



PICTURING THE NETHERLANDISH CANON

JOANNA WOODALL AND STEPHANIE PORRAS

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Published in conjunction with the online resource
Picturing The Netherlandish Canon
sites.courtauld.org.uk/netherlandish-canon

Series Editor:
Caroline Arscott

Courtauld Books Online is published by the
Research Forum of The Courtauld Institute of Art
Somerset House, Strand, London WC2R 0RN
© 2015, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.
ISBN: 978-1-907485-03-9

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Design: Jack Hartnell

Cover Image:

Attributed to Hendrick Hondius, *Lucas van Leyden*
from the 1610 *Effigies*, engraving.
London, British Library, C.74.d.6.(2.) fol. 27.



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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

STEPHANIE PORRAS is Assistant Professor of Art History at Tulane University. She is the author of *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016) and co-editor of *The Young Dürer: Drawing the Figure* (Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, 2013). Her research interests include: the emergence of genre imagery, early modern print culture, the Flemish presence in New Spain, and early modern drawing practice, in particular the role of copy-drawing. She is currently working on a book on the Flemish artist Maarten de Vos, considering the impact of travel, the wars of religion and the dawn of globalization on visual culture.

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JOANNA WOODALL is Professor in the History of Art at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, specialising in Netherlandish art of the early modern period. She has a particular expertise in portraiture and broader issues of realism and animation. In 2005 she curated, with Anthony Bond, the exhibition *Self-Portrait. Renaissance to Contemporary* (National Portrait Gallery, London and The Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney) and in 2010 she edited, with H. Perry Chapman, *Envisioning the Artist in the Early Modern Netherlands. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 59*. A revised and expanded version of her argument in this volume relating to Hieronymus Cock's *Effigies* is published in Caroline van Eck, Joris van Gastel, and Elsje van Kessel (eds.), *The Secret Lives of Artworks. Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life* (Leiden University Press, 2014). Joanna Woodall's most recent publication is "'De Wisselaer". Quentin Matsys's *Man Weighing Gold and his Wife*, 1514,' in Christine Göttler, Bart Ramakers, and Joanna Woodall (eds.), *Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 64* (2014).



HENRICVS HONDIVS

Engraveur, et tres bon Deseynateur Natif de Duffel en Brabant l'an 1573. de Noble
 Origine il at appris a deseyner chez Ieronimus Wiercx, il excerçoit aussi en Orpherie,
 mais il fut tout iour plus incline a la gravure, il at aussi appris la Mathematique, la Geo-
 metrie, Perspective, Architecture, et Fortification. chez le Vieux Iean Vredeman Vriese, et
 aupres Samuel Marelois homme sans pareil, ou il a tout bien experimentez monstrant
 par les entres, q'on voit de luy en estampes, maintenant il demeure en la Haye.
 Henricus Hondius delineavit. Fredericus Bouttats fecit. Ioan. Meyssens excud.

INTRODUCTION

JOANNA WOODALL AND STEPHANIE PORRAS

Picturing the Netherlandish Canon provides an online, critical edition of *Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipuae Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Effigies of some celebrated painters, chiefly of Lower Germany) published by Hendrick Hondius the Elder (1573–1650) in The Hague in 1610 (fig. 1). Integral to this project is a website of the same name which was originally launched in April 2012. This allows its users to page through a virtual copy of Hondius's large series of engraved and etched portraits of artists with accompanying Latin verses. Visitors to the website, which is accessible via links throughout this online book, can also consult individual images from the series, together with details of their size and technique. There are transcriptions of the accompanying Neo-Latin inscriptions and their first complete, annotated English translation. In addition to a full bibliography on Hondius's series, for each image links are provided to the biographies of individual artists in Karel van Mander's *Het Schilder-boeck* of 1604 and the scholarly biographies in Oxford Art Online.

This online book is thus both a product of and a tool for research, exploiting the potential of digital technology to produce a dynamic, multi-layered experience. The Latin translations facilitate exploration of the relationships between the portraits and their accompanying laudatory verses. Very high quality reproductions (which can be magnified and freely downloaded), the page-through facility and detailed information on each image, enable close visual and material analysis, including a sense of the animation of the subjects produced by flicking through the series. In addition, users can search for individual artist's names and key terms, as well as viewing and constructing subgroupings from the series. For example: one can view all the sculptors, or all the artists who travelled to Italy, and the artistic techniques and the region with which each depicted artist is associated.

The website also makes possible direct visual comparison between Hendrick Hondius's Effigies and a smaller, numbered sequence of portrait engravings with accompanying po-

Opposite:

i.1
 Frederik Bouttats the
 Elder, *Portrait of Hendrik
 Hondius*, engraving.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksprentenkabinet.

ems by the renowned humanist and writer on art, Dominic Lampson (1532-1599) (fig. 2). Entitled *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Antwerp 1572), this better-known series provided pictorial models for twenty-three of the artists' portraits in Hondius's later publication. Although it was put through the press posthumously by his widow, Volcxken Dierix, the book was apparently conceived by the renowned publisher Hieronymus Cock (1510-1570).

HONDIUS'S EFFIGIES

While art historians often refer to individual portraits or verses from Hondius's *Effigies*, the entire series of texts and images has not been comprehensively studied. The seventy-two plate series included sixty-eight artists' portraits, a title-page, dedicatory poem, as well as both a supplementary visual and poetic *frontispiece* and an *endpiece*. Whilst roughly a third of the images and verses of Hondius's series are based on the *Effigies* with Neo-Latin verses written by Lampson and published by Cock in Antwerp in 1572, Hondius's *Effigies* drastically expanded Cock's project, responding not only to the older model but also to the recent publication in Haarlem of Van Mander's *Het schilder-boeck*, an immensely ambitious series of artists' biographies which was itself a complex local response to the international success of Giorgio Vasari's *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (Lives of the most excellent painters, sculptors and architects, Florence, 1550 and 1568).¹ Unlike Vasari and Van Mander, however, Hondius did not rely on biographical texts to construct his canon and lineages of a Northern art history. Instead, using and extending Cock's model, he conceived of a history of Netherlandish art told through the conjunction of portrait and laudatory poems that often summarise Van Mander's earlier and longer prose characterizations. The inter-textuality between the two forms of art literature (biographies of artists and portraits with poems) was reciprocal, since Van Mander had previously incorporated Lampson's 1572 poems into his biographies.

In the 1572 *Pictorum*, Lampson's neo-Latin verses coupled with portraits produced by Cock's best engravers celebrated Netherlandish artists in word and image. The use of artists' portraits to refer to their artistic prowess had a longstanding local resonance. Jan van Eyck (c. 1390-1441), hailed by the sixteenth-century painter and poet Lucas de Heere as the Netherlandish Apelles, had supposedly painted himself; Cock's series also made use of purported self-portraits by other fifteenth-century Netherlandish artists, such as Rogier van der Weyden (c.1399-1464).² While Vasari eschewed the inclusion of artists' portraits in the original edition of the *Vite*, his 1568 edition of the text included 144 woodcut portraits of artists, preceding each chapter and offering the reader an image of each biographical subject. But in both Cock and Hondius's series, the image is not simply illustrative or a frontispiece to the text; the series of engraved and etched portraits is the primary vehicle for the constitution of the series. The short Latin poems work alongside the portrait in an



Opposite:

i.2
Anonymous (after Anthonis
Mor), Portrait of Dominic
Lampson, engraving in Au-
bert Le Mire, *Illustrium Gal-
liae Belgicae scriptorum icons
et elogia*, Antwerp (1608).
London, British Library.

emblematic fashion in order to construct distinctive, named subjects and the lineage and character of the artistry of ‘Lower Germany’.³

Hondius’s portraits enhance the backgrounds of Cock’s earlier series, providing architectural or landscape settings and/or representative aspects of the artist’s oeuvre. The user of the book is then responsible for linking the artist’s likeness and his work, synthesising poem and portrait into a lively and representative whole. Thus the format of the *Effigies* is a distinctively Netherlandish form of ‘art literature’, forming an alternative to the biographies and academic art theory that were emerging in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century and from Van Mander’s own compilation of Netherlandish artist biographies.

Artists and authors had compared painting and poetry since antiquity. Horace’s famous simile ‘*ut pictura poesis*’ or ‘as is painting so is poetry’ in his *Ars Poetica* became significant in humanist discourse on art during the early modern period because it provided a theoretical grounding for painting in poetics, and thus enhanced its intellectual status.⁴ Equally important for the conjunction between portraiture and poetry was Plutarch’s adoption of the phrase ‘*Poema pictura loquens, pictura poema silens*’ (a poem is a speaking picture, a picture a silent poem). Although not used in this way by Plutarch, the idea of poetry providing the speaking voice, whilst painting constituted the silent bodily presence of the subject produced explorations of precedence or *paragone* in endless variations, especially with reference to portraits.⁵ These were not just conceits; they were means of debating the relationships between word and image and soul or intellect and body. The emergence in the Netherlands of a discourse of art constituted of both word and image (in addition to textual biographies of artists) suggests that a comprehensive representation of the artist as a subject was perceived to involve spirit, intellect and bodily presence. It implies a local resistance to the separation between mind and body implicit in the precedence given to the Idea in academic art theory, particularly as it was emerging in Italy.

Series of artists’ portraits are related to the Italian tradition of ‘famous men’ revived and expanded by the Italian physician and humanist historian Paolo Giovio (1483–1552). Giovio wrote prose Latin eulogies for selections of sovereigns, clerics, military commanders, writers and scholars represented in his own large collection of painted portraits, established from 1536 in his Museo at Como. It was Giovio that reportedly initiated the project of artists’ lives eventually realized by Vasari. By placing artists alongside, for example, rulers and scholars, Giovio asserted that they too were exemplary figures of virtue. Giovio’s praise of different categories of famous men was published from 1546 in a group of books with the common title words *Elogia virorum*.⁶ Although they referred to his portrait gallery at Como, these texts were not originally illustrated, perhaps for reasons of expense. The subsequent addition of portrait illustrations and introduction of verse into this kind of exemplary literature merit more detailed research. A series in this tradition, Jacob Verheiden’s *Praestantium aliquot theologorum, qui Rom. Antichristum praecipue oppugnarunt, effigies: quibus addita elogia, librorumque catalogi, opera* (The Hague 1602) has plates engraved by Hondius. In addition, one of the three sets of the Hondius *Effigies* in the British Library is bound together with another, similar portrait series entitled *Icones ad Vivum*

delineatae et expressae Virorum Clariorum qui praecipue scriptis Academiam Lugduno-Batavam illustrarunt (Leiden, 1609).⁷

For Hondius, the artists of ‘Lower Germany’ were characterised by their novelty and variety rather than conforming to a consistent, recognizable tradition:

Here are various painters: not all have the same task, because what is new and varied pleases. All do not have the same genius. One gives pleasure with colour [and] shades; another with pleasant flowers [and] trees. [Yet] another skilfully paints fields, the swelling sea [and] rocks, [while] another is famous for cities [and] images. Almost all these are those that Belgica, mother of artists, brought forth: she thought it disgraceful to yield [to other nations] in genius.

The prints were loosely organized into three sections, the first beginning with the Hubert van Eyck (c.1385/90–1426), the second headed by Albrecht Dürer (1475–1521) and the third by Jan van der Straet (alias Giovanni Stradano, 1523–1605). The structure of Hondius’s volume thus also articulated a geographically expansive notion of Netherlandish art.

PICTURING THE NETHERLANDISH CANON

The idea for the *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon* project arose during Joanna Woodall’s research and teaching on the subject of portraiture and concepts of the artist and artistry in the early modern period, focusing especially on the Netherlands. The project’s original aim was to make the entire series of prints available in high-quality image files, as well as to produce an English translation of the neo-Latin poems. In collaboration with Stephanie Porras, the ambitions of the project expanded to encompass an online exhibition, as well as the following essays on the *Effigies*, in order to facilitate a closer and more precise analysis of both individual prints and the series as a whole. In creating the website, the three copies of the *Effigies* in the British Library were consulted and a representative manuscript (C.74.d.6.(2.)) was selected for photography.

This online book includes the two essays by Stephanie Porras and Joanna Woodall which offer critical commentary on Hondius’s *Effigies*, utilizing the translations, search and ordering functionality of the website to reconsider the series and its role in the creation of a distinctly Netherlandish art history. Stephanie Porras’s contribution focuses on the material history of the prints, of diverse authorship and variable quality. Porras situates the 1610 *Effigies* within the widespread practice of reprinting older Flemish prints and the emergence of a market for “Netherlandish” subjects. Joanna Woodall’s essay looks beyond “likeness to the life” to study the distinctive yet related ways in which Cock’s and Hondius’s series of prints produce subjectivity through the category of the Netherlandish artist. She argues that death is in fact fundamental to both series. The 1572 *Effigies* mourn the loss of ultimate contact with a living model and at the same time begin to imagine life

and authority in the figure of the artist in print in different ways. One of these was the ‘artistic’ print, which privileged the maker’s hand in the work. The less “elevated” images of the 1610 publication follow a different trajectory, imbuing the subjects of the portraits with life by invoking various kinds of movement. Both Porras’s and Woodall’s essays engage with Hondius’s series as a whole, considering single images and the pictorial and historical claims of the total series. In publishing these essays as part of the Courtauld Books Online project, we hope to encourage continued use of both the original website and the Hondius series in addressing the origins of Netherlandish art history.

Funding for the construction of the website, photography and research was provided by a British Academy Small Research grant to Stephanie Porras. Joanna Woodall received a Research Grant from The Courtauld Institute for the translation of the Neo-Latin texts into English, which was undertaken by Daniel Hadas, from the History department at King’s College London. Eva Bensasson, website manager at The Courtauld Institute, built the virtual architecture for the online exhibition, which is designed to enable multiple ways of ordering and engaging with the *Effigies* as a series composed of both text and image.

The translation of the website essays into e-book format would not have been possible without the support of Maria Mileeva, Karin Kyburz, and the editorial guidance, digital and design expertise of Jack Hartnell.

All references in digital versions of *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

1. Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

2. Compare the dress in the portrait of Jan van Eyck in Cock's series with Van Eyck's *Portrait of a Man (self portrait?)* in the National Gallery, London. Compare the portrait of Rogier van der Weyden in Cock's series with the translation of his supposed self-portrait in the tapestry version of his *Justice of Trajan and Herkinbald*, in the Historical Museum of Bern.

3. Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem. Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 71; Marko Juvan, *History and Poetics of Intertextuality* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007), p. 41.

4. Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis. The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co 1967).

5. Jan Emmens, 'Ay Rembrant, maal Cornelis stem,' *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 7 (1956): pp. 133-65.

6. R. Meregazzi (ed.), *Gli elogi degli uomini illustri: (letterati, artisti, uomini d'arme)*, in *Pauli Jovii Opera* 8 (Rome, 1972); T. Price Zimmermann, 'Paolo Giovio and the Evolution of Renaissance Art Criticism,' in Cecil Clough (ed.), *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976); Tommaso Casini, *Ritratti parlanti: collezionismo e biografie illustrate nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Florence: Edifir, 2004).

7. Volume C.74.d.6.2. See also Jochen Becker, 'Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Domenicus Lampsonius,' *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973): pp. 45-61, 50, n. 50.



REPEAT VIEWING. HENDRICK HONDIUS'S EFFIGIES

STEPHANIE PORRAS

At the core of Hendrick Hondius's 1610 *Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipuae Germaniae inferioris effigies*, 22 of the 68 artist portraits, are re-engraved copies of portraits from the series *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* published in Antwerp by the widow of Hieronymus Cock, Volcxken Dierckx, in 1572. 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's expanded series and by the seventeenth century, there was a long-established practice of reworking and reprinting older plates.¹ The value of engraved copperplates, both for their material and for the artistic labour of their inscribed surfaces, meant that publishers saw the opportunity to acquire existing plates as a means of augmenting their capital, broadening the range of products on offer and extending profit.

Naturally, print publishers wanted to create a successful product and basing a new venture on a series that had proven to be a commercial triumph for one of the most eminent publishers of the previous generation, Hieronymus Cock, was a strategic choice. Yet Hondius's decision to reproduce and expand the Cock series, nearly forty years after its creation, was not driven solely by mercenary aims. Like Joanna Woodall, I will argue that Hondius's *Effigies* was not simply a 'reproductive' or derivative enterprise. While her essay explores how the Cock and Hondius *Effigies* produce claims to 'life-likeness', artistic and authorial presence; I seek to situate Hondius's *Effigies* within a broader practice of re-using, reproducing and evoking older Flemish prints in the Northern Netherlands. This interest in repeating/replicating/recalling the past in print, intersects with both the historic enterprises of the new Dutch state and the emerging connoisseurial audience for Netherlandish art, comprised of *liefhebbers*. Hondius's 1610 *Effigies* thus negotiates between commercial and creatively repetitive aims, offering a more discursive account of the practice of reprints in the early seventeenth-century Netherlands.

Hondius himself acquired original plates and blocks by earlier artists throughout his career, reprinting at least 380 secondhand plates, representing close to a third of his publishing output.² Hondius's *Effigies*, however was not a re-strike of an existing plate series; rather the series was a re-engraved copy and expansion of the original 1572 *Effigies*. The original plates of Cock's *Effigies* had been sold at the death of the publisher's widow, Volcxken Dierckx in 1601, and apparently bought by the fellow Antwerp publisher, Theodoor Galle, who published an edition of the series sometime after 1600.³ As the plates are accounted for in the inventory of Galle's widow in 1636 and the majority of the Hondius prints are in the opposite orientation to the Cock *Effigies* (indicating they were copied from prints, not plates, resulting in a mirror-image reversal), Hondius could not have worked from the original plates.

Without the plates to hand, did Hondius use the prints from the c.1600 Galle *Effigies* restrike or from the original 1572 series as a model? Following Galle, Hondius omitted the final portrait of the original publisher Hieronymus Cock from his series. However, in the 1610 *Effigies*, Hondius did not include the supplementary texts (usually dates of death and birth) added by Galle to the Cock plates, which indicates that Hondius may have based his own series on one of Cock's original impressions.⁴ In addition, Hondius did not follow Galle in removing the Greek text from the end of Lampsonius's verses on Lambert Lombard, offering further support for the argument that Hondius used the 1572 Cock series as model.⁵ Complicating our understanding of how the Hondius's prints were produced however, is the fact that seven of the portraits are in the same orientation as in Cock's 1572 series (including the portraits of [Quentin Matsys](#), [Pieter Coecke van Aelst](#), [Lambert Lombard](#) and [Frans Floris](#)), indicating that if the engraver worked from a printed model, he skillfully produced an intermediary reversed drawing to transfer onto the plate, avoiding the mirror-image reversal inherent in copying from a print rather than a plate.

Despite his attention to the details of the 1572 *Effigies*, Hondius did not re-produce the Cock series line for line. Hondius's series is comprised of etching and engravings and prints in mixed technique, while the 1572 *Effigies* and Galle's subsequent re-strikes are engraved. Compared to the 23 portraits of Cock's series, the scale of the Hondius portraits has been somewhat reduced. The first part of Hondius's *Effigies* repeats the portrait subjects of the Cock series but adds a portrait of [Cornelis Engelbrechtsz.](#) while removing the portrait of the publisher Hieronymus Cock. Lucas van Leyden's portrait has also been replaced with a new likeness in the Hondius *Effigies*. In the 1572 series the van Leyden portrait was based upon a surviving silverpoint drawing, done by Albrecht Dürer during the German artist's 1521 journey to the Low Countries. Galle's c.1600 re-strike of the *Effigies* replaced this likeness with a worn impression of a Lucas engraving from around 1519, an image of a young man wearing an elaborate hat and holding a skull. Hondius follows this substitution



in his series using an engraved copy of the Leyden print, in reverse to the original as the artist's portrait (fig. 1 and 2).⁶

In the 1572 series, the portrait originates in a documented (and celebrated) first-hand encounter between van Leyden and Dürer; Lampsonius's verse below the portrait alludes to this meeting, describing van Leyden as 'not equal, but nearest to Dürer'. In the Galle series however, the artist's identity becomes synonymous with van Leyden's artistic production, as the artist's engraved work comes to stand for the artist: the work is even further removed from the artist's originary presence in the Hondius series, which presents an etched copy of Lucas's engraving. The claim to represent the artist's physical appearance is replaced by an interest in the oeuvre as representative of the artist.⁷ This shift is emphasized in the rest of Hondius's series where new background images (architectural spaces, framed pictures or views) are added behind nearly every artist portrait.⁸ In most cases, these new background elements directly refer to the artist's speciality, such as columns for the translator of Serlio, [Pieter Coecke van Aelst](#), or a fantastical landscape for [Henri met de Bles](#).

The Latin verses beneath each artist in the Cock series, originally written by Dominicus Lampsonius, are also repeated in the Hondius series. Yet as Daniel Hadas has noted, these transcriptions of Lampsonius's elegant Latin are often riddled with minor errors.⁹ While these sloppy mistakes in transcription could be read as the by-product of inattention or haste, the creation and insertion of background scenes that mirror the particular artist's

1.1
Attributed to Johannes Wierix, Lucas van Leyden, 1572, engraving. London, British Library, 564.e.20(2), fol. 106.

1.2
Attributed to Hendrick Hondius, Lucas van Leyden, 1610, engraving. London, British Library, C.74.d.6(2), fol. 27.

style belies this assumption, as the production of the entire series must have been a complex and time-consuming operation. Hondius's 1610 *Effigies*, with its 68 portraits, title-page, poem, illustrated frontispiece and endpiece was not a project to be undertaken lightly. The capital investment required, not only for the 72 new copperplates but also the labour involved in copying the old portraits as well as designing, engraving and/or etching the new portraits and background images and writing the new accompanying portrait texts, poem, frontispiece and endpiece, was considerable.

Given the scale and ambition of the project, the errors in transcription are therefore surprising. While the accompanying verses to Hondius's series were less sophisticated than Lampsonius's original texts, the publisher did have to commission new verses for the 46 additional artists of his expanded *Effigies*, or write the new portrait poems himself.¹⁰ These apparently anonymously authored texts are not as technically accomplished in their use of Neo-Latin and are considerably shorter in length. In contrast to Lampsonius's primarily vocative addresses to each artist, Hondius's texts often focus on identifying the artist's archetypal subjects (Joachim Beuckelaer's kitchen scenes, Frans Pourbus's birds, Gillis Coninxloo's landscapes, etc.) as well as signalling prominent patronage relationships (for example in the case of Bartholomeus Spranger, Anthonis Mor and Cornelis Visscher). Given the scale of the work involved, Hondius's *Effigies*, while based on Cock and Lampsonius's earlier series, represents a new publishing enterprise, one with shifting aims and ambitions.

REPRINTS AND THE AUDIENCE FOR THE REPETITIVE

While the commercial reasons for re-issuing older plates are fairly straightforward, one should not dismiss the process of issuing reprints as a simply market-driven, creatively-derivative enterprise, particularly with regards to the complex process of re-engraving copies of an existing print series. Even for a re-strike of existing plates, publishers had to actively pursue, acquire and select plates for reprinting. This was not entirely a risk-free venture as capital would be tied up in the acquisition of plates and in printing costs. In the case of a re-engraving like the *Effigies*, these outlay costs would be considerably higher, as engravers/etchers would have to be paid to reproduce an existing design.

The new publisher's authorial presence, his or her creative input, was not only manifest in the selection of the subject for the print and or/re-engraver(s) but was often also directly inscribed upon the plate. Hondius's initials, alongside the verbs 'excudit' 'fecit' or 'formis'

appears on nearly every plate of the 1610 *Effigies*, while the engravings and etchings themselves and most of the accompanying texts remain unsigned. This is in contrast to the 1572 *Effigies*, where individual portraits retained the marks of their engraver, the signatures of the Wierix brothers and Cornelis Cort, on many plates. Joanna Woodall argues that the 'disappearance' of the engraver's signature may indicate an appreciation of the medium of print, rather than the printmaker, as a reliable transmitter of knowledge. Like Hondius later, Theodoor Galle, when he re-issued Cock's 1572 *Effigies* around 1600, added his own address (Theod. Galle excud[it]) to each plate, as well as additional biographical information for each artist; Galle also re-titled the series and provided a new title-page, complete with architectonic frame.

Both Galle and Hondius, in their creative re-packaging of the older printed series, produce something that is simultaneously both a copy and a new artistic product. Removing Cock's portrait from the series, Galle inserts himself through the inscription of his address and his new title-page, literally replacing the old publisher in his reprint. Hondius too effaces all mention of Cock and Volccxken Dierckx, the original publisher of the *Effigies*. In contrast, recognizing the roles of both the original and the subsequent publisher, Hondius, when issuing re-strikes of existing plates, often allowed the address of the former publisher to remain visible alongside his own signature, or simply striking through the older inscription with a few lines instead of burnishing it away.¹¹ This unusual recognition of the previous publisher's role in the production of the print acknowledges both the particular history of the plate and Hondius's own role in republishing it.¹²

Hondius's unique acknowledgment of a plate's history in his other restrikes also privileges the role of the publisher as author. In signing new plates, engraved copies and re-strikes, Hondius insists upon making the publisher's role visible. This parallels the practice of book publishers, who in the course of the early modern period, developed innovations such as title-pages, forewords, notes to the reader and tables of contents, texts often written, designed and prominently signed by publishers.¹³ The publisher becomes another type of author, sharing the primary author's concerns with establishing the authority of the text in an early modern world where there was a proliferation of text and images in circulation and competition with one another.¹⁴ Increasingly, the authority of a text could only be validated by public circulation, through its success as a published product.¹⁵ The role of the publisher then assumes new value as the crucial interface between printed product (text and/or image) and their publics.

Hondius, who may have also been the author of both the introductory poem and the new portrait verses of the *Effigies*, is a publisher concerned with his authorial presence. It is his



name which reoccurs throughout the series, invoking his editorial presence to the viewer. In the title-page to his *Effigies* (Fig. 3), it is his name which is in the largest typeface, positioned at the foot of the page beneath the shield flanked by the nude figures of *Optica* and *Pictura*. The title-page to the 1572 *Effigies*, in contrast, is composed solely of text, with the name of the publisher (*Apud Viduam Hieronymi Cock*) in the smallest type, also at the bottom centre of the page. In removing Cock from the portrait group, as well as inserting his own name prominently throughout the 1610 *Effigies*, Hondius adopts authorial and editorial authority for his new, expanded series.

Hondius's 1610 *Effigies*, while based on Cock's series, triples its scope (23 to 68 portraits) and situates itself within a new frame of reference. Although the series incorporates a version of a previously published series, it is neither intellectually nor artistically derivative. In discussing Hondius's *Effigies* and its repetition of Cock's 1572 *Effigies*, I would like to follow the insights of Maria Loh in *Titian Remade*, her groundbreaking study of Padovanino and how artistic identity and agency are negotiated in a work of art, and remade through each new viewing circumstance.¹⁶ Borrowing the distinction between *repetitious* and *repetitive* made by Bruce Kavin, Loh distinguishes between these two receptive modalities as revealing different intentions: while the *repetitious* repeats without expectation of any secondary reading, the *repetitive* is addressed to an informed spectator and responds to the intentions of previous works in a continual process of engagement with multiple horizons of expectation.¹⁷

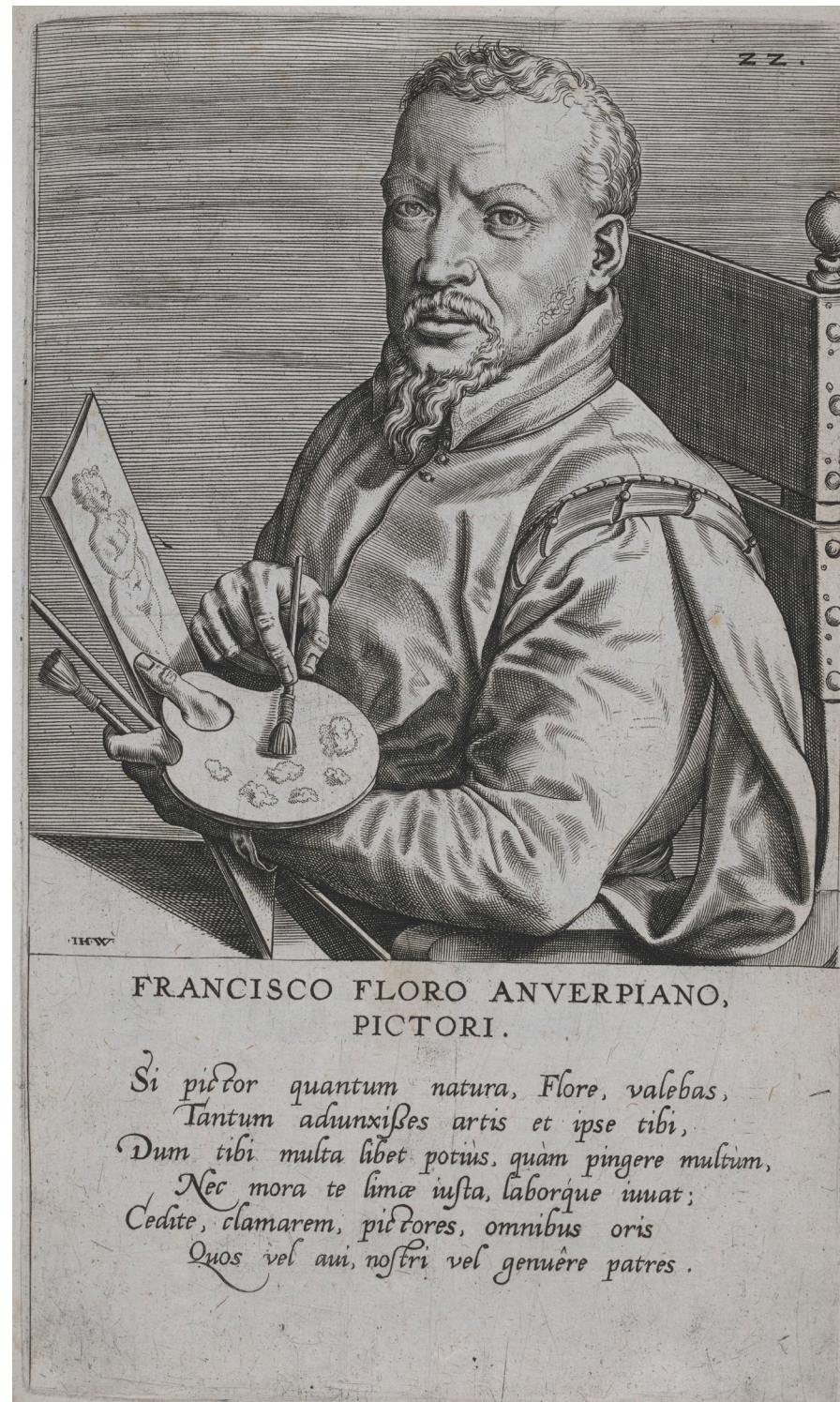
Hondius, in repeating Cock's print series, does not seek to replace the original publication. Instead, Hondius seeks to repeat the intention of Cock's *Effigies* and to extend this series of portraits of 'celebrated artists from lower Germany' through space and time.¹⁸ In the dedicatory poem which opens the 1610 *Effigies*, Hondius provides an acknowledgment of his model, the 1572 *Effigies*, while also opening the door for future additions to the work:

Almost all these are those that Belgium, mother of artists, brought forth...
Among these Lampsonius, the greatest censor of painters, once celebrated
some in verse. You will also be able to see certain men mixed in with the Belgians.
Perhaps our hand will produce some more...

The 1610 *Effigies* is staged as both a repetitive evocation of the Cock/Lampsonius series and an unfolding, perhaps even ongoing, continuation of its aims. The tri-partite structure of the Hondius *Effigies*, preserves the integrity of the originary Cock series, which makes up the majority of Part 1 of the series, while the subsequent two parts incorporate key his-

Opposite:

1.3
Attributed to Simon Frisius,
Title-page to the 1610
Effigies, etching.
London, British Library,
C.74.d.6.(2.), fol. 1.



1.4
Johannes Wierix, Frans
Floris, 1572, engraving.
London, British Library,
564.e.20(2), fol. 118.

toric Northern artistic figures (Albrecht Dürer, Lucas van Leyden) and Dutch contemporary artists (Abraham Bloemaert, Cornelis Ketel). Though the ordering of each part differs in surviving volumes, most bound volumes of the *Effigies* generally respect the divisions of the three parts and the unity of the Cock-derived first section.

The strategic re-representation of the past is one of the hallmarks of the repetitive, as the repetitive copy/remake hinges upon the viewer's ability to recognize such referents.¹⁹ The repetition of Lampsonius's verses (distinctly longer and in a different calligraphic style to the texts on the later portraits), and the separation of the original Cock portraits from the rest of the series, would have made Hondius's copies of Cock's portraits visually distinct as a group. The 1572 *Effigies* portraits display a crisp style of engraving that meticulously reproduces the various textures and details of costume, expression and gesture.



1.5
Attributed to Hendrick
Hondius, Frans Floris, 1610,
engraving. London, British
Library, C.74.d.6.(2.) fol. 25.

Hondius's re-engraved versions lack this sharp yet subtle quality, particularly apparent in the rendering of the figures' hands and faces. These differences are made manifest when one compares Johannes Wierix's engraving of Frans Floris with Hondius's version (figs. 4 and 5). The subtle transition of the artist's hair line is hardened into a more helmet-like form in the later print, while the fine, soft lines of the female nude on the painter's panel are transformed into short dashes. Wierix's richer tonal modelling is flattened and reduced.

Despite these differences, Hondius has also taken pains to incorporate the Cock-derived portraits into his own larger project. Rather than having his engravers copy the closely set horizontal engraved lines that make up the background of Cock's portraits, Hondius had his engravers add architectural details and/or views of the represented artist's work to many individual portrait backgrounds. In the Floris portrait, for example, the flat lines of

the earlier engraved background have been replaced with an architectural space, complete with a painting showing the expulsion from Paradise, behind the seated artist. While some portraits within Parts II and III of the Hondius series retain a background of horizontal lines, these are usually varied in tone so as to suggest the corner of a room, or include the cast shadow of the subject, unlike the monotone backgrounds that dominate the 1572 *Effigies*. The subsidiary images within individual portraits are usually more convincingly integrated within these later parts, for example, in the portrait of [Crispin van den Broeck](#).

The various printmaking techniques (etching, engraving and a mixture of the two), as well as the various printmaking styles in the 1610 *Effigies*, not only varies considerably from the 1572 engravings, but is also internally variable. Though unsigned, Nadine Orenstein has attributed the various plates of the series to four etchers: the Mannerist style of Simon Frisius, the rich tonal engravings of Andries Jacobsz. Stock, the finer style of Robert de Baudous and the variable techniques used by Hondius himself.²⁰ While Hondius emulated the engraved lines of Cock's 1572 *Effigies* in the first part of his series, in later portraits, like that of [van den Broeck](#), he adopted a freer, more reduced manner of rendering facial features and drapery folds. Despite the fact there is a visual diversity of printmaking styles in Hondius's *Effigies*, the insistence on background imagery helps to create a unified visual experience of the series; but there remains a visible tension between this integral use of background images and the unmistakable variation in engraving styles and changing presentation of the artists' bodies within Hondius's *Effigies*.

The additional background elements equate the artist and his work in a different fashion to Cock's original series, which rely more heavily on gesture and the relationship between Lampsonius's primarily vocative verses and each portrait. However, the inclusion of subsidiary imagery is not an entirely foreign addition to the series, as Cock's 1572 series did include backgrounds in the portraits of Jan Vermeyen (pictured with an Eastern landscape—or with a picture of an Eastern landscape—behind him, in reference to his travels as court painter to Charles V) and Rogier van der Weyden (where a devotional image appears in the upper left). In supplementing the backgrounds of the remaining portraits, Hondius responds to the connection between artist and image suggested by these examples. As a result, [Matthias Cock](#) and [Henri met de Bles](#), both renowned for their contributions to landscape painting, are pictured by Hondius with landscape views (a framed picture and/or a view framed by a window embrasure or frame) behind each artist.

The connection between artist, biography and artistic product, tentatively advanced in Cock's portrait series, is taken up wholeheartedly by Hondius. The 1604 *Schilder-boeck* of [Karel van Mander](#) was a likely intermediary between the two portrait series, providing a more robust linkage between artist and artistic product, as van Mander included descriptions of his subjects' famous works within his artist biographies. To cite just one prominent example of this equation of artist and his work, van Mander's biography of Pieter Bruegel, famous for his peasant scenes, would assign peasant origins to the artist, as well as a comic



1.6
Attributed to Hendrick
Hondius, Pieter Bruegel,
1610, engraving. London,
British Library C.74.d.6.(2.),
fol. 22.

disposition and a tendency to costume himself as a peasant in order to better capture his subjects.²¹ In Hondius's portrait of Bruegel (fig. 6), the flat background of the 1572 portrait has been replaced by two large peasant figures, either standing behind the artist or depicted in life-size on a panel or canvas. The portrait of the peasant painter is now inhabited by peasants. Hondius, utilising the textual precursor of the *Schilder-boeck* as well as the

visual example of the 1572 *Effigies*, constructs a more direct visual relationship between his artist subjects and their work, particularly in images of historic artists that compose the first part of the series and largely repeat Cock's earlier series.

In order to further explore the ways in which Hondius's *Effigies* acts as a repetition of Cock's series, it is helpful to discuss briefly a comparable, and absolutely contemporary reprint. The Amsterdam publisher Claes Jansz Visscher republished etched copies of *The Small Landscapes*, another series originating in Cock's shop, in 1612. Like the *Effigies*, Visscher's *Small Landscapes* was not a re-strike of existing plates, although nearly half of the Amsterdam publisher's known oeuvre consisted of reprints of secondhand plates.²² The original plates of Cock's *Small Landscapes* were issued in two sets: the first in 1559 consisted of a title-page and 14 landscape views, the second in 1561 with an additional title-page and at least 27 images.²³ The 22 plates mentioned in Volcxken Dierckx's inventory appear to have passed to the Galle family, like the *Effigies* plates, where they were re-issued first by Phillips Galle in 1601, then by his son Theodoor sometime before 1633, before finally being published by Johannes Galle in 1676.²⁴ Visscher, like Hondius, did not restrike existing plates but produced a re-printed and re-edited new version of the previous series.

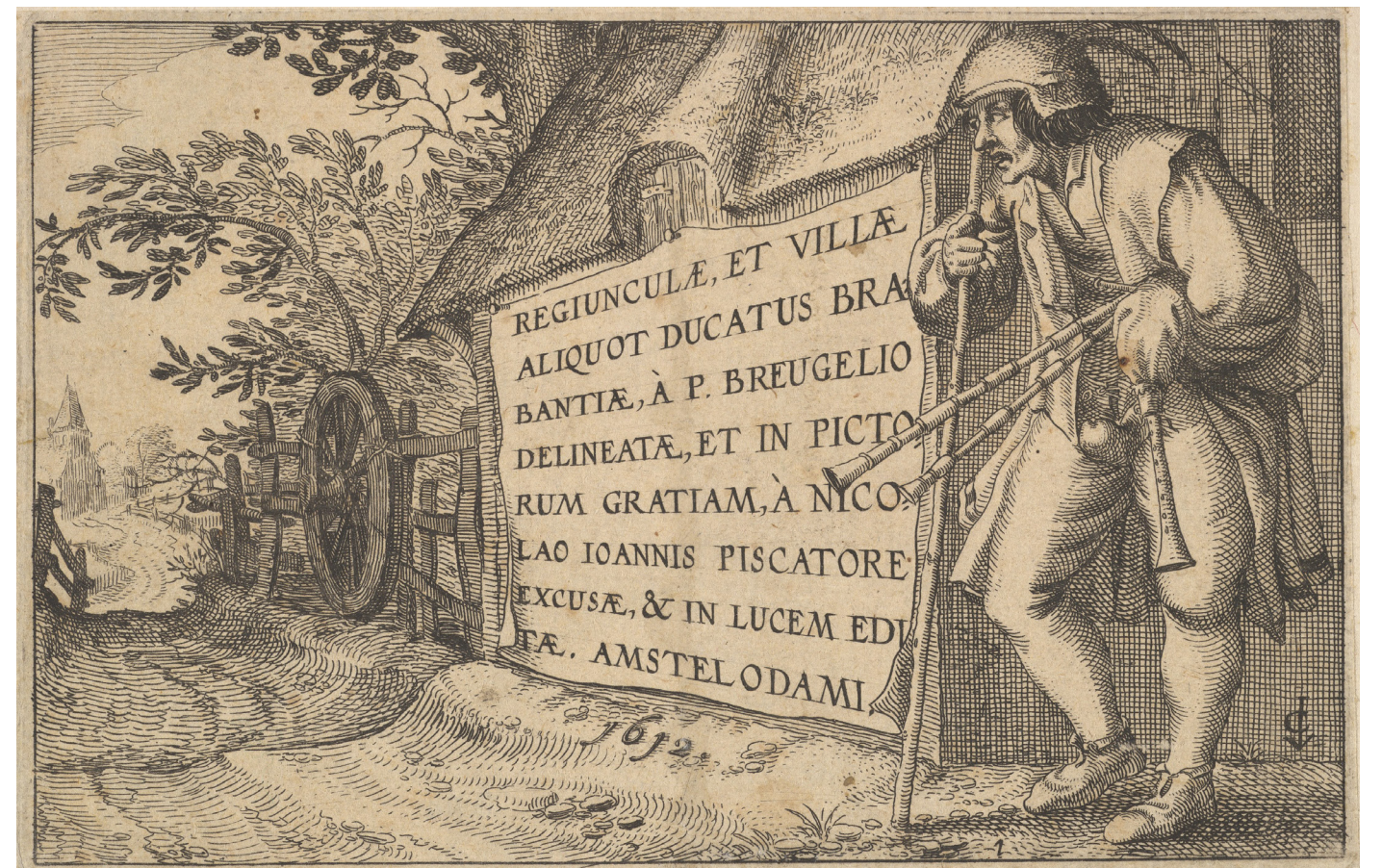
Comparing Hondius's *Effigies* and Visscher's *Small Landscapes* is fruitful, not only because both series originated in Cock's Antwerp publishing house, de Vier Winden, but because both series were highly ambitious re-productions (re-engraved and re-etched) copies of the original(s) commissioned by their respective Dutch publishers. Up until 1613, Visscher and Hondius were the only two North Netherlandish publishers to bring out such large print series.²⁵ Like Hondius, Visscher did not seek to replicate identically Cock's series, rather he selected 23 of the original prints, mostly from the second Cock series, as well as adding one print from the 1559 series and a completely new composition, apparently of his own design.

The result was a condensed, new series of views, which did not strictly replicate the Cock Small Landscapes. Visually, Visscher's *Small Landscapes* etchings were smaller and more closely cropped, using dramatic cloud formations, trees as framing devices and different positions/activities for staffage figures than the original Cock series, as well as displaying a softer and more atmospheric use of the etching needle (fig. 7).²⁶ Taking the implied 'armchair stroll through the countryside' at the heart of Cock's two landscape series, and recomposing it, Visscher created a new journey through the Brabantine landscape, one that in fact deviated further North (through the publisher's inclusion of the Dutch castle Oud-Alkemade) and outside of the claims to observed reality made on Visscher's new title-page (fig. 8). Visscher's new frontispiece proclaimed the views to be the inventions of Pieter Bruegel, drawn first-hand from the region of Brabant and published by Visscher 'for the sake of painters'.²⁷

Opposite:

1.7
Claes Jansz. Visscher after
the Master of the Small
Landscapes, *Village Scene*,
plate 15 of the *Small Land-*
scapes, 1612, etching.
New York, Metropolitan Mu-
seum, Harris Brisbane Dick
Fund, 1933. 33.52.19.

1.8
Claes Jansz. Visscher after
the Master of the Small
Landscapes, *Title-page to the*
Small Landscapes, 1612, etch-
ing, New York, Metropolitan
Museum, Harris Brisbane
Dick Fund, 1933. 33.52.5.





1.9
Attributed to Hendrick
Hondius, *Three Putti with
Banderoles*, frontispiece to
the 1610 *Effigies*, etching.
London, British Library,
C.74.d.6.(2), fol.3.

While the appeal to painters previously had been made by publishers like Hieronymus Cock, it is striking that both Visscher and Hondius targeted the appeal of their ambitious publishing ventures at artists and art lovers.²⁸ While Hondius does not directly address artists, as Visscher does, Hondius uses both the introductory poem to the *Effigies* as well as the introductory etching of three putti (fig. 9) to address both the 'lovers' and 'haters' of painting (*AD PHILOZOGRAPHUM* and *IN MISOGRAPHUM*). Both the connoisseurial liefhebbers and, potentially, artists themselves, can be counted among the 'lovers' of

painting. In reprinting Cock's two series, the *Small Landscapes* and the *Effigies*, Visscher and Hondius both call attention to their own negotiation of past models, specifically addressing their new series to an audience concerned with art. This parallels Loh's description of the repetitive image as one that both responds to the intentions of the 'original' work, and is addressed to an informed spectator.

While both publishers undoubtedly sought to derive tangible profits from their reprints of successful previously published series, the complex motivations behind either publisher's decision to produce these reprints cannot be reduced to purely commercial aims. Both Hondius and Visscher engage with their earlier printed models, not only by introducing subtle visual changes to the prints themselves, but also in re-formulating the structure and declared intents of their models. In re-casting older printed series, Hondius and Visscher promote their own role as publisher, in remaking Cock's original series, situating the landscapes and the portraits within a new setting addressed to a Dutch public profoundly concerned with history, as well as art. Commercial and intellectual motives thus complemented one another in both publisher's reprinting practice.

PICTURING (ART) HISTORY

The practice of reprinting older Flemish prints in the new Dutch republic presupposed a ready audience for such images. Discussions of Visscher and Hondius's reprints and re-engravings often focus on the supply-side of the print market, yet, there has been little consideration of the potential sources for the demand for such prints. Catherine Levesque has discussed the success of the 1612 *Small Landscapes* in relation to the contemporary renewed interest in Flemish topographical histories, demonstrated in the numerous editions of Lodovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti I paesi bassi*, first published in 1567 and reprinted in 1582, 1609 and 1614.²⁹ Numerous authors have also discussed the potential of the *Small Landscapes* in evoking nostalgic memories of a land left behind for the thousands of Flemish emigres to the North in the early part of the century.³⁰ Yet the link between the production and consumption of reprints like Hondius's *Effigies* and Visscher's *Small Landscapes* and the broader interest in defining Netherlandish culture and history merits further exploration.

What were the factors which encouraged Hondius to reproduce a new *Effigies*? Although Visscher's *Small Landscapes* and other landscape series published or re-published in the Northern Netherlands in the seventeenth century have been discussed in relation to emerging historical interests and, in particular, the nostalgia and buying habits of the growing Flemish immigrant population; how these same elements contributed to Hondius's series have not been considered. While the popularity of topographic descriptions of the Low Countries may be connected to the emergence of landscape as an independent

genre, painting also had an important symbolic role in Netherlandish histories. Just as Visscher's re-etched landscapes tapped into a new appreciation for Netherlandish topographical history, Hondius's *Effigies* capitalized on the close association between the arts and Netherlandish historic identity.

As early as 1567, Ludovico Guicciardini would proudly note among the achievements of the Netherlanders both the invention of oil-painting and of printmaking, as well as listing the numerous historic and contemporary artists from the region.³¹ Daniel Rogers in his *De laudibus Antwerpiae*, specifically connected the Flemish city with artists; Carolus Scribanius would do the same in his *Antverpia* of 1610, while Hadrianus Junius's *Batavia* listed famous artists alongside scholars and other notable Flemings.³² In Hondius's *Effigies*, this connection between Belgian, Dutch and/or Netherlandish identity with artistic production is made clear. The poem which opens the series claims Belgium is 'the mother of artists', who thinks it 'disgraceful to yield [to other nations] in genius'. This focus on geographical origin of individual artists, as well as their group identity as Netherlanders was apparent in Cock's original *Effigies* where 'Belgian/Belgium' is mentioned in Lampsonius's verses on Dirck Bouts, Jan van Amstel, Matthias Cock, Joos van Cleve, Jan van Scorel and Willem Key.

Hondius responds to the quasi-nationalistic pride inherent in Lampsonius's verses, amplifying and extending the implied merits of Netherlandish artists. Notably, the terminology used by Hondius to describe individual artists shifts from 'Belgian' to 'Dutch'; Maarten van Heemskerck, Anthonie Blocklandt and Abraham Bloemaert are described as 'Dutchmen,' rather than simply listing the town of their origin/residence as in the majority of the artist texts. Yet the distinction between Northern and Southern Netherlandish artists is not delineated in any consistent way. In fact, the very inclusion of artists from both sides of the recently settled political border in Hondius's 1610 series indicates the conceptual unity binding Netherlandish art/artists together, despite or in spite of, geopolitical reality.³³ So while Belgium is evoked as the "mother of artists" in the opening poem of the 1610 *Effigies*, the term 'fatherland' also appears in the texts accompanying the portraits of North Netherlanders.

Hondius was not alone in including portraits of historic Flemish artists alongside contemporary Dutch artists. Van Mander, in his 1604 lives of the Netherlandish painters, had done much the same in text.³⁴ Given the influx of both Flemish paintings and Flemish painters into the Northern Netherlands from the 1580s onwards and the Flemish heritage of many artists active in the North from c.1610, this transition from South to North in the assembly of artists reflected, to a certain degree, socioeconomic reality.³⁵ This mingling of Northern and Southern Netherlandish artists would resonate with the experience of emigres to the Northern Netherlands and their descendants, in reconciling both their an-

cestry in the South and their current life in the North. The upheaval and trauma of physical movement is suppressed in a conceptual Netherlandish cultural unity. While the views of Brabantine villages published by Visscher in *The Small Landscapes*, or the collection of famous Flemish painters found in Hondius's *Effigies*, could evoke a certain nostalgia for a lost past; both series re-stage their performance of South Netherlandish people and places within clearly demarcated North Netherlandish context. Through their title-pages, both publishers firmly situate their re-prints in the North: in Amsterdam for Visscher, in the Hague for Hondius.

Despite their new North Netherlandish context, these re-prints reinforced the perceived continuity of Netherlandish historic identity and its particular evocation of the pastoral past. Since Cornelis Aurelius, the antique history of the Low Countries had been described as an agricultural Arcadia, made possible by the country's rich pasture-land.³⁶ Evoking the fecundity of the local landscape was a fundamental part of sixteenth-century descriptions of the Low Countries, as well as historical accounts of the region. Walter Melion has persuasively argued that by the turn of the seventeenth century, landscape was increasingly understood as a particularly Dutch form of artistic production, linked to the representation of history; citing van Mander's preface to the fourth book of the *Schilder-boeck*, which proposes substituting *schilderconst*, the Dutch art of picturing, and the pastoral history of the Low Countries for the chronicler's typical interest in war.³⁷ Dutch identity is tied to an imagined pastoral past, the contemporary landscape, as well as to the artistic representation of that landscape. The Netherlandish artist and the local landscape, the subjects of Hondius and Visscher's re-prints, both played a key role in the articulation of a historic and contemporary Dutch identity.

As repetitive evocations of print series that pre-date the devastating war with the Spanish, both the *Small Landscapes* and the *Effigies* negotiate a complex path between nostalgic recollection, historic renewal and idealistic patriotism. Visscher includes a new Dutch view within his reconfigured series of Brabantine landscapes, stressing both a mythic Flemish artistic origin (the claim that Pieter Bruegel was the designs' originator) and the contemporary importance of such images for the contemporary (presumably Dutch) artist. Similarly, most of the Southern Netherlandish artists included in Hondius's series were of the previous generation, yet by including these figures alongside contemporary Dutch artists, Hondius stressed the continuity of artistic tradition, North and South. The construction of a historic genealogy of Netherlandish artists allows various temporalities to mingle and interweave, as the past, present and future are simultaneously evoked.

As Joanna Woodall discusses in her essay, Cock's *Effigies* had included only dead artists, operating as a kind of funeral elegy, whereas Hondius structured his own *Effigies* as an individual life, beginning with the plump putti of the etched frontispiece and concluding



1.10
 Attributed to Hendrick
 Hondius, *Allegory of Fame
 after Death*, endpiece to the
 1610 *Effigies*, engraving.
 London, British Library,
 C.74.d.6.(2.), fol. 72.

with Death's skeleton (fig. 10). But for the painters chosen by Hondius, Death is not an end. As the endpiece proclaims:

For those who have lived well, there is life after burial. [As for] those who have painted well, consider that they live in death. A new life is set out in life-like paintings: let each set out to be able to live life after death.

The life of the painter stretches beyond the single human lifetime envisaged by the series. By incorporating Cock's portraits of long-dead artists, along with artists both living and

dead, Hondius constructs a pantheon of immortal artists, generation after generation. Crucially, the print medium is identified as one of the primary means by which artists survive, as the pyramids behind the figure of Death all bear artist's monograms typically associated with printed imagery, most notably Albrecht Dürer's 'AD' and Lucas van Leyden's 'L'. The artist may live on through the engraved or etched mark, in addition to the more established modes of portraiture and textual elegy. Woodall argues that 'objective' transmission in print is set into movement within the Hondius *Effigies*, producing the historic survival of artistic identity.

The Hondius series is less concerned with the re-animation of such an individual artistic identity, its focus instead is on constituting a serial artistic identity, based on Cock's original *Effigies*, expanded geographically and temporally. While in some cases, the particular pedagogical genealogy of an artist (through the author's praise of a 'well-taught' hand or travel to Rome) or specific civic identity (through the citation of an artist's hometown) is stressed, the relatively loose structure of the series undercuts any reading of the *Effigies* as a strictly linear progression. As Woodall notes, the sheer number of prints and their repetitive format results in a different kind of animation, not unlike a flip book. Unlike Cock's *Effigies*, in which every plate was numbered, Hondius left the ordering of the prints to the customer. Surviving bound impressions of the series often differ significantly in their composition, shuffling individual portraits in diverse orders though largely maintaining the tri-partite structure of the whole series. That is, though the Cock-derived Part One of the *Effigies* is usually distinct from the remaining two parts, the individual portrait order varies from collection to collection.

Hondius's series aims for a balance between ordered structure and a more flexible grouping available to manipulation. In a similar fashion, the series also poises specific civic and regional identifications in contrast and in conjunction with a more loosely defined national identity. Although clearly dominated by Netherlanders, whose art is praised in the highest terms, both singly and cooperatively, Hondius's decision to include German and English artists plays with the borders of this 'Netherlandish artistic identity.' These additional artists, such as Dürer and Holbein, are carefully chosen to situate the Netherlanders within a broader, more semantically uncertain 'Northern' canon. Hondius's *Effigies* produces a fluid sense of Netherlandish identity, one that encompasses a Flemish past and a Dutch present in its production of a local art history. The geopolitical reality of the economic and artistic migration from Southern to Northern Netherlands, is mirrored in the shift in artists' origin included in the *Effigies*. This transition is not disguised by Hondius, just as Visscher affirms the Brabantine origin of the *Small Landscapes*, but in both cases, the Flemish past is inscribed within a new context.

Visscher's attribution of the *Small Landscapes* to the hand of Pieter Bruegel is often described as mercenary in its ambition, an attempt to capitalize on the late artist's fame in

launching his own print publishing enterprise. Yet the claimed connection to Bruegel also underscores Visscher's own particular artistic heritage. Visscher does not connect his own printed product to Cock's original, Flemish publishing model but to the invention of an artist renowned for his peasant and landscape scenes. At the time of Visscher's publication of the *Small Landscapes*, the international appreciation of Bruegel, alongside Bosch, as the typical Netherlandish artist was at an all-time high as Bruegel's work was collected by connoisseurs such as Rudolph II and his style was emulated or even directly forged, by artists like Roelandt Savery. Both the subject-matter, (Brabantine landscapes), and the attribution of the *Small Landscapes*' graphic style to Bruegel affirm Visscher's series as a particularly Netherlandish product and one that is, crucially, addressed primarily to artists themselves.

Hondius's ambitions as a publisher were, in contrast to Visscher, arguably even more focussed on promoting a 'Netherlandish' identity. Hondius, unlike his contemporary Visscher, actively pursued the attainment of an official privilege from the governing body of the Netherlands, the States General. Hondius was the first publisher to acquire a States General privilege in 1599 and was the only artist/publisher until Peter Paul Rubens in 1618, to hold such a protection against copies of his published works being circulated in Holland.³⁸ This was not necessary for commercial success, as the evident success of Visscher's publishing enterprise demonstrates. Local Dutch governmental bodies, as well as the States-General, looked to printers and publishers to promote civic, regional and/or national pride through the issuance of such privileges, in a similar fashion to the practice of noble patrons across Europe.³⁹

Hondius, in seeking such state protection, diverged from Visscher in the nature of his ambition and the positioning of his published output. The large type of 'CUM PRIVILEGIO' on the title-page of the 1610 *Effigies* is equal in stature to the series title and the publisher's own name (fig. 3). Hondius sees his own published oeuvre as intellectual as well as commercial capital, worth protecting with a privilege. The publisher also sought to cement his own relationship with the new political power of the Netherlands, promoting the local historic identity of the Low Countries as the producer of artistic greatness, in return for such commercial and intellectual protection.

Hondius's *Effigies* plays upon the link between artist, style/artistic product, connoisseurship and history. In the addition of supplementary backgrounds, primarily referencing the subject/style of the depicted artist's work, Hondius also connects the figure of the artist with his dominant artistic product and style. The connection between the artist's name, his likeness and his work is continually reinforced through each combination of portrait image and text. Like Visscher, Hondius also chooses not to credit Cock's previous publishing venture, yet the Hague publisher does repeatedly cite the name of Lampsonius as his predecessor. Both seventeenth-century publishers decided to elide the role of Cock, the original publisher, yet both also insist upon their series' inherited authorship/authority.

In the case of the *Effigies*, the authorship of the individual engravings (largely done by the Wierix brothers in the Cock series) is apparently unimportant to Hondius, who

suppresses marks of the engravers' authorship both in the 'copied' and new portraits.⁴⁰ However, the textual basis for the *Effigies* in Lampsonius's verses is acknowledged and is elaborated upon in Hondius's etched frontispiece and poem, which builds upon Lampsonius/Cock's originary project to found and celebrate a Northern canon of artists, while also providing exempla for young artists.⁴¹ Bruegel was celebrated by Lampsonius as the model of a successful artist who based his work upon the study and imitation of previous Netherlandish masters. Hondius takes this point further, underscoring the importance of studying both Netherlandish art and the images of artists themselves. Hondius connects the study of paintings, which according to the dedicatory poem "greatly nourish the mind," to the pleasure of looking at painters themselves; the illustrated frontispiece reinforces this message, advising: 'If you own no paintings, nor illustrated poems, let these learned painters be enough for you'.

The implication is that Hondius's audience, even those who were not themselves collectors of art, could profit from and enjoy the printed series of portraits and texts celebrating Netherlandish artists and their products. The Hondius portraits, which so often represented in text and image, an artist alongside his archetypal product, would therefore help to produce not only a canon of artists, but an audience of connoisseurs, who could identify a 'typical' work by the artist. The endpiece to the *Effigies* with its emphatic message of life after death for the successful artist, reinforces the series' role in the foundation of such an immortal pantheon. Van Mander, author of the 1604 *Schilder-boeck*, both a training manual for painters and a celebration of famous artists, living and dead, is included in Hondius's series, described both as an artist and as a poet, a 'candid censor of painters [*pictorum censor*].' The same term (*censor*) is used to describe Lampsonius in the opening poem of the *Effigies*.

Hondius's *Effigies* thus refers to the two most prominent authors who had written about Netherlandish artists as a collective, Lampsonius and Van Mander, both of whom aimed their praise of painters at a new generation of artists. While Hondius's series is aimed at a broader audience, including, according to the frontispiece, both the lover and hater of painting, the 1610 *Effigies* also promotes an image of Netherlandish artistic history and identity as, if not progressive, certainly accumulative. While the publisher does not promote a successive linear narrative from Van Eyck onwards, as was implied by the numbering of the plates of Cock's *Effigies*, the separation of the larger series into shufflable parts, where 'all do not have the same genius', as the dedicatory poem states, allows the viewer to assemble an individual art histories that extends into the present moment.

Just as Visscher proclaims his *Small Landscapes* to be in the service of contemporary artists, Hondius's series is also constructed as part of a continual celebration of the Netherlandish artist, past and present. While the dedicatory poem ends with the statement that the contemporary moment is one in which 'Apelles lives again, in which Zeuxis, Phidias and Myron himself live', the series of portraits that follows begins nearly two hundred years earlier with the Van Eyck brothers. The resurrection of antique artistic glory is in

fact part of a continuing history of Netherlandish artistic greatness. Simultaneously evoking antiquity, the historic Burgundian past and the newly defined Dutch present, the Hondius series manipulates the dominant tropes of contemporary historical writing.⁴² These three temporal moments were often brought together in order to validate and celebrate the new Dutch state. Cock's *Effigies* is thus transformed into a new product, a particular kind of cultural history, an art history.

This is a history composed of portraits and texts, words and images, focused on the Netherlandish tradition but not limited to it. It was an inherently flexible historical model, as it was published in three loose leaf parts, to be composed as an individual print collection. The collecting of artists here is connected to the collecting of images, a practice that, by mid-seventeenth century and probably earlier, was seen as a particularly Netherlandish occupation.⁴³ Just as a collector ordered the diverse objects of his collection to his liking, the owner of Hondius's *Effigies* could do the same. If the collecting of art was a national pastime, perhaps then a Netherlandish history of art could also act as the foundation for a new Dutch identity, nebulously defined by Hondius himself in his references to 'fatherland.' Hondius's *Effigies*, in its manipulation of Cock's preceding series, suggests that art had a place in the establishment of this new geopolitical and cultural identity. Hondius's *Effigies*, based upon a reprint, enables its viewer to construct their own collection of art/artists, creating a unique Netherlandish art history.

All references in digital versions of *Courtauld Books Online* are hyperlinked. To navigate to a footnote, click on the reference number in the body of the text. To return back to the text, click on the number at the beginning of the footnote.

1. The last edition of Cock's *Effigies* was published by the Antwerp publisher Theodoor Galle, sometime after 1600 with the title *Illustrium Quos Belgium Habvit pictorum effigies Antwerpiae*. See Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman and Marjolein Leesberg (comp.), Jan van der Stock and Marjolein Leesberg (eds.), *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: The Wierix Family Part IX*, vol. 67 (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision, 2004), no. 2023. One of the earliest documented examples of the transfer and reprinting of copperplates was the wholesale reprinting of the Master ES's engravings by Israhel van Meckenem in 1467 and the practice was certainly widespread by the sixteenth century.

2. See Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision, 1996), p. 96.

3. See Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, 1984) I, pp. 19, 27; and Lydia De Pauw-de Veen 'Archivalische gegevens over Volcxken Diercx, weduwe van Hieronymus Cock', *De Gulden Passer: Bulletin van de "Vereeniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen"* 53 (1975): pp. 215–47; all 23 plates of the series were in the widow's possession, although the final portrait, of Hieronymus Cock, was kept separately. The *Effigies* plates are then listed in the 1636 inventory of Catharina Moerentorf, widow of Theodoor Galle, as 'De Schilders drijentwintich platen,' see E. Duverger *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, 1984) IV, p. 21.

4. The third state of the Cock series, published by Theodoor Galle, has added text on the portraits of Jan Gossaert, Quentin Matsys, Lucas van Leyden, Jan van Amstel, Jan Vermeyen, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Jan van Scorel, Pieter Bruegel, Willem Key and Lucas Gassel. The author consulted the volume of the *Effigies* bearing Theodoor Galle's *excudit* in the British Library, (564.f.1.2).

5. In the Galle state, the Greek words were erased and replaced by 'Lampsoniana graphis,' while the artist's dates are added at top right, as well as additional biographical information alongside the date 1565.

6. The fact that the Galle re-published *Effigies* used a late and worn impression of Leyden's print is cited in Bart

Cornelis and Jan Piet Filedt Kok, 'The Taste for Lucas van Leyden's Prints', *Simiolus* 26 (1998): p. 35.

7. Hondius's alteration of the Leyden portrait was discussed by Ben Thomas, 'The Many Faces of Lucas van Leyden and Other Stories: Some Historiographical Reflections on the *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* of Domenicus Lampsonius' (paper presented at the Courtauld Institute, London, 16 May, 2006).

8. On the pictures in the background of Hondius's *Effigies* as representative of the 'hand' of the artist pictured, see Hans-Joachim Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York: Georg Olms, 1984), p. 25.

9. For example, see the verses on Quentin Matsys in Hondius's *Effigies* use the nonsensicalars' instead of Lampsonius's 'amare'; or 'sine' for 'sive' and 'guava' for 'gnava' in Jan van Amstel's portrait.

10. As Hondius signed the introductory poem for the series, it is possible he wrote all the accompanying portrait texts as well.

11. Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius*, p. 97.

12. Orenstein notes this aspect of Hondius's print publishing as indicative of his character. See Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius*, p. 98.

13. Michael Giesecke, *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit: eine historische Fallstudie über die Durchsetzung neuer Informations- und Kommunikations-technologien* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1991), p. 378.

14. In his work on authority and representation in the early modern period, Robert Weimann has noted the link between the decline of given, unitary locations of authority (via Protestantism, changing social structures) in the early modern period and the simultaneous unprecedented expansion of representational discourses (through the emergence of printed culture and the growth in literacy), resulting in a new ambivalence and vulnerability in early modern assertions of authority. See Robert Weimann, *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse*, David Hillman (ed.) (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 8.

15. Weimann, *Authority and Representation*, pp. 5–7.

16. See the Introduction ‘A Death in Venice,’ in Maria Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), p. 7.

17. Loh, *Titian Remade*, 55–61, cites the methodology of Bruce Kavin in *Telling It Again and Again: Repetition in Literature and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 4.

18. Loh effectively uses Panofsky’s little known argument for the intellectual benefit of copies (published in ‘Original und Faksimilie Reproduktion’, *Der Kreis: Zeitschrift für künstlerische Kultur* [1930]) as well as his distinction between the copy’s intention to ‘replace’ an original versus its ability to ‘repeat’ an original intention. Loh takes this distinction as one of the key thematics of her book, in particular how ‘intention’ moves from the domain of the artist to the more complex sphere of reception and the breakdown of the opposition between ‘originals’ and ‘reproductions’. See Loh, *Titian Remade*, pp. 7–8.

19. Loh, *Titian Remade*, p. 56.

20. Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius*, p. 51

21. Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters from the first edition of the Schilder-boek* (1603–1604), Hessel Miedema (ed.), Michael Hoyle, et al. (trans.) (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994 [1624]), I, fol. 233r, lines 33–43. Van Mander’s account of Bruegel disguising himself in order to better capture peasant subjects is indebted to Gian Paolo Lomazzo’s life of Leonardo, *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scultura et architettura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1584), II, pp. 106–7. On the parallel ‘artifices’ of Bruegel dressing up as a peasant and of replicating peasant custom, see Joseph Koerner “Albrecht Durer and the Pleasures of the World,” in *Das Fest*, Walter Haug and Rainer Warning (eds.) (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1989), p. 182.

22. For a brief summary of Visscher’s publishing enterprise, particular in contrast to Hondius, see Nadine Orenstein, ‘Marketing Prints to the Dutch Republic: Novelty and the Print Publisher’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28.1 (1998), pp. 141–65.

23. There is considerable scholarly interest in the original publication of the *Small Landscape* series, both in the authorship of the original designs and in the claim to life-likeness (*ad vivum*) made in the second series title-page. On the drawings see Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann ‘Joos van Liere’, in Otto Georg von Simson and Matthias Winner (eds.), *Pieter Bruegel und seine Welt* (Berlin: Kunsthistorischen Institut und Kupferstichkabinett, 1975), pp. 17–28; Reinhard Liess, ‘Die kleinen Landschaften Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. Im Lichte seines Gesamtwerks’, *Kunstthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz* 15–17 (1979–81), pp. 1–16; pp. 35–150. On the Cock prints, see Jacqueline Burgers (ed.), *In*

de Vier Winden. De prentuigeverij van Hieronymus Cock 1507/10–1570 (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans van Beuningen, 1988), nos. 31–32; Walter Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruysdael* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 15–27; Stefaan Hautekeete, ‘Van Stad en Land: Het beeld van Brabant in de vroege topografische tekenkunst’, in *Met passer en penseel: Brussel en het oude herzogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 2000), pp. 46 – 57; and Alexandra Onuf, *Local Terrains: The Small Landscape Prints and the Depiction of the Countryside in Early Modern Antwerp*, PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2005.

24. See Henk Nalis (comp.), Ger Luijten and Christiaan Schuckman (eds.), *The New Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Van Doetecum Family Part I. The Antwerp Years, 1554–75*. (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision, 1998), nos. 118–61.

25. Nadine Orenstein, Huigen Leeftang, Ger Luijten and Christiaan Schuckman, ‘Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620’, in Ger Luijten and Arian van Suchtelen, et. al (eds.), *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art 1580–1620* (Amsterdam/Zwolle: Rijksmuseum/Waanders, 1993/4), p. 192.

26. See Alexandra Onuf, ‘Envisioning Netherlandish Unity: Claes Visscher’s 1612 copies of the *Small Landscape Prints*’, *Journal of the Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3.1 (2011). See also Gibson, *Pleasant Places*, p. 39.

27. The full inscription reads: “REGIUNCULAE, ET VILLAE / ALIQUOT DUCATUS BRABANTIAE, A P. BREUGELIO / DELINEATAE, ET IN PICTO/RUM GRATIAM, A NICO / LAO IOANNIS PISCATORE / EXCUSAE, & IN LUCEM EDI/TAE. AMSTELODAMI / 1612.” [Some small residences and villages in the Duchy of Brabant, drawn by Pieter Bruegel for the sake of painters, engraved and published by Claes Jansz Visscher at Amsterdam 1612].

28. While Gibson notes that Hieronymus Cock had used similar language in a series of landscapes etched after Matthys Cock, he describes these texts as a mode of advertisement although the prints themselves were aimed at a much larger market. See Gibson, *Pleasant Places*.

29. Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through the Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland. The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (Philadelphia: Penn State Press, 1994), pp. 41–4.

30. Eric Jan Sluijter discusses the market for landscape paintings in the Northern Netherlands as driven by immigrant painters in the region, producing relatively cheap paintings for an increasingly middle-class population looking to decorate their homes. While Sluijter discusses the *Small Landscape* prints, he does not address the particular market for this kind of reproductive print, see ‘On Brabant Rubbish, Economic Competition, Artistic Rivalry, and the

Growth of the Market for Paintings in the First Decades of the Seventeenth-Century’, *Journal of the Historians of Netherlandish Art* 1.2 (2010): p. 6, particularly note 68. This nostalgic potential is also cited by Onuf, ‘Envisioning Netherlandish Unity’, and Levesque, *Journey*, pp. 44–8.

31. Ludovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti I paesi bassi* (Antwerp: William Silvius, 1567) pp. 1–3, 131. Guicciardini says there are 300 painters and sculptors active in Antwerp (*Ibid*, p. 153).

32. See Daniel Rogers, *De laudibus Antwerpiae* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1565), B recto; and Junius, *Batavia* (Leiden: Plantin and Franciscus Raphelengius, 1588), pp. 18–45. See also the two-volume work on Antwerp by Carolus Scribanus, *Antverpia and Origines Antverpiensium* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1610), published the same year as Hondius’s *Effigies*. For a discussion of Scribanus’s work see Julius S. Held ‘Carolus Scribanus’s Observations on Art in Antwerp’, *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 59 (1996): pp. 174–204.

33. The political borders between the Spanish controlled South and newly independent Northern Netherlands were settled by the Twelve Years’ Truce of 1609. On the political, cultural and socio confrontation between this newly defined ‘South’ and ‘North’ Netherlands see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 410–20.

34. See Karel Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*; Walter S. Melion. *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel Van Mander’s Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

35. On the immigration of Flemish artists North, see J.G.C.A. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in het begin van de gouden eeuw, 1585–1630* (Antwerp and Haarlem: Becht, 1987). On the success of artists with Flemish ancestry in Haarlem in Marion Boers-Goosens, *Schilders en de markt: Haarlem 1600–1635*, PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2001, who calculates that eight out of the nine painters who began their careers in the city after 1605 had a Flemish background. Yet, as Eric Jan Sluijter has noted, few of the living artists mentioned by Van Mander had Southern Netherlandish ancestry. See ‘On Brabant Rubbish’, note 27.

36. Karin Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisiechroniek of 1517*, Sam Herman (trans.) (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1992), p. 252. On the richness of the sixteenth-century Low Countries, in particular its agricultural and pastoral yields see Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, pp. 34–6.

37. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, pp. 7–12. Melion cites Karel Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, Book IV.

38. Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius*, p. 93.

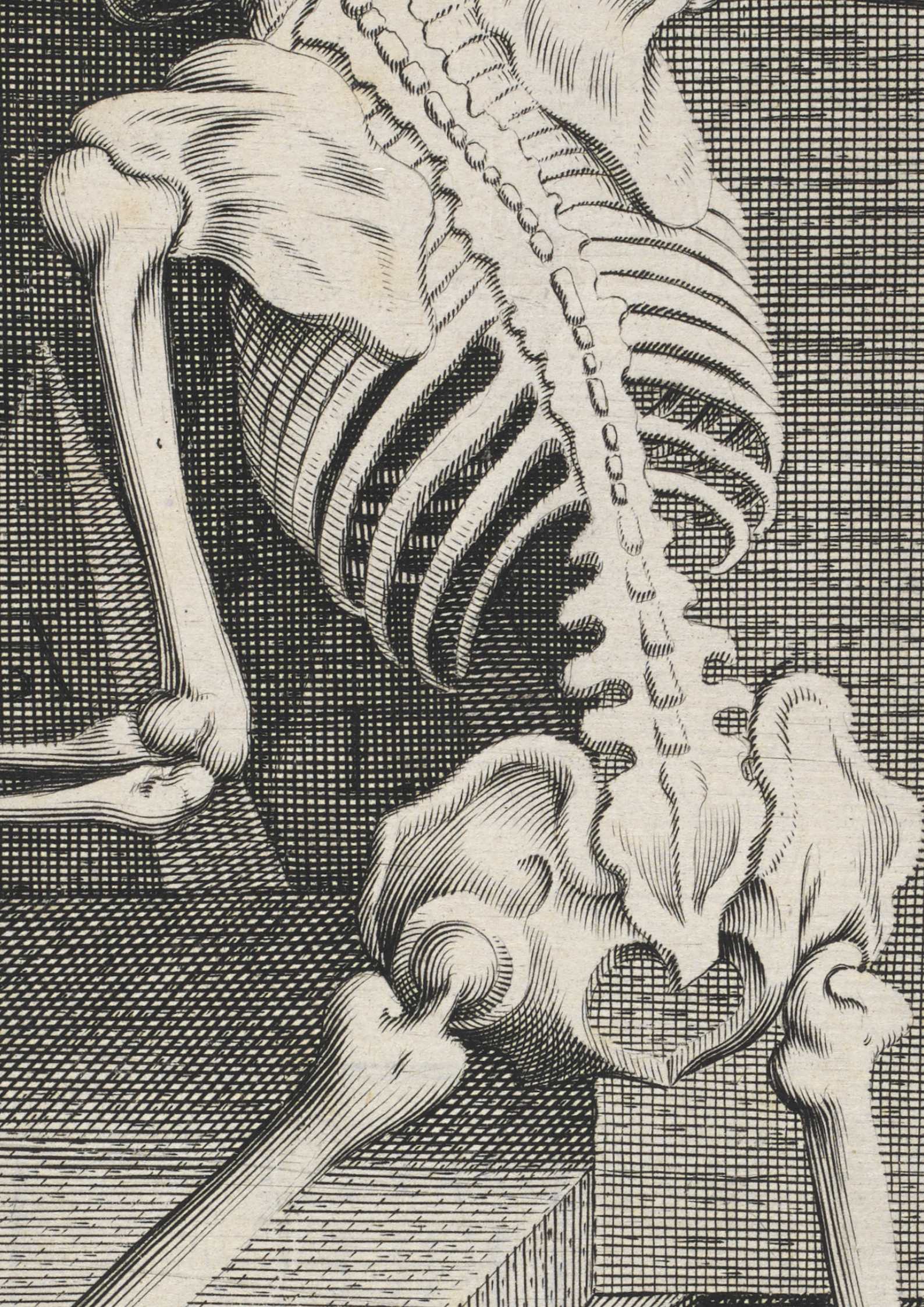
39. Nadine Orenstein, ‘Marketing Prints to the Dutch Republic: Novelty and the Print Publisher’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28:1 (Winter 1998): pp. 148–50.

40. In the 1572 *Effigies* many of the portrait prints bear the engraver’s marks, such as the IHW monogram of Johannes Wierix and the signature of Cornelis Cort. In Hondius’s *Effigies* there are no engravers signatures, either from the earlier series or in the newly executed portraits.

41. On the role of Lampsonius and Cock’s series as tool for the training of artists see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, p. 143.

42. On the history of Netherlandish history writing and the particular connection between antiquity (Batavians), the Dukes of Burgundy (historic civic priviledges) and the early history of the Dutch Revolt see Karin Tilmans, ‘Aeneas, Bato and Civilis, the Forefathers of the Dutch: the Origins of the Batavian Tradition in the Dutch Humanistic Historiography’, in *Renaissance Culture in Context: Theory and Practice*, Jean R. Brink and William F. Gentrup (eds.) (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1993), p. 131; see also two foundational studies of Dutch historiography, H. Kampinga, *De opvatting over onze oudere vaderlandsche gescheidenis bij de Hollandsche gescheidenis der XVIe en XVIIe eeuw* (the Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917) and H. van der Waal, *Drie eeuwen vaderslandsche geschied-uitbeelding 1500–1800*, 2 vols. (the Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952).

43. See John Evelyn’s famous 1641 statement about the common nature of picture-ownership in the Netherlands, where the “houses are full of [pictures] and they vend them at their faires to very greate gaines.” See *The Diary of John Evelyn from 1641 to 1705*, William Bray (eds.) (London: Gibbings and Co., 1895), p. 27. Already by 1624, Dirck Raphaelsz. Camphuysen complained that there was nowhere one could turn without seeing pictures and that ‘Van Graveren, trecken, malen hangt de heele Wer’lt aen een (the whole world depends on engraving, drawing, painting)’, see Dirck Raphaelsz. Camphuysen, *Stichtelycke rymen* (Amsterdam, 1642 [1624]), p. 212, as quoted in Sluijter, ‘On Brabant Rubbish’, note 6



DEM DRY BONES. PORTRAYAL IN PRINT AFTER THE DEATH OF THE ORIGINAL MODEL

JOANNA WOODALL

INTRODUCTION

An [animated skeleton](#) (fig. 1) thrusts the point of death across a metal shaft. Like an attenuated neck, the shaft links and separates the face of a small, winged clock from the oversized body of an hour-glass. The figure which is created incorporates two conceptions of time: the cyclical, unbroken flow of the innumerable particles of sand in the heavy body and the segmented, mechanical energetics of the two hands on the face. The title proclaims *POST FUNERA VITA*, and the inscription that:

Pale Death attacks all. We have to obey it. No colour or honour is of any help here. For those who have lived well, tre is *LIFE AFTER BURIAL*. [As for] those who have depicted well, consider that they live in Death. A new life is set out in lifelike pictures: let each set out to be able to live after death.

Post Funera Vita is the final image in [Pictorum aliquot celebrium, præcipué Germaniæ Inferioris, effigies](#), the large set of etched and engraved portraits of artists published in The Hague by Hendrik Hondius the Elder in 1610.¹ The title, literally translated, is *Effigies of some celebrated painters, chiefly of Lower Germany*. In up to sixty-eight sheets, unframed, waist- to hip-length figures surmount a title identifying the artist. Beneath each image there is a short Latin verse eulogy in italic script.

Hondius's publication greatly expanded, and incorporated in an altered form, another, better-known series of artist's portraits, published in Antwerp in 1572 and titled in an almost identical way: '[Effigies of some celebrated painters of Lower Germany](#)', rather than 'Effigies of some celebrated painters chiefly of lower Germany'.² This smaller, numbered sequence of twenty-three engravings was apparently conceived by the renowned publisher Hieronymus Cock (1510-1570), but put through the press posthumously by his widow, Volcxken Dierix. It established the basic formula of portraits of artists accompanied by texts



which was reiterated in Hondius's 1610 publication. However, in the 1572 series all the depicted artists were already dead, whereas in the later publication, these past masters typically constituted the first of the three parts of the series. The second and especially the third part included living artists in roughly chronological order, implicitly constituting a progress from the past to the present, and finally a future 'life after burial.'

This essay is concerned with the relationship between the 1572 and 1610 sets of prints, the first of which was, as it were, absorbed and transformed into the other. I am interested in how the two generations who bought and contemplated these prints invested the figures presented in them with life and significance. I argue that the 1572 publication celebrates artful simulation as a means of imbuing the printed portraits with value, whilst mourning the death of the original model. These earlier impressions turn from assumed ultimate contact with a living subject to engage an intimate group of knowledgeable and involved be-

holders in resisting the imposition of a firm boundary between life and death. At the same time, Cock's series began to imagine life and authority in the figure of the artist in print in different ways, which were taken up and expanded in the 1610 *Effigies*, and elsewhere. Epitomised by the lively skeleton in *Post Funera Vita*, the later series combined a recognition of the limits of visual mimesis in the print medium with a renewed 'life-likeness' produced by invoking various kinds of movement in response to a more generic, free-standing beholder or market. Stripped down to the bare bones, these various and incessant movements transmitted a sense of animation that was detachable from the individual body and personal, lived encounter, creating instead a process that could be shaped as a communal narrative, a recognisably modern society in which names were enlivened and made into agents by progress itself.

This argument can be related to radical changes in the historical circumstances in which the two series were produced. Cock's earlier *Effigies* were published in the wake of the Protestant iconoclasm that overwhelmed Antwerp in 1566, physically destroying devotional works in an attempt to break the 'idoltrous' identification between images and the divine presences that they were perceived to embody. The attack on images marked the beginning of a revolt and prolonged war in the Netherlands against the Catholic regime of the Habsburg king Philip II of Spain. Cock's prints were produced and published in Antwerp during the governorship of the Spanish Duke of Alva, who attempted, sometimes brutally, to impose Catholic orthodoxy and loyalty to an explicitly absolutist Habsburg regime. The traumatic decade following 1566 dramatically challenged belief in a universal community encompassing heaven and earth in which difference could be accommodated and ultimately resolved through the imitative practices of Christian love.³ A sympathetic God, the source and model for this belief, seemed to be in retreat from the human world.

Hondius' 1610 publication appeared in the northern Netherlands in the year following the declaration of the Twelve Years Truce, the ceasefire in the Eighty Years War between the Netherlands and the Habsburg Spain. The Truce marked the *de facto* political separation between the ten southern provinces and the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands, which were already reaping the economic and intellectual benefits of independence from the restrictions of a conservative, foreign regime. While the Southern Netherlands, including Antwerp, ultimately remained subject to the authority of the Habsburgs and the Catholic Church, the United Provinces emerged as a new political entity in which sovereignty was split between mercantile cities and the Orange court, and the relationship between the church and the state was actively contested. Although there was a Calvinist establishment, different factions, sects and even faiths were tolerated and the political role of the Reformed church was hotly disputed.⁴ A new reality was being built in which consumption, diversity and change were beginning to be acknowledged as productive and profitable, in tension with the need for an ultimate, stable authority to underpin law and knowledge. This dynamic and relatively liberal regime was the place in which René Descartes chose

to settle in 1628, to write, publish and debate the major works which set a mechanical conception of embodied nature into dialogue with an incorporeal, self-aware and thinking consciousness whereby humanity could still be linked with the divine.⁵

Cock's 1572 *Effigies* are now valued more highly than Hondius's larger series in which they were later subsumed, and they have been the subject of more scholarly attention.⁶ The quality of the twenty-three prints is consistently excellent. Details, textures, highlights and shadows of the depicted bodies are rendered with a metallic sharpness and brilliance that both acknowledges the metal plate cut with a burin and produces the rhetorical effect of *enargia*, the vivid description that produces a heightened appearance of 'before your very eyes'.⁷ Significantly, although the prints constitute a visually harmonious series, an engraver's mark or name is frequently included, so that an 'impression' of the renowned engravers—Jan Wierix, Adriaen Collaert and Cornelis Cort—emerges through the cohesive ranks of celebrated *pictores*.⁸ The signs, if not the portraits, of these living master-engravers thus enter the procession of exemplary Netherlandish artists. The texts too invoke authorship. The *dedicatory poem* that prefaces the series credits the late Hieronymus Cock with the design of the plates and this poem and the verses beneath the images were composed and sometimes signed by his friend Dominic Lampson (1532–1599), a trained painter, internationally respected humanist and highly skilled linguist. 'Lampsonius' was a correspondent of Vasari and the founder of a distinctively Netherlandish discourse on art.⁹

In Hondius's series, Cock's *Effigies* were re-engraved, *usually in reverse*.¹⁰ Unlike the 1572 portraits, in which the spaces surrounding the figures are generally left plain, the later recreations of the earlier images, and the new portrait prints added by Hondius, were often elaborated with settings or 'pictures within pictures' that variously depict a *characteristic work* of the depicted artist, establish a *studio setting* or refer to *an aspect of the artist's life*. The additional portrait prints could be described as a more motley collection, varying in quality, *scale*, *conception* and *style* within the broad constraints of the format. Although the differences and inconsistencies between these prints have led scholars to identify a number of different hands,¹¹ individual authorship was not explicitly signified; the prints rather bear Hondius's initials as the printer and publisher of the series as a whole.¹² Similar observations can be made about the texts. The prefatory poem in the expanded series is signed by Hondius and mentions Lampsonius, but the texts beneath the images themselves have become anonymous and the verses on the additional portraits are written in less elegant, less grammatical Latin than those of the 1572 *Effigies*.

Differences in rhetoric and style can also be discerned between Lampson's twenty-three poems and the additional verses in the Hondius series of 1610. Lampson's verses engage with most of the artists in varied, highly personal ways, and often in the vocative, as if they were actually being addressed. They are also often characterised in terms of imitation or emulation. The poem accompanying the portrait of Pieter Breugel, for example, reads in translation:

Who is this new Hieronymus Bosch for the world, versed in imitating the master's ingenious dreams with such great skill of paintbrush and pen – so that sometimes he surpasses even him. Pieter, [you are] blessed in your spirit, as you are blessed in your skill, for in your and your old master's comic type of painting, full of wit, you deserve glorious rewards of praise, everywhere and from everyone, no less than those of any artist.

Moreover, Lampson makes three artists, Jan van Eyck, Quentin Metsys and Jan van Scorel, directly address the reader, as if these powerful figures can rhetorically overcome the barrier of death and speak for themselves.¹³ By comparison, the anonymous poems on the additional portraits in Hondius's series, which were much more numerous, are more often written in the third person.¹⁴ Less diverse and personal than Lampson's verses, they frequently identify the artist by listing the subjects and motifs characteristic of his works, sometimes punning on the connection between the name and the character of the product in a way reminiscent of branding. The portrait of Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651) for example, bears the lines, 'He was a painter by nature: having hardly used a master, he was yet not inferior to those outstanding in skill. He painted birds, ships, men, and grass and wild beasts, and, being Florid, countless joyful flowers [bloemen]'.

THE FATE OF THE ORIGINAL MODEL

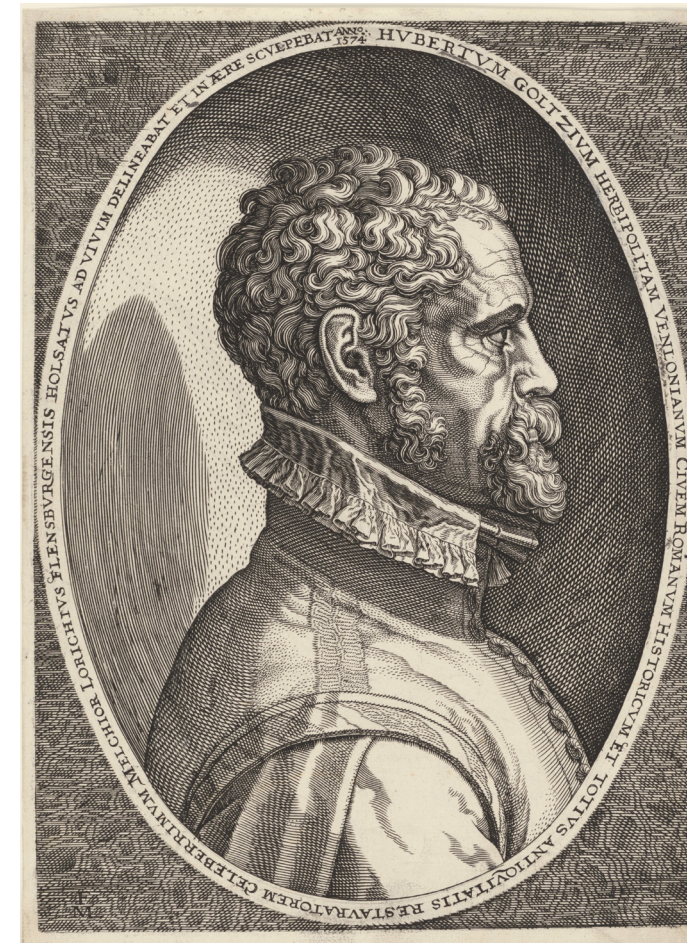
Both Hondius's 1610 publication and Cock's 1572 *Effigies* have previously been interpreted by art historians with reference to original models: authoritative 'realities' prior to the image. Jean Puraye, in his groundbreaking study of the 1572 series, pointed out the resemblances between some of the prints and painted and drawn portraits of the same artists and Ariane Mensger has recently attributed the rise of these 'copies' of images of artists to the increasing significance being attributed to authorship.¹⁵ In a different vein, Hondius's 1610 series, which re-used designs from Cock's earlier prints, has been largely written off as a repetition that adds in quantity to the 1572 *Effigies*, whilst diluting its quality.

The assumption that the two series are reproductive in character is compounded because they consist of portraits, and because the technology is print. In engaging with a successful portrait, our desire to make the absent or dead subject present overrides the theoretical separation between sign and referent familiar from the semiotic definition of representation. Representation in portraiture has traditionally involved resemblance and thus been elided with mimesis. Michael Taussig described the mimetic faculty as 'the nature that culture uses to create second nature, the faculty to copy, imitate, make models, explore difference, yield into and become Other. The wonder of mimesis lies in the copy drawing on the character and power of the original, to the point whereby the representa-

tion may even assume that character and that power.’¹⁶ In the discourse that validates portraiture, the copy’s capacity to draw on the character and power of the original is assumed to rely upon an originating encounter between a living artist and a living sitter. Founding myths of the importance of a lived encounter between the subject and his portraitist are the Emperor Alexander’s visit to the studio of his portraitist Apelles, recounted by Pliny, the Christian legend of St Luke painting the Virgin Mary and Giotto’s portrait of ‘his contemporary and intimate friend’ the poet Dante, as described by Vasari. *Da Tirar polo Natural*, a dialogue on portraiture completed in January 1549 by the Portuguese humanist and artist Francisco de Holanda, placed great emphasis on portrait sittings in which the two parties were alone with one another. Through this personal contact, a likeness could be taken in which ‘life’ is magically transferred from the model to the representation. Portraits ‘to the life’ are generated and legitimated by being taken ‘from life’.¹⁷

Reproduction of an original model also haunts discussion of early modern prints, particularly in relation to engraving, which became the preferred technique for the depiction of works of art and natural phenomena during the period in which Cock’s and Hondius’s series were created.¹⁸ In the discourse surrounding print, this ultimately came to be seen as an empty, mechanical process, a representation that broke the chain of substitution but still left the aura of authenticity attached to the unique, original model.¹⁹ Yet it is notable that none of the inscriptions or verses in either Cock’s or Hondius’s series acknowledge a prior model, whether in ‘life’ or in a previous portrait of the subject. This distinguishes them from many contemporary portrait prints, such as Melchior Lorck’s engraved portrait of the numismatist and artist Hubert Goltzius ca. 1574 (fig. 2), whose inscription claims that the subject was drawn *ad vivum*, although everything but the profile pose could have been derived from a contemporary painted portrait by Anthonis Mor.²⁰ The *Effigies* series also differ significantly from the slightly later, much better known ‘*Iconography*’, a series of etched and engraved portraits of artists produced in Antwerp in which the inscription ‘*Ant. van Dyck pinxit*’ on some of the images authorises them by explicit reference to original paintings by the renowned Flemish artist. Moreover, the title page on the 1645 edition of the *Iconography* states in Latin that Van Dyck ‘expressed’ the likenesses ‘from the life’ (fig. 3).²¹

Knowledgeable *liefhebbers* no doubt recognised painted, sketched or drawn models for some of the images of renowned masters in both Cock’s and Hondius’s series. In looking at Hondius’s prints of contemporary artists, it would also have been possible for some to compare the print’s resemblance to a living person. Yet there is no indication that the portraits in either series were presented *primarily* as reproductions whose value—or lack of value—lay in their likeness to previous portraits and their connection with a named artist’s authorising encounter with ‘life’.²² Indeed, I shall suggest that in the earlier series there was an explicit recognition, born out of the trauma of iconoclasm, that the depicted



artists were simulacra that produced the *impression* of a living individual, whilst simultaneously avoiding or disavowing the personal contact between artist and living model which had previously validated portrayal. At the same time, hints can be discerned within this 1572 series of the emergence of a new kind of subject, in a reconstructed figure of the artist, which was taken up and developed in Hondius’s later, enlarged and more commercial publication. Here, life-likeness was produced, not by means of mimesis, or even an artful rhetorical performance, but by enabling the user²³ of the prints to animate the names in a variety of novel and different ways. In defining the authority attributed to these new likenesses to life, I shall draw attention to the material origin of the image in the printing plate.²⁴ What was the significance of replacing the imagined transfer of life resulting from personal contact between the portraitist and his sitter with material knowledge of repeated contact between the inscribed and inked metal plate and sheets of paper?²⁵

TO THE SHADE OF HIERONYMUS COCK OF ANTWERP

In the 1572 *Effigies*, it was logically impossible to claim immediate encounters between the engravers and living models because the death of the subjects of the portraits was a criterion for their inclusion into the sequence. Indeed, in his dedicatory poem Lampson characterised the work as a whole as an act of mourning in which users of the book are asked to ‘be the companions’ of the late Hieronymus Cock and his predecessors in a funeral procession. Although it stretched back through time, this parade was not claimed to originate in contact with an original, living model. For instance, in [Lampson’s poem to Pieter Breugel, quoted above](#), the ‘predecessor’ that is the subject of praiseworthy imitation

2.2
Melchior Lorck, *Portrait of Hubert Goltzius*, c.1574, letterpress and engraving (undescribed state). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

2.3
Anthony van Dyck and Jacob Neefs, *Title page of the 'Icones Principum Virorum Doctorum, Pictorum, Chalcographorum, Statuorum nec non Amatorum Pictoriae Artis numero Centum, Antwerp, Gillis Hendricx, 1645, etching and engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*

is not the historical figure of Breugel but the dream-world of Hieronymous Bosch. Lampson's poem beneath the portrait of the landscapist [Joachim Patenir](#) (c.1480-1524), which says that the face is the liveliest of all in the series, highlights the absence or at least invisibility of an authorising encounter between artist and sitter, while at the same time making explicit reference to imitation and invoking the authoritative names of Albrecht Dürer and Cornelis Cort. The verse states:

That, amongst all of these, there is to be seen no image expressed with more liveliness than your face, Joachim, has happened not only because Cort's hand cut it into the bronze ([the hand] which does not now fear another rival), but [also] because Dürer, admiring your hand, when you painted fields and huts, once drew your face on a palimpsest with his bronze point. Imitating those lines, Cort surpassed himself, not to mention all the others.

Lampson's poem thus attributes the exceptional liveliness of this face not to depiction from the life but rather to the surpassing skill of the master engraver Cornelis Cort (1533-1578) in 'imitating those lines'. Dürer was in fact a contemporary and friend of Patenir and recorded in his journal having drawn his face in pencil,²⁶ but Lampson's verse makes no explicit mention of portrayal from the life as the source of the liveliness of the image. According to the poem, the model made by Dürer and followed by Cort was an engraving of Patenir's face that was *inspired by the latter's hand as revealed in his landscapes*, not by an encounter with Patenir himself. Moreover, Dürer's engraving was made on a palimpsest, a metal plate that had borne previous images, rubbed out and effaced in preparation for another one.²⁷ Thus the outstanding liveliness of Cort's posthumous portrait of Patenir is not attributed to a face to face meeting between artistic virtue and a living person. The emphasis is placed rather on consummate artists' imitations, instigated by the artful works of admired predecessors and a copper plate that bears traces of a genealogy of previous images.

What might be described as the artful *performance of likeness* 'to the life' can be extended to other prints in the 1572 series. The skill of master engravers, in conjunction with Lampson's poems, conjure *effects* of life for the mourning reader/holder, in spite of their knowledge of the physical death of the subjects of the portraits. *Effects* of likeness result from the sharp and subtle differentiation between the figures, which is produced by inventive compositions and poses and the individualisation of physiognomy and costume. Some of the figures are posed in *active gesture*, as if *talking* or wielding a *pencil* or *brush*, and some *meet the eye of their beholder*. It is this that constitutes the visual *enargia*, the

vivid description that creates an *impression* of life without necessarily reproducing a living entity. As we have heard, Lampson's vocative verses and 'speaking likenesses' posit a life-giving engagement not between the artist and a living model, but rather between the depicted figure and a knowledgeable and emotionally involved user, who contemplates the images of his 'companions' and gives voice to words produced by their 'very intimate friend and contemporary',²⁸ Dominic Lampson.

At the same time as emphasising the effects of an imitation grounded in naturalistic art, rather than nature itself, Lampson's poem to Joachim Patenir tells the reader that the material origin of these 'living' entities is not the physical presence of the sitter but a metal plate that bears the traces of previous artists' work. It is cut by a master engraver (Cort) who has himself been produced by imitation and admiration of the hands of his predecessors (Dürer and Patenir). The 'life' in these posthumous images is thus an effect of a combination of visual and verbal rhetoric in works that are, after all, literal instances of *ut pictura poesis*. However, this was not 'mere' rhetoric in the sense of a superficial manner of delivery. Lampson's understanding of the metal plate as a palimpsest incises the material ground of the image with lines that have formed previous impressions – potentially in words as well as images. The plate as the origin of the print is here not conceived as an empty, dead mechanism but as an entity or body already imbued with a meaning or value that, although humanly produced through art and admiration, stretches back like a series of mirrors into infinity. The ultimate origin of this regression might be maintained, theoretically, as a face to face meeting with the living reality of God²⁹ but, like the vanishing point of a perspective construction, this site was produced by the artist and not physically accessible to the beholder.

And there was a dark side to the 1572 *Effigies*. In the *poetic dedication* to the series, Lampson describes his eulogies on the portraits as the fulfilment of a promise to Hieronymus Cock, 'a funeral offering, a sad gift to your shade':

But, alas, all elegance [*lepos*] has died with your death. For who was more agreeable, [and] more festive than you alone, wittier, or at the same time more candid? Nor indeed was there a judge who could so well tell the value of statues or painted pictures.

In this dedication to a friend and fellow *liefhebber*, Lampson grieves together with Cock's widow, with those who had close commerce with Cock or to whom he was known for his famous name, and even with Pictura herself, who 'with loosened hair, mourns wretchedly that you, her glory, have been snatched from her.' And whereas Hondius's 1610 series of

prints ends with a page entitled ‘Life after the Funeral’, the final print in the 1572 sequence is a [portrait of Hieronymus](#) himself, to which Lampson’s poem responds:

Am I deceived? Or did the painter first take this image of your face after your death, Hieronymus? Certainly something torpid and languid in it indicates this to not entirely untutored eyes. But, alas, the skull, to which your left hand points with its index finger, speaks more clearly than anything [else]...

This is an unfamiliar account of portrayal in that there is an open-eyed recognition, accompanied by acute grief, of the limits of physical existence. The image is here construed not as somehow performing the miracle of life through surpassing skill in producing lifelike effects, but as resulting from a direct encounter with the body after death, underlined by the inclusion of a skull. Unless they are deceived, ‘not entirely untutored eyes’ perceive ‘something torpid and languid in it’. Looking back at the other portraits in the series with eyes finally educated by Lampson, no difference can be discerned between the way the image of Cock is rendered and the other portraits.³⁰ It thus becomes possible to see corpse-like qualities in the fixed gazes, meticulously rendered surfaces and arrested movements of the preceding figures. The life so carefully invested in these images becomes concurrent with and inseparable from the death of the original model. The only difference in Hieronymus Cock’s portrait is the skull which, according to Lampson, ‘speaks more clearly than anything else’ to the stricken mourner (even though it has no jaw).³¹ It fixes the beholder with a single eye and speaks inescapably of the abject; the material remains to which the face is reduced after death.³² This dead yet eloquent materiality is here characterized as the immediate origin of the speech that brings the figure to life, constituting an alternative understanding of the metal printing plate to the still vital palimpsest.

FUNERARY RITES

In thinking about the complex nature of the subjects produced by the 1572 *Effigies*—in which the impression of life is combined with an explicit acknowledgement of death—illuminating comparisons can be drawn with the description of Roman funerary rites in Book six of Polybius’s military histories. This was a fragmentary Greek text that had survived in manuscript and became more widely-known in the sixteenth century, when at least seven editions were published.³³ Lampson, an outstanding linguist with extensive contacts in Italy, could well have known one of these,³⁴ and Cock as an international publisher would have had access to such books too. However, my purpose is not to suggest that Polybius’s

text was the ‘original model’ for the 1572 series, but rather that it provided educated contemporaries with a rich account of how the presence of subjects could be maintained in the face of their physical death. Within a description of the institutions established by the Romans to foster military virtue in their young men, Polybius states that when a prominent Roman died his body was taken at his funeral to the Rostra in the Forum, where it was ‘sometimes conspicuous in an upright posture, and more rarely reclined.’³⁵ There a son or other male relative recounted his virtues and achievements to the multitude, so that, ‘when the facts are recalled to their minds and brought before their eyes, [they] are moved to such sympathy that the loss seems to be not confined to the mourners, but a public one affecting the whole people.’

Furthermore, wax masks were made, with the utmost attention being paid to preserving a likeness in both its shape and its colour.³⁶ These posthumous portraits were kept in a small shrine in a prominent part of the house. They were also displayed at public sacrifices and were actually worn as masks in funeral processions, ‘putting them on men who seem... to bear the closest resemblance to the original in stature and carriage.’³⁷ Those who impersonated their predecessors were also dressed in their garments and bore their insignia. Bringing the dead to life in this way was conceived as a portrait that functioned effectively within the social and psychological practices of emulation:

When they arrive at the rostra they all set themselves in a row on ivory chairs. There could not easily be a more ennobling spectacle for a young man who aspires to fame and virtue. For who would not be inspired by the sight of the images³⁸ of men renowned for their excellence, all together and as *if alive and breathing*? What spectacle could be more glorious than this?³⁹

Polybius’s account thus distinguishes between three different kinds of funerary ‘portrait’. Firstly there is the wax mask, the facial likeness that reproduced the features and colouring as closely as possible. Georges Didi-Huberman has claimed that this ‘extreme likeness... supposes a duplication by means of contact with the face, a process of imprinting (taking a plaster mould of the face itself) then physically expressing the shape obtained (realising a positive wax print by way of the mould).’⁴⁰ It is not clear that the Romans actually made their masks from dead bodies, although they were certainly concerned with physical likeness.⁴¹ We do know, however, that death masks were used to create the effigies used in elite and royal funerals in the early modern period.⁴² Didi-Huberman has explored the significance of such extreme likenesses in chapter thirty-five of Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History*, the one devoted to the origin and history of art. At the beginning of the chapter, before beginning his list of famous artists, Pliny laments that such masks are no longer set

out, each in their own niche, in family houses, or carried in procession in family funerals. Didi-Huberman shows that they functioned within the domain of law, justice and right, ‘to legitimize the position of the individual in the genealogical institution of the Roman *gens*.’ For Pliny, this imbued works of art with a dignity and truth opposed to the *luxuria* of artifice.⁴³

In Polybius’s description, another kind of portrait is created when descendants speak of the virtues and achievements of their ancestor in the presence of his dead body. These speeches are addressed to the multitude and by speaking on behalf of the deceased seem designed to enable the physical loss to be absorbed into the community and transformed into symbolic value. The dead body is insistently present while the subject identified with that body is accorded ongoing honour and fame through the rhetorical skill of his living successors. The third kind of Roman portrait, to which Polybius pays much more attention than Pliny—and hence Didi-Huberman—is the image created when those who most resemble their ancestors in size and build put on the wax masks, don their clothing, take up their insignia and participate in the procession to the rostra, where they line up on ivory chairs, ‘as if alive and breathing’. The subject, legitimated within the family genealogy by an extreme likeness, is here given life after death *performatively*, by having someone that resembles him *enact* him. By performative I mean both a physical performance and an ‘utterance’ that brings a state of affairs into being by the fact of its being uttered and is thus neither true nor false.⁴⁴

These three concepts of portrayal can produce readings in which the value of the 1572 series of engravings does not ultimately depend upon the transfer of ‘life’ resulting from face-to-face contact between a named artist and a living sitter. The Roman speeches are to some extent comparable with Lampson’s eloquent verses, which are also concerned with the virtues and achievements of the depicted subjects. This comparison constructs the knowledgeable art lover, through the name of Lampsonius, as the ‘close relative’ entitled to speak on behalf of the preceding artists to a broader community. We have seen that physical death was an explicit criterion of these artists’ inclusion in the 1572 series, and the dead body, propped upright, is acknowledged not only in the [abstracted gazes](#), [immobile poses](#) and burnished surfaces of the bust-length engraved portraits, but also in the [use of the past tense](#), despite the first person or vocative address of many verses.

Drawing a parallel between the Roman wax mask and the posthumous ‘effigy’ of Hieronymus Cock renders him not just the immediate subject of the funerary procession, but a master publisher legitimated by use of a ‘print’ of his face. And yet unlike Polybius’s or Pliny’s descriptions of the Roman wax mask, which stress its life-likeness, Lampson characterizes Cock’s effigy as having ‘something torpid and languid in it’ that indicates that the face from which it was drawn was dead. There is a new recognition here that the

material origin of the likeness is mere matter and that ‘extreme likeness’ on its own does not produce an image that is perceived as if it is alive and breathing. In fact, the appearance of the skull in Cock’s portrait constitutes the contoured face, the printing plate, as something standardized, empty and dead that nevertheless speaks more clearly than anything else, superseding any fleshed-out source of individual likeness in legitimizing the image. As a master printer, Cock points to the averted skull not only to symbolise the terrifying anonymity to which the individuality of both artist and sitter can ultimately be reduced by death, but also as a material origin or foundation whose very deadness, immutability and uniformity legitimizes the printed image, enabling it to speak with ‘objective’ authority of a particular subject.⁴⁵

The legitimacy, if not the life-likeness, of the portraits is thus guaranteed by print’s claim to be, in Peter Parshall’s words, ‘a true and reliable record’⁴⁶ of its subject. This claim was founded in the technology and medium of print *per se*, which constituted the depictions as information reliably *transmitted* or moved by repeated physical contacts or impressions from an immutable, material foundation, rather than by collapsing an image back across a putative empty space of representation to an individual, personal encounter with living, changeable nature.⁴⁷ As a medium, printing in black ink on white paper obviously enabled images to be perceived in relation to texts, and thereby to an authority not attributed to an embodied encounter at all, but rather to the Word as *Logos*, a pure abstraction not encumbered by unstable, mutable flesh. In both Cock’s and Hondius’s series, a connection between image and word is encouraged by the direct juxtaposition of the engraved portrait and the engraved script, without any intervening frame. This encourages a movement or exchange between the two that has drawn comparison between such portrait prints and emblems.⁴⁸

As it appears in the final print in the 1572 sequence, Cock’s eloquent skull is buried behind or beneath the other prints. Over and above this fact of death, the succession of lively gestures, distinctive physiognomies and dress, and the mirror-like visual effects produced by the engravers bear comparison with the third kind of Roman portrait: the performances of living actors, who assume the masks and habits originally belonging to their ancestors to make them present again, moving along in procession and [lining up on the rostra](#). As we have seen, in the 1572 *Effigies* this performance of living presence by the engravers even accords the most powerful of the ancestors the ultimate faculty of direct speech. Yet responsibility for bringing the sitters to life was also given to the user of the prints. Lampson’s vocative texts, responding to the images as if their sitters were actually present, bear comparison with the reaction of Polybius’s ‘young men aspiring to fame and virtue’, who were inspired by the spectacle of images of ‘men renowned for their excellence, all together and as if alive and breathing’. Here the skilled but touchy work of making an

accurate mould of a dead face (fig. 4) is suppressed and the death mask, like the palimpsest, becomes part of a mimetic performance in which master engraver and yearning beholder are complicit, a performance that perpetuates a predecessors' virtue as a valiant life-force that transcends their own body and hence their death.

If we view the images in the 1572 print series as performances designed to convince us of a living presence (even if it is founded on death), we might ask about the performers. Who are the living men who resemble their predecessors, those great departed artists of Lower Germany, bringing alive their faces, stirring their garments into movement and taking up their insignia? This is a sensitive question, because the explicit point of the 1572 *Effigies* was to honour the dead, rather than living men of similar stature and comportment. However, since life must go on and the stated purpose of the Roman funerary rite was to perpetuate the ancestors' virtue in the present generation of aspiring young men,⁴⁹ the identity of those who enacted the images is also pertinent.

In Cock's series, unlike that published by Hondius later, there is no indication that the parade of Netherlandish artists will be directly continued by living painters. The numbered sequence of prints is definitively closed by Cock's posthumous portrait. Perhaps, at this historical moment, when iconoclasm had attempted to sever the mimetic image from its original model and established authority was being challenged on multiple fronts, the independent future of Netherlandish painters seemed uncertain. Print provided an alternative and, while the 1572 series commemorates the great tradition of Netherlandish painters, it is engravers and writers who take up the challenge of creating life in and with the face of death. Lampson's dedication to Cock suggests that 'Pictura' owes more to the print publisher than anyone because his plates would present 'the new breed of artists in the whole faraway world'. The presence of engravers' names and marks on some of the sheets intimates that the convincing performance of living presence was beginning to be attributed not only to the effigies themselves, but to the masters who 'inhabited' them through their artful imitation in the medium of print.

We have seen that the bare bone of the skull lies at the centre of the final portrait of Cock,⁵⁰ and from here 'speaks more clearly than anything else'. However, Lampson's initial dedication 'To the shade of Hieronymus Cock of Antwerp, the most famous painter and engraver of illustrated plates', still addresses his friend directly, as if he is actually facing him:⁵¹ And the poet's voice engages not with the skull, or with a putative living person, but, as it reiterates, the shade of Hieronymus, the spectre resulting from death that is also an apt metaphor for the infinitely skilful and subtle evocation of light and shadow that can bring a print to life. According to Lampson in the dedication, this shade is the dimension of Cock that, while now divorced from his own living body, remains 'married' to his wife and posthumous publisher Volcxken.⁵² She dares to take on her husband's work and is accompanied by Pictura as well as the commercial goodwill and reputation accruing to Cock's famous publishing house. The reunion between Cock's shade and this embodied, material partner



produces a poetic image that subsumes and yet transcends death: 'Fame, that knows not how to die, will sing you [Volcxken] and Cock, joined in my poem.'

A SAD GIFT TO YOUR SHADE

Thus from the anguish of separation, of the painful recognition of death as constituting a condition of material existence and a boundary or gap between this existence and anything eternal, we see the beginning of the emergence of a new kind of subject. A disembodied, masculine 'shade' is radically differentiated from, but remains formally connected to a feminine materiality (in the person of Volcxken) that is associated with labour, with art and with money. This development is evident in the unusual print of *Rogier van der Weyden* in the 1572 *Effigies*, in which a shadow features prominently. It also contains a 'picture within the picture' that anticipates Hondius's later work. In the background, a framed *Pietà* pairs the dead body of Christ with the living, mourning figure of the Virgin Mary (Christian Pictura), invoking the loving connection and agonising separation necessary to engender redemption.⁵³ In the foreground, the embodied, individualised figure of Van der Weyden is paired with a dark shadow on a white wall. The representation of the play of light through the penumbra, and subtle variations in tonality in the shadow-head, produce an alter-image that, whilst connotative of death, looks alive and capable of movement.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, the 'actual' face of Van der Weyden is seemingly dead to the world, apparently lost in prayer,

2.4
Two men making a death mask, New York, c.1908, photograph. Washington D.C., Library of Congress, George Bantam Bain Collection, LC-B22- 305-1.



thought, memory or imagination. Life in the embodied figure of the artist is concentrated in the gesturing hand.

Perhaps understandably at this moment of death and regeneration, Lampson's poem beneath this portrait is complex, even convoluted. The subject shifts between the depicted artist, his will and his works:

May your praise not be that you painted many beautiful things, as your age could sustain them (although they are worthy [enough] that any contemporary painter [would] wish greatly to look at them, if he be wise — the paintings which forbid the tribunal of Brussels to leave the straight path of Justice are witness [to this]); but rather that your last will is a perpetual remedy for the hunger of the poor from the proceeds of your painting. The former, [itself] already near to death, you left on earth; the latter shines in the sky, as a monument that will not die.

The verse begins by relating the beauty of Van der Weyden's paintings to the values of a different, past time, but then immediately characterises his works as powerful exemplars for the present, referring especially to his famous, lost works depicting scenes of Justice for the Golden Chamber of Brussels Town Hall. These keep both artists and judges to the 'straight path of Justice' in a way that recalls Didi-Huberman's characterisation of Roman masks as legitimating the Roman *gens* or clan. However, Van der Weyden seems to be ultimately offered praise because, while he leaves a body of material works to 'provide a perpetual remedy for the hunger of the poor', the 'proceeds of these paintings' have become an effect that 'shines in the sky, as a monument that will not die.'

The poem's two interrelated figures of painting, as a material entity and as an eternal effect, ground and illuminate the depicted figures of the painter and his shadow immediately above the text. In this embodied light, the face of Van der Weyden seems to be quite literally close to death. In addition to the abstracted gaze, aging is indicated by the scraggy neck, hollow cheeks, extended ear-lobe and lined forehead and skin around the eyes: features which are all modified in [Hondius's reprint](#). The shadow which 'proceeds' from Van der Weyden cannot, of course, actually survive the death or absence of its physical origin. However, as a poetic or pictorial image that is itself materially articulated and is considered to be an effect of a creator or maker, rather than to be transparent to a natural model, the 'shadow' can become a 'monument that will not die' as well as a source of symbolic and material sustenance for those in need.

In the 1572 print, the relationship between the embodied painter and the shadow on the angled wall brings to mind the compositional tropes of self-portraiture. Van der Weyden's shadow seems to turn to look over its shoulder, evoking the iconography of the artist first analysed by Hans Joachim Raupp.⁵⁵ The way in which the portrayed figure is juxtaposed to an angled plane is comparable to self-portraits at an easel, such as the one by Anthonis Mor of 1559 (fig. 5), a painting that makes a particularly interesting comparison with the print

Opposite:

2.5
Anthonis Mor, *Self-portrait*, 1558, oil on panel. Florence, Uffizi.

because the figure's shadow seems to creep up over the pictorial space between the painter's hand and the verse by Dominic Lampson that has been traced in black on a sheet of white paper pinned to the panel, occupying the place of the head.⁵⁶ In the Van der Weyden print the arm that is directly juxtaposed to the shadow-image is truncated by the corner of the frame that circumscribes the wall on which the shadow is projected. It is implied that the artist's unseen hand is connected with the shadow in a way reminiscent of the relationship between the concealed hand and the painting of Dürer's self-portrait of 1500, as elucidated by Joseph Koerner.⁵⁷ In the print, however, this connection takes place beyond the frame, in a 'future' space, and the image that is produced is not a likeness to the life as in Dürer's painting. It is a materialised abstraction that *emanates* from the artist and is not dependent upon his encounter with an externalised 'original model' (even one seen in an infinitely reflecting mirror). It is also not a painting but a graphic work, text and image produced entirely in ink line. The concept of the image as the shade of the artist, separated from and connected to him by his drafting hand, provides an alternative to both the palimpsest, imbued with mimetic value that could ultimately be identified as divine, and the skull that miraculously speaks, but only as dead matter.

HONDIUS'S 1610 *EFFIGIES*: 'WHAT IS NEW AND VARIED PLEASES'

In the [introductory poem](#) to the new and expanded series of *Effigies* that appeared in 1610, Hendrick Hondius declared 'to lovers and admirers of pictures' that:

Since we greatly admire pictures painted with varied images, which [pictures] the well-taught hand presents, and which, wonderfully drawn with every sort of joyful colour, greatly nourish the mind, the spirit and the eyes, it is also a pleasure to look at the PAINTERS themselves, who make and paint, not without discernment. Here are various painters [pictores]: not all have the same task, because what is new and varied pleases. All do not have the same genius. One gives pleasure with colour [and] shades; another with pleasant flowers [and] trees. [Yet] another skilfully paints fields, the swelling sea [and] rocks, [while] another is famous for cities [and] images. Almost all these are those³ that Belgium, mother of artists, brought forth: she thought it disgraceful to yield [to other na-

tions] in genius. Among these, Lampsonius, the greatest censor of painters, once celebrated some in verse... Perhaps our hand will produce some more.

In contrast to Lampson's melancholy dedication to the 1572 *Effigies*, the tone here is upbeat and forward-looking. The passage ends: 'O happy age, in which Apelles lives again, in which Zeuxis, Phidias and Myron himself live.' Novelty and variety are allied to progress and the diverse pleasures of an expanding market. Pictures [*tabulae*] are explicitly identified with the artists who make and paint them, rather than with contact with an original model, whether material or divine. These new artists are characterised in terms of 'the well-taught hand' that presents the work, and the individual 'genius' that is invested or apparent in their particular brand of picture. In this advertisement for a blissful new age, not just the Netherlandish predecessors commemorated by Lampson, but the greatest artists of antiquity can live again, resurrected alongside contemporary artists.

Post Funera Vita, the final plate of the Hondius series, reveals an explicit awareness of Lampson's sorrowful 'funeral offering' of 1572 but asserts that there is life beyond its expression of mourning. At a material level, *Post Funera Vita* simply acknowledges the physical resuscitation of Cock's *Effigies* in a new publication — as we have seen, the earlier images were re-engraved, augmented and incorporated into the new series. Yet the posthumous life defined by *Post Funera Vita* is more far-reaching than this. The inscription beneath its striking image is worth quoting again in the light of what has been said about the 1572 series:

Pale Death attacks all. We have to obey it. No colour or honour is of any help here. For those who have lived well, there is LIFE AFTER BURIAL. [As for] those who have depicted well, consider that they live in Death. A new life is set out in lifelike pictures: let each set out to be able to live after death.

In the penultimate line of the text, lifelike pictures are recognized as a place in which 'a new life is set out', rather than resulting from an encounter with a living model. In Cock's 1572 print of Rogier van der Weyden, we have seen how new life was invested in the 'shade': the personal spirit of a renowned, named artist that is realized in graphic terms and is connected to, and separated from, his living body by his own hand. This concept of the 'living shade' of an author is applicable to virtuoso etchings by *peintres-graveurs* such as



2.6
Rembrandt van Rijn,
*Self-portrait leaning on a
stone sill*, 1639, etching
(second state). New York,
Metropolitan Museum,
Bequest of Mrs. H.O.
Havemeyer, 1929. 29.107.25.

Rembrandt's self-portrait of 1639 (fig. 6) and Van Dyck's contributions to the *Iconography* (fig. 7). However, it does not illuminate Hondius's prints, whose variable artistic quality and lack of a named print-maker or poet, render them 'dead'. They do not consistently rely upon either the fleshed-out naturalism of Cock's series but neither do they invoke the vital presence of an author, whether inhabiting the garments of naturalistic likeness or showing his own hand and spirit in the production and projection of a personal 'shade'. The incorporation of the 1572 'funeral' into Hondius's 1610 series entailed continued visual allegiance to the established discipline of engraving, which reached a summit of prestige around 1600 in the work of Hendrick Goltzius.⁵⁸ Thus, despite the presence of some etching in Hondius's prints, they do not exploit the potential of the technique to produce sketch-like marks identifiable with the creative process of an 'autograph' hand. There is no absence of *skill* and *fluency* in some of the scenes, but unlike Van Dyck's or Rembrandt's subsequent work, the 'art' in Hondius's *Effigies* enlivens the portrayed subject without reference to the 'free hand' of an individual artist. Instead, as Stephanie Porras discusses, almost every sheet bears the legitimating stamp of the publisher.

In Hondius's changed and changing world, the 'new life' in painting is explicitly linked with Death: living in Death and setting out to live after death through lifelike pictures.



2.7
Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait
of Lucas Vorsterman I*, from
*Icones Principium
Virorum*, 1630-41, etching
(first state). Amsterdam,
Rijksprentenkabinet.

Death is recognised as the leveler to which everybody is subject, high and low. In the end, the honours and coats of arms (colours)⁵⁹ that distinguished the old orders as more worthy no longer hold sway. Yet the text still asserts that, for those who have 'lived well', there is life after mourning the dead body. In Christian and aristocratic terms, living well meant living virtuously, but the explicit juxtaposition of 'those who have lived well' [*bene vixerunt*] to 'those who have depicted well' [*bene pinxerunt*] subtly shifts the emphasis. Material well-being and profitable activities, perhaps especially of the patrons, employers and clients of 'those who have depicted well', are incorporated alongside the claims to fame and immortality of the traditional elites.

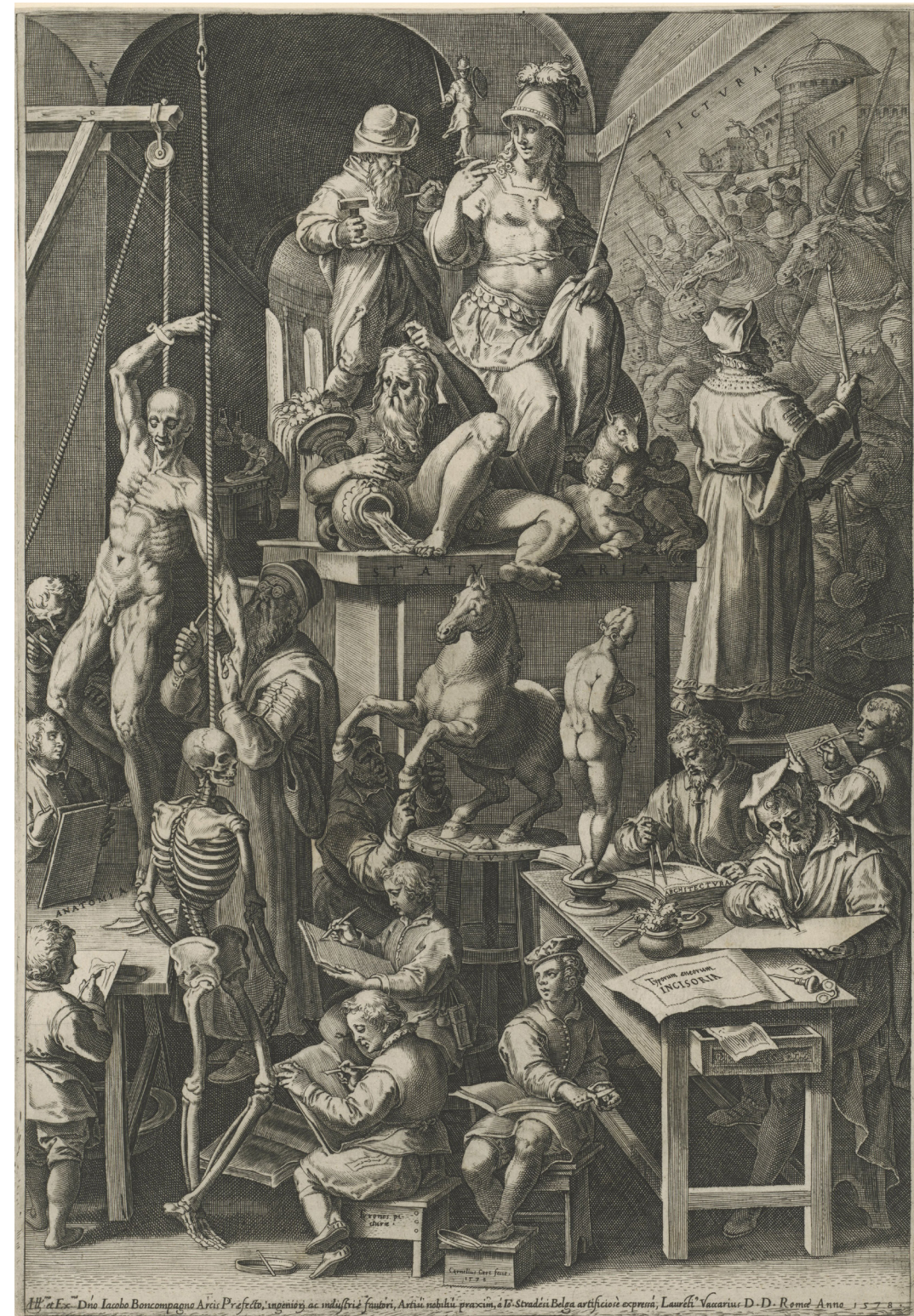
Why and how do artists (those who have depicted well) live 'in Death' in Hondius's series? Most obviously, dead artists live on in the memory through the recreation of Cock's *Effigies* with additional images of artists whose death occurred between 1572 and 1610. Hondius's inclusion of contemporary artists in his series also assimilates present life into an eventual death and incorporation into the ranks of those who survive in representation. Pressing further into the images themselves, the sacrifice of the subject-in-process involved in capturing a portrait likeness is understandable as a kind of life in death.⁶⁰ In Cock's series we have seen how the lifelike depiction of the subjects simultaneously stills



2.8
Hans Holbein the younger,
cut by Hans Lützelburger,
Death and the Abbess,
c.1526, woodcut (proof
without text). Amsterdam,
Rijksprentenkabinet.

and petrifies them despite many lively gestures, how they resemble both living and breathing figures and a row of sculpted monuments. *Hondius's series*, however, increasingly emphasizes movement in time and space over this monumentality. Picking up on the depiction of the artist at work in a few of Cock's prints (see *Pieter Coecke van Aelst* or *Frans Floris*), many of Hondius's images imply action: artists presenting their work, with palette and brush in hand, or painting at an easel. Taking their cue from Cock's images of *Van der Weyden*, *Met de Bles* and *Vermeyen*, Hondius's prints also place the figures in diverse settings, with depicted light and shadow of varied intensity and seemingly from different directions. The prints that come later in the Hondius series show more and more of the body, so that the figures seem capable of moving increasingly freely. They begin to approach the energetic, full-length skeleton in *Post Funera Vita*, where life is equated not with the fleshed-out imitation of appearance but with the capacity of bare bones to move and act.

Within the series itself, a similarly lively skeleton appears in the background of the portrait of *Hans Holbein*. It evokes the artist's immensely popular series of wood engravings *Images of Death*, specifically the print of *Death and the Abbess* in which a figure of the old religion is dragged towards her end (fig. 8).⁶¹ Set against Holbein's monumental



2.9
Jan van der Straet and
Cornelis Cort, *The Practice
of the Visual Arts*, published
1578, engraving (first state).
Amsterdam,
Rijksprentenkabinet.

head, the pair in the background of the Hondius portrait seems to offer the options of flesh's petrification by death, in the Abbess's face (juxtaposed to Holbein's), or the grotesque distortion of the skull, which at least figures movement and communicates with the beholder.

The skeleton that personifies 'life in Death' in Hondius's series can be associated with printmaking. The absence of flesh links it to drawing, both visually and because reassembled skeletons were being used to teach young artists to understand, through drawing, the structure and movement of the human body. For example, in *The Practice of the Visual Arts* of 1578 (fig. 9), an engraving by Cornelis Cort using a design by Jan van der Straet, the youths shown drawing an upright, posed skeleton are identified as learning the art of

depicting [*Tyrones picturae*].⁶² In *Post Funera Vita*, the ‘colour’ that is no help in evading death can thus refer not only to traditional concepts of noble status but also to colouring (which was associated with flesh), as distinct from drawing and the graphic arts.⁶³

Printmaking is included within this concept of drawing. One of the youths in *The Practice of the Visual Arts* has his feet on a block inscribed with the name of the virtuoso printmaker Cornelis Cort, who was responsible for this image (and who was named as a contributor to the 1572 *Effigies*). Whilst looking towards the skeleton marionette, the young figure named ‘Cort’ turns and points with a knife-like implement towards the prominent sheet inscribed ‘*Typorum aeneorum INCISORIA*’ [copperplate engraving] and beyond this to the master who is working with a burin on a large plate.⁶⁴ In Hondius’s *Post Funera Vita*, the lively skeleton is surrounded by pyramids bearing the monograms of famous printmakers. It seems to have risen from an open crypt in which other printmakers are interred. In this context, the arrow, as a sharp hand-held implement, is liable to bring to mind an engraver’s burin. It simultaneously pushes to the fore and threatens the slender, linear shaft that links the mechanically generated, segmented and visibly progressive time of the modern clock face to the material weight, incremental flow and repeated inversion of the huge hourglass suspended beneath.⁶⁵ The hand of Death has already grasped hold of this embodied form of time.

In the 1572 series, the image of the publisher Hieronymus Cock was distinguished by an eloquent skull that legitimated the series because, like the printing plate, it was both standardized and individually communicative, dead and alive. Although Hondius omits this final, posthumous print of Hieronymus Cock, it is striking that skulls appear in the midst of the later series, in three of the portraits. The first of these is the image of [Lucas van Leyden](#) (c.1494–1533) pointing to a skull, which, uniquely, replaces a different portrait of this artist in the 1572 *Effigies*.⁶⁶ In the Hondius print a skull is seen just emerging from the depicted artist’s coat, a garment that was in Cock’s series both enlivened and monumentalized by the consummate performance of the engraver. A second skull appears in a similar position in the print of the German artist [Jacob Binck](#) (c.1500–c.1569).⁶⁷ It seems to grow out of the torso, in the place of the heart, and is positioned immediately beneath the head, encouraging the beholder to instigate a connection that turns the dead-and-alive face of the skull in the opposite direction to the fleshed out, alive-yet-dead countenance above. In this ‘proper’ face, the expression, averted eyes and juxtaposition to the grand architecture pictured in the inset scene can be related to the claim, in the verse, that Binck painted and engraved what he imagined in his mind. At the same time, the skull, suspended from the neck by a chain of court office and framed by the fur collar of Binck’s expensive cloak, brings social honour and material profit into the complete picture of the artist.⁶⁸

Thus in [Jacob Binck](#), the figure is animated or activated not only by invoking an actual encounter and by representing the figure in movement through space (for example in the hands and fingers), but also by the ways in which users of the print can recognize or es-

tablish communication: connection across difference. Besides the repeated contact between the materiality of the plate and the words and images of the print, the user can make links between the textual and visual content, and between distinct motifs within the picture. Hondius’s images, elaborated with skulls and other attributes, with inset pictures and views, encourage this latter activity much more strongly than Cock’s simpler compositions. In the later series it becomes a powerful way of animating and characterising the named subjects without calling upon a mysterious transfer of presence resulting from the encounter between a living model and a consummate master of imitation.

For example, in the image of the Antwerp painter [Joachim Beuckelaer](#) (c.1534–c.1574), a skull is interposed between the artist’s hand and a palette shown bearing colours in the form of paint. According to the accompanying verse, Beuckelaer painted for meagre reward during his lifetime, but his ‘low’ paintings of kitchens were honoured after his death.⁶⁹ In the background on the left, there is a market scene noticeably *unlike* Beuckelaer’s own work in that the groups of figures are scattered across a wide open space, the beholder is not identified with the consumer, and root vegetables for sale are scattered directly on the ground like bones. The woman skewering fowl in the kitchen on the right is comparable to a striking and unusual late work by Beuckelaer, now in Vienna.⁷⁰ By initiating movement between this composite image and the text, the user of the print can again link the skull with issues of money and status, but in a different way from the portrait of the court artist Jacob Binck. In [Beuckelaer](#) the skull can be associated with both a difficulty in sustaining the artist’s physical well-being (keeping flesh on the bones) whilst he was alive, and the transformation of this negative ‘life in death’ into a new, ironic configuration in the honour accorded to the artist’s low subjects when he himself was in his grave. Moving between the prone skull and the strange market scene above it, in which a figure leans on a staff like a gravedigger on his spade, produces a secularized and desecrated version of a graveyard such as the Groenkerkhof in Antwerp, in which poor citizens such as Beuckelaer were buried.⁷¹

The movements or transmissions initiated by the user between text and image, and between different motifs within a particular print, do not produce the kinds of ‘self-awareness’ that Victor Stoichita discerns in ‘split paintings’ and follows through into ‘the author’s image’.⁷² Rather than reflecting upon their own artifice and thus producing a ‘modern’ work of art, the prints animate the named *subjects* of the portraits without recourse to mimesis or to the hand and spirit of an individual author. Beyond this, Hondius’s series as a whole stimulates perceptions of movement that bind the distinctive but ‘mechanical’ subjects of the portraits into a new community, linked together by their common identification with progress. Unlike Cock’s single numbered sequence of 1572, the Hondius series is divided into three parts, within which the particular position of each named figure is not absolutely fixed. Users of the prints selected and ordered them in slightly different ways, shifting the emphasis from Cock’s named genealogy of exemplary and legitimating models towards more replaceable agents in somewhat variable narratives of change.

The tripartite structure of the Hondius series generates movement across both time and space. As has been mentioned, in his poem ‘To the Lovers and Admirers of Pictures’, Hondius states that almost all the ‘pictores’ depicted are those that:

Belgium, mother of artists, brought forth: she thought it disgraceful to yield [to other nations] in genius. Among these, Lampsonius, the greatest censor of painters, once celebrated some in verse. You will also be able to see certain men mixed in with the Belgians. Perhaps our hand will produce some more. O happy age, in which Apelles lives again, in which Zeuxis, Phidias and Myron himself live.

In the three volumes which have been examined in researching this essay, the first section consists principally of the elaborated prints from the 1572 series of *Effigies*, depicting artists who lived in the Netherlands between the beginning of the fifteenth century and the late 1560s. Part two is prefaced by a print honouring Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), ‘the greatest glory of his Teutonic people’. It expands the field from which ‘celebrated artists’ are drawn into Germany proper, and extends the limit of their death until around the end of the sixteenth century. The preface to part three depicts Jan van der Straet, (1523–1605), the colleague of Vasari and author of the *The Practice of the Visual Arts* (fig. 9) in whom ‘Flowering Tuscany rejoices’. This section, which encompasses still-living figures, includes portraits of a number of artists who travelled to Italy or other foreign parts. The implicit premise of a number of the poems in this section is the artist’s choice whether to travel abroad or stay in his ‘sweet fatherland’.

In some of the verses in this third section, the pictorial conquest of nature is associated with what might provocatively be described as a proto-imperialism [see De Gheyn, Bloemaert, De Momper]. As Gerrit Pietersz of Amsterdam was accustomed to say, ‘he did not value the Hesperian sceptre [i.e. rule over the Western world] as much as the paintbrush’. Adriaen de Vries, whose ‘statues of Parian marble you would believe to be the work of Myron’,⁷³ implicitly incorporates Greek antiquity into the expanding empire of Netherlandish art. In the title page to the entire book, which also acts as the frontispiece to part one, the flayed hide of a cow or bull frames the expanded community of Netherlandish artists. The coat of arms of the artists’ guild links this creature with the ox of the artists’ patron Saint Luke, but it is also connotative of the Netherlands as a whole.⁷⁴ Above, as if carried on the animal’s back, there is a globe upon which can be discerned a land mass inscribed ‘Europa’,⁷⁵ a witty reference to the Ovidian myth of divine abduction. Beyond all this there is the whole world, borne aloft by an abject ‘Atlas’ in which embodiment and presence have been transformed into a compendium of texts and visual motifs, linked together by ligatures and intersecting frames.⁷⁶ Yet the immediate frontier remains quite close to home, since the last print in all the series that I have studied is ‘Isaac Oliver, the Englishman’, ‘you who paint images of joyful faces to the life.’

A tripartite division is familiar from Vasari’s *Vite*, in which the metaphor for history is the natural process of birth, growth and mature perfection. Besides generating historical and geographical progress, Hondius’s series draws a parallel between such movement and the passage of a human life. After the title page and Hondius’s poem the series of portraits is introduced by the babyish forms of airborne putti and concluded by the disinterred skeleton of *Post Funera Vita*. While death in Vasari’s schema threatens the decline and disintegration of a circumscribed entity, Hondius’s series acknowledges death as a limit that must be recognised and absorbed as necessary for new beginnings: agency and progress in the ever larger and more anonymous scheme of things. This kind of movement or animation arises in part from the sheer number of portraits. The repetition and gradual transformation of the basic format, combined with similarities and differences in the physiognomies and poses in individual prints, means that turning the pages produces something of the effect of a ‘flip book’ in which riffling through the sheets animates the figures into a virtual, cinematic experience. Although the flipbook effect was probably not contrived in the 1610 *Effigies*, a German illustrated book of the heroic epic *Sigenot*, dated about 1470, indicates that this technology of ‘moving pictures’ was known long before it was patented in 1868.⁷⁷ More fundamentally, we might think of the skeleton’s manic insistence on movement in terms of a recognition that the model in nature for the portraits in the series is not a living entity whose presence can magically be conveyed across physical boundaries, even the limit of death, through faithful imitation, but a dead body that must be repeatedly buried, resurrected and re-animated to enable value to be produced and life to go on.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, the 1610 *Effigies* does not simply refer back to its predecessor of 1572, or leave it behind, forgotten. In *Post Funera Vita*, the winged clock-face is linked with the body of the hour glass by a slender shaft that is pointed up by the threatening arrow. The two timepieces share a circular temporality, even though the clock now registers the mechanical forward movement of segmented time. The new publication reincorporates and transforms the previous body of work, developing potentials of its monumental, melancholic presence into something that is animated—even given wings—by connection and movement. Physical death remains fundamental to Hondius’s series, now generating a grinning liveliness and communicativeness that is visibly distinct from the ‘genius’ of the named artist’s hand in the work. Dem dry bones, brought together and released into action, constitute the mechanical, worldly counterpart of Descartes’ thinking subject, the shade that remains connected to God.

The image in Hondius’s series dedicated ‘to the lover and against the hater of something written or drawn’ depicts a muscular, assertively masculine putto in a winged ascent, whilst his two smaller, less virile siblings have been knocked sideways and begin their

tumbling decline. All of them grasp ribands that decoratively articulate the airy space and swell out into text-bearing banners, only to spiral away and unravel into nothing. The text displayed by the rising putto solicits the *philozographum*:

If you own no paintings [*Tabulae*], nor illustrated poems [*picta Poësis*], let these learned painters [*Pictores*] be enough for you. For painted pictures [*pictae Tabulae*] yield to painters. They are the ones who form and paint whatever they please with their genius [*ingenio*].

This request largely reiterates the statement made in Hondius's poem to the Lovers and Admirers of Pictures that, 'since we greatly admire pictures painted with varied images which [pictures] the well-taught hand presents, ... it is also a pleasure to look at the PAINTERS themselves.' Rather than equating the image with its model in divinely produced nature, the lover is satisfied by identifying pictures with their human makers. However, in the poem to the *philozographum*, pictures *actually* yield to painters. Images become a pretext for engaging with a creative being whose inventiveness and freedom bear comparison with [a] God. This elevating route is familiar to art historians. Amongst other things, it privileges the 'well-taught hands' that point to *peintres-graveurs* such as Rembrandt and Van Dyck.

A different trajectory is indicated by the text displayed by the falling putti. This does not voice a conventional iconophobic view; it is rather directed *against* the *misographum*, who:

attacks without reason the art of painters [*artem pictorum*], babbling that they paint nothing lifelike [*ad vivum*]. But the little crow [*Corniculum*] proves [*the opposite*] by a living example: when it tried to get the painted grapes, it was deceived by the artist [*Artifice*].⁷⁸

The unreasonable attack on the art of painters is not directed against idolatry but against a failure to produce anything '*ad vivum*'. Voiced in the opening image of a publication that goes on to claim life after burial, this accusation invites consideration in relation to the subsequent portrait prints. The refutation of the charge invokes Pliny's familiar account of Zeuxis's supreme artistry, which was capable of producing images that could deceive consumers into thinking (or at least behaving as if) they were the real thing, the original model.⁷⁹ In Hondius's 'living example', however, responsibility for showing that there could still be lifelike images rests primarily with a beholder who is not just a hungry bird, but a crow. The connotations of this creature were complex and ambivalent.⁸⁰ In educated circles, the crow was associated with ignorance and garrulousness, even within their own ranks. In 1561 Julius Caesar Scaliger described Erasmus himself as an 'ignorant crow' and ac-

cording to Van Mander, 'the crow is the enemy of Minerva, because wise people, who are concerned with their spirit, hate the prattle'.⁸¹ As a carrion bird the crow was also widely recognised as a harbinger of death. A chattering black bird that feasts on the flesh of corpses is an appropriate figure for a 'negative' approach to Hondius's book of prints, which ended up with a skeleton. Such a crow could lay claim to the (depicted) subject, reducing it to dry bones, but it too is ultimately duped by the artist. In this essay, I have argued that in Hondius's *Effigies*, the artifice that deceived the crow into imbuing the portrait images with life was not virtuoso illusionism, nor the artist's personal hand in the work, which appealed to the dove-like side of the *liefhebber*. It was the invocation of movement itself. In 'To the lover and against the hater of something written or drawn', this form of beholding is falling out of the picture, whilst the so-called art lover ascends towards heaven.

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I would like to thank Nadine Orenstein for her generous support of this project and her helpful comments on the completed texts. An earlier version of this article was presented at the colloquium *Imaging Identity and Social Change: The Seventeenth-Century Dutch Portrait*, which took place on June 27–30 2010 at Château de la Bretesche, France. The colloquium was organised by Ann Jensen Adams and generously funded by the Borchard Foundation.

1. This important category of portrait has been located in the tradition of ‘illustrious men’ and one of the three sets of the Hondius *Effigies* in the British Library (C.74.d.6.2) is bound together with a series entitled *Icones ad vivum delineatae et expressae, virorum clariorum qui praecipue scriptis Academiam Lugduno-Batavam illustrarunt*, Leiden, 1609. On the ancestry of Lampsonius’s *Effigies*, see further Jochen Becker, ‘Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Domenicus Lampsonius’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973): pp. 45–61, 50 n. 50; Gianni Carlo Sciolla and Caterina Volpi, introduction and notes to *Da van Eyck a Brueghel: scritti sulle arti di Domenico Lampsonio* (Turin: UTET, 2001), pp. 14–15. Paolo Giovio is considered the founding father of this genre of printed literature. He wrote eulogies for a selection from the collection of portraits that he established from 1536 in his *Museo* at Como, and reputedly initiated the project of artists’ lives eventually realized by Vasari. However, these eulogies were in prose and not accompanied by an image. See, for example, *Elogia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita. Quae in Musaeo Ioviano comi spectantur*, Venice, 1546. The distinctive combination of portrait and poetic text on the same page in Lampsonius’s *Effigies* seems to have anticipated similar publications relating to Paolo Giovio’s collection, such as *Musei Ioviani imagines artifices manu ad vivum expressae. Nec minore industria Theoaldi Mulleri Marpugensis Musis Illustratae*, Basle, 1577.

2. *Pictorum aliquot Germaniae Inferioris Effigies* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock, 1572).

3. Leon Voet, Antwerp. *The Golden Age* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1973), pp. 179–89 provides a still-valuable account of these years. See also Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 155–68.

4. Maarten Prak and Diane Webb, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Golden Age* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 205–21, esp. 208; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, chapters 14 and 15, pp. 405–6, 410–11, 421–6.

5. John Wright and Paul Potter, introduction to John Wright and Paul Potter (eds.), *Psyche and Soma: Physicians and Metaphysicians on the Mind-Body Problem from Antiquity to Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 1–11; Emily Michael, ‘Renaissance theories of body, soul and mind’ in Wright and Potter, *Psyche and Soma*, pp. 147–72; Theo Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch. Early Responses to Cartesian Philosophy, 1630–1650* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002).

6. On the 1572 *Pictorum*, see: Ignaz von Szwykowski, ‘Sammel-Werke Alt Niederländische Maler-Portraits von Hieronymus Cock und Heinrich Hondius. Aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. und zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts’, in *Archiv für die Zeichnenden Künste* 2 (1856), pp. 13–63; Jean Puraye, *Dominique Lampson Humaniste, 1532–1599* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer 1950), pp. 64–8; Jean Puraye (ed.), *Dominique Lampson. Les Effigies des Peintres célèbres des Pays-Bas* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1956); Becker, ‘Domenicus Lampsonius’, pp. 50–51; Hans-Joachim Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1984), pp. 17–23; Walter Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander’s Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), pp. 143–5; Stephanie-Suzanne Durante, ‘Between ‘verbum’ and ‘imago’: the text/image dialectic in the ‘Pictorum effigies’ of Domenicus Lampsonius (MA diss, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2002); Sciolla and Volpi, *Scritti di Domenico Lampsonio*; Nicolas Galley Hauterive, ‘Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies’, in *De l’original à l’excentrique: l’émergence de l’individualité artistique au nord des Alpes* (PhD diss, University of Fribourg, 2005), pp. 131–41, <http://ethesis.unifr.ch/theses/downloads.php?file=GalleyN.pdf> (Accessed December 12, 2014); Sarah Meiers, ‘Portraits in print. Hieronymus Cock, Dominicus Lampsonius, and Pictorum aliquot Germaniae Inferioris Effigies’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69 (2006): pp. 1–16; Maria Barbara, ‘Propria Belgarum laus: Domenicus Lampsonius e as Pictorum aliquot celebrium germaniae inferioris effigies’, <http://www.unicamp.br/chaa/rhaa/downloads/Revista%208%20-%20artigo%202.pdf> (Accessed December 2, 2014).

7. On *enargeia* (and *energeia*): Richard Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms. Second Edition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 64–5; Maria-Isabel Pousão-Smith, *Concepts of brushwork in the Northern and Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century* (PhD diss, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1998), pp. 62–6; Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten’s art theory and the legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), pp. 186–7.

8. I H.W. appears in portraits no. 9 (*Quentin Matsys*), no. 11 (*Jan van Amstel*), no. 15 (*Jan Vermeyen*), no. 16 (*Pieter Coecke van Aelst*), no. 20 (*Willem Key*), no. 21 (*Lucas Gassel*), no. 22 (*Frans Floris*) and no. 23 (*Hieronymus Cock*). W. I appears in no. 18 (*Lambert Lombard*). Portrait no. 6 (*Bernard van Orley*) is inscribed Adr. Collart. excud. Cornelis Cort is mentioned as the engraver in the poem on portrait no. 8 (*Joachim Patenir*).

9. Puraye, *Lampson Humaniste*; Becker, ‘Domenicus Lampsonius’; Melion, *Netherlandish Canon*, pp. 129–31; pp. 143–72. A portrait print of Lampsonius himself in the tradition of the *Effigies* was published in Aubert Le Mire, *Illustrium Galliae Belgicae scriptorium icones et elogia* (Antwerp: Theodoor Galle, 1608). Reproduced in Joanna Woodall, *Anthonis Mor. Art and Authority* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007), p. 302, where the source is mistakenly stated to be the British Museum, London, instead of the British Library.

10. On the Hondius series: Szwykowski, ‘Alt Niederländische Maler-Portraits’; Raupp, *Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung*, pp. 23–31; Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1996), p. 51, 109, 115, 128, 132–3. See also Stephanie Porras Repeat Viewing in this volume.

11. Orenstein, *Hondius*; Nadine Orenstein (comp.) and Ger Luiten (ed.), *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, 1450–1700 / Hendrick Hondius* (Roosendaal: Koninklijk van Pol, 1994), pp. 90–6; Nadine Orenstein, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, 1450–1700 / Simon Frisius*, 2 parts (Roosendaal: Koninklijk van Pol, 2008), part 1, pp. 150–6.

12. For Hondius as author see Porras Repeat Viewing, in this volume.

13. Jan van Eyck became known as the inventor of oil painting and founder of the Netherlandish school, Quentin Matsys as the the founder of the Antwerp school, and Jan van Scorel as painter to the Dutch Pope Adrian VI and a humanist who introduced knowledge of Italian art to the northern Netherlands. For their biographies: Karel van Mander, *Schilderboeck* (Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch, 1604), http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand-001schi01_01/ (Accessed December 2, 2014).

14. In the 1572 *Effigies* verses, 3 of the 23 verses are in the first person, 15 in the vocative, 3 in the third person, and 2 a mix of vocative and third person. In the additional 45 verses in the 1610 publication, 0 are in the first person, 10 in the vocative, 32 in the third person and 3 mixed.

15. Puraye, *Lampson Humaniste*, pp. 65–6; Ariane Mensger, ‘Die exakte Kopie: Oder die Geburt des Künstlers im Zeitalter seiner Reproduzierbarkeit’, in Chapman and Woodall, *Envisioning the Artist*, pp. 195–221; pp. 213–6; Raupp, *Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung*, pp. 20–21; Meiers, ‘Portraits in print’, pp. 9–11. For a compendium of artists’ portraits in the Netherlands: H. Van Hall, *Portretten van Nederlandse Beeldende Kunstenaars. Portraits of Dutch painters and other artists of the Low Countries. Specimen of an Iconography* (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1963).

16. Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity. A Particular History of the Senses* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. xiii.

17. Vasari’s account of the supposed encounter between Giotto and Dante is discussed in Georges Didi-Huberman, ‘Resemblance mythifiée et ressemblance oubliée chez Vasari: la légende du portrait “Sur le Vif”’, *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée* 106 (1994), pp. 383–432, esp. 392–405, http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/mefr_1123-9891_1994_num_106_2_4334 (Accessed December 2, 2014). See also Paul Barlow, ‘Facing the past and present: the National Portrait Gallery and the search for ‘authentic’ portraiture’, in Joanna Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture. Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 219–238. For Francisco de Holanda’s treatise see Woodall, *Anthonis Mor*, pp. 235–59.

18. Rebecca Zorach and Elizabeth Rodini, 'On Imitation and Invention: an introduction to the reproductive Print', in Rebecca Zorach and Elizabeth Rodini (eds.), *Paper Museums: The Reproductive Print in Europe, 1500-1800* (David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 2005), pp. 1-29, esp. 3, 9.

19. For stimulating discussion of this issue: Christopher Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction. Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), pp. 95-107; Adrian Randolph, 'Introduction: the Authority of Likeness' in Adrian Randolph and Barton Thuber (eds.), *Word and Image*, Special Issue: Likeness in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction: Printed and Medallion Portraits in Renaissance and Baroque Europe, 19 (2003), pp. 1-3. See also J.A. Underwood (transl.), Walter Benjamin 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction', (London: Penguin, 2008), first published in German 1936. Benjamin argues that the advent of photography and film (rather than earlier manual processes of reproduction such as engraving) threatens the aura or authority of the original, only for this to be reinstated in the mystical cult of genius.

20. Puraye, *Lampson Humaniste*, p. 66. Compare, for example, Hondius's *Hubert Goltzius* with the portrait of the same sitter engraved by Melchior Lorck ca. 1574 (fig. 2). Van Mander, *Schilderboeck*, fol. 248v, described a portrait of Golzius by Anthonis Mor which involved three personal encounters, during the last of which Mor 'did from him a little portrait in an hour or a short time, that was wonderfully done and like.' This personal contact is not referred to in the Hondius print, although it is clearly based on the painting of Goltzius by Mor now in Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* (as well as Jacopo Tintoretto's portrait of the antiquarian Ottavio Strada at the age of 18, 1567/8, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Lorck's portrait, which dates from the period of the contact between Goltzius and Mor and resembles the Brussels portrait except for the profile pose, is stated in the oval border to have been *AD VIVUM DELINEABAT ET IN AERE SCULPEBAT*.

21. The formal name of *The Iconography* is *Icones Principum Virorum*. For the observation that the images all refer to pictures by Van Dyck, see Joaneath Spicer, 'Anthony van Dyck's Iconography. An overview of its preparation', *Studies in the History of Art* 46 (1994, published in 1998), pp. 326-64. The full title of the *Iconography* is *Icones Principum Virorum Doctorum Chalcographorum Statuariae Nec Non Amatorum Pictoriae Attis Numero Centum Ab Antonio van Dyck Pictore Ad Vivum Expressae Eivsque Sumptibus Aeri Incisae*. In relation to prints from or to the life, see also Lambert Suavius's engraved portrait of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle of 1554, which bears an inscription including the phrase *EFFIGIEM AD VIVUM / LAMBERTUS SUAVIUS LEODIEN / EXPRESSIT* (London, British Museum 1927, 1008.34).

22. My thanks to Scott Nethersole for pointing out that in Hondius's later publication it is possible that the

absence of inscriptions referring to previous models may betray sensitivity to issues of copyright in relation to Cock's 1572 *Effigies*.

23. This term encompasses beholding images, reading texts, turning pages etc. It was coined by Ruth Ezra, a participant in my MA seminar in 2010-11.

24. On the matrices for engraving and etching: David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 23-8.

25. William Ivins Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1953) drew attention to the importance of exact repetition of visual motifs in print. However, a distinction can be made between print *per se* and the 'artistic print'. Landau and Parshall, *Renaissance Print*, pp. 314-5 cite evidence that Dürer was well aware of the variations between two impressions printed from the same plate and suggest that he exploited these for the interest of connoisseurs.

26. For Dürer's encounter with Van Leyden: Mrs. Charles Heaton, *The History of the Life of Albrecht Dürer of Nurnberg with a Translation of His Letters and Journal and Some Account of His Works* (New York: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), first published 1870, p. 301.

27. Landau and Parshall, *Renaissance Print*, p. 24.

28. The phrase 'very intimate friend and contemporary' is taken from Vasari's description of Giotto's relationship with Dante, discussed in Didi-Huberman, 'la legende du portrait "Sur le Vif"', p. 390, to make the point that the fiction of a personal encounter and exchange has been displaced from the history or genealogy of the image to the relationship between the print and its user, generated by a knowledgeable beholder's words.

29. Compare Corinthians 13:12.

30. Meiers, 'Portraits in print', p. 7, points out that the skull was an attribute of Hieronymus Cock's patron saint, Jerome, and suggests that 'it is problematic to assume that the skull acts exclusively as a marker of death.'

31. The skull has an unusual protuberance from the cheek, which may be the zygomatic bone or perhaps the remains of ligaments or muscles, conceivably relating to the capacity to speak (in this context, note that Cock's right hand takes the place of the lower jaw).

32. Julia Kristeva, *The Powers of Horror. An essay on Abjection*, Leon Roudiez (trans.) (New York, Columbia University Press, 1982), esp. chapter 1, 'Approaching Abjection', pp. 1-31.

33. Polybius (c.203-120 BC), *Histories*. Polybius's text originally comprised forty volumes but only five survived in their entirety. These volumes and other fragments were preserved in manuscripts, mostly in Byzantium. Books one

to five were known from the early fifteenth century and book six began to be discussed in Florence in the early sixteenth century, by Machiavelli and his contemporaries. For sixteenth century editions: Peter Burke, 'A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450-1700', *History and Theory* 5 (1966): pp. 135-52, 144. Burke notes, p. 141, that Polybius was increasingly admired in the later sixteenth century, but that he remained 'an historian's historian.' See also Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Polybius' reappearance in Western Europe', in Arnaldo Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977), pp. 79-98; John Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

34. For example, Pompilio Amaseo (transl.), *Fragmenta duo e sexto Polybii historiarum libro de diversis rerum publicarum formis, deq. Romanae praestantia* (Bologna: Joannes Baptista Phaellus, 1543), n.p., was dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and the translator was a member of the Cardinal's circle. In December 1570 Lampson wrote a letter of recommendation for the engraver Cornelis Cort to the miniaturist Giulio Clovio, who was a longstanding member of the household of Cardinal Farnese.

35. Polybius, *Histories*, VI: 53. My translations are based on, the Loeb Classical Library edition, which provides the Greek text in parallel: Polybius, *The Histories* William Paton (trans.), 6 vols. (London: Harvard University Press, 1922-27), vol.3, pp. 389-93, <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Polybius/home.html> (Accessed December 4, 2014). The translations are sometimes modified with reference to Evelyn Shuckburgh (trans.), *Histories of Polybius. Translated from the text of F. Hultsch* (London: Macmillan, 1889, reprint Bloomington 1962) <https://archive.org/details/historiesofpolyb-02polyuoft> (Accessed December 4, 2014). See also Jerome Pollitt, *The Art of Rome c.753 BC-AD 337. Sources and Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 53.

36. An alternative translation: 'This likeness consists of a mask made to represent the deceased with extraordinary fidelity both in shape and colour.' <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0234%3Abook%3D6%3Achapter%3D53> (Accessed December 4, 2014)

37. Paton, *Polybius*, p. 389.

38. Other translations (see note 35) use the terms likenesses and portraits.

39. Paton, *Polybius*, p. 391. For discussion of the funerals of Roman patricians in the middle of the second century BC: Jocelyn Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), pp. 47-8.

40. Georges Didi-Huberman, 'The Molding Image: Genealogy and the Truth of Resemblance in Pliny's *Natural History*, Book 35, 1-7', in Costas Douzinas and Lynda Nead (eds.), *Law and the Image. The Authority of Art and the Aesthetics of Law* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), p. 79. See also Georges Didi-Huberman, *La ressemblance par contact: archéologie, anachronisme et modernité de l'empreinte* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 2008), pp. 55-70.

41. Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, p. 47. For the evidence in favour of the use of death masks: Heinrich Drerup, 'Totenmaske und Ahnenbild bei den Römern', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)* 87 (1980), pp. 81-129. My thanks to Peter Stewart for these references.

42. Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death. The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), p. 88; s108; 193; 204. For a useful comparative discussion of burial practices in the Netherlands after the reformation had formally denied intercession and purgatory (where the subject was physically dead but spiritually still capable of being affected by commemoration and prayer): Andrew Spicer, 'Rest of Their Bones': Fear of Death and Reformed Burial Practices', in William Naphy and Penny Roberts (eds.), *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 167-83, esp. 167-8; 174-6. See also Geert Janssen, 'Political Ambiguity and Confessional Diversity in the Funeral Processions of Stadholders in the Dutch Republic', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 40 (2009) pp. 283-301.

43. Didi-Huberman, *The Molding Image*, p. 78.

44. Judith Butler, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory', *Theatre Journal* 40 (1988), pp. 519-31.

45. It is not clear that skulls were interpreted physiognomically with reference to named individuals in the early seventeenth century. Vesalius discussed the shape of the skull in terms of the functionality of the head (to protect and house the brain and organs and nerves of the sensorium) and described 'unnaturalness' with reference to groups of differing geographical origin and their practices of treating infants. His descriptions of individual 'unnatural' cases are unnamed but sensitive to social status and intelligence. Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (Basel: Joannis Oporini, 1543, 1555), Book 1, chapter 5, <http://vesalius.northwestern.edu/> (Accessed December 4, 2014). In the Museum Boerhaave in Leiden, the eighteenth-century Sebaldestus Justinus Brugmans collection contains skulls that are typologically and pathologically distinguished from one another, but are not named.

46. Peter Parshall, 'Imago contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance', *Art History* 16 (1993), pp. 554-579, esp. 574.

47. Ivins, *Visual Communication*, pp. 1-3, 51-70 on the issue of the exact repeatability of visually (as distinct from verbally) produced information; For a different approach to issues of replication: Wood, *Forgery* pp. 217-253.

48. John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion, 2002), p.127 relates the northern tradition of *Icones illustrium* to Italian *Imprese*, for which Paolo Giovio established influential rules in his *Dialogo dell'Imprese militari e amorose* (Rome: Antonio Barre, 1555). The portrait prints are also compared to emblems in Sciolla and Volpi, *Scritti di Domenico Lampsonio*, p.16.

49. Polybius's description of Roman funerary rites is introduced near the end of *Histories*, Book 6: 'One example will be sufficient of the pains taken by the Roman state to turn out men ready to endure anything to win a reputation in their country for valour.' Polybius, *Histories*, Book 6, p. 52, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0234%3Abook%3D6%3Achapter%3D52> (Accessed December 5, 2014).

50. Compare Daniela Bohde, 'Skin and the search for the interior: the representation of flaying in the art and anatomy of the cinquecento', in Florike Egmond et al. (eds.), *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), pp.10-47 passim.

51. It is notable that Lampson's poem to the posthumous portrait of Cock speaks specifically of the left hand pointing to the skull, perhaps suggesting that there was another way of grasping it.

52. For the contemporary identification of Volcxken with the 'volck', the public that profits from Cock's 'cooking', and from which he makes a profit, see Timothy Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock (1510-1570): Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds* (New York: Garland, 1977), pp. 203-4.

53. The depiction of an artist together with the Virgin Mary bearing the dead Christ recalls, in a melancholy vein, the Christian myth of Saint Luke painting the Virgin and Child. The rolled papers beneath the image seem likely to have borne texts, perhaps prayers for mediation, that bear comparison with the texts beneath the portrait prints in the 1572 *Effigies*.

54. Victor Stoichita, *A Short History of the Shadow* (London: Reaktion, 1997), especially chapter 1.

55. Raupp, *Kunstlerbildnis und Kunstlerdarstellung*, pp.181-220.

56. Woodall, *Anthonis Mor*, pp. 10, 27-31.

57. Joseph Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993), pp. 139-59, esp. 140-2, 147-50.

58. On the relationship between etching and engraving: Zorach and Rodini, *Paper Museums*, p. 7. On the relationship between drawing and printmaking (engraving and etching): David Rosand, *Drawing Acts: Studies in Graphic Expression and Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 150-8, 169-81.

59. My thanks to Christine Stevenson for pointing out that 'colours' can also refer to coats of arms.

60. Joanna Woodall 'Introduction' in Woodall, *Portraiture*, esp. pp. 22-3.

61. c.1525, published as a bound volume by the Trechsel brothers in Lyon in 1538.

62. Drawing: London, British Museum SL,5214.2.

63. For a discussion of the contested relationship between colouring and drawing in Van Mander's *Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst*: Perry Chapman and Joanna Woodall, 'Introduction. The Netherlandish Artist has his Intelligence in his Hand', in Chapman and Woodall, *Envisioning the Artist*, pp. 24-5.

64. For the prominence of engraving and possible collaboration between Van der Straet and Cort in *The Practice of the Visual Arts*: Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550-1620* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), cat. 3, pp. 18-21.

65. The individual arrow, rather than the sweeping scythe, was occasionally an attribute of Death but the arrow is more commonly associated with Cupid. Cupid's arrows were linked with interactive forms of looking produced by the extramissive theory of sight. See, for example, Thijs Weststeijn, 'Artistic efficacy and the transfer of spirits' in Christine Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber (eds.), *Spirits Unseen. The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 144, 156. Weight-driven clocks seem to have preceded Christian Huygens's invention of the accurate pendulum in 1656. Ernest Edwardes, *The Story of the Pendulum Clock* (Altringham: Sherratt, 1977), pp. 12-6. See also a print dated 1598 by Levinus Hulsius, which shows a weight-driven clock and a sand glass in the wooden hut erected by Willem Barendsz at Ice Harbour after a shipwreck in 1596. Illustrated and the clock discussed in Ernest Edwardes, *Weight-driven Dutch Clocks and their Japanese Connections, 1350-1850* (Ashbourne: Mayfield Books, 1996), pp. 15-24.

66. As Stephanie Porras discusses in her essay in this volume, Hondius preferred to use the (skull-bearing) image that appears in Theodoor Galle's later edition of Cock's series of *Effigies*, although he seems to have based all his other re-engravings on the original 1572 publication.

67. The image makes use of an engraved self-portrait by Binck (e.g. British Museum E,1.251). It is notable that

there is no biography of Binck in Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, so it is possible that he may have been included in the series in part because of the iconography of the self-portrait print.

68. Compare the arrangement of the chain in the self-portrait (see London, British Museum, E, 1.251). The bowl in Binck's self portrait has been replaced by a scrolled sheet of paper in the Hondius print, producing movement and specifically transmission by the implication that the paper bears a text and has been received or is about to be delivered. For honour and profit (as well as love) as motivations for the artist, Hessel Miedema (trans. and ed.), *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters: from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck* (1603-1604), 6 vols (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994-9), vol.1 fol. 276r, vol. 5 fols.138-9.

69. A similar account is given in Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, fol. 238r.

70. Compare *The Cook*, 1574, oil on panel. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

71. Compare, by an unknown painter, *View of the Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk and the Groenkerkhof*, Antwerp, 1597/ Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis. Compare also, for example, Crispijn de Passe the Elder, engraving after Gabriel Spilberg, *Plate 8, Burying the Dead*, from *The Acts of Mercy*, 1608. (e.g. London, British Museum, 1937,0915.374).

72. Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image. An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 3-16, 198-221.

73. Myron of Eleutherae, an Athenian sculptor of the fifth century BC.

74. For the cow/bull as an embodiment of the Netherlands see, by an unknown painter, *The Dairy Cow*, c.1580-95, oil on panel. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

75. The shape of 'Europa' corresponds to the areas occupied by the expanded community of Netherlandish artists in the portrait series (the Netherlands, Germany, northern and central Italy, the British Isles). Interestingly, America seems to be a shadowy presence to the west.

76. Compare Georges Didi-Huberman, *Atlas: How to Carry the World on One's Back?* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 2010).

77. Heidelberg, University Library, Codex Palatinus germanicus 67, The heroic epic Sigeneot, Stuttgart (?) Workshop of Ludwig Henfflin, c.1470, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg67/0019> (Accessed December 5, 2014). A project at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg animated this book. The flip book was patented in England by John Barnes Linnett in September 1868, under the name *kineograph* (moving picture).

78. The use of the terms *Pictor* and *Artifex* in the *Effigies* merits further exploration. See, for example, the description of *Pictor* as a 'nickname' in the poem to Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem.

79. Katharine Jex-Blake (trans.), *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London: Macmillan, 1898), pp. 65-6. This was not the end of the story: Zeuxis then asked Parrhasius to pull aside the curtain from his painting, only for Parrhasius to reveal the curtain itself was a painting, and Zeuxis was forced to concede defeat. Zeuxis is rumoured to have said: 'I have deceived the birds, but Parrhasius has deceived Zeuxis.'

80. Hope Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York: Continuum, 2006), pp. 105-6, 120-23.

81. A. Wesseling, 'Dutch Proverbs and Expressions in Erasmus' Adages, Colloquies and Letters', *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002), pp. 81-147, 85-6 n.15; Van Mander, *Schilderboek*, 'Utbeeldinge der Figueren', http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand001schi01_01/mand-001schi01_01_0457.php (Accessed December 5, 2014) 'De Kraeye beteeckent oock ghesnap, oft veel claps, Minervae vyandigh: want wijse luyden, die met hunnen geest te wercken hebben, haten t'gheclap.' Van Mander also linked the crow with monogamy, winter and long life.

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