

Art After Iconoclasm.  
Painting in the Netherlands  
between 1566 and 1585

Edited by Koenraad Jonckheere & Ruben Suykerbuyk



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# Art after Iconoclasm. Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585

David Freedberg

I am moved and honored to have been asked to give today's keynote address. The subject of our symposium seems even more important today than it was when I started working on it almost forty years ago. It all seems like yesterday, but of course it is not. The progress in the field, largely thanks to so many of you present today, has been amazing. I would never have predicted it. So I stand humbled before you about the vast amount I do not know – and not only humbled, but terrified. I dread sounding like what the Italians so appropriately call a *vecchio trombone*, pumping out the same old tunes. So let me begin by pleading for your proleptic pardon, for all the errors which I will no doubt commit.

Since I have been in Rome these past months, it has not been so easy preparing a talk on this subject away from my personal library in New York, with all the books and offprints which you have sent me over the years. Of course, you might say, Rome is the ideal place to write about late sixteenth century Flemish artists, because that is the font from which they all imbibed, in one way or another. O no, you will say, not another talk about the Italian influence on Flemish art! Have we not had enough of *that* already? For many years I thought so too, but now I find the situation is not quite so simple; but I fully realize the danger of sounding not only like a *vecchio trombone*, but also like the proverbial donkey who went to Rome and still did not come back a horse.<sup>1</sup>

But back to Antwerp. I was hoping to begin with a painting, as behooves an art historian, and a colorful quotation, to set the tone. But after much reflection, I felt that a keynote address to a conference such as this should first take stock of where we are, and then set out what remains to be done.

When I began my studies in the field at the end of 1969, there were very few people I could talk to.<sup>2</sup> At Oxford I was surrounded by

*italianisti*. Flemish painting was Bruegel and Rubens, Dutch painting the Golden Age. In London at the Warburg Institute it was all iconography, and one definitely did not talk about style. Iconoclasm was anti-art, so why study it, unless you were a Byzantinist? Michael Baxandall, of all people, asked me more than once why I thought that theology had any influence on painting. Probably the only art historian then open to the idea of discussing the implications of iconoclasm for art in the Netherlands was Gary Schwartz. His pioneering article on Saenredam's Bull contained a beautifully suggestive coda raising the broader questions about the status of images in the Calvinist Netherlands.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it was Gary who several years later presented me with my first copy of Molanus, the rare edition published by Bellerus in Antwerp, interestingly enough, in 1617.<sup>4</sup> You may well ask, by the way, why Molanus' prescriptive treatise on painting should have been republished then, but it was surely that the archdukes' rebuilding program offered so many renewed opportunities for religious painting that the publisher must have felt there was a market for a vigilant, largely iconographic book about it.<sup>5</sup> When it came to subject matter, things had been threatening to go astray for a while. But back to today's subject.

To me the subject seemed an essential one, for two reasons. First of all, there was the question of what happened in the Netherlands in the forty years between the death of Bruegel (1569) and return of Rubens from Italy (1608). The period had always been neglected, and the art passed over in more or less embarrassed silence. Of course there were a few people in the Netherlands – I will come to them in a moment – who were working in the area, but for the most part, people asked why one should want to concern oneself with such minor figures – naturally I said: minor figures, big prob-

lems – and that one would never get a job if one worked on Frans Pourbus and Marten de Vos and the late Michiel Coxcie, at least not in England and America. But those were the days in which it became clear that art history could not continue always to concern itself only with the major canonical figures.

Still more importantly, however, the period between 1566 and 1609 seemed to me to be one of those unusual periods in the history of art when the dialectic between art and history was exceptionally intense. So why had art historians so overlooked it? After all, works of art stood at the very center of the practical origins of the revolt of the Netherlands, which effectively began with the assault on images in 1566.<sup>6</sup> Yet historians were (and are) almost silent on the subject of the role of art and the discussions about it in those initial years, months and days of rebellion. After all, the controversy about art and images was passionately exploited by almost everyone as a motive for protest and rebellion in those critical months after the conclusion of the Council of Trent (1545–63).

But you know all this; and I also realize that this may seem a very 1960s kind of problem, indeed a very 1968 kind of problem. Those were still the days in which historians had not begun to think that it was sophisticated to be seen as doubling as art historians. It was a while before Simon Schama came on the scene! But the fact is that in the case of the events of 1566 and their artistic aftermath, art stood at the center of a problem in history to an unusual and exceptional degree; and in turn, a crisis in political and theological history stood at the center of not just a problem of art, but *the* problem of art. To examine the role of the *beeldenstorm* in the outbreak of the Revolt surely meant also to examine why images should have aroused such intense emotions: what was it about them that could so stir people, even to destruction and revolt, but also, what were the actual artistic consequences not just of the theological positions pro and con, but also of the actual threat to the very existence of art and the sources of its funding especially in the clerical and ecclesiastical domains?<sup>7</sup> And who would want to paint a picture – van Mander tells us of many cases of doubt and diffidence at the time<sup>8</sup> – when it was likely to be destroyed at the next flare-up of icono-

clasm, or when half the people around you subscribed to religious positions which called the very essence of representation into question? As we know, it was not a very happy time for artists, even for the most successful and wealthy amongst them.

The only others thinking about these kinds of problems at the time were a small group in Hamburg, particularly Martin Warnke and Horst Bredekamp;<sup>9</sup> but they barely touched on the Netherlands. But academic memories are typically short. Much of the productive work that was done in the late 1960s and early 1970s seems to have been forgotten, as in the more fashionable recent treatments of the subject, such as Bruno Latour and his colleagues' catalogue entitled *Iconoclasm*, and Joseph Koerner's thoughtful and thorough investigation of the German image question.<sup>10</sup> What these new works overlook, I think, is the central importance of the Dutch Revolt for the whole issue of ambivalence about art. There are few periods in history where such ambivalence, such a range of varying attitudes and forms, goes so closely hand-in-hand with political ambivalence, equivocation and Nicodemism – on the part of both the producers and consumers of art.<sup>11</sup>

Of course there were several people already then who were working on the art itself, and who did the foundational work for what we will be discussing today and tomorrow. Aside from Gary Schwartz, amongst the other scholars whom I remember with affection as a keen interlocutor on these subjects was Adolf Monballieu. It is true that in some circles he was regarded as a *vecchio trombone* at the time, but actually he knew a huge amount about late sixteenth-century Antwerp painting; and when prodded came up with vast amounts of archival suggestions about how iconoclasm affected painting in the late sixteenth century,<sup>12</sup> a topic now refined by Koenraad Jonckheere in his outstanding book on Adriaen Thomasz. Key.<sup>13</sup> For support amongst people who seemed to be much older than I in those days – but not now – I turned to Carl Van de Velde and Hans Vlieghe. The former, of course, was the expert on Floris and his school,<sup>14</sup> while I turned to the latter for the question of the influence on Rubens' art on painters in the period between the death of Pieter Bruegel and the signing of the twelve



Fig. 1. Gillis Coignet, *St George and the Dragon*, oil on panel, 193 x 225 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.

years truce (1609–21), less than a year after Rubens' own return from Italy. Scholars had always concentrated on Italian influences on his art and later on that of the Northern Renaissance; but it was all still too canonical. They had barely paid attention to the kinds of painting produced at the time he was brought up in Antwerp. What, for example, did he owe to the two Keys, Adriaen Thomasz. and Willem?<sup>15</sup> Or to Marten de Vos, Michiel Coxie and Frans Pourbus – and from where did they derive their inspiration?<sup>16</sup> Names like Crispijn Van den Broeck and Jacob de Backer were clouded in mystery – and still are.<sup>17</sup> Only Marten de Vos received the monograph he deserves, which Armin Zweite wrote before he turned to contemporary art.<sup>18</sup>

I briefly thought about trying to do more research on Gilles Coignet, whose 1581 pictures of *St George and the Dragon* (fig. 1) – a particularly popular subject in Antwerp at the

time, even outside the circle of the Oude and Jonge Voetboog who often commissioned works showing it – and the *knaap* known as Pierson de La Hues are amongst the most undiscussed major works of that significant year.<sup>19</sup> But now the way has been paved for future research on him by the excellent work of Hessel Miedema, to which I will return.<sup>20</sup> When I wrote to a friend that I was anxious about having to give the keynote address at a conference that would be filled by those who are now much greater experts than myself, he wrote back saying 'talk about Otto van Veen!' But of course he is a bit late for today's conference – he only showed up in Antwerp when Farnese secured Antwerp for Catholicism again in 1585, and I think it might be a bit of a stretch, though still possible perhaps, to think of his work in terms of the direct influence of the unrest about art engendered by iconoclasm in 1566 and the Calvinist period in Antwerp

that ended in with the surrender to Farnese in 1585.<sup>21</sup>

I have to admit that when I began my studies on this period I was really exasperated by these kinds of traditional questions about stylistic relations and genealogies; I now think they are much more important than I once realized. My dissatisfaction may indeed have resulted from the one article that tried, in a broader context, to come to grips with some of these issues: Friedrich Antal's famous pre-Marxist article of 1928–29 on *The Problem of Mannerism in the Netherlands*,<sup>22</sup> which was largely about the post-1585 period; but for all its range, it fails because it is so dense and confusing. It actually tells us almost nothing about Flemish painting in the period we are discussing, and falls short of giving an account of their not insignificant but complex place in the etiology of the early Mannerists, including Spranger himself, who you will remember left Antwerp in 1568.<sup>23</sup> But this is another story, for another occasion.

Nor did such etiologies, whether of Rubens or anyone else, take into consideration the vast output of printmaking during our period. Indeed, it is precisely in this field we have seen the most spectacular advances over the last two decades. The way was paved, as we all know, by Ilja Veldman in her pioneering and exhaustive studies of Maarten van Heemskerck,<sup>24</sup> and by Hans Mielke with his fundamental discovery of the work of Gerard van Groeningen and then his in-depth studies of the work of Peeter van der Borch, whose work was critical not only for the history of printmaking in the Netherlands – engraving, woodcut and etching – but also for a full understanding of the complex spiritual movements of the time.<sup>25</sup> Boon worked on the Sadeliers along with Tom Kauffman and Dorothy Limouze.<sup>26</sup> Karen Bowen produced fountains of information about the many designers and engravers who worked for the Plantin Press, from Marten de Vos to the Galles and the Wierixes;<sup>27</sup> but it was really with the publication of the newest volumes in the New Hollstein series that we are now finally equipped with the indispensable base for future research not just on painting but also the whole visual culture of the period: I do not think it would be exaggerating to say that no student of European visual culture in the seventeenth century, no student even of

the highest art, can afford to ignore the volumes on van Groeningen by Christian Schuckman, the van Doetecums by Henk Nalis, on Philips Galle by Manfred Sellink and Marjolein Leesberg, on the Collaerts by Ann Diels and Marjolein Leesberg, and on Peeter van der Borch by Ursula Mielke, who here and in the case of Gerard van Groeningen continued the work of Hans.<sup>28</sup> It is truly amazing. All of these writers have contributed to our knowledge in ways that I could only have dreamed of thirty years ago. Through them and through Ger Luijten's editorship and Peter van der Coelen's work on the *Thesaurus*, we now know vastly more than we ever did not only about these artists but many others, even down to woodcutters such as the remarkable Anton van Leest, to say nothing of the mechanics of production and complex forms of cooperation between publishing firms both large and small.

One of the things that I think we need to remember and to say to our students when they come under pressure from the professors and students of so-called new disciplines like cultural theory and visual culture who like to criticize art history for being reactionary is that we have been engaged in precisely these disciplines all along. To those of us working on the period between 1566 and 1585 or even until 1609 in the Netherlands, the notion that art historians only work on canonical figures who produce beautiful or hegemonic art is ridiculous. To us the problem seems absurd, for we have long been more than aware of the importance not just of setting works in their historical – both political and social – contexts, but also of seeing them in terms of the entire visual production of their time.

But enough of these historiographic developments. In thinking about the field of today's conference, it seems to me that there are seven clear areas for research. In some, a great deal of progress has been made; in others, less. Here they are: (1) most obviously, the relations between social and political events and the actual art produced at the time; (2) political and artistic ambivalence and its implications for art; (3) the fate of pornography; (4) the development of new genres; (5) the new print culture; (6) the problem of the stylistic genealogy of the works of the major painters of the time; and (7) which I will not come to, alas, if I even come to the others, the question of the



Fig. 2. Cornelis Cort after Maarten van Heemskerck, *The Destruction of Bel*, from *The History of Bel and the Dragon*, engraving, 1565, fol. 6 (photo Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

artistic *Nachleben*, so to speak, of the artists who produced their works under such exceptional conditions.

These are large topics. Many of you will be returning to them and dealing with them better than I. Here I will concentrate largely on the first of these issues, and then see what time we have for the others – which at this rate will be very little. Still, several of you are addressing these issues, so all is not lost.

*Point one.* I think that what has become clear over the last twenty years, but especially as a result of a consideration of the prints, is that the influence of politics on art was indeed great, if not greater, than generally suspected. Indeed, I felt at the time I began writing on this subject – more or less when Tim Clark, completely independently, was finishing his great works on Courbet and Daumier<sup>29</sup> – that

if ever there was a period when it might be possible to establish a relationship between social history and style it was this. I never achieved such a fusion, because at the time it seemed that style had for too long been a dominant mode in art history; I did not appreciate what really could be done with this question.

But I think that in terms of iconography the situation has become much clearer. For a long time, for reasons I never quite understood, the reading of political implications into pictures and prints was regarded with high caution. At the time, people ignored the question of whether Maarten van Heemskerck's powerful series of prints dealing with Old Testament Idolatry, above all in the many subjects relating to the *Worship of Bel/Baal*, beginning in 1565 and ending in 1569, alluded to iconoclasm or not (Fig. 2).<sup>30</sup> It was obvious that it did, but then the question was whether these prints





Fig. 3. Adriaen Thomasz. Key, *Nebuchadnezzar Casting the Children into the Fiery Furnace*, chiaroscuro woodcut, three tone blocks on linen, c. 312 x 480 mm.

were intended as criticisms of the Catholic use of images (which in my opinion they obviously were), or whether they were intended as criticisms of the image breakers themselves, and how that functioned for an artist who was so complicit in producing them.

As we shall see, the inconsistency is only apparent; and it turns out to have been very typical indeed. At the time we were cautious about how to deal with the questions of subversive beliefs, with ecumenism, with Henrik Nicolaes, Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt and the Family of Love, with their strong emphases on reconciliation of religions, and how these were reflected in printmaking production.<sup>31</sup> This last question is still a difficult one, but now that we can survey the great bulk of print production during the period, it seems clear that it would have been impossible to ignore the contemporary implications of the many prints dealing with subjects such as *Jacob's Ladder* and *The Anointing of the Stone of Bethel*, to say nothing of the *Dance Around the Golden Calf*, or *The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace*, all of which were surely determined by the course of events and the debates about idolatry (Fig. 3).<sup>32</sup> Drawings like van Groeningen's *Orgiastic Cult of Baal* could not but have been a reflection of contemporary concerns about the relationship between idolatry and corruption.<sup>33</sup> These and many such subjects are abundantly represented in Peeter van der Borcht's remarkably varied and often very beautiful work for Benito Arias Montano in the *Monumenta Humanae Salvationis* that often showed the influence of familist and ecumenical commitments.<sup>34</sup> Obviously, I am aware of the dangers of suggesting such direct

reflections of circumstance by images – but during this period it does seem pedantic to suggest otherwise. And I admit that the very appearance of subjects like these – in particular Old Testament ones – had to do with the rapid expansion of subject matter in the wake of iconoclasm, largely as a result of Protestant interests and inclinations. It is no surprise, given this extraordinary range alone, that the great *Theatrum Biblicum*, which first appeared in 1579, should have enjoyed so many re-editions well into the seventeenth century in Holland.<sup>35</sup>

The central issue in all of this is that of tolerance. The degree to which it played a role in the political and social history of the period has of course been long discussed – and the Edict of Toleration of 1578 (*Religionsvrede*) was certainly a central moment – but how it plays into the history of art is a much more complex question. The images made for Montano's *Monumenta* from 1571 onwards and for Barrefelt's picture Bibles of the 1580s were also used in missals, books of hours, and in other standard Catholic books too!<sup>36</sup> The question of tolerance is also closely related to that of religious and political ambivalence, at a time when people wavered between religions, kept their true beliefs hidden, and when artists themselves remained unsure about their role in a society that was skeptical about, and often hostile to, the role, functions and effects of images.<sup>37</sup> Given the large numbers of familists and Nicodemists amongst both artists and patrons, imagine the ambivalence at a time when both medium and message were still under definition, and phased on the one hand into Catholicism and on the other into heresy!

But enough black and white when things were not black and white at all. Let's get some color here. We will come to the paintings in a moment, but let me begin by citing the first of three colorful and pungent passages. The bitter remarks by Paulus de Kempenaere about Philips Galle – perhaps more responsible than anyone else for the multiplication, not the decline of images in the wake of iconoclasm – set the stage for the problem. 'I have known this man, Philips Galle, who was a very skilful engraver, intimately. But I think of him with sadness, as besides being disposed towards the Augsburg confession, he was also papist. This was because he did not want to lose sight of



Fig. 4. Gillis Coignet, *Dido commands the building of Carthage*, oil on canvas, 175 x 253 cm, Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis.

the fleshpots of Egypt and leave the beautiful city of Antwerp.<sup>38</sup>

But de Kempenaere, probably because he was writing in 1617 from a decidedly Calvinist standpoint, was wrong – or at least exaggerating. For a start, the one thing we know about Philips Galle is that he was never a papist. And he certainly did not abandon his Protestantism for the sake of the fleshpots. Some of the work he produced was decidedly subversive; much of it was firmly Catholic, and a great deal genuinely ecumenical. He would certainly have made a show of being Catholic and orthodox, and this presentation of appearance would have been perfectly in line with the Nicodemist positions espoused by all his friends, from Ortelius to Moretus to Goropius Becanus. Outward conformity with Catholicism was perfectly acceptable, provided that inwardly one continued to follow the faith that was dictated by the words and actions, the life itself, of Christ. Such a position was of course in perfect accord with that of the Huis der Liefde (Family of Love) and the moral philosophy of

Philips Galle's own teacher in Haarlem, Coornhert.<sup>39</sup>

The second of the texts I want to use today was already cited by Hessel Miedema in 1994 in connection with an altogether uncolorful painting by that still much too unexamined painter, Gillis Coignet (Fig. 4). Painted for the Masons and Stonemasons Guild in 1583, it shows a queen being presented with a plan for a fort.<sup>40</sup> This is here inscribed as the fortress of Goleta in Tunis, thus possibly alluding to Dido's building of a fort against the Romans. I will not repeat Miedema's complicated account now, except to say that he asked the good question of why the masons should have commissioned a work showing the building of an Islamic stronghold.<sup>41</sup> He concluded that it was because at that very moment they were building a new fort to replace the old despised one of the Spaniards, which had just been torn down. In connection with this he cited a Geuzenlied actually mentioning La Goletta and concluding: 'Den Prins van Oraengien triumphant / God sal hem gheven wijsheyt en

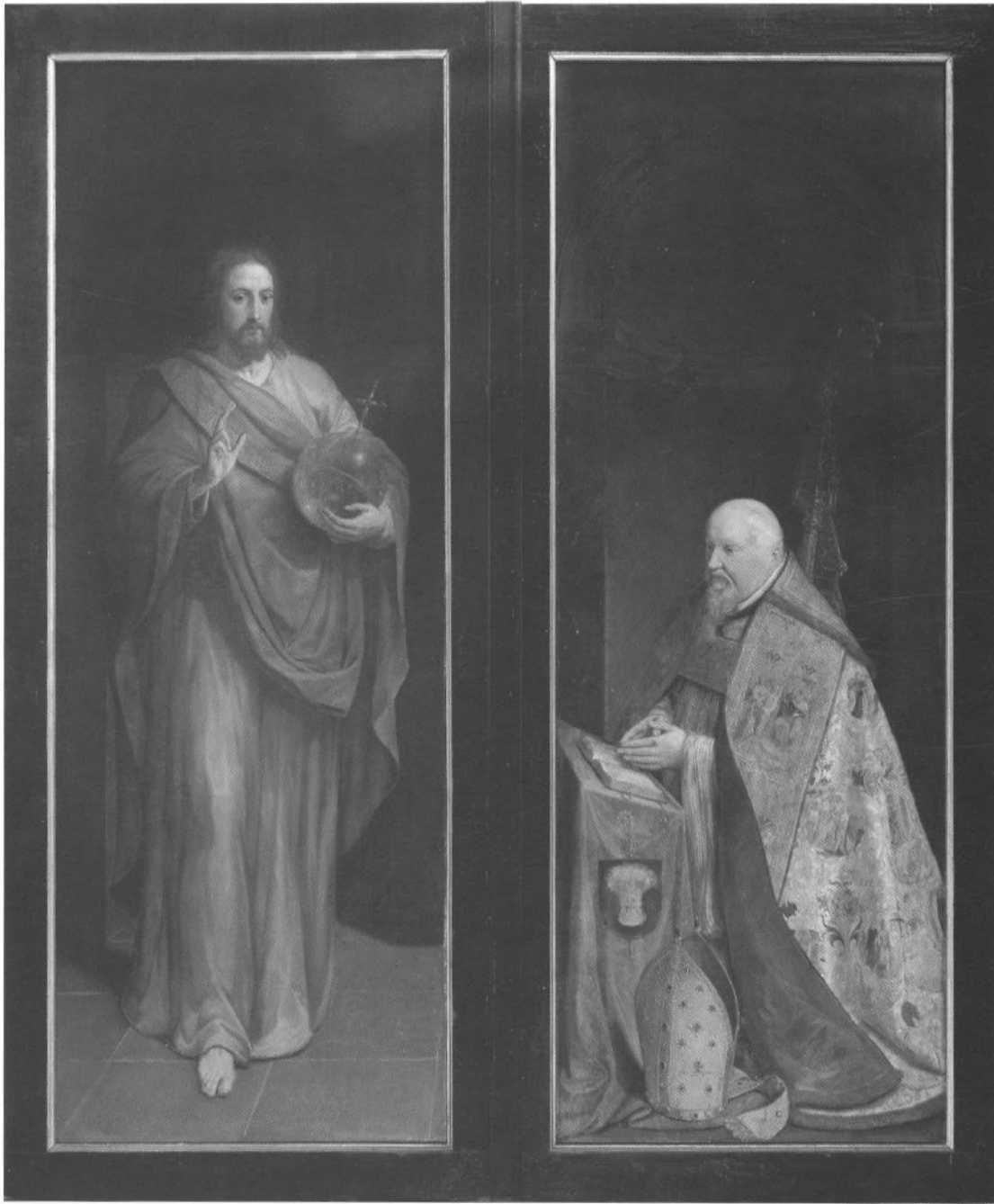


Fig. 5. Frans Pourbus, Outer wings of the *Triptych of Viglius d'Ayta*, 1571, oil on panel, 230 x 86 cm (each), Ghent, Sint-Baafs cathedral, Viglius chapel.

verstant. / Op dat Gods Woort tot desen stonden, / macht gepreect worden aen elcken cant, / Liever Turks dan Paus bevonden.<sup>42</sup> 'Better Turkish than Papist' goes the song; but why? Not just because the Turks pulled down a Catholic fort in Tunis and built a new one, of course, but much more importantly, as the

concluding stanza puts it 'Al is den Turck geen Christen gehaemt. / Hij en heeft niemant om tgelooove gebrant, / Als die Papisten doen alle dage [...].'

One need say no more. When it comes to tolerance, Muslims are better than Catholics. They do not burn people for their faith. This

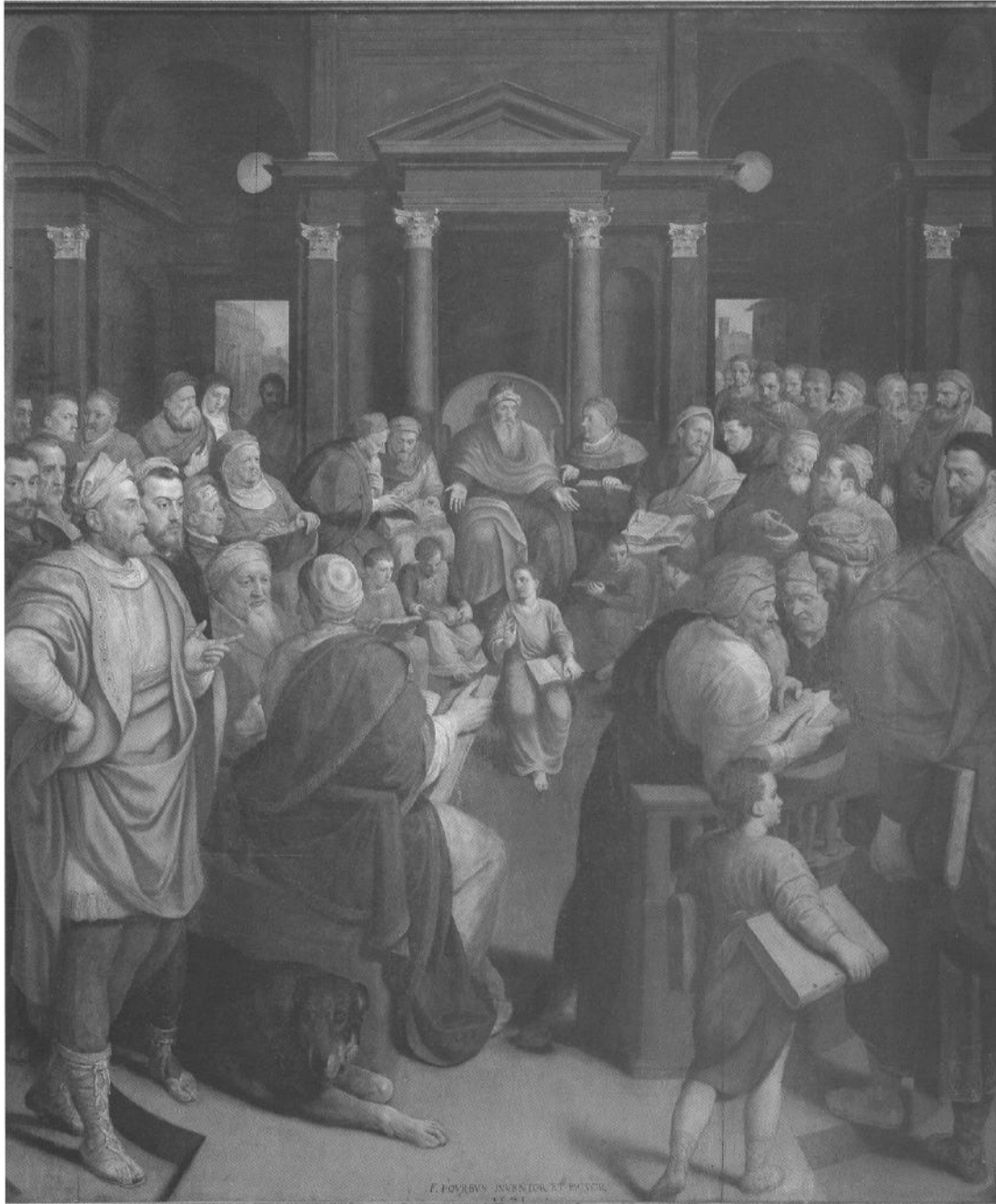


Fig. 6. Frans Pourbus, Central panel of the *Triptych of Viglius d'Aytta*, 1571, oil on panel, 216 x 83 cm (central panel) and 230 x 86 cm (wings), Ghent, Sint-Baafs cathedral, Viglius chapel.

is the *cri de cœur* that underlay almost all of Antwerp's intellectual and artistic culture in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

It so happens that the very same phrase, *liever Turks dan Paeps*, was already used in a letter of 1564 by the great personage to whom I now want to turn, Viglius d'Aytta.<sup>43</sup> Few

rose higher in the official ranks than he, and yet he too was tormented by the issue – or rather by the need to espouse a position of tolerance in the face of what seemed to many to be necessary rigor and even cruelty. Born in Friesland in 1507, he rose to become a close political advisor to Charles V, then President

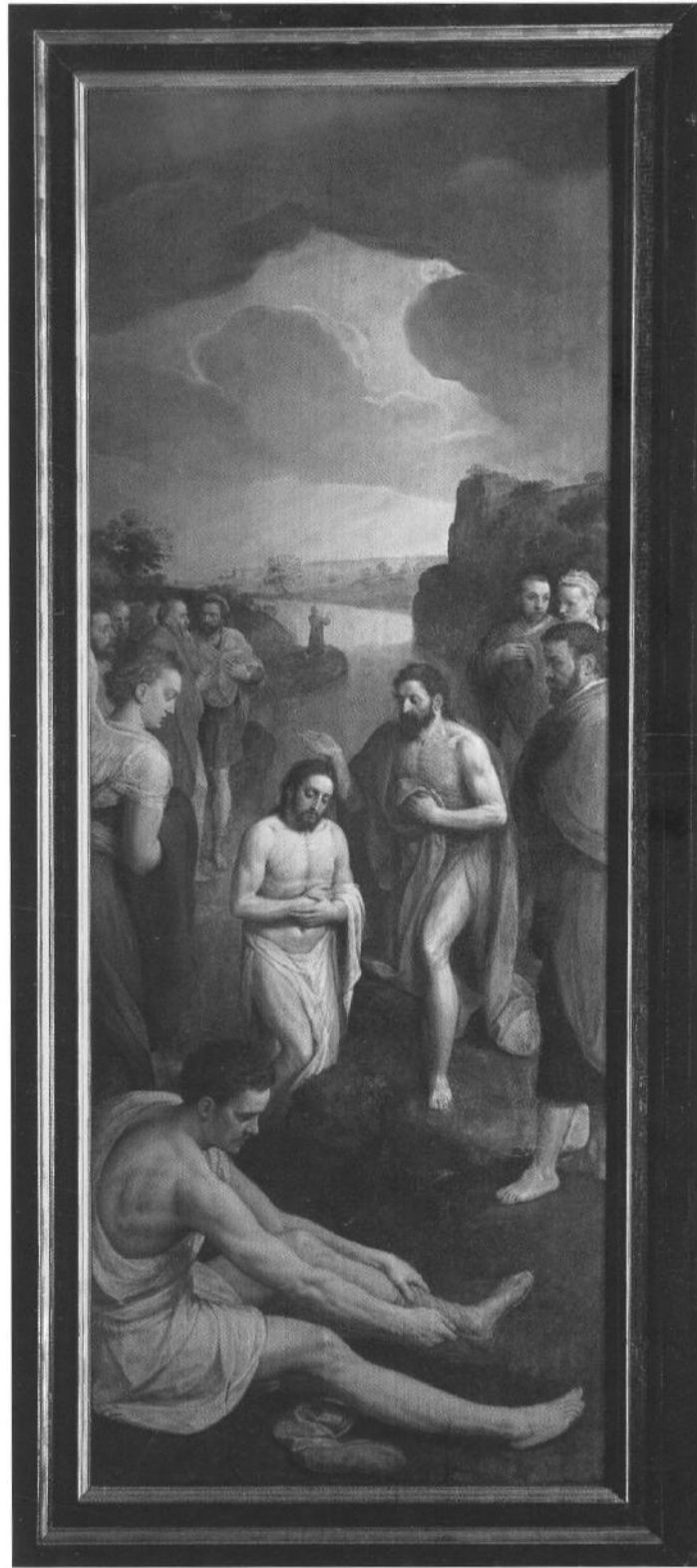


Fig. 7. Frans Pourbus, Right wing of the *Triptych of Viglius d'Aytta*, 1571, oil on panel, 230 x 86 cm, Ghent, Sint-Baafs cathedral, Viglius chapel.

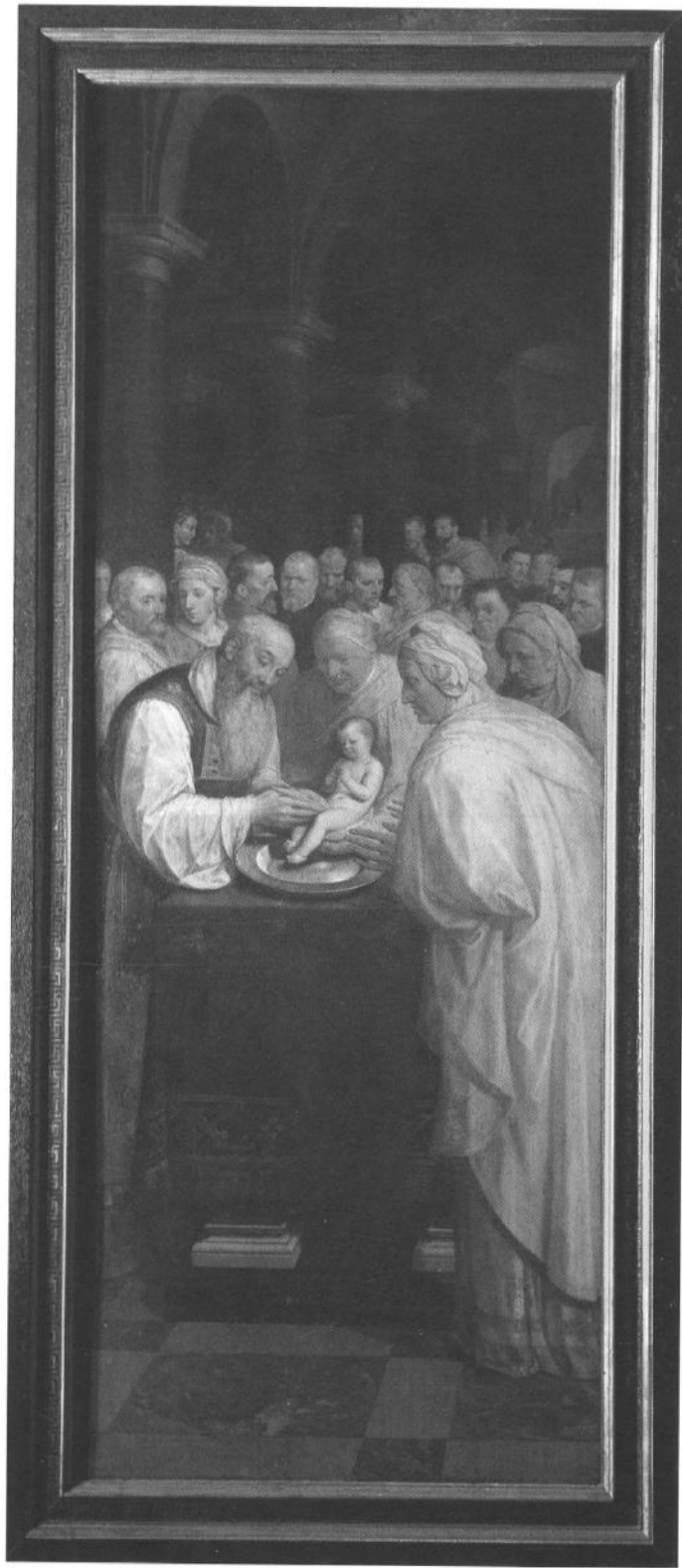


Fig. 8. Frans Pourbus, Left wing of the *Triptych of Viglius d'Aytha*, 1571, oil on panel, 230 x 86 cm, Ghent, Sint-Baafs cathedral, Viglius chapel.

of the Privy Council and Garde des Sceaux, eventually becoming President of the Council of Flanders and Chancellor of the Golden Fleece. When his wife died in 1556, he took religious orders, and became Provost of St Bavo in Ghent. When Philip II left Flanders, Viglius was nominated to the Secret Council along with Berlaymont and Cardinal Granvelle.

But at the same time we hear a good deal about Viglius' efforts to mitigate the severity of the decrees of the Secret Council of Flanders, about how he refused to cooperate with the Duke of Alba when he was appointed to the Council of Troubles, and that he frequently attempted to withdraw from major government positions whenever he could. Even so, despite his moderation, he remained faithful to the king.<sup>44</sup> In this sense he was like so many others, including Benito Arias Montano, Philip II's censor and instigator and supervisor of that vast project, the Polyglot Bible.<sup>45</sup> In fact, in 1576, just before he died, Viglius was even briefly arrested for treason. If ever there was an instance of ambivalence under the guise of orthodoxy – as opposed to many of the more obviously heterodox figures involved in the patronage, production and dissemination of art – it was he.

So let us turn to the triptych he commissioned in 1571 for his Church of Sint-Baafs in Ghent (Figs. 5-8).<sup>46</sup> It is a colorful and crowded work, showing *Christ Amongst the Doctors* teaching in an architecturally splendid temple. It deserves to be better known. Already in 1939, Simone Bergmans identified almost all the Catholic figures on Christ's right hand side and quite a few of the Protestant figures on his left (Fig. 6).<sup>47</sup> Charles V and Philip II stand prominently on the left of the picture. In front of them, garbed in red, is Viglius himself, whom we recognize from one of the several copies of Pourbus' portrait of him as well as from the quite magnificent portrait on the reverse of the wings (Fig. 5).<sup>48</sup> Behind Charles and Philip is the long sad face of the Duke of Alba standing beside his rather glamorous illegitimate son, Don Hernando of Toledo, *le grand bâtard*, as he was called; to their left, behind Viglius, are Cornelis Jansen, the famous Archbishop of Ghent, and Everard Back, Provost of Sint Pieter, while in the figure beside Joseph and Mary, Bergmans recognized, quite plausibly, the face of Jacob Hessels, who

along with Titelmans was one of the most feared members of the Council of Troubles. He was Viglius' nephew, and on several occasions Viglius had pleaded with him to mitigate the harshness of his decrees to little avail. He had also been responsible for the orderly dismantling of an altarpiece with wings by Floris, and the donation of a sculpture of St James which had been decapitated.<sup>49</sup> All in all, a typical enough figure for the times.

On Christ's left, the members of the Protestant crowd have not been so well identified. It is a task which remains, but in the foreground, of course, is Calvin himself, leaning towards a figure who Bergmans identified as Jan van Hembyze, painted by his fellow Protestant Pourbus in 1567 in one of his finest portraits.<sup>50</sup> I admit that this is not an entirely convincing parallel, and if one is not convinced by the similarity of the noses of these figures, then van Hembyze is certainly to be sought in one of the many other portrait heads in the triptych, whether on the central panel or on the wings showing the *Circumcision*, where Bergmans saw both Frans Floris and that other Protestant engraver, Frans Hogenberg, or the *Baptism*, which also, it so happens, contained portraits of Pourbus and his wife.

The whole work cost Viglius 800 florins, for which he also expected Pourbus 'de laisser pour une memoire un tableau de ma portraiture de sa main'. So he got three portraits of himself in this deal. Was it because he was so self-conscious about his slightly unappealing appearance?

Marcus van Vaerneuijck offers an unforgettable vivid account of Viglius' visit to Ghent in July 1571, at the very time he commissioned this altarpiece from Pourbus.<sup>51</sup> His visit began with a deputation of several notables who asked him to reduce the taxes which the Canons of Sint-Baafs received for the consumption of wine and beer in the town. Although Viglius declined to act on his own, saying that he did not want to imperil his family's ancient privileges, he said that he would go to Spain himself to set the case before the king, despite his crooked neck, crippled hand and lame foot.

'But many of the *geusgezind* – and some clerics as well – were angry with the man, saying, he comes here to stuff himself with the



Fig. 9. Frans Pourbus, *Preaching of John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 125 x 180 cm, Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv.nr. P.69.3.

fat profits of the provostship in his old age and has become a priest; as if he hasn't already made enough money at the Court of the King, so much so that sometimes he's even filled little ships with money to send to his friends in Friesland, and he came from a little *dorpken* near Dokkum, and with all the money that he got from the sale of the woods at Loo, he is as rich as the Caliph of Baghdad. Some people mocked him saying that he looked more like a barrel of beer than a spiritual shepherd, and that he was mismade, and that with his crooked neck he looked more like the idol Canopus in Egypt'.<sup>52</sup>

It is not impossible that van Vaernewyck – or these detractors of Viglius – may well have been thinking of an image such as Gerard van Groeningen's unappealing illustration for Frans Sweerts' *Deorum Capita ex vetustis numismatibus ex museo Orтели* published by Galle.<sup>53</sup> It is the usual set of slanders – from Caliph to Canopus; the terms of abuse are typical.

'But those who knew him well said that he had great wisdom and understanding and that he had the well-being of all at heart [...] and that one should blame God for his defects rather than the man himself, since after all they weren't his fault.'<sup>54</sup>

Indeed. His repeated efforts at mitigating the severity of his colleagues – and even the emperor's and king's decrees – are testimony to these qualities in him.

So we have quite a rich background for the painting. Let us return to it. First of all – to begin with the obvious – although altarpieces occasionally contained one or two portraits or *portraits historiés* within them and would continue to do so, to have quite so many was unusual. Secondly, what better subject for these times – and for what we know about Viglius himself – than Christ shown teaching both sides of the great religious divide of the time? It is true that the Catholic side, being on Christ's left, is slightly favored, but think of the significance, in these times and to Viglius himself, of having the young Christ shown



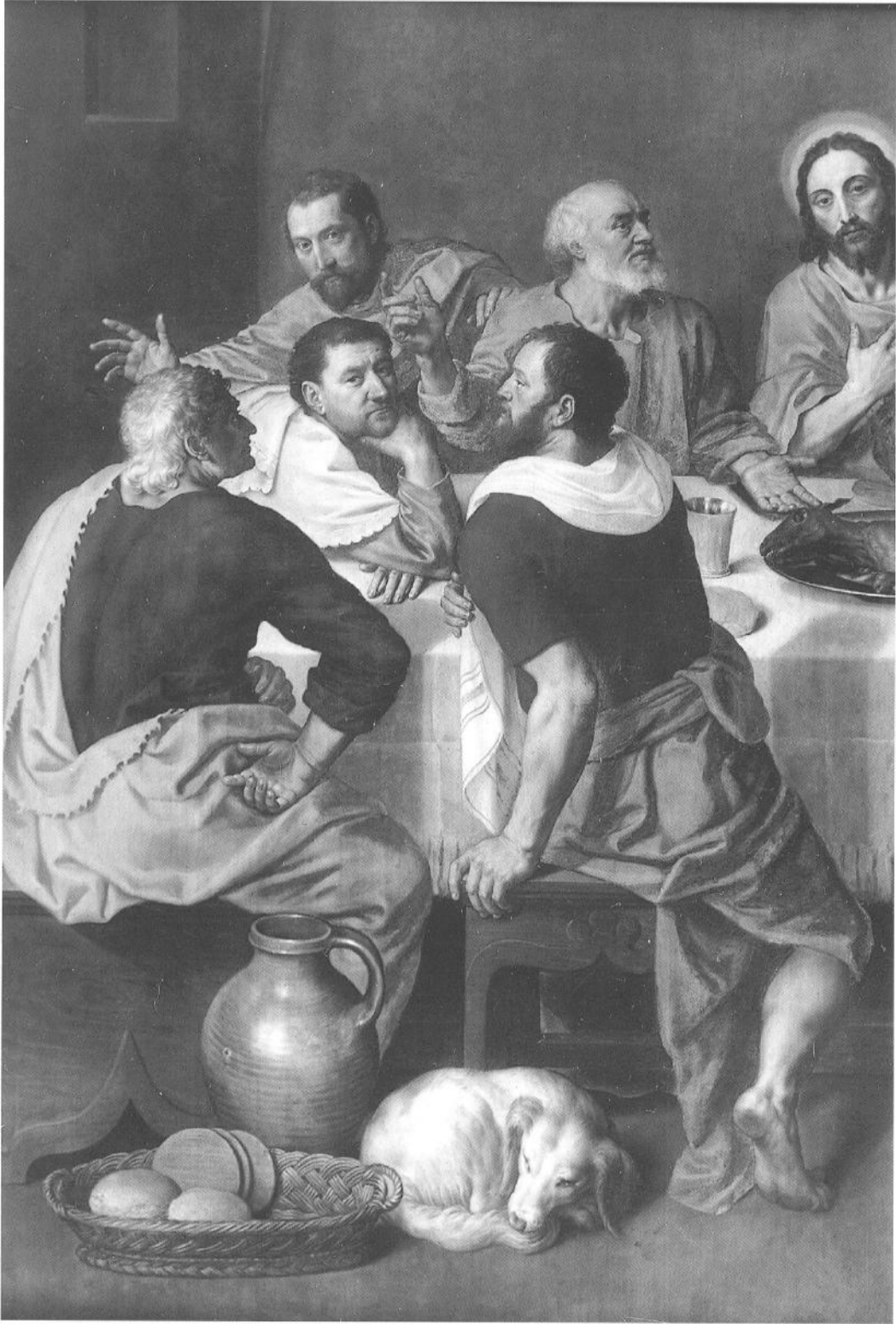


Fig. 10. Adriaen Thomasz. Key, *Last Supper* [outer wings of the *Gillis de Smidt*-triptych], 1575, oil on panel, 181 x 118 cm (each), Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.



giving a lesson to both Catholics and Protestants. It is one of the many paintings of the time that clearly allude to the themes of ecumenism and tolerance. No one side is really favored. Both are present to hear Christ's message; none are condemned.

It could hardly not be so. After all, Pourbus himself was a committed Protestant, leaving part of his estate when he died to the care of Protestant children (one of his own children, incidentally, was given the significant name, Moses).<sup>55</sup> It is surely in this context, then, that we should also consider at least some of the versions of his painting of the *Preaching of John the Baptist* (Fig. 9).<sup>56</sup> For years scholars have wondered about the possible Protestant connotations of Pieter Bruegel's painting of this subject, but in the case of Pourbus we have a picture with obviously ecumenical overtones containing a series of portraits which could well be of people on both sides of the religious divide. If the figure with the cowl is indeed Everhard Beck, and if the standing figure on the same side represents, possibly, Cornelis Jansen again, the question is what role they play in the scene, especially since one version was painted for the Calvinist merchant Pieter Panhuys, to whom we will shortly return.<sup>57</sup>

But, of course, all such subjects could be taken to mean that the other side can always learn from the teachings of Christ. This may well be the case with the *Christ Amongst the Doctors* painted in 1586 by Frans Francken for the altar of the Schoolmasters and Pastrycooks in Antwerp cathedral. It is the last of such paintings to be filled with portraits (in addition to those of Calvin and Luther and allegedly Melanchthon).<sup>58</sup> In this case, of course, the question is the degree to which the potential for ecumenism is subsumed by the desire to make a propagandistic point. It may be that the stylistic flaccidity here is as much a consequence of the ambivalence of the message as it is of the generally fatal combination of scripture and portraiture, of sacred history and contemporary history.

Even in the case of those who were not Nicodemist, but in fact quite dogmatic – and in many cases we shall never be sure of the dividing line – ambivalence must have remained the order of the day, particularly for painters, and even more particularly for Protestant painters working for Catholic patrons. If



Fig. 11. Frans I Pourbus, *Inspiration of St. Matthew*, oil on panel, 187 x 133 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.

Pourbus' Viglius triptych, with its superabundance of lay portraits and its richly allusive subject, is only imaginable in a Protestant context, though painted for a Catholic church and patron – just as one might also say of the De Smidt and Del Rio triptychs now reattributed to Adriaen Thomasz. Key and brilliantly discussed by Koenraad Jonckheere (Fig. 10).<sup>59</sup> What are all these portraits doing in a picture for the high altar of a Franciscan Church, even if this *Last Supper* is on the back of the wings?

But the question I want to raise is that of Pourbus' much more traditional and very beautiful *St. Matthew and the Angel* painted in 1573 (Fig. 11).<sup>60</sup> We know too little about this work, which Irving Lavin felt – rightly I think – served as an important *antecedent* for none less than Caravaggio's own painting of the subject in San Luigi Francesi,<sup>61</sup> but its stylistic touch seems much more secure than the works in which Pourbus was trying to satisfy a Catholic client who himself reached out more than once to the opposition, and who showed high ambivalence about the over-strict enfor-



Fig. 12. Marten de Vos, *Furriers' altarpiece (The Incredulity of St Thomas)*, 1574, oil on panel, 207 × 185 cm, Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.

cement of the laws defending the Catholic religion.

It is in this complicated context too, I think, that we must consider all the painted works of the Lutheran Marten de Vos – much inferior, by the way, to his printed output.<sup>62</sup> What a variable painter he was!<sup>63</sup> On the one hand he produced one of the few great altarpieces to be made in the brief period between the iconoclasm of 1566 and the Calvinist purification of the guilds and altars in 1581, the *Furriers' altarpiece* of 1574 (Fig. 12);<sup>64</sup> on the other he painted the *Schlosskapelle* at Celle, and a succession of works that clearly allude to the political events and theological controversies of the time. I think in particular of the *St Paul* cycle painted, at Ortelius' suggestion, for one of the most committed Protestants of all, the immensely rich merchant and shipowner, Gilles Hooftman, father-in-law of Panhuys and friend of the other Protestant merchants Antonis Anselmo and Johannes Radermacher.<sup>65</sup> It is interesting, I think, to see how he wavered stylistically, and produced these much less securely handled paintings when he had to work with this new, allusive iconography, for a patron whose faith, like his, was ambivalent about painting itself.

The scene selected for the first painting of the series, the *St Paul on Ephesus* (1568) is most unusual.<sup>66</sup> It shows the episode in Acts 19:23–41, in which the silversmith Demetrius and his colleagues aggressively confront St Paul in protest against their proscription of pagan images. But what you basically see in this picture are fragments of the books of magic destroyed by the apostles, and the huge pyre of more books in the background. The background itself is a great confusion – mind you, so is the picture as a whole – of elements of pagan architecture. Whether the unclarity of the scene has to do with de Vos' incompetence or whether it is another visual exemplification of a more or less willed ambivalence is difficult to tell. While you could say that the painting is precisely a critique of the wrong kinds of images, the fact that the image destruction is not visually referred to at all is surely significant; and while Matt Kavalier, in his thoughtful book on Bruegel's intellectual context, suggests that the burning of the pagan books might relate to the Protestant rejection of apocryphal texts still credited by Rome,<sup>67</sup> who could not have called to mind, in viewing a scene like this, the institution of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* just nine years earlier? These subjects were not



Fig. 13. Marten de Vos, *Saint Paul on Malta*, oil on panel, 125 x 201 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

*diaphora*; they would clearly have been read as alluding to the events of the time. It is hard to think that Protestants like Hooftman, who so valued the Word, would not have been troubled by such a scene, especially when they could scarcely have forgotten the effects of Charles V's proscription of Protestant books in the Netherlands (from as early as 1529 onwards) that anticipated the Index itself.<sup>68</sup>

This picture, as I just noted, was painted for one of the fiercest of the Nicodemist intellectuals in Antwerp at the time. The severity of character emerges plainly enough in the portrait of Hooftman and his wife which de Vos painted for him a couple of years later.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, he and his wife are portrayed quite accurately, as we now expect, in an even more curious and perplexing subject for a dining room, namely *St Paul in Malta* (Fig. 13).<sup>70</sup> Here de Vos represented the strange scene in which St Paul put his hand in the fire which the Maltese had lit to welcome them. An adder suddenly appeared and fastened its jaws on his hand, which the Maltese took as bad omen, but when Paul leaned forward and shook it back into the fire, as shown here, they considered him to be a god. Whether or not the message was intended to serve as a heartening example to persevere on account of faith as both Kavalier and Zweite suggested is not entirely clear.<sup>71</sup> Much more likely, as both of them pointed out, is that this is a pictorial allusion to the emblem in Claude Paradin's *Devises Heroïques*,<sup>72</sup> used twice by Emanuel van Meteren in two *Alba Amicorum*, including one for Hooftman's grandson Gillis Anselmo, showing a hand emerging over a fire and casting a serpent into it, with the motto from Romans 8 'Quis contra nos?'.<sup>73</sup> The image is

explained by the sentence, 'veritablement a qui Dieu veut ayder, il n'y a rien qui puisse nuire' – a perfect motto for that staunch, firm and unswayable believer Hooftman. Let us also notice who looks over the picture from the other side: it is none other than Abraham Ortelius himself, that lynchpin of the Nicodemists and Familists in Antwerp, the man who commissioned Bruegel's *Death of the Virgin* and sent the engravings by Philips Galle of it to people like Hooftman and even Montano himself.<sup>74</sup>

The last picture in Hooftman's series was probably the *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra* (Fig. 14).<sup>75</sup> This is the Pauline subject par excellence, particularly suited to Protestantism – though of course it is the subject of one of Raphael's greatest cartoons – in which after landing at Lystra, Paul and Barnabas heal a lame man.<sup>76</sup> The locals, thinking that they are Zeus and Hermes come to earth, bring them offerings and crown them with laurels. Paul – looking as close to the long-bearded Hooftman as one could probably get – and Barnabas tear their clothes to show they are mortals, and preach the invisible God, creator of heaven and earth. It would be hard to devise a subject with more significant Protestant overtones than this. But stylistically it is a bit of a dud, unfortunately, stuffed once again with pagan architecture, ancient trophies and all other kind of pseudo-archeological irrelevancies. I do not think de Vos troubled himself much about the details here.

In its lack of artistic inspiration and energy it is exceeded only by the great *Panhuys* panel (Fig. 15), but I restrain myself from further animadversion, other than two further observations, both quite obvious.<sup>77</sup> First of all, note the presence of Gillis Hooftman, Panhuys' father-in-law, right in the center of the panel. It is clear that the greater the number of overt portraits in a scene – and this is a problem with the works of Adriaen Thomasz. Key too – the more the composition tends to a dull isocephalism (we see this especially in the group portraits of the time), and the greater the dominance of the word – represented here not only by the Tables of the Law, but also by the inscription that runs round the frame – the greater the sacrifice of artistic inventiveness. Pictures cannot be propositions, as Ernst Gombrich would have pointed out. The same,

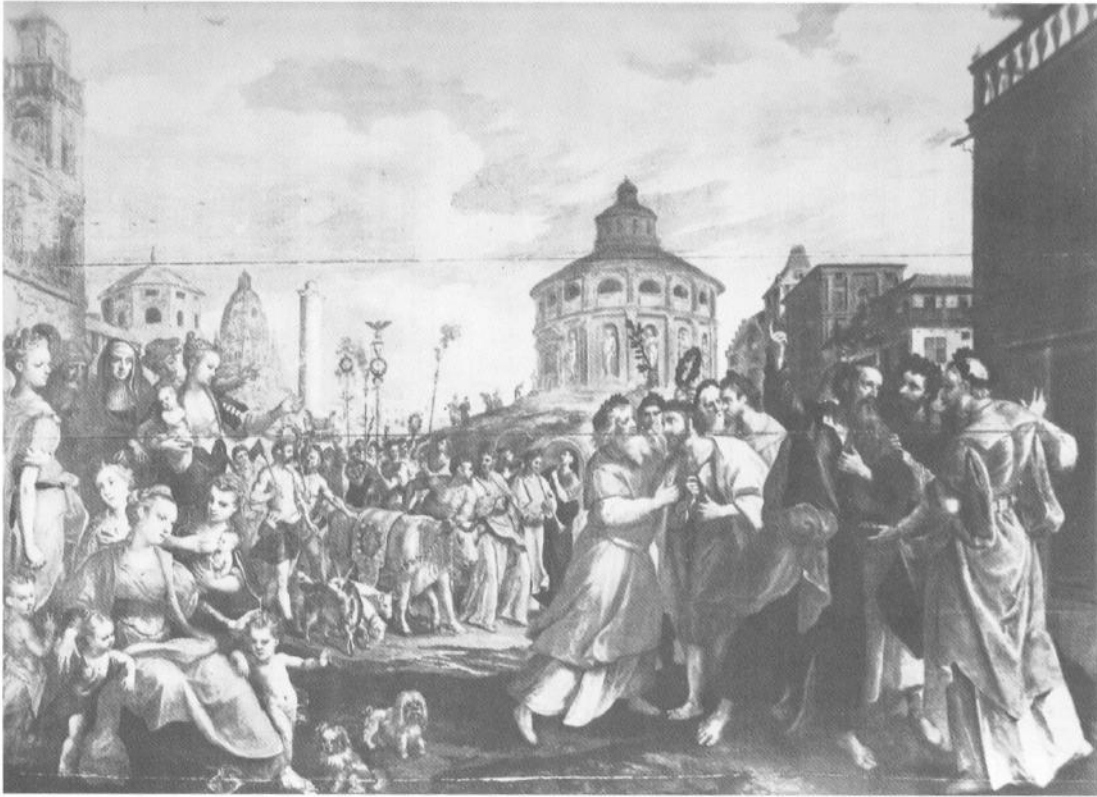


Fig. 14. Marten de Vos, *Saint Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, oil on panel, 140 x 185 cm, Gironde (Fr.), Château d'Olivier.

by the way, might also be said of the large quantity of contemporary engraved images that make so much of the tables of the law and which provide a context for a picture such as this. I think, for example, of Johannes Wierix's 1583 engraving after Gerard van Groeningen with its characteristically perfect Hebrew, and Pieter van der Borcht's more pictorially interesting Moses of 1571, precisely because it does not bother with the words at all.<sup>78</sup>

The fact that the Panhuys panel should have been painted in same year as the Furriers' altarpiece (1574) raises one of the crucial questions with which I began. Does it suggest that the kinds of inhibitions about painting that followed in the wake of iconoclasm and as a result of Protestant attitudes towards the role of images really had a significantly and directly negative effect?

The question, of course, is not subtle enough. The answer must be both yes and no; but in the end, I think the overall consequence was that of a positive challenge, a spur to creativity. It is true that iconoclasm and the *Stille*

*beeldenstorm* (Silent Iconoclasm) of 1581 had a deadening effect on contemporary religious painting, and the varieties of Puritanism, to use an anachronistic term for both sides, certainly resulted in a marked decline in the kinds of lascivious female imagery painted by figures like Vincent Sellaer, Jan Massys and Willem Key (Fig. 16).<sup>79</sup> There is very little like this in the second half of the century, when images such as these migrated to Prague, again under the leadership of an artist like Spranger who surely knew the work of the artists I have just mentioned in his youth.<sup>80</sup>

But in fact this was a time when there was a huge range of exploration in other areas of painting, to such a degree that one can make at least two important general claims. The first is that iconoclasm facilitated the development of new genres long before the great flourishing in the first two decades in Holland. The ambivalence of which I have been speaking did indeed lead to great diffidence about religious painting – not only about what could and could not be painted, but also the degree



Fig. 15. Marten de Vos, *Moses and the Tablets of the Law* [Panhuis-panel], oil on panel, 152 x 238 cm, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent (on loan from The Mauritshuis).

to which it was a valid channel to the divine at all. The seventies were the years which saw the seeds of new skills that then flourished in the eighties and nineties, particularly, of course, in the field of landscape, but also in the development of genre painting. Here we have to think of the *Nachleben* not only of Aertsen and Beuckelaer but also of Bruegel himself. In this context a figure such as Maerten van Cleve is key, not only for his peasant scenes but also for his remarkably bold *Flayed Ox* of 1566 (Fig. 17), a work which grows out of Aertsen and Beuckelaer and clearly anticipates Rembrandt's great painting of this subject from 1657.<sup>81</sup>

Portraiture, of course, remained a domain of great competence throughout. Interestingly, the kinds of Puritanism (as I have just vulgarly called it) never led to any diffidence about painting the self, as it did later amongst the Jansenists.<sup>82</sup> As we have seen, portraiture invaded the religious picture, and artists like Key and Pourbus produced some marvelous works, while others, like Marten de Vos, never really rose to any great heights. The group portraits were many, but they were almost all

weak. Artists never really resolved the problem of isocephalism, and the real breakthrough – as I hardly need say in this room – would only come much later.

Of course the kinds of martyrdom scenes that Pourbus pioneered in his *St George* triptych of 1577 – especially the wings, which in turn provided the model for Coxcie's later treatment of the same very popular subject – anticipated by just a few years the great craze for martyrdoms about which I wrote in 1976 and which was taken up all over Europe, on both sides of the religious divide.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, it was in 1587 that the Flemish–English polemicist Richard Verstegen published one of the most graphic series of prints ever dedicated to tortures, the much republished *Theatrum Haereticorum Crudelitatum* (1587), probably as a reaction to Foxe's famous *Book of the Martyrs*, which first appeared in 1563, and was followed in turn by Antonio Gallonio's even more gruesome and fetishistically detailed *Trattato degli strumenti di martirio* of 1591.<sup>84</sup> The taste for these was international, as testified by the large but badly painted cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome, and marks the beginning



Fig. 16. Willem Key, *Mars and Venus in Vulcans forge*, c. 1550–1555, panel, 146 x 210 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 40

of what we might call, for want of a better word, a new form of artistic globalization – to which I will refer again.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, Gallonius' work may well be indebted to Peeter van der Borch's illustrations for Thomas Sailly's *Guidon et pratique spirituelle du soldat chrestien* of 1590.<sup>86</sup> But all this is an entirely different topic, which it would take too long to expand upon now – and of course by this stage the Jesuits were fully on the pictorial scene.<sup>87</sup>

And this takes us to the second – perhaps it is even the first – major consequence of iconoclasm – that of the implications for printmaking. It is abundantly clear that the threats to painting both coincided with and gave further stimulus to the alternative genre of printmaking. 1566 was indeed the turning point. The foundation of the Four Winds,<sup>88</sup> followed by iconoclasm and the consequent Protestant uptake of alternative imagery generated the greatest revolution in reproductive image-making before the discovery of photography – and in terms of the sheer multiplication of imagery probably before the age of the computer. Iconoclasm reinforced the potential of

the new media; Protestantism expanded its iconography. It could hardly be more significant that Galle arrived in Antwerp in 1570 in the very year of the death of Hieronymus Cock and the publication of Ortelius' massive *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.<sup>89</sup> He arrived, and the great biblical series followed, often but not always with Protestant overtones. The astonishing *Theatrum Biblicum*, for the most part peopled with unprecedented monumental figures, expanded the range of Old Testament subject matter beyond anything imagined before, particularly in order to cater to the range of religious interests in a newly ecumenical Antwerp; and even when old stories were used, like those of Esther and Judith, they were broken down into a multitude of episodes that is testimony to the iconographic researches and inventiveness of publishers like Galle and great designers like Gerard van Groeningen.<sup>90</sup> No wonder the images of the 1579 *Theatrum* were reproduced over and over again, until well into the seventeenth century. Galle arrived, and published, along with Sadeler and others, a series of missals and books



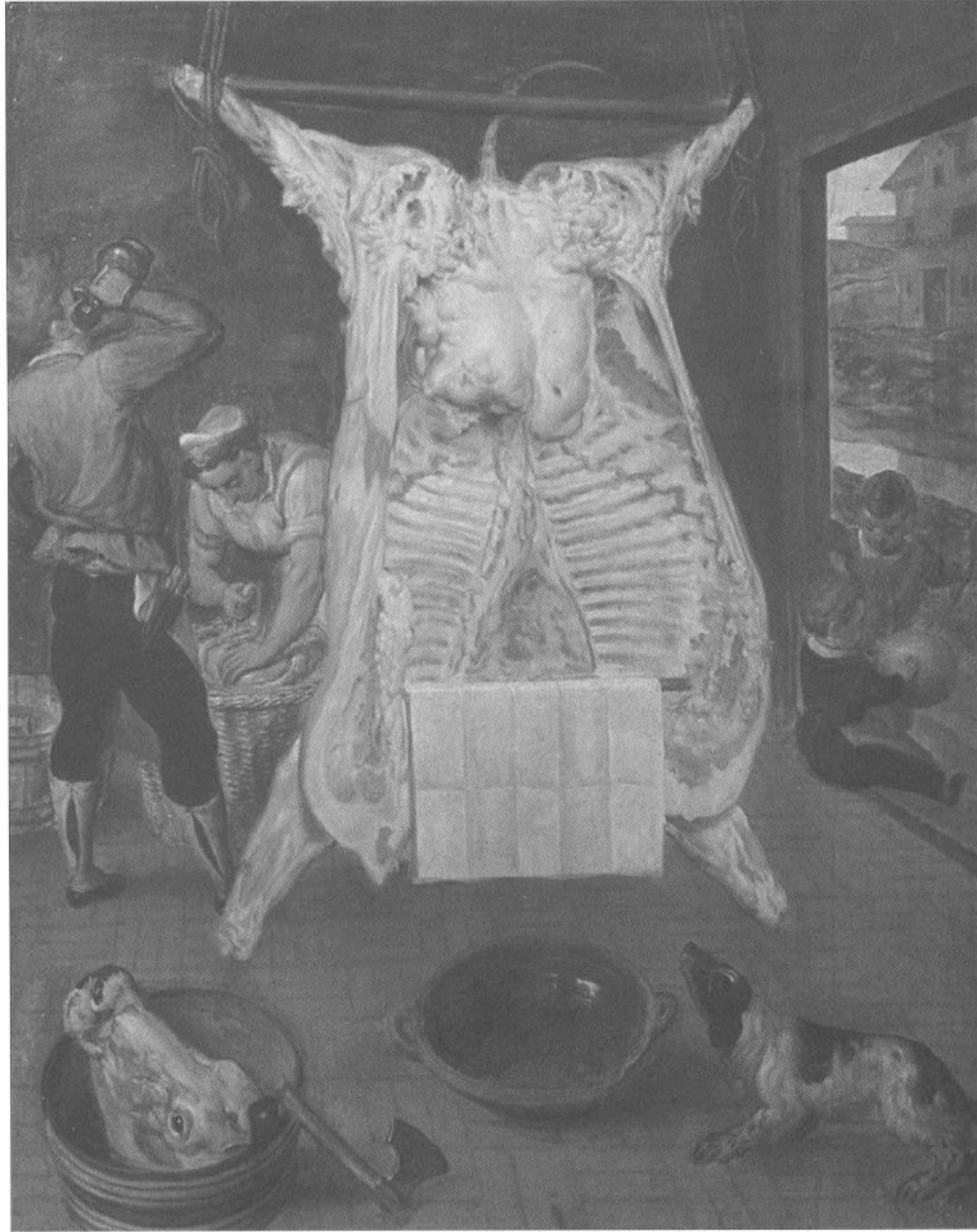


Fig. 17. Maerten van Cleve, *Flayed ox*, 1566, oil on panel, 68 × 53.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

of hours, whose images then reappeared in the works produced by familists and familist sympathizers.<sup>91</sup> Aside from the bibles and liturgical books studied by Bowen,<sup>92</sup> which began to be produced with ever greater intensity exactly in the years after the publication of the *Theatrum Biblicum*, the influence of Montanus and Barrefelt cannot be underestimated.<sup>93</sup> One only has to think of the significance of the Polyglot Bible and its title page of 1568, to say

nothing of the great and also much republished project that was the *Humanae salutis monumenta* of 1571, 1575 and 1581.<sup>94</sup> Barrefelt was significantly involved in many illustrations for the *Figures de la Bible* of the early 1580s and the project of assessing their religious implications remains.<sup>95</sup> In 1585–86, efforts were made to involve de Vos and Philips Galle in the first great Jesuit illustrated project, the *Evangelicae historicae imagines*, whose role in the formation

of seventeenth-century images cannot be underestimated either.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, the uses to which the Jesuit literature of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was put, can clearly be seen to have started in Flanders in the wake of the *beeldenstorm* – even though it has its roots in the great meditation handbooks of the long Franciscan tradition, to which we must now, of course, also connect figures like Franciscus Costerus, also soon churned out by the press of Moretus.<sup>97</sup>

All the new genres received their first full expression in printmaking – the work of the early landscapists in Flanders, the Grimmers for example, and then all the émigrés, is unimaginable not just without Bruegel but also without the work, say of Peeter van der Borcht and the really important figures of Hans Bol, the Sadeliers and the Collaerts. The works of van der Borcht and the many other artists who settled in Antwerp after fleeing Mechelen in 1572 made a significant contribution in this domain, not only in terms of subject matter, but also of style. Van der Borcht's light etching style was unmatched, and paved the way for a similar mode in the pre-Rembrandtists and even in Rembrandt himself. He showed the possibilities to many others too, and it is almost impossible to imagine the work of etchers like Claes van Beresteyn and Johannes Brosterhuysen without him.<sup>98</sup> It is not surprising that the prints which Mielke, with his usual brilliance, identified as Novellanus were once attributed to Peeter van der Borcht,<sup>99</sup> but it is clearly works such as these that must have been seen by painters as diverse as Poussin and Claude Lorrain. On this I could say more, too, but let us stay in the Netherlands at least.

Then there is the whole question of the ways in which an artist like Marten de Vos appears so much more effectively and impressively in his print production than in his paintings. After all, we would never think of him as another Heemskerck, as his portrait by Simon Frisius implies, unless we knew the prints, in which his command of extravagant bodies at last appears close to that of the *alter Martinus*, as the print puts it.<sup>100</sup> It is here that we can begin to understand the otherwise inexplicable words 'Arte hic Martinus sane est Heemskerckius alter / Nam simili ductu pinxit uterque, modo' ('In art this Martin is surely another Heemskerck, for each painted in a

similar handling and style'),<sup>101</sup> for in figures such as these we see the more direct influence of the muscular bodies of Heemskerck, even more than Frans Floris, of whom he is alleged to have been a pupil but clearly was not. These, of course, are the images which peopled the great Thesauri, and which are the real precursors, for example, in their incipiently extravagant poses, of the work of Spranger and Wtewael and the whole School of Prague Mannerists.<sup>102</sup> And speaking of nudes, there is one artist who plays a truly significant role in the development of Netherlandish Mannerism and who is often scanted, precisely because so much appears in print rather than painting. I think of the remarkable work of Anthonis Blocklandt, engraved by many but above all by Philips Galle.<sup>103</sup>

Moreover, the huge range of non-religious imagery remains to be studied. Think of Galle alone and of works like the *Historical Lineage of the Counts of Holland* of 1578, the *Images of the Heathen Gods* of 1581, the *Medici Triumphs* of 1582–83, the publication of works by humanists such as Frans Sweerts, Stephanus Pighius, and the editions of Aesop and so on and so forth – and of course I have said nothing about cartography in this period either, or the illustration of botanical treatises by van der Borcht and others in the very period they were active on the illustration of the Familist and straightforward religious works.<sup>104</sup> Indeed the role of iconoclasm in the genesis of new forms of scientific illustration – especially in manual form – has yet to be discussed.

But if iconoclasm and its Protestant aftermaths in Antwerp led, ironically and paradoxically enough, to one of the greatest expansions of image-making before the age of the computer, the situation with regard to religious painting was decidedly not the same. Since my time has run out, and since I have already discussed many of the issues at stake, let me just observe that ambivalence about the status of religious painting in a newly multi-confessional society, beset by doubts not just about the validity of images, but about what and how to paint, as well as the residual danger to art itself and the consequent threat to some artists' livelihood, and of course the mass immigration of artists who realized that the good days of toleration might be over when the city was ruled by a stronger Catholic hand, led to the kinds

of timidity and indecisive eclecticism that we see all over Antwerp religious painting at the time. When it is not clearly Catholic, it is weak. When it is clearly Catholic, it is competent, as, for example, even in the late works of that remarkable figure, Michiel Coxcié, and in de Vos' *chef-d'oeuvre*, the surprising *Incredulity of St Thomas* of 1574 (Fig. 12).<sup>105</sup> This is so much better and more secure than all his other works that it merits our brief attention. Very brief. I shall not do it justice, but it may stand as an emblem for the problem with which I want to conclude, especially since it is a topical one. The *Incredulity of St Thomas* demonstrates more clearly than any other painting that the usual names brought forward in connection with de Vos – Tintoretto and other Venetian painters – are irrelevant (though they might be a little more so, slightly more so, in the earlier pictures, and just possibly in the case of Hooffman's Pauline series). What is most relevant, clearly, are the Tuscan–Roman painters of the 1550s, whom de Vos saw when he travelled to Italy with Bruegel.<sup>106</sup> Here is his painting besides Salviati's *Incredulity of St Thomas* of the late 1540s.<sup>107</sup> Curiously enough there are often similarities in the works of the Flemish painters of the seventies and eighties with those of Girolamo Muziano;<sup>108</sup> but of course the other figure who seems to be most relevant to de Vos is Vasari, needless to say. Certainly there can be no question of the influence of his 1568 *Resurrection* on de Vos' much discussed painting of 1590, as Anne Woollett has pointed out, and which the Protestant Radermacher would later praise to the skies;<sup>109</sup> but when we turn to Vasari's treatment of the *Incredulity*, we find that it was actually painted only three years before de Vos.<sup>110</sup> It was not copied by Cornelis Cort, whom I have not had a moment to discuss today – though he is obviously germane to our whole problem – and he certainly could not have seen it. So here, *in nuce*, is the way I think this particular problem needs to be discussed.

The most important artistic source for painting in Antwerp after iconoclasm – and the Southern Netherlands in general – was the School of Raphael, whose works everyone visited and whom people knew well through

the engravings.<sup>111</sup> Michelangelo became less present, except through some of his Mannerist followers. Painters like de Vos and Pourbus had their sources in the work of Perino del Vaga and Baldassare Peruzzi, as well of course, for the more dramatic elements, Giulio Romano. The figures who I think can be excluded as sources of influence are not only the too often cited Venetians (except perhaps for Giuseppe Porta) but also the often cited Tusco–Roman painters Federico Zuccaro (despite his visit to Antwerp in 1575) and his brother, and Jacopo Zucchi.<sup>112</sup> In fact, these men were the contemporaries of the generation of Flemish painters born in the 1540s, to say nothing of the often almost stylistically fraternal works of the three Pomarancio.<sup>113</sup> But the fact is that since they too drew on the Raphael School as their models, and so their works, instead of influencing de Vos and Pourbus, look very similar in terms of composition, handling of space, and architectural backgrounds. These painters reached the same points after traveling pretty much the same pictorial roads. My point is simply that the combination of similarly fashionable sources and the vast dissemination of canonical and other images enabled by a hugely efficient reproductive industry led to the kinds of cross-regional uniformity that is symptomatic of what we now call globalization, with all the weaknesses attendant upon such periods. Interestingly, that uniformity in the sixteenth century, was also marked by a concentration of violent images of martyrdom – on both sides of the ideological fence – both in Antwerp and in Rome, at exactly the same time. They insisted on the respective sufferings claimed by each very different side. The fact that globalization is not necessarily the consequence of ecumenism and is now accompanied by seemingly ineradicable religious tensions played out on the political stage is surely all the more reason to reflect, yet again, on the brief period that is the subject of our symposium. And now it is time to hand the discussion over to you – or to take up my opening metaphor again – to let the rest of you play more harmonious instruments.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This is the old expression that we find, for example, in Balthasar Gerbier's 1620 *Lofdicht* (or rather *Clagh-Dicht*) on Hendrik Goltzius for people who think that their art could be improved by going there ('Doch die een Ezel gaet, niet licht weer keert een Peert' (B. Gerbier, *Eer en Clagh-Dicht Ter Eeren... van Henricus Goltzius...* (The Hague, 1620), p. 26, line 24), briefly discussed in D. Freedberg, 'Fame, convention and insight: on the relevance of Fornenberg and Gerbier', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal* (Papers presented at the International Rubens Symposium, 1982), Sarasota 1983, p. 244 and note 117. Why this proverb was applied to Paris in the inscription to Bruegel's 1557 print of the *Donkey and the Schoolmaster* is another question altogether (Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Ass at School*, engraving, 236 x 303 mm; see recently M. Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Ghent: Ludion, 2007), nr. 45).

<sup>2</sup> My DPhil thesis was completed in 1973 (though only published in 1988; see D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566–1609*, New York: Garland, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> G. Schwartz, 'Saenredam, Huygens and the Utrecht bull', *Simiolus* 1, 2 (1966–67), pp. 69–93.

<sup>4</sup> J. Molanus, *De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum pro vero earum usu contra abusus, libri IIII* (Antwerp, 1617).

<sup>5</sup> The literature on the archdukes' rebuilding program is now large. Much material was made available by M. de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der schone kunsten, nr. 9), (Brussels, 1955); while a useful summary of the material is to be found in F. Baudouin, *Rubens en zijn tijd* (Antwerp, 1972). But see now also L. Duerloo and W. Thomas, exh. cat. *Albrecht & Isabella, 1598–1621* (Brussels: Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> See recently J. Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm* (Bussum: De Haan, 1974); H. Kaptein, *De Beeldenstorm*, (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002); S. Groenveld et al., *De Tachtigjarige oorlog: Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (ca. 1560–1650)*, (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 2008), pp. 73–85.

<sup>7</sup> On the arousal that images can/could provoke see, for instance, my *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989), and idem, *Iconoclasts and their Motives* (Horst Gerson Memorial Lecture, Groningen University, 2), s.l., 1985.

<sup>8</sup> K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem, 1604), e.g. fols. 243<sup>v</sup>–244<sup>v</sup> [*Het Leven van Pieter Aertsen*].

<sup>9</sup> E.g. M. Warnke (ed.), *Bildersturm: die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks* (Kunstwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen des Ulmer Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, 1), (Munich, 1973), and H. Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte: Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1975).

<sup>10</sup> B. Latour and P. Weibel (eds), *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art* (Karlsruhe and Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2002), and J. L. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> On the production and consumption of art in sixteenth century Antwerp see especially F. Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Studies in European urban history (1100–1800), 2), (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003), and his essay in this volume (pp. 95–106).

<sup>12</sup> E.g. A. Monballieu, 'De muurschildering van de visverkopers in de kerk van Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-over-de-Dijle te Mechelen', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren, en Kunst van Mechelen*, 69 (1965), pp. 60–76, and A. Monballieu, 'De reconstructie van een drieluik van Adriaen Thomasz. Key bestemd voor het hoogaltaar van de Antwerpsche recollectenkerk', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen* (1971), pp. 91–104. Cf. also his notable and often forgotten 'De "Twee Aapjes" van P. Bruegel of de Singerie (Seigneurie) over de Schelde te Antwerpen in 1562', *Jaarboek van het Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen* (1983), pp. 191–210.

<sup>13</sup> K. Jonckheere, *Adriaen Thomasz. Key (ca. 1545 – ca. 1589): Portrait of a Calvinist Painter* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> C. Van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1518/1519–1570): Leven en werken* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 30), 2 vols (Brussels, 1975). Shortly afterwards, Van de Velde wrote about Frans Pourbus (C. Van de Velde, 'Nieuwe gegevens en inzichten over het werk van Frans Pourbus de Oudere', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, 25 (1979–80), pp. 124–57) but then his sixteenth-century researches gave way to those on the seventeenth – around the point when Floris' career stopped as the result of excessive drinking. I have always wondered whether Floris' depressive crisis was not in fact precipitated or aggravated by the threat to art posed in 1566. This may sound psychologically simplistic (and it may indeed be), but his output pretty much ceased then, partly because he was so psychologically and then physically disabled.

<sup>15</sup> On Adriaen Thomasz. Key see Jonckheere, op. cit. (n. 13). On Willem Key see especially the out-dated literature: M. J. Friedländer, 'Über Willem Key', *Pantheon*, 3 (1928), pp. 254–57; M. J. Friedländer, 'Willem Key als Porträtmaler', *Pantheon*, 14 (1934), pp. 230–36; G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Werken van Willem Key', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis*, 17 (1947–48), pp. 41–49; C. Limentani Viridis, 'Willem Key e Verona. Un indizio', *Verona Illustrata*, 3 (1990), pp. 35–42; D. Tillemans, 'Biografische gegevens over de schilder Willem Key (1515–1568) en zijn familie', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, 25 (1979–80), pp. 63–90. A monograph on Willem Key by Koenraad Jonckheere recently appeared, see K. Jonckheere, *Willem Key (1516–1568): Portrait of a Humanist Painter* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011).

- <sup>16</sup> On these painters see especially A. Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mann, 1980); R. De Smedt (ed.), *Michiel Coxcie (1499–1592). Pictor Regis* (Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen 96, 1992); Van de Velde, 'Nieuwe gegevens en inzichten over het werk van Frans Pourbus de Oudere', cit. (n. 14); C. Van de Velde, 'Aspekte der Historienmalerei in Antwerpen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in E. Mai and H. Vlieghe (eds), exh. cat. *Von Bruegel bis Rubens. Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämische Malerei*, Cologne (Walraf-Richartz-Museum), Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) and Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 1992–93, pp. 71–78; C. Van de Velde, 'Frans Pourbus the Elder and the diffusion of the style of Frans Floris in the Southern Netherlands', in E. Mai and H. Vlieghe (eds), *Die Malerei Antwerpens. Gattungen, Meister, Wirkungen. Studien zur flämischen Kunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Locher, 1994), pp. 11–17.
- <sup>17</sup> On these painters see especially: J. M. Hofstede, 'Jacques de Backer: Ein Vertreter der florentinisch-römischen Maniera in Antwerpen', *Walraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 35 (1973), pp. 227–61; E. Leuschner, 'Defining de Backer: New evidence on the last phase of Antwerp Mannerism before Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 137 (2001), pp. 167–91; E. Greindl, 'Le "Jugement Dernier" de Crispin van den Broeck', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, 15, 3–4 (1964), pp. 159–68; P. Wescher, 'Crispin van den Broeck as painter', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen* (1974), pp. 171–85.
- <sup>18</sup> Zweite, op. cit. (n. 16).
- <sup>19</sup> Gillis Coignet, *St George and the Dragon*, oil on panel, 193 x 225 cm, Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts; Gillis Coignet, *Portrait of Pierson de La Hues*, oil on panel, 170 x 133 cm, Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts. On Coignet see also A. Meskens, exh. cat. *Familia Universalis. Coignet: Een familie tussen wetenschap en schilderkunst* (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1998).
- <sup>20</sup> H. Miedema, 'Dido Rediviva, of: Liever Turks dan Paaps. Een opstandig schilderij door Gillis Coignet', *Oud Holland*, 108, 2 (1994), pp. 79–86; H. Miedema, 'Nog een schilderij van Gillis Coignet: Judith toont het hoofd van Holofernes aan de inwoners van Bethulië', *Oud Holland*, 109, 3 (1995), pp. 143–51; H. Miedema, 'Gillis I Coignet. "De waarheid verheven?"', *Oud Holland*, 118, 3/4 (2005), pp. 113–20.
- <sup>21</sup> Little has been published on Otto van Veen's painted oeuvre. In more recent years, the bulk of the attention has focused on his emblematic work. But on Otto van Veen's painting see especially: J. M. Hofstede, *Otto van Veen: Der Lehrer des P. P. Rubens* (unpublished PhD thesis, Universität Freiburg im Breisgau, 1959); J. M. Hofstede, 'Zum werke des Otto van Veen', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, 6, 3–4 (1957), pp. 127–74; A. Vogl, *Der Bilderzyklus "Der Triumph der Kirche" von Otto van Veen* (Munich: tuduv, 1987).
- <sup>22</sup> F. Antal, 'Zum Problem des Niederländischen Manierismus', *Kritische Berichte zur Kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, 3–4 (1928–29), pp. 207–56.
- <sup>23</sup> See e.g. M. Henning, *Die Tafelbilder Bartholomäus Sprangers (1546–1611): Höfische Malerei zwischen "Manierismus" und "Barock"* (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1987), and T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- <sup>24</sup> I. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, Maarssen 1977. Or more recent e.g.: I. Veldman, 'Religious propaganda in sixteenth-century Netherlandish prints and drawings', in: N. Scott Amos, A. Pettegree and H. van Nierop (eds), *The Education of a Christian Society. Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 131–63.
- <sup>25</sup> H. Mielke and U. Mielke, 'Gerard Groenning, ein Antwerpener Künstler um 1570: I. Verzeichnis seiner Zeichnungen und Stichwerke aus dem wissenschaftlichen Nachlass von Hans Mielke', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 37 (1995), pp. 143–57; H. Mielke and U. Mielke, 'Gerard Groenning, ein Antwerpener Künstler um 1570: II. Verzeichnis seiner Zeichnungen und Stichwerke aus dem wissenschaftlichen Nachlass von Hans Mielke', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 38 (1996), pp. 121–50; H. Mielke and U. Mielke, *Peeter van der Borcht* (The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700), (Rotterdam, 2004); H. Mielke and U. Mielke, *Peeter van der Borcht: Book Illustrations* (The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700), (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2005–07).
- <sup>26</sup> See, for example, K. G. Boon and D. de Hoop Scheffer, *Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler II* (Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700, vols. XXI–XXII), (Amsterdam, 1980); DaCosta Kaufmann, op. cit. (n. 23); D. Limouze, 'Aegidius Sadeler, imperial printmaker', *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, 85, 362 (1989), pp. 1–24.
- <sup>27</sup> K. L. Bowen and D. Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- <sup>28</sup> C. Schuckman, *Gerard van Groeningen* (The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700), 2 vols (Rotterdam, 1997); H. Nalis, *The van Doetecum Family* (The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700), 4 vols (Rotterdam, 1998); M. Sellink and M. Leesberg, *Philips Galle* (The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700), 4 vols (Rotterdam, 2001); A. Diels and M. Leesberg, *The Collaert Dynasty* (The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700), 8 vols (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2000–06).
- <sup>29</sup> T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France 1848–1851* (London: Princeton University Press, 1982), and T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
- <sup>30</sup> See D. Freedberg, 'De kunst en de Beeldenstorm, 1525–1580; De Noordelijke Nederlanden', in: J. P. Filedt Kok et al., exh. cat. *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 39–68, esp. 62–63; as well as E. Saunders, 'A commentary on iconoclasm in several print series by Maarten van Heemskerck', *Simiolus* 10, 2 (1978–79), pp. 59–83.
- <sup>31</sup> On the Family of Love see especially A. Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1981). On Barrefelt: A. Hamilton, 'Hiël and the Hiëlists: the doctrine and followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt', *Quaerendo*, 7 (1977), pp. 243–86.
- <sup>32</sup> Adriaen Thomasz. Key, *Nebuchadnezzar Casting the Children into the Fiery Furnace*, chiaroscuro woodcut, three tone blocks on linen, c. 312 x 480 mm.
- <sup>33</sup> Gerard van Groeningen, *Orgiastic Cult of Baal*, pen in brown ink with brown wash, 265 mm diameter, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. C821); see Mielke and Mielke, 'Gerard Groenning, ein Antwerpener Künstler um 1570. I. Verzeichnis seiner Zeichnungen und Stichwerke aus dem wissenschaftlichen Nachlass von Hans Mielke', op. cit. (n. 25), p. 146, cat. nr. 3.
- <sup>34</sup> The first printing was: B. A. Montano, *Humanae Salutis Monumenta* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1571). For the complex sub-

sequent printing history, see K. L. Bowen, 'Illustrating books with engravings: Plantin's working practices revealed', *Print Quarterly*, 20 (2003), pp. 3–34, as well as Mielke and Mielke, *Pector van der Borch. Book Illustrations*, op. cit. (n. 25), vol. 3, pp. 52–120. For an assessment of the complex irenic religious and political beliefs that lay behind his overt commitments, see B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 33), (Leiden, 1972).

<sup>35</sup> On picture bibles see now also W. S. Melion and J. Clifton (eds), exh. cat. *Scripture for the Eyes. Bible Illustrations in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2009). For further indications, see D. Freedberg, 'The hidden God: image and interdiction in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century', *Art History*, 5 (1982), pp. 133–53, and idem, 'Prints and the status of images in Flanders', in: H. Zerner (ed.), *Le Stampe e la diffusione delle Immagini e degli Stili* (Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, 1979, vol. 8), (Bologna, 1983), pp. 39–54.

<sup>36</sup> Montano, op. cit. (n. 34); H. Jansen van Barrefelt, *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum*, Leiden s.d.; see also R. Dekoninck, 'Entre Réforme et Contre-Réforme: les *Imagines et figurae Bibliorum* de Pieter van der Borch et Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt', *Querendo*, 29, 2 (1999), pp. 96–131.

<sup>37</sup> On religion in Antwerp in the second half of the sixteenth century see G. Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis. 1550–1577* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 114), (Baltimore and London, 1996). On religion in the Antwerp painters guild see: J. van Roey, 'De Antwerpse schilders in 1584–1585: poging tot een sociaal-religieus onderzoek', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen* (1966), pp. 107–32.

<sup>38</sup> On Galle see: M. Sellink, *Philips Galle (1537–1612): Engraver and Print Publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp* (unpublished PhD thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1997); Sellink and Leesberg, op. cit. (n. 28). For the quote by De Kempnaere, see Sellink in Sellink and Leesberg, op. cit. (n. 28), vol. 1, pp. xlix–l, and notes 129–130.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton, *The Family of Love*, op. cit. (n. 31), and I. Veldman, *De wereld tussen goed en kwaad: late prenten van Coornhert* (The Hague: SDU, 1990). On Coornhert's Ethics see for example: H. Puhmann, *Ethik in Wort und Bild: Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert und das moralisierende Emblembuch De Renw isv et absvv* (Antwerpen 1575), (Munich: Scaneg, 2007).

<sup>40</sup> Gillis Coignet, *Dido Commands the Building of Carthage*, oil on canvas, 175 x 253 cm, Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis. On this painting see Miedema, 'Dido Rediviva, of: Liever Turks dan Paaps. Een opstandig schilderij door Gillis Coignet', op. cit. (n. 20). On Coignet see Meskens, op. cit. (n. 19).

<sup>41</sup> Miedema, 'Dido Rediviva, of: Liever Turks dan Paaps. Een opstandig schilderij door Gillis Coignet', op. cit. (n. 20).

<sup>42</sup> E. T. Kuiper, (ed.), *Het Geuzenliedboek* (Zutphen: Thieme, 1924), lied 106 [Als sy nu mercten, datmen op haer Pardoen niet en achtete, isser eenen listighen Vredehandel voortghestelt: Een nieu Liedeken], pp. 244–45.

<sup>43</sup> See the references in the following note, as well as n. 51.

<sup>44</sup> On the biography of Viglius see S. Bergmans, 'Le triptyque de Viglius d'Ayta de François Pourbus "van die beroerlijcke tyden"', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis*, 9 (1939), pp. 209–23 (with the older sources); E. Dhaneus, 'Het Portret van Viglius Ayta of de chronologische waarde van de ikonografie', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België* 13, 3–4 (1964), pp. 197–204; E. H. Waterbolk, 'Viglius van Ayta. Maecenas van Sint-Baafs te Gent', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oud-*

*heidkunde te Gent*, 28 (1974), pp. 59–76; as well as updated material in <http://www.humbio.nl/>.

<sup>45</sup> B. A. Montano, *Index librorum prohibitorum / cum regylis confectis per patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctiss. D. N. Pij III Pont. Max. comprobatus, cum appendice in Belgio ex mandato Regiae Cathol. Maiestatis confecta*, Antwerp 1570, and B. A. Montano, *Biblia polyglotta, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine, Philippi II. Reg. Cathol. pietate et studio*, 8 vols (Antwerp: Plantin, 1569–73).

<sup>46</sup> Frans Pourbus, *Triptych of Viglius d'Ayta*, 1571, oil on panel, 216 x 83 cm (central panel) and 230 x 86 cm (wings), Ghent, Sint-Baafs cathedral, Viglius chapel.

<sup>47</sup> Bergmans, op. cit. (n. 44). Other articles on the triptych are: Dhaneus, op. cit. (n. 44), and Waterbolk, op. cit. (n. 44).

<sup>48</sup> Most important version of the portrait is in the Louvre (Frans I Pourbus, *Portret van Viglius van Ayta*, oil on panel, 108 x 84 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre).

<sup>49</sup> Waterbolk, op. cit. (n. 44), pp. 59–60.

<sup>50</sup> Frans I Pourbus, *Portrait of Jan van Henbyse*, 1567, oil on panel, 45 x 33,5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

<sup>51</sup> M. van Vaernewijck, *Van de Beroerlijcke Tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghent 1566–1568*, ed. by Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen, 5 vols (Ghent: C. Annoot-Brackman, 1872–81), cap. 21, pp. 301–04.

<sup>52</sup> 'Maer vele ghuesghezinde haddent quaet up den man, ooc sommighe gheestelicke; zeggende: hij quam hier de vette brocke vander proostie (in die plaetse vanden abt van Sente Baefs), in zijn aude daghen, in zijn maghe sliken, ende daerom gheestelic werden; als of hij niet ghenouch en hadde ghehadt an alle die proffijtelicke staten, die hij int hof vanden Coninc ghecreghen hadde, waer duer hij somtijts scheepkins gheladen met ghelde an zijn vrienden in Vrieslandt beschiecte, mits dat hij een Vriese es, van een durpkin bij tstedekin Dockem, gheenaemt Metselweer; schoer ooc alle die profijten, die hij mochte, met vercoopinghe van bosschen ende dieghelijcke, ghelijc hij alsnu den bosch te Loo gheheel dede vellen ende vercoopen, als oft hem nemmermeer schats ghenouch en ware, als een ander caliphe van Baldach. Schimpten ooc met zijnen persoon, die beter zeijden zij, een biertonne gheleeck dan een gheestelic herder: ende was mesmaect met zijnen crommen hals als den Canopus afgodt in Egipten', *ibid.* p. 303.

<sup>53</sup> A. Ortelius, *Deorum deorumque capita, ex vetustis numismatibus Abrahami Ortelii effigiata et edita / ex museo A. O* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1573). For van Groeningen's illustration, see Schuckman, op. cit. (n. 28), p. 1, 412/1.

<sup>54</sup> 'Maer zijlieden, die den man wel wanen kennen, legghen hem groote wijsheijt ende verstandt toe ende van ghoeden ghemeensamen bijzijne; dat hij zijn vrienden rijke maecte, presen zij hem; dat hij mesmaect was, mocht men beter Godt wijten dan hem, diets niet en mochte. Dusen gheeft dat gheen reden om daer mede te schimpen'. M. van Vaernewijck, op. cit. (n. 51), p. 303.

<sup>55</sup> Van de Velde, 'Nieuwe gegevens en inzichten over het werk van Frans Pourbus de Oudere', op. cit. (n. 14), esp. pp. 149–56.

<sup>56</sup> Frans Pourbus, *Preaching of John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 125 x 180 cm, Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. nr. P.69.3.

<sup>57</sup> Van de Velde, 'Nieuwe gegevens en inzichten over het werk van Frans Pourbus de Oudere', op. cit. (n. 14).

<sup>58</sup> Frans I Francken, *Christ Amongst the Doctors*, oil on panel, 250 x 220 cm [central panel], Antwerp, Our Lady's Cathedral.

On this painting see N. Peeters, 'Altaarstuk van het Schoolmeestersgilde en het Zeepziedersambacht', in R. Fabri and N. van Hout (eds), exh. cat. *Van Quinten Metsijs tot Peter Paul Rubens. Meesterwerken uit het Koninklijk Museum terug in de kathedraal* (Antwerp: Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal, 2009), pp. 117–23.

<sup>59</sup> Adriaen Thomasz. Key, *Last Supper [outer wings of the Gillis de Smidt-triptych]*, 1575, oil on panel, 181 x 118 cm (each), Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts; Adriaen Thomasz. Key, *Resurrection and Ascention of Christ [wings of the Antonio del Rio-triptych]*, oil on panel 166 x 80 cm (each), Paris, Musée du Louvre. On these paintings see K. Jonckheere, 'Wars van decorum. Het Laatste Avondmaal van Adriaen Thomasz. Key: een uitgangspunt voor Rubens', in: K. van der Stighelen (ed.), *Mimuscula Amicorum. Contributions on Rubens and his Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe* (Pictura Nova. Studies in 16th- and 17th- Century Flemish Painting and Drawing 10), 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 479–88, and Jonckheere, op. cit. (n. 13), pp. 118–23.

<sup>60</sup> Frans I. Pourbus, *Inspiration of St Matthew*, oil on panel, 187 x 133 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.

<sup>61</sup> I. Lavin, 'A futher note on the ancestry of Caravaggio's first St Matthew', *The Art Bulletin* 57, 1 (1980), pp. 113–14. Lavin's article is an addendum to an earlier article namely, I. Lavin, 'Divine inspiration in Caravaggio's two St Matthews', *The Art Bulletin* 65, 1 (1974), pp. 59–81.

<sup>62</sup> On de Vos' printed oeuvre see C. Schuckman and D. de Hoop Scheffer, *Maarten de Vos* (Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700, XLIV–XLVI), 3 vols (Rotterdam, 1996).

<sup>63</sup> On de Vos' painted oeuvre see Zweite, op. cit. (n. 16).

<sup>64</sup> Marten de Vos, *Furriers' Altarpiece (The Incredulity of St Thomas)*, 1574, oil on panel, 207 x 185 cm, Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.

<sup>65</sup> On this cycle see Zweite, op. cit. (n. 16), pp. 67–84.

<sup>66</sup> Marten de Vos, *St Paul on Ephesus*, 1568, oil on panel, 125 x 198 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.

<sup>67</sup> E. M. Kavalier, *Pieter Bruegel. Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 43–44.

<sup>68</sup> An overview of all the *placcaten* is to be found in *Ordonnancien statuten, edicten ende placcaten, ghepubliceert in de landen van henuvaerts-over, van weghen der keyserlicker ende conijnglicker majesteyten, ende haertieder zeer edele voorsaeten* (Ghent, 1559).

<sup>69</sup> Marten de Vos, *Portrait of Gillis Hoofman and his wife Margaretha van Nispen*, oil on panel, 116 x 140.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

<sup>70</sup> Marten de Vos, *St Paul on Malta*, oil on panel, 125 x 201 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

<sup>71</sup> Kavalier, op. cit. (n. 67), pp. 47–48, and Zweite, op. cit. (n. 16), pp. 67–84.

<sup>72</sup> C. Paradin and G. Syméon, *Les devises héroïques* (Antwerp: la vefue de Jean Stelsius, 1557), p. 187.

<sup>73</sup> Romans 8:31: 'Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos?'

<sup>74</sup> See most recently Sellink, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 194–95. See also D. Freedberg, *The Prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (Bridgestone: Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1989), pp. 53–55 and 186.

<sup>75</sup> Marten de Vos, *St Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*, oil on panel, 140 x 185 cm, Gironde (Fr.), Château d'Olivier.

<sup>76</sup> Raphael, *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra [Raphael cartoons]*, bodycolor on paper mounted on canvas, 350 x 560 cm,

London, The Victoria and Albert Museum, property of Her Majesty the Queen.

<sup>77</sup> Marten de Vos, *Moses and the Tablets of the Law [Pauluys-panel]*, oil on panel, 152 x 238 cm, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent (on loan from The Mauritshuis).

<sup>78</sup> See Schuckman, op. cit. (n. 28), vol. 1, p. 128, 365/IV, and Mielke and Mielke, *Peeter van der Borcht: Book Illustrations*, op. cit. (n. 25), vol. 3, nr. 899 (from the 1571 octavo edition of the *Humanae Salutis Monumenta*).

<sup>79</sup> E.g. Vincent Sellaer (workshop), *Susanna and the Elders*, panel, 101 x 81 cm, present whereabouts unknown; Vincent Sellaer, *Tarquinius and Lucretia*, canvas, 91.4 x 69.8 cm, Barnard Castle, The Bowes Museum, inv. nr. B.M.941; Vincent Sellaer, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, Tel Aviv, Museum of Art; Vincent Sellaer, *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan*, Antwerp, Rubenshuis; Willem Key, *Mars and Venus in Vulcans forge*, c. 1550–55, panel, 146 x 210 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 40 [Workshop copy of this painting: Willem Key (and workshop), *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan*, panel, 107 x 142 cm, present whereabouts unknown – Sale New York (American Art Association; Anderson Gallery), 27 and 28–3–1930, lot 163 (as Frans Floris)]; Willem Key, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1546, panel, 115 x 105 cm, Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein. Collection of the Count of Schönborn; Willem Key (and workshop), *Venus and Cupid*, panel, 104.5 x 149, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; Willem Key, *Venus and Cupid*, panel, 94 x 128.9 cm, present whereabouts unknown – Sale New York (Sotheby's), 22 January 2004, lot 34. Sold to Colnaghi & Co.; Jan Massys, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1567, oil on panel, 162 x 222 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts.

<sup>80</sup> DaCosta Kaufmann, op. cit. (n. 23).

<sup>81</sup> Maarten van Cleve, *Flayed Ox*, 1566, oil on panel, 68 x 53.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Rembrandt, *Flayed Ox*, 1657, oil on canvas, 94 x 67 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

<sup>82</sup> The literature on art and Jansenism is now large, but see still the classic studies by Lucien Goldmann (eg. L. Goldmann, *Le Dieu cache* (Paris: Gallimard, 1959)), and the excellent source material in L. Goldmann, *Correspondance de Martin de Barcos, abbé de Saint-Cyran, avec les abbesses de Port-Royal et les principaux personnages du groupe janséniste* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), though few writers on Jansenism and art fail to comment on the phenomenon (see, for example, the recent work by C. Gouzi, *L'art et le jansénisme au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Nolin, 2007)).

<sup>83</sup> D. Freedberg, 'The Representation of Martyrdoms during the Early Counter-Reformation in Antwerp', *The Burlington Magazine* 118, 876 (1976), pp. 128–38.

<sup>84</sup> For a history, see now J. N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); R. Versteegen, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: Adrianum Huberti, 1587); A. Galtonius, *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio e delle varie maniere di martoriare, usate da gentili contro christianii descritte* (Rome, 1591).

<sup>85</sup> On the Santo Stefano cycle see now G. A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 133–52; A. Vannugli, 'Gli affreschi di Antonio Tempesta a S. Stefano Rotondo e l'emblematica nella cultura del Martirio presso la Compagnia di Gesù', *Storia dell'arte*, 48 (1983), pp. 101–16; L. H. Monssen, 'Antonio Tempesta in Santo Stefano Rotondo', *Bollettino d'arte*, 67 (1982), pp. 107–20.

<sup>86</sup> T. de Saille, *Guidon et pratique spirituelle du soldat chrestien, reveu et augmenté pour l'armée de Sa Majesté catholique au Pays-Bas* (Antwerp, 1590).

- <sup>87</sup> There is plenty of literature on the Jesuits and the arts. For a useful overview, see now J. W. O'Malley and G. A. Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Arts: 1540–1773* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005).
- <sup>88</sup> The Four Winds was the publishing house of Hieronymus Cock. See T. A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock. Printmaker and Publisher* (New York: Garland, 1977), and J. Burgers, exh. cat. *In de Vier Winden: De prentuitgeverij van Hieronymus Cock 1507/10–1570 te Antwerpen*, (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 1988).
- <sup>89</sup> A. Ortelius et al., *Theatrum orbis terrarum. Opus nunc demum ab ipso auctore recognitum, multisque locis castigatum, & quamplurimis novis tabulis atque commentarijs auctum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1579).
- <sup>90</sup> See nn. 25, 28 and 33 above.
- <sup>91</sup> See now also K. L. Bowen, 'Workshop Practices in Antwerp: The Gallies', *Print Quarterly*, 26 (2009), pp. 123–42.
- <sup>92</sup> Her contribution has indeed been substantial. In addition to the work cited in the following note, see also: K. L. Bowen, 'Newly discovered Wierix prints for Plantin's books of hours', *Quaerendo*, 4 (1994), pp. 275–95; K. L. Bowen, *Christoffel Plantin's Book of Hours: Illustration and Production* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica 32), (Nieuwkoop, 1997); K. L. Bowen and D. Imhof, 'Book Illustrations by Maarten de Vos for Jan Moretus I', *Print Quarterly*, 18 (2001), pp. 259–89; Bowen, op. cit. (n. 34).
- <sup>93</sup> Cf. also Bowen and Imhof, op. cit. (n. 27).
- <sup>94</sup> B. A. Montano, *Humanae salutis monumenta* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1581).
- <sup>95</sup> Jansen van Barrefelt, op. cit. (n. 36). See Dekoninck, op. cit. (n. 36).
- <sup>96</sup> See recently J. Nadal, *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, ed. by F. A. Homann and W. S. Melion, 3 vols (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003–07). With an introduction to its history by Walter Melion. See also D. Freedberg, 'A Source for Rubens' Modello of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin in Leningrad: A Case Study in the Response to Images', *The Burlington Magazine*, 120 (1978), pp. 432–41, for an earlier (if briefer) consideration of the importance of this work for image-making in the Netherlands.
- <sup>97</sup> F. Costerus, *Vyftich meditatien van de gantsche historie der passie en des lijdens ons Heeren Jesu Christi* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1587). On Costerus see R. Hardeman, *Franciscus Costerus (1532–1619): Een Vlaamse apostel en volksredenaar, 2e helft 16e - begin 17e eeuw* (Alken: Bode van Het H. Hart, 1933). Also discussed in Freedberg, op. cit. (n. 96) with further references to other illustrated meditational handbooks of the time.
- <sup>98</sup> D. Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1980), pp. 57–58; see also B. Bakker, *Landschap en wereldbeeld van van Eyck tot Rembrandt* (Hilversum, 2004).
- <sup>99</sup> See p. viii of the introduction by Ursula Mielke in: Mielke and Mielke, *Peter van der Borcht: Book Illustrations*, op. cit. (n. 25), vol. 1.
- <sup>100</sup> Available for example in H. Hondius, *Pictorum aliquot celeberrimum praecipue Germaniae Inferioris effigies* (The Hague, 1610), and in many subsequent reprints of this series.
- <sup>101</sup> N. Orenstein, *Simon Frisius (The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700)*, 2 vols (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2008), cat. nr. 176.
- <sup>102</sup> DaCosta Kaufmann, op. cit. (n. 23).
- <sup>103</sup> Sellink and Leesberg, op. cit. (n. 28), cat. nos. 6–9, 139, 159–64, 169, 227, 235–38, 239–48, 400–03.
- <sup>104</sup> For van der Borcht's botanical illustrations see Mielke and Mielke, *Peter van der Borcht: Book Illustrations*, op. cit. (n. 25), vol. 4, pp. 75–98.
- <sup>105</sup> On Coxcie see De Smedt (ed.), op. cit. (n. 16).
- <sup>106</sup> Zweite, op. cit. (n. 16), pp. 19–37.
- <sup>107</sup> Cecchino del Salviati, *Incredulity of St Thomas*, oil on panel transferred to canvas, 275 x 234 cm, Paris Musée du Louvre.
- <sup>108</sup> P. Tosini, *Girolamo Muziano, 1532–1592: Dalla maniera alla natura* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 2008).
- <sup>109</sup> A. T. Woollett, *The Altarpiece in Antwerp, 1554–1615: Painting and the Militia Guilds* (unpublished PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2004), pp. 123–36; see also J. Vervaeke, 'Catalogus van de altaarstukken van gilden en ambachten uit de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk van Antwerpen en bewaard in het Koninklijk Museum', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen* (1976), pp. 197–244.
- <sup>110</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Incredulity of St Thomas*, 1572, oil on panel, Florence, Santa Croce.
- <sup>111</sup> G. B. Pezzini et al., *Raphael Invenit: Stampe da Raffaello nelle collezioni dell'istituto nazionale per la grafica* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1985); and L. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).
- <sup>112</sup> C. A. Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zucari: fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, 2 vols (Milan and Rome: Jandi Sapi, 1998–99).
- <sup>113</sup> Antonio Circignani (1570–1630); Niccolò Circignani (1520–97); Cristofano Roncalli (c. 1552–1626).