THE *PICTORUM* PORTRAIT CYCLE

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Master of Arts in Photography

Barry University

Miami Shores, Florida

2015

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
May, 2017

THE PICTORUM PORTRAIT CYCLE

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of several mentors, peers and family members, especially Dr. Rebecca Brienen, head of the Department of Art and Art History Oklahoma State University. Also my other advisors, Dr. Cristina González and Dr. Irene Backus were of great help.
I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Dan Ewing, Max Wiringa and my parents, Gregory Burke and Vickie Harrell, for their support during my education.

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Date of Degree: August 4, 2017

Title of Study: THE *PICTORUM* PORTRAIT CYCLE

Major Field: ART HISTORY

Abstract:

First published in 1572, the *Pictorum* was the first printed portrait series solely dedicated to artists. It contained twenty-three engraved portraits of the most illustrious painters of the Low Countries. These engravings were made by some of the most prolific artists of its day, including Hieronymus Cock, Cornelis Cort and the Wierix brothers, each accompanied by a laudatory Latin poem by scholar Dominicus Lampsonius. Up to that moment, the portrait cycle was reserved for nobility, biblical or mythical figures and clergy. By appropriating such a tradition, the *Pictorum* raised status of its artists.

The series had an immediate impact and continued to be re-published and expanded upon into the next century. The *Pictorum* spoke directly to artists, scholars and art-lovers, and engaged in the contemporary dialogues on art that came to define the period. It addressed artists through its technique, scholars with its focus history and theory, and art-lovers with its reference to social customs and popular print-genres of the time, such as emblem books.

This study brings new attention to the *Pictorum* as a work of art, arguing that its design allowed it to contribute directly to contemporary dialogues between artists and art lovers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Furthermore this study looks to the influence of the series outside its own time and place, in Spain of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and in the twentieth century United States, to gain further insight into how the series was received by various audiences over a long period of time. The lasting presence, use and influence of the *Pictorum* has meant that the artists pictured within it continue to be remembered, their likeness and talents "seen," even into present day. More significantly the series continues to serve as a muse to artists who carry on the tradition of artists' portrait cycles. By positioning the *Pictorum* as a visual narrative rather than an illustrated text, we can tease out a more nuanced elements of the series, inspiring not only new perspectives in scholarship on this series, but also on print culture of the Early Modern period.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1572 the Flemish artist and publisher Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570) published a small

booklet of engraved portraits, titled the *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Præcipé Germaniæ*

Inferioris, Effigies [Effigies of some celebrated painters of Lower Germany], known by

scholars today simply as the *Pictorum.*[1] This print series consists of a set of twenty-three

print-portraits of Netherlandish artists by the highly regarded engravers Cornelis Cort

(1533-1578), Adriaen Collaert (1560-1618) and the Wierix brothers, Johannes (1549-

c.1618) and Hieronymus (1553-1619). Each image comes with its own short laudatory

Latin poem written by the well-known artist, scholar and diplomat, Dominicus

Lampsonius (1532-1599). This was one of the first portrait cycles dedicated solely to

artists and was special since it was a highly reproducible and portable print series (fig. 1).

Until that time, the portrait cycle tradition had been almost exclusively reserved for

nobility, mythical or biblical figures, or clergy. By appropriating such a tradition, Cock

and his associates raised the status of artists by creating an artistic dynasty that has

defined the Netherlandish canon to this day. It was so highly appreciated that it was re-

published, modified and transformed several times throughout the following century,

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[1] Hieronymus Cock and Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*

including an expanded, re-worked edition in 1610 by Dutch engraver Hendrik Hondius (1573-1650). [2]

In this study I will argue that Hieronymus Cock and his collaborators created a print series uniquely engineered for a northern viewership, rendering it as collectable as it was authoritative. Scholars have long recognized the importance of the *Pictorum* as it relates to canon formation during the seventeenth century, which included the well known works by Giorgio Vasari and Karel van Mander, however they have not yet fully addressed the degree to which the *Pictorum* was specifically designed for its Netherlandish audience. As a set of print-portraits made by and about northern artists, containing Latin poetry and resembling emblems, the *Pictorum's* design was highly self-referential and directly addressed ongoing discussions about the arts among contemporary northern artists, scholars and *liefhebbers* (art lovers).

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[2] An earlier portrait cycle of five artists (and one mathematician) was painted by Paolo Uccello in fifteenth-century Italy, but they were private paintings kept at the artist's home. It included Giotto, Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, Donatello, Uccello, and Giovanni Manetti. Giorgio Vasari wrote about this work; Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors, and architects…, translated by Mrs. Jonathan Foster* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1907), 359. It is thought that Uccello had worked on a large portrait cycle in the Orsini Palace in Rome, which no longer exists; Robert L. Mode, "Masolino, Uccello and the Orsini 'Uomini Famosi'," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 114, No. 831 (Jun., 1972): 368-375+377-378. It is also worth noting that Vasari painted a few portraits of artists on the ceiling of the Salla della Fama in his house in Arezzo and placed portraits of artists on each wall of the *Sala Grande* at his house in Florence. An edition of the collected portrait woodcuts from Vasari's second edition was published in 1568 by the Gunti Press in Florence. While Vasari's booklet of woodcuts does fit the definition of a print-portrait cycle, I do not consider it likely to have been as powerful as a work like the Pictorum. Vasari's Ritratti are more ghostly apparitions than lively figures, which do not interact strongly with the viewer and are overpowered by their allegorical cartouches. Furthermore, Vasari repeats likenesses for different artists, or even leaves some cartouches blank, unlike the Pictorum which was very careful to individualize its artists. Lastly there is no text but the name of the artist on the woodcuts. Sharon Gregory wrote about these portraits, including some short comments in relation to the concept of the portrait cycle as presenting exemplars to follow; Sharon Gregory, " 'The outer man tends to be a guide to the inner': the woodcut portraits in Vasari's Lives as parallel texts," in *The Rise of the Image: Essays on the History of the Illustrated Art Book,* ed. Rodney Palmer and Thomas Frangenberg, (United Kingdom: Ashgate 2003): 51-86. Gregory mentions another work that shortly discusses the significance of these portraits, which I have not been able to access at this time: Laura Corti, Margaret Daly Davis, ed., *Giorgio Vasari: principi, letterati e srtisti nelle carte de Giorgio Vasari* (Florence: Edam, 1981), 258-9.

Additionally, scholarship on the *Pictorum* has not fully addressed its influence on artists and historians in other regions of Europe.

Using close visual analysis and iconographical study, while tracing the reception and transmission of the *Pictorum* throughout several centuries and different cultures, this study offers a deep insight into the social history of the *Pictorum*. This will give important new perspectives on this work and also on artists' practice more generally, by drawing attention to how artists, especially engravers, communicate with each other visually, as they did with the *Pictorum*. The process of appropriating and innovating on each other's work has created a constantly-evolving visual dialogue about technique, style, art history and the greater purpose of their work, that continues into present day.

Portrait Cycles and the Significance of Pliny

One of the most important aspects to consider about the *Pictorum* is its adaptation of popular contemporary literary tropes on the arts and the appropriation of the portrait cycle and the illustrious roots of this genre of art. Most of these ideas originate with the Roman scholar Pliny the Elder's (23 CE.-79 CE) *Natural History* (77 CE), an encyclopedic anthology that includes a lengthy discussion of art and artists from antiquity.[3] Pliny's anecdotes about the artists would become a key influence on the humanist movement and artistic practice in Italy during the Renaissance, which eventually spread throughout Europe through networks of courts and traveling artists. As a part of this revival of interest in the culture of classical antiquity, comparison of renaissance artists to the ancient artists discussed by Pliny would come to be a common

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[3] Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History,* trans. John Bostock (London: Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, 1855). Available at Perseus Digital Library, accessed May 11, 2017.

motif in art literature, as the opening poem in Hondius' 1610 re-strike of the *Pictorum*

demonstrates. The first part of this poem is dedicated to "the lover of things written and

drawn," and states:

> If you own no paintings, nor illustrated poems: let these learned painters be
> enough for you. For painted pictures yield to painters. They are the ones who
> form and paint whatever they please with their genius…[4]

The second part of the poem responds to critics of art with a famous story about verism

drawn directly from Pliny, in which the artist Zeuxis painted grapes so well that birds

attempted to eat them:[5]

> Against the hater of things written and drawn:
> The hater of painting attacks without reason the art of painters, babbling
> that they paint nothing lifelike. But the little crow proves [the opposite]
> by a living example: when it tried to get the painted grapes, it was
> deceived by the artist.[6]

Hondius poem functions to inform the viewer that the cycle of portraits they are about to

see represents the best, most famous artists, who can form and paint anything with their

"genius." This reflects a typical humanist concept of art during the Renaissance, based

on Pliny's appreciation of naturalistic representation, in which the *ingenio,* or genius, of

the artist is demonstrated by his ability to render lifelike images, making him godlike and

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[4] Johannes Janssonius, "To the Lovers and Haters," *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Præcipue Germaniæ Inferioris Effigies,* Hendrik Hondius, ed. (Den Haag, 1610), 3. For all the translations of the Latin poetry of the *Pictorum* I used Daniel Hadas' translation from Stephanie Porras and Joanna Woodall, *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon,* ed. Caroline Orscott (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013), available on the Courtauld Museum website, accessed May 11, 2017.

[5] For a discussion of Vasari's terms see Svetlana Leontief Alpers, "Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari's Lives," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23, no. 3/4 (Jul. - Dec., 1960): 190-215, or Max Wiring, " 'fatti con molta pacienza e grandissimo guidizo': Verrochio's influence on his pupils and Vasair's Le Vite," (unpublished paper: Utrecht University 23 June 2014).

[6] Johannes Janssonius, "To the Lovers and Haters," *Pictorum* (1610).

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his work therefore divine.[7] The poem thus justifies the artists' presence in the *Pictorum*

portrait gallery, reasoning that such genius deserves attention and immortality.

Pliny's views on the significance of portraiture would also be a strong influence

on scholars and artists throughout Europe during the Renaissance, especially in terms of

portrait cycles such as the *Pictorum*. In chapter two of book thirty-five, Pliny discusses

the history of portrait cycles or collections, writing:

> 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

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[7] Vasari's concept of the divine artist is exemplified by Michelangelo who, according to Vasari, was sent by God as an example of God-like skill, which up to that point no one could achieve. Michelangelo was therefore the paragon of art, the pinnacle of what past artists had been working toward. In the very first section he literally says God sent Michelangelo, "While the most noble and industrious spirits were striving, by the light of the famous Giotto and of his followers, to give to the world a proof of the ability that the benign influence of the stars and the proportionate admixture of humors…the most benign Ruler of Heaven in His clemency turned His eyes to the earth…and desiring to deliver us from such great errors, became minded to send down to earth a spirit with universal ability in every art and every profession, who might be able, working by himself alone, to show what manner of thing is the perfection of the art of design in executing the, lines, contours, shadows, and high lights, so as to give relief to works of painting, and what it is to work with correct judgment in sculpture, and how in architecture it is possible to render habitations secure and commodious, healthy and cheerful, well-proportioned, and rich with varied ornaments. He was pleased, in addition, to endow him with the true moral philosophy and with the ornament of sweet poesy, to the end that the world might choose him and admire him as its highest exemplar in the life, works, saintliness of character, and every action of human creatures, and that he might be acclaimed by us as a being rather divine than human." In another example in the biography of Antonio da Sangallo, Vasari calls Michelangelo "divine"; Vasari, *Le Vite* (1550), 947-8, 873) For more on this see Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), specifically p. 183. On the history of the development of the concept of the divine artist, see Patricia A. Emison, *Creating the "Divine" Artist: From Dante to Michelangelo* (Leiden: Brill 2004), or, Stephen J. Campbell, " "Fare una Cosa Morta Parer Viva": Michelangelo, Rosso, and the (Un)Divinity of Art," *The Art Bulletin*, 84, no. 4 (Dec., 2002): 596-620. This appreciation for verisimilitude can also be traced back to Aristotle's thoughts on mimesis in *Poetics*, where he privileges mimesis as a skill and defines art as kind of mimesis; see Chris Murray, ed., "Aristotle," in *Key Writers on Art* (London: Routledge (2003), 7-12. During the late Renaissance and Early Modern period, the concept of the divine artist was propagated by collectors whose fascination with "wonder" translated into reverence of artists who could render the artificial into the real. See Joy Kenseth, "Introduction: Age of the Marvelous," and "Kunst und Wunderkammer," in *Age of the Marvelous* (Dartmouth: Hood Museum of Art, 1991), 28.

bestowed immortality but despatched it all over the world, enabling his
subjects to be ubiquitous, like the gods. (Pliny 35.2)

Pliny further remarks on the didactic and mnemonic uses of portrait collections,

observing that they not only serve to trace lineage, but also to memorialize the virtuous

deeds or triumphs of renowned men, thereby providing models for the viewer.

Furthermore, Pliny does not limit the artistry of portrait cycles to painting, but he also

includes sculpture, wax casts and most significantly, book illustrations, such as the

portraits included in the (lost) "volumes" of the Roman scholar Marcus Varro (116 BC –

27 BC), titled *Hebddomades sive Imagines* (c. 49-29 B.C.E).[8]

Pliny's anthology was eventually translated and transmitted to members of the

court in Padua by Francesco Petrarch (1304 - 1374), a scholar in residence there.[9] As art

historian Sarah Blake McHam argues, Petrarch's interest in classical antiquity was a

major contributor to the awakening of humanism, and that due to his understanding of

Pliny, Petrarch participated directly in the renaissance revival of the portrait cycle by

collaborating on two early cycles: one by the artist Giotto di Bondone (1266-1337) in

Naples and one in Padua by the artist Altichiero da Verona (1330 -1390).[10] Portrait

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[8] For more on Varro's portraits see Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "The Early Beginnings of the Notion of
"Uomini Famosi" and the "De Viris Illustribus," *Greco-Roman Literary Tradition. Artibus et Historiae* 3,
no. 6 (1982): 97-115, esp. p. 107, n. 56 - 64.

[9] Sarah Blake McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the Natural
History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 59-62.

[10] Both cycles are lost. In the early 1370s Petrarch, his patron Francesco Il Vecchio (1325-1393) and his
court painter Altichiero embarked on a project to embellish an audience hall at the Palace Reggia in Padua
with a portrait cycle in fresco of great Roman figures. According to McHam, this cycle was in part inspired
by Petrarch's recent effort to collect and publish a manuscript collection of biographies; see McHam,
Pliny, 71. Christine L. Joost-Gaugier has suggested another cycle that Petrarch may have assisted with, by
Giotto in Naples, painted around 1328-33. This cycle has been linked to Petrarch since he was present in
Naples and had a relationship with King Anjou. See Joost-Gaugier, "Giotto's Hero Cycle in Naples: A
Prototype of Donne Illustri and a Possible Literary Connection," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980):
311-318. Giotto's program simply honored a female heir to the throne with references to other notable
women in history, while Petrarch's later collaboration with Altichiero was a carefully selected program of

cycles eventually became widely appreciated in the Renaissance for their didactic and

mnemonic qualities, just as Pliny had described their significance.[11]

As Pliny's commentary and Petrarch's early work suggest, there are several types

of portrait cycles, such as the genealogical cycle, which was meant to trace lineage, either

by blood or some other transfer of power. The other type of portrait cycle relevant to this

study is the hero cycle, a set of corresponding portraits of real or mythical figures meant

to imbue moral lessons, or to demonstrate the qualities of the person who they represent.

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, portrait cycles and collections in a variety of

media were a presence in many homes and galleries, both public and private, and

contemporary writers honored individual artists for their contributions.[12] As portraits

became more common in printed form, it was perhaps inevitable that the concept of the

portrait cycle would follow as well. The parallel formation of these ideas culminated in

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figures meant to both represent aspects of its dedicatee and inspire him to act accordingly. According to McHam, although it was destroyed in a fire in 1500, the portrait cycle made for Il Vecchio is said to have included three dozen "moral exemplars" and three anti-heroes, whose actions Petrarch deplored.See McHam, 71. For a more complete discussion of ancient origins of cycles of biographies or portraits see: Joost-Gaugier, "The Early Beginnings of the Notion of "Uomini Famosi."

[11] For more on the development of portraits of heroic figures in renaissance Italy, see Randolph Starn, "Reinventing Heroes in Renaissance Italy," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (Summer, 1986): 67-84.

[12] Famous northern examples of such painted cycles include the house of artist Cornelis Ketel (1548-161). According to Van Mander, Ketel painted the façade with allegorical figures in grisaille. See Karel Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the First Edition of the Schilder-Boeck (1603-1604),* ed. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994), 373. Frans Floris (1517-1570) also painted his house with allegorical figures representing the seven liberal arts. Edward Wouk has suggested that the idea to do so could have been sparked by Vasari's frescoes dedicated to the arts painted in his homes in Arezzo and Florence. He also suggests that Lampsonius might have helped with Floris' design. Wouk mentions another painted façade that included portraits of actual artists, specifically Albrecht Dürer and Jan van Eyck, on the house of Cornelis van Dalem in Antwerp. See Edward H. Wouk, "Humanae societati necessaria: the painted façade of the house of Frans Floris," in *The Notion of the Painter-Architect in Italy and the Southern Low Countries,* ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 89-125, esp. 103-105, 113.

the concept of the artists' portrait cycle, leading to the publication of works like the *Pictorum* in the late Renaissance.

The *Pictorum*

Most editions of the *Pictorum* were published between 1572 and 1618, a transitional time for the arts in the Low Countries, thus the *Pictorum* became inextricably embedded into much of the culture and events during this period. The first edition was published twenty-two years after Giorgio Vasari's (1511-1574) influential *Le Vite De Piu Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, Et Scultori Italiani…. [The Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Architects, Painters, and Sculptors…]* of 1550, which essentially disregarded the North in its account of artists' lives. Yet northern scholars and artists, driven by a desire to put their own history in perspective, were also engaged in literary projects on the arts. These projects include Lucas de Heere's "Den Hof en Boomgaerd der Poësien," which includes commentary on art, Lampsonius' biography on his teacher Lambert Lombard (1505-1566), and the *Pictorum,* which may have been in production as early as 1565.[13] Reacting specifically to the *Vite*, Lampsonius and his teacher Lambert Lombard were in direct contact with Vasari, in an exchange of letters about northern art that would eventually make it into Vasari's second edition which was published in 1568.[14]

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[13] Lucas De Heere, *Den Hof En Boomgaerd Der Poësien,* ed. W. Waterschoot (Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1969); Dominicus Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi Apvd Ebvrones Pictoris Celeberrimi Vita* (Brugge: 1565). Riggs pointed out that plates included in the *Pictorum* were engraved by Cort, who moved to Italy in 1565, suggesting that the *Pictorum* was in production by that time; see Riggs, p. 193, n. 14.

[14] Vasari mentions the letters in his short discussion of northern artists that he added to the second edition. See Vasari, "Other Flemish Artists," *Lives* (1907), 458-466.; The presence of artists' portraits in Vasari's second edition has been proposed as the start of the idea for the *Pictorum*, however, it has been proven that work on the artists' portraits for the series had begun before Vasari's second edition was sent to Lampsonius, due to the existence of plates in the *Pictorum* that were engraved by Cornelis Cort, who moved to Italy in 1565. See: Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1977),

In 1604, the Dutch artist Karel van Mander (1548 - 1606) published his landmark

work, *Het Schilder-boeck*, *[The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German*

Painters], the northern literary response to the *Vite.* This book contributed narratives of

ninety-nine Netherlandish artist's lives to the written record.[15] Van Mander reproduced

poems from the *Pictorum* in the *Schilder-Boeck*, thereby connecting the print series to art

theory of the period. Later, Hendrik Hondius' included of a portrait of Van Mander in his

expanded 1610 version of the *Pictorum,* demonstrating the significant place that the

Pictorum took amongst contemporary literature on art and artists. As if to confirm the

Pictorum's influence on the developing Netherlandish canon, an annotated edition of the

Schilder-boeck published in 1764 explicitly mentions Janssonius' 1618 edition of the

Pictorum (a reprint of Hondius' edition) and uses the portraits from the series as

illustrations.[16]

The influence of the *Pictorum* continued for centuries after its initial publishing.

The association of the *Pictorum* with literature on art confirms the reciprocal relationship

between the series and its early modern audience, as they conceptualized and shaped art

historical narratives. A complete English edition was published in 1694; its title claimed

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193. It is unknown if Vasari also enclosed the small edition of the woodcuts that was published as a separate work in his letter to Lampsonius. No editions of that work are known to exist in the Low Countries.

[15] Sveltana Alpers and Walter Melion have clarified that the translation of "schilderen" should be "picturing," rather than "painting." Walter Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), xxii. While the title suggests Van Mander only writes on painters, he included sculptors, architects and engravers.

[16] Karel van Mander, *Het leven der doorluchtige Nederlandsche en eenige Hoogduitsche schilders…*ed. Jacobus de Jongh (Amsterdam: Steven van Esveldt, 1764). Annette de Vries discusses this topic further in her article. See Annette de Vries, "Hondius Meets Van Mander: The Cultural Appropriation of the First Netherlandish Book on the Visual Arts System of Knowledge in a Series of Artist's Portraits," in *The Artist As Reader*, eds. Heiko Damm, Michael Thimann and Claus Zittel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 259-304.

to contain "true effigies."[17] Writers into the nineteenth century have reproduced the

poems and appropriated portraits from the *Pictorum* for their publications, such as in

Arnold Houbraken's *Groot Schowburg* of 1718, which was intended to be an update to

Van Mander's work by adding yet more artists from recent generations.[18] The *Pictorum*

was successful in immortalizing its sitters. Through the publication and widespread

dissemination of the *Pictorum*, the featured artists became "ubiquitous, like gods," like

what Pliny wrote of Varro's featured subjects.

Given the *Pictorum's* acknowledged importance, several lacunae in scholarship

stand out, especially with regard to its powerful influence on artists in its own time and

place and beyond. Overall, the series has been largely treated as an illustrated text, rather

than as a "visual programme," as Sara Meiers insightfully called it. Scholars have

primarily studied as a source in relation to other art historical texts and authors of the

time, and much interpretation of the images has been based on the Latin poetry.

Several key design features of the series remain understudied, some of which may

be the most vital to understanding why the series was so appealing, especially to

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[17] Sebastiano Resta, Théodore Galle and Jean Meyssens, *The True Effigies of the Most Eminent Painters…* (London: D. Browne, 1694). Other direct references to the *Pictorum* are found in the 1682 *Académie des sciences et des arts* and the 1860 *Biographie Nacionel Belgique,* both of which honor Lampsonius for his poems of famous Netherlandish painters and use the portraits from the *Pictorum* to illustrate the sections on artists. Bullart wrongly attributes poems from the 1610 *Pictorum* that were written by Janssonius to Lampsonius and although he uses many of the *Pictorum* portraits, a few are not from the *Pictorum*, such as Goltzius. This attests to the fact that the different editions of the *Pictorum* were often bound together and sometimes incomplete or with the wrong frontispieces. See Isaac Bullart, *Académie des sciences et des arts…* (Amsterdam: Daniel Elzévier, 1682), available on Google Books, accessed May 11, 2017; André Henri Constant Hasselt, *Biographie nationale…*(Brussels: Jamar, 1860): 147, 229, 237, 251, 263, 274, 275, 277, 279, 283, 290, 297, accessed May 11, 2017. Lastly, Cornelis De Bie's *Gulden Cabinet* of 1661 featured a portrait of Goltzius similar enough to the *Pictorum's* to suggest inspiration. See Cornelis De Bie, *Het Gulden Cabinet Van De Edel Vry Schilderconst* (Antwerp: Jan Meyssens, 1661).
[18] Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen, waar van 'er vele met hunne beeltenissen ten tooneel verschynen, ... zynde een vervolg op het schilderboek van K. v. Mander* (Amsterdam: Arnold Houbraken, 1718).

sixteenth- and seventeenth-century northern viewers. It is important to consider the print

medium, the material, the physical process of its creation and the final product being a

collection of hand-held images, when interpreting its impact. Thus far, the fact that the

Pictorum is a set of prints has mostly been treated in reference to the business of print-

publishing with respect to the profitability of the series.[19] Moreover, while the Latin

poetry in the *Pictorum* has been noted as displaying the usual referential function to

antiquity and erudition, the fact that laudatory Latin poetry was a social practice unique

to the North has not been addressed when interpreting Netherlandish images that include

Latin verse. Next, while some scholars have remarked on the inaugural aspect of the

Pictorum as one of the first portrait cycle of artists, there has been no effort to actually

place the series within this long-standing tradition. Lastly, while many scholars

repeatedly acknowledge the series' importance to the establishment of the Netherlandish

canon, its presence or influence outside the Low Countries remains entirely

understudied.[20]

Scholarship on the *Pictorum*

This thesis contributes to ongoing scholarship surrounding the *Pictorum* series as

well as larger interest into the Early Modern period of print culture in the Low Countries.

Over the last hundred years, several generations of scholars have approached the

Pictorum from various methodological standpoints, beginning in 1956 when the French

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[19] For example see: Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1996).
[20] Meiers also noted in the introduction of her essay from 2006 that the series' influence abroad has not been addressed, yet she did not delve into that topic further. See Sara Meiers, "Portraits in Print: Hieronymus Cock, Dominicus Lampsonius, and *Pictorum* aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69, (2006): 1-16, esp. 1.

art historian Jean Puraye published a facsimile edition of the *Pictorum* with a French

translation of all the Latin poems, as well as commentary on the sources for the portraits,

some notes on basic iconography, and other short information on its authors and

designers.[21] Hans-Joachim Raupp's 1984 dissertation on representations of Netherlandish

artists in the seventeenth century is the first sustained investigation of the *Pictorum's*

iconography. In his work he does a close reading of the hands and gestures of the

characters.[22] Raupp cites the series for its decisive inspiration on later northern

portraiture, linking it to Anthony van Dyck's etched *Icones.[23]*

Just a few years after Raupp, art historian Walter Melion included the *Pictorum* in

his historiographical study of the *Schilder-boeck.* Here the series is found within a

discussion of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) and his circle, including such scholarly

figures as Lampsonius, Marcus van Vaernewyck (1518-1569) and Lucas de Heere (1534-

1584).[24] Melion's study highlights the importance of the *Pictorum* on Van Mander's

view of art and to the establishment of the Netherlandish canon at the turn of the

sixteenth century. Together, the work of Raupp and Melion seems to have sparked

renewed scholarly interest in the *Pictorum* that continues into present day.

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[21] Jean Puraye, *Les Effigies Des Peintres Célèbres Des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer, 1956); ——
—, *Dominique Lampson, Humaniste, 1532-1599* (Bruges, 1950). Puraye's biography of Lampsonius came
before her book on the *Pictorum*, signaling that her interest in the latter may have been inspired while
writing about the former. There is an earlier work about the *Pictorum* that I have been unable to access:
Ignaz Szwykowski, *Historische Skizze über die frühesten Sammel-Werke Alt-Niederländischer Maler-
Portraits bei H. Cock zu Antwerpen und H. Hondius im Haag…*(Leipzig: Weigel, 1856).

[22] Hans-Joachim Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanded
im 17. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: George Olms AG, 1984). He also discussed the evolution of gestures
between the first and second versions of the *Pictorum*, especially as far as being a compositional device
rather than iconography alone. Since this has not been translated from German, I have not as yet read this
entire work.

[23] Anthony Van Dyck, *Icones principvm, virorvm doctorvm* (Antwerp: G. Hendricx, 1646).

[24] Melion, "The Circle of Abraham Ortelius," *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 129-142. t is interesting to
note that Marcus van Vaernewyck included artists in his 1568 book on Dutch History, which served as a
source for Van Mander. Van Vaernewyck had travelled to Italy and was undoubtable familiar with Vasari;
Marcus van Vaernewyck, *Den spiegel der Nederlandtsche oudheyt* (Ghent, Geraert van Salensen, 1568).

Following the publication of Melion's book, scholarship on the *Pictorum* was focused almost exclusively on the circle of Lampsonius, his contact with Vasari, and/or the link to Van Mander. Maria Berbera, Nicolas Galley, and Sciolla and Volpi nuanced the understanding of Lampsonius, offering a deeper look into the life and education of the scholar as well as his relationship to Vasari.[25] These authors have portrayed Lampsonius as deeply under the influence of Vasari and claimed that the Italian writer inspired the creation of the *Pictorum*. Yet when one steps back and evaluates the larger circle of people who created this work, as well as the other works of literature and existing portrait cycles, it is clear that Vasari's influence was only one of several.

Furthermore, while Lampsonius is significant, this concentrated focus on the scholar has distracted attention from Hieronymus Cock, who was likely the main author and designer of the *Pictorum*, not Lampsonius.[26] The focus on Lampsonius has also detracted from discussion of the artists who worked on the series or who were present at the time of its making. One such example is the young artist Philip Galle, who was an employee in Cock's workshop up until the 1560s. This could be significant because Galle went on to publish a reprint of the *Pictorum* in 1600 as a part of his own business.[27]

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[25] Maria L. Berbara, "Propria Belgarum Laus: Domenicus Lampsonius e as *Pictorum* Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies," *Revista de História da Arte e Arqueologia / Centro de Pesquisa em História da Arte e Arqueologia,* no. 8 (July-December, 2007). Nicolas Galley, "De l'original á l'excentrique: l'émergence de l'individualité Artistique au Nord des Alpes" (PhD diss.: University of Fribourg, 2005). Gianni Carlo Sciolla and Caterina Volpi, *Da van Eyck a Brueghel: scritti sulle arti di Domenico Lampsonio* (Torino, Italy: UTET, 2001).

[26] Sara Meiers discusses this possibility at length in her dissertation; Sara Meiers, "Artists in Print: Hieronymus Cock and his 1572 series of engraved portraits" (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2002): 23-53. While I acknowledge the strong influence of Vasari on European literature to follow the *Vite*, I also consider the many other contemporary works of literature and art that must have inspired the creation of the *Pictorum.*

[27] Hieronymus Cock and Dominicus Lampsonius, *Illustrium Quos Belgium Habuit Pictorum Effigies Ad Vivum Accurate Delineatae* (Antwerp: Apud Theodorum Gallaeum, 1600). According to Manfred Sellink, Philip Galle acquired the plates from Cock's widow through their friendship and allowed Cock's son, who

Moreover, it appears that he engraved portraits similar to those in the *Pictorum* while he was in Cock's employ, leading one to wonder what kind of creative exchange took place between artists in Cock's studio with respect to the style and design of the portraits. These kinds of considerations cannot take place as long as Lampsonius is seen as the sole author.

Already in 1991, Walter Melion warned against attributing too much inspiration for the development of northern literature on art history to Vasari's *Vite*. According to Melion, despite Lampsonius' interest in Vasari, the *Pictorum* was created out of an already existing impulse on the part of northern artists, scholars and *liefhebbers* to study and record their own history. For example, Melion cites the work of Lucas de Heere and the dialogues on art within the erudite circle of Abraham Ortelius. He furthermore comments that Lombard's letter to Vasari reveals a critical attitude toward Vasari's narrative and critique of art.[28] Moreover, in his own letters to Vasari, Lampsonius proposes that the Italian author use prints to illustrate the *Vite*, demonstrating that the concept to illustrate art literature was already a conversation taking place within his circle.

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took over the business, to publish the Galle edition of the *Pictorum* under his name, even though Philip Galle engraved his name upon the plates. Sellink's study on Galle reveals his close ties to the artistic culture of Antwerp, leading him to eventually move there. See Manfred Sellink, et al., introduction to *The New Holstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: Philips Galle: 1450 - 1700. Part 1* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2001), 28. For a biography of Philips Galle, see: Sellink 2001, esp. pp. 24-31. An example of Galle's work with Antwerp artists, is the print of *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, dated 1588, and signed "Frans Floris, inven., Hieronymus Cock, excudebat, Philipus Gallus sculpcit., This print was made after a design by Frans Floris, while Galle was still living in Haarlem, thus it is clear that he received designs from artists in Cock's studio to copy, making it entirely possible that he could have also seen or even engraved one of these portrait designs while working for Cock.

[28] Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon,* 143-159. Edward Wouk has explored Lambert Lombard's interest in localized artistic heritage of the Low Countries based on its own Roman history. See Edward H. Wouk, "Reclaiming the antiquities of Gaul: Lambert Lombard and the history of northern art," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art,* 36, no. 1/2 (2012): 35-65. Bracket's mine.

Melion's perspective on Lampsonius is part of a larger effort on his part to

reframe Van Mander as a rejoinder to Vasari, rather than as an imitation.[29] Melion

characterizes Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* as an effort fill to the lacuna in art history

that Vasari created when he ignored the northern canon. Furthermore, while Van Mander

appropriated some of Vasari's structure or style, he did not imitate Vasari's narrative but

instead chose to frame the northern biographies through a "prism of Netherlandish

concerns." As Melion argues, Van Mander inserted "himself into the discourse of Vasari

and Ortelius for the purpose of colonizing them for his own account of *schilderconst* [the

art of painting]."[30]

This relates to a larger interest by art historians in recent decades to reposition the

North as a region equal to Italy in the development of art and humanism in the

Renaissance and thereafter.[31] This is in contrast to the long-established Italo-centric

stance on art history, in which other regions were considered subordinate players, behind

the times or deficient in skill compared to the Italians. By repositioning theoretical works

on art of the period, it becomes clear that projects such as the *Pictorum* sprouted as much

from internal dialogues as external factors, and that they were orientated toward

individualizing the North as much as adding it to the historical record.

Like Melion, Sara Meiers also repudiates the notion that Lampsonius was a

primary author of the *Pictorum.* Meiers writes:

> The attribution to Lampsonius could rest on the bias of art historians who
> have prized substance of the written word over the content of the visual
> image….Texts by the likes of Giorgio Vasari and Johan Joachim

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[29] Melion, xxii - xxiii.
[30] Ibid, xxii.
[31] For example: Marina Belozerskaya. *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

> Winckelmann are examined as vehicles of aesthetic fashions or as
> foundations for artistic canons. Thus it should not be altogether surprising
> that some historians have interpreted the innovative publication
> [*Pictorum*]…as the work of a man of letters, Lampsonius.[32]

Meiers appears to be the first to fully reposition Cock as author of the series in her 2002

dissertation, marking a shift in the research towards more emphasis on iconography and

style of the *Pictorum*.[33] An example of this recent turn in scholarship is in the

collaborative project by Joanna Woodall and Stephanie Porras for an online exhibition

focused on the 1610 Hondius' edition.[34] Woodall's essay discusses the theme of death in

relation to Roman death mask rites while Porras' essay explores the difference between

the Cock and Hondius editions and addressed Hondius' motivations to re-strike the

series. In another example, H.P. Chapman includes the *Pictorum* within a larger

discussion of sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists, who developed self-representation

in imagery.[35] Ariane Mensger discusses how the *Pictorum* claimed authority through its

use of real likenesses.[36] Lastly, in an effort to judge the reception of the series by its

viewers, Annette de Vries examines the use or appropriation of the *Pictorum's* images

within seventeenth-century bound editions of Van Mander, addressing the explicit

reciprocal relationship between the two *Pictorums* and the *Schilder-boeck*.

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[32] Meiers, "Portraits in Print," 3.

[33] Meiers, "Artists in Print," 3-4.

[34] Porras and Woodall, *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon.* Meier's dissertation also distinguished the design of original edition from the 1610 edition and traced the origins of the portraits wherever possible.

[35] H.P. Chapman "Introduction: The Netherlander has Intelligence in His Hand," in *Envisioning the artist in the early modern Netherlands = Het beeld van de kunstenaar in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden,* Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 59, edited by H. Perry Chapman and Joanna Woodall (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2010).

[36] Ariane Mensger, "Die exakte Kopie : oder: die Geburt des Künstlers im Zeitalter seiner Reproduzierbarkeit," in *Envisioning the artist in the early modern Netherlands = Het beeld van de kunstenaar in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden, Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 59, ed. H Perry Chapman; Joanna Woodall (Zwolle : Waanders Uitgeverij, 2010). This text is in German and I have not yet fully read it.

My approach to the *Pictorum* is first to view it as a collection of prints (rather than as an illustrated text) and as a portrait cycle — recognizing that a print series can function as an art object regardless of its mass-production or its break with the traditional media for portrait cycles of painting and sculpture.[37] Using a "period eye," approach of interpreting the work from the unique perspective of its various viewers, I evaluate the influence of the *Pictorum* on different audiences and at different times in history with the specific values of those groups and times in mind. This is especially with regard to the *Pictorum's* design as a set of prints, which was crucial to its successful reception and sustained presence in literature and art. This approach engages with questions of reception and transmission of ideas and visual motifs throughout history.

Following Meiers' lead, I also reposition Hieronymus Cock as the primary creator of the cycle and relegate the contribution of Lampsonius to a secondary role. In considering the *Pictorum* this way, equal weight may be placed on the influence of the artists who worked for Cock and engraved the *Pictorum*, such as Cornelis Cort (1533-1578), Adriaen Collaert (1560-1618) and Johannes (1549-c.1618) and Hieronymus (1553-1619) Wierix. These men were highly influential artists whose work was in demand during their own lifetimes and afterward, thus their role as creators made the *Pictorum* a collector's piece almost immediately. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, collecting prints was a requirement for any serious art connoisseur or man of high status in western Europe.[38] As a small collection of prints, the *Pictorum* was

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[37] Brooks Rich first explored the idea of handling a collection of prints. Brooks Howard Rich, "Portraits, Prints, and Canon Formation in Netherlandish Art" (Master's thesis: Williams College, 2010).
[38] See Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick, eds., *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, C. 1500-1750* (United Kingdom: Ashgate, 2003); Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theatre of

portable, allowing it to travel easily and participate in the dissemination of knowledge and artistic styles. In these ways it acted as an ambassador to foreign lands, where it established the Netherlandish canon as northerners saw it for themselves.

Finally while the information contained in the poems is significant, it is not central to this study. Instead, I will argue that the presence of Latin poetry was a visual strategy that must be viewed as integral to the printed portrait cycle; its symbolic presence aligns the *Pictorum* closely to *Embemata Liber* or *Album Amicorum,* a theory that will be addressed in Chapter One. As I will demonstrate, the literal meaning of the Latin poetry is secondary to its symbolic value; its presence as a visual element spoke directly to the northern milieu of artists and *liefhebbers* of the Low Countries. This is an example of how close analysis of the artistic qualities and visual qualities of the *Pictorum* can shed deeper insight into the work.

The *Pictorum* is a genuinely complex work of art, with many layers and intertwined elements that must be carefully teased out. This thesis will contribute to the diverse scholarship on the series, inspiring new perspectives, and bringing overdue attention to its status and influence as a work of art. By considering the content of the *Pictorum* through the frame of its material aspects as an art object and not as an illustrated text, we can discover more profound meaning behind the *Pictorum* and greater significance on terms of its influence than was previously realized.

Knowledge: the Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," in *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 7-36.

CHAPTER I

TECHNIQUE AND DESIGN:

ALBUM, EMBLEM AND LATIN POETRY IN THE NORTH

At first glance, the *Pictorum* may appear to a modern viewer as a simple, perhaps

antiquated, set of portraits with straight-forward iconography and design. Most visual

analysis thus far has treated it that way, centering around the poses and attributes of the

subjects without as much regard to the medium or overall design of the series as a print-

portrait cycle. A closer investigation of the formal qualities of the *Pictorum,* especially

with reference to the techniques of engraving, reveals its nuanced visual strategies and

devices. This chapter will first introduce the reader to the *Pictorum* through some visual

analysis, focusing mostly on formal aspects, especially the unique composition and

design of the figures, and offering some historical information about its creation that is

pertinent to understanding this study. It will then turn to the presence of Latin poetry and

elaborate on the concept that this poetry served as a symbolic *visual* component, setting

aside the already heavily studied literal translation and interpretations, in the interest of

offering more insight into how text was actually understood by artists to function as an image as early as the sixteenth century.

The Design and Theme of the Portraits

The design and look of the portraits of the *Pictorum* was quite innovative for their time, especially considering the way the figures were enlivened, rendered as active, living figures. Furthermore, the characters interacted with each other, or the viewer, from page to page, quite unlike many portrait cycles both in painted and in print. For example, in Hieronymus Wierix' elegant rendering of Willem Key found in the *Pictorum* of 1572, the viewer makes direct eye contact with Key as he looks out from the page (fig. 2). Dressed in the fine garments of a gentleman, Key rests his hands upon a table, holding a palette and brushes, complete with fresh paint, hinting at the presence of a work in progress just outside the frame. Key, pictured with a beard and cap, is rendered in half-length, three-quarter view. He turns his shoulder outward and opens his posture toward the viewer, who could have just stepped into the studio. The pose and composition together create an illusion of real space, expanding backward and around the figure, who can freely turn and gesticulate. The background consists of thin repeated horizontal lines that contrast with the painter's image, who is formed by crosshatched and more curved strokes. These parallel lines also contrast the white margin of the paper that serves as the edges of a window through which the viewer can enter and interact, rather than as a constrictive frame.

Key's portrait is demonstrative of how the characters in the *Pictorum* are enlivened and made multidimensional within the two-dimensional space of each print. A

single, high contrast light source further enhances the vitality and three-dimensionality of the figures. The side in shadow is outlined by a thicker, harder stroke, adding contrast against the "neutral gray" background of parallel lines. In Key's case, the brightest highlight falls upon the painter's forehead and palette like a spotlight, bringing attention to the artist's mind and hands, the creator and his creative instruments.

The artists in the first edition of the *Pictorum* are, in general, all rendered very much like Key. The portraits are fairly uniform throughout: all plates are the same size, there is similar framing of the half length, seated figure that is accompanied by the name of the artist and a Latin poem. With a single exception, there are few to no background elements, aside from the thin horizontal lines. Each artist is portrayed in a three-quarter view except for Quentin Matsys and Pieter Bruegel the Elder, who are portrayed in the classic profile view, with an even harder, thicker line to offset their profiles from background (figs. 3, 4). A few, like Hieronymus Bosch, are not turned, but still look to one side or another, as if deep in thought or addressing someone outside the frame. This is especially apparent with Bosch, whose hands appear to move nervously upon the table, fidgeting a bit while he ponders his inner demons (fig. 5).

The *Pictorum* begins with the Van Eyck brothers of the early fifteenth century and offers a gallery of the "best" Netherlandish artists of the past and present and ends with a portrait of the publisher Hieronymus Cock (figs. 6, 7, 8). As the first images, the prints of the brothers establish the iconography of gaze and gesture that is replicated throughout the series. Their portraits were borrowed almost exactly from the "Just

Judges" of the *Ghent Altarpiece* (fig. 9).[39] The artists of the *Pictorum* manipulated the

gestures of the brothers and shifted the eyes so that they look sideways and outward; in

Jan's case, his gaze follows the direction of his finger, pointing to the next page.

The two poems under the images tell the well-known story of how Jan surpassed

Hubert in technique, thus becoming the eminent master of oil paint and finely rendered

detail. This conceit first appeared within the pages of Italian humanist texts written

around the mid-fifteenth century, establishing the brothers' fame as the fathers of

Netherlandish art and oil painting long before Vasari honored them as such in the *Vite*.[40]

In this myth, Hubert is subjugated to Jan's talent. The portraits tell the same story,

depicting Hubert turning his back on the prints that follow, his gaze is inwardly pensive

as it stares outward. Hubert is looking backward in time as opposed to his brother, who

looks forward. His brother Jan, having surpassed him chronologically in life as well as

technically in art, follows on the next page. He leans left toward the succeeding pages,

leading the way with a determined index finger for the rest of the canon to follow. Even

Hubert's label reinforces Jan's superiority while honoring Hubert as a forefather, saying:

"Hubert van Eyck, Jan's Brother, Painter."[41] This play with gestures and gazes evident

here are important elements throughout the *Pictorum*. They give a sense of unity and

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[39] First noted by Jean Puraye, *Les Effigies,* 17. The idea to use the *Just Judges* likely came from Lucas De Heere. His poem is the first written record of the idea that the Van Eyck Brothers painted themselves in the Ghent Altarpiece. As Galley points out, Van Mander mentions De Heere's poem and how it was placed near the Ghent Altarpiece. It is also worth noting that, according to Galley, Lampsonius contributed a poem to De Heere's work; Galley, *De l'original à l'excentrique,* 134-135 and 104.

[40] It is unclear where this story began. It is present in several mid-fifteenth-century Italian texts (published and private) on "illustrious men," such as Bartolomeo Facio's *De Viris Illustres*. See Michael Baxandall, "Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting: A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the De Viris Illustribus" in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964), 102.; Vasari also propagates this idea in his small section on northern artists in the second edition of the *Vite* of 1568.

[41] "HUBERTO AB EYCK, IOANNIS FRATRI, PICTORI." Translation Hada's, Porras and Woodall, *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*.

also activate the series, enlivening the figures further by depicting them as active players in their own narrative.

Most artists are posed as if seated or standing at a desk, some leaning on their elbows as if in conversation with the viewer or a person just outside the frame. Rogier van der Weyden's image follows the Van Eycks' and is one of the few that includes a background feature (fig. 10). Here we see some papers hung on a ribbon beneath a small rendering of a *Pietà*. The artist was famous for his powerful religious imagery throughout Europe. While he did not surpass Van Eyck's oil technique, Van der Weyden used the Netherlandish tradition for detail to invoke deep emotional responses from his viewers by depicting raw human emotion within very charged moments in time. This aspect of Van der Weyden's work, in contrast to Van Eyck's composed and quietly completive moments of devotion, is what distinguished Van der Weyden from Van Eyck. This is evident from many texts that mention both artists, going back to, for example, the Italian humanist Bartolomeo Facio, who wrote a set of biographies, including the two Netherlandish artists Rogier van der Weyden, and Jan van Eyck. In his biographies, Facio comments on the sophisticated technical abilities of Van Eyck while, in contrast, he focuses the emotive quality of Van der Weyden's paintings.[42]

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[42] About Van Eyck, Facio writes, "His is a remarkable picture…in which there is a Virgin Mary notable for its grace and modesty, with an Angel Gabriel, of exceptional beauty and with hair surpassing reality…and Jerome like a living being in a library done with rare art…On the outer side of the same picture is painted Battista Lomellini, whose picture it was — you would judge lacked only a voice…etc…" On Van der Weyden, he writes, "…on the centre panel, Christ brought down from the Cross, Mary His Mother, Mary Magdalene and Joseph, their grief and tears so represented, you would not think them other than real…the Mother of God, dismayed at hearing the capture of her son yet, even with flowing tears, maintaining her dignity…likewise the abuse and pain that Christ our Lord patiently suffered…in this you may easily distinguish a variety of feelings and passions…" in: Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350-1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971),107-108.

Many of Van der Weyden's works depicted scenes from the *Passion of Christ*, including several variations on the *Pietà* and the *Deposition.* Weyden's grand *Deposition,* now preserved at the Prado, was one of the most widely appreciated of his works and widely copied in Europe into the seventeenth century.[43] In Van der Weyden's *Pictorum* portrait, the devotional aspect of the small painting along with the presence of the ribbon from a *brievenbord* or letter-board (a common way to keep letters at the time) signals to the viewer that they have entered an intimate space, perhaps Van der Weyden's personal office, or *kantoor.* As if to reinforce the artist's divine inspiration, he is rendered gazing upward with an open, upward turned palm, as if in a conversation with God.

Most artists in the 1572 *Pictorum* carry obvious attributes, such as paint brushes and/or a palette, posing as if in the middle of work. Quentin Matsys holds a scroll, an attribute that must have been chosen from a story about the artist that circulated in a published edition of Erasmus' letters (fig. 5).[44] According to Erasmus, Matsys had been commissioned to paint a diptych of Erasmus and his friend Peter Giles to be sent to their mutual friend, Thomas More. Upon receiving the diptych More wrote to Giles about Matsys' talent, remarking that the artist was able to accurately render More's own handwriting upon the letter that Giles holds in his portrait (fig. 11).

In the final print of the series, Hieronymus Cock is depicted in fine garments and looks directly out at the viewer, clearly still quite alive. He nonetheless has dropped his

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[43] Otto G. von Simson, "Compassio and Co-redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross," *The Art Bulletin* 35, no. 1 (Mar., 1953): 9-16.

[44] Lorne Campbell, Margaret Mann Phillips, Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen and J. B. Trapp, eds., "Quentin Matsys, Desiderius Erasmus, Pieter Gillis and Thomas More," *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 908 (Nov., 1978): 716-725, esp. 717.

brushes in favor of a skull, immortalized in the very method with which he made his

life's fortune. In addition to the obvious *vanitas* motif, the skull cradled in his hands

speaks to the fact that the final published version of the *Pictorum* may not have been the

ideal version that the creators originally had in mind, but instead was published as a sort

of funeral monument. [45] Indeed, the introductory poem reads like a sincere eulogy,

written by a friend who shares in the grief of Cock's widow, Volcxken Diericx, while

more than hinting that the project was unfinished in its current state:

> The poems, celebrating the artists of Belgian
> painting,
> which I *vainly* promised to you before – see,
> finally now, after your death, Hieronymus,
> I fulfill [my promise], *a funeral offering*,
> *a sad gift to your shade*…
> …Had you lived, they [the poems] would have
> been sprinkled
> with more elegance.
> But, alas, all elegance has died with your
> death…[46]

Hieronymus Cock was buried in the Predikherenkerk in Antwerp.[47] While an

actual epitaph design from 1575 exists in the form of a print by Cornelis Floris, it was

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[45] Sara Meiers, for example, proposed the idea that the series could have actually been unfinished because the project was cut short by the publisher's death in 1570; Meiers "Portraits in Print," 2, n. 5. Joanna Woodall has pushed the idea further, asserting that the unfinished book was formatted and published partially as a memorial; Woodall, "Dem Dry Bones," *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*, 52. This is the most likely explanation for the serious tone of the print series and such quirks as the differing elements of design and iconography. It would also explain the odd inclusion of a portrait of Hieronymus Cock, (a man whose small *oeuvre* as an artist could hardly compare to the other featured artists) as the final plate, not to mention his brother Mathys Cock, while more important artists were excluded. For example, artists such as Gerard David, Hans Memlinc, Albrecht Dürer and Hugo van der Goes, go unmentioned. The Wierix brothers had engraved plates after Van der Goes, so they definitely knew of his work. See Holstein, F.W.H, and Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, and Marjolein Leesberg, eds., *The New Holstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700 : the Wierix Family Part 1* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2004): xxxiii. Meiers further suggests that some of Lampsonius' poems are less than flattering for the artists depicted, and that doesn't fit with the idea of the *Pictorum* as such an 'archetypal' representation, as Jean Puraye reasoned; Meiers, "Portraits in Print," 4.

[46] Translation and brackets by Daniel Hadas, italics mine.

never executed (fig. 12).[48] Floris was famous for his tomb sculpture designs and Cock published them regularly. Floris' design for Cock's epitaph incorporated attributes for the Guild of Saint Luke and the Antwerp Chamber of Rhetoric, and a message of immortality by including the resurrected Christ, who symbolizes triumph over death.[49] It is not clear who commissioned this monument or why it was never actually made. What is definite is that Cock's wife made the final decision to publish the *Pictorum* because she assumed control of the *Quatre Vents* after her husband's passing. The fact that women commonly commissioned art in honor of their deceased husbands, often in the form of a funerary monument, strengthens the idea that the widow intended the *Pictorum* as a sort of monument.[50] As if to reinforce the funerary theme of the series, the closing poem under the portrait of Cock refers to the publisher's death and ends with an invitation to the viewer to be the artists' "companion" after death, so that in viewing the *Pictorum*, the viewer becomes a participant in Cock's memorial as well as in the "remembering" of the other artists depicted.

The Role of Latin Poetry in the *Pictorum*

As mentioned before, each portrait in the *Pictorum* is accompanied by a laudatory Latin poem. Scholars have underestimated the role of these Latin poems, which aside

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[47] Riggs, 41, n. 29.

[48] Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, "Drawings for Architecture and Tomb Sculpture by Cornelis Floris," *Master Drawings* 30, no. 2 (Summer, 1992): 185-200, esp. 189; Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock,* 41, n. 29.

[49] Ruyven-Zemen, 189-190.

[50] Katherine E. King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, C. 1300-1550* (United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1998), 99-128.; Geraldine Johnson, "Core Course: Women as Patrons of the Arts in Early Modern Europe." Recorded Lecture, 11 Mar 2011 (United Kingdom: The University of Oxford, 2016). Available at Oxford University Podcasts, accessed May 11, 2017, https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/core-course-women-patrons-arts-early-modern-europe.

from imparting information or referencing classical culture and erudition, were a marker of northern renaissance culture. In fact, the presence of poetry was so important to the *Pictorum*, that it was etched into the plates and reprinted in the same year of its first publishing.[51] This section will elaborate upon this theory more fully.

Latin poetry became integral to the artistic milieu of the North, as a social custom that was projected into the arts. As the art historian Peter Parshall explains, text had become linked to prints as a part of bookmaking since the advent of woodcuts, which were used as a cost effective way to illustrate manuscripts and pamphlets.[52] Increasingly, text began to be applied creatively by bookmakers, acting less and less as simple conveyor of information and more as metaphorical device that was tied into the image, as we see with the sixteenth-century invention *Emblemata Liber*, or emblem books. Emblems were typically contained to a page and made up of a tri-part combination of a motto or title, a corresponding picture, and a subscript, all of which work together to imbue a lesson or message. These books reached their peak in popularity in the mid- to late sixteenth-century in the Low Countries, at which time emblem books that focused on special themes, such as love or religion, were also produced.[53] Many of these books were

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[51] This is known as 1572b in the Hollstein series, which differentiates the letterpress and etched editions.

[52] David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470- 1550* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994), 23-8, esp. 2. For more on the role of text in prints of the North see Peter van der Coelen, "Producing Texts for Prints," in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Celeste Brusati, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Walter Melion (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 78-96.

[53] Barbara Haeger, "Emblems and Emblem Books," in *Dutch Art: an Encyclopedia,* ed. Muller, Sheila D. (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2013), 124; Peter M. Daly, "Sixteenth-century Emblems and Imprese as Indicators of Cultural Change," *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period*, ed. John Whitman (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 383-422, esp. 385.

printed by publishers in Antwerp with contributions from familiar figures such as Lucas

de Heere, who helped illustrate Laurentius Haechtinus' *Mikrokosmos* from 1579.[54]

One can find the beginnings of creative experimentation with the text and image

relationship in the work of Albrecht Dürer. His printed portraits were collected by

Lampsonius, his friend and scholar Abraham Ortelius, and Cornelis Cort, one of the

engravers of the *Pictorum*.[55] Ortelius' collection of Dürer prints was originally kept in

two albums, one of which remains intact at the Louvre and the other of which was

disassembled by curators at the Rijksmuseum in the late nineteenth century.[56] The

Rijksmuseum collection was recently reconstructed and it is shown to have included

several of these portrait-prints that employ text (figs. 13, 14). The choice to base the

Lucas van Leyden's *Pictorum* portrait on the drawing of Leyden by Dürer is evidence for

Dürer's presence in the minds of the *Pictorum'*s designers (figs. 15, 16).

As in Dürer's portraits bearing explanatory Latin text, the creators of the

Pictorum could have used a few simple sentences or words to impart information. The

choice to structure the text as Latin poetry may have been based partially on the idea of

the emblem. While emblems usually carried moralizing messages, at first seemingly at

odds with the purpose of the *Pictorum,* they are actually very relevant if one keeps in

mind the secondary purpose of portrait cycles, after celebration of the person depicted, to

provide exemplars of morality and virtue for the viewer to follow. Several emblem

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[54] Judith Dundas, "Emblems on the Art of Painting," in *Emblems and Art History*, ed. Alison Adams and Laurence Grove (Paris: Librarie Droz, 1996), 69-96; Arnoud S. Q. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus And The Learned Image: The Use Of The Emblem In Late-renaissance Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), xxii, n. 12; Laurentius Haechtanus, *Mikrokosmos. Parvus Mundus* (Antwerp: 1579).

[55] For Lampsonius' appreciation of Dürer see: Iain Buchanan, "Letter to L. Demontiosus, Pureye, annex 4.Dürer and Abraham Ortelius." *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 957 (Dec., 1982): 734-741.

[56] For the history of this collection see Iain Buchanan, "Dürer and Abraham Ortelius," *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 957 (Dec., 1982): 734-741.

books used stories of art and artists, especially Plinian or Vasarian tropes. For example,

Emblem 72: Inventor Pictorae by Haechtanus, features the concept of tracing the shadow

to delineate a contour or shape, which Vasari featured in Giotto's childhood as a sign of

innate genius, taken from a similar account of another artist in Pliny (fig. 17).[57] The

inclusion of artistic themes would certainly have made emblems an interesting "read" to

the *liefhebbers* and scholars of Antwerp.

According to Judith Dundas's study on these art-themed emblems, one of them

recalls the analogy of painting to poetry, placing the same moral criteria upon artists to

"speak eloquently" through their works.[58] This idea was also put forth by the *Pictorum*,

which characterized artists as erudite, refined men through symbolic clothing and

attributes, such as Matsys' portrait, as well as through what was written in the poems.

Furthermore, Dundas discusses one emblem by Denis Lebey de Batilly from 1596

that illustrates Pliny's story of the artist Zeuxis, who used the best parts of five different

models to compose a portrait of the ideal woman (fig 18). Dundas writes:

> Painting as an art can also represent a more classical emphasis on the
> pursuit of perfection…The choice of five maidens becomes an example of
> how the artist seeks to surpass nature; in turn the human being should
> choose the best models for his own life…The motto under the picture
> makes this point: 'Ex Optimis Praestantiores Vitae Magistros Imitandos'
> ('One should imitate as masters [and] models of life those [chosen from]
> the best'). In keeping with renaissance artistic theory, it was treated as
> necessary in this emblem to follow an inner idea of excellence, rather than
> any one model…So the Zeuxis story…is capable of serving as an example
> of the way one forms an idea of the excellence to guide the soul."[59]

While some emblems have been interpreted to reveal shifting cultural values, the

majority of emblems are thought to reflect and support the prevailing norms of their

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[57] Dundas, 75.
[58] Ibid, 77.
[59] Ibid, 85-86.

culture, therefore if Dundas' reading of this emblem is correct, we can presume that it reflects an established concept of this "inner idea of excellence."[60] As a sort of emblem book for artists, the *Pictorum* therefore spoke directly to practicing artists by offering a range of models of excellence for them to choose from. Without the Latin text, a connection to the moralizing content of these and other emblems on art would not necessarily have been made by viewers.

The Latin poetry also spoke directly to its viewers by engaging with the established social norm amongst artists and scholars, of writing laudatory Latin poetry to each other and on the arts. This practice stems from the unique development of northern humanism, often called "Christian humanism," which was first concentrated in the monasteries, focusing its studies of Latin and classical texts on the moralizing content in the interest of strict religious values.[61] Humanism was at first a small movement of Italian scholars whose interest in Greco-Roman classical culture inspired interest in the arts and literature, beginning in the fourteenth century with Petrarch' revival of Pliny's *Natural History*.[62] According to Josef Ijsewijn, who wrote extensively on the development of humanism in the Low Countries, until the late sixteenth century, knowledge of Latin remained restricted to the monasteries, where classical texts were regarded with suspicion.[63] Erasmus is credited with bringing humanism to the general public by adapting classical literature and ideas into religious use, and writing in the

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[60] For more on interpreting cultural values through emblems see Daly's essay.
[61] Ija M. Veldman, "Humanism, humanist themes," in Dutch Art: an Encyclopedia, ed. Shiela D. Muller (New York: Garand Publishing, 1997), 188.
[62] See McHam.
[63] Griffiths, "Lettering," 81.

vernacular.[64] Yet due to continued strict religious values, northern scholars shied away

from studying classical culture and instead became enamored with the "eloquence" of

language, a fact that brings us back to Emblem 72's concern with eloquent visual

exegesis as explained previously.[65] It also raises the humanist metaphor *uit pictura*

poesis, which equated painting to poetry, and which was also addressed in artistically

themed emblems, as Dundas has discussed.[66]

Humanist ideas were transmitted into the northern arts beginning with the Court

of Philip of Burgundy (1465-1524), who traveled south to Italy with the artist Jan

Gossaert (1472-1536) during the first decade of the sixteenth century and is credited with

introducing allegory and the nude figure into northern art.[67] Some of his works included

frames with Latin inscriptions written by court humanist Gerrit Geldenhauer, serving as

early examples of the growing relationship between Latin and painting.[68] The

relationships between artists and humanist scholars that developed over the sixteenth

century strengthened the bond between word and image, especially in prints which were

increasingly including Latin text. Additionally an intellectual intermixing of literary and

visual concepts was encouraged by artists and scholars who crossed between the two

interests. Scholarly figures such as Dominicus Lampsonius learned how to make art

themselves, while artists such as Martin van Heemskerk and Lucas de Heere learned

language and classical culture.

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[64] Ibid, 418.
[65] Ibid, 401
[66] Dundas, 77-79.
[67] Maryan W. Ainsworth, "Gossart in His Artistic Milieu," in *Man, Myth and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossaert's Renaissance,* " ed. Maryan W. Ainsworth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 9.
[68] Veldman, "Humanism," 188.

Both Antony Griffiths and Amy Gohlany have acknowledged the strong tie between Latin scholarship and the visual arts of the North, especially with regard to printmaking.[69] As Gohlany writes, "Iconic Poetry, generally defined as verse about actual works of art, provides the clearest demonstration of shared values between literature and the visual arts." Gohlany's focus is on the seventeenth century, referencing several festivals including the celebration of Saint Luke in 1641, where *liefhebber* Philip Angel recited his famous address to the arts, "In Praise of Painting."[70] However the practice of Latin poetry was in place long before Angel's time. We can find many small Latin poems in personal letters and *album amicorum,* student yearbooks or scrapbooks of the sixteenth century, such as Otto van Veen's (fig. 19). As mentioned before, Lucas de Heere's poem includes celebration of the Van Eyck brothers, and mentions a poem written near the Ghent Altarpiece. By the latter half of the sixteenth century, Lampsonius had already written several poems about artists, including for Lombard at the beginning of Lampsonius' biography on the artist, and one praising Antonius Mor. Mor actually included this poem in his 1558 self-portrait, rendered legibly word for word upon a slip of paper tacked to his easel (fig. 20).[71]

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[69] Amy Gohlany, "Literature, poetry: analogues with the visual," *Dutch Art: an Encyclopedia*, 224- 226. Griffiths does not discuss this idea further as far as Latin verse in prints being emblematic of this culture, but rather discusses their use to illustrate or explicate ideas within the accompanying image. He also connects the growth of interest in Latin verse to Erasmus and the chambers of rhetoric that were present in most cities and to which most scholars belonged. He notes that the social use of Latin verse reached Italy only in the 1580s as a result of northern influence. Antony Griffiths, "Lettering, language and text," *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: British Museum Press, 2016), 87-89.

[70] Gohlany, 224. For a translation and commentary on Philip Angel's work see Michael Hoyle, "Praise of Painting," trans. Hessel Miedema, *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, No. 2/3 (1996), pp. 227-258.

[71] Galley, 101.

Given the development of laudatory poetry as a social decorum in the North, the Latin poetry in the *Pictorum* portraits are therefore highly symbolic, signaling direct, immediate identification with northern cultural identity. In fact, much of what the poems contain was already common knowledge amongst scholars and artists, therefore comprehension of the *Pictorum* by contemporary viewers did not necessarily depend on translation — its literal meaning was secondary. Take for example the poems for the Van Eyck brothers or Quentin Matsys: as explained earlier, the information held in the poems was already written in other texts that were circulating amongst scholars and *liefhebbers*. For the uncultured viewer, or perhaps audiences outside the Low Countries, the Latin text would serve its regular function, signaling erudition and a connection to antiquity or classical culture, and further propagating popular myths about these artists. But for Cock, Lampsonius and the engravers of this work, writing Latin poetry was actually the most appropriate way that could honor their artistic heritage. In this way, the *Pictorum* can be seen to be like a small *album amicorum,* written by and for the artistic milieu of its time.

This idea is further evident in the continuation of laudatory Latin poetry, especially in the mannerists' prints. Hondius' treatment of the *Pictorum* itself demonstrates his own acknowledgement of this social custom. By his time most art literature was published in the vernacular, and yet he continued to use the Latin poetry, commissioning 47 new poems for his expansion. Hondius' own contribution to the *album amicorum* of Daniel de Kempenaer in 1643, proves the continuation of this social custom well into the seventeenth century alongside vernacular works, hence it is likely

that Hondius recognized the symbolic nature of the Latin poetry to its various viewers.[72]

Indeed, Hondius also chose to etch the poetry onto his new plates, ensuring that those

verses would remain permanent, indiscrete parts of a whole.

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[72] Orenstein, 35.

CHAPTER II

DIALOGUES IN TECHNIQUE:

THE *PICTORUM* AMONGST ITS ARTISTS

As we have learned in the last chapter, the *Pictorum* was designed with the

northern milieu in mind, to serve perhaps as an emblem of its time, a symbol of the

artistic milieu that surrounded its creation. This is significant because it means that the

series was immediately popular and remained so with the next generations of artists to

follow. As scholars have suggested, the *Pictorum* was highly influential on

Netherlandish portraiture to come in the seventeenth century, yet what is missing is a

discussion of how the use of the medium of engraving influenced the artists and scholars

who viewed the series, beyond commercial concerns such as cheaper mass production.

The medium of engraving was significant for its successful reception amongst northerner

artists and *liefhebbers* since it was an art form over which they proudly claimed pre-

eminence. By the sixteenth century the method became as respected an art as painting or

sculpture, as is evident by Lucas van Leyden's, Albrecht Dürer's and Hendrick Goltzius'

inclusion in the *Pictorum* and other art literature of the time. This thought, in light of the

special role of the Latin poetry, means that the *Pictorum* celebrated the northern canon in a highly self-referential manner. Not only that, but the techniques involved in the different versions of the *Pictorum* (1572 and 1610 editions) reflect *both* the developing conception of a northern history of art (a topic that has been quite fully elaborated upon by scholars of the *Pictorum*) *as well as* an ongoing *visual* conversation on art theory that was occurring between sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists through their work. As a loose collection of images, rather than a bound book of text, the *Pictorum* is an open narrative and could uniquely participate in those conversations as they evolved. Straddling the border between text and image, fact and myth, historical and fictional document, it opened itself to the subject of the same process of innovation which it encouraged. This chapter will further investigate the history of the series and the culture that informed its creation, especially with regard to formal and technical concerns of engraving, demonstrating how the *Pictorum* intentionally engaged with ongoing debates about art theory and technique through its own design.

Collaboration and Elaboration

The majority of the *Pictorum's* viewers would have been associated with the arts; artists, scholars, collectors and *liefhebbers*. Annette de Vries offers a partial view into the influence of the series with an examination of its use by seventeenth-century *liefhebbers* as complementary or supplementary material for Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*.[73] But to better understand the influence of the *Pictorum* on the artists, it is useful to look at the print-portrait designs that circulated within the milieu of Goltzius. By the

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[73] De Vries, *Hondius Meets Van Mander.*

1580s Goltzius had been drawing and engraving portraits of artists that included allegorical attributes and Latin poetry. Art historian Jan Piet Filedt-Kok has asserted that the *Pictorum* was one of the visual sources from which Goltzius drew the theme of posthumous memorial.[74] Filedt-Kok points out that Van Mander called Goltzius' and his friends' portraits which combined ideas of commemoration and immortally with true likeness, *Epitaphium* or "memorial portraits."[75] As opposed to the *Pictorum*, not all of the sitters for these portraits were deceased; the artists surrounding Goltzius began to commemorate themselves and each other, circulating these prints and collecting them, just as Erasmus and More had done with Matsys' double portrait.

Goltzius' portrait of Philip Galle is strikingly similar to images of the *Pictorum*, demonstrating the direct influence of the series (fig. 21). As a friend of Hieronymus Cock, Galle probably acquired an edition of the *Pictorum* shortly after its publication. Since Goltzius began his career working for Galle, it is likely he would have seen it early on and this portrait of Galle was published the first year that Goltzius went into business for himself.[76] The portrait is the same type of rectangular print with no frame or border other than that of the margin. Galle stands in front of a window that looks out over a distant landscape. He is dressed in rich garments, and he holds a print his right hand. Upon the table is a burin, the primary tool used by engravers. Below the portrait is a Latin poem written with highly stylized calligraphy, an art that was popularized by northern mannerists. The use of calligraphy in this print is important since it also stems

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[74] Jan Piet Filedt Kok, "Artists Portrayed by Their Friends: Goltzius and His Circle." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 24, no. 2/3 (1996): 161-181.
[75] Ibid, 166.
[76] Ibid.

from the concept of eloquence discussed in Chapter One of this study. Calligraphy was

called the "tenth muse," by Van Mander, those who practiced calligraphy were known as

"schoonschrijvers," or "beautiful writers," and Goltzius and his followers all engaged

with this technique.[77] This application of calligraphy to the poetic texts in mannerist

prints attests further to the emblematic nature of Latin verse within the circles of

Netherlandish scholars and *liefhebbers*.

Goltzius gave several copies of this print, as well as the copper plate itself to

Galle, who directed his heirs to reprint it after his death and send to friends as a parting

gift. Goltzius' students, Jan Saenredam (1565-1607) and his stepson Jacob Matham

(1571-1631), carried this tradition of *epithatium,* as Van Mander called it, forward after

Goltzius retired. Apparently Goltzius' funeral epitaph included a portrait of the artist and

Filedt-Kok has mused whether a print by Matham was drawn after the monument.[78] If

the 1572 *Pictorum* was indeed published as a funeral monument to Cock, Goltzius and

others who were directly associated with its creators might have known of this intent.

They also would have seen how successful the end product was.

In 1600, Galle, who had worked for Cock, acquired the original plates for the

Pictorum and published them again (under his son, Theodore Galle's name) making no

other changes than to add the dates of the artist's birth above the portrait and Theodore's

signature on the bottom left of the poem.[79] Galle's reprint falls by the wayside in art

historical memory, being mentioned in most scholarship about the *Pictorum* only as an

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[77] Clifford S. Ackley, *Printmaking in the age of Rembrandt* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), 48; Amy Namowitz Worthn, "Calligraphic Inscriptions on Dutch Mannerist Prints," *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek 42-43,* ed. Reindert Leonard Falkenburg, Hessel Miedema (Zwolle: Waanders, 1993), 261-306.
[78] Filedt-Kok, 179.
[79] Sellink, 81.

ancillary, unimportant event. In my opinion, Galle was not successful in making the series his for more than a moment in time because he didn't make enough significant changes.

Galle's place in the history of the *Pictorum* may, however, be underestimated. First, Galle's presence in Cock's studio raises questions about the very process of the design of the 1572 *Pictorum*. As discussed previously, there are several other artists known to have worked on the *Pictorum*: the Wierix brothers, Adriaen Collaert and Cornelis Cort. All of these highly accomplished men could have added their own ideas and it is difficult to say exactly how much or from whom design ideas were drawn, since it was in the making over a long period of time, beginning at least in the 1560s.[80]

Portraits of famous or "illustrious" men that included Latin verse had already been engraved in this way by both Cock and Galle. For example, Cock had done his own portrait-print series, *Portraits of European Rulers*, as early as 1546, without laudatory poems (fig. 22).[81] In 1567, Philip Galle published two engraved print series of scholars and theologians titled, *Vivorum Doctorum De Disciplinis Benemerentium Effigies,* (fig. 23).[82] This series is especially remarkable because the figures are rendered in the exact same composition and activated style as the *Pictorum*, including a Latin poem under the name of the depicted person. Due to this, the question arises of when Galle saw the designs of the *Pictorum* or if he even had a hand in their making. Furthermore, it seems

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[80] See: Introduction, p. 2, n. 6. Riggs addresses the issue of shared portrait styles and interexchange between artists during this time period in his book in a chapter on style.

[81] Riggs, 192-193.

[82] According to Manfred Sellink, although there are no extant copies, an edition of this series was mentioned by Van Someren who referred to an incomplete set from this series dated 1567 held in a private German collection. Sellink, 28.

that this design of a high-contrast, activated and sculptural figure may have been an original design conceived in the circle of Cock's publishing house, the *Quatre Vents*, since these figures appear only in series published by people associated directly with the business.

Galle's edition came out several decades after the original edition, re-introducing the series just as popularity for it may have been waning. In 1610, four years after Galle's *Pictorum*, Van Mander published the *Schilder-boeck*, an enormously successful work which sold out even before the first day.[83] Van Mander's work included repeated references to the *Pictorum,* using information gleaned from that series in his own expanded biographies. While Van Mander did not reproduce the portraits from the *Pictorum*, he did include the Latin poems that Lampsonius wrote as a cited source for his research, just as he included text from funeral epitaphs and other tributes to the artists. Thus Galle and Van Mander may have revived interest in the *Pictorum* and could have even inspired Hendrick Hondius to take up the task of a re-strike, resulting in an expansion upon the visual narrative of the Netherlandish canon that the *Pictorum* first instigated. This revival in turn seems to have inspired other future works by and about artists both in and outside of the Low Countries and far into the future, as will be addressed in Chapter Four.

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[83] Melion, xviii.

Engraving a New *Paragone*

Engraving the plate was likened by northern artists to a type of sculptural activity, akin to relief, since one had to actually carve a metal plate in order to render an image.[84] Just as a sculptor brought life to stone, so too did the engraver bring life to the plate.[85] Thereby we find artists signing engraved works "sculpsit," meaning "sculpted by."[86] The analogy between engraving and sculpture evokes the long-standing *paragone* between painting and sculpture: which art mimicked reality better? This was debated by humanists, scholars and artists alike. Leon Battista Alberti, Michelangelo, Vasari, Leonardo da Vinci, and even Galileo Galilei, contributed their opinions.[87]

Sculpture was considered a sibling or partner in the arts with painting. Indeed, the Allegory of Sculpture is usually present in representations of the arts, working diligently alongside Painting or Architecture. We can also find it listed with the other arts in titles for published works about art, such as in Vasari's *Vite.* The *paragone* between these sibling arts continued into the seventeenth century, with sculptors such as Michelangelo accepting the perceived limitation of stone as a worthy challenge. Indeed, as art historian Frank Fehrenbach writes, "They [sculptors] did, in fact, accept the limitations that painters imposed upon the sculptor's art, trying to become true *magistri lapidum*

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[84] Limouze and Veldman are amongst the many scholars to discuss this idea. With close relevance to the following discussion is Dorothy Limouze, "Engraving as Imitation: Goltzius and his Contemporaries." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek: Goltzius Studies,* 42-43, ed. Reindert Leonard Falkenburg, Hessel Miedema (Zwolle: Wanders 1991-92), 448-450.

[85] Ibid.

[86] For a detailed explanation of engraving signatures see: Anthony Griffiths, "Lettering, language and text," *The Print Before Photography* (United Kingdom: The British Museum 2016): 79-94.

[87] Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura* (1439); Judith Dundas, "The Paragone and the Art of Michelangelo," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 21, no. 1 (Spring, 1990): 87-92; Claire J. Farago, *Leonardo Da Vinci's Paragone* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Panofsky, Erwin. "Galileo as a Critic of the Arts," *Isis* 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1956): 3-15.

viventium, masters of the living stones. Sculptors attempted, in short, to turn a handicap into a triumph. The overcoming of self-imposed limitations is an important differentiation of the arts during the Renaissance…"[88] The northern artists' claim to pre-eminence in printmaking as a claim to supremacy in a type of sculpture can be interpreted therefore as a statement that their skills were equal to, if not greater than (by some measures), the noble art of painting.

This analogy undermines the supremacy over art that Vasari assigned to the Italians and becomes even more subversive at the turn of the sixteenth century with the advent of a new *paragone* initiated by Goltzius and his peers. As the *Pictorum* and other works demonstrate, northern artists were also deeply familiar with Pliny and the rhetorical practice amongst humanists to compare artists to Plinian models, as Petrarch did with Simone Martini by calling him the next Apelles, or as Vasari did numerous times throughout the *Vite* as he described the antics of artists or their talents.[89] According to Dorothy Limouze:

> Implicit in the above references to Apelles and other artists is the notion of the *paragone*…What may be the most significant exposition of this concept for late sixteenth century engravers is Erasmus' eulogy of Dürer as one who "could achieve by means off line alone, what Apelles could achieve only with the aid of colors." Erasmus set the stage for further engravers like Cornelis Cort, Goltzius, and the Sadelers to develop increasingly rich and mimetic tonal ranges.[90]

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[88] Frank Fehrenbach, "Coming Alive: Some remarks on the rise of "monochrome" sculpture in the Renaisannce." *Source : notes in the history of art.* (Special issue "Superficial? Approaches to painted sculpture") 30, nr. 3 (2011): 47-55

[89] Mcham, 70.

[90] Limouze, 442.

As Limouze points out, Goltzius explored the tension of engraving's relationship to sculpture and painting, presenting a new *paragone* for his viewers to interrogate.[91] She cites Hirschman's remark that Goltzius' engravings create an effect "halfway between hard stone and flesh," in reference to Goltzius' print of Galatea, a statue that was transformed into human form in Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* a collection of Greek legends that inspired many renaissance artists.[92] Limouze cites Ovid's own account that Pygmalion often "ran his hands over the work, feeling to see whether it was flesh or ivory."[93]

Following in the footsteps of a century of celebrated printmakers, like Dürer, Van Leyden and the Wierix brothers, Goltzius and his peers pushed the bounds of printmaking technique at the end of the sixteenth century, attempting to realistically render color and texture, just as a painting would. Goltzius, especially, in response to the "deficiency" of the Italian reproduction engravers, concentrated on this task.[94] By overcoming the limitations of the plate and burin and outdoing both painting and sculpture as far as mimesis, the northern printmakers might surpass their Italian peers in the past *paragone.* This would therefore undermine prevailing notions that black and white lines presented any such limitation.

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[91] Ibid, 445.

[92] Albert O. Hirschmann as quoted in: Limouze, 445.

[93] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, as quoted in: Limouze, 445.

[94] Goltzius traveled to Italy where he encountered many of the Italian engravers and saw at their prints, thus the influence of the Italians' methods should not be ignored. In fact he undoubtably read Vasari, who also discusses the notion of imitating color in prints and may have further inspired the efforts of printmakers to do this. See Huigen Leeflang and Ger Luijten, ed., "A Proteus or Vertumnus in Art: The Virtuoso Engravings 1592-1600" in *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617): drawings, prints and paintings* (Zwolle: Waanders 2003).

Pliny's own commentary supports this concept. The Roman author actually considered monochromatic painting both an important step in the history of painting, and a legitimate method. Mathilde Bert has written on this topic, specifically noting the northern humanists, such as Lampsonius and Ortelius, would have been aware of Pliny's comments.[95] Bert writes that Pliny can be interpreted to say that monochromatic painting is superior to color and she suggests therefore that "the humanist reception of art and the taste for monochrome were closely related in the North." Bert evokes Erasumus' comments on Dürer as a prime example. In fact, Pliny's comments set up the comparison between monochromatic technique and sculpture, antiquity, and austerity, all of which would have resonated with northern humanists and artists such as Goltzius.

In light of Goltzius' new *paragone* on the mimesis of engraving, and the emblematic function of the Latin text, the design of the *Pictorum* takes on new meaning, suggesting that it may have had a greater impact upon its immediate audience than previously assumed. In fact, the first *Pictorum* purposefully drew upon the tension between sculpted and painted form in engravings. In an essay on the development of engraving techniques of the sixteenth century, art historian Emily Peters writes that the Wierix brothers were famed for their perfection of the fine manner, which used "finer instruments, straighter lines and much more dot-work."[96] Peters observed that the height of this technique is apparent in Hieronymus Wierix' portrait of *Catherine Henriette de*

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[95] Matilde Bert, "In monochromatis [...], quid non exprimit ? La réception des arts monochromes dans la critique d'art humaniste à la Renaissance*," in *Aux Limites de la Couleur: monochromie & polychromie dans les arts (1300-1600)* (Turnhout: Brepolis 2011), 97-114.

[96] Emily Peters, "Systems and Swells: The Collective Lineage of Engraved Lines, 1480 - 1650," in *The Brilliant Line: Following the early modern Engraver, 1480-1650*, edited by Emily Peters (Providence, R.I.: Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art, 2009), 30.

Balzac (1600), which consists of "diminutive, slender marks and extensive flicking laid over patterns of crossed straight lines" (fig. 37, 38). And even earlier example can be seen in Wierix' *Portrait of Philip II, King of Spain* (fig. 39). The *Pictorum* portraits use a basic fine manner technique; fine contour lines shape the figure away from the background. These lines sometimes turn into the body of the figure to delineate folds of fabric, facial hair or the borders between skin and clothing in a similar manner. Shading and texture is accomplished with slender straight lines and some crosshatching.

Another aspect of the Wierix brother's style, according to Peters, was to rely "on the white of the sheet to produce highlighted areas," whereas practitioners of the "swelled line," a technique that became predominant after the 1570s and popularized by Goltzius and the mannerists, "left almost no surface untouched, instead employing a dot and lozenge pattern to shape the skin," a technique that would reach its height with the French school in the mid seventeenth century (fig. 40, 41).[97] This heavier reliance on the "white of the page" recalls the manner of Wierix' predecessors, especially Lucas van Leyden, whose, fine, silvery prints also allowed negative space to prevail. Yet the effect of the fine manner at its height with the Wierix brothers is that its description of volume and detail is rendered carefully with more nuanced and delicate dot-work and lines, thus shifts in texture and shape are rendered more smoothly overall. But in the *Pictorum* images, the Wierix borther's stepped back from that subtlety. The highlights are made larger and bolder by reducing the dot-work that smooths transitions. Shadow is also deepened in larger areas which become completely black at times. Compare, for example, De Blazac's portrait with the *Pictorum's* image of William Key, in which dot-work is almost

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[97] Ibid.

completely absent, except for some limited use on the transition upon the cheekbone, forehead, shoulder and hands. Wierix let the line instead simply end without much transitionary texture. He relied on cross-hatching to intensify the shadowed areas, which become dark enough to lose detail in many areas. De Balzac's portrait meanwhile retains its detail completely, shying away from deep shadow.

This high contrast in the *Pictorum* portraits brings the figure even further out from the flat background and offers an illusion of hard marble rather than the soft fleshy face of De Balzac. In the woman's portrait, Wierix relied on the contrast between the regulated, repetitive lines of the background with the curved, varying texture of the clothing, hair and skin, to offset the figure and increase the illusion of space. Yet De Balzac remains flat, trapped within the borders of the margin of the page which cuts her off at the bust and shoulders, cropping close to her head. The smooth shifts in tone and texture further flatten her into a single dimension, limiting the realism of the portrait. De Balzac's portrait therefore may be quite memetic in terms of rendering her features correctly, yet it remains lifeless in comparison to the *Pictorum's* active, expressive figures.

The experimentation we see with technique in portrait prints by the Wierix brothers reflects a struggle that occurred with the sixteenth-century engravers to match the legendary realism that painters had achieved. This may have been especially significant to the northern artists given that the international fame of the Early Netherlandish masters was based on their incredibly mimetic techniques. Like the renaissance sculptors, engravers sought to match this realism without the possibility of color, which assists a painter in differentiating form and texture, or enhance the illusion

of space. For example, such effects as atmospheric perspective, in which color fades progressively as space recedes, is limited in printmaking to dots and lines. Color also assists an artist in creating illusion of real space, by shifting through a myriad of tones and shades in order to enrich one's sense of light or shadow, enhancing the *chiarscurro* effect and contrast.

This struggle to match realism, which would be the basis of Goltzius' new *paragone*, is evident in the technique of the *Pictorum*, which effectively plays on the boundaries between sculpted and painted image, pushing the idea of mimetic portrait beyond simply perfectly reproducing likeness, as in De Balzac's portrait, and into the realm of fully enlivening the subject. Thus it is the engraving technique employed in the first *Pictorum* which resulted from artistic debates and experiments taking place that brought these figures to life. Along with the symbolic meaning of the Latin text, discussed in chapter one of this study, the *Pictorum's* references to the *paragone* (old and new) and contemporary theories in engraving directly engaged with these debates and wholeheartedly embraced the concerns of northern artists, scholars and *liefhebbers* alike.

Hendrick Hondius' *Pictorum*

Working a generation after Hieronymus Cock, Hendrick Hondius must have had mixed ambitions for the *Pictorum*. Hondius was as much business-minded as Cock, as art historian Nadine Orenstein writes in her biography of Hondius, "…from the start his aspirations appear to have been set on becoming a prolific reproductive print publisher on

the model of houses that had been active in Antwerp only a few decades earlier; Cock

and Galle."[98] Stephanie Porras also writes on the topic of Hondius' motivations:

> The fact that Hondius based his own ambitious publishing venture, the 72-
> plate 1610 Effigies,on a prior Flemish model is not in itself unusual. At
> least three editions of the Cock Effigies had been published before the
> appearance of Hondius' expanded series and by the seventeenth century,
> there was a long-established practice of reworking and reprinting older
> plates.[99]

Thus Hondius' decision to expand the *Pictorum* was a keen business decision because the

re-strike occurred during the period in which Van Mander published his *Schilder-*

Boeck.[100] Yet, Porras and others have also suggested that Hondius' *Pictorum* was an

artistic reaction or response to Van Mander's landmark anthology, rather than a simple

financially advantageous expansion upon the original *Pictorum*.[101] Indeed, unlike Cock,

Hondius continued to be a practicing artist, often engraving his own projects, as he did

with the *Pictorum*.

Hondius was also likely no stranger to the *Pictorum*. He had apprenticed with

one of the engravers of the series, Johannes Wierix, in the 1580s, so it is quite possible

that Hondius had knowledge of the purpose and ideas behind the project and may even

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[98] Orenstein, 241.

[99] Porras, "Repeat Viewing," in *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*,18.

[100] For more complete comparisons of the two editions see: Meiers, "Portraits in Print," or Porras "Repeat Viewing," in *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*. This idea of the new version of the *Pictorum* being a matter of a profitable venture is reinforced by the presence of an another rumored reprint of Galle's version done in 1615, titled *Illustrium Quos Belgium Habuit Pictorum Effigies, Ad Vivum Accurate Delineatæ, Nec Non, Quo Quisque Tempore Et Vixerit, Et Obierit.* This edition is listed in the holdings of the British Library and is not digitized. Hollstein does not list a reprint by Galle in its thorough investigations of the various versions, thus the date on this edition is mysterious. It could be dated wrong due to a mismatched frontispiece.

[101] Brooks Rich has also proposed this.

even seen some of the original plates.[102] In fact, it was common for apprentices to learn

by copying other artworks and plates. By 1618, Hondius had died, allowing Johannes

Janssonius, the Latin scholar who wrote the poetry for Hondius' 1610 plates, to reprint

them under his own name. This edition accompanied the release of the second edition of

Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck*, implying the possibility of communication and

collaboration between the respective publishers.[103]

Hondius did not include the portrait of Cock in his new version of the series, but

we can still find a bit of Cock's message of immortal fame in the frontispiece of the new

Pictorum (fig. 24).   The title is framed by an unrolled stretch of canvas hung upon a wall

and topped by the head of a bull with the painter's guild shield underneath, referring to

the Antwerp Chamber of Rhetoric. Statues and putti pose upon pedestals on both sides of

the title, each with the attributes of artists, painting, sculpture, architecture and the putti

on the top left looks to be engraving. Above the bull on the Hondius frontispiece is a

globe showing Europe and a winged allegory of fame blowing her horn for all to hear.

On each side above the putti's heads and below the allegory are the words "diligence"

and "labor." In the original *Pictorum*, the skull in Cock's hands recalled *vanitas*

paintings and their admonition to remain humble before death and virtuous in life. On

the Hondius' frontispiece, two words that define a virtuous or moral life are written under

the allegory of fame: "labor" and "diligence," thus Hondius also encourages the viewer to

believe that by hard work and dedication an artist may be immortalized on a grand scale.

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[102] Hollstein, F.W.H, Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, Marjolein Leesberg, and der S. J. Van, introduction to *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: the Wierix Family Part 1* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2004): xxvii.
[103] De Vries, "Hondius Meets Van Mander," 273 - 4.

Less personally connected to the original creators of the *Pictorum,* and perhaps reflecting a more business orientated approach, Hondius brightened the mood by inserting new opening poem and introductory pages. The poem reveals that the focus of this new series is on the wide spectrum of artistic talents that distinguish the North from Italian artists, whom Vasari had portrayed as constantly aspiring to one ideal talent. Hondius also makes reference to Lampsonius' original poetry as a muse for the new verses to come. The next page is an illustration of three putti, one of which flies upward holding a banner while the other two are tumbling downward near another banner (fig. 25). These two banners hold the aforementioned poem by Jansonius dedicated to the "lovers" and "haters" of painting. Hondius also offered the promise of life after death in his final plate, appropriately called "Post Funera Vita" or "life after burial," that illustrated the skeletal figure often associated with the *Ars Moriendi*, an instructional book on the art of dying that included advice on how to live well (fig. 26).[104] Hence the focus of the opening and closing pages of the 1610 series carried much less emotional gravity compared to those of the 1572 *Pictorum*.

Some of the funerary theme from the 1572 *Pictorum* was carried into the new frontispiece. The statues, pediments and putti all draw upon classical architecture and sculpture, but they are also recall renaissance grave monuments like those designed by Cornelis Floris. For example, on the tomb of Frederik II in Roskilde two statues stand upon pediments on either side of the structure, atop which sit several more figures (fig. 27). These elements are further reminiscent of the grand grave monuments of Italian

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[104] For a more complete discussion of the new poetry, the final plate and the *Ars Moriendi,* in reference to Hondius' expansion of the *Pictorum,* see Woodall, "Dem Dry Bones," in *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon.*

artists, such as that of Michelangelo in the Santa Croce of Florence (fig. 28). Built

between 1564 and 1575, Michelangelo's tomb was designed by Vasari and also includes

statues holding artistic attributes; the tomb is described by Vasari in his second edition at

the end of the "Life of Michelangelo."[105]

While Hondius' version of the *Pictorum* paid homage to the 1572 edition, it is

also very different. One of the most noticeable changes he made was to expand the

number of artists included in the *Pictorum,* perhaps unwittingly finishing the project for

his predecessors in the fashion that they imagined. The expansion made use of the tri-

part system that Van Mander had adapted from Vasari's method.[106] In Hondius'

Pictorum the first section contains the artists from the original edition, the second section

is of artists who died between 1572 and 1610, and the third is devoted to artists still

living.[107] Hondius' edition also changed the original name to reflect the wider spectrum

of artists, not just the Netherlandish masters: "Effigies of some celebrated painters,

chiefly of Lower Germany."

The most dramatic visual change introduced by Hondius was to embellish the

backgrounds of the portraits, including adding scenes to the backgrounds of the copied

1572 portraits to match. Most historians agree he did this in order to create a sense of

unity throughout the new expanded series and to add more visual references to the

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[105] Vasari, *Lives* (1907), 369-370.
[106] Vasari's lives of the artists was structured into three parts, representing three periods in the development of Italian art and culminating in the life of Michelangelo. Van Mander's anthology was also divided into three parts, with the first consisting of a sort of manual of how to paint well, the second focused on the lives of the artists, and the third was a translation of Ovid's Metamorphosis. Within the volume of artists lives, Van Mander again split it into three sections: artists from classical history (essentially a translation of Pliny), the Italian artists, and the Netherlandish artists.
[107] Woodall, "Dem Dry Bones," *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon,* 10.

specific skill or legend of the artists. Some backgrounds are more complicated than others, and it appears that Hondius took some cues directly from the few simple embellishments that were in the 1572 edition. For example, returning to the portraits of the Van Eyck brothers, it appears that Hondius may have followed the original design of Rogier van der Weyden by placing paintings on the wall behind the brothers, along with a palette hung on a nail instead of the ribbon from the *brievenbord* (figs. 29, 30). The engravers of the new design cleverly referred to the shield of the painters guild by rendering three spots of paint in the same pattern as the shield upon the palettes.

Moreover, many of the backgrounds include scenes in which perspective is a key element to the composition. Ten out of the fourteen prints that feature strong perspectival backgrounds are attributed to Hondius, making this small detail his most personal addition to the *Pictorum,* since he was known in his time to be intensely interested in perspectival techniques.[108] In the image of Bernard van Orley, a room supported by a large Doric column replaces the blank backdrop of the 1572 image (fig. 31). This alludes to Orley's own renderings of Roman architecture (fig. 32). But this room also has steps leading further into another room with the type of architecture one expects to see in Flemish interiors of the Renaissance. By combining these two architectural designs, the engraver honored Orley's blend of Flemish and Italianate styles as well as the Italian "discovery" of perspective that allowed artists to expand two dimensional space so freely.

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[108] Hondius may have learned this interest during his time apprenticing with Wierix. Cock had published some of Hans Vredemen de Vries' work, which Hondius later re-published; Hans Vredeman de Vries and Hendrick Hondius, *Perspective* (Leiden, 1599). While Cock was at first an artist, he was not a practicing engraver as Hondius was, nor was Cock remembered the way Hondius was for his specific knowledge of perspective; De Bie, 488-10.

It also deepened the space even further than the images from the 1572 *Pictorum,* exaggerating more the illusion of looking through a window.

The iconography of backgrounds, attributes and fashion in portraits of the 1610 edition became a mix across the spectrum from very simple to very complicated iconology. Hondius not only embellished backgrounds but sometimes he heightened the fashion and increased the number of attributes. In Otto van Veen's image we find, for example, the artist at work on a religious painting, looking over his shoulder at the viewer as if to ask for critique (fig. 33). The artist is dressed in fine, patterned garments, complete with a ruffed collar, symbolizing his wealth and high status. This portrait is taken from Van Veen's self portrait in his *Album Amicorum* and includes only his head and shoulders. Like Cock, Hondius took the liberty of adding bodies, gestures and personalized environments for his subjects.[109] In the print of Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem the engravers used essentially the same composition, except that they added a painting on the wall as well as a shop assistant at work in the background (fig. 34).

Overall the embellished plates of Hondius' new *Pictorum* lose the sense of sculptural form that figures in the original edition had. This has the effect of enlivening the figures in a different way by modernizing them to reflect the contemporary mannerist and baroque trends in art that were in fashion during the early sixteenth century. Some portraits even become overburdened by this added iconography. Jacob Binck's design could be called "*Pictorum*-baroque," employing every visual trick of the old and new

[109] Otto Van Veen, *Album amicorum de Otto Venius. Reproduction intégrale en fac-simile,* ed. and trans. J. Van den Gheyn (Brussels, Société des Bibliophiles et Iconophiles de Belgique, 1911). Available on Hathitrust, accessed May 11, 2017, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101075997716;view=1up;seq=11.

editions into one hectic space, while accented by a dramatized facial expression that was typical of northern mannerism (fig. 36). In contrast the first twenty-three portraits remain less embellished in Hondius' new undertaking, serving as an acknowledgement of Cock's original creation and as a nod to the ideas of life after death and portrait as memorial.

Yet Hondius managed to retain a sense of cohesion between the old and new by remaining somewhat true to the original engraving technique of the first *Pictorum*. While the lines of shading and texture in Hondius' prints do follow the contemporary trend to express form and volume through controlled repetition of "swelled" lines that mimic contour and volume, the swelling within the lines itself is kept to a minimum, remaining much more delicate. Figures are still outlined for the most part from the background, defying the mannerists' popular technique of using intersecting swelled lines to differentiate borders. On the other hand, dots-work is almost completely absent, increasing contrast even more than what Wierix did on the first *Pictorum*. One would think that this would increase the sense of multidimensionality, yet within the sometimes overwhelming background elements, the figures actually lose the allusion to sculpture, moving instead completely into the realm of addressing drawn or painted portraits.

Hondius' nod to the first *Pictorum's* technique offers an homage to the history of engraving, by honoring those who created the series. As Emily Peters writes, "the history of the medium is defined by the rapid development of a shared technical knowledge passed amongst artists, dispersed across Europe."[110] Engravers constantly experimented with line quality and design innovations, accepting or rejecting evolving techniques, or

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[110] Peters, 13.

pushing them further to perfection and subsequently adapting them as the Wierix brothers did with Leyden and Dürer's fine manner, or as Goltzius did with the swelled line.

However, even as Hondius looks backward, he looks ahead; the contrast between old and new composition in Hondius' *Pictorum* speaks to the contemporary, often still-living artists who, thanks to the work of their predecessors, could now claim their place in the canon. Turning the page from part one, which was in essence a re-strike of Cock's edition, and into the second section containing Hondius' new designs, signaled a turning point in the history of art in the Low Countries. After Van Mander's landmark publication positioned the North into the larger narrative of art history in Europe, northern artists no longer needed to struggle for recognition in or outside their own land. By republishing an expanded, modernized edition of the *Pictorum*, Hondius raised the series from the realm of the dead, bringing his contemporaries with it.

CHAPTER III

THE *PICTORUM* IN SPAIN

"And indeed, it is my opinion, that nothing can be a greater proof of having achieved success in life, than a lasting desire on the part of one's fellow men, to know what one's features were."

-Pliny, 35:2

Despite the numerous studies on the print trade in Europe that reveal a complex

movement of objects between regions, the *Pictorum's* presence in other parts of Europe

has not been examined. Spain presents an important and relevant opportunity to study

the *Pictorum's* influence outside the Low Countries due to the long, close relationship

between the two regions, beginning at least in the fifteenth century with the Burgundian

courts, during the reign of Charles V as Roman Emperor, and continuing as late as 1700

through Habsburg marriages.[111] This chapter focuses on the presence of the *Pictorum* in

Spain, especially the literary works about art by two seventeenth-century figures: artist

Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644) and court historian Lazaro Diaz del Valle (1606-1669).

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[111] Marjorie Trusted, *The Arts of Spain: Iberia and Latin America 1450-1700* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 191-193. For a detailed history of the ties between the Netherlands and Spain see Till Borchert and Andreas Beyer, *The Age of Van Eyck: The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting*, *1430-1530* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002).

Both of these men owned or had access to the *Pictorum,* which was influential as a historical document as well as (for Pacheco) a muse of inspiration on the philosophy of art. While this chapter focuses less on the formal qualities of the *Pictorum,* it serves as an example of the *Pictorum's* previously overlooked role in art outside the Low Countries, supporting the argument that the influence of the *Pictorum* has been wider-spread and more significant than previously understood.

One significant concept about the formal qualities that is important to understand in relation to the print trade in general, is the aspect of the *Pictorum* as a set of prints, which means that it is a portable and *tactile* "object." It must be recognized that prints have the distinction from other art media of allowing one to handle them; there is a physical interaction with these artworks that is distinct from paintings and sculpture, which were often regarded from a distance, placed on pedestals and walls, and deemed untouchable for all but the beholder's eye. To handle a *Pictorum* print is to feel the paper's texture and weight between thumb and forefinger, to drag the index finger, as one might, tracing a defining line or pointing to an impressive element. The print thus becomes physically connected to a possessor as one evaluates the images and one can sort of "play" with the order or viewing format as he/she shuffles through the sheets or lays them upon a table side by side. Hieronymus Cock's *Pictorum* not only contained likenesses of admired artists, but the signatures of the engravers whose prints were sought by *liefhebbers,* even in their own time. Therefore, because of its famous authors, it would have been more widely appreciated as a collector's item almost immediately, even

without an understanding of the *Pictorum's* special relationship to contemporary

Netherlandish dialogues on art. Furthermore, keeping in mind the innovative approach to

the genre of a portrait cycle that the *Pictorum's* artists took by activating the figures into

a conversation, the very personal interaction that the *Pictorum* (and prints in general) has

with its viewers as a small *tactile* work imbues a special sense of intimacy. This means

that it would have been closely read and handled by an international audience and while

they might have perceived it differently, it would have an equally significant impact.

The Print Trade to Spain

According to art historian Till-Holger Borchert, there were three groups

responsible for the dissemination of the Early Netherlandish style in renaissance Europe:

merchants who purchased art for private use or to sell, royal courts around Europe who

employed their own artists and sent them to other places to learn or for diplomatic

missions, and lastly the artists themselves, who traveled from place to place and/or

eventually settled abroad.[112] For example, in 1427 Jan van Eyck traveled to Spain on a

diplomatic mission for the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good (1396-1467).[113] Borchert

has pointed to this event as pivotal in the Spanish taste for Netherlandish art because Van

Eyck left some of his paintings behind.

Numerous artists traveled between Spain and the Netherlands during the Early

Modern period. For example, Queen Isabella of Castile (1451 - 1504), brought Juan de

Flandes (1460-1519) to court after she saw his paintings, and King Alfonso of Aragon

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[112] Borchert and Beyer, 33.
[113] Ibid, 43.

(1448-1495) similarly employed several Netherlandish artists.[114] Moreover, the demand

for Flemish prints was high during the late Renaissance amongst members of the Spanish

courts and prints were sent even as far away as the New World.[115] Flemish prints

remained popular into the seventeenth century when Rubens and Van Dyck rose to

prominence as internationally recognized artists. The Netherlandish art that still fills

Spanish museums and collections is a legacy of this period, and one cannot study the

Spanish Renaissance or Golden Age without encountering it.

A recent example of this is the 2016 multinational retrospective on Hieronymus

Bosch's oeuvre, that included an exhibition at the Escorial in Spain. Here at the very

start of the route through the exhibition, an edition of the *Pictorum* was displayed

prominently, open to the portrait of the Netherlandish painter (fig. 5).[116] Viewed in the

context of Bosch's legendary work, the portrait with its erudite Latin verse and

contemplative figure only served to further mystify Bosch's beloved and bizarre genius

as expressed in his paintings. This edition of the *Pictorum* was bound up with hundreds

of other portraits of "illustrious men" and shipped to the royal library during the early

seventeenth century, on order by Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598), librarian at the

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[114] Ibid, 45.

[115] Dirk Imhof, "The Plantin Book Trade and Supply of Art Objects to the Spanish Elite," Presentation at *Netherlandish Art and Luxury Goods in Renaissance Spain: Trade Patronage and Consumption* (University of Leuven, Belgium, February 5, 2016). Much research on the arts in the New World has revealed the influence of Flemish art and the use of prints by New World artists. For instance see Donna Pierce, et al., *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), esp. 18; Stephanie Porras, "Going Viral? Maerten de Vos's St Michael the Archangel," *Netherlandish Art in its Global Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 54-79; or Thomas B.F. Cummins, "The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World," in *Contested Visions* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, 2011), 203-226.

[116] Escorial cat no. RBME 28-III-9; "Bosch. The 5th Centenary Exhibition." Museo Nacional del Prado. Madrid, Spain. 5/31/2016 - 9/25/2016.

Escorial.[117] The book's centuries-old presence within a royal library and current-day use

to honor a legendary artist speaks to the aesthetic, didactic, and mnemonic qualities of

print-portrait collections and cycles, such as the *Pictorum,* whose influence has crossed

borders and time.

Another example is found in the Biblioteca Nacional de España [National Library

of Spain] in Madrid, which preserves three editions of the *Pictorum*, one of which is a

belonged to Valentín Carderera (1796-1880), a notable collector, influential critic and

famous portrait artist in the nineteenth century (figs. 42, 43).[118] Carderera's special

appreciation for prints is evident in his literary and visual works, as well as in the

contents of his own collection, which he claimed consisted of at least 14,700 print-

portraits, some of which he made himself.[119] In 1841, he wrote an essay that focused on

the origins of print-portraits of "celebrated men" in Spanish and Italian collections, citing

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[117] José Luis del Valle Merino. Interview by Sara Armas. Personal Interview. Escorial Library, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain. October 18, 2016.

[118] ER 258. This is evident by Carderera's collector's stamp. This edition is bound with several print portraits that did not belong to the 1572 edition. Plate 24 is the portrait of Dürer, plate 25 is a portrait of Jan van Acken, plate 26 is a print of Jan Vredeman de Vries, all from the from the Hondius edition. Plate 27 is the portrait of Galle by Goltzius. The other editions of the *Pictorum* at the B.N.E is ER 484. Its origin remains a mystery. ER 484 is original seventeenth-century vellum binding, with a gilt stamp of a man and woman sitting inside an oval wreath of flowers, centered on the cover. There is also an inner bookplate, thus it may be possible to trace its provenance. Like ER 258, this book also contains other portraits: plate 28 is of Wendel Dieterlin, plate 56 is the portrait of Goltzius by Theodor Schevelius, plate 70 is of Laurence Strauch, plate 72 is of Elias Holl[illegible]. The BNE also has an edition of Van Dyck's *Icones,* ER 122/123, bound with other print portraits. For a biography of Valtentín Carderera see Jose M. Azpiroz Pascual, "Valentín Carderera, Pintor, Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses" (Huesca, 1981); Golia Elia, "La Etapa Italiana de Valentín Carderera (1822-1831), Espacio, Tiempo y Forma (Madrid: Universidad Nacionel de Educación a Distancia, 2014). For information on the Carderera collection at the BNE see Biblioteca Nacionel España, "La Sala de Estampas: Dibujos, Grabados y Libros ilustrados en la BNE," Online Exhibition, accessed May 11, 2017, http://www.bne.es/es/Micrositios/Exposiciones/BNE300/Exposicion/Seccion1/sub2/Obra01_portadilla.html?seccion=3&obra=1&origen=galeria.

[119] Valentín Carderera, "Ensayo histórico sobre los retratos de hombres célebres desde el siglo XIII hasta el XVIII…," (Madrid: 1841), 256.

Pliny and Cicero as sources on the first ancient portrait cycles.[120] In this essay he

applauded the art of printmaking for its mass-production and dissemination of

information, especially with respect to remembrance of both mythic and real

personalities.

Later, in 1855, Carderera published the *Iconografía Español*, containing his

drawings of "portraits, statues, mausoleums and other unpublished monuments of kings,

queens, great captains, writers, etc...," as the title states (fig. 44).[121] The choice of words

for the title is quite meaningful, because he calls portraits a form of "monument,"

acknowledging their role in the remembrance of illustrious men. In the foreword of this

book, the author reveals his thoughts on the function of art in history and culture, writing:

> It is not the exclusive privilege of history to remember the past deeds and
> enviable splendor of our elders. Fine art competes in equally important
> ways, not only to illustrate heroic actions, but bring them to the fore,
> making them visible through statues, paintings and portraits to which is
> associated ideas of sublime models and examples worthy of imitation,
> impressing the spirits of those who contemplate them."[122]

Carderera's words echo those of the many ancient and renaissance authors on art, who

celebrated art for its didactic qualities, inspiring moral and just behavior through the

admiration of beautiful images. These words reveal also how this historian, collector and

practicing artist reacted to portrait cycles. But Carderera was not the only important

historical figure in Spain to own a *Pictorum*. Looking even further backward in time, as

the examples of Pacheco and Diaz de Valle will demonstrate, the print series was

influential in Spain the early seventeenth century.

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[120] Ibid.

[121] Valentín Carderera, *Iconografía española…*(Madrid: R. Campuzano, 1855).

[122] Carderera, *Iconografía española*, A. Translation mine.

Francisco Pacheco and the *Pictorum*

Francisco Pacheco was active as an artist in the port city of Sevilla and is best

known as the teacher of the artists Diego Velásquez (1599-1660) and Alonso Cano

(1601-1667). Aside from painting and teaching, Pacheco completed several literary

works in his lifetime, including one celebrating "illustrious men." Titled *Il Libro de*

Verdaderos Retratos de Ilustres y Memorables Varones [The Book of True Portraits of

Illustrious and Memorable Men], the book was compiled of drawn portraits and written

eulogies for its subjects (figs. 45, 46).[123] What is remarkable about this book is that

Pacheco intermingled artists, clergy and nobility, indicating that their status was equal.[124]

When viewing this work, one can see that it was inspired by the literary tradition of

biographies of *uomoni famosi* that was popularized by Italian humanists during the

Renaissance. As discussed previously, many of the early humanist biographies actually

did include a few northern artists, however it was usually the same small canon of two

very well known names such as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, or sometimes

Hieronymus Bosch in Spain, because of his fame there.[125] Due to this fashionable canon,

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[123] Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de Descripcion de Verdaderos Retratos, de Illustres y Memorables Varones* (Madrid: R. Tarasco,1599). Available on Google Books, accessed May 11, 2017, https://books.google.com/books?id=SKxFAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.; For a complete study see: Marta Cacho Casal, "Portrait Drawings by Francisco Pacheco and the British Nineteenth-century Art Market" *Master Drawings* 48, No. 4 (Winter, 2010): 447-455.

[124] He also provided some of the earliest comprehensive biographical information on Pedro Campaña (Pieter de Kempeneer), a sixteenth-century artist from Brussels who studied in Italy and later started a school in Seville.

[125] For example: Filarete (1400-1496), a Florentine scholar living in Milan, wrote an architectural treatise at the Sforza court in the 1460s in which he cited Van Eyck and Van der Weyden, together with the French painter Jean Fouquet (1420-1481), as the most renowned painters north of the Alps. He called Van der Weyden the best, likely reflecting that court's preference for him; Paula Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence: The Impact of Netherlandish Painting, 1400-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 33. Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503), another humanist at the court of Alfonso, writes that the King's most

scholars have suggested that to mention these artists in a literary work of biographies was merely a humanistic literary device of decorum that was expected to be included; it was perhaps a reaction by humanists to the known popularity of these artists in order to please courtly patrons or prove humanist erudition, rather than a demonstration of true familiarity or interest in the artists.[126]

According to scholars, the Spanish Golden Age saw a rise in interest by artists and scholars in the biographical literary tradition as artists traveled between Spain and Italy.[127] When reading Pacheco's *Retratos* one can not help but think of the tradition of *uomini famosi*, especially Vasari's *Vite* and Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck.* Indeed, in one of Pacheco's other literary works, *Arte de la Pintura: su Antiguedad y Grandezas [The Art of Painting: Its Antiquity and Greatness]* (1649), the artist reveals that he had editions of these works that he used as sources.[128] More relevant to this chapter, Pacheco

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prized painting was by Jan Van Eyck, thus insinuating that artist as the best; Gabriella Befani Canfield, "The Reception of Flemish art in Renaissance Florence and Naples" in *Petrus Christus in Renaissance Bruges: an Interdisciplinary Approach,* ed. Maryan W Ainsworth (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art in collaboration with Brepolis Publishers,1995), 37. Carrying on the tradition in Spain, Felipe de Guevara (?-1563) listed Van Eyck, Van der Weyden and Joachim Patinir as the best Flemish painters in his *Commentaries*, written in 1560. (Patinir was another Flemish artist that the Spanish appreciated, but was not as well known in Italy); Elena Vasques Duenas, "The Gueveras as Collectors of Netherlandish Art at the Court of Spain," presented at *Netherlandish Art and Luxury Goods in Renaissance Spain: Trade, Patronage and Consumption.* Lecture. Justus Lipsiuszaal, Leuven. Feb 5, 2016. Another important text is the letter that Pietro Summonte (1453-1526) wrote to Marcantonio Michiel in 1524, apparently in an effort to assist Michiel in his endeavor to write a book on artists. In this letter, he calls Van der Weyden "renowned" and says that he was the student of the other "great" master, Van Eyck (which we know now not to be true). Part of the argument for the lack of true familiarity is that the descriptions and attributions by, for example, Michiel are incorrect; Carol M Richardson, Kim Woods, and Michael W. Franklin, eds., *Renaissance art Reconsidered: an Anthology of Primary Sources* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 193-196.

[126] Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators,* 99-111; Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "Poggio and Visual Tradition: "Uomini Famosi" in Classical Literary Description," *Artibus et Historiae*, 6, no. 12 (1985): 57-74; Nuttall, 34.

[127] For example see Francisco Calvo Serraller, *Teoría de la Pintura del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981); Karin Hellwig, *La literatura Artística Española del Siglo XVII* (Abington, Pennsylvania: Visor, 1999).

[128] For example, on page 377, he repeats the story from Vasari's text that credits Antonello de Messina with bringing oil paint from Flanders to Italy. Pacheco seems to have been able to read Dutch or had

states in book three of the *Arte* that he had a copy of the *Pictorum,* and he references it several times throughout the rest of book.

Manuela Agueda Garcia-Garrido first noticed this statement in his 2009 study of Pacheco's *Retratos,* but does not study its significance further.[129] On page 448 of the edition of the *Arte* that was accessed for this study, Pacheco writes about Van Mander's use of Lampsonius. Pacheco specifically states that he also has the *Pictorum* on hand, writing, "I have…a Latin epigraph, that Lampsonius wrote, after his portrait, in the book of the famous painters of Flanders.*"*[130] Furthermore on page 426, Pacheco writes how Hendrick Vroom was so famous in his own time that his portrait "accompanies the famous painters of Flanders," another reference to the *Pictorum.*[131]

Pacheco continued to expand on his *Retratos* up until the time of his death in 1644.[132] He apparently created the portraits from drawings that he had already compiled, and we also know that he had already begun writing the *Arte de la Pintura* when he

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someone translate Van Mander for him, since he goes into detail about some of Van Mander's advice on art. On page 368 he says how he took the time to read Van Mander in order to see if he adds anything more or even in order to correct Vasari. Pacheco used a variety of sources, including Alberti and Da Vinci, whom he mentioned in his discussion of colors in Book 2, chapter 9, pp. 292-293; Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pinture: su antiguedad y grandezas* (Sevilla: Faxardo: 1649). Available on Google Books, accessed May 11, 2017, https://books.google.es/books? id=iJRGCke79YUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=snippet&q=pintores%20fla nde&f=false. Translations mine. For a complete study of the texts that inspired Pacheco see: Anita Louise Martin, *Francisco Pacheco and his Arte de la pintura : sources for interpreting the elements of Spanish art* (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1951). For a study on the extent to which Pacheco used or understood Van Mander, including Pacheco's use of the *Pictorum*, see: Simon A. Vosters, "Lampsonio, Vasari, Van Mander and Pacheco," *Goya: Revista del Arte*, no. 189 (Nov./Dec. 1985): 130-139.

[129] Manuela Agueda Garcia-Garrido, "Le Portrait des predicateurs illustres dans l'Espgna de la Contre-Reforme: le pouvoir pictural de la saintete, " in *Pouvoirs de l'image aux 15e, 16e et 17e siècles* (Clermont-Ferand: Presses University Blaise Pascal, 2009): 321, n. 16.

[130] "Sibien el Autor de su vida, pone antes otra causa de hazerse pintor, pero inclinase mas a esta; movido de una Epigram Latina, que doctamente eserivio Lampsonio, debaxo de su Retrato de estampa, en el libro de los famosos pintores de Flandes que yo tengo." Pacheco, *Arte*, 448. Translation and italics mine.

[131] "…Enrique Vrom Flamenco…i salio el mas famoso de su tiempo en esta parte; i por tal acompaña su Retratos a los famoso Pintores de Flandes." Pacheco, *Arte*, 426. Translations mine.

[132] Marta Cacho Casal, "Portrait Drawings by Francisco Pacheco and the British Nineteenth-century Art Market" *Master Drawings* 48, No. 4 (Winter, 2010): 447-455, esp. 447.

began work on the *Retratos,* since he mentions it in the *Arte*.[133] It is likely that Pacheco

had the 1568 second edition of Vasari's *Vite* in his possession, which included print-

portraits at the beginning of each biography, since Pacheco often cites a "retrato," or

"portrait," next to the Italians who were illustrated with a woodcut in the *Vite*.[134]

However, since the *Pictorum* is also present as a named source for Pacheco, it could have

also influenced the idea to include portraits as well as some of their formal qualities.[135]

Pacheco's *Retratos* almost looks like a hybrid between the *Vite, Schilder-boeck*

and the *Pictorum*.[136] Within the written biographies Pacheco included actual funeral

epitaphs and poetry dedicated to the portrayed, just as Van Mander and Vasari had in

their books. Visually, Pacheco used a similar format to both the *Vite* and the *Pictorum:* a

bust within a frame and the name of the subject with some small text below it. Vasari's

woodcut portraits were framed within an elaborately embellished, oval cartouche, while

the *Pictorum's* were rectangular and had no framing device. Pacheco's portraits share the

rectangular shape and simplicity of the prints from the *Pictorum*, yet the simplified

frames do have architectural devices like Vasari's, in a probable reference to classical

antiquity.

As in the *Pictorum* and the *Vite*, Pacheco's almost monochromatic portraits

dominate the page. Under the bust is the Latinized name of the subject and below the

frames Pacheco places only the first few lines of the sitter's biography, which continues

at length on the subsequent pages. These few lines of text are fitted within the shape of

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[133] Ibid.
[134] No editions of Vasari's *Retratti* exist in Spain that we know of thus it is uncertain if he ever saw this.
[135] Van Mander did not include portraits of the artists in his anthology so that is not a possible influence.
[136] Garcia-Garrido first relates Pacheco's portraits to those of the *Vite* and other print portraits, including the *Pictorum.*

the outside bottom section of the frame, as if it was a part of the overall pictorial composition. At first glance, image and text operate as a single unit; without reading or turning the page one could believe that the text ends there. This format follows that of the *Pictorum* series closely, where each portrait and its Latin text were contained on a single sheet.

This design also follows the integration of text into prints that is reminiscent of funeral epitaphs, such as the "carved stone" title plates that Dürer added to his portraits (figs. 13, 14). As stated in chapter one, Lampsonius and his social circle, including Abraham Ortelius, collected and admired Dürer's work and a few of his portraits can be found bound in the *Ortelius-Dürer Collection* at the Louvre. The titles and Latin texts underneath the *Pictorum* portraits enhanced the eulogizing aspect of the series, just as in Pacheco's *Retratos*. Furthermore, Pacheco chose to only include deceased subjects, just as the first edition of the *Pictorum* did. It is evident that Pacheco even waited until the subject's death to record his biography, a possible reason why he never officially finished the *Retratos*.[137] Yet Pacheco was true to himself as a distinct, individual artist, just as the northerners had been, by adding his own aesthetic sensibilities. For example, he gently shaded volume into the figures, increasing the sense of space in comparison to Vasari's simple woodcuts (fig. 47). Furthermore, he touched the faces and frames of the portraits with a bit of color (in the case of the frames, it was to create the appearance of gold). Thus, while the figures remain less activated than those of the *Pictorum,* they are nonetheless enlivened by the color and tone of their faces.

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[137] Casal, 447.

Pacheco's possession of the *Pictorum* is significant beyond simply borrowing

composition or design. Indeed, the *Pictorum* is specifically cited by him in his text,

suggesting that the influence may have been theoretical as well as artistic. In the *Arte*

Pacheco discusses contemporary dialogues on artists and their place in society, arguing

that their status is higher than simple craftsmen. Pacheco used Christianity in art to

justify his thoughts that painting is a moral or even pious pursuit, writing:

> For the Christian, raised for holy things, caring only about the rewards of
> men and earthly comforts, but rather, raising his eyes to the heavens, sets
> himself a higher and more excellent goal, one found in eternal
> things…Therefore…painting…raises itself to a supreme aim, looking
> toward eternal glory, seeking to keep men away from vice, and leading
> them toward the true worship of our Lord God.[138]

Continuing, Pacheco's awareness as an artist of the purpose and power of images is also

evident:

> They guide the mind, move the will, and refresh the memory of divine
> things. They produce the greatest and most useful effects imaginable in
> our souls. They place heroic and magnanimous acts — acts of patience,
> acts of justice, acts of chastity, gentleness, mercy, and disdain for this
> world — before our eyes and imprint them on our hearts. And so in an
> instant they give us desire for virtue and hatred for vice, which are the
> principal paths that lead to blessedness.[139]

These words are quite similar to how Pliny and later scholars and critics described the

functions of the portrait cycle as discussed introduction to this study. Given that by the

seventeenth century, the portrait cycle had been understood as a metaphorical device for

hundreds of years, painted in meeting halls of great palaces, in the chapter-houses and

cloisters of churches and in the public government buildings of Europe, we can imagine

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[138] Francisco Pacheco as quoted in: Jon Cowans, "Chapter 40: Francisco Pacheco, The Art of Painting (1649)," in *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 170. Translation Cowans'.
[139] Ibid.

how Pacheco might have reacted to the *Pictorum* as he gazed at the unique sculpturally rendered portraits and read the short laudatory poems.   By appropriating the portrait cycle as a representation of power and legitimacy, the *Pictorum* justified celebration of its figures in many of the ways that Pacheco justified the status of artists. Viewing the series therefore may have strengthened and given support for Pacheco's arguments and his goal of placing the lives of his artists amongst the highest echelons of society.

This is not the only time that Pacheco found inspiration in Flemish prints. Pacheco's overall appreciation for Flemish prints has been demonstrated by art historian John Moffit in his study on the artist's use of prints for the motif of the "picture within the picture."[140] Yet Pacheco's interest in the *Pictorum* may not have been only due to the high status of Flemish prints, but also based on the burgeoning fashion in Spain and the New World for "Vera Effigies," or "true likenesses," portraits that promised to convey the true features and character of the subject. Fernando Quiles' research on this trend notes Pacheco's writings on the topic, in which he argued for the necessity of showing the true likenesses of the saints, echoing Saint Ignatius' words that the imagination should not be allowed to wander when praying to the saints.[141] As Quiles and Casal point out, Pacheco made an effort to draw portraits from life, even if it meant doing so at the person's funeral, and thus drawing from death, as he did in the case of Fray Juan Bernal and possibly Fray Fernando Suárez.[142] The thought of this makes Pacheco's *Retratos* a strange paradox for the viewer, seeing a dead man rendered quite alive.

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[140] John F. Moffitt, "Francisco Pacheco and Jerome Nadal: New Light on the Flemish Sources of the Spanish "Picture-within-the-Picture"," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 4 (Dec., 1990): 631-638.
[141] Quiles, 194. Thank you to Christina González for pointing me to this article/idea.
[142] Ibid, 195; Casal, 447.

This idea of true likeness also has old roots in the Netherlands, according to art historian Guy Bauman, where a common word for a portrait was "conterfeystel," translating to "counterfeit." As Bauman writes, the idea of the counterfeit or "that which is made against or opposite something else" was applied to portraiture as a result of "the power of early Flemish portraits to deceive the eye."[143] As discussed in Chapter Two, this legendary "power" was acknowledged by the artists of early modern print portraits as they strove to develop the same quality of mimesis in their prints.[144] Perhaps as a statement upon this distinct history of Netherlandish art, the artists of the *Pictorum* drew upon this concept by using supposedly real portraits of the artists rather than use imagined likenesses. In this way it immortalized its subjects upon the copper plate as living sculptures, creating the same paradox that Pacheco would do in seventeenth century Spain. It is this, more than anything else, that suggests that the strength of the *Pictorum's* influence upon Spanish artists trumped that of Vasari's work, which clearly did not honor the idea of true likeness, since it repeated the same portraits for different artists in the second edition. As scholars have argued, the *Pictorum* claimed authority by presenting their likeness as truth.[145] Pacheco's interest in *Vera Effigies* suggests that he understood that authority and the importance of portraiture for the celebration of men.

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[143] Guy Bauman, "Early Flemish Portraits 1425-1525," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 43, no. 4 (Spring, 1986): 11.

[144] It is fair to point out that this was also a concern for some Italian print masters, such as Giulio Campagnola (1482-1550) who developed the stippling technique as a means to render sfumato in prints. Stippling was not carried on as a prime technique because it was so delicate that it limited the amount of prints that could be made before the tiny dots could not hold ink, and unlike engraved lines, these dots could not be re-worked. See Peters, *The Brilliant Line.*

[145] Ariane Mensger and Stephanie Porras have discussed this.

Lazarro Diaz del Valle

During this same period, in another area of Spain, Lazaro Diaz del Valle de la

Puerta, court historian to Leon and Castile, began to compile his own collection of

biographies, titled *Origen y Yllustracion del Nobilísimo y Real Arte de la Pintura y*

Dibuxo…[Origin and Illustration of the Most Noble and Royal Art of Painting and

Drawing…].[146] While these biographies were not accompanied by portraits, and Diaz del

Valle copied most of his information from other sources, this compilation is significant

because it is the first documented effort by a Spaniard to compile an anthology *solely*

dedicated to artists.[147] José María Riello Velasco, a recent biographer on Diaz del Valle,

reasoned that Diaz del Valle's motivation was to please his patron and call attention to

Spanish artists, writing that the manuscript is:

> ...a full endorsement of an exalted decade in the Spanish artistic
> production...[which] reaches its fullness with the patronage of Philip IV
> and is perhaps the period of greatest splendor of Velázquez and Alonso
> Cano... artists whose biographies were glossed with amplitude by Diaz del
> Valle.[148]

Velasco's evaluation of Diaz del Valle's work follows Karen Hellwig's assertion that

Diaz del Valle had a friendship with Velázquez and began the work partially as a way to

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[146] Lazaro Diaz del Valle, *Origen y Yllustracion del Nobilísimo y Real Arte de la Pintura y Dibuxo…* (Leon, 1656). This work was never published. The manuscript is preserved at the Library Tomás Navarro Tomás of the Centro de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid, accession number: FA 4030, accessed May 11, 2017, http://bidicam.castillalamancha.es/bibdigital/bidicam/i18n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=60413. I count the page numbers from the verso of the first page of the manuscript. For a biography of Lazaro Diaz del Valle including documents and references to his other historical texts, see: José María Riello Velasco, "Lázaro Díaz del Valle y de la Puerta. Datos Documentales para su Biografía," *De Arte*, 3 (2004): 105-132.

[147] For a full discussion of the manuscript including its sources see: David García López, *Lázaro Díaz del Valle y las Vidas de pintores de Español* (Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 2008).

[148] Velasco, 106. Translation mine.

try to elevate his friend's fame at court.[149] The manuscript contains numerous

dedications to Philip IV, thus it is likely that the intended audience was the king and other

members of the court. What is especially remarkable about Diaz del Valle's text is that

alongside the Greeks, Romans, and Italians, whom he took from Vasari's text, Diaz del

Valle made an effort to include a complete list of Spanish artists *and* included the canon

of Netherlandish artists. Hence Diaz del Valle's book would have been the most

comprehensive compilation of artists' biographies up to that date that we know of, had it

been finished.

The few scholars who have studied this manuscript have assumed that Diaz del

Valle used Vasari as the primary source for artists from outside Spain. Diaz del Valle

cites Pacheco, who must have been his main source on earlier Spanish figures, while it is

likely that he gained supplementary information on contemporary artists from Velázquez.

Diaz del Valle also includes artists from Pliny, so it is possible he read the *Natural*

History as well. Most importantly, and as yet unrecognized, there is clear evidence that

Diaz del Valle had access to a *Pictorum* as well, and close inspection of the manuscript

reveals that the *Pictorum* must have served as the primary source for the northern canon,

not the *Schilder-boeck* as has been believed so far by Valesco, Garcia Lopez and Hellwig.

Garcia López notes the link to the *Pictorum* in his study, citing Hellwig, but since his

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[149] Karen Hellwig, "Diego Velázquez y los Escritos sobre Arte de Lázaro Díaz del Valle," *Archivo español de arte* LXVII, n. 265 (1994): 27-41, 65-265, esp. 327. Hellwig's article gives a short biography of Diaz del Valle, and translates many of the biographies from the manuscript into Spanish, although hers is not a complete transcript. On page 364, she mentions the list of northern artists, but does not explore its source.

interest was in the Spanish biographies, he does not discuss its potential significance further.[150]

The very first twenty-five page of Diaz del Valle's manuscript appear fairly well organized, but the pages thereafter continue as unfinished notes and disorganized lists of names, as well as marginal annotations in handwriting that only its own maker could read. Overall the manuscript appears to be a draft, in which the author begins and then stops and then begins again. This "hand at work" is quite intriguing — one can watch the action of adding and crossing out names and biographies, organizing and re-ordering art historical references to time, region and sources. By the state of his manuscript one can see that it was an intimidating undertaking for the historian and that Diaz del Valle did not intend for his patrons to read this version of his work.

On page ninety-seven, out of the previous list of random names, paragraphs, and scribbles suddenly appears a distinctly more organized, direct and simplified list of people (fig. 48). Specifically, there is a list of sixty-one Netherlandish artists, beginning with Hubert and Jan van Eyck and ending with Hieronymus Cock with their place of origin and simple titles such as "Pictor," "Architect" and/or "Scultor." Very few have any substantial notes; the list is strikingly different from the rest of the manuscript. As if to exaggerate the contrast, at the end of this list, Diaz del Valle turns to the Spanish canon, immediately returning to the messy style of notation with the longer blurbs of biographies, crossed-out sections and illegible marginal notes that defined his first eighty-six pages.

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[150] Lopez, 127.

It is very clear that this Netherlandish list is borrowed from another work. Specifically the selection and order of artists directly coincides with that of a *Pictorum,* a fact that has not been previously recognized. Although the print series was sold as loose sheets, generally those that were bound into books followed a chronological order by the artists' birth dates. Diaz del Valle's list follows almost exactly that of the later, expanded edition by Hondius. While it is true that Hondius' edition did not include Hieronymus Cock, there are many bound editions of the *Pictorum* that combined prints from both versions, including the edition held at the B.N.E in Madrid. It is therefore reasonable to believe that Diaz del Valle had such an edition, or the two separate sets or images.[151]

It is highly unlikely that this list came from Van Mander for several reasons. First, why would the historian follow other sources such as Vasari, Pacheco and Pliny so closely and then use Van Mander only to exclude many artists included in the *Schilderboeck,* such as Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Albert van Ouwater, Albert Simonsz and Hugo van der Goes. These artists appear in Van Mander between the Van Eyck brothers and Dirk Bouts, but they were not included in the *Pictorum,* nor are they part of Diaz del Valle's canon. Secondly, if Diaz del Valle could read or had a translation of Van Mander, why did he not add more information next to each artist in his list of Netherlanders? The lack of fuller biographies for each in Diaz del Valle's list makes sense only if he used the *Pictorum,* since the series' poems only contain little snippets of information. The only northern artists with any substantial information in Diaz del Valle's work are those who are cited in other biographical works, such as the *Vite* or the *Arte,* and were usually the most widely known artists such as Dürer, Van Eyck and

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[151] The latest date found on the manuscript is 1656, on page 56.

Bosch, who were likely to be known by Velázquez or others at court. Lastly, while Van

Mander is cited in the margins of Diaz del Valle's pages, it is more likely that he copied

Van Mander from Pacheco's book, since the citations to Van Mander often accompany a

citation to Pacheco, suggesting that Diaz del Valle was actually noting where Pacheco

acquired the information.

Indeed, it is clear that when Diaz del Valle cites Van Mander, the same

information can be found in Pacheco's *Arte*, where it is worded similarly. For example,

in the biography of Jan Van Eyck, Diaz del Valle writes the name of Van Eyck's sister

"Margarite" in the margin.[152] This information is not included in the *Pictorum,* but could

have been found in Van Mander *or* Pacheco, since they both mention Margarita in

association with Van Eyck. When further comparing Diaz del Valle to Pacheco, it soon

becomes very obvious that the historian relied heavily on the *Arte,* since he begins his

biography of Van Eyck by calling the artist, "Iuan de Enzina, natural de la ciudad

Mastric, sobre el famoso rio Mase," copied word for word from Pacheco's text.[153]

Throughout the biographies Diaz del Valle continued to copy phrases and

sentences from Pacheco. In the biography of Quentin Matsys, Diaz del Valle writes Van

Mander's name in the margin, leading one to think Diaz del Valle was reading from the

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[152] Díaz del Valle, 142. Margarita is mentioned in Van Mander as having also painted: "…doch hoe het zy, of hun Vader self een Schilder was, oft niet, het schijnt dat hun huis gheheel met den Constigen Schilder-gheest is bestort, en overgoten gheweest, dewijle dat ook hun suster Margriete van Eyck is vermaert, dat sy met grooter Const het schilderen gheoeffent heeft, en als een gheestige Minerva (schouwende Hymen en Lucina) in Maeghdlijcken staet tot den eyndt haers levens ghebleven is"; Van Mander, "Het leven van Ian en Hubrecht van Eyck, ghebroeders, en Schilders van Maeseyck." Available online from the Dutch Digital Library of Literature, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand001schi01_01/mand001schi01_01_0182.php. Van Mander took this information from Marcus van Vaernewyck; Carola Hicks, *Girl in a Green Gown: The History and Mystery of the Arnolfini Portrait* (Random House, 2011), 94-95.

[153] "Iuan de Enzina, native of the city of Maastricht, near the river Maas," Pacheco, *Arte*, 348. Translation mine.

Schilder-boeck.[154] However he also cited Pacheco, including page number 448, just

underneath the name Van Mander. If one turns to the cited page of Pacheco's *Arte,* one

finds the same information written by Pacheco, including also a marginal note referring

to Van Mander. It seems that Diaz del Valle was diligently attempting to trace primary

sources, perhaps in an effort to further legitimize his work as factual and/or prove his

erudition.

Diaz del Valle actually refers to the *Pictorum* several times throughout the

manuscript in marginal notes, as with the entry on Jacques de Gheyn where in the

margin, Diaz del Valle writes something about a portrait print from 1610, "[illegible]

retrato en estampa año 1610" (fig. 49).[155] In the top right margin of page ninety-nine,

Diaz del Valle writes "tiene versos latinos," and "tiene verso latinos [illegible] retratos, "

or "he/it has Latin verses," next to the entries for Crispijn van der Broeck and Joos van

Winghe. Next to the biography of Albrecht Dürer on page seventy-two, the historian

writes again, "tiene versos latinos [illegible] retratos." In a biography of Jan Van Eyck

on page 145, Diaz del Valle copied the poem from the *Pictorum* exactly and stated that it

comes from "a portrait I have here."[156] Lastly, as we close the book, we find within the

last few pages of the manuscript all the poems from the print series copied exactly (fig.

50).[157] Whether inserted by Diaz del Valle himself or by a later owner of the manuscript,

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[154] Diaz del Valle, 149.

[155] Ibid, 98.

[156] "En un Retrato en estampa [illegible] tengo [illegible] insigne Artifice entre otros famosos Pintores flandes se habla la siguiente epigrama Latina." Ibid, 145. Translation mine.

[157] Karen Hellwig briefly noted the presence of the *Pictorum's* poems at the end of Diaz del Valle's manuscript, but does not make the connection to the *Pictorum*; Karen Hellwig, *La Literatura Espanola en el Siglo*, translated by Jesus Espino Nuno XVII (Madrid: Visor 1999), 112, n. 69.

this is a nod to the *Pictorum* as a clear and important source on Netherlandish artists in the manuscript of Diaz del Valle.

David García López has written the only extensive study of the manuscript, addressing Diaz del Valle's sources used and translating the biographies of Spaniards.[158] He proposed that the word "retrato," in the margins was a note or reminder to Diaz del Valle to include portraits of his artists, possibly inspired by Pacheco's text.[159] The clarity and extensiveness of the list of Netherlanders may be why García López thought that Diaz del Valle used Van Mander, even though García López did not actually cite Van Mander as a named source in his appendix. It is admittedly possible that Diaz del Valle (or perhaps someone else in the court) could read Dutch, since Pacheco did use the *Schilder-boeck*. However, the *Pictorum's* small, succinct design was likely to be more attractive than the long, complex and heavy *Schilder-boeck*. Of course, it is also possible that Diaz del Valle prepared his list first with the *Pictorum,* intending to turn to Van Mander later for more extensive information as he finalized his draft. But this last idea only demonstrates further that the *Pictorum* was taken seriously as a representative of the Netherlandish canon outside the Low Countries.

Diaz del Valle's work was used by later literary works on art by figures such as Antonio Palomino (1652-1726), who simultaneously criticized Diaz del Valle's messy manuscript and apparent lack of citations, and used the text as a source for the *Museo Pictorico*.[160] Palomino's denigration of the manuscript demonstrates that later historians who looked at the disorganized pages, which turn into utter chaos at moments, may have

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[158] López.
[159] Ibid, 127.
[160] Ibid, 115-117.

had a low opinion of the work and may have decided they could find what they were looking for in other more organized, legible biographies of artists. Thus Diaz del Valle's work has gone understudied until more recently. The link to the *Pictorum* may have gone largely unnoticed by scholars because Diaz del Valle did not specifically name the series in his notes.[161] The fact is, he may not have even known the title of that print series, since it has been found bound with and without frontispieces, or bound into other books without reference to its original title or publishers.[162] If the date of 1610 in the margin next to the word "retrato" did refer to the Hondius edition, it is still possible that there was no frontispiece and that the date had been marked elsewhere by its possessor.

The case studies in this Chapter have proven that the *Pictorum* was present in the minds of artists and historians in seventeenth-century Spain. As discussed with Pacheco, as the *Pictorum* arrive in Spain, the fashion for the *Vera Effigies* was just beginning as well as the humanist appreciation of the status of the arts as a noble pursuit. Diaz del Valle's use of the *Pictorum* print series is significant because it demonstrates that the *Pictorum* traveled as a collectors item outside the Low Countries, circulating among courts and collectors. The fact that a court historian would choose to follow the *Pictorum* as a guide to the Netherlandish canon demonstrates that the series had power beyond that of a collector's interest, but rather could stand in for the Netherlandish canon in far away Spain. The use of the series by both these men proves its international aesthetic and intellectual appeal. And rather than settle the question of the *Pictorum* outside its own

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[161] This remains a little uncertain until a careful transcript is made of the entire manuscript.

[162] According to Annette de Vries, there is a 1604 edition of Van Mander with the *Pictorum* bound into it. De Vries, "Hondius Meets Van Mander," 273. One of the editions of the *Pictorum* at the BNE is bound without a frontispiece.

time and place, this raises yet more questions about who else in Spain (or other countries) viewed the series and how they reacted.

CHAPTER IV

ARTISTS' PORTRAIT CYLCES:

A CONTINUING TRADITION

This chapter takes the story of the *Pictorum* into the present, arguing that modern

artists were influenced by artists portrait cycles such as this series*,* and discussing how

that tradition has carried on as an integral practice for artists. First I will return to some

important elements of its design in order to explain how the *Pictorum* fits into the portrait

cycle tradition and why that was significant for its influence on artists. Then I will

closely analyze the iconography and style of the works of two printmakers, Leonard

Baskin and Evan Lindquist, demonstrating that the influence of the *Pictorum* and artists'

portrait cycles like it continues into present day.

Interacting with the Portrait Cycle

As mentioned earlier, there are two primary types of portrait cycle: the

genealogical cycle and the hero cycle.   Through its design aesthetic, theme and complex

iconography, the *Pictorum* can be defined as both kind of cycle (fig. 1). As a hero cycle

it transformed its personalities into mythical figures of the North who were to be

emulated and celebrated. And yet, by claiming a place within this portrait cycle tradition,

the *Pictorum* raised its artists from craftsmen to kings, establishing an artistic dynasty from which northerners could trace their own creative heritage. This sets an example for future artists who might seek to honor their own heritage and heroes,

More interestingly, the format of the *Pictorum* also offered an innovative way to consider the canon through its physical design. Portrait cycles present a group of exemplars at once, sometimes in chronology like in genealogical cycles, sometimes by metaphorical relationships, like in hero cycles. Thus when viewing a cycle, one is free to look wherever one chooses, and linger for any amount of time on a detail or specific person. Yet during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the *Pictorum* would have been bought as a set of loose sheets within a folio, collected either all at once or perhaps bought one by one.[163]

As discussed in chapter four, being sold as loose sheets meant that a buyer could hold and handle the *Pictorum* in the privacy of his/her home, study it with friends, freely shuffling the pages or laying them out for comparison and contrast.[164] As we have seen in chapter one, the power in the series lay within its design and medium, engaging directly with its northern audience and encouraging the tradition of portrait prints amongst artists. The small loose prints of the *Pictorum*, however, allowed for more intimate interaction with the work, allowing its possessor to "play" with the images, reorganizing them as desired. This suggests a multitude of conversations that can take

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[163] At this time most printed items were bought unbound to be taken later and were bound specially to suit the library or collection of the buyer, or to be added to another folio, or even hung upon a wall. Hieronymus Cock's 1572 edition of the *Pictorum* had numbered plates, indicating a desired order and that the set was to remain together. Anthony Griffiths, "The Archeology of the Print," 12.
[164] Brooks Rich first explored this idea.

place while viewing the *Pictorum*, opening the possibilities to discuss time periods, styles, genres, personalities, etc.

Portrait cycles of other media were not necessarily treated this way. Of course wall murals were completely fixed, only adjustable if painted over, thus there was no room for addition or subtraction to the already present images. Sculpture and paintings were placed or hung in a set area and often considered from afar, rather than handled physically. Even if one considers that a book can be handled, it is still was only text that one has to read from beginning to end, opened, and closed. In a book the story of art is more rigidly defined and unchangeable. This is why the *Pictorum* played a unique role in conceptualizing the canon, since it did not offer a single, closed narrative of Netherlandish art, but, as suggested by Stephanie Porras, rather presented history as dynamic, fluid and open to change. This was was integral to Hondius' elaboration of the project, which notably removed page numbers from its print, inferring even more freedom with the narrative. For artists this would have been especially interesting since they operate so much in the creative realm that conceptualizing themselves in a visual way is automatically self-referential and perhaps even a matter of social decorum, just as the Latin poetry was for the sixteenth century-milieu.

The Modernist Perspective

American artist Leonard Baskin (1922-2000) rose to fame as an artist in 1950, after he published a series of highly acclaimed woodcuts portraits.[165] He continued his

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[165] Galerie Saint Etienne, "Biography: Leonard Baskin (1922-2000)," http://www.gseart.com/Artists-Gallery/Baskin-Leonard/Baskin-Leonard-Biography.php.

career as an artist, experimenting with sculpture, printmaking, illustrations and artists'

books. One biography on the artist addresses the fact that one of he created "discrete

cycles and series that tended to be exhibited or published as self-contained units."[166] By

its very name Baskin's *Laus Pictorum* (1971)*,* a series of print-portraits of celebrated

artists, reveals its relationship to the tradition that the *Pictorum* began. The word "laus"

means "praise, fame or glory," and is rooted the Latin word "laudare," meaning to praise,

honor or eulogize; thus scholars have called the poetry in the *Pictorum* "laudatory." The

title of Leonard Baskin's work could be roughly translated as, "Gallery of Fame," and has

the subtitle of "Portraits of nineteenth century artists invented and engraved by Leonard

Baskin," recalling the lengthier titles given to works such as the *Pictorum*.

In the title, Baskin uses the word "invented" in reference to himself. During the

late Renaissance, this term ("invenit") was used to distinguish when an printmaker had

engraved his own design.[167] The concept of the engraver as designer could be seen as a

claim to *ingegno*, a key identifier to talent for renaissance scholars, since many

renaissance prints included several authors: the designer, the engraver, the etcher if it was

a mixed media technique, and even the publisher would include his name. To claim

complete authorship means to prove artistic genius demonstrating both talent of original

design and abilities for technical execution. By recalling such language, Baskin aligns

himself with the influences that have shaped his work and identity as an artist.

The series is a set of fifteen printed portraits of artists, accompanied by an

appendix of short biographies of each subject, organized in a folio of loose sheets, just as

the *Pictorum* would have been sold in 1572 (fig. 51). Baskin's compositions and

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[166] Ibid.

[167] Griffiths, "Lettering, language and text," 83.

technique varies and in many ways is unlike the very uniform portraits of the original

Pictorum, however this reflects the work of artists in the modern and postmodern periods,

who are much more explorative of visual and methodological approaches. By the time

Baskin published his *Pictorum*, modernism had broken the bounds of what had become

rigid traditions of the Renaissance, while post-modernism had reacted with a return to the

figurative with more freedom to render these forms. In some ways Baskin's portraits are

reminiscent of the experiments that Van Dyck and Rembrandt freely took with etching, a

form of printmaking that allowed total freedom of depth and shape in line.

Baskin's creative, sometimes nonsensical, biographies break with the formal

prose of commercial biography that one might see in a gallery or catalogue context. In

this way it emulated the *Pictorum*, which chose creative poetic verse, containing

metaphors and unique factual information on its artists, as opposed to the more formal,

lengthier prose of Vasari and Van Mander. In fact Baskin's language is more akin to

poetry than prose, using alliterations, metaphor and a rhythm within the syntax, as if

these biographies are meant to be spoken word poetry. For example, when describing

Théodule Ribot he writes:

> Situated between the impressionists and the salon is a meagery of painters,
> of whom Ribot was one. Spurning the retinal (albeit brilliant) naturalism
> (pejorative) of the plein-airists, and mocking the fashioned offal of the
> Academy, Ribot locks stylistically with Courbet, Fantin, and Couture.
> Trenchantly touched by Spanish blackness and especially Ribera, Ribot
> painted brightness emergent from darkness. He painted the kitchen, chefs
> whitely outfitted, their young helpers, meat and chops, and ancient dames
> who bear like a weight their bitumen-dark ambience. Long forgotten in
> the universal passion for impressionist pleasantries, Ribot's humours
> begin to attract anxious eyes and something other than sunny brains.[168]

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[168] Leonard Baskin, *Laus Pictorum: Comprising 15 Portraits of 19th Century Artists in 10 Original Wood Engravings and 5 Original Etchings* (New Haven: Gehenna Press, 1969).

Biographers have stated that Baskin's trips to Europe, where he encountered medieval and renaissance art in person, were a turning point in his work, and Baskin's own words reveal as such. In his writings about his work he cites the influence of several northern printmakers, including Goltzius and Dürer, "whose works beguile me and whose prints I collect."[169] Working as an academic artist for twenty years with an interest in the Early Modern period suggests that Baskin could have seen the *Pictorum* at some point, and when comparing the series to Baskin's work, imagining how the original 1572 folio would have looked in the possessors hands, the influence is undeniable.

Baskin calls his *Pictorum* a "celebrated and odd gathering" of nineteenth-century artists, having carefully curated the set of prints from his larger work on artists throughout history.[170] Baskin's commentary on his work reveals that the *Laus Pictorum* came as a direct result of his engagement with Van Dyck's *Icones,* which itself appropriated an image from the 1610 *Pictorum* and is considered to have been very inspired by it (figs. 52, 53). Several of Baskin's portraits match the likenesses of the original *Pictorum's* faces, including those of Jan Gossaert, Pieter Brueghel and Jacques de Gheyn, making it clear that he also viewed the print series (figs. 54-59). Baskin recalls his influences with pride, stating:

> I aver (and celebrate) my involvement with the past. The present is only knowable through the multifaceted reflections of man's past history. I am not insensible to this moment, nor of the manifold discoveries of the modern movement in art. In truth my work would be unthinkable without Kokoschka and Barlach, early Picasso and Munch, Ensor, and Kirchner, and various others who influenced me, directly and obliquely. I have not barricaded myself against time, quite the contrary, but perhaps more than most I have plumbed older art and artists. Which leads to a series of portraits of past artists. This modern *Iconographia* contains portraits in all

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[169] Leonard Baskin, *Baskin: Sculpture, Drawings and Prints* (New York: G. Braziller, 1970), 18.
[170] Baskin, *Baskin*, 19.

media, the visible traces of an impulse to render homage to those on whose backs I have been borne.[171]

A Contemporary Interpretation

Evan Lindquist (b. 1936) is one of the most recent artists to take up the task of honoring his artistic lineage with a portrait series dedicated to artists, a work that is currently ongoing. Lindquist had not seen the *Pictorum* series before he started working on his portraits, thus his artists' portraits serve as a reflection of how the tradition that the *Pictorum* set out has become an important part of artistic practice.[172] Lindquist's portraits span the entirety of art history, including the pioneers, such as Martin Schöngauer, Lucas Van Leyden and Albrecht Dürer, and twentieth century figures such as Reginald Marsh. Lindquist's style is much more detailed, and more complex in terms of line- and dot-work than Baskin's, yet it carries the same psychological impact, imbuing a sense of mythic genius, imagination and mystery.

In an interview with Lindquist, the artist discussed some of his early interactions with art during the late nineteen-forties, which included interest in calligraphy and portraits. He explained that his interest in calligraphy began with his father, who wished to be an artist but grew up in the Great Depression. Lindquist says that before he could even write, he would trace the lines of his father's calligraphic inscriptions. This early interest in the formal qualities and potential of line has continued in Lindquist's practice,

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[171] Baskin, *Baskin*, 18. There is a *Pictorum* at the Harvard Library Special Collections, first acquired in 1956. By "all media" Baskin is referring to the wide array of artists he honored.

[172] Sara Meiers, Vitoria Lobis and Hans Joachim Raupp suggested direct influence upon Anthony van Dyck and Rembrandt; Meiers, *Portraits in Print*, 2, note 8; Victoria Sancho Lobis, *Van Dyck, Rembrandt, and the Portrait Print* (Yale University Press, 2016).

who says "that calligraphic quality has been a recurring theme every day, a pastiche."[173] As discussed in chapter one, the application of line was a primary concern for renaissance and early modern artists who also practiced the art of calligraphy. While artistic style has evolved greatly since then, the challenge of applying the "right" line upon the plate has not, thus understanding line remains a constant dialogue within the work of engravers, as we see in Lindquist's portraits.

In the same interview, Lindquist reveals that his grandmother gifted him with two portraits during his adolescence, one an oil painting of his great-uncle Gust Sjögren, by Birger Sandzén, and another a charcoal portrait of his great-grandfather, John Lillian. The presence of these portraits in the young artist's mind inspired his development in various ways. In the case of the oil painting, he credits his fifth grade teacher during a lesson on color and form, in which she discussed how these elements can work to say something about the personality of the sitter *and* the artist. The charcoal drawing, on the other hand, was an exemplar of the use of "Value and Texture to establish a credible Form," and "as a reminder of my family history as well as a clue to handling Value in my own work." In terms of remembrance, these portraits were also an early lesson in the value of the portrait to history, "Both were done long before I was born, and I didn't know either person, but each had a quality of standing-in for a celebrated ancestor."[174] Just as Lindquist learned early on about the potential of techniques to express personality, in his portraits of engravers, he renders himself through the characterization of his muses, aligning himself with their struggles and triumphs in art.

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[173] Evan Lindquist, "Re: The Heritage of Apelles," Email. March 12, 2016.
[174] Ibid.

Lindquist renders his artists at work, with various backgrounds and objects or characters such as the mockingbird or carousel horse included, just Hondius did when he expanded Cock's series. Yet unlike Hondius' almost playful figures and expressions, Lindquist engraves his artists deep in thought, leaning over their plates and surrounded by the spirits of their illustrations, as in the portrait of William Blake in which the illustrations pour like smoke from the plate, (fig. 60). This method of depicting the artists recognizes the integral part that materials, tools, and the direct action of the artist upon the plate. It demonstrates the play of the creative process of engraving, as much psychological as it is physical, reflecting long-held critical views on engraving. For example in 1908, Dutch art critic H.L. Berckenhoff (1850-1918), wrote of contemporary printmakers:

> The distance between the artist and his work is nowhere shorter, their involvement with no form of art more direct. Only the length of the needle, striding over the copper, lies between them. The inspiration of the artist manifests itself as abruptly as it has emerged, in its clearest form, without the danger of becoming murky by the tangible substance of the paint. As the means, offered by the [form of] art, become scarcer and simpler, the artist is forced to have a deeper understanding and a more powerful ability to express.[175]

Lindquist's print of Dürer, Titled *Albrecht Dürer Engraves his Initials* (2008), is especially expressive of the physical relationship between the artist and his plate. In this image, Dürer is illuminated by a single source of light, leaning over the copper plate, brow furrowed in concentration, eyes locked on the tip of the burin as it travels across

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[175] H.L Berkenhoff, "De Tentoonstelling der Nederlandsche Etsclub," *De Gids*, Jaargang 54, Amsterdam (1908): 159. I would like to thank Deborah van den Herik for bringing this quote to my attention. Translation and brackets by Van den Herik, taken from her Master's thesis on Willem Witson, completed for Utrecht University, 2017.

the metal surface (fig. 61). Over the artist's shoulder in the shadows, a mockingbird

floats aloft, suddenly robbed of chatty judgement as he gazes upon the man's

invention.[176] The room behind Dürer is as crammed with books as the image is

crammed into the frame, lending a sense of intellectual intensity, indicating an identity

beyond mere craftsman. The intensity of the scene and its characters speaks to

Lindquist's own thoughts about the action of engraving. In an interview of 2010,

Lindquist says:

> The act of engraving an image is a contest, a battle that rages within the
> artist-engraver. The battle plays out on the copper plate. The combatants
> are The Artist's Will and The Engraver's Skill. Neither must be allowed
> to dominate the other. If I should lose control over either The Artist's
> Will or Engraver's Skill, the result would be clumsy.[177]

Many of the artists that Lindquist portrays appear fiercely focused as they

navigate their work, which sometimes battles its very own creation, as when

Schöngauer's demons twist his own hair (fig. 62). Sometimes the images rise like

dreams from the plate, coming to life in the space surrounding their creators. For

instance, in the print *Reginald Marsh Engraves a Horse*, Lindquist renders Marsh's

carousel horse in mid-gallop behind the artist, staring intently at Marsh's work (fig. 63).

Like Dürer's mockingbird, Marsh's horse also looks over the artist's shoulder upon the

plate, whinnying in awe.

Lindquist also addresses some of the metaphors and themes relevant to the lives

of his subjects as well as to the history of engraving, as the original *Pictorum* did. In his

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[176] Evan Lindquist, "Re: Your Engravings on Old Masters — Question," Email. Sept. 9 2016.
[177] Charles Kaufman, "Evan Lindquist," *Society of American Graphic Artists* (2010). Accessed May 11, 2017, http://evanlindquist.com/about/article-kaufman.html.

portraits of artists, he uses elements from the artists' own past compositions or

interests.   In the case of Dürer, we see the artist at work scratching out his own initials.

Dürer was one of the first engravers to initial his work, signifying the ownership and

pride that he claimed upon his inventions. In Lindquist's rendering, he has suspended

the outline of Dürer's hand just as the fingers touch the plate, so that the negative space

melds together, the artist and plate are one. The portrait of Lucas van Leyden was

inspired by Leyden's own print *Young Man with a Skull* (fig. 64, 65).[178] This portrait is

thought to be a self-portrait by contemporaries and the 1610 Hondius actually replaced

the original version of Van Leyden's portrait from the 1572 *Pictorum*, with *Young Man*

with a Skull (fig. 66)*. In Van Leyden's engraving, a boy wearing a feather cap cradles a

skull within and points to it with the other hand, looking solemnly back at the viewer.

Recognizing the implicit *vanitas* theme, Lindquist adapted this portrait into a rendering

of Van Leyden "concentrating on an engraving of a feather, signifying youth. But the

skull that he tries to hide under the feather makes him always aware of his impending

death."[179]

Accompanying some these portraits are small texts that give biographical

information on the artists, specifically focusing on their life in the arts, produced at the

request of the Bradbury Gallery in Arkansas. Like the *Pictorum*, these texts mystify the

characters of the artists, distinguishing their personalities or unique talents. For example,

in the case of Goltzius, Lindquist writes, "Hendrick Goltzius, a sophisticated Dutch

printmaker, fell into the fireplace as a child and was left with a badly burned and maimed

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[178] Evan Lindquist, "Re: Your Engravings on Old Masters — Question," Email. Sept. 9, 2016.
[179] Ibid.

hand. He overcame the adversity and deformity to become the leading engraver of the late sixteenth century in northern Europe" (fig. 67).[180] Goltzius' maimed hand was indeed part of the his legend even in his own time, conveying that his talent knew no physical bounds. Goltzius' disfigured hand is depicted prominently in the portrait of him in Hondius' *Pictorum*. The artist engraved a study of his own hand in 1588, complete with a signature of intricate calligraphic lines (fig 68).

The story of Goltzius' highlights the primary role of the hand for artists. As in the *Pictorum*, Lindquist renders the artists' hands as prominent actors in the scenes. But while the original *Pictorum* rendered its characters as sociable, interactive figures, Lindquist's artists are completely internalized, lost within their work. The viewer feels as if s/he is a witness, staring into very personal moment. Lindquist's own self portrait, in contrast, is a moment of outward acknowledgment (fig. 69). Lindquist sits at a game of chess, holding a burin and looking out at the viewer, as if to inviting them to play, activating an intimate interaction between viewer and artwork as the *Pictorum's* images did in 1572.

As the work of these two artists have demonstrated there continues in present day to be active engagement with the *Pictorum* and the tradition it began of the artists' portrait cycle. Baskin's work is a direct appropriation on the *Pictorum*, showing its presence in the mind of artists, as far away as the Americas. Lindquist's work meanwhile is exemplary of how this tradition has been passed down artist to artist, as an integral part

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[180] Judith K Brodsky, Introduction to *Legacy: Evan Lindquist,* exhibition catalogue (Jonesboro: Bradbury Gallery, 2014).

of studio practice.[181] Both artists show that the visual dialogues which began in the work

of the renaissance printmakers as they responded to each other's innovations, as well as

the the heritage of style, iconography and content, continue to be relevant today.

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[181] The series of portraits by Lindquist is only a small part of his oeuvre and deserves much deeper study than is possible here.

CONCLUSION

The *Pictorum* has long been recognized for its primary role in the establishment of the

Netherlandish canon within the Low Countries. Yet it has been treated too often as an

illustrated text, rather than as a set of skillfully engraved prints that were specifically

designed to speak to their northern sixteenth-century audience. This study of its

influence both inside and outside its own borders and throughout time demonstrates a

more powerful contribution to the history of art. The use and presence of the series in

seventeenth-century Spain alone is demonstrative of how the *Pictorum* participated in the

establishment of the Netherlandish canon in distant regions by perpetuating the legend of

the northern masters throughout Europe. It is also likely that it encouraged viewers it to

attempt their own biographical works or portrait cycles. Furthermore, the *Pictorum* may

have influenced future artists' portrait projects both in style and format, and it certainly

encouraged the tradition of literature on artists and art appreciation that blossomed in the

sixteenth century. Further scholarship might look to the New World, where it is evident

that a *Pictorum* was present and used by an artist there during the eighteenth century. [182]

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[182] The *Pictorum* has been noted as a source for the eighteenth-century Peruvian artist Melchor "Holguín in his portrait of Saint Luke; Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, Thomas Bitting Foster Cummins, Iris & B. Gerald Cantor, ed., *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825, from the Thoma Collection* (Milan: Skira, 2006),140–141. Aaron Hyman further discusses this in his upcoming dissertation titled *"Rubens in a New World: Prints, Authorship, and Transatlantic Intertextuality,"* (Berkely: University of California, 2017). I would like to thank Dr. Christina Gonzales for bringing this to my attention.

This kind of study could be especially interesting with respect to identity, since artists of the New World had to negotiate between Spanish culture and indigenous heritage. Another place one might look to is Prague, where Flemish artists such as Bartolomeus Spranger (1546-1611) and Adrian de Vries (1560-1626) were popular.

Most of the early series on artists that were published in accessible vernacular and visual forms were initiated and produced by artists themselves. However, literary works such as Vasari's, placed themselves in the position of telling to the reader, who was to remain passive in the narration. On the other hand, as a visual, the *Pictorum* beckons the viewer into the discussion as s/he turns each page to page, while poses, gazes, gestures, attributes and poetry evolve, remaining open to interpretation.

Furthermore, books open and close, implying finality, whereas the *Pictorum's* loose sheets invite addition, subtraction, adaptation, appropriation, reinterpretation and reinvention as we have seen occur in the century after its publishing. The open narrative of this piece of art suggested a future for artists and the ever-evolving progress of art that artists have seen throughout history.[183] While it is true that the literal meaning of the Latin poetry of the *Pictorum* remains an important aspect of the work, its equal, if not greater, status as a piece of visual art means that the series became an integral part of the very history it meant to document. This series is a unique, powerful piece of visual art from the first generation of northern artists who expressed as a group their thoughts about their predecessors and their work. Four hundred years after the *Pictorum* was published,

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[183] I owe inspiration for these ideas about open narrative to Porras, who wrote that the *Pictorum* was "an inherently flexible historical model" that offered a "fluid sense of Netherlandish identity" and continuity between the old and new generations; Porras and Woodall, *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*, 18.

Baskin demonstrated the continuation of this tradition when he summed up in his

thoughts on the function of artists' portrait cycles like the *Pictorum*:

> Thus, the making of artist's portraits is, in part the declaration of homage
> and, in another larger part, the clutching to one's own bosom of historical
> imperatives and exemplars and, in an infantile way, indulging in image-
> making as a magical rite, vainly desiring to imbibe and inculcate into
> oneself the character, quality and genius of the artist displayed.[184]

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[184] Leonard Baskin, *Iconologia* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1988): 2.

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FIGURES

Fig. 1. Screen shot of the *Pictorum* laid out as a portrait cycle, taken from the display available at the Courtauld Institute's online gallery.

Fig 4. Johannes Wierix, *Quentin Matsys, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters, 222 x120 mm.

Fig 5. Johannes Wierix (attr. to), *Hieronymus Bosch, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters, 222 x 120 mm.
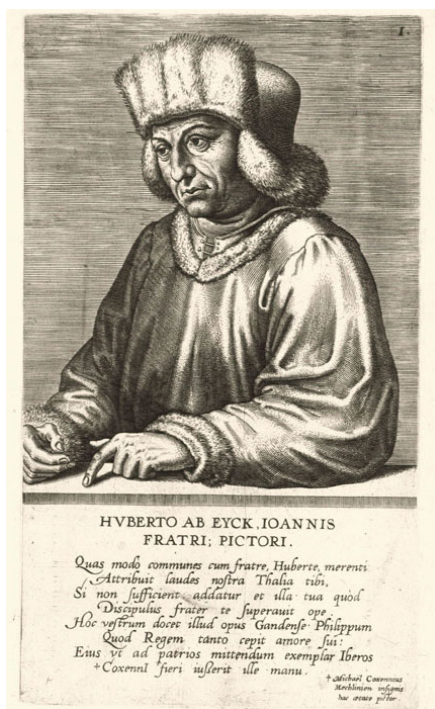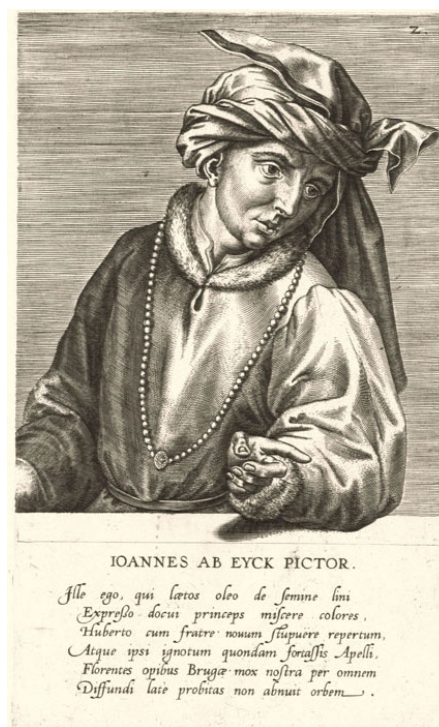

Fig 2. Hieronymus Wierix, *William Key, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters, 222 x120 mm.

Fig 3. Johannes Wierix (attr. to), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters, 222 x120 mm.

HVBERTO AB EYCK, IOANNIS FRATRI; PICTORI.

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

Fig 6. Johannes Wierix (attr. to), *Hubert van Eyck, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters, 222 x120 mm.

IOANNES AB EYCK PICTOR.

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 Brugæ mox nostra per omnem
Diffundi late probitas non abnuit orbem.

Fig 7. Johannes Wierix (attr. to), *Hubert van Eyck, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters, 222 x120 mm.

ROGERO BRVXELLENSI PICTORI.

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

Fig 10. Johannes Wierix (attr. to), *Rogier van der Weyden Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters, 222 x120 mm.

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 indoctis innuit hoc oculis.
Clarius, heu, sed enim loquitur caluaria cunctis,
Indice commonstrat quam tua læua manus:
His præire Cocum artifices, quos deinde secutus
Vos iisdem comites ille, sibique vocat.

Fig 8. Johannes Wierix (attr. to), *Jan van Eyck, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters, 222 x120 mm.

Fig 9. Hubert and Jan van Eyck, *Just Judges, Ghent Altarpiece* (detail)...1423, oil on panel.

Fig 11. Quentin Matsys, "Peter Gillis," 1517, oil on panel.

Fig 12. Cornelis Flori, "Hieronymus Cock's Tomb," 1575, drawing.

Fig 13. Albrecht Dürer, *Ulrich Varnbüler*, 1522, engraving, 48.7 x 32.6 cm.

Fig 14. Albrecht Dürer, *Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony*, 1524, engraving, 19.3 x 12.7 cm.

Fig 15. Albrecht Dürer, *Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony*, 1524, engraving, 19.3 x 12.7 cm.

Fig 16. Johannes Wierix (attr. to), "Lucan van Leyden" *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched letters.

Fig 17. Laurentius Haechtinus, *Emblem 72: Inventor Pictorae, in Mikrokosmos* (Frankfort: Bry, 1596).

Fig 18. Denis Lebey de Bastilly, *Ex Optimis Præstatiores Vitæ Magistros Imitados, Emblemata* (Frankfort: Bry, 1596).
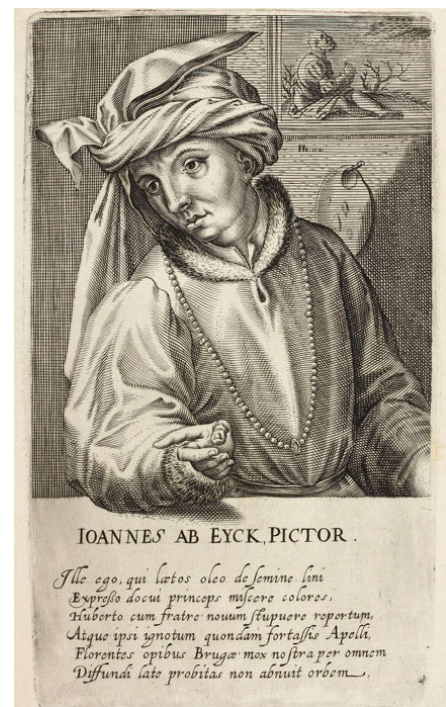

Fig. 19. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to), *Otto van Veen Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x 12.0 cm.

Fig 20. Antonis Mor, *Self Portrait,* 1558, oil on panel, Uffizi Gallery, Italy.

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Fig 21. Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Philip Galle,* 1582, engraving.

Fig 22. Johannes Wierix (attr. to), *Rogier van der Weyden, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…(Theodore Galle, 1600),* engraving, etched letters, 222 x120 mm.

Fig 23. Peter van der Heyden, *Portrait of Charles V of Habsburg, Portraits of European Rulers (Hieronymus Cock, 1546 - 1562),* engraving, 198 x 56 mm.

Fig 24. Unknown, *William Philander Galle, Vivorum Doctorum…Effigies* (Phillip Galle, 1567), engraving, 198 x 56 mm.

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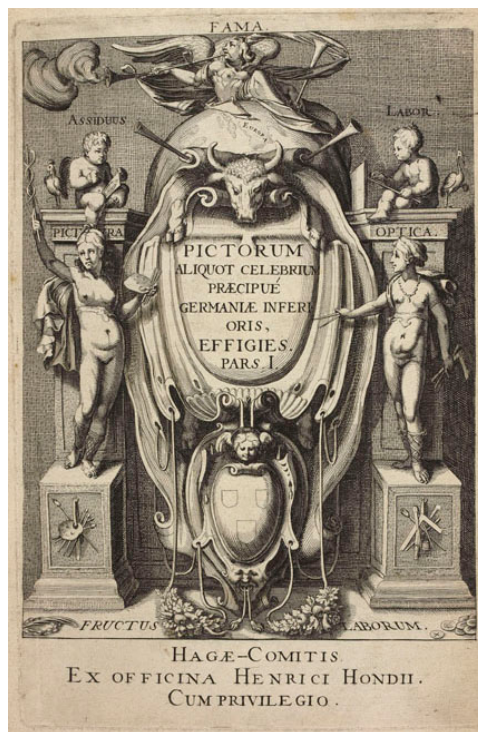
Fig 25. Unknown, *Frontispiece, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610), engraving, 19.5 x 12.2 cm.
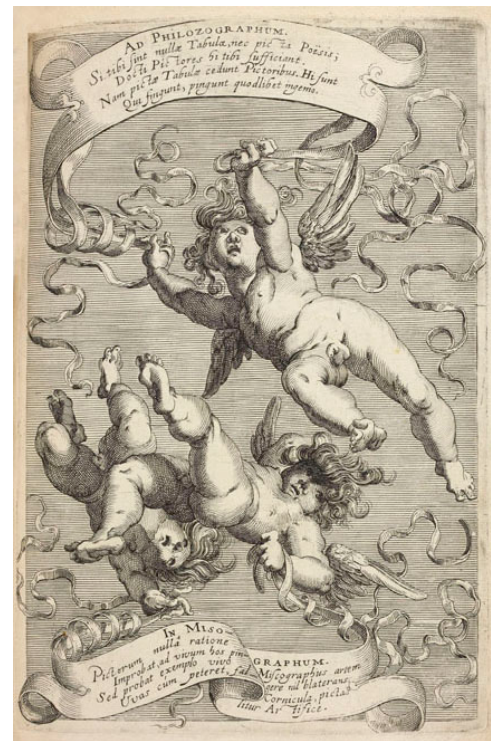
Fig 26. Unknown Artist, *Introductory Plate, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*1610, engraving, 19.5 x 12.2 cm.
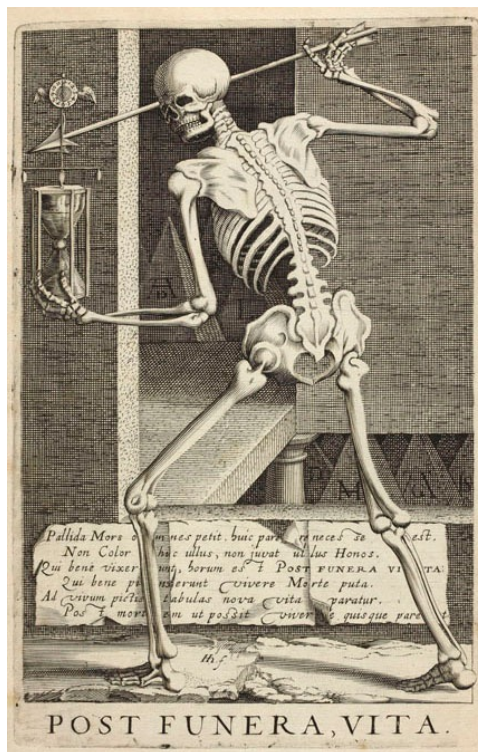
Fig 27. Unknown, *Post Funera Vita, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610), engraving, 19.5 x 12.2 cm
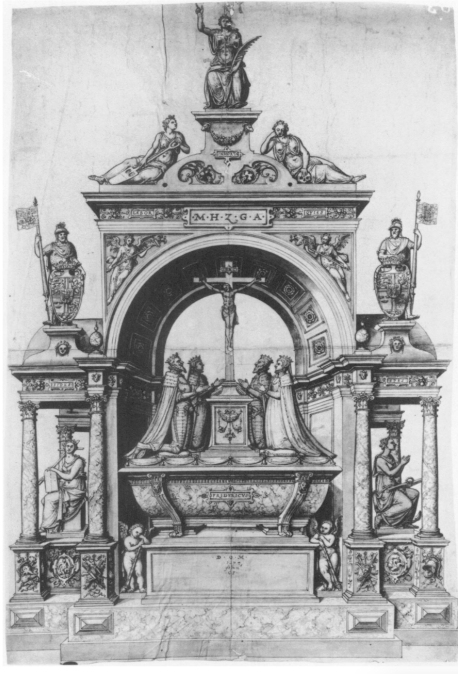
Fig. 28. Workshop of Cornelis Floris,
"Design for the Tomb of Christian the III,
Frederik II and their Queens," drawing.

Fig. 29. Designed by Vasari, *Michelangelo's Tomb*, Florence.

Fig. 30. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to),
*Hubert van Eyck, Pictorum Aliquot
Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius,
1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7
x 12.0 cm

Fig. 31. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to),
*Jan van Eyck, Pictorum Aliquot
Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius,
1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x
12.0 cm.

Fig 32. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to), *Jan van Eyck, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x 12.0 cm.

Fig 33. Bernard van Orley, *The Virgin of Leuven,* oil on panel.

Fig 34. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to), *Bernard van Orley Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x 12.0 cm.

Fig 35. Hendrick Hondius (atr. to), *Cornelis Cornelisz, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x 12.0 cm.

Fig. 36. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to), *Jacob Binck, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x 12.0 cm.

Fig. 38. Hieronymus Wierix, *Portrait of Philip II, King of Spain,* 1586, engraving, etched letters, 31 x 23 cm.
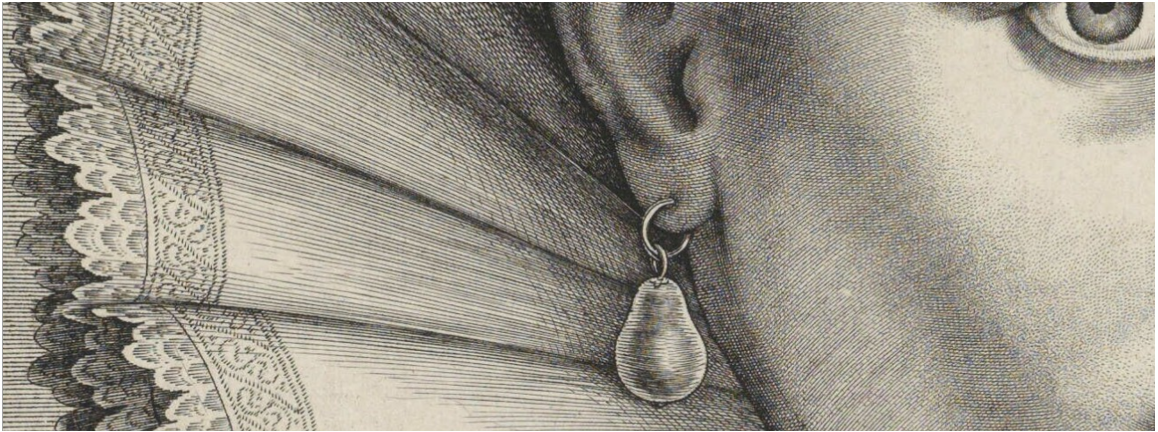
Fig. 39. Detail of Wierix' fine manner technique. Hieronymus Wierix, *Portrait of Catherine-Henriette de Balzac*, 1600, engraving, etched letters, 31 x 24 cm.

Fig. 40. Detail of Goltzius' early swelled line technique. Hendrick Goltzius, *Labor and Diligence*, 1582, engraving, 18.5 x 13.5 cm.

Fig. 41. Detail of the swelled line and lozenge technique of the French School. Robert Nanteuil, *Simon Arnauld Marquis de Pomponne*, 1664, engraving, etched letters.

Fig. 42. Valentín Carderera (attr. to), *Portrait of an Aristocratic Woman,* ca. 1850, oil on canvas.

Fig. 43. Valentín Carderera, *Antonio Moro,* 1855, drawing.

Fig. 44. Valentín Carderera, page 3 of the *Iconografía Española* (Madrid 1855) drawings.

Fig. 45. Francisco Pacheco, *Pedro Campaña, Libro de Descripcion de Verdaderos Retratos, de Illustres y Memorables Varones,* c. 1599, drawing.

Fig 46. Francesco Pacheco, *Fray Luis de Leon, Libro de Descripcion de Verdaderos Retratos, de Illustres y Memorables Varones,* c. 1599, drawing.

Fig 47. Unknown, *Jacob Pontormo, Le Vite,* Giorgio Vasari, 1568, *woodcut.*
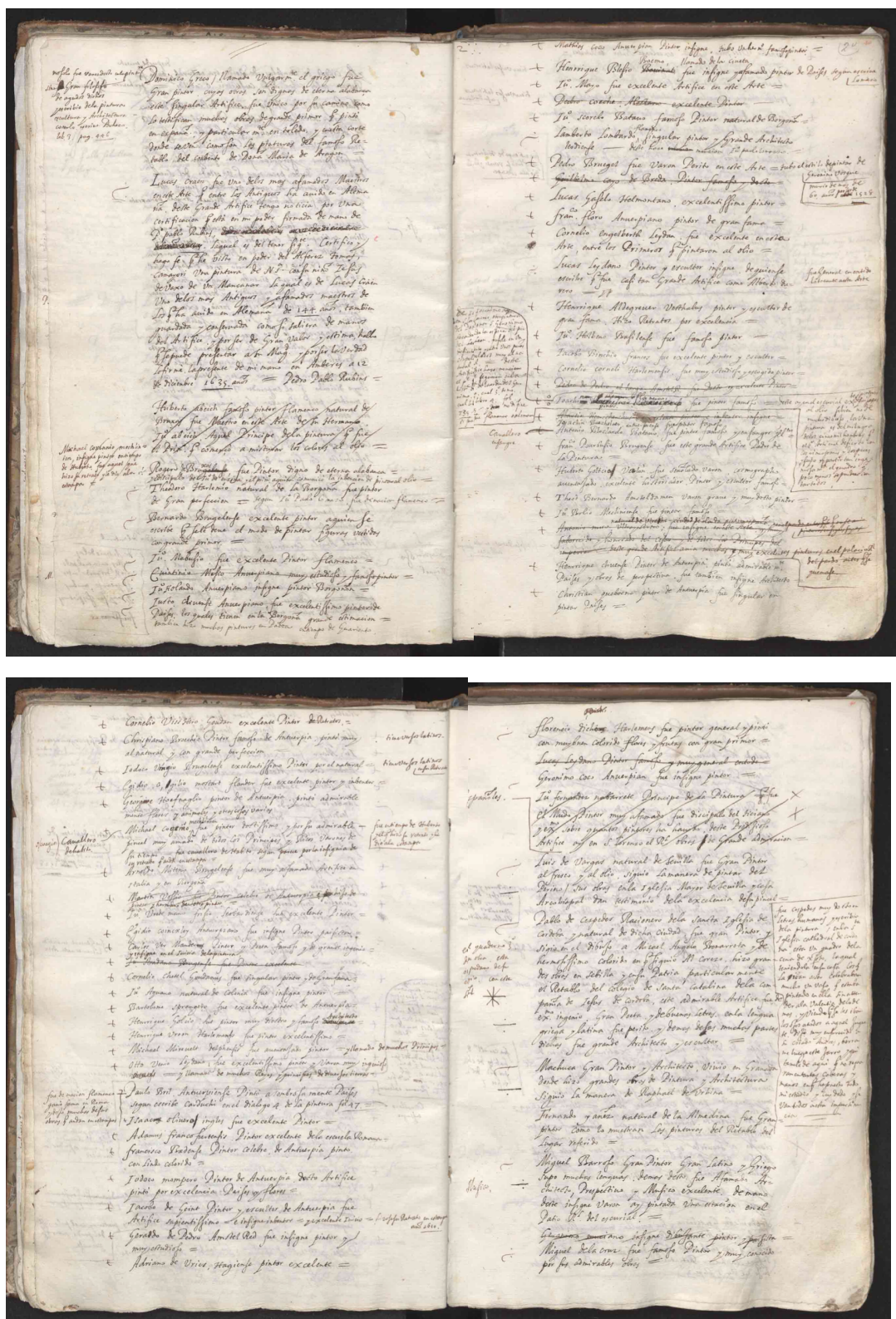
Fig. 48. Lazarro Diaz del Valle, *Origen y Yllustracion del Nobilísimo y Real Arte de la Pintura y Dibuxo (1656).* Pages 85-89 with the list of northern artists taken from the *Pictorum,* c. 1656, Library Tomás Navarro Tomás of the Centro de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas of the Consejo
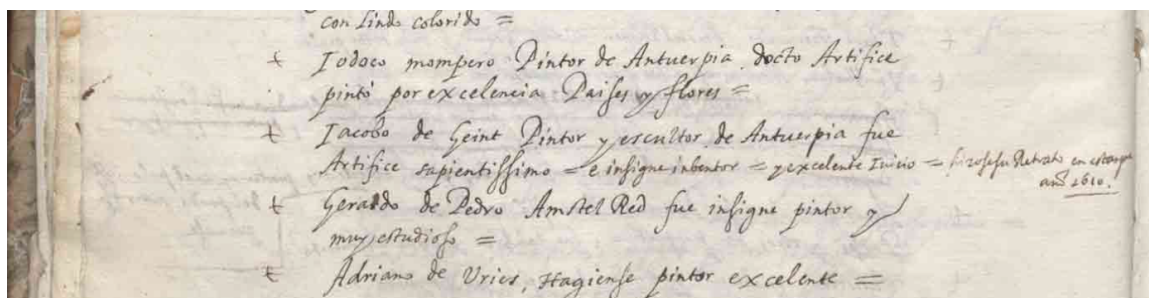
Fig. 49. Lazarro Diaz del Valle, *Origen y Yllustracion del Nobilísimo y Real Arte de la Pintura y Dibuxo (1656)*. Detail of the marginal note next to Jaques de Gheyn, c. 1656, Library Tomás Navarro Tomás of the Centro de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid.
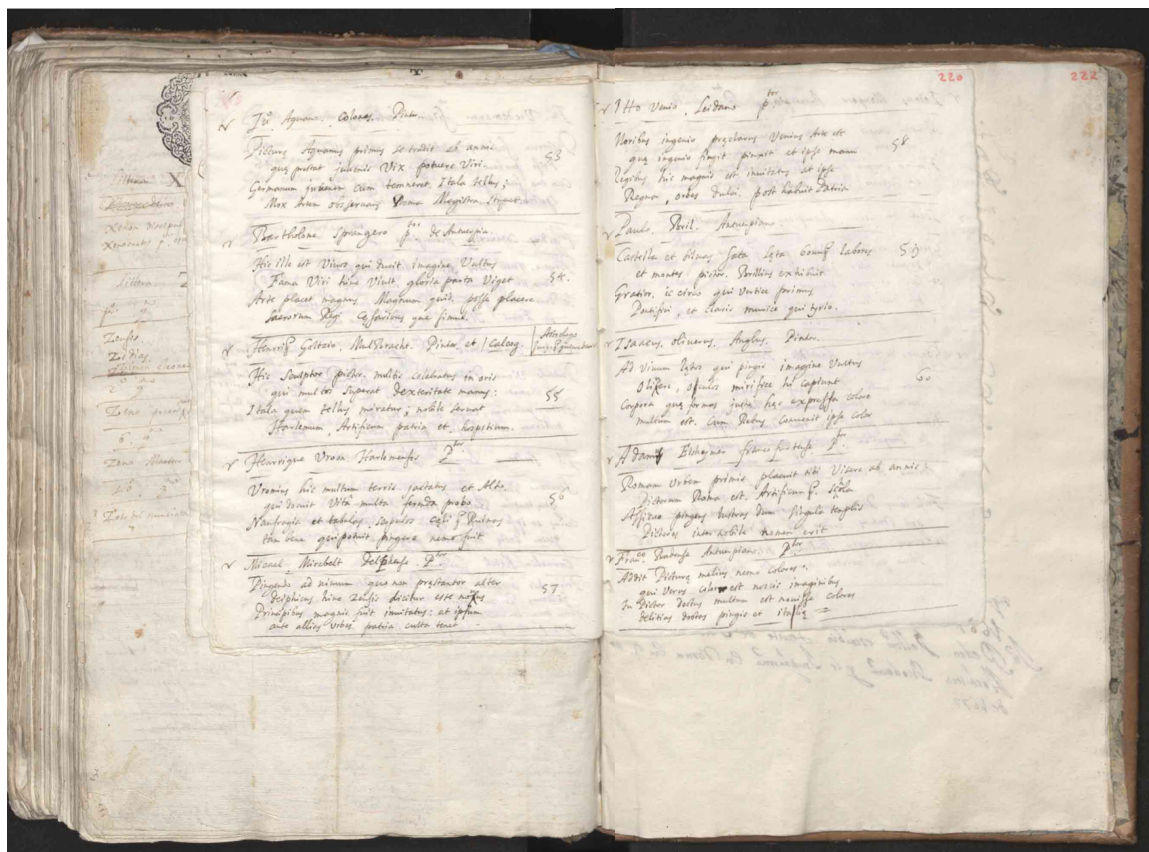
Fig. 50. Lazarro Diaz del Valle, *Origen y Yllustracion del Nobilísimo y Real Arte de la Pintura y Dibuxo (1656)*. The *Pictorum's* poems in the last pages, c. 1656, Library Tomás Navarro Tomás of the Centro de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid.
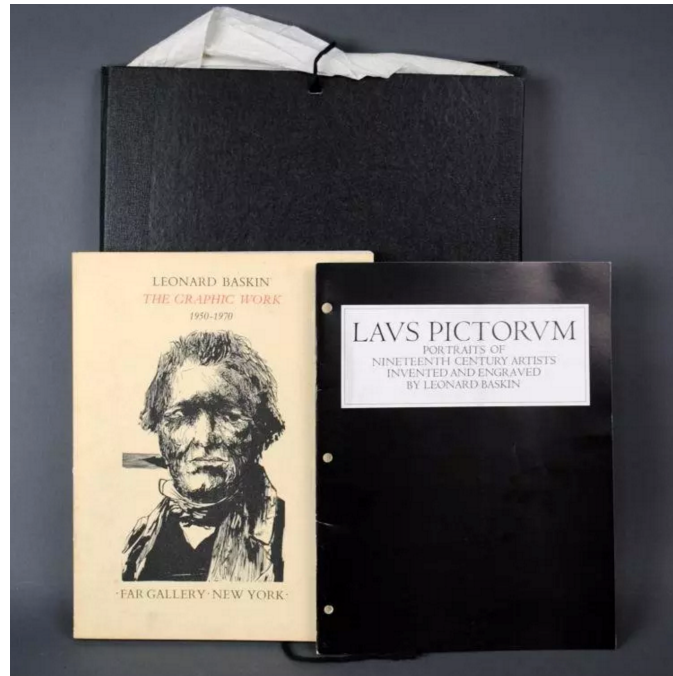
Fig 51. Leonard Baskin, *Laus Pictorum,* 1971, woodcuts,
etchings and engravings.

Fig. 52. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to),
*Joos de Momper Pictorum Aliquot
Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius,
1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7
x 13.0 cm

Fig. 53. Anthony van Dyck (attr. to),
Bernard van Orley Icones…(c. 1656)
etching.

Fig. 54. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to),
*Jan Gossaert Pictorum Aliquot
Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius,
1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7
x 12.0 cm.

Fig. 55. Leonard Baskin, *Jan Gossaert,* 1963,
woodcut.

Fig. 56. Unknown Artist, *Pieter Bruegel
the Elder, Pictorum Aliquot
Celebrium…*1572b, engraving, etched
letters
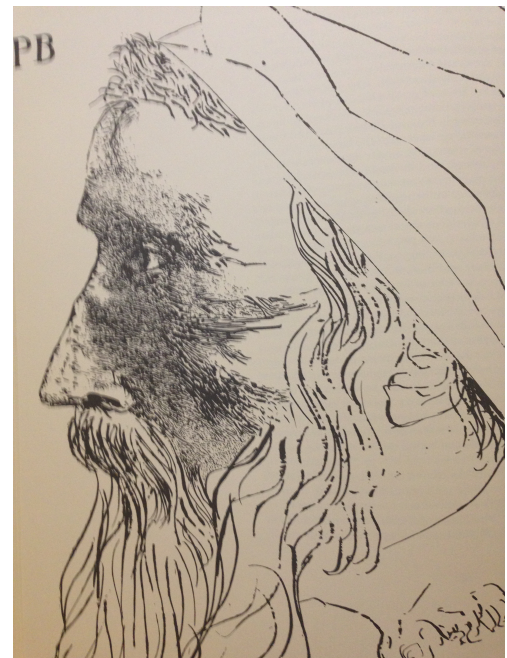
Fig. 57. Leonard Baskin, *Pieter Bruegel
the Elder,* 1964, etching. Photo: Iconologia,
New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich
Publishers, 1988

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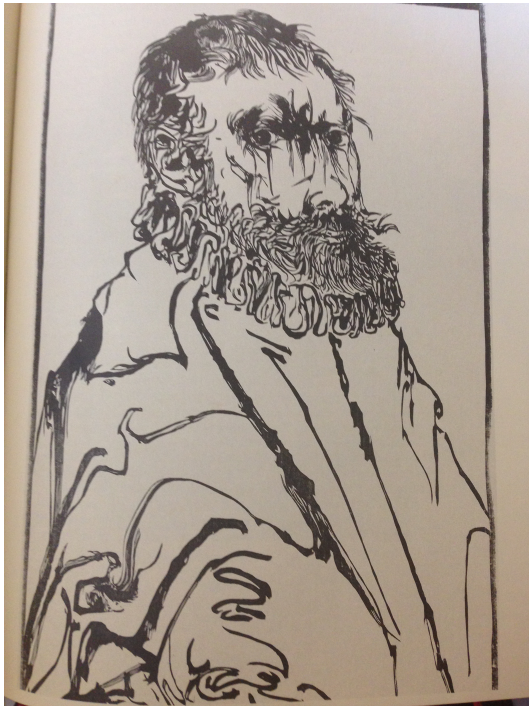
Fig 58. Leonard Baskin, "Jaques de Gheyn," 1963, woodcut.

Fig. 59. Hendrick Hondius (atr. to), "Jaques de Gheyn" *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium*…(Hendrick Hondius, 1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x 12.0 cm.

Fig. 60. Evan Lindquist, *Dürer Engraves his Initials,* 2008, engraving.

Fig 61. Evan Lindquist, *Martin Schongauer Engraves St. Anthony, engraving,* 2010.

Fig. 62. Evan Lindquist, *Reginald Marsh
Engraves a Horse,* engraving, 2012.

Fig 63. Evan Lindquist, *William Blake Engraves the Inferno, engraving*

Fig. 64. Evan Lindquist, *Lucas van Leyden Engraves a Feather*, engraving, 2011.

Fig. 65. Hendrick Hondius (attr. to), *Lucas van Leyden, Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x 12.0 cm

Fig 66. Evan Lindquist, *Hendrick Goltzius,* engraving, 2011.

Fig 67. Hendrick Hondius (atr. to), "Hendrick Goltzius," *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium…*(Hendrick Hondius, 1610) engraving, etched letters, 20.7 x 12.0 cm.
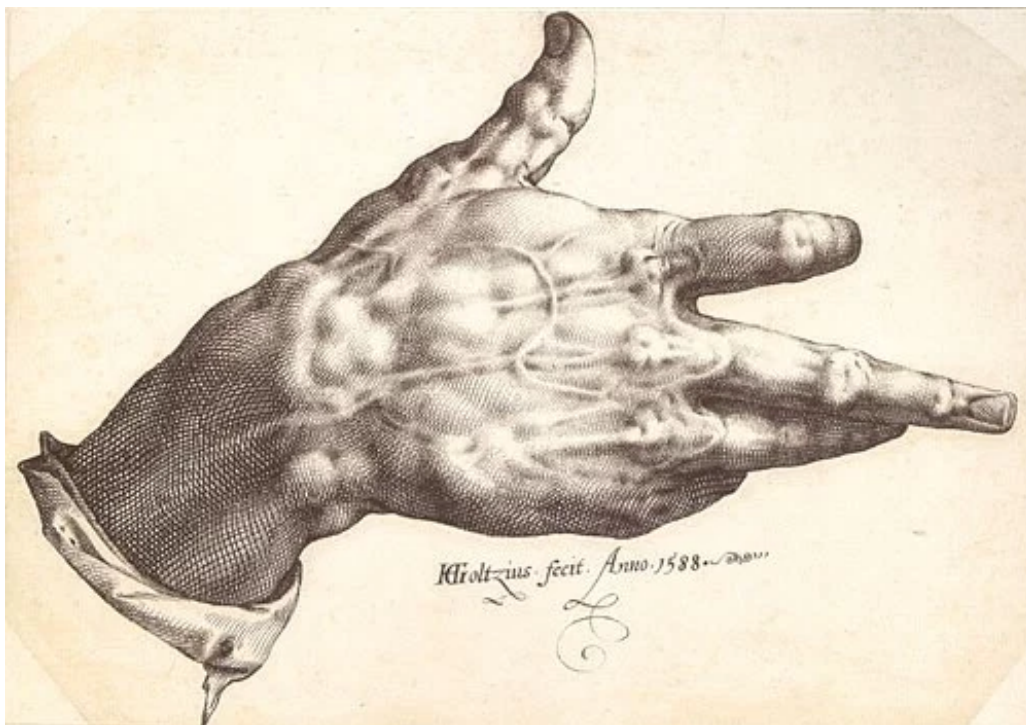
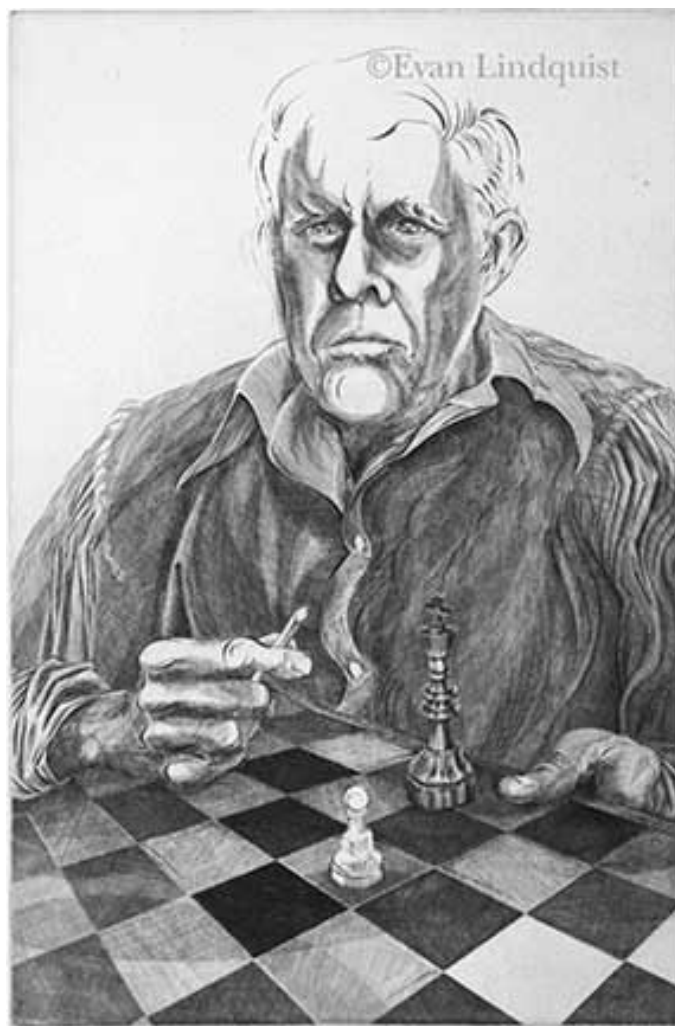Fig. 68. Hendrick Goltzius, *Study of a Hand*, engraving, 1588.

Fig. 69. Evan Lindquist, *Self-Portrait*, engraving, 2012.

APPENDIX

LOCATIONS OF EDITIONS OF THE *PICTORUM*
WITH LINKS IF AVAILABLE

***Pictorums* that were viewed for this study:**

Utrecht University Special Collections-
>The edition originally inspired my interest in the *Pictorum*:
>http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-
>186892&lan=en#page//10/92/28/10922823330475856901764722347369681105.j
>pg/mode/1up.

Madrid-
>Two editions at the B.N.E. ER 484 are not yet digitized. ER 258 can be viewed
>here: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000010856&page=1

>The edition at the Escorial is not digitized.

The Courtauld Institute-
>1610 edition:
>http://www.courtauld.org.uk/netherlandishcanon/pageturning/index2.html.

>1572b edition:
>http://www.courtauld.org.uk/netherlandishcanon/lampsonius/image-
>tombstone/index.html

UvA Special Collections in Amsterdam -
>Hondius' 1610 edition:

>https://books.google.nl/books?
>id=gS5lAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#
>v=onepage&q&f=false

UvA Special Collections also has an edition of the 1618 *Pictorum* that is in excellent condition, probably re-bound in the twentieth century, but obviously well-kept before that. This edition is not digitized, however, both are available to library cardholders for viewing.

Koninklijke Bibliotheek , Den Haag - Not yet digitized, but available for viewing.

Rijksmuseum Special Collections - Two Galle Editions as well as an original 1572a and a 1610 edition available for viewing.

Archive.org -
Jan Meyssens' 1694 reprint of the 1664 edition in English: https://archive.org/stream/trueeffigiesofmo00rest#page/n125/mode/2up.

Other digitized editions:

National Gallery, D.C.:
https://library.nga.gov/mercury/holdingsInfo?searchId=57&recCount=20&recPointer=1&bibId=189373

National Library of Austria:
A 1572a edition:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=AkhbAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=pictorum+hondius&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiM2IbQq5XKAhXGuhQKHU7xB3EQ6AEIKzAC#v=onepage&q=pictorum%20hondius&f=false.

A 1610 edition:
https://books.google.com/books?id=AkhbAAAAcAAJ&pg=PP26&dq=pictorum&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjQv-HLpNLSAhUI3mMKHdGZC6oQ6AEINDAF#v=onepage&q&f=false

University of Ghent:
A 1572a edition:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=hGxOAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=pictorum+lampsonius&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj78-2pr5XKAhUH1hQKHbRwADgQ6AEIJDAB#v=onepage&q=pictorum%20lampsonius&f=false.

Lyon Public Library, France:
A 1610 edition:

https://books.google.nl/books?id=1iEjGFlorwsC&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauth
or:%22Dominicus+Lampsonius%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiBtcTAsZX
KAhXJ1RQKHcVSAE8Q6AEISDAE#v=onepage&q&f=false

National Library of Rome
A 1610 edition:
https://books.google.com/books?id=HFbQNQQRSGQC&pg=PT122&dq=pictoru
m&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiR7P6AptLSAhVJ22MKHSJrCyE4ChDoAQh
YMAk#v=onepage&q=pictorum&f=false

Locations of other editions that are not digitized:

Denmark: Royal Danish Library, Aarhus.

France: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Strasbourg; Bibliothèque
Interuniversitaire de la Sorbonne; Institut National d'histoire de l'art, Collections Jacques
Doucet, Paris.

Germany: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Zentralbibliothek,
Frankfurt; Landesbibliothek, Oldenburg; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer, Berlin;
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munchin.

Italy: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Max-Planck-Institut Bibliothek, Florence.

The Low Countries: Plantin Moretus Museum, Antwerp; Universiteitsbibliotheek,
Leiden; Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp; Rubenarium, Antwerp.

Switzerland: University of Basel Library

United Kingdom: The British Library, St. Pancras, University of Cambridge Library;
University of Glasgow.

United States: The National Gallery, D.C.; Harvard University, Boston; The Huntington
Library, California; Yale University Library, New Haven.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Master of Arts

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