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ARTISTS IN PRINT

Hieronymus Cock and His 1572 Series of Engraved Portraits

by

SARAH HELEN MEIERS

**A thesis submitted to the Department of Art
in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

Queen's University

Kingston, Ontario, Canada

March, 2002

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Abstract

Devoted to the representation of Dutch and Flemish artists, the portrait series Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies was first published in 1572 by a prominent Antwerp printing house, *In de Vier Winden*. Honoured in the series as the twenty-third and final artist was the firm's late founder, Hieronymus Cock (c. 1510-1570). Cock's reputation as a leading Northern printmaker of the sixteenth century has been firmly established by existing scholarship, but Cock's portrait series has escaped intensive examination. It is necessary to reassess how the collection was conceived and by whom. In addition to demonstrating how the series was produced, it is also important to consider how Cock's portrait series related to art historiography, a field of study which had only begun to flourish in the sixteenth century.

Four years prior to the publication of the portrait series, the illustrated second edition of Giorgio Vasari's Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects (1568) was released. A most popular compilation of artists' biographies, Vasari's work lauded Italy as the cradle of great art. Objecting to the consequently diminished stature of Dutch and Flemish painters, Karel van Mander dedicated his 1604 Schilder-Boeck (second edition 1618) to describing illustrious artists of the North. Did Cock's portrait series constitute an early response to Vasari's claims? This is a formidable question, but I will argue that by circumscribing the identities of Netherlandish artists in a series of portraits, Cock attempted to create and propagate a visual history of the arts in the Low Countries.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iii
List of Illustrations.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: The Appearance of the First Edition.....	9
Chapter Two: The Production of the Series.....	23
Chapter Three: Precedents to Cock's Model of a Northern School of Painting.....	53
Conclusion.....	68
Appendix: The Verses of Lampsonius.....	70
Bibliography.....	77
Catalogue.....	88
Illustrations.....	139
Vita.....	205

List of Illustrations

1. *Hubert van Eyck*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
2. *Jan van Eyck*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
3. *Hieronymus Bosch*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
4. *Rogier van der Weyden*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
5. *Dieric Bouts* [Bernard van Orley]. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
6. *Bernard van Orley* [Dieric Bouts]. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
7. *Jan Gossaert*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
8. *Joachim Patinir*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
9. *Quentin Metsys*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
10. *Lucas van Leyden*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
11. *Jan van Amstel*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
12. *Joos van Cleve*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
13. *Matthijs Cock*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
14. *Herri met de Bles*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
15. *Jan Cornelis Vermeyen*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
16. *Pieter Coecke van Aelst*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
17. *Jan van Scorel*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
18. *Lambert Lombard*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.

19. *Pieter Bruegel*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
20. *Willem Key*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
21. *Lucas Gassel*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
22. *Frans Floris*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
23. *Hieronymus Cock*. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6, 1572.
- 1c. *Hubert van Eyck*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 1f. *Altarpiece of the Lamb*, detail of the *Just Judges*, Hubert and Jan van Eyck 1432. Ghent, Cathedral of St. Bavo.
- 2c. *Jan van Eyck*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 2g. *Jan van Eyck*, Willem van den Broecke c. 1563. Antwerp, Vleeshuis.
- 3a. *Hieronymus Bosch*, 1572?. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.
- 3b. *Hieronymus Bosch*, 1572? ['second' edition].
- 3d. *Hieronymus Bosch*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 3g. *Hieronymus Bosch*, from the *Recueil d'Arras*, anonymous artist, third quarter of the sixteenth century. Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266.
- 4a. *Rogier van der Weyden*, 1572?. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.
- 4b. *Rogier van der Weyden*, 1572? ['second' edition].
- 4d. *Rogier van der Weyden*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 4g. *Rogier van der Weyden*, from the *Recueil d'Arras*, anonymous artist, third quarter of the sixteenth century. Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266.
- 4h. *Examples of Justice*, detail from the *Miracle of the Tongue*, after Rogier van der Weyden c. 1450. Berne, Historisches Museum.

- 4i. *Examples of Justice*, detail from *Herkinbald's Miraculous Absolution*.
- 4j. *Presentation of Trajan's Skull to the Pope Saint Gregory*, attributed to the Cobourg Master of Medallions. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale.
- 5a. *Dieric Bouts*, 1572?. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.
- 5b. *Dieric Bouts*, 1572? ['second' edition].
- 5d. *Dieric Bouts*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 5g. *The Last Supper*, detail from central panel, Dieric Bouts 1464-1467. Louvain, Church of Saint Peter.
- 6a. *Bernard van Orley*, 1572?. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (box of portraits no. 167, OM-ORL).
- 6b. *Bernard van Orley*, 1572?. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.
- 6c. *Bernard van Orley*, 1572? [*Aux quatre vents*].
- 6d. *Bernard van Orley*, Adriaen Collaert. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (box of portraits no. 397x, A20100, V).
- 6e. *Bernard van Orley*, Galle 1600?. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-19.
- 6f. *Bernard van Orley*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 6i. *Portrait of a Man*, Albrecht Dürer 1521 [Winkler 810]. Paris, Louvre.
- 7c. *Jan Gossaert*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 7d. *Jan Gossaert*, from Bullart's *Académie*, Esme de Boulonois. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 301-C-10.
- 8c. *Joachim Patinir*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 8f. *Joachim Patinir*, attributed to Cornelis Cort [after lost drawing by Albrecht Dürer].

- 9c. *Quentin Metsys*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 9g. *Quentin Metsys*, 1495. Brussels, Cabinet des Médailles.
- 10c. *Lucas van Leyden*, Galle 1600?. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-20.
- 10d. *Lucas van Leyden*, Galle 1600?. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-19.
- 10e. *Lucas van Leyden*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 10f. *Lucas van Leyden*, Albrecht Dürer 1521 [Winkler 816]. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
- 10g. *Young Man with a Skull*, Lucas van Leyden 1521. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.
- 11c. *Jan van Amstel*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 12c. *Joos van Cleve*, Hondius, 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 12e. *Self-Portrait*, Joos van Cleve c. 1540. London, Windsor Castle.
- 12f. *Andrea del Sarto*, from Isaac Bullart's *Académie*, Nicolas de Larmessin 1682. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 301-C-9.
- 13c. *Matthijs Cock*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 14c. *Herri met de Bles*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 15c. *Jan Cornelis Vermeyen*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 15i. *Mulay Ahmad*, Jan Cornelis Vermeyen c. 1535-1536. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.

- 15f. *Skirmishes on the Cape of Carthage*, detail from cartoon for fourth tapestry in *Conquest of Tunis* series, Jan Cornelis Vermeyen 1546-1548. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
- 15g. *The Sack of Tunis*, detail from cartoon for tenth tapestry in *Conquest of Tunis* series, Jan Cornelis Vermeyen 1546-1548. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
- 16c. *Pieter Coecke van Aelst*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 16f. *Portrait of the Artist and his Wife ?*, Pieter Coecke van Aelst c. 1545. Zurich, Kunsthhaus.
- 17c. *Jan van Scorel*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 17f. *Members of the Confraternity of Jerusalem at Utrecht*, detail, Jan van Scorel 1525-1526. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum.
- 17g. *Jan van Scorel*, Antonio Moro 1560. London, Society of Antiquities.
- 18c. *Lambert Lombard*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 18d. *Lambert Lombard*, from Bullart's *Académie*, Esme de Boulonois 1682. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 301-C-10.
- 18f. *Lambert Lombard* [self-portrait?]. Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum der Stadt.
- 18g. *Lambert Lombard*, title page to Lampsonius's *Lamberti Lombardi... vita* 1565, Lambert Suavius.
- 18h. *Lambert Lombard*, page from *Album Amicorum* of Otto Venius. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.
- 18i. *Lambert Lombard*, Wierix [after Lambert Suavius]. Berlin.
- 19c. *Pieter Bruegel*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 19f. *Pieter Bruegel II ?*, Aegidius Sadeler II [after lost drawing by Bartholomeus Spranger].

- 20c. *Willem Key*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 20f. *Self-Portrait*, Willem Key 1566. Private collection.
- 21c. *Lucas Gassel*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 22c. *Frans Floris*, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.
- 22f. *Frans Floris*, Jan Symons 1552. Antwerp, Vleeshuis.
23. [detail] *Hieronymus Cock* 1572.
- 23b. *Jean Célosse*, Wierix 1574. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.
- 23c. *Portrait of a Man* [Hieronymus Cock?], Frans Floris 1555. Madrid, The Prado.

Introduction

In 1572 a leading Antwerp printing house, *In de Vier Winden*, published a series of portraits, Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies. It depicts twenty-three portraits of artists exclusively from the Low Countries, including the firm's recently deceased founder Hieronymus Cock (c. 1510-1570; fig. 23). Issued by Cock's widow, Volcxken Dierckx (?-1600), at first glance the collection resembles a straightforward composition. Each plate is numbered, 1 through 23. Each sitter is identified by his name and profession in the lower margin. Each print is complemented by a Latin accolade. Aside from one clear exception, plain backgrounds predominate. The elegantly clothed figures assume contemplative poses. They gesticulate with their hands in active debate or sit stoically in quiet reflection.¹ Only one third are represented with the tools of their trade. Thus, the identity of the liberal artist (as opposed to the skilled labourer) is carefully constructed for the viewer's consideration. However, the series is far from ordinary. Appearing at a time when the artist's status as a member of the cultural elite was ambivalent, the celebratory portrait series devoted to artists was unusual, if not unprecedented. Nor do the series's personalities form an indivisible fraternity. Today many would generalize Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1527-1569; fig. 19) and his contemporary Lambert Lombard (1505-1569; fig. 18) as disparate painters, the former a proponent of local genre and the latter an enthusiast of Italianate *historia*. Their inclusion in the Antwerp series suggests the collection's organizer(s) aimed to create a comprehensive account of the principal contributors to a Northern artistic heritage and

¹Most of the portraits are cropped at the subjects' waists and only in figs. 5, 15, 17, and 22 (which depict chair backs or reveal more of the body) can it be determined that the sitters are indeed 'sitting'.

selected artists on the basis of their professional successes as opposed to the restrictions of one stylistic norm. However, this would not explain the omission of Gerard David (c. 1455-1523) and other key figures described in current versions of encyclopaedic surveys of Northern Renaissance art. Hence questions surrounding the purpose and production of the series abound.

Although many scholars have cited Cock as the sixteenth century's most prolific Northern printmaker, few have investigated how his works influenced discussions on art in the Netherlands and abroad. The Antwerp portrait collection has received little attention, a true lacuna in the ever-increasing literature concerning the self-representation of artists. Nevertheless, as early as 1856 I. von Szwykowski earmarked the series as a point of interest for art historians. In addition to observing the physical features of the original edition, Von Szwykowski reconstructed the course of the portraits' evolution as the plates came into new hands and new editions appeared. Yet certain suppositions cannot be sustained. A case in point is the attribution of Cock's inspiration for the series to the example of Giorgio Vasari's 1568 edition of the Vite which incorporated woodcut likenesses of artists.²

Twentieth-century audiences were reintroduced to the Antwerp prints by Jean Puraye's 1956 publication which supplemented the engravings with information concerning their creators and the persons portrayed. For his reader's benefit, prints from

²Von Szwykowski 1856, p. 14. As will be argued in the following pages, this is an improbable scenario because at least one print (fig. 8) can be connected to Cornelis Cort (1533-1578), an accomplished engraver who left Cock's establishment for Italy in 1565 (ceasing his involvement with the Antwerp publishing house), several years prior to the inauguration of Vasari's second edition.

the second edition were reproduced.³ For the first time, a secondary source permitted visual examination of the series in its entirety. However, close scrutiny of Puraye's illustrations reveals that he may have reproduced an edition subsequent to the second.⁴ Evidently, Puraye did not regard the original edition as Cock's invention, but instead as the *magnum opus* of the humanist Dominicus Lampsonius (1532-1599), the composer of the laudatory verses accompanying each portrait.⁵

In the last thirty years, scholarship focussing on the business of printmaking in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has generated more interest in the biggest promoters of that business. In his doctoral thesis, Timothy Riggs assessed the extent of Cock's activities in Antwerp and catalogued his diverse output. Riggs's dissertation remains the most exhaustive study centred on Hieronymus Cock. Nonetheless, a broad survey of a staggering volume of prints required Riggs to deal with some *In de Vier Winden* publications more briefly than others. Thus he registered the portrait suite as a singularity in Cock's oeuvre, an early illustration of certain Northern artistic identities.⁶ It is not an erroneous characterization, but it does not help to illuminate the genesis and development

³Puraye 1956, p. 19. Puraye stated the portraits were pulled from a copy of the second edition, except in the instance of the final impression, a first edition copy of Hieronymus Cock's likeness. Unfortunately, Puraye did not specify the locations of these copies.

⁴The illustration supplied by Puraye on p. 35 (fig. 6d) gives the signature of Adriaen Collaert (c. 1560-1618) and does not belong to the second edition. Complications in the chronology of the various editions and separate impressions will be addressed in the second chapter.

⁵Puraye 1956, pp. 13-17. Supposing Lampsonius to have acted as the series's initiator is a debatable conjecture. The question of authorship will be taken up in Chapter Two. Critical articles pertaining to the person and works of Lampsonius are Hubaux/Puraye 1949; Puraye 1949; Idem 1950; and Becker 1973.

⁶Riggs 1977, pp. 192-94.

of the series. Additional details concerning the collection's history can be gleaned from catalogues dedicated to the reputed engravers of the original plates, Cornelis Cort and the Wierix brothers (Jan, c. 1549-after 1615; Hieronymus, c. 1553-1619).⁷ In her analysis of the plates linked to Jan and Hieronymus Wierix (respectively figs. 9, 11, 15, 16, 20-23, and fig. 18), Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx noted significant revisions to the order of editions proceeding from the first imprint.⁸ Even so, impressions which do not accord with the prevailing sequence evince the need for further modifications.

The most extensive discussion of Cock's endeavour was initiated by H.-J. Raupp.⁹ Along with Hendrick Hondius's Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipuae Germaniae inferioris effigies (The Hague, 1610), a collection incorporating twenty-one revised images from the 1572 assembly, Cock's series introduces Raupp's dissertation on artists' self-representations in the Netherlands. Raupp summarized the series's iconographic precedents and sketched the prints' integration into subsequent publications. However, Cock's portrait collection as a potential contribution to the burgeoning practice of art historiography remains to be explored. Yet speculation on its involvement in the fostering of a national artistic identity is beleaguered by a paucity of information. The literature I have described thus far constitutes the bulk of relevant research. Moreover, that literature

⁷See Bierens de Haan 1948, esp. pp. 2-6, 187-89, 193-95, 198; Mauquoy Hendrickx 1978-, esp. part 3, no. 1, pp. 345-48; ex. cat. Rotterdam 1994, esp. pp. 69, 149-52.

⁸An essential adjustment to the series's chronology appears in Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, part 3, no. 1, p. 346. She questioned the existence of a fifth edition by Jan Meyssens (1612-1670) and suggested the misidentification was based on another edition, some copies of which deceptively appropriated the title page of an unrelated Meyssens publication. This discussion will be resumed in the second chapter.

⁹Raupp 1984, pp. 18-23.

is complicated by conflicting data. Even current studies are littered with confusions surrounding the original appearance of the portrait series. For example, one exhibition catalogue reported that the premier edition did not include Hieronymus Cock's portrait and therefore the original series amounted to only twenty-two likenesses.¹⁰

The first chapter will focus on the physical parameters of the inaugural edition. Using the existing literature and my own observations regarding a first edition copy housed in Amsterdam's Rijksprentenkabinet, I will consider how the series may have appeared to its initial audience and describe how it appears today. The consecutive numbering of the portraits suggests they were issued as complete sets, perhaps even as bound volumes. The general homogeneity evident in the attitudes and attire of the painters, combined with the modest settings, helps to sustain the impression of a unified series from beginning to end.¹¹ By reproducing the engravings from the first edition, the reader can engage in these same observations and seek answers to other questions, including: how are the sitters individualized; how are some engravings exceptional in their manner of presentation; and what justified their inclusion?

In my second chapter, I will reassess what is known of the prints' conception and development. To help clarify the authorship and intent of the series of prints, I will review the careers of Cock and Lampsonius, specifically those projects which precipitated their

¹⁰Jacqueline Burgers in ex. cat. Rotterdam 1988, p. 120. She did not elaborate on this, but it can be assumed her conclusion rests on the posthumous nature of the first publication (e.g., Hieronymus Cock never intended his inclusion, but his staff chose to commemorate their deceased mentor) and/or the print's exclusion from successive editions (e.g., they reflected a prototype containing twenty-two portraits which was enlarged belatedly). The exact number of the portraits appearing in the first series will be debated in Chapter One.

¹¹Raupp 1984, p. 19.

involvement in the portraits. Secondly, I will examine how the appearances of the artists were determined. It has been argued that the images were derived from reputed portraits,¹² but not all can be identified, either because they have been lost to the ravages of time or because they never truly existed. It is easier to trace how the prints became sources for future records of the artists' likenesses and so my analysis will shift to the transformations made to the portraits by Theodoor Galle (1571-1633) and Hendrick Hondius (1573-1650). Both publishers reissued the engravings under new titles, but as mentioned earlier Hondius also embellished the original compositions and expanded the series to include new celebrities.

The question, whether Cock conceived his portrait series independently or whether his inspiration was informed by popular response to recent texts concerning artists, is an important one and will occupy my third chapter. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), Italian art's most vocal supporter, proclaimed his admiration in his 1550 publication Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects (hereafter the Vite; expanded and reissued in 1568). Immensely successful, it advanced the reputation of Italy as Europe's artistic giant. Objecting to the shadow cast on Dutch and Flemish art, Karel van Mander (1548-1606) dedicated his 1604 Schilder-Boeck (second edition 1618) to describing illustrious artists of the North. Did Cock's portrait series constitute an early response to Vasari's claims? This may be difficult to demonstrate within the bounds of a Master's thesis, but I will argue that by circumscribing the identities of Netherlandish artists in a series of portraits, Cock aspired to create and propagate a visual history of the arts in the Low Countries.

¹²See Van Hall 1963, pp. 39ff.; Puraye 1956, p. 17; Raupp 1984, pp. 20-21.

Some of these artists are greatly admired today (e.g., Jan van Eyck; fig. 2), some have drifted into obscurity (e.g., Jan van Amstel; fig. 11), and one was at a certain time nearly argued out of existence (Hubert van Eyck; fig. 1).¹³ It is obvious however that the series impacted on generations of artists and authors. Van Mander absorbed most of Lampsonius's verses in his recital of the lives of Northern masters, the Schilder-Boeck. Portraitists continued to employ and rework methods of framing the sitter as presented in Cock's prints. For instance, the poses and costumes in several of Rembrandt's self-portraits betray his familiarity with the Antwerp publication.¹⁴ And at the close of the seventeenth century, when certain painters included in the 1572 collection suffered severely curtailed professional reputations, their portraits persisted in the True Effigies of the Most Eminent Painters (London, 1694) as individual lessons in a history of Northern art.

¹³See Brockwell 1954. Scant documentation concerning the person of Hubert van Eyck led some researchers to believe that he was an historical forgery, a character created to inflate the city of Ghent's artistic legacy. However, scholars are again accepting the sources available as credible indications that Hubert van Eyck lived, even if his life as Jan's masterly elder brother remains shrouded in mystery. For example, see Panofsky 1953 [reprint 1971], vol. 1, esp. pp. 205-07.

¹⁴Ex. cat. London/The Hague 1999/2000, pp. 42-43.

Chapter One

The Appearance of the First Edition

“Painting contains a divine force which not only makes absent men present, as friendship is said to do, but moreover makes the dead seem almost alive. Even after many centuries they are recognized with great pleasure and with great admiration for the painter.”¹ Alberti’s account of the painted image and its ability to memorialize a person of the past provides a glimpse into the Renaissance appreciation of portraiture. A painted portrait could commemorate the life and achievements of an individual, even after generations passed and all personal memory of the model faded. A printed portrait also afforded the sitter with a lasting presence, but unlike a cumbersome painting, it could be readily distributed across vast areas to wide audiences. A portrait could not guarantee immortality for the depicted individual nor for the artist who created the likeness, but many portraits served to sustain the memory of distinct persons and their affiliations.

The value of a portrait in maintaining the prestige of an artist’s identity becomes evident when considering the history of the publication Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies. Arranged chronologically,² the twenty-three portraits and sets of verses proclaim the identities of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century masters.³ As

¹Alberti 1966, p. 63.

²The chronological order is imperfect (for example, Rogier van der Weyden is preceded by Hieronymus Bosch, although the former was born a half century before Bosch), but clearly an attempt was made to order the artists according to their dates of birth and/or death.

³Listed in their order of appearance as supplied by the copy housed at the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam (inv. no. 325-C-6), the artists represented are: Hubert van Eyck (c. 1385/90-1426; fig. 1), Jan van Eyck (c. 1395-1441; fig. 2), Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450-1516; fig. 3), Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1399-1464; fig. 4), Dieric Bouts (c. 1415-1475; fig. 5), Bernard van Orley (c. 1488-1541; fig. 6), Jan Gossaert (c. 1478-1532; fig. 7), Joachim Patinir (c. 1480-1524; fig. 8), Quentin Metsys (1466-1530; fig. 9), Lucas van Leyden (c. 1494-1533; fig. 10), Jan van Amstel (c. 1500-1542; fig. 11), Joos van Cleve (?-1540/41; fig. 12), Matthijs Cock (c. 1510-1548; fig. 13), Herri met de Bles (c. 1510-?; fig. 14), Jan Cornelis Vermeyen (c. 1500-c. 1559; fig. 15), Pieter Coecke van

mentioned in the Introduction, Hieronymus Cock's portrait (fig. 23) has been described by a minority of authors as a secondary appendage to the original edition.⁴ The authors gave no reason for supposing a finished product of twenty-two portraits, but presumably the supposition heeded two important details, the first being the exclusion of Cock's likeness from subsequent editions. Neither Theodoor Galle (n.d., 1600?) nor Hendrick Hondius (1610) reproduced Cock's effigy in their adaptations of Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies. Apparently the omission injured Cock's reputation as a leading figure in the history of Northern art because multiple works related to the historiography of art, subsequent to the versions published by Galle and Hondius, also neglected to reprint his portrait.⁵ The second, and probably most significant, detail to

Aelst (1502-1550; fig. 16), Jan van Scorel (1495-1562; fig. 17), Lambert Lombard (1505-1566; fig. 18), Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525/30-1569; fig. 19), Willem Key (c. 1515/16-1568; fig. 20), Lucas Gassel (c. 1495/1500-1570; fig. 21), Frans Floris (1519/20-1570; fig. 22) and Hieronymus Cock (c. 1510-1570; fig. 23).

⁴Burgers in ex. cat. Rotterdam 1988, p. 120; see also Filipczak 1987, p. 14 and ex. cat. Brussels 1970, p. 56; Von Szwykowski 1856, pp. 14-15 characterized the collection of plates as complete at twenty-two, but suggested the house of engravers respectfully incorporated a twenty-third, Cock's likeness, after the publisher's passing. However, Von Szwykowski never asserted that the 'first' twenty-two plates were marketed as a complete set, but merely described their preparation as finished first. I suspect other scholars, returning to Von Szwykowski's article, leaped from his assumption that only twenty-two plates were initially prepared to their own conclusion that only twenty-two portraits were initially circulated.

⁵As an example of a subsequent collection of artists' biographies, see Bullart 1682 (in addition to providing synopses of the artists' lives and achievements, Bullart also included copies after the "*originaux de Lamponius*" {p. **3}); he ignored Hieronymus Cock as well as Jan van Amstel, Joos van Cleve, and Matthijs Cock). If Galle and Hondius had suspected Cock's likeness was produced independently of the original series, they may have excluded it as a matter of honouring the historical integrity of an original document which amounted to twenty-two portraits. However, given the immoderate embellishments and extensions Hondius made to his re-issue of the series, the notion that he refrained from including Cock's portrait on the grounds of its 'unauthenticity' is unwarranted. The alterations will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

consider is Cock's prominent display of a singular item. With a skull as his attribute, Cock's effigy accords with a *vanitas* or *memento mori* theme. Interestingly, the parallel has been used to negate his involvement in the production of the plate.⁶ However, a number of the engraved portraits have been attributed to Jan and Hieronymus Wierix,⁷ brothers employed by Cock. Although working under him was by no means an exclusive engagement (engravers would often work for multiple publishers simultaneously),⁸ by 1569 Jan was linked on a more regular basis to Christophe Plantin's publishing house and Hieronymus also by 1570.⁹ As Cock passed away late in the year of 1570 (October 1 or November 20),¹⁰ it is plausible that his portrait, engraved by one of the Wierix brothers, was devised before he died and intended for circulation with the other twenty-two portraits.¹¹

Some might insist that the skull in Cock's portrait, functioning as a symbol of the transience of human life, unequivocally designates the work as a posthumous design. This is not necessary if one considers the image which may have shaped Cock's likeness: Lucas van Leyden's *Young Man with a Skull* (fig. 10g). Although Lucas's print is not

⁶Von Szwykowski 1856, p. 25.

⁷Hymans 1884, p. 293 specifically named Jan Wierix as the engraver of Cock's likeness; Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 345 concurred.

⁸Voet/Wortman in ex. cat. Washington 1976, p. 84.

⁹Their names recurred in the Plantin ledgers during those years; see Van de Velde in Dictionary of Art 1996, vol. 33, pp. 168-69.

¹⁰Riggs 1977, p. 31.

¹¹Cock's likeness brings the celebratory procession of artists' portraits to a close. I believe his inclusion in the series honoured his status as the creator of the portrait series and, conversely, his portrait's exclusion from the editions set forth by Galle (n.d., 1600?) and Hondius (1610) reflected the latter publishers' desire to refashion an old text in their own names. However, the question of authorship will be taken up in Chapter Two.

recognized as a self-portrait today, it was regarded as such by Cock's near contemporaries.¹² If they thought a person pointing to a skull was a viable mode for representing a living artist, presumably so did Cock. Moreover, affinities between the two men's careers may have encouraged the selection of Lucas's supposed likeness (a *printed* likeness) as a model for the print publisher's portrait. Although we do not know of paintings by Cock, he was born into a family of painters,¹³ entered the Antwerp guild in 1546 as one of the *meesterssonen* (master's sons),¹⁴ and apparently took great pride thereafter in his professional designation as an *artist*.¹⁵ Today he is remembered strictly as a print publisher and occasional etcher, but perhaps he entertained a grander vision of himself as a multifaceted artist; the skull, an attribute Cock shared with what was thought to be a portrait of Lucas van Leyden, the famous painter and engraver, manifested this conceit. Certainly Lucas was acclaimed for his dual talents. In the Antwerp portrait series, Lampsonius praised Lucas as a most accomplished painter and engraver, second only to Albrecht Dürer. Thus, if made posthumously, the selection of Lucas van Leyden's print as a model for Cock's effigy was high praise. If made during Cock's lifetime, the selection was highly ambitious. And the skull's significance does not end here. Numerous

¹²For example, in his life of Lucas van Leyden, Van Mander described the work as follows: "His portrait has appeared in print, made by himself—young and beardless—the image somewhat larger than half-length, wearing a large hat with feathers and with a skull amongst his clothing at his chest." Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 109.

¹³In addition to his brother Matthijs, his father Jan Wellens de Cock practised as a painter, becoming dean of the Antwerp artists' guild in 1520. Riggs 1977, p. 27.

¹⁴Lebeer 1968, p. 106.

¹⁵From time to time Cock signed his publications with his name appended to the title of *Maler, Peintre, Pictor, or Schilder* (terms which connoted 'artist' or 'painter'). Riggs 1977, pp. 28, 40, n. 15.

sixteenth-century representations of Hieronymus's namesake, Saint Jerome, depict the holy man pointing to a skull in a manner comparable to Cock's gesture. Examples include Dürer's *Saint Jerome* of 1521 (Lisbon, Museo Nacional) and Lucas van Leyden's *Saint Jerome* of the same year (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum). The skull, then, bore a more personal meaning to the man because it identified the publisher by name through an obvious and well-known reference to his namesake Saint Jerome. Therefore, it is at least problematic, if not wrong, to assume that the skull acts as a stringent marker of death and verifies Cock predeceased his portrait's creation. In all probability, his likeness was produced when he was alive and appreciative of its personal and professional intimations. Surely Cock's effigy should be included in a reconstruction of the portrait series as it first appeared in 1572.

Fortunately, reconstructions of the portrait series are assisted by a complete set of the prints housed in Amsterdam's Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. 325-C-6). The set appears to be a first edition.¹⁶ As noted previously, each portrait is numbered in the upper right hand corner using Arabic numerals. The consecutive numbers were not penned in by a later hand, but engraved on the original plates. This proves the set of portraits was issued originally as a prearranged 'series', not a piecemeal amalgamation of prints which tickled a collector's fancy for apparent, but coincidental, similarities. The pages are also numbered typographically at bottom centre. Arabic numerals are used consistently¹⁷ and there

¹⁶The volume in the Rijksmuseum has a titlepage which bears the date 1572.

¹⁷Von Szwykowski 1856, p. 16 noted that in two instances the typed Arabic numeral conflicted with the engraved Arabic numeral of the same page. The portrait of Hieronymus Bosch carries a 4 in the upper right hand corner, but is marked 3 below. The likeness of Rogier van der Weyden carries a 3, but is marked 4 below. The numerical

appear also, albeit more sporadically, Roman characters. The numbering of the portraits suggests the prints may have been published together as elegant books.¹⁸ The incorporation of two sheets, a title page and Lampsonius's dedicatory poem to Cock (both typographic texts), in the Rijksprentenkabinet's bound copy also suggests this, but admittedly it would have been quite manageable for an avid print collector to arrange a special album, had the sheets appeared separately. However, it is doubtful that the portraits were issued in single fashion because the captions concerning Dieric Bouts and Bernard van Orley were mistakenly interchanged in the first edition. If the two portraits were produced separately and went to press independently (in order to receive their Latin designations),¹⁹ the likelihood of such an error would have been lessened. As opposed to the engravers who designed the portraits, possibly after documented pictorial sources,²⁰ the persons printing the texts may have been unacquainted with the artists' countenances and mixed up their identifications. This would presume that a number (and I would suggest all) of the engraved portraits were awaiting Lampsonius's verses when the effigies of Bouts and Van Orley were confused. Finally, there are the dimensions of the prints themselves. Although the portraits were not engraved using plates of the exact same size, the variations amount to mere millimetres, as recorded in the Catalogue. Because the

disorder is noteworthy because, had the engraved numbers been respected in later versions, the chronology of the portrait series would have been improved. Rogier van der Weyden lived before Hieronymus Bosch.

¹⁸Riggs 1977, p. 192 argued that Cock intended to present the portraits in book form.

¹⁹Like the verses, the artists' names and occupational titles were printed later (in the lower margin and in capitalized letters) via a letterpress.

²⁰As mentioned in the Introduction and as will be discussed in Chapter Two, it is generally assumed that the portraits were derived from known or presumed likenesses of the artists. See for example Puraye 1956, p. 17; Riggs 1977, p. 193; Raupp 1984, pp. 20-21.

effort was made to produce portraits of comparable size, surely the series was the fruition of a well-conceived programme rather than a fortunate 'discovery' of well-suited plates which had accumulated in the storeroom.

The impression of a unified series is strengthened by the images. The homogeneity of the artists' clothes and postures is compounded by the prevalence of modest settings.²¹ Each figure dominates what usually resembles a shallow space.²² For the most part, the backgrounds are unadorned. On the other hand, the artists appear elegantly attired. However, some enjoy a few more luxurious privileges than others. For instance, Jan van Eyck is bedecked with a pendant necklace, Jan van Scorel has a ring to adorn his hand, and Jan van Arnstel is richly robed in a fur-trimmed overcoat. In comparison, Hieronymus Bosch is plainly clothed, his only accessory being a cap. Thus, I would disagree with Raupp's statement that the individualizing features of the artists are strained.²³ In most cases, the posturing of the figures are stiff, but their clothes, hairstyles, and physiognomies vary enough to ensure each likeness is individualized and not to be confused with another. An ideal type is being created to recognize a community of artists,²⁴ but not at the expense of the physical identities of that community's unique denizens who are clearly identified in the margins below their portraits. Moreover, that community has its own divisions.

Represented in sharp profile, Pieter Bruegel stands out as a solitary figure in a group unto himself. Simply attired and with his one visible hand resting against his body,

²¹Raupp 1984, p. 19.

²²Raupp 1984, p. 19. The most obvious exception is the portrait of Jan Cornelis Vermeyen. In this striking print, the artist is situated before an open vista.

²³Raupp 1984, p. 19.

²⁴Raupp 1984, p. 19.

he is quiet and contained. Additionally, no painting instrument declares his professional occupation. Without the lower caption and without any foreknowledge of Bruegel's appearance, the uninitiated viewer would be hard pressed to identify the sitter as an artist, let alone as Pieter Bruegel. Next Lambert Lombard and Jan Gossaert are considered as representatives of artists, stripped of any obvious painterly attributes, who resemble proud dignitaries. In his classicizing garment, a mass of undulating folds, Lombard looks less like a painter and more like a Roman statesman ready to launch into an eloquent speech. Gossaert carries no paintbrushes to indicate the physical duties of his active life, but perhaps he is the most splendidly outfitted artist of all. The incongruity of his extravagant clothes might relate to his legendary displays of wealth, as recorded by Van Mander,²⁵ and could reflect Cock's intention to gather together truthful likenesses of the artists for his series.²⁶ Although no certain prototype for Gossaert's portrait has been located, it is not impossible that a comparable portrait of the artist existed. The most visually mismatched print in the series is the portrait of Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, the polar opposite to Pieter Bruegel's likeness. We see an active artist working in an outdoor environment and we see more of him. Other artists are depicted from the waist up, but this is a three-quarter-length figure and a more skilfully rendered one at that. The portrait threatens to disrupt the series's unity on the basis of its stylistic variety. However, its inclusion in the series was justified by the particularity of its subject. No exact prototype survives for the print,²⁷

²⁵E.g., Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 117 (fol. 214v from the life of Lucas van Leyden).

²⁶I will discuss the origins of the series's portraits in Chapter Two.

²⁷Burgers in ex. cat. Rotterdam 1988, p. 121 stated the likeness was made after one of the artist's self-portraits which he had included in the tapestries commemorating the conquest

but Grete Ring recalled Karel van Mander's description of a painted self-portrait by Vermeyen which duplicated some of the compositional elements evident in the printed portrait and suggested the untraceable painting provided the model for Vermeyen's engraved portrait.²⁸ However, Vermeyen also etched a portrait of Mulay Ahmad which imbues the sitter with a similar solidity and situates him against a comparable backdrop (Tunis or its environs; fig. 15i). The stylistic affinities of the two prints led Hendrik Horn to suppose that Vermeyen also etched a self-portrait (perhaps a derivative of the painting in his daughter's possession) and that it was the print which provided the direct model for his likeness in the Antwerp portrait series.²⁹ I would agree because a printed prototype made by Vermeyen of fine detail and of reduced size would help to explain the polish of the version in the Antwerp portrait series. A larger painted model would have presented the engraver preparing a plate for the 1572 portrait series with more challenges (e.g.,

of Tunis. Vermeyen took part in the expedition to North Africa led by Emperor Charles V in 1535. However, none of the woven self-portraits duplicate Vermeyen's carriage in the print. It is a confident pose struck in a moment of reflection. Moreover, the tapestries usually lost Vermeyen's figure to densely populated panoramas whereas the printed figure dominates the background landscape. It would seem either the *In de Vier Winden* engravers radically altered one of the aforementioned self-portraits, or they appropriated Vermeyen's likeness from an altogether different source which is lost.

²⁸Ring 1913, pp. 115-16. Van Mander's passage reads: "His own portrait, painted by his own hand, is still in Middelburg in Zeeland with his daughter Maria, widow of the late Pieter Cappoen; it is very artistically and well executed, there is a receding landscape in the background with the city of Tunis taken from life where he himself sits drawing protected by a number of soldiers; he added among other things a beautiful woman with a full figure, struck down, with a gash in her arm." Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 157. In the printed portrait, there are no soldier-protectors surrounding the figure of Vermeyen, but he does sit before a foreign locale (Tunis?) with an open sketchbook on his knee. In the right background, a violent struggle unfolds between four figures; it appears that the sword-wielding figure is about to deliver a deadly blow to the unfortunate soul lying before him.

²⁹Horn 1989, vol. 1, pp. 19-20.

severe reduction of scale and the translation of colour to gradations of tone) whereas a printed model would have made the design transfer relatively straightforward. However, I would like to leave further speculation for Chapter Two and return instead to the artist sub-groups.

Like Vermeyen, Cock is also represented with the implements of an artist, but he pays no attention to them. Instead they rest at his side as he cradles the skull. Artists who are actually depicted holding paintbrushes and/or other art paraphernalia are Frans Floris and Pieter Coecke van Aelst (their handling of the tools looks quite natural), Willem Key and Lucas Gassel (their handling is a little more awkward, perhaps because the original sources for the printed portraits did not include any tools), and Dieric Bouts. The latter's paintbrushes, rather than being clutched, are inserted into his open hand which seems ready to motion its way through a rhetorical argument. This links Bouts' portrait to the following group, the artists who gesture without any manual props (Hubert and Jan van Eyck, Hieronymus Bosch, Rogier van der Weyden, Joachim Patinir, and Joos van Cleve³⁰). Quentin Metsys, seizing a scroll and motioning his hands in an elegant fashion, borders this group and the next: artists who hold 'status' props such as gloves and scrolls (respectively, Jan van Scorel, Herri met de Bles, and Matthijs Cock; Lucas van Leyden,³¹

³⁰Joos van Cleve's lower hand, gesturing in coordination with its partner, closely resembles the hand Bouts uses to carry paintbrushes. It is plausible that the source for Bouts's likeness did not represent the artist with tools in hand, but these attributes were added by the engraver when preparing Bouts's portrait for the Antwerp series.

³¹It is difficult to ascertain whether it is a glove or a scroll held by Lucas, but it is one or the other. Also worthy of note, Rogier van der Weyden's portrait reveals several scrolls which are secured to the background wall by a ribbon. Hence, the sub-groups I am developing are not rigidly defined.

Jan van Amstel, and Bernard van Orley).³² The portraits could also be grouped according to the nature of their backgrounds,³³ however the point I wish to make is simply that the sub-groups I have established are by no means fixed and there is much room to recognize both similarities and differences between the portraits.

Some of the prints' attributions to *In de Vier Winden* engravers are more definitive. Eight of the portraits are signed *IHW* (figs. 9, 11, 15, 16, and 20-23) and are considered to be works by Jan Wierix.³⁴ Lambert Lombard's effigy carries the monogram *W I*³⁵ and was perhaps completed by Hieronymus Wierix.³⁶ And thanks to one of

³²Raupp 1984, p. 22 suggested implements of painting appear at about the same frequency as do ennobling attributes (e.g., gloves) and so the artists' tools serve as symbols of virtuous exercises by elevated persons (and not as signs of menial handiwork). This argument would have been more convincing had only artists adopted gloves and scrolls to display their increasing status. Nevertheless, other professionals were employing these attributes for the same purpose (e.g., a portrait of the book publisher Christian Egenolff shows him clasping a glove; reproduced in ex. cat. Göttweig 1987, p. 35). Presumably, the prized exclusivity of these symbols was seriously depreciated through repeated appropriations of those attributes by working-class professionals.

³³All the backgrounds are plain, except in the following instances: the niche in the wall behind Herri met de Bles is occupied by an owl—a clear reference to Herri's hallmark 'signature', the painted owl (I'll return to this example in Chapter Two as it relates to the origins of the artists' portraits); Jan van Scorel and Rogier van der Weyden are depicted in interiors (the background in Rogier's portrait includes the aforementioned scrolls which are pinned to the wall just below a Pietà); and Jan Cornelis Vermeyen presides over an open landscape.

³⁴Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 345. Jan Wierix made repeated use of two monograms, *IHW* and *HIW*. Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1978, vol. 1, p. xvi.

³⁵Mauquoy-Hendrickx suggested the monogram *IW* was a mark more typically used by Hieronymus Wierix, but perhaps in the case of Lombard's portrait, his mark was (mistakenly?) inverted to form a *WI*. Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1978, vol. 1, p. xvi; Idem 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 345. Van Someren 1888, vol. 1, p. 196 stated two portraits from the series were signed with the monogram of Hieronymus Wierix, but this does not reflect my observations, nor those of Bierens de Haan 1948, p. 187, Puraye 1956, p. 18, nor Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 345.

³⁶Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 345. Puraye believed all the monogrammed prints were the work of one hand, but did not venture to name the artist. Puraye 1956, p.

Lampsonius's passages, another portrait can be securely identified as a work by Cornelis Cort. The verse below Patinir's portrait informs us that his likeness was first created by Dürer and masterfully reproduced by Cort.³⁷ However, the distribution of detailed information concerning the lives of the artists was not the verses' apparent purpose. Lampsonius's compositions might allude to specific works or special patrons, but their brevity often preempted anything which extended beyond the mention of a few personality traits or the like. The verses were printed separately (i.e., the texts were not engraved onto the original plates of the first edition, but printed below the pictures using a letterpress),³⁸ sometimes quite clumsily.³⁹ Interestingly, the voice of the narrator shifts from Lampsonius to the first person of the artist in three instances, the verses belonging to Jan van Eyck, Quentin Metsys, and Jan van Scorel. I feel that it is a certain privilege for the painters to pronounce their own achievements and Jan van Eyck does so assuredly.

Jan speaks:

It was I who was the first to teach to mix bright pigments with oil pressed from linseed, with my brother Hubert. At this new invention, which was perhaps unknown even to Apelles in his time, Bruges with its overflowing riches stood amazed. Within a little while our excellence did not cease to

18.

³⁷Dürer kept a detailed diary while he travelled through the Netherlands between 1520 and 1521. It records his association with Joachim Patinir on multiple occasions. During his fifth visit to Antwerp, Dürer noted in his journal that he had made a portrait of Joachim: "*Jch hab meister Joachim mit dem stefft conterfet.*" Rupprich 1956, vol. 1, p. 169.

³⁸Von Wurzbach and Nagler were apparently mistaken when they suggested impressions from the first edition appeared without the verses of Lampsonius, but were incorporated in a new edition by Cock's widow via letterpress. Von Wurzbach 1963, vol. 1, p. 304; Nagler 1966, vol. 3, p. 270.

³⁹The texts occasionally encroach upon the limits of the engraved image and/or the plate's impression. This is plainly visible to the eye and duly noted by Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 345.

spread wide over the whole world.⁴⁰

Jan plays the role of inventor⁴¹ as well as heir to a professional legacy extending back to the golden years of antiquity,⁴² and his city and the modern age bask in the light of his example. So begins the account of a Northern school of painting in Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies.

⁴⁰Translation from Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 226. See Appendix for full translations of all the captions, excerpted from Van Mander/Miedema except where noted.

⁴¹The theme of invention gained a real currency in the literature about Jan van Eyck. Although his status as the father of oil paintings is now rejected, the legend of his invention remained fixed for centuries. It represented an important chapter in the history of Northern art. According to this history, the first flowering of art may have occurred in the frescoes of Italy, but it was the invention of one Northerner, Jan van Eyck, which elevated the art of painting to new heights. For a complete discussion of Van Eyck's role in the 'invention' of oil painting, see Pim Brinkman's Het geheim van Van Eyck. Aantekeningen bij de uitvinding van het olieverven, Zwolle 1993.

⁴²The vocabulary of classical texts, like Pliny the Elder's Natural History, coloured many commentaries on art in the Renaissance. And so, although works by the Ionian Apelles did not survive, glowing accounts of his artistic achievements and courtly engagements did reach modern readers. Described by Pliny as the quintessential painter favoured by Alexander the Great, Apelles became a yardstick against which modern artists were measured. Moreover, the theme of modern artists surpassing the greatest accomplishments of antiquity featured prominently in Renaissance commentaries on art.

Chapter Two

The Production of the Series

Very often art historiography focusses on the written histories of the visual arts. Texts by the likes of Giorgio Vasari¹ and Johann Joachim Winckelmann² are examined as vehicles of aesthetic fashions or as foundations for artistic canons. Similarly, a scholar might (and should) study an artist's work to see how the artist perceived contemporary events, but the scholar might also consult contemporary literature to learn how the artist was perceived by his contemporaries. It is commonly expected that the clearest expression regarding an artist's reputation will be spelled out for the reader in the literature. There is a profound respect for the power of literary documents which describe the aspirations and activities of artists and art connoisseurs. Furthermore, it is not unusual for an art history student to read about a creative development which was adopted by visual artists soon after its initial appearance in literary circles. Thus, it is not surprising that the innovative publication Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies, an important art historiographical document, has been interpreted by some as the work of a man of letters, Dominicus Lampsonius (1532-1599).³

Originally from Bruges, the erudite Lampsonius poured over classical texts and composed Latin poetry as a student in Louvain.⁴ He also learned the art of painting from

¹Vasari's second edition of the Vite (1568) became the seminal publication on Italian Renaissance art.

²Winckelmann (1717-1768) voiced his generation's renewed interest in the artistic creations of ancient Greece and Rome through influential works like Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums (1764).

³Those who attributed the 1572 portrait series to Lampsonius include Goldscheider 1937, p. 19; Ring 1913, p. 109; and Vos 1978, p. 493, to name but a few.

⁴Becker 1973, p. 45.

the Liège master, Lambert Lombard (1505-1569).⁵ Nevertheless, his professional obligations were with the prince-bishops of Liège. After having served the English cardinal Reginald Pole, Lampsonius returned to Liège to act as the privy secretary to Eduard van der Marck's successors.⁶ However, his employment did not bar him from artistic exchanges. For instance, in 1565 he published a biography of Lambert Lombard.⁷ Dedicated to Abraham Ortelius, the biography was intended for a cultivated audience of humanists.⁸ Nevertheless, already in the seventeenth century it was a hard-to-find text and its hard-to-read Latin made it all the more obscure.⁹ The biography qualified Lombard as the champion of the Northern Renaissance because of his antiquarian interests and his taste for Italian art, thereby revealing Lampsonius's own preference for Italian design.¹⁰ Lampsonius did not disdain Northern art outright, but where he could not discern the study of classical models, he saw a lack of vigour. It was the grandness of Italian history painting which he valued most: the variety of poses, the monumentality of the human form (as realized in Michelangelo's muscular figures), etc. And so when Lampsonius recommended the talents of Northern engravers to some of his Italian correspondents,¹¹ it

⁵Becker 1973, p. 45. Accomplished in the arts of painting and architecture. Lombard served the court of the Bishop of Liège.

⁶Becker 1973, p. 46. Becker noted that the prince-bishop Van der Marck, a great patron of the arts, had encouraged a strong interest in the arts at his court.

⁷Lampsonius, Lamberti Lombardi apud Eburones pictoris celeberrimi vita. Pictoribus, sculptoribus, architectis, allisque id genus artificibus utilis et necessaria, Bruges 1565. Printed by Hubert Goltzius (1526-1593).

⁸Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, pp. 112-13.

⁹Becker 1973, p. 45.

¹⁰Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, pp. 112-13; Becker 1973, pp. 46-47.

¹¹Melion 1990, pp. 467-72. Lampsonius's letters to Vasari (1565), Titian (1567), and Giulio Clovio (1570) counselled the Italian artists to use the best Flemish engravers to translate the best Italian paintings into beautiful prints.

was not because he thought the Flemings the most visionary artists, but because he thought them the most capable of faithfully reproducing Italian masterpieces. For Lampsonius, the strength of a Northern artist rested in his hand (skill) and not in his mind (imagination or judgement),¹² unless the artist emulated the inspired designs of Italian High Renaissance masters.

Puraye named Lampsonius as the author of the series, but generalized Cock's assistance in the selection of artists' portraits as a vague possibility.¹³ This debatable conjecture has been repeated many times over.¹⁴ For instance, Raupp practically dismissed Cock's role as the series's originator when he described the series's constituents as "already deceased artists."¹⁵ This description may have been spurred by Lampsonius's own words. His caption below Cock's likeness centres around the artist's death and how it coloured Cock's portrayal in the print. However, in its entirety, the series seems more like a visual programme than a literary text.¹⁶ I believe the attribution to Lampsonius rests

¹²His praise for Jan van Amstel epitomizes this categorization of the natural (but still limited) talent of a Northern artist: "Jan's hand would sooner that he should paint landscapes well than that his brain should make poor paintings of men and gods." Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 36.

¹³Puraye 1956, pp. 13, 17.

¹⁴E.g., Hymans 1884, vol. 1, p. 290, n. 1: "*le recueil de portraits d'artistes de Lampsonius*"; Panofsky 1955, p. 397. However, some have contradicted Puraye's presumption. For instance, Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 113: "He [Lampsonius] ... provided the preface and the captions for Cock's series of 23 engraved portraits of famous Netherlandish artists. This was left unfinished on Cock's death, and eventually published in 1572 in Lampsonius's name as the Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies (Portraits of some Celebrated Artists of the Low Countries)."

¹⁵Raupp 1984, p. 18: "*Sie umfasst 23 gestochene Bildnisse bereits verstorbener Künstler.*"

¹⁶This may stem from most modern audiences' remove from the Latin language. Without a reading knowledge of Latin, the value of the verses is diminished. Nevertheless, it seems fair to view the written section of each print as secondary to the portrait-image which

on the bias of scholars who have prized the substance of the written word over the content of the visual image.¹⁷ While it is true that Lampsonius trained as an artist and maintained a constant interest in the field,¹⁸ recognizing him as the series's innovator is problematic for the following reasons. In his preface to the portrait collection, Lampsonius lamented his failure to keep his promise to Cock, that being the timely delivery of verses for the portrait series.¹⁹ Additionally, some of his verses are less admiring than others. For example, his praise for the seventh artist represented, Jan Gossaert, is remarkably restrained.²⁰

According to Lampsonius, Gossaert's creations could no longer be appreciated as timeless

dominates the page, being both the largest and uppermost component of the print. Moreover, unlike those of the first edition, the verses of the second edition were engraved on the original plates, a technical adjustment which improved the prints' appearance considerably (because it meant that each verse was centred in the lower margin). Had the verses been the dominant feature of the original series, presumably a greater effort would have been made to centre them in the margins of the first edition's prints.

¹⁷Presumably the attribution to Lampsonius was encouraged also by the fact that the first edition's titlepage gives his name ("*cum Doctiss. Dom. Lampsonij*") and only mentions Cock's widow as the publisher ("*Apud Viduam Hieronymi Cock.*"). Additionally, Van Mander made no mention of Cock in his description of the series. Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 70: "Some time ago a number of portraits of celebrated Netherlandish painters in copper-plate engraving were published in Antwerp—and in the first place those of these excellent brothers as the earliest accomplished practitioners of the noble art of painting in the Low Countries. Next to them, or rather below, are most artful carmina, or poems in Latin, by the most learned poet Dominicus Lampsonius of Bruges, secretary to the bishop of Liège and not only a very great lover of art but also having a very great understanding and experience of it."

¹⁸Puraye 1956, p. 15 described much of the information presented by Lampsonius in his verses as personal knowledge: he knew Lucas Gassel directly (Lampsonius had been instructed by him in the art of drawing), he frequented the academy of Lambert Lombard and probably also met Willem Key and Frans Floris (students of Lombard) through this venue.

¹⁹"*Je te promettais naguère des poèmes pour célébrer les artistes belges du pinceau: ma promesse devait être vaine. Voici, Jérôme, que je l'accomplis après ta mort, douloureux présent funèbre offert à tes mânes.*" Translation from Puraye 1956, p. 22.

²⁰See Appendix.

masterpieces, but only as outmoded paintings which exemplified fine technical skills. If the purpose of this small group of portraits had been to represent the best Netherlandish artists, then it is unclear why Lampsonius was much less flattering to some painters if he was the same person who selected those painters for representation.

Viewing Cock as the author of the series makes more sense,²¹ but perhaps his role has been refuted because of prejudices surrounding his art production. With its beginnings in the metalwork industry, printmaking was long entrenched in the sphere of craftsmanship.²² By Cock's day, printing houses relied on divisions of labour;²³ a single impression could represent the work of multiple individuals. There remained artists who engraved images after their own designs, but the more typical practice became one of cooperation between designers and printmakers.²⁴ This distinction in practice between the artist designer and the mechanical copyist might explain why Cock's role in the planning of the portrait series was discredited. Although born to Jan Wellens de Cock, a painter and (possibly) a maker of woodcuts,²⁵ Hieronymus is not respected as a creative painter-

²¹This is not a new view (for instance, Lydia de Pauw-de Veen in ex. cat. Brussels 1970, p. 56 stated that it was Cock who initiated the project; Filipczak 1987, p. 14 concurred: "Hieronymus Cock, the engraver, publisher and dealer, may have initiated this enterprise as early as 1565"—and Melion 1990, p. 143 specifically described Cock as the individual who brought together the engravings for the 1572 portrait series), but it seems to me that no one has argued why we should consider Cock as the series's architect.

²²Silver in ex. cat. Evanston 1993, p. 1.

²³Latinate titles denoted the different stages of a print's manufacture: *invenit* (design), *sculpsit* (engrave), and *excudit* (publish); Silver in ex. cat. Evanston 1993, p. 2.

²⁴Silver in ex. cat. Evanston 1993, p. 2.

²⁵Van der Stock 1998, pp. 258-59, 272. There has been dispute over Hieronymus Cock's date of birth—the year has generally been given as 1510—but Van der Stock 1998, p. 145 noted a document dated 31 July 1568 which described Hieronymus Cock as then being 50 years old, which would suggest he was born in 1518, and is confirmed by another document dating from 1552 (Cock is described as being 34 years of age). This would

engraver as are Lucas van Leyden and Albrecht Dürer.²⁶ And as Riggs put it, “if the reproductive engraver was not worthy of consideration as a serious artist, the publisher who simply issued the print was still less worthy.”²⁷ Even though his first steps into the art world included etchings of his own making, he soon committed his energies to encouraging the development of other talented engravers and increasing the visibility of a variety of art works, ancient and modern, Italian and Flemish.²⁸ His success can be measured by the respectable number of engravers who, once employed by him, went on to earn distinguished reputations for themselves independently.²⁹ However, his professional activities were slighted only a generation later by Van Mander in his Schilder-Boeck, a compilation of artists’ biographies which first appeared in 1604. Preceded by an admiring account of Cock’s brother, the landscape painter Matthijs, the passage concerning the Antwerp publisher verged on condemnation: “I have not much to tell about his brother Jeronimus Kock, for he abandoned the art and devoted himself to dealing in it.”³⁰ In an

mean that the painting by Frans Floris (fig. 23c) does not represent Cock: in 1555, Cock would have been 37 years old, not 48 (the age inscribed on the portrait).

²⁶Karpinski 1959, p. 9 wrote of Cock’s possible sojourn to Italy in 1546: “Ironically he discovered that his future was not as a creative artist. In Italy he must have become aware of the commerce in prints which reproduced paintings, drawings, and sculpture, and he found this a calling closer to his heart.”

²⁷Riggs 1977, p. 2. However, Riggs 1977, p. 147, also suggested that, at one time, original works of art (prints by the designing artist himself) were not valued any more than reproductive engravings (prints made after another artist’s designs). A sixteenth-century connoisseur sought out prints which demonstrated high levels of draftsmanship and so “There was no particular reason for the artist to etch his own plates if someone else could do it adequately, just as there was no reason for him to execute the whole of his paintings if he possessed capable assistants.”

²⁸Riggs 1977, p. 1.

²⁹For example, Philip Galle was an active member of the *In de Vier Winden* publishing house from about 1557 to 1563 and went on to head a prosperous printing firm himself.

³⁰Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 186.

age which applauded artists for completely immersing themselves in their work, from invention to execution, the publisher whose work helped to celebrate such artists was himself deemed unworthy of remembrance. What is striking about Van Mander's meagre appraisal of Cock's achievements is how it overlooked the fact that Cock's establishment, in terms of the volume and diversity of prints issued by it, remained at the forefront of artistic development in Antwerp between 1550 and 1570.³¹ *In de Vier Winden* did not stagger behind the trends, but appears to have developed into one of the leading printmaking and publishing houses of the sixteenth century.³²

Cock's most creative publications included Giorgio Ghisi's large engraving after Raphael's *School of Athens*,³³ a range of ornamental prints,³⁴ and another series of portraits which offered an unusual gathering of individuals: the leaders of multiple ruling dynasties.³⁵ As far as Riggs was concerned, Cock's *Portraits of European Rulers* was the first portrait series to represent the rulers of various nations from one age, Cock's age.³⁶ Furthermore there are the novel *Thermae Diocletiani* of 1558: the prints of the ancient

³¹Thieme 1912, vol. 7, p. 143; Riggs 1977, p. 1.

³²A number of authors have hit upon the originality of Cock's publications, but Riggs 1977, pp. 180-202 ("New Trends in Print Publications") provides the best overview of these innovations.

³³Published by Cock in 1550, according to Riggs, it was the first large-scale reproduction after an Italian masterpiece of the High Renaissance to be engraved by an Italian residing in the Low Countries (i.e., Ghisi). Riggs 1977, pp. 46-47.

³⁴Karpinski 1959, p. 13 suggested the ornament prints of Cornelis and Jacob Floris directly influenced the growth of the decorative arts in Flanders.

³⁵Riggs 1977, pp. 191-92 noted that powerful heads of state had been celebrated in groups of portraits before, often in illustrations to biographical treatises, but they were usually represented with members of their genealogical line and not with their contemporary social or political counterparts.

³⁶Riggs 1977, p. 192.

ruins incorporated detailed plans which would have intrigued even the most knowledgeable antiquarian.³⁷ However, Riggs found the series so innovative in its scholarly (i.e., archaeological) approach that he attributed its conception to a second party, Antoine Perrenot (1517-1586; the future Cardinal Granvelle), and not to Cock.³⁸ This may be entirely true,³⁹ but perhaps praise for the novelty of Cock's publications should not be ceded to his illustrious patrons nor to his learned associates exclusively. After all, as suggested by Van der Stock, it was typically the publisher who initiated and coordinated the making of a publication;⁴⁰ it was the publisher who assumed the monetary burdens of the project upfront.⁴¹

Cock's share in the programme for the portrait series is also alluded to by a major transition in the career of Cornelis Cort, an engraver who worked for Cock until 1565. In that year, Cort relocated to Italy where he became the principal maker of reproductive engravings after paintings by Titian. Given that the likeness of Joachim Patinir was engraved by Cort (fig. 8)⁴² and four other portraits from the series have been attributed to

³⁷Riggs 1977, pp. 168-69.

³⁸Riggs 1977, p. 169. Perrenot, a leading patron of the arts in the Netherlands, was elected cardinal in 1561.

³⁹Riggs pointed to two pieces of evidence which suggested Perrenot had been the primary motivator behind the series. Not only were the twenty-eight prints dedicated to the future cardinal, but the inscription on the fourth plate recorded that Perrenot had ordered Sebastian van Noyen (or Sebastian d'Oya), a Spanish architect, to draw the Roman ruins in the first place and that Perrenot had sponsored the making of the engravings from those drawings. Riggs 1977, pp. 48-49. See also Hollstein vol. 4, p. 190.

⁴⁰Van der Stock 1998, p. 143.

⁴¹Van der Stock 1998, p. 144. De Pauw-de Veen agreed that, as the firm's director, Cock's own tastes shaped the works produced for *In de Vier Winden*. De Pauw-de Veen in ex. cat. Brussels 1970, p. v.

⁴²In his verse to the portrait, Lampsonius stated that Cort had engraved the portrait after an original by Dürer.

Cort (figs. 3, 4, 5, and 6),⁴³ it is possible that the series was in development years before its publication date of 1572 and Cock could have formulated its design.⁴⁴

It remains unclear, though, as to how arrangements were made between Cock and Lampsonius: did they know each other well or were they well acquainted with each other's professional reputation? Riggs described Lampsonius as "Cock's friend,"⁴⁵ but without referring to any documentation of that friendship (other than their collaboration on the portrait series). However, other exchanges between Lampsonius and Cock's associates suggest the two men may have interacted in the same social sphere. In 1563, when he still worked for Cock, Cornelis Cort engraved some prints after Frans Floris's *The Labours of Hercules*; the series was embellished with a poem by Dominicus Lampsonius.⁴⁶ As well, Lampsonius entertained amicable relations with Hubert Goltzius, Lucas de Heere, and Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598).⁴⁷ The latter individual could have provided a link between Cock and Lampsonius, a humanist.⁴⁸ And then there was Cock's direct involvement in a humanist circle peculiar to the Low Countries, the society of

⁴³Bierens de Haan 1948, pp. 187-89, 193-95, 198.

⁴⁴Moreover, given the *terminus post quem* for the prints attributed to Cort, Riggs saw no reason to view Vasari's illustrated 1568 edition of the *Vite* as an absolute precedent to Cock's portrait series. Riggs 1977, p. 193.

⁴⁵Riggs 1977, p. 60.

⁴⁶Silver in ex. cat. Evanston 1993, p. 9.

⁴⁷Puraye 1956, p. 15.

⁴⁸Both men were devoted admirers of Pieter Bruegel: Ortelius collected his works avidly and Cock published them frequently. Perhaps it was their shared appreciation for the painter which brought Cock into Ortelius's circle of humanists. Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 180. Another overlap is provided by Ortelius's association with Frans Floris, an artist strongly represented through the prints published under Cock's stewardship. Koeman 1964, p. 12.

rederijkers (rhetoricians).⁴⁹

The Antwerp *Violieren* (a rhetoricians chamber) was integrated with the local Guild of Saint Luke in 1480.⁵⁰ It is noteworthy that the *rederijkers* endorsed writing in the vernacular, not just Latin (the dominant written language).⁵¹ Perhaps this consideration for the native language encouraged Cock to produce more works, made after Flemish masters, which appealed to Flemish consumers especially⁵² (as visual articulations of the vernacular) unlike the Italianate compositions which appealed to broader international markets.⁵³ And perhaps, in addition to the reproductions of particularly Netherlandish works, Cock's concern for the vernacular inspired his representations of the entirely Netherlandish persons who advanced local trends in art.

The portrait series Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies is often described as a survey of artists from the Netherlands.⁵⁴ Although Puraye did not view it as an exhaustive survey,⁵⁵ he did think the portrait series offered a comprehensive selection of archetypal Dutch and Flemish artists.⁵⁶ Walter Melion argued that it “established the

⁴⁹Riggs 1977, pp. 208-10.

⁵⁰Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 114. Thus, it would seem all artists, by their reception into the Guild of Saint Luke, had some proximity to the *rederijkers*.

⁵¹Gibson 1981, p. 430.

⁵²E.g., Pieter Bruegel's *The Big Fish Eat the Little Fish* (1557).

⁵³Gibson 1978, p. 673.

⁵⁴Becker 1973, p. 50.

⁵⁵Puraye's opinion was based on omissions like Gerard David, Hugo van der Goes, and Hans Memling—all respected members of current surveys of Northern Renaissance art. Puraye 1956, p. 16.

⁵⁶Puraye 1956, p. 16. It's also possible that the series was incomplete when Cock died. Although the portraits are numbered and ordered chronologically, an engraver could have easily added the numbers to the plates which were available (just before they went to press). Thus the unbroken sequence of numbers on the plates may not reflect a fully realized project. On the other hand, the selection of artists may have been based on a

first northern canon.”⁵⁷ Initially, I puzzled over a mix of painters which juxtaposed Lambert Lombard with Pieter Bruegel, but an interesting case study made by Kim Woods led me to suppose that the eclectic assembly reflected a humanistic appreciation for diverse art forms.⁵⁸ And it would seem Cock’s intended audience for this portrait series was rather intellectual (the Latin verses demanded literacy from the reader).⁵⁹ Moreover, as suggested by Melion, the collection represented a “historically based canon of northern masters, whose careers trace the professionalization of artisanship and whose works merit memorialization and imitation.”⁶⁰

Nevertheless, much confusion continues to plague the literature about the development of the series (through successive editions). Thus far, the most convincing model has been set forth by Mauquoy-Hendrickx.⁶¹ According to her, the first edition

conceptual programme that I have not been able to perceive.

⁵⁷Melion 1990, p. 143.

⁵⁸Woods noted that two stylistically separate works, *The Feast of the Sea Gods* by Frans Floris (National Museum, Stockholm) and *The Corn Harvest* (Metropolitan, New York) by Pieter Bruegel, painted for an Antwerp financier’s (Nicholaes Jongelinck) country villa, probably reflected Jongelinck’s humanist interest in the function of art in antiquity. His selection of art works accorded with the ancient practice of decorating country estates with landscape paintings. Woods in Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 114.

⁵⁹Riggs pointed to the use of Latin in some religious prints published by Cock as an indication that those prints were intended for an academic audience. Riggs 1977, pp. 206-07. Van der Stock also suggested the location of Cock’s printing house pointed to a select group of consumers: after moving his business to a location near the tapestry market hall, Cock’s shop could be found on the first floor of a house. According to Van der Stock, this meant buyers were not lured into the shop by street-level display windows, but rather buyers came [upstairs] looking for particular pieces. Van der Stock 1998, p. 145. It seems Van der Stock, in describing the ‘first floor’ as secluded from pedestrians, was not referring to the American ‘first floor’ (i.e., ground floor), but to the equivalent of the American ‘second floor’.

⁶⁰Melion 1990, p. 131.

⁶¹Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 345-47.

appeared in 1572 with the verses set in type and the identifications of Bernard van Orley and Dieric Bouts interchanged.⁶² Probably in 1572 also, the second edition appeared with a new address (*Sub intersignio quatuor ventorum*), engraved verses, and the identifications of Bernard van Orley and Dieric Bouts corrected.⁶³ Bierens de Haan specified that in the second edition, the number in the upper right corner of the portrait of Hieronymus Bosch changed from a 4 to a 3, that of Dieric Bouts changed from a 6 to a 5, that of Bernard van Orley changed from a 5 to a 6, and that of Rogier van der Weyden changed from a 3 to a 4.⁶⁴ After the second edition, Hieronymus Cock's portrait ceased to be reproduced. The existence of a Bernard van Orley portrait signed by Adriaen Collaert (fig. 6d; *Adr. Collart. excud.*) suggests Collaert issued a third edition under his own name, but only Van Orley's portraits have surfaced with Collaert's name and so it is possible they were produced as isolated prints.⁶⁵ Traces of Collaert's address can be discerned in the following state, a fourth edition by Theodoor Galle (1571-1633):

Illustrium quos Belgium habuit pictorum effigies (undated, but generally thought to date

⁶²One example of confusion was von Wurzbach's suggestion that the first edition appeared without the verses of Lampsonius. Von Wurzbach 1963, vol. 1, p. 304.

⁶³Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 345. Notably, the prints were not made at the *In de Vier Winden* studio, but were produced by the lesser-known printer Sander Jansens. Van der Stock 1998, p. 145. According to Van der Stock, Jansens printed from Cock's copperplates from as early as 1569. This scenario fits well with my hypothesis, posed in Chapter One, that the persons printing the portraits may have been unfamiliar with the particular likenesses of the artists represented in the 1572 portrait series and caused the mix-up between the identifications of Bernard van Orley and Dieric Bouts.

⁶⁴Bierens de Haan 1948, pp. 187, 189, 193, and 198. He also described the portrait of Bernard van Orley as reading in the margin: *Aux quatre vents* (fig. 6c).

⁶⁵Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 346.

from c. 1600).⁶⁶ In the upper register of each portrait, biographical information concerning the artist is provided, and each portrait carries the name of Galle and, less regularly, the name of Lampsonius.⁶⁷ Mauquoy-Hendrickx thought a fifth edition by Jan Meysens (1612-1670), cited by Puraye without any reference to a copy's location, to be a fiction of scholarly disorganization: there are multiple examples of the following 'sixth' edition which incorporate the frontispiece of an entirely different collection edited by Meysens (Image de divers hommes..., 1649).⁶⁸ The 'sixth' edition, True effigies of the most eminent painters (London 1694) was issued by B. Browne and T. Browne.⁶⁹

However, Mauquoy-Hendrickx's model needs some adjustments because prints survive which do not accord with the aforementioned stipulations. For instance, I came across reproductions of prints housed in Vienna's Albertina which depict Hieronymus Bosch, Dieric Bouts, Bernard van Orley, and Rogier van der Weyden where the numbers engraved in the upper right hand corners of the portraits have changed to meet Bierens de Haan's conditions for the 'second' edition, except for the fact that the verses in the lower margin are still printed separately in type (figs. 3a, 5a, 6b, and 4a).⁷⁰ Hence, if the copy

⁶⁶Bierens de Haan 1948, p. 188. However, Miedema thought discrepancies between Van Mander's information and Galle's biographical postscripts may have stemmed from Galle's indiscriminate sourcing from Van Mander's work (i.e., Galle's edition may have appeared after Van Mander's 1604 Schilder-Boeck). Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, pp. 175-76, n. 45.

⁶⁷Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 346. She also noted a copy housed at the London British Library which replaced the original portrait of Lucas van Leyden (as it appeared in the first edition) with a print of his supposed self-portrait, the *Young Man with a Skull*, although the engraved text remained below the new portrait (fig. 10d reproduces a comparable image from an alternate copy).

⁶⁸Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 346.

⁶⁹Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 346.

⁷⁰Originally reproduced in *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 52, 1986, pp. 235, 236, 241, and 248.

housed in Vienna is complete (i.e., has the standard twenty-three portraits), then it is possible that another distinct edition was produced at *In de Vier Winden* between the inaugural edition and the 'second' engraved version. Moreover, there appears to have been great interest in the likeness of Bernard van Orley because that portrait went through the most alterations.⁷¹ In the inaugural edition, he was misidentified as *THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI* (fig. 5). The first shift was signalled by a print I came across in Amsterdam (fig. 6a). The number in the upper right hand corner was now a 6 and the identification of the artist was changed to *BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI PICTORE*.⁷² In the next development, the number of the portrait remained a 6,⁷³ but the identification of the artist changed to *DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI PICTORE* (fig. 6b). In the next version, the text in the lower margin was engraved and the address *Aux quatre vents* was added below the artist's hand (fig. 6c). Although this image (fig. 6c), in this scheme, could signal a fourth separate edition issued by Cock's former publishing house, it is usually described as belonging to the 'second' edition of the portrait series.

It is generally accepted that the engraved portraits were made after reputed likenesses of the artists, but this assumption is not particularly well documented.⁷⁴ However, given the examples provided in Chapter One (namely, the portraits of Jan

⁷¹These prints, like the portrait issued by Adriaen Collaert, may not be indicative of new editions, but they do help to give the impression of the prints' wide circulation and steady regeneration in general.

⁷²This has been printed separately in type and, presumably, the verse by Lampsonius which would have appeared below was lost when the margin was cropped.

⁷³Therefore, it was not, as Bierens de Haan suggested, the first time that the number 6 was used on the portrait.

⁷⁴See Van Hall 1963, pp. 39ff; Puraye 1956, p. 17; Raupp 1984, pp. 20-21.

Gossaert and Jan Cornelis Vermeyen and their agreement with biographical information and/or examples of their work), it is likely that Hieronymus Cock and his colleagues made a concerted effort to obtain 'authentic' representations of the artists in order to give the portrait series the weight of an important historical document. I have wondered why Cock chose to use portraits, and not just written accounts of the artists, to develop a history of painting in the Low Countries. Perhaps this appears inane (given that Cock was a printmaker and not a bookmaker), but I do think the structure of the portrait series reveals much about the ambitions behind the publication.

In the most immediate sense, the portraits served to memorialize the twenty-three artists. I alluded to this function in Chapter One, but it should be stressed that contemporaries were well aware of this dimension of portraiture.⁷⁵ Raupp suggested that the traditional bust-length portrait long held a memorializing function, one legitimized through antique precedents.⁷⁶ In the early sixteenth century, this type expanded to include the figure's hands resting on a parapet and the half-length figure became a commonplace in the portraits of humanists.⁷⁷ Eventually artists adopted this formula for their own

⁷⁵Thomas More's response to Erasmus concerning his receipt of two portraits, one of Erasmus and the other of Pieter Gillis (both by Quentin Metsys) reflected a contemporary's perception of the memorializing function of a portrait: "Truly, even though this may be a proud thought, I judge it to be thus. I esteem what you have sent me to mean that you wish to revive the memory of yourself in my mind, not just daily, but hourly." Quoted in Jardine 1995, p. 24.

⁷⁶Raupp 1984, p. 20.

⁷⁷Raupp 1984, p. 20. The legend of Erasmus's youthful dabbling in the art of painting while a cleric in Steyn (Panofsky 1969, p. 202) would help to explain how artists found it fitting to appropriate the humanist portrait model for their own representation. It was not just assuming the robes of enlightened individuals, but taking on the guise of persons who shared their interests.

portraits as a sign of their increasing status as enlightened professionals; in 1498 Dürer became one of the first to employ the type in a self-portrait (Madrid, Prado).⁷⁸ And it is the half-length figure which dominates the celebratory portrait series.

Why a series of portraits and not a collection of biographies as Vasari had done before in the first edition of the *Vite* in 1550, or the second edition of 1568? It seems that centuries ago, people thought it acceptable to write histories in one of two ways: with a pen or with a paintbrush. Hence, I turn to Isaac Bullart's synopsis of a painter's ability to record history: "*Un Peintre celebre a de l'étude aussi bien que de l'artifice: l'Histoire, & la Fable se representent par le pinceau, aussi bien que par la plume; & il n'est pas moins agreable de voir la Gygantomachie, depeinte dans le Palais de Mantoüe par Jule Romain, que de la voir décrite dans les Vers d'Ovide.*"⁷⁹ However, one should not overlook the refusal of Italian critics to regard Flemings as great masters because, ostensibly, the Northerners lacked the divine judgement of Italy's creative geniuses—a judgement Italian theorists thought was best demonstrated by figural compositions. It seems quite fitting to me that Cock's publication used portraits, figural compositions (albeit, uncomplicated ones), to draw attention to leading figures in Netherlandish art.⁸⁰

However, I would like to return to the artists' portraits themselves and potential models for them. Some of the prototypes survive today (for Hubert and Jan van Eyck,

⁷⁸Raupp 1984, p. 20.

⁷⁹Bullart 1682, vol. 1, p. **2v.

⁸⁰This issue was unresolved in Van Mander's day. He wrote to aspiring artists: "Be alert, my young friends, take courage, even though there will be many disappointments, apply yourself, so that we can achieve our goal—namely, that they can no more say (as is their custom) 'The Flemings cannot paint figures'." Excerpt from his *Den Grondt der Edel vrij Schilder-const* (*Foundation of the Painter's Art*), quoted in Stechow 1966, p. 58.

Joos van Cleve, and Lucas van Leyden). The faces of the Van Eyck brothers were pulled from their esteemed masterpiece, the Ghent altarpiece, namely the panel of the *Just Judges* (fig. 1f).⁸¹ Although the belief that the two riders truly represent Hubert and Jan is no longer entertained, the legend of their portraits was fixed by the 1560s.⁸² Thus, Cock had an existing model to work from, but an important detail still needs to be addressed. Due to fears of iconoclasm, the altarpiece was moved from its viewing space in the chapel to a hiding spot in the church tower in August 1566.⁸³ According to Elizabeth Dhanens, the altarpiece was back on display soon after, but further turmoil called for the panels to be removed to a safe hiding spot again in February 1578.⁸⁴ Otherwise Cock's contemporaries enjoyed regular access to the Ghent altarpiece. However, if Cock had desired to make reputable portraits of the Van Eyck brothers during that short period in 1566 when the polyptych was stored away, presumably other copies of the Ghent 'portraits' were available to him (i.e., copies produced by persons unrelated to Cock's workshop in response to the renown of the altarpiece, or perhaps even the fame of the artists' portraits). We do know of an independent likeness (fig. 2g), comparable to Jan's 'portrait' as a rider, which could be found in Cock's day on the facade of a house in

⁸¹The original panel was lost to thieves in the early twentieth century, but a copy remains.

⁸²Miedema in Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 187. The earliest surviving account which described two of the riders as portraits of the artists is Lucas de Heere's ode, placed in the Vijd chapel with the altarpiece in 1559, and published in 1565. Brockwell 1954, p. 26.

⁸³Brockwell 1954, pp. 33-34. Miedema suggested, however, that the altarpiece may have been back in place, or at least in plain view in another part of the church, by 1567. Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 198.

⁸⁴Dhanens 1980, p. 379.

Antwerp, Cock's centre of business.⁸⁵

Joos van Cleve's alleged self-portrait resides in the art collection at Windsor Castle (fig. 12e). Apparently Charles I acquired the painting of the reputed madman (and another of the artist's wife) in 1636 when it was catalogued as a portrait of 'Sotton Cleve'.⁸⁶

However, as Joos van Cleve had been active in Antwerp, it is likely that his portrait was painted in that city and, when it still remained in Antwerp, someone copied it on Cock's behalf.

The likeness of Lucas van Leyden originated from a silverpoint sketch (fig. 10f) made by Albrecht Dürer during his visit to the Netherlands between 1520 and 1521.⁸⁷ Evidently Lucas van Leyden's printed portraits were quite desirable because multiple physiognomies, based on various models, were presented as true likenesses of the artist from Leiden.⁸⁸ Although we can piece together how Dürer obtained his portrait of Lucas van Leyden,⁸⁹ one wonders how Cock derived the likeness from the sketch. Did the original remain in Antwerp, or had an Antwerp artist set himself to the task of copying Dürer's inventions before he and his creations departed for Germany?⁹⁰ The answer

⁸⁵In 1563, the painter Jan Adriaenssen ordered decorations for the facade of his Antwerp home from Willem van den Broecke. The product was a pair of busts, one of Jan van Eyck and another of Albrecht Dürer. Filipczak 1987, p. 14.

⁸⁶Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 159. 'Mad Cleve' was truly Joos's son Cornelis (1520-1567), overcome by mental illness during his English sojourn.

⁸⁷The original survives in Lille's Musée des Beaux-Arts [Winkler 816].

⁸⁸Cornelis/Filedt Kok 1998, pp. 35-36. For example, Dürer's *Young Man, Facing Right* (cat. 10m [Winkler 809]) became an effigy of Lucas van Leyden in an engraving (cat. 10l). Strauss 1974, vol. 4, p. 2052.

⁸⁹During his sixth stay in Antwerp (1521), Dürer recorded in his travel diary: "*Jch hab maister Lucas von Leyden mit dem stefft conterfet.*" Quoted in Rupprich 1956, vol. 1, p. 174.

⁹⁰In 1521, Cock would have been too young to have acquired the original for himself.

appears uncertain, but following Hymans's discovery in Lille of the prototype for Lucas van Leyden's portrait,⁹¹ scholars have scoured Dürer's oeuvre hoping to discover the likenesses of other artists who sat for the German master. For instance, a signed and dated drawing in the Louvre has been identified as Margaret of Austria's court painter, Bernard van Orley (fig. 6i).⁹² Indeed, Dürer wrote that he had drawn a portrait of Bernard,⁹³ but it seems to me that Dürer's prototype for Bernard's likeness is lost. The engraved portrait duplicates none of Dürer's extant drawings. And I do think that, if we are to accept that a drawing by Dürer provided the model for Bernard's portrait, we must also accept that Dürer's model would have been neatly duplicated by Cock's engraver. After all, this is exactly how Dürer's prototype for the portrait of Lucas van Leyden was respected; the engraving varies little from the drawing. Thus, it is not enough to say that the general resemblance of the drawing in the Louvre to Bernard's portrait in the 1572 publication proves its function as the print's model. Similarly, the original model for Patinir's likeness (a drawing by Dürer) has been lost, but multiple prints after it survive.⁹⁴

Exact prototypes may no longer exist for the likes of Rogier van der Weyden, Hieronymus Bosch, and Quentin Metsys, but there are contemporary images which display comparable representations of these artists, proof that the engravings closely emulated

⁹¹Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 15.

⁹²Strauss 1974, vol. 4, p. 2054; Puraye 1956, p. 17.

⁹³Dürer's journal (around the time of his trip to Mecheln and Brussels, 1520) reads: "*Jtem hab maister Bernhart, der fraw Margarethae mahler, mit dem kohln conterfeit.*" Quoted in Rupprich 1956, vol. 1, p. 154.

⁹⁴Dürer wrote of his portrait of Patinir (around the time of his fifth trip to Antwerp, 1521): "*Jch hab meister Joachim mit dem stefft conterfet.*" Quoted in Rupprich 1956, vol. 1, p. 169.

earlier models. For example, a portrait of Rogier van der Weyden can be found in the *Recueil d'Arras* (fig. 4g) which is nearly identical to the likeness of Rogier in Cock's series of engravings (fig. 4). The Arras collection of drawings features numerous portraits of fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century Netherlanders which are loosely organized according to the bonds of noble lineage or professional designation.⁹⁵ Scholars believe the Arras collection was developed between 1566 and 1574 by Jacques Le Boucq of Valenciennes (d. 1575).⁹⁶ Both portraits (figs. 4 and 4g) have been linked to a potential portrait in the *Justice of Herkinbald* cycle painted by Rogier around 1440 for the Town Hall in Brussels. Although Guy Bauman termed the Brussels example a 'documented instance' of disguised portraiture,⁹⁷ it is not so straightforward as that. The panel was destroyed during an invasion in 1695 and the original composition is known mainly through its derivations in the Berne tapestries (figs. 4h, 4i), a loose sketch in Paris (fig. 4j), and several early accounts of the panel.⁹⁸ The study in Paris (fig. 4j) shares some compositional elements with a segment of the tapestry, but Albert Châtelet went so far as

⁹⁵Campbell 1977, pp. 301-02.

⁹⁶Campbell 1977, p. 302. Lorne Campbell also thought the portraits, drawn by Le Boucq (an adviser to the rulers of the Netherlands), ultimately passed into the hands of Alexandre Le Blancq who inscribed the names of the sitters. Campbell 1977, pp. 304, 307-08.

⁹⁷Bauman 1986, p. 12.

⁹⁸The cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus (1401-1464), in his treatise on the vision of God (*De visione Dei sive de icona liber*), noted a self-portrait of Rogier in one of the Brussels panels. The direct gaze of the painter interested Cusanus for it allegedly followed the spectator's movement. Panofsky 1955, pp. 393-94. Dubuisson-Aubenay, a visitor to Belgium between 1623 and 1627, confirmed the presence of the painter in the *Justice* panels: "The third picture contains in the first section Herkinbald, Duke of Brabant, lying nude and sick in bed, who, rising violently, cuts the throat of a young man summoned before him; while in the second section a servant deplures the deed and a woman looks on, the beardless painter himself being present [*cum pictore ipso imberbo ibi assistente*]." Quoted in Panofsky 1955, p. 393.

to suggest the man in the drawing standing behind a parapet, a witness to the Pope's oration, represented Rogier (because the man duplicates the posture of the Arras Rogier).⁹⁹ However, this comparison did not satisfy Châtelet entirely and so he turned to the engraving in Cock's portrait collection.¹⁰⁰ He found the proximity of the loose sketch to the engraved portrait even more striking: each figure rests an arm on a parapet and, according to Châtelet, the oblong pietà in the engraving shared the general aspect of the window behind the man in the Paris drawing.¹⁰¹ However, I would argue that the crudeness of the Paris drawing does not foster a definitive conclusion that the man behind the parapet represented Rogier. Furthermore, the presence of the parapet in the drawing does not constitute a crucial link to the engraved portrait. Adding a parapet to a portrait of Rogier would have demanded little effort from the engraver.¹⁰² As well, Panofsky's contention that Le Boucq always worked from fifteenth-century paintings (and never from contemporary engravings), and thus the Arras drawing could not be based on the print in Cock's portrait collection, is questionable.¹⁰³ Le Boucq's drawing of Rogier van der Weyden is technically advanced, but a drawing of Hieronymus Bosch (fig. 3f; also in the *Recueil d'Arras*) is much more amateurish. Unless Le Boucq was working from a very

⁹⁹Châtelet 1975, pp. 71-72.

¹⁰⁰Châtelet 1975, p. 72. Kauffman 1916, p. 23 believed instead that the man (seen above the pope's headdress) looking out at the spectator with a strong nose and a reddish face, distinct from the paler faces of the persons around him, represented Rogier.

¹⁰¹Châtelet 1975, p. 73.

¹⁰²For example, Hubert and Jan van Eyck appear as full-length riders in the original 'portraits' of the Ghent altarpiece, but the brothers are shown as half-length figures stationed behind parapets in Cock's portrait series. This reduction may have been effected by the engraver of the final plates, or (even earlier) by a draughtsman, working after the altarpiece in Ghent, who was not compelled to copy the figures in their entirety.

¹⁰³Panofsky 1955, p. 399.

poor copy, I would assume that his drawing of Bosch was made after a painted model (and the technical conversion from painting to drawing made for inaccuracies). In the case of Rogier's portrait, I would assume Le Boucq drew from something more convenient than a painting, namely a drawing or an engraving (because neither would have presented Le Boucq with the difficulties associated with transferring the richness of a painting to the precision of a drawing).

As for Quentin Metsys, it is not known if the self-portrait he donated to Antwerp's Guild of Saint Luke (dismantled by French troops in 1794) provided the model for Cock's engraving.¹⁰⁴ However, the print can be compared to two early medals which show the same figure, albeit less of him (the image is cropped to form a bust without arms).¹⁰⁵ If the medal served as the model for the engraving,¹⁰⁶ then the engraver elaborated on the model by adding the ledge, scroll, and hands of the painter. However, I think certain stylistic conventions in other portraits by Metsys might allow one to suppose both the

¹⁰⁴Miedema in Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 41. De Bosque 1975, p. 38 did presume that the supposed self-portrait provided the model for the print.

¹⁰⁵De Bosque 1975, p. 38 described the two medals, one in Brussels (fig. 9g) and the other in Paris (cat. 9f) as being more or less the same. A century after the artist's death, Quentin's effigy, as represented on the medals, was recreated for a marble tribute to grace the cathedral tower in Antwerp (cat. 9h), the unveiling of which was open to all the artists of Antwerp. De Bosque 1975, p. 58; Filipczak 1987, p. 49. Miedema (in Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 41) suggested the medals could have been made after Metsys died. However, Miedema (in Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 41) wondered if the medallions were made after Cock's print. I am not so certain about this because Metsys faces the opposite direction in the medallions (he faces left in the print; in the medallions, he is turned to the right). The casting technique may have caused this inversion. However, because the medallions' maker was able to anticipate the inversion of the inscription (*QVINTINVS METSYS 1495*) in the final product, presumably he could have also arranged the figure to emulate the printed prototype exactly, had that been the desired effect.

¹⁰⁶Langedijk 1992, p. 286.

medals and the engraving were modelled after a self-portrait, namely one which included his hands.¹⁰⁷

Comparative examples (not models) exist for Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, Jan van Scorel, Lambert Lombard, Pieter Bruegel, Willem Key,¹⁰⁸ and Frans Floris¹⁰⁹ which lead one to suspect that the engravers at *In de Vier Winden* were working from known likenesses (which have since disappeared). In Chapter One, I discussed the affinities of Vermeyen's portrait in Cock's collection to examples of Vermeyen's oeuvre. His physiognomy is also recorded by five cartoons from the *Conquest of Tunis* series; the tenth depicts the artist sketching in the company of another man (fig. 15g).¹¹⁰

As for Jan van Scorel, two portraits were mentioned by Van Mander and those two survive today (figs. 17f, 17g).¹¹¹ Miedema also made mention of Lodewijk van den

¹⁰⁷In 1517, Metsys was busy completing portraits of the humanists Erasmus of Rotterdam (London, Hampton Court) and Pieter Gillis (Lord Radnor's collection). The diptych formed by the portraits was presented as a gift to Thomas More, the humanists' friend. The elegant hands (with long, pliable fingers) of Pieter Gillis (cat. 9n) are highly reminiscent of the nimble hands which graced Metsys's portrait in Cock's collection. The similarity caused me to suspect that Cock's engraver was working from a model made by Metsys (it would help to explain the repetition of this convention of Metsys's handiwork).

¹⁰⁸Hoogewerff 1947/1948, p. 45 described the portrait of a man in a private collection (fig. 20f) as a self-portrait. It is signed and dated, but does not appear to be the direct model for Key's likeness in the portrait series (significant details are missing from the painting, like his hat for example).

¹⁰⁹Floris's portrait appears on a medal (fig. 22f) dated 1552, giving his age as 32. Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 40. It does not duplicate the *In de Vier Winden* portrait, but it leads to an interesting consideration. Frans Floris died October 1, 1570. Cock died only days later (October 3). If we accept that it was Cock who masterminded the selection of artists for the portrait series, then we also might accept that Cock's decision to include Floris was made while Floris lived—i.e., the series was not designed to reflect the identities of dead artists solely.

¹¹⁰Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 138.

¹¹¹The first was produced after his return from Italy. Van Mander wrote: "when he was back in this country, he portrayed himself, with a number of Jerusalem-men or Jerusalem-

Bosch's portrait of Jan van Scorel which, in 1605, could be found at the home of Bartholomeus Ferreris.¹¹²

With respect to Lambert Lombard, the True Effigies attributed Cock's print to a model drawn by Antonio Moro.¹¹³ The print, like Lombard's portrait in the Vita by Lampsonius (fig. 18g) and another in the Album Amicorum of Otto Venius (fig. 18h), closely resembles a drawing in Düsseldorf (fig. 18f), but the precedence of the drawing has been disputed.¹¹⁴

Pieter Bruegel's likeness closely resembles the appearance of his own son, Pieter Bruegel the Younger (fig. 19f).¹¹⁵ His position, a strict profile, is most intriguing; although Bruegel was adopted as an archetypal artist of the North, his portraitist adopted a convention of Italian portraiture for the Northerner's pose.¹¹⁶

travellers, in oils, an oblong piece, which is still kept in Haarlem in the Jacobins' Convent or Prinsenhof." Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 201. Of the second, Van Mander wrote: "Antonis Moro, painter of Philip, King of Spain, who in his youth was a pupil of Schoorel and who always remained well-disposed towards him, portrayed him about two years before his death, to wit in the year 1560." Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 205. Moro's portrait of Van Scorel is now located in London's Burlington House. Puraye 1956, p. 56.

¹¹²Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 59. I have not located this painting in a modern collection, so it is not clear to me if the painting exists today nor if it provided the model for Cock's portrait of Van Scorel.

¹¹³Browne and Browne 1694, p. 2.

¹¹⁴Miedema in Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 101, n. 15. At least it would seem, however, that all of these depictions descended from a shared source.

¹¹⁵Illustrated Bartsch 1998, vol. 72, pt. 2, p. 101. Some have tried to see a self-portrait of Bruegel in the man depicted at far right in *The Peasant Wedding* (c. 1568) as he is distinguished from other persons in the gathering by his fine attire, but the identification is shaky at best. Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 180.

¹¹⁶Bauman 1986, pp. 33-35 described the three-quarter pose as a particularly Flemish way of presenting the (fifteenth-century) sitter—a clear distinction from the characteristic pure profile of Italian models which had classical precedents (such as Imperial coins).

No models have been found for the likenesses of Jan van Amstel, Matthijs Cock, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Dieric Bouts, Jan Gossaert, Herri met de Bles, Lucas Gassel, and Hieronymus Cock,¹¹⁷ but occasionally we can hypothesize that models were available at one time. In the life of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Van Mander discussed woodcuts which depicted Constantinople and Turkish customs, singling out one which included a portrait of the artist.¹¹⁸ As for the portrait of Dieric Bouts, I could not locate a convincing model.¹¹⁹ but I do suspect (as mentioned in Chapter One) that a specific model was used and that the model's sitter did not carry painterly attributes. It may not have been the case that the model selected for Bouts's portrait depicted someone other than the painter. As Filipczak suggested, only in the mid-sixteenth century did Netherlandish painters begin to represent themselves on a more regular basis with the tools of their trade.¹²⁰ She pointed to the 1572 portrait series as an example of this development: of the artists who flourished

¹¹⁷An engraving turned up at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (or RKD, The Hague) as a portrait of Hieronymus Cock (fig. 23b), but Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 358 sourced it to a 1574 medal depicting Jean Célosse, a resident of Antwerp.

¹¹⁸Of the seventh woodcut, Van Mander wrote: "He portrayed himself in Turkish costume in the seventh picture, standing with a bow and pointing toward someone next to him who is holding a long spear with a pennant." Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 133. Additionally, Puraye 1956, p. 54 characterized the double-portrait in Zurich (fig. 16f) as a representation of the artist and his wife, although the identification is not supported by documentation of any kind.

¹¹⁹For many years, it was assumed a self-portrait of the artist existed in the *Last Supper* at Louvain, but Van Gelder dismissed this notion because the original contract named four masters of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament. The four masters are probably the same four burghers represented on the central panel. Van Gelder 1951, p. 52. However, the picture which hung above the painter's tomb in Louvain, now lost, may have acted as the source for the engraved portrait—we can never know with certainty. Smeyers 1998, p. 364.

¹²⁰Filipczak 1987, p. 21.

sometime between the early fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century, only one is portrayed with paintbrushes, Dieric Bouts.¹²¹

For a time, the Portrait of a Man (cat. 7g) was considered a self-portrait of Jan Gossaert.¹²² However, because it does not resemble his bearing in any of the engraved portraits, the identification was rejected.¹²³ This is an interesting case, however, because all the engraved portraits (that I know of) derive from Cock's effigy of the artist (fig. 7). Even though scholars have not bothered to prove the historical authenticity of Cock's portraits, his series has been accepted as a veritable record against which alternate portraits are measured. This becomes a dangerous assumption when a portrait from Cock's collection cannot be documented in any fashion. As for Gossaert's portrait, it may be without a traceable, convincing precedent,¹²⁴ but his appearance in the printed portrait seems to accord with written accounts of his lavish dress.¹²⁵

¹²¹Filipcjak 1987, p. 22. Again, I must stress the clumsiness of Bouts's grip on the paintbrushes. It denotes a later addition to an older, simpler source. Such shifts in the imagery of an artwork were not unusual in Cock's day. Riggs wrote: "the sixteenth-century engraver, reproducing a painting or drawing, did not regard it as an immutable entity to be copied in its entirety as exactly as possible. He seems to have considered it rather as a repository of certain forms and ideas which could be rearranged or altered slightly without seriously affecting the whole." Riggs 1977, p. 162.

¹²²The monogram, *IM*, on the man's hat was thought to signify *Ioannes Malbodius*. Bauman 1986, p. 48.

¹²³*IM* is now interpreted to mean *Ihesus Maria*. Bauman 1986, p. 48.

¹²⁴The *Portrait of a Man* in the Currier Gallery (fig. 7f) might be a self-portrait as it shares certain characteristics with contemporary self-portraits (e.g., the veiling of the painter's right hand). Schwarz 1953, p. 167. Puraye 1956, p. 36 also thought the Currier Gallery portrait (then in the collection of F. Pratt) was a self-portrait and, possibly, the model for the engraving. In addition, Gossaert's profile appeared on a medal fashioned by the German sculptor Hans Schwarz during his visit to the Low Countries in 1526. Wescher 1965, pp. 161, 166, n. 20.

¹²⁵As argued in Chapter One.

The owl in the portrait of Herri met de Bles may have been an embellishment made by the portrait's engraver, but perhaps it reflects the composition of a pre-existing model. His works were highly valued in Italy¹²⁶ and, interestingly, an Italian inventory of 1648-1649 (for the Barberini collection) listed "a head of a painter with a little owl," naming neither the artist nor the sitter.¹²⁷ Gibson noted that the 1686 inventory for the same collection cited a "portrait of a painter called *il Ciovetta*," presumably a reference to the aforementioned work.¹²⁸ However, Gibson also suggested that this work could have constituted a mere painted copy after the engraved portrait (and not vice versa).¹²⁹

It is certain, however, that the images circulated widely because their influence can be felt in a variety of alternate publications. For instance, the chronicler Aubert Le Mire wrote in his Rerum toto orbe gestarum Chronicon that "*Hubertus obiit Gandavi anno 1426, ibidem in Cathedrali aede sepultus*"¹³⁰ which very nearly duplicates the announcement added to the print of Hubert van Eyck in Galle's version of the portrait series (cat. 1b). Isaac Bullart testified to how the series helped to preserve the otherwise fading memory of Dieric Bouts.¹³¹ And Bart Cornelis and Jan Piet Filedt Kok suggested

¹²⁶Van Mander wrote: "His works can often be found with the Emperor, in Italy and in other places; in Italy they are particularly sought after, for the man with the little owl is very widely famed." Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 137. The owl motif was regarded as the painter's unique signature.

¹²⁷Gibson in Muller/Rosasco/Marrow 1998, p. 134.

¹²⁸Gibson in Muller/Rosasco/Marrow 1998, p. 134.

¹²⁹He drew this assumption from the 1623 mention of another Barberini picture of a "little landscape by Civetta on copper." As Gibson pointed out, copper was not used in Bles's time as a conventional support. Gibson in Muller/Rosasco/Marrow 1998, p. 134.

¹³⁰Quoted in Brockwell 1954, p. 36.

¹³¹Bullart 1682, vol. 2, p. 382. He described an inscription, which appeared in gold letters on a painting by Bouts (of Christ with Saints Peter and Paul), as a rare record of the artist's existence. He continued: "*Cette Inscription seroit la seule memoire qui nous*

that Van Mander's referral to Lucas van Leyden's *Young Man with a Skull* as the artist's self-portrait probably took its cue from Galle's edition of the portrait series (fig. 10d).¹³²

I would like to close Chapter Two with a brief discussion of the portrait series issued by Hendrick Hondius (1573-1650) around 1610, Pictorum aliquot celeberrimorum praecipuae Germaniae inferioris effigies.¹³³ Although the extant bound editions are inconsistent in the number and succession of the portraits, they are otherwise quite comparable to one another.¹³⁴ Consisting of three parts, the final two sections included some artists who were not of Dutch or Flemish heritage (e.g., Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8-1543)) and therefore these sections offered a rather panoramic view of a broader Northern school of art.¹³⁵ However, the first section of the 1610 publication very much respected the tight parameters of Cock's community of artists who were of strictly Dutch or Flemish backgrounds. It offered copies (made from new plates) after most of Cock's original portraits.¹³⁶ As noted by Orenstein, Hondius's

resteroit de ce Peintre, si Jerosme Cock n'avoit pris soin de conserver son portrait, & si Dominique Lampsonius n'y avoit adjointe ces Vers."

¹³²Cornelis/Fieldt Kok 1998, p. 35. However, Miedema (in Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 175, n. 143) noted that earlier editions of the portrait series incorporated a different likeness of Lucas (fig. 10c) and only later did Galle use the print *Young Man with a Skull* as a portrait of the Leyden artist.

¹³³New Hollstein 1994, p. 90.

¹³⁴New Hollstein 1994, p. 90. The version housed in the Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. 327-I-15) is made up of sixty-eight portraits, beginning with Hubert van Eyck and ending with Isaac Oliver.

¹³⁵Ex. cat. London/The Hague 1999, p. 43.

¹³⁶Exceptions to this concern Lucas van Leyden and Hieronymus Cock. The former was represented in the second part (just after Albrecht Dürer) by a copy after his *Young Man with a Skull* (fig. 10e) which was original only to Galle's version of the portrait series. Cock was altogether dropped from the portrait series. As noted by Nadine Orenstein 1996, p. 51, Hondius was otherwise unconcerned with disguising his source for the engravings. Furthermore, in the bound copy at the Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. 327-I-

prints not only reused the original verses supplied by Lampsonius, but also emulated the rigidity of Cock's figures.¹³⁷ By their second state, however, more developed backgrounds were used by Hondius to embellish the final likenesses.¹³⁸ Some figures were situated in interior views (e.g., figs. 6f and 16c, etc.). Some backgrounds also incorporated professional props (e.g. a palette in figs. 7c and 18c, etc.). And in several instances, an artist's association with a distinct genre was made manifest by the features of his environment (e.g., the infernal scene appearing behind Hieronymus Bosch in fig. 3d, the plebeian characters standing in Pieter Bruegel's midst in fig. 19c, or the painted bust of a man which alludes to the professional activities of the portraitist Willem Key in fig. 20c). Thus, although Cock's artistic reputation steadily diminished, the artistic identities he had established in the 1572 portrait series continued to benefit from constant re-invention.

15), a new figure, that of Cornelis Engelbrechtsz of Leiden, appears in the first section as the ninth artist. He is an obvious addition to the series: a three-quarter length figure in a rather contrived pose that, like the portrait of Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, disrupts the unity of the procession of half-length figures.

¹³⁷Orenstein 1996, p. 51.

¹³⁸New Hollstein 1994, pp. 91-95. Orenstein 1996, pp. 132-33 also noted that the 1610 portrait series is quite comparable to two other series published by Hondius: his *Celebrated Reformers and Men of the Religion* and his *Portraits of the Pacificators of the Netherlands*. The unnumbered texts were divided into sections and could have been sold piecemeal (the bound editions, again, vary the number and order of the portraits in each section).

Chapter Three

Precedents to Cock's Model of a Northern School of Painting

There is no greater kind of happiness than that all people for all time should desire to know what kind of a man a person was. . . . The existence of a strong passion for portraits in former days is evidenced by Atticus the friend of Cicero in the volume he published on the subject and by the most benevolent invention of Marcus Varro, who actually by some means inserted in a prolific output of volumes portraits of seven hundred famous people, not allowing their likenesses to disappear or the lapse of ages to prevail against immortality in men. Herein Varro was the inventor of a benefit that even the gods might envy, since he not only bestowed immortality but despatched it all over the world, enabling his subjects to be ubiquitous, like the gods.¹

Even in the age of Pliny the Elder (23-79), portraits circulated in volumes and bolstered the fame of great persons. It seems Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies was designed to win a similar fate for the artists it represented. According to Riggs, Cock's series of portraits was conceived primarily as a book and, as the first book devoted to artists of the Low Countries, it merits especial attention from historians.² Furthermore, Riggs argued, the 1572 publication's most obvious counterpart remains Vasari's second illustrated edition of the Vite (1568).³ However, as also noted by Jochen Becker and Jacqueline Burgers, Cock's rebuttal to Vasari's aggrandizement of Italian art (if Cock's portrait series was such a thing) did not mimic Vasari's chosen method of flattery: lengthy biographical accounts of a legion of painters, sculptors, and architects.⁴ Instead, in a concise series of twenty-three artists, Cock gave precedence to the picture (the artist's portrait). The verses of Lampsonius, short biographical statements in Latin prose,⁵ acted as supplements to the main feature of each print, the artist's image. This

¹Pliny/Rackham 1961, pp. 267-69. Book 35.

²Riggs 1977, pp. 192-93.

³Riggs 1977, pp. 192-93.

⁴Riggs 1977, pp. 192-93; Becker 1973, p. 50; Burgers in ex. cat. Rotterdam 1988, p. 120.

⁵Becker 1973, p. 50.

greater reliance on the artist's printed portrait might suggest Cock had other modes of representation in mind, in addition to Vasari's *Vite*, when he shaped his portrait series.⁶

A possible wellspring of inspiration was provided by the *uomini famosi* cycles which flourished in Renaissance Italy.⁷ Although the means to prove Cock visited Italy is not available, it is conceivable that the acclaim of one particular collection reached Cock and his contemporaries in Antwerp: the *Musaeum* of the bishop Paolo Giovio (1483-1552).⁸ Giovio's still young collection was first mentioned in a letter dated August 28, 1521: according to that letter, Giovio possessed sixteen paintings of various men of letters, persons whose faces he could reflect upon and be inspired by.⁹ In the years between 1539 and 1543, Giovio's growing collection was moved from Florence to the *Musaeum* erected on his estate near Lake Como.¹⁰ In the end, Giovio purportedly owned about four hundred reputable portraits of a wide range of individuals (European and non-European, ancient and modern).¹¹ The two largest groups represented by the collection were political leaders and literary masters.¹² However, although small in number, some visual artists were also depicted.¹³ Each of the portraits were fitted with *cartellini* which

⁶It should be remembered that the written texts were only engraved onto the original plates in issues subsequent to the inaugural edition, a seeming indication of their secondary status when compared to the engraved portrait-image.

⁷Typically the cycles were prized features of city palaces or town halls. Joost-Gaugier 1982, p. 98.

⁸Riggs 1977, p. 191.

⁹Barnes 1989, p. 81; Mann/Syson 1998, p. 68.

¹⁰Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 70; Mann/Syson 1998, p. 68.

¹¹Mann/Syson 1998, p. 68.

¹²Barnes 1989, p. 82.

¹³Barnes 1989, p. 82.

summarized the honourable activities of the persons represented.¹⁴ Despite the gradual disassembly of Giovio's *Musaeum* following his death in 1552, the bishop's collection remained familiar to other lovers of art through the *elogia* which Giovio had penned in his mature years.¹⁵ Moreover, these *elogia* were re-released in 1575 and 1577 as illustrated volumes embellished with woodcuts after the portraits which once formed Giovio's collection.¹⁶ However, Giovio's collection was not only a testament to illustrious men and women of the past, but also to Giovio's own accomplishments in an increasingly esteemed gentlemanly pursuit: the appreciation of art and artists.¹⁷

Helping to promote the appreciation of the fine arts among noble persons was the Renaissance preoccupation with classical texts which lauded the activities of ancient artists and memorialized those artists' greatest admirers (e.g., Alexander the Great, Maecenas, etc.).¹⁸ Convincing proof of the noble status of the art world rested in Pliny's Natural History, for example. There one could read that:

In the past melted copper was blended with gold and silver, and yet it was always appraised according to its artistry Just as with everything else, work in this genre has now begun to be practised for the sake of mere gain, while formerly it was worked in order to win honours. That is why even

¹⁴Mann/Syson 1998, p. 69.

¹⁵Mann/Syson 1998, pp. 68-69.

¹⁶Mann/Syson 1998, p. 69. The Elogia virorum bellica virtute... (Basel 1575) and Elogia virorum literis illustrium... (Basel 1577) were succeeded by the Musaei ioviani imagines (Basel 1577) and the Icones sive imagines... (Basel 1589) which presented the reader with only the woodcut illustrations of the artists' portraits and brief verses—hence Mann/Syson's description of these publications as 'picture books'. Mann/Syson 1998, p. 205, n. 10.

¹⁷Filipczak 1987, p. 54. By the sixteenth century, all men of taste were advised to busy themselves in the appreciation of visual masterpieces.

¹⁸Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 17. Even Lampsonius made mention of Pliny in his biography of Lambert Lombard (1565).

the gods were said to execute this craft, and the leading men in society also sought fame by this means.¹⁹

Interested parties could plough through ancient literature, such as that composed by Pliny, searching for opportunities to validate the visual arts of the modern age via impressive historical models of connoisseurship (e.g., it stood to reason that if someone as powerful as Alexander the Great could be a lover of art, so too could a modern gentleman).²⁰ Similarly, artists of the modern age could be inspired by the examples of their ancient predecessors, immortalized by the pens of classical authors.²¹ But what sources could Cock and Lampsonius have ploughed through when they carried out their preparations for the 1572 portrait series? There was Alberti's Della pittura of 1435 (reissued on multiple occasions), but Alberti named only one modern artist and that artist was an Italian, Giotto.²² Early mention of two Netherlandish artists was made in the 1456 De viris illustribus written by Bartolommeo Fazio, a humanist who served Alfonso V of Aragon in Naples; in his work, Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, two of four painters named, enjoyed certain accolades.²³ Also available to Northern audiences were Lodovico Guicciardini's Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi (Antwerp 1567) which devoted an entire chapter to artists²⁴ and the Flemish historian Marcus van Vaernewyck's (1518-1569) Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt (Flemish Chronicle, 1560) which celebrated, among other

¹⁹Pliny/Isager 1991, p. 81. Book 34.

²⁰Barnes 1989, p. 86.

²¹Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 17.

²²Alberti/Spencer 1966, p. 25.

²³Stechow 1966, pp. 4-5.

²⁴Puraye 1956, p. 15.

things, the magnificence of the Ghent altarpiece.²⁵ From Van Mander, it is discerned that Lucas de Heere (1534-after 1584), also wrote a “lives of the painters in rhyme” which, unfortunately, Van Mander was never able to obtain for his own research.²⁶ However, in perusing Van Mander’s Schilder-Boeck for clues to the sources available to Northern biographers, we again arrive at Vasari’s Vite which dominated discourses on art in Italy. Van Mander wrote: “It is true that with respect to the Italian painters my task has been made much easier by the writings of Vasari who deals very comprehensively with his compatriots.”²⁷

Because his work was so successful, Vasari’s Vite has been used to epitomize a typical Italian’s estimation of Northern art. For example, it is learned from Vasari that one not so typical Italian, a young Michelangelo, had a particular fondness for prints by Northern masters and thus set himself to work on a *Temptation of Saint Anthony* by the German Martin Schongauer (c. 1435-1491).²⁸ Nevertheless, however much Michelangelo

²⁵Stechow 1966, p. 8. In 1560, the painters Hubert and Jan van Eyck were left unnamed by Van Vaernewyck but in the 1562 edition, Jan van Eyck was remembered as a great prodigy: “In the Church of St. John one can see an altarpiece, of such brilliant conception and so ably executed that, to tell the truth, one could hardly find its equal in all of Europe. The name of its master was Jan van Eyck, and he hailed from Maeseyck, a little town in the rude district of Kempen, whence, in a rude epoch, God sent us this great artist.”

²⁶Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 282.

²⁷Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 50.

²⁸Gregory 1992, pp. 46-47. Vasari/Milanesi 1973, vol. 5, p. 398: “*In un’ altra fece Sant’ Antonio battuto dai diavoli, e portato in aria da una infinità di loro, in le più varie e bizzarre forme che si possono imaginare: la qual carta tanto piacque a Michelagnolo, essendo giovinetto, che si mise a colorirla.*” [Vasari/Foster 1865, vol. 3, p. 487: “In another [work] he has exhibited Sant’ Antonio tormented by Devils, and in the act of being borne through the air by vast numbers of them, with forms of the most fanciful and varied character that can be imagined. This work pleased Michelangelo so much when he was a youth that he set himself to colour it.”]

may have admired Schongauer's print, his appreciation was that of a child genius and as such, Vasari's reference to it falls in line with the less-than-flattering tone which he used to deal with Northern examples of art more generally. However, if we are to consider Cock's succinct series of portraits as a counterpart to Vasari's copious text, it would be advantageous to first review how Vasari became involved in such an enterprise, then how he pursued its completion, and finally what were the results of his labours.

The project was conceived perhaps by 1543²⁹ and was first alluded to in a letter from Paolo Giovio to Vasari wherein Giovio advised his younger friend to see the project through and volunteered to edit Vasari's work.³⁰ In a separate letter, Giovio again implored Vasari to see the project through, adding that "the beautiful book about the famous painters . . . will certainly make you immortal."³¹ However, more details regarding how the *Vite* was first visualized can be gleaned from Vasari's own *vita*: the idea of such a monumental undertaking, a treatise devoted to modern artists, was advanced by Paolo Giovio at a dinner hosted by Cardinal Farnese, Vasari's patron in Florence, and ultimately the responsibility of the project was set squarely on Vasari's shoulders.³²

What Vasari produced were sometimes short and sometimes rambling biographies of a multitude of artists which offered synopses of each artist's creative achievements and personal attributes (which, good or bad, could serve as either shining examples to aspiring artists or harsh warnings to youthful apprentices).³³ Many sources of information were

²⁹Boase 1979, p. 44.

³⁰Rubin 1995, p. 107. Letter dated 27th November, 1546 from Rome.

³¹Rubin 1995, p. 107. Letter dated 2nd April, 1547 from Rome.

³²Boase 1979, p. 43.

³³Boase 1979, p. 51; Rubin 1995, p. 5.

available to Vasari³⁴: items like Ghiberti's Commentaries, chronicles (like the *elogia* written by Giovio), estate inventories, guild registers, church records, inscriptions on works, and oral reports, etc.³⁵ From the beginning, Vasari had hoped to embellish his written work with portraits of the artists, but this had to wait until the second edition of 1568.³⁶ Apparently this work was underway by 1563.³⁷ The portraits were also based on a variety of sources, some mistaken and some wholly invented.³⁸ The woodcuts were sometimes based on self-portraits (and 95 of the 144 portraits are still considered reputable likenesses of the artists³⁹), but all portraits were 'dignified', as described by Catherine King, through the use of elaborate frames which juxtaposed symbols of the three visual arts (painting, sculpture, and architecture).⁴⁰ Apparently, Vasari was proud of his efforts to obtain the portraits, if not also entirely pleased with the final results. In his dedication to Cosimo de' Medici (1568), Vasari wrote:

And if the portraits of the many distinguished men, which I have added to this work, and of which great part have been procured by the favour and aid of your Excellency, are not always true to the life,... this is not because the drawings have not been made from the life, or are not the real and natural likeness of the artist, but arises from the fact, that they have been

³⁴Presumably Cock and Lampsonius also had access to a variety of sources, but the brevity of the information presented within Lampsonius's verses cannot permit a definitive conclusion that all such sources were indeed used in the making of the 1572 portrait series.

³⁵Boase 1979, pp. 51-52.

³⁶Rubin 1995, p. 110. Vasari's waiting on *figure* (illustrations) postponed the release of the first edition. Giovio had to advise Vasari to publish the book as it was (without illustrations) in a letter dated 31st March, 1548 from Rome.

³⁷Boase 1979, p. 66. However, Rubin 1995, p. 16 noted that in August 1560, Vasari recorded that portraits of the artists were already being prepared for his upcoming edition.

³⁸Boase 1979, p. 68; Barnes 1989, p. 82.

³⁹Boase 1979, p. 68.

⁴⁰King in Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 70.

sent to me in great part by the friends that I possess in various places, and have not been taken by a master's hand. I have also endured no small inconvenience from the distance of those who have engraved the heads; for if the engravers had been near me, we might probably have had the work executed with greater care than has now been done.⁴¹

He continued:

In describing the forms and features of the artists, I shall be very brief, since their portraits, which I have collected at great cost and with much labour, will show what the appearance of each artist was in a better manner than could ever be done by words. And if the portraits of some are wanting, that is not my fault, but because they were not to be found. Again, if these likenesses should appear to some persons to be dissimilar to other portraits with which they are acquainted, let them consider that the likeness of a man in his eighteenth or twentieth year will never resemble one taken fifteen or twenty years later; to this may be added, that drawn portraits are never so exact in resemblance as those coloured, besides which, engravers, who know little of design, always injure the faces from inability to manage those minutiae, on which it is that the perfect resemblance of the portrait depends, thus depriving the work of that perfection which is rarely if ever preserved in likenesses cut in wood. But enough; the labour, expense, and industry, which I have bestowed in this matter, will be manifest to all those who, while reading it, shall perceive whence I have, as I best could, drawn my materials.⁴²

As great as Vasari's efforts may have been to obtain reputable copies for the artists portraits which introduced his authoritative biographies, he was less well informed (and presumably less desirous to be well informed) about Northern artists.⁴³ Although Vasari may have considered Flanders the largest art centre after Italy, his appreciation for Flemish art was not particularly careful because he occasionally mistook the likes of Dürer and his German compatriots for *fiamminghi*.⁴⁴ His mistakes were not based on an inaccessibility

⁴¹Vasari/Foster 1850, vol. 1, pp. 4-5. The woodcuts were made by Cristofano Coriolano (Christopher Lederer of Nuremberg who came to Venice in 1560. Boase 1979, p. 68.

⁴²Vasari/Foster 1850, vol. 1, pp. 33-34.

⁴³Gregory 1992, pp. 3, 8.

⁴⁴Boase 1979, p. 197.

of sources which concerned Dutch and Flemish art. To the contrary, we know that Northerners were eager to correspond with Vasari following the success of the first edition of the Vite. Presumably letters received from persons such as Lambert Lombard and Lampsonius helped the Italian to gain a broader picture of artistic pursuits in the Low Countries.⁴⁵ Perhaps Vasari's knowledge of Northern art was also improved by his familiarity with a Northern artist working in Italy, the Fleming Jan van der Straet. Van der Straet (or Giovanni Stradano) was one of Vasari's collaborators on twelve of the Medici palace's rooms which Vasari decorated between 1556 and 1562.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, whatever favourable reviews Vasari may have gained from his Northern contemporaries, his final impressions of Northern art were barely sympathetic. Thus he wrote of Schongauer and Dürer:

But although these masters were at that time highly prized and commended in those countries, their works are valued among us for the diligence and care to be remarked in the engraving only. I am nevertheless willing to believe that if Albrecht Dürer has not done better, that has perhaps been because for want of better models he took one or other of his disciples when he had to design the nude form, and these must have had ill-formed figures, as indeed the Germans for the most part have when undressed, although one sees many in those countries who when dressed appear to be very fine men.⁴⁷

Essentially Northern artists were subjugated to the role of minor artists in Vasari's art

⁴⁵Lombard wrote a letter to Vasari (dated 27th April, 1565) which, at one point, discusses the disadvantages of the Northern tradition of painting. Stechow 1966, pp. 41-43. Although Lampsonius's letter which Vasari cited in his Vite is no longer extant, the weight of his words on Vasari's views on Flemish art can be measured in Vasari's paraphrases of the Northerner's information in the chapter entitled "Of Divers [sic] Flemish Artists." Vasari/Foster, vol. 5, esp. pp. 461, 464-66.

⁴⁶Rubin 1995, p. 16.

⁴⁷Vasari/Foster 1865, vol. 3, p. 488.

historical narrative. They could set forth technical marvels, but could never aspire to the genius of Italian design without direct inspiration from Italian examples.⁴⁸

One might ask if Cock was aware of Vasari's conceits. It is hard to imagine that the print publisher was not; after all, Antwerp was one of the largest centres for the distribution of books in the sixteenth century. It is unlikely that early copies of Vasari's Vite evaded this important trade centre early on. Moreover, correspondence from Lamponius reveals that Cock's principal collaborator was well aware of the Vite and regarded his own biography of Lambert Lombard as a fitting gift for the Italian art historian.⁴⁹ Furthermore, with the *In de Vier Winden* portrait series, Lamponius may have admired and emulated the model of writing on art advanced by Vasari in both editions of the Vite (a model which recognized a steady progression from old masters to a younger generation of students who would surpass their mentors).⁵⁰ However, by

⁴⁸Vasari/Foster 1865, vol. 3, pp. 514-15: "Many artists, in addition to those here enumerated, have occupied themselves with the engraving of copper-plates, and if these have not attained to so high a degree of perfection as the masters I have named, they have at least done much service to the world by their labours, seeing that they have caused the works of the best masters to be more extensively known than they could otherwise have been, and have given the means of seeing and becoming acquainted with the different inventions and modes of proceeding adopted by great artists, to those who would not have found it possible to visit the places wherein the original pictures are preserved. They have thus conveyed to the Ultramontane people and nations a knowledge of many things which those distant lands could not otherwise have obtained."

⁴⁹A letter from Lamponius to Abraham Ortelius (dated 2nd November, 1597) thanks the man for presenting Lamponius with a copy of the inaugural edition of the Vite. Melion 1990, p. 458. As well, it is clear from a letter to Vasari (dated 25th April, 1565) that Lamponius had presented the Italian with a copy of his 1565 biography, "*une Vie que j'ai écrite en latin à propos d'un homme de grande valeur, mon très grand ami Lambert Lombard, peintre et architecte, ouvrage que je vous envoie par ce courrier.*" Puraye 1950, pp. 88-89.

⁵⁰Filipczak 1987, p. 14 noted Lamponius's reliance on the biographies of Vasari and other such models in the esteem he granted to the 'inventors' in the Northern school of

including different representatives of diverse genres of painting (e.g., history, landscape, portrait, etc.), the collection as a whole firmly established the breadth of the talents offered by leaders of a Northern school of art. The positive message was well received. Although complete sets have become rare, according to Puraye, the series of portraits was readily distributed across the Low Countries in its day.⁵¹

Karel van Mander certainly used parts of his Schilder-Boeck, the fourth instalment in a six-volume treatise on art,⁵² to wage a war of words against Vasari's polemical remarks.⁵³ Interestingly, Van Mander's text (which, although different in structure, served a purpose comparable to Cock's celebratory portrait series)⁵⁴ became intrinsically linked with the 1572 portrait series in several ways. First of all, in instances where Van Mander

painting and the progress made following these first improvements. For example, Hubert and Jan van Eyck, Filipczak noted, were celebrated by Lampsonius as the founding fathers of oil painting, a technique which (ostensibly) raised the art of the Low Countries above the creative void experienced during the medieval period.

⁵¹Puraye 1956, pp. 13, 20.

⁵²Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 110.

⁵³Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 214. Van Mander dismissed Vasari's take on the work of Frans Floris in the following way: "I think that if this writer had seen Frans' subtle, competent brushstrokes and the effective handling of colour, his pen (if it were not misled by envy towards foreigners) would certainly have struck another note and preserved his praise in more noteworthy remembrance."

⁵⁴Van Mander's biographer reflected on the fame won by Van Mander's first edition of the Schilder-Boeck which served to glorify artists: "Would it not show great ingratitude, enquiring reader, if I failed to commemorate this dutiful man, who, to his own great detriment, described the art of painting for apprentices in so edifying and instructive a manner, and whose hand, as felicitous as it was artful, immortalised the pre-eminent of the most celebrated painters, dead though they were, by portraying their lives and works so clearly and vividly? . . . So, upon learning that a person had found occasion to reprint the work [the Book on Painting], I felt it not only natural, but also proper and fitting, to include in it that same Karel, who gave life to the mouldered dead when he himself was alive by clothing them in the shining raiment of laudableness." Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 6.

appeared less familiar with the oeuvres of particular artists, he openly relied on the authority of earlier texts like Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies to convince his readers that these artists were indeed deserving of praise.⁵⁵ As well, the Schilder-Boeck incorporated most of the verses composed by Lampsonius. Furthermore, at least one copy of Karel van Mander's 1604 edition was bound with portraits from the premiere edition of Cock's series.⁵⁶ However, Van Mander's Schilder-Boeck was not the only written account of Northern artists which returned to the example of Cock's portrait series.

Isaac Bullart (b. 1599) wrote the Académie des sciences et des arts which remained unfinished when he died, but was edited thereafter and published in 1682.⁵⁷ The work presented many biographies of notable men. The biographies were supplemented by portraits; nineteen of those were copies after the likenesses which first appeared in the Antwerp portrait series.⁵⁸ In his preface to the five-volume publication, Bullart revealed

⁵⁵For example, Van Mander introduced his biography on Jan van Amstel with the following: "I think it just that among the portraits of the famous Netherlandish painters, published some years ago in copperplate, a not undeserved place was granted and bestowed upon Jan den Hollander, born in Antwerp; for I am well informed and convinced that he was a very distinguished master in landscape." Van Mander/Miedema 1994, vol. 1, p. 118.

⁵⁶Apparently this may have been a common practice for, as Ger Luijten noted, several specimens of the second edition contain portraits from Hondius's version of the portrait series and one eighteenth-century auction catalogue listed 'a large batch of painters' portraits for inclusion in books on painting'. Antwerp/Amsterdam 1999/2000, pp. 81, 91, n. 38.

⁵⁷Campbell 1977, p. 312.

⁵⁸In total, forty-seven Northern artists were described in the Académie. Bullart 1682, vol. 2, pp. 375-76.

his own artistic biases which favoured Italian models,⁵⁹ but he was familiar with both Vasari and ‘Vermander’.⁶⁰ Importantly, his portraits of the Flemish painters were pulled from the “*originaux de Lampsonius*.”⁶¹ Most interesting, however, are a handful of the likenesses of Italian artists which were modelled after examples from Cock’s series of portraits—even when alternate (and arguably more reputable) portraits of the same artists were available. For instance, Andrea del Sarto’s portrait (fig. 12f) was clearly based on Cock’s likeness of Joos van Cleve (fig. 12; the two portraits share the same gesture of the hands and the general aspect of the clothing).⁶²

Nevertheless, the repeated release of the original twenty-three Dutch and Flemish artists’ portraits could not stem the gradual decline of some of those artists’ reputations. Thus in the portrait series published by B. Browne and T. Browne in London 1694, we read of Patinir’s drunkenness⁶³ and Joos van Cleve’s slip into insanity,⁶⁴ character flaws

⁵⁹Bullart 1682, vol. 1, pp. **2-***2v: “*je finis par les Peintres, les Statuaires, & les Architectes fameux de l’Italie; où ces beaux Arts ont repris naissance, & où ils ont eu le plus d’éclat.*”

⁶⁰Bullart 1682, vol. 1, p. **2v. His contents derived from those two persons’ sources.

⁶¹Bullart 1682, vol. 1, p. **3.

⁶²Bullart vol. 1, p. 363. The 1568 edition of Vasari’s *Vite* included a woodcut engraving made after a known self-portrait of the artist (Barker/Webb/Woods 1999, p. 70), a much more obvious source which, however, seems to have been ignored in favour of Cock’s print.

⁶³Browne and Browne 1694, p. 1: “Born at *Dinant* in *Flanders*, his principal Employment was in *Landskips*; *Albert Durer* had that esteem for him as to draw his Picture to preserve the memory of so fine a Painter. Notwithstanding the beauty of his Works, he is much blamed for his disorderly life, being the greatest Drunkard, as he was the best Painter of his time, never out of a Tavern, until forced by necessity to work for a supply to his Debaucheries.”

⁶⁴Browne and Browne 1694, p. 2: “He lived at *Antwerp* the place of his Nativity in the year 1554. Hap’ned to be distempered in his braine, which hindered that perfection he was like otherwise to have attained unto.”

more memorable than their works. And yet even these artists were again represented by portraits made after the engravings from Cock's original publication (cats. 8e and 12d). Thus, the estimation of certain artists may have diminished over time, but their portraits, first created for the 1572 publication, endured.

Conclusion

26

When Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies was published in 1572, the public was becoming increasingly fascinated with the biographies of artists.¹ It is no small wonder then that Cock's portrait series, devoted to the representation of Dutch and Flemish artists, went through multiple re-editions and various re-inventions under other publishers. Hopefully, this thesis has helped to address a significant oversight made by some of the scholars who treated this portrait series previously: this author strongly believes that it was Cock who played the dominant role in orchestrating this portrait collection. His involvement in the series may have been obscured by the biases of the following ages (which refused to recognize the creative achievements of reproductive engravers), but Cock's series of portraits stood as a valued testimonial to illustrious artists of a Northern school of painting, one which was sourced again and again by those artists' successors.²

¹Ex. cat. London/The Hague 1999, pp. 42-43. Rembrandt modelled some of his own etched self-portraits after Cock's prints; e.g., his self-portrait with a feathered beret (1638) closely resembles Jan Gossaert's likeness in the 1572 series. According to Volker Manuth, "he is dressed according to sixteenth-century fashion in a conscious effort to place himself among his older colleagues, who had played a decisive role in the development of the Northern European painting tradition."

²Ex. cat. London/The Hague 1999, pp. 42-43.

Appendix: English Translations of the Verses by Lampsonius

Hubert van Eyck:

To the painter Hubertus van Eyck, brother of Johannes.
 If the well-earned praise that our Thalia very recently sent you, Hubertus, together with your brother, should not suffice, then may this be added: that through your help your brother and pupil has surpassed you. This is shown by the work in Ghent by you both, which inspired King Philip with such ardent desire that he gave orders that a copy should be made by Coxcie's hand that might be sent to his Spanish homeland.¹

Jan van Eyck:

Joannes van Eyck, painter.
 It was I who was the first to teach to mix bright pigments with oil pressed from linseed, with my brother Hubert. At this new invention, which was perhaps unknown even to Apelles in his time, Bruges with its overflowing riches stood amazed. Within a little while our excellence did not cease to spread wide over the whole world.²

Hieronymus Bosch:

To the painter Hieronymus Bosch.
 What do they mean, Hieronymus Bosch, those eyes of yours, so terrified? What [does it mean], the paleness of your face? As if you were seeing the spirits from the underworld as apparitions whirling about you? I should think the dwelling of the greedy Dis and his haunts in Tartarus have opened up before you, since your skilful hand has been able to paint so well whatever the deepest bosom of Avernus hides within it.³

Rogier van der Weyden:

To the painter Rogier of Brussels.
 Your praise, Rogier, be it not so much that your paintings are many and beautiful, measured against the yardsticks of your own time, but that they merit that every painter of our own time, if he has good sense, does well to continue to look at them. That is witnessed by the paintings that forbid the Brussels magistrates from straying from the just path of Themis. How

¹Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 225.

²Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 226.

³Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, pp. 57-58.

eternal is your last will bequeathing the yield from your painter's art, for it offers the remedy to the hunger of the poor. The former you have left behind you on earth, and they will in a little time be lost to perdition; the latter is a memorial that will shine undyingly in the heavens.⁴

Dieric Bouts:

To the painter Dirk of Haarlem.
You belong here too, Dirk; your hand, too, the Netherlands always lift to the stars with praise that is in no way plucked from the empty air; while Nature, herself (as the begetter of all things) depicted in your pictures, fears that you through your art are her equal.⁵

Bernard van Orley:

On the painter Bernard of Brussels.
If princely Brussels boasts, thanks to its son Barend, of being the most skilled in the figuring of tapestries, that is, if anything is certain in my judgement, due not so much to the craftsmanship of the painter, though that also plays a part, as to the fact that he is loved of you, Margaret, governess of the Netherlanders, because nothing is more agreeable to you than the art of Apelles. Because you gave golden handles to the brushes, he has oft-times received gold Philip guilders, a recently struck coin.⁶

Jan Gossaert:

To Johanes Mabuse, painter.
Of you too, Mabuse, shall our verses tell that you instructed your century in the art of painting. For what other has applied bright colours more skilfully to Apelles' panels to the benefit of the eye? Where art is concerned, the fact is you must yield, for other times have followed your time; but someone who equals you in handling of the brush will be difficult to find.⁷

Joachim Patinir:

To Joachim of Dinant, painter.
Among all these portraits one may single out none that is expressed in

⁴Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 283.

⁵Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 274.

⁶Van Mander/Miedema 1995, vol. 2, p. 324.

⁷Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 141.

more lively manner, Joachim, than that of your face; not only the skilful hand of Curtius has engraved it in copper, [the hand] that now does not fear to have another rival it; but because Dürer, who admired the manner in which you work when you painted landscapes and cottages, earlier recorded your features in copper-point on a used piece of parchment. By emulating this drawing Curtius has surpassed himself, to say nothing of the others.⁸

Quentin Metsys:

Quintinus Mesius, painter of Antwerp.

Before I was a Cyclopean smith; but when, at the same time as I, a painter began to court a maiden as her lover and when she resolutely complained to me that she liked the heavy thunderclaps of the hammers far less than the quiet paintbrush, love made me into a painter. This is shown by the tiny hammer as a sure signature on my paintings. Thus you, you greatest of poets, just as Venus asked Vulcan for armour for her son, make a painter from a smith.⁹

Lucas van Leyden:

To the painter Lucas van Leiden.

Thou too, Lucas, while not Dürer's equal certainly following directly after him, whether you paint panels or engrave figures on copper and make an admirable print of them on thin paper; accept a place in what is not the least domain of our Muse (if some fame is at all going with that) you and with you your birthplace Leiden!¹⁰

Jan van Amstel:

On Johannes of Holland, painter.

The renown characteristic of the Netherlanders is that they paint landscapes well, that of the Italians that they paint humans and gods [well]. Small wonder: not for nothing is it said that the Italian has his brains in his head, but the Netherlander in his skilful hand. Thus Jan's hand would sooner that he should paint landscapes well than that his brain should make poor paintings of men and gods.¹¹

⁸Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 89.

⁹Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 42.

¹⁰Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 31.

¹¹Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 36.

Joos van Cleve:

To the painter Joos van Cleef of Antwerp.
Our Muse shall not keep silent about you among the Netherlandish artists.
Joos, no small jewel of the art of painting. Both in your own art and in that
of your son you would have been fortunate had the mind of the unhappy
man but remained sound.¹²

Matthijs Cock:

To Matthijs Kock, painter of Antwerp, the brother of Hieronymus.
You too, Matthijs, could paint landscapes such that our times have scarcely
yielded your like. That you, too, are thus to be seen among the artists that
honour the Netherlands with undying fame is due not only to brotherly love
for you, but also to the praise rightly bestowed on you for your art.¹³

Herri met de Bles:

To Hendrik Blesius of Bouvignes, painter.
The town of Dinant, near Liège, had brought forth a painter of whom a
painter-poet said in the following verses: It was the well-suited location
itself of his fatherland that made him into an artist, whereby scarcely a
master taught him anything. Puny Bouvignes close by begrudged him this
praise, and raised up Henricus, clever in the painting of landscapes. But
just as puny Bouvignes trails behind Dinant, Joachim, so as much does
Henri lag behind you.¹⁴

Jan Cornelis Vermeyen:

On the painter Jan Vermeyen.
What men, what places and towns [are there], or what far and wide in the
world [is there] worthy of seeing, that Vermeyen has not painted? While
he followed you, Emperor Charles, over land and sea, to paint the mighty
deeds done by your dextrous hand which soon glistened in gold on Attalic
tapestries; though [the worth of] the artist's hand goes beyond [that of] the
material. No less than through his art he provided you with a pleasing
spectacle when, standing well in view on a raised place, he would when
asked publicly show off the undulating mass of his long beard, hanging

¹²Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 164.

¹³Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 245.

¹⁴Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, pp. 92-93.

down to his feet.¹⁵

Pieter Coecke van Aelst:

To the painter Pieter Coecke of Aalst.

You were a painter; but you were not only a painter, Pieter; you who made your Aalst better known in the world through your art; but much art, the fruit of much effort, has been added to it that is needed for the building of fine houses. That is taught to the Italians by Serlio; and then you, the bilingual interpreter of Serlio, teach it to the Netherlanders and the French.¹⁶

Jan van Scorel:

Jan Scorel, painter from Holland.

Of me it will be said throughout the centuries that I was the first who through my example taught the Netherlanders who excel in art to visit Rome; for he who has not used up a thousand pens and colours and painted a thousand panels in that school cannot be seen as worthy of the honourable title of right-minded artist.¹⁷

Lambert Lombard:

To Lambert Lombard of Liège, painter and architect.

The panegyric that would be due to you, Lombard, by your merits, is not one I shall construct with these few poor verses. That is contained in that text (if our scribblings deserve to be read) that the pen of Lampsonius produced about you.¹⁸

Pieter Bruegel:

To the painter Pieter Bruegel.

Who is this Hieronymus Bosch appeared again in the world? Who through his great artistry is able to imitate the spirited dreams of the master with his brush and pen, so as now and then even to surpass them? Bravo, Pieter, may you grow in art: for in the genre of painting of you and your old master, full of humorous and spirited details, you earn everywhere and

¹⁵Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 140.

¹⁶Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 83.

¹⁷Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 290.

¹⁸Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 100, n. 1.

from everyone the renowned prize of praise, not less than any other artist.¹⁹

Willem Key:

On the painter Willem Key of Breda.

The faces of men, which Key's skilful hand expressed so that you might think you are [in reality] seeing them, have no fear (if one excepts at least one, in my opinion, [namely] Mor) of being put to shame by the art of any [other] Netherlander.²⁰

Lucas Gassel:

To the painter Lucas Gassel of Helmond.

Greetings to you, Lucas, who has been ever beloved to me above all others, and no less honoured than my own father. For in you I found the first beginnings of my love of painting, when with your skilful hand you painted landscapes and houses. Equal to your art are your goodness and your uprightness, and all that can lead minds to the love of what is good. Long live, therefore, the fame of your virtue and your art in all eternity, old man who is dear to me for both these reasons.²¹

Frans Floris:

To the painter Frans Floris of Antwerp:

If you as painter, Floris, had added to yourself as much skill in art as you had bestowed on you by Nature—since you prefer to paint much, above making work of painting, and you find no pleasure in spending time on the proper use of file and effort—then I would cry: yield, painters, whether you were brought forth by our fathers or our forefathers wherever.²²

Hieronymus Cock:

Hieronymus Cock, of Antwerp, painter.

Am I mistaken? The painter, Hieronymus, did he not trace your portrait after your death? It reveals, in non-averted eyes, I don't know of numbness and of languishing. Alas, the skull shown by your left hand tells it more clearly again; the artists which I named preceded Cock; he, in

¹⁹Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 267.

²⁰Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 251.

²¹Van Mander/Miedema 1996, vol. 3, p. 99.

²²Van Mander/Miedema 1997, vol. 4, p. 49.

closing the march, they called him to death.²³

²³**My translation from the French, Puraye 1956, p. 68.**

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Catalogue

(1)

HUBERT VAN EYCK

1572

Impression: 21.2 x 12.2 cm

Height of image: 15.0 cm

Upper right corner: 1.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *HVBERTO AB EYCK, IOANNIS / FRATRI; PICTORI.*Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Quas modò communes cum fratre, Huberte. merenti / Attribuit laudes nostra Thalia tibi, / Si non sufficient: addatur & illa · tua quòd / Discipulus frater te superavit ope. / Hoc vestrum docet illud opus Gandense · Philippum / Quod Regem tanto cepit amore sui: / Eius vt ad patrios mittendum exemplar Iberos / †Coxenni fieri iuberit ille manu.*Footnote in four lines at right: *†Michaël Coxen- / nius Mechlinieñ. / insignis hac ætate / pictor.*

Sheet marked 1 and Aiiij

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(2)

JAN VAN EYCK

1572

Impression: 20.7 x 12.2 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Upper right corner: 2.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES AB EYCK PICTOR.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Ille ego, qui lætos oleo de semine lini / Expresso docui princeps miscere colores, / Huberto cum fratre · nouum stupuere repertum, / Atque ipsi ignotum quondam fortassis Apelli, / Florentes opibus Brugae · mox nostra per omnem / Diffundi latè probitas non abnuit orbem.*

Sheet marked 2 and Aiiij

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(3)

HIERONYMUS BOSCH

1572

Impression: 19.5 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Upper right corner: 4.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HIERONYMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.*

Nine lines (in three columns) Latin text underneath: *Quid sibi vult, Hieronyme Boschi, / Ille oculus tuus attonitus? quid / Pallor in ore? velut lemures si / Spectra Erebi volitantia coràm // Aspiceres? Tibi Ditis auari / Crediderium patuisse recessus, / Tartareasque domos tua quando / Quicquid habet sinus imus Auerni // Tam potuit bene pingere dextra.*

Sheet marked 3 and Av

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(4)

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN

1572

Impression: 20.9 x 12.0 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Upper right corner: 3.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.*

Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Non tibi sit laudi, quòd multa, & pulchra, Rogere, / Pinxisti, vt poterant tempora ferre tua, / Digna tamen, nostro quicumque est tempore Pictor / Ad quæ, si sapiat, respicere vsque velit: / Testes picturæ, quæ Bruxellense tribunal / De recto Themidis cedere calle vetant: / Quàm, tua de partis pingendo extrema voluntas / Perpetua est inopum quòd medicina fami. / Illa reliquisti terris iam proxima morti / Hæc monumenta polo non moritura micant.*

Sheet marked 4

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(5)

DIERIC BOUTS [Bernard van Orley]

1572

Impression: 19.4 x 11.9 cm

Height of image: 15.0 cm

Upper right corner: 6.

Text, belonging to Bernard van Orley, printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI / PICTORE.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Aulica quòd sese Bernardo iactet alumno / Bruxella, Attalicas doctissima pingere vestes; / Non tam pictoris, si quis me iudice certet, / Arti debetur, quanquam debetur & arti; / Quàm tibi quòd carus Belgarum Margari rectrix, / Dum tibi Appellea nihil est iucundius arte, / Aurea peniculis te dante manubria, & aureos / Sæpè tulit, cusum paulò antè numisma, Philippos.*

Sheet marked 6

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(6)

BERNARD VAN ORLEY [Dieric Bouts]

1572

Impression: 19.8 x 12.2 cm

Height of image: 15.6 cm

Upper right corner: 5.

Text, belonging to Dieric Bouts, printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI.*Four lines Latin text underneath: *Huc & ades, Theodore, tuam quoque Belgica semper / Laude nihil ficta tollet ad astra manum, / Ipsa tuis rerum genitrice expressa figuris / Te Natura sibi dum timet arte parem.*

Sheet marked 5

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(7)

JAN GOSSAERT

1572

Impression: 21.0 x 12.4 cm

Height of image: 15.5 cm

Upper right corner: 7.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNI MABVSIO, PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tuque adeo nostris seclum dicere, Mabusi, / Versibus ad graphicen erudijisse tuum. / Nam quis ad aspectum pigmenta politius alter / Florida Apelleis illineret tabulis? / Arte alijs, esto, tua tempora cede secutis / Peniculi ductor par tibi, rarus erit.*Sheet marked 7 and B_j

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(8)

JOACHIM PATINIR

1572

Impression: 19.8 x 12.5 cm

Height of image: 15.4 cm

Upper right corner: 8.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOACHIMO DIONANTENSI PICTORI.*Twelve lines (in two columns) Latin text underneath: *Has inter omnes nulla quod viuacius, / Ioachime, imago cernitur / Expressa, quam vultus tui; non hinc modo / Factum est, quod illum Curtij / In aera dextra incidit, alteram sibi / Quae non timet nunc aemulam: // Sed quod tuam Durerus admirans manum, / Dum rura pingis, & casas, / Olim exarauit in palimpsesto tuos / Vultus athena cuspide. / Quas aemulatus lineas se*

Curtius, / Nedum præiuit ceteros.

Sheet marked 8 and *Bij*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(9)

QUENTIN METSYS

1572

Impression: 20.1 x 12.0 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Upper left corner: *.IH.W.*

Upper right corner: 9.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *QVINTINVS MESIVS ANVER- / PLANVS PICTOR.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Antè faber fueram Cyclopæus · ast vbi mecum / Ex æquo pictor cæpit amare procus: / Seque graues tudinum tonitrus post ferre silenti / Peniculo obiecit cauta puella mihi: / Pictorem me fecit amor. tudes innuit illud / Exiguus, tabulis quæ nota certa meis. / Sic, vbi Vulcanum nato Venus arma rogarat, / Pictorem è fabro summe Poëta facis.*

Sheet marked 9 and *Biiij*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(10)

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

1572

Impression: 18.9 x 12.6 cm

Height of image: 15.6 cm

Upper right corner: 10.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *LVCAE LEIDANO PICTORI.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque Dureri non par, sed proxime, Luca, / Seu tabulas pingis, seu formas sculpis ahenas, / Ectypa reddentes tenui miranda papyro, / Haud minimam in partem (si qua est ea gloria) nostræ / Accede, & tecum natalis Leida, Camænæ.*

Sheet marked 10 and *Biiij*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(11)

JAN VAN AMSTEL

1572

Impression: 20.6 x 12.7 cm

Height of image: 15.6 cm

Upper left corner: *IH.W*

Upper right corner: 11.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE IOANNE HOLLANDO, PICTORE.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Propria Belgarum laus est bene pingere rura; / Ausoniorum, homines pingere, siue deos. / Nec mirum in capite Ausonius, sed Belga cerebrum / Non temerè in gnaua fertur habere manu. / Maluit ergo manus Jani bene pingere rura. / Quàm caput, aut homines, aut malè scire deos.*

Sheet marked 11

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(12)

JOOS VAN CLEVE

1572

Impression: 21.0 x 12.3 cm

Height of image: 15.5 cm

Upper right corner: 12.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *IVSTO CLIVENSI ANVERPIAN. / PICTORI.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Nostra nec artifices inter te Musa silebit / Belgas, picturæ non leue, iuste, decus. / Quàm propria, nati tam felix arte fuisses; / Mansisset sanum si misero cerebrum.*

Sheet marked 12

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(13)

MATTHIJS COCK

1572

Impression: 20.7 x 12.4 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Upper right corner: 13.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *MATTHIAE COCO ANVERPIAN. / PICTORI, HIERONYMI FRATRI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque, Matthia, sic pingere rura sciebas, / Ut tibi vix dederint tempora nostra parem. / Ergo, quòd artifices inter spectaris & ipse, / Quos immortalì Belgica laude colit; / Non in te pietas tantùm fraterna, sed arti / Efficit & meritò laus tribuenda tuæ.*

Sheet marked 13 and Cj

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(14)

HERRI MET DE BLES

1572

Impression: 22.8 x 12.4 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Upper right corner: 14.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HENRICO BLESIO BOVINATI PICTORI.*Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Pictorem urbs dederat Dionantum Eburonia, pictor / Quem proximis dixit poëta versibus. / Illum adeò artificem patriæ situs ipse, magistro, / Aptiſſimus, vix edocente fecerat. / Hanc laudem inuidit vicinæ exile Bouinum, / Et rura doctum pingere Henricum dedit. / Sed quantum cedit Dionanto exile Bouinum, / Joachime, tantum cedit Henricus tibi.*

Sheet marked 14 and Cij

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(15)

JAN CORNELIS VERMEYEN

1572

Impression: 20.2 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.5 cm

Upper right corner: 15.

Lower right corner: .IH.W.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE IOANNE MAIO, PICTORE.*Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Quos homines, quæ non Maius loca pinxit, & urbes, / Visendum latè quicquid & Orbis habet; / Dum terra sequiturque mari te, Carole Cæsar, / Pingeret vt dextræ fortia facta tuæ; / Quæ mox Attalicus fulgerent aurea textis, / Materiem artifici sed superante manu. / Nec minùs ille sua spectacula præbuit arte / Celso conspicuus vertice grat a tibi, / Iussus prolixæ detecta volumina barbae / Ostentare suos pendula ad usque pedes.*

Sheet marked 15 and Cij

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(16)

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST

1572

Impression: 20.5 x 12.2 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Upper left corner: .IH.W.

Upper right corner: 16.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO COECKE ALOSTANO, PICTORI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Pictor eras · nec eras tantum, Petre, pictor · Alostum / Qui facis hac Orbi notius arte tuum: / Multa sed acceßit multo ars tibi parta labore, / Cuius opus pulchras ædificare domos. / Serlius hanc Italos · tu, Serli deinde bilinguis / Interpres, Belgas, Francigenasque doces.*

Sheet marked 16 and Ciiij

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(17)

JAN VAN SCOREL

1572

Impression: 20.7 x 12.6 cm

Height of image: 15.5 cm

Upper right corner: 17.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES SCORELLVS / BATAVVS. PICTOR.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Primus ego egregios pictura inuisere Romam / Exemplo docuiße meo per secula Belgas / Cuncta ferar · neque enim iusti dignandus honore / Artificis, qui non graphidas, pigmentaque mille / Consumpsit, tabulasque schola depinxit in illa.*

Sheet marked 17

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(18)

LAMBERT LOMBARD

1572

Impression: 21.9 x 12.5 cm

Height of image: 15.4 cm

Upper left corner: *W.I*

Upper right corner: 18.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *LAMBERTO LOMBARDO LEODIENSI, / PICTORI ET ARCHITECTO.*

Four lines Latin and Greek text underneath: *Elogium, ex merito quod te, Lombarde, decebat, / Non libet hic paucis texere versiculis: / Continet hoc ea charta (legi si nostra merentur) / De te quam fecit Λαμψονίστε γραφίς*

Sheet marked 18

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(19)

PIETER BRUEGEL

1572

Impression: 20.3 x 12.5 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Upper right corner: 19.

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO BRVEGEL, PICTORI.*

Eleven lines (in three columns) Latin text underneath: *Quis nouus hic Hieronymus Orbi / Boschius? ingeniosa magistri / Somnia peniculoque, styloque / Tanta imitarier arte peritus, / Vt superet tamen interim & illum? // Macte animo, Petre, mactus vt arte. / Namque tuo, veterisque magistri / Ridiculo, salibusque referto / In graphices genere inclyta laudum / Præmia vbique, & ab omnibus vllo // Artifice haud leuiora mereris.*

Sheet marked 19 and Dj

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(20)

WILLEM KEY

1572

Impression: 21.7 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.4 cm

Upper right corner: 20.

Lower right corner: .IH.W.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE GVILIELMO CAIO BREDANO, / PICTORE.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Quas hominum facies, vt eos te cernere credas, / Expreßit Caij pingere docta manus, / (Si tamen excipias vnum, me iudice, Morum) / Culpari Belgæ nullius arte timent.*

Sheet marked 20 and Dij

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(21)

LUCAS GASSEL

1572

Impression: 22.1 x 12.2 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Upper left corner: .IH.W.

Upper right corner: 21.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *LVCAE GASSELO HELMONTANO, / PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Salue omnes, Luca, ante alios carißime quondam, / Nec leuius proprio culte parente mihi. / Quippe mihi primus graphices datus auctor amandæ, / Dum pingis docta rura, casasque manu. / Par arti probitasque tuæ, candorque, bonorum / Et quicquid mentes ducere amore potest. / Ergo fama tuæ virtutis, & artis in aeuum / Viuat, vtroque mihi nomine amate senex.*

Sheet marked 21 and Diiij

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(22)

FRANS FLORIS

1572

Impression: 22.3 x 13.2 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Lower left corner: *I.H.W.*

Upper right corner: 22.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *FRANCISCO FLORO ANVERPIANO. / PICTORI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Si pictor quantum natura, Flore, valebas. / Tantum adiunxisses artis & ipse tibi, / Dum tibi multa libet potiùs, quàm pingere multùm, / Nec mora te limæ iusta, laborque iuuat; / Cedite, clamarem, pictores, omnibus oris / Quos vel aui, nostri vel genuère patres.*

Sheet marked 22 and *Diiij*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

(23)

HIERONYMUS COCK

1572

Impression: 20.3 x 12.0 cm

Height of image: 15.6 cm

Upper left corner: *IHW*

Upper right corner: 23.

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *HIERONYMO COCO ANVERPIAN. / PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Fallor? an effigiem vultus, Hieronyme, primùm / Hanc duxit pictor post tua fata tui? / Nescio quid certè torpens & languidum in illa / Non prorsum indoctisinnuit hoc oculis. / Clariùs, heu, sed enim loquitur caluaria cunctis, / Indice commonstrat quam tua læua manus: / Hi præiëre Cocum artifices · quos deinde secutus / Vos ijsdem comites ille, sibique vocat.*

Sheet marked 23

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-6

1a.

HUBERT VAN EYCK

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right: *I.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *HVBERTO AB EYCK, IOANNIS /*

FRATRI: PICTORI.

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Quas modò communes....iuberit ille manu.*

Footnote in three lines at right: †*Michaël Coxennius / Mechlinien insignis / hac ætate pictor*

1b.

HUBERT VAN EYCK

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 21.1 x 12.2 cm

Height of image: 15.0 cm

Upper right corner: *l.*

Upper inscription: *Obijt Gandavi an. 1426. ibidem in cathedrali æde Sepultus.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *HVBERTO AB EYCK, IOANNIS / FRATRI: PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Quas modò communes....iuberit ille manu.*

Footnote in four lines at right: †*Michaël Coxennius / Mechlinien insignis / hac ætate pictor. / obijt an. 1595.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle exc.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

1c.

HUBERT VAN EYCK

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 20.7 x 11.9 cm

Height of image: 15.0 cm

Lower right corner: *Hh. ex.* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HVBERTO AB EYCK, IOANNIS FRATRI, PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Quas modo communes....iuberit ille manu.*

Footnote in two lines at right: †*Michael Coxennius Mechlin: / ien insignis hac aetate pictor*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

1d.

HUBERT VAN EYCK

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 377

Engraving: 18.1 x 13.5 cm [impression]

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *HVBERTVS AB EYCK, IOANNIS FRATER / PICTOR.*

Signed: *E de Boulonois fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

1e.

HUBERT VAN EYCK

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 1.

Upper inscription: *Obijt Gandaui an. 1426. ibidem in Cathedrale æde Sepultus.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *1 HVBERTO AB EYCK, IOANNIS / FRATRI; PICTORI.*Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Quas modò communes....iußerit ille manu.*Footnote in four lines at right: *†Michaël Coxennius / Mechlinien insignis / hac ætate pictor. / obijt an. 1595.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle exc.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

1f.

ALTARPIECE OF THE LAMB, detail of the *Just Judges*

Jan and Hubert van Eyck, 1432

Exterior left wing panel: 145 x 51 cm

Ghent, Cathedral of Saint Bavo

1g.

MAN WITH THE PINKS

Follower of Van Eyck, c. 1435-1445

Panel: 40 x 31 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen

2a.

JAN VAN EYCK

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right: 2.

Text engraved

One line Latin text and function in margin below: *IOANNES AB EYCK PICTOR.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Ille ego, qui....non abnuit orbem.*

2b.

JAN VAN EYCK

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 20.6 x 12.2 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Upper right: 2.

Upper inscription: *Obijt Brugis, ibidem in cathedrali basilica conditus.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES AB EYCK, PICTOR.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Ille ego, qui....non abnuit orbem.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*
 Bottom right: *Dominicus Lampsonius.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

2c.

JAN VAN EYCK
 Hendrick Hondius, 1610
 Impression: 20.4 x 11.8 cm
 Height of image: 15.1 cm
 Signed above palette: *Hh. ex* [initials intertwined]
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES AB EYCK, PICTOR.*
 Six lines Latin text underneath: *Ille ego, qui....non abnuit orbem.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

2d.

JAN VAN EYCK
 Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's Académie, II, Paris 1682, p. 379
 Engraving: 18.0 x 14.2 cm [impression]
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES AB EYCK PICTOR*
 Signed: *E de Boulonois fecit*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

2e.

JAN VAN EYCK
 B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694
 Upper right corner: 2.
 Upper inscription: *Obijt Brugis, ibidem in cathedrali basilica conditus.*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *2 IOANNES AB EYCK, PICTOR.*
 Six lines Latin text underneath: *Ille ego, qui....non abnuit orbem.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*
 Bottom right: *Dominicus Lampsonius.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

2f.

ALTARPIECE OF THE LAMB, *Just Judges*
 Jan and Hubert van Eyck, 1432
 Exterior left wing panel: 145 x 51 cm
 Ghent, Cathedral of Saint Bavo

2g.

JAN VAN EYCK

Willem van den Broecke, c. 1563

Bust: 40.5 x 18.5 x 12 cm

Antwerp, Vleeshuis

2h.

MAN IN A RED TURBAN

Jan van Eyck, 1433

Panel: 25.7 x 19.0 cm

London, National Gallery

3a.

HIERONYMUS BOSCH

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 1500. [in a different hand; Amsterdam example without date] and 3.

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HIERONYMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.*Nine lines (in three columns) Latin text underneath: *Quid sibi vult,....bene pingere dextra.*

Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

3b.

HIERONYMUS BOSCH

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 3.

Engraved text

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HIERONYMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.*Nine lines (in three columns) Latin text underneath: *Quid sibi vult,....bene pingere dextra.*

3c.

HIERONYMUS BOSCH

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 19.4 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.1 cm

Upper right corner: 3

Upper inscription: *Obijt Siluæducis in patria circa an. 1500.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HIERONYMO BOSCHIO, PICTORI.*Nine lines (in three columns) Latin text underneath: *Quid sibi vult,....bene pingere dextra.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

3d.

HIERONYMUS BOSCH

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 20.0 x 12.0 cm

Height of image: 15.1 cm

Signed near shoulder: *Hh. ex.* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HIERONIMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.*Nine lines (in three columns) Latin text underneath: *Quid sibi vult,....bene pingere dextra.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

3e.

HIERONYMUS BOSCHEsme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 393One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HIERONIMO BOCHIO PICTORI*Signed: *E de Boulonois fe*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

3f.

HIERONYMUS BOSCH

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 3

Upper inscription: *Obijt Siluæducis in patria circa an. 1500.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: 3 *HIERONYMO BOSCHIO, PICTORI.*Nine lines (in three columns) Latin text underneath: *Quid sibi vult,....bene pingere dextra.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

3g.

HIERONYMUS BOSCH, from the *Recueil d'Arras*

Anonymous artist, third quarter of the sixteenth century

Chalk drawing on paper

Inscribed below: *Jeronimus Bos painctre*

Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266

3h.

TRIPTYCH OF SAINT ANTHONY, left wing

Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1505-1510

Wing panel: 131.4 x 53.0 cm

Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga

3i.

THE PRODIGAL SON or LANDLOPER

Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1510

Panel: ø 70.5 cm

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

3j.

THE GARDEN OF EARTHLY DELIGHTS, right wing

Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1510-1515

Right wing panel: 219.4 x 96.8 cm

Madrid, The Prado

4a.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN*In de Vier Winden, 1572?*Upper right corner: *1529* [in a different hand] and *4*

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.*Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Non tibi sit....non moritura micant.*

Vienna. Graphische Sammlung Albertina

4b.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN*In de Vier Winden, 1572?*Upper right corner: *4*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function: *ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.*Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Non tibi sit....non moritura micant.*

4c.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 20.8 x 11.9 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Upper right corner: *4*Upper inscription: *Obijt Bruxellis an. 1529. ad D. Gudilæ conditus.*

Text engraved

One line Latin text in lower margin: *ROGERO, BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.*Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Non tibi sit....non moritura micant.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

4d.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 21.0 x 12.2 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Unsigned

Text engraved

One line Latin text in lower margin: *ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.*Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Non tibi sit....non moritura micant.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

4e.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 387

Engraving: 18.4 x 13.6 cm [impression]

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI*Signed: *E de B fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

4f.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 3

Upper inscription: *Obijt Bruxellis an. 1529. ad D. Gudilæ conditus.*

Text engraved

One line Latin text in lower margin: *4 ROGERO, BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.*Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Non tibi sit....non moritura micant.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

4g.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN, from the *Recueil d'Arras*

Anonymous artist, third quarter of the sixteenth century

Chalk drawing on paper

Inscribed below: *Maistre Rogiel painctre de grand renom* [repeated in a second hand]

Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266

4h.

EXAMPLES OF JUSTICE, detail from the *Miracle of the Tongue*

After Rogier van der Weyden, c. 1450

Tapestry: 461 x 1053 cm

Berne, Historisches Museum

4i.

EXAMPLES OF JUSTICE, detail from *Herkinbald's Miraculous Absolution*

4j.

PRESENTATION OF TRAJAN'S SKULL TO THE POPE SAINT GREGORY

Attributed to the Cobourg Master of Medallions

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale

4k.

SAINT LUKE PAINTING THE VIRGIN

Rogier van der Weyden, c. 1434-1440

Panel: 137.7 x 110.8 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

4l.

FAREWELL AT THE TOMB

Rogier van der Weyden, c. 1450

Panel: 43¼ x 37¼"

Florence, Uffizi

4m.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Dieric Bouts, 1462

Panel: 31.8 x 20.3 cm

London, National Gallery

5a.

DIERIC BOUTS

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 1462 [in a different hand] and ·5·

Text printed separately

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Huc & ades, Theodore,.....timet arte parem.*

Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

5b.

DIERIC BOUTS

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Impression: 19.5 x 12.0 cm

Height of image: 15.1 cm

Upper right corner: ·5·

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Huc et ades, Theodore,.....timet arte parem.*
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. RP-P-1907-590

5c.

DIERIC BOUTS

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 19.4 x 11.9 cm

Height of image: 15.0 cm

Upper right corner: ·5·

Upper inscription: *Floruit Harlemi et Louanij an. 1462.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Huc et ades, Theodore,.....timet arte parem.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

5d.

DIERIC BOUTS

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 19.3 x 11.8 cm

Height of image: 15.1 cm

Unsigned

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Huc et ades, Theodore,.....timet arte parem.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

5e.

BERNARD VAN ORLEY [Dieric Bouts]

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 405

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE BERNARDO BRVXELLENSI PICTORI* [blocked out: *THEODORO HARLEMIO PICTOR.*]

Signed: *E de B fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

5f.

DIERIC BOUTS

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: ·5·

Upper inscription: *Floruit Harlemi et Louanij an. 1462.*

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *5 THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Huc et ades, Theodore,.....timet arte parem.*

Text engraved

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

5g.

THE LAST SUPPER, detail

Dieric Bouts, 1464-1467

Centre panel: 183 x 152.7

Louvain, Church of Saint Peter

5h.

‘PORTRAIT’ OF DIERIC BOUTS

From Edward van Even’s Louvain monumental, Louvain 1860, p. 206

5i.

SAINT LUKE PORTRAYING THE VIRGIN

Dieric Bouts, c. 1455

Penrhyn Castle, Lord Penrhyn

6a.

BERNARD VAN ORLEY

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Impression [lower edge trimmed]: 17.1 x 12.3 cm

Height of image: 15.6 cm

Upper right corner: 6·

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *BERNARDO BRVXELLENSI / PICTORE.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (box of portraits no. 167, OM-ORL)

6b.

BERNARD VAN ORLEY

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 1530 [in a different hand] and 6·

Text printed separately

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE BERNARDO BRVXELLENSI / PICTORE.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Aulica quòd sese....antè numisma, Philippos.*

Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

6c.

BERNARD VAN ORLEY

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Impression: 19.9 x 12.1 cm
 Height of image: 15.6 cm
 Upper right corner: 6·
 Lower right corner: *Aux quatre vents*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE BERNARDO BRVXELLENSI PICTORE.*
 Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Aulica quòd sese....antè numisma, Philippos.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. RP-P-1907-606

6d.
 BERNARD VAN ORLEY
 Adriaen Collaert
 Impression: 19.8 x 12.1 cm
 Height of image: 15.6 cm
 Upper right corner: 6·
 Signed bottom right corner: *Adr. Collart. excud.*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE BERNARDO BRVXELLENSI PICTORE.*
 Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Aulica quòd sese....antè numisma, Philippos.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (box of portraits no. 397x, A20100, V)

6e.
 BERNARD VAN ORLEY
 Theodoor Galle, 1600?
 Impression: 19.7 x 12.1 cm
 Height of image: 15.5 cm
 Upper right corner: 6·
 Upper inscription: *Floruit Bruxellis anno 1530.*
Adr. Collart. excud. scratched out
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *BERN. ORLEIO, BRVXELLENSI PICTORI.*
 Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Aulica quòd sese....antè numisma, Philippos.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

6f.
 BERNARD VAN ORLEY
 Hendrick Hondius, 1610
 Impression: 20.0 x 12.0 cm
 Height of image: 15.5 cm

Signed near hands: *Hh. ex.* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI. PICTORE.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Aulica quod sese....ante numisma, Philippos*
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

6g.

DIERIC BOUTS [Bernard van Orley]

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 381

Engraving: 18.0 x 13.2 cm [impression]

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *THEODORO HARLEMIO PICTORI*
[blocked out: *DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI*]

Signed: *E de Boulonois fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

6h.

BERNARD VAN ORLEY

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 6

Upper inscription: *Floruit Bruxellis anno 1530.*

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *6 BERN. ORLEIO, BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Aulica quod sese....antè numisma, Philippos.*

Text engraved

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

6i.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Albrecht Dürer, 1521 [Winkler 810]

Charcoal drawing: 41.0 x 28.2 cm [lower edge trimmed]

Upper inscription: *1521* and Dürer's monogram *AD*

Paris, Louvre

6j.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN WEARING A BERET

Albrecht Dürer, 1520 [Winkler 806]

Charcoal drawing: 41.2 x 27.7 cm [edges trimmed]

Upper inscription: *1520* and Dürer's monogram *AD*

Paris, Louvre

6k.

SMILING YOUNG MAN

Albrecht Dürer, 1521 [Winkler 807]

Charcoal drawing: 37.8 x 27.1 cm [edges trimmed]

London, British Museum

7a.

JAN GOSSAERT

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Impression: 21.1 x 12.5 cm

Height of image: 15.5 cm

Upper right corner: 7.

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNI MABVSIO, PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tuque adèo nostris....tibi, rarus erit.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. RP-P-1907-604

7b.

JAN GOSSAERT

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 21.0 x 12.3 cm

Height of image: 15.5 cm

Upper right corner: 7

Upper inscription in two lines: *Fuit Hanno, patriâ Malbodiensis, et floruit an. 1524. /**Obijt Antuerpiae 1. Octob. a^o. 1532. in Cathedrali aede Sepultus.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNI MABVSIO, PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tuque adèo nostris....tibi rarus erit.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

7c.

JAN GOSSAERT

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 21.2 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.7 cm

Signed on back wall: *Hh ex.* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNI MABVSIO, PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tuque adeo nostris....tibi, rarus erit.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

7d.

JAN GOSSAERT

Esme de Boulonois. from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 407One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNI MABVSIO PICTORI*Signed: *E de Boulonois fe*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

7e.

JAN GOSSAERT

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 7

Upper inscription in two lines: *Fuit Hanno, patriâ Malbodiensis, et floruit an. 1524. / Obijt Antuerpiae 1. Octob. a^o. 1532 in Cathedrali æde Sepultus.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: 7 *IOANNI MABVSIO, PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tuque adéo nostris....tibi rarus erit.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

7f.

PORTRAIT OF A BEARDED MAN

Jan Gossaert, c. 1518

Panel: 43 x 31 cm

Manchester, N. H., The Currier Gallery of Art

7g.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Jan Gossaert, c. 1520-1525

Panel: 47 x 34.9 cm

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

7h.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Jan Gossaert

Panel: 24.5 x 16.5 cm

London, National Gallery

7i.

ADAM AND EVE

Jan Gossaert, c. 1525-1526

Chalk and stump: 62.1 x 46.8 cm

Providence, R. I., Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art

7j.

SAINT LUKE PORTRAYING THE VIRGIN

Jan Gossaert, c. 1525

Panel: 109.2 x 82 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

8a.

JOACHIM PATINIR

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 8.

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOACHIMO DIONATENSI PICTORI.*Twelve lines (in two columns) Latin text underneath: *Has inter omnes....Nedum præiuit ceteros.*

8b.

JOACHIM PATINIR

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 19.9 x 12.5 cm

Height of image: 15.4 cm

Upper right corner: 8.

Upper inscription in two lines: *loch. Patenier, Dionantensis, / viuebat Antuerpiae 1520.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function: *IOACHIMO DIONATENSI, PICTORI.*Twelve lines (in two columns) Latin text underneath: *Has inter omnes....Nedum præiuit ceteros.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

8c.

JOACHIM PATINIR

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 19.3 x 12.3 cm

Height of image: 15.1 cm

Signed on ledge: *Hh ex.* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOACHIMO DIONATENSI PICTORI.*Twelve lines (in two columns) Latin text underneath: *Has inter omnes....Nedum præiuit ceteros.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

8d.

JOACHIM PATINIR

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 401One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOACHIMO DIONATENSI PICTORI*Signed: *E de B fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

8e.

JOACHIM PATINIR

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 8.

Upper inscription in two lines: *Ioch. Patenier, Dionantensis, / viuebat Antuerpiae 1520.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function: 8 *IOACHIMO DIONATENSI, PICTORI.*Twelve lines (in two columns) Latin text underneath: *Has inter omnes....Nedum præiuit ceteros.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

8f.

JOACHIM PATINIR (?)

Attributed to Cornelis Cort, after lost drawing by Albrecht Dürer

Engraving: 20.7 x 18.6 cm

Upper left corner: 1521 and Dürer's monogram *AD*

8g.

JOACHIM PATINIR (?)

Aegidius Sadeler II, after lost drawing by Albrecht Dürer

Etching and engraving: 23.2 x 18.4 cm

Upper left corner: 1521 and Dürer's monogram *AD*Upper right corner: *EGID SAD / F.*

8h.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

Albrecht Dürer, 1521 [Winkler 811]

Charcoal on paper: 36.7 x 26.4 cm [edges trimmed]

Lost; formerly Weimar, Schlossmuseum

9a.

QUENTIN METSYS

In de Vier Winden, 1572?Signed upper left corner: *·IH·W·*

Upper right corner: 9.

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *QVINTINVS MESIVS ANVER / PIANVS PICTOR.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Antè faber fueram....summe Poëta facis.*

9b.

QUENTIN METSYS

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 20.0 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Signed upper left corner: ·IH·W·

Upper right corner: 9.

Upper inscription: *Obijt Antuerpiæ 1529. in Carthusia ad vrbis muros conditus.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *QVINTINVS MESSIVS, ANVER: / PIANVS PICTOR.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Antè faber fueram....summe Poëta, facis.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

9c.

QUENTIN METSYS

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 20.2 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.1 cm

Signed above figure's right hand: *Hh ex* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *QVINTINVS MESIVS ANVER: / PIANVS PICTOR.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Ante faber fueram....summe Poëta facis.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

9d.

QUENTIN METSYS

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 390

Engraving: 18.5 x 13.9 cm [impression]

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *QVINTINVS MESIVS ANVERPIANVS*

Unsigned

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

9e.

QUENTIN METSYS

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper left corner: *I H·W·*

Upper right corner: 9.

Upper inscription: *Obijt Antuerpiæ 1529. in Carthusia ad vrbis muros conditus.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: 9 *QVINTINVS MESSIVS, ANVER: / PLANVS PICTOR.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Antè faber fueram.....summe Poëta, facis.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

9f.

QUENTIN METSYS

1495

Medal

Inscribed: *QVINTINVS METSYS 1495*

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles

9g.

QUENTIN METSYS

1495

Medal

Inscribed: *QVINTINVS METSYS 1495*

Brussels, Cabinet des Médailles

9h.

QUENTIN METSYS

Marble medallion installed at principal entrance of Antwerp Cathedral

9i.

SAINT ANNE ALTARPIECE, right exterior panel

Quentin Metsys, 1509

Brussels, Musées Royaux

9j.

HEAD OF A MAN

Quentin Metsys?

Inscribed below: *Quintin Messis alias Quintyn de Smidt.*

Copenhagen, Cabinet of Drawings

9k.

QUENTIN METSYS (?)

Jan van Scorel, c. 1525

Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut

9l.

QUENTIN METSYS (?)

Jan van Scorel

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

9m.

SAINT LUKE, fragment

Quentin Metsys, c. 1525

Lisbon, Museu Nacional

9n.

PIETER GILLIS

Quentin Metsys, 1517

Longford Castle, collection of the Earl of Radnor

10a.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 10.

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *LVCAE LEIDANO PICTORI*.Five lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque Durero....natalis Leida, Camænae*.

10b.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Hendrick Hondius, 1598

Impression: 12.1 x 8.0 cm

Height of image: 10.5 cm

Upper right corner: *AETATIS / 37*.Inscription in lower margin: *LVCAS LEYDANVS PICTOR / ÆREARVM
EXCELENTISSIMVS / H. H fe et. ex. 1598*.

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (box of portraits no. 130, LEUC-LIB)

10c.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 18.8 x 12.5 cm

Height of image: 15.5 cm

Upper right corner: 10.

Upper inscription: *Pictor et chalcographus insignis obiit Lugduni Batauorum in patria
1533. aetat. 39*.

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *LVCAE LEIDANO, PICTORI.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque Durero....natis Leida, Camænæ.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-20

10d.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression (portrait): 18.4 x 14.5 cm

Impression (text): 3.4 x 12.4 cm

Upper right corner: *10*

Lower left corner (portrait): *L / Pinxit et / Sculpsit*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function: *LVCAE LEIDANO, PICTORI.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque Durero....natis Leida, Camænæ.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

10e.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 21.9 x 12.9 cm

Height of image: 17.5 cm

Upper left corner: Van Leyden's monogram *L*

Signed upper right corner: *Hh fecit* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function: *LUCAE LEIDANO PICTORI, ET SCULPTORI.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque Durero....natis Leida, Camænæ.*

Bottom right: *·D. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

10f.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN (?)

Albrecht Dürer, 1521 [Winkler 816]

Silverpoint: 24.4 x 17.1 cm

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts

10g.

YOUNG MAN WITH A SKULL

Lucas van Leyden, 1521

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

10h.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 399Lower right: Van Leyden's monogram *L*Signed: *E de Boulonois fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

10i.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Nicolas de Larmessin, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 395Near shoulder: monogram *DL*Signed: *De, L'armessin, Scul.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

10j.

SELF-PORTRAIT

Lucas van Leyden, c. 1509

Panel: 28.9 x 21.4 cm

Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

10k.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: *10*.Upper inscription: *Pictor et chalcographus insignis obiit Lugduni Bataurum in patria 1533. ætat. 39.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function: *10 LVCAE LEIDANO, PICTORI.*Five lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque Durero....natis Leida, Camænæ.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

10l.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

After Albrecht Dürer

Impression: 17.4 x 14.1 cm

Height of image: 16.7 cm

Left centre: *1525* and monogram *L* [intertwined]One line Latin text in lower margin: *Effigies Luca Leidensis. propria manu incidere.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (box of portraits no. 130, LEUC-LIB)

10m.

YOUNG MAN, FACING RIGHT

Albrecht Dürer, dated 1521 and 1525 [Winkler 809]

Charcoal: 36.8 x 25.5 cm

London, British Museum

10n.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Andries Jacobsz Stock, 1628-1629 [third state, Hendrick Hondius]

Engraving: 21.6 x 16.4 cm

Inscription below: *Effigies Lucæ de Leyda Pictoris et sculptoris. Incomparabilis. / dum esset annor xv ad ectypum propria ipsius manu depictum/ Obyt Lugd Batav, anno MDXXXIII Ætat suæ XXXIX.*

Bottom left: *L de Leyda Pinxit*

Signed bottom right: *Ands Stokius fecit. Hh excudit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

11a.

JAN VAN AMSTEL

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Impression: 20.5 x 12.6 cm

Height of image: 16.1 cm

Signed upper left corner: *IH.W*

Upper right corner: *11.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE IOANNE HOLLANDO, PICTORE.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Propria Belgarum laus....male scire deos.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. RP-P-1907-599

11b.

JAN VAN AMSTEL

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 20.5 x 12.7 cm

Height of image: 16.1 cm

Upper right: *11.*

Upper inscription: *Obijt Antuerpiæ in patria circa an. 1540.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNI HOLLANDO, PICTORI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Propria Belgarum laus....male scire deos.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

11c.

JAN VAN AMSTEL

Hendrick Hondius, 1610
 Impression: 19.9 x 12.2 cm
 Height of image: 15.7 cm
 Signed lower right: *Hh ex* [initials intertwined]
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE IOANNE HOLLANDO ANVERPIANO PICT.*
 Six lines Latin text underneath: *Propria Belgarum laus....male scire deos.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

11d.
 JAN VAN AMSTEL
 B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694
 Upper right corner: *11.*
 Upper inscription: *Obijt Antuerpiæ in patria circa an. 1540.*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *11 IOANNI HOLLANDO, PICTORI.*
 Six lines Latin text underneath: *Propria Belgarum laus....male scire deos.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*
 Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

12a.
 JOOS VAN CLEVE
In de Vier Winden, 1572
 Upper right corner: *12.*
 Text engraved
 Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *IVSTO CLIVENSI ANVERPIAN. / PICTORI.*
 Four lines Latin text underneath: *Nostra nec artifices....si misero cerebrum.*

12b.
 JOOS VAN CLEVE
 Theodoor Galle, 1600?
 Impression: 20.6 x 12.3 cm
 Height of image: 15.5 cm
 Upper right corner: *12.*
 Upper inscription: *Viuebat Antuerpiæ in patria an. 1554.*
 Text engraved
 Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *IVSTO CLIVENSI ANTVERPIANO / PICTORI.*
 Four lines Latin text underneath: *Nostra nec artifices....si misero cerebrum.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius*.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

12c.
JOOS VAN CLEVE
Hendrick Hondius, 1610
Impression: 19.3 x 12.1 cm
Height of image: 14.5 cm
Signed on palette: *Hh* [initials intertwined]
Text engraved
One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IVSTO CLIVENSI ANVERPIAN PICTORI*.
Four lines Latin text underneath: *Nostra nec artifices....si misero cerebrum*.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

12d.
JOOS VAN CLEVE
B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694
Upper right corner: *12*.
Upper inscription: *Viuebat Antuerpiae in patria an. 1554*.
Text engraved
Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *12 IVSTO CLIVENSI ANTVERPANO / PICTORI*.
Four lines Latin text underneath: *Nostra nec artifices....si misero cerebrum*.
Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*
Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius*
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

12e.
SELF-PORTRAIT
Joos van Cleve, c. 1540
Panel: 63.5 x 49.5 cm
London, Windsor Castle

12f.
ANDREA DEL SARTO
Nicolas de Larmessin, from Isaac Bullart's *Académie*, I, Brussels 1682, p. 363
Engraving: 18.4 x 13.6 cm [impression]
One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *ANDREA, DEL, SARTO, PIT.*
Signed: *De L'armessin Sculp*
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 301-C-9

12g.
LEGEND OF SAINT VICTOR
 Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder
 Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum

12h.
RAISING OF LAZARUS
 Jan Joest von Kalkar
 Kalkar, Church of Saint Nicholas

12i.
ADORATION OF THE MAGI
 Joos van Cleve, c. 1512
 Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

12j.
ALTAR OF SAINT REINHOLD
 Joos van Cleve, before 1516
 Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe

12k.
SELF-PORTRAIT
 Joos van Cleve, c. 1520
 Lugano-Castagnola, Thyssen-Schloß Rohoncz

13a.
MATTHIJS COCK
In de Vier Winden, 1572?
 Impression: 20.8 x 12.3 cm
 Height of image: 15.2 cm
 Upper right corner: 13.
 Text engraved
 Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *MATTHIAE COCO ANVERPIAN. / PICTORI, HIERONYMI FRATRI.*
 Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque, Matthia,....laus tribuenda tuæ.*

13b.
MATTHIJS COCK
 Theodoor Galle, 1600?
 Impression: 20.7 x 12.3 cm
 Height of image: 15.3 cm
 Upper right corner: 13.
 Upper inscription: *Obijt Antuerpiæ circa an. 1560.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *MATTHIAE COCO, ANTVERPIANO, / PICTORI, HIERONYMI FRATRI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque, Matthia,....laus tribuenda tuæ.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

13c.

MATTHIJS COCK

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 20.1 x 12.3 cm

Height of image: 14.6 cm

Signed on ledge: *Hh ex* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *MATTHIAE COCO ANVERPIAN, PICTORI. / HIERONYMI FRATRI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque, Matthia,....laus tribuenda tuæ.*

Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

13d

MATTHIJS COCK

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: *13.*

Upper inscription: *Obijt Antuerpiæ circa an. 1560.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *13 MATTHIAE COCO, ANTVERPIANO, / PICTORI, HIERONYMI FRATRI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Tu quoque, Matthia,....laus tribuenda tuæ.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

14a.

HERRI MET DE BLES

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: *14.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HENRICO BLESIO BOVINATI PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Pictorem vrbs dederat....cedit Henricus tibi.*

14b.

HERRI MET DE BLES

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 22.0 x 12.4 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Upper right corner: 14.

Upper inscription: *Bubonem pro nota tabulis suis appinxit, vixitqz circa an. 1550.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HENRICO BLESIO, BOVINATI, PICTORI.*Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Pictorem vrbs dederat....cedit Henricus tibi.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

14c.

HERRI MET DE BLES

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 20.8 x 12.3 cm

Height of image: 14.6 cm

Signed above niche: *Hh ex.* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *HENRICO BLESIO, BOVINATI, PICTORI.*Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Pictorem vrbs dederat....cedit Henricus tibi.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

14d.

HERRI MET DE BLES

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 403Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *HENRICO BLESIO BOVINATI / PICTORI*Signed: *E de B fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

14e.

HERRI MET DE BLES

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 14.

Upper inscription: *Bubonem pro nota tabulis suis appinxit, vixitqz circa an. 1550.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *14 HENRICO BLESIO, BOVINATI, PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Pictorem vrbs dederat....cedit Henricus tibi.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*
 Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

15a.
 JAN CORNELIS VERMEYEN
In de Vier Winden, 1572?
 Upper right corner: *15.*
 Signed lower right corner: *·I·H·W·*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE IOANNE MAIO, PICTORE.*
 Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Quos homines, quæ....ad vsque pedes.*

15b.
 JAN CORNELIS VERMEYEN
 Theodoor Galle, 1600?
 Impression: 20.1 x 12.1 cm
 Height of image: 15.4 cm
 Upper right corner: *15.*
 Upper inscription: *Obijt Bruxellis 1559. ætat. 59. ad D. Gaugerici conditus.*
 Signed lower right corner: *·I·H·W·*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNI MAIO, PICTORI.*
 Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Quos homines, quæ....ad vsque pedes.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

15c.
 JAN CORNELIS VERMEYEN
 Hendrick Hondius, 1610
 Impression: 20.5 x 11.7 cm
 Height of image: 15.4 cm
 Unsigned
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE IOANNE MAIO, PICTORE.*
 Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Quos homines, quæ [late correction]....ad vsque pedes.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

15d.
 JAN CORNELIS VERMEYEN
 Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 417
 Engraving: 18.1 x 13.2 cm [impression]

Upper inscription: *Obijt Bruxellis 1559. ætat. 59 ad D Gaugerici conditus*
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNI MAIO, PICTORI*
 Signed: *E. de Boulonois fecit*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

15e.
 JAN CORNELIS VERMEYEN
 B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694
 Upper right corner: *15*.
 Upper inscription: *Obijt Bruxellis 1559. ætat. 59. ad D. Gaugerici conditus.*
 Signed lower right: *I H·W·*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *15 IOANNI MAIO, PICTORI.*
 Ten lines Latin text underneath: *Quos homines, quæ....ad vsque pedes.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

15f.
 SKIRMISHES ON THE CAPE OF CARTHAGE, detail from cartoon for fourth tapestry
 in *Conquest of Tunis* series
 Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, 1546-1548
 Charcoal and watercolour: 385 x 822 cm
 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

15g.
 THE SACK OF TUNIS, detail from cartoon for tenth tapestry in *Conquest of Tunis* series
 Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, 1546-1548
 Charcoal and watercolour: 385 x 715 cm
 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

15h.
 THE MARCH TO RADA, detail from cartoon for eleventh tapestry in *Conquest of Tunis*
 series
 Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, 1546-1548
 Charcoal and watercolour: 385 x 887 cm
 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

15i.
 MULAY AHMAD
 Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, c. 1535-1536
 Etching: 49.2 x 37.7 cm
 Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

16a.

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Signed upper left corner: ·I H· W·

Upper right corner: 16.

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO COECKE ALOSTANO, PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Pictor eras· nec....Belgas, Francigenasque doces.*

16b.

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 20.5 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Upper right corner: 16.

Upper inscription: *Obijt pictor et architectus. Antuerpiæ circa an. 1550.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO COECKE, ALOSTANO, PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Pictor eras, nec....Belgas, Francigenasque doces.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*Footnote bottom right: *†Sebastianus Serlius scripsit Italice de Architectura.*

Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

16c.

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 19.5 x 12.6 cm

Height of image: 14.8 cm

Signed on stairwell: *Hh ex* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO COECKE. ALOSTANO, PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Pictor eras· nec....Belgas Francigenasque doces.*

Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

16d.

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 409Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO COECKE ALOSTANO / PICTORI*Signed: *E de Boulonois fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

16e.

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Wierix monogram absent

Upper right corner: 16.

Upper inscription: *Obijt pictor et architectus Antuerpiae circa an. 1550.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function: 16 *PETRO COECKE, ALOSTANO, PICTORI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Pictor eras, nec....Belgas, Francigenasque doces.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Footnote bottom right: *†Sebastianus Serlius scripsit Italice de Architectura.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

16f.

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AND HIS WIFE (?)

Pieter Coecke van Aelst, c.1545

Panel: 50.5 x 59 cm

Zurich, Kunsthaus

17a.

JAN VAN SCOREL

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 17.

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES SCORELLVS / BATAVVS PICTOR.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Primus ego egregios....depinxit in illa*

17b.

JAN VAN SCOREL

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 20.4 x 12.5 cm

Height of image: 15.5 cm

Upper right corner: 17.

Upper inscription: *Obijt Ultraiecti ad D. Virginis Canonicus 1562.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES SCORELLVS / BATAVVS PICTOR.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Primus ego egregios....depinxit in illa.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

17c.

JAN VAN SCOREL

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 19.4 x 12.7 cm

Height of image: 14.6 cm

Unsigned

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES SCORELLVS BATAVVS PICTOR.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Primus ego egregios....schola depinxit illa.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

17d.

JAN VAN SCOREL

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 421

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *IOANNES SCORELLVS BATAVVS PICTOR*

Signed: *E de Boulonois fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

17e.

JAN VAN SCOREL

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: *17.*

Upper inscription: *Obijt Ultraiecti ad D. Virginis Canonicus 1562.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *17 IOANNES SCORELIVS / BATAVVS PICTOR.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Primus ego egregios....depinxit in illa.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lamponius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

17f.

MEMBERS OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF JERUSALEM AT UTRECHT, detail

Jan van Scorel, 1525-1526

Panel: 48 x 276.5 cm

Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum

17g.

JAN VAN SCOREL

Antonio Moro, 1560
London, Society of Antiquaries

18a.

LAMBERT LOMBARD

In de Vier Winden, 1572

Signed upper left corner: *W·I*

Upper right corner: *18*.

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *LAMBERTO LOMBARDO
LEODIENSI, / PICTORI ET ARCHITECTO.*

Four lines Latin and Greek text underneath: *Elogium, ex merito...fecit Λαμψονίστε
γραφίς*

18b.

LAMBERT LOMBARD

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 20.6 x 12.3 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Signed upper left corner: *W·I*

Upper right corner: *18*.

Upper inscription: *Floruit et obiit apud Leodicenses anno 1560.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *LAMBERTO LOMBARDO,
LEODIENSI, / PICTORI ET ARCHITECTO.*

Four lines Latin and Greek text underneath: *Elogium, ex merito...fecit Lampsoniana
graphis.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Footnote bottom right in two lines: *Vitam eius descripsit Dominicus Lampsonius, / Brugis
ab Hub. Goltzio 1565 editam.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

18c.

LAMBERT LOMBARD

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 20.4 x 11.9 cm

Height of image: 15.3 cm

Signed on base of column: *Hh ex* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *LAMBERTO LOMBARDO,
LEODIENSI, PICTORI. ET ARCHITECTO.*

Five lines Latin text underneath: *Elogium, ex merito...fecit Λαμψονίστε γραφίς*
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

18d.

LAMBERT LOMBARD

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's Académie, II, Paris 1682, p. 426

Engraving: 17.8 x 13.5 cm [impression]

Inscription in lower margin: *LAMBERTUS LOMBARDVS PICTOR EBVRONENSIS / ANNO AET XLV*Signed bottom right: *E. de Boulonois fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

18e.

LAMBERT LOMBARD

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Signed upper left corner: *W-1*Upper right corner: *18.*Upper inscription: *Floruit et obiit apud Leodicenses anno 1560.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *18 LAMBERTO LOMBARDO, LEODIENSI, / PICTORI ET ARCHITECTO*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*Footnote bottom right in two lines: *Vitam eius descripsit Dominicus Lampsonius, / Brugis ab. Hub. Goltzio 1565. editam.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

18f.

SELF-PORTRAIT (?)

Lambert Lombard

Drawing: 18.5 x 13.3 cm

Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum der Stadt

18g.

LAMBERT LOMBARD

Lambert Suavius, title page to Lampsonius' Lamberti Lombardi... vita 1565

18h.

LAMBERT LOMBARD

Page from Album Amicorum of Otto Venius

Engraving: 16.0 x 11.0 cm

Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek

18i.

LAMBERT LOMBARD

Wierix, after Lambert Suavius

Berlin

18j.
 SELF-PORTRAIT (?)
 Lambert Lombard, 1566
 Inscribed: *A AGE 61 LAN 1566*
 Panel: 84 x 62 cm
 Kassel, Gemäldegalerie

18k.
 SELF-PORTRAIT (?)
 Lambert Lombard
 Panel: 79 x 65 cm
 Luik, Museum voor Schone Kunsten

19a.
 PIETER BRUEGEL
In de Vier Winden, 1572?
 Impression: 20.2 x 12.3 cm
 Height of image: 15.3 cm
 Upper right corner: *19.*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO BRVEGEL, PICTORI.*
 Eleven lines (in three columns) Latin text underneath: *Quis nouus hic....haud leuiora mereris.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. RP-P-1907-593

19b.
 PIETER BRUEGEL
 Theodoor Galle, 1600?
 Impression: 20.3 x 12.4 cm
 Height of image: 15.3 cm
 Upper right corner: *19.*
 Upper inscription: *Obijt Bruxellis anno 1570.*
 Text engraved
 One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO BRVEGEL, PICTORI.*
 Eleven lines Latin text underneath: *Quis nouus hic....haud leuiora mereris.*
 Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*
 Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

19c.
 PIETER BRUEGEL
 Hendrick Hondius, 1610
 Impression: 20.0 x 11.8 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Signed on palette: *Hh* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO BRVEGEL, PICTORI.*

Eleven lines Latin text underneath: *Quis nouus hic....haud leuiora mereris.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

19d.

PIETER BRUEGEL

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 428

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *PETRO BRVEGEL PICTORI*

Signed: *E. de Boulonois fecit*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

19e.

PIETER BRUEGEL

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: *19.*

Upper inscription: *Obijt Bruxellis anno 1570.*

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *19 PETRO BRVEGEL, PICTORI.*

Eleven lines Latin text underneath: *Quis nouus hic....haud leuiora mereris.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

19f.

PIETER BRUEGEL (II?)

Aegidius Sadeler II, after lost drawing by Bartholomeus Spranger

Engraving: 30.4 x 21.2 cm

Inscription around oval: *PETRVS BRVEGEL EX AMBIVARITIS BELGA PICTOR [...]
PRINCIPES*

Signed lower left: *Bar. Sprangers Inuentor*

Eight lines Latin text in lower margin: *Ars Naturam vicerat,....*

19g.

THE PEASANT WEDDING

Pieter Bruegel the Elder, c. 1568

Panel: 114 x 164 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

20a.

WILLEM KEY

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 20.

Signed lower right corner: ·I H· W·

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE GVILIELMO CAIO BREDANO / PICTORE.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Quas hominum facies,....nullius arte timent.*

20b.

WILLEM KEY

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 20.8 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.4 cm

Upper right corner: 20.

Upper inscription: *Obijt Antuerpiæ anno 1568.*

Signed lower right corner: ·I H· W·

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *GVILIELMO CAIO, BREDANO, / PICTORI.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Quas hominum facies,....nullius arte timent.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Footnote bottom right in two lines: *†Antonius Morus Ultraiectinus, / Philippi II. Hisp. Regis pictor.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

20c.

WILLEM KEY

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 19.7 x 12.0 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Signed on ledge: *Hh. ex.* [initials intertwined]

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE GVILIELMO CAIO, BREDANO, / PICTORE.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Quas hominum facies,....nullius arte timent.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

20d.

WILLEM KEY

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 430

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *DE GVILIELMO CAIO BREDANO PICTORE*

Unsigned

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

20e.

WILLEM KEY

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 20.

Upper inscription: *Obijt Antuerpiæ anno 1568.*

Signed lower right corner: ·I H· W·

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: 20 *GVILIELMO CAIO, BREDANO, / PICTORI.*

Four lines Latin text underneath: *Quas hominum facies,....nullius arte timent.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Footnote bottom right in two lines: †*Antonius Morus Ultraiectinus, / Philippi II. Hisp. Regis pictor.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

20f.

SELF-PORTRAIT

Willem Key, 1566

Signed and dated

Panel: 45 x 35 cm

Private collection

21a.

LUCAS GASSEL

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Signed upper left corner: ·I H· W·

Upper right corner: 21.

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *LVCAE GASSELO HELMONTANO / PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Salve omnes, Luca,....nomine amate senex*

21b.

LUCAS GASSEL

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 22.1 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 15.4 cm

Signed upper left corner: ·I H· W·

Upper right corner: 21.

Upper inscription: *Vixit et obijt Bruxellis circa an. 1560.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *LVCAE GASSELIO HELMONTANO / PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Salve omnes, Luca,....nomine amate senex.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius amico posuit.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

21c.

LUCAS GASSEL

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 20.1 x 12.1 cm

Height of image: 14.1 cm

Signed below coat of arms: *Hh ex* [initials intertwined]

Wierix monogram missing

Text engraved

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *LVCAE GASSELO HELMONTANO PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Salve omnes, Luca,....nomine amate senex.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

21d.

LUCAS GASSEL

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 419

One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *LVCAE GASSELO HELMONTANO PICTORI*

Unsigned

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

21e.

LUCAS GASSEL

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Signed upper left corner: *T H W*

Upper right corner: *21.*

Upper inscription: *Vixit et obiit Bruxellis circa an. 1560.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *21 LVCAE GASSELIO HELMONTANO / PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Salve omnes, Luca,....nomine amate senex.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius amico posuit.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

22a.

FRANS FLORIS

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Upper right corner: 22.

Signed lower left corner: ·I H· W·

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *FRANCISCO FLORO ANVERPIANO, / PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Si pictor quantum....vel genuêre patres.*

22b.

FRANS FLORIS

Theodoor Galle, 1600?

Impression: 21.1 x 13.2 cm

Height of image: 15.2 cm

Upper right corner: 22.

Upper inscription: *Decessit Antuerpiæ 1570. apud Franciscanos in coemiterio sepultus.*

Signed lower left corner: ·I H· W·

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *FRANCISCO FLORO, ANTVERPIANO / PICTORI.*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Si pictor quantum....vel genuêre patres.*Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 325-C-19

22c.

FRANS FLORIS

Hendrick Hondius, 1610

Impression: 20.5 x 12.6 cm

Height of image: 14.9 cm

Signed lower left corner: *Hh ex* [initials intertwined; Wierix monogram effaced]

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *FRANCISCO FLORO ANVERPIANO, / PICTORI*Six lines Latin text underneath: *Si pictor quantum....vel genuêre patres.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 327-I-15

22d.

FRANS FLORIS

Esme de Boulonois, from Bullart's *Académie*, II, Paris 1682, p. 432One line Latin name and function in lower margin: *FRANCISCO FLORO ANVRPIANO PICTORI*

Signed: *E de Boulonois fe*
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-10

22e.

FRANS FLORIS

B. Browne and T. Browne, 1694

Upper right corner: 22.

Upper inscription: *Decessit Antuerpiæ 1570. apud Franciscanos in coemeterio sepultus.*

Signed lower left corner: *I H·W·*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: 22 *FRANCISCO FLORO, ANTVERPIANO / PICTORI.*

Six lines Latin text underneath: *Si pictor quantum....vel genuère patres.*

Signed bottom left: *Th. Galle excud.*

Bottom right: *Dom. Lampsonius.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. 301-C-19

22f.

FRANS FLORIS

Jan Symons, 1552

Medal: ø 7.65 cm

Inscribed: *FRANCISCVS FLORIS PICTOR AE . XXXII and 1552*

Antwerp, Oudheidkundige Musea (Vleeshuis)

22g.

SELF-PORTRAIT (?)

Frans Floris, c. 1555

Panel: 43 x 30 cm

Friedrichshafen, collection of G. Grzimek

22h.

FRANS FLORIS

Attributed to I. Bonasone

Impression: 18.0 x 13.0 cm

Height of image: 15.0 cm

Three lines Latin text underneath: *FRANCISCI FLORI ANTVERPIANI, / INTER BELGAS PICTORES NON IN / FIMVM LOCU TENENTIS, EFFIGIES.*

Signed bottom left: *Iulio bonasoni Fe*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet inv. no. RP-P-1955-476

23a.

HIERONYMUS COCK

In de Vier Winden, 1572?

Signed upper left corner: *I H·W·*

Upper right corner: *23.*

Text engraved

Two lines Latin name and function in lower margin: *HIERONYMO COCO ANVERPIAN.
/ PICTORI.*

Eight lines Latin text underneath: *Fallor? an effigiem....ille, sibique vocat.*

23b.

JEAN CÉLOSSE

Wierix, 1574

Engraving: ø 6.0 cm

Signed centre left: *IHW·*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

23c.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN [Hieronymus Cock ?]

Frans Floris, 1555

Inscribed: *AETATIS 48 / 1555*

Madrid, The Prado



HYBERTO AB EYCK, IOHANNIS
FRATRI; PICTORI.

*Quas modò communes cum fratre, Huberte, merenti
Attribuit laudes nostra Tibalia tibi,
Si non sufficient: addatur et illa tua quòd
Discipulus frater te superavit ope.
Hoc vestrum docet illud opus Gandense Philippum
Quod Regem tanto cepit amore sui:
Eius ut ad patrios mittendum exemplar Iberos
Coxenni fieri inserit ille manu.*

*† Michiel Coem-
non Mebinort.
infrons bar etate
pictor.*

A 111

1. Hubert van Eyck, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



IOANNES AB EYCK PICTOR.

*Ille ego, qui letos oleo de semine lini
Expresso docui princeps miscere colores,
Huberto cum fratre nouum stupuere repertum,
Atque ipsi ignosum quondam fortassis Apelli,
Florentes opibus Brugæ mox nostra per omnem
Diffundi latè probitas non abnuic orbem.*

2

A 55

2. Jan van Eyck, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



HIERONYMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.

*Quid sibi vult, Hieronyme Boschi,
Ille oculos tuos astonitus? quid
Pallor in ore? velut lemures si
Spectra Erebi volitantia coram*

*Aspiceres? Tui Diti anas
Crediderim potuisse recessus,
Tartareasque domos: tua quando
Quicquid habet finis imas Avernus*

Tam potius bene pingere dextra.

3

AV

3. Hieronymus Bosch, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.

*Non tibi sit laudi, quod multa, et pulchra, Rogere,
Pinxisti, ut poterant tempora ferre tua,
Digna tamen, nostro quicumque est tempore Pictor
Ad qua, si sapiat, respicere usque velit:
Testes pictura, qua Bruxellense tribunal
De recto Themidis cedere calle vetant:
Quam, tua de partis pingendo extrema volantas
Perpetua est inopiam quod medicina fami.
Illa reliquisti terris iam proxima morti
Hac monumenta polo non moritura micant.*

4. Rogier van der Weyden, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI.

*Huc grades, Theodore, tuam quoque Belgica semper
Laude nihil ficta tollet ad astra manum,
Ipsa tuis rerum genitrice expressa figuris
Te Natura sibi dum times arte parem.*

5

5. Dieric Bouts [Bernard van Orley], 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI
PICTORE.

*Aulica quòd sese Bernardo iacet alumno
Bruxella, Art alicae ductissima pingere vestes;
Non tam pìclorù, si quis me iudice certet,
Arti debetur, quanquam debetur & arti;
Quàm tibi quòd carnis Belgarum Margari rectorix,
Dum tibi Appella nihil est incundius arte,
Aurea peniculis te dante manubris, & aureos
Sapè tulit, cusum paulò antè numisina, Philippos.*

6. *Bernard van Orley* [Dieric Bouts], 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



IOANNI MABVSIO, PICTORI.

*Tuque adeo nostris seclum dicere, Mabusi,
Versibus ad graphicen erudijisse tuum.
Nam quis ad aspectum pigmenta politius alter
Florida Apelleis illineret tabulis?
Arte alijs, estu, tua tempora cede secutis
Peniculi ductor par tibi, rarus erit.*

7

Bj

7. Jan Gossaert, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



IOACHIMO DIONANTENSI PICTORI.

*Has inter omnes nullis quod vincis,
Ioachime, imago cernitur
Expresse, quàm vultus tui; non hinc modò
Factum est, quòd illam Curij
In eam dextra incidit, alterum sibi
Quæ non timet unuc amicum:*

8

B ij

8. *Joachim Patinir*, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



QVINTINVS MESIVS ANVER-
PIANVS PICTOR.

*Antè faber fueram Cyclopæus ast vbi mecum
Ex æquo pictor cæpit amare proci:
Seque graues tudinum tonitrus postferre silenti
Peniculo obiecit cauta puella mibi:
Pictorem me fecit amor. tudes inuuit illud
Exiguus, tabulis quæ nota certa meis.
Sic, vbi Vulcanum nato Venus arma rogarat,
Pictorem è fabro summe Poëta facis.*

9

B iij

9. *Quentin Metsys*, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



LVCAE LEIDANO PICTORI.

*Tu quoque Duxero non par, sed proxime, Luca,
Seu tabulas pinguis, seu formas sculpis abenas,
Egypa reddentes tenui miranda papyro,
Haud minimam in partem (si qua est ea gloria) nostrae
Accede, & tecum natalis Leidae, Camena.*

10

B iij

10. Lucas van Leyden, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



DE IOANNE HOLLANDO, PICTORE.

*Propria Belgarum laus est bene pingere rura;
Ausoniorum, homines pingere, scire deos.
Nec mirum in capite Ausonius, sed Belga cerebrum
Non temerè in gnava fertur habere manu.
Maluit ergo manus fani bene pingere rura,
Quàm caput, aut homines, aut malè scire deos.*

..

11. Jan van Amstel, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



IVSTO CLIVENSI ANVERPIAN.
PICTORI.

*Nostra nec artifices inter te Musa silebit
Belgas, picturae non leue, Inste, decus.
Quam propria, nati tam felix arte fuisses;
Manfisset sanum si misero cerebrum.*

12

12. Joos van Cleve, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



MATTHIAE COCO ANVERPIAN.
PICTORI, HIERONYMI FRATRI.

*Tu quoque, Mattbia, sic pingere rura sciebas,
Ut tibi vix dederint tempora nostra parem.
Ergo, quòd artifices inter spectaris & ipse,
Quos immortali Belgica laude colit;
Non in te pietas tantùm fraterna, sed arti
Efficit & meritò laus tribuenda tuæ.*

13

Cj

13. *Matthijs Cock*, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



HENRICO BLESIO BOVINATI PICTORI.

*Pictorem vrbs dederat Dionantum Eburonia, pictor
Quem proximi dixit poeta versibus.
Illum adeo artificem patriæ situs ipse, magistro,
Aptissimus, vix edocente fecerat.
Hanc laudem invidit vicinæ exile Bouinum,
Es rura doctum pingere Henricum dedit.
Sed quantum cedit Dionanto exile Bouinum,
Foachime, tantum cedit Henricus tibi.*

14

C ij

14. *Herri met de Bles*, 1572 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



DE IOANNE MAIO, PICTORE.

*Quos homines, quæ non Maius loca pinxit, & vrbes,
Vifendum latè quicquid & Orbis habet;
Dum terra fequiturque mari te, Carole Cæfar,
Pingeret vt dextra fortis facta tua;
Quæ mox Attalicis fulgerent aurea textis,
Materum artificio fed superante manu.
Nec minùs ille fua fpectacula præbuit arte
Celfo confpicuus vertice grata tibi,
Iuffus proluxæ detecta volumina barbæ
Oftentare fuos pendula ad vſque pedes.*

15

C ij

15. Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



PETRO COECKE ALOSTANO, PICTORI.

*Pictor eras · nec eras tantum, Petre, pictor · Alostum
Qui facis hac Orbi notius arte tuum:
Multis sed accessit multo ars tibi parta labore,
Cuius opus pulchras ædificare domos.
Serlius hanc Italos · tu, Serli deinde bilinguis
Interpres, Belgas, Francigenasque doces.*

16

C 117

16. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



IOANNES SCORELLVS
BATAVVS, PICTOR.

*Primus ego egregios pictura inuisere Romam
Exemplo docuisse meo per secula Belgas
Cuncta ferar neque enim iusti dignandus honore
Artificis, qui non graphidas, pigmentaque mille
Consumpsit, tabulasque scbola depinxit in illa.*

17. Jan van Scorel, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



LAMBERTO LOMBARDO LEODIENSI,
PICTORI ET ARCHITECTO.

*Elogium, ex merito quod te, Lombarde, decebat,
Non libet hic paucis texere versiculis:
Continet hoc ea charta (legi si nostra merentur)
De te quam fecit λαμπουρίου γραφίς.*

18

18. *Lambert Lombard*, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



PETRO BRVEGEL, PICTORI.

*Quid nouus hic Hieronymus Orbi
Boschius? ingeniosa magistri
Somnia peniculoque, styloque
Tanta imitatrix arte peritus,
Et superet tamen interim et illum?*

*Macte animo, Petre, mactus ut arte.
Namque tuo, veterisque magistri
Ridiculo, salubrius referto
In graphices genere inchoata laudum
Præmia ubique, et ab omnibus villo
Artifice haud leuiora mereris.*

19

Dj

19. Pieter Bruegel, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



DE GVILIELMO CAIO BREDANO,
PICTORE.

*Quas hominum facies, ut eos te cernere credas,
Expresit Caij pingere docta manus,
(Si tamen excipias unum, me iudice, Morum.)
Culpari Belgæ nullius arte timent.*

1697

20

D 11

20. Willem Key, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



LVCAE GASSELO HELMONTANO,
PICTORI.

*Salve omnes, Luca., ante alios carissime quondam,
Nec leuius proprio culte parente mihi.
Quippe mihi primus graphices datus auctor amandae,
Dum pinguis doctis rursus, casusque manu.
Par arti probitasque tuae, candorque, bonorum
Et quicquid mentes ducere amore potest.
Ergo sumus tuae virtutis, et artus in aenum
Vinas, utroque mihi nomine amate senex.*

21

D ij

21. Lucas Gassel, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



FRANCISCO FLORO ANVERPIANO,
PICTORI.

*Si pictor quantum natura, Flore, valebas,
Tantum adiuuasses artis & ipse tibi,
Dum tibi multa libet potius, quam pingere multum,
Nec mora te lime iusta, laborque iuuat;
Cedit, clamarem, pictores, omnibus oris
Quos vel aui, nostri vel genuere patres.*

D. 117

22. *Frans Floris*, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



HIERONYMO COCO ANVERPIAN.
PICTORI.

*Fallor? an effigiem vultus, Hieronyme, primum
Hanc duxit pictor post tua fata tui?
Nescio quid certe torpens & languidum in illa
Non prorsum indoctus innuit hoc oculis.
Clarius, beu, sed enim loquitur caluaria cunctis,
Indice commonstrat quam tua læua manus:
Hi prætere Cocum artifices - quos deinde secutus
Vos iisdem comites ille, sibi que vocat.*

23

23. *Hieronymus Cock*, 1572. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 325-C-6.



HUBERTO AB EYCK, IOANNIS FRATRI, PICTORI.

Quae modo committas non frater, Hubertus meritis
 Amicum laudat, aspera Thales tibi.
 Si non sufficiens addatur et vis tua quod
 Discipulus frater te superavit opus
 Hoc viderem ascer vna opus Gandavense Philippum
 Quae Regem tanto cepit amore sua
 Eius si ad patrias mandatum occupat terras
 Conant fieri referit hic manu

* W. van der Haeghe, 1810
 in: W. van der Haeghe, 1810

1c. Hubert van Eyck, Hondius 1610.
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
 327-I-15.



1f. Altarpiece of the Lamb, detail of the
 Just Judges, Hubert and Jan van Eyck
 1432. Ghent, Cathedral of St. Bavo.



IOANNES AB EYCK. PICTOR.

*Ille ego, qui latus oleo de semine iuni
Expresso locum principis miscere colores.
Huberto cum fratre nouum stupuere repositum.
Atque ipsi unotum quondam fortassis Apelli.
Florentes opibus Bruga mea nostra per omnem
Diffundit iate probitas non abnuat orocem.*

2c. Jan van Eyck, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 327-I-15.



2g. *Jan van Eyck*, Willem van den Broecke c. 1563. Antwerp, Vleeshuis.



HIERONYMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.

*Quid sibi vult, Hieronymus Boschi,
Ille oculos tuos attonitus? quid
allor in ore? velut lemures si
Hec Erebi volitantia coram*

*Aspiceres? Tibi Divi anari
Crediderim passisse recessus,
Tartareasque domos tua quando
Quicquid habet fano imus Ane
Tam potuit bene pingere dextra.*

3a. Hieronymus Bosch, 1572?. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



HIERONYMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.

*Quid sibi vult Hieronyme Boschi,
Ille oculus tuus autem quid
Pallor in ore velut lemures si
Spectra Erebi volucrem coram
Affuceres Tibi Datis anam
Crediderim paratè rebus
Tartareasque adeos tua quanta
Quanta tibi sumus omnes
Tam potuit bene puer re dixit*

3b. *Hieronymus Bosch*, 1572? ['second' edition].



HIERONIMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.

Quid fieri vult Hieronymus Boghis Apud nos Tūm Dicit auctori
Ite omnia tuae auctoritas quae Creaturam patuisse recusat
Pallor in ore scilicet laetitia si Terrestriaque domas tua quoniam
Spectat a Erebi roatantes corū Quaeque haec sunt omnia Auctori
Tam potuit bene pingere auctori.

3d. *Hieronymus Bosch*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



3g. *Hieronymus Bosch*, from the *Recueil d'Arras*, anonymous artist, third quarter of the sixteenth century. Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266.



ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.

*Non tibi sit laudi, quòd multa, & pulchra, Rogere,
 Pinxisti, ut poterant tempora ferre tua,
 Digna tamen, nostro quicumque est tempore Pictor
 Ad que, si sapiat, respicere usque velit:
 Testes picturae, quae Bruxellense tribunal
 De recto Themidis cedere calle vetant:
 Quàm, tua de partis pingendo extrema voluntas
 Perpetua est inopum quòd medicina s:mi.
 Illa reliquisti terris iam proxima morti - -
 Haec monumenta polo non moritura micant.*

4a. Rogier van der Weyden, 1572?. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.

*Non tibi sit laudi, quod multa, & pulchra, Rogere,
Pinxisti, ut poterant tempora ferre tua,
Digna tamen, nostro quicumque est tempore Pictor
Ad quæ, si sapiat, respicere vsque velit:
Testes picturæ, quæ Bruxellense tribunal
De recto Themidis cedere calle vetant:
Quam, tua de parvis pingendo extrema voluntas
Perpetua est inopum quod medicina fami.
Illa reliquisti terris iam proxima morci
Hæc monumenta polo non moritura micant.*

4b. Rogier van der Weyden, 1572? ['second' edition].



ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI.
 Non hinc sit ista, quod multa, et quidam, Rogere,
 Praesentia ut poterant tempora ferre tua
 Digna locum, nullo quocumque est tempore Pictor
 Ad qua, si sapias, effugere vique scilicet
 Effice pictura, qua, Bruxellensie, trionas
 De cetero Thomae, cedere, tunc, vident
 Quam tua, et parva, pinguis, ceteris, somnia,
 Fortuna, est, inquam, quae, meatus, tunc,
 Illa, reliquit, tunc, iam, prope, morti,
 Haec, monumenta, post, non, mortibus, micant.

4d. Rogier van der Weyden, Hondius
 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet,
 inv. no. 327-I-15.



4g. Rogier van der Weyden, from the
Recueil d'Arras, anonymous artist, third
 quarter of the sixteenth century. Arras,
 Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266.



4h. *Examples of Justice*, detail from the *Miracle of the Tongue*, after Rogier van der Weyden c. 1450. Berne, Historisches Museum.



4i. *Examples of Justice*, detail from *Herkinbald's Miraculous Absolution*.



4j. *Presentation of Trajan's Skull to the Pope Saint Gregory*, attributed to the Cobourg Master of Medallions. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale.



THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI.

*Huc Grades, Theodore, tuam quoque Belgica semper
Laude nihil ficta tollet ad astra manum,
Ipsa tuis rerum genitrice expressa figuris
Te Natura sibi dum timet arte parent.*

5a. Dieric Bouts, 1572?. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



THEODORO HARLEMIO. PICTORI.

*Huc et ades, Theodore, tuam quoque Belgica semper
Laude nihil ficta tollet ad astra manum,
Ipsa tuis rerum genitrice expressa figuris
Te Natura sibi dum tunc arte parem.*

5b. Dieric Bouts, 1572? ['second' edition].



THEODORO HARLEMIO PICTORI
*Hinc et ades, Theodora, tuam quoque Belgica semper
Laudat ubi filia tollit ad altera manum.
Ipsa tua rerum geminis expressa figura:
Te Natura sui cum timet arte parem.*

5d. *Dieric Bouts*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



5g. *The Last Supper*, detail from central
panel. *Dieric Bouts* 1464-1467.
Louvain, Church of Saint Peter.



**BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI
PICTORE.**

6a. *Bernard van Orley*, 1572?. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (box of portraits no. 167, OM-ORL).



DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI
PICTORE.

*Aulica quod sese Bernardo isctet alumno
Bruxella, Att alcas doctissima pingere vestes;
Non tam pictoris, si quis me iudice certet,
Arti debetur, quanquam debetur & arti;
Quam tibi quod carus Belgarum Margari rectoris,
Dum tibi Appelles nihil est iucundius arte,
Aurea peniculis te dante manubria, & auro
Sapè tulit, cusum paulò ante numisma, Philippoi.*

6b. Bernard van Orley, 1572?. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI PICTORE.

*Alicui quid fac Bernardus videtur
 Bruxella. Accipiens doctissima pingere vestes;
 Nam non effugit, si quis pro ludice certet.
 Arti debetur, iniquitas debetur & arti
 Quam tibi quid dicitur Polycarum, & Margara vultu.
 Dum tibi dicitur nihil est, Bernardus arte,
 Aurea veniens te dicitur inuenera, & curas
 Sapit tunc, vestis, paulo ante mundum, Philippus.*

6c. Bernard van Orley, 1572? [Aux quatre vents].



DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI PICTORE.

*Aulica quod sese Bernardo iactet alumno
 Bruxella, Actalicas doctissima pingere vestes;
 Non tam pictoris, si quis me iudice cercet,
 Arti debetur, quanquam debetur & arti
 Quam tibi quod carus Belgarum Margari rectorix
 Dum tibi Appellea nihil est iucundius arce,
 Aurea peniculis te dante manubria, & auros,
 Saep̄ tuit, cysum paub̄ ante numisma, Philippos.*

6d. Bernard van Orley, Adriaen Collaert. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (box of portraits no. 397x, A20100, V).



BERN. ORLEIO, BRUXELLENSI PICTORI .

*Aulica quod sese Bernardo iacet alumno
Bruxella, Attalicas doctissima pingere vestes;
Non tam pictoris, si quis me iudice certet,
Artsi debetur, quanquam debetur & arti;
Quam tibi quod carus, Belgarum Margari reatrix,
Dum tibi Apellea nihil est iucundius arte,
Aurea peniculis te dante manubria, & aureos
Sape tuit, cufum paulo ante numisma, Philyppos.*

To. Gale. read.



DE BERNARDO BRUXELLENSI. PICTORE.

*Quisquis quos fecit Bernardus vultus alium
Bruxellis. Atque dicitur deinde pueri vestes.
Non tam pultoris si quis in vultu certet.
Avis debetur, quamquam dicitur. Tunc
Quam tunc vultus carit. Belgarum Belgarum vestes
Tunc tunc Hippelica vultus est. Tunc tunc
Aurea pultoris si dicitur. Tunc tunc
Sape tunc vultus pultoris ante. Tunc tunc*

6f. *Bernard van Orley*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



6i. *Portrait of a Man*, Albrecht Dürer
1521 [Winkler 810]. Paris, Louvre.



IOANNI MABVSIO. PICTORI

*Inque sacro nosse secum dicitur Macchi
V'ortho: sa gratiam orasile tuam
Nam qui su' aspectum p'p'monia positus aior
Fioris Ap'ic'is umores caput
Arce ade' este tua tempora v'bi secuti
Pam. ui aitor per nos raru: ore*



IOANNIS MABVSIO. PICTORI

E. a. Gossaert

7c. *Jan Gossaert*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.

7d. *Jan Gossaert*, from Bullart's
Académie, Esme de Boulonois.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
301-C-10.



IOACHIMO DIONATENSI PICTORI.

*Haec inter omnes quae unquam Saepe quae tunc Diderit, adhaerens non
 Ioachim: magis excoluit. Dum rura pagis et alar
 Expressit, quae rurae in unum, non Omnia in seipsum in patris ipse non
 Fecit, et quae unquam Curat. Vultus aliam respicit
 In ora dextra magis alterum sic. Quae gratulatur unum si Curat
 Quae non comes non amicum. Nam gratulatur illis.*



8c. *Joachim Patinir*, Hondius 1610.
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
 327-I-15.

8f. *Joachim Patinir*, attributed to
 Cornelis Cort [after lost drawing by
 Albrecht Dürer].



QVINTIVS MESTVS ANVER-
PIANVS PICTOR.

*Ante fides sacrae Cyclopaus est vbi mecum
Ex aequo pistor capis amari prociis
Sequitur prociis tudilam tonatoris possitve silent
Pencilis obiecti cauta pucis vbi
Pistorum me fecit amor tuas vniui silia
Cyclopaus: scilicet que nota certa me
Si vbi vbi nati vniui vniui vniui
Pistorum: i. sacra summe Pucis silia*

9c. *Quentin Metsys*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



9g. *Quentin Metsys*, 1495. Brussels.
Cabinet des Médailles.



LVCAE LEIDANO, PICTORI.

*Tu quoque Durero non par, sed proxime, Luca,
Seu tabulas pingis, seu formas sculpis ahenas,
Ecce tya reddentes tensus miranda papyro,
Haud minimam in partem (si qua est ea gloria) nostrae
Accede. & tecum natalis Leida, Camanuz*

10c. *Lucas van Leyden*, Galle 1600?. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. inv. no. 325-C-20.



LVCAE LEIDANO, PICTORI.

*Tu quoque Duxeris non per, sed prope, Lucas,
Sua tabulae pingis, seu formae sculpsit abenas.
Et Typo reddentes omnes miranda papyro,
Haud minus in parietibus tua est, ea gloria, vestro
Accede, et tecum nasci Leida. Canone.*



LVCAE LEIDANO PICTORI, ET SCULPTORI

*In quoque Duxeris non per, sed prope, Luca,
Sua tabulae pingis, seu formae sculpsit abenas,
Et Typo reddentes omnes miranda papyro,
Haud minus in parietibus tua est, ea gloria, vestro
Accede, et tecum nasci Leida. Canone. D. 1.*

10d. *Lucas van Leyden*, Galle 1600?
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
325-C-19.

10e. *Lucas van Leyden*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



10f. *Lucas van Leyden*, Albrecht Dürer
1521 [Winkler 816]. Lille, Musée des
Beaux-Arts.



10g. *Young Man with a Skull*, Lucas van
Leyden 1521. Amsterdam,
Rijksprentenkabinet.



DE IOANNE HOLLANDO ANVERSIANO PICT:

Propria Belgarum laus est bene passere cura
Anonimorum homines passere sua deos
Nec morum in capite Anonimorum sed Belgis coriorum
Non temere in quibus fertur habere manum
Manus ergo manus sunt bene passere cura
Quam caput aut homines aut malis sunt acies

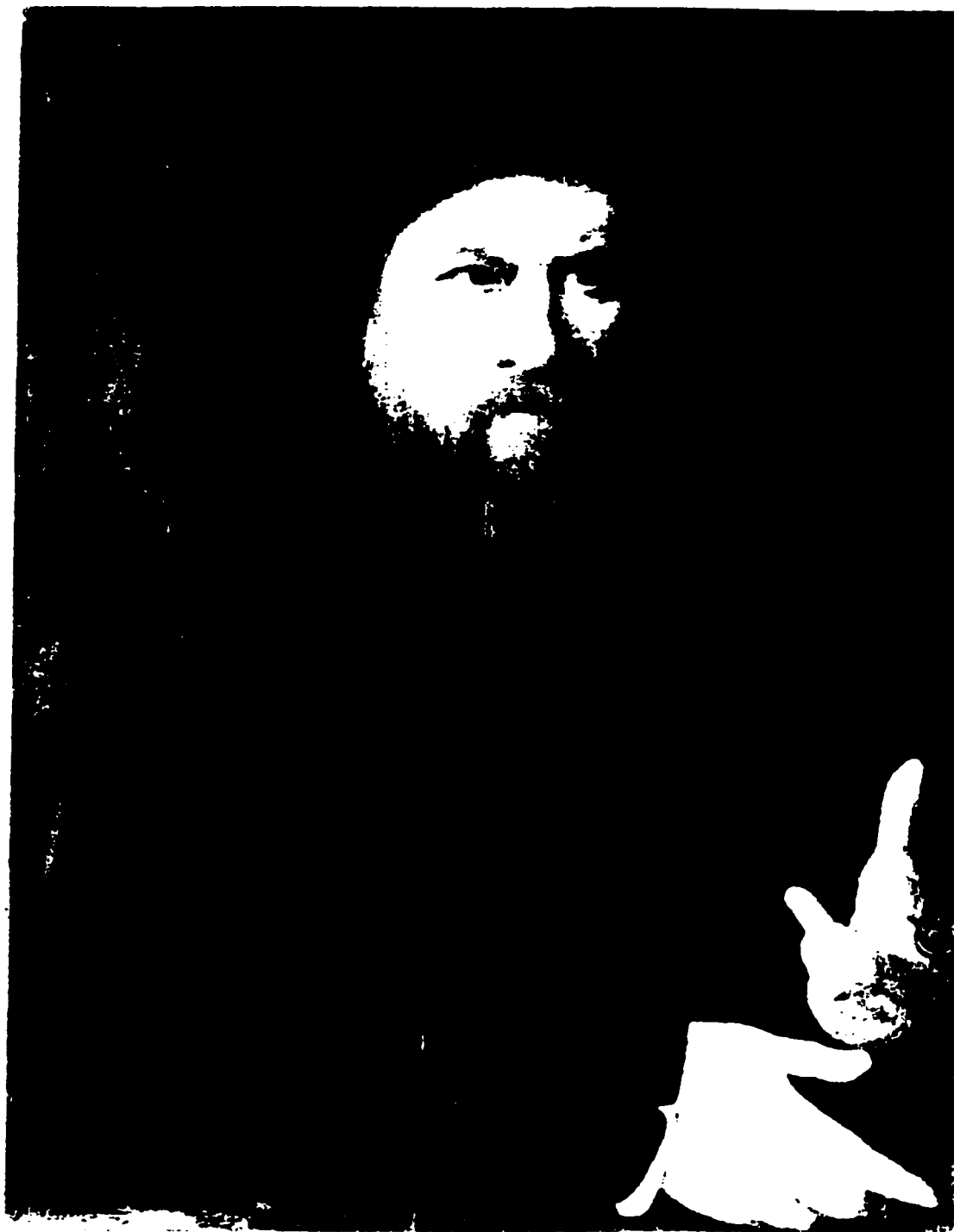
11c. *Jan van Amstel*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



IUSTO CLIVENSI ANVERSIANO PICTORI

Nostre nec arripis inter te Muis fucos
Belgas pulvere non idem Iusto iustus
Quam propria nate tam sunt sunt fucos
Manifeste sanum se mitero coriorum

12c. *Joos van Cleve*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



12e. *Self-Portrait*, Joos van Cleve c. 1540. London, Windsor Castle.



ANDREA, DEL, SARTO, PIT,
De. Larmessin fecit.

12f. *Andrea del Sarto*, from Isaac Bullart's *Académie*, Nicolas de Larmessin 1682.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. 301-C-9.



MATTHIÆ COCO ANVERPIAN PICTORI.
HIERONYMI FRATRI.

*In quoque Mattheia sic pingere rura sicca
Vt tibi vix decerunt tempora nostra parum
Ergo quod artifices videri sperant et ipsi
Quos immortale Regna iuuat omnes
Non in te pietas tantum fraterna, sed arti
Efficit et merito iam prouidentia tua*

13c. *Matthijs Cock*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



HENRICO BLESIO BOVINATI PICTORI.

*Pictorem vides dicitur Dignum Equitum pictor
Quem proximo dicitur poeta scribit
Lumina dabo artificem pennis intus ipse magister
Instituta in cadenti fuerat
Hinc tantum vultu vultu esse Bovinum
Et rura dicitur pingere Henricum dicit
Nunc tantum dicitur Dignum esse Bovinum
Iamque tantum dicitur Henricum esse*

14c. *Herri met de Bles*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



DE IOANNE MAIO. PICTORE.

Quae hinc non Mauis sola puant. *U' velle*
Utendum late quaequid *U' Oris* hinc
Dum terra sequiturque mari: *Cepit* Cefae.
Pugnet et dactylus forma *facile* tua
Dum Mauis *Aladit* Juppiteri *auris* texti.
Materiam *artibus* sua *supponit* manu.
Nec *manu* illi *haec* spectatus *probat* arce:
Sic *ille* *componit* *totius* *gratia* *liti*.
Iulius *probat* *hinc* *omnis* *arte*
Ostendat: *hinc* *prima* *de* *re* *re*.

15c. *Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, Hondius*
1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet,
inv. no. 327-I-15.



MULAY AHMET PRINCEPS AFRICANVS FILIVS RUMS VESTI

15i. *Mulay Ahmad, Jan Cornelis*
Vermeyen c. 1535-1536. Rotterdam,
Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.



15f. *Skirmishes on the Cape of Carthage*, detail from cartoon for fourth tapestry in *Conquest of Tunis* series, Jan Cornelis Vermeyen 1546-1548. Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum.



15g. *The Sack of Tunis*, detail from cartoon for tenth tapestry in *Conquest of Tunis* series, Jan Cornelis Vermeyen 1546-1548. Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum.



16c. *Pieter Coecke van Aelst*. Hondius
1610. Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet.
inv. no. 327-I-15.

PETRO COECKE. ALOSTANO PICTORI

*Pictor erat nec erat tantum Petre puer Alostum
Qui fuit nam Oris natus arte tuam
Multa sed accepit mudo ars tui parte laboris
Cumque opus pueri adificaret domos
Serratus eam. Ita in. Scribit aetnae vultusque
Interpres Briga: Francigena quoque aetna*

16f. *Portrait of the Artist and his Wife ?*.
Pieter Coecke van Aelst c.1545. Zurich.
Kunsthhaus.





IOANNES SCORELLVS BATAVVS PICTOR.

*Primus ego, egregios pictura inuisti: Romam
Exemptis, aduulsi meo per, iocundis, Borgia
Cunctis ferat, neque enim nulli dignamque honore
Artifici, qui non gratulatus, pueri, neque, mita
Cognomine, tacuit, dicit, iocundis, dignam, iocundis*

17c. Jan van Scorel, Hondius 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. inv. no. 327-I-15.



17f. Members of the Confraternity of Jerusalem at Utrecht, detail [Jan van Scorel at extreme left], Jan van Scorel 1525-1526. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum.



17g. *Jan van Scorel, Antonio Moro 1560. London, Society of Antiquaries.*



LAMBERTO LOMBARDO LEODIENSI.
PICTORI ET ARCHITECTO.

*Engraving ex merito quod te Lombardus, aedificat
Non adest hic paucis tantum vericulis
Convincet hoc ea cuncta aegri si nostris merentur
De te quam fecit Anselmus 1580.*

18c. *Lambert Lombard*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



LAMBERTUS LOMBARDO PICTOR. BRUGIENSIS
1580. AET. 71.

18d. *Lambert Lombard*, from Bullart's
Académie, Esme de Boulonois 1682.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
301-C-10.



18f. *Lambert Lombard* [self-portrait?].
Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum der Stadt.

IN EFFIGIEM LOMBARDI,
A. M.



Αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ εἰκόμη γράφει Λόμβαρδος ἀριστὸς
Ἰδοὺ δὲ ψυχῆς Λαμπσονίου γράφει.

18g. *Lambert Lombard*, title page to Lampsonius's *Lamberti Lombardi... vita* 1565.
Lambert Suavius.



18h. *Lambert Lombard*, page from *Album Amicorum* of Otto Venius. Brussels. Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

no. 1111
Lambert Lombard
1538



18i. *Lambert Lombard*, Wierix [after Lambert Suavius]. Berlin.



PETRO BRVEGEL PICTORI.

Qui natus in Hieronymi Orti *Mate sumpsit Petrus matris claris*
Belgicis omnino magistris *Namque suo estisque magistro*
Somno pernoctat, illicque *Rebus, pariterque rebus*
Tanta utitur arte peritus *In graphis, quos in dia ducunt*
Ut inquit tamquam in unum *Præcipue utitur, et ad omnes in*
Artem, hanc dicitur invenit

19c. Pieter Bruegel, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



19f. Pieter Bruegel II?, Aegidius
Sadeler II [after lost drawing by
Bartholomeus Spranger].



DE GVILIELMO CAIO BREDANO.
PICTORE.

*Quas hominum facies, ut eos te cernere credas
Expressit Cui pingere solita manus.
Si tamen Excipias unum, me iustis. Morum
Culpari Bellæ nullius arte iument*

20c. *Willem Key*, Hondius 1610.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
327-I-15.



20f. *Self-Portrait*, Willem Key 1566.
Private collection.



LYCÆ GASSELO HELMONTANO PICTORI.

*Salve omnes. Lucas ante alios carissime quondam
 Nec leuiter proprio cuius parentis mihi
 Quippe mihi primas gratias dabo, amice amice
 Dum pugni dices vera, casusque memi
 Par arte prociisque tuae, condorque bonorum
 Et quicquid amicitiae amice potest
 Ergo fama tua virtutis et artis in totum
 Vnaque utraque mihi nomine amice, felix*

21c. *Lucas Gassel*, Hondius 1610.
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
 327-I-15.



FRANCISCO FLORO ANVERPIANO,
 PICTORI

*Si pictor quantum natura, Floro, racionas,
 Tantum athenicis artis et ipse tici.
 Dum tibi multa libet potius, quam pingere multum,
 Nec mora te amor iulia, moerque iuuat
 Cedite clamorem, pictores, omnibus oris
 Quas vel aus, nobis rei gemitre patres*

22c. *Frans Floris*, Hondius 1610.
 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no.
 327-I-15.



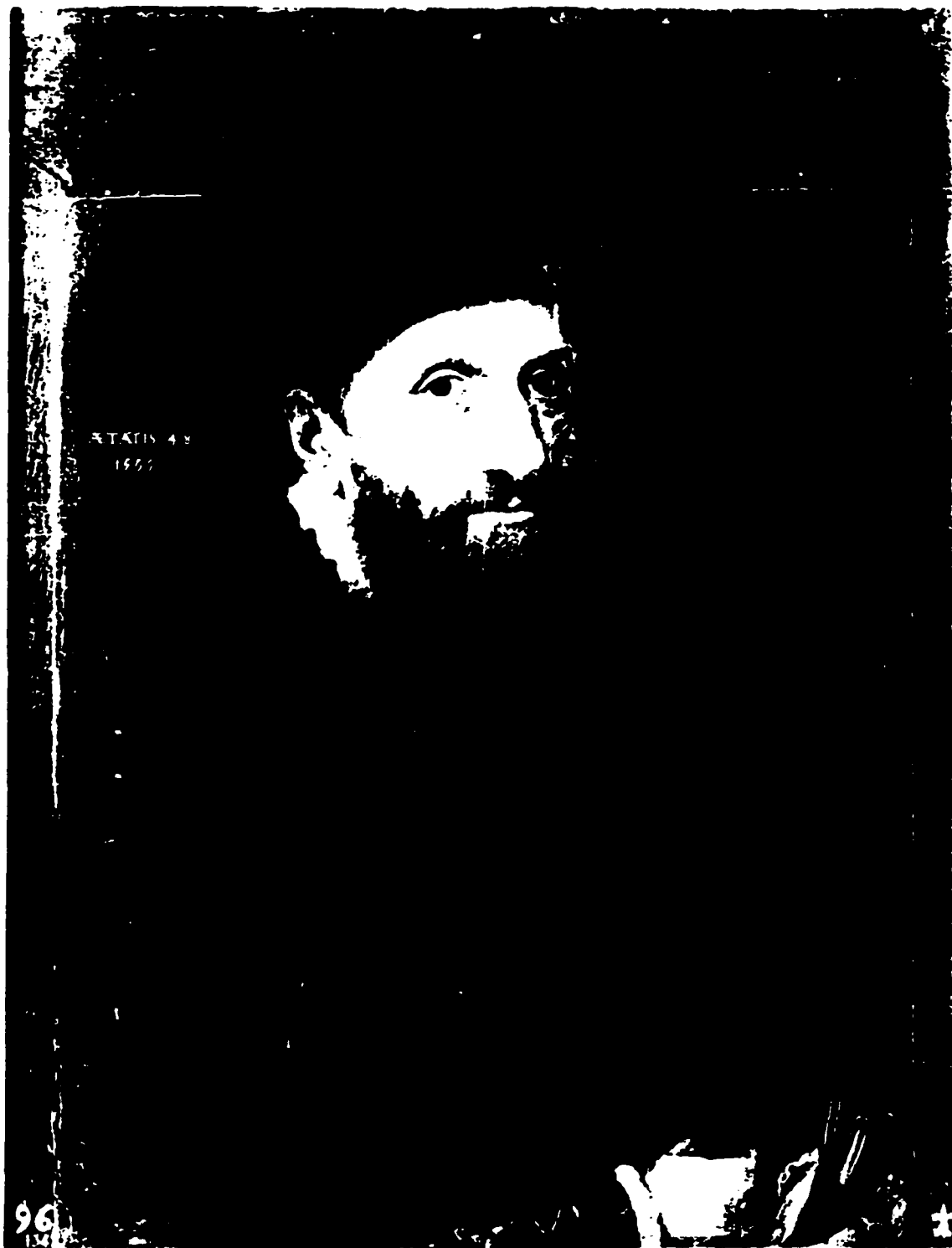
22f. *Frans Floris*, Jan Symons 1552.
 Antwerp, Vleeshuis.



23. [detail] *Hieronymus Cock* 1572.



23b. *Jean Célosse*, *Wierix* 1574.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



23c. *Portrait of a Man* [Hieronymus Cock?], Frans Floris 1555. Madrid, The Prado.

Vita

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