

The things that make life happier, most genial Martial, are these: means not acquired by labour, but bequeathed; fields not unkindly, an ever blazing hearth; no lawsuit, the toga seldom worn, a quiet mind; a free man's strength, a healthy body; frankness with tact, congenial friends, good-natured guests, a board plainly spread; nights not spent in wine, but freed from cares, a bed not prudish and yet pure; sleep such as makes the darkness brief: be content with what you are, and wish no change; nor dread your last day, nor long for it.⁶⁰

Plantin was certainly familiar with Martial's original Latin text, since he published Martial's epigrams in numerous editions beginning in 1568.⁶¹ However, Martial's poem was already well known in the Lowlands and circulated in the vernacular Dutch thanks to the poet Lucas d'Heere's translation, which was published in Ghent in 1565 as part of his collection of work entitled *Den Hof en Boomgaard der Poësen*.⁶² What is most notable

See especially Raymond Williams, *City and Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630-1660*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979); Alastair Fowler, *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994); and Hugh Jenkins, *Feigned Commonwealths: The Country-House Poem and the Fashioning of the Ideal Community* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1998).

⁶⁰ Martial, *Epigrams*, trans. Walter C. A. Ker, Rev. ed., Loeb Classical Library, vol. II (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1968), 189-191.

⁶¹ For a bibliography of these editions, see *Belgica Typographica*, 84.

⁶² For a modern edition, see Lucas d'Heere, *Den Hof en boomgaard der poësen*, ed. W. Waterschoot (Zwolle: 1965), 56.

about both d'Heere's translation and Plantin's poem is that by translating the classical work into the vernacular Dutch and French, it relocates this remote rustic idyll from the countryside of the indefinite classical past to the specific contemporary and local context of the Low Countries.⁶³ Plantin, more explicitly than Martial, situates this ideal life in the opening lines of his poem at his country house and gardens, which therefore becomes the setting that establishes and makes possible the quiet, withdrawn life he goes on to extol. For Plantin, a *speelhuis* outside the city provided the opportunity and setting to emulate simultaneously a classical poetic theme and a classically inspired lifestyle.

Martial's epigram, with its denial of all labor and its unmistakable air of aristocratic privilege, was closely linked to the aspirations of Antwerp's merchants, city functionaries and master craftsmen. The appeal of a life free from the toils and worries of business, attended by easy abundance, leisure, health and companionship, as described by Martial, was precisely what motivated their purchase of country *speelhuizen* and estates. Already early in the sixteenth century, the theme of pleasant country life had found local expression in the writings of the Low Countries most famed humanist scholar, Desiderius Erasmus. In the *Antibarbari* (1520), he praised the Brabantine

⁶³ See Appendix Two for a comparison of Martial's text, Lucas d'Heere's translation, and Plantin's version of the poem's theme. Dutch poetry would follow much the same path in the seventeenth century, with writers like Hendrick Laurensz Spieghel, Johan van Heemskerck, and Constantijn Huygens transposing conventional classical rhetoric onto local landscapes. There also arose an entire genre of country-house poetry, verses written by city dwellers in praise of their country estates. For the use of landscape in Netherlandish literature, see Theo Jan Beening, *Het Landschap in de Nederlandse Letterkunde van de Renaissance* (1963). For a succinct discussion of this literature, with further bibliography, see David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: 1980), 11-18. For a more specific discussion of the country-house poems, see G. R. Hibbard, "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956); P.A.F. van Veen, *De soeticheyt des buyten-levens vergheselschap met de boucken: Het hofdicht als tak van een georgische litteratuur* (The Hague: 1960; reprint, Utrecht, 1985); and Willemien B. de Vries, *Wandeling en verhandeling: de ontwikkeling van het Nederlandse hofdicht in de zeventiende eeuw (1613-1710)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998).

countryside as a place of healthful respite from the threat of plague, that pestilence of the city. Erasmus describes how he

went to stay in a rural corner of Brabant, so salubrious and charming a place that it seemed highly suitable not only for preserving health but for a studious retreat... Here, as well as fresh air and quietude, there was as much beauty as a philosopher could desire, or perhaps even the Muses, who are said to delight in clear springs, green grassy banks, and the thick shade of the woods.⁶⁴

The passage adds a new dimension to Martial's terms of praise. The countryside here is not only beneficial to one's health, but furthermore offers aesthetic refreshment. For Erasmus, the countryside was not merely an advantageous physical environment, but the stage for intellectual and sensuous reverie and inspiration. Its natural beauty lends itself to this in a way that would be impossible in the city.

Erasmus makes this distinction explicit in a poem from 1518, which he claims to have written in the countryside, in which he describes how

as I was strolling on the well-watered grass among the trees along the edge of the green bank of a stream, as I roamed in the friendly quiet of the silent trees, my heart was touched by a sweet rapture. Now I took pleasure in the groves and springs, now I enjoyed the life of the countryside, detesting the crowds and the smoky houses [of the city].

Erasmus' poetic rapture is only possible because the countryside offers "a happy time of leisure, as Scipio once enjoyed such a time of leisure, far from the city, alone – and yet not alone – in the silent fields, a leisure full of noble activity."⁶⁵ The invocation of the ancient Scipio's noble, solitary leisure, which is implicitly contrasted with the ignoble activity of business in the city, once again links the Brabantine countryside with its

⁶⁴ Craig R. Thompson, ed., *Collected Works of Erasmus, Literary and Educational Writings 1: Antibarbari / Parabolae* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 19.

⁶⁵ Harry Vredeveld, ed., *Collected Works of Erasmus, Volume 85: Poems*, trans. Clarence H. Miller (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 43-45

classical archetype.⁶⁶ Furthermore, it stresses another dimension of the countryside as a place of a solitary leisure that results in both the physical and mental repose requisite for “noble activity,” namely, aesthetic, intellectual, and even spiritual contemplation.

Erasmus equates this leisure with a kind of freedom specific to the countryside. In his *Convivium Religiosum* (1522), he writes that “a simple country house, a nest, is pleasanter than any palace, and, if he be king who lives in freedom and according to his wishes, surely I am a king here.”⁶⁷ Set in the context of this treatise on Christian ethics, this invocation of the freedom of a life lived in the country bears a distinctly religious implication for Erasmus. For him, a Christian outlook was fully compatible with notions of leisure and freedom as the wellsprings of poetic sensation and scholarly contemplation.⁶⁸ Indeed, such “pagan” practices could serve as a model for proper Christian principles. In outlining these values, he consistently invokes the rural terrain of Brabant in the most positive light as the unique locus for this complex fusion of intellectual, moral, and aesthetic responses. It was this model, permeated with Christian

⁶⁶ For a full treatment of the dichotomy of *otium* versus *negotium* as an intellectual and aesthetic paradigm with neo-Stoic implications, and its particular artistic expression in the landscape paintings of Jan Bruegel, see Leopoldine van Hogendorp Prosperetti, “Jan Brueghel and the landscape of devotion: Spiritual reform and landscape subjects in Antwerp painting between 1595 and 1625” (Doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2004).

⁶⁷ This translation comes from the unpaginated frontispiece of Fowler’s book. The translation in the *Collected Works* reads slightly differently, translating the Latin term *nidulus* simply as ‘little nest’, rather than ‘a simple country house, a nest’, as Fowler’s unreferenced translation does. It is however without question that in the text, this declaration is made by Eusebius about his own country house, as he welcomes a number of guests from the city to his abode. See Craig R. Thompson, ed., *The Collected Works of Erasmus, Volume 39: Colloquies* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 176, note 18.

⁶⁸ On Erasmus’ efforts to suture classical and pagan sources with Christian ethics, see Edmund Campion, “Defences of Classical Learning in St. Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana* and Erasmus’ *Antibarbari*,” *History of European Ideas* 4 (1983); and Brian Ogilvie, “Exemplarity and the Use of Antiquity in Erasmus,” in *Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting, Chicago* (2001).

ethics and stoic resolve, that transforms Plantin's version of the pagan Martial's rural ideal from a tone of blithe contentment into one of restrained piety.

This version of the praise of country life was particularly powerful, since it provided a new validation for urbanites in their pursuit of rural terrain. It was not simply profitable and pleasant to seek country property; it could, in fact, be cast as a moral decision, allowing one to align oneself with an elevated mode of existence, free from the taint of urban business and society and fit for the pursuit of higher aims of mind and soul. For owners of country houses like Plantin and his humanist companions, this might well have been an active motivation to turn to the country.⁶⁹ For others with less lofty goals, such rhetoric could mask the more venal or worldly advantages that urbanites could enjoy in the countryside.

If Erasmus implicitly praised the countryside for its distance from the evils of the city, this theme became an overt concern for many later humanist writers.⁷⁰ At the head of a long tradition of Renaissance literature devoted to praising the country and damning the city stands the work of the Spanish courtier, preacher and chronicler Antonio de Guevara, who served as a dedicated if discontented courtier in Charles V's entourage.

⁶⁹ For Erasmus and later Justus Lipsius, the country house served as a locus for discourse and true learning. For Lipsius, its isolation was valued for freeing the mind to perform its valuable work away from the cares and distractions of social intercourse. In Book Two of his treatise, *De Constantia*, he writes about his garden as a "secure retreat from people and business. Are men tedious to you? Here you shall be with yourself. Hath employment exhausted you? Here you shall be filled again; where your mind shall be satisfied with its own food, quiet and rest; and where, from the purer air, you shall renew your self and take in another breath... For the mind does raise, and advance itself, to higher and farther endeavors, when free and at large. She beholds her own Heaven, then when she is enclosed and hindered within the prison of a House, or City. Here, you poets frame an enduring verse. Here, let the learned meditate and write. Here you philosophers talk of tranquility, of constancy, of Life, and death... The true use and end of gardens: rest, secession, meditation, reading and writing." This English quotation taken from Justus Lipsius, *A discourse of constancy in two books* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley.), microform, 80-81.

⁷⁰ For an analysis of this trend, as well as its classical and medieval sources, and how it developed in French literature especially, see Pauline M. Smith, *The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth-Century French Literature*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, vol. 84 (Geneva: Droz, 1966).

Guevara's *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*, originally written in Spanish and published in 1539, is a scathing indictment of the corruption, weakness and immorality of life at court and in the city.⁷¹ Writing at an advanced age, Guevara offers an extended description of his own struggles to free himself from courtly life and a poignant confession of his ultimate failure to do so, but the bulk of the text is devoted to outlining both the traps of urban or court life and the way in which a retired life in the country could resolve every one of these ills.

As Pauline Smith has indicated, Guevara contends that the village provides the “opportunity for moral self-improvement through virtuous pursuits.”⁷² Among the “virtuous pursuits” that he enumerates are studying, hunting, visiting friends, eating healthily and well, and attending church sermons regularly with an aim toward spiritual betterment. The main duty in the village is the maintenance and oversight of one's household and family, which is better provisioned and more healthful than in cramped and expensive quarters in the city. Rather than being preoccupied with seeking favor at court, one can enjoy the pleasures and recreations of the countryside and its natural beauties:

O recreation pleasant of the village, to fish with nets, and with hooks, to catch birds with lyme, to hunt with dogs, to catch conies with ferrets and hayes, to shoot in the crossbow and the hacbut at stokdoves, at Mallards and at partridges and see folks labor in the vines, case ditches, amend hedges, to jest with the ancient laborers, all these pleasures have they of the villages, whereas the courtiers and citizens desire it and cannot have it.⁷³

⁷¹ Fray Antonio de Guevara, *Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea* (Valladolid: 1539). Joseph Jones argues that Guevara's use of the term “corte” can be interpreted as both court and city. See Joseph Ramon Jones, *Antonio de Guevara* (Boston: Twayne, 1975), 91.

⁷² Smith 1966, 35.

⁷³ This and following English translations taken from an early English edition of the text. Fray Antonio de Guevara, *A Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier, and a commendacion of the life of the labouryng man* (London: Grafton, 1548), 36-37, f.ii-iii.

He admires the country gentleman who is:

contented with a little household well ruled, with a gross table and a few plain stools to eat his meat upon, with dishes of pewter and a mattress for to sleep on, two gowns, one for summer, another for winter, one gelding in the stable, one valet, one chamberer to do him service: As much happy is a gentleman and as much honored with his little company in his house in the village, as is a rich lord in the court with his great pride and rustling train.⁷⁴

The comparison here between the country gentleman and the rich lord underscores how the village serves Guevara as the positive foil for the court, characterized by its ostentation, moral corruption and emphasis on worldly status.⁷⁵

However, for Guevara the most important reason for retiring from the court and living a more frugal and honest life in the village was to prepare for death. The renunciation of the worldly preoccupations of court or city life facilitates the good habits that allow one to resign oneself to a peaceful death.⁷⁶ It is no coincidence that Plantin's poem ends by echoing precisely this same sentiment, for Guevara can be credited with adding this decidedly Christian sentiment to the customary praise of the country in opposition to the city.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Guevara, *Dispraise*, 41, f.vii.

⁷⁵ Smith has pointed out that Guevara's treatment of the countryside is idealized and bears little claim to realism. Rather, she argues, the countryside must be understood in Guevara's work simply as an expedient means of contrast by which to point up to evils and disadvantages of courtly life. Smith 1966, 34.

⁷⁶ Guevara, *Dispraise*, 29, e.iii. This austerity of Guevara's vision is largely due to his indebtedness to Seneca's model, particularly as expressed in the *Epistolae Morales*. See note 78 below.

⁷⁷ Gustavo Agrait argues that Guevara casts the problem of eternal salvation in terms of the city and the village, with the first offering easy access to damnation and the second a suitable place to prepare the soul for its transition to eternity. He suggests that Guevara's unique interpretation of the classical lyric form of the Horatian *beatus ille* consisted in positing "the road to the village as a way to salvation" (translation mine). See Gustavo Agrait, *El 'Beatus Ille' en la poesía lírica del siglo de oro* (Puerto Rico: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1971), 82-84, with quotation on 84. Isaza Calderón also argues that Guevara's praise of country life versus the city goes beyond a strictly literary or even ideological plane to install itself in a religious terrain. See Baltasar Isaza Calderón, *El retorno a la naturaleza; los orígenes del tema y sus direcciones fundamentales en la literatura española*, 2. ed. (Madrid: 1966), 197.

Neither the theme of renouncing the life of the city and court nor that of praising the countryside originates with Guevara. Both are ancient ones, reaching back to the famed retreats of Scipio and Seneca, on the one hand, and Horace's and Virgil's encomia to the simple life of the country, on the other. More contemporary authors such as Petrarch and, as we have already seen, Erasmus likewise championed a retreat from the cares and duties of urban or courtly society, as later Justus Lipsius and Montaigne would as well.⁷⁸ What makes Guevara's treatise unique is that he pairs this renunciation with a concomitant elevation of the village as the city's positive opposite, thus binding the city and country into a dialectic relationship with one another and uniting these two literary traditions.⁷⁹ The conjoining of these two strains of thought is systematic throughout Guevara's text, as when he writes that "for the absenting from the court ought to be to none other purpose but to live soberly in the village."⁸⁰ Indeed, Guevara seems to treat the village as a rhetorical center of good Christian living that becomes significant only when coupled with the negative model of the city and court; it is only in the shadow cast

⁷⁸ Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, trans. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard; W. Heinemann, 1917), vol. 1, VIII and XIX; vol. 2, LXVIII; Horace, *The Odes and Epodes*, trans. C.E. Bennett, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, and London: 1914), Book I, Ode XVI and Book II, Ode XVI; Epode II; Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (London, Cambridge, Mass.: W. Heinemann; Harvard University Press, 1936), Book I, Epistles X, XIV, and XVI; Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1-6*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough; revised by G. P. Goold., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1999), Georgics, Book II, lines 490-531; Francesco Petrarca, *The life of solitude*, Hyperion reprint ed. (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1978); Lipsius, *A Discourse of constancy*; Michel de Montaigne, "On Solitude," in *The Complete Essays*, Penguin Classics (London, England; New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1993). Smith mentions several other examples of this genre of literature, including Alain Chartier's *De Vita Curiali*, written in the early fifteenth century, which enjoyed some influence into the sixteenth century, and French poems of the *Franc Gontier* tradition. These texts propound the superiority of the retired country life to that of the unfortunate courtier. Smith 1966, 40-43.

⁷⁹ Joseph Jones suggests that this unique contribution to the anti-courtier tradition was a sensitive expression of contemporary anxieties, and that Guevara's text became "the most important embodiment of the theme in modern literature." See Jones 1975, 98.

⁸⁰ Guevara, *Dispraise*, 28, e.ii.

by the urban or courtly context that the village comes to have any meaning for Guevara at all.⁸¹

Guevara's *Menosprecio* was enormously popular not only in Spain but throughout Europe.⁸² It was published in French translation in 1542 and went through nine further editions in France, becoming an influential model for French writers and poets.⁸³ The multitude of French editions may explain why the work was not published in Antwerp until 1573, when it appeared in two Dutch editions from the presses of Gerard Smits and Joannes Bellerus.⁸⁴ By then, Guevara's text must have been well known in Antwerp among humanist circles that included Plantin, who seems to have absorbed directly Guevara's ascetic Christian message, and his colleagues, among whom we may count

⁸¹ In his article on the connections between the Horatian *beatus ille* model and Guevara's *Menosprecio*, Agustin Redondo suggests a somewhat different interpretation of the value and use of the village in Guevara's text. He connects Guevara's praise of the country life and his encouragement of nobles of limited means to abandon the court and return to their village estates with the economic and political circumstances in Spain around the time that the text was originally published in 1539. This was a period not only of rising prices, but also of agricultural crisis. Thus, Redondo indicates that Guevara was attempting to address and ameliorate this problem by encouraging gentlemen of lesser means to return to working the land, by arguing that to do so would entail no loss of honor or authority and would in fact prove a more honest, healthful, economical, and pleasurable way to live. See Augustin Redondo, "Du *Beatus ille* horacien au Mépris de la cour et éloge de la vie rustique d'Antonio de Guevara," in *L'humanisme dans les lettres espagnoles: XIXe Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 5-17 juillet* (Paris: 1979), 258-262.

⁸² For a bibliography of Spanish works that take up the city-country theme, see Isaza Calderón 1966, 231, note 1.

⁸³ On the work's influence in France, see Louis Clement, "Antoine de Guevara: ses lecteurs et ses imitateurs français au XVI siècle," *Révue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* VII and VIII (1900/1901). For an account of the English editions of the work, see Henry Thomas, "The English Translations of Guevara's Works," in *Estudios eruditos in memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín (1895-1926)* (Madrid: 1930), 568-570. The *Menosprecio* was also translated into German. See Christoph E. Schweitzer, "Antonio de Guevara in Deutschland: Eine kritische Bibliographie," *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* XI (1960).

⁸⁴ The work was entitled *Mispryinghe ende miserie des hoefs ende der hoocheyt... See Belgica Typographica*, 62. In 1557, Plantin had published an edition of a French translation of a sort of companion treatise, originally titled in Spanish *Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos* and written in the same year as the *Menosprecio*, 1539. The work offers advice to courtiers on how to succeed at court, but like the *Menosprecio*, also warns against the vices and dangers of courtly intercourse. The first French translation of 1556, also published in Lyons, was entitled *Le favori de court* and was the work of Jacques de Rochemore. Plantin's was the second edition of this translation.

Hieronimus Cock. We can not presume that Cock was necessarily personally familiar with Guevara's text, but the ideas that it promulgated quickly became incorporated into the common rhetorical and intellectual fund that Cock certainly drew upon as an erudite print publisher.

Indeed, the images of Antwerp's countryside in the *Small Landscape* series give visual articulation to precisely the kinds of ideals that Guevara attributes to the village in his text. Furthermore, the countryside stands in the same relationship to the city as it does in Guevara's text, which is to say that the city, though only fleetingly and tangentially figured in the prints, nonetheless serves as the implied backdrop against which the virtues of the countryside are to be appraised. The text of the title-page to the first series of 1559 already establishes this interdependence by stating that its views of *speelhuizen*, farms and streets are drawn from life from places "located around Antwerp". Before one even encounters the first image of the countryside, the city thus becomes the invisible center from whence these views and this countryside emanate.

The only print that incorporates a direct visual reference to Antwerp is the view of the *Roode Poort*, one of Antwerp's eastern gates that led out from the city to an area of gardens that supplied the city with produce (fig. 1.28). The gate tower looms up on the right side of the print, its odd turrets reaching to the top edge of the print's frame. The city wall that leads from it toward the right should distinguish the city proper from the buildings along the road that lead out from the gate and into the countryside, but the density of buildings on the left side of the print makes the difference between town *intra muros* and its immediate surroundings indistinct. The profile of the stone house that appears at the far right hand side of the image, inside the city, cannot readily be

distinguished architecturally or by its scale from the houses and shops that line the street outside the city to the left. The smartly-dressed couple that strolls along the road, clearly identified as urbanites by their clothing, look inwards toward the bridge and gate at the center of the composition, encouraging the viewer to focus her attention upon this link between the city and its surroundings as well. The transition from town to country is shown to be a subtle and gradual one, in which the city's physical and social dominance, here figured visually, extends out into the surrounding terrain.

Though Antwerp's landmarks make no further appearance in the *Small Landscapes*, the city continues to serve as the measure by which to examine the other prints in the series. We have already considered the images of country houses and large farms in the series, which represented precisely the kinds of estates that were increasingly in the hands of the urban proprietors. Beyond the particular sorts of properties on display, many of the other prints in the series also embody a model of a country life and its advantages that has much in common with Guevara's textual account. By the time the prints were published, such ideas had attained wide circulation in Europe, but it is worth noting how the *Small Landscapes* give visual articulation to many of the features of country life that Guevara most prizes. The author stresses the pleasures of a country stroll and easy intercourse and conversation with one's neighbors.⁸⁵ The townsfolk who populate the *Small Landscapes* occasionally appear on horseback, but are also often shown enjoying country promenades on foot (fig. 1.26). In one print, an urban gentleman chats with a country maid, while in another, villagers and townsfolk mingle in front of a local tavern (fig. 1.24, 1.2). Guevara also touts the country recreations of fishing,

⁸⁵ Guevara, *Dispraise*, 32, e.vi.

hunting, and shooting, pastimes unavailable to courtiers and city dwellers.⁸⁶ While the prints are much less explicit about such activities, they are suggested in some of the prints. For instance, one image includes a small group of men on horseback and on foot, accompanied by a dog (fig. 1.40). One of the men has his sword raised, suggesting a hunting party.⁸⁷ Another print features a crossbow contest prominently in the foreground (fig. 1.13). Though none of the prints include fishermen, some do include fish baskets in the middle of the small ponds in the foreground, evidence of this agreeable pastime (figs. 1.12, 1.24).⁸⁸

Guevara's attention, however, seems to focus most intensely on the better provisioning to be had in the countryside. He returns again and again to the plentiful bounty afforded by country residence, which implies that he envisions the reformed courtier or urbanite retiring to a productive country farm, complete with fields, stables, gardens, orchards, and woods. The variety and quality of food, including simple bread and water, are major benefits of life in the countryside. The *Small Landscapes* echo these commendations by representing substantial farms (fig. 1.39), sown fields (figs. 1.5, 1.33, 1.34), and ample wood and hay (figs. 1.4, 1.7), while sheep and cattle are included in almost every image. These markers of the bounty of the countryside would have struck

⁸⁶ Guevara, *Dispraise*, 36-37, f.ii-iii.

⁸⁷ A similar pose and gesture can be seen in a print by the van Doetecum brothers after Hans Bol from 1562, in which a hunter in the left middleground, surrounded by his hounds, raises his spear as his horse rears up to give chase. See Hollstein III, 50, no. 10.

⁸⁸ In his 1612 publication of copies after the *Small Landscapes*, Claes Visscher added fishermen to two of the original compositions. This must clearly be understood as a visual pun on his own name and a means of including reference to himself within the series. He is able to make these additions so seamless, however, because the figure of the fisherman accords so well with the tranquil, rural cast of the original series. See Hollstein, vol. 38, 144-147, nos. 300 and 306.

home with urban audiences in Antwerp, where high demand for such products often led to scarcity and high prices.

The *Small Landscapes* were powerful as much for what they did not show as what they did. Guevara comments repeatedly on the healthfulness and peacefulness of the countryside, away from the crowds and demanding pace of life at court or in the city. The simplicity and purity of rustic life are perhaps its most powerful attractions for him.⁸⁹ Such conditions characterize the *Small Landscapes* as well. Many of the scenes that depict empty village streets and quiet, unoccupied farms must be considered as the antithesis to and antidote for the densely crowded, boisterous, and polluted conditions of the city. Compare one such view with almost contemporary prints of Antwerp's bustling city marketplaces, published by Philips Galle (figs. 2.4, 2.5). What might look desolate or barren to our eyes would have appeared a rustic haven to contemporary *Antwerpenaars*. The *absence* of activity was precisely one of the qualities that made such views appealing to urban audiences.

But what Guevara and the *Small Landscapes* have most in common is the unique vantage point from which both stem. Guevara makes plain that his praise of the country comes from his frustration with the courtly life and politics in which he was still engaged when he wrote the treatise. His perspective on rural life is therefore shaped entirely from without. Similarly, the *Small Landscapes* were produced from within the urban context. The prints provide views out onto the surrounding hinterlands that could only be a subject of interest to those who were not of that terrain. As Erich Steingraber has argued in his account of the origins of landscape, farmers and peasants did not produce views of their

⁸⁹ Guevara, *Dispraise*, 34-35, e.viii-f.i.

own local villages; rather, it was urban artists who produced images of the countryside for other urban audiences.⁹⁰ Landscapes, and particularly such convincingly specific ones as the *Small Landscapes*, only operate as a consequence of the aesthetic detachment that turns land into landscape.

Most striking are the ways in which the prints nonetheless manage to break down this essential aesthetic distance and emphasize instead the viewer's visual and spatial connection to the scenes. There are a variety of compositional means by which this occurs. In many of the scenes, the immediate foreground opens into a path or road that leads back into the middleground in which the central subject of village or farm is located.⁹¹ This visual entryway into the scenes is reinforced in many cases by figures along the roads who either walk inward toward the center of the scene or gesture in that direction. The images are also screened off by trees or buildings from any view into the deep background, thus keeping them both physically proximate and visually enclosed. The viewer is placed within such an intimate pictorial space that the process of aestheticization is entirely naturalized. It is no surprise, therefore, that these humble village scenes have long been considered pure, mimetic images of the peaceful Brabantine terrain. For this was precisely the conception of the rustic landscape that marked it as the inverse of the urban environment, to which it was intended to serve as a

⁹⁰ Erich Steingräber, "Natur - Landschaft - Landschaftsmalerei," in *Im Licht von Claude Lorrain: Landschaftsmalerei aus drei Jahrhunderten: Haus der Kunst München, 12. März bis 29. Mai 1983*, ed. Marcel Roethlisberger (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1983), 14-15.

⁹¹ Such pathways are a common feature in landscape paintings from earlier in the century, as in paintings by Lucas Gassel and other artists working under the influence of the world landscape tradition. In such paintings, however, the paths serve to anchor one's attention in otherwise overwhelming compositions characterized by their tremendous spatial depth and profusion of detail. In the *Small Landscapes*, by contrast, such roads and paths reinforce the intimacy and immediacy of the scene in relationship to the viewer. For further formal analysis of world landscape paintings, see Walter Gibson, "*Mirror of the Earth*": *The World Landscape in 16th-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: 1989).

foil. Thus, though perhaps outwardly imperceptible, the city remains the determining perspective from which these prints draw their aesthetic and iconographic significance.

That Guevara's advice was taken seriously is evidenced by the revival of farming manuals throughout Europe in the same period in which his text became so popular. Streams of agricultural treatises – both ancient and modern – were published at this time.⁹² Many of these were explicitly directed toward new urban middle-class landowners inexperienced with the necessities and techniques of an agricultural life. Such treatises urged these men to give themselves over to managing their farms full-time and suggested that honest country living was both more rewarding and more righteous than life in the city.

Perhaps the most important of these new publications was Charles Estienne's *L'Agriculture et la Maison Rustique*, written in the 1540s and first published in Paris in 1564.⁹³ Though modeled on the example of the ancient *scriptores rei rustica*, Estienne's text was distinctly modern, answering to contemporary concerns and particularly to the natural circumstances of various regions in France and northern Europe.⁹⁴ Estienne's text, like Guevara's, quickly became exemplary; within just a few years, it was translated

⁹² For a very succinct and useful summation of the publication of both ancient and contemporary agricultural texts throughout Europe in the period in question, see Corinne Beutler, "Un chapitre de la sensibilité collective: la littérature agricole en Europe continentale au XVI^e siècle," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 28, no. 5 (Sept/Oct 1973).

⁹³ A compendium of Estienne's writings on arboriculture, horticulture, and viniculture had already been published in Paris in 1554, and served as a sort of primitive model for the later publication of the more famous *Maison Rustique*. See *Les Travaux et les Jours dans l'ancienne France: Exposition organisée sous les auspices des Chambe d'Agriculture avec le concours du Musée national des Arts et des Traditions populaires*. (Exh. cat., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: 1939), 68-69.

⁹⁴ The term *scriptores rei rustica* refers to the ancient writers Cato (234-149 BCE), Varro (116-27 BCE), Columella (1st century CE), and Palladius (4th century CE), all of whom wrote manuals on husbandry and farm management. These texts were often published together in large compendia during the sixteenth century. For a history of these publications in the sixteenth century, see Beutler 1973.

into several other languages and served as the contemporary model for many other such texts published in the following years.⁹⁵ In 1566, Christophe Plantin published a Dutch translation of the book in Antwerp, entitled *De Landtwinninge ende Hoeve*. In the preface, Plantin claims that he issued the book in response to a local demand for a version of the popular treatise that could be understood by people who “were born in this Land and particularly here in Antwerp, who have their *speelhoven* out in the countryside.”⁹⁶

Plantin’s Dutch translation was dedicated to Antonis van Stralen, the burgomaster of the city and *heer* of Merksem, where he had a country house and, Plantin tells us, enjoyed gardening.⁹⁷ Plantin’s dedication is revealing in a number of ways. Clearly, his book was aimed at well-to-do urban citizens like van Stralen and his peers.⁹⁸ These

⁹⁵ In France, Estienne’s example was followed by authors like Olivier de Serres, who wrote *Theatre d’agriculture* in 1600, while Antoine Mizaud published works both in French and Latin on the same subject, as well as compiling an epitome version of Estienne’s text, which was published in 1605. In Germany, Melchior Sebizius translated Estienne’s treatise (1587), and Conrad Heresbach’s *Rei Rusticae Libri Quatuor* (1570) offered an extensive manual on husbandry. See *Les Travaux et les Jours*; Beutler 1973; Neil MacGregor, “The Le Nain Brothers and Changes in French Rural Life,” *Art History* 2, no. 4 (1979); and Johnstone 1937.

⁹⁶ The text of this passage in Dutch is as follows: “Maer vele van desen Lande geboren, ende besonder hier Tantwerpen, die buyten hen speelhouden hebben claecheden, datter vele woorden int Boec waren, die sy ten besten niet en verstonden, ende alsoo en costen sy den tijtverdrijf, ende genoechte niet gehebben, als sy ghehoept hadden: Baden my daerom, dat icke inde Nederduytsche sprake wilde doen ouersetten, seggende voor een groote redene, dat den ghemeynen man de Fransoysche sprake niet verstaende (welc den meesten hoop is) gheen gheneuchte noch profijt wt dien boek en coste gehebben.” Charles Estienne, *De Landtwinninge ende hoeve van M. Kaerle Stevens* (Antwerp: Christoffel Plantin, 1566), Dedication. The book remained in circulation in Antwerp into the seventeenth century. The inventory of Jan van Keerberghen (March 3-17, 1606) notes that this bookseller and printer had thirteen copies of the French version of this text in his stock, which were valued at four gulden forty stuivers a piece. See Duverger, vol. 1, 68.

⁹⁷ Van Stralen purchased the seigneurie in 1561 from Jan IV van Glimes, but he already had longstanding family connections in Merksem. He inherited the *hof van plaisantie* called the Merksemhof from his mother and purchased a number of additional pieces of land in the surrounding area. After serving as both *schepen* and *buitenburgomeester* for Antwerp in the 1550s, he spent increasing amounts of time in the country, which is perhaps what prompted Plantin, in his dedication, to write of van Stralen’s “grootte ghenoechte ... int planten, saeyen, ende allerley landtneeringhe.” See Prims, *Merksem*, 83; Estienne, *Landtwinninge*, Dedication.

⁹⁸ Van Stralen had been raised to *ridderschap*, or nobility, in 1551, and so constitutes a member of the new bourgeoisie nobility that came to dominate rural landholdings during this period. He was clearly a prominent citizen in Antwerp and came from a well-established family with extensive property holdings.

urbanites required such a manual for farm management because of their inexperience in agricultural matters. This audience was not, therefore, the traditional nobility, with its long-standing ties to rural manors, but rather a new class of urban landowners, some noble – like van Stralen – and others merchants and successful members of the urban bourgeoisie. For this class of landowners, farming was a novel opportunity to turn investment into profit, but in order to do so, these rural estates had to be run carefully and efficiently. This is precisely what Estienne proposes to make possible in his exhaustive, practical treatise. Given the specificity and detail of the text, the book would certainly have been of more real use to the bailiffs and deputy farmers who were typically left with the actual management of the estates of urban landowners. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that Plantin's edition was pitched to the landowners themselves, however far removed from the day-to-day responsibilities of farming they might have been. This might have been the result of Estienne's, and by extension Plantin's, honest desire to convert urban landowners into proper gentlemen farmers, but the book must have also served as a expedient textual apparatus through which urban landowners could assert and validate their nominal role as country farmers.

Estienne's text goes to great lengths to guide the new estate owner through every step of building and maintaining a successful and profitable farm. He stipulates the most beneficial siting and arrangement for these new agricultural enterprises, but not before clarifying that the property should be entirely free and unencumbered of pending suits or

He must represent the upper echelons of Plantin's targeted audience, which must also have included those of much more modest standing and means. Estienne's original french publication was directed toward much the same sort of audience, that is to say, the middle to upper levels of the urban bourgeoisie with recently acquired rural properties. See MacGregor 1979, 405.

debts before the landowner undertakes to establish his farm.⁹⁹ Estienne's favored arrangement for a farm centers around a large, enclosed court with a covered gate at one end facing toward the street and the master's house at the opposite end. The sides of the court should be used to house the farmer's quarters, a dairy kitchen, a hen house, and a dovecote, stables and animal pens, as well as barns and lofts for hay and farm equipment. Vegetable and herb gardens, vineyards, orchards, and fish ponds should be arrayed around the main house, with the arable fields, pastures, and woods beyond. At the back of the house, the proprietors should maintain a private entrance for their convenience.¹⁰⁰

This ideal arrangement of the farm compound corresponds quite closely with the sorts of working farms that one sees in the *Small Landscapes*. For instance, one image represents a farm with a main gate at the left of the image, leading into an enclosed inner court with various barns and stables along its sides. The main house sits at the opposite end of the court, where we can also recognize espaliered fruit trees or vines next to it, just as Estienne suggests. In the foreground, next to the farm compound lie cultivated fields, where the amorous couple mentioned above takes refuge in the tall crops (fig. 1.31). Another print gives us a closer look at the main house and its surrounding barns, with a bridge and gate leading to the pasture in the foreground (fig. 1.41). This compound is moated, which Estienne describes as a particularly popular practice in Flanders, though

⁹⁹ The English text reads: "or that (if you have purchased and bought with your own money) you have cleared it from all incombrances and claims before you go about the building and fitting of it in every point as you would have it." By thus assuring one's right to the property, one can procede free from the bother of creditors or rentiers who might disrupt one's affiars. This and all further translations are taken from the first English edition of Estienne's text. Both this English transation and the Dutch one published by Plantin follow the French original very closely. Charles Estienne, *Maison Rustique, or the Countrey Farme: Compiled in the French Tongue by Charles Stevens and Iohn Liebaut. and translated into English by Richard Surflet* (London: 1606), Book One, Chapter Three, 3-4.

¹⁰⁰ Estienne, *Countrey Farme*, Book One, Chapters Four – Five.

he warns that it can be unhealthy to be surrounded by water in the winter months.¹⁰¹

Two other prints are worth mentioning, though there are several other examples of such farms in the series. One shows a very extensive inner court with a fish pond in the foreground and a dovecote just behind it – signaling that this must be a very grand farmstead indeed (fig. 1.24).¹⁰² The farmer's quarters, barns and stables appear in the background, with the enclosing fence just visible to the right of these buildings. Perhaps the most archetypical example of Estienne's model farm among the *Small Landscapes* is shown in another print, in which the enclosed court, with its main gate and farm buildings to the right and the main stone house to the left (fig. 1.39). A large hay loft rises on the far side of the court, while gardens or an orchard extend behind the main house. The owner's entrance, with a horse rail nearby, is located just next to the main house.

Beyond simply its layout and structure, however, this farm conforms to Estienne's model in yet another and perhaps more significant way. Estienne repeatedly urges his new farm owners to keep their houses simple and their farms small. In part, this is a practical dictate, since

it is not so safe and sure a course to have a costly and large building upon the ground, neither yet to have so fair and large fields, neither yet so great quantity of grounds, as that they must be either all ill husbanded, or else if for the careful tilling on one part of them, all the rest be left and let go untilled, as neither to covet greedily, or aspire to possess other great and stately farms, when he is not able to husband and till that which he hath already in possession... Better therefore is a small house of good stuff, not sumptuous, well seated and well fitted... than so costly a place and of such large rooms, as that either they become envied of their superiors for it, or else at length causeth the master to sell it again.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Estienne, *Coutrey Farme*, Book One, Chapter Four, 14.

¹⁰² The right to keep a dovecote was a seigneurial privilege.

¹⁰³ Estienne, *Coutrey Farme*, Book One, Chapter Five, 18.

The farm depicted in this print is not nearly as grand or extensive as some of the others featured in the series. Though the image indicates nothing about the surrounding fields and pastures, the court and house are basic and compact, with a minimum of extra outbuildings or barns. Nor could it be called stately or sumptuous; perhaps slightly ramshackle in appearance, it is nonetheless certainly sturdy and solidly built, exhibiting precisely the kind of frugality that Estienne approves.

Such simplicity can be taken to indicate in part that Estienne's treatise was not explicitly directed toward those of enormous wealth, who would more likely purchase grand country manors like that seen in figure 1.42, but rather for the landowner of more humble means who entered into a real farming enterprise. However, for Estienne, modesty in the size and appointment of one's farm ideally coincides with a broader modesty of comportment that together point to the moral foundation that should govern a well-managed country life, quite apart from one's material circumstances. Farming is not simply a way to make a living, though Estienne is clearly interested in the profits to be gained from it. It is also a proper and honorable calling that occupies all of one's time and attention. His ideal master "make[s] it his chief delight to understand, and see the governing of whatsoever belongeth unto him, not troubling his mind with hunting, banqueting, much company keeping, drunkenness, and welcoming in of every comer, and so to give himself excessively to his delight and recreation of his spirit."¹⁰⁴ Rather than leading this sort of dissolute life or prizing ostentatious grandeur, one should be satisfied with one's humble holdings, striving always to improve them through conscientious application. The moral tone that infuses this code of behavior in the country accords

¹⁰⁴ Estienne, *Countrey Farme*, Book One, Chapter Five, 19.

closely with that articulated by Guevara.¹⁰⁵ In fact, Guevara's and Estienne's concerns dovetail, with Estienne providing a practical guide on how to bring to fruition the many advantages that Guevara touts as unique to a rural life.

In his dedication, Plantin picks up and accentuates the moral tenor of Estienne's text. He states that farming is, "without a doubt, the most necessary and the most honorable art above all others, as I well know that Your Honor [that is, Antonis van Stralen] knows better than I could say."¹⁰⁶ This assertion is placed within parentheses in the text, as if such an estimation of the value of farming were well-known and commonly accepted, thus requiring no further justification. That it should be the publicly proclaimed attitude - at least as attributed by Plantin - of a man of van Stralen's stature and indisputable urban bonds is noteworthy, since, as a member of the upper levels of Antwerp's social and political strata, he contributed to the establishment of public opinion and taste in the city. The value he set by rural property, farming and gardening were sure to have contributed to a broader perception of its merits and satisfactions among a receptive body of new landowners in Brabant.

The *Landjuweel* of 1561: Propaganda and the Popular Perception of Country Life

¹⁰⁵ Estienne stops short of assigning an overtly Christian association to farm management, but some of the other contemporary writers of French agricultural treatises did stress this aspect and are therefore in some ways even closer to Guevara's own conviction that the country life was indeed a more Christian life. The most notable example of this category of farming manuals is Olivier de Serre's *Theatre d'Agriculture*, first published in Paris in 1600. In it, de Serres includes among the responsibilities of an agricultural landowner and "père de famille" the moral and spiritual education not only of his own family, but also of his farmer and his family, as well as the servants and other members of the extended farm family. For a further account of the religious overtones in French agricultural treatises and their resonances with contemporary circumstances, see MacGregor 1979, 409 ff.

¹⁰⁶ The Dutch text reads: "welcke conste sonder eenich twijfel de nootelicste ende edelste is boven allen anderen, als ic wel weet, dat V.E. beter verstaet dan ick soude connen gheseggen". Estienne, *Landtwinninge*, Dedication.

These sentiments found much wider and more popular local expression in Antwerp. A *landjuweel*, or major competition among Brabant's most prominent chambers of rhetoric, was held in Antwerp in 1561.¹⁰⁷ The competition was an enormous public performance that took over the city for the entire month of its proceedings from August 3rd, when the chambers entered into the city with great pomp and splendor,¹⁰⁸ to August 25th, when the prizes were awarded for the best of each kind of performance, of which there were many, and the closing ceremonies were performed.¹⁰⁹ The competition took place on a large, raised stage in the center of town on the *Grote Markt*, and the most

¹⁰⁷ This *landjuweel* was the last in a series of seven such competitions held throughout Brabant beginning in 1515. The overall winner of each competition was required to host the following one, and the event was held successively in Mechelen (1515), in Leuven (1518), in Diest (1521), in Brussels (1532), again in Mechelen and Diest (1535 and 1541, respectively), and finally in Antwerp (1561). The competition were generally spaced at intervals of six years or less, three being more standard. The long interval between the previous competition in Diest and the one held in Antwerp in 1561 can be blamed on the hostilities with France, which were finally resolved with the signing of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559. The 1561 *landjuweel* was the last of its kind in Brabant in the sixteenth century, undoubtedly because increasing religious and political instability developed into the protracted war that plagued Brabant for the remainder of the century. Unlike previous contests, this series was limited exclusively to chambers from towns within the duchy of Brabant. Fifteen chambers took part in the spectacular competition, three from Antwerp, two from Mechelen, two from Diest, and one each from Brussels, Bergen-op-Zoom, Herentals, 's-Hertogenbosch, Lier, Leuven, Vilvoorde, and Zoutleeuw. See E. van Even, *Het Landjuweel van Antwerpen in 1561* (Leuven: 1861); Leonard Willems, *Over Landjuweelen en Haagspelen in de 16de eeuw* (Ghent: Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal en Letterkunde, 1919); L. van Boeckel, "Landjuweelen en Haagspelen in de XVIe en de XVIIe eeuw," *De Fonteyn* (1943); W.M.H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van het rederijkersdrama 1500-ca.1620* (Assen: 1968); E. van Autenboer, *Het Brabant Landjuweel der Rederikers (1515-1561)* (Middelburg: Merlijn, 1981); and *Uyt Ionsten versaemt: Het Landjuweel van 1561 te Antwerpen*. (Exh. cat., Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert Ier, Brussels: 1994).

¹⁰⁸ Richard Clough, an English visitor to the festival, wrote a detailed account of the magnificent entries of the chambers into the city. He describes the hundreds of floats, wagons, and tableaux that accompanied the 1,393 sumptuously dressed chamber members as they rode in on horseback through the town gates and into the *Grote Markt* at the center of the city. The entries began at two in the afternoon, when the hosting chamber, Antwerp's *Violieren* proceeded to the *Keizers Poort* to welcome their guests, and continued on until after two in the morning. See Clough's account, in John William Burgon, *The life and times of Sir Thomas Gresham: compiled chiefly from his correspondence preserved in Her Majesty's state-paper office, including notices of many of his contemporaries*, vol. 1 (London: R. Jennings, 1839), 377-391.

¹⁰⁹ There were several prizes awarded for various portions of the *Landjuweel*, including the grandest entry. The overall winner of the competition was determined to be the chamber that performed the best *factie* or *esbatement*, though the *spelen van sinne* were the longer and most philosophical plays. In this, the *Landjuweel* follows the tradition of the *schutters'* competition, and differs from the public rhetorician's competitions of the previous century. See van Boeckel 1943, 40-43.

favored members of the audience could sit on bleacher-like benches in front of it or look out from windows on the upper floors of the guild houses that faced the square. In front of these honored few, enormous crowds from the many different social strata both within the city and from surrounding towns and villages pressed in to see the performances, which were intended not only to entertain but also to educate this broad audience.¹¹⁰ The *rederijkers* from the different chambers were themselves drawn from many different levels of society, from nobles to simple artisans. In Antwerp, Melchior Schetz was the prince of the *Violieren*, the hosting chamber of the 1561 *Landjuweel*, and Antonis van Stralen was its *Hoofdman*, or chairman. Next to these local luminaries, artists from the Guild of Saint Luke also made up a very large percentage of the members of the *Violieren* chamber. Indeed, Hieronymus Cock, Marten de Vos, Pieter Baltens, and Frans and Cornelis Floris are all mentioned as having taken part in the preparations for the competition.¹¹¹ With such a high proportion of artists among the *rederijkers*, it comes as no surprise that the interests of the two groups should overlap.¹¹² The same concerns that seem to have prompted Cock's production of the *Small Landscapes* seem also to have

¹¹⁰ In his foreward to van Autenboer's book, L. Roose stresses that the *Landjuweel* was a leading expression of what he terms a *volkscultuur*, which must be understood to involve every level of society from the highest nobility to the lowliest workers and peasants. See van Autenboer, Foreward. 7.

¹¹¹ Van Even 1861. 48 and 58.

¹¹² In the fifteenth century, rhetorician's plays were primarily theological in content, since the chambers were under the supervision and direction of church fathers and priests were responsible for writing the plays. By the sixteenth century, the guidance of the chambers had shifted to the secular hands of the craft guilds, with prominent citizens and members of the nobility often holding key positions within the organizations. However, it is important to stress that chambers of rhetoricians drew a membership from a wide range of professional classes. Traditionally the chambers had strong ties to the *schutters*, or archers' guilds, who had been staging plays as part of their own competitions since the fifteenth century. The *Violieren* were associated with the Guild of Saint Luke in Antwerp and thus boasted a particularly high proportion of artists among its members. Gibson makes a very strong argument for the close association and collaboration between *rederijkers* and visual artists, in addition to providing an overview of *rederijkers*, their social status and their performances. Walter Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers* in the Age of Bruegel," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981).

occupied the *rederijkers*, who dealt with the question of the countryside and its relationship to the city quite explicitly in at least two sets of performances.

The most significant of these performances actually followed the primary event, when a second contest, dubbed the *Haagspel*, took the stage for a further two weeks from August 24th until September 8th.¹¹³ This was the first time such an additional performance was incorporated into the *Landjuweel*, perhaps in an attempt by the city government to prolong the lucrative festival or perhaps in an effort to offer less well-off chambers from smaller towns and even villages an opportunity to share in the event.¹¹⁴ This secondary competition also involved a number of different performances from each of the four chambers that took part, the most important of which was the *spel van sinne*, or symbolic play, dedicated to answering the question: “What form of work is the most

¹¹³ Elizabeth Honig treats the *Landjuweel* of 1561, and particularly the *Haagspel* in some detail as part of her analysis of the rhetoric of the market in Antwerp, emphasizing the way in which the various sorts of plays performed at the competition established moral and comic attitudes toward commercial practices, merchants, farmers, and the marketplace as an entity in and of itself. See Elizabeth A. Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, Yale publications in the history of art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), esp. 54-60.

¹¹⁴ Taking part in a *landjuweel* was an enormous expense not only for the host city, but also for the chambers themselves and their individual members. The *Haagspel* thus served not only to allow the city to recoup more of its costs by expanding the length of the program, but also to encourage less established or wealthy chambers to compete with their more limited troupes without the burden of organizing such lavish entries or writing and performing such long plays. They also competed, of course, for less splendid prizes. Unlike the *Landjuweel*, chambers from outside Brabant were invited to take part in the *Haagspel*, as were smaller chambers from villages and *vrijheden*, while the chambers that competed in the *Landjuweel* could not take part in the *Haagspel*. The victor of the *Haagspel* was also not required to host a follow-up competition. 1561 was the first occasion on which a *haagspel* was added to the *landjuweel*, although it had long been common for the *schutters* to add a *naspel*, or after-play, to their competitions and it is likely that the 1561 *Haagspel* originated from the *schutters*' example. In any event, the *Haagspel* did not attract nearly the same number of chambers to its competition as the *Landjuweel* had; only four chambers came to Antwerp to take part. These were the *Bloeyenden Wijngaert* chamber from close-by Berchem, the *Heybloeme* from Turnhout, the *Tcorenbloemken* from Brussels, and the *Jennettebloemken*, also known as *D'Ongheleerden*, from Liere. The *Haagspel* is discussed in greater detail below.

useful or proper to do, and most honest, yet very little esteemed?”¹¹⁵ All four chambers singled out *landbouwinghe* and *ackerwerck* – that is farming - as their response.

Though the top prize went to the *Heybloeme* from Turnhout, a particularly noteworthy play was staged by the *Jennettebloemken* from Liere, whose prince, or leader, was the very same Hendrik van Berchem who developed the Papenmoer into a neighborhood of *speelhuizen*. In the play, a man and his obedient and educated son go out to seek the advice of a friend as to the best profession for the young man. Before they reach their friend, *Wijsen Raedt*, or ‘Wise Advice,’ they encounter two unsavory characters, *Eerghierich Herte* and *Wellustich Leven*, that is ‘Ambitious Heart’ and ‘Voluptuous Life’. *Eerghierich Herte* suggests that becoming a toady at court or a soldier would be the best choice for the young man, while *Wellustich Leven* champions becoming a musician or simply abandoning himself to the sensuous pleasures of whoring and “delighting the spirit.” Both father and son quickly reject such dishonorable professions, insisting that vanity, glory and pleasure are not aims worthy of a young man seeking a truly honorable trade.

When they finally come upon *Wijsen Raedt*, he offers them the following counsel:

You wish that your son should see fit to
Practice the most proper and the most honest employment.
Of these there are many, it must be explained to you
As goldsmithing, painting and the like
Cloth finishing, weaving, printing, a fine practice,
Writing, building, brick-laying, and smithing
And a hundred more others that I leave out with peace
To the shortness of time in the middle of this
Which are all proper employments
And honest, but above all must I praise
Agriculture that goes above all,

¹¹⁵ The invitation, issued by the *Violieren*, states the question in this way: “Maer sdaechs voor u Spel, ten thienen voor noene./ Solveert dees Vraghe en zyt wijsselijck bedacht./ Welck hantwerck oirboirlijkste is van doene./ En eerlijkste, nochtans seer cleyn gheacht?” Published in Van Even 1861, 56.

That is, farming, so shall I show you,
 The most proper to do, not to embellish,
 Because it is praised through the whole world.¹¹⁶

He is immediately challenged by another character, *Ghierich Ghewin*, or ‘Avaricious Profit’, who cannot believe that the profession practiced by coarse peasants could possibly be considered the highest and most honorable trade for an educated gentleman. Instead, he suggests his own trade as more appropriate, namely the lucrative business of usury:

No more pleasant
 More proper
 Or more honest employment is known
 To receive a profit
 Than *dix pour cent*
 Or usury
 Through it one can increase many goods
 If you follow my advice
 That’s what he shall learn.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ The original Dutch text reads: “Ghy begeert/ dat uwen sone zou oirboren/ D’oirboirlijkste en deerlijkste Handtwerck vermaert./ Daer zijnder zeer vele/tsij u verclaert/ Als Tgoudtsmeden/Tschilderen/ en dies ghelijcke/ Tbereyen/ Tweven/ Tdrucken/ een schoon practijcke/ Het Schrijven/ het Timmeren/ Tmetsen/ en Smeden/ En noch hondert ander die ick laet met vreden/ Om der cortheden//des tijts midts desen/ Twelck al oirbairlijke Handtwercken wesen/ En eerlijck/ maer boven al/moet ik loven/ D’agricultura die gaghel al te boven/ Dats Lantbouwinghe/zoo ick u sal bethoonen/ Doirboirlijkste van doene/niet om verschoonen/ Want alle de werelt worter deur gheprijsd.” *Spelen van sinne, vvaer inne alle oirboirlijke ende eerlijcke handtvercken ghepresen ende verhaelt vworden: tot grooter stichtinghe ende onderwijsinghe van eenen peghelijcken van wat staten hy is: ghespeelt met octroy der Co. Ma. binnen der stadt van Antwerpen op tHaech-spel naer dLant-Juweel, by die vier cameran van rhetorijcke die hen daer ghepresenteert hebben den vierentwintichsten dach augusti int jaer ons Heeren 1561: op die questie, vvelck handtverck, oirboirlijkste is van doene, en eerlijcste, nochtans seer cleyn gheacht?* (Tot Antwerpen: By M. Willem Silvius, drucker der Con. Ma., 1562), 10r. The term “t’bereyen” probably refers to cloth finishing. The related term of “lakenbereider” can also mean cloth fuller. See Jacob Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek, onveranderde herdruk en van het woord sterne af opnieuw bewerkt door C.H. Ebbinge Wubben* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 319. It is noteworthy that the play uses the latin term “agricultura.” This elevated language clearly indicates the prestige that the play wishes to connect with the profession. My thanks to Stefaan Grieten for raising this point.

¹¹⁷ The original Dutch passage reads: “Gheen aenghenamer/ Oirboirlijcker/ oft eerlijcker Handtwerck bekent/ Om tghewin te krijghene/ dan dix pour cent/ Oft woecker/ daer canmen veel goets deur vermeerren/ Dede ghy mijnen raet/ sulcx sou hy leeren.” *Ibid.*, 10v.

Both the father and *Wijsen Raedt* immediately dismiss *Ghierich Ghewin*, since his trade is forbidden by God and is indeed “the mother of all evil,”¹¹⁸ and counter that the rude peasants who work as farmers in no way taint the institution of farming itself.¹¹⁹

To help to convince the father and son that agriculture is the most laudable profession, *Natuerlijck Leven*, or ‘Natural Life’, who is described as a female character dressed in the blue of heaven and holding green herbs in her hand,¹²⁰ joins *Wijsen Raedt* to discuss the many merits of agriculture. *Wijsen Raedt* stresses that farming is highly profitable and provides the indispensable foundation for all other enterprises; indeed, villages, towns, and cities could not exist without the support and sustenance of the farmer. *Natuerlijck Leven* points out the natural abundance of the fruits of the earth, which satisfies all of man’s needs.

The two characters immediately bring forth a string of references to ancient authors who praised farming highly; they specifically reference the endorsements of such classical greats as Cicero, Cato, Columella, Horace, Virgil, and Aristotle, many of whom were the authors of agricultural texts or poetic encomia to the countryside that were being

¹¹⁸ *Wijsen Raedt*’s lines read: “Dus en wilt ons met gheen ghierich ghewin quellen// Want van alle quaet/ is ghiricheyt de moeder.” *Ibid.*, 11r.

¹¹⁹ *Wijsen Raedt* argues the point thus: “Ick gheloof wel/ sonder teghen op te stane// Dat seer cleyn gheacht is/ia van elcken bycans// Tcomt om datmen op tlant condit soo veel plumpe mans// Sonder redene/ verstandt/ soomen dickwils siet// Hier deur wordet seer cleyn gheaht/ en anders niet// Maer Handtwerck en is dies niet te quadere// Dat den werckman plomp is/ oft een misdadere// Dus seghick vadere//gheen werck bequaemer// Dan dit voor uwmen zone.” *Ibid.*, 10v. The distinction that is made here between farming and the peasants who practice it is a fundamental step in the process of freeing agriculture from its humble reputation and elevating to a more esteemed and honorable profession, suitable for an educated gentleman or well-to-do urbanite.

¹²⁰ She is described as “Natuerlijck leven Een Vrouwe ghecleet int hemels blau met groen cruyden inde handt.” *Ibid.*, 7v.

published in Antwerp around the same time.¹²¹ In these passages, the play begins to draw upon the same arguments in favor of farming that Guevara, also citing ancient authority, made in his text. For instance, the two advisors cite a string of ancient rulers who were originally farmers by trade - a profession, they argue, which in its rugged honesty perfectly prepared these kings for the duties of state.¹²² Also like Guevara, though in a slightly less subtle manner, their strongest claim for the honor of farming comes from the authority of God and the Bible. In Genesis, God orders Adam to till the earth and herd the animals. Many of God's most chosen men were called to farming; the advisors offer the Old Testament patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob – farmers all – as examples to prove how highly God ranked farming. They further point out that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene as a gardener and that he described his Father as a powerful shepherd whose greatest flock is mankind.¹²³ Such evidence so convinces father and son that they immediately accept *Wijsen Raedt's* advice.

In an exceptional stanza toward the very end of the play, *Natuerlijck Leven* adds that merchants in particular should praise agriculture, since they owe their livelihood to it:

And who should moreover praise such employment
Through which they are provided for, most of all the Merchants,
The one with grain, wine, butter, cheese in great quantity
The other with cloth, wool or the like.
One travels, one goes there throughout every region,

¹²¹ They cite Cicero's wisdom repeatedly. For a bibliography of the publications by these authors appearing in Antwerp in these years, see *Belgica Typographica*.

¹²² They mention Hiero, King of Sicily, Philometer in Arabia, Archilaum in Anthens, Atallus in Asia, Diocletian in Rome, and Mohammed in Turkey. *Spelen van sinne, vvaer inne alle oirboirtlijck ende eerlijcke handvvercken ghepresen ende verhaelt vworden*, 13r.

¹²³ The reference come from the New Testament, John 20:15. *Ibid.*, 13v.

Most everyone becomes rich through the farmer's fruits.¹²⁴

Here, for the first time, a link between farmers and merchants is explicitly drawn, with the farmers and their produce cast as the font of the merchants' wealth and success.¹²⁵

This sentiment underscores the more general argument made earlier in the play that cities, towns and villages could not exist without the fruits of agriculture. In Antwerp, a city full of merchants, this sort of direct call to appreciate the value of farming must have resonated powerfully. That such sentiments should be so publicly and broadly expressed in this and the performances of the other chambers' *spelen van sinne* indicates that, at least at a rhetorical level, agriculture had reached an elevated status as a proper and honorable institution that transcended the rather more vexed reputation of the country peasant with whom it was traditionally associated. Indeed, by articulating the dependency of merchants on agricultural produce, the play posits a precedence or even pre-eminence of the farmer over his partner in trade.

This distinction between the abstract praise of agricultural and the praise of the peasant farmer is crucial. None of the manifestations of the praise of country life or farming examined here make any serious attempt to commend the country peasant. Quite to the contrary, peasants are routinely referred to as boorish, uncouth and rude in the texts and plays discussed above. They are, if anything, to be avoided or endured as necessary,

¹²⁴ The original Dutch text reads: "Wie en sou oick sulcken Handtwerck begheeren/ Daer hen deur gheneeren//meest de Cooplieden al/ Deen met Graen/ Wijn/ Boter/ Kese een groot ghetal/ Dander met Laken/ Wolle/ oft dies ghelijcke./ Men Reyst/ men vaert daer deur/ in elcken wijcke/ Meest elck wordt Rijcke//deur dackermans vruchten." Ibid., 14v.

¹²⁵ Matt Kavalier points out how other plays in the *Landjuweel* portray the merchant in terms that traditionally had been reserved for the farmer, that is as the provider for all other orders of society. This inversion of the social functions of different classes allow the merchants to gain status by paradoxically associating them with the lower classes of the social hierarchy, the peasantry. See Ethan Matt Kavalier, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise*. Cambridge studies in Netherlandish visual culture (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 105-107. I am grateful to Walter Gibson for bringing Kavalier's discussion of the subject to my attention.

but their lifestyle and habits are by no means an example that new urban farmers would emulate. There certainly were more positive images of the country peasant in Antwerp around this period – think once again of Bruegel’s heroicizing prints of Spring and Summer for a series of the *Seasons* published by Hieronymus Cock, or Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer’s paintings of bright-faced country maids with their abundant baskets (figs. 2.6, 2.7).¹²⁶ There were also several popular songs of the period that extol the rustic peasant and his toil.¹²⁷ However, this is decidedly not the point of view adopted in the more refined versions of praise oriented toward the urban landowner that were intended to frame his own engagement with his rural land. When Guevara delves more specifically and practically into the relationships that the country gentleman should maintain with local country society, his disdain is only very thinly veiled; he advises that the gentleman in the country should avoid any embroilment in local politics, refusing positions like local bailiff, since “there is nothing more troublesome nor so hard a burden

¹²⁶ The scale and energetic composition of the figures in these images stands in marked contrast to those in the *Small Landscapes*, and they seem to embody the values of labor, health, and natural abundance. The paintings of Aertsen and Beuckelaer are not universally felt to present a positive image of the peasantry however. Scholars have argued that these pictures offer moral lessons through the presentation of worldly goods and values to be resisted by stoically virtuous viewers, or negative illustrations of the lustful physicality associated with the baser instincts of peasants. For a more nuanced view of these works that takes into account economic and market forces, see Elizabeth A. Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, Yale publications in the history of art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), with further bibliography. For literature on the positive presentation of the peasant in sixteenth-century Antwerp, see Margaret Carroll, “Peasant Festivity and Political Identity in the Sixteenth Century,” *Art History* 10 (1987); Walter Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Two Studies*, The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures 11, The University of Kansas (Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art and the University of Kansas, 1991); and, in the German context, Alison Stewart, “Paper Festivals and Popular Entertainment: the Kermis Woodcuts of Sebald Beham in Reformation Nuremberg,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24, no. 2 (1993).

¹²⁷ There are several examples of such songs recorded in the *Antwerps Liedboek*, originally published in Antwerp in 1544. Number 13, entitled simply “Een oudt liedeken”, or an old song, tells the story of a young man who sells everything he has to become a soldier, only to regret not having become a farmer like his father. Numbers 176 and 201 extoll the farmer as noble and virtuous – these two seem to be versions of the same composition. See *Antwerps Liedboek (Een schoon liedekens Boeck)*, edited by Dirk Geirnaert, et. al., Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_ant001antw01/.

to the mind as to take charge of the rude and simple."¹²⁸ Estienne makes clear that the master of the estate should trust his affairs to local peasants as little as possible. Even the *Haagspel* plays overtly disparage the country peasant, as we have seen in *Ghierich Ghewin's* withering comments about the rude coarseness of the peasant and *Natuerlijck Leven's* response that the peasant farmer should not be the measure of the value and honesty of the profession of farming. There is no defense of the peasant here, only the abstract invocation of the ideal of *agricultura*, on the one hand, and contemptuous tolerance of actual peasant farmers, on the other.

These attitudes have something in common with the many prints of peasant *kermisses* published around this same time by Hieronymus Cock and others, in which scenes of peasant excesses and debauchery were often coupled with patronizing verses that clearly ridicule and criticize the wanton behavior of these rude folk (figs. 2.8, 2.9).¹²⁹ These prints highlight the social difference between the viewer, presumed to be a more upstanding urban citizen, and the raucous peasants depicted in the images. While the country farm might have become the epitome of a fruitful and contented life, the peasant farmer by no means received the same due.

The *Small Landscapes* conform to and confirm this same system of values in visual form. It should come as no surprise that there are none of the unruly peasants that

¹²⁸ Guevara, *Dispraise*, 28, e.ii.

¹²⁹ On this interpretation of peasant prints, see Hessel Miedema, "Realism and the Comic Mode: The Peasant," *Simiolus* 9 (1977); Keith P. F. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Keith Moxey, "Sebald Beham's Church Anniversary Holidays: Feative Peasants as Instruments of repressive Humor," *Simiolus* 12 (1981/82); and Keith Moxey, "Pieter Bruegel and Popular Culture," in *The Prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, ed. David Freedberg (Tokyo: Bridgestone Museum of Art: 1989). For an alternative, more positive view of the place of peasants in sixteenth-century imagery, see Svetlana Alpers, "Bruegel's Festive Peasants," *Simiolus* 6 (1972/73); Gibson, *Two Studies*, XX; and Gibson 2006, XX.

populate contemporary prints depicting country *kermesses*. Rather, those peasants that do figure in the *Small Landscapes* are dutiful and hardworking. They are represented as accessories to the land, oddly undersized within the scale of the prints and out of proportion to the landscape around them, rather than as subjects in their own right. These local folk pose no obstacle to our enjoyment of and visual and conceptual authority over the rural landscapes that we peruse, as it is the land and not its rustic inhabitants that is intended to capture our attention. The prints show the countryside stripped bare of any peoples or behavior that might be threatening to the prevailing social, economic and aesthetic order. The peasants who are then reinserted into the views uniformly conform to the emblematic and abstract ideal of rustic harmony prized and sought by urban audiences.

To return to the status of the merchant in relationship to agriculture, if not to peasants, the *Haagspel* play that cautions merchants of their dependence on agriculture is especially interesting in light of the plays performed in the main competition of the *Landjuweel*. Each chamber performed a prologue play in which this relationship is reversed and it is merchants who are praised. The fifteen chambers were asked to write short plays in response to the question “how proper are the smart, talented Merchants, who conduct their business fairly?”¹³⁰ The Herentals chamber staged a performance with three allegorical characters: the Cities, dressed as a bourgeois citizen; the Villages, dressed as a farmer; and the Countries, dressed as a nobleman.¹³¹ The Villages comes to

¹³⁰ “Hoe oirboirlijck ons sijn, die cloecke Engienden/ Cooplieden, die rechtveerdich handelen” It is interesting to note that precisely the same word, “oirboirlijck,” meaning proper, is used in posing the question to be answered in both the *Haagspel's Spel van Sinne* and the *Landjuweel's* Prologue. Quotation from the Caerte, or charter of the *Landjuweel*, published in Van Even 1861, 46.

¹³¹ The roster of characters in the text is as follows: “De Steden, ghecleet als een Borgher. De Dorpen, ghecleet als een Lantman. De Landen, ghecleet als een Ioncker”. *Spelen van sinne, vol scoone*

town with the intention of seeking out the Merchant, since he's been told that the Merchant intends to buy him. He meets with the Cities and the Countries, who allay his fears about the bad reputation of merchants and convince him of the many benefits that the Merchant could bring to him should he be bought.¹³² Not only does the Merchant procure all sorts of goods and wares from the world over, including silk, oil, spices, gold, and salt, his wealth and power would be a great advantage to the Villages, where he will use his influence to protect against the uncertainties of the harvest and the market, the expenses of taxes and the levying of troops, and the dangers of billeting soldiers in the area. Furthermore, in his beneficence he would also set up schools to educate the youth and establish regular shooting competitions for the recreation of the neighborhood. At the end of the play, the Cities and the Countries explain how the Merchant is also an advantageous friend to them, multiplying their wealth and bringing with him trade and a strong market. The Cities recounts how the Merchant has brought Antwerp to its most beautiful bloom, while the Countries mentions how foreigners have been drawn to the

moralisacien, vvtleggingen ende bediedenissen op alle loeflijcke consten: vvaer inne men claerlijck ghelijck in eenen spieghel, figuerlijck, poetelijck en[de] retorijskelijck mach aenschouwen hoe nootsakelijck ende dienstelijck die selue consten allen menschen zijn: ghespeelt met octroy der Con. Ma. binnen der stadt van Andwerpen op dLant-Juweel by die veerthien cameran van retorijscken die hen daer ghepresenteert hebben den derden dach augusti int jaer ons Heeren M.D.lxi: op die questie, vvat den mensch aldermeest tot conste vervvect, (Tot Antwerpen: By M. Willem Siluius, drucker der Con. Ma., 1562), fol. 323 v.

¹³² The Villages claims that where he comes from, the Merchant is often called two bad things: "Blanchevoet", a term literally meaning 'white foot,' but which was probably intended sarcastically to mean someone with unearned privilege or luck, and "bedorven," or corrupt (and rotten). To these charges, the Countries character simply replies: "Van quaeu Cooplieden waer ghenoech te segghene// Maer qualijck ghecreghen/qualijck verloren," or, in English: "Of evil merchants it would be enough to say: ill gotten, ill lost." Dishonest merchants are thus acknowledged in the play, but only to be dismissed as the great minority who will, because of their fraudulent practices, eventually receive their proper due; when the Villages asks what would happen if such a merchant were to buy him, the Cities calmly replies that such a situation would not last long and, indeed, such a merchant would surely not be buying the Villages in the first place. *Spelen van sinne, vol scoone moralisacien*, fol. 325r-v. On the term "blanchevoet," see F.A. Stoett, "Nederlandsche spreekwoorden, spreekwijzen, uitdrukkingen en gezegden," (digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren, 2003), 448, no. 2460. My thanks to Stefaan Grieten for bringing this source to my attention.

new mercantile capital by its promise of fortune. In conclusion, all three characters call for the praise of the Merchant:

The Villages
 Let the Merchant be celebrated
The Lands
 He is worthy of praise
 Therefore let us amicably show him every friendship
The Cities
 Let us work to promote the Merchant
 And consider cursed he who wishes to diminish him
The Land
 Otherwise we shall lament plaintively
 And come to nothing, thus let it be shown.
 By common custom let's celebrate the Merchant.¹³³

Though all of the prologues offer a similar panegyric to the merits of the merchant, this one frames the praise in a particularly fascinating way: the Merchant who is on the verge of buying the Villages and the fears aired by the Villages about this imminent purchase. Certainly this must be a reference to precisely the kind of property transactions that were taking place at the time and which have been discussed in earlier sections of this chapter. Though the Villages is set right by the conclusion of the play, he begins in a state of great fear and confusion about the unknown Merchant, a circumstance that cannot have been too different from reality, as merchants came to possess seigneuries and estates in the country that gave them far-reaching privileges and authority in actual villages. The play functions then as a kind of propaganda on the behalf of Antwerp's merchants, making them look like protectors and patrons of the country farmer, and especial friends of the urban and noble classes. It is not surprising to find this sort of

¹³³ The original Dutch text reads: "Dorpen: Laet houwen den Coopman./ Landen: Hy is weert ghepresen/ Dus laet ons hem minlijck alle vrientschap tooghen./ Steden: Laet ons arbeyden om sCooopmans verhooghen/En houwen verwaten dat hem mocht vercleenen/ Landen: Anders wij souwent clachtich beweenen/ En comen te gheenen//dus latet schouwen./ Tghemeyn ghebruyck//doet den Coopman houwen." *Spelen van sinne, vol scoone moralisacien*, fol. 327 v.

praise of the merchant in the performances of the *Landjuweel*, since, together with the city, it was the merchants like Melchior Schetz with membership in the chambers of rhetoric who in large part financed the chambers and the enormously expensive competition. They therefore naturally took advantage of the public forum that it provided to enhance their reputation in general, and furthermore to make their new presence in the villages around Antwerp seem more acceptable and, indeed, beneficial to all, thereby normalizing what was in fact a new and radical shift in property relations around Antwerp.

In this light, the praise of the farmer and of agriculture in the *Haagspel's Spelen van Sinne* takes on a slightly different cast. On the one hand, the decision to praise agriculture as the most proper and honorable of trades clearly relies on ancient precedent and was indeed a literary commonplace. Rhetoricians' plays often helped to circulate such literary and humanist ideas to audiences who did not otherwise have access to them.¹³⁴ The *Haagspel* plays transmit and popularize the agricultural ideals of the ancients, albeit with a particularly Christian inflection, and pick up on the strain of thinking that humanist writers such as Erasmus, Guevara and Estienne also articulated. That the praise of country life and farming was broadcast in such a popular and public way demonstrates how thoroughly these values had permeated the urban community.

¹³⁴ *Rederijker* plays were often based on classical subject matter and translated elevated humanist culture into the local vernacular that could be understood by audiences of much broader educational and social backgrounds. They also often drew upon topical issues in their plays and poems, as we have seen in both of the cases discussed above. For an account of the dissemination of humanist ideas through the *rederijkers'* performances, see Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers*," 430. For a discussion of the particularly Italian humanist influence on the *Landjuweel* of 1561, see H. A. Enno van Gelder, *Erasmus, schilders en rederijkers: de religieuze crisis der 16e eeuw weerspiegeld in toneel- en schilderkunst* (Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1959), 80-82.

In the context of the *Landjuweel* and of Antwerp in the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the praise of agriculture in the *Haagspel* carries a more specific significance. Certainly very few of the city's land-owning citizens were willing or able to follow the path of the obedient son in the *Jennettebloemken* play and dedicate their lives to farming. But while few gave up their urban enterprises for a full-time life on the land, they nonetheless recognized the value of the rural landscape as a symbolic embodiment of the qualities that were believed to be lacking in the city – tranquility, honesty, morality. The local countryside served as an ideal alternative to the corruption and vice that plagued urban life, and it held out the promise of a lifestyle justified in the eyes of God, approved by the ancients, and redemptive in its simple integrity. Even if such a life could only be enjoyed part-time on weekend retreats or simply imagined through the perusal of printed images like the *Small Landscapes*, the appeal of the countryside was based on this much grander paradigm.

Furthermore, such praise of the countryside and of farming allowed the merchant classes and those who followed their lead in purchasing rural property to lay a kind of moral gloss over their opportunistic intrusions into the countryside. By so sincerely and enthusiastically embracing agriculture as an ideal model for living, urban landholders could thus justify the profits and pleasures that their new properties brought them. *Speelhuizen* with their attached gardens and orchards were lifted from the stature of mere suburban vacation spots to the lofty eminence of godly estates of honor and virtue. The secure investment and regular returns generated by their newly acquired farms – the actual management of which tended more often than not to remain in the hands of local deputy farmers – could be seen as the happy benefits of an honest way of life, rather than

as a savvy business venture. The obedient son in the *Jennettebloemken* play, by taking on the role of gentleman farmer, fulfills this ideal destiny and thereby becomes the perfect surrogate for all the urban landowners who profit from their investments in the countryside while remaining entirely tied to their urban affairs.

Rural Countryside as Cultural Ideal

Though apparently so modest in subject and so unsensational in presentation, it is clear that the *Small Landscapes* participate in a much larger cultural response to contemporary social and economic circumstances. Seen through this lens, the simple farms, the unremarkable villages, and the few grander manors of the prints, dotted as they are with shepherds and their flocks or city folk out for a stroll, are not merely accurate representations of the local countryside, but images with a particular rhetorical aim. Though the claim of the title-page inscriptions that the prints were made after life suggests that we might read these images as true reflections of the real terrain, such an exercise would miss the underlying logic and significance governing these prints at the particular moment at which they were published. The absence of any narrative content and the frequent lack of any defining human endeavor or action may be an effort on the part of artist or publisher to prove the veracity of the visual record, but it also signals the availability of the countryside to visual possession. These are images that encouraged viewers to project themselves into the landscape before them and to shape its expressive contours according to their own experience. In so doing, these tranquil, unadorned scenes of the countryside constructed an aesthetic ideal that spoke to the desires and aspirations of the urban audiences to which they were marketed.

So what precisely did Antwerp's flush new merchants and urban compatriots see when they looked into the *Small Landscapes*? The simplicity of the rural landscape, underscored by the simplicity of style and composition of the views, is matched by the quiet tranquility of the villages on display. Though there are signs of the toils of working the land dotted among the prints, the *Small Landscapes* are views from which the burden of rural labor has been extracted. The peasants are docile and the farms orderly. The manor houses are grand but not ostentatious. Fields, roads, villages, farms and manors alike are enfolded within the compass of serene stands of trees. The urbanites who stroll into the scenes blaze a path for us to follow with our eyes. Their traversal from city to countryside perfectly announces the point of view implied in these scenes - that of urban audiences moving into and occupying these rural spaces on many different levels: visually, through the prints; intellectually and rhetorically, through the broader cultural articulation of the value of rural life; and indeed literally, through their ownership of and jurisdiction over rural terrains. As a *speelhuis* served as an expedient surrogate for actual full-time rural life and the praise of country life offered an easy justification of urban encroachment into the rural domain, so too the *Small Landscapes* invite the viewer to engage and indeed possess the local landscape as a series of peaceful, harmonious farms, manors and villages.

The *Small Landscapes* mediate between the most enthusiastic urban propaganda of, for instance, the *Landjuweel's* plays in simultaneous praise of merchants and agriculture, and the real circumstances determining the material relations between city and country. In so doing, they proffer a model of this relationship as an orderly, uncomplicated one. The urban viewer activates the views, bringing meaning and value to

them through his presence. The rural countryside, enlivened by this urban impetus, holds forth the promise of an alternative to the city, not only as a respite from its physical exigencies but as an opportunity for moral fulfillment. The prints, in turn, depict the countryside as the dependent part of this perfect order and naturalize the implicit hierarchy by which the city and its socio-cultural values transform the rustic landscape into an artifact.¹³⁵ Far more than topographic records, the *Small Landscapes* offer visual testimony to the complex associations overlaying rural land in Antwerp at the middle of the sixteenth century.

¹³⁵ The notion of 'artifact' in this context is borrowed from James Turner. In his political analysis of English landscape poetry from 1630-1660, he argues that these poems, for all their realism, offer a version or opinion of the rural landscape and the country life led there that embodies a specific social doctrine. In his discussion of the works' common principles and structures, he argues that "landscape art was a dominant unifying influence, not so much in its pictorial effect as in offering structural principles which could convert topography into a dazzling artefact." This aesthetic or aestheticizing conception of the countryside stems from a particularly urban vantage point, in which the articulation of nature and the rural landscape is necessarily informed and mediated by the cultural, social and political concerns of the urban polity. See Turner, *Politics of Landscape*, 5.

Chapter Three: The *Small Landscapes* Revisited:
Later Edition of the Prints in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp

The first edition of the *Small Landscapes* recorded an idealized view of the local countryside for Antwerp's mid-century urban elite. As an alternative to the city life and its burdens – both moral and physical – the countryside held out a promise of a purer existence. In their simplicity and modesty, the prints offered virtual access to this life and stand in as visual surrogates for a life truly lived on the land, just as the *speelhuizen* and *hoven van plaisantie* allowed urban landowners to lay claim to a rural existence while nonetheless maintaining the specifically urban course of their affairs. This distinction is essential; for all their landed estates and country houses and all the fine words and convincing arguments in its favor, the wealthy merchants and businessmen of mid-century Antwerp did not as a rule retire from their commercial enterprises in order to adopt the aristocratic lifestyle of the noble country landowner. For them, the life on the land was a life forever deferred, extolled only as a foil for the dissatisfactions of urban existence and as a rhetorical validation for the more strictly economic benefits of owning rural lands.

This was no longer the case around the turn of the seventeenth century. Though urbanites still bought rural land, their motives for doing so were much different than they had been for previous generations. Now Antwerp's merchants and businessmen turned to the land as a means of divesting themselves from the world of trade and business and elevating themselves and their descendants into the ranks of the nobility. For these investors, the countryside was not merely a place to retire for a weekend or holiday. Instead, they took up the life of the country gentleman in earnest, with many permanently

retiring to their country estates and living off their proceeds. The precipitating factor for this shift was the war between Spain and the Northern Provinces, which fundamentally realigned the economic complexion of Antwerp and its hinterlands. Economic and trade opportunities in the city were sharply curtailed, and while the fortunes of the city swung with the exigencies of the war, merchants found it more and more advisable to place their finances on the more secure footing that real estate could offer.

Of course, the war had drastic and ruinous consequences for the countryside as well. Contemporary complaints about the destitution wrought by forced contributions, ransoms, the burning of villages, and the depredations of marauding troops might be overstated, but they nonetheless provide a sense of the profound insecurity of rural territories during the war. As a consequence of these circumstances, the price of rural land plummeted. Eventually, however, as the front line of hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces moved away from Antwerp to the north, urban merchants and businessmen bought up this land on the cheap, hoping to restore the abandoned farms to their former productivity and the grand country manor houses to their former splendor.

Once again, the *Small Landscapes* contributed to the cultural discourse generated in response to these historical and economic shifts. The plates for the series were acquired by Galle family from the estate of Hieronymus Cock's widow, and three successive generations of the family went on to issue editions of the prints over the first half of the seventeenth century. Through their changes to the series, some minor and some quite substantial, the Galles reframed the *Small Landscapes* to respond to the new range of contemporary concerns, aspirations, and tastes. This chapter will take up the reemergence of the *Small Landscapes* in seventeenth-century Antwerp, a subject which

has thus far never been treated in the art historical literature. The new context in which the prints were published made it impossible for them to be viewed, appreciated, or collected in the same spirit they had been half a century before. Through the lens of Antwerp's slow recovery and the new nature of the relationship forged between urban merchants and their rural properties, the *Small Landscapes* carried very new resonances for the city's audiences around the turn of the century. In 1601, when Philips Galle issued the first new edition of the prints, Antwerp urbanites were primed to see the land – and the *Small Landscapes* – in a new light. Before delving into the specifics of the new editions, however, let us first pause to consider in greater detail the historical developments in and around Antwerp since the time of the prints' first publication.

Antwerp, Crisis and Recovery

Hieronymus Cock published the *Small Landscapes* at a time of tremendous optimism in Antwerp. As a central hub of international trade and money markets, with a complex but – up to that point – generally favorable relationship with the central government in Spain, Antwerp's future looked very bright in the middle of the sixteenth century. Though the economy had begun to flag in the 1550s, the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, signed in 1559, brought an end to the ongoing war with France and buoyed Antwerp's economy. Entrepreneurs, manufacturers, merchants, traders, and speculators looked forward to a future of opportunity and success. The decades of war and adversity that were then to befall the Southern Netherlands – and the region around Antwerp in particular – were as yet unforetold and no *Antwerpenaar* had reason to suspect that

circumstances would alter so drastically in the decades following the fateful Wonderjaar of 1566.

But alter they did and decisively so. When the Duke of Alva marched 10,000 troops into the Low Countries in 1567, his purpose was to stem the tide of heretical belief that Philip II feared was taking root there, most notably and disruptively registered in the fierce outbreaks of iconoclasm in 1566.¹ But despite the aim of stemming the conflict through military intervention, it escalated into a bitter war that in the end lasted eighty years and completely drained both Spanish and Southern Netherlandish resources, long before a final peace was concluded at Munster in 1648. The constant pressure and disruption of the war resulted in a pervasive insecurity in the Southern Netherlands, especially in Antwerp and Brabant which were for many years at the frontline of military operations against the rebel States Army.

After the fall of Brill and Vlissingen to the northern rebel army in 1572, Antwerp also had to contend with the closure of the river Schelde, which made trade and transport difficult and expensive in the mercantile city.² Though the river would be opened again when Antwerp transferred its allegiance to William of Orange and the rebel provinces in 1576 after the Pacification of Ghent, overt rebellion against Spanish authority only augmented the concerns of the city's international merchants and traders whose business

¹ Graham Darby, ed., *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001); Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch revolt*, Rev. ed. (London; New York: Penguin, 2002); Floris Prims, *Het Wonderjaar (1566-67)* (Antwerp: 1940); Robert van Roosbroeck, *Het Wonderjaar te Antwerp (1566-1567): Inleding tot Studie der Godsdienstonlusten van de beeldenstorm af 1566 tot aan de inneming der Stadt door Alexandre Farnese (1585)* (Antwerp: 1930).

² Van Houtte has argued that the closure of the Schelde did not completely hinder exports from Antwerp and that there was in fact a thriving 'trade between enemies' throughout the war. J.A. van Houtte, "Onze zeventiende eeuw "ongelukseeuw"?" *Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren* XV, no. 8 (1953), 10-11.

relied on peace and stable governance. By 1580, the majority of Antwerp's foreign merchants had left the city because of the extreme difficulty of conducting business there.³

It was not just the city that was adversely affected by these years of war and hardship. In fact, the surrounding countryside suffered the most severe brunt of the war's devastations. Throughout the 1570s and early 1580s, it was the locus of formal military engagements and constant skirmishes. With few physical defenses, country villages were regularly pillaged, looted and destroyed by enemy and friendly troops alike. Agricultural productivity plummeted as whole villages were destroyed and peasants fled to the relative safety of the cities. Many of the worst affected areas were left entirely depopulated. Farms and fields remained untilled and returned to wilderness; livestock disappeared, replaced by packs of roaming wolves. Perhaps the most devastating incident in Antwerp's immediate hinterlands was the city council's decision to burn down the nearby villages of Merksem, Borgerhout and Berchem in 1584, in order that they should not serve any strategic advantage for Farnese and his soldiers during the siege of Antwerp.⁴

³ More than 1,000 foreign merchants were based in Antwerp during the city's Golden Age, but by the early 1600s Baetens has estimated there were not more than about 100. On the other hand, the number of local merchants remained about the same over this period. See Roland Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart: de diaspora en het handelshuis: de Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17de eeuw*, 2 vols. (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1976), 134-138; Karel Degryse and John Everaert, "De Handel," in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*, ed. W. Couvreur (Antwerpen: Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis, 1989), 112-113. Brulez has discussed how the diaspora of Antwerp merchants after the Fall of Antwerp helped to spread Antwerp's sophisticated business practices to many other rising mercantile centers throughout Europe, especially in the Northern Netherlands, Germany, Spain and England. See W. Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplieden op het einde van de 16de eeuw," *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden XV* (1960).

⁴ Such self-imposed destruction was a common protective measure taken by besieged cities, which sought to deny the enemy army any protection, concealment or tactical outposts. Alva had in fact refashioned the castle Cantecroy in Mortsel, formerly the princely residence of Cardinal Granvelle, into a bastion in the 1570s as he geared up to retake Antwerp. Many of the houses and manors that were destroyed under Antwerp's mandate remained in ruins until late in the seventeenth or even eighteenth centuries. Leyden resorted to similar defensive tactics when they inundated the lowlands surrounding the city in order to break the Spanish blockade of the city in 1574.

The tactic was ultimately unsuccessful, since Farnese entered Antwerp on August 17, 1585, and the burned villages and farms remained a lasting testament to the immediate consequences of the protracted war on local rural lands; many of the destroyed houses and buildings remained in ruins well into the following century.⁵

Despite the devastation that it engendered, the fall of Antwerp to Farnese in 1585 actually marked a turning point for Antwerp. The return to Spanish control eventually encouraged many merchants to return to the city. Though sea-bound transit on the Schelde was precarious and expensive after the river's reclosure, Antwerp slowly rebuilt its mercantile and industrial sectors, though on a more local and regional rather than international scale.⁶ The city's money markets flourished, particularly thanks to the influx of New World gold from Spain and Portugal, and Antwerp once again became a market for luxury goods, particularly locally produced textiles and devotional printed books, destined primarily for the Spanish market.⁷ When the Twelve Years' Truce

⁵ Prims lists the many properties that burned down in Borgerhout and Berchem, many of which were never rebuilt as *speelhoven*. See Floris Prims, *Geschiedenis van Borgerhout* (Borgerhout: 1936), 158-160; and Floris Prims, *Geschiedenis van Berchem tot bij de aanvang der XXste eeuw* (Berchem: Gemeentebestuur van Berchem, 1949), 308. When the rest of the village was leveled in 1584, the castle of Berchem was spared so that it could serve as part of the city's sentinel watch. It was heavily damaged during the ensuing siege. See Jan-Baptist Stockmans, *Geschiedenis der Gemeente Berchem* (Brussels: Kultur en beschaving, 1975), 1975, 116.

⁶ Karel Degryse and John Everaert, "De Handel," in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*, ed. W. Couvreur (Antwerpen: Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis, 1989).

⁷ Earlier scholars tended to view the seventeenth century as a period of stagnation and decline in the Southern Netherlands, but several economic and social historians have since offered a revision of this picture, emphasizing instead the powerful renewal and continuing strength of the markets and economy in the south provinces. On the rebuilding of trade and local industries, the continued prominence of Antwerp's financial markets, and the rise of local merchants and the return of foreign merchants, see van Houtte, "Ongelukseeuw,"; J.A. van Houtte, "Déclin et survivance d'Anvers 1550-1700," in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1962); W. Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplieden op het einde van de 16de eeuw," *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden XV* (1960); W. Brulez, "Anvers de 1585 à 1650," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte LIV* (1967); Baetens, *Nazomer*; and Jonathan Irvine Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford history of early modern Europe (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 413-414.

between the United Provinces and the Spanish was signed in 1609, the peace and security that it guaranteed solidified the economic recovery of the city.

Alongside the city's slow recovery, the countryside likewise benefited from eventual renewal. Though sporadic clashes continued to beset Brabant and soldiers continued to plague the countryside,⁸ after 1590 the front line of military engagements began to stabilize to the north of the city along the increasingly fixed frontier between the northern and southern provinces.⁹ The 1590s also saw the first serious effort on the part of both armies to reform the organization of their ranks and to improve the relationship between the soldiery and civilian communities.¹⁰ In 1609, hostilities were curtailed altogether once the Truce was signed. Beginning as early as the 1590s, urban merchants took advantage of the extremely low prices for abandoned rural lands and invested heavily in agricultural properties.¹¹ Over the course of several years, they were able to re-establish profitable agricultural enterprises with the help of peasant farmers and,

⁸ Most notably Frederik Hendrik in 1622.

⁹ The consolidation of a new frontier began with the States' Army's capture of Breda in 1590. The new border, completed by Maurice of Nassau's capture of Groningen in 1594, ran from Sluis on the Flemish coast along the rivers Maas, Rhine and IJssel to the Duchy of Cleves, southeast of Nijmegen. This border was further entrenched in 1606 when Maurice of Nassau erected a fortified barrier along the banks of the Rhine and IJssel. The Spanish Army, engaged on several other fronts during these years, had been unable to counter the advance and fortification of the States' Army's border, which became increasingly difficult to breach. The new border localized and consolidated the area of military engagements, which now occurred with more systematic oversight of commanders, thus reducing the amount of random, irregular guerilla action in the rest of the region. See Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars*, Cambridge studies in early modern history (Cambridge University Press, 1972), 16-19.

¹⁰ Parker 1972, 158-83; Israel 1995, 267-71.

¹¹ Jonathan Israel reports that land prices had fallen to well below half of their original value between 1572 and 1590, but that both land prices and farm rents revived strongly in the 1590s, to the extent that they had recovered to the level of 1565 by 1605, that is to say, *before* the signing of the Truce in 1609. This indicates that a strong redevelopment of agricultural land was to a large degree independent of the ongoing political and military maneuverings between north and south. See Israel 1995, 412.

despite a series of poor harvests at the close of the sixteenth century, they soon could count on significant incomes from their rural lands. The countryside was not the tranquil place of respite that Antwerp urbanites had once so extolled, but it was slowly returning to a sound economic footing. Philips Galle, perhaps recognizing how strong the market for the *Small Landscapes* would be in these circumstances, produced a new edition of the prints.

Philips Galle's 1601 edition

By the time that Philips Galle issued the *Small Landscapes* in 1601, he was already a very well-established print publisher in Antwerp (fig. 3.1).¹² From 1557 to around 1563 he had worked as an engraver in the employ of Hieronymus Cock. From his residence in Haarlem, he provided Cock with engraved plates after designs by Pieter Bruegel, Frans Floris, Maarten van Heemskerck, and the Italian artists Giulio Romano and Luca Penni. After 1563, he ran his own, possibly semi-legal, print publishing operation in Haarlem, primarily issuing his own engravings after Heemskerck's and his own designs.¹³ With Hieronymus Cock's death in 1570, Galle moved to Antwerp and set up shop as an independent print publisher on the Lombardenvest, the center of the printing district in the city. Though Hieronymus Cock's widow continued to run *Aux*

¹² The most exhaustive sources for information on Philips Galle are Manfred Sellink's dissertation and his introduction to the New Hollstein volumes on Galle as a printmaker. See M. Sellink, "Philips Galle (1537-1612): Engraver and Print Publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp" (Doctoral dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1997); and Manfred Sellink, "Introduction," in *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700, Volume 10: Philips Galle* (2001).

¹³ Sellink suggests that Galle's operations in Haarlem were probably unlicensed and semi-legal, since the prints that he produced (with one exception) did not include privileges, did not bear his address in a clear manner, and tend to include only the inscription "P Galle fecit" without the addition of "excudit" or "excudebat" to indicate that he was also the publisher. See Sellink 2001, xxxvii.

Quatre Vents until her own death in 1601, Galle quickly succeeded Cock as the pre-eminent publisher of high-quality prints in Antwerp, eventually moving his shop to a house called *De Witte Lelie* in the Huidenvettersstraat.¹⁴ His workshop was extremely prolific, publishing more than 3,700 prints between 1570 and his death in 1612, the vast majority of which were new plates after original designs rather than reprints of older plates.¹⁵ Initially, his production included many erudite humanist and mythological works, but after 1585 he focused increasingly on religious prints with clear Counter-Reformation messages. These images tended to be simpler stylistically and thematically, and also of lower technical quality, as the most talented engravers in his workshop eventually moved on to establish their own printing houses or emigrated from Antwerp after 1585 for religious reasons.¹⁶ Galle's willingness to adapt his output according to circumstances and demand indicates a level of commercial flexibility that made it

¹⁴ *De Witte Lelie* remained the site of the family business until Johannes' death in 1676.

¹⁵ During the first years of his activity in Antwerp, Galle continued to design and engrave many plates himself, though as his shop grew, his attention was increasingly occupied with running the business and he left the artistic production to the stable of artists and engravers in his employ, including his sons Theodoor and Cornelis, and his sons-in-law, Adriaen Collaert and Karel van Mallery. Other notable engravers also worked for him, including Hendrick Goltzius (briefly), Johannes Sadeler, and the Wierix brothers, while Stradanus and Marten de Vos were among his most active and important designers. See Sellink 2001, xlvi-xlix.

¹⁶ See Sellink 1997, 115-120. Johannes Sadeler left Antwerp for Cologne as early as about 1579, and Crispijn de Passe, who supplied Philips with many engravings after designs by Marten de Vos, fled to Aachen in 1588 for religious reasons. Goltzius, who provided Philips with engravings in the late 1570s, set up his own shop in Haarlem in 1582. Philips' son Cornelis left for Italy in 1596 and did not return to Antwerp until shortly before his father's death. Philips' sons-in-law Adriaen Collaert and Karel Mallery worked for many years as pupils in the Galle workshop, but eventually set up their own print shops in 1593 and around 1595, respectively. In terms of designers, Maarten van Heemskerck had died already in 1574, while Gerard van Groeningen was active only until around 1575/76. De Vos and Stradanus' contributions of new designs tapered off significantly around 1590-95. After 1595, the increasingly undistinguished artists in Galle's workshop produced more and more anonymous prints. Perhaps in keeping with the simpler religious rather than aesthetic value of these images or his desire for a uniform workshop style, Galle did not feel it advantageous or necessary to acknowledge the various designers and engravers that had produced them.

possible for his business to thrive during the very difficult decades at the end of the sixteenth century.

The reprinted edition of the *Small Landscapes* is exceptional in Galle's oeuvre, both in execution and in content.¹⁷ Galle acquired the plates in 1601, along with many others from Cock's stock, after serving as an executor to the estate of Volcxken Diericx, Cock's widow. The plates are described in the inventory of her house and workshop, indicating that they remained in her possession throughout the late sixteenth century, though there is no evidence that she herself ever reprinted them.¹⁸ However, she was probably not unaware of the commercial value of the series, since they were possibly among the many prints that she supplied to the print publisher and art dealer Bartholomeus de Momper to sell on commission in 1582.¹⁹ Thus, though the *Small*

¹⁷ Landscape was a fairly uncommon genre for Philips Galle, though he did issue some landscape series early on in his career in Antwerp, most notably the *Scenes from the New Testament and Ovid's Metamorphoses*, a set of 30 etched plates depicting landscapes after Hans Bol (see Hollstein, vol. 3, 52, no. 164-193, and Hollstein, vol. 7, 77, no. 160-189 [wrongly catalogued as etched by Philips Galle]). Reissues were also rare for Philips Galle. Sellink states that Galle "virtually never reissued existing copperplates" (Sellink 1997, 11). Though he did often reissue his own series, particularly the many versions of his portraits of famous scholars, he does not appear to have bought up stocks of prints or plates from other publishers or artists. The great exception is his dealings with Hieronymus Cock's widow, Volcxken Diericx, from whom he may have leased plates which had first been published by Cock. He then also acquired much of Cock's stock of plates after Diericx's death in 1601, though it was more often his son Theodoor who reissued these prints, since by 1601 Philips was already withdrawing from active involvement in the family business (Sellink 2001, lxxiii). It is therefore worth considering whether Theodoor Galle was in fact largely responsible for the 1601 reissue, even though the title-page bears his father Philips' name. Theodoor, as the rising successor of the family workshop, might have chosen to use Philips' name rather than his own in order to associate the publication with his more well-known and established father. However, as there is no solid evidence to support this idea, it must remain speculation.

¹⁸ Duverger, vol. 1, 34. They are listed in two entries as "negen coperen plaeten van Boerenhuyskens" and "dertien coperen plaeten van Boerenhuyskens met een plaetken van 't Copertement" (that is to say, the title-page). These entries further indicate that the plates came to Philips Galle as yet uncut, with two images on each plate.

¹⁹ Lydia de Pauw-de Veen has identified many of the prints that Diericx gave to De Momper to sell on her behalf, though she does not identify the two different sets of "lantschap boecken" that are included in the transaction. Diericx supplied de Momper with 24 and 27 copies of each and valued them at eight and nine stuivers respectively, which corresponds with the price of eight stuivers for which Cock and Diericx supplied the *Small Landscape* series to Plantin in the 1560s and 70s. See Lydia de Pauw-de Veen, "Archivalische gegevens over Volcxken Diercx, weduwe van H. Cock," *De Gulden Passer* 53 (1975), 225-

Landscapes had only been published by Cock once in the two series of 1559 and 1561, it is likely that they continued to remain in circulation in the decades before Galle's republication. It is perhaps as a result of their ongoing artistic and cultural currency that Galle decided to reprint them.

The new edition presented the prints in a single series.²⁰ Galle did not substantially alter the plates before reprinting them, though he did cut them down slightly at the edges and draw simple borders around the images. He numbered the plates in the lower left corner, running from 5 to 48, and added four landscapes to the series by Peeter van der Borcht, which he numbered 1 through 4 (figs. 3.2-3.5).²¹ He also provided a new title-page, which reads "The regions,/ and rustic houses/ chiefly of the duchy of Brabant,/ by Cornelis Cort/ artfully depicted for the benefit of artists:/ by Philips Galle/ published and brought to light./ Antwerp,/ 1601." (fig. 3.6)²² This text is set within a decorative

34, 245-47; Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, 15th Century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1998), Appendix 3, Document 56, 406-8.; and for prices of *Small Landscapes*, see Delen 1932, 5-7. For more details on the artistic and financial affairs of the art dealer and publisher de Momper, see Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the market: commercialization of art in Antwerp's golden age*, Studies in European urban history (1100-1800); 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003).

²⁰ While it was unusual earlier in the century to issue such a large series, Philips Galle was increasingly ambitious in the scale of his projects as his career progressed. In addition, since the plates were inherited, Galle would not have been burdened with the usual heavy costs associated with producing a series of almost 50 plates. The unified format would have of course made the cost of the series much higher for the collector, but, again, as Galle did not need to offset the costs of production, he might have been able to offer the series at a more moderate price. Van Bastelaer suggested that after issuing the two series in separate sets, Cock later published a unified edition with numbered prints. I have never found any evidence of such an edition, and believe van Bastelaer must have assumed Philips' numbered edition to have been issued by Cock. See René van Bastelaer, *Les Estampes de Peter Bruegel l'Ancien* (Brussels: G. van Oest & Co., 1908), 37.

²¹ This numbering has been followed for the arrangement of the prints in New Hollstein Doetecum. For a concordance of the numbering schemes used in each of the Galle editions, with reference also to New Hollstein and van Bastelaer numbers, see Appendix II.

²² The original Latin reads: "Regiones/ et villae rusticae/ ducatus potissimum brabantiae/ a cornelio curtio/ in pictorum gratiam artificiose depictae:/ a Philippo Gallaeo/ excusae & in lucem editae./ Antverpia./ M. DCI." NHD, fig. b.

frame that slightly resembles those used on title-pages of Galle's sets of birds and hunts after Bol and Stradanus, and includes animals perched in trees, bowers of fruit, and stands of flowers surrounding it. The similarity to the style of these other title-pages might indicate that the publisher associated the *Small Landscapes* with these kinds of images, and helps to provide some context for understanding the place of the landscapes within Galle's output.

As the title-page plainly announces, Galle attributes the landscape series to Cornelis Cort, who had worked as an engraver for Hieronymus Cock around the same time as Galle. Cort produced plates for the publisher from around 1552 until 1565 when he left for Italy to work as an engraver in Venice with Titian and in Rome. He never seems to have specialized in landscapes, either as an engraver or as a designer, though there are a handful of landscape drawings in the style of Titian attributed to him (fig. 3.7).²³ Furthermore, Cock never seems to have employed Cort as a designer. Cock called upon each of the artists in his workshop for his special talent in one particular field; during his tenure at *Aux Quatre Vents*, Cort was strictly engaged as an engraver of mythological and religious subjects in an Italianate manner. His engraving style, characterized by powerful linear patterns, bold sculptural forms, and a supple handling of textural surfaces and light and shade, bears no resemblance whatever to the *Small Landscapes* (fig. 3.8). All this evidence strongly suggests that Cort cannot be credited as

²³ A small number of pen and ink landscape drawings have been attributed to Cort based on old inscriptions, but these differ markedly in style from the simple linear patterns of the *Small Landscape* designs, exhibiting rather the strong influence of Titian's style. The drawings were not intended as preparatory sketches for prints. Among those generally accepted as the work of Cort are the *Mountainous River Landscape with a Stranded Ship* (Brussels, Bib. Royale Albert 1er), *Shipwrecked Boat on a Rocky Coast* (Besançon, Mus. B.-A. & Archéol.), *Italianate Landscape with a Large Tree* (Cambridge, MA, Fogg) and *Rocky Coast* (London, Courtauld Inst. Gals).

the designer of the *Small Landscapes*, as Galle asserts.²⁴ The more relevant question is why Galle would have chosen to make such an assertion. Cort gained his greatest fame in Italy, where he died around 1578 without returning to his native Netherlands. Still renowned in 1601, it is plausible that Galle saw the opportunity to capitalize on Cort's fame by attributing the anonymous series to him, however distant the *Small Landscapes* might have been from his Italian work. Indeed, for contemporary collectors who were familiar with the series and with Cort's work, it is doubtful that the attribution would have been particularly convincing even at the time. It is telling that when Claes Visscher copied the *Small Landscapes* in Amsterdam in 1612, he abandoned the attribution to Cort and published them as after Pieter Bruegel instead.²⁵

It is also surprising that Galle should attempt to attribute the series to Cort, since the addition of the four new prints at the beginning of the set clearly made the 1601 edition a composite.²⁶ Galle simply added van der Borcht's village views to the front of the *Small Landscape* series and marketed them together as a single series. The four prints that Galle added before the original images are so stylistically and compositionally distinct from the original *Small Landscapes* that even audiences unfamiliar with the first

²⁴ Manfred Sellink believes that we should in fact take Galle at his word, since he was in a special position, as an engraver in Cock's workshop, to know the identity of the original designer of the *Small Landscapes*. I understand that he plans to promote this position in an upcoming exhibition, as yet unscheduled. It is, however, worth remembering that Galle supplied Cock with prints from his home in Haarlem and would not have been involved in the day-to-day operations at *Aux Quatre Vents*. How he would then have been privy to the details of Cock's other projects remains unclear. Furthermore, as Galle did not relocate to Antwerp until 1570, four or five years after Cort's departure for Italy, there is no reason to believe that he would have been personally acquainted with Cort or known directly of Cort's work for Cock. Other scholars have rejected the attribution to Cort, including Riggs' categorical rejection of the suggestion in the *Grove Dictionary of Art*. See Riggs, "Cornelis Cort," *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 7, 900.

²⁵ The motivations and implications behind this attribution will be discussed further in the Epilogue.

²⁶ In Chapter One, I argued that the original series were also the work of multiple designers, but here it is clear that a different designer as well as a different engraver were responsible for the new prints. On the possibility multiple designers for the original series, see Chapter One, 25.

edition must have noted how out of keeping they were with the rest of the series. These prints are similar to van der Borcht's designs for other landscape and genre compositions, which tend to employ a high horizon line and to be busy and cramped with trees, buildings, and figures (figs. 3.9, 3.10).²⁷ As in his other prints, his etching style in these village landscapes is dry and rather stiff, lending the images an airless, static quality.²⁸ Van der Borcht provided Galle with several other plates, including a famous satirical series of anthropomorphized monkeys and a set of garden views that were published together with Vredeman de Vries' *Hortorum* series.²⁹ From this latter instance and the case of van der Borcht's village landscapes, it is evident that Galle often combined prints by different designers and printmakers into a single series, perhaps simply in order to

²⁷ Compare especially with the landscapes in his months series, NHD Borcht, 159, no. 149-160. These rural views in this series exhibit many of the same architectural and compositional elements as the additional plates for the *Small Landscape* series, though they are used here as settings in which to represent the labors of the months rather than as independent compositions.

²⁸ In the New Hollstein volumes devoted to the Collaert Dynasty, the engraving of three of these prints has been attributed to Carel Collaert, and the designs are attributed to the Master of the Small Landscapes. The latter claim is certainly unfounded, and I am confident that the former is also unlikely. There is one state of the first of these print that bears the inscription "Car. Coll" at the lower left margin. It is far more likely that this refers to a separate edition of the prints by Carel Collaert, who would thus have filled the role of publisher but not engraver for the series. There are very few known engravings by Carel Collaert, and as a son of Adriaen Collaert born in 1598, it is impossible that he could be responsible for engraving plates that first appeared as part of Philips Galle's edition of the *Small Landscapes* in 1601. He is much better known as a publisher, and often reissued works that had been previously published by his father Adriaen Collaert, Philips Galle, and Hieronymus Cock. It is therefore plausible that these plates by Peeter van der Borcht were lent or leased to Carel Collaert by Theodoor Galle, who had received them as part of his father's workshop and estate when he died in 1612, and reissued on their own under Collaert's name. See NHD Collaert, vol. 5, 252-254, no. 1277-1279; and NHD Borcht, 242-245, no. 203-206.

²⁹ The monkey series included sixteen plates, each sending up some aspect of human behavior (NHD Borcht, 198-235, no. 184-199). There are six plates in the series of garden views. They are strongly reminiscent of Vredeman's ideal architectural prints, but they are decorated with a variety of biblical stories and secular pastimes in the foreground. (NHD Borcht, 167-71, no. 161-166). For other prints designed or etched by Peeter van der Borcht and published by Philips Galle, see NHD Borcht, 88-90, no. 110-111; 146-47, no. 140; 238-39, no. 201; 263-81, no. 218-234. These plates range from religious subjects to genre scenes to topographic views to architectural and decorative designs. Van der Borcht served primarily as Cristoph Plantin and Johannes Moretus' chief book illustrator, providing them with illustrations for at least sixty-seven books. In addition to his extensive work for the Plantin Press, he also collaborated with the print publishers Bartholomeus de Momper, Joan Baptista Vrints and Adriaen Huybrechts. We know that he also self-published at least one of his own plates (NHD Borcht, 240-41, no. 202). See Hans and Ursula Mielke, "Introduction," NHD Borcht, xvii-xxvii.

more efficiently publish and distribute related images. Placed within the familiar setting of the *Small Landscapes*, van der Borch's four landscape prints could thus be showcased without requiring a separate title-page and publication.

As he had just acquired the *Small Landscape* plates from the estate of Volcxken Diericx, it is not surprising the Galle should wish to exploit them, even if they fit rather awkwardly into the larger output of his workshop. However, he would also have had good reason to think that Antwerp's print buyers might have been especially responsive to the prints in the opening years of the seventeenth century. Low prices for rural land, the result of decades of war-time devastation, led to a resurgence in urban investment in the countryside once military conditions stabilized in the 1590s. Farmers and villagers who had been forced to desert their farms were without the resources to return their lands to cultivation, so it was urban institutions and speculators who supplied the necessary capital to restore the land and its inhabitants to their former condition. Many of those who invested in agricultural lands often had to search long and hard to find capable farmers to cultivate them, and once found, also had to bear the costs of equipping the farms with all of the tools and supplies to re-establish agricultural operations. These investors often received little or nothing in rents for several years as the farms slowly began to return to productivity.³⁰ Even though slow to generate large returns, the low

³⁰ The lands were so depopulated that in order to encourage agricultural redevelopment, Alva issued a placard in 1586 stating that any person could simply occupy and cultivate land for a period of a year in order to be able to claim ownership. For descriptions of the devastation of rural lands as a result of the war, see Alex Cosemans, "Het Uitzicht van Brabant op het einde der 16de eeuw," *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het Hertogdom Brabant* 27 (1936), esp. 314-22; Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)*, 2 vols. (The Hague: 1963), 245-50. On the resurgence of urban investment and the local government's encouragement of agricultural renewal efforts, see Wee 1963, 270-72; Adriaan Verhulst, *Précis d'histoire rurale de la Belgique* (1990), 135-40 and 150; and W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: 1959), 195-6. This subject will also be more explicitly addressed later in this chapter.

price of the ravaged lands and the promise of significant profits in the future proved extremely attractive to Antwerp's wealthy elite and produced a rural property boom of unprecedented scale.³¹ Indeed, by 1596 the agricultural recovery was unmistakable despite the prolonged continuation of the war, and by 1610 land prices had once again risen to their pre-war levels.

As urban audiences turned their attention to rural investment, Philips Galle must have recognized that there was once again a market for the *Small Landscapes*. Just as in the middle of the sixteenth century, the prints presented a new generation of urban investors with peaceful views of Brabant's countryside, dotted with charming farmhouses and fine manor houses, and inhabited by virtuous peasants and shepherds. The new edition offered an upbeat, confident vision of the countryside, not as it then was, but as it might soon again become through the transformation to be wrought by urban investments. The prints were both an encouragement to and justification for purchasing rural property. They acted as a visual guarantee for a return to peace and productivity in the future by presenting an image of the local countryside as it would have appeared had the war never blighted its land and farms.

However, there is an important difference between the character and goals of the land speculation in the mid-sixteenth century and this new wave of rural investment in

³¹ A satirical print by Peeter van der Borcht, which must have been published during this speculative boom, indicates the social friction that this new phase of urban investment engendered. The print critiques wealthy landowners for disdaining the farmers who worked their new lands. The image depicts a typical Brabantine farm with several peasants sowing the fields, feeding chickens, and tending to flocks of sheep. In the foreground, a farmer at a plow rebukes a well-dressed gentleman who has insulted him, saying (in French): "Without us, you would starve to death. Pray to God your Master who wishes to bless our labor." The French caption below reiterates this confrontation: "See this gentleman walk and hold in contempt this valiant peasant, who sows the land and responds to him bravely, think O arrogant one think that you and yours are nourished by our labors." A Latin inscription along the top margin reads (roughly): "These seeds having been entrusted to your soils and these pastures having been increased by the farmer just in time, shall endure." The admonition to wealthy landowning gentlemen is unmistakable and belies the sense of social harmony implicit in the *Small Landscapes*. NHD Borcht, 183, no. 175.

the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While the wealthy merchants of the first period utilized land investment as an economic expedient to shore up their mercantile enterprises and also sought to raise their social status through the acquisition of feudal lands, there is little evidence that they abandoned their commercial interests in order to attain true aristocratic status, complete with letters of nobility conferred by the king. The new generation of investors, on the other hand, purchased land as a stepping stone toward removing themselves from business altogether and establishing themselves instead among the ranks of the nobility. The profits that these new landowners derived from their holdings were not now intended to supplement their commercial profits, but rather to replace them, thereby allowing these aspiring merchants to attain the aristocratic lifestyle of large-scale landholders and noble rentiers. They consolidated their rural lands into enormous and profitable holdings, and sought the jurisdictional authority and privileges associated with the purchase of *heerlijkheden*. Through advantageous marriages with noble families, education geared toward legal and political professions rather than commercial ones, and aristocratic behavior (participating in noble hunts, dressing in noble garb, and surrounding themselves with luxurious goods), the social distance between ancient noble families and the aspiring merchant bourgeoisie began to shrink.³² Though technically illegal, many of these new landowners assumed the title of *heer*, or lord, and fashioned coats-of-arms for their families without receiving official patents of nobility from the king. The distinction became even more difficult to maintain as increasing numbers of merchants petitioned for and received patents of nobility in the

³² Brulez offers a keen analysis of this aspirational behavior on the part of many of Antwerp's wealthiest merchants. See W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: 1959), 229-41. See also Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 281-316; Baetens, "Villa Rustica," 179-82.

seventeenth century, which allowed them to officially bear arms, display heraldic coats-of-arms, and count themselves among the lower ranks of Brabant's noble class.³³ Such a breakthrough into the rarefied circles of the aristocracy was accompanied by an obligatory shift from business and trade to land ownership and rural incomes, since noble status was generally withheld for those who continued to engage in commercial enterprises. Over the course of the seventeenth century, it became possible for the ennobled to conduct business to the extent that their pursuits were of direct benefit to the government (for example, issuance of credit or provisioning of the army), though it was still prohibited to engage in commercial practices that did not serve the interests of state. This model of the nobility would only change in the eighteenth century, as the value of profit-making and business came to be valued by the central government and the infusion of commercial profits from active businessmen was actively sought and sanctioned within the ranks of the aristocracy.³⁴

This inexorable movement away from commerce toward nobility is most clearly exemplified by the della Failles, one of the richest merchant families in Antwerp at the

³³ W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: 1959), 205. Paul Janssens has explained that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the traditional role of the nobility as knights was increasingly obsolete and new legal and administrative functions required a new class of government functionary loyal to and dependent on the sovereign prince. Drawn from the widening pools of the aspiring bourgeoisie, Janssens nonetheless claims that these "counselors of the robe" remained social distinct from the older "counselors of the sword," and that their official elevation to the ranks of nobility was essentially honorific. On the logistics of ennoblement, the various ranks of nobility, and the shifting definition and function of noble status in the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Paul Janssens, *Evolution de la noblesse belge depuis la fin du moyen âge* (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1998); Paul Janssens, *Armorial de la noblesse belge du XVIe au XXe siècle*, 4 vols. (Brussels: Crédit communal, 1992), vol. 1, 17-27 and 43-48; and Paul Janssens, "De Zuidnederlandse adel tijdens het Ancien régime (17de 18de eeuw): Problemen en stand van het onderzoek," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 93 (1980). On the expression of noble status and aspiration in architecture, see Paul Janssens, "Châteaux forts et châteaux de plaisance dans l'espace belge: de la noblesse médiévale à la noblesse moderne," in *La noblesse, de la fin du XVIe au début du XXe siècle, un modèle social?* ed. M. Figeac and M. Boisson J. Pontet (Anglet, 2002).

³⁴ Paul Janssens, "De Zuidnederlandse adel tijdens het Ancien régime (17de 18de eeuw): Problemen en stand van het onderzoek," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 93 (1980), 460-61.

end of the sixteenth century. The family had been involved in the textile and transit trade since the early sixteenth century, and eventually established branches of their international business in London and Seville. Jan della Faille (1515-1582) was extremely successful, and was counted among the richest men in Antwerp by the time of his death. Though Jan della Faille himself placed some of his assets in real estate, his investments tended to be focused more on urban properties in Antwerp and land around his birthplace of Wevelgem, and his ventures into real estate never supplanted his commercial interests. Though he was granted the right to bear a coat-of-arms in 1562, Jan never attempted to achieve any further advancement into the ranks of the aristocracy and was never himself ennobled.³⁵

His son Maarten della Faille, by contrast, avidly sought to remove himself from the mercantile class. By 1594, he had completely disengaged from the family business. Taking advantage of the collapsed land prices at the end of the century, he invested all of his capital in land and real estate. These holdings were increasingly rural rather than urban, and included the *heerlijkheden* of Vichte, with 120 bunder of forest and agricultural lands, and Nevele, with its castle Oydonck, as well a *huis van plaisantie* near Willebroeck.³⁶ The agricultural recovery that followed his investment allowed Maarten to live off the income from his lands in true aristocratic fashion. His social aspirations were finally rewarded in 1614 with a patent of ennoblement. Other members of his

³⁵ His brother, Jacob, who also took part in the family business, obtained more rural properties and even acquired the *heerlijkheid* of Dovyne in Waasten, but also remained a businessman throughout his life. On Jan and Jacob della Faille, see W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels: 1959), 186-194 and 205.

³⁶ Brulez 1959, 194-196.

family, including his nephews, were also granted places among the ranks of the nobility slightly later in the seventeenth century.³⁷

Maarten della Faille's trajectory from wealthy merchant to land-owning nobleman was by no means an isolated case. Many other of Antwerp's most notable merchants also took advantage of the low land prices in the late sixteenth century to acquire significant real property and *heerlijkheden*. A few examples will suffice to indicate the general trend. Peter Daems, one of the richest merchants in Antwerp, bought the *heerlijkheden* of Dion-le-Mont and Cortil-Noirmont in 1623 and 1625 respectively, which together included over 450 hectares of land.³⁸ Another wealthy merchant, Michiel Boot, became the owner of the *heerlijkheid* of Sombeke in Wommelgem in 1594-5, and bought about 226 hectares of additional lands in Bornem, Oelegem, Schoten, Steenbergem, and Wommelgem in the 1590s.³⁹ Merchant Ferdinand Helman, head of the Hellemans family diamond business, owned a *speelhuys* with two acres outside of the Saint George's Gate of Antwerp, along with over 550 hectares of land in Kallo, Doel, Edegem, Deurne, and

³⁷ Brulez 1959, 205, esp. note 2. Paul Janssens lists Alexander, Auguste, Balthazar, Jan, Hieronymus, Melchior, and Vincent della Faille as all receiving patents of nobility in June 3, 1642. See Janssens, *Evolution*, 437.

³⁸ Peter Daems also owned a *speelhuys* with 63 hectares of land in Melsele, plus 171 more hectares located mostly in the polders and around Waes, just to the east of Antwerp. Even before he was officially granted the title of *chevalier* in 1634, he dubbed himself "Toparcha" or *heer* and carried a weapon, according to noble custom. The Daems family continued to belong to the nobility in the generations to come; his son Sebastian inherited his titles, and his daughter Marie married into the ancient Spanish noble family Gallo d'Escada. See Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 313; and Baetens, "Villa Rustica," 180-1; Jules Tarlier, J. M. de Pinchart, and Alphonse Guillaume Ghislain Wauters, *La Belgique ancienne et moderne. Géographie et histoire des communes belges* (Bruxelles: Culture et civilisation, 1963), vol. 1, 174-180 and vol. 2, 37 ff.; Paul Janssens, *Evolution de la noblesse belge depuis la fin du moyen âge* (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1998), 433; Paul Janssens, *Armorial de la noblesse belge du XVe au XXe siècle*, 4 vols. (Brussels: Crédit communal, 1992), vol. 1, 646.

³⁹ The Boot family dealt in cloth and silk, with offices in Venice as well as Antwerp. On Michiel Boot, see Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 146-149. After his death, Boot's widow Anna le Bourgois married Joris Ouwens, nobleman and *heer* of Berchem, St. Laurent and Linckerbeke, who served as secretary of Antwerp and counselor in the States of Brabant in 1640. See <http://members.fortunecity.com/ouwens/kwartier4.html>

Hombeke.⁴⁰ Hendrik van der Goes, a member of a large family firm based in Antwerp and Venice that dealt in tapestries, acquired the *heerlijkheden* of Boutersem, Ychele and Pluysegem in Kontich in the early seventeenth century, while the cloth merchant Louis de Bois purchased the *heerlijkheden* of Asse, Walhain and Refail in Brabant and Namur, totaling over 400 hectares, to complement his *speelhuis* “Het Arendshof” in Deurne. He eventually retired from business entirely to become a rentier in 1637.⁴¹

Many of these merchants also obtained political positions within Antwerp’s city government. Election to the *schepenbank*, or magistrate, was typical of merchants who had withdrawn from trade – it was rarely possible to continue one’s business ventures while simultaneously serving in political office.⁴² Peter Daems, Michiel Boot, Ferdinand Helman, and Hendrik van der Goes all served in this capacity in the seventeenth century.⁴³ With their experience in commerce and finance, wealthy merchants were also uniquely qualified to serve in the city’s treasury, a position which Michel Boot fulfilled

⁴⁰ Ferdinand Helman (1557-1617) became head of the company in 1592. He married Anna Helleman in 1589. Their son Peter (1594-1644) became *heer* of Muilkercke and Dussen, and their daughter Anna married within the family to Pieter Hellemans, who was *heer* of Aartselaar and Cleydael. Ferdinand Helman’s second marriage to Catharina van der Veken produced seven more children, notable among them Anna Maria, who married Nivio-Marie Invrea, *heer* of Releghem and gentleman of Genoiese noble descent; Constantia, who married Nicolaas Rubens, son of Peter Paul Rubens and Isabella Brant; and Jerome, who became *heer* of Waerbeke. See Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 177-83; Baetens, “Villa Rustica,” 180; and <http://www.willebroek.info/HISTORY/index.html>

⁴¹ On Hendrik van der Goes, see Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 123-4, 289-90, and 302-03; Robert van Passen, *Geschiedenis van Kontich* (Kontich: Het Gemeentebestuur van Kontich, 1964), 485-92. On Louis de Bois, see *ibid.*, 57, 186-94; Baetens, “Villa Rustica,” 181-2.

⁴² Brulez clearly outlines how much time an active tradesman needed to spend on running his business. He argues that the sheer amount of writing and book-keeping required on a daily basis would itself preclude any political appointment. Brulez 1959, 206-7.

⁴³ Ferdinand Helman served in a number of political positions before being elected to the *schepenbank* in 1615. Before that he was *aalmoezenier* in 1593 and *wijkmeester* of the 10th wijk from 1611 to 1615. He remained on the *schepenbank* from 1615 until a few months before his death in 1617. Hendrik van der Goes became a member of the *schepenbank* in 1615, after having first been passed over for the position in 1610. See Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 302-03.

from 1614 to 1616.⁴⁴ Another former merchant from Antwerp, Alexander Goubau Jr., served as both *binnenburgomeester* and *buitenburgomeester* for the city.

For many families, political careers in the local government served as stepping stones in the process toward ennoblement.⁴⁵ Peter Daems and Alexander Goubau Jr. both achieved this goal. Daems became a *ridder* or knight in 1634, while Goubau achieved the same status in 1647.⁴⁶ For others, ennoblement came only in the following generation. Van der Goes' and Helman's children joined the nobility in 1660s. Jan-Alexander van den Broeck likewise benefited from the efforts of his forebears; his grandfather Jan, a merchant in the sugar trade, made a significant fortune and purchased land in Kontich as early as the 1550s, while his father Alexander, originally a silk merchant, invested further in real property and served as city treasurer from 1612 to 1614. Jan-Alexander was then able to gain noble status in 1646 and carried the title of "heer of Bousval, Eyndonck and Lalaix," *heerlijkheden* situated around Nijvel in southwestern Brabant.⁴⁷ According to Baetens, this was a typical progression: the first generation acquired the capital, the second took advantage of the low land prices around the turn of the century to invest in real property and served in the city government, so that the third generation could eventually become titled and live as country gentlemen.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Michiel Boot's first entrance into city government came, like Helman's, in the appointment of *aalmoezenier* in 1589. See http://www.ping.be/~ma479346/fonds_plasier_8.htm

⁴⁵ Janssen describes the intricate processes and degrees of ennoblement, and the service of political appointments in attaining those ranks. See Janssens, *Evolution*.

⁴⁶ Goubau achieved the title of *heer* of Mespelaer and Gijsegem, both in East Flanders. See Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 183-185; Janssens, *Armorial*, vol. 2.

⁴⁷ Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 154; Van Passen, *Kontich*, 514-15. Jan-Alexander's sister Isabelle later married Francois Goubau, from another prominent Antwerp merchant family. Their son united their properties and titles to become *heer* of Beveren, Triest, Wielsbeke and Bousval.

⁴⁸ Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 154.

The motivations governing the move from trade to noble landownership are difficult to pinpoint. However, having witnessed the devastations that protracted war had wrought on the city's economy, it is likely that Antwerp's merchant classes sought a more secure mode of life than that afforded by risky commercial ventures during such uncertain times. Even as Antwerp's economic prospects gradually rebounded, many merchants saw their opportunities diminish. Antwerp's economy certainly revitalized around the turn of the century and especially after the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. Yet the city was hemmed in by the reclosure of the Schelde to the north and the ongoing war with France to the South. As a result, Antwerp shifted from being an international metropolis to a more locally oriented market. In stark contrast to the boom years of the middle of the sixteenth century, the early seventeenth century no longer offered Antwerp's merchants the prospect of limitless international expansion and the incalculable fortunes to be made from it. For those who stayed in Antwerp, rather than moving their businesses to new commercial centers like Amsterdam, rural landholding allowed them to adapt their livelihoods to the altered economic realities of the period. Especially when land could be so cheaply acquired after 1585, investment in rural properties offered perhaps the most astute business venture then available to shrewd merchants. In many cases, it also marked a decisive shift in lifestyle which set them onto a very different economic and social course.

The dramatic alteration in the situation and outlook of former merchants who now lived as rentiers prompted the need for strategies to describe, explain, and confirm their new lifestyle. Images like the *Small Landscapes* were one of the most effective means of providing these new country gentlemen with a model for envisioning the countryside and

their place within it. This was essential, not only because the country was an unfamiliar terrain for these new landowners in general, but all the more so because the condition of Antwerp's hinterlands was not manifestly auspicious in the decades immediately after 1585. The long and devastating decades of war had completely obliterated the conception of the countryside as a benign place of gracious retreat and easy abundance. Even as the actual countryside began to rebound, the fear of violence and ruin continued to inflect urban perceptions. It was imperative for the new gentleman rentiers to be able to picture the countryside in a positive light and to imagine its future as a place of restored order, peacefulness and productivity. Wealthy investors like Maarten della Faille had staked their fortune on such an optimistic forecast. The 1601 edition of the *Small Landscapes* came onto the market at precisely the right moment to offer Antwerp's new landowning elite reassurance about the status and value of the countryside. Though they were the same images they had been in the first edition, it is likely that the new audiences at the turn of the century were drawn to different aspects of the series. With the repetition throughout the series of scenes of thriving farms (fig. 1.7), plowed fields (figs. 1.33, 1.34), and milkmaids and shepherds with abundant flocks (figs. 1.9, 1.12, 1.14, 1.16, 1.19, 1.22, 1.43, 1.44), in 1601 the prints offered an ideal reconstruction of Antwerp's rural landscape. The loaded hay carts anticipated future harvests; the sheep and cattle presaged a revitalized agricultural landscape; the contented peasants promised a restored demographic and social order. Nowhere did the prints suggest any sign of destruction or ruin. They allowed Antwerp's audiences around 1601 to look out into the rural hinterlands of their city as though looking back in time, and see them reconstructed as if the war had never cast its shadow on the ideal of rural life.

It is this visual reinvocation of an old ideal of the countryside for a new generation that makes the 1601 edition so noteworthy. As a series of reissued images, the *Small Landscapes* did not just present the countryside as urban landowners wished to see it, but because they were older images reprinted anew, they also evoked what it had once been like. Collectors may have been familiar with the Cock's original publication of the prints and thus already been familiar with the images. However, even for those who first saw the prints in 1601, the *Small Landscapes* would perhaps have looked old-fashioned from a stylistic standpoint. Broad mountain landscapes and deep forest scenes by painters like Joos de Momper, Lucas van Valckenborch and Gillis van Coninxloo had realigned the genre toward the production of more lyrical, verdant landscapes.⁴⁹ The outmoded look of the *Small Landscapes*, together with Galle's attribution of them to the long deceased Cornelis Cort, certainly would have marked them as works from an earlier artistic generation. As such, Antwerp audiences would have viewed them as representations of the countryside's past even as they looked to them as an ideal model for the present and the future. The new edition retained the resonance of its earlier publication, and presented an image of the hinterlands once again restored to their former peace and prosperity. Galle's reissue thus made old images new, reinvigorated their message, and proffered the visual reassurance that what once was could be restored.

The 1601 edition of the *Small Landscapes* coincides with contemporary paintings that likewise offer a positive, encouraging view of the local landscape. The Antwerp artist Abel Grimmer's *Polders of Antwerp*, probably dating to 1596, portrays a placid scene of well-to-do gentlefolk and country peasants out on the polders north of Antwerp

⁴⁹ Hanna Benesz, et. al., *Die Flämische Landschaft, 1520-1700: eine Ausstellung der Kulturstiftung Ruhr Essen und des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* (Exh. cat., Kulturstiftung Ruhr Essen, Villa Hügel: 2003).

(fig. 3.11).⁵⁰ The landscape spreads out before the viewer from a high vantage point, creating a panoramic view over the busy doings of the elegant aristocrats and the local villagers in the immediate foreground, on to the well-maintained canals and wide roads in the middle distance, and finally to the river Schelde, dotted with ships, and the city of Antwerp centered in the background. The color scheme is dominated by damp greens and earthy browns which lend the view a lush verdancy, while the bustling activity of village, roads, and waterways animates the full breadth of the landscape. Even if compositionally and stylistically distinct from the *Small Landscapes*, the painting fashions a similarly optimistic view of countryside. As in the prints, here we witness the peaceful routines of the rural village, situated in the broad expanse of a safe, productive, fertile plain. One could imagine that the village at the center of one of the prints had been transposed here within the wide scope of a panoramic landscape. It is as though nothing had occurred to disrupt the pleasant archetype of the countryside that the *Small Landscapes* had evoked nearly fifty years before. Together with paintings like this one by Grimmer, the new edition of the *Small Landscapes* amounts to a pictorial reimagining of both a lost past and a desired future.

Abel Grimmer produced several such paintings in the 1590s.⁵¹ His *Landscape with Castle* (fig. 3.12), a painting begun by his father but completed by Abel in 1592,⁵²

⁵⁰ See Reine de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Jacob et Abel Grimmer: Catalogue Raisonné* (1991), 203, no. 13.

⁵¹ The village and country landscapes of both Abel Grimmer and his father, Jacob, also a painter, owe a great deal to the *Small Landscapes*. Further consideration of the common artistic and thematic threads between them, however, will be reserved for Chapter Four.

⁵² This work was begun by Abel's father Jacob, in whose workshop Abel trained. The date of 1592 places the completion of the work after Jacob's death, and it is therefore presumed that Abel finished the work. For further discussion of the attribution of this painting, see Sauvigny 1991, 76-77, cat. XXXIX, and 189-90, cat. III.

and *Spring*, from a series of the *Four Seasons* signed and dated 1599 (fig. 3.13), both represent noble estates with their aristocratic landowners interacting with peasants and laborers.⁵³ While these are not as geographically specific as the *Polders of Antwerp*, the manor houses follow the characteristic Brabantine architectural style and the terrain is likewise strongly reminiscent of the flat plains and gentle hills of Antwerp's hinterlands. Even if they are imagined rather than descriptively accurate, as seems likely, it is striking how powerfully these paintings assert an orderly and decorous vision of the countryside, both in its physical spaces and its social concord. Once again, there is no sign of the turbulence of the recent past in these paintings. Such examples underscore the fact that artistic tastes in Antwerp ran toward idyllic country scenes that restored the landscape as a place of tranquil pleasure and prosperity.

In this light, Galle's edition of the *Small Landscapes* was extremely shrewd. Galle very rarely reissued prints produced in other workshops and he did not generally favor landscape projects, and yet he nonetheless felt it worthwhile to reissue these prints. As Sellink has argued, Galle was an astute businessman, altering his workshop's output according to the shifting political and religious circumstances in Antwerp. The same reasoning must have dictated his decision in this case. After a lapse of fifty years, the *Small Landscapes* once again resonated with the interests, concerns, and hopes of Antwerp's populace. For new or aspiring aristocrats, rural land ownership was a means of fundamentally redefining their economic, social, and political status by repudiating their commercial origins and emulating instead older feudal habits of noble living.⁵⁴ For

⁵³ Sauvigny 1991, 189, cat. II, and 206, cat. XXIII.

⁵⁴ Hugo Soly has persuasively argued that this "betrayal of the bourgeoisie," distinctively urban and commercial in nature, did not occur in the mid-sixteenth century, as others have posited, but rather

them, the *Small Landscapes* visually reinforced their new aristocratic values, with an emphasis on the simplicity and ease of the rural life which they now hoped to lead. The second edition perfectly suited evolving values at the turn of the seventeenth century, when newly established rentiers subtly sought to naturalize their claims to aristocratic status. The reissued prints invoked their own history and the past golden age of Antwerp and its rural surrounds, calling forth a memory of an earlier generation of merchants who had likewise felt the urge to invest in country properties. Though their motivations had changed and their purchases would lead them very different ends, Antwerp's wealthy merchants must have found confirmation and reassurance in the precedent established and reaffirmed by the *Small Landscapes*.

The Third Edition of the *Small Landscapes*

Sometime after Philips Galle's 1601 edition appeared, his son Theodoor Galle issued a further edition of the *Small Landscapes* (fig. 3.14). The set must have been issued before 1633, the year Theodoor died, but the date of publication is difficult to determine more precisely than that. Theodoor trained as a printmaker in his father's workshop and his first engraving was published in 1586, when he was only fifteen years old. After traveling with his brother Cornelis in Italy, Theodoor was admitted the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in 1596. Philips clearly groomed his son to take over the family business. The first publication to bear Theodoor's name as publisher appeared in 1598, an ambitious series of 151 prints that he had engraved himself after drawings of

precisely in this period of the early seventeenth century. See Hugo Soly, "The 'Betrayal' of the 16th-Century bourgeoisie, a myth? Some considerations of the behavior pattern of the merchants of Antwerp in the 16th century," *Acta Neerlandicae* VIII (1975).

antiquities he had made in Italy.⁵⁵ After around 1600 Theodoor took on a more and more central role in the print shop while Philips gradually retired, signing his name to only a few more publications, the last of which was dated 1606.⁵⁶ Philips' death in 1612 made Theodoor the sole director of the print shop at *De Witte Lelie*.

If his father had focused on publishing original materials, under Theodoor's direction the business flourished through the reissue of countless engravings from the previous century.⁵⁷ Many of these had originated in his father's workshop, though he also made use of plates from other print shops, including many from Diericx's large stock.⁵⁸ Theodoor's modifications to the plates tended to be minimal. In most cases, he simply replaced the original publisher's name and address with his own, and reinforced lines only on those plates that had grown too worn for republication.

The *Small Landscapes* were an exception to this pattern. Though his interventions on the plates themselves were typically minor, I believe that he restructured the series into a much more compact abridged form.⁵⁹ His revisions to the plates were

⁵⁵ His drawings were made after objects in the collection of the antiquarian Fulvio Orsini in Rome. The resulting series of prints was entitled *Illustrium imagines ex antiquis marmoribus, numismatibus et gemmis expressae*, and was reprinted in enlarged form in 1606. Hollstein, vol. 7, 85, nos. 226-376.

⁵⁶ Sellink 2001, lxx.

⁵⁷ This was a common trend in mid-seventeenth-century Antwerp. Theodoor's nephew Carolus Collaert, mentioned in guild records as a "plaetsnyder" or engraver in 1652/3, ran a very similar business, reissuing prints after Vredeman de Vries, Maarten de Vos, and other sixteenth century masters, the plates for many of which originated from the same sources that Theodoor's plates had, namely from the legacies of Philips Galle and Hieronymus Cock. See Sauer, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 20, 273; Hollstein, vol. 4, 208 (an extremely abbreviated list of four works published by Collaert); Delen 1935, vol. 2, 160.

⁵⁸ A full comparison of the inventories of Volcxken Diericx, Theodoor Galle's widow Catharina Moerentorff, and Joannes Galle would chart the transmission of plates from one generation to the next. Though such a comparison falls outside the scope this project, I plan to take up this research in the future.

⁵⁹ No complete set of this edition of the prints is known, and it is therefore difficult to reconstruct the arrangement of Theodoor's version with any precision. It is therefore necessary to base hypotheses on the available evidence from the prints themselves, and particularly the new numbering scheme applied to the third edition, as will be explained in greater detail below.

limited to the title-page, onto which he inserted his own name in place of his father's and removed the date. The plates themselves were printed as they were, with no modifications or reworking, except for alterations to the series of numbers in the lower left corners. The new sequence of numbers runs continuously from one to twenty-seven, with numbers one through three given to three of the van der Borcht plates.⁶⁰ Theodoor replaced several of Philips' higher numbers with lower ones – plates 46, 32, 29, 28 and 36 in Philips' series were renumbered 6, 7, 9, 12 and 22 by Theodoor – leaving an irregular sequence of higher numbers unaltered from Philips' edition.⁶¹ I believe that Theodoor substituted the newly numbered plates into the series, leaving out those plates with the same numbers from Philips' edition as well as those with high numbers that he left unchanged.⁶² This would mean that Theodoor published the *Small Landscapes* as a set of only twenty-seven plates, picking and choosing from among the original forty-four plates and reordering them as he saw fit into a new sequence.⁶³ This was shrewd pruning on Theodoor's part, since the eliminated views closely resemble other plates in the series

⁶⁰ NHD Borcht 242-45, no. 203-205. No explanation for the omission of one of van der Borcht's plates from Theodoor's edition is given here, but I believe it is representative of his systematic reduction of the series from forty-four to a scant twenty-seven plates.

⁶¹ The numbers on plates 31, 37, 39, 42, and 45 from Philips' edition remain unchanged.

⁶² These substitutions would not have been based on any similarity in composition or subject between the two plates, since in each case they are completely distinct. It is therefore also possible that Theodoor deliberately wished to change the tone of the series by making these substitutions, which would have replaced plates early in the series (NHD 119, 120, 122, 125, and 135), including views of a manor house and the *Roode Poort* of Antwerp, with plates from the latter section of the set (NHD 141, 142, 145, 149, and 159), which tend to be less distinctive compositions of villages peopled with only the occasional shepherd or milkmaid.

⁶³ Ten plates have not been traced in any known set of the third edition, and one plate exists in two states with different numbers at the bottom edge. The untraced prints are NHD 121, 132, 134, 136, 137, 139, 148, 151, 154, and 157. NHD 147 exists in two states in the third edition, one bearing the number 24 and the other bearing the number 21. Since there is another plate numbered 21 as well (NHD 153), it is possible that one plate replaced the other at some stage of production, especially considering that the two plates present a similar compositions and might therefore have been easily interchanged in the set.

that he did maintain.⁶⁴ Reducing the scale of the series and then further eliminating repetitive compositions was practical from a business standpoint, since an abridged edition would have been cheaper for Theodoor to produce and sell, and therefore more attractive to a wider range of purchasers as well.

If one follows this theory about the arrangement of the third edition and examines the resulting series of twenty-seven plates, some striking features emerge. The new edition focused on villages and farms, primarily of a humble and generic character. Most notably, all of the views of manor houses or large estates and farms have been eliminated. The print of the *Roode Poort*, a gate into Antwerp at the north-east end of the city, has also been removed, as has the print which includes an inn identifiable by the sign of the swan on its wall. One could argue, therefore, that all of the most identifiable landmarks from the original series were removed. By the time of the third edition's publication, it is likely that many of these distinctive buildings no longer existed as a result of wartime destruction. Including views of recognizable structures that were no longer standing might have elicited unwelcome reminiscences among his Antwerp audiences of the devastation that had so lately plagued the Brabantine countryside; the castles and large farms represented in the original series were exactly the sorts of properties that had most often been the targets of destruction during the worst years of the war. On the other hand, Theodoor may have striven to make the series more generic by removing the

⁶⁴ Plate 31 (NHD 144) resembles plates 7 and 14 of the third edition (NHD 145 and 127), as well as Philips' plates 19 and 21 (NHD 132 and 134), both of which have not been traced in the third edition. Plate 37 (NHD 150) resembles plate 20 of the third edition (NHD 133). Plate 39 (NHD 152) resembles plates 24/21, 21, 6 of the third edition (NHD 159, 153, and 147). Plate 42 (NHD 155) compositionally resembles plates 4 and 15 of the third edition (NHD 160, 128), while the archery contest in the foreground is echoed in plate 18 of the third edition (NHD 131). Plate 45 (NHD 158) resembles plate 14 of the third edition (NHD 127) and plates 19 and 44 of Philips' second edition (NHD 132 and 157), not traced in the third edition.

Brabantine and Antwerp landmarks, in the hopes that a more generalizing series of country views would be attractive to a wider audience who could imagine that these humble villages reflected their own countryside rather than that of Antwerp specifically. The *Roode Poort*, for instance, with its idiosyncratic turrets and bulk, could never be mistaken for a gate in any other town, and perhaps for that reason Theodoor thought it better to remove the print of it from the series.⁶⁵ After Philips republished the complete series, Theodoor may have found it commercially advantageous to offer his audiences an edited one, carefully abridged to avoid any overt reminders of how much the countryside had changed and to transform the once specifically local series into a conventional set of views of more general interest.⁶⁶

Theodoor's exclusion of specifically identifiable features in the local landscape from his edition might have been motivated by commercial interests as well. In its reduced scale, the third edition could reach a much wider audience – not only within Antwerp, but among international audiences as well. Theodoor's removal of all of the views of the most specific locales in the series imparted a more conventional, universal character to the landscape series. For those outside of the city's orbit, the particular features of the Brabantine countryside were likely of little direct interest. Rather such

⁶⁵ The *Roode Poort* was certainly still standing when Theodoor issued his edition of the *Small Landscapes*. It had served as the fortified entrance into the northeastern part of the city until the 1550s, when the expansion of the city walls created a new gate. Even after its functional use was supplanted, the old tower remained standing until 1818. See Robert vande Weghe, *Geschiedenis van de Antwerpse straatnamen* (Antwerp: Mercurius, 1977), 636-37.

⁶⁶ Abridged editions were not uncommon during this period. An earlier example can be found in Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, first published in 1570, which appeared in abridged form in 1577. It was Philips Galle who first published this epitome version of the atlas, and he would go on to produce eleven editions of the popular text in four languages between 1577 and 1598. Though Ortelius' atlas is of a much grander size and scope than the *Small Landscapes*, the popularity of the *Epitome* set a precedent for reducing printed series to a smaller, more manageable scale that could reach wider audiences. See Sellink 2001, liii, with further notes and bibliography.

audiences would have appreciated the *Small Landscapes* for their presentation of emblematic, associative qualities of the rustic environment in general and its simple lifestyle. Though Theodoor's title-page still proclaimed the series to be images of Brabant, the reduced edition no longer necessarily conveyed the same force of descriptive realism that it had when they were first published. In international circles, the Brabantine countryside could be appreciated for its generic, common qualities of rusticity, and thus become a model for all European rural terrains. Almost every part of Europe had lived through decades of war, and when read as exemplary rather than specific, the *Small Landscapes* could serve the same restorative and reconstructive function among international circles as they did within the more immediate circles of Antwerp's urban audiences.⁶⁷

The Fourth Edition of the *Small Landscapes*

The fourth and final edition of the *Small Landscapes* was issued by Joannes Galle.

Born in Antwerp in 1600 to Theodoor Galle and Catharina Moerentorff, a member of the

⁶⁷ It is probable that Theodoor sought to circulate his prints beyond the confines of Antwerp's markets. His particularly close relationship with the Plantin-Moretus family gave him access to an extremely far-flung network of distribution. Through the 1630s, Theodoor supplied the Plantin Press with countless prints for book illustrations, which would certainly have been sent to Paris and other commercial capitals in Europe. See Dirk Imhof, ed., *De boekillustratie ten tijde van de Moretussen*, Publikaties van het Museum Plantin-Moretus en het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet; 36 (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1996); and Sellink 2001, ixv. The extent to which Theodoor made use of the international connection of the Plantin Press to distribute prints other than book illustrations has been less systematically documented than Cock's regular exchanges with Plantin (see Chapter One). If the *Small Landscapes* were thus distributed, these unprepossessing images of the local Brabantine countryside would have taken on a much wider European circulation, thereby catapulting the local landscape onto an international stage. I hope that further research in the Plantin archives will soon allow me to make a stronger case for this international reach of the *Small Landscapes*. For analysis of the international market and distribution of prints and books, see John Michael Montias, "Flemish and Dutch trade in works of art in the 16th and 17th centuries," in *Institution for Social and Policy Studies, working paper nr. 1022* (New Haven, Yale University: 1985); Emile Coornaert, "Anvers et le commerce parisien au XVIe siècle," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren* 12 (1950); Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: 1969).

distinguished Plantin printing dynasty, Joannes joined the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in 1627–8. He probably began his career as an apprentice and assistant in his father's print shop until the latter's death in 1633.⁶⁸ Thereafter, he likely ran the family business together with his mother. Catharina Moerentorff's inventory, made after her death in 1636, lists more than four thousand copper plates and over two thousand prints, all which were left to Joannes. Among this enormous cache were a small collection of landscape plates, including a group of 49 plates listed as "landscapes by Cort".⁶⁹

Like his father, Joannes regularly reprinted older plates that he had inherited. Though stylistically such images would now have been unmistakably old-fashioned, it is clear that a strong demand for these prints persisted into the middle of the seventeenth century.⁷⁰ Joannes was not himself an active engraver and does not appear to have employed designers for new plates, so we can assume that the majority of his business

⁶⁸ Joannes eventually served as the guild's dean in 1638-39. For further biographical information about Joannes, see Christine van Mulders, "Galle Family," *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 12, 15-17; J.J.P. van den Bemden, *De familie Galle, plaetsnyders van het laetst der XVIe en de eerste helft der XVIIe eeuw* (Antwerpen: 1863); I. de Stein d'Altenstein, "Notice sur la famille des graveurs Galle," *Annuaire de la noblesse de Belgique* 7 (1853).

⁶⁹ Of the more than 4,000 plates, the total number of plates explicitly identified as landscapes comes to 61, though there are other subjects that seem to indicate primarily landscape compositions, including sets of the Twelve Months, of hunting and peasant themes, and a set of 35 garden designs after Vredeman de Vries identified in the inventory as "de Hoven." If all of these are included, the total number of landscape plates reaches 166, still a very small percentage of the print shop's stock. Catharina Moerentorff's inventory stipulates that Joannes Galle was required to pay Martinus Nutius, Joannes' brother-in-law and an important book publisher in Antwerp, a total of 4,200 gulden in lieu of any claim to the plates or prints. Thus, Joannes was able to effectively take over his father's operations with full access to the latter's stock and inventory. For Moerentorff's inventory, see J. Denucé, "Prentenhandel van Theodoor Galle en Catharina Moerentorff; inventaris van 1636," *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 2 (1927); and for a more complete transcription, Duverger, vol. 4, 18-24.

⁷⁰ Like his father before him, Joannes continued to market sixteenth-century prints late into the seventeenth century. He was one of many print publishers and dealers to do so in the major printing capitals of Antwerp, Amsterdam and Paris. Claes Visscher predicated much of his business on the same principle, and often worked from the same plates as the Galles, while Carolus Collaert likewise made his living by issuing sixteenth-century mannerist prints. The popularity of sixteenth-century prints in the seventeenth century has not yet been investigated adequately and will be a subject of future research for me.

stemmed from dealing in impressions of these older plates.⁷¹ By the time of his death in 1676, Joannes' inventory listed over 7,000 copper plates and a stock of almost 87,000 prints. At least 1,500 of the copper plates mentioned in his inventory definitely date back to the sixteenth century, and many can be identified as plates originating in Hieronymus Cock's workshop a century earlier.⁷² Joannes often added cartouches with Latin and Dutch inscriptions to these older plates, probably because the original meanings and associations of the imagery were not always clear to audiences a century later.⁷³

As with Theodoor's third edition of the *Small Landscapes*, it is difficult to determine the precise date of publication for the fourth edition. Though Joannes added his name as publisher to four plates in the new edition, he did not include a date anywhere. Publication must have fallen between 1633, when Joannes took over the shop, and his death in 1676. Of the publications bearing his name that do carry a date, most fall in the late 1630s and 1640s.⁷⁴ The figural additions made to the plates (about which more below) bear a strong resemblance to the style of small figures added to other prints

⁷¹ As a print dealer, it is also likely that his stock included large numbers of prints bought or traded with other dealers and thus not stemming from his own collection of plates.

⁷² Unlike his forebears, Joannes Galle's stock of plates and prints were sold at auction. Originally scheduled to take place on 15 February 1677, the sale was later postponed March 8. A catalogue of the collection was advertised as being available from Nicolaes Visscher in Amsterdam. The results of the auction have not been traced, though many of the plates ended up in Claes Visscher's hands, particularly plates by Heemskerck. For Joannes Galle's inventory, see Duverger, vol. 10, 176-83. For the advertisement of the sale of Joannes' estate, see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Honderdvijftig advertenties van kunstverkoopingen uit veertig jaargangen van de Amsterdamsche Courant, 1672-1711," *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 67 (1975), 154.

⁷³ Sellink 2001, lxv.

⁷⁴ Some examples include the massive *Speculum* compendium (1638), his editions of Vredeman de Vries' architectural views (c. 1635-40), the Spanish edition of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1641), and the *Revelations of Saint John* series attributed to Snellink and possibly engraved by Adriaen Collaert (after 1646), and his reprint of the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (1647).

dating to this same period, and would corroborate placing the fourth edition of *Small Landscapes* in the early 1640s.⁷⁵

Joannes approached the organization of the *Small Landscape* series in a very different manner from his predecessors. Rather than issuing them as a single continuous series, he broke the prints up into four sections of twelve numbered views each. The first series began with the title-page from the previous edition, with Theodoor's name replaced by Joannes' and "Pars Prima" added at the bottom.⁷⁶ On the next plate, "Joan Galle excudit" was added along the lower margin, as was the inscription "C. Coert Inventor in Brabantia." Each new section is announced by the addition of an inscription along the top of the first plate of the group ("Pars Secunda," "Pars Tartia," and "Pars Quarta," respectively), and the names of Joannes Galle and Cort were again inscribed along the bottom margin. The numbering began anew in each section from 1. All of the 44 original plates from Cock's stock were once again included, as were all four of the plates by Peeter van der Borcht first added by Philips Galle, here numbered 9-12.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Prints executed by Balthasar Florisz. van Berckenrode the Younger (1591-1645) include figures that are strikingly similar to those that appear in the fourth edition of the *Small Landscapes*. See particularly the *Departure of Queen Henrietta Maria of England from Scheveningen* (1643) and *'t Hof van Zeelandt* (1644) (Hollstein, vol. 2, 34, no.19 and 35, no. 21). Though Berckenrode worked in Delft and was famed for his cartographic work (his maps feature in the backgrounds of several of Vermeer's paintings), the flare and elegance of these small figures was common in graphic works throughout the northern and southern provinces at this time, since major printing centers like Antwerp and Amsterdam had well-established networks of artistic exchange and interaction, despite the continuing hostilities between north and south.

⁷⁶ Whereas in the inventory of Theodoor's estate, the *Small Landscapes* are listed as including 49 plates including the title page, Joannes' inventory notes only 48 plates. I have not yet been able to explain this discrepancy convincingly.

⁷⁷ NHD Borcht 242-45, no. 203-206. Plate 1 became plate 10, plate 2 became plate 9, plate 3 became plate 11, and plate 4 became plate 12. It cannot be determined in which section of the series van der Borcht's plates featured. In addition to van der Borcht's final print, there are four other prints in the fourth edition that bear the number 12. I would suggest that one of the *Small Landscapes* labeled 12 was in fact used as number 2 in one of the sections of the series, since if NHD 118 directly followed the title-page and were numbered one, there would have been only three other prints numbered 2 in Joannes' edition. To bring the numbering sequence into order, one of the number 12 prints must therefore have been changed to a 2.

The most striking feature of Joannes' fourth addition, however, is the way he reworked many of the plates. He replaced the borders originally added by Philips Galle, occasionally resulting in a slight cropping of the image.⁷⁸ On two of the plates now used to start off sections of the series, some hatching lines have also been reinforced. These are standard interventions for a reprint of old plates, but Joannes went further still. On no fewer than 23 of the 44 *Small Landscape* plates, he etched additional figures into the views. It is difficult to discern an aesthetic or compositional logic to these additions. In some cases, Joannes added figures to images that had previously been entirely empty of human activity, while in others he incorporated the previously isolated original figures into new, intricate tableaux. The style of the new figures jars with that of the staffage originally added by Cock, and gives the views an awkward, composite look. Compared to the stiff, lumpish forms of the earlier generation of figures, these new ones are freely drawn and animated, with delicate flourishes added to their dress, hair and gestures (fig. 3.15). In their similarity to figures in other contemporary prints, they look almost like direct appropriations. Given that Joannes was not himself an active engraver, it seems likely either that he commissioned these figures from an artist who regularly produced designs for prints or that he copied the figures or had them copied from some other printed source. Adding to the odd amalgamated look of the new images, the freshly etched lines also appear much darker and more distinct in the prints, so that the newly added figures seem to float apart from the surroundings in which they are ostensibly situated.

Joannes' reasons for embellishing the original plates in this manner were manifold. On the simplest level, he might have wished to enliven the scenes with

⁷⁸ I do not have illustrations of these prints, but they include the fourth edition of NHD 125, 140, 156.

additional decoration. Many of the views with the most substantial reworking had been previously quite spare, particularly in the foreground areas where these new figures generally appear. Joannes undoubtedly wished to avoid any sense of *horror vacui* that such vacant spaces may have inspired, especially around the middle of the seventeenth century when trends in painting and printmaking alike tended toward much more densely crowded and animated compositions. By filling the space with elegantly executed figures, Joannes provided the prints with a new visual interest more in line with tastes of the time. Once again, the publisher, motivated by commercial considerations, altered the *Small Landscapes* to better attract contemporary audiences.

Such changes to the plates do not merely provide a new ornamental quality to the prints. They also realign the focus of the images. Whereas the untouched plates provided views that concentrate on the landscape itself, these new figures turn the foreground into a stage for human activities, adding dramatic and narrative qualities to the prints.⁷⁹ For instance, to a view of a country lane with two strolling figures Joannes added six more figures, some sitting along the side of the road, others in conversation or gesturing to one another (fig. 3.16). The new density of figures does not merely embellish the view. It implies that all of these figures must be on their way to someplace in particular, or that some event is about to unfold. This new narrative drive is even more clear in a wide view of a village (fig. 3.17). To the herdsman seated on a bench surrounded by his flock and pair of walkers in the middleground, Joannes added several

⁷⁹ There are exceptional cases in Cock's original plates that have this sort of effect. See especially NHD 118, 159, 147, 125, and 155. There are several views that contain many figures, but these are the only instances in Cock's staffage where integrated, unified activities take shape among several figures. This is precisely the kind of activity that Joannes introduces in a much more systematic manner in the fourth edition.

more figures walking in toward the center of the village, as well as a man on horseback. To the right of the image, the previously unused target is now the site of a lively archery contest, which has aroused the interest of several onlookers, including our formerly rather isolated herdsman. The village in the middle distance, once clearly the core of the scene and the focus of the viewer's interest, is now little more than a backdrop to these various vignettes, unable to compete with the visual excitement and narrative possibilities opened up by the additional figures in the foreground. In many other prints, just a few additional figures similarly transform the images from rural landscapes into scenes of rural community (fig. 3.18).⁸⁰

Among those prints that Joannes modified, several include figure groups taking part in much less benign activities. Five of the prints now show soldiers and peasants involved in violent encounters. The soldiers, identified by their breeches, capes, hats and boots, often menace each other, as in the scene that now unfolds before the walls of a large farm in which all of the figures were added by Joannes (fig. 3.19). One soldier fires his rifle at another who stands brandishing his sword beside his fallen companions and a felled horse. To the left, two other soldiers on horseback beat a hasty retreat from the rifleman. Behind this foreground scene, a peasant, identifiable by his broad rimmed hat, hides behind a slight rise in the ground next to his dead horse. A poorly delineated figure of a peasant woman stands off to the right in the background clutching her head as she witnesses the slaughter in the foreground, while a dog barks at the heels of the shooter. The farm has become the site of a military skirmish, and the peasants are caught in its path. In another scene, a group of soldiers engage in even closer combat (fig. 3.20). In

⁸⁰ Some other examples for which I do not have illustrations include the fourth edition of NHD 141, 129, 161, 123, 143, and 160.

the center of the foreground, a soldier on horseback crosses swords with a foot soldier, while a rifleman behind him takes aim. A soldier standing just behind the cavalryman points toward the rifleman, as if to alert his companion to the imminent danger. Deeper into the scene, a group of soldiers rests on logs strewn in the middle of the road and look on at the clash in the foreground, heightening the sense of theatrical display in the scene by redirecting our attention out from the depth of the village back to the stage of activity in the foreground.

In two other prints, the conflict arises not between warring camps of opposing armies, but rather between soldiers and peasants. In one case, Joannes incorporates staffage originally added by Cock into a more elaborate scene (fig. 3.21). The two original peasant travelers resting on the side of the road are now confronted by a group of soldiers who are traveling along the road with a sheep and an ox, livestock they have probably appropriated from a farm nearby. One foot soldier points a lance at the couple, while a soldier on horseback appears to address them, presumably to demand money, food, or whatever else the couple might have in their baskets. The confrontation is slightly awkward, since Cock's figures have not been altered from their original positions of repose and do not respond to the threatening soldiers at all. The style in which the two sets of figures have been etched is also extremely disparate, leaving the encounter stilted and disjointed. Joannes must have been primarily concerned with altering the content and impact of the scene rather than with finer points of aesthetic consistency.

In a reversal of the relationship established between soldier and peasant in the previous print, another scene has been modified to show a number of soldiers facing the wrath of the peasants after trying to make off with their property (fig. 3.22). In the

middleground, a peasant with a pitchfork drives a soldier with a musket from his barn, while next to him his wife flails her arms urgently. In the foreground, another peasant has knocked a soldier to the ground with a wooden club. The soldier's hat has fallen off and his bag of loot lies on the ground in front of him. Two of his companions have managed to escape with their booty. In the right and left corners of the foreground, they slip away from the scene, their arms and shoulders loaded with heavy sacks.

Finally, there is a print in which a soldier is brought to justice by his superiors, perhaps for indulging in the kind of lawless looting that the previously described print represents (fig. 3.23). In the foreground in the center of a village road three soldiers, two on horseback, point to the left where the accused soldier is being held fast by two companions. The captured soldier's hat has been removed and his head is hung low, as though resigned to punishment for his misdeeds. Several more soldiers stand gathered in the center of the village, watching the proceedings from a distance. Once again, they serve to deflect our attention out from the village itself and back to the foreground where the new central drama unfolds.

These modifications certainly heighten the dramatic character of the individual prints and imbue them with a powerful narrative dimension. Each suggests a fragment of a larger dramatic story. Taken together, these figural additions create a sequence of encounters that closely parallels the popular theme in contemporary paintings and prints known as *boerenverdriet*, or peasant sorrow.⁸¹ Representations of the theme catalogued

⁸¹ For an insightful account of the *boerenverdriet* theme in Netherlandish art, see Jane Susannah Fishman, *Boerenverdriet: violence between peasants and soldiers in early modern Netherlands art*, Studies in the fine arts. Iconography; no. 5 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982). For a more recent and expansive study of the role of soldiers in Netherlandish art, see David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672*, ed. Kelly DeVries, History of Warfare, vol. 10 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002). The *boerenverdriet* theme was spread throughout the *Small Landscapes* in Joannes' edition, numbered 1, 2, 3, 6, and 12. Since there were four sections within the edition, each numbered 1-

the injustices of war, particularly those perpetrated by soldiers on peasants and their rural villages. Typical incidents include military engagements in unprotected rural locales, surprise attacks by soldiers and bandits on villages, the looting of property and provisions, the burning of farms and churches, and the slaughter of innocent peasant victims. The *boerenverdriet* theme first emerged in art in the Netherlands during the most brutal years of the conflict between Spain and the Northern Provinces. Among Antwerp's artists, it quickly became a commonplace in representations of the countryside.

Pieter Bruegel treated the theme in his *Peasant Couple Attacked by Soldiers*. Several versions of this painting exist, many executed by Pieter Brueghel the Younger, but the one now in Stockholm, signed and dated 1567, is most likely Bruegel's own or at the very least done by a contemporary (fig. 3.24).⁸² Three soldiers have waylaid a peasant couple along a country road as it runs through a stand of trees in an otherwise barren and flat landscape. One soldier, holding a gun in his right hand, grabs hold of the cord of the peasant man's purse with his left and simultaneously kicks out at the peasant woman, who kneels before him, her hands grasped in a gesture of supplication and her mouth and eyes wide with horror at the sight of the gun. Another soldier to the right gathers up the couple's belongings and makes ready to run off, and the third soldier,

12, it is impossible to know if all of these prints were grouped together in one section or rather were distributed among all four sections. The print of the soldier brought to justice served as the title-page to the second section of Joannes' edition, with the inscriptions of "Pars Secunda" at the top margin, so we can at least be sure that these prints were not all clumped in the first section of the edition.

⁸² On the many versions of the compositions, see Georges Marlier, *Pierre Brueghel le Jeune* (Brussels: R. Finck, 1969), 274-78. On the Stockholm painting, see Sten Karling, "The Attack by Pieter Bruegel the Elder in the Collection of Stockholm University," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 45 (1976), 1-18; Robert Genaille, "'L'Attaque de paysans.' Est-elle une oeuvre de Pierre Bruegel l'Ancien?" *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* (1981-84), 63-80, in which the author argues that the painting is not an original by Bruegel but rather a pastiche of Bruegelian elements worked together by another artist; and Gibson, *Two Studies*, 43-44.

watching all of this from the left, aims the point of his spear toward the action. The bleak expanse of the landscape that extends out behind this encounter in the foreground to a very distant horizon makes clear how isolated and vulnerable the peasants are, with no prospect of rescue or assistance. On the other hand, the soldiers perhaps also find themselves in difficult circumstances: the ragged sleeve of the soldier on the right seems to indicate that these men have undergone hardships of their own and, having deserted their army, are now forced to steal from passing peasants to stay alive. The vertiginous perspective and somewhat clumsy arrangement of the figures in space add to the uneasy tension of the scene, which captures the plight of the peasants with stark boldness.

The theme, thus inaugurated by Bruegel, became so standard that it was often presented side by side with more pleasant rural pastimes. Hans Bol included vignettes of villagers attacked by soldiers in both paintings and prints. His *Landscape with a View of the Schelde* from 1575 shows soldiers marauding through a country village in the right middleground, while elsewhere unconcerned peasants and gentlefolk stroll, fish, and rest in total disregard of the havoc played out nearby in the village (fig. 3.25).⁸³ A series of river landscape prints designed by Bol and published by Hieronymus Cock in 1562 includes a scene of an attack on a covered wagon in the foreground of one print (fig. 3.26).⁸⁴ Another series of six small round prints of pleasant country pastimes designed by Bol inserts a scene of soldiers ambushing travelers in the woods in a surprise attack among its other scenes of peasant feasts and games, ice-skating, and hawking (fig. 3.27).

⁸³ See Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei im Zeitalter des Manierismus*, 2 vols. (Graz: 1969), 193 and color plate 26; J. G. C. A. Briels, *Peintres flamands au berceau du Siècle d'or hollandais, 1585-1630: avec biographies en annexe* (Anvers: Fonds Mercator, 1997), 173.

⁸⁴ The scene also includes a gibbet in the middle distance and a soldier hanged from a tree in the right foreground, indicating the kinds of retribution that the soldiers attacking the carriage in the center foreground may face.

That this violent encounter should be included among the more bucolic activities of the other prints indicates the extent to which the violence of soldiers in the countryside already had become a standard component of rural scenes by the late sixteenth century. Given the much more peaceful behavior of the figures in all of the other prints in the fourth edition of the *Small Landscapes*, it is clear that the violent episodes are likewise intended to be viewed as part of the standard repertoire of rural imagery, where such clashes crop up as simple facts of country life.

Abel Grimmer also made the surprise attack on peasants and travelers a central feature in many of his landscape paintings from the late sixteenth century. At the same time that he produced paintings of harmonious countryside retreats (see figs.3.11-3.13), Grimmer also produced a painting, dated 1593, which includes a confrontation between a pair of soldiers and a peasant couple in the left foreground (see fig. 4.45) At the edge of a wood, a soldier raises his sword against a surprised peasant couple, presumably to demand the fowl the peasant man holds in his hand. The man's wife kneels next to him with arms raised, pleading with the soldier for mercy. Just behind this group, with his back turned, a man fishes contentedly on the banks of a pond or river, while further in the background, the landscape offers a tranquil view of a village, fields, hills, a castle and a river. Once again, the aggressive episode is naturalized within an otherwise peaceful landscape. This painting's composition is copied from an earlier print designed by Abel's father, Jacob. Its recurrence in painted form indicates the persistence of the theme as well as its easy migration from one medium to another.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ This painting is based on the second print in a series of twelve landscapes entitled *By Antwerpen*, or "near Antwerp," engraved by Hans Collaert after designs by Jacob Grimmer and published by Hans van Luyck (Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei*, vol. 2, 180, no. 348). This scene is one of two in the print series, to be discussed at greater length in Chapter Four, to depict casual violence against peasants.

Jacob Grimmer was also responsible for painting images of menacing soldiers and their peasant victims in the latter years of the sixteenth century. Among a number of painters in Antwerp, including Grimmer, Gillis Mostaert and Lucas and Marten van Valckenborch, the theme of peasant sorrow became a common trope in painted landscapes. Some of the most striking examples by their hands (which are often difficult to disentangle) are the round undated panel of *The Ambush* by Jacob Grimmer, *The Ambush* of 1577 by Lucas van Valckenborch, and *The Sacking of a Village* attributed to Mostaert (figs. 3.28-3.30).⁸⁶ These artists also added a new dimension to the *boerenverdriet* theme by introducing the additional theme of peasant revenge into their paintings. In one painting of marauding troops by Gillis Mostaert dated 1569, soldiers flee from a burning village in the right background, loaded down with loot (fig. 3.31).⁸⁷ They are pursued by enraged peasants, both male and female, who take vicious retribution on the plunderers with pitchforks, sticks, and kitchen tools. This second act in the narrative of rural plundering becomes a favored theme for artists in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and was frequently represented in both painting and print. In David Vinckboons' series of the peasant sorrow and peasant revenge, engraved and published by Boëtius à Bolswert in 1610, the cycle takes on a rather comic aspect

There is one other print in which a soldier appears to be forcibly taking a pail from a peasant woman (Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei*, vol. 2, 180, no. 349). However, in this case, the figures are so small that it is difficult to make out the precise nature of their interaction. See Sauvigny 1991, 199, no. 7.

⁸⁶ The painting in Vienna was formerly attributed to Jacob Grimmer. The brutal treatment of peasants by soldiers was also presented in the guise of biblical paintings, particularly the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Flight into Egypt*. This tradition reaches back to Pieter Bruegel the Elder, whose composition of the *Massacre of the Innocents* has survived in many versions and copies, including one very large painting by Roelandt Savery in Douai. Jacob and Abel Grimmer also treated the theme in paintings dated 1575 and 1586 (see Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei*, plate 32 and Kunzle 2002, fig. 8.11). See Fishman 1982, 19-30.

⁸⁷ The date is inscribed on this panel in the lower right corner. It has been interpreted to read both 1569 and 1589, but is now generally accepted as 1569.

and reaches its final conclusion with a happy reconciliation between soldiers and peasants, who sit down to an amicable feast together in the final print (figs. 3.32-3.35).⁸⁸ The large, caricatured figures, the tightly cropped foreground compositions, and the chaotic, frenzied atmosphere of the series could not be more different from the *Small Landscapes*. Yet by establishing an iconography of peasant sorrow and revenge in prints as well as introducing a lighter tone to the theme, Bolswert's series offers a precedent for Joannes' inclusion of the same thematic sequence in the *Small Landscapes*.

It was in the paintings of Sebastian Vrancx and his pupil Pieter Snayers from the early seventeenth century that scenes of small battles, rural plunder, and peasant revenge reached their most vivid and gruesome form (figs. 3.36-3.38).⁸⁹ Clashes between regiments of troops, pillaging and ambushes, and the vicious retaliation against peasant civilians were repeated in infinite variation in their countless compositions dating from the 1610s through the 1640s. The paintings highlight the brutality of the soldiers and bandits who beset the countryside during war, especially in the details of murdered, stripped, and mutilated peasants, kidnapped women, and burning villages, but they also

⁸⁸ This series is based on a set of paintings. At the time that he executed these prints, Bolswert was living in the North, though he would later move to Antwerp and join the guild of Saint Luke in 1620. On Vinckboons' use of the *boerenverdriet* theme, see Fishman 1982, 31-44.

⁸⁹ Joost Vander Auwera's unpublished masters thesis is the most complete monographic study of Sebastiaen Vrancx: J. Vander Auwera, "Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573-1647), een monografische benadering." Masters thesis, Rijksuniversiteit, Ghent, 1979. Other studies on Vrancx and Snayers include J. Vander Auwera, "Historische Wahrheit und künstlerische Dichtung: das Gesicht des Achtzigjährigen Krieges in der südniederländischen Malerei, insbesondere bei Sebastiaen Vrancx, 1573-1647, und Pieter Snayers," in *1648: Krieg und Frieden in Europa* (Münster: Verlag Westfälischer Friede, 1998); J. Vander Auwera, "Sebastien Vrancx (1573-1647) en zijn samenwerking met Jan I Brueghel (1568-1625)," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1981); A Keersmaekers, "De schilder Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573-1647) als rederijker," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1982); Michel P. van Maarseveen, ed. *Beelden van een strijd: Oorlog en kunst vóór de Vrede van Munster, 1621-1648* (Zwolle; Delft: Waanders; Stedelijk Museum "Het Prinzenhof", 1998); Helge Siefert, *Zum Ruhme des Helden: Historien- und Genremalerei des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts aus den Beständen der Alten Pinakothek* (München: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1993).

depict the peasants' tenacious and often equally brutal retaliations on their adversaries (figs. 3.39, 3.40).⁹⁰ In their shocking, gory detail, these paintings have little in common with the much more offhand, anecdotal presentation of rural violence in the fourth edition of the *Small Landscapes*. Nonetheless, Vrancx and Snayers must be credited with transforming small battle scenes and the horrific consequences of war and banditry into an independent sub-genre within landscape painting. With gravity and pathos, these landscapes rescripted the rural terrain as a setting of violence and terror and challenged the identification of the countryside as a place of peaceful, quiet contentment. The countryside, which since ancient times had functioned as a rhetorical alternative to the woes of urban life and society, was suddenly recast as anything but a place of repose and retreat. In presenting the countryside in this manner, such images provided a pictorial confirmation of the undeniable lessons of actual experience, in which the countryside had long since become a place of strife and insecurity.

In their vehement critique of the consequences of war, the works of Vrancx and Snayers relate to the polemical thrust of Jacques Callot's printed small and large *Miseries of War* series of circa 1632 and 1633. These series chart the sequence of soldiers in battle, plundering villages, and attacking travelers, only to be subjected to the spontaneous retaliation of vengeful peasants or the official punishments of their officers (figs. 3.41-3.43). Callot's trenchant critique of army practices and abuses was intended to incite reform within the army, a movement which was in fact taking place in many

⁹⁰ Vrancx, *Battle Scene*, Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie Aschaffenburg; Vrancx and Jan Bruegel, *Ambush on Convoy*, c. 1612, Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie Aschaffenburg; Snayers, *Plunder of Village*, Delft, Legermuseum; Snayers, *Plunder of Village*, Rome, Galleria 'Spada'. An exception to the pattern of unidentified and non-specified locations and events in these paintings can be found in Vrancx's painting, *De brandschatting van Wommelgem, 26 mei 1589*, Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf.

parts of Europe in these years and had been underway in the States' Army and the Spanish Army since the 1590s. Callot, who lived and worked primarily in his native France, was not specifically responding to the conditions of war in the Netherlands, but his prints were widely known and influential in Antwerp as elsewhere in Europe. From a strictly compositional standpoint, Callot's prints serialize the incidents in Vrancx's and Snayers' paintings and offer a telling comparison with the simpler, more casual vignettes added to the fourth edition of the *Small Landscapes*. If less programmatic and moralizing in their impact, Joannes' version of the *Small Landscapes* nonetheless borrows from Callot's sequence of peasant sorrow and revenge to add a dramatic narrative arc to his edition, though the power of Callot's critique is largely lost.⁹¹

Since 1566, the Southern Netherlands, and specifically the strategic region of Brabant, had been embroiled in the long contest between the Spanish crown and the rebellious Northern Provinces. The countryside in particular suffered from the seemingly interminable conflict. Until the city's capitulation to Alexander Farnese on August 17, 1585, the rural land and villages around Antwerp had been, quite literally, a battlefield. But even after the front lines of battle moved away from the immediate surrounds of Antwerp and the area began to recover, the war, and especially the continued presence of soldiers, remained an oppressive burden. In 1622, Frederik Hendrik led his battalion on a rampage through the countryside of Brabant in a effort to raise *brandschattingen*, or forced contributions. The outcry raised by his merciless treatment of rural communities

⁹¹ For literature on Callot and the *Miseries of War* series, see Daniel Ternois, *Jacques Callot (1592-1635): actes du colloque*, Louvre conférences et colloques (Paris: Musée du Louvre: Klincksieck, 1993); *Jacques Callot (1592-1635)*. (Exh.cat., Musée Historique Lorrain, Nancy: 1992); Marie Richard, ed., *Jacques Callot: une oeuvre en son temps: Les misères et les mal-heurs de la guerre, 1633* (Nantes: Musées départementaux de Loire-Atlantique, 1992); Heide Ries, "Jacques Callot; Les Misères et les Malheurs de la Guerre" (Eberhard-Karls-Universität, 1981); and Diane Wolfthal, "Jacques Callot's *Misères de la Guerre*," *Art Bulletin* 59, no. 2 (1977).

led him to be dubbed the “Heytien den Brandstichter”. A print included in a 1622 polemic publication entitled *Den Tocht van de Brandstichters* depicted the commander in the form of a devil (fig. 3.44).⁹²

It was not just enemy troops that posed a threat to the countryside’s safety and well-being. Troops in the Spanish Army were often as much of a threat and a menace to the local population. Though the Spanish Army would disband and reform countless times over the decades of war, soldiers were a constant presence in the Southern Netherlands after Alva’s arrival in 1567 until the signing of a final peace at Munster in 1648. Whether officially billeted in towns and villages or set loose to plunder the countryside due to chronic shortages in provisions and lack of pay, soldiers disrupted and burdened the lives of local inhabitants.⁹³ Increasing numbers of mutinies within the ranks of the army and, even more threatening, deserters and lawless *vrijbuiters*, or freebooters, made conditions all the more precarious, with soldiers from both friendly and enemy camps demanding money, confiscating property, ransacking houses and farms for food, clothing, and livestock.⁹⁴ Houses, farms and sometimes whole villages were burned to

⁹² Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer: bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerst helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerpen: V. Resselers Drukker-Uitgever, 1933), 119-32.

⁹³ Billeting, plundering, and forced contributions were so common as to become routine, especially in the Brabantine countryside which bordered the frontier of engagement with the States Army of the Northern Provinces. Other areas of the Southern Netherlands further from the military operations, as for example the region of Hainault, tended to fare far better. Nonetheless, when Farnese negotiated the Treaty of Arras in 1579, by which the southern provinces of Hainault, Artois and French Flanders returned to obedience to Spain, one of the essential stipulations of the agreement was the withdrawal of foreign troops from the region, underscoring how unwelcome and oppressive the presence of the Spanish Army was even in areas less immediately affected by the war. For the composition and habits of the Spanish Army, see Parker 1972. On habits of mutiny and plunder, see also J.W.W. Wijn, *Het Krijgswezen in den Tijd van Prins Maurits* (Utrecht: 1934); as recorded in art, see Fishman.

⁹⁴ Many of these former troops united into well-organized bands that imitated the form of army units, but answered to no commander, content to pillage the land and its increasingly beset inhabitants. For an account of the menace of organized banditry in the Netherlands, see Parker, 1972; Alex Cosemans, “Het Uitzicht van Brabant op het einde der 16de eeuw,” *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het Hertogdom*

the ground, sometimes out of lawlessness, sometimes for strategic purposes. Without a fixed peace, the future safety of the countryside remained extremely precarious.

These circumstances led to an outpouring of complaints and protests against the war and the presence of troops in particular. Countless testimonials from the time describe the wastage of the countryside, left untilled and unsown, and its villages, many of which simply ceased to exist once soldiers or *vrijbuiters* had burned them to the ground and their inhabitants had been killed or forced to flee to safer territory.⁹⁵ In one telling document from 1575, a German mercenary in the Spanish Army writes in a letter to a Spanish superior admitting, or perhaps bragging about, the lawless conduct of troops in the countryside: “when we have devoured everything in one place, we travel further, we gobble and guzzle at the farmer’s expense.”⁹⁶ Around the same time, a popular song tells of the same woes from the peasant’s perspective. A sampling of verses indicates the familiar gist of their complaints:

Brabant 27 (1936); J.W.W. Wijn, “Krijgsbedrijven onder Frederick Henry,” in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Utrecht: 1953).

⁹⁵ Later editions of Guicciardini’s *Descrittione* discuss the consequences of the war, as do other contemporary sources by Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor and Emanuel van Meteren. Secondary literature that deals with critiques of the circumstance of war include Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in’t verweer: bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerst helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerpen: V. Resselers Drukker-Uitgever, 1933); *Politieke Balladen, Refereinen, Lieder en Spotgedichten der XVI eeuw*, (Ghent: Maatschappij der Vlaemsche Bibliophien, 1847); Johannes van Vloten, *Nederlandsche Geschiedzangen naar Tijdsorde Gerangschikt en Toegelicht*, 2 in 1 vols. (Amsterdam: K.H. Schadd, 1864). There were also many laments over the decline of Antwerp’s circumstances as a result of the war, as merchants entreated the government of both city and province to restore the peaceful political circumstances they required in order to conduct their businesses. One such text reads: “See your miserable condition, ruined Antwerp, you widely famous city, which before in abundance sat, through God’s anger alas, that previously almost, Her equal scarcely had... Her trade is gone. Her merchants mostly driven away.” The original Dutch text reads: “Siet Uwen sobren staet/ Antverpia vergaet/ U wijt beroemde stad/ Die eer in welden sadt/ Door Godts t’horen heylaes/ Die te voren by naes/ Haer ghelijck nauw hadt.../ Haer neringh is sij quijt/ Haer cooplief meest verjaecht.” From J Ysermans, *Nederlandsche poëmata*, Antwerp, 315-6, quoted in Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 36. My thanks to Stefaan Grieten for assistance with this translation.

⁹⁶ Quoted in J. R. Hale, *War and Society on Renaissance Europe 1450-1620* (Leicester University Press in association with Fontana Paperbacks, 1985), 188.

Where should we go then./ We peasants, great and small!/ Our
cows you see are driven away/ We are bewildered and bare./ We
can't stay here any longer./ About our butter we don't quarrel./
They take it against our will.../ The Spanish want to cripple us/
If we stand by the Sea-Beggars./ The Sea-Beggars, they want to
injure us./ If we go over to the Spanish./ We have peace in no
quarter.../ Our houses you see burned down./ From over our
heads./ We've lost our money and property./ We've been robbed
of everything.../ They extort us and fleece us./ Because it is so
pleasant here.../ It's: Bring us money at every turn./ Or we'll
send a soldier now directly./ Who'll take it by force.../ We must
also work./ On trenches and ramparts./ No matter what region./
They call us up in great numbers...⁹⁷

Such complaints continued unabated well into the seventeenth century. A song from around 1601 presents the provinces of Brabant and Flanders recounting their injuries and suffering to one another. Many of their concerns center on the land, which has been “spoiled, destroyed, disgraced” by years of war. The bare and leafless land has been so ransacked by mutineers that the peasants lack even bread to eat.⁹⁸ A letter dated 1645, just three years before peace was finally concluded, describes the continued burden that the presence of warring armies in the countryside imposes: “The poor land of Flanders must presently feed four armies.... If the war lasts much longer in Flanders, then the whole land will be drowned and all the merchants driven away.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ “Boerenklacht” in Johannes van Vloten, *Nederlandsche Geschiedzangen naar Tijdsorde Gerangschikt en Toegelicht*, 2 in 1 vols. (Amsterdam: K.H. Schadd, 1864), 161-163; translation mine. The song goes on to say that townsfolk have it no better, and that these are common vexations of war that should be borne with patience, since they are God’s punishment for the excess pride and wealth of the Netherlands.

⁹⁸ “Brabant en Vlaenderen in nood” in Vloten, *Geschiedzangen*, 370-373. A song from around 1610, in the voice of the peasant, complains about the merciless behavior of soldiers. It is however followed by a response in the voice of the soldier, who retorts that the peasants have perpetrated terrible acts against soldiers as well. Both characters agree that only peace can improve these awful circumstances. See “Boeren-Litany” and “Andwoord der soldaten” in Vloten, 395-397.

⁹⁹ “Het arm lant Vlaenderen moet tegenwoordigh vier machtige legers voeden. Eenen van de Hollanders die ons lanck het Sas van Gent bespringen, waertegen onsen generaal Beck leyt en tegen de Franssen leyt Picolomini. Dan is den vijant veel stercker als wij en ons gebrect gelt, het welck de siel is van den oorlogh. Indien den oorlogh in Vlaenderen noch lanck blijft duren soo blijft het heel lant verbuystert en alle manufacturen verjaecht.” 24 June 1645, NDG Meerts to B Meerts, quoted Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1, 35.

These complaints, though often exaggerated, found outlet in polemical printed images and broadsheets as well. Allegorical personifications of Brabant and the Netherlands were commonly paired with biting texts to critique the devastating consequences of war. The figure of Belgica, brought to her knees by war and its consequences, is typically presented in a rural setting that has been desolated by battle and plundering troops. The anti-Spanish print of *The Lament Over the Desolation of the Netherlands*, engraved by Hans Collaert after a drawing attributed to Ambrosius Francken and probably produced in the 1570s or 1580s, is one example of this sort of imagery (fig. 3.45). The print shows the seated female figure of Belgica surrounded by troops who pull at her clothing and hair, while in the distance to the right and left of a ruined castle behind her, towns burn in the countryside and peasant farmers fall victim to the depredations of soldiers. At the right and left of the central group, allegorical figures of Ambition and Greed – the causes of war – look on with satisfaction as Belgica is assaulted. Above in the clouds a personification of Faith tries to hold together a chain of the shields of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, despite the best efforts of Envy and Distrust to pull it apart. The image is accompanied by two verses of text in Dutch, Latin, and French, which bemoan the heavy toll of the war in the Netherlands and blame the scourge of disloyal “foreigners” for the widespread suffering.¹⁰⁰ Though represented

¹⁰⁰ For a transcription of the Dutch text and an English translation on Collaert’s print, see James Tanis and Daniel Horst, *Images of discord: a graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years’ War* (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Bryn Mawr College Library, 1993), 105. Another such print by A. van Leest illustrating Houwaert’s Orangist poem *Milenus Clachte* of 1578 shows a similar scene of *Belgica* harassed by soldiers in front of a burning town. Elizabeth McGrath has persuasively argued that a series of allegorical drawings by Joachim Wtewael likewise depicts the fate of *Belgica*. The series includes one drawing in which the figure of *Belgica* sits in the midst of a devastated landscape. At her feet lie murdered men, women and children, while behind her soldiers plunder and loot farms and villages in the countryside. McGrath further argues that the allegorical portrayal of *Belgica* by Collaert and others provided the model for many of the depictions of *Patience* that were produced in the late sixteenth century. Gerard de Jode published a print of *Patience* in 1587 with the inscription “a very exact characterization of the horror of war.” In it the figure of

in allegorical form, the suffering Belgica gains her striking visual power from the clear reference that the print makes to the real circumstances and events of the war.¹⁰¹

Other prints that record the progress of the war in the Netherlands in a specifically documentary manner likewise corroborate the cost of the war on rural lands. Prints detailing individual battles and events, the equivalent of modern newspapers, were extremely widespread and popular. The most extensive and ambitious collection of such images, Frans Hogenberg's historical series *Scenes of the Religious and Civil Wars from the History of the Netherlands, France and England from 1559*, was published continuously over a number of years as the events of the war unfolded. Totalling over 450 prints that were sold individually as well as in sets, the series charted the progress of the war throughout Europe, with one group devoted entirely to the conflict in the Netherlands.¹⁰² Though the prints were primarily intended to describe the circumstances and outcomes of specific military encounters, many of them also include more incidental

Patience sits in the upper right foreground looking out over an extensive rural landscape in which soldiers descend on unsuspecting farmers and villagers in a vicious attack to plunder, murder, and burn. The same compositional and iconographic model is followed in several other prints and paintings from the period. For a fuller analysis of these images, see Elizabeth McGrath, "A Netherlandish History by Joachim Wtewael," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975), 196 and ill. 34a-d.

¹⁰¹ Another artist who was deeply concerned about the fate of Antwerp and the Netherlands was Rubens. Svetlana Alpers has argued that several of his paintings, including *War and Peace* (c. 1629/30) and *The Kermis* (1635), respond to the contemporary state of the Southern Provinces. See Svetlana Alpers, *The Making of Rubens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 28-64.

¹⁰² Frans Hogenberg was born in Mechelen around 1538, the son of a painter and printmaker Nicolas Hogenberg, who worked in the court of Margaret of Austria. On account of his protestant beliefs, Frans Hogenberg emigrated from Antwerp, where he engraved prints and maps for Hieronymus Cock and Abraham Ortelius, to Cologne. Once settled there in 1570, Frans established a large workshop, where he quickly developed large projects of his own, including the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, which he produced together with Georg Braun, and his many extensive history series, which were subsequently published together in a unified edition. The Netherlandish history series originally included 20 sheets representing events from 1566 to September 1570. For a reproduction of the series housed in Munich, with useful introductory essays, see Fritz Hellwig, ed., *Geschichtsblätter* (Nördlingen: Dr. Alfons Uhl, 1983). For Netherlandish series in particular, see Karel Kinds, ed., *Kroniek van de opstand in de Lage Landen, 1555-1609* (Netherlands: ALNU, 1999).

information about the conduct of battle, including the destruction of villages and the pillaging of the countryside by Spanish forces. On 25 April 1568, Spanish troops pursued a small army of rebellious nobles and their ill-equipped troops to the town of Dalen (now Daalheim, in Germany), where they killed them all to a man, along with a large number of civilians and rural peasants. Hogenberg's print of the events portrays a farm in the background outside the town walls being overrun by troops, and two peasants in the right foreground in the act of being shot by a Spanish soldier (fig. 3.46). The caption along the bottom margin recounts the events, and specifically mentions that "[the Spanish] murdered even farmers and women in the area."¹⁰³ Even closer to Antwerp, the town of Oosterweel, which had been taken over by Calvinist troops when they were expelled from Antwerp, was attacked by Spanish troops on the 13 and 14 of March, 1567. Hogenberg's print once again bears witness to murdered civilians, burning farms, and the desperate efforts of those trying to escape the mayhem (fig. 3.47).¹⁰⁴ Many other prints document other sieges and battles in which it is the rural peasants who suffer the brunt of the army's assault.¹⁰⁵ Identified by specific locations and dates, these prints provide an immediate, precise account of the war in the Netherlandish countryside and its devastating consequences for rural areas and their inhabitants.¹⁰⁶ In so doing, they

¹⁰³ "Auch bawren und frawen am selbe ort./ Haben sie Iemerich ermordt." Kinds, vol. 1, 46-7.

¹⁰⁴ Kinds, vol. 1, 32-3.

¹⁰⁵ Siege of Jemmingen, 21 July 1568 (Kinds, vol. 1, 54-5); Siege of Boksum (Friesland), 26 January 1586 (Kinds, vol. 2, 88-9); attack on the Flemish town of Menen by the Malcontents, 24 September 1578 (Kinds, vol. 1, 222-3).

¹⁰⁶ It should be born in mind that Hogenberg was not unbiased in his accounting of the war, since he was clearly aligned on the side of the rebellious North and the States' Army, the unruly and merciless conduct of which does not feature in the series. The polemical edge of the series undermines any strict documentary value of the images, but the scenes nonetheless link common perceptions of rural devastation with particular historical events and locales.

confirm the historical circumstances from which less literal artistic productions likewise drew their inspiration.

The constant presence of soldiers in the countryside, and their antagonistic relationship with the rural population, initiated a conceptual shift in the iconography of the countryside in art. No longer the placid idyll of bounty, freedom and moral virtue, artists as diverse as Jacob Grimmer and Sebastian Vrancx, Hans Bol and Hans Collaert realigned the representational value of the countryside, depicting it instead as a site of real strife, danger, and suffering. In their images, history intrudes into the timeless ideal of the *locus amoenus*, inherited from antiquity, and the countryside is transformed into a contingent, historically inflected *locus terribilis*.¹⁰⁷

What is striking about the fourth edition, however, is not merely that Joannes shifted the tenor of the series through the incorporation of violent imagery, but the new dialectic relationship that this shift creates within the *Small Landscapes* as a series. These violent images are set among the more benign views of the series, in which Joannes' alterations and additions seek to heighten the image of rustic simplicity and tranquility. Thus the fourth edition embodies the two poles of the countryside as simultaneously the *locus amoenus* and the *locus terribilis*, and it is from this deliberate juxtaposition of the two topoi that the Brabantine countryside takes its shape in the fourth

¹⁰⁷ Fishman makes a similar point in her discussion of the theme of peasant sorrow, stating that "while the pastoral mode can suggest timelessness, and imply that certain aspects of peasant life are unchanging, the theme of Peasant Sorrow interrupts this idealized picture of rural existence to reveal, albeit in a form mediated by its own conventions, realities of suffering and disruption." Fishman, xii. The topos of the *locus terribilis* can be traced back to Christian exegesis of biblical sources, and found particularly powerful secular expression in sixteenth and seventeenth-century French poetry. In the Netherlands, the topos made its appearance in literature in the medieval *Van den vos Reynaede* story (1275-1300), first printed in Dutch around 1479, and later became commonly employed as the poetical antithesis to the classical *locus amoenus* in seventeenth-century Dutch courtly literature and love songs. On the nature and genesis of these paired topoi, see Klaus Garber, *Der locus amoenus und der locus terribilis: Bild und Funktion der Natur in den deutschen Schäfer- und Landlebendichtung der 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau, 1974).

edition of the *Small Landscapes*. Through the sporadic inclusion of scenes of peasant sorrow and revenge throughout the series, the countryside alternates between the poles of peaceful idyll and violent wasteland. The historical specificity and the urgent immediacy of Hogenberg's news prints or Vrancx small battle scenes, however essential for realigning the conceptual valence of the countryside, has here been subordinated to the conventional opposition of these topoi. In the *Small Landscapes*, the opposing themes appear almost decorative, with any sense of real menace or suffering minimized by the small scale of the stock figures and their theatrical handling.

Where the previous editions of the *Small Landscapes* consistently represented Antwerp's surroundings as peaceful and pleasant, the fourth edition introduces the note of strife which had in fact been a reality in the countryside for over fifty years. It is only when actual conditions in the Brabantine countryside had in fact become safer and the war was winding down that this new valence is added to the *Small Landscapes*. In Philips' edition of 1601, the violence and instability of the actual countryside perhaps remained too immediate and threatening to be incorporated into the *Small Landscapes*, which were still touted as providing realistic views of Antwerp's hinterlands. By the time Joannes issued the fourth edition, the violence which had so long plagued the land had subsided. The waning of the Eighty Years' War, which would reach its final conclusion with the Peace of Munster in 1648, curtailed the presence of troops in Brabant and ameliorated the volatile insecurity of the countryside. By the time the fourth edition appeared in the late 1630s or 1640s, marauding soldiers and vengeful peasants had become such a commonplace in art that Joannes' changes to the *Small Landscapes* can be interpreted merely as a kind of strategic "updating" of the prints to keep pace with current

artistic trends. From the distance of safer times, the violent episodes that Joannes inserted into the *Small Landscapes* had become generic artistic forms rather than illustrations of real dangers.

Just as the immediacy of the violent episodes in the fourth edition no longer refer to actual circumstances, there is a parallel sense in which the landscapes themselves no longer carry the same immediacy as depictions of actual locales around Antwerp. With the addition of theatrically posed figures and tableaux to the views, the emphasis is clearly deflected from the landscape itself to the dramatic narratives that these new figure groups suggest. Whatever realism that the earlier editions might have professed, or indeed actually achieved, has been undermined in the fourth edition. The views are no longer in any way intended to be seen as truthful representations to the countryside, but are rather intended to depict the countryside in an emblematic way, with the tropes of peaceful repose and violent encounter now encoded into the composition of the scenes. The views are thereby transformed from apparently topographic landscapes into settings for wholly conventional themes.

In this fundamental shifting of the function and character of the prints, Joannes updated the *Small Landscapes* for the mid-seventeenth century. His new version of the series was not only a response to developments in the political sphere – a transformation of the circumstances of war, now safely passed, into anecdote – but also to shifts in artistic models and tastes. What may seem to be minor additions to the plates in fact encourage a complete realignment of the impact and significance of the series as a whole. Joannes, rather than routinely reissuing the same prints that his father and grandfather had themselves reissued, reinvented them as hybrid images that use the original local views to

give form to prevailing artistic and cultural themes. The shift is subtle, to be sure, but it was a calculated effort to establish a new niche for the old-fashioned *Small Landscapes* in the mid-seventeenth century art market. Just as the titles and inscriptions Joannes added to his reissues of sixteenth-century humanist and allegorical prints offered guidance to mid-seventeenth century audiences unfamiliar with their often abstruse subjects, so too his changes to the *Small Landscapes* provided new interpretive signposts for viewers who were no longer sure how to think about the local countryside around them. The local countryside, as envisioned in the fourth edition of the *Small Landscapes*, is recognized to embody the poles of *locus amoenus* and *locus terribilis* simultaneously. By placing the local landscape within such a conceptual framework, the prints afford their mid-seventeenth-century audiences an artistic model through which to make sense of the real countryside that had been for so long the site of incomprehensible violence and strife.

The Print Publishers and the Persistence of the *Small Landscapes*

All of the prints' publishers, from the initiator Hieronymus Cock through the three generations of the Galle dynasty, were keenly aware of contemporary tastes and concerns, and their many timely editions of the *Small Landscapes* were issued in response to those circumstances. In each instance, the prints took on a different cultural cast, so that over the course of their many publications, the *Small Landscapes* were able to metamorphose to include associations apparently antithetical to their original intent – the *locus terribilis* infringing on the *locus amoenus*. This dichotomy speaks to both the flexibility of the printed images, so amenable to alteration and rearrangement, and the creative initiative of the many publishers who issued them, since it was the artistic

ingenuity and commercial shrewdness of these publishers that allowed the *Small Landscapes* to continually reemerge as artistically and culturally potent images.

From Cock's initial publication through the Galle family's revival of the prints in the seventeenth century, the *Small Landscapes* exerted exceptional influence, not only in Antwerp but also eventually in the north, where they would provide the fundamental model for early Dutch landscape prints. The details of their impact on artists north and south will be discussed in the following chapter. In charting their artistic heritage, however, it is essential to bear in mind that the longevity and endurance of the *Small Landscapes* stems from the unique and changing valences of the local landscape, both in reality and in image, that took form in the prints from their first publication through to their last.

Chapter Four: The Afterlife of the *Small Landscapes*

One of the albums from Schloss Ambras, now in Vienna, contains two remarkable images. Printed in red ink, they are reversed etched copies of two of the *Small Landscape* prints found elsewhere in the album (figs. 4.1, 4.2, compare figs. 1.12, 1.5).¹ Both of them follow the original prints closely, though not exactly. Several trees and figures have been added or modified, as have slight details in the buildings and topography of the landscape. The most significant departure from the original prints appears on the left hand side of each copy, where the new prints are extended by several centimeters. In figure 4.1, the additional portion includes a billowing tree, anchoring the far left edge of the picture, and beyond it, a view back to distant hills on the horizon. This horizon line also carries over on the right of the image, with sketchy hills added behind the figure walking on the embankment. The second print also adds a tree on the left edge of the image, this one even more dominating. Positioned in the immediate foreground, it reaches from the lower corner to the top edge of the print, which cuts off the upper reaches of its foliage. Behind this tree, the view is again extended to offer a vista over sown fields and gentle hills. This enlargement adds a new focus to the image, balancing the strong diagonal pull of the village street at right with the open, deep span of the landscape to the left, and consequently reduces the intimacy of the view.

¹ The images are located in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum, Schloss Ambras album 6641, folio 43, nos. 224 and 225. No. 224 copies NHD 153 and no. 225 is after NHD 154. I believe that these are etched copies rather than drawn ones, since the quality of line, though loose, is clearly printed and the images are the reverse of the original prints.

It is not known who produced these copies or how they ended up in the Ambras album. Indeed, at this stage, very little can be said for certain regarding these images.² Their inclusion in the album, however, does indicate that they were probably produced prior to 1596, when their collector, Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol, died and his albums were inventoried.³ It is therefore apparent that sometime in the late sixteenth century, when Ferdinand's print collection was amassed into albums, the *Small Landscapes* were considered artistically or thematically interesting enough to warrant serving as models for new, slightly altered images. These two prints, included rather haphazardly in Ferdinand's collection,⁴ might seem exceptional, isolated cases – an instance of a single artist practicing his craft by working from the prints at his disposal. On the contrary, the two prints in the Ambras albums are emblematic of a larger trend in the late sixteenth century, when the *Small Landscapes* emerged as an important source of influence for a new generation of artists, who borrowed from and adapted the original prints to create a veritable revival of local landscape imagery.

The *Small Landscapes* proved to be particularly influential closest to home, in the Lowlands. Their impact in Holland has long been acknowledged and will be further discussed in the Epilogue. Perhaps of equal significance and by far less thoroughly

² I have not yet seen other examples of these copies or other similar copies after the *Small Landscapes*. However, I expect that a more thorough examination of old albums and collections like the Ambras ones would reveal additional works of this kind. With more material to work with, it might eventually become possible to determine the origin of these copies and explain their unique features, such as the use of red ink and the extension of the original images.

³ Peter Parshall. "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 42 (1982), 145.

⁴ The images are placed on a page with another print, with one set horizontally and the other vertically. They follow some of the *Small Landscapes*, which appear on folios 31-34 and folio 40, but are set amidst a number of apparently unrelated landscape prints that are not presented in series or do not follow any particular sequential order.

investigated is the importance of the prints for artists working in Antwerp in the later decades of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth centuries. In fact, Flemish artists produced both paintings and other prints the artistic lineage of which can be clearly traced back to the modest *Small Landscapes*. The print publisher Hans van Luyck produced a number of new print series that develop the intimate sense of locality established by the *Small Landscapes*, thereby succeeding Hieronymus Cock as the primary champion of the local landscape in print. Jacob Grimmer, inspired by the success of the *Small Landscapes*, was the first painter to systematically introduce local landscape scenery into the medium of paint. His son Abel Grimmer made even greater use of the prints, in some cases as a general source for an iconography of the local landscape, and in others as direct compositional models. The later generations of the Bruegel dynasty also drew upon the prints, with Pieter Brueghel the Younger reproducing them as settings for several of his paintings of peasant pastimes. Jan Brueghel the Elder, together with Joos de Momper, does not appear to have used the prints in this programmatic fashion. Nonetheless their paintings hearken back to the *Small Landscapes* in their choice and presentation of the local landscape as a subject of artistic representation. This chapter will examine these two forms of influence exerted by the *Small Landscapes*, that is, as spurs toward the exploration of the local landscape as a subject worthy of artistic treatment on the one hand, and as direct models on the other. It will reveal not only the prominent place of the *Small Landscapes* in the history of Flemish landscape art, but also the various ways in which the idiom of the local came to be used and interpreted in the art of the Southern Netherlands.

Hans van Luyck and the Persistence of Printed Local Landscapes

Cock's publication of the *Small Landscapes* remained both novel and singular in the printed depiction of the local landscape around Antwerp in the middle of the sixteenth century.⁵ Somewhat later, however, Cock found his successor in the Antwerp print publisher Hans van Luyck. Van Luyck worked as a gold and silversmith, engraver, and print dealer as well as a publisher. From archival documents, it appears that he was born in 1518, which would make him Cock's exact contemporary. If he was in fact born so early, he lived much longer than Cock, since he is recorded as a tenant in a house called the *Schildersherte* in the *Lombardenvest* in 1584 and his name is mentioned in archival documents as late as 1595.⁶ He joined the Guild of Saint Luke in 1560, when he is described as a silversmith, and is mentioned as an art dealer in its records in 1584 and as

⁵ There is one exceptional instance in which the *Small Landscapes* exerted an influence on other prints before van Luyck's systematic redeployment of the printed local landscape around the 1570s and 1580s. Marcus Gheeraerts' etched illustrations for Edward de Dene's *De Warachtighe Fabulen der Dieren*, published in Bruges in 1567, is probably the earliest case of another artist borrowing formal motifs and compositional models from the *Small Landscapes*. They will not be evaluated in detail here, since the main content and meaning of the images relates to their emblematic function in connection with de Dene's texts. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that there are striking examples of the *Small Landscapes*' influence on Gheeraerts' illustrations. The original edition of De Dene and Gheeraerts' work is reprinted: E. de Dene, *De warachtige fabulen der dieren [Authentic animal fables] (Bruges, 1567)*, ed. W. Le Loup (Bruges: 1978). The standard text on Gheeraerts is E. Hodnett, *Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder of Bruges, London and Antwerp* (Utrecht: 1971). More recent scholarship on the artist has provided further analysis of the long use and reuse of the illustrations in scientific texts and Gheeraerts' careful integration of text and image. See William B. Ashworth, Jr., "Marcus Gheeraerts and the Aesopic Connection in Seventeenth-Century Scientific Illustration," *Art Journal* 44, no. 2 (1984); Erin Lynette Webster, "Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder and the language of art images with text in the Elizabethan Renaissance" (Case Western Reserve University, 2001), especially 53 and 63-69, in which she devotes a few concise pages to the *Fabulen* project, though the dissertation as a whole is concerned with Gheeraerts' career in England.

⁶ This information on van Luyck, also known as Jan Godle, is thanks to Jan van der Stock's thorough archival work. His birth date is based on a document in which both Cock and van Luyck are listed as witnesses to Gerard de Jode's purchase of a house in the *Cathelijnevest*. In that document, dated 1568, van Luyck is described as being a goldsmith of fifty years of age. In 1577, he is still referred to as a goldsmith when he took up residence in the *Schildersherte*. However, Christophe Plantin includes him in a list of printmakers drawn up between 1577 and 1580, and in 1595 he is called an engraver and dealer in *gedrukte kunsten*, or printed arts, in a further archival document. See van der Stock 1998, 210, notes 55 and 237, note 17. For Plantin's list of printmakers, see Delen 1935, vol. 2, 150. Though he is listed as Hans Lieftrinck van luyck in this list, Delen clarifies that this must be in error and that it is Hans van Luyck (as opposed to Hans Lieftrinck) to whom Plantin is referring.

a goldsmith in guild accounts drawn up by deans Philips Galle and Jan van de Kerckhoove for 1585 to 1586.⁷ Beyond these scant professional details, records indicate that he was a Lutheran, though as in the case of Philips Galle, his faith did not keep him from publishing popular religious and devotional prints. In 1584 and 1585, when a special monthly tax was levied in Antwerp to provide the city with financial means during Farnese's siege, Van Luyck was among those exempt from the tax due to a lack of resources, which would indicate that he hovered close to poverty even as he was publishing substantial numbers of prints in the 1580s.⁸

Van Luyck's work as a print publisher has never been systematically studied. An overview of some of the prints that bear his imprint will provide at least a sketch of his activities as a print publisher, and more significantly as a publisher of local landscapes in the tradition of the *Small Landscapes*. He worked with many of the most well-known print designers of the period, including Marten de Vos, who supplied him his designs for single sheets and series of religious images; Hans Bol, who provided designs of religious themes set in extensive landscapes; and Crispijn van den Broeck, who also produced religious design for van Luyck. Peeter van der Borcht supplied van Luyck with a single design for a print of Saint Eustace, while Gillis Mostaert and Hans Verheyden also provided occasional designs. His roster of printmakers included Hans and Adriaen Collaert, Johannes Sadeler, Crispijn de Passe, Julius Goltzius and Jacob de Weert. It

⁷ See Ph. and Th. van Leuius Rombouts, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der antwerpsche Sint Lucasgild*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: 1864), vol. 1, 218 and 306; and Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the market: commercialization of art in Antwerp's golden age*, Studies in European urban history (1100-1800); 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003), Appendix 3.

⁸ Philips Galle and Jan Baptista Vrients, by contrast, were taxed at a level that indicates that they were well-off. See J. van Roey, "Het Boekbedrijf te Antwerpen in 1584-89," *De Gulden Passer* 66-67 (1988-89), esp. 428.

was, however, with the Wierix family that van Luyck established his most prolific relationship, publishing almost 80 prints engraved by the brothers, many of them in large series. Among these were many devotional images and religious allegories, as well as several prints after early Flemish masters, among them Hugo van der Goes and Jan Gossaert. From the dated prints in this output, it seems that van Luyck was particularly active in the 1580s. Prior to that period, he had perhaps concentrated his energies on metalworking.

In keeping with the political and religious climate of the era, van Luyck, like Philips Galle, adapted his printed output to suit the predominating tastes and constraints in Antwerp after the city's return to Spanish control. His emphasis on religious and particularly devotional images, most of which were simple and direct both in composition and execution, suited the Counter-Reformation mood of the last decades of the sixteenth century, even as it ran counter to his own confessional beliefs. In one important respect, however, van Luyck broke from the model set by Philips Galle, who was certainly the most productive and influential print publisher of the period. Unlike Galle, whose only real foray into the realm of landscape prints came with his reprinted edition of the *Small Landscapes*, van Luyck created a niche for himself in this field. From the print series that bear his address, it is clear that he was a key figure in the perpetuation of the local landscape as a category of printed imagery in Antwerp in the 1570s and 1580s.

As was Hieronymus Cock's practice, van Luyck employed different engravers for different types of projects. Hans and Adriaen Collaert, along with Julius Goltzius, were his chosen engravers for landscape prints. His first major project in this genre consists of a series of twenty-four prints of the environs of Brussels, engraved by Hans Collaert,

which van Luyck likely published in the 1570s (figs. 4.3-4.10).⁹ Though Claes Visscher attributed the series to Hans Bol when he reprinted the series in the early seventeenth century, Peter Stevens, Jacob Grimmer, or another artist in Hans Bol's circle have also been considered as possible designers for the series.¹⁰ Jacob Grimmer seems a plausible suggestion, since he is also responsible for designing the *By Antwerpen* series, another group of prints at least putatively based on particular geographical locales and also published by van Luyck, about which more below. Though based in Antwerp, it would

⁹ Ann Diels has written the most comprehensive analysis of this series, in which she describes the topographic content of the images. She has also written her dissertation on the Collaert family of printmakers, and is editing the New Hollstein series on the Collaerts (four volumes already published, still in progress). See Ann Diels, "Introduction," in *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700, Volume 13: The Collaert Dynasty* (2005), xxxix-xcvii. On the Brussels views, see Ann Diels, "Hans Collaert I," in *Met Passer en Penseel: Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels: Dexia, 2000), 206-210. Stefaan Hautekeete has placed the prints in the context of the burgeoning market for topographic imagery in mid-sixteenth-century Brabant, and suggests that these prints offered their viewers a souvenir of their own actual strolls through the pleasant rural surroundings outside of Brussels. He is however also careful to note that even though the preparatory drawings are based at root on direct observations from nature, the prints nonetheless adhere to common artistic standards and formulas of framing and composition and in this way bring together topographic information and artistic invention into believable, "life-like" images. See Stefaan Hautekeete, "Van Stad en Land: Het beeld van Brabant in de vroege topografische tekenkunst," in *Met passer en penseel: Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels: Dexia, 2000), 52-53.

¹⁰ Visscher's series, probably published after 1607, declared Hans Bol's authorship in a new inscription added to the first print of the series that reads "H Bol delineavit ad vivum." He also removed van Luyck's initials and added his own name in its place. There is no reason to trust Visscher's word when it comes to attributions, since he regularly assigned his reprinted editions of Flemish prints to famous artists for commercial purposes. Attributing the series to Hans Bol may have been advantageous, because Bol, who had emigrated to Amsterdam in the 1580s and remained there until his death in 1593, was a well-known Flemish artist in the North. His fame and artistic accomplishment would certainly have attracted seventeenth-century buyers to a series of prints attributed to him. As an alternative to Bol, An Zwollo once suggested Pieter Stevens as the author of at least some of the designs, pointing out that at least two of the prints in the series resemble drawings by Stevens now in Berlin. Since five preparatory drawings came to light in 1987 (they are now in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Mass.), scholars have used them as the basis for more likely attributions. In the Christie's sale catalogue, Zwollo reconsidered her attribution to Stevens, whose drawings she decided bore an incidental resemblance to the printed series since they represented the same places and were drawn from similar – though not identical – vantage points. She suggested Jacob Grimmer as the more likely designer, an attribution which Diels tentatively accepts. However, Stefaan Hautekeete prefers to give them to an artist working in the circle of Hans Bol, since he finds the surviving preparatory drawings to be stylistically discrete from Grimmer's other signed drawings, a distinction which does not entirely convince me. See An Zwollo, "Hans Bol, Pieter Stevens en Jacob Savery, enige kanttekeningen," *Oud Holland* 84, no. 4 (1969); *Dutch, Flemish and German Drawings*, Auction Christie's Amsterdam, November 30, 1987, cat. 6, 12-18; Diels, "Introduction," li, note 110; Hautekeete 2000, 52, note 60.

not have been difficult or extraordinary for Grimmer to have traveled to the surroundings of Brussels to make sketches for the series, which he likely would have worked up into finished models in his studio. Indeed, in their straightforward mode of presentation and mixture of intimate views and more expansive ones, the prints bear an iconographic and stylistic resemblance to a group of slightly later watercolor drawings by Grimmer, now in Vienna (compare figs. 4.11, 4.12 with figs. 4.13, 4.14).¹¹

Each print bears an inscription that identifies the place or building depicted in the view. Many of these are the most significant castles and monuments of the region surrounding Brussels, like the 't Hof van Brussel, the cloister of Zevenborren, and the castle of Rivieren (figs. 4.3-4.5). On the other hand, other prints in the series represent more rustic sites from the region surrounding the city, including villages and country roads (figs. 4.6-4.10). Throughout the series, the region is depicted as hilly and forested, with large ponds and many streams, in opposition to Antwerp's flat, sandy hinterlands that one sees in the *Small Landscapes*.

The inscriptions make the topographic pretensions of the series far more explicit than Cock's more general claim that the *Small Landscape* prints depict places around the city of Antwerp.¹² However, as in Cock's series, it is clear that the *Environs of Brussels*

¹¹ The drawings are in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. In describing the Grimmer drawings, Franz argues that they are in fact distinct both in composition and style from the Brussels prints, as Hautekeete does, giving them instead to Hans Bol, which Hautekeete rejects. Franz points to the way in which trees are used in the prints as schematic compositional devices, arguing that this is different from Grimmer's more distilled, simplified spatial arrangements. I find the most striking distinction between Grimmer's drawings and the Brussels prints to be the treatment of open spaces, both of land and sky. The prints tend to be much more vigorously worked, giving them both a more busy and more decorative appearance. This could be the result of Hans Collaert's engraving technique rather than a distinct artistic style in the preparatory design stage. See Heinrich Gerhard Franz, "Unbekannte Landschaftszeichnungen von Jacob Grimmer," *Pantheon* 27 (1969).

¹² Levesque connects the interest in regional landscapes in the late sixteenth century with contemporary developments in descriptive geography, an idea that is further confirmed by Hautekeete's analysis of Brabantine landscape drawings from the same period. This direction of inquiry is carried much further in

series is likewise artfully composed, even if the compositions stem initially from sketches from life.¹³ The compositional balance of the views, the careful framing of each view, the distribution of figures, architectural structures, and natural features like trees and hills throughout the foreground and middleground, and the rhythmic cadence of the series when viewed as a whole all indicate that the artist carefully organized each individual view and the series as a whole. Yet in an important sense, this does not compromise the topographic content of the images, but rather enhances the visual impact and decorative appeal of these recognizable places. It is largely in the domains of compositional armature – the placement of trees or the prominence of roadways – and embellishment of details and staffage that the composed character of the images manifests itself.

Thematically, the Brussels views bear a clear debt to the *Small Landscapes*. Locations in the countryside – from grand castles to humble farms – are presented in small-scale views. The same characteristic vernacular architecture of the rural hinterlands appears in nearly every scene, decorated with the figures of peasants and their livestock, travelers, peddlers and townsfolk. There are nonetheless important distinctions to be drawn between the *Small Landscapes* and the Brussels series. The preponderance of major sites and important architectural monuments in the Brussels series changes the emphasis from a depiction of the countryside as such, in all of its unremarkable

Nils Büttner's dissertation. See Catherine Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: the Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: 1994), 33; Stefaan Hautekeete, "Van Stad en Land: Het beeld van Brabant in de vroege topografische tekenkunst," in *Met passer en penseel: Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels: Dexia, 2000); and Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft: Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen: 2000).

¹³ There are five known preparatory drawings for this series, now in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, inventory nos. 1993.167-170. The sheets are not all of identical size, ranging from 14.2 to 16.3 cm in height and 19.9 to 21.7 cm in width. This indicates that the drawings were more likely loose sheets rather than part of a uniform sketchbook like so many of the *Small Landscape* drawings seem to have been.

simplicity, to a kind a visual guide to the most important landmarks around Brussels, which can hardly be viewed as simple or particularly rustic at all. The series seems to circle more closely around its urban center, with Brussels figuring either directly or implicitly in many of the views. This shift is also registered in the compositional scope of the two series. Where in the *Small Landscapes* the pictorial space of the prints is extremely limited, the views offered in the Brussels series often penetrate far deeper into the distance, offering wide vistas over vast areas. This expansiveness grants the viewer a seemingly omniscient visual range quite at odds with the enclosed intimacy of the *Small Landscapes*. Nonetheless, in its efforts toward topographical description and its focus on rural terrains, however monumental, the Brussels series picks up on and adapts the example set forth by the *Small Landscapes*.

Even more closely related to the *Small Landscapes*, van Luyck's *By Antwerpen* series once again takes up Antwerp's rural surroundings. This series of twelve prints, indisputably designed by Jacob Grimmer and engraved by Adriaen Collaert, probably issued from van Luyck's print shop in the late 1580s (figs. 4.15-4.18).¹⁴ The title of the series is inscribed along the lower left edge of the first print of the series, between Grimmer's name as inventor and Adriaen Collaert's initials. The title is the clearest indication that these prints were based originally on designs drawn from life or that the publisher intended them to be viewed as topographically specific images. Unlike the

¹⁴ The 1580s were both van Luyck's and Adriaen Collaert's most prolific years. Collaert was working on several similar projects at the time, including a set of landscapes with biblical scenes after Hans Bol, published by Hoeswinkel in 1584; a print of the parable of prodigal son after Hans Bol also for van Luyck; and a Months series, also after Bol and published by Sadeler, probably dating to 1585. It is also likely that the Brussels series, executed by Adriaen's father, would have preceded Adriaen's collaboration with van Luyck. Van Luyck may have intended to employ Hans Collaert again for the *By Antwerpen* series, but turned to the son after Hans' death in 1580. There are two preparatory drawings for this series still extant, one in Stockholm's Perman Collection after being sold at auction in Amsterdam in 1975, the other last sold at Sotheby's London on July 8, 1998. The prints were later reissued by Claes Visscher in Amsterdam.

Brussels series, these prints do not bear individual inscriptions identifying their contents. They focus almost exclusively on rural villages, with the occasional large manor house or church in the middleground. Even further in the distance, however, one sometimes catches a glimpse of what can only be the river Schelde and the skyline of Antwerp, geographical hints that help to situate the views within the larger region (fig. 4.15). Often the villages appear to be exactly portrayed thanks to Grimmer's clear, simplified architectural forms. On the other hand, several prints include undulating hills and mountaintop castles that bear no resemblance to the actual terrain around Antwerp, and hearken back instead to earlier landscape traditions. The overall impression is one of a fusion of realistic topographic elements - typical Brabantine farmhouses, passages of convincing Brabantine terrain, even specific villages that can be located in relationship to the city – with more fanciful vistas in the far distance.

The staffage in the series once again includes peasants and their livestock, peddlers, travelers, a few soldiers, and at least one biblical grouping – Christ and the two apostles on the way to Emmaus (fig. 4.16). While the Emmaus group is the most obviously significant one included in the series, another dramatic figure group punctuates the view in another print, and shows a soldier raising his sword against a peasant and his wife (fig. 4.17). The peasant hands over a large fowl to the soldier, while his wife kneels to plead for their lives. Though ambiguous – is this a case of a marauding soldier taking advantage of these hapless country folk or a poaching peasant who is being taken to task for his trespasses? – the scene, which occupies the lower left corner of the print, adds a striking narrative dimension to the otherwise placid view (a fisherman casts his line into a

stream just beyond, apparently entirely unaware of the quarrel behind him).¹⁵ Given the much more tranquil pastimes of most of the other figures in the prints, it is possible that the viewer is meant to see these intrusions of, by turns, holiness and violence in the native terrain as unremarkable. Indeed, the artist and engraver have not drawn any special visual attention to them and, however noteworthy, they do little to disrupt the overall atmosphere of the scenes in which they figure, or of the series as a whole, which remains peaceful and quotidian.

When one compares the *By Antwerpen* series with the *Small Landscapes*, it is clear that the new series draws upon the same visual language of rural architecture and landscape as the earlier prints did, more so indeed than the Brussels series does. The farmhouses, dovecotes, and village roads often look like almost direct borrowings from elements in the *Small Landscapes* (figs. 4.19-4.24). The pervasive serenity of the views likewise echoes the quiet, uneventful mood captured so deftly in the earlier series. The higher vantage point and wider scope of most of the *By Antwerpen* prints certainly run counter to the sheltered intimacy of the *Small Landscapes*, and the undulating terrain injects a note of fantasy into the hilly distance. However, these are once again signs of the artist's imaginative additions in composing the scenes.¹⁶ Without any great

¹⁵ This print has been mentioned earlier in connection with a later painting by Abel Grimmer, which copies the composition of this print, including this confrontation. See Chapter Three, note 84, above.

¹⁶ This does not necessarily rule out the possibility that the prints derive from drawings of real and identifiable spots within the Brabantine countryside. Grimmer could have based the views on carefully sketched locales or on artistically composed designs – or indeed both, since an original sketch from life worked up into a finished model could easily have entered the artist's formal repertoire and served as the basis for his prints designs. Grimmer's reliance on sketches is illustrated by the many drawings and watercolors that bear his name. They offer simple views of rural areas that appear to have been based on close observation of real places, though they tend not to bear identifying inscriptions. Indeed, it is in sketches that Grimmer seems to have produced his most remarkable and naturalistic landscapes. Many of these views were often employed repeatedly by Grimmer in larger compositions in other media. For example, one of the drawings now in Vienna depicting a church in the middle of a village, dated 1587, forms the compositional core of a painting of the same view, dated 1589, to which the artist has added a raucous kermis scene in the foreground. In another instance, however, a village scene that recurs in at least

monuments or the cue of topographical inscriptions, the *By Antwerpen* series proffers a more generalized impression of the representative features and vistas of Antwerp's local rural surroundings. Indeed, where the Brussels series courts, and indeed obliges, recognition of the sites it depicts, both the *Small Landscapes* and the *By Antwerpen* series seem less concerned with pinpointing a topographic referent and more interested in revealing the typical and essential character of the local landscape. If the *By Antwerpen* prints are less intimate, more expansive, and qualified by imaginative elaboration, they nonetheless take up the project begun by the *Small Landscapes* by once again elevating the local countryside into the realm of artistic production.

Van Luyck's involvement in the genre of local landscapes took a slightly different form in his publication of a print series of the *Twelve Months*, designed by Gillis Mostaert and engraved by Julius Goltzius. The series does not bear a date, but it is likely to have been issued in the late 1580s or even the early 1590s (figs. 4.25-4.27).¹⁷ Rather

two paintings, signed and dated 1567 and 1572, also appears in a drawing dated 1589. Either the drawing, which appears to be drawn from life, was in fact based on previous compositions, or the artist returned to a familiar spot to execute the later drawing. Alternatively, all of these images, which differ in their details and backgrounds, might stem from rather exact observations of a real place, which were then incorporated into an artistic model to which the artist made frequent recourse. This raises the possibility that even those drawings that look to be drawn from life (as with the 1589 one) might in fact be products of the studio. Grimmer's simple, direct graphic style encourages the supposition that his drawings were done *naar het leven*, but by no means guarantees it. See Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei*, ill. 4 and 8; and Sauvigny 1991, 58, cat. VI, and, 59, cat. XI.

¹⁷ There are no known preparatory drawings for this series, but other drawings by Mostaert of similar compositions and content are dated, generally to the mid 1560s; for example, Sadkov discusses a sheet with a view near the *Roode Poort* of Antwerp on the recto and a country village on the verso, in the State Pushkin Museum, Moscow, dated 1566. (He also mentions another drawing, a *Village Street* in St. Petersburg, which is inscribed "Mostaert Fecit 91" and thus dating from the last decade of Mostaert's life). Faggini and Zwollo report other landscape drawings dated 1566 as well. If Mostaert's drawings for this series date from the earlier years of his career (he entered the Guild of Saint Luke in 1554-5 and lived until 1598), it is nonetheless likely that the engraving and publishing did not occur until much later, since van Luyck's publishing activities seem to cluster in the 1580s and Julius Goltzius, an engraver who worked primarily for Plantin, was active between c. 1575 and 1595, with several dated prints from the 1580s and 1590s. On Mostaert's drawings, see Giorgio T. Faggini, "Aspetti dell'influsso di Tiziano nei Paesi Bassi," *Arte Veneta* 18 (1964); An Zwollo, "Hans Bol, Pieter Stevens en Jacob Savery, enige kanttekeningen," *Oud Holland* 84, no. 4 (1969); and Vadim A. Sadkov, "Unknown works by Gillis Mostaert in Russia," *Jaarboek*

than presenting specific places, like the Brussels series, or typical views, as the *By Antwerpen* set does, this series recounts the labors of country peasants through the cycle of the year. This imagery draws upon the traditional iconography of the Labors of the Months, as employed to such great effect by Pieter Bruegel in his monumental *Seasons* paintings and in his *Seasons* prints published by Cock in 1570.¹⁸ The particular impact of van Luyck's series stems from the presentation of these labors in an unmistakably local environment. The typical farmyards, fields, ponds, and streams of Brabant provide the setting of the labors of the peasants, who occasionally share the countryside with well-to-do townspeople at leisure (fig. 4.25). Villages and farmhouses, which take the familiar forms of rural architecture, frame the landscapes, sometimes appearing in the distance, nestled among trees, and sometimes in the foreground as the locus of activity (figs. 4.26, 4.27). The prints have a soft, warm quality thanks to the rounded forms of the figures and Goltzius' simple engraving style and limited tonal range, with smooth transitions from light to shade. As a result, a sense of intimacy and gentle calm pervades the scenes. The images are entirely the product of iconographic precedent and artistic invention. Nonetheless, the incorporation of architectural and natural elements that mark the landscapes as familiar and local sets this *Months* series apart from the many other contemporary printed versions of the Months and Seasons themes, which tend to employ

van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen (1995). Little has been written about Julius Goltzius, but for mentions of him, see Thieme-Becker XIV, p. 355; and Delen 1935, vol. 2, 121.

¹⁸ The iconography of the Labors of the Months continued uninterrupted from the medieval period into the sixteenth century and beyond. Van Luyck's series presents these themes on a much more intimate scale than Bruegel does, recalling the illuminations in books of hours like the duc de Berry's *Tres Riches Heures*. For an overview of the iconography and development of this theme through the ancient and medieval periods, see J. Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938). On Bruegel's *Seasons* paintings, see Iain Buchanan, "The collection of Nicolaes Jongelincx: II, the "Months" by Pieter Bruegel the Elder," *Burlington magazine* 132, no. 1049 (1990).

emblematic figures, frames, and settings (fig. 4.28, 4.29). The local landscape has here been codified in the form of fairly conventional signs – a far cry from the detailed variety of the *Small Landscapes* – but in taking up the idiom of vernacular rusticity, these prints localize the generic theme of the labors of the months, expanding the range and artistic function of the local landscape inaugurated by the *Small Landscapes*.

Through these projects, Hans van Luyck extended, adapted, and codified the model of the *Small Landscapes* in the decades before the Galles reissued Cock's original series. The plates for the older series, firmly in the hands of Cock's widow and subsequently the Galle family, were not available to him to reprint. Instead, he organized and oversaw the production of these new series, all of which demonstrate how enthusiastically he took up the representation of the local rustic landscape in print. As the publisher, he coordinated the production of prints designed and engraved by several different artists, some of whom seem to have worked with him only on these projects, and others of whom had long-standing professional relationships with him. It is impossible to say to what extent van Luyck shaped the conception of these series, or directed his artists in the content or composition of the prints themselves. In the case of the *Month* series, he was probably working with extant drawings that had been made by Mostaert ten or even twenty years prior to their publication as prints. However that may be, van Luyck must be credited with bringing together these artistic efforts into a coordinated publishing program that took the local landscape as its primary subject. The formal and typological consistency of the series indicate that this could hardly have occurred by chance. Like Cock before him, van Luyck saw an artistic and commercial opportunity in landscape, and particularly landscapes dedicated to familiar rural environs.

Through his publications, he solidified the visual idiom of domestic rusticity, and in so doing, he became Cock's heir and successor in Antwerp's production of printed local landscapes.

"In Pictorum Gratiam:" The *Small Landscapes* as Models for Painters in Antwerp

It is clear from the title-pages of many sixteenth-century print series that prints were intended for artists to use as models for work in other media. Though his title-pages for the two *Small Landscape* sets of 1559 and 1561 do not make this explicit, several other of Cock's title-pages do address artists directly, and in the 1601 title-page for his reprint, Philips Galle offers the *Small Landscapes* "in Pictorum gratiam," or for the benefit of artists.¹⁹ The *Small Landscapes*, in their limited scope and close range, were perhaps not ideally suited to this sort of artistic exchange, but they nonetheless had a substantial impact on at least a small circle of landscape painters working in Antwerp at the turn of the seventeenth century. Jacob and Abel Grimmer and Pieter Brueghel the Younger were the most deeply influenced by the content of the prints, while other artists like Jan Bruegel the Elder and Joos de Momper absorbed the *Small Landscapes* in a freer, less literal manner. In the splintering and expansion of the Flemish landscape tradition from the world landscapes of Patinir and his followers into several diverse and specialized sub-genres of landscape painting in Antwerp in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the *Small Landscapes* played a crucial role in determining the emergence and contours of the specific category of rural or village landscape paintings. By elevating Antwerp's domestic rural landscape into the realm of artistic representation,

¹⁹ For further discussion of this topic, see Chapter One.

the prints provided the foundation upon which these artists elaborated a new field of landscape painting dedicated to depicting the humble local terrain.

Jacob Grimmer

Jacob Grimmer is in some respects the most significant contributor to the development of this kind of landscape. Not only is his oeuvre of over two hundred extant paintings almost exclusively devoted to rustic landscapes, he also applied the same compositional vocabulary to his designs for prints, prime examples of which have already been discussed above. His interest in the local landscape is also demonstrated in his drawings, of which thirty-nine have survived that bear his name, while a further twenty-six can be attributed to him. Jacob spent his entire career in Antwerp, training in the workshops of Gabriel Bauwens, Matthys Cock, and Kerstiaen van de Queckborne, before joining the Guild of Saint Luke in 1547. Matthys Cock's role as mentor might help to explain Jacob's specialization in the field of landscape in a general sense, but no other artist in Antwerp at the time seems to have dedicated himself so entirely to the depiction of his immediate surroundings and the workaday world of the rustic countryside.²⁰ Even his compositions that take as their nominal subject biblical scenes or mythological stories (the Massacre of the Innocents, The Flight into Egypt, and the Fall of Icarus were some of his favored subjects) are always placed within unmistakably recognizable local settings.

²⁰ The literature on Jacob Grimmer is limited. By far the most important source on his biography and artistic development is Sauvigny 1991, esp. 15-27. Earlier contributions include: Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei*, 242-248; Heinrich Gerhard Franz, "Unbekannte Landschaftszeichnungen von Jacob Grimmer," *Pantheon* 27 (1969); Edith Greindl, *Jacob Grimmer: Monographie* (Vienna: F. Pallamar, 1972).

Though his paintings are clearly products of the workshop and make use of an extensive but codified arsenal of rustic motifs, Jacob is clearly concerned with advertising the specific locality of his rustic landscapes. In many of his landscapes, Jacob inserts the distinctive tower of Antwerp's cathedral on the distant horizon, thereby firmly situating the foreground views within the city's immediate surroundings. His painting of the Kiel to the south of Antwerp, dated 1578, is perhaps the most well-known and manifest example of this practice (fig. 4.30). Despite the procession of revelers in the immediate foreground of the image – staffage more typically associated with genre imagery – the panel appears topographic in its presentation of the contours of the rural landscape, with the river Schelde and the profile of Antwerp's skyline marking the distant horizon. Another painting, probably representing the season of summer, presents haymaking in the fields before a village (fig. 4.31). Just beyond the houses and barns of the village looms the skyline of Antwerp. This time the village lies to the north of the city in the polder region, probably not far from Oosterweel and the Laarsebeek to judge from the angle of the view of the city and the Vlaamse Hoofd in the right background. The well-traveled road that runs through the village must lead on directly to the city walls. Though the village may well be an artistic invention or elaboration rather than an accurate record of a real place, there can be no doubt that the artist has taken great care to place this view within rather precise topographical parameters. To the viewer, then, even if the painting is ultimately *uit den geest*, it nonetheless convincingly evokes the locality. In addition to these two pictures, Jacob produced several more that use Antwerp's distinctive skyline to position his views more or less explicitly. Often the cathedral spire is inserted so faintly on the distant horizon that it cannot be used to gauge a precise

location (fig. 4.32). Instead, in these pictures it is used as a kind of shorthand marker to assert the authentic presentation of a local view through its proximity to the defining geographical landmark of Antwerp, no matter how generic that view might in fact be.²¹

Even those landscapes that Jacob does not explicitly place in the immediate shadow of Antwerp powerfully evoke the Brabantine countryside. His panels offer countless variations on the rural themes of villages and countryside, always built upon the same compositional and formal building blocks.²² The rustic structures he employs are distinctively domestic, simplified to their most essential forms, and the flat terrain, occasionally interrupted by a few gently rolling hills, epitomizes the Brabantine countryside (figs. 4.33–4.36). Even when he paints in this more generic fashion, repeating the same compositions or embellishing the landscape with narrative or thematic content, he nonetheless stays true to the recognizable and familiar countryside around him. In their standard presentation and pictorial repetitions, Jacob's paintings may forfeit any impression of topographic specificity or accuracy, and yet they nonetheless manage to invoke the character of the Brabantine countryside naturally and convincingly. The *Small Landscapes* must be credited with inspiring Jacob's single-minded focus on the local landscape and providing him with a veritable catalogue of rural types and forms

²¹ Sauvigny notes several other instances in which Antwerp's skyline features in Jacob's views, including pl. 6, cat. 3, pl. 46, and ill. 64.

²² Some views feature so frequently, consistently, and in such great detail that one doubts that they could be the result of merely reusing a common workshop pattern (in which case one would expect much less specific detail). It is tempting rather to consider that they might all be based on direct observation of real places, recorded in drawings and sketches and repeatedly referenced with each new depiction of the view. In one such case, the same village, with its distinctive church and bridge, occurs virtually identically in three panels, one dated 1567 and two dated 1572, and in one drawing from 1589. Jacob often then created variations on this same compositional arrangement, substituting in other architectural forms and different staffage. Thus, even if Jacob based the pictures on direct observations originally taken from life of a real village, he also used the same compositional model in the service of much more freely composed works, clearly illustrating the flexible and creative intertwining of artistic forms *naer het leven* and *uit den gheest*. See Sauvigny 1991, 58, cat. VI, 59, cat. XI, 60, cat. XII, and 86, no. 5.9, compared with 110, no. 14.

upon which to draw (figs. 4.37-4.41).²³ If he did not copy the prints in any direct way, he certainly found in them a precedent for exploring the local landscape as a subject of artistic representation.

Abel Grimmer

Jacob's son Abel Grimmer took up the same landscape idiom that his father had so consistently employed, though he also painted a variety of other subjects as well. Apprenticed in his father's workshop, Abel joined the Guild of Saint Luke as a master's son in 1592. He also worked as an architect, which can be detected not only in the choice of many of his pictorial subjects (his many versions of the Tower of Babel and various church and domestic interiors, for instance), but also in his artistic style, which tends toward almost diagrammatic simplification and neat, orderly forms. He usually assembled his landscapes into thematic sets dedicated to the Seasons or the Months, and worked most frequently on modestly sized round panels. His first dated painting is from 1591, and there is at least one painting begun by Jacob that he eventually completed in 1592.²⁴

A small sample of Abel's panels illustrates how much his sustained artistic concentration on rural life grows out of his father's oeuvre (figs. 4.42-4.44). Indeed, the

²³ There are a small number of paintings signed by Jacob Grimmer that date to before the publication of the *Small Landscapes*. It is worth noting that these very early works are very different in composition and spirit, invoking an earlier tradition of panoramic world landscape rather than the more intimate and familiar model of the *Small Landscapes*. See, for example, his *Large Landscape*, dated 1554, now in a private collection (Sauvigny 1991, 57, cat. II, ill. 1).

²⁴ There is an earlier dated drawing of the river Schelde from 1588, when Abel must have still been a teenager and before he entered the guild. The painting by Jacob and Abel has been mentioned and illustrated in Chapter Three (see fig. 3.12), and is Sauvigny 1991, 76, cat. XXXIX (under Jacob) and 189, cat. II (under Abel). The panel's quality has led Sauvigny and others to identify it as the work of Jacob, while the date of 1592, two years after Jacob's death, has led to the suggestion that Abel was responsible for completing the work. On Abel's biography and stylistic development, see Sauvigny 1991, 31-53.

rural countryside and the quotidian rhythms of the Brabantine peasants, shaped by the cycle of the seasons, quickly became Abel's stock-in-trade. His pared-down compositions, reduced to only the most elemental and essential forms, match his simple and direct painting style. His application of paint is thin and unfussy, with large swathes of color left plain and unmodulated. The resulting raw straightforwardness of his panels is perfectly suited to his humble subjects, which he treats with an intimate frankness that somehow appears both more genuine and more truthful than the comparatively more refined paintings of his father, even if they may seem to lack artistic nuance or subtlety to present-day viewers.

Just as in the case of his father, the *Small Landscapes* shaped the visual idiom that Abel employed in his paintings. Particularly in panels representing the Seasons, Abel takes up the compositional and iconographical precedent of the *Small Landscapes*. The scenes are placed in the distinctively local setting of the rural Brabantine countryside, with its typical architectural forms of thatched-roofed farms and clusters of brick buildings with stepped gables. Church steeples and windmills punctuate the skyline of villages, and occasionally a grand castle or manor house takes center stage. This vernacular architectural vocabulary is matched by the artist's evocation of the gentle, flat plains typical of the local terrain. These views are distinctively local in character, though they are also composed images – products of the studio rather than topographically exact records of specific places in the Brabantine countryside. Perhaps precisely because of the freedom with which Abel combined typical elements of local topography, vegetation and architecture, the scenes appear authentically life-like and convincingly familiar.

If Jacob was given to reusing compositions and repeating common pictorial motifs, Abel took this strategy to new extremes of formulaic reproduction. Especially in the later years of his career, almost every painting he made was a copy of an earlier work or a compilation of his most frequently used pictorial elements. This is undoubtedly the result of his great success and popularity, which necessitated hasty work and a stock of easily produced models and compositions.²⁵ It is therefore unsurprising that Abel's more ambitious and detailed panels date to the early years of his artistic activity, up to about 1600, when he was still experimenting with his own style before it became codified into a profitable workshop brand.²⁶ At every stage of his career, however, Abel's creativity can be located in his borrowing and synthesis of other sources, rather than in the formulation of original forms and compositions.

Given his penchant for borrowing, it might therefore be expected that Abel relied heavily on copying the paintings by his father, in whose workshop he matured and to whose works he must have had direct access. Indeed, there are a handful of examples of this practice.²⁷ But far more frequent was Abel's recourse to prints after designs by his father and others. Indeed, the most frequently employed sources from his father's oeuvre is the print series *By Antwerpen* published by van Luyck discussed above. Two roundels, dated 1600 and 1618, are ornamented with different biblical scenes but otherwise directly

²⁵ In his own day, Abel Grimmer's paintings were bought by many well-known *Antwerpenaars*, including Jan Moretus (about which more below), and were assessed to be of equal value to the panels of Jan Brueghel the Younger. See Sauvigny 1991, 31 and 51-53.

²⁶ Compare pl. 15 with pl. 22. The 1596 panel is more compositionally intricate, more precisely painted, and more coloristically varied. The 1606 is almost sketch-like in its blocky, unmodulated color palette and simplified form.

²⁷ Sauvigny 1991, 197, cat. IV and 203, cat. XII.

copy their composition from the same print.²⁸ In a larger rectangular painting from 1593, Abel brings together the composition of this same print with another of his father's designs from the same series (fig. 4.45). From one print he borrowed the foreground and from the other the background, melding them into a seamlessly unified composition (figs. 4.17, 4.18). From the broad range of these dated works, it is clear that Abel's reliance on his father's compositions – as transmitted through van Luyck's print series – was not confined to any particular point in his career. It was not, for example, a tool used early on to help him develop his own artistic skills, but rather was a longstanding practice that he returned to again and again throughout his professional life, right up to his final years.

Abel's use of prints extended well beyond those designed by his father.

Sauvigny has noted many other cases in which Abel employed prints as models for his paintings. His favorite sources were prints after Hans Bol and Pieter Bruegel, after which he often produced several paintings. For example, in 1607 he produced set of paintings based on the *Seasons* series by Bruegel and Bol published by Hieronymus Cock in 1570 (figs. 4.46, 4.47), and there are two additional complete but undated series of the same compositions also by his hand, as well as several individual panels that probably once made up whole sets as well.²⁹ Bruegel's *Skating Before the Saint George's Gate* was another favored composition, which Abel painted at least five times (fig. 4.48).³⁰

²⁸ Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei*, fig. 354.

²⁹ Abel's are not the only paintings to draw on these prints; the consummate copyist Pieter Brueghel the Younger also produced at least one set, though Abel's versions are both more faithful to the prints and coloristically more unified and subdued. For Abel's versions, see Sauvigny 1991, 226, cat. LV; 263-64, no. 1 and 2 (complete sets), and nos. 3 (Summer), 4 (Summer), 5 (Spring), 6 (Spring), 7 (Spring); 277, no. 1 (Winter).

³⁰ The print was engraved by Frans Huys and published by Hieronymus Cock around 1559, later republished by Joannes Galle with added inscriptions. Sauvigny 1991, 213, cat. XXXVII (1602), 214, cat. XLI (probably 1606), 223, cat. XLV (1604), 237, cat. LXXIV (1615), and 280, no.10 (undated). Abel also

However, Abel most frequently employed a set of prints of the *Seasons with Scenes from the Life of Christ* after Hans Bol, engraved by Adriaen Collaert and published by Sadeler in 1585.³¹ These compositions appear over and over in Abel's oeuvre, on both rectangular and round panels, sometimes very precisely copied and sometimes more loosely interpreted. These twelve prints served as the inspiration for at least fifty-three panels signed by Abel and as many as eighteen more that have been attributed to him, while individual architectural or landscape components from the prints resurfaced in countless other of his paintings.³²

Perhaps of greatest interest to this study, however, is the discovery of Abel's substantial use of the *Small Landscape* prints in his paintings. Though Abel Grimmer, like his father, has often been considered to have been generally influenced by the local rustic landscapes of the *Small Landscapes*, scholars have never before noticed the very direct connection that existed between the prints and the work of the younger Grimmer.

produced at least one painted copy of Bruegel's *Kermis of Saint George*, engraved by the van Doetecums and published by Cock around 1560. Sauvigny 1991, 290, no. 1 (undated). On the enduring popularity of Pieter Bruegel's compositions, both painted and printed, and the countless copies they inspired, see *Brueghel Enterprises*, (Exh. cat., Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum and Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique: Ludion, 2001).

³¹ The series is entitled *Emblemata Evangelica ad XII Signa coelestia*. Hollstein, v. 4, nos. 511-522 (Adriaen Collaert) and v. 3, nos. 94-108 (after Hans Bol); NHD Collaert nos. 225-237.

³² Abel also based paintings on other prints after Hans Bol and engraved by Adriaen Collaert, including the circular series of *Months* published by Hans van Luyck in 1585 (Hollstein, v. 4, no. 523-534 under Adriaen Collaert, and v. 3, no. 66-77 as after Hans Bol). Full sets of twelve panels: Sauvigny 1991, 206, cat. XXII (1599), and 208, cat. XXVIII (1599-1600); individual panels: Sauvigny 1991, 203, cat. XV (1597), 226, cat. LIII (1606), and 286, no. 2 (undated). These last are particularly interesting, since they are set in a town center rather than in a rural landscape. The figure of the drummer in cat. LIII is based on a print by Jacob de Gheyn after Hendrick Goltzius from the 1587 series entitled *Officers and Soldiers of the Bodyguard of Emperor Rudolph II* (Hollstein, vol. 7, 179, no. 353-364). The figures in the other compositions vary somewhat, and none can be directly linked to de Gheyn's print. Abel borrowed at least two other landscape compositions from prints after Hans Bol that were not recognized by Sauvigny. They depict a courtly hunting scene and a bird-catching scene, and retain the format of the oblong prints from the *Venationis piscationis et aucupii typi* series, published by Philips Galle in 1582. See Hollstein, vol. 3 (after Hans Bol), nos. 110-163. Abel's painting after these prints are catalogued under Sauvigny 1991, 290, no. 14.

The most striking and sustained example of Abel's use of the *Small Landscapes* can be seen in a series of paintings of the *Months*, signed and dated 1606, most of which derive directly from the compositions of the prints.³³ Abel's round panels measure about 20 cm in diameter. Eleven of the original twelve panels survive today in two private collections in Belgium, while the missing panel of February has probably been lost. Compositions borrowed from the *Small Landscapes* appear in the panels of the months June through August and October through December, and may also have served as models for February through May as well (figs. 4.49-4.54).³⁴ The first panel, representing January, is actually one of Abel's versions of Pieter Bruegel's *Skating Before the Saint George's Gate*, and the September panel is not based on a *Small Landscape* composition, though it may derive from another, as yet unidentified, print source (figs. 4.55, 4.56).

Abel remained true to the prints in the pictorial arrangement of the landscapes, particularly in the architectural structures of the villages and farms. However, he did modify the scenes in rather significant ways, most obviously through the transformation of the scenes into roundels and his use of vibrant color. He also made compositional modifications by changing the placement of the villages in pictorial depth and adding substantial new groups of figures who perform activities related to the seasons, along with more incidental changes to trees and other pictorial devices. These changes enliven the *Small Landscape* compositions in a way that the original printed views could never

³³ Other than connecting the panel of January to Bruegel's print, Sauvigny does not notice Abel's reliance on printed models for this series. Sauvigny 1991, 214, cat. XLI.

³⁴ Since the February panel is lost, it is impossible to even be certain of its subject. The panels for March through May are not reproduced in Sauvigny's catalogue, but she does include brief descriptions of their contents. On this basis, it seems plausible that at least one – the April panel, depicting peasants milking cows in a field in front of a village – could be based on a *Small Landscape* composition, most likely NHD 147 or 152.

have achieved, highlighting the seasonal cycle as it plays out over the course of the series. It is perhaps because of these fundamental changes in the atmosphere and activity of the scenes that the connection of these panels to the *Small Landscape* prints has never before been recognized. A closer look at these panels will more fully clarify both Abel's reliance on and creative enhancement of the prints.

In the architectural layout of the panels Abel follows the model of the *Small Landscapes* most closely. Even in scenes that are otherwise significantly altered, the basic design and arrangement of the rural buildings remains unchanged (figs. 4.49, 4.51; compare with figs. 1.29, 1.31). In keeping with his general stylistic tendencies, the structures are reduced to their most basic forms, with even less detail and elaboration than the original prints (particularly in the August panel). Where the printmakers employed stippling or hatching, Abel leaves his surfaces as plain blocks of color that rarely reflect any influence of light or shade. As a result, the villages and farms tend to look more like stage sets than three-dimensional spaces, but this greater simplicity also enhances the humble, unassuming quality of the rural content.

Abel's application of color is simple and bold throughout the series. Yet his employment of distinct palettes for each month indicates that he was quite adept at using color to heighten the atmospheric effect of his panels. The heavy, damp quality of the June panel is largely due to the ruddy browns of the earth, the dirty off-white and orange of the buildings' walls, the opaque grays of the clouds above, and the deep blue-green tint in many of the figures' clothing (fig. 4.49). By contrast, the cold steel blue of the sky in the December panel, and the washed-out browns, yellows, and whites of the earth and the buildings speak just as clearly to the bitter season as the barren trees do (fig. 4.54). In

addition to his new figural groups, it is primarily through this means of color that Abel transforms the more temporally neutral *Small Landscapes* into a set of panels that clearly evince the cycle of months and passing seasons.

Other panels, while remaining true to the architectural composition of the printed models, shift the placement of that composition in pictorial space. In the October panel, the shed and farm buildings on the right remain the same as those in the print, but appear much closer to the picture plane (fig. 4.52; compare fig. 1.22). The buildings on the left side of the panel are also taken from the print, though in a pared-down form. These too are pushed much closer to the picture plane, so that the foreground space of the print has been completely eliminated and with it all of the elements that occupied that space, including the shepherd and his flock near the archery target, and the tree stumps in the immediate left foreground. The resulting panel therefore bears very little overall visual resemblance to the print, especially since Abel also added many new figures involved in making wine to this newly proximate village center. Nonetheless, Cock's print served as the essential starting point for Abel's reimagining of the space in a way that emphasizes its new seasonal content.

Indeed, Abel's new figures are key features in realigning the focus of the scenes onto the yearly cycle of rural activities. In the panel representing the month of July, for instance, Abel arranges a cast of peasants in the foreground enacting the typical activities of work and leisure associated with the hot summer month – raking and baling hay, gathering for a simple midday repast, making love, and swimming (fig. 4.50). Beyond these figures, many of which were so thinly painted atop the landscape that the thicker base layer of the pigment shows through their ghost-like forms, opens a view of a village

on the far side of a small inlet of water. To the left of the village center a stone bridge spans the pond's outlet to a wide river in the background, on the shores of which one can make out the distinctive cathedral spire of Antwerp. The composition of this village, the pond, and the bridge unmistakably mirrors a print of a country village with a church and bridge in the *Small Landscapes*, originally published without any staffage in the foreground (fig. 1.21). The village, faithfully if schematically reproduced from the print, has also been altered by the addition of two prominent trees on opposite banks of the pond, while some of the smaller pollarded willows that hide the village buildings in the print have been eliminated. Together, these changes make the view busier, fuller, and more lively, and the village retreats to the middleground as a backdrop rather than serving as the principal center of visual attention.

It is interesting to note Abel's insertion of Antwerp's church steeple in the left background of this panel, a feature not to be found in the original print. If there were any doubt as to the geographical situation of this village, Abel's inclusion of the city of Antwerp reinforces the Brabantine setting of the image. It also reaffirms Cock's original claim that the images were based on rural areas and villages around Antwerp. Though Abel's image is by no means intended to be fastidiously accurate in a topographic sense – it is, after all, a composite image based on a print dating back over fifty years and extrapolated with his own artistic invention – Abel clearly intended to heighten the local resonance of the original printed composition by including a direct visual reference to Antwerp in the background of his painted version.

Another striking instance of Abel's reliance on the *Small Landscape* can be found in a round winter scene now in the Hermitage that takes as its model the print of the

Roode Poort (fig. 4.57; compare fig. 1.28).³⁵ The panel measures 27.5 cm in diameter, which rules out the possibility that it could have been part of the smaller *Months* series described above. Sauvigny does not relate this panel to any others within Abel's oeuvre, but it is very likely that it made up part of one of Abel's typical round *Seasons* or *Months* sets. It is tempting to speculate that others from this putative series might also have been based on the *Small Landscapes*, but such a hypothesis cannot be corroborated. The distinctive turrets of the tower sitting on the banks of a canal are unmistakably those of the *Roode Poort*. Though the tower gate was still standing during Abel's lifetime, it is nonetheless indisputable that Abel based his painting on the *Small Landscape* print rather than on his own observations of reality. By the time that Abel painted the scene an additional structure had been added next to the original tower, thus substantially changing the appearance of the gate.³⁶ Additionally, Abel has organized his painting from a similar angle as the print, choosing only to establish a slightly more distant vantage point in order to include a more expansive view of the stone houses both inside and outside the city walls and the canal that runs alongside them. Abel has also transformed this local view into a winter landscape, blanketing the ground with a thick layer of ice and snow and denuding the spindly trees that punctuate the scene. He has replaced Cock's original staffage with a more diverse and extensive assortment of figures who cavort on the frozen canal in large numbers and move along the road on horseback or in carts and carriages.

³⁵ See Sauvigny 1991, 284, no. 28. My thanks to Walter Gibson for first bringing this painting to my attention, as it was from this painting that I went on to discover all the other paintings in Abel's oeuvre that are based on the *Small Landscapes*.

³⁶ Though the original tower remained standing, the construction of new fortifications in the 1550s by Gilbert van Schoonbeke created a new entrance into the city at the Rode Poort. Bononiensis' 1565 map of Antwerp shows this new construction, as does the view of Antwerp in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* of 1572. My thanks to Stefaan Grieten for his assistance in charting the history of the *Roode Poort*.

Once again, by choosing such a geographically specific landmark, Abel's painting incorporates the topographical dimension of the original printed image into a series dedicated to the cycle of the year, thereby both localizing the conventional iconography of the seasons and universalizing Antwerp's familiar landmarks and terrain.

These are the only known paintings in Abel's oeuvre to make strict use of the *Small Landscapes* as models for whole paintings. As was typical of Abel, however, there are several versions of some of these compositions. Two panels from a 1599 series of the *Four Seasons* are variants of the compositions that Abel returned to in his 1606 *Months* series, and are likely also based on the prints.³⁷ The 1599 *Winter* panel uses the same prints as the November panel in the 1606 series, only in reverse and with different staffage (fig. 4.59, compare fig. 1.25). The *Autumn* panel from 1559 and the 1606 October panel likewise find their common source in the *Small Landscapes*, though in the 1599 panel Abel has more freely altered not only the arrangement of the village, but also its topography, so that its relationship to the *Small Landscape* print is reduced to the borrowing of a group of architectural forms on the print's right-hand side (fig. 4.58; compare fig. 1.22). As these examples indicate, it is the later series that seems to bear a more unmediated relationship to the prints. Though this might seem odd in the context of traditional notions of artistic development, Abel's increasing popularity and its concomitant pressure to produce more and more panels might have led Abel to rely more, not less, on his printed sources as his career progressed.

In addition to these clear cases of Abel's use of the *Small Landscapes*, there are other more subtle clues in his paintings that indicate that the artist frequently and flexibly

³⁷ Sauvigny 1991, 206, cat. XXIII.

utilized elements from the *Small Landscapes* in a great number of other paintings.

Indeed, some of the forms that he must originally have borrowed from the prints became integral parts of his standard artistic repertoire. Take, for example, the farm buildings in the left background of a panel of *Autumn* from 1604 (fig. 4.60).³⁸ They derive from the *Small Landscape* print of a farmstead (fig. 1.45). In Abel's panel, however, they have been incorporated into a much more expansive view with a great deal more activity and a panoramic vista into the right background over fields, woods, a village, and rolling hills, none of which appear in the print. In the same painting, the farm with a draw well next to it, shrouded in trees at the left edge of the panel, also hearkens back to one of Abel's favorite *Small Landscapes*, depicting a village road and a similar draw well (fig. 1.25). Half obscured here by trees, this connection to the print is easy to overlook. Yet it signals one of the most important aspects of Abel's use of the *Small Landscapes* as models, that is, that he felt free to pick and choose among the individual features represented in the prints and to put them to use for his own compositional purposes. His is not a slavish repetition of the prints, but rather a creative reworking and integration of the rural content of the *Small Landscapes* into new compositions.

Pieter Brueghel the Younger

Abel Grimmer was not the only artist to use of the *Small Landscapes* as models. His contemporary Pieter Brueghel the Younger also copied compositional and architectural elements from the prints in the backgrounds of his paintings. Born in Brussels in 1564, Pieter the Younger joined Antwerp's Guild of Saint Luke in 1584-5.

³⁸ Sauvigny 1991, 223, cat. XLVII.

He ran a very active and prolific workshop, with at least eight apprentices registered in the guild's records.³⁹ Like Abel, he was an avid copyist and is best known for producing scores of relatively cheap paintings after his father's paintings and prints, including the *Seasons* series also copied by Abel in several versions.⁴⁰ If not the most refined painter, Pieter the Younger was certainly consistent in his style, which shows little or no evolution over the course of his career. His formulaic artistic practice makes it very difficult to date his works or to tell his hand from those of his assistants, but underlines how sustained and voracious the appetite for his paintings was in the first half of the seventeenth century. The sheer quantity of paintings that he produced – there are upwards of 60 known versions of one composition after a painting by his father – make clear both the scale and the popularity of Pieter the Younger's enterprise.⁴¹

His use of the *Small Landscapes* as models for paintings has not gone entirely unremarked in art historical literature. Reinhard Liess noted three examples in which Brueghel the Younger borrowed from the prints.⁴² Two are small panels that were

³⁹ Georges Marlier, *Pierre Brueghel le Jeune* (Brussels: R. Finck, 1969), 7.

⁴⁰ Pieter the Younger seems to have relied on prints perhaps even more than on paintings; his versions of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, the *Parable of the Blind*, and the *Misanthrope* are all based on prints after Pieter the Elder's paintings rather than the original paintings. For Pieter the Younger, see Georges Marlier, *Pierre Brueghel le Jeune* (Brussels: R. Finck, 1969); J Folie, "Pieter Brueghel de Jongere," in *Bruegel: een dynastie van schilders* (Exh. cat., Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Brussel: 1980); *Brueghel Enterprises*, (Exh. cat., Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum and Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique: Ludion, 2001). Recently, Natashja Peeters has done extensive archival work on the Bruegel family, revealing much new information on Pieter the Younger's wanton lifestyle and straitened financial circumstances. This research is as yet unpublished.

⁴¹ There are as many as 60 copies after his father's painting, *Winter Landscapes with Skaters and a Bird Trap* from 1565. Others were reproduced dozens of times. For a technical analysis of these workshop productions, see *Brueghel Enterprises*, (Exh. cat., Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum and Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique: Ludion, 2001).

⁴² Despite his exhaustive formal analysis of the *Small Landscape* drawings and prints, Liess makes relatively little of this connection. He cites the paintings primarily in order to bolster his claim that a select group of the *Small Landscape* designs are by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, arguing that Pieter Brueghel the Younger knew these compositions from his father and that in at least one case the son was working

originally part of a set of five rustic scenes and are now in private collections in New York and Amsterdam (figs. 4.61, 4.62). Brueghel the Younger takes his villages from the prints, pushing them somewhat closer to the picture plane and adding figures of peasants in the foreground (compare figs. 1.10, 1.30). In the Amsterdam panel, the architectural structure has been altered slightly in order to be accommodated within the space of the panel, and in both paintings some details have been changed, added, or eliminated, such as the different placement of windows in the farmhouses walls, the addition of wisps of smoke rising from a chimney, and the omission of trees and a draw well. The third painting that Liess mentions, now in Prague, reverses the model of the *Small Landscape* print and transforms the scene into a *Peasant Repast* through the inclusion of a group of peasant figures at a meal in the center foreground and others at various activities distributed throughout the view (fig. 4.63; compare fig. 1.37). Once again, many of the details of the composition are altered, including changes to the windows and doors of the farmhouses and the addition of a small stream in the right foreground of the painting. The painting is significantly larger than the two panels previously mentioned, measuring 44 x 58.5 cm. Though the spatial arrangement of the painting is not very different from that of the print, there is an altogether more expansive and airy feeling to the painting that cannot only be the result of the painting's larger scale. In addition, peasants lend an animation to the scene that is quite lacking in the print, contributing to the sense of a more open and dynamic space.

directly from the father's original drawing rather than from the print (Liess I, 80). For Liess' brief discussion of the three paintings he does cite, see R. Liess, "Die kleine Landschaften Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. im Lichte seines Gesamtwerks." *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 15/16 (1979-1980), 80, 104, and 107.

One additional painting that Liess did not discuss is based on a *Small Landscape* view. This painting in the Tiroler Landesmuseum in Innsbruck, depicts a peasant dance around a tree and is signed and dated 1634 (fig. 4.64).⁴³ It takes for its setting the Inn at the Sign of the Swan from the *Small Landscapes* (compare fig. 1.40). The tree that Brueghel has added at the center foreground along with the many dancing peasants that gather around it once again shift the focus and spatial impression of the scene. The inn itself looks larger as well, with the foliage of trees around it, the darker thatching on its roof, and the many peasants at its door and windows which make the structure appear more solid and inhabited. Brueghel has also added a church steeple rising up beyond the feathery foliage of the trees in the background that extends the pictorial space and creates the potential for more symbolic iconographic resonances.

Taken together, the use of the *Small Landscapes* as direct models for paintings by both Abel Grimmer and Pieter Brueghel the Younger makes clear that the prints continued to be an important artistic source long after their initial publication. These cases prove that the prints were part of the workshop repertoires of at least two highly productive and successful artists around the turn of the century. It is impossible to know for certain which edition of the prints Abel and Pieter worked from, given that many of the paintings that make use of them, including Abel's *Months* series and Pieter's *Peasant Dance*, date after 1601 when Philips Galle published the second edition. In Abel's case at least, it is likely that he worked from Cock's original sets from 1559 and 1561, because

⁴³ It seems impossible that Liess did not know this painting, which is reproduced by Marlier. His failure to mention it must be attributed to the fact that this case fails to accord with his scheme of attributions; he gives the design for this print to Cornelis Cort or another weaker draftsman, rather than to Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Since he suggests that Pieter Brueghel the Younger was working directly from his father's designs, he would thus be unable to explain how the artist came to know and work from a design by Cort. See Liess I, 105-6.

motifs from the prints appear in his paintings from as early as 1599.⁴⁴ Perhaps they had been passed on to him from his father, who certainly absorbed their vernacular idiom, even if he did not, like his son, make such direct use of their model in his own paintings and print designs. If this hypothesis is true, it would mean that the *Small Landscapes* were an active and continuous presence in the workshop of at least one family of artists in Antwerp from around the time of their first publication until after the turn of the new century. However this may be, it remains to be explained why there was a forty year gap between the first publication of the prints and their use as direct models for paintings. Though I suspect this was largely a matter of contemporary artistic tastes, this does not entirely solve the riddle, since it is clear that local rustic scenery was popular already when Jacob Grimmer painted his landscapes earlier in the sixteenth century. The use of prints, the *Small Landscapes* among them, must also have been conditioned by the circumstances within the workshop of prolific artists like Abel Grimmer and Pieter Brueghel the Younger, who sought to produce multiple versions of popular compositions as quickly as possible.

Most importantly, these paintings prove that the *Small Landscapes* did in fact have an audience among other artists and that they did serve ‘in pictorum gratiam,’ providing direct models for painted works. This fertilization across media helps to illuminate the complex ways in which printed sources were tailored to suit the compositional demands of paintings, many of which were different in format and scale

⁴⁴ There is also no evidence that Abel ever copied or borrowed from the four prints after Peeter van der Borch that Philips Galle appended to the *Small Landscapes* series in his 1601 edition. It seems likely that these views, which bear a striking similarity to the kinds of compositions that Abel often produced, would have appealed to Abel, and as he certainly was not shy about using printed sources as models for his paintings, one might then expect to see their compositions appear in his paintings had he known them. As they do not, it seems safe to assume that they were not part of his print collection.

from the original printed images on which they were based. In addition, the presence of these motifs and subjects in painted form also speaks to the enduring popularity of the *Small Landscapes* and compositions by artists like Bruegel and Bol. There can be no doubt, especially considering Abel and Pieter's commercial popularity, that there existed a market eager for painted versions of these older landscapes. Indeed, Abel's *Months* series, which relies so heavily on the *Small Landscapes*, was owned by one of Antwerp's most important printing families. Jan Moretus, Christophe Plantin's son-in-law and heir, either commissioned or purchased the panels on the open market, and they stayed in the family until 1985. Perhaps these artists viewed the constant reuse of printed models as an expedient method by which to produce established compositions, but the success of their formula clearly registers the strong and persistent appeal for these images among art collectors.⁴⁵

Jan Brueghel and Joos de Momper

Though stylistically distinct from the Grimms and Pieter Brueghel the Younger, Jan Bruegel and Joos de Momper were two other important landscape artists working in Antwerp who bore a clear debt to the thematic and typological paradigm established by the *Small Landscapes*, though the influence registers in a more nuanced way. Jan Brueghel, son of Pieter the Elder, was born in Brussels in 1568 and received his first

⁴⁵ Several other paintings by Abel are listed in inventories from Antwerp, including those of the firm Forchoudt in 1652 and 1654 (Denucé, *Bronnen*, vol. 5, 42, 55), Jan van Meurse (Denucé, *Bronnen*, vol. 2, 134), and Anna van der Goes (Denucé, *Bronnen*, vol. 2, 241). Denucé also cites several other inventories that mention paintings by Grimmer, without mentioning either father or son by name. Many are described as small landscapes and church scenes, which would indicate Abel as the more probable artist. See J. Denucé, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de vlaamsche kunst*, 5 vols. (1931), vol. 2, 20, 22, 30, 34, 97, 104, 137, 196, 199, 227, 238, 260, 308, and 372-3. Pieter Brueghel the Younger likewise appears in inventory records and is especially well represented in the collection of the Antwerp art dealers, the Forchoudts.

artistic training from his grandmother, Mayken Verhulst, due to his father's death in 1569. He settled in Antwerp in 1596 after a long stay in Italy in the 1590s, and entered the Guild of Saint Luke in 1597. Soon after obtaining citizenship in the city, he served as the guild's dean in 1602. Joos de Momper, four years Jan's senior, was registered in Antwerp's guild already in 1581 and served as its dean in 1611. He is also believed to have sojourned in Italy, but his stay can be dated to the 1580s and it is therefore unlikely that the two artists knew each other there. Nonetheless, in Antwerp the two artists collaborated with one another regularly, with Jan adding figures and animals to Joos' landscapes. Together they developed a repertoire of forms and ideas that they used as the foundation for countless different compositions, occasionally producing versions of the same landscape compositions, with the result that it can be difficult to distinguish the hands of the two artists.⁴⁶ Though Joos worked with as many as fourteen different artists, his connection with Jan seems to have been both more sustained and more personal than his collaborative efforts with the others.⁴⁷ The two worked on at least 142 paintings together, and in letters Jan referred to Joos as his friend.⁴⁸ The closeness of their relationship is further evidenced by Jan's efforts to introduce Joos' son Philipp into his

⁴⁶ This artistic strategy of establishing a portfolio of formal ideas that can be manipulated and combined to suit different compositions closely resembles Abel Grimmer's practice as well, though he was perhaps less artful in disguising the common motifs that he used so often in newly conceived compositions. On the collaboration between Jan and Joos, see Klaus Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568-1625): Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*. (Cologne: 1979), 470-491; and Klaus Ertz, *Josse de Momper der Jüngere (1564-1645): Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog. The Paintings with Critical Catalogue Raisonné. With English-Language Summary* (Frera: 1986), 342-347 and 392.

⁴⁷ Jan Brueghel the Younger's diary gives fourteen names of artists who worked with de Momper, including himself. Others on the list include Sebastiaen and Ambrosius Francken, Hendrick van Balen, Tobias Verhaecht, Sebastiaen Vrancx, Jan Wildens, and Jacob Jordaens. See Ertz 1979, 472.

⁴⁸ This number is based on Ertz's catalogue of Joos de Momper, and includes only those paintings in which he identifies an undisputable collaboration with Jan Brueghel. If we include those that might have been the result of work with Jan the Elder or Jan the Younger, or possibly work in Jan the Elder's workshop, the number rises to at least 185.

circle of friends and patrons in Italy when the young artist set off on his obligatory trip south together with Jan's son, Jan the Younger.⁴⁹

Both artists produced various types of landscapes. Joos, for example, is probably most famous for mountain scenes and deep forest views that are very different from the intimate *Small Landscapes*. Nonetheless, even if they were not their most characteristic compositions, both Joos and Jan also painted village scenes concentrating on local places and people. The character of these landscape is quite distinct from the *Small Landscapes*, and yet the visual and iconological connection is nonetheless clear. To examine just two examples, Jan's *Village Street with Dancing Peasants*,⁵⁰ dated 1609, and Joos' several versions of a *Village Scene with Draw Well*⁵¹ from the 1620s, not only the village architecture but also the flat terrain of the views recall the sixteenth-century prints (figs. 4.65, 4.66).⁵² Particular details, like the draw well in Joos' paintings or the thatch-roofed barns and sheds of Jan's picture, are practically identical to similar structures in the *Small Landscapes*, indicating either that these artists turned to the prints for specific motifs or, more likely, that both the *Small Landscapes* and the paintings draw these motifs from

⁴⁹ For the relationship between these two artists, including an examination of the archival sources and an in-depth formal analysis, see Ertz 1979, 470-491.

⁵⁰ Ertz 1979, cat. no. 197. There is a faithful copy of this painting in the National Gallery in Prague, which Ertz attributes to Jan Brueghel the Younger.

⁵¹ There are at least four versions of this composition, one of which might actually be the work of Jan Brueghel the Younger (now in the Louvre). This panel and two others are on panel and measure about 46 x 75cm. The last is on copper and is subsequently more diminutive in scale, measuring just 25 x 33 cm. Ertz dates all of these panels to the 1620s. Aside from the panel in the Louvre, all of the paintings were on the art market in the twentieth century. In an interesting note that reaffirms how closely Jan and Joos worked, there is also a drawing by Jan the Elder of this same composition. Ertz, who reproduces the drawing, claims it as a source for Joos' paintings, but it might also be that the influence moved in the opposite direction. See Ertz 1986, cat. nos. 380-383; and 395, ill. 502 for Jan's drawing.

⁵² Ertz also argues for the clear iconographic and formal connection between the *Small Landscapes* and each of these compositions. See Ertz 1979, 217-218, and Ertz 1986, 395.

common features in the same countryside. The real influence of the prints is more fundamental than this. In compositional terms, both Jan and Joos have also taken their cue from the prints. Jan's painting offers a deep view along a village street into the distance. Though such extensive, deep space and symmetrical arrangement are not features of the *Small Landscapes*, Jan's presentation of the village in the foreground and middleground has much in common with the village streets in many of the prints. Joos' group of paintings is perhaps even more clearly connected to the compositional model of the prints. The central farmhouse and the other buildings and trees surrounding it create a visual barrier in the middleground parallel to the picture plane that creates a large area in the foreground in which farmers and washerwomen go about their business. Though there is a visual outlet into the far distance at left, the arrangement of the composition maintains the pictorial focus in the foreground and middleground, much like similar compositions in the *Small Landscapes*.

On the most essential level, however, these pictures register the influence of the *Small Landscapes* in their common approach to depicting the environment of the rural world, with its simple labors and pleasures. The modest villages are presented in an intimate and direct manner, with a low horizon line that allows the viewer a sense of direct access to the scenes before her. The rough dirt roads lead past houses and farms built in a local style, so that the paintings seem to provide the same kind of visual surrogate for a stroll in the immediate rural surroundings of Antwerp that the *Small Landscapes* do. The softer, looser brushstroke employed by Jan and Joos, as compared to Abel Grimmer, adds a certain ramshackle charm to the scenes that Abel's neater, more formulaic forms often lack.

Few other paintings in the oeuvres of Jan and Joos come as near to the form and composition of the *Small Landscapes* as these do. Nonetheless, their landscapes often display the same attention to the local and penchant for modest simplicity, even when their compositions are more expansive or their subjects more exalted. Many of their village scenes are overwhelmed by crowds of peasants at market or at *kermesses*. The *Village Landscape with Cattle Market*⁵³ and the *Washing Fields of Flanders*⁵⁴ are two such cases (figs. 4.67, 4.68). The paintings are probably two of the many collaborative works by the artists, in which Jan supplied the figures and Joos the landscape and setting. In the cattle market scene, Jan has created a teeming market, filled with buyers, sellers, cattle, and wagons. Joos has constructed the landscape from a more elevated and distant point of view, so that we can look out over the crowd into the village and beyond. Yet, even in the midst of this welter of activity and from this more remote viewpoint, the painting retains the characteristic environment of the local landscape. The typical draw-well, the stepped roofs of houses, the rugged flat land, and the willowy trees all assert the familiar rustic elements of the domestic landscape. The *Washing Fields* likewise calls upon the same architectural vocabulary to evoke a typical Flemish village, dominated by the common, everyday activities of its inhabitants: teams of washerwomen spread out their sheets and clothes to bleach in the fields that are bordered at right by a moated country house. On the left, a sizeable village is filled with the traffic and activity of

⁵³ There is at least one other very similar composition, which Ertz attributes to Jan alone. Ertz suggests that this version is collaboration between Jan and Joos in Ertz 1979, cat. no. 256. However, he does not include the work in his more recent catalogue on Joos de Momper.

⁵⁴ In both his catalogue on Jan Brueghel the Elder and Joos de Momper, Ertz claims this work to be a collaborative effort. In his review of the Jan catalogue, however, David Freedberg has expressed hesitation about Ertz' protracted efforts to attribute the landscape to Joos and his rather less convincing attribution of the figures to Jan. See Freedberg, Review of Ertz' *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568-1625): Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*, Burlington Magazine vol. 126, no. 978 (September 1984), 575-577.

market-day. The verdant hills and forests that recede into the hazy distance certainly contrast with the busy realms of foreground and middleground, adding a distant panorama to the view. If the sheltered quietude of the *Small Landscapes* has been cast aside in favor of more lively and expansive vistas in these paintings, the hallmarks of the local landscape remain, incorporated now into a new vision of rural activity and its economies.

The *Small Landscapes* Renewed

The many artists in Antwerp who turned to the *Small Landscapes* at the turn of the century did so for many reasons. Some sought rural compositions to borrow ready-made and insert into their own works. Others gleaned a more indirect aesthetic inspiration from the tranquil local views of the original prints, finding in the *Small Landscapes* the artistic license to turn to the autochthonous landscape and its typical architecture and topography. What is puzzling about this resurgence of the *Small Landscapes* is its timing. When they were originally published in 1559 and 1561, the prints do not appear to have achieved the same degree of artistic influence. With the exception of early works by Jacob Grimmer, it was only in the later years of the sixteenth century that artists began to respond in a significant way to the prints. This dilemma is paralleled in the history of the *Small Landscapes* themselves, which were not reissued after their first printing until 1601, but which from then on featured regularly in the Galle workshop's output.

To some degree, this can be explained by the fact that almost immediately after the prints were first issued, Antwerp and the Southern Netherlands were plunged into

war. Conditions for artists in the city were so inauspicious that many left for more hospitable locales, primarily in Germany and the Northern Netherlands. This drain severely limited the production of all art in Antwerp, not just that of landscapes. Nonetheless, a quick look at the output of an artist like Marten de Vos or a publisher like Philips Galle shows that many artists did in fact carry on with their work despite the political, military, and economic upheavals to which the city was subject in the 1570s and 80s, often adjusting their art to the new conditions in Antwerp.

The most compelling explanation for this uneven trajectory of both the prints and their influence stems not simply from the general circumstances of war, but rather the way in which the war affected habits of land ownership and cultivation and urban attitudes toward the local countryside. If we consider that the Brabantine countryside was an embattled place from the late 1560s through to about 1590, it is less surprising to find that images of these very lands were not in active circulation, either among artists or among collectors. On the other hand, as Antwerp's citizens turned back to the land in the 1590s and began to buy up agricultural properties, *speelhuizen*, and *heerlijkheden*, there was once more a strong desire to articulate the nature of the countryside and the urban relationship to it. In equal measure an effort to document, to reconstruct and to glorify the local landscape, the later editions of the *Small Landscapes* gave visual form to a terrain that had largely lost its semantic connotations through decades of destruction and desertion. So too van Luyck, the Grimmers, and the Brueghels picked up on the cultural need among *Antwerpenaars* for ways to think about and understand their local rural surroundings anew, to see it reflected back to them in art – however formulaic that art may have been in the paintings by Abel Grimmer or Pieter Brueghel the Younger. It is

natural that these artists, seeking a model for expressing the countryside in a form both familiar and resonant, should turn back to the *Small Landscapes*. The new flowering of the local landscape at the turn of the century thereby further corroborates the broader socio-cultural force of the local landscape in early modern Antwerp and illuminates a significant instance of the interconnection and interdependence between artistic developments and their cultural context.

Epilogue:

Claes Jansz. Visscher and The *Small Landscapes* in the Northern Netherlands

As Antwerp's artists emigrated north to Amsterdam and other cities in the United Provinces after 1585, they brought the traditions of Flemish landscape with them, allowing the legacy of the *Small Landscapes* to spread still further.¹ Though an in-depth analysis of Dutch landscape falls outside of the purview of this study, no analysis of the history and impact of the *Small Landscapes* can fail to acknowledge that these modest Flemish prints reached a sort of apogee in Holland in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Once again, it is a discerning and shrewd print publisher who deserves the credit for bringing the *Small Landscapes* to northern audiences and almost single-handedly initiating the taste and market for a new class of local landscape in Holland. Claes Jansz. Visscher's version of the *Small Landscapes* laid the foundation for a specifically Dutch idiom of landscape and proved to be an essential catalyst in the development of the Golden Age of Dutch landscape.

One of Amsterdam's most prolific printmakers and print publishers, Visscher enjoyed a long and successful career, spanning from his earliest forays into printmaking in the second decade of the seventeenth century to his death in 1652, by which time he was the head of a busy and multifaceted print publishing firm. Van Mander asserts that he received his artistic training from David Vinckboons, who had arrived in Amsterdam at a young age when his family emigrated there in 1591. Some of Visscher's first prints are after compositions by Vinckboons, though he also worked with the Amsterdam

¹ On the artistic emigration from the Southern to Northern provinces and Holland in particular, see J. G. C. A. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlandse immigratie 1572-1630* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1978); J. G. C. A. Briels, "De Zuidnederlandse immigratie, 1572-1630," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 100 (1987).

publisher Willem Jansz. Blaeu early in his career, for whom he etched maps and decorative borders for Blaeu's monumental cartographic productions. Until about 1610, he generally worked for other publishers; thereafter he set up shop on his own and in 1611 moved to a house called the *Gulden Beurs* in the Kalverstraat, where he quickly became a major producer of topical prints and city views. He soon branched out further and began to produce large numbers of printed landscape series, some which he published for the first time and many others which he either reissued or copied when he could not acquire the original plates.² He was a master of marketing as much as of etching, constantly stimulating the market for his prints, diversifying his output, and slowly building up a stock of plates that would give him a virtual monopoly in the domain of landscape prints by the time of his death in 1652.

It is perhaps through the hands of expatriate landscape artists from the south that Visscher came to know the *Small Landscapes*.³ Early in his career he also had connections with Theodoor Galle and therefore might have acquired the prints directly

² For a more detailed overview of Visscher's career, see M. Simon, "Claes Jansz. Visscher" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Fribourg, 1958); Ger and Ariane van Suchtelen Luijten, et. al., eds., *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620* (1993), 189-194; and Walter Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkeley: 2000), Chapter Two. In his introductory note to Hollstein, vol. 38, Christian Schuckman noted that he is working on a study of Visscher's entire publishing output, which would be a most welcome addition to the literature on Visscher's prolific career. This study has, however, not yet appeared and without it, it is difficult to judge the exact extent or nature of Visscher's publishing enterprise, though Visscher certainly owned over 2,000 plates, about half of which were acquired second-hand.

³ It is certainly possible that the *Small Landscapes* series first arrived in Holland in the hands of émigré southern artists. Hans Bol settled in Amsterdam in the 1580s and stayed there until his death in 1593, training artists like his stepson Frans Boels and fellow émigré Jacob Savery in his workshop. Other illustrious Flemish landscape artists eventually made their way to Amsterdam as well, including Gillis van Coninxloo and the Vinckboons family. Hans Bol, who was so intimately involved in landscape print production in Antwerp and who had worked in Cock's workshop, would seem a particularly likely candidate to have owned the *Small Landscapes* and brought them north with him, though Philip Vinckboons, David's father and himself a landscape watercolorist, might also have possessed a copy of the series.

from Antwerp.⁴ However he became familiar with the *Small Landscapes*, Visscher was keenly aware of their artistic and commercial potential in the North. Unable to procure the original plates from the Galle workshop, he did the next best thing: he etched copies of twenty-four of the original forty-four prints and published them under his own impressum in 1612 with a new title-page and an additional print of his own appended at the end (figs. 5.1-5.3).⁵ Visscher was likely working from a copy, perhaps incomplete, of Cock's original 1561 set, as the images he chose to reproduce can almost all be assigned to that series.⁶ His versions of the images are slightly condensed, measuring around 10.3 x 15.8 cm, and have a softer, warmer quality due not only to Visscher's more supple etching style but also to the thicker, cottony foliage he has given to the trees.

By presenting a domestic, rural terrain in a simple manner rather than a monumental, heroic one adorned with mythological or historical content, Visscher's copies provided Dutch artists with a new template for landscape, one that valorized the

⁴ Visscher etched a plate representing *Spring* after Jodocus de Momper. The print was part of a series of the seasons published by Theodoor Galle, with the other plates by Theodoor himself (*Autumn* and *Winter*) and Egbert van Panderen (*Summer*). The series is not dated, but can safely be placed in the first or early in the second decade of the seventeenth century, since Theodoor Galle began signing his name as publisher during these years, and the Dutch engraver van Panderen is documented as working in Antwerp only between 1606 and 1609, when he is mentioned in Amsterdam, though he may have returned to Antwerp again later in his career or provided these designs to Theodoor from Amsterdam. For Visscher's print, see Hollstein, vol. 38/39, no. 12.

⁵ In the set in Brussels, the print labeled 25 elsewhere is labeled 27, and a copied print by Visscher after a print by Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, dated 1620, is substituted as the twenty-fifth print in the series. Hollstein, vol. 38/39, nos. 292-317 for Visscher's copies of the *Small Landscapes*; and no. 289 for the substituted copy after Bolswert's print.

⁶ See Chapter One, note 2 for further explanation of the division of the two sets and Appendix I for a full chart of their contents. The 1561 set included twenty-six prints on thirteen plates. Visscher's copies reproduce all but three of the prints from the 1561 series. There is, however, one copy in Visscher's series that was based on a print in the 1559 series. This is also, notably, the print that differs most starkly from the original, with much more lush foliage, slightly different contours in the road, and a completely different arrangement of staffage. Perhaps Visscher was working from an intermediate third source for this composition, something like, for example, the etched copies in red ink in the Ambras album discussed at the beginning of Chapter Four, rather than from an original print, and thus felt free to take greater liberties.

local and the humble. The prints acted as a stimulus for Dutch artists who soon began to produce renditions of the flat Dutch in print and paint. However, one must distinguish between the role that Visscher's prints would go on to serve in the history of Dutch landscape and Visscher's apparent original intent in executing them. It is especially significant that on his title-page for the copied *Small Landscapes*, Visscher attributes the original designs to Pieter Bruegel (fig. 5.4).⁷ Visscher's motives for making such a claim – contradicting Philip Galle's 1601 attribution to Cornelis Cort – are difficult to pinpoint, though one must suspect that he was primarily interested in trading on Bruegel's fame and popularity by connecting his series to the great Flemish master of the previous century.⁸ Such commercial ploys were not uncommon for Visscher.⁹ However, what is most important about attaching Bruegel's name to the series is that it indicates how for Visscher and for his intended audiences, these prints were clearly understood as the product of an older Flemish landscape tradition. Far from conceiving of them or presenting them as novel or original designs, Visscher quite consciously sought to signal the venerable provenance of the images. As such, his copies of the *Small Landscapes*

⁷ The Latin title reads: "Regiunculae, et villae/ aliquot ducatus Bra-/bantiae, à P. Bruegelio/ delineatae, et in picto-/rum gratiam, à Nico-/lao Ioannis Piscatore/ excusae, & in lucem edi-/tae. Amstelodami./ 1612."

⁸ On the Bruegel Renaissance at the turn of the seventeenth century, see Teréz Gerszi, "Bruegels Nachwirkung auf die niederländischen Landschaftsmaler um 1600," *Oud Holland* 90 (1976); Teréz Gerszi, "L'influence de Pieter Bruegel sur l'art du paysage de David Vinckboons et de Gillis d'Hondercoeter," *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 53 (1979). Gibson has also argued that Visscher might have based his attribution on the similarity between the *Small Landscape* compositions and those of a number of forged drawings by Jacob Savery that bore Bruegel's name. If Visscher believed these drawings to have been by Bruegel, many of which depict rural farmhouses and villages, he might have reached the conclusion that the *Small Landscapes*, emanating from a print shop in which Bruegel had been employed as a designer of landscape prints, were likewise from the master's hand. That he was apparently unaware of Philip Galle's attribution to Cornelis Cort further suggests that he was working from Cock's original edition, though he might also have actively ignored Galle's attribution in favor of making his own more commercially favorable one. See Gibson, *Pleasant Places*, 42.

⁹ For another example, see Chapter Four, note 10.

must be seen as a retrospective effort to return to and capitalize on an earlier form of landscape representation. It was only in their subsequent influence on contemporary Dutch artists – an audience to whom Visscher explicitly addressed the series on his title-page – that the model of the *Small Landscapes* would point a path toward a fundamentally new and distinctive approach in Dutch landscape.

Visscher's copies of the *Small Landscapes* form part of his larger output of landscape prints in the 1610s and 1620s. Visscher was almost single-handedly responsible for generating the phenomenal interest in artistic representations of the local terrain in Holland during these years. Though several other artists eventually began designing, etching, and publishing similar landscapes, Visscher can rightly be credited with beginning the fashion and catering most assiduously to the market for such images that he had himself engendered.¹⁰ The wellspring for Visscher's own landscape compositions, however, is firmly rooted in the Flemish tradition, and not only as he encountered it in the *Small Landscapes*. Visscher also went on to publish many other local landscape prints that had originally appeared in Antwerp, including all three of the series published by Hans van Luyck discussed in Chapter IV. He had better luck with these series than with the *Small Landscapes* and was able to obtain the original plates, thereby significantly simplifying the work involved in reissuing them. The exact dates of Visscher's editions of these publications are unknown, but it is likely that he purchased the plates for all three of them at the auction of Cornelis Claes' estate in 1610.¹¹

¹⁰ Gibson's analysis of Visscher's various publishing ventures and of the various other artists and publishers involved in this enterprise provides a useful overview. It also sets Visscher's achievement within the broader emergence of rustic landscape in all media. See Gibson, *Pleasant Places*, Chapter Two.

¹¹ The stock list from the Claes auction survives in Wolfenthal. For a discussion of Claes as a print dealer and an identification of many of the prints described in the catalogue he published in 1609 entitled the "Const ende Caert-Register," see H. W. de Kooker and B. van Selm, *Boekcultuur in de Lage Landen, 1500-*

Visscher's only changes to the plates involved replacing Hans van Luyck's name or initials with his own. It is likely that he reissued these series quite soon after purchasing them to coincide with his copied edition of the *Small Landscapes*, thus practically recreating Antwerp's selection of local rustic landscape prints in Amsterdam around 1610-12.

To this he added his own contributions to the genre. His *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, probably issued in 1612 or 1613, was based on topographically specific drawings that he had made in the rural surrounds of Haarlem about five years prior (figs. 5.5, 5.6).¹² His sudden windfall of other plates from the Claes sale, which he busily set about issuing, might explain the lag between the dates on Visscher's original drawing and the appearance of the printed edition of the *Plaisante Plaetsen*. Unlike any other such series, Visscher included not only a title-page, with a highly allegorical figure group, but also a table of contents set within an elaborate architectural frame that opens out above onto the first of the eleven views in the series, the lighthouse of Sandtvoort (figs. 5.7, 5.8).¹³ The

1800: bibliografie van publicaties over particulier boekenbezit in Noord- en Zuid-Nederland, verschenen voor 1991 (Utrecht: 1993), 217-225, especially note 199.

¹² There are five surviving drawings for the series, all dated 1607. On these and the printed series, see Schuckman, in *Dawn of the Golden Age*, cat. 324 and 326.

¹³ Much has been made of the allegorical significance of both the title-page and the table of contents. Boudewijn Bakker has argued that the allegorical title-page signals that the entire series should be read in a religious light, as praise of the world and an ode to God's creation. Huigen Leeftang has made a similar case for a spiritual meaning in the prints by connecting them with the attitudes expressed in the writings of Samuel Ampzing and others. He also acknowledges that the prints likely elicited a wider range of responses that hinged on the joyful experience of recognizable places, including the pleasures of productive abundance, leisure and courtship. Schuckman points out that there are additional dimensions to the title-page as well, including the patriotic references to the town of Haarlem and punning references to Visscher's own name through the inclusion of a fisherman in the right background. He suggests that the many artistic implements placed along the central ledge in the table of contents refer to Visscher's interest in describing the world. See Boudewijn Bakker, "Levenspelgrimage of vrome wandeling? Claes Visscher en zijn serie *Plaisante Plaetsen*," *Oud Holland* 107, no. 1 (1993); Huigen Leeftang, "Het landschap in boek en prent: Perceptie en interpretatie van vroeg zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse landschapsprenten," in *Nederland naar't leven: Landschapsprenten uit de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Boudewijn Bakker and Huigen Leeftang (Exh. cat., Zwolle, Amsterdam: 1993); Huigen Leeftang, "Dutch Landscape: the urban view:

list of locations, below, does not entirely fill the allotted space, indicating that Visscher may have planned to issue an expanded edition with additional plates at a later date.

This series, often described as a kind of Dutch pendant to the Brabantine *Small Landscapes*, focuses on similar sorts of scenery, with rural Dutch villages, barns, sheds, and fields predominating. The only more monumental structures featured are the Sandtvoort lighthouse on the table of contents and the ruins of the Huis ter Kleef in the last print (fig. 5.9). Otherwise, the descriptive spirit and indeed the compositional model of the *Small Landscapes* is followed fairly closely, with a few notable distinctions. Visscher's use of fences in the immediate foreground of many of his prints tends to frame the views and distance them from the viewer in a way that runs quite counter to the open visual access granted by the *Small Landscapes* (fig. 5.10). The roads that lead into many of the views also tend to curve into space in a more dynamic way, granting the scenes a sense of depth and visual energy that is largely absent from the *Small Landscapes* (fig. 5.11). Nonetheless, in their depiction of the tranquil activities and "pleasant places" of Haarlem's rural hinterlands, they offer the viewer the chance to visit the countryside without sacrificing the time or expense of actual travel.¹⁴ In this, Visscher's series is a direct corollary to the *Small Landscapes*.

However, in a cultural sense Visscher's copies of the *Small Landscapes* and his *Plaisante Plaetsen* series had a very different resonance from Cock's original publications in 1559 and 1561 and the Galle reprints in seventeenth-century Antwerp. As

Haarlem and its environs in literature and art, 15th-17th century," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 48 (1997); and Schuckman, in *Dawn of the Golden Age*, 653, cat. no. 327.

¹⁴ The Dutch inscription on the title-page makes this quite plain: "Plaisante plaetsen hier, meught ghij aenschouwen radt./ Liefhebbers die geen tijd en hebt om veer te reijsen./ Ghelegen buiten de ghenoechelijcke/ Stadt, Haerlem of daer ontrent, koopt sonder la[n]ge te peijse[n]."

the original *Small Landscapes* and their later editions responded to and helped to shape aspirations about rural land ownership, negotiated the cultural dialectic between city and country, and registered changing notions of the rural idyll in the face of war and political upheaval in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Antwerp, Visscher's series in turn contributed to emerging cultural understandings of the local rural world in Holland in the early seventeenth century. Here too urban citizens in Haarlem and Amsterdam sought out the country for its restful and refreshing qualities, buying country estates in the outskirts of the cities much as their counterparts in sixteenth-century Antwerp had done. Yet the valence of both the land and representations of it were unique to the Dutch cultural context.¹⁵ Scholars have long debated the precise nature of the cultural import of Dutch landscape imagery.¹⁶ In response to strict iconographic and scriptural treatments of the landscapes of Visscher and other early proponent of rural Dutch landscapes,¹⁷ Simon Schama, Alan Chong and Egbert Haverkamp Begemann, and Catherine Levesque have argued that these landscapes must be understood within their cultural and political

¹⁵ On the habits of country life and country estates in the United Provinces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including how they related to contemporary literature and garden construction, see Erik de Jong, *Nature and Art: Dutch Garden and Landscape Architecture, 1650-1740*, trans. Anne Langenakens, Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 3-17.

¹⁶ This line of inquiry was first proposed by Aoke Bengtsson in 1952. See Aoke Bengtsson, *Studies in the Rise of Realistic Landscape Painting in Holland 1610-1625* (Uppsala: 1952).

¹⁷ This approach was first set forth by Josua Bruyn. Beginning from De Jonghe's notion of *schijnrealisme*, Bruyn asserts that many of the individual elements in apparently realistic Dutch landscapes can actually be read emblematically and their meanings clarified by contemporary texts. The results lead to a programmatic "language" of landscape in which the image becomes a coded field in which one can decipher specific scriptural meanings. He concludes that these landscapes are to be read as moral allegories based on the metaphor of the pilgrimage of life, in which the emblematic details hidden within the prints, once decoded, cast the image of the pleasures of the world in a negative light. See Josua Bruyn, "Toward a Scriptural Reading of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting," in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Landscape Painting*, ed. P.C. Hutton, et. al. (Exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 1987).

context.¹⁸ Schama and Levesque are eager to establish the role of such images in the larger enterprise of Dutch national self-definition that evolved from the new-found political autonomy and economic and cultural ascendancy of the Northern Provinces after rebellion from Spain. Levesque stresses the ways in which Dutch print series embodied a spectrum of connotations and meanings that sprang first and foremost from the sense of community and the desire for a prosperous peace and freedom taking shape in Holland and the Northern Provinces.

The methodological approach of Schama and Levesque has been severely criticized, particularly by Dutch scholars who have taken issue with their wide-ranging and unscientific reliance of various associative leaps: between art and politics, landscape and history, and image and reality.¹⁹ Recently, scholars have offered more focused

¹⁸ Simon Schama, "Culture as Foreground," in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting* (Exh. cat., Boston: 1987); Egbert Haverkamp Begemann and Alan Chong, "Dutch Landscape painting and its associations," in *The Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis*, ed. H.R. Hoetink (Amsterdam: 1985); Catherine Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: the Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: 1994); Catherine Levesque, "Landscape, Politics, and the Prosperous Peace," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 48 (1997).

¹⁹ For a stern criticism of the so-called "associative" camp, see Reindert Falkenburg, "De betekenis van het geschilderde Hollandse landschap van de zeventiende eeuw: Een beschouwing naar aanleiding van enkele recente interpretaties," *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 16 (1989). Falkenburg seeks to revise the reductive nature of the scriptural model as propounded by scholars like Bruyn. He borrows heavily from David Freedberg's landmark study, *Dutch Landscape Prints*, where Freedberg discusses these prints as visual invitations for arm-chair travel and proposed the model of the *wandeling*, or walk out in the country, as the key through which to access their meaning. Falkenburg wishes to take this a step further, suggesting that the imaginary wander through the countryside was a paradigmatic "technique of observation." The slow unfolding of the landscape when viewed in this manner reveals significant details hidden in its midst, rewarding the observant visual traveler with the discovery of veiled meanings. He does not say so explicitly, but the reader can impute that these meanings correspond in the main with Bruyn's moral warnings. In addition, criticisms of Levesque have been particularly strong. Leeflang and Bakker both wrote damning reviews of Levesque's book, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland*. See Huigen Leeflang, "Journey through landscape in seventeenth-century Holland: the Haarlem print series and Dutch identity [book review]," *Simiolus* 23, no. 4 (1995); and Boudewijn Bakker, "Review of C. Levesque's *Journey Through Landscape in 17th-Century Holland*," *Oud Holland* 110/2 (1996). In a rather surprising turnaround, however, Falkenburg has changed his opinion of the associative approach and has come to explicitly accept that meaning in landscapes consists of "a 'field' of semantic potential which is 'triggered' by the image as well as by the expectations and experiences of the audience." See Reindert Falkenburg, "Calvinism and the Emergence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Landscape Art: A Critical

studies on the particular urban culture in Haarlem at the time when Visscher produced the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series,²⁰ and modified the older scriptural reading of Dutch landscape prints to account both for the plurality of confessional faiths in the Northern Netherlands in the early seventeenth century and the undeniable visual pleasure that the prints impart.²¹

What emerges from these various studies is a clear sense that early Dutch landscape prints embodied a variety of meanings and cultural connotations specific to their audiences in the Northern Provinces. The new challenges of independence and nation building, the strong currents of civic and local pride, the rise of Calvinist theories of art and nature, the simultaneous proliferation of topographical and cartographical texts and images, the radical growth of Dutch towns and cities, the increase in rural industries, and the cultivation of the countryside as a place for leisure and courtship must all have played a role in shaping Dutch urban attitudes toward the land. Visscher's prints responded to and helped to frame this complex nexus of associations and are therefore specific to this artistic, social, religious, and political milieu. In copying of the *Small Landscapes*, Visscher did not in fact recreate the *Small Landscapes*. Just as the copies are distinct artistic products, so too the associations and resonances that they inspired for Northern audiences are specific to their new context in seventeenth-century Holland. Likewise, however much his *Plaisante Plaetsen* might owe to Cock's series, the views of

Evaluation," in *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corby Finney (Cambridge, England: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999).

²⁰ Huigen Leeftang, "Dutch Landscape: the urban view: Haarlem and its environs in literature and art, 15th-17th century," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 48 (1997).

²¹ C. Brown, *Dutch Landscape: The early years, Haarlem and Amsterdam 1590-1650*. (Exh.cat., National Gallery, London: 1986); Boudewijn Bakker, "Levenspelgrimage of vrome wandeling? Claes Visscher en zijn serie Plaisante Plaetsen," *Oud Holland* 107, no. 1 (1993); Gibson, *Pleasant Places*.

Haarlem's surroundings cannot but be connected to the very specific historical and political circumstances of the place of their production. Thus, in an important way Visscher's projects set forth an independent artistic and cultural trajectory. While they bear a formal resemblance to the *Small Landscapes*, Visscher's local landscapes are just that: local, and therefore inextricable from the concerns, desires, tastes, and ambitions ascendant in their own place and time of publication. In this they are in fact truest to the legacy of the *Small Landscapes*.

The model of the local landscape that Visscher's reissues, copies, and original series set forth served as the foundation for other artists who sought to establish an indigenous idiom of rustic landscape in the North.²² In the many landscape print series that followed Visscher's initial projects, he and other publishers produced series after artists like Willem Buytewech, Jan van de Velde, Esaias van de Velde, and Abraham Bloemaert.²³ In them, a new use of the local emerged. These landscape etchings, though rooted in familiar rustic terrain, often focused as much on highlighting the distinctive style of the artist or etcher as they did on recording credible views of the land. The local

²² Several exhibition catalogues have dealt with the emergence of Dutch landscape prints in great depth. The most important of these are: David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: 1980); C. Brown, *Dutch Landscape: The early years, Haarlem and Amsterdam 1590-1650*. (Exh.cat., National Gallery, London: 1986); Ger and Ariane van Suchtelen Luijten, et. al., eds., *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620* (1993); and Boudewijn Bakker and Huigen Leeftang, *Nederland naar 't leven: Landschapsprenten uit de Gouden Eeuw* (Exh. cat., Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam: 1993).

²³ The publishing history of these series is complex, since many artists and etchers worked for more than one publisher. The issue is further complicated by the fact that Visscher often produced copies of series published by others almost immediately after they were issued, only to later acquire and reissue the original plates. He also compiled prints by different designers and engravers into makeshift series in at least a couple of cases. Some of the other publishers who made important contributions to this growing field of printmaking were Hendrick Hondius, Robert de Baudous, Boëtius à Bolswert, Broer Jansen, and Jan Pietersz Beerendrecht. On Hondius, see Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrik Hondius and the Business of Prints in 17th Century Holland* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1996). On Beerendrecht, see Elizabeth Wyckoff, "Innovation and Popularization: Printmaking and Print Publishing in Haarlem during the 1620s" (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1998), 139-191, and 353-361.

features of these landscapes – the typical rustic structures and villages – served as rather standard elements through which artists showcased their singular style and displayed the process of facture itself.²⁴ The landscape, free from the constraints of more narrative kinds of content that require a higher level of explicitness and legibility, became a domain for experimental inventiveness. Especially Bloemaert's landscapes, as translated into print by Boëtius à Bolswert, are heavy with dilapidated barns, gnarled trees, and swelling terrain. These prints use generic rural landscape elements as an opportunity to display the artist's particular artistic temperament and style (fig. 5.12, 5.13). In a sense, the prints bear a greater resemblance to Hendrick Goltzius' *Four Small Landscapes* and the landscapes of Jacques de Gheyn than they do to Visscher's local landscape series.²⁵ Compare for example, Goltzius' *Landscape with Farmhouse*, probably from the late 1590s, or de Gheyn's *Winter Landscape with Skaters*, from around 1610, with Bloemaert's prints (figs. 5.14, 5.15). The common emphasis on bold, undulating lines

²⁴ Joseph Koerner and Michael Zell, *Lifeworld: Portrait and Landscape in Netherlandish Prints, 1550-1650* (Exh. cat., Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum: 1999).

²⁵ Recent work on Goltzius has brought the career and output of this extremely talented artist into clearer focus. See especially Huigen and Ger Luijten Leeftang, eds., *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617): drawings, prints and paintings* (Exh. cat., Amsterdam and New York: Waanders, 2003), with references to further literature. On the *Four Small Landscapes*, see Nancy Ann Bialler, *Chiaroscuro Woodcuts: Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) and His Time* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1992), 173-189. Goltzius' landscapes can be linked to his classicizing interests, undoubtedly spurred by his trip to Italy in 1590-91. His 1596 *Landscape with Mercury* (drawing, Besançon) clearly shows the extent of the influence of Venetian landscape, and particularly that of Campagna, upon his own work. His suite of woodcut illustrations for van Mander's translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* (1597) confirms this strong Venetian influence, as do the form and style of the *Four Small Landscapes*, even the *Landscape with a Farmhouse*, which focuses on a farmhouse and landscape typical of the Dutch countryside. It should however be noted that Goltzius also created more topographical studies of the Dutch landscape from nature, most notably in two drawings of the vicinity of Haarlem, from c. 1603 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen inv. no. DN 199/96; and Paris, Collection Frits Lugt, Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 2628). These sheets are an important contribution to the development of the local landscape in the North, but unlike the *Four Small Landscapes*, these subtle drawings were never produced as prints and therefore can have had but a limited impact on artists outside his immediate circle or on the market for local landscapes in Holland on a more general level. For more on the strong classicizing and Italianate current in Goltzius' work, see also Jürgen Müller, Petra Roettig, and Andreas Stolzenburg, *Die Masken der Schönheit: Hendrick Goltzius und das Kunstideal um 1600* (Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 2002).

and striking contrasts between light and dark make all of these prints appear animated, even out of control, as though the motion of the burin or etching needle were able to record and allow us to witness the transient forces of nature and the entropy of decay. These images make no pretense to be documentary views, which seek to hold a particular site in frozen focus and erase the trace of the artist, but are rather overt advertisements of the artists' ability to rival nature through sheer expressive energy.

Other artists stayed closer to a more realistic presentation of the landscape, and yet even these prints seem intended as much to reproduce the particular draftsmanship of an artist as they are to reproduce a recognizable local terrain (figs. 5.16, 5.17). The etching technique, favored for its light touch and quick, casual execution, was particularly suited to displaying the immediacy of the artistic process, as though it could somehow transcribe a quick, roving glance across the landscape. The medium reached its zenith with Rembrandt, whose landscape prints convey an extraordinarily immediate and intimate sense of the local Dutch terrain (fig. 5.18). In his prints, we are able to see as though through Rembrandt's eyes as he scans the horizon and pauses to take in its features. The etchings are some of the most personal of Rembrandt's oeuvre, communicating not just his own vision of the landscape but also his ineffable power as an artist.

The innovations set forth in early Dutch landscape prints had an equally dramatic effect on painters, who adopted the free technique and swift stroke of the etcher when they took up their maulstick and brushes to portray the local terrain. Painters from Gillis Claesz. de Hondecoeter,²⁶ Esaias van de Velde, Jan van Goyen, and Pieter de Molijn

²⁶ See Joaneath A. Spicer, "Gillis de Hondecoeter," in *Grove Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1996); and C. Brown, *Dutch Landscape: The early years, Haarlem and Amsterdam 1590-*

through to Jacob Ruisdael in the second half of the century produced hundreds of such landscapes (figs. 5.19-5.24).²⁷ Needless to say, the practically infinite repetition of forms and compositions led to a highly generic rustic vocabulary and common compositional formulae that diverge from the clear simplicity and direct, observational quality of the *Small Landscapes* and Visscher's early series. Yet without Visscher's translation of Cock's local landscapes into the Dutch vernacular, his renewal of van Luyck's model of the Flemish landscape, and Visscher's own incorporation of the local rural terrain into artistic form, the evolution of Dutch landscape would no doubt have taken a very different course.

Throughout this study, we have witnessed how the *Small Landscapes* functioned. From their inception through to their influential afterlife, the most striking feature of these prints is their artistic and cultural mutability. With every new edition, and in the hands of each different artist, and through the eyes of audiences in each different place and time, the *Small Landscapes* transmitted a unique image of the local landscape. On an artistic level, they set in motion a fascinating shift in landscape art both in their hometown of Antwerp and further afield in the new artistic centers of Holland. These humble prints had an effect on some of the most prolific and famed artists of the age,

1650. (Exh.cat., National Gallery, London: 1986), 119-20. Hondecoeter was of Flemish origin, born in Antwerp or Mechelen circa 1575-80. His family emigrated north around 1600, and Hondecoeter, having probably served as an apprentice to his father, Nicolaes Jansz. de Hondecouter I, continued his training in Delft, before moving to Utrecht and finally settling Amsterdam, where he served as deacon of the Guild of Saint Luke in 1636. He died in 1638. His earliest known painting dates from 1602, when he was already living in the North.

²⁷ For further analysis of Dutch landscape painting, see Peter C. Sutton, *Masters of 17th-century Dutch Landscape Painting* (Exh.cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia: 1987). Sutton revisits the topic in a later catalogue: Peter C. Sutton, *The Golden Age of Dutch Landscape Painting* (Madrid: Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, 1994). For a fruitful juxtaposition of drawings, prints, and paintings, see the chapter on landscape in *Dawn of the Golden Age*, 632-676.

from the underappreciated Grimmers to the famed Jan Bruegel to the ubiquitous Claes Visscher and the practitioners of landscape in the Golden Age of Dutch painting. It is fair to say that the *Small Landscapes*, so anomalous at the time of their first publication, came to occupy a central position for artists who took them as their model, both literally and more loosely. For the many audiences who encountered them over the course of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in Antwerp, in the North and indeed throughout Europe, the *Small Landscapes* conveyed varied and nuanced impressions about local rural land. The several later editions published by the Galles and Visscher's copies indicate the great demand for these prints across time and space, while the revelation of their legacy among printmakers and painters proves how popular and entrenched the vernacular idiom of landscape became among both artists and their clientele. Through their fruitful afterlife, the prints codified and solidified a pictorial form for the local landscape. Emerging in Cock's workshop as if from nowhere and carried forth by a roster of prominent publishers, the *Small Landscapes* proved time and time again just how timely they could be.

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Appendix I:
Grouping of the 1559 and 1561 *Small Landscapes* series

Small Landscape Prints in Warsaw:

The collection of *Small Landscapes* in the Gabinet Rycin Grafiki Objec, Muzeum Nordowe in Warsaw have been preserved uncut, two to a page, just as they were printed from the plates. They therefore provide information about how the prints were paired, and by extension, how they were originally grouped. The pairs are as follows, indicated by their NHD numbers and with their inventory numbers in Warsaw noted below:

148 118 (Inv. no. 201198)	119 121 (Inv. no. 201209)	142 120 (Inv. no. 201207)	129 122 (Inv. no. 201208)	123 144 (Inv. no. 201216)
146 124 (Inv. no. 201210)	125 130 (Inv. no. 201204)	126 127 (Inv. no. 201213)	152 128 (Inv. no. 201195)	131 132 (Inv. no. 201214)
133 137 (Inv. no. 201205)	136 134 (Inv. no. 201215)	135 139 (Inv. no. 201206)	140 138 (Inv. no. 201211)	141 154 (Inv. no. 201202)
143 145 (Inv. no. 201203)	147 150 (Inv. no. 201199)	149 151 (Inv. no. 201201)	153 155 (Inv. no. 201212)	156 157 (Inv. no. 201197)
158 159 (Inv. no. 201200)	161 160 (Inv. no. 201196)			

Ambras Album 6638:

All of the forty-four *Small Landscape* prints appear in this album. They are grouped together, three to a page, from page 65 to page 85 (with page 69 left blank). The 1559 title-page is presented first, on its own page, followed by 21 prints. Then the 1561 title-page begins another section of 23 prints, all of which have been numbered in ink (the numbers 12-14 are skipped, and the prints numbered 3-5 have been placed out of order).

The uneven number of prints after each title-page would indicate that this division of the two series does not reflect exactly the original publication of the prints, since one would expect each series to contain an even number of prints, as they were printed two to a plate. Combined with other evidence from Ambras Album 6661, the Escorial album, and Visscher's copies, I will suggest that the final three prints included under the 1559 title-page were in fact part of the 1561 series (and should have occupied the skipped sequence of 12-14 in the album's numbering of the 1561 series).

Page	Figure Number	NHD Numbers
65	179	<i>Small Landscapes</i> Title-page, 1559
66	180-182	118, 160, 161
67	183-185	154, 150, 151
68	186-188	158, 159, 157
69		Blank

70	189-191	149, 153, 155
71	192-194	141, 128, 147
72	195-197	148, 156, 152
73	198-200	126, 131, 132
74	201-203	<i>Small Landscapes</i> Title-page, 1561 146 (labeled in ink 1), 139 (2)
75	204-206	129 (6), 133 (7), 119 (8)
76	207-209	123 (9), 140 (10), 125 (11)
77	210-212	143 (3), 136 (4), 142 (5)
78	213-215	127 (15), 130 (16), 138 (17)
79	216-218	144 (18), 121 (19), 137 (20)
84	231-233	122 (21), 120 (22), 134 (23)
85	234-236	145 (24), 135 (25), 124 (26)

Ambras Album 6641:

The Ambras librarian had two copies of the 1559 series. Though they are presented without a title-page, all of these prints correspond exactly to the prints that are grouped in the first series in Album 6638, if one excludes the final three prints in that series (see discussion of Album 6638 above). The *Small Landscapes* in this album are less systematically placed than those in Album 6638. They are spread over several pages and among several other diverse prints of various sizes and origins.

Figure Number	Hollstein Number
146-151	148 (on page with 5 other prints by Hirschvogel, Thiry, and an unidentified artist)
166-169	149, 118, 154, 153
170-173	161, 151, 152, 157
174-177	141, 158, 150, 155
178-181	160, 147, 159, 128
212-217	156 (on page with five other prints)

Escorial Album:

The album entitled "Paysages" preserved in the Escorial contains all 44 of the *Small Landscape* prints, though they appear without their title-pages and are only loosely arranged according to the groupings of the original series.

Folio Number	Hollstein Number	1559 series or 1561 series
s/f	1561 Title-page	
66	126	1561
67	127	1561
68	157	1559
69	155	1559
69bis	135	1561
70	149	1559
71	152	1559

72	156	1559
73	141	1559
74	159	1559
75	151	1559
76	128	1559
77	160	1559
78	161	1559
79	147	1559
80	150	1559
81	158	1559
82	118	1559
83	130	1561
84	148	1559
85	137	1561
86	142	1561
87	144	1561
88	125	1561
89	129	1561
90	133	1561
91	123	1561
92	134	1561
93	122	1561
94	132	1561
95	124	1561
96	136	1561
97	131	1561
98	145	1561
99	121	1561
100	146	1561
101	140	1561
102	138	1561
103	119	1561
104	120	1561
105	139	1561
106	143	1561
107	153	1559
108	154	1559

Visscher Copies:

Visscher's series of copies after the *Small Landscapes*, which he published in Amsterdam in 1612, included a new title-page and 25 prints. The last of these was in fact not a copy after a *Small Landscape* print at all, but rather a copy after a print by Boëthius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert (see Epilogue for further discussion). Of the 24 prints after the *Small Landscapes*, all but one were based on prints in Cock's 1561 series. He thus reproduces 23 of the 26 prints in the 1561 series, omitting NHD 136, 122, and 130. The penultimate print of Visscher's series is the only copy to be based on a print that originally appeared in the 1559 series. It reproduces NHD 150, but is substantially reworked and modified, so that of the 24 copies, it bears the least resemblance to its original model. This suggests that Visscher may have been working from an

intermediate copy for his own etching, rather than from the original print. It is unclear why he would have chosen to reproduce this image rather than one of the three from the 1561 series which he presumably had at his disposal, though it is of course possible that he was working from an incomplete 1561 series. Visscher's 1612 copies after the *Small Landscapes* were numbered and appeared in the following order, in NHD numbering (see Hollstein, vol. 38/39, nos. 292-317).

119, 139, 145, 138, 137, 133, 134, 146, 140, 121, 127, 129, 144, 126, 125, 123, 143, 132, 131, 124, 120, 135, 142, 150.

Analysis of Groupings:

Through comparing the groupings and arrangements of all of the collections of the *Small Landscapes* discussed above, it is possible to designate which of the prints were included in Cock's first series of 1559 and which appeared in the 1561 series. It is not possible to determine the exact order of the prints in each series, and indeed it is unlikely that the order of the series would have been fixed. Rather collectors probably arranged the series in albums according to their own preferences. I have organized the following lists according to the order used in Ambras Album 6638, though this should be considered by no means definitive.

1559 Series (according to NHD numbering)
118
160
161
154
150
151
158
159
157
149
153
155
141
128
147
148
156
152

Total Prints: 18

1561 Series (according to NHD numbering)
126
131
132
146
139
129
133
119
123
140
125
143
136
142
127
130
138
144
121
137
122
120
134
145
135
124

Total Prints: 26

Appendix II:
Comparison of Martial's Epigram X 47, Lucas d'Heere's translation of Martial, and
Christophe Plantin's Sonnet

Martial's Epigram X, 47:

Vitam quae faciant beatiorem,
iucundissime Martialis, haec sunt:
res non parta labore, sed relictæ;
non ingratus ager, focus perennis;
lis numquam, toga rara, mens quieta;
vires ingenuæ, salubre corpus;
prudens simplicitas, pares amici;
convictus facilis, sine arte mensa;
nox non ebria, sed soluta curis;
non tristis torus et tamen pudicus;
somnus qui faciat breves tenebras:
quod sis esse velis nihilque malis;
summum nec metuas diem nec optes.

The things that make life happier, most genial Martial, are these: means not acquired by labour, but bequeathed; fields not unkindly, an ever blazing hearth; no lawsuit, the toga seldom worn, a quiet mind; a free man's strength, a healthy body; frankness with tact, congenial friends, good-natured guests, a board plainly spread; nights not spent in wine, but freed from cares, a bed not prudish and yet pure; sleep such as makes the darkness brief: be content with what you are, and wish no change; nor dread your last day, nor long for it

(Martial, *Epigrams*, trans. Walter C. A. Ker, Rev. ed., Loeb Classical Library, vol. II (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1968), 189-191.)

Lucas d'Heere's translation of Martial's Epigram X, 47:

Sonet wt een Epigramma van Martialis beginnende Vitam qui faciunt beatricem & c. an Abraham Ortelium.

Ziet hier (beminde vriend) wat de mensche doet
Een recht gheluckigh leven hebben op de aerden
T'hebben eenen gherust, onnoosel en vroet,
Ieugdigh, ghesont lichaem, wel te paerde en tot voet.
Nemmermeer processen hebben, noch twist anvaerden:
Goet, ghesont huus en hof, ooc huusgesin van waerden:
Vier, ende vrienden sijns ghelijke hebben eenpaer:
Niet te seer versnott sijn op tdrinken, tspel oft paerden.
Snachts sijn sonder sorghen, ende ooc inden dag niet zwaer:
T'hebben een goede huusvrauwe, en goe'kinders van haer

Niet te begheeren de doot, noch vreesen voor tstreven.
 Hier hebby nu de conditien allegaer
 Die de menschen maken hier gheluckich voorwaer:
 Maer God helpse dier daer af den meesten hoop derven.

(Lucas d'Heere, *Den Hof en boomgaerd per poë sien*, ed. W. Waterschoot (Zwolle, 1965), 56.)

Christophe Plantin's Sonnet:

Avoir une maison, commode, propre et belle,
 Un jardin tapisé d'espaliers odorans,
 Des fruits, d'excellent vin, peu de train, peu d'enfans,
 Posséder seul, sans bruit, une femme fidèle:

N'avoir dettes, amour, ni procès, ni querelle.
 Ni de partage à faire avecque ses parens,
 Se contenter de peu, n'espérer rien des Grands,
 Régler tous ses desseins sur un juste modèle;

Vivre avecque franchise et sans ambition,
 S'adonner sans scrupule à la dévotion,
 Domter ses passions, les rendre obéissantes;

Conserver l'esprit libre et le jugement fort,
 Dire son chapelet en cultivant ses entes:
 C'est attendre chez soi bien doucement la mort.

(Maurits Sabbe, *Le Sonnet de Plantin* (Antwerp: L. Opdebeek, 1928).)

Appendix III:
Concordance of editions of the *Small Landscapes*

This table does not include the four plates by Peeter van der Borcht, which were numbered 1-4 in Philips Galle's edition. Three of them were also used by Theodoor Galle.

New Hollstein	Van Bastelaer	Philips Galle 1601	Theodoor Galle before 1633	Joannes Galle before 1676	Claes Visscher (copies) 1612
118	23	5	5	1 or 2	-
119	40	6	6	12	2
120	38	7	7	8	22
121	43	8	-	3	11
122	39	9	9	9	-
123	56	10	10	6	17
124	51	11	11	2	21
125	46	12	12	4	16
126	47	13	13	8	15
127	57	14	14	12	12
128	19	15	15	5	-
129	58	16	16	3	13
130	35	17	17	10	-
131	49	18	18	11	20
132	53	19	-	9	19
133	36	20	20	6	7
134	50	21	-	3	8
135	45	22	22	7	23
136	63	23	-	10	-
137	60	24	-	4	6
138	42	25	26	9	5
139	37	26	-	1(2 nd)	3
140	52	27	27	5	10
141	28	28	12	8	-
142	48	29	9	1(3 rd)	24
143	54	30	19	11	18
144	55	31	31	6	14
145	34	32	7	4	4
146	41	33	25	7	9
147	29	34	24/21	2	-
148	26	35	-	6	-
149	30	36	22	2	-
150	25	37	37	7	25
151	62	38	-	1(4 th)	-
152	24	39	39	5	-
153	59	40	21	8	-
154	31	41	-	11	-
155	44	42	42	12	-
156	22	43	23	10	-
157	32	44	-	7	-
158	61	45	45	5	-
159	27	46	6	4	-
160	20	47	4/none	12	-
161	21	48	8/none	3	-
fig.a (1559 title-page)	-	-	-	-	-
fig.b (1560 title-page)	33	-	-	-	-

fig.c (1601 title-page)	-	Title-page	Title-page (reworked)	Title-page (reworked)	-
-	-	-	-	-	26
-	-	-	-	-	Visscher title- page

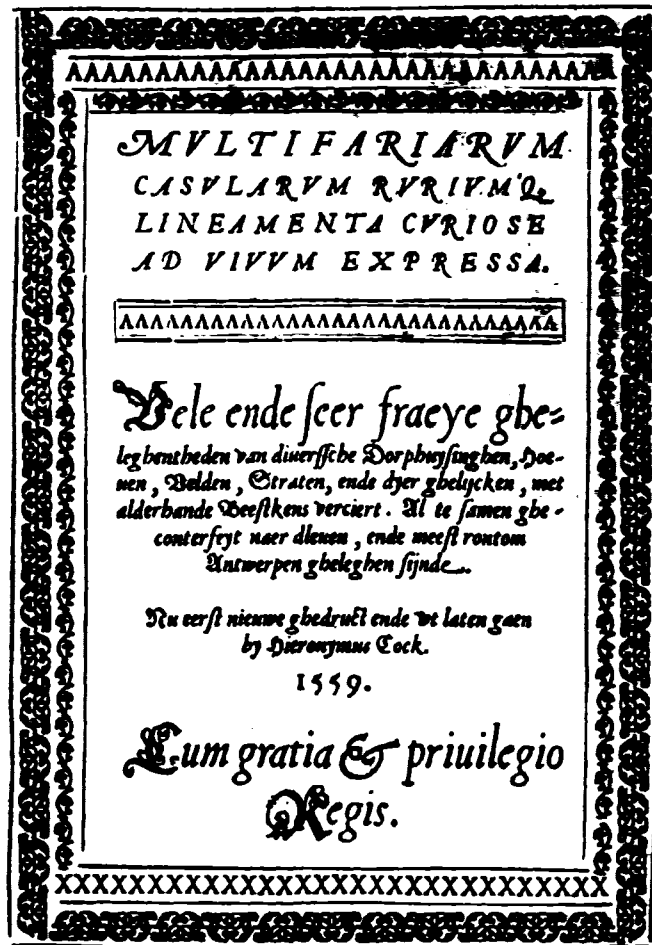


Figure 1.1 Title-page to 1559 series of *Small Landscapes*, published by Hieronymus Cock



Figure 1.2 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Draw Well*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 118)



Figure 1.3 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms behind Stand of Trees*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 160)



Figure 1.4 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Woodcutters*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 161)



Figure 1.5 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Post Mill*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 154)



Figure 1.6 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Road with Barn and Cottages*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 150)



Figure 1.7 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street with Hay Cart*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 151)



Figure 1.8 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 158)



Figure 1.9 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Shed and Cottages with Manor House*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 159)



Figure 1.10 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Shed and Draw Well*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 157)



Figure 1.11 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Man Riding a Donkey*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 149)



Figure 1.12 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Pond*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 153)



Figure 1.13 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Archers*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 155)



Figure 1.14 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Cows and Milkmaids*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 141)



Figure 1.15 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Gateway*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 128)



Figure 1.16 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Cattle, Herdsmen and Milkmaids*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 147)

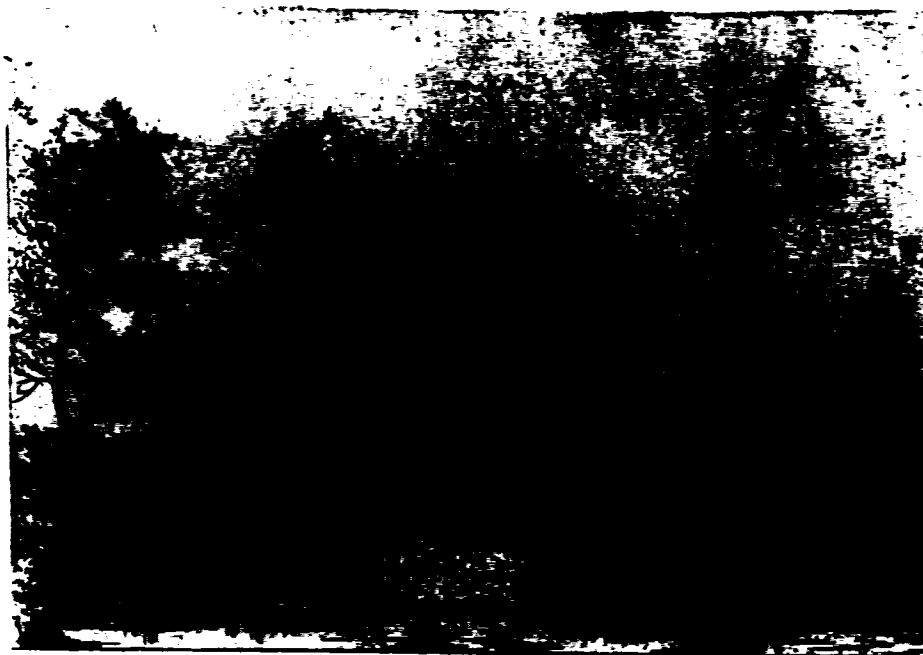


Figure 1.17 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Castle with Lift-Bridge* (identified as het Kasteel Ter Meeren te Sterrebeek), 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 148)



Figure 1.18 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Geese*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 156)



Figure 1.19 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Fenced Cattle Pasture*, 1559, etching and engraving (NHD 152)



Figure 1.20 Title-page to 1561 series of *Small Landscapes*, published by Hieronymus Cock



Figure 1.21 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Church and Bridge*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 126)



Figure 1.22 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Sheep and Shepherd*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 131)



Figure 1.23 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Church Tower*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 132)



Figure 1.24 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Pond and Dovecote*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 146)



Figure 1.25 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Road with Draw Well*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 139)



Figure 1.26 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Horseman and Walkers*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 129)



Figure 1.27 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Road with Resting Couple*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 133)

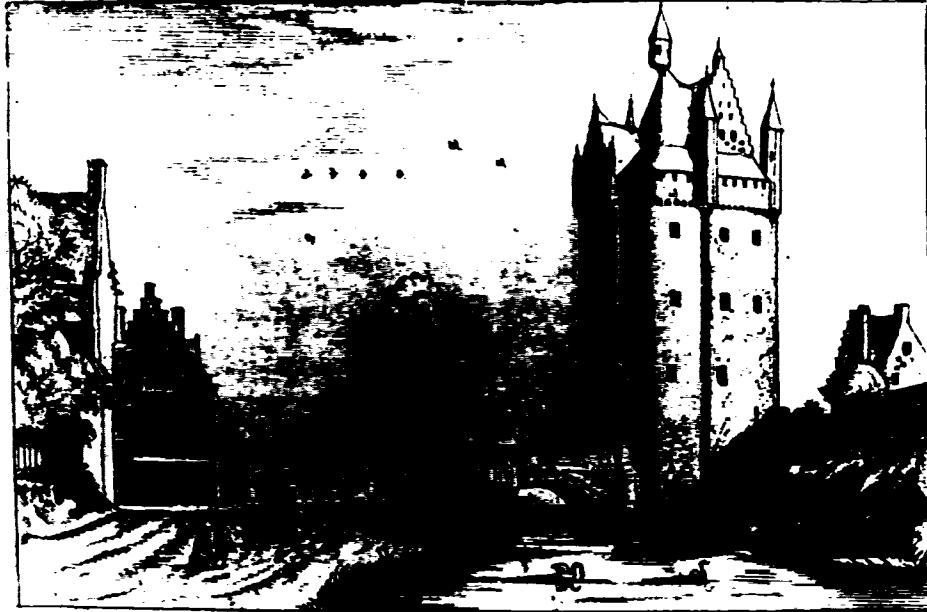


Figure 1.28 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *The Roode Poort with Country Houses*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 119)

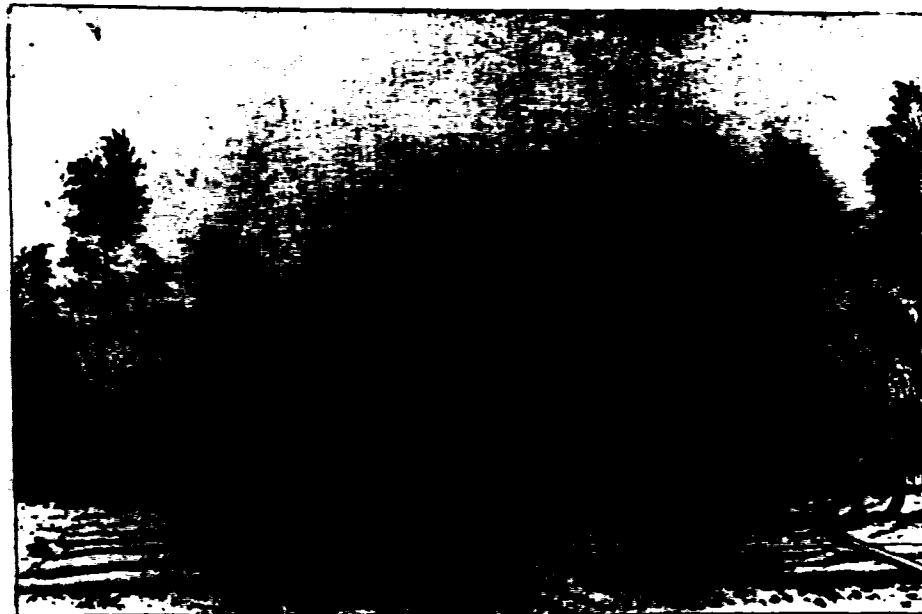


Figure 1.29 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Road with Logs*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 123)



Figure 1.30 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Large Farm with Draw Well*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 140)



Figure 1.31 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Large Farm with Couple in Corn Field*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 125)

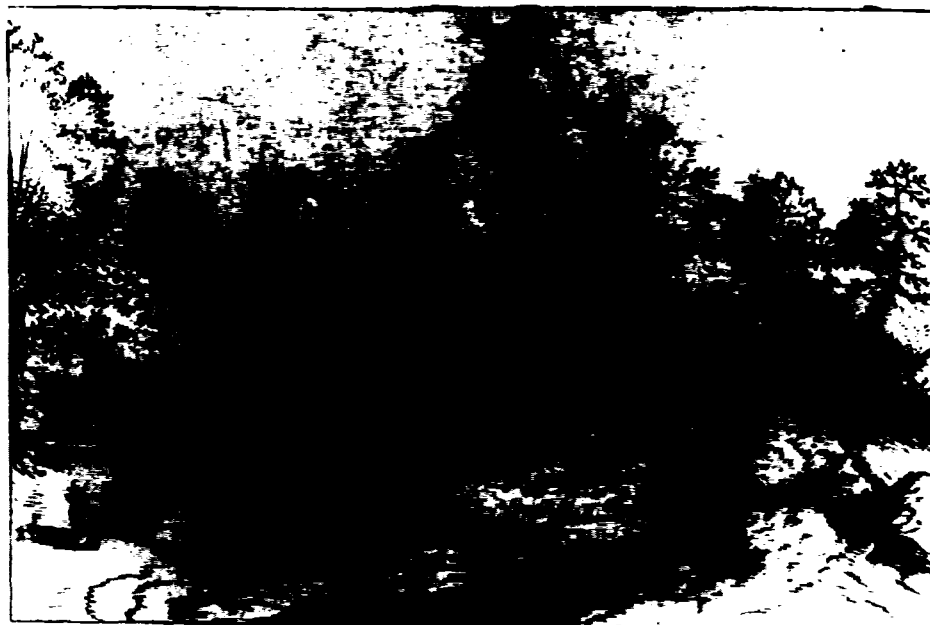


Figure 1.32 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Church*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 143)



Figure 1.33 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Ploughed Field*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 136)



Figure 1.34 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road and Fields with Post Mill*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 142)



Figure 1.35 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street with Haystack*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 127)



Figure 1.36 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Walking Couple*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 130)



Figure 1.37 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Draw Well*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 138)



Figure 1.38 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 144)



Figure 1.39 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Courtyard*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 121)



Figure 1.40 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms and Inn at the Sign of the Swan*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 137)



Figure 1.41 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country House with Ditch*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 122)

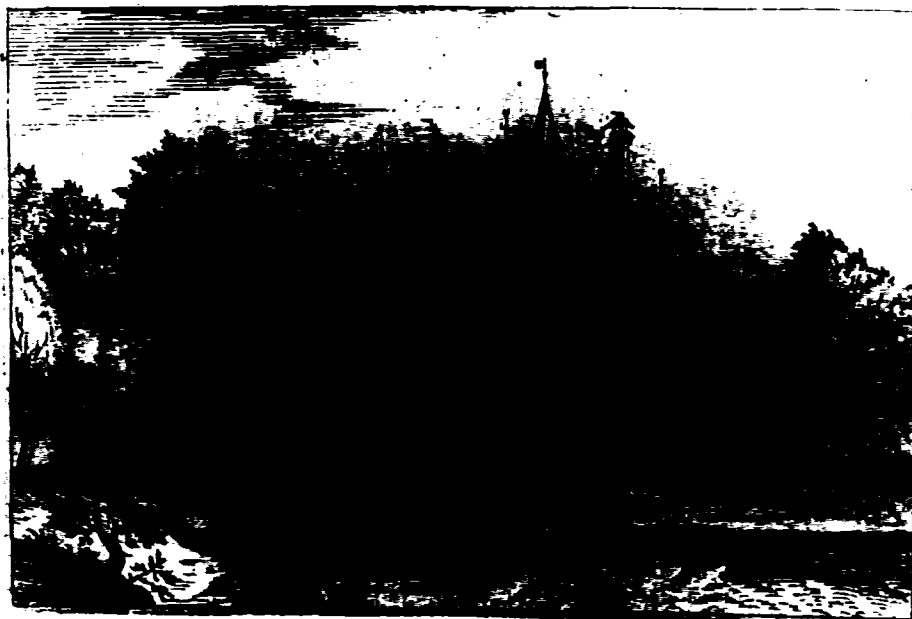


Figure 1.42 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Castle with Storck's Nest* (identified as het Kasteel ter Vordenstein te Schoten), 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 120)

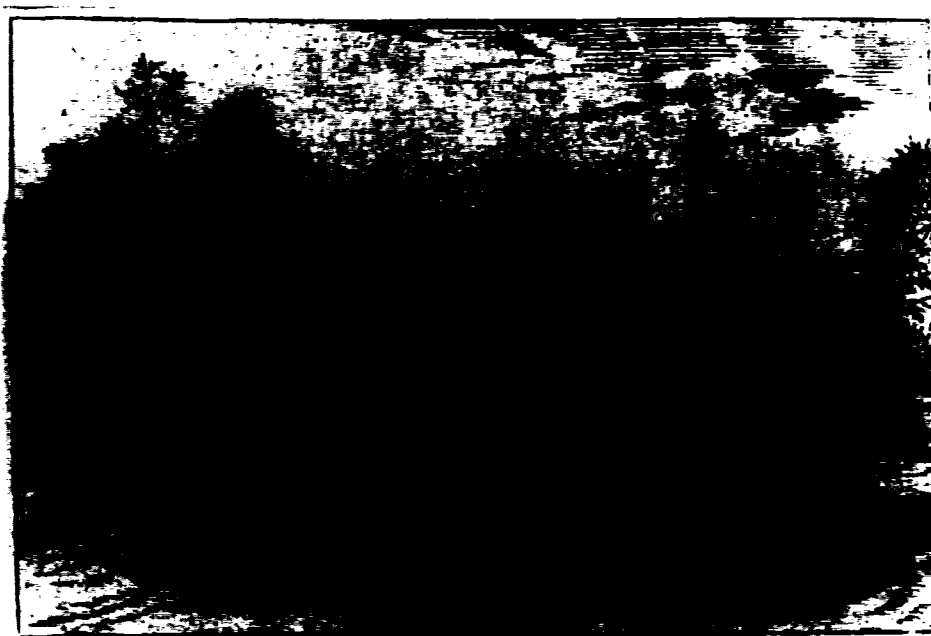


Figure 1.43 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Draw Well and Country House*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 134)



Figure 1.44 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Barns*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 145)



Figure 1.45 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farmstead*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 135)



Figure 1.46 van Doetecums after the Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm and Row of Houses*, 1561, etching and engraving (NHD 124)



Figure 1.47 Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel, *Spring*, 1570, engraving

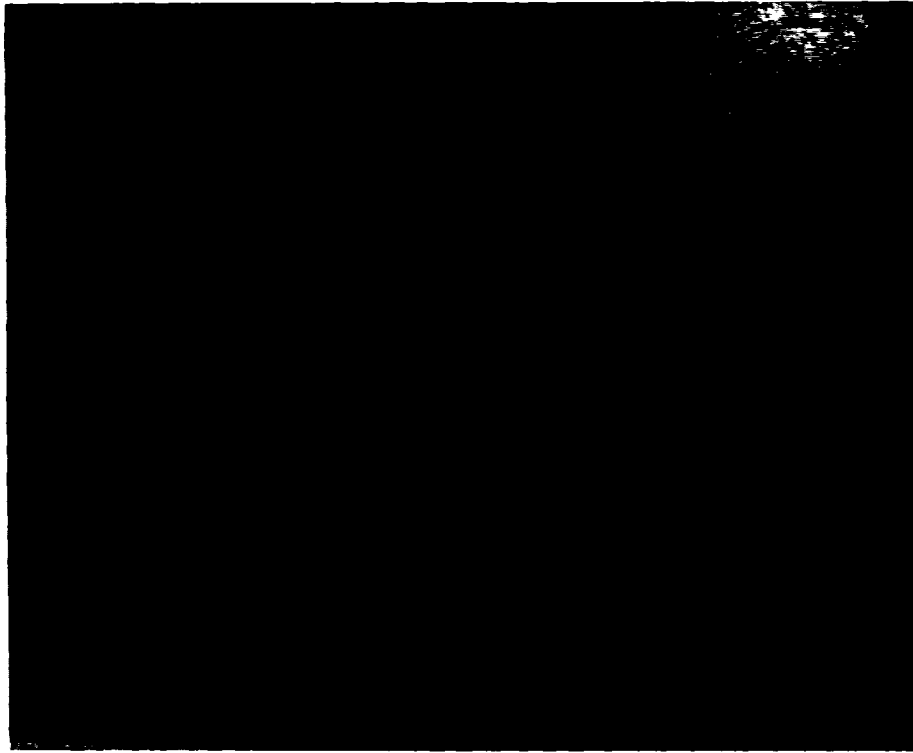


Figure 1.48 Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel, *Summer*, 1570, engraving

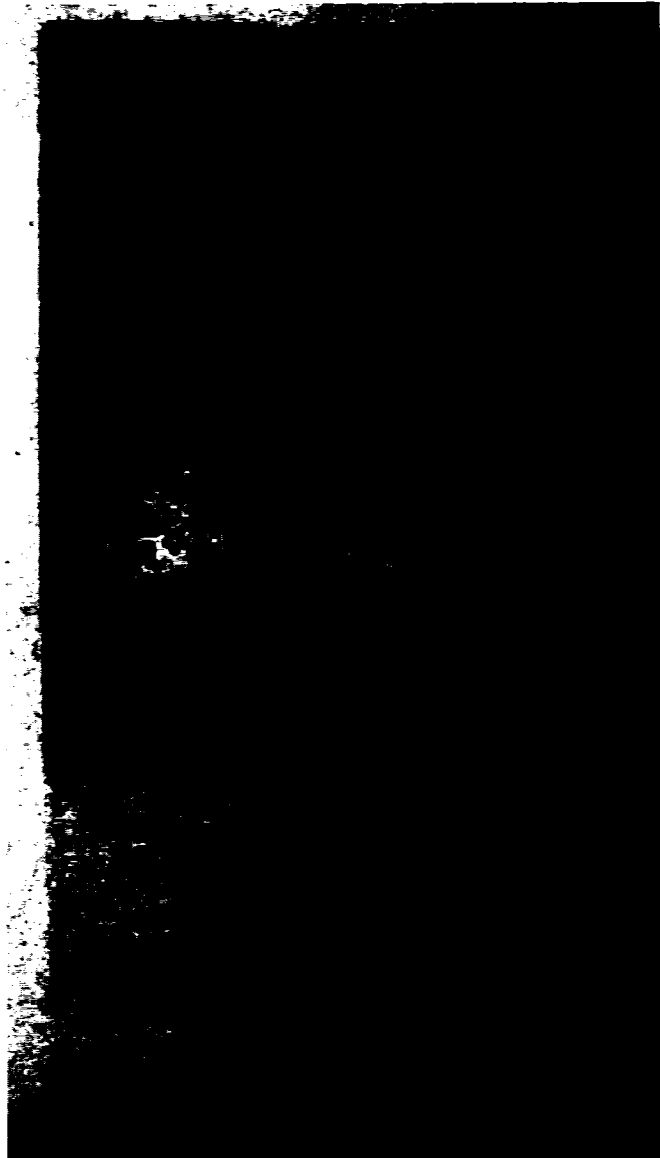


Figure 1.49 Johannes Wierix, *Portrait of Hieronymus Cock*, engraving from Domenico Lampsonius' *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*, Antwerp, 1572.

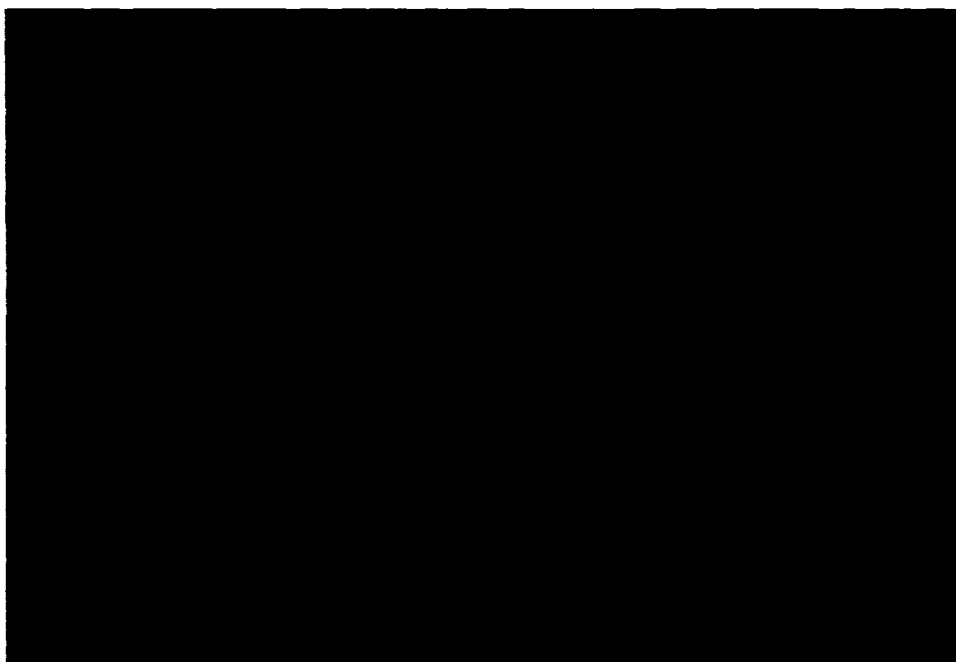


Figure 1.50 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms behind Stand of Trees*, drawing, 13.4 x 19.7 cm.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (inv. no. P.D. 55-1963)



Figure 1.51 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Post Mill*, drawing, 12.3 x 19.9 cm.
Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut (inv. no. 3784)



Figure 1.52 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Road with Barn and Cottages*, drawing, 13 x 19.5 cm, New York, Woodner Collection (inv. no. WD-550)

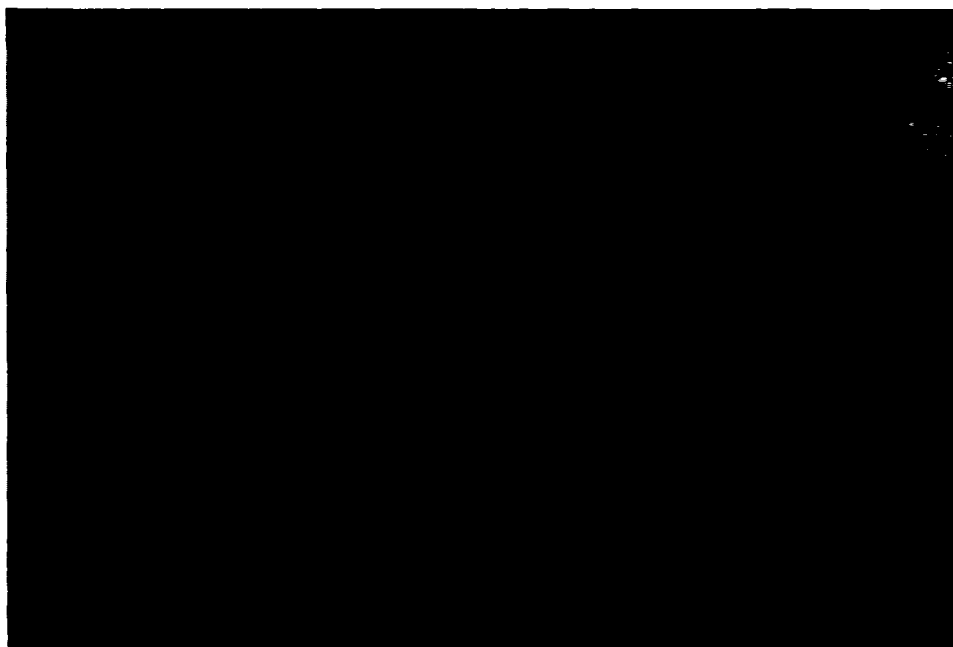


Figure 1.53 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm with Shed and Draw Well*, drawing, 12.9 x 19.8 cm, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum (inv. no. AE 432)



Figure 1.54 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms with Geese*, drawing, 13.1 x 19.8 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 843A)

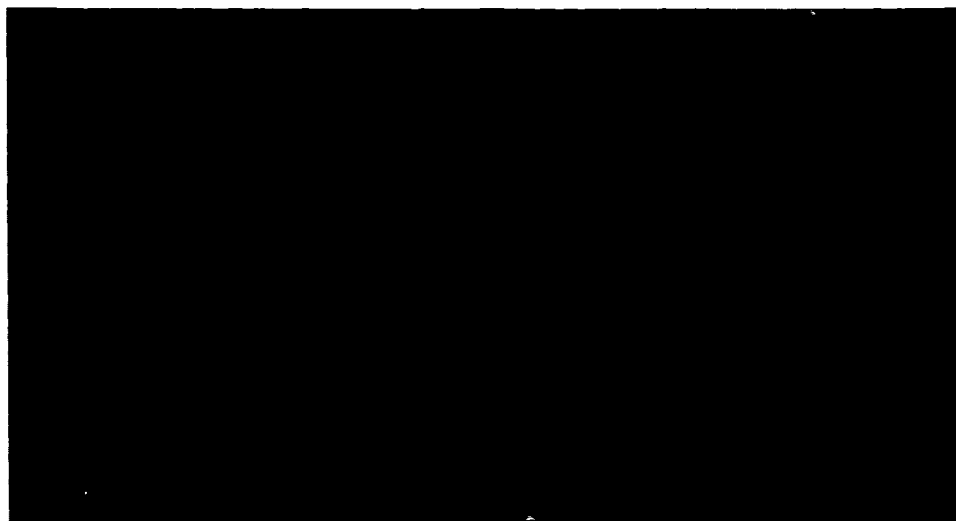


Figure 1.55 Master of the Small Landscapes?, *Country Village with Church and Bridge*, drawing, 16.7 x 31.1 cm, Cleveland, Museum of Art (inv. no. 42 307)



Figure 1.56 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Sheep and Shepherd*, drawing, 12.5 x 39.8 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 1929:1097)



Figure 1.57 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Sheep and Shepherd* (detail), drawing, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 1929: 1097)



Figure 1.58 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Village with Sheep and Shepherd* (detail), drawing, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 1929: 1097)



Figure 1.59 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Road with Draw Well*, drawing, 13.4 x 20.3 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 719)



Figure 1.60 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village Street*, drawing, 13 x 20 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 14 039)

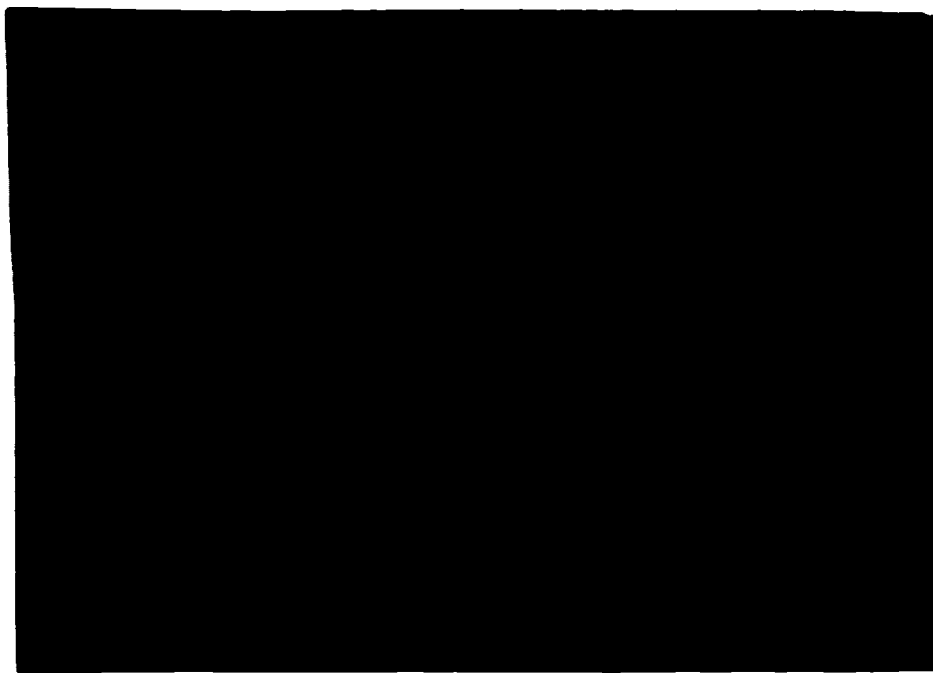


Figure 1.61 Master of the Small Landscapes?, *Village Street*, drawing, 18.3 x 25.6 cm, Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Collection Frits Lugt (inv. no. 3440)



Figure 1.62 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farms and Inn at the Sign of the Swan*, drawing, 12.5 x 18.1 cm, (sold Christie's, London, 12/1/70, no. 69)



Figure 1.63 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country House with Ditch*, 13 x 20 cm. Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 844B)



Figure 1.64 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Country Road with Barns*, drawing, 13 x 20 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 844A)



Figure 1.65 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Farm and Row of Houses* (detail), drawing, 12.7 x 39.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 06.1042.6)

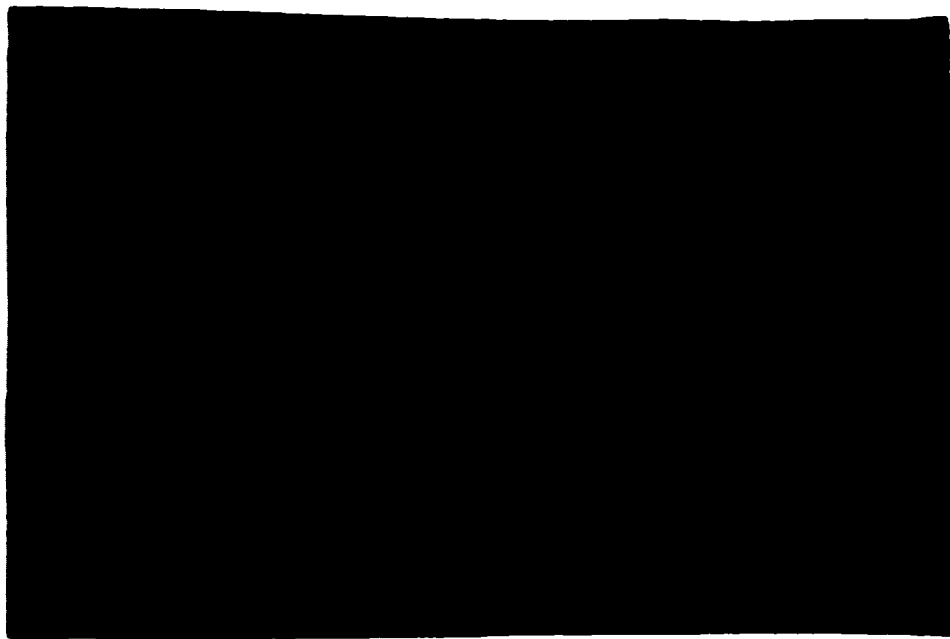


Figure 1.66 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Bleaching Fields before a Town*, drawing, 13.4 x 20.3 cm, Cambridge, Mass., The Fogg art Museum (inv. no. 1994.137)



Figure 1.67 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Antwerp with the Kronenburg Gate*, drawing, 12.3 x 19.2 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 843B)

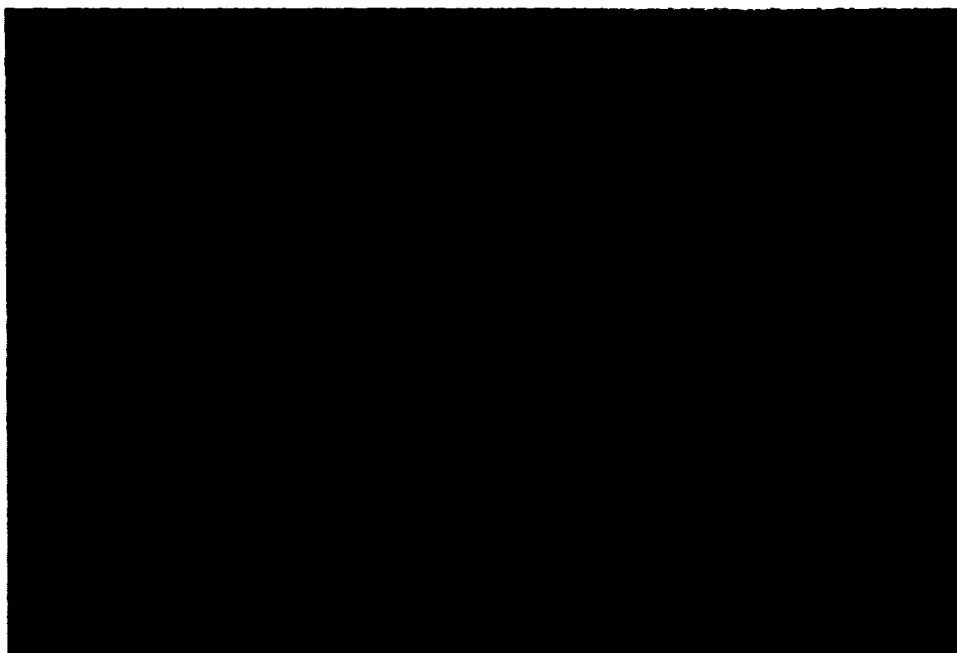


Figure 1.68 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Landscape with Goose Clubbing*, drawing, 13.1 x 19.5 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 842B)



Figure 1.69 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Landscape with Merry Company before a Castle*, drawing, 13.1 x 19.5 cm, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (inv. no. 842A)



Figure 1.70 Master of the Small Landscapes, *View of Antwerp*, drawing, 12.9 x 20.1 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 5719)

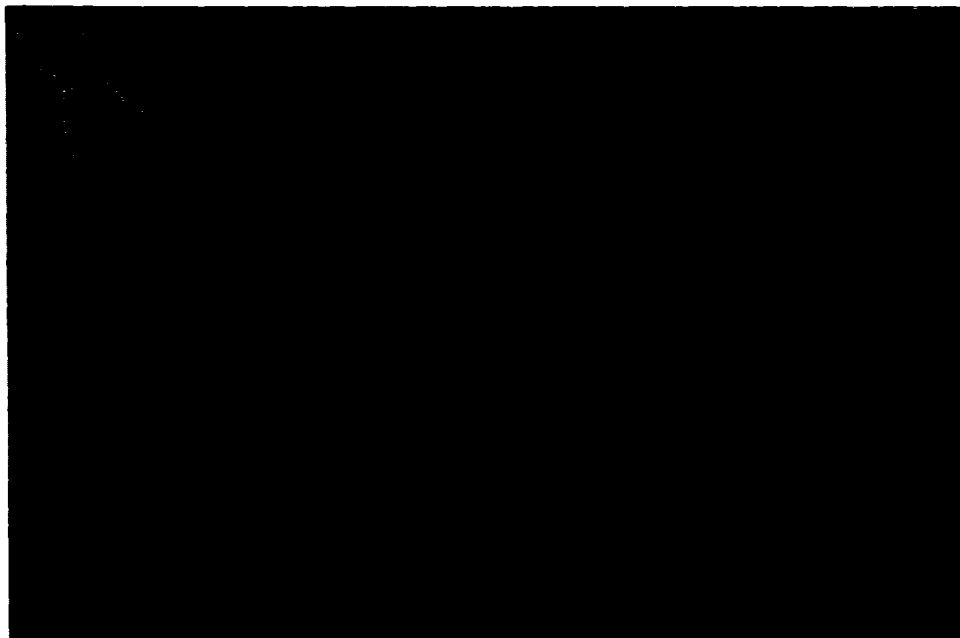


Figure 1.71 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village behind a Cornfield*, drawing, 12.6 x 19.3 cm, Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut (inv. no. 3783)

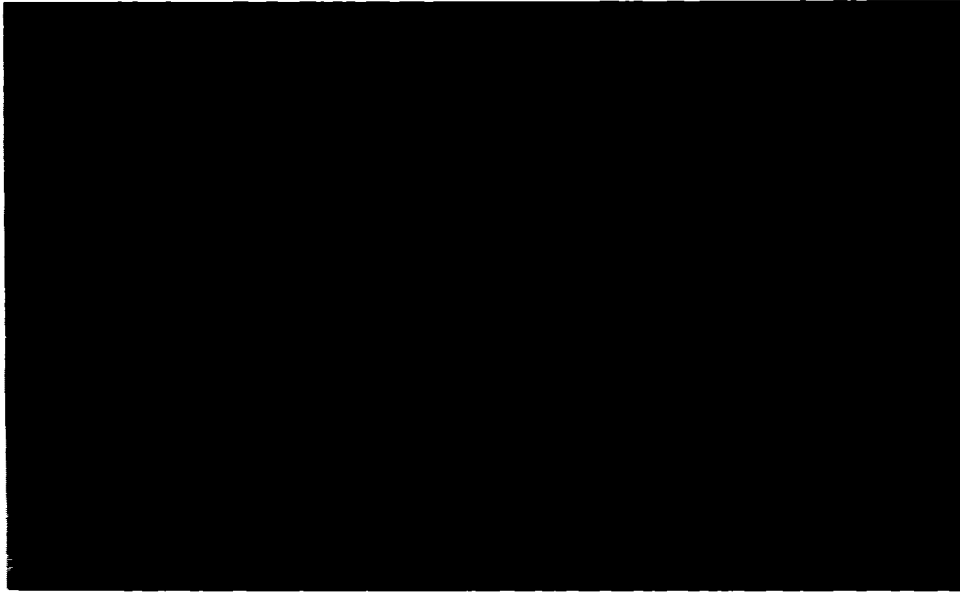


Figure 1.72 Master of the Small Landscapes, *Village View*, drawing, 12.4 x 19.8 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, (on permanent loan, inv. no. N31)



Figure 1.73 Master of the Small Landscapes?, *Village View*, drawing, 9 x 19.3 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, (on permanent loan, inv. no. N119)



Figure 1.74 Master of the Small Landscapes?, *Village with Church behind a Stand of Trees*, drawing, 12.2 x 19.6 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst (inv. no. Tu 43,8)

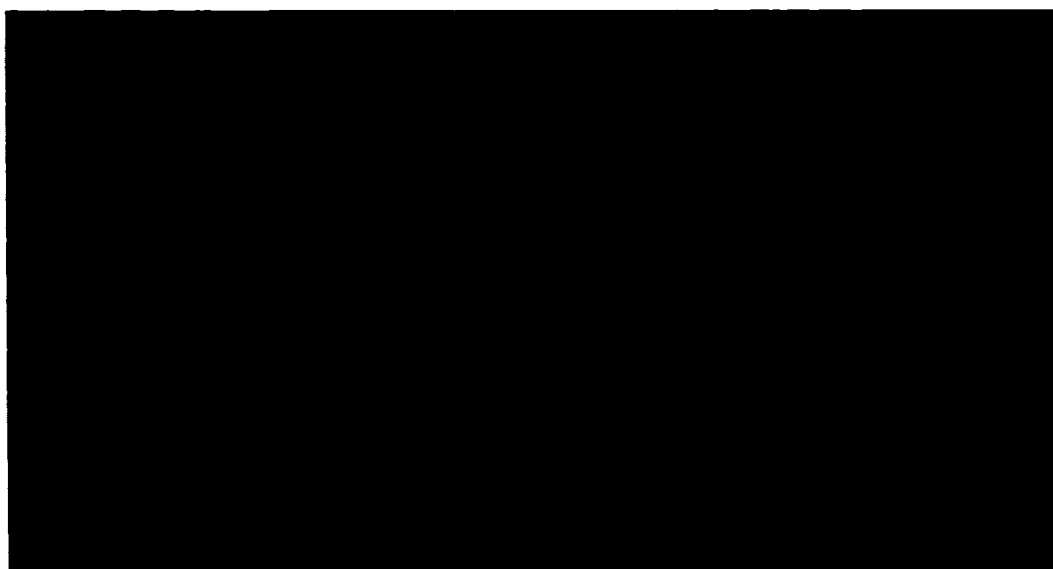


Figure 1.75 Master of the Small Landscapes?, *View of Farm Buildings with Pond*, drawing, 15.7 x 29.5 cm, London, British Museum (inv. no. SL 5236.60)



Figure 1.76 Unidentified Monogrammist FvdR/FvCR, *Farm Buildings near Hoboken*, 1563, drawing, 15.3 x 19.8 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. 1953:457)



Figure 1.77 Master of the Small Landscapes or Joos van Liere?, *View of a Fortified City*, c.1560, drawing, 13.2 x 19.4 cm, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (inv. no. 7880)



Figure 1.78 *Farmhouse*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 161, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)



Figure 1.79 *Farmhouse*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 112, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)



Figure 1.80 *Landscape with Farm by a Pond*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 121, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)



Figure 1.81 *Landscape with Willmill*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 94, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)

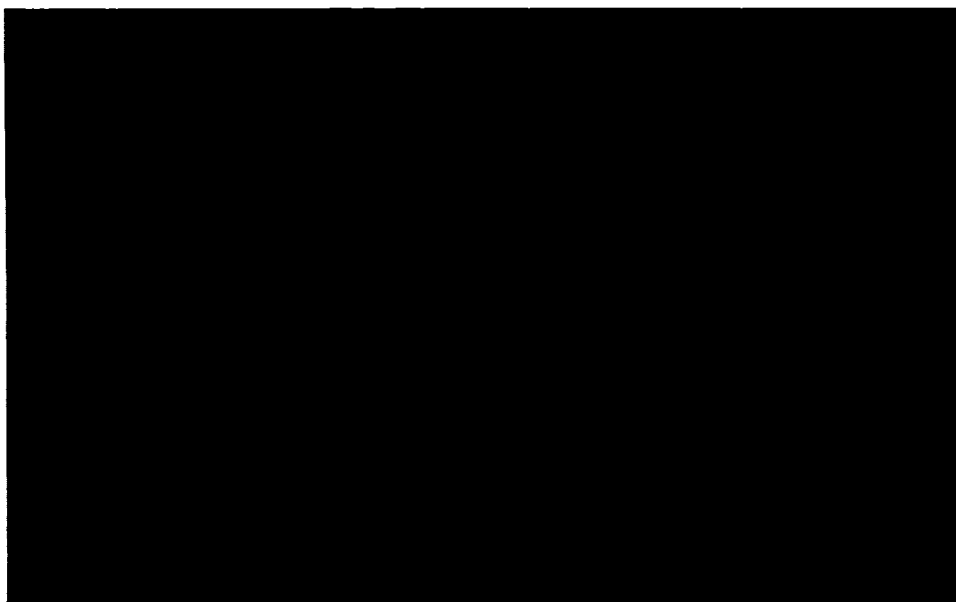


Figure 1.82 *Landscape with Village Church*, from the Errera Sketchbook, p. 23, drawing, 21 x 13.5 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. no. 4630)



Figure 1.83 *View of Antwerp with the Roode Poort and Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 46v, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)



Figure 1.84 *View of the Rode Poort*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 49r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)

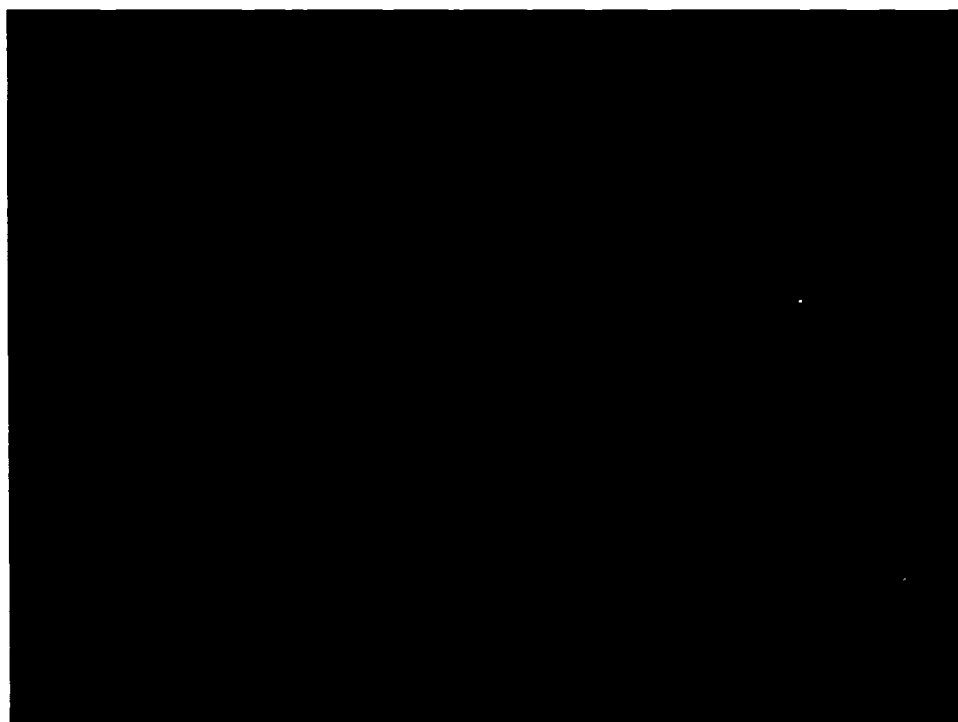


Figure 1.85 *Landscape with Farms and Mill on a Stream*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 26v, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)



Figure 1.86 *Landscape*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 38r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)



Figure 1.87 *Farmhouses*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 33r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)



Figure 1.88 *Farmhouses and Barns*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 34r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)



Figure 1.89 *Fortified Castles on Hilltops*, from the Antwerp Sketchbook, fol. 25r, drawing, 19 x 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 79 C 2)



Figure 1.90 Giorgio Ghisi after Raphael, *School of Athens*, 1550, engraving on two plates published by Hieronymus Cock



Figure 1.91 Unidentified engraver after Andrea del Sarto, *The Holy Family with Saint John*, engraving published by Hieronymus Cock

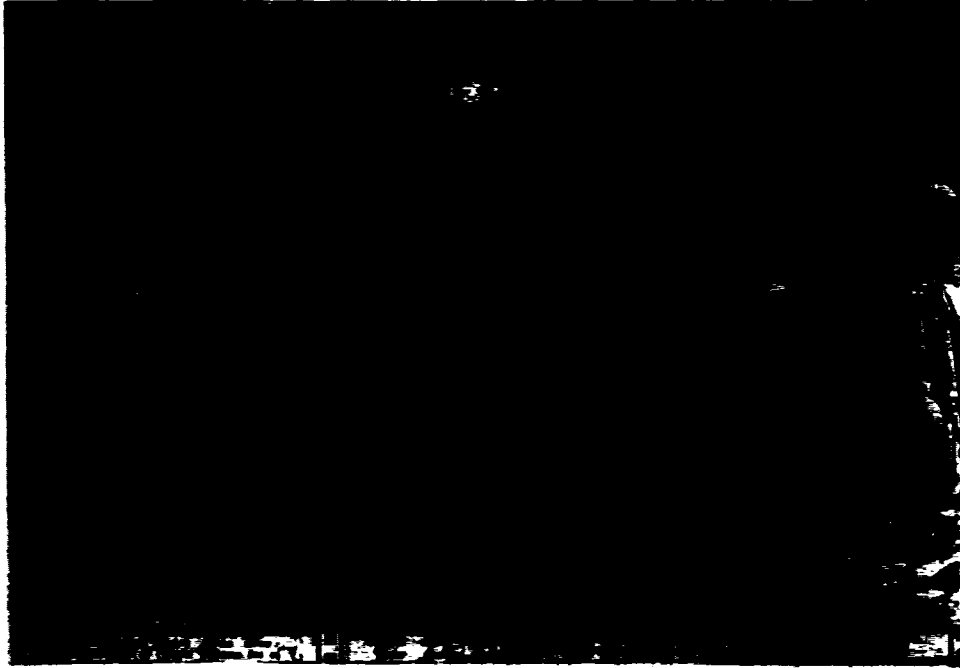


Figure 1.92 Pieter van der Heyden after Lambert Lombard, *Women Sacrificing to Priapus*, 1553, engraving published by Hieronymus Cock



Figure 1.93 Hieronymus Cock, *The Siege of Mahdia*, 1550, etching



Figure 1.94 Hieronymus Cock, *Map of Parma*, 1551, etching

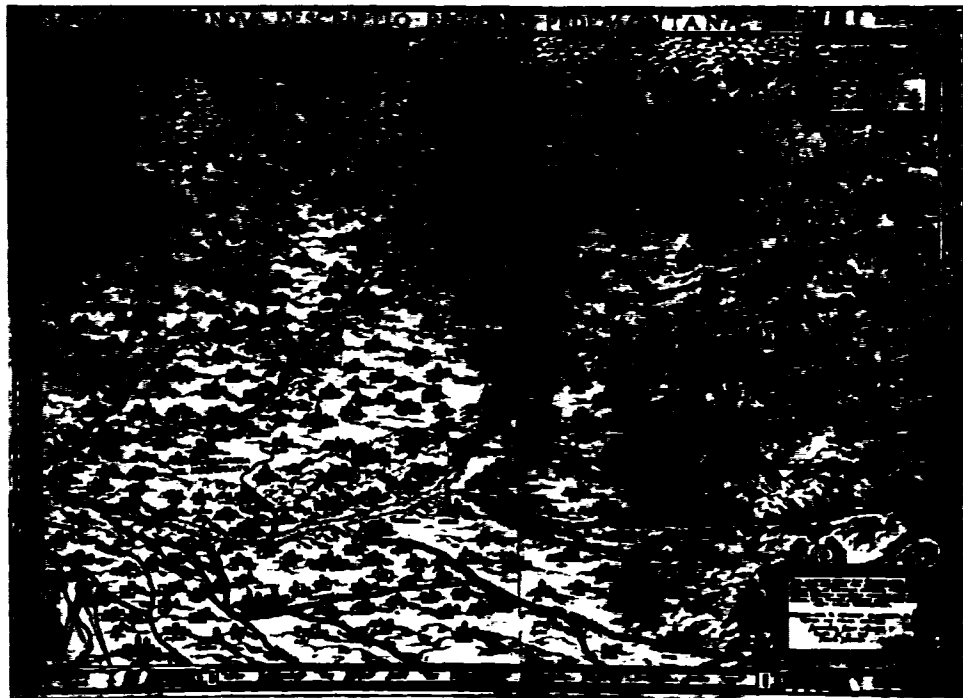


Figure 1.95 *Map of Piedmont*, 1552, etching on two plates published by Hieronymus Cock



Figure 1.96 *The Siege of Siena*, 1555, etching published by Hieronymus Cock

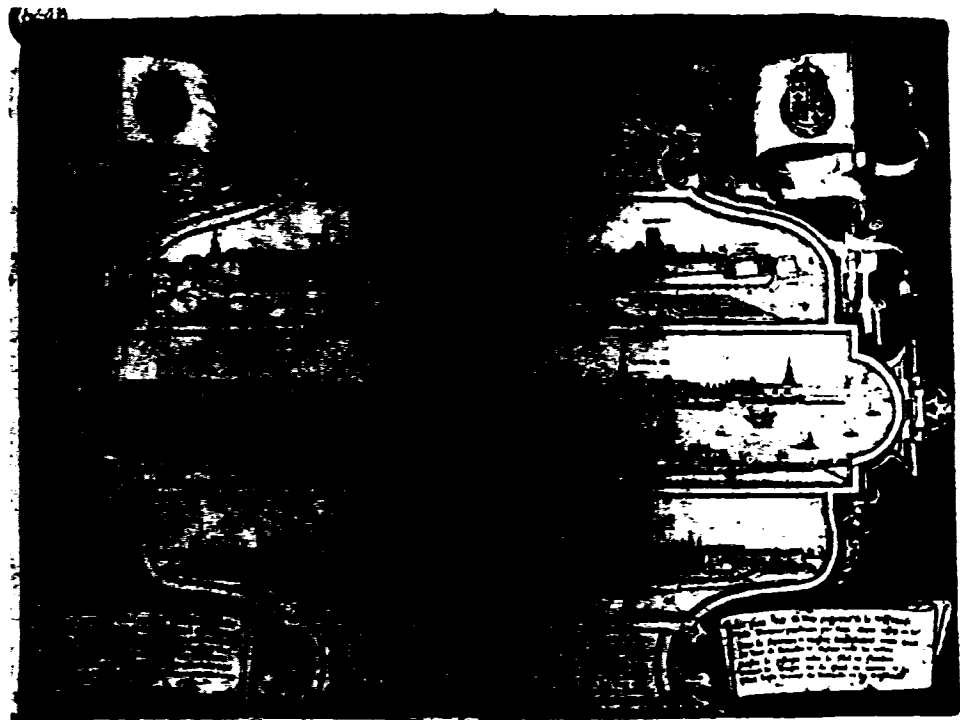


Figure 1.97 Melchisedeck van Hooren, *Triple View of Antwerp*, 1557, etching and engraving published by Hieronymus Cock

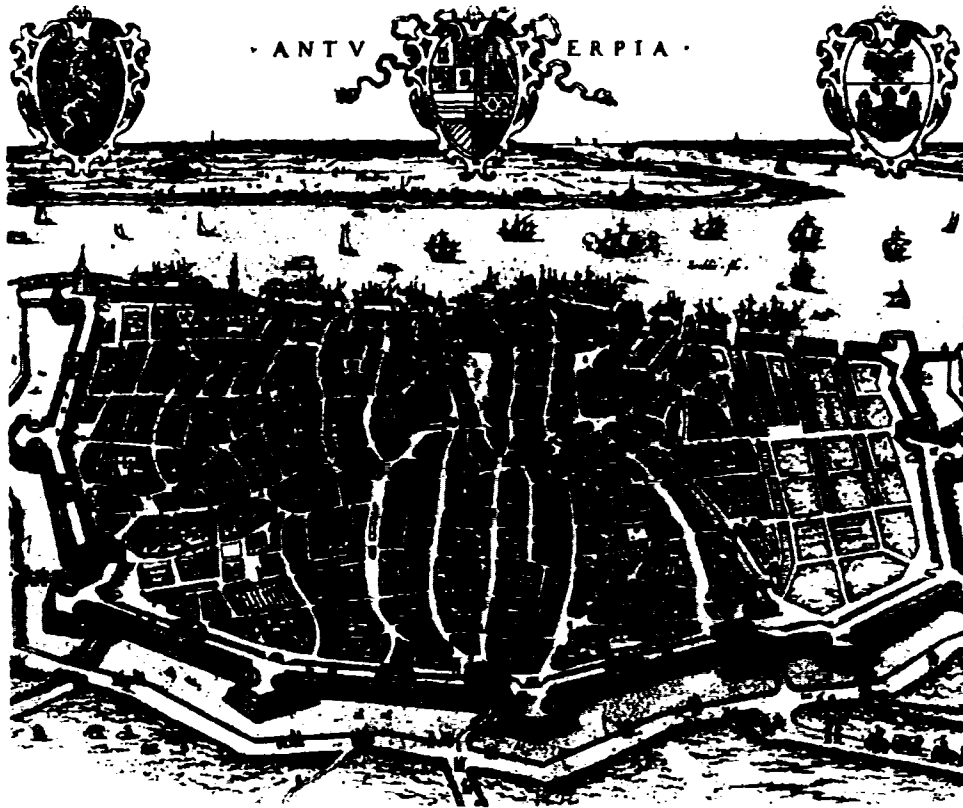


Figure 1.98 Hieronymus Cock, *Map of Antwerp*, 1557, etching



Figure 1.99 Hieronymus Cock, *View of the Colosseum*, from *Views of Roman Ruins*, 1551, etching

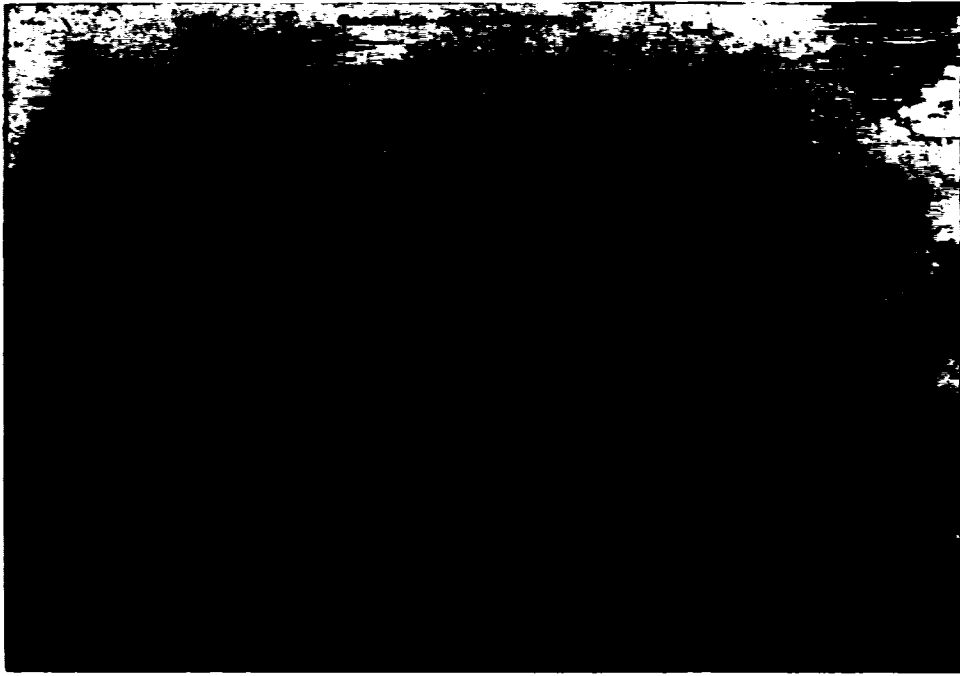


Figure 1.100 Hieronymus Cock, *Second View of the Colosseum*, from *Views of Roman Ruins*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.101 Hieronymus Cock, *Eighth View of the Colosseum*, from *Views of Roman Ruins*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.102 Hieronymus Cock, *Baths of Caracalla*, from the *Views of Roman Ruins*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.103 Hieronymus Cock, *Ruins of the Colosseum*, 1550, drawing, 21.7 x 32.5 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (inv. no. 1035)



Figure 1.104 Hieronymus Cock, *Vaulted Passage of the Colosseum*, 1550, drawing, 21.4 x 29 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (inv. no. 1034)



Figure 1.105 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Rhetorica*, from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.106 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Arithmetica*, from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.107 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Arithmetica* (detail), from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching

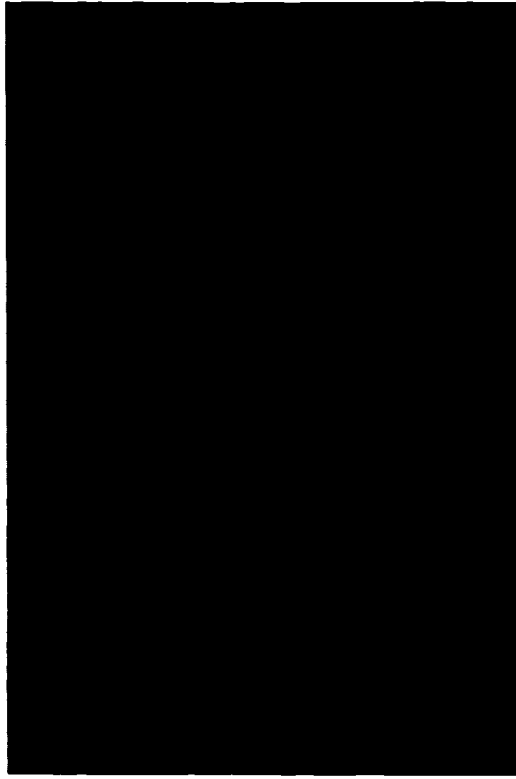


Figure 1.108 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Grammatica*, from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.109 Frans Floris and Hieronymus Cock, *Grammatica* (details), from *Liberal Arts*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.110 Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock, *Flight into Egypt*, from *Landscapes with Mythological and Biblical Scenes*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.111 Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock, *Mercury with the Head of Argus*, from *Landscapes with Mythological and Biblical Scenes*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.112 Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock, *Tobias and the Angel*, from *Landscapes with Mythological and Biblical Scenes*, 1551, etching



Figure 1.113 Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock, *Landscape with the Sacrifice of Abraham*, 1551, etching

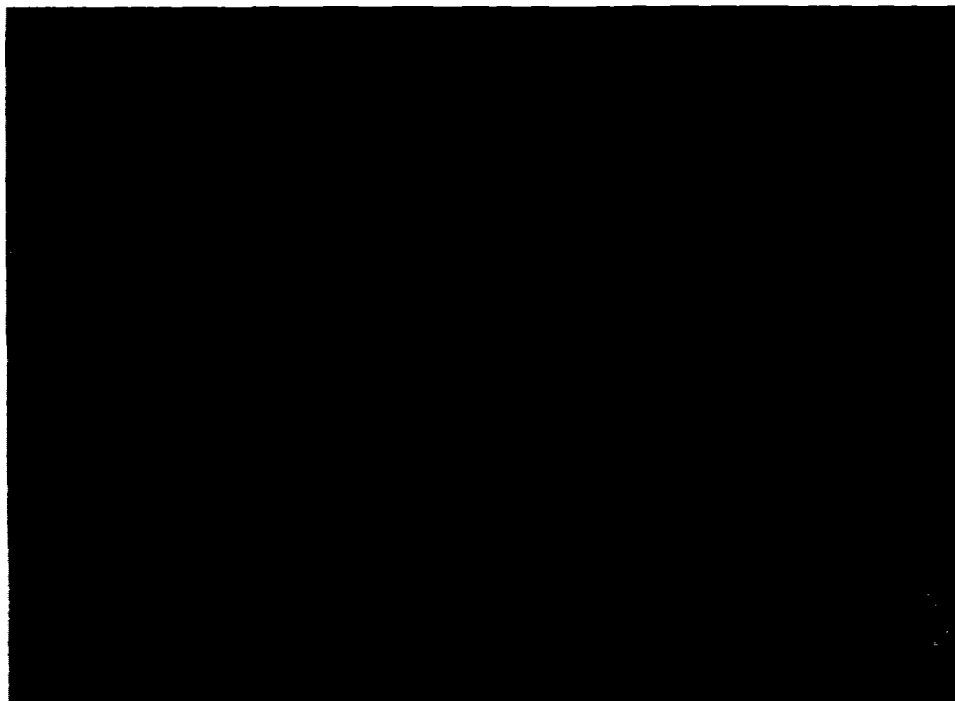


Figure 1.114 van Doetecums after Lucas Gassel, *John the Baptist*, from *Landscapes with Biblical Figures*, 1568, etching and engraving

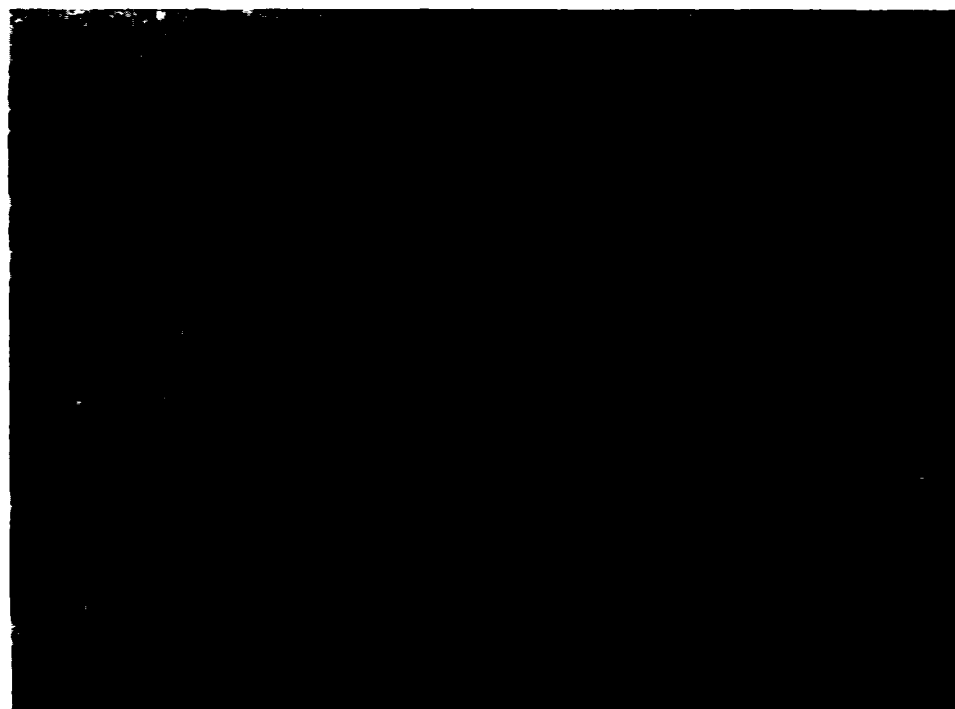


Figure 1.115 van Doetecums after Lucas Gassel, *Saint Jerome*, from *Landscapes with Biblical Figures*, 1568, etching and engraving



Figure 1.116 van Doetecums after Lucas Gassel, *Saint Anthony*, from *Landscapes with Biblical Figures*, 1568, etching and engraving

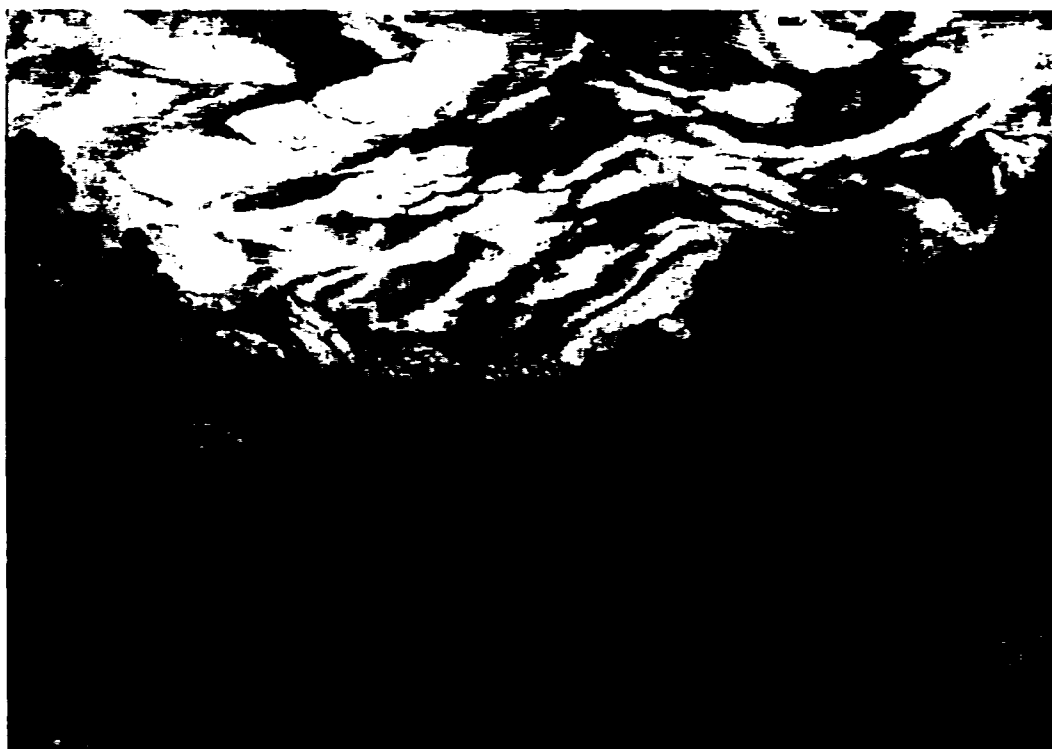


Figure 1.117 van Doetecums after Hans Bol, *River Landscapes with High Cliffs*, from *River Landscapes* series, 1562, etching and engraving

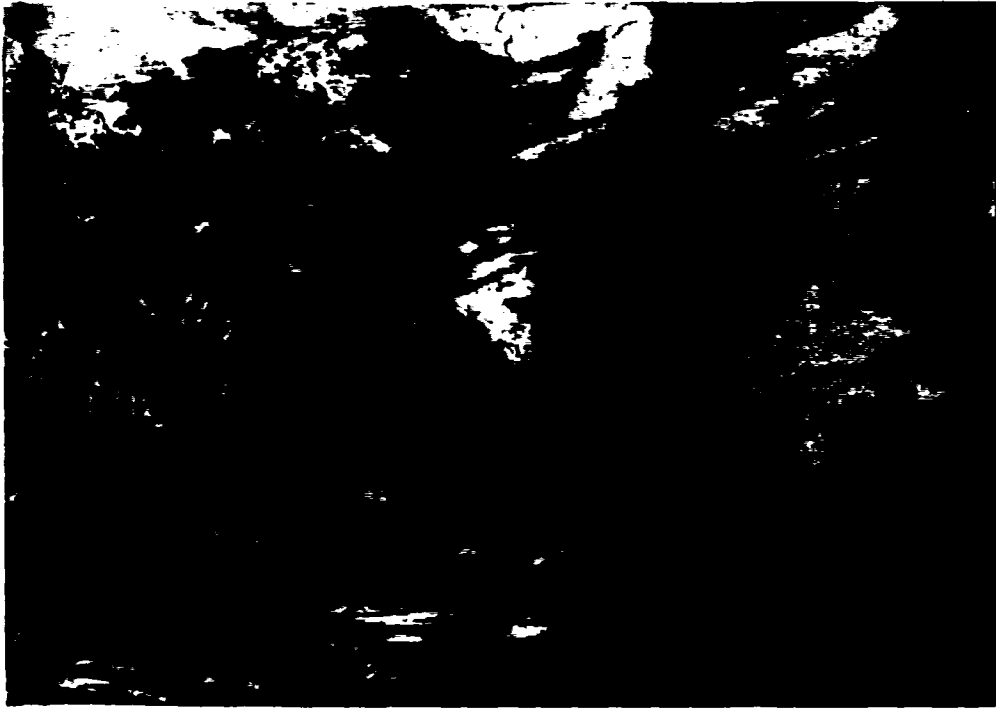


Figure 1.118 van Doetecums after Hans Bol, *Landscape with Manor House*, from *River Landscapes* series, 1562, etching and engraving



Figure 1.119 van Doetecums after Hans Bol, *Peasant Kermis in a Village with Draw Well*, from *River Landscapes*, 1562, etching and engraving



Figure 1.120 van Doetecums after Hans Bol, *River Landscapes with City*, from *River Landscapes*, 1562, etching and engraving

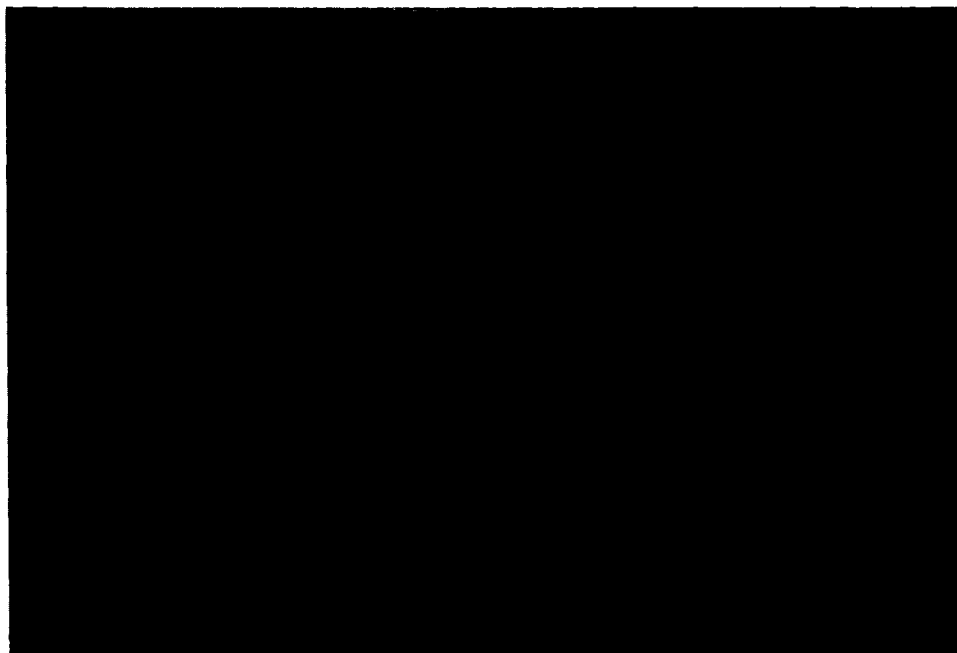


Figure 1.121 Pieter Bruegel, *Landscape with Five Bears*, 1554, drawing, 27.3 x 41 cm, Národní Galerie, Prague (inv. no. K 4493)



Figure 1.122 Hieronymus Cock after Pieter Bruegel, *The Temptation of Christ*, 1554, etching

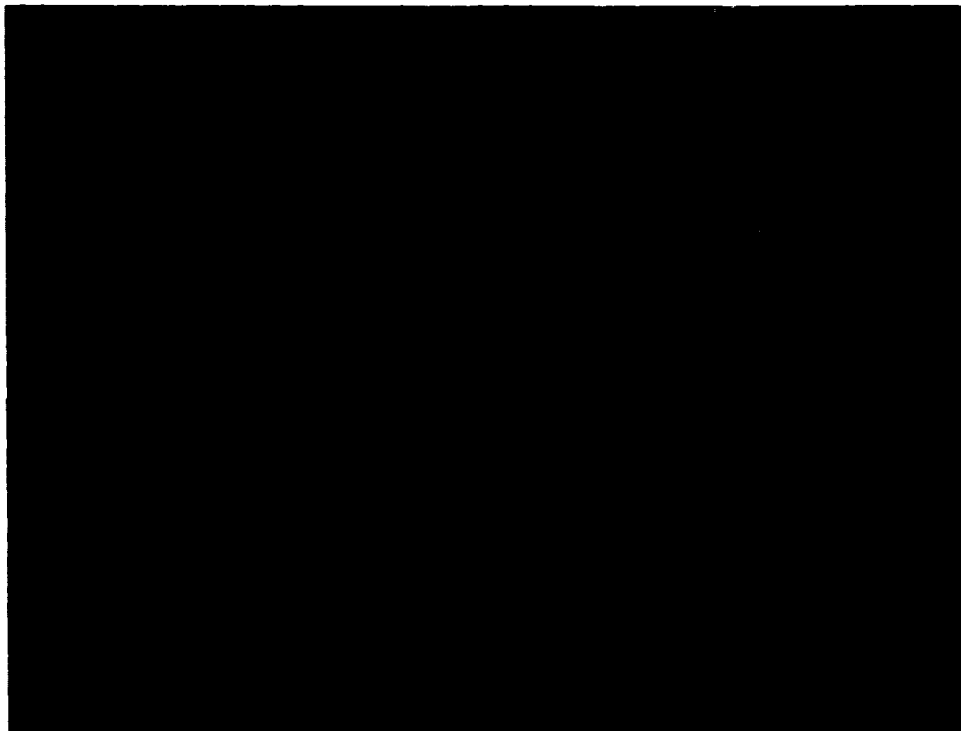


Figure 1.123 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel, *S. Hieronymus in Deserto*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

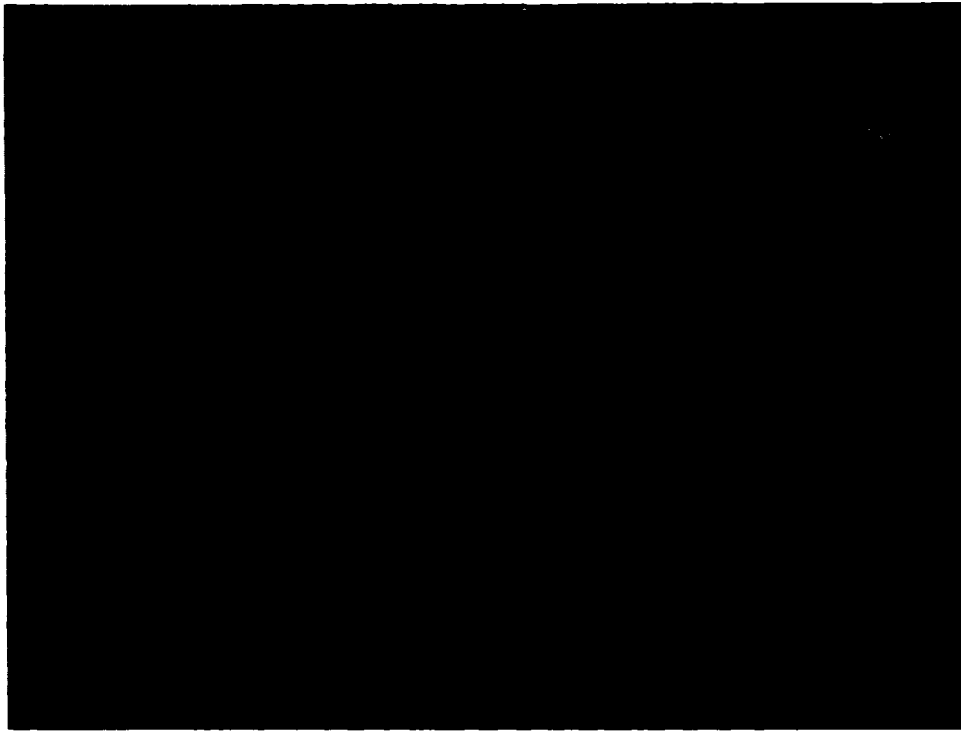


Figure 1.124 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel, *Milites Requiescentes*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving



Figure 1.125 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel, *Sollicitudo Rustica*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving



Figure 1.126 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel, *Pagus Nemorosus*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

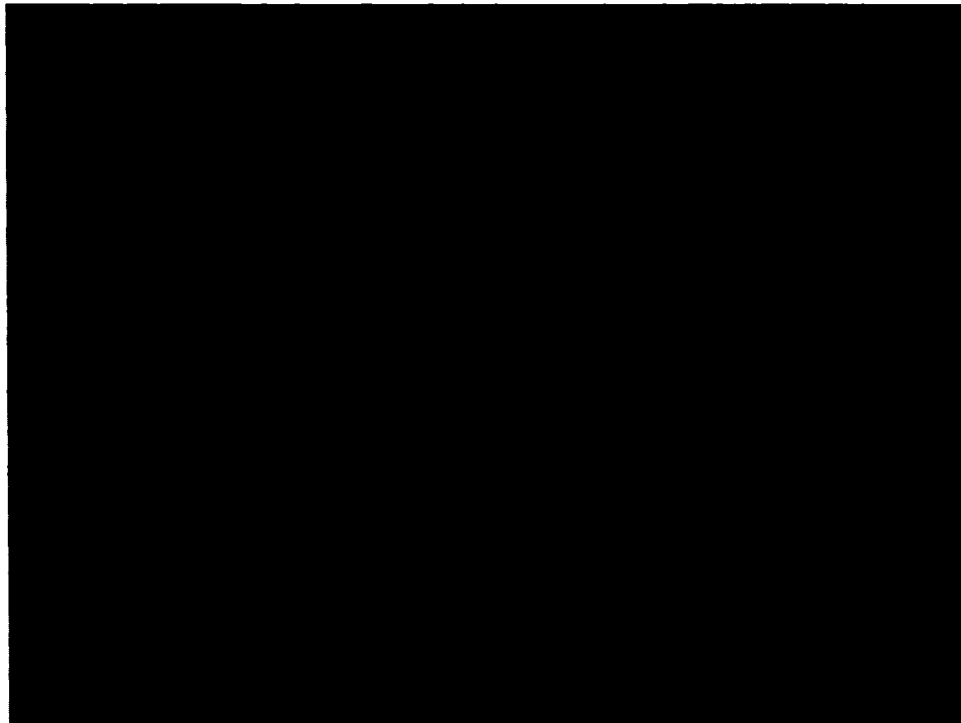


Figure 1.127 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel, *Plaustrum Belgicum*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving

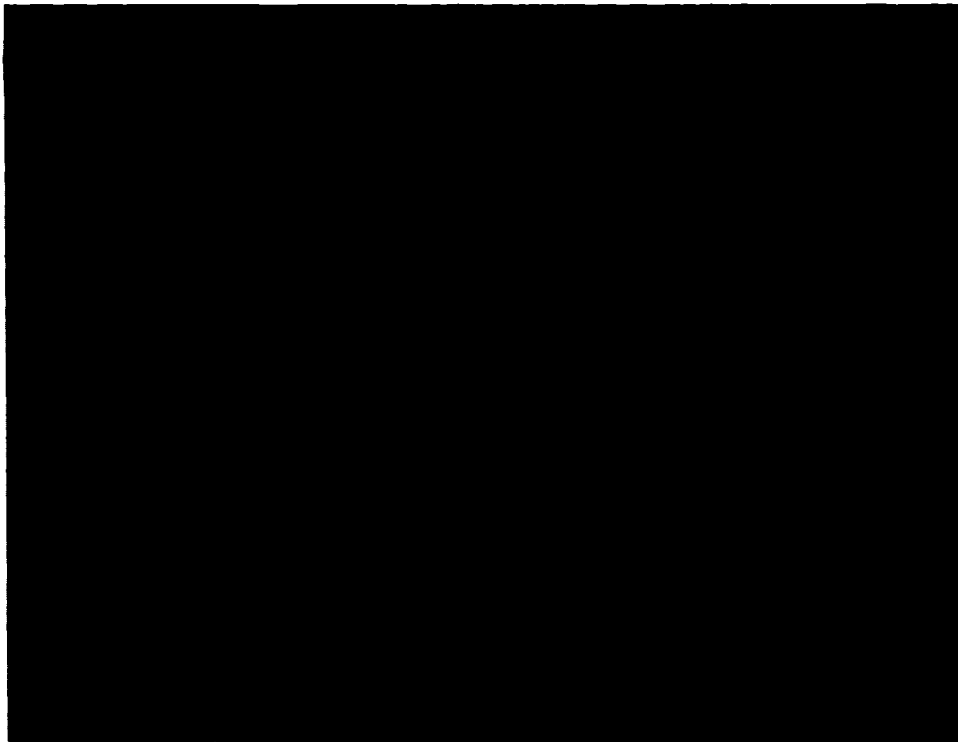


Figure 1.128 van Doetecums after Pieter Bruegel, *Euntes in Emaus*, from the *Large Landscapes*, c. 1551-54, etching and engraving



Figure 1.129 Lambert Suavius, *Portrait of Antoine Perrenot*, 1556, engraving



Figure 1.130 Lambert Suavius, *Portrait of Antoine Perrenot*, 1554, engraving



Figure 1.131 *Portrait of Robert de Berghes*



Figure 2.3 Frans Huys, *View of Antwerp*, 1557, engraving



Figure 2.4 Adriaen Collaert after Hans Bol, *The Meir*, engraving from *Venationis piscationis et aucupii typi*, 1582, published by Philips Galle

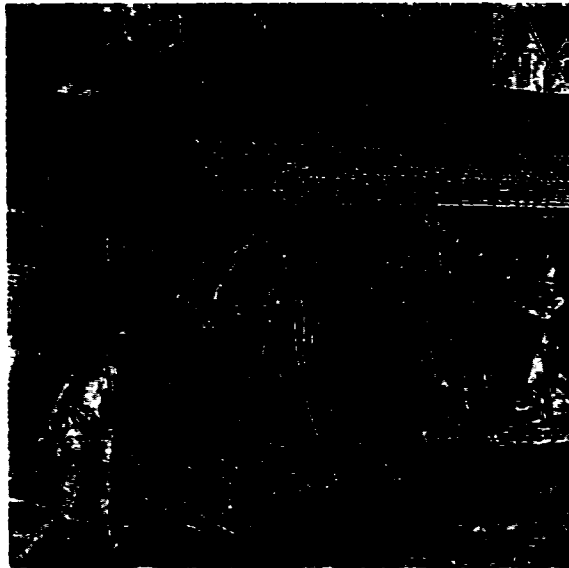


Figure 2.5 Unidentified engraver after Hans Bol, *Fish Market* (detail), engraving from *Venationis piscationis et aucupii typi*, 1582, published by Philips Galle engraving, published by Philips Galle



Figure 2.6 Pieter Aertsen, *Market Woman with Vegetable Stall*, 1567, oil on wood, 11 x 11 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen



Figure 2.7 Joachim Beuckelaer, *Market Woman with Fruit, Vegetables and Poultry*, 1564, oil on oak, 118 x 170.5 cm, Kassel, Staatliche Museen



Figure 2.8 Unidentified etcher after Peeter van der Borcht, *Saint Sebastian's Fair*, etching



Figure 2.9 Peeter van der Borcht, *Peasant Kermis*, 1559, etching and engraving



Figure 3.1 Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Philips Galle*, 1582, engraving



Figure 3.2 Peeter van der Borcht, *View of a Village with a Flock*, etching



Figure 3.3 Peeter van der Borcht, *Water Castle*, etching



Figure 3.4 Peeter van der Borcht, *Village with a Beggar*, etching



Figure 3.5 Peeter van der Borcht, *Castle on a River*, etching

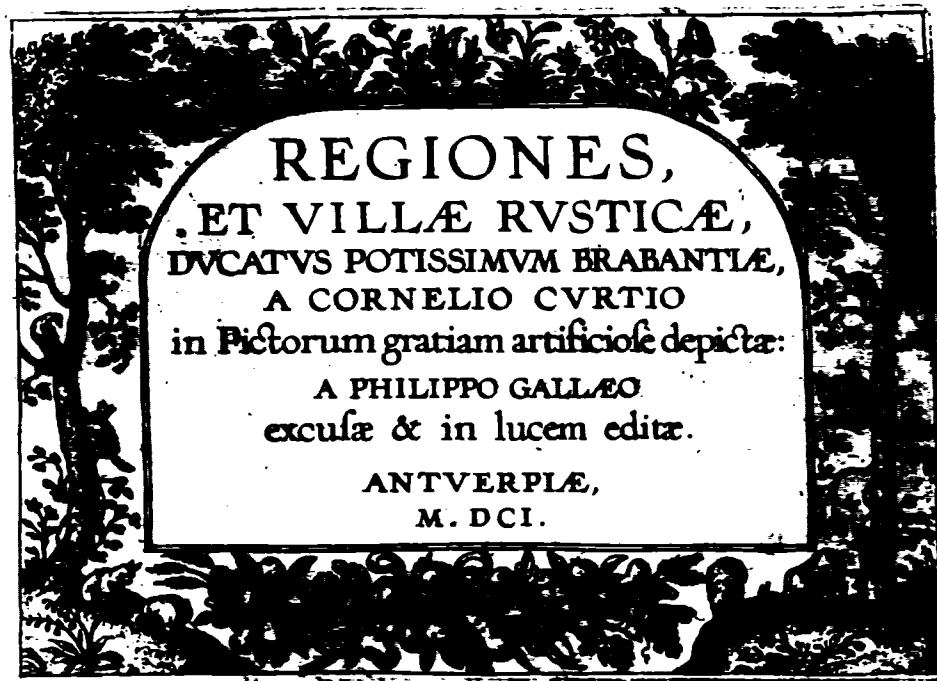


Figure 3.6 Title-page to 1601 edition of *Small Landscape* series, published by Philips Galle



Figure 3.7 Cornelis Cort, preparatory drawing for *Four Allegorical Landscapes*, c. 1595, etchings published by Joris Hoefnagel, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Prentenkabinet (inv. no. S.II.143036)



Figure 3.8 Cornelis Cort after Andrea del Sarto, *The Vineyard Owner Hiring Laborers*, from *Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard*, 1563, engraving published by Hieronymus Cock

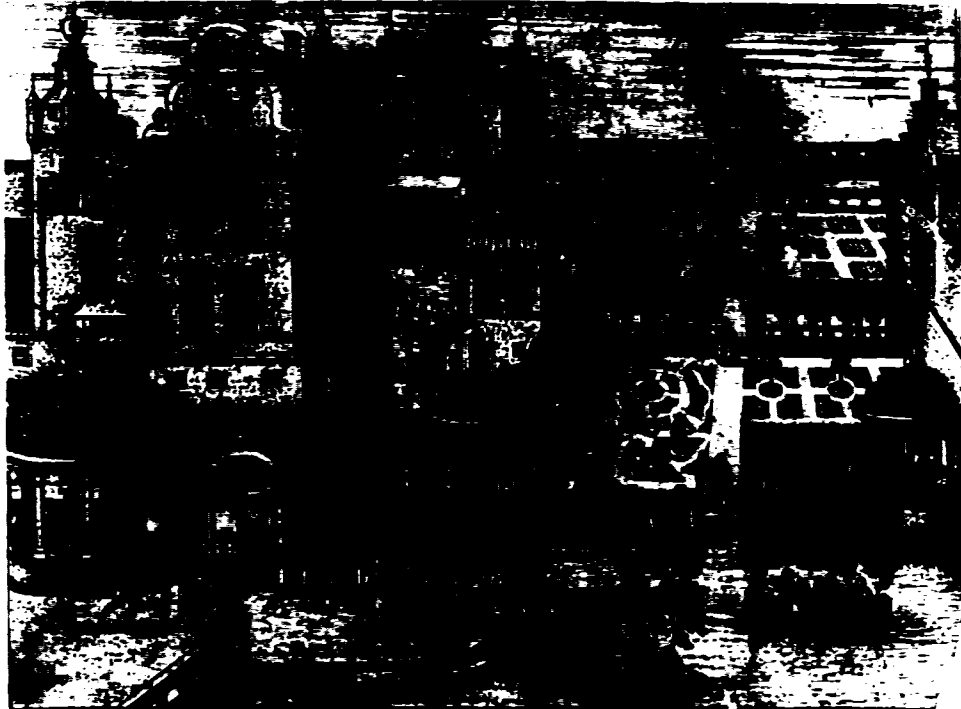


Figure 3.9 Peeter van der Borcht, *Boat Trip*, from *Gardens series*, etching



Figure 3.10 Unidentified engraver after Peeter van der Borcht, *Summer*, from *Season* series

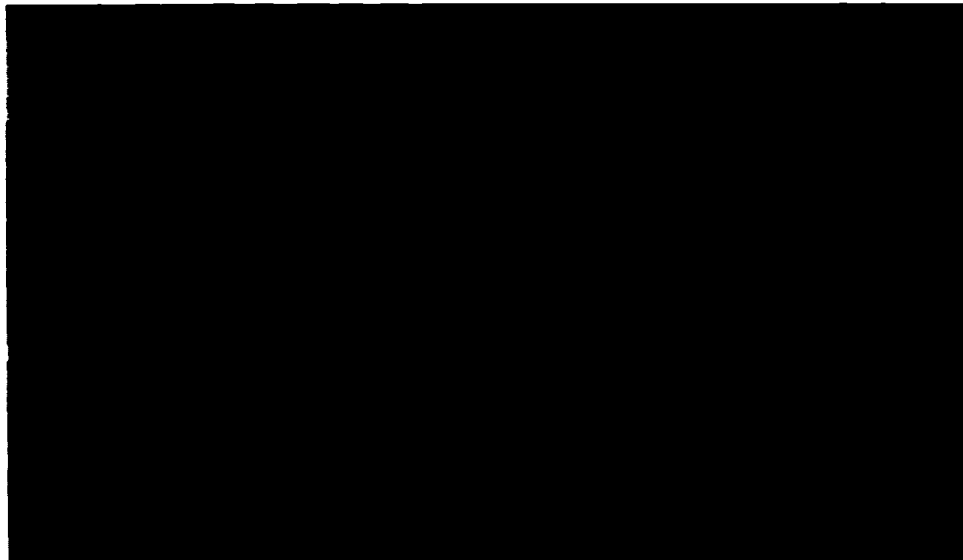


Figure 3.11 Abel Grimmer, *Polders of Antwerp*, c. 1596, oil on panel, 177 x 295 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

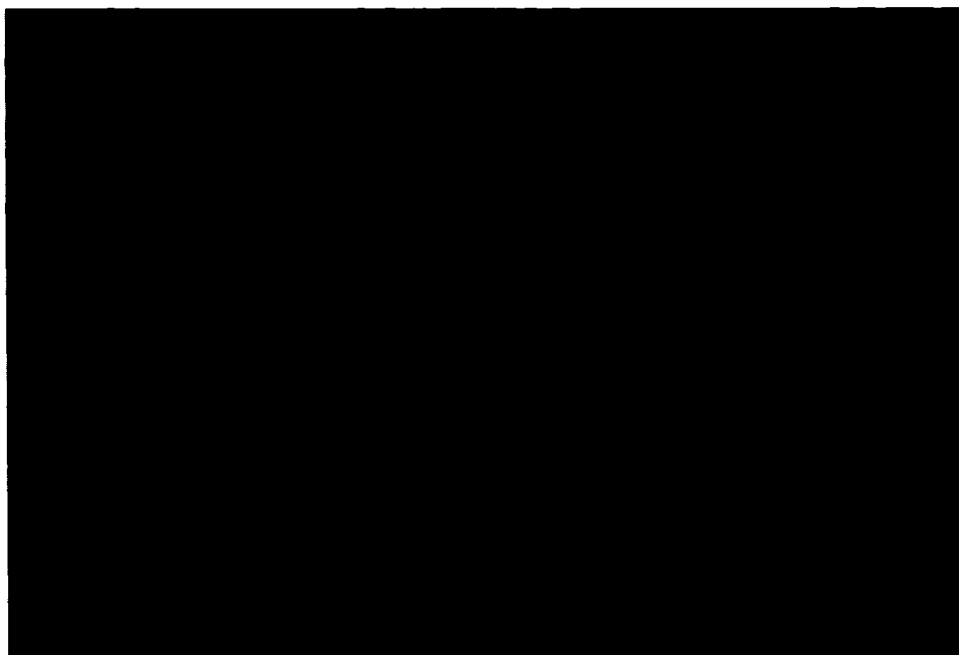


Figure 3.12 Jacob and Abel Grimmer, *Landscape with Castle*, 1592, oil on panel, 93 x 138 cm, Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



Figure 3.13 Abel Grimmer, *Spring*, 1599, oil on panel, 29 x 42 cm, France, private collection



Figure 3.14 Lucas Vorsterman after Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Theodoor Galle*, engraving



Figure 3.15 Detail of figures added in the fourth edition (lower left) to those from the first edition (upper right) of the *Small Landscapes* series



Figure 3.16 *Country Road*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with additional figures



Figure 3.17 *Country Village*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with additional figures



Figure 3.18 *Country Village with Church*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with additional figures



Figure 3.19 *Farms in a Court*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with new addition of violent encounter in foreground



Figure 3.20 *Village Street with Stacks of Hay*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with violent encounter in foreground



Figure 3.21 *Village Road*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with additional figures



Figure 3.22 *Farm and Row of Houses*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with added scene of peasant revenge



Figure 3.23 *Village Road with Draw-Well*, from *Small Landscapes* series, fourth edition with added scene of military justice



Figure 3.24 Pieter Bruegel, *Peasant Couple Attacked by Soldiers*, 1567, oil on panel, 94 x 125 cm, Stockholm, Stockholms Universitets Konstsamling



Figure 3.25 Hans Bol, *Landscape with a View of the Scheldt*, 1578, oil and tempera on canvas, 46.5 x 74.4 cm, Los Angeles, LACMA

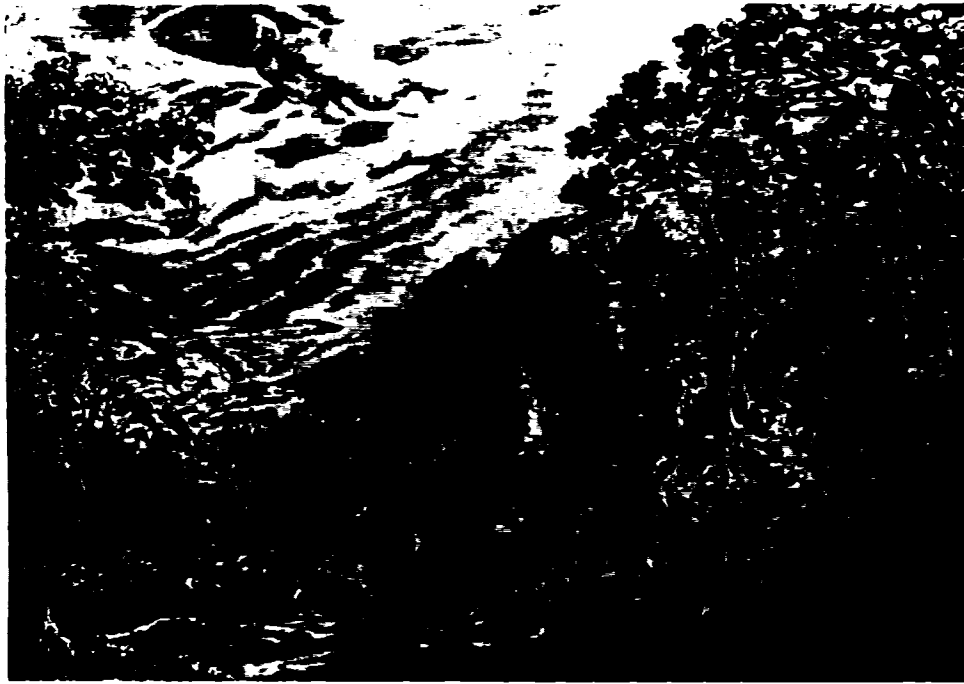


Figure 3.26 Hans Bol, *River View with Ambush*, from *River Landscape* series, 1562, etching

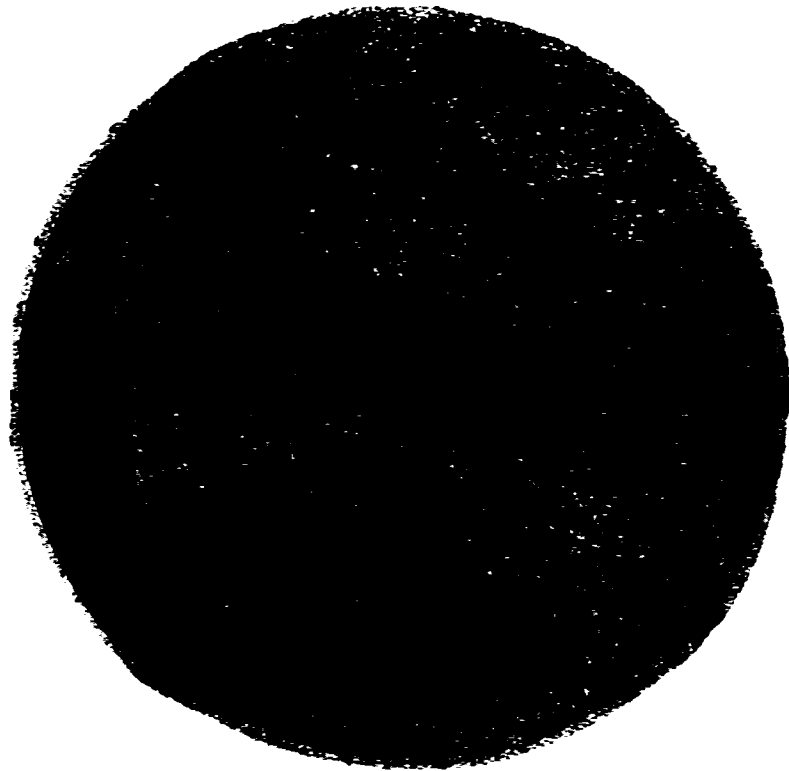


Figure 3.27 Hans Bol, *The Surprise*, from series of roundels, etching

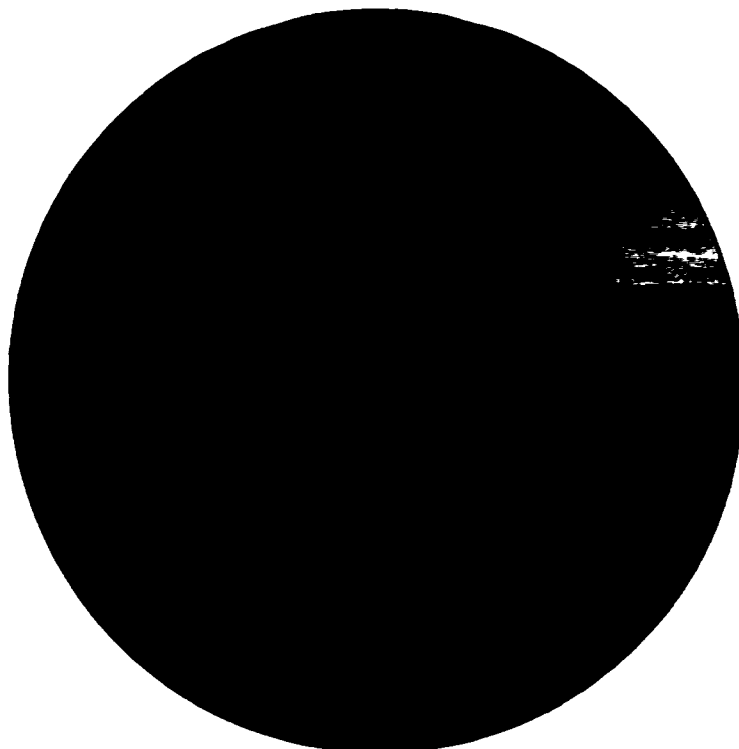


Figure 3.28 Jacob Grimmer, *The Ambush*, oil on panel, c. 50 cm diameter, Belgium, private collection



Figure 3.29 Lucas van Valckenborch, *The Ambush*, 1577, gouache, 28.6 x 42.2 cm, formerly New York, New York Historical Society



Figure 3.30 Gillis Mostaert, *The Sacking of a Village*, late sixteenth century, oil on canvas, 81.5 x 155 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



Figure 3.31 Gillis Mostaert, *Peasant Revenge*, 1569, oil on panel, 42 x 69 cm, Paris, Louvre

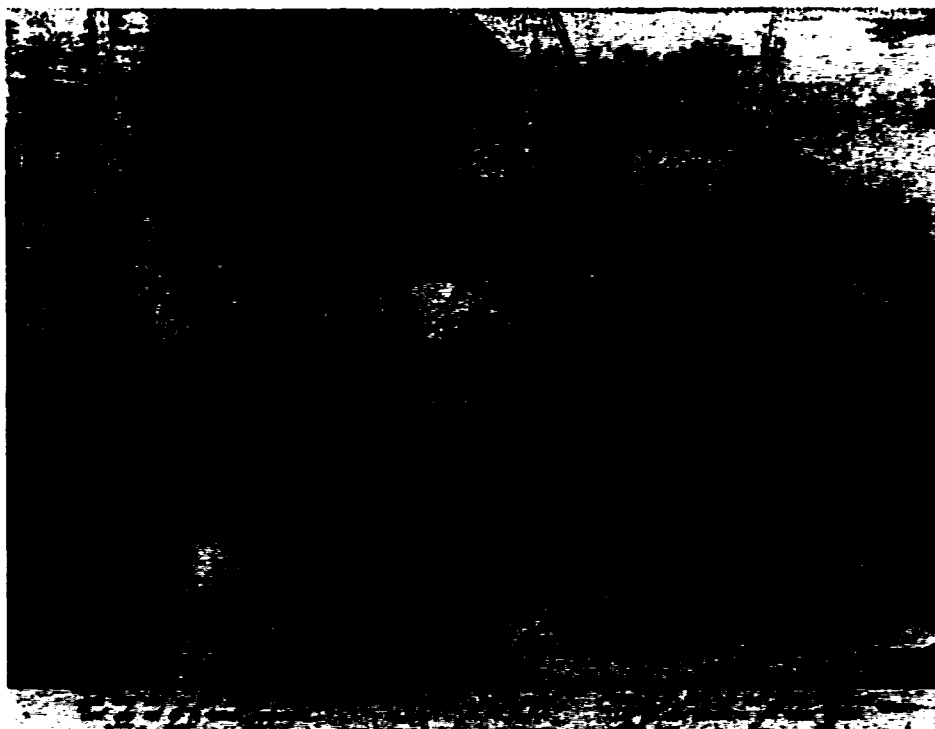


Figure 3.32 Boëtius à Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *The Attack*, from *Peasant Sorrow and Revenge* series, 1610, engraving

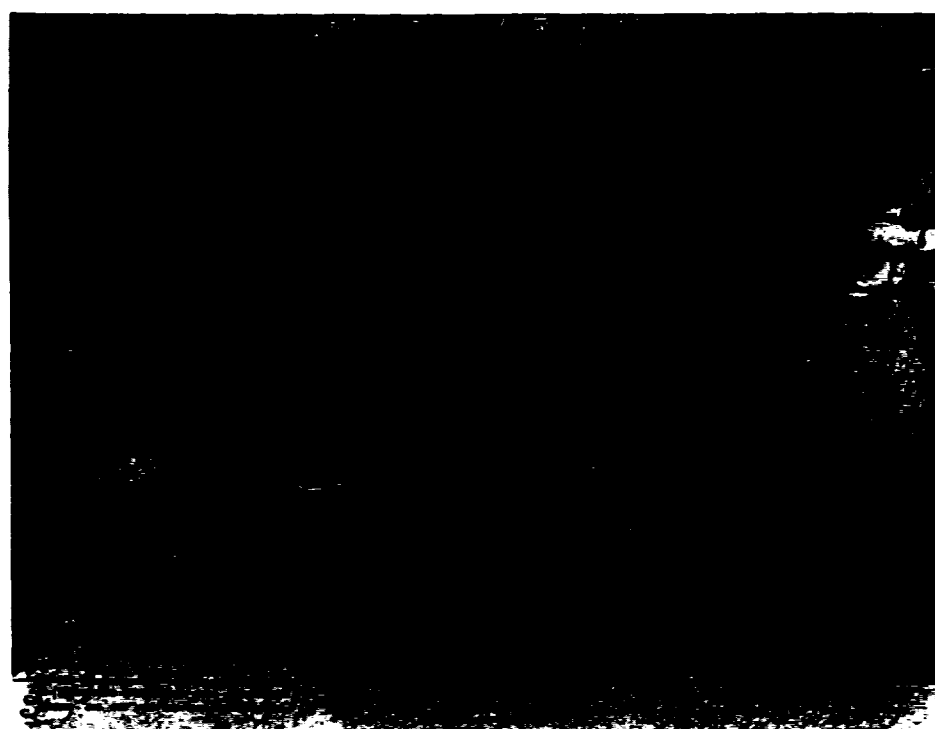


Figure 3.33 Boëtius à Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *Soldiers at Table*, from *Peasant Sorrow and Revenge* series, 1610, engraving



Figure 3.34 Boëtius à Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *Peasant Revenge*, from *Peasant Sorrow and Revenge* series, 1610, engraving



Figure 3.35 Boëtius à Bolswert after David Vinckboons, *The Resolution*, from *Peasant Sorrow and Revenge* series, 1610, engraving



Figure 3.36 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Battle Scene*, oil on panel, 59.8 x 87 cm, Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie (on loan from Munich, Bayrische Staatsgemäldesammlung)



Figure 3.37 Sebastiaen Vrancx and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Ambush on Two Wagons*, c. 1612, oil on panel, 51.8 x 85.4 cm, Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie



Figure 3.38 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Village Plundered by Troops*, c. 1619, oil on panel, 52 x 66.5 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen



Figure 3.39 Pieter Snayers, *Village Plunder*, oil on panel, 73.5 x 104.5 cm, Delft, Legermuseum



Figure 3.40 Pieter Snayers, *Plunder of a Village*, oil on copper, 48.2 x 62.4 cm, Rome, Galleria 'Spada'

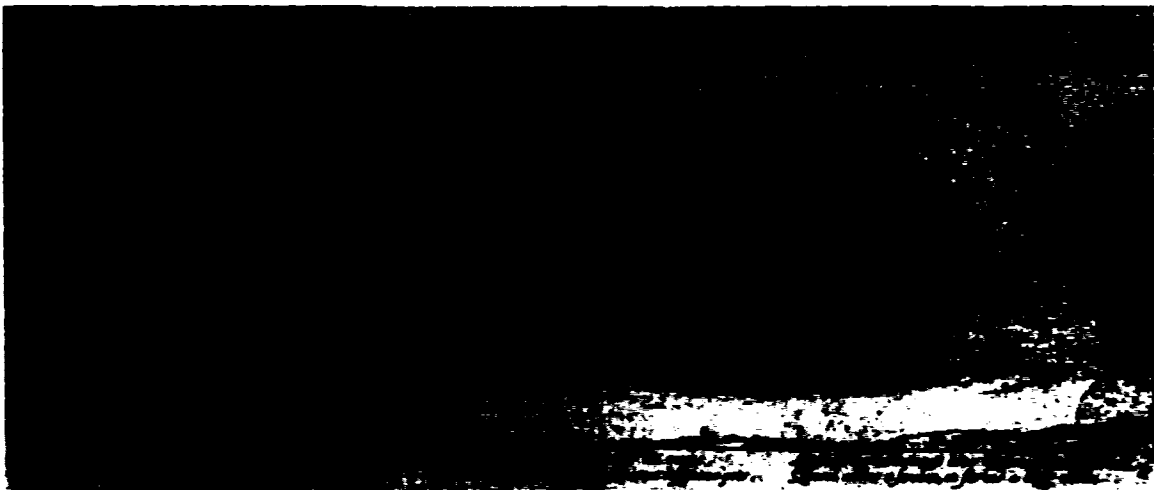


Figure 3.41 Jacques Callot, *Pillaging of an Inn*, from *Les Miseres et les Malheures de la Guerre*, 1633, etching



Figure 3.42 Jacques Callot, *Plunder of a Village*, from *Les Miseres et les Malheures de la Guerre*, 1633, etching



Figure 3.43 Jacques Callot, *Peasant Revenge*, from *Les Miseres et les Malheures de la Guerre*, 1633, etching

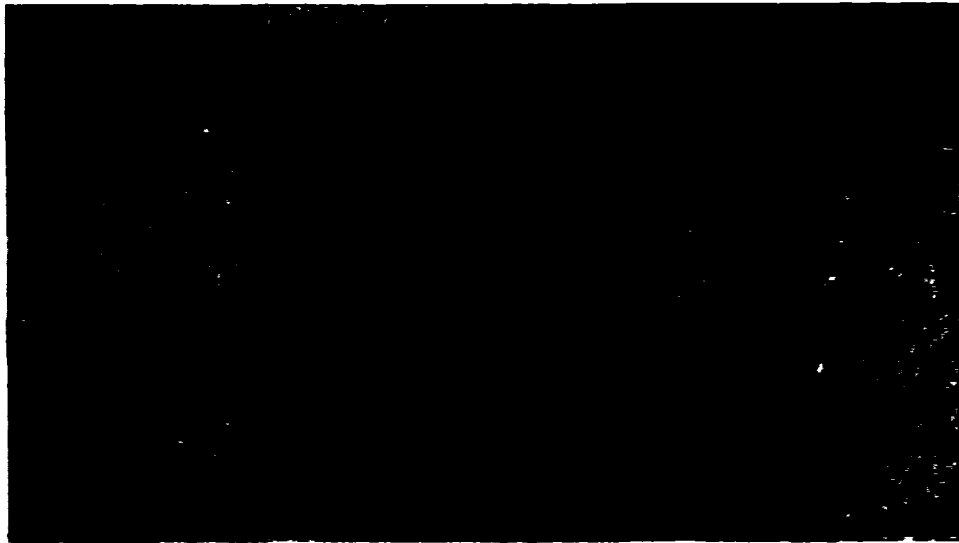


Figure 3.44 Satirical print of Frederik Hendrik's *brandschatting* in Brabant in 1622, published in the pamphlet entitled *Den Tocht van de Brandstichters*, 1622



Figure 3.45 Hans Collaert after Ambrosius Francken, *The Lament Over the Desolation of the Netherlands*, 1570s-80s, engraving



Figure 3.46 Frans Hogenberg, *Dalen*, 1568, engraving from *Abbildungen zur Europäischen Geschichte insbesondere zur Geschichte der Niederländischen Kriegen in den Jahren 1535-1600*, Cologne, c.1569-1600



Figure 3.47 Frans Hogenberg, *Oosterweel*, 1567, engraving from *Abbildungen zur Europäischen Geschichte insbesondere zur Geschichte der Niederländischen Kriegen in den Jahren 1535-1600*, Cologne, c.1569-1600



Figure 4.1 Anonymous copy after the *Small Landscapes*, late sixteenth century, folio 23, no. 224, Ambras album 6641, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

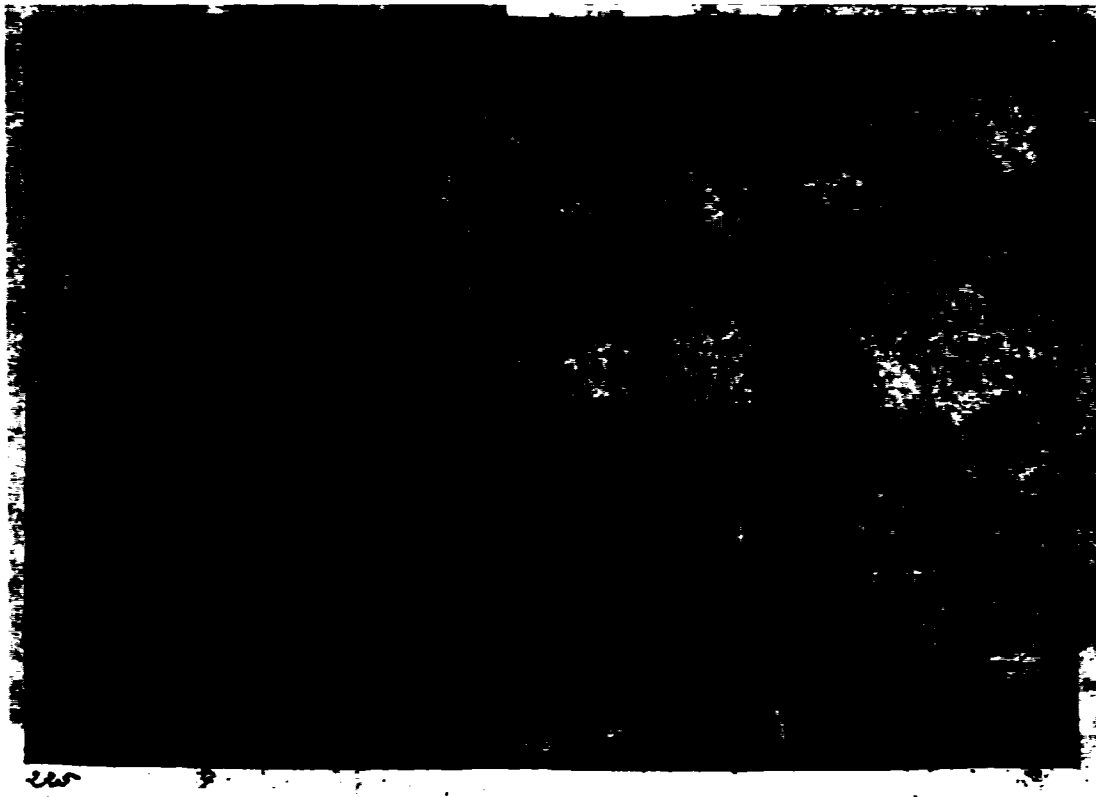


Figure 4.2 Anonymous copy after the *Small Landscapes*, late sixteenth century, folio 23, no. 225, Ambras album 6641, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

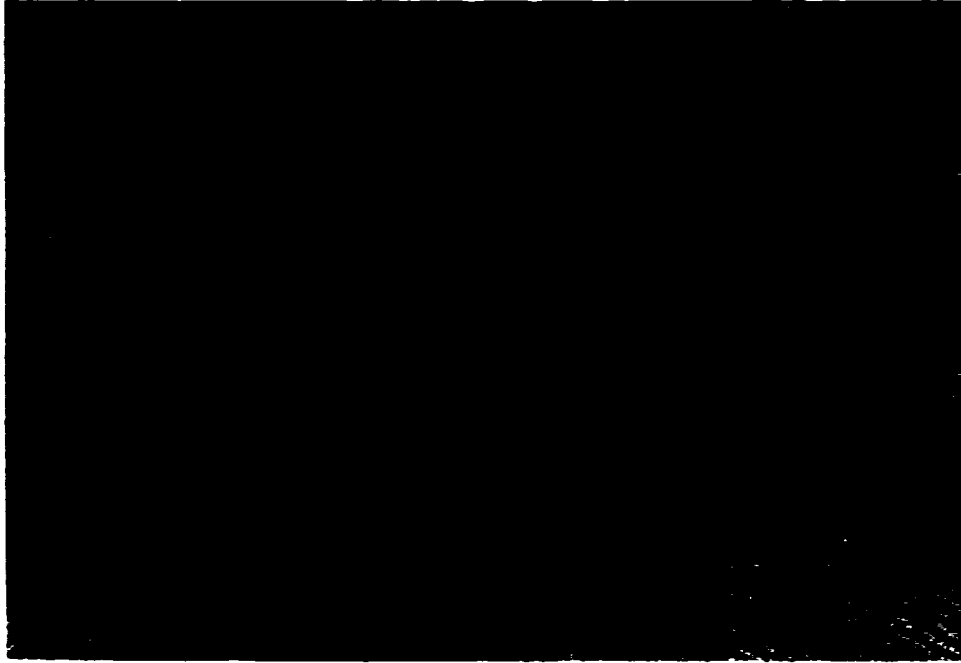


Figure 4.3 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *'t Hof van Brussel*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.4 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Zevenborren*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.5 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Het Slot te Rivieren*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.6 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Bosvoorde*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.7 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Stal*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.8 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Etterbeeke*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.9 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Elsen*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.10 Hans Collaert after Jacob Grimmer?, *Ouer Muelen*, from the *Environs of Brussels* series, 1570s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.11 Jacob Grimmer?, preparatory drawing of *Het Slot te Revieren*, black chalk, pen and brown ink with brown and pink wash, 14.9 x 19.9 cm, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum



Figure 4.12 Jacob Grimmer?, preparatory drawing of *Ouer Muelen*, black chalk, pen and brown ink with brown, pink and yellow wash, 14.8 x 21.4 cm, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum



Figure 4.13 Jacob Grimmer, *Village with Church and Windmill*, 1589, pen and ink with watercolor, 21.8 x 34 cm, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



Figure 4.14 Jacob Grimmer, *Village with Church*, 1589, pen and ink with watercolor, 21.7 x 33 cm, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



Figure 4.15 Adriaen Collaert after Jacob Grimmer, *By Antwerpen* series, 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.16 Adriaen Collaert after Jacob Grimmer, *By Antwerpen* series, 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.17 Adriaen Collaert after Jacob Grimmer, *By Antwerpen* series, 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.18 Adriaen Collaert after Jacob Grimmer, *By Antwerpen* series, 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.19 Detail of Figure 4.16

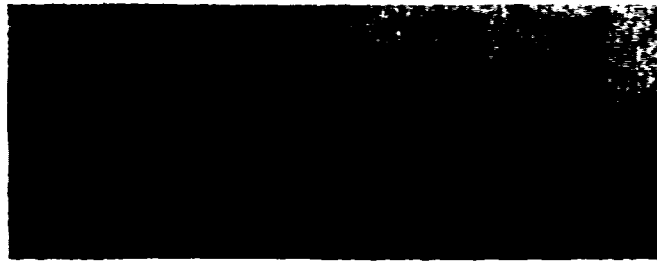


Figure 4.20 Detail of Small Landscape print (Figure 1.8)



Figure 4.21 Detail of Figure 4.16

Figure 4.22 Detail of Small Landscape print (Figure 1.5)



Figure 4.23 Detail of Figure 4.15

Figure 4.24 Detail of Small Landscape print (Figure 1.17)



Figure 4.25 Julius Goltzius after Gillis Mostaert, *May*, from *Twelve Months* series, late 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.26 Julius Goltzius after Gillis Mostaert, *August*, from *Twelve Months* series, late 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck

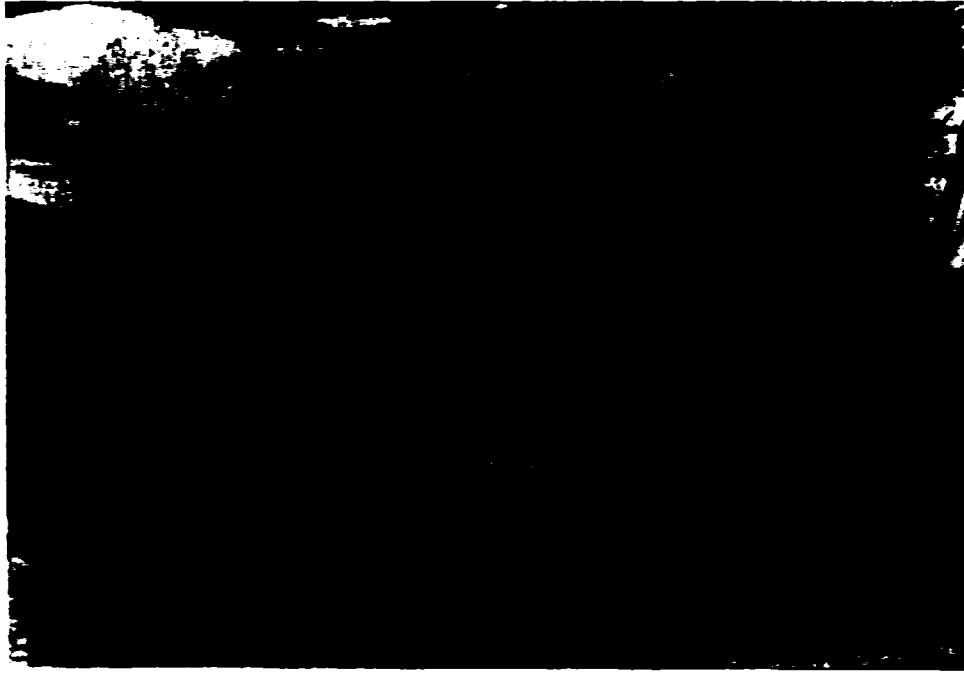


Figure 4.27 Julius Goltzius after Gillis Mostaert, *June*, from *Twelve Months* series, late 1580s, engraving published by Hans van Luyck



Figure 4.28 Van Doetecums after Gerard van Groeningen, *June* from *Months* series, c. 1574, etching and engraving



Figure 4.29 Philips Galle after Marten van Heemskerck, *Summer* from *Four Seasons* series, 1563. engraving

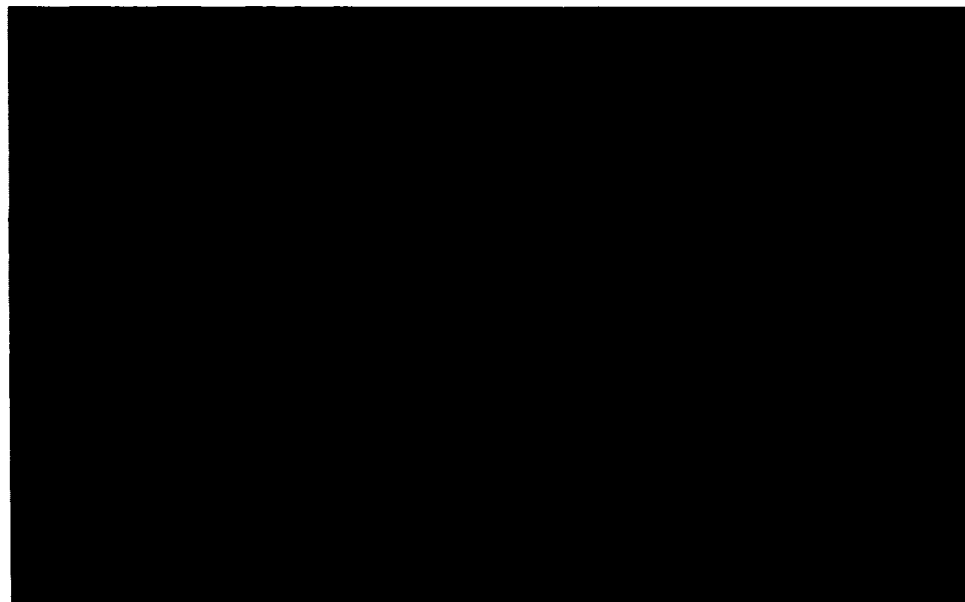


Figure 4.30 Jacob Grimmer, *The Kiel by Antwerp*, 1578, oil on panel, 121.5 x 196.2 cm, Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

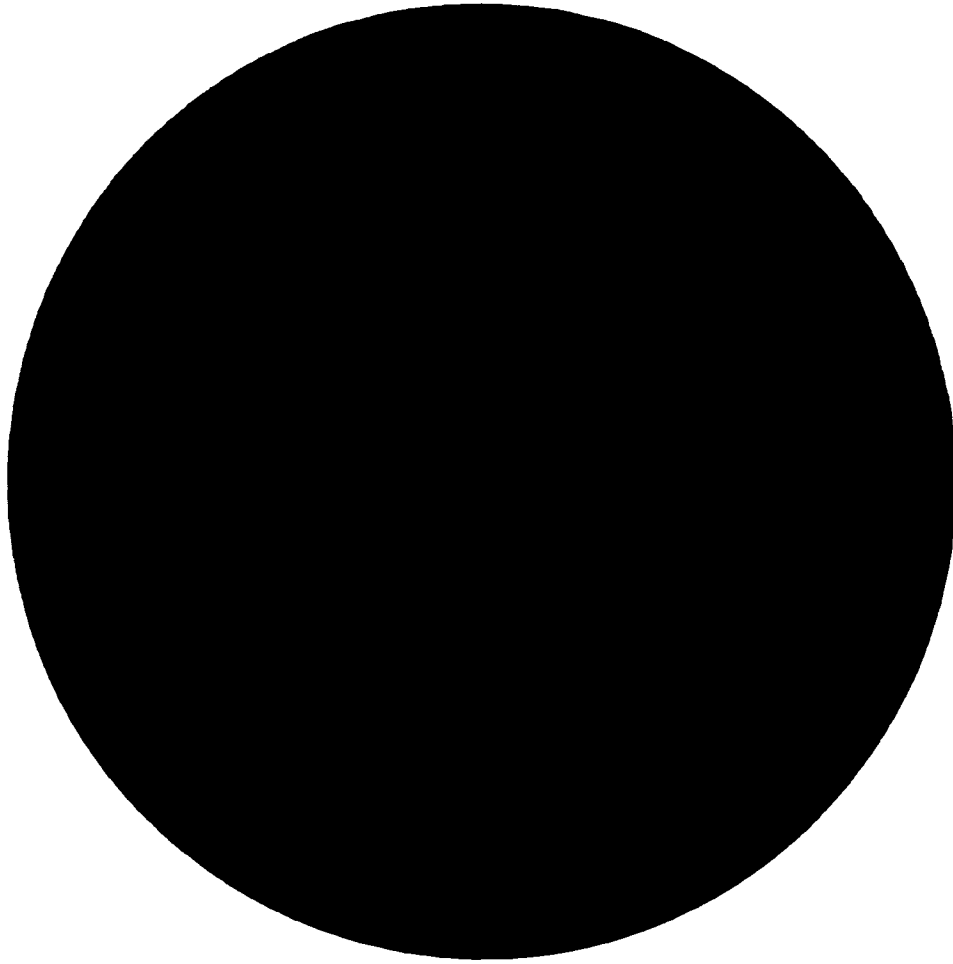


Figure 4.31 Jacob Grimmer, *Summer*, oil on panel, diameter 29.1 cm, (sold Christie's, Amsterdam, 1986)



Figure 4.32 Jacob Grimmer, *Landscape of the Environs of Antwerp*, oil on panel, 23.5 x 56 cm, private collection

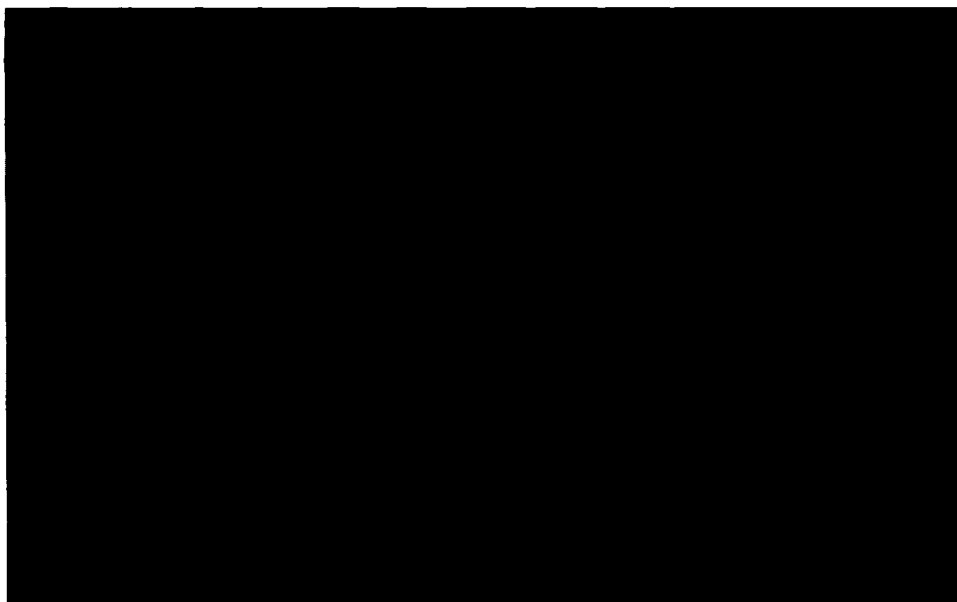


Figure 4.33 Jacob Grimmer, *Winter*, oil on panel, (sold Sotheby's, 1981)

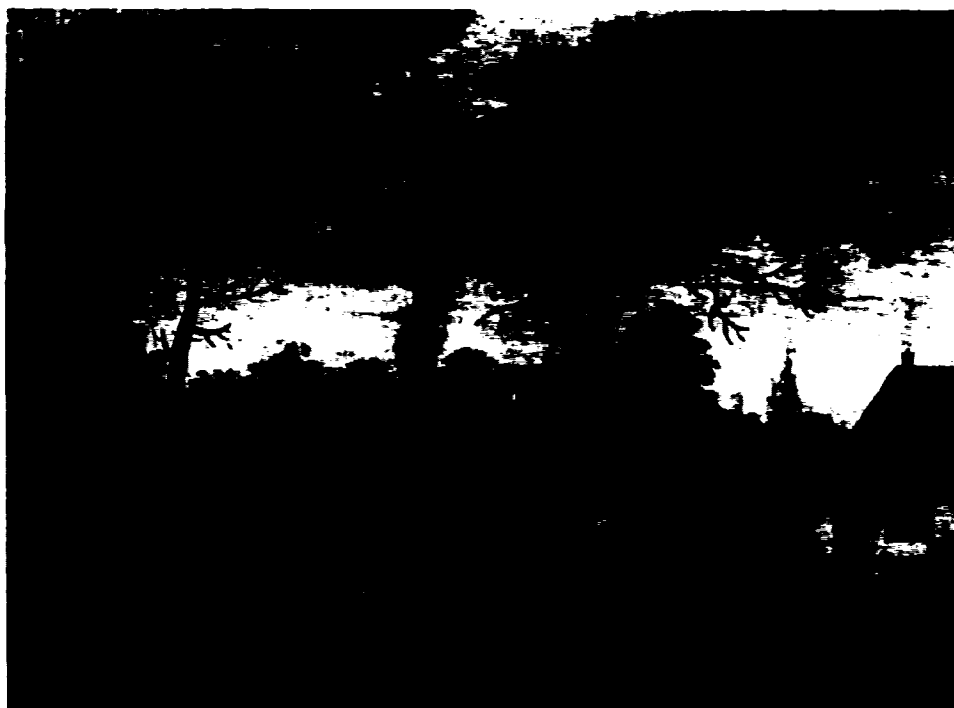


Figure 4.34 Jacob Grimmer, *Return of the Herd*, oil on panel, 31.4 x 43 cm, private collection



Figure 4.35 Jacob Grimmer, *Autumn*, oil on panel, 33.5 x 44.5 cm, Amsterdam, collection Pieter de Boer



Figure 4.36 Jacob Grimmer, *Summer Landscape*, 1583, oil on panel, 38.5 x 60 cm, private collection



1.6



1.25



1.23



1.23



1.34

Figures 4.37 – 4.41 Details from Small Landscape prints (Figures 1.6, 1.25, 1.23, and 1.34)

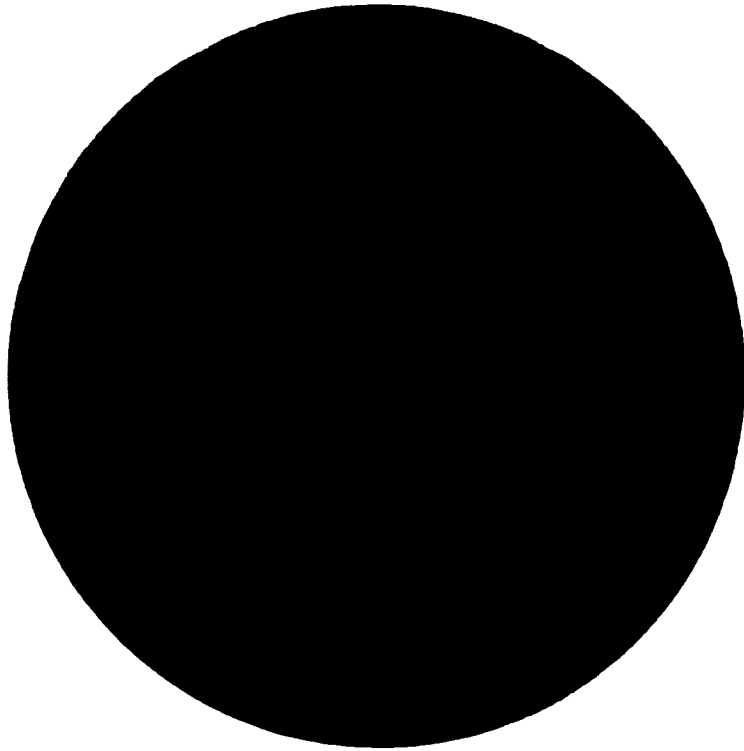


Figure 4.42 Abel Grimmer, *Spring*, 1596, oil on panel, diameter 25.9 cm, private collection

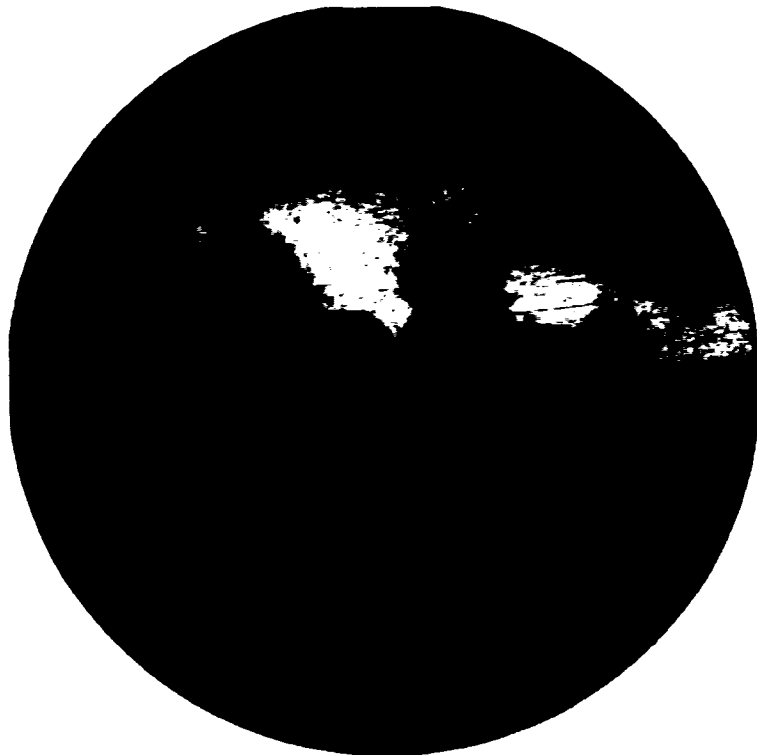


Figure 4.43 Abel Grimmer, *Spring*, oil on panel, diameter 12.7 cm, Banbury, England, National Trust Upton House

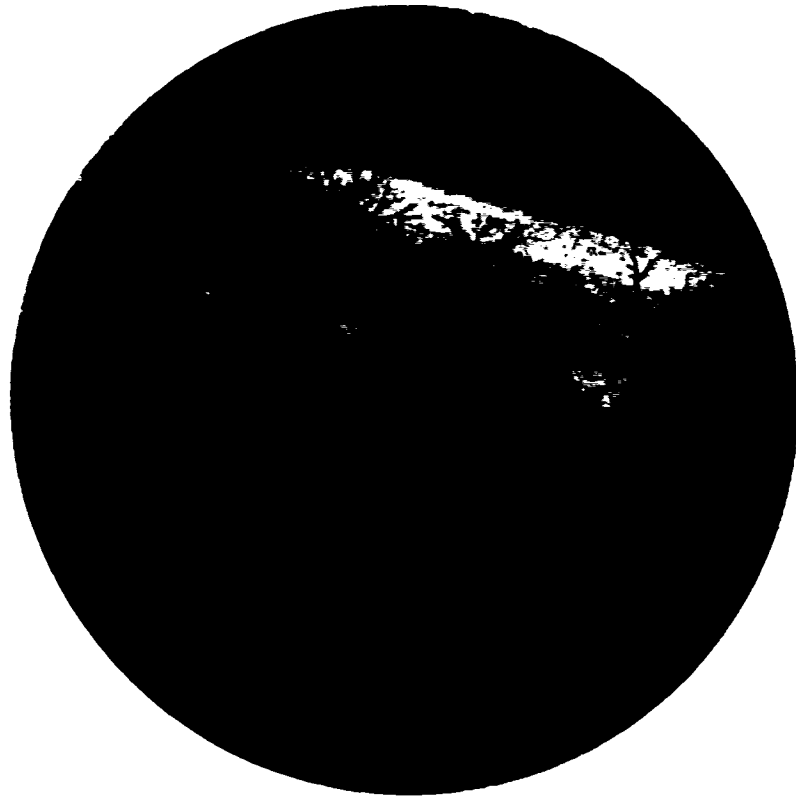


Figure 4.44 Abel Grimmer, *Winter*, oil on panel, diameter 16.5 cm, private collection



Figure 4.45 Abel Grimmer, *Landscape*, 1593, oil on panel, 42 x 60 cm, private collection

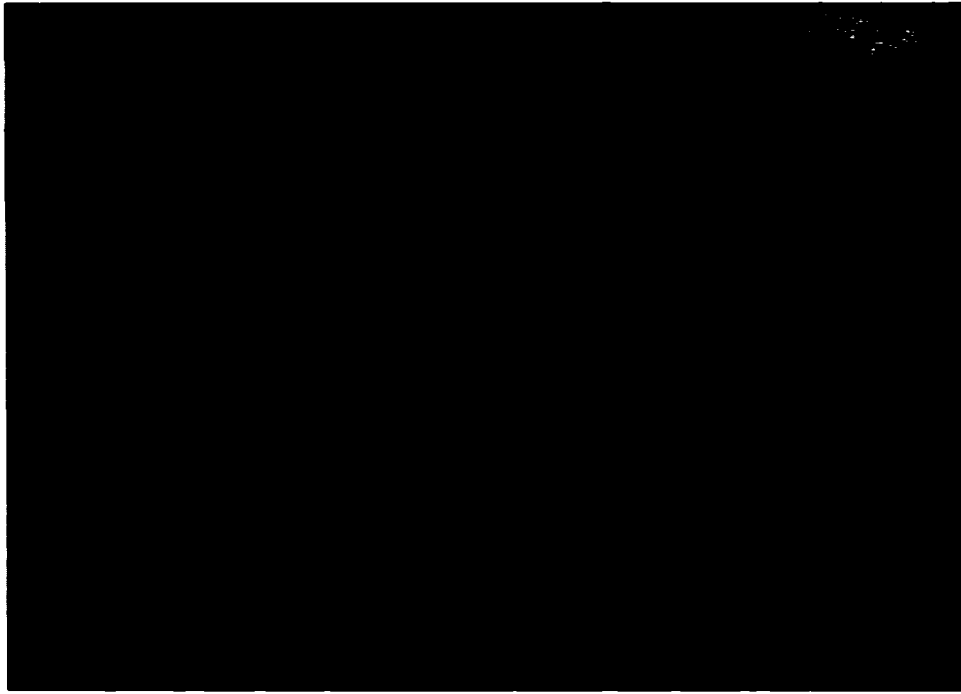


Figure 4.46 Abel Grimmer, *Summer*, 1607, oil on panel, 33 x 47 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten

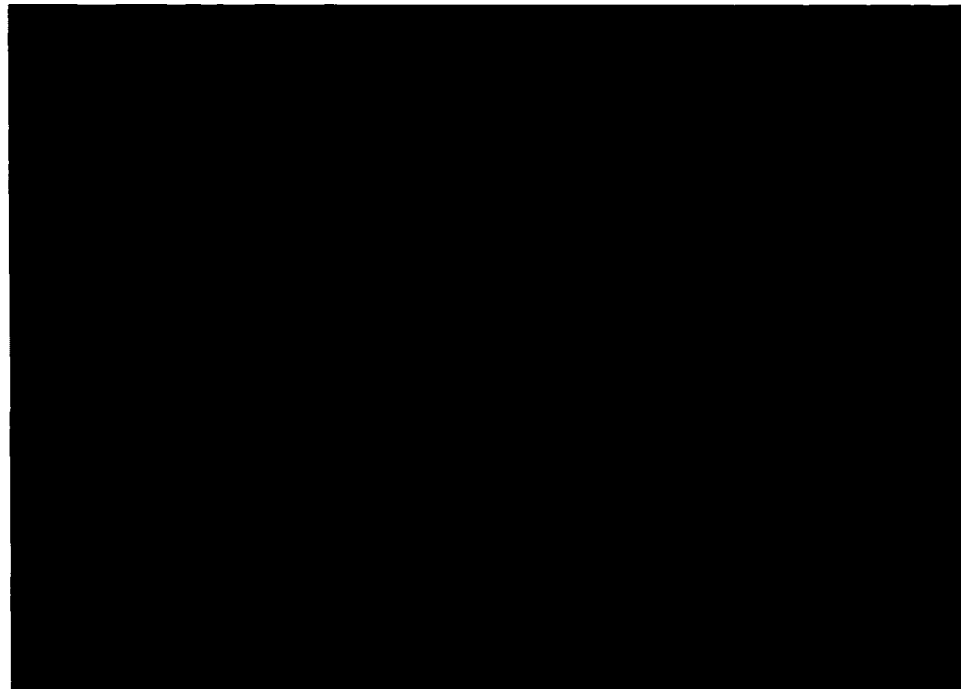


Figure 4.47 Abel Grimmer, *Spring*, dated 1565, oil on panel, 33 x 47 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten

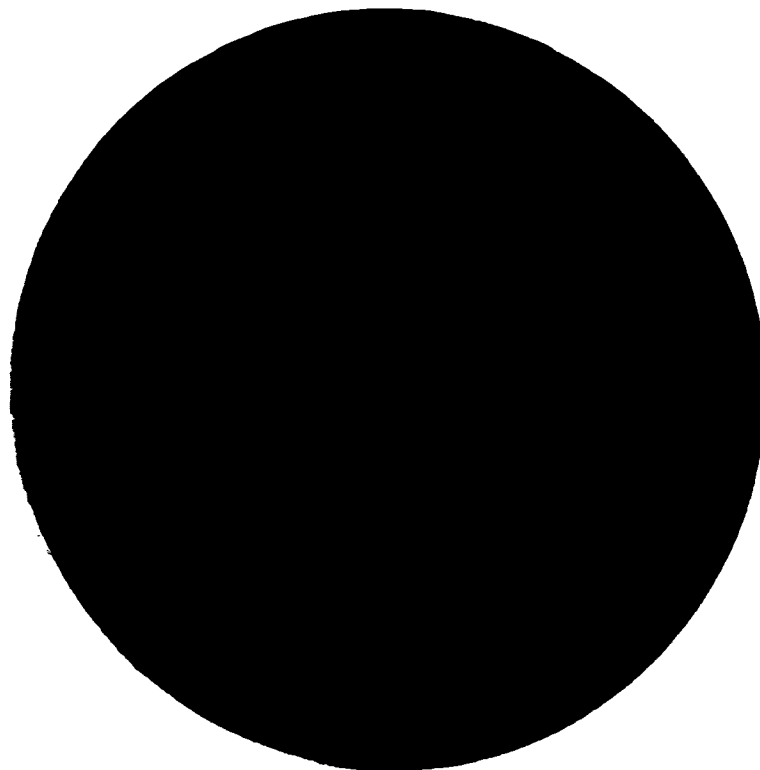


Figure 4.48 Abel Grimmer, *Skating before Saint George's Gate, Antwerp*, 1602, oil on panel, diameter 18 cm, Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts

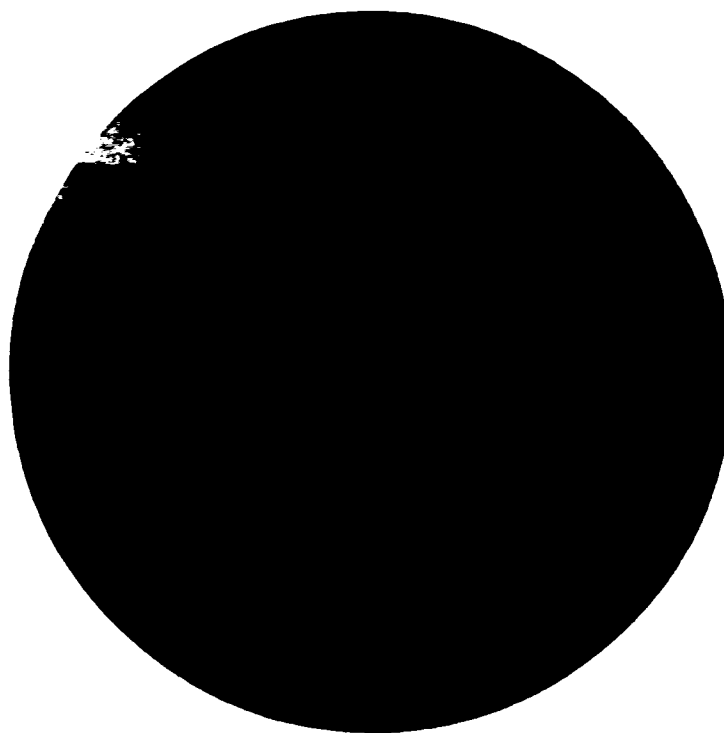


Figure 4.49 Abel Grimmer, *June*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection

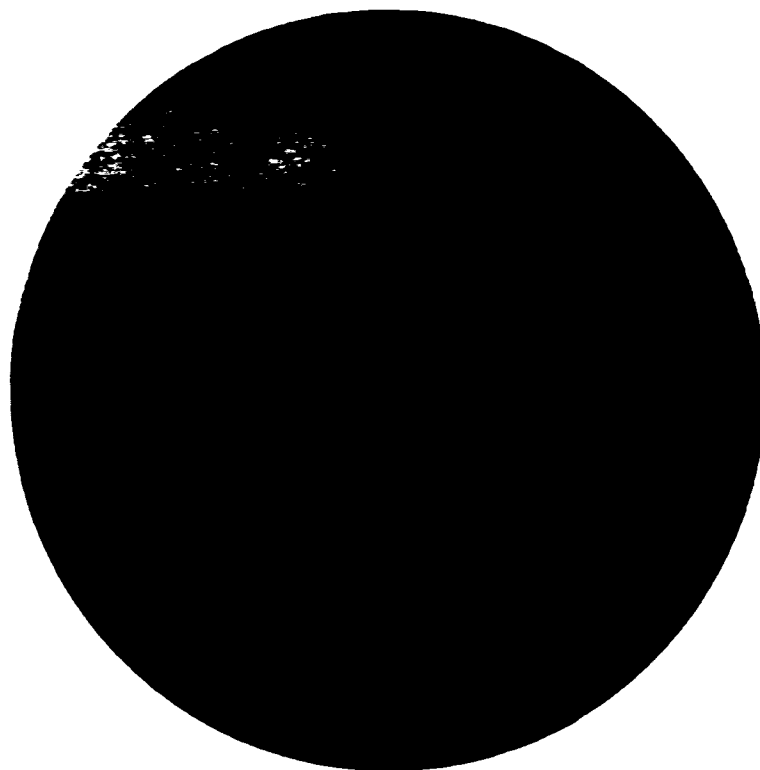


Figure 4.50 Abel Grimmer, *July*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection

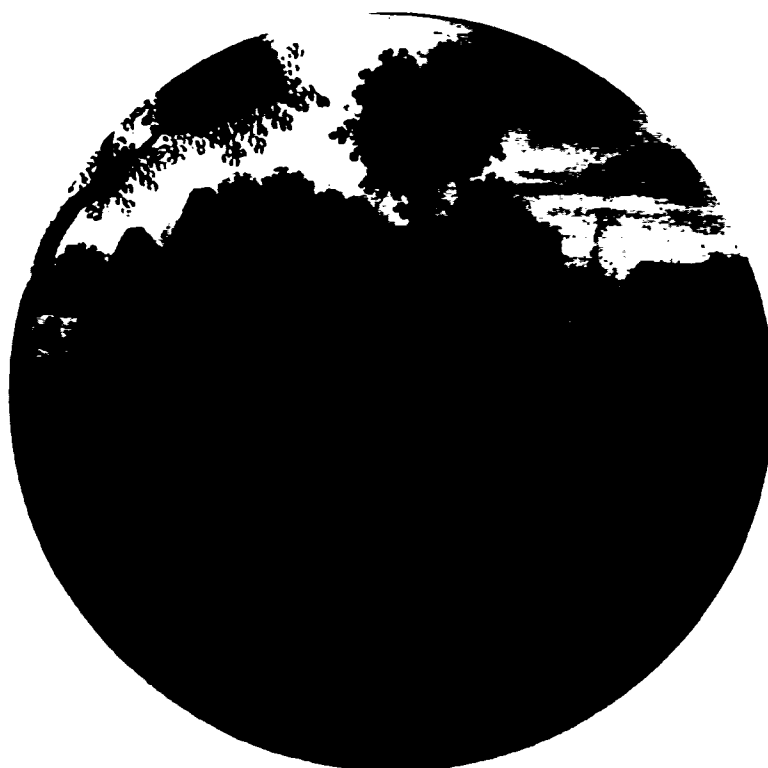


Figure 4.51 Abel Grimmer, *August*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection



Figure 4.52 Abel Grimmer, *October*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection



Figure 4.53 Abel Grimmer, *November*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, present location unknown



Figure 4.54 Abel Grimmer, *December*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, private collection



Figure 4.55 Abel Grimmer, *January*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, present location unknown

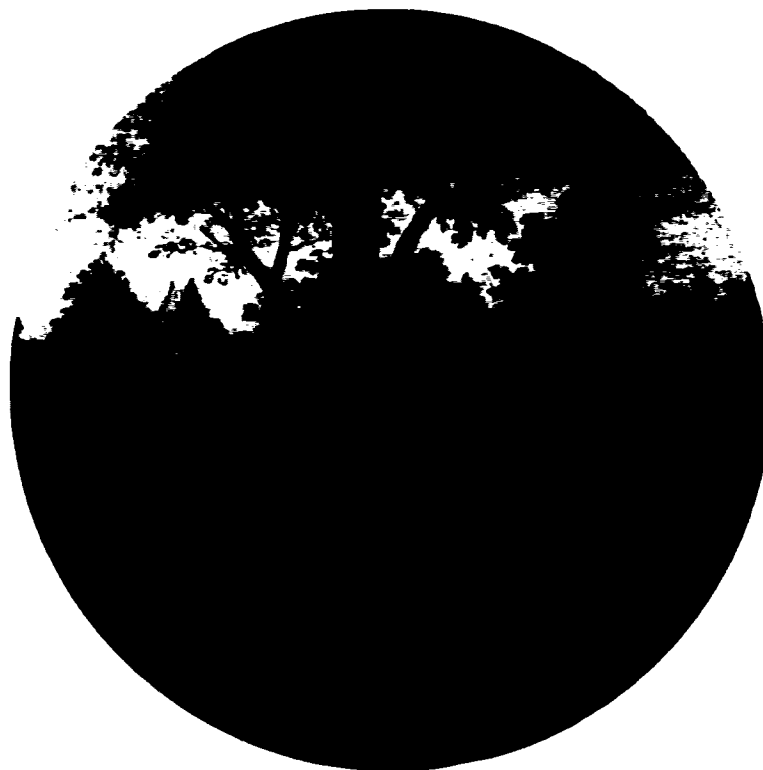


Figure 4.56 Abel Grimmer, *September*, 1606, oil on panel, diameter ca. 20 cm, present location unknown



Figure 4.57 Abel Grimmer, *Winter*, oil on panel, diameter 27.5 cm, St.Petersburg, Hermitage



Figure 4.58 Abel Grimmer, *Autumn*, 1599, oil on panel, 29 x 42 cm, private collection



Figure 4.59 Abel Grimmer, *Winter*, 1599, oil on panel, 29 x 42 cm, private collection



Figure 4.60 Abel Grimmer, *Autumn*, 1604, oil on panel, 30 x 40 cm, private collection



Figure 4.61 Pieter Brughel the Younger, *The Encounter*, oil on panel, New York, private collection



Figure 4.62 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *The Drunkard*, oil on panel, Amsterdam, private collection



Figure 4.63 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Peasant Repast*, oil on panel, 44 x 58.5 cm, Prague, National Gallery



Figure 4.64 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Peasant Dance*, oil on panel, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum



Figure 4.65 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Village Street with Dancing Peasants*, 1609, oil on copper, 11 x 16 cm, Switzerland, private collection



Figure 4.66 Joos de Momper, *Village Scene with Draw Well*, 1620s, oil on panel, 46 x 75 cm, Brussels, collection J. Nieuwenhuys (1955)



Figure 4.67 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Joos de Momper, *Village Landscape with Cattle Market*, oil on panel, 58 x 85 cm, formerly Dieren, Galerie Katz



Figure 4.68 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Joos de Momper, *Washing Fields in Flanders*, oil on canvas, 166 x 194 cm, Madrid, Prado



Figure 5.1 Claes Visscher, copy after the *Small Landscapes*, 1612, etching (Holl 127)



Figure 5.2 Claes Visscher, copy after the *Small Landscapes*, 1612, etching (Holl 126)



Figure 5.3 Claes Visscher, copy after the *Small Landscapes*, 1612, etching (Holl 150)

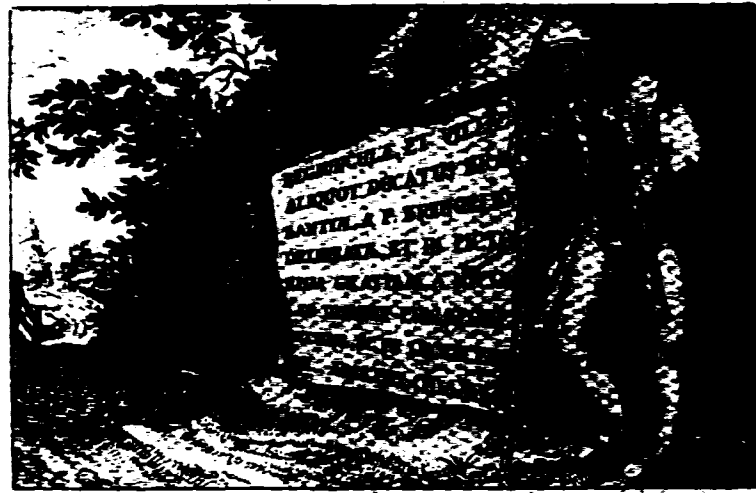


Figure 5.4 Claes Visscher, Title-page for series of copies after the *Small Landscapes*, 1612, etching



Figure 5.5 Claes Visscher, *Road to Leiden*, from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching



Figure 5.6 Claes Visscher, *Road to Leiden*, 1607, drawing



Figure 5.7 Claes Visscher, Title-page from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching

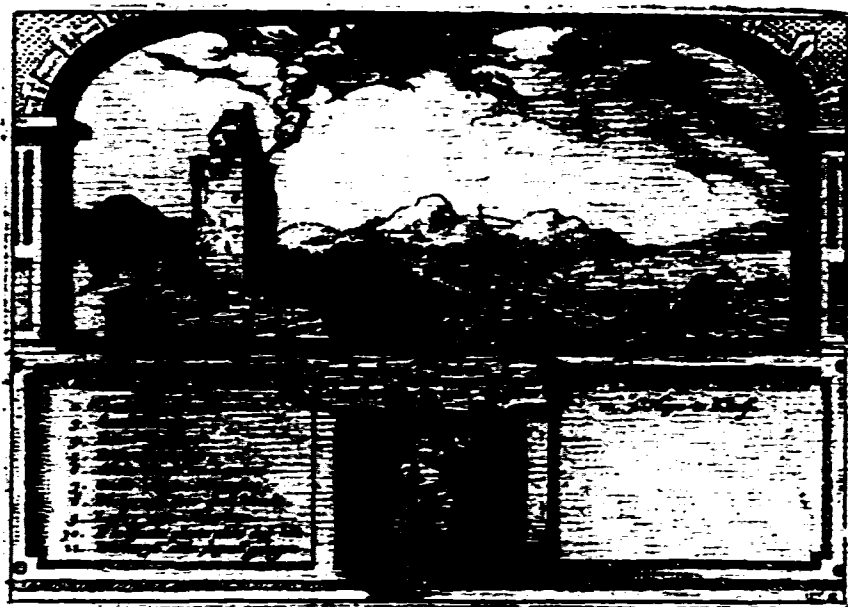


Figure 5.8 Claes Visscher, Table of Contents from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching



Figure 5.9 Claes Visscher, *Huis ter Kleef*, from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching



Figure 5.10 Claes Visscher, *Leper's Asylum*, from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching



Figure 5.11 Claes Visscher, *Zandvoort*, from the *Plaisante Plaetsen* series, 1612/13, etching



Figure 5.12 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert, *Farm Cottage*, 1614, etching



Figure 5.13 Boëtius à Bolswert after Abraham Bloemaert. *Farm Cottages*, 1614, etching

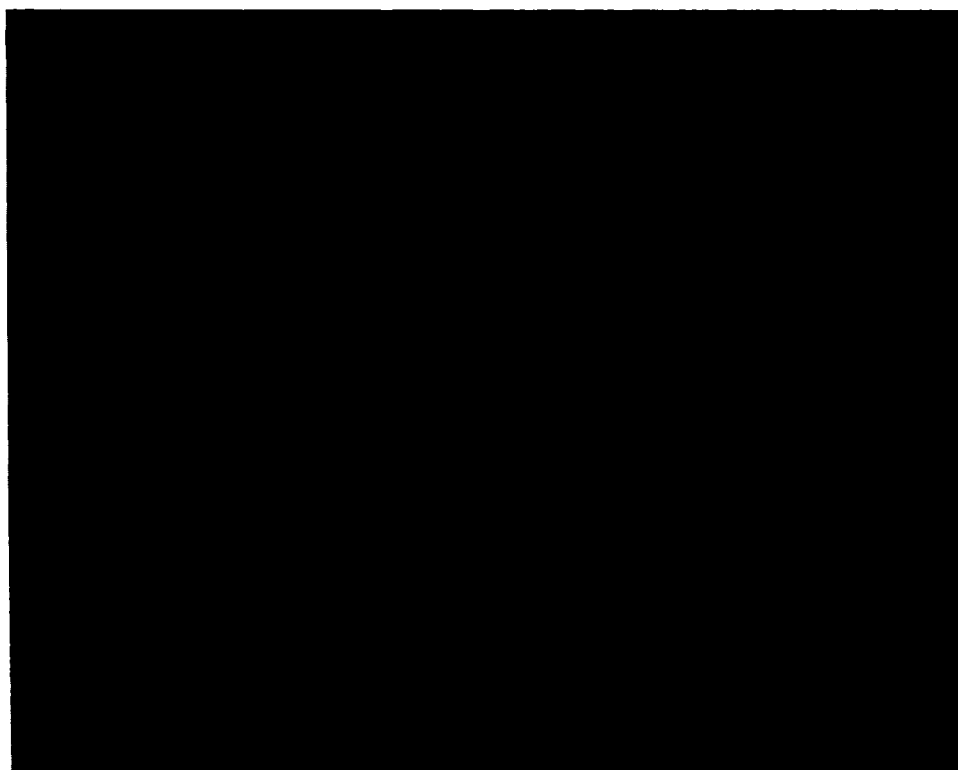


Figure 5.14 Hendrick Goltzius, *Landscape with Farmhouse*, 1590s, chiraoscuro woodcut



Figure 5.15 Andreas Stock (?) after Jacques de Gheyn II, *Winter Landscape with Skaters*, from series of six landscapes, c.1610, engraving and etching



Figure 5.16 Jan van de Velde, *Ruined Barn*, 1616, etching



Figure 5.17 Esaias van de Velde, *Bridge over Waterway*, etching



Figure 5.18 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Landscape with Trees, Farm Buildings and a Tower*, c. 1651, etching and drypoint



Figure 5.19 Gillis Claes de Hondecoeter. *The Country Road*, early 1620s, oil on panel, 40.5 x 72 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Figure 5.20 Esaias van de Velde. *Riders in a Landscape*, 1614, oil on panel, 25 x 32.5 cm, Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twente



Figure 5.21 Jan van Goyen, *Farmhouse with Peasants*, 1630, oil on panel, 36 x 51 cm, United States, private collection



Figure 5.22 Salomon van Ruisdael, *Landscape with Farmhouse*, 1629, oil on panel, 30.6 x 42.5 cm., United States, private collection

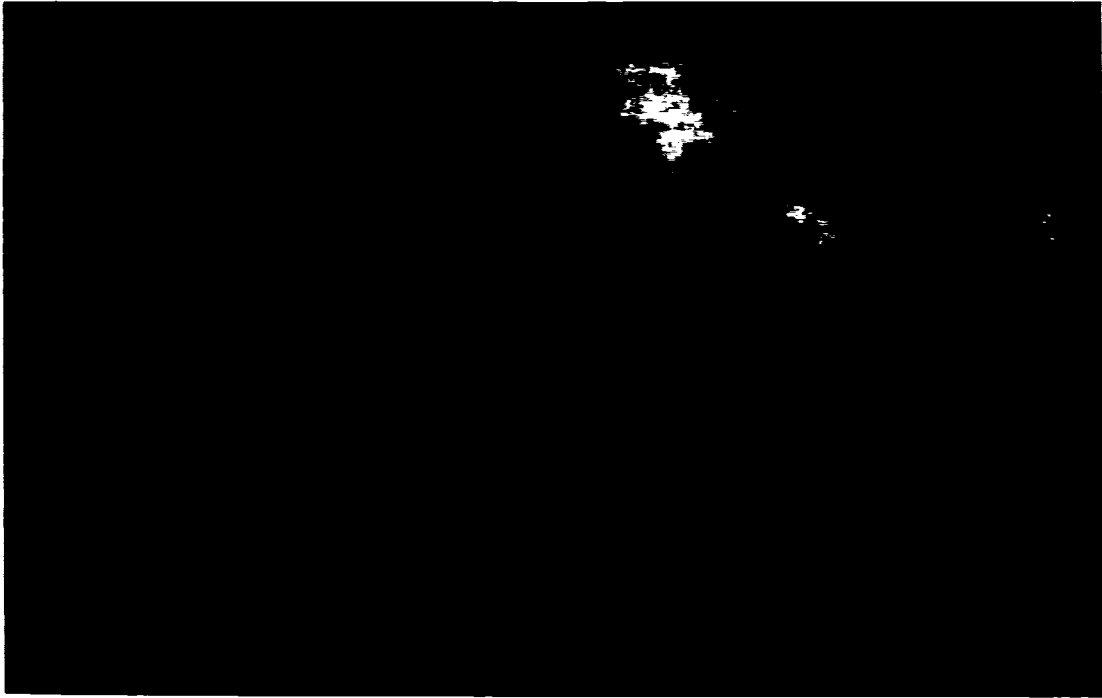


Figure 5.23 Pieter de Molijn, *Dune Landscape with Peasants Traveling and Resting*, 1630, oil on panel, 41.6 x 65 cm, United States, private collection



Figure 5.24 Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Watermills with an Open Sluice*, 1653, oil on canvas, 66 x 84.5 cm, Los Angeles, Getty Museum