

‘Zeer constich ghedaen ende wel beziensweerdich’

The notes about art and artists in Marcus van Vaernewijck’s *Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt* (1568). Context, origins, and a reproduction of the text with added commentary

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Part I – Essay

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Preface*

Now mostly known to specialists of the Iconoclastic Fury and the Dutch Revolt, Marcus van Vaernewijck (1518–1569) was a writer, rhetorician, and civic administrator active in Ghent in the second half of the sixteenth century. He is best known for his *Van die Beroerlicke tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghendt, 1566–1568*,¹ a diary recording the Iconoclastic Fury of August 1566, the Calvinist open-air sermons, and the first stages of the Dutch Revolt and the Eighty Years' War. Not surprisingly, the manuscript text has been studied extensively since it was first discovered in the late nineteenth century.² Van Vaernewijck's other major work, *Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt*, published in 1568 and first reissued in 1574 as *Die historie van Belgis*, did not nearly receive that degree of scholarly attention, partially because of its reputation as being historically unreliable.³ Nonetheless, the text has to be regarded as both useful and important, more so because of the many notes about art, painters and sculptors scattered throughout it. The *Spiegel* is one of the earliest, and at the same time one of the most elaborate examples of Netherlandish literature of art. Van Vaernewijck's text includes one of the earliest 'Flemish' artistic canons, albeit a predominantly local one that was meant to shape Ghent's cultural identity. I should emphasize that writings about art and artists from the Low Countries that predate Karel van Mander's (1548–1606) *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604⁴ are

* The first part of this thesis is a heavily revised version of a text written during my research internship at the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (KMSKA). I am most grateful to my supervisor, dr. Victor M. Schmidt, Associate Professor of Art History at Utrecht University, for his support, helpful advice, and many valuable comments. I also thank him for encouraging me to continue work on Van Vaernewijck's writings after the conclusion of *From Alberti to Van Mander*, the famed course on Renaissance art theory. I am indebted to dr. Dirk van Miert, Assistant Professor of Early Modern Cultural History at Utrecht University and the second reader of this thesis, for his suggestions and constructive criticism. Finally, my thanks to prof. dr. Manfred Sellink and dr. Christine van Mulders at the KMSKA for reading earlier versions of this text.

¹ Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghendt, 1566–1568*, Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen ed. (Ghent 1872–1881, in v vols.), J. Duverger e.a. (ed.), *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek [NBW]* vol. viii (Brussel 1979) 799–807.

² Dirk Coigneau, 'Calvinistische literatuur te Gent tot 1584', *Jaarboek de Fonteyne* (1981) 145–166; W. Waterschoot, 'De rederijkerskamers en de doorbraak van de reformatie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', *Jaarboek de Fonteyne* (1997) 141–153; Koen Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld van een zestiende-eeuwse Gentenaar Marcus van Vaernewijck. Een ideeën- en mentaliteitshistorische studie op basis van zijn kroniek, Van die beroerlicke tijden*. Verhandelingen der maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde 30 (Ghent 2005); Anne-Laure van Bruaene and Michal Bauwens, 'De Sint-Jacobskerk te Gent. Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van de stedelijke parochiekerk in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 65 (2011) 103–125.

³ Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt. Inhoudende die constructie, oft vergaderinghe van Belgis*. [...] (Ghent 1568). See Philip Marie Blommaert, *De Nederduitsche schrijvers van Gent* (Ghent 1862) 76–81; Ferdinand Vanderhaegen, *Bibliographie gantoise. Recherches sur la vie et les travaux des imprimeurs de Gand, 1483–1850* vol. i (Ghent 1858) 151–152 no. 172; Marie-Thérèse Lenger, Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen, Joseph de Reuck (ed.), *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* vol. v (Brussels 1975) 408–410 no. 63; Elly Cockx-Indestege, Geneviève Glorieux, Bart Op de Beeck (ed.), *Belgica typographica, 1541–1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt* vol. iii (Nieuwkoop 1994) 147 no. 9273; Jerome Machiels, *De boekdrukkunst te Gent tot 1560* (Ghent 1994) 268 no. 368. The second edition of the text is Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Die historie van Belgis, diemen anders namen mach: Den spiegel der Netherlantscher audtheyt* [...] (Ghent 1574). All references are to the 1568 edition of the text, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

⁴ Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* [...] (Haarlem 1604). I consulted the facsimile edition of *Het Leven der Doortuchtighe Nederlandtsche en Hooghduytsche Schilders* in: *ibid.*, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-Boeck, 1603–1604* vol. i, Hessel Miedema ed. (Doornspijk 1994). The commentary volumes are referred to as Miedema, *Lives*, with the volume and page numbers.

famously scarce – ‘in shocking contrast to the situation in Italy in the same period’.⁵ For this reason alone, the very existence of the text makes it worthwhile to minutely investigate its contents and origins.

Marcus van Vaernewijck’s *Spiegel* is best known to art historians for its chapter describing the *Ghent Altarpiece* and the accompanying biographies of Hubert (ca. 1385/1390–1426) and Jan van Eyck (ca. 1390–1441) [no. 15]. These segments have been recorded and discussed at length by Scheewe, Waterschoot, Dhanens, Melion, Miedema in his commentaries to the *Schilder-Boeck*, and, more recently, Kemperdick and Rößler.⁶ Sections of the chapter are well known and often quoted, but, as we shall see, the *Spiegel* has much more to offer. Van Vaernewijck’s notes detailing the subject matter and location of lost or destroyed paintings, retables, sculptures, and other artful objects in Flanders, Zeeland, and other places contribute to the reconstruction of the original oeuvres of several famous (and often not-so-famous) painters and sculptors. His descriptions of religious sculpture in Ghent are especially of interest: most of the material he describes was destroyed during the Iconoclastic Fury. Indeed, sculpture produced in the sixteenth-century Low Countries is ‘one of the blind spots of art history’.⁷ Furthermore, Van Vaernewijck’s notes and considerations offer insight into the intellectual baggage of the author and his intended readers, meaning that careful examination of the relevant sections can help us to better understand art appreciation in sixteenth-century Flanders. Indeed, his notes and descriptions shed light on two distinctly humanist developments. First, they reveal a maturing fascination for the biographies of scholars, in casu painters and sculptors, and their identities as illustrious men. Secondly, they show an ongoing learned debate about which local artists were worth knowing and remembering, a discussion that was in part fueled by important Italian predecessors. The *Spiegel* thus claims a clear but overlooked place in the early history of the Netherlandish artistic canon, almost four decades before Karel van Mander published his famous *Schilder-Boeck*. Van Mander would use Van Vaernewijck’s text as a source for his biographies of the Van Eycks, Jan Gossart (1478–1532), and other painters.⁸

The aim of this thesis is twofold. It first demonstrates the originality and importance of the *Spiegel* in the context of the development of art literature and the artistic canon in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. In order to do this, I have shaped my narrative along the

⁵ Victor M. Schmidt, ‘Buchelius’s “Res pictoriae” and the writing about art’, in: Jonathan Bikker e.a. (ed.), *“Gij zult niet feestbundelen”*. 34 bijdragen voor Peter Hecht (Zwolle 2016) 183–189, 184.

⁶ See the classic studies in L. Scheewe, *Hubert und Jan van Eyck. Ihre literarische Würdigung bis ins 18. Jahrhundert* (The Hague 1933); Werner Waterschoot, ‘Lucas d’Heere en Marcus van Vaernewijck voor het Lam Gods’, *Jaarboek de Fontaine* (1966) 109–118; Elizabeth Dhanens, *Het retabel van het Lam Gods in de Sint-Baafskathedraal te Gent. Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen* vol. vi (Ghent 1965); Elizabeth Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck* (Antwerp 1980); Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon. Karel van Mander’s Schilder-Boeck* (London 1991); Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 190–209; Stephan Kemperdick and Johannes Rößler (ed.), *The Ghent Altarpiece by the brothers Van Eyck. History and appraisal* (Berlin 2014).

⁷ Ethan Matt Kavaler, ‘Sixteenth-century Netherlandish sculpture: a recovery’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 67 (2017) 6–33, 8.

⁸ Bernhard Ridderbos, ‘From Waagen to Friedländer’, in: Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren, and Henk van Veen (ed.), *Early Netherlandish paintings. Rediscovery, reception and research* (Amsterdam 2005) 218–251, 218.

following research questions. How does the *Spiegel* fit into the wider traditions of Northern publications about art, and how does it relate to those texts? Indeed, what is borrowed or copied from other scholars, and what are Van Vaernewijck's own observations and inventions? What is the influence of local social or intellectual networks, and how should Van Vaernewijck's partaking therein be interpreted? And, finally, what is the role and importance of Van Vaernewijck's notes in the development of the early 'Flemish' artistic canon? The second aim of this thesis is to shed light onto the hitherto obscure sections of the *Spiegel* that include notes about art or artists. To this end, I present a complete commented edition of the relevant segments of the source text.

Before we take a closer look at the *Spiegel* itself, we will start by placing it into the context of other sixteenth-century Flemish texts that include notes about art. In the first chapter, we will examine some of the many different types of 'Kunsliteratur', and analyze how they developed in the Low Countries. I have selected examples from the three genres that are most relevant to our purpose: the chorography, the laudatory poem, and the biography or *vita*. As we shall see, Marcus van Vaernewijck took elements from each of these types, and combined them into one more or less coherent product. All the sources discussed in the first chapter either were demonstrably known to Van Vaernewijck, or are representative early specimens for their genre. It should be noted that the overview is in no way exhaustive. Furthermore, our succinct survey of collected sources from this period will allow us to trace the development of Netherlandish art literature in three of its many different facets, and accurately place the *Spiegel* within that process. Thankfully, the ongoing digitization of special collections of university libraries and research institutes has made it possible to tap from a vast wealth of information.

Chapter two focuses on Marcus van Vaernewijck specifically. After a succinct biographical introduction, we survey Van Vaernewijck's literary and poetic output up until the *Spiegel* was published in 1568. From this survey of his poems, chronicles, travel reports and texts with a chorographic character, it will become clear that the *Spiegel* was the result of a decade of experimentation: it was a hybrid in which defining features of his earlier work were combined.

In chapter three, we discuss the *Spiegel* itself, its publication history, its illustrations, and we analyze the source materials Van Vaernewijck consulted. As we shall see below, Marcus van Vaernewijck was above all a compiler, firmly rooted in late-medieval as well as distinctly modern Renaissancist traditions of hagiographies, chronicles, (pseudo-)histories, reports of foreign travels, and chorographies. Where it comes to art and artists, however, most observations and descriptions are decidedly his own. These sections should be seen in the context of Van Vaernewijck's humanist and antiquarian interests, as well as his efforts to construct a local cultural identity of his home town, and in second instance, of Flanders.

The fourth chapter briefly explores the development of Flemish literature of art after the publication of Van Vaernewijck's text. We discuss the famous *Pictorum* of 1572, and we briefly examine indications of art discourses that took place in the epistolary networks of Antwerp

humanists up until ca. 1570–1575. The ending date is an arbitrary one, but a consequence of our limited space.

Part two of this thesis exclusively concerns the relevant segments of the *Spiegel* itself. In order to fully grasp and understand the abundance of art historical information that is offered throughout the text, I will present a complete, commented reproduction of Van Vaernewijck's notes on art and artists. This edition is headed by a brief introduction in which the editorial principles are postulated. I have chosen to include Van Vaernewijck's notes on artists and art mentioned in the Bible and ancient sources. While usually of little 'true' art historical value, the segments are important for our understanding of the wealth of sources consulted by our author, as well as his ideas about the foundations of (the history of) art.⁹ Karel van Mander, for example, included *Het leven der oude Antijcke doorluchtighe Schilders* in his *Schilder-Boeck* for similar reasons.¹⁰

I. Literature of art

Introduction

The term 'Kunstliteratur' was coined by the Austrian art historian Julius von Schlosser. In his influential bibliographical study of 1924, he explored the genre in all its facets. For Schlosser, the literature of art encapsulates 'die literarischen Zeugnisse, die sich in theoretischen Bewußtsein mit der Kunst auseinandersetzen, nach ihrer historischen, ästhetischen oder technischen Seite hin, während die sozusagen unpersönlichen Zeugnisse, die Inschriften, Urkunden und Inventare, anderen Disziplinen zufallen und hier nur einen Anhang bilden können'.¹¹ As we shall see, 'Kunstliteratur' has many different subtypes and often intertwined branches, and therefore it can hardly be regarded as a 'genre' in itself. However, it can be applied as an overarching term to signify the general content of a given text, and that is how we will use it, too.

One of the many traditions within the literature of art is that of the technical manuals and recipe books. The fifteenth-century treatises by Cennino Cennini (1370–1440), Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378–1455), Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472)¹² and others were well known in Italy.

⁹ As was also noted by Schmidt in his discussion of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641), the Utrecht antiquarian and humanist, see Schmidt, 'Buchelius's "Res pictoriae"', 183–184.

¹⁰ For a complete edition with references to sources, see Karel van Mander, *Het leven der oude Antijcke doorluchtighe Schilders* [...], Hessel Miedema ed. (Amsterdam 1977).

¹¹ See for a wider discussion of the term Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur. Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna 1924) 1–5, cf. E.H. Gombrich and Max Marmor, 'The literature of art', *Art documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 11:1 (1992) 3–8.

¹² The most recent translated edition is Leon Battista Alberti, *On painting: a new translation and critical edition*, Rocco Sinisgalli ed. (Cambridge 2011), also see the introduction in *ibid.*, 3–16. The first printed edition of Alberti's text appeared in Basel, in 1540. An early German adaptation of the text is (without Alberti's name) included in Walther Hermann Ryff, *Der furnembsten, notwendigsten der gantzen Architectur angehörigen Mathematischen und Mechanischen Künst* [...] (Nuremberg 1547). Also see Kirsti Andersen, *The geometry of an art. The history of mathematical theory of perspective from Alberti to Monge* (New York 2007) 19–34, 223–224, and Charlotte Kurbjuhn, *Kontur. Geschichte einer ästhetischen Denkfigur. Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte* 81 (Berlin 2014) 125–128.

To the north of the Alps, however, a similar tradition was largely absent until the teachings on perspective by Jean Pèlerin (ca. 1445–before 1524) and Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) were published (infra).¹³ In the North, notes about art and artists are usually found in chorographies, the laudatory poem, and, importantly, the biography or *vita*.¹⁴ Prior to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, art literature originating from the North seldom consisted of anything more substantial than a simple list of names, usually in combination with a succinct laudatio or a clichéd reference to an artist known from ancient sources. Collections of detailed painter's biographies, in essence an adaptation of the existing humanist catalogues of 'famous men', first emerged in Italy, where they were popularized by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) in 1550 – and writers in the Low Countries followed suit. We will analyze this shift below.

Literature of art in Antiquity

Before we examine the development of literature of art in the sixteenth century, we should briefly review its ancient predecessors – after all, the anecdotes and stories first compiled in antique sources were to be constantly copied and re-invented by Renaissance writers. The history of art literature presumably starts with Douris of Samos (ca. 350–after 281 BC). Several fragments of his texts about the lives of painters and sculptors have been preserved.¹⁵ But the most important classical source is without doubt the monumental *Naturalis historia* of Pliny (ca. 24–79), in which the author devotes lengthy books to Greek and Roman art and artists.¹⁶ Pliny's famous anecdotes about painters and sculptors such as Parrhasius, Zeuxis, Apelles, and Protogenes were constantly recycled by later authors. Likewise, Pliny's descriptions of the painters's characters were often adapted or re-used by humanist writers. Parrhasius, for example, was, according to Pliny, a memorable artist with an unparalleled ego: he referred to himself as the 'Prince of Painters'.¹⁷ We find the very same nomenclature in sixteenth-century texts about painters such as Jan van Eyck. In that context, however, the title 'Prince of Painters' is used in a purely laudatory manner, as does Van Vaernewijck when he discusses a painting by Van Eyck in Bruges [no. 21].

¹³ An important medieval exception that nonetheless has no part in the (later) tradition is the *Schedula diversarum artium* of Theophilus Presbyter (pseudonym of Rogier von Helmarshausen?, ca. 1070–1125). The text likely originates from the Rhineland, and must have been written between ca. 1100 and 1120. The text is edited, introduced and translated in Theophilus, *On divers arts. The foremost Medieval treatise on painting, glassmaking, and metalwork*, John G. Hawthorne and Cyrill Stanley Smith ed. (New York 1979). See *ibid.*, xv–xvii for a biography of the presumable author. The treatise records in detail the techniques used in applies arts throughout the High Middle Ages, including the production of oil paint, see Marc Gotlieb, 'The painter's secret: invention and rivalry from Vasari to Balzac', *The Art Bulletin* 84:3 (2002) 469–490, 473–474, and Von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, 22–23, who described the text as an important example of medieval 'Rezeptenliteratur'.

¹⁴ Von Schlosser regarded these 'biografisch-anekdotesche' texts as 'Künstlergeschichte', see Von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, 10.

¹⁵ Jerome Pollitt, *The Ancient view of Greek art. Criticism, history, and terminology* (New Haven 1974) 9; Andrew Dalby, 'The curriculum vitae of Douris of Samos', *The Classical Quarterly* 41:2 (1991) 539–541.

¹⁶ The anecdotes in Pliny are likely based on the text(s) of Douris of Samos, Jeremy Tanner, *The invention of art history in Ancient Greece. Religion, society and artistic rationalisation* (Cambridge 2006) 244–245; Craig Hardiman, "'Popular" aesthetics and personal art appreciation in the Hellenistic Age', in: Ineke Sluiter and Ralph M. Rosen (ed.), *Aesthetic value in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden 2012) 265–283, 269–270.

¹⁷ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.71.

Pliny's collection of anecdotes on Apelles, the famous court painter of Alexander the Great (356–323 BC), was of particular importance: it formed the basis of a legend that was commonly used in many forms throughout the Renaissance.¹⁸ The identification with Apelles, Zeuxis, or other famous masters from Antiquity quickly became part of a standardized repertoire that was applied by sixteenth-century authors writing about art and the lives of artists. The comparison with Apelles eventually formed 'a topos within the genre that is both universal and specific in its signification' – it was a rhetorical device that reveals us more about the (learned) background of the author than about the actual life of the artist.¹⁹ Usually, emphasis is placed on the capacity of the artist to emulate, mislead or even surpass nature, as is the case in Pliny's anecdote of triumvir Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (ca. 88–ca. 13 BC), who was kept awake by singing birds outside his tent. Angrily, he commanded a local artist to paint a snake on a long strip of parchment. The parchment was wrapped around a tree, after which the birds were too scared to sing.²⁰ As we shall see, similar stories were continuously copied and adapted by sixteenth-century humanist authors. Indeed, the imitation of classical authors and formulae 'was one of the central principles' of humanist literary composition.²¹

Town and country: chorography

In the following sections, we will examine three dominant 'types' or indeed genres of art literature: the chorography, the laudatory poem, and the biography. Van Vaernewijck was familiar with each of these traditions – especially that of the chorography. In the *Spiegelhel*, he takes and combines elements from each, and adapts them into his own narrative. The chorography is a sixteenth-century literary genre that combines descriptions of culture, history, antiquarianism, and the topography of a given region into a single more or less coherent text. The renewed interest in books with this rather typical structure was sparked by the rediscovered works of ancient writers such as Strabo of Amaseia (ca. 64 BC–23) and Tacitus (ca. 56–117), whose *Geographica* and *De origine et situ Germanorum* intertwined local histories and descriptions of flora and fauna, peoples, and cities.²² This literary genre, initially an invention of Ptolemy of Alexandria (ca. 100–ca. 170), offers a qualitative description of a particular region in relatively large detail. The geography and cosmography, on the other hand,

¹⁸ Ronny F. Schulz, 'Myths of the inventor. Inventing myths in the literary concept of the artistic ingenium in Germany and Italy, 1500–1550', in: Elizabeth Wäghäll Nivre (ed.), *Allusions and reflections. Greek and Roman mythology in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge 2015) 453–464, 455–456.

¹⁹ Catherine M. Soussloff, 'Imitatio Buonarroti', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20:4 (1989) 581–602, 581–582. Also see Alistair Smith, 'Durer and Bellini, Apelles and Protogenes', *The Burlington Magazine* 830 (1972) 326–329.

²⁰ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.38.121. We find similar anecdotes about the plastic arts. Pliny tells us the story of an artist named Possis, who crafted grapes of clay that were so realistic that nobody could discern them from real fruits by sight, see *ibid.*, xxxv.45.155. Also see Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, myth, and magic in the image of the artist. A historical experiment* (New Haven 1979) 8–9, 61–66. For a survey of Pliny's anecdotes about Zeuxis, see Leonard Barkan, 'The heritage of Zeuxis. Painting, rhetoric and history', in: Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner and Rebekah Smick (ed.), *Antiquity and its interpreters* (Cambridge 2000) 99–109.

²¹ Coen Maas, *Medievalism and political rhetoric in humanist historiography from the Low Countries, 1515–1609. Proteus: studies in Early Modern identity formation* vii (Turnhout 2018) 25.

²² Raingard Esser, *The politics of memory. The writing of partition in seventeenth-century Low Countries* (Leiden 2012) 2.

give a quantitative impression of the entire world and cosmos, respectively.²³ During the Renaissance, the genres were revived by humanist writers, albeit often without a clear distinction between the three: a famous example is the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, or *Schedel'sche Weltchronik*, compiled by Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). It was published in 1493 in both Latin and the vernacular. The work is regarded as a cosmography, but is also known for its geographical, historical, and cultural information about various cities, and descriptions of local customs.²⁴ The book is larded with elaborate woodcuts in which the described towns and events are visualized. The cityscapes were meant to underline the locality of the stories offered by the author. The same pictorial devices can be found throughout the *Spiegel* (infra). Marcus van Vaernewijck was aware of the differences between these closely connected genres, as is also demonstrated by his introduction to the *Spiegel*. By quoting the German mathematician Johannes Werner (1468–1522), the author of a Latin translation of the first book of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (1514), Van Vaernewijck explains that the chorography allows for the most detailed description of a given area:

so dat hier schijnt gheobserueert te syne/ die drye deelen der weerelt beschryuinghe of metinghe: als Cosmographia/ Geographia/ et Corographia/ die zommighe lieuer noemen Topographia: want Cosmographiam mogen wy gelijcken by eenen gheheelen mensche/ ende (soo Wernerius schrijft) Geographiam by eens menschen hooft/ ende by Corographia eens menschen oore oft ooghe: te verstaen geuende dat dese conste in haer tweede deel particulierder tracteert dan in haer eerste, ende in haer derde/ dan in haer tweede.²⁵

One of the prime examples of early chorographic literature of the Italian Renaissance is the account of Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), whose description of Italy of 1474 also included the lives of 'distinguished individuals' like Giotto (ca. 1266–1337) and Donatello (1386–1466). Following

²³ Ann Marie Borys, *Vincenzo Scamozzi and the chorography of early modern architecture* (Burlington 2014) xv–xvi. The cosmography was popularized in Flanders by Petrus Apianus (1495–1552), whose famous *Cosmographicus liber* was reprinted over twenty times in Antwerp alone, Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby (ed.), *Netherlandish books. Books published in the Low Countries and Dutch books printed abroad before 1601* vol. i (Leiden 2011) 113–114, nos. 2394–2418. See for a wider discussion of the nomenclature used here Eddy Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek* (Hilversum 2011) 43–84.

²⁴ Steven Rowan, 'Chronicle as cosmos: Hartman Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493', in: Gerhild Scholz Williams and Lynne Tatlock (ed.), *Literatur und Kosmos. Innen- und Außenwelten in der deutschen Literatur des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam 1986) 127–160; Christoph Reske, *De Produktion der Schedelischen Welchronik in Nürnberg*. Mainzer Studien zur Buchwissenschaft 10 (Wiesbaden 2000); Jonathan Gree, 'Text, culture and print-media in Early Modern translation: notes on the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493', *Fifteenth-century studies* 33 (2008) 114–132.

²⁵ *Spiegel*, fol. *4v, margin: 'Cosmographia, Geographia, ende Corographia', also see *ibid.*, cap. i.30, fol. 15rb [B7rb], 'maer eerst ende alvoren willen wy een beschryuinghe daer [Europe] af stellen/ naer de Geographie niet naer de Cosmographie/ oft Corographie: want deene is te wijtformigh/ ende dander te particulier/ zoo Wernerus tuyght/ dus zullen wy alleene den middel wegh houden'.

Italy, the chorography quickly gained popularity in France, the Low Countries and Germany.²⁶ Jacobus Wimpfeling's (1450–1528) *Rerum Germanicarum epitome* of 1505, for example, borrows heavily from Tacitus. It describes the history of the German territories, but it also contains segments on German art, architecture, and the invention of the printing press.²⁷ In that context, Wimpfeling describes how prints by Israhel van Meckenem (ca. 1445–1503) and Martin Schongauer (ca. 1435?–1491) were sought after and collected throughout Europe, and that merchants exported the work of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) to Italy, where his art was as highly esteemed as that of Parrhasius or Apelles. Wimpfeling also (mistakenly) notes that Dürer was trained in the atelier of Schongauer.²⁸

Three years later, in 1508, Wimpfeling's colleague and acquaintance Christoph Scheurl (1481–1542) published a laudatory text on Saxony in which he praises Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder (ca. 1472–1553) in a similar manner.²⁹ Amongst other anecdotes, he describes how Dürer miraculously deceived his dogs with his self portrait, thus surpassing nature. In that way, he alludes to the well-known segments in Pliny in which Zeuxis had deceived birds with painted berries, and how Apelles had let his horses neigh when he showed them a painted image of another horse.³⁰

Chorographies in the Low Countries

An important early example of Netherlandish chorographic literature is the *Cronycke van Hollandt Zeelandt ende Vrieslant*, better known as the *Divisiechroniek*. It is usually attributed to Cornelius Aurelius (ca. 1460–1531) of Gouda.³¹ The text, published in 1517 in Leiden, but likely written as early as ca. 1510, had a profound influence on the development of the genre, and was in use as a teaching tool up until the nineteenth century.³² The work features over a hundred

²⁶ E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'De eerste Hollandse stadsbeschrijvingen uit de zeventiende eeuw', *De zeventiende eeuw* 9:2 (1993) 97–111, 98–101; Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum 2001) 41–45; Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*, 244 n. 1; Isabel Zinman, 'From Ausonia to Batavia: the artists of Hadrianus Junius reconsidered', *Simiolus* 37:3/4 (2013) 204–226, 204–205, 208–211, 225–226.

²⁷ *ibid.*, 209–210.

²⁸ Beate Böckem, 'Jacopo de' Barbari: Ein Apelles am Fürstenhof? Die Allianz von Künstler, Humanist in Herrscher im Alten Reich', in: Matthias Müller e.a. (ed.), *Apelles am Fürstenhof. Facetten der Hofkunst um 1500 im Alten Reich* (Berlin 2010) 23–34, 27. The segment is cited in Anna Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürers Marienleben. Form, Gehalt, Funktion und sozialhistorischer Ort* (Wiesbaden 2004) 115.

²⁹ Matthias Müller, "Menschen so zu malen, daß sie erkannt werden und zu leben scheinen". Naturnachahmung als Problem in Lucas Cranachs höfischer Porträtmalerei', in: Müller e.a., *Apelles am Fürstenhof*, 57–74, 59–61.

³⁰ Catherine King, 'Making histories, publishing theories', in: Kim W. Woods (ed.), *Making Renaissance art* vol. i (New Haven 2007) 251–280, 265–267. For the anecdotes, see Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.65, 95–96.

³¹ Cornelis Aurelius, *Die Chronyk van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vriesland* [...] (Leiden 1517). See the excellent biography in Karin Tilmans, *Historiography and humanism in Holland in the age of Erasmus. Aurelius and the Divisiechroniek of 1517*. *Bibliotheca humanistica & reformatoria* 51 (Nieuwkoop 1992) 11–76, for Aurelius as the likely author see *ibid.*, 111–126, and Sjoerd Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk's chronicles of Holland. Continuity and transformation in the historical tradition of Holland during the early sixteenth century* (Hilversum 2011) 162–173.

³² Karin Tilmans, 'Cornelius Aurelius en het ontstaan van de Bataafse mythe in de Hollandse geschiedschrijving (tot 1517)', in: Bunna Ebels-Hoving, Catrien Santing, and Karin Tilmans (ed.), *Genoechlicke ende lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland* (Hilversum 1987) 191–216, 202; Tilmans, *Historiography and humanism in Holland*, 5, 313–316.

woodcuts, of which ten are usually attributed to Cornelis Engebrechtsz (1462–1527), Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533), and Van Leyden's school.³³ Aurelius is known to have read the work of Biondo.³⁴ Likewise, Marcus van Vaernewijck must have been familiar with Aurelius's text. A 1517 edition of the *Cronycke*, presently in the collection of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent, has an ex libris vignette with the inscription 'laet vaeren nydt', the motto of the Van Vaernewijck family.³⁵

Another early proponent of Netherlandish chorographic literature known to Marcus van Vaernewijck is Gerard Geldenhouwer (1482–1542), a humanist writer that originated from Nijmegen.³⁶ Between ca. 1514 and 1516, he worked for the printer Dirk Martens (1446–1534) of Louvain,³⁷ where he was responsible for the correction of several texts by Erasmus (1466–1536), and the first edition of Thomas More's (1478–1535) *Utopia*, for which he compiled an introductory epigram.³⁸

Among other texts, Geldenhouwer's own writings encompass the succinct *De Zelandiae situ* (1514), the first chorography of the region. It features a short list of 'famous men' that lived in the area.³⁹ This catalogue does not include the names of artists – this in striking contrast to his later publications which we shall discuss below. This either means that Geldenhouwer at the time had no knowledge of local painters (which seems unlikely), or that he did not find them important enough to include them in his collection. Apparently, Geldenhouwer needed the influence of his later colleague and noble mecenas to make that interest or consciousness

³³ *ibid.*, 94–100; Huigen Leeftang, 'De prentmaker Lucas van Leyden. Zijn werkwijzen, voorbeelden en genie', in: Christiaan Vogelaar e.a. (ed.), *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance* (Leiden 2011) 121–150, 136–141; Marieke van Delft and Ed van der Vlist, 'Het geïllustreerde boek in Leiden', in: *ibid.*, 177–187. Also see *ibid.*, 348–354 cat. nos. 146–153a–b.

³⁴ Bunna Ebels-Hoving, 'Nederlandse geschiedschrijving, 1350–1500. Een poging tot karakterisering', in: Ebels-Hoving, Santing, and Tilmans, *Genoechlicke ende lustige historiën*, 217–242, 237 n. 91.

³⁵ The edition is digitized, see <<http://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rugoi:001401140>>, cf. Van Vaernewijck, *Spieghel*, fol. *3r, 'laet [vaeren] niit', with a woodcut image of a fern instead of the word 'vaeren'. I am unsure of how old the vignette is.

³⁶ For a biography and a bibliography, see E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier and Anton van der Lem (ed.), *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland, 1500–1800* (Den Haag 1990) 148–150, Peter G. Bietenholz (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. ii (Toronto 1995) 82–84, and the introduction to the annotated and translated edition of Geldenhouwer's historical works, Gerard Geldenhouwer, *Gerard Geldenhouwer van Nijmegen, 1482–1542. Historische werken: Lucubratiuncula de Batavorum insula, Historia Batavica, Germaniae Inferioris historiae, germanicum historiarum illustrato*, István Bejczy and Saskia Stegeman ed. (Hilversum 1998) 10–12. The elaborate biography in Jacob Prinsen, *Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus. Bijdrage tot de kennis van zijn leven en werken* (Den Haag 1898) is still relevant.

³⁷ Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* vol. ii, 394–396.

³⁸ Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen, 'Utopiae Insulae Figura. The title woodcut in Thomas More's *Utopia*, 1516', in: Gilbert Tournoy en Dirk Sacré (ed.), *Ut granum sinapis. Essays on Neo-Latin literature in honour of Jozef IJsewijn*. Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia xii (Leuven 1997) 215–230, 216. Geldenhouwer is sometimes identified as the possible designer of the famous woodcut on the frontispiece of the first edition of the book, *ibid.*, 228–229; Rudolf Nink, *Literatur und Typographie. Wort-Bild-Synthesen in der englischen Prosa des 16. bis 20. Jahrhunderts*. Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge aus dem Deutschen Bucharchiv München 45 (Wiesbaden 1993), 33–34.

³⁹ Gerard Geldenhouwer, 'Epistola de situ Zelandiae', in: Martinus Dorpius, *Dialogus, in quo Venus & Cupido omnes adhibent versutias* [...] (Louvain 1514) fols. G3–G4. A reprint appeared in Petrus Scriverius, *Batavia illustrata, seu De Batavorum insula, Hollandia, Zelandia, Frisia, territorio Traiectensi et Gelria* [...] (Leiden 1609) 138–141. Also see P.J. Meertens, *Letterkundig leven in Zeeland in de zestiende en de eerste helft der zeventiende eeuw*. Verhandelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks xlviii no. 1. (Amsterdam 1943) 51–52.

come to fruition. Geldenhouwer's chorography of Zeeland is bundled with a succinct description of Holland compiled by one Chrysostomos Neapolitanus, who can be identified as Chrisostomo Colonna (ca. 1455–1539) of Caggiano, in Campania.⁴⁰ For this description of Zeeland, Geldenhouwer was inspired by the small treatise of Chrysostomos, which was likely borrowed to him in manuscript form by his friend, Martinus Dorpius (1485–1525).⁴¹

Geldenhouwer's chorography was followed by other, similar publications from others in his humanist circle. In 1524, Hadrianus Barlandus's (1486–1538)⁴² *Dialogi* appeared through the publishing house of Dirk Martens. It was bundled with a description of the lands and cities of *Germaniae Inferior*.⁴³ This text was largely based on the work of Barlandus's friends Dorpius and Geldenhouwer, but also on various texts by Erasmus and the treatise by Chrysostomos.⁴⁴ The reason I mention Barlandus here is that Van Vaernewijck would later include excerpts of his work in *Die warachtighe historie* of Emperor Charles V (1500–1558). Several sections in the *Spiegel* also relied on his information about Zeeland and Charles the Bold (1443–1477).⁴⁵ In addition, Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589) used Barlandus's compilation as a source for his famous *Descrittione* of the Low Countries.⁴⁶ At any rate, it appears that in the first decades of

⁴⁰ Chrysostomos, 'Epistola de situ Hollandiae vivendique Hollandorum institutis', in: Dorpius, *Dialogus*, fols. F3r–G3r. See for the identification of Chrysostomos Ari Wesseling, 'In praise of Brabant, Holland and the Habsburg expansion, Barlandus' survey of the Low Countries (1524)', in: Dirk Sacré and Gilbert Tournoy (ed.), *Myrica. Essays on Neo-Latin literature in memory of Jozef IJsewijn*. Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia xvi (Leuven 2000) 229–248, 242–243.

⁴¹ Marijke Carasso-Kok, 'De "Anonymus achter Pontanus" en diens oudste beschrijving van Amsterdam. Falsificatie of restauratie?', *Holland. Historisch tijdschrift* 35:3 (2003) 152–171, 165.

⁴² See for an excellent biography of Barlandus Étienne Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus. Humaniste belge, 1486–1538. Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa personnalité*. Humanistica Lovaniensia vi (Leuven 1938), references to more recent literature can be found in Meertens, *Letterkundig leven in Zeeland*, 40–41, and Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* vol. i, 95–96.

⁴³ Hadrianus Barlandus, 'Opusculum de insignibus oppidis Germaniae Inferioris', in: *ibid.*, *Dialogi XLII. ad profligandam è scholis barbariem utilissimi* (Leuven 1524²), fols. M1v–N4r. It was reprinted numerous times, see e.g. Scriverius, *Batavia illustrata, seu De Batavorum insula*, 141–144. The second Louvain edition of 1524, the Antwerp editions of 1526, 1527, 1528, 1530, 1534, the Cologne editions of 1527 and 1530, and the Paris edition of 1529 all contain the chorographic description of the Low Countries. I consulted the Antwerp edition of 1526.

⁴⁴ Wesseling, 'In praise of Brabant', 229–230, 239–243, 246. See for Barlandus as a Humanist Michiel Verweij, 'The correspondence of Erasmus and Hadrianus Barlandus', in: Dirk Sacré en Jan Papy (ed.), *Syntagmatia. Essays on Neo-Latin literature in honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*. Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia xxvi (Leuven 2009) 233–250.

Before publishing his chorography, Barlandus had already compiled and published catalogues of the dukes of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht, Hadrianus Barlandus, *De Hollandiae principibus* [...] (Antwerpen 1519). An extended edition appeared two years later, see *ibid.*, *Libelli tres. Uno, principum Hollandiae, altero, episcoporum insignis ecclesiae Traiectensis, tertio, res gestae continentur invictissimi principis Caroli, Burgundiae ducis, principum Hollandiae opusculo* [...] (Antwerp 1520 [1521 n.s.]); James P. Ward, 'Hadrianus Barlandus and a catalog of the counts and countesses of Holland published at Amsterdam by Doen Pietersz', *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin studies* lv (2006) 71–109; cf. Tilmans, *Historiography and humanism in Holland*, 152–153.

In 1526, Barlandus published a chronicle of the history of the dukes of Brabant, Hadrianus Barlandus, *Chronica Brabantiae ducum* [...] (Antwerp 1526); Wesseling, 'In praise of Brabant', 229; Maas, *Medievalism and political rhetoric*, 159–217.

⁴⁵ e.g. *Spiegel*, cap. iv.27, fol. 104vb [N8vb], 'Adrianus Barlandus/ gheboren Zeelander/ ende Lector der grooter uniuersiteyt van Leuen/ schrijft dat binnen zynen tyden/ in Zeelant xvj. eylanden waren (...)', cf. Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 125. Also see no. 11.

⁴⁶ C. Sorgeloos, 'Les sources imprimées de la "Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi" de Lodovico Guicciardini', in: P. Jodogne (ed.), *Lodovico Guicciardini, 1521–1589. Actes du colloque international des 28, 29, et 30 mars 1990*. Travaux de l'Institut interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme 10 (Louvain 1991) 37–98, 82.

the sixteenth century, Louvain emerged as an important production center for geographical and historical literature. Local humanist writers with ties to the university contributed to a climate that allowed the genre to flourish. This development was likely driven by an advancing interest in cartography.⁴⁷

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the genre of chorography started to evolve in specialized descriptions of a single town or city, known in Dutch as the 'stadsbeschrijving'. This development appears to have been largely contained to the Northern Netherlands. Jan Jansz. Orlers's (1570–1646) *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden*, and the *Historische beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coop-stadt Amsterdam* by Johannes Pontanus (1571–1639), both published in 1614, are some of the earliest examples.⁴⁸ Within this subgenre, there was ample space and reason to elaborate on the arts and artists that had flourished in the city. Writers active in Haarlem, probably motivated by their famous townsman Karel van Mander, appear to have played a crucial role in this development. In 1628, Samuel Ampzing (1590–1632) published his *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, in which he included an elaborate list of artists that had a link with the city.⁴⁹ After giving (albeit sparse) biographical details and descriptions of works of art that could be seen in Haarlem, each painter was praised in a short poem. Ampzing inserted full quotes of the relevant segments of Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck*, and, whenever relevant, he made reference to chapter xvi of the *Batavia*, a chorography compiled by Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575) and posthumously published in 1588.⁵⁰ Among the many painters discussed by Ampzing are Jan Mostaert (ca. 1475–ca. 1555),⁵¹ Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574),⁵² and Hendrik Cornelisz. Vroom (1566–1640).⁵³ Another well-known text with a similar structure is the *Harlemum* by Theodorus Schrevelius (1572–1653), published in 1647 in Latin and a year later in the vernacular as the *Harlemias*. The sixth book of that text describes the work and lives of many artists.⁵⁴ The biographies offered by Schrevelius range from those of now obscure artists such as Rijckaert Aertsz. (1482–1577), also known as 'Ryckard

⁴⁷ Carasso-Kok, 'De "Anonymus achter Pontanus"', 165.

⁴⁸ Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*, 9–14.

⁴⁹ Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* [...] (Haarlem 1628) 344ff.

⁵⁰ Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia. In qua praeter gentis et insulae antiquitatem* [...] (Leiden 1588) 218ff, esp. 238–240, 'Cap. xvi. De Hollandia ingenijs, studijs, & moribus'. For a Dutch translation of the passage, see Nico de Glas (ed.), *Holland is een eiland. de Batavia van Hadrianus Junius, 1511–1575* (Hilversum 2011) 305–307.

⁵¹ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem*, 350, 'Laet nu Ian Mostaert hier/ als een der beste leden/ Sijn plaetze in dit werk en schilderslijst bekleden:/ Hy was een Edelman van bloed/ en van geslacht:/ Noch heeft hem dese konst meer adels toegebracht [margin: Ian Mostaert. Vide Had. Iun. Bat. Cap. xvi].

⁵² *ibid.*, 353, 'Ik moet voor allen hier voor Heemskerck plaetze maken./ Wie was opt meerder mans in alle schildersaken?/ 'Twas wonder wat sijn pen en sijn pinzeel al dee/ Ook schoot het van de hand/ ook was het vaerdig dee [margin: Maerten Heemskerck. Had. Iun. *Ibid.*].

⁵³ *ibid.*, 368, 'En wat is Vroom een man in't maken van de schepen!/ Wie heeft voor hem de konst opt kloeker aengegrepen?/ So is sijn naem vermaerd. En wat heeft Vroom een Soon!/ Kornelis, sijt gy niet dijns Stads en Vaders kroon?/ Dijn Broeder volgd ook vroom [margin: Heyndrick Vroom. met sijne, Sonen Kornelis, ende Frederick].

⁵⁴ Theodorus Schrevelius, *Harlemias, Ofte, om beter te seggen, de eerste stichtinghe der Stadt Haerlem* [...] (Haarlem 1648) 360–361, 'Ende dit is noch ten huydiche daghe by yder een bekent/ dat d'alderbeste Schilders voor eenige hondert jaren herwaerts/ hier opgequeeckt zijn/ also dat Haerlem altijd ghehouden is als d'Academie van de Schilders, Dit betuygen ons so veel voortreffelijcke verstanden in der Schilder-konst van die gene die te Haerlem gewonnen en geboren zijn/ en opgequeeckt...'. Hereafter follows an elaborate list of painters with comments on their lives and biographies.

met 't houte Been',⁵⁵ to those of masters such as Jan Sanders van Hemessen (ca. 1500–ca. 1575),⁵⁶ and, of course, Frans Hals (ca. 1583–1666).⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, most biographies compiled by Schrevelius are primarily based on data provided by Van Mander, but, at the same time, they often contain new or differing details. The *Harlemias* is particularly interesting for its (few) lives of artists that were active *after* Van Mander published his *Schilder-boeck*. The most important are landscapists such as Jan Porcellis (1583/1585–1632) and Pieter de Molijn (1595–1661),⁵⁸ Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665), well-known for his church interiors,⁵⁹ and still life painters such as Floris van Dijck (ca. 1575–1651) and Willem Heda (1594–ca. 1680/1682).⁶⁰ The development of the typically Northern Netherlandish city description as a literary genre appears to have ran roughly parallel to that of the painted cityscape.⁶¹

The previous paragraphs demonstrate how the chorography could provide a robust framework in which authors could discuss (and praise) local painters, sculptors and their artistic output. Usually, compilers appear to have relied on secondary literature to shape their accounts and biographies, in casu the famous texts by Junius and Van Mander. But, importantly, this was not the case for Van Vaernewijck's *Spieghel*, first published in 1568. His notes about artists and descriptions of works of art in Ghent and other Flemish cities are

⁵⁵ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, 370–371, 'Daer is ook noch geweest een Ryckard Arentsz, die oock aen de schilder-konst miraculeus geraeckt is/ die op een Zee-dorp een mijl of twee van de Stadt/ een Vader hadde dat een Visscher was/ dese/ als hy noch heel jongh was/ is hy in 't vyer ghevalen/ ghebrandt aen sijn eene Been/ is te Haerlem in een Baeckermat ghebracht zijnde/ by een Chirugijn; als daer in de Schene 't vyer quam/ is eyndelijck 't eene Been afgheset/ (...) Dese is lief-talligh gheweest by yder een/ niemant viel hy lastigh. was oock kluchtigh in propoosten/ placht te roemen in Nederduyts: Ick ben rijck en wel-ghesteldt, met allusie op sijn naem Richerd de Steltenaer. Is overleden in den Jaren 1577 in Maio/ oudt zijnde 95 jaer'.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 361, 'onder de welcke van oudtheydts weggen/ wel meest te recomanderen is IOHAN van HEMSEN van Haerlem/ de voor een manier hadde meer de oude Schilders te volgen/ dan de Modernen so men die noemt/ en dat in groote postuyr/ en wel sinnelijck. Dese heeft een Tafereel gheschildert/ in de welcke Christus midden onder sijne Apostelen uyt-ghebeeldt is/ Jerusalem in't verschiet. Dese tafereel is noch in wesen en staet te Middelburgh ten huuse van Cornelis Monix, die seer veel hielt van de Schilder-konst (...)'.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 383, 'Hier kan ick oock met stille swijghen niet verby gaen/ FRANS ende DIRCK HALS Ghebroeders/ van de welcke d'eene/ die deur een onghemeyne manier van schilderen/ die hem eyghen is/ by nae alle over-treft/ (...)'.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 389, 'Maer naderhandt/ is IOH. POLCELLUS gheweest/ die de andere voorgaende [Cornelis Wieringen, 1577–1633, and Hendrik Cornelisz. Vroom] de loef af-gesteken heeft/ nae 't oordeel van alle ervaren Schilders. Daer zijnder oock wel andere gheweest/ die oock niet vreemdt en waren in die selfde kunst/ als daer zijn Cornelis Verbeeck [1590–1637], en Iohan Goderis [ca. 1600–1656/1659]. Onder de Landtschaps-Schilders is noch in 't leven Cornelis Vroom, die in't sijn/ sijn Vader niet en wijckt/ men houdt het daer voor/ dat hy alsoo uy-steeckt in sijn kunst/ dat hy qualijck niemant sijns ghelijck heeft van die noch leven/ hoe wel PIETER DE MOULIIN, nae 't oordeel van veel hem seer nae komt/ jae in ghelijcke graed. Naer dees volgen Iohan Iacobsz [van der Stoffe, ca. 1610–1682], die Italien ghesien heeft/ en andere meer Landtschaps-Schilders meer als ghemeen/ Reyser [Claesz, ca. 1590?–1653/1655], Nicolaes Zuycker, Gerard Bleycker [1592–1656], Salomon Rustendael [ca. 1602–1670], en meer andere'.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 318 [=381], 'Dese [Jan Saenredam, 1565–1607] heeft een soon na gelaten met name PIETER SAENREDAM, geboren tot Assendelph in 't jaer ons Heeren 1597/ die in de Schilder-konst van de Perspectiven/ hier sijns ghelijck niet en heeft/ dat sijne wercken die veel zijn ghenoech te kennen gheven'.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 390, 'Alsoo is daer qualijck eenighe kunst/ die by d'Oude in eere en waerde gehouden zijn. die te Haerlem niet en is geoeffent ende gehanthaeft. Soo ghy een Schilder soeckt van vruchten/ ender alderhande snuystering/ daer hebt ghy Floris van Dijck, die met sijn penceel/ de lustige vrouwkens/ jae 't ghevogelt soude keunen locken en verschalcken/ ghelijck daer oock gheweest is van de selfde konst Willem Heda'.

⁶¹ Carry van Lakerveld (ed.), *Opkomst en bloei van het Noordnederlandse stadsgezicht in de 17e eeuw / The Dutch cityscape in the 17th century and its sources* (Bentveld-Aerdenhout 1977); Peter C. Sutton, 'The art of Jan van der Heyden', in: *ibid.* (ed.), *Jan van der Heyden, 1637–1712* (New Haven 2006) 28–62, 29–30, 44–45; Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*, 22.

without exception based on his own examinations and knowledge. This not only proves Van Vaernewijck's importance for our understanding of the development of chorographic art literature in the Low Countries, but it also demonstrates our author's originality. As we will examine below, these notes were predominantly meant to elevate the status of Van Vaernewijck's home town as a learned centre of artistic production in a time that Antwerp had clearly taken over its position as the most dominant city in Flanders.

The appearance of artists in laudatory poems and elegies

But Van Vaernewijck, himself a skilled rhetorician, also was influenced by laudatory poems: his description of Van Eyck's monumental polyptych at St. Bavo's, Ghent [no. 15], for example, is loosely based on an *Ode* to Van Eyck, compiled in ca. 1559 (infra). Furthermore, he consulted the works of Jean Lemaire de Belges (ca. 1473–ca. 1525),⁶² a prominent poet, writer, and artist from Hainault, and one of the most important proponents of early *Kunstliteratur* in the Low Countries. Lemaire was active at the court of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530) since 1504. His mourning poem or elegy dedicated to Louis of Luxemburg (1467–1503), Duke of Ligny, must have been written shortly after the latter's passing.⁶³ In a dialogue, the personifications of *Peinture* and *Rhetorique* mourn the sudden loss of Nature, meaning the Duke. In that context, *Peinture* gives a summary of prominent painters that are fit for the task of rendering Nature. Amongst those names are Jan van Eyck, Jean Fouquet (ca. 1420–ca. 1480), Giovanni Bellini (1430–1516), Pietro Perugino (1446–1523), and Leonardo (1452–1519).⁶⁴ The mourning poem was published in print in 1509 together with several other writings by Lemaire's hand, but an important amount of stanzas, including the ones about the painters, was not included.⁶⁵ The complete manuscript was published in 1549.⁶⁶

Around the same time, Lemaire worked on an allegorical treatise that he dedicated to his patron, Margaret of Austria, and her recently deceased husband, Philibert II (1480–1504), Duke of Savoye. In the text, Lemaire described the articles and items that could be found in the

⁶² See for biographical details Jean Frappier, 'L'humanisme de Jean Lemaire de Belges', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 25:2 (1963) 289–306, Georges Doutrepoint, *Jean Lemaire de Belges et la Renaissance* (Genève 1974) vii–xiv, and E. Duverger and D. Duverger-Van de Velde, 'Jean Lemaire de Belges en de schilderkunst. Een bijdrage', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1967) 37–78.

⁶³ Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La Plainte du desire, cestadire la Deploration du trespas de feu monseigneur le conte de Ligny*, edition in: Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Œuvres* vol. iii, Jean Stecher ed. (Louvain 1885). Also see Peter Eubanks, 'The limits of Renaissance aesthetics. Jean Lemaire de Belges's 1504 *Plainte du Désiré*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 70:1 (2008) 147–155.

⁶⁴ Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye [...] avec la Couronne Margaritique & plusieurs autres oeuvres de luy* (Lyon 1549) 399, 'Et si n'ay Parrhase, ou Apelles:/ D'ont le nom bruit par memoires anciennes,/ J'ay des esprits recents, & nouuelets,/ Plus ennoblis par leurs beaux pincelets/ Que Marmion iadis de Valenciennes, Ou que Fouquet, qui tant eut gloires siennes./ Ne qui Poyer, Roger, Hugues de Gand,/ Ou Ioannes qui tant fut elegant./ Besognez donc, mes alumnes modernes,/ Mes beaux enfants nourris de ma mamelle,/ Toy Leonard qui as graces supernes,/ Gentil Bellin, dont les loz sont eternes:/ Et Perusin qui si bien couleurs mesle:/ Et toy Iean Hay, ta noble main chomme elle?/ Vien voir Nature avec Iean de Paris/ Our luy donner ombrage & esperits'.

⁶⁵ Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La legende des Venitiens, ou autrement leur cronicque abbregee, [...]. La Plaincte du desire, cestadire la Deploration du trespas de feu monseigneur le conte de Ligny [...]* (Lyon 1509) fol. CC3rff.

⁶⁶ See the penultimate note.

workshop of the fictional female painter Maria.⁶⁷ Interestingly, the art of proportion is explicitly brought forth as a ‘science’.⁶⁸ This aside shows that, even though there was a lamentable lack of Northern publications about art in this early period, certain notions about the status of the arts must have circulated in learned networks. Lemaire’s perception of art as a science is perhaps derived from his countryman Jean Pèlerin, who first published his technical manual on perspective and proportion in 1505.⁶⁹ At any rate, Lemaire’s curious work again contains a list of prominent painters. Amongst others, Lemaire mentions ‘le Roy des peintres’ Van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden (ca. 1400–1464), Dieric Bouts (ca. 1410–1475), Jean Fouquet, Lievin van Lathem (ca. 1430–1493) and his son Jacob van Lathem (ca. 1470–after 1528). Each artist had distinguished himself by his ‘Vertu’ and ‘science’.⁷⁰ Like much of Lemaire’s other work, the text was only published in print for the first time in 1549 – and consulted by Van Vaernewijck in the early 1560s. For some of these references, see the edition of the *Spiegel* below.

We find a laudatory poem with a highly similar structure on the frontispiece of the third edition of Pèlerin’s *De artificiali perspectiva*, which appeared in 1521. Unlike the previous editions of 1505 and 1509, it is enriched with an ode to great Flemish, German and French

⁶⁷ Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La couronne margaritique* [...] *indiciaire et historiographe de Mme Marguerite d’Autriche et de Bourgogne* [...] (Lyon 1549) 69, ‘Leur oueroir est tout fin plein de tableaux/ Paints, & à peindre, & de maint noble oustil./ Là sont charbons, crayons, plumes, pinceaux,/ Brousses à tas, coquilles par monceaux,/ Pinteaux d’argent, qui font maint trait subtil,/ Marbres polis, aussi clers que Beryl,/ Inde, Azur vert, & Azur de Poulaine,/ D’Acre Azur fin, qui du feu n’ha peril,/ Et Vermillon, dont mainte moite est pleine./ D’autres couleurs y ha abondamment:/ Lacques, Synope, & Pourpre de haut prys:/ Fin or molu, Or music, Or pieument,/ Carnation faite bien proprement:/ Ocre de Ruth, Machicot, Vert de gris,/ Ver de montaigne, & rose de Paris./ Bon blanc de plomb, Flouree de Garance,/ Vernis de glace, en dux ou trois barilz,/ Et Noit de lampe, estant noir à oultrance’. Also see Ann-Sophie Lehmann, ‘Fleshing out the body. The “colours of the naked” in workshop practice and art theory, 1400–1600’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 58:1 (2007) 86–109, 92–93.

⁶⁸ Lemaire de Belges, *La couronne margaritique*, 69, ‘De ces couleurs, par long continuer/ Ces Dames cy sauent vertus pourtraire/ Peindre hauts faits, & les insinuer,/ Hascher, umber, nuer, contrenuer,/ Renfonser vice à tout honneur contraire:/ Bruit rehauser, à fin de loz en traire:/ Science ainsi leurs mains proportionne,/ Qui puis trente ans gaigna par son attraire,/ Et fait flourir Marie Marmionne [a sister or daughter of Simon Marmion, ca. 1425–1469, the miniaturist?]: In the subsequent two verses, this unknown Maria is praised. Also see Dagmar Eichberger, ‘Ein “Museum” in den südlichen Niederlanden als Vorbild für das Alte Reich. Kunst und Kunstbetrachtung am Hofe Margaretes von Österreich, 1480–1530’, in: Müller, *Apelles am Fürstenhof*, 91–98, 95–96.

⁶⁹ My thanks to dr. Victor M. Schmidt for this suggestion. Liliane Brion-Guerry, *Jean Pèlerin, viator. Sa place dans l’histoire de la perspective* (Paris 1962); Andersen, *The geometry of an art*, 161–167.

⁷⁰ Lemaire de Belges, *La couronne margaritique*, 70–71, ‘Car l’vn diceux estoit maistre Roger,/ L’autre Fouquet, en qui tout loz s’employe./ Hugues de Cand, qui tant eut les trets netz/ Y fut aussi, & Dieric de Louvain/ Avec le Roy des peintres Iohannes,/ Duquel les faits parfaits & mignonnetz/ Ne tomberont iamais en oubly vain:/ Ne, se ie fusse un peu bon escriuain/ De Marmion, Prince d’enluminure/ Dont le nom croist, comme paste en leuain,/ Par les effects de sa noble tournure./ Il y suruint de Bruges maistre Hans,/ et de Francfort, maistre Hugues Martin,/ Tous deux ourriers très clers & triomphans./ Puis de peinture autres nobles enfans,/ Damyens Nicole, ayant bruit argentin,/ Et de Tournay, plein d’engin celestin/ Maistre Loys, dont tant discret fut l’œil:/ Et cil, qu’on prise au soir, & au matin,/ Faisant patrons, Baudouyn de Bailleul./ Encoire y fut Iaques Lombard de Mons/ Accompagné du bon Lieuin d’Anvers./ Trestous lesquelz, autant nous estimons,/ Que les anciens jadis par longs sermons./ Firent Parrhase, & mains autres diuers./ Honneur les loge en ses palais couuers./ Vertu les prise, & les fait renommer./ Et par science, à qui tous sont conuers,/ Fait leur memoire honorer, & aymer’.

painters.⁷¹ Pèlerin's text is famous for its importance as the first treaty on perspective and proportion that appeared in print, far before similar works by Dürer (1525, 1528) and Alberti (1540).⁷² Of course, the treatise is above all a technical manual, but the remarkable poem on the frontispiece merits a separate discussion in this section. It should be emphasized that these early collections of names are not limited to either 'Northern' or Italian artists per se. It appears that the desire to differentiate between the two geographic schools only emerged in the second half of the century.

We already touched upon Gerard Geldenhouwer in our discussion of chorographic literature. Over the course of his career, Geldenhouwer published several other texts, including historicizing treatises and a number of satires.⁷³ The printed edition of his *Satyrae octo* (1515)⁷⁴ includes a laudatory poem on the art of painting dedicated to Philip of Burgundy (1465–1524), prince-bishop of Utrecht since 1517.⁷⁵ The text reveals a basic knowledge of Pliny's anecdotes about artists from Antiquity, and it should be seen as a part of Geldenhouwer's modern,

⁷¹ Jean Pèlerin, *De artificiali perspectiva* [...] (Toul 1521) fol. A1r, 'O bons amis/ prespassez/ et vivens/ Grans esperiz zeusins/ apelliens/ Decorans france/ almaine/ et italie/ Geffelin/ paoul/et martin de pauye/ Berthelemi fouquet/ poyet/ copin/ Andre montaigne/ et damyens colin/ Le pelusin, hans fris/ et leonard/ Hugues/ lucas/ luc/ albert/ et bernard/ Iehan iolis/ hans grun/ et gabriel/ Vuastele/ urbain/ et lange micael/ Symon du mans/: Dyamans/ margarites/ Rubiz/ saphirs/ smaragdes/ crisolites Ametistes/ iacintes/ et topazes/ Calcedones/ asperes' et faces/ Iaspes/ berilz/ acates/ et cristaux/ Plus precieux vous tiens *que* telz ioyouz/ Et touz autres nobles entendements/ Ordinateurs de specieux figments'. For an attempt at identifying the artists mentioned in the verses, see Wolfgang Stechow, *Northern renaissance art, 1400–1600. Sources and documents* (Englewood Cliffs 1966) 151.

⁷² Andersen, *The geometry of an art*, 162.

⁷³ Thus following in the footsteps of Petrus Montanus (ca. 1467–1507), of whom Geldenhouwer had issued works in Zwolle. For Geldenhouwer's position within the large current of publications about the Batavi, see a.o. Tilmans, 'Cornelius Aurelius en het ontstaan van de Bataafse mythe', István Bejczy, 'Drie humanisten en een mythe: de betekenis van Erasmus, Aurelius en Geldenhouwer voor de Bataafse kwestie', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 109 (1996) 467–484, Geldenhouwer, *Gerard Geldenhouwer van Nijmegen*, 12–20, and the introduction of Hugo Grotius, *Antiquity of the Batavian Republic, with notes by Petrus Scriverius*. Bibliotheca Latinitatis novae ii, Jan Waszink e.a. ed. (Assen 2000) 7–10.

⁷⁴ Cornelius Grapheus and Gerard Geldenhouwer, *Carmen pastorale in quo Hiesu Christi describitur nativitas* [...] *Satyrae octo ad verae religionis cultores* (Louvain 1515) fols. C2v–F3r, also included in Gerard Geldenhouwer, *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Novimagus, gevolgd door den herdruk van enige zijner werken*. Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht, derde serie, 16, J. Prinsen ed. (Amsterdam 1901) 151–176.

⁷⁵ Geldenhouwer, *Satyrae octo*, F5v–F6r, 'Magnifico Heroi Philippo Burgundo Oceani Praefecto. Gerardus Noviomagus. Laudat amat *quid quisque* mihi quae gloria claros/ Pictores, maneat *conscribere* suadet Apollo/ Suadet Apollo sacer quem candida turba sororum/ Thespiadum, castis modulantem laudibus ornat,/ A tergo sophiam sequitur pictoria virtus/ Contemplatur enim sophiae sacratus alumnus/ Ingenii radio, divos. mensasque deorum/ Astrigerique poli rutilantia regna: marisque/ Ferventes estus: crebros hominumque tumultus:/ Pacem: bella: modis discernit singula miris:/ Corporis ast oculis hæc infert omnia pictor,/ Pingit namque dolos Veneris: praeludicia Martis/ Furta colore operit: Vulcania vincula nectit/ Saturnumque gravem fugientiem sceptris tonantis/ Exprimit irati: iaculatricemque Dianam./ Vulnificis cervos per saltus figere telis,/ Exprimit oceani fluctus: ventosque furentes:/ Regna tridentiferi Neptuni. & Tethyos aulam./ Magnorum historias regum: fera bella & amores:/ Affectus hominum varios vulgique labores:/ Olim Parrhasius: Zeusis: praeclarus Apelles/ Pictores, verae meruere insignia laudis,/ Grati principibus: laudati princimine vatium,/ Temporis at nostri pictores clare Philippe/ Dignis muneribus quia donas, artis honorem/ Paucis versiculis tibi scripsimus, accipe laetus'. For a discussion of parts of the poem in a wider context, see Marissa Bass, 'Jan Gossaert's Neptune and Amphitrite reconsidered', *Simiolus* 35:1/2 (2011) 61–83, 69.

See for an extensive biography of Filips Jozef Sterk, *Philips van Bourgondië, 1465–1524. Bisschop van Utrecht als protagonist van de Renaissance, zijn leven en maecenaat* (Zutphen 1980), and Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* vol. i, 230–231.

humanist contribution to the advancement of ‘the prestige of his lord and his dynasty’.⁷⁶

Geldenhouwer entered the service of Philip as his personal secretary around that same time. It is no coincidence that we find the first printed record of Jan Gossart (ca. 1478–1532), the court painter of Philip,⁷⁷ in Geldenhouwer’s elaborate description of the funeral procession of Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516) in Brussels.⁷⁸ In the account, Geldenhouwer describes how Philip helped and encouraged the painter in his work on a float modelled after a Roman chariot. In that context, the author praises the ‘highly famed’ Gossart as ‘the Apelles of our time’.⁷⁹ Geldenhouwer’s choice of words used to laud Gossart, invention (‘inventione’) and splendid skill (‘arte mirifica’), is unprecedented in texts from the Low Countries. But much like Gossart’s art, Geldenhouwer’s phrasing was deeply indebted to earlier Italian examples and concepts.⁸⁰ Marcus van Vaernewijck, who certainly was familiar with Geldenhouwer’s work, applied similar glorifying terms to Gossart’s altarpiece at Middelburg [no. 11], and Van Eyck’s marvel at Ghent [no. 15]. As we will see in the next paragraph, Geldenhouwer’s manner of referring to and emulating ancient authors was still very much en vogue in the second half of the century.

Laudatory poems in the vernacular: Lucas d’Heere

Around ca. 1560, an increasing amount of Flemish writers began to publish their texts in the vernacular, instead of the customary Latin.⁸¹ An important proponent of this trend is Lucas

⁷⁶ M.E.H.N. Mout, ‘De humanist Gerard Geldenhouwer als raadgever van vorsten’, in: D.E.H. de Boer en J.W. Marsilje (ed.), *De Nederlanden in de late middeleeuwen* (Utrecht 1987) 142–156, 146.

⁷⁷ See for Gossart’s biography and oeuvre the excellent study in Maryan W. Ainsworth (ed.), *Man, myth and sensual pleasures. Jan Gossart’s Renaissance: the complete works* (New York 2010).

⁷⁸ Gerard Geldenhouwer, *Pompa exequiarum Catholici Hispanium regis Ferdonandi [...]* (Strasbourg 1516), published in *ibid.*, *Collectanea*, 205–214.

⁷⁹ Geldenhouwer, *Pompa exequiarum*, fol. 3r, ‘in curru lateribus effigiati genii nudi, inventione & arte mirifica Joannis Malbodii pictoris clarissimi, ac nostri seculi Apelles. Is quicquid in vexillis, curru, armis, insignibus, militaribus signis erat artis pulchritudinisve, invenerat, adhortante & subinde iuvante eum, unico patrono meo Philippo Burgundo, maris Praefecto, qui hac in re (ut in omni) ingenio supra humanum est’. The section is published in Syske Weidema and Anna Koopstra, *Jan Gossart. The documentary evidence* (Turnhout 2012) 17 no. 9. Also see Stephanie Schrader, ‘Gossaert’s Neptune and Amphitrite and the body of the patron’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 58 (2007) 40–57, 43; Bass, ‘Jan Gossaert’s Neptune and Amphitrite reconsidered’, 68–69, and the description of the chariot by Rémy du Puys in his *Les exeques et pompe fuerale de feu d’eternelle et tres glorieuse memoire don Fernande roy Catholicque [...]* (Louvain 1515 [1516 n.s.]) fols. C1r-C2r, published in Sterk, *Philips van Bourgondië*, 191 app. ii–194. As far as I could check, this is the first printed mention of an artist from the Low Countries that is called by his name.

Two famous Gossart studies of men in arms equipment were formerly associated with the programme on the chariot. That attribution is convincingly rejected by Ainsworth, who dates the drawings around 1509, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. c 790 and Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. no. 724, see Ainsworth, *Man, myth and sensual pleasures*, 338–339 cat. nos. 103–104.

⁸⁰ Marisa Bass, ‘The transi tomb and the genius of sixteenth-century Netherlandish funerary sculpture’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 67 (2017) 160–187, 164–166.

⁸¹ Of course, the growing interest in the Dutch language was not confined to the different genres of art literature, as is demonstrated by the appearance of Flemish dictionaries such as the *Nederlandsche spellinghe* by Joos Lambrecht (ca. 1491–ca. 1556) in 1550, and works of a more scientific nature such as the famous *Cruijdeboeck*, published by Rembert Doedens (1517–1585) in 1554. Also see Werner Waterschoot, ‘Lucas d’Heere en Den Hof en boomgaard der poësie (1565)’, *Rederijkersstudien* II (1966) 47–119, 48.

d'Heere (1534–1584), well-known as the initial teacher of Karel van Mander.⁸² D'Heere was the first to publish a collection of poems about Flemish art and artists in his mother tongue, and, importantly, he was a close friend and colleague of Marcus van Vaernewijck. As we shall see below, Van Vaernewijck was profoundly influenced by his young townsman: for his description of Jan van Eyck's famous retable at St. Bavo's, Ghent, for example, he heavily relied on d'Heere's laudatio, even though the two authors differ in opinion in several important respects, including the identification of a perceived self portrait of Hubert van Eyck [no. 15]. Van Vaernewijck and d'Heere also shared an admiration for other painters such as Hugo van der Goes (ca. 1430–1482), and a passion for rhetorics, collecting, and antiquarianism. These shared interests demonstrate that the two moved in the same local milieus in which opinions about local art and artists were freely shared and debated. On account of his importance to Van Vaernewijck's work as well as the development of Flemish art literature in general, we will examine the relevant segments of d'Heere's *Den hof en boomgaard der poë sien* in detail below.

Active in Ghent, Lucas d'Heere was a skilled artist and rhetorician with a 'vast intellectual network'.⁸³ He received part of his artistic training in the workshop of Frans Floris (ca. 1519–1570) of Antwerp, 'wesende groot vriendt van zijn Vader', Jan d'Heere (ca. 1502–ca. 1576).⁸⁴ Floris, in turn, had learned the trade in the atelier of the prominent humanist poet, painter, and architect Lambert Lombard (1505–1566) of Liège.⁸⁵ Lombard also was the master of Dominicus Lampsonius (1532–1599), the eventual author of an intricate *Vita* of Lombard and a set of Latin poems and epigrams dedicated to Netherlandish painters – 'the first northern canon', according to Melion (infra).⁸⁶ Lombard and Lampsonius both were correspondents of Vasari.⁸⁷

Lucas d'Heere was a trained painter, draftsman, and designer of tapestries and stained glass windows. In that capacity, he worked at St. Bavo's in Ghent in 1555, where he designed stained glass windows with heraldic motifs [no. 16], and at Fontainebleau in ca. 1559–1560, where he designed tapestries for Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589). He was commissioned by the Flemish nobility to produce their portraits, and he was the inventor of a portion of the illustrations in

⁸² The often-used spelling 'De Heere' originates from Van Mander, Lucas usually spelled his own name as d'Heere or Dheere, however, see W. Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', *Verlagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde (nieuwe reeks)* (1974) 16–126, 16 n. 1, cf. The Getty Union List of Artist Names (ULAN), <<http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/ulan/>>, that refers to him as 'De Heere'.

⁸³ Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1400–1650* (Amsterdam 2008) 164–165.

⁸⁴ For an extensive biography, see Van Mander, *Leven*, fols. 255r–257r; Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 16–126; Bart Ramakers, 'Art and Artistry in Lucas de Heere', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 (2009) 164–192, 165–167.

⁸⁵ Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 220.

⁸⁶ Dominicus Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi apud eburones pictoris celeberrimi vita* [...] (Bruges 1565); Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon*, 143 (cit.)–145.

⁸⁷ Hessel Miedema, 'De ontwikkeling van de kunsttheorie in de Hollandse Gouden Eeuw i. Het begin; de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', *Oud Holland* 125 (2012) 102–116, 106–109; Lampsonius was the primary source for Vasari's lives of 'pittori Fiamminghi' in the second edition of the *Vite*, see Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* [...] vol. ii (Florence 1568) 857–861.

an emblematic treatise by the prominent Hungarian humanist Joannes Sambucus (1531–1584).⁸⁸ Sambucus visited Ghent in 1563. He and d’Heere possibly got acquainted through Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), a distinctive figure whom we will discuss further below.⁸⁹ In short, Lucas d’Heere must have been a man with a considerable reputation.

D’Heere is best known for his poetic and literary endeavors, however. He composed a lengthy celebratory poem for the 1564 edition of Marcus van Vaernewijck’s *Warachtighe gheschiedenisse* of Charles V.⁹⁰ Shortly after, d’Heere dedicated a poem in his *Hof en boomgaerd* to Van Vaernewijck, his friend.⁹¹ The book was printed in Ghent by Ghileyn Manilius (?–1573) in 1565.⁹² It was dedicated to Adolph of Burgundy (?–1568), of whom d’Heere also had painted a portrait some time before.

Lucas d’Heere’s volume, the first true Renaissancist poetic text in Flemish literature, contains an important collection of notes about art and artists. The lengthy *Ode* to the *Ghent Altarpiece*, for one, first came into being in or around 1559, when it was displayed on a placard in the Vijdtkapel of St. Bavo’s on the occasion of the twenty-third Chapter of the Golden Fleece. The text was later included in d’Heere’s printed collection of 1565, but it is unknown how much the original text had changed by then. In the text, the author calls upon ‘ghi constbeminders van alle gheslachten’ to come and see ‘desen costelicken schat’, after which he gives an elaborate poetic description of the interior panels of the polyptych.⁹³ Interestingly, d’Heere inserts information about Van Eyck from the first edition of Vasari’s *Vite*, which

⁸⁸ Joannes Sambucus, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis* [...] (Antwerp 1564); Leon Voet, *The golden compasses. The history of the house of Plantin-Moretus* vol. i (Amsterdam 1969) 198; Werner Waterschoot, ‘Lucas d’Heere und Johannes Sambucus’, in: A. Adams and A.J. Harper (ed.), *The emblem in renaissance and baroque Europe. Selected Papers of the Glasgow International Emblem Conference 13–17 August, 1990* (Leiden 1992) 45–52.

⁸⁹ Werner Waterschoot, ‘Lucas d’Heere in Gent’, *Jaarboek de Fonteyne* (1981) 131–144, 140; Tine L. Meganck, ‘Abraham Ortelius, Hubertus Goltzius en Guido Laurinus en de studie van de Arx Britannica’, *Bulletin KNOB* 98:5/6 (1999) 226–236, 231; Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite eyes. Friendship, art and erudition in the network of Abraham Ortelius, 1527–1598*. Studies in Netherlandish art and cultural history 14 (Leiden 2017) 16.

⁹⁰ Gheeraert van Salenson?, *Die warachtighe gheschiedenisse van allen gheloofweerdighe saken vanden alder omverwinnelicsten, ende alder moghensten keyser van Roome* [...] (Ghent 1564) fols. A1v–A3r; Waterschoot, ‘Lucas d’Heere in Gent’, 140; *ibid.*, ‘Lucas d’Heere en Marcus van Vaernewijck voor het Lam Gods’, 116.

⁹¹ In the poem, d’Heere lauded Van Vaernewijck as ‘excellent Poëte oft Rhetorisien’, see Lucas d’Heere, *Den Hof en boomgaerd der poësiën, inhoudende menigherley soorten van poëtijckelicke blommen* [...] (Ghent 1565) 17, an excellent commented edition of the text can be found in Lucas d’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd der poësiën*. Zwolse herdrukken voor de Maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde 65, W. Waterschoot ed. (Zwolle 1969). Lucas d’Heere and Marcus van Vaernewijck had become good friends during an extended period of collaboration in 1559, see Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 58 and app. 1.

⁹² The Haarlem reprint of *Den Hof en boomgaerd* (1614) implies that there was a lasting interest in d’Heere’s poetic work. It seems plausible that this interest was sparked by the references to the text in Van Mander’s *Schilder-Boeck*, the demand of learned refugees from the Southern Netherlands, or a combination of the two, see Lucas d’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaert der poësiën* [...] (Haarlem 1614); Jochen Becker, ‘Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lucas de Heere’, *Simiolus* 6:2 (1972–1973) 113–127, 113–114.

⁹³ d’Heere, *Den Hof en boomgaerd*, 35–38, ‘Lof en prijs des vvercs (vvelc S. Ians in de capelle es)/ Van schilderien, ghemaect by die M. Ian hiet/ Van Maesheyc gheboren den vlaemschen Apelles:/ Nerstigh leest, verstaet ende op d’vverck dan ziet. ODE’.

According to Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 201r, the original *Ode* was situated ‘In de selve Capelle/ gheheeten van den Adam en Eva, in S. Ians Kerck/ tegen over het werck’. For the date of the *Ode*, see Waterschoot, ‘Lucas d’Heere en Marcus van Vaernewijck voor het Lam Gods’, 112, and Stephan Kemperdick, ‘The history of the Ghent Altarpiece’, in: Kemperdick and Rößler, *The Ghent Altarpiece by the brothers Van Eyck*, 8–69, 44. For an extensive survey of the text, see Becker, ‘Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lucas de Heere’, 118–120.

implies that he either had read at least part of that text, or, alternatively, that the segment had become part of a certain local historiographical tradition (*infra*).⁹⁴ The same passage is cited again by Van Vaernewijck [no. 15], who loosely based parts of his chapter on Van Eyck's retable on d'Heere's *Ode*.⁹⁵ Thus, importantly, d'Heere and Van Vaernewijck would become the first Flemish authors that were to discuss specific works of art.

A few pages on, we find a short epigram that is dedicated to 'M. Franchois Florus excellent Schilder', d'Heere's former master. The author here describes how the name of Apelles was 'uutgevaegt en verdreven' because of Floris's 'Goddelicke scientie', and that Floris had surpassed the former in fame – we already encountered the notion of art as a science in Lemaire's text above. Much like Van Vaernewijck, d'Heere was apparently influenced by these sources since they had become widely available after their publication in 1549, or, alternatively, these ideas could have been cultivated in the network around Lampsonius, who was the first to put 'scientific' transgressions about art theory, perspective and style into print with his *Vita* of Lambert Lombard. At any rate, for d'Heere, 'Florus' was the name 'waerbi men den grootsten schilder verstaet'.⁹⁶

The *Ode* to Van Eyck's polyptych at St. Bavo's was not d'Heere's only poem that focussed on one particular work of art. In one of his sonnets, aptly titled 'van het excellent stick van schilderyen, staende in het huus van Jacob Weytens te Ghent', he uses one of the 'geschilderde vraukens' to voice a praise of the painter, Hugo van der Goes.⁹⁷ The same painting, a mural on a mantelpiece, was later discussed at length by Van Vaernewijck [no. 17]. We find a similar motif in a sonnet about two apprentices that discuss a 'naecte vrouwe seer bequame' that somehow does not move. Is she asleep? 'Tis schilderye', says one, 'tast wilt uw hant ghelooft geven'. Are they being deceived? No, 'wi en sijn niet bedroghen', says the other, because the 'De beelde die soo wel gheschildert is naer d'leven'. It is a painting by Willem Key (1520–1568), another student of Lombard, that d'Heere must have seen in Antwerp.⁹⁸ The perceived realism of the painted nude is again a not-so-subtle reference to Pliny's famous anecdotes about Zeuxis and Apelles. The sonnet has additional literary value because it was translated from the French original by d'Heere's wife, Eleonora Carboniers (?–after 1584).⁹⁹

⁹⁴ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 37, '[margin: Georgius Vasarius] Een Schilder uut Italien zelfs confesseert,/ Dat Heycus daer d'Olverwe brocht en heeft vonden:/ En van dry sine wæcken hi mentioneert/ Die te Napels, Florencen en Turbino stonden'.

⁹⁵ Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 145. 'Georgius Vasarius Aretinus, een Italiaender, scrijft zeer eerlic van hem [Jan van Eyck], ende zecht, onder andere, datter drij uutmene sticken, van hem ghedaen, in Italien sijn, als te Napels, te Florencen en tUrbino'.

⁹⁶ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 45.

⁹⁷ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 61, 'Wy sijn geschildert hier, al schinen wi levende/ Bi Hugues vander Goust, een meester excellent/ Die in ons sijn const' was tooghende en uitgevende,/ Ter liefden van eene onder one eerbaer en gent'.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 60, 'Sonet ghetranslateert by d'huusvrouwe vanden Autheur, uut een Fançoys sonet bi hem ghemaect op een schilderye van M. Willem Key t'Andwerpen: Twee ghesellen spreken tsamen'. Jonckheere has argued that the poem might be related to one of Key's paintings of *Venus and Amor*, Koenraad Jonckheere, *Willem Key, 1516–1558. Portrait of a Humanist painter* (Turnhout 2011) 174–175.

⁹⁹ Werner Waterschoot, 'Het sonnet van Eleonora Carboniers', in: Henk Duits, Arie Jan Gelderblom and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt (ed.), *Klinkend boeket. Studies over renaissancesonnetten voor Marijke Spies* (Hilversum 1994) 9–12.

Furthermore, d'Heere's *Hof en boomgaerd* is known amongst specialists because of its curious epistle directed at 'eenen Quidam schilder, welke beschimpte de Schilders van Hantwerpen'.¹⁰⁰ This unnamed slanderer is assumed to be Pieter Bruegel (ca. 1525/1530–1569) by several authors, but this interesting theory was never proven satisfactorily.¹⁰¹ In the text, d'Heere fiercely defends the Italianate figures of Frans Floris 'en sijns ghelijcke', which the anonymous 'plompen schimper' apparently had called 'suuckerbeeldekens'. It is a miracle that the Quidam is not ashamed of himself, d'Heere writes, 'Naer dien ghi selfs daerin sijn gh'eel onghemaniert:/ Want als kæremspoppen ghi u beelden verciert'.¹⁰² He continues:

Dat ghi te Room' hebt geweest, en merctmen toch niet
 An u schilderye, vul lamme, quade treken,
 Die voorwaer noch Roomachtig, noch ooc antijcx en siet.
 En zaudemen u fauten al tellen: veel weken,
 Pappier, penn' end' inct, zoude my verre ghebreken:
 Maer hieraf en ware u gheen verwijt of queste,
 Const ghi uwen mont hauwen, en doen u beste.¹⁰³

Finally, a lengthy refrain dedicated to the Violieren, the influential chamber of rhetoric of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke, again touches upon the themes of realism and emulation.¹⁰⁴ In the poem, Apollo asks his nine Muses which art is the 'constichste'. Is it 'Rhetorica', or perhaps 'D'edel conste van Medicijnen'? While he loves each form of art, he is most indebted to Pictura, Apollo says. The art of painting is directly copied from Nature, who herself shows pleasure in painting: 'daer zijn steenen de welcke tschilderen leeren/ Brijnghende met hemlien voor menighe figure'. Mankind received the art of painting as a gift from God, 'Die zelue was, en is d'eerste schilder alleene'. For this reason, Pictura and Sculptura are not only the oldest, but also

¹⁰⁰ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd*, 87–89. See the examination of the poem in Edward W. Wouk, *Frans Floris, 1519/1520–1570. Imagining a Northern renaissance* (Leiden 2018) 367–372, 414.

¹⁰¹ David Freedberg, 'Allusion and topicality in the work of Pieter Bruegel. The implications of a forgotten polemic', in: David Freedberg (ed.), *The prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (Tokyo 1989) 53–65, 61–64; Todd M. Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Art discourse in the sixteenth-century Netherlands* (Burlington 2011) 35–36; Tine Luk Meganck, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Fall of the rebel angels. Art, knowledge and politics on the eve of the Dutch Revolt* (Milan 2014) 127–128; Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 173–174.

¹⁰² D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd*, 88.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, 89. Also see Ramakers, 'Art and Artistry in Lucas de Heere', 170.

¹⁰⁴ According to Becker, the 'Adressat und Form' imply that the poem must be one of the oldest in the volume, Becker, 'Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lucas de Heere', 115.

‘de constischste conste der consten’, Apollo explains.¹⁰⁵ This biblical conception of the foundation of the history of the arts is a common one, as is also demonstrated by Marcus Van Vaernewijck’s anecdote about Tubal-cain, the first metalsmith and engraver [no. 2].

In the comparatively elaborate marginal notes to this segment, d’Heere refers to a number of sources: Gerolamo Cardano (1501–1576), the famous Italian polymath, Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), author of the *Cosmographia*, a medieval treatise by Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280) that examines valuable herbs and gemstones, Pliny, and Alberti’s *De Pictura*. D’Heere probably knew Alberti’s text from his time in Floris’s workshop, or through his acquaintances in the learned network around Lampsonius and Lombard.¹⁰⁶ Alberti refers to a well-known anecdote of King Pyrrhus, who possessed a miraculous gemstone on which the nine Muses, with their attributes, were distinctly depicted by Nature herself.¹⁰⁷

Several poems included in the volume show that d’Heere moved in the same circles as important Flemish humanists, antiquarians, and collectors. One of his poems directed to humanist scholars, for example, celebrates Lampsonius, a scholar ‘Voor wien gheen spraken oft talen onbekent siin’.¹⁰⁸ The latter also is the author of a short epistle dedicated to d’Heere. It is included directly after d’Heere’s laudatio of Lampsonius.¹⁰⁹ The resulting dialogue between the two entries echoes the amusing tradition of friendly, personal exchanges in *alba amicora*:¹¹⁰ d’Heere’s ‘Zal ic voor Minerua wel dorren spreken van wijsheit?’ is countered by Lampsonius’s ‘Zal ic mijn beelden voor Appelles toonen?’ directly below.¹¹¹ Likewise, the last sonnet in the album is dedicated to Abraham Ortelius, his ‘beminde vrient’ and fellow antiquarian.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ D’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd*, 117–118, ‘Nochtans ben Pictura schuldigh meest eere en ionsten/ Om d’oorzaecken volghende naer der warachticheit/ Hier om is sy de constichste conste der consten./ De conste Pictura is een gaue des Heeren,/ Den meinsche voorgehouden deur de nature:/ VWant daer zijn steenen de welcke tschilderen leeren/ Brijnghende met hemlien voor menighe figure,/ VWelcke daer in ghegroyt sijn van der eerster ure,/ Ghelijcker op sommighe blaerkins beestkins staen. (...) Want de mensche heeftse euen wel eerst van God ontfaen/ Die zelue was, en is d’eerste schilder alleene. Hadde hy niet (als Moyses schrijft) een patroon gedaen/ Waer naer hy de’ maken de beelden groot en cleene/ Die tot ten Tabernacle dienden int ghemeene?/ Waermede Pictura, en Schulptura recht begonsten./ Wat const heeft zulc beghin gehad? ic en weet gheene/ Hier om is sy de constichste conste der consten [margin: Exod.31[.1–11] en 36[.2]. Ioseph [Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*] lib.3.cap.6].

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, 117, margin: ‘Hiero. carda [Gerolamo Cardano, *De subtilitate libri xxi* (Basel 1554)] lib. 7de subtili./ Munsterus. [Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basel 1544)]/ Leo bapti. Alb. [Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura*, cap. ii.28] Plini. [*Naturalis Historia*] lib.37.ca.3/ Alb.Mag. [Albertus Magnus, *Liber secretorum Alberti magni*]. The text of Cardano used by d’Heere is probably the French translation of 1556, *Les livres de Hiérome Cardanus [...]* (Paris 1556) fol. 129vff. The edition of Albertus Magnus is *Dat boeck der secreten Alberti Magni [...]* (Leiden 1551) fol. Biff, or a similar French translation.

¹⁰⁷ See Alberti, *On painting: a new translation and critical edition*, 48–49. This reference to Alberti is missed by Waterschoot in his edition of the text, cf. d’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd*, 141. The same anecdote is in the cited segment in Pliny, with the added information that the stone was an agate, and that Apollo holding his lyre could also be seen on it.

¹⁰⁸ D’Heere, *Den Hof en boomgaerd*, 79.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 80–81.

¹¹⁰ Wouk, *Frans Floris*, 368.

¹¹¹ D’Heere, *Den Hof en Boomgaerd*, 79–80.

¹¹² *ibid.*, 62.

The pious refrain annex New Year's gift that is dedicated to 'M. Hubrecht Goltz, Schilder' is another case in point.¹¹³ Goltzius (1526–1583), like Floris, was a student of Lombard. Best known for his monumental numismatic studies such as *C. Iulius Caesar* (1563),¹¹⁴ he also printed Lampsonius's *Vita* in 1565, the same year d'Heere published his *Hof en boomgaerd*. Goltzius's printing press was funded by a noble mecenas, Marcus Laurinus (1525–1581), Lord of Watervliet, a Bruges antiquarian and a collector of coins, books, and paintings.¹¹⁵ Lucas d'Heere, who himself owned a collection of antiquities, coins and rarities, dedicated a sonnet in his *Hof en boomgaerd* to Laurinus. In the poem, d'Heere praises the reliability and importance of inscriptions in 'Medaillen' as an empirical historical source.¹¹⁶ The sonnet addressed at Laurinus is the first in the sequence, and is located precisely in the heart of the album. This position may indicate that d'Heere 'accorded it special importance' on account of his personal interests in antiquarianism and numismatics, and his belief in the historical power of inscriptions.¹¹⁷ Lucas d'Heere's passion apparently was so encompassing that he used the motto 'T'outste is tbeste' before adopting the anagram 'Schade leer u' in England.¹¹⁸ This profoundly humanist interest was shared by Marcus van Vaernewijck, who describes an array of old coins and other archeological objects in detail in the *Spiegel* [no. 14]. Van Vaernewijck had a clear mission: to shape a distinct local identity of his home town. He used the archeological evidence found around Ghent to promote the region's unique history and culture (*infra*).

Lucas d'Heere: a lost canon

According to Karel van Mander, d'Heere had begun to describe the lives of famous Flemish painters in rhyme. Van Mander notes that he had tried to get hold of the manuscript in order to make use of it 'oft t'selve in't licht te laten comen', but he remained unsuccessful.¹¹⁹ The unfinished text apparently disappeared somewhere near the end of the sixteenth century; it most likely was left behind or destroyed when or shortly after d'Heere was forced to leave the country.

In early 1568, even before he was summoned by the Council of Troubles on account of his

¹¹³ *ibid.*, 100–103, '(...) Princelic schilder u gheue ic dit iuweel/ Van schilderien gheen so constich: maer/ Niet gheschildert met verwe ofte pinceel/ Dan in dees woorden en dit is u deel:/ Christus Iesus voor een zaligh nieu iaeer'.

¹¹⁴ Hubrecht Goltzius, *C. Iulius Caesar sive historiae imperatorum caesarumque romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restituae* [...] (Bruges 1563).

¹¹⁵ Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 38–41, 48.

¹¹⁶ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd*, 55–56.

¹¹⁷ Quoted from Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 258 n. 51.

¹¹⁸ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd*, frontispiece; Eduard de Dene, *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren* [...] (Bruges 1567) 3. Also see d'Heere's entries in the *Album* of Johan Radermacher (1538–1617), fols. 167r–168v (1568), 155r (1580), transcribed by K. Bostoen e.a. in *Album Joannis Rotarii*, <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/rade004albu01_01/colofon.php>.

¹¹⁹ Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 198r, 'My gedenck, dat eertijts mijn Meester, Lucas de Heere, van Gent, in Rijm dese stoffe, van het leven der vermaerde Schilders, by der handt en aengevangen hadde: maer in den hoeck geraeckt en verloren wesende, is niet voor den dagh te verwachten, welck my andersins groot behulp te minsten hadden moghen wesen, daer ick nu met groeter moeyt veel dingen hebbe moeten op speuren en becomen', 256r; 'Hy hadde ooc begost te beschrijven in Rijm het Leven der Schilders/ dat welck ick noyt hebbe connen becomen/ wat moeyt ick daerom hebbe gedaen/ om my ten minsten daer mede te behelpen/ oft t'selve in't licht te late comen'.

conversion to Calvinism, Lucas d'Heere fled to England. He must have finished his ballad prefacing the French edition of Lodovico Guicciardini's (1521–1589) famous chorography of the Low Countries somewhere before that time.¹²⁰ In November of that same year, he was formally banished from the city of Ghent. All his possessions were forfeited.¹²¹ From a recently discovered manuscript dedicated to d'Heere's mecenas, Edward Seymour (1537–1621), Duke of Hertford, it appears that d'Heere was much more involved in the circles of the highest English nobility than had been assumed until now.¹²² Around that time, d'Heere's political engagement also flourished, as is evidenced by his contact with Philips of Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde (1540–1598) and William of Orange (1533–1584).¹²³ After the Pacification, d'Heere returned to Ghent, where he and his father, Jan d'Heere (ca. 1502?–ca. 1576/1578),¹²⁴ and brother-in-law, Jan Schoorman (ca. 1530?–ca. 1585?), organized the Joyous Entry of Orange, which took place on December 29, 1577.¹²⁵

Towards artist's biographies: Gerard Geldenhouwer and Dominicus Lampsonius

While Lucas d'Heere's corpus of artist's lives is regrettably lost, several other examples from the sixteenth-century Low Countries have been preserved. We have already stressed the importance of Gerard Geldenhouwer as an early author who experimented with notes about

¹²⁰ Lodovico Guicciardini, *Description de tovt le País Bas* [...] (Antwerp 1568) fol. *4r, the original title is *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* [...] (Antwerp 1567). Guicciardini mentions both of d'Heere's parents as 'famous artists', see Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 17, and no. 25. For a discussion of the *Descrittione* as a chorography, see Esser, *The politics of memory*, 2–3, and Zinman, 'From Ausonia to Batavia', 210–211.

¹²¹ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd*, xii. D'Heere's banishment is recorded in Van Vaerneuwijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. ii, 273, 'no. 6. Lucas Mijnsheeren, een constich schilder ende zeer verstandich ende studiues [sic], tot verwonderens toe naer zijn joncheyt'. After his arrival in England, d'Heere wrote his *Corte Beschryvinghe van Enggheland, Schotland, ende Irland*, now in the collection of the British Library, London, add. ms. 28330, a printed edition with introduction is in Lucas d'Heere, *Beschrijving der Britsche eilanden*, Th. M. Chotzen and A.M.E. Draak ed. (Antwerp 1937). The manuscript is lavishly decorated by d'Heere, and contains a map from the *Theatrum* by Ortelius, see fols. 2v–3r. The map was perhaps handed over by Ortelius in person when he visited England in the summer of 1577, Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 25.

¹²² Frederica van Dam, 'Tableau poétique. A recently discovered manuscript by the Flemish painter-poet Lucas d'Heere, 1534–1584', *Dutch crossing. Journal of Low Countries studies* 38:1 (2014) 20–38, edition in: Lucas d'Heere, *Tableau poetique. verzen van een Vlaamse migrant-kunstenaar voor de entourage van de Seymours op Wolf Hall*, Frederica van Dam and Werner Waterschoot ed. (Louvain 2016). The manuscript was compiled around 1572.

¹²³ See, for example, the letter Orange sent to d'Heere from Middelburg, d.d. July 6, 1576, with a delicate request to the recipient to inform Francis Walsingham (1533–1590), secretary of Elizabeth I (1533–1603), about a planned 'undertaking' on the fortified town of Nieuwpoort, near Schoonhoven. Orange wished to deploy English mercenary troops, which could potentially endanger the English policy of balance and peace, see Karel Bostoën, 'Marnix en d'Heere in tegenspoed', *Literatuur* 5 (1988) 11–19, and Werner Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere en Willem van Oranje', in: *ibid.*, *Schouwende fantasie. Opstellen van Werner Waterschoot*. *Studia Germanica Gandensia Libri 2* (Ghent 2002) 83–100, 83. The correspondence of William of Orange is largely digitized and available through the database of the Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, see <<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/wvo/>>. The letter cited here is no. 7927.

¹²⁴ *NBW* vol. ii, 294–305.

¹²⁵ Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere en Willem van Oranje', 88. Also see Lucas d'Heere, *Beschryvinghe van het ghene dat vertoocht wierdt ter incomste van d'excellentie des princen van Oraengiën binnen der stede van Ghendt* [...] (Ghent 1578). This report of the event turned out to be a suitable propaganda tool, Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 86–87. D'Heere's sonnets to Orange also circulated on a single sheet, of which only one copy survives, Werner Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere in plano', *Jaarboek de Fonteyne* (1976–1977) 97–111.

art and artists in laudatory poems. Similar artistic appreciation is found in other texts compiled by Geldenhouwer, as is demonstrated in his *Vita* of Philip of Burgundy of 1529. In the description of the renovation of Philip's stronghold near Souburg on Walcheren, Gossart and Jacopo de' Barbari of Venice (ca. 1465–1516)¹²⁶ are presented as the contemporary Zeuxis and Apelles.¹²⁷ In the same segment, Geldenhouwer chronicles Gossart's journey to Rome in the fall of 1508, and the artistic activities he carried out there in the service of Philip.¹²⁸ The author also gives a succinct description of Philip's lavishly decorated castle at Wijk bij Duurstede.¹²⁹ Possibly, by 1522, Geldenhouwer had plans for a corpus of 'great men', including some artists, as is apparent from a handwritten list.¹³⁰ Nothing concrete is known about this project, however.

After Philip passed away, Geldenhouwer (and Gossart) remained and worked at the court in Middelburg for some time.¹³¹ In September 1525, Geldenhouwer left for Germany, where he found himself attracted to Lutheranism. Until his death in 1542, he was professor of history

¹²⁶ The most recent and complete study of the life and works of de' Barbari is Beate Böckem, *Jacopo de' Barbari. Künstlerschaft und Hofkultur um 1500* (Vienna 2016).

¹²⁷ Gerard Geldenhouwer, *Vita clarissimi principis, Philippi a Burgundia* [...] (Strasbourg 1529) fol. A7r, 'In patriam reversus totus exornandae arcis suae Suytburgo intentus, inter fabros, architectos, sculptores & pictores versabatur, adeo familiariter ut unus illorum putaretur. Aderant ei & versificatores, qui picturas atque structuras carminibus ornarent, ut utramque picturam, & loquentem & tacitam, ostentare posset. Excellentes in quavis arte artifices, miro favore prosequerentur, domique suae liberaliter alebat. Accersierat sibi magnis expensis, pictores & architectos primi nominis, Iacobum Barbarum Venetum, & Joannem Malbodium, nostrae aetatis Zeuxim & Apellem'. Prinsen issued a reprint of the *Vita* in Geldenhouwer, *Collectanea*, 225–250. Also see Böckem, 'Jacopo de' Barbari: Ein Apelles am Fürstenhof?', 29.

Böckem dated the start of the renovation of the stronghold between the end of 1515 and spring of 1516 (about coincidentally with Geldenhouwer's entrance at the Habsburg court), Böckem, *Jacopo de' Barbari*, 259–260. Because of his ties to the court of Margareta of Austria, Conrat Meit (ca. 1470/1485–ca. 1550) probably can be identified as one of the mentioned sculptors, Sterk, *Philips van Bourgondië*, 102, 164 n. 156. The dating would also fit Gossart's monumental *Neptunus and Amphitrite* of 1516 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 648), of which is assumed that it was painted for the castle at Souburg, Ainsworth, *Man, myth and sensual pleasures*, 217–221 cat. no. 30. Also see Ethan Matt Kavaler, 'Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: the uses of ornament', *The Art Bulletin* 82:2 (2000) 226–251, 230, that nuances the image of Gossart as a 'prophet of a northern Renaissance'.

¹²⁸ Geldenhouwer, *Vita clarissimi principis*, fol. A6r, 'Nihil magis eum [Philip] Romae delectabat, quam sacra illa vetustatis monumenta, quae per clarissimum pictorem Joannem Gossardum Malbodium depingenda sibi curavit'. See for a discussion of the four preserved drawings and the context of the sheets in the context of Philip's humanist interests Stephanie Schrader, 'Drawing for diplomacy: Gossart's sojourn in Rome', in: Ainsworth, *Man, myth and sensual pleasures*, 45–56.

¹²⁹ Geldenhouwer, *Vita clarissimi principis*, fol. B2, 'In primis vero veterem Dorestati arcem novis aedificiis commodiorem fecit, picturis, sculpturis, figulinisque talibus exornavit, quales vix ipsam Italiam habere crediderim. Praeterea, propugnaculis, armis, bombaris, eam accuratissime munivit'. Also see the letter Geldenhouwer sent from Wijk to his friend and colleague Cranevelt in Nijmegen, in which, amongst other things, Gossart's role in the decoration of the castle is minutely described, IJsewijn e.a., 'Literae ad Craneveldium Balduiniana e', 17–20 ep. 5 d.d. April 15/16, 1520, also published in Weidema and Koopstra, *Jan Gossart. The documentary evidence*, 18 no. 10, cf. Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen (ed.), *Morus ad Craneveldium. Litterae Balduiniana novae. More to Cranevelt. New Baudouin letters*. Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia xi (Louvain 1997) 30–35, 178 and Sterk, *Philips van Bourgondië*, 127–130.

¹³⁰ Published in Geldenhouwer, *Collectanea*, 72–75, and Weidema and Koopstra, *Jan Gossart. The documentary evidence*, 24 no. 17, relevant here are 'Pictorum: Joannes Malbodium. Inter pictores vitrarios duo de principatu contendebant: Theodorus Jacobus Amselradamus et Arnoldus Ortgenus Noviomagus. Sculptorum: Chunradus Vermaciensis germanus in familia dominae Margaritae etc'. Also see Schmidt, 'Buchelius's "Res pictoriae"', 184.

¹³¹ Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* vol. i, 227.

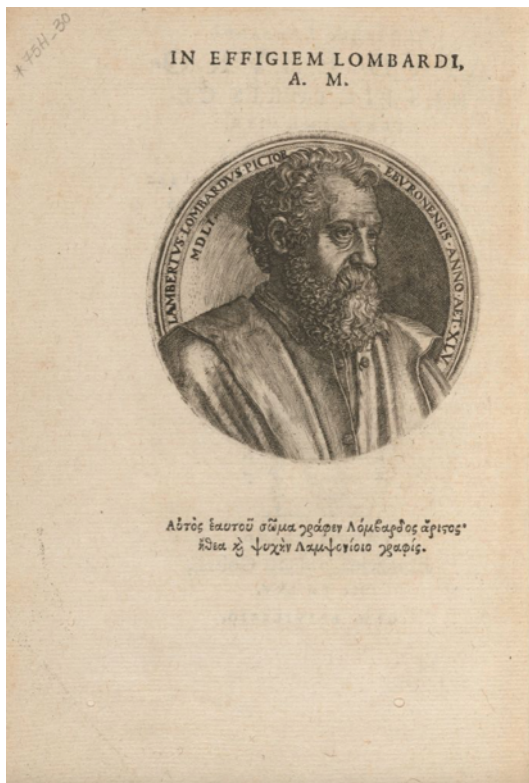


fig. 1.
Lambertus Suavius or Hubert Goltzius?, *Portrait of Lambert Lombard*, in Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi apud eburones pictoris celeberrimi vita*, 1565, fol. A1r. Engraving, 98 mm. Collection Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge, inv. no. Typ 530.65.510.



fig. 2.
Johannes Wierix, *Portrait of Lambert Lombard*, in *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*, 1572. Engraving, 215 × 133 mm. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-1907-603.

and theology at the recently established University of Marburg.¹³²

Geldenhouwer's relatively elaborate biographical descriptions of Gossart and de' Barbari are unique for the early period from which they originate. As we have seen, these early mentions of artists usually consisted of little more than a simple summary or list of names, often followed by a flattering comparison with an artist from Antiquity.

This would all change with the text published in 1565 by Dominicus Lampsonius, a humanist writer and artist active in Liège and Antwerp. Like Ortelius and d'Heere, his friends and colleagues, he collected art, rarities, and antiquities: among many other things, he owned a substantial collection of prints by Albrecht Dürer.¹³³ Lampsonius learned the art profession

¹³² *ibid.*, 83; Michiel Verweij, 'Pasquinaden op Adrianus IV en andere pausen in de Collectanea van Gerard Geldenhouwer (Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. ii 53)', in: Michiel Verweij (ed.), *De paus uit de Lage Landen: Adrianus IV, 1459–1523. Catalogus bij de tentoonstelling ter gelegenheid van het 550ste geboortjaar van Adriaan van Utrecht*. Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia xxvii (Louvain 2009) 45–58, 45–46.

¹³³ Iain Buchanan, 'Dürer and Abraham Ortelius', *The Burlington Magazine* 957 (1982) 735. Other friends of Ortelius also owned sheets by Dürer, including d'Heere, see Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 208v, 'Veel teyckeninghen zijn oock by verscheyden Const-beminders te sien: by den Const-liefdighen Heer Ioris Edmheston, in den Briel/ in een Boeck/ eertijts toebehoort hebbende Lucas d'Heere, zyn van Alberts handt eenige tronien conterfeysels (...)'.

‘as a hobby’ in the workshop of Lambert Lombard, a school that also produced masters such as Frans Floris –the later mentor of Lucas d’Heere–, Willem Key, and Hubert Goltzius.¹³⁴

Nowadays, Lampsonius is best known among specialists for his contribution to the early canon of important artists from the Low Countries, epitomized in the *Pictorum* of 1572 (infra). But already in 1565, his extensive biography of Lombard was published through Goltzius’s publishing house in Bruges. This text is usually accepted as the first independent artist’s biography in the Low Countries.¹³⁵ On the verso of the frontispiece is an engraved portrait of Lombard that is reminiscent of the numismatic tradition, with a distichon in Greek by Adolf van Meetkerke (1528–1591) [fig. 1]. A version of the portrait later was added to Cock’s *Pictorum* [fig. 2]. It is followed by a brief dedication by Goltzius to Ortelius, the ‘geographo doctissimo’.¹³⁶ Even though the *Vita* is normally classified as a biography, the main text actually contains a minimal amount of biographical information about Lombard. Instead, it is larded with art-theoretical considerations: Lombard is characterized by Lampsonius as a man who preferred spending his time with his books and collection of antiquities rather than with painting.¹³⁷

Lampsonius’s *Vita* is an exceptional example of biographical art literature north of the Alps, clearly influenced by the ‘direkte Kenntnis Vasaris’. Lampsonius appears to have based a considerable portion of his text on Vasari’s notes about Michelangelo, in his view the pinnacle of Italian painting, with the goal ‘sein verehrtes Vorbild zu übertreffen’.¹³⁸ Especially on the theoretical level, Lombard was more capable than the great Italian. He also mastered the best qualities of Raphael (1483–1520) and Titian.¹³⁹ In addition to the notes of Vasari, Lampsonius drew from Alberti and the *Dialogo di Pittura* by the Venetian painter-writer Paolo Pino (1534–1565), who wrote about modeling flesh in a similar way.¹⁴⁰ The text must have had a limited circulation in Lampsonius’s own social circle: Van Mander complained that he was unable to secure a copy ‘daer ick my mede hadde moghen helpen’.¹⁴¹

The biography of Lombard is exemplary for the broader shift within Flemish literature of art that took place after Vasari published his *Vite* in 1550 – it should be noted that this influential text did not include any biographies of Northern artists. Much like Geldenhouwer

¹³⁴ Lehmann, ‘Fleshing out the body’, 96.

¹³⁵ Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi*; A commented French translation is in Jean Hubeaux and Jean Puraye, ‘Dominique Lampson, Lamberti Lombardi... Vita. Traduction et notes’, *Revue Belges d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art* 18 (1949) 52–77; Edward H. Wouk, ‘Reclaiming the antiquities of Gaul: Lambert Lombard and the history of northern art’, *Simiolus* 36:1/2 (2012) 35–65, 35–38.

¹³⁶ Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi*, fol. A2.

¹³⁷ Lehmann, ‘Fleshing out the body’, 96.

¹³⁸ Jochen Becker, ‘Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Domenicus Lampsonius’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973) 45–61, 46.

¹³⁹ Lehmann, ‘Fleshing out the body’, 97; Hessel Miedema, *Theorie en praktijk. Teksten over schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw van de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Hilversum 2017) 30–34.

¹⁴⁰ Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi*, fols. B3v–B4r, also see Becker, ‘Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Domenicus Lampsonius’, 47–49, and Lehmann, ‘Fleshing out the body’, 97–98, that presents a reproduction and translation of the relevant segment.

¹⁴¹ Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 22r, ‘Grooten vlijt noch ernstigh nae soecken hebben my niet moghen baten/ dat ick had moghen becomen een cleen Latijns Boeck/ dat wel eer heeft beschreven den Brughschen Lampsonius, (...) hadde in’t langhe het leven berschreven van desen vermaerden Meester [Lombard]/ daer ick my mede hadde moghen helpen in dit mijn voorneem’.

needed the stimulation of Gossart and Philip of Burgundy in order to (help) develop his ideas, interest, and consciousness about art, artists, and their achievements, other authors from the Low Countries apparently needed Vasari's text to acknowledge that having notions about which artists were worth remembering was not enough, and that they would need to put something more elaborate in print to show their appreciation – or indeed emancipate local artist within the then rapidly emerging artistic canon, which then was highly Italo-centric. The *Vite* had made it clear that a succinct list of names did no longer suffice. The appearance of the poems by Lucas d'Heere, Van Vaernewijck's elaborate notes in the *Spiegel*, Lampsonius's biography of Lombard, the famous *Pictorum* of 1572 and similar publications should all be seen in the context of this effort. It is certain that Lampsonius, d'Heere, and Van Vaernewijck all knew Vasari's text. The latter two probably did not have access to a complete copy of the text (*infra*), but the fact that they both explicitly mention it as a source is telling for the impact that the *Vite* must have had in Flanders. Furthermore, it is also worth stressing that most of the authors discussed here all knew each other. Much research still needs to be done in this regard, but we can safely assume that their shared intellectual network thus was key to the development of a true 'Northern' canon that ventured to counter the Italian claims to artistic hegemony.

II. Marcus van Vaernewijck

*Introduction*¹⁴²

Before we dive into the actual content of the *Spiegel*, we should introduce its author, and briefly examine his wider oeuvre. Born into a Ghent family of affluent patrician ancestry on December 21, 1518,¹⁴³ Marcus van Vaernewijck must have received a substantial humanist education. Even though there is no compelling archival evidence that he attended any of the Flemish universities,¹⁴⁴ Van Vaernewijck's writings confirm that he (at the least) had a passive understanding of French, German, Latin, and Italian. He held a plethora of social and political functions [app. 1]. To name a few: Van Vaernewijck was elected juror of the local Guild of St. Luke in 1549. He was factor of the chamber of rhetoric Mariën Theeren in 1556–1557, and served as 'proviserder' or administrator of the same chamber in 1557–1558.¹⁴⁵ In 1558–1559 and

¹⁴² The following sections are in part based on a paper titled 'Contents and origins of the fourth book of Marcus van Vaernewijck's *Spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt*', written in the context of *From Alberti to Van Mander*, a research course on Renaissance art theory (March 2016).

¹⁴³ *Preuve tot betoogh dat die van het gheslachte moderne van Vaernewyck zijn de principael fondateurs ende dotateurs vanden Godts-huyse, ofte clooster vande Carthusiers alsdan residerende tot Royghem, ende nu jeghenwordigh binnen de stadt van Ghendt* (Ghent 1670) 53 no. 42, 'Extraict uyt seker Cohyer geschreven byder handt gheintituleert Memoriael voor de naer-commers, alwaer onder staet het naer-volghende. Ick Maercq van Vaernewijck *Filius* Maercx, was gheboren in't Jaer 1518. den xxj. dagh van December t'savonds ten vijf uren ende Liiij. minut. naer t'calculeren vande Astrologie op eenen Woensdagh, tot Ghendt, &c'. The cited *Memoriael* is now lost.

¹⁴⁴ Onghena and Schelinck contended that Van Vaernewijck might have attended the universities of Louvain or Montpellier, Van Vaernewijck, *De historie van Belgis* vol. i, xii–xiii.

¹⁴⁵ Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 58–59, 61–73. Mariën Theeren was closely related to the Church of St. James.

1567–1568, Van Vaernewijck was administrator of the Greater Crossbow Guild of St. George.¹⁴⁶ He served as churchwarden of St. James, his parish church, from ca. 1562 until his death on February 20, 1569.

Between 1565 and 1567, at the height of the iconoclastic turmoils, Van Vaernewijck was responsible for the city's grain staple. In August 1566 and in July 1568, he was appointed as a 'vingtenier' of St. James, meaning he was to recruit and command a citizen's militia of at least twenty able men who were tasked with protecting the parish church.¹⁴⁷

Van Vaernewijck started his political career in December 1562 as a 'vinder' of St. James. The six 'vinderijen', each with five 'vinders', were bodies subordinate to the aldermen of the Keure, the city's most important and prestigious legislative council. Vinders were responsible for solving debt cases of up to 240 Flemish groten. Around the same time, Van Vaernewijck was appointed by the Keure as one of thirteen governors of the Ghent Armenkamer.¹⁴⁸ He apparently performed his duties satisfactorily, because in May 1564, he was elected to join the Keure, the board that dealt with legislative and administrative affairs, criminal prosecutions, large debt cases, and property transactions. Four years later, in 1568, he became a member of the board of aldermen of Gedele, the office that handled matters of inheritance, guardianships, property rights, and compensation payments.¹⁴⁹ Next to his many public and political duties, Van Vaernewijck was active as a rhetorician, prominent writer, and, probably, sculptor. We will explore these activities in depth below.

An engraved portrait of ca. 1619 is our only reliable record of Marcus van Vaernewijck's appearance. It was produced by the Antwerp printmaker Pieter de Jode the Elder (1570–1634) at the request of Van Vaernewijck's grandson, Jan de Scheppere or Joannes Schepperus (ca.

¹⁴⁶ See the records in Ine Coessens, *De Sint-Jorisgilde te Gent. Positie van de schuttersgilde en haar bestuur binnen de stedelijke samenleving, 1550–1620* (MA thesis, Universiteit Ghent 2012) 25–26, 119 no. 583.

Van Vaernewijck's membership of St. George is confirmed in his discussion of the people that were killed by Spanish soldiers on December 11, 1567, when unrest broke out during the execution of four captured iconoclasts. One of the casualties, Gillis de Buck, was an acquaintance of Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. iii, 154, 'Desen man kende ic zeer wel, ende hadde met hem ghedient van 't aude ghilde van Sente Jooris int jaer xv^e ende lx, daer hij doe coninc af was; want hij hadde den ghaeyj afgheschoten (...)', Andreas van Heule, *Memorieboek der stad Ghent van 't jaar 1301 tot 1793* vol. ii (Ghent 1854) 355–356. De Buck was King of the Guild in 1558, Coessens, *De Sint-Jorisgilde te Gent*, 103 no. 88. The Greater Guild of St. George was the richest and most important shooting guild in Ghent, and possibly the whole of Flanders, Laura Crombie, *Archery and crossbow guilds in medieval Flanders, 1300–1500* (Woodbridge 2016) 114–116.

¹⁴⁷ Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 77–78, 87–88, 90–93; Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 56–60, 'Schepenen vander Kuere der stede van Ghendt, dit spel nie wel ghenoughende, beghonden haer nachtwake te versteercken; want zij riepen daertoe int schepenhuis die poorters ende edelmannen'. The two superintendents of St. James had 'zes vingteniers onder hemlieden, dat zijn hooflieden van xx mannen ende daer overe, waer af ic eene ghecosen was, ende was hemlieden dusdanich eenen heet doen doen (...) ende voort dede ic mijn supposten heet doen, wel tot xl, bij persuacie ende andersins; want zij som niet wel daeranne en wilden, zoo ooc die ander vingteniers wel bevonden'.

¹⁴⁸ Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 78–79, also see Johan Dambruyne, *Corporatieve middengroepen. Aspiraties, relaties en transformaties in der 16de-eeuwse Gentse ambachtswereld* (Gent 2002) 564–565.

¹⁴⁹ Van Heule, *Memorieboek*, 327, 362; Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 50–51; Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 81–84; Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before capitalism in Europe, 1300–1600* (Cambridge 2010) 58, 71 n. 50. For an excellent study of the Ghent boards of aldermen, see Johan Decavele, 'Bestuursinstellingen van de stad Gent (einde elfde eeuw–1795)', in: Walter Prevenier and Beatrijs Augustyn (ed.), *De gewestelijke en lokale overheidsinstellingen in Vlaanderen tot 1795* (Brussels 1997) 277–320, 288–294.



fig. 3.
 Pieter de Jode the Elder, *Portrait of Marcus van Vaernewijck*, ca. 1619. Engraving, 187 × 133 mm.
 Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-OB-7758.

1580–1620?). De Scheppere, who also owned the manuscript of *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*, arranged for the engraving to be included in the third edition of the *Spiegel*, published as *Die Historie van Belgis* in Antwerp in 1619 [fig. 3]. In a short introduction written by De Scheppere in which he dedicates the text to ‘myne heeren Voor-Schepen ende Schepenen der Kuere van Ghendt’, the same office his grandfather had held, we learn that De Jode’s print was designed after ‘een beroockte schilderije’ of Marcus van Vaernewijck.¹⁵⁰ (The original painting is now, unfortunately, lost.) The print was supposed to be pasted or bound in on a separate sheet after De Scheppere’s introduction. De Jode’s print also appears in the Brussels and Ypres editions of 1619 and the subsequent editions of 1665 (Antwerp) and 1784 (Ghent). The latter two feature an additional address of Joannes Meysens (1612–1670), the Antwerp printmaker and publisher. Van Vaernewijck’s text was last published in full in the edition by Onghena and Schellinck of 1829, putting the total on seven reprints since the original of 1568.¹⁵¹ The long timespan over which the text was reprinted shows an apparent broad, sustained interest in Van Vaernewijck’s

¹⁵⁰ Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Die historie van Belgis, diemen anders namen mach: den spiegel der Nederlandscher oudtheyt* [...] (Antwerp 1619) fol. *1, ‘Waer toe ick oock na mijne krancke macht ghetracht hebbe/ doende (behavens mijnen arbeydt) het navolghende beeldt na een beroockte schilderije/ by de sonderlinghe handt vanden const-rijcken ende wytberoemden Peeter de Jode in het coper te snijden’. Also see *Hollstein Dutch* (Heer-Kuyll) 208 cat. no. 265-1/2. There are several later painted portraits of Van Vaernewijck, but all are based on De Jode’s print.

¹⁵¹ Marcus van Vaernewijck, *De historie van Belgis, of Kronyke der Nederlandsche oudheyd* [...], Charles Onghena and Theodore Schellinck ed. (Ghent 1829, in 3 vols.). For a brief critical reception of the text in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see Tom Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond. Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1715–1794* (Hilversum 1998) 248.

text throughout Flanders.

The written oeuvre of Marcus van Vaernewijck: poetic work

Van Vaernewijck's earliest known text can be found in the anonymous (?) *Cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte*.¹⁵² The text appeared in 1557, while Van Vaernewijck was administrator of Mariën Theeren. This chronicle of the history of Flanders ends with a laudatory ballade signed by Marcus van Vaernewijck, but the attribution of the rest of the text remains contested.¹⁵³ No writings of Van Vaernewijck's hand dating from before 1557 have been preserved, but it is certain that these must have existed as early as November 1555. In an introductory epistle to Matthijs de Castelein's (ca. 1485/1489–1550) posthumously published *De const van rhetoriken* (1555), 'Maerc van Vaernewijck' is lauded as one of the few rhetoricians in the Low Countries that had his work published while he was still alive.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, a poetic bundle titled *Sommighe vriendelicke ende zeer hertelicke minnebriefkens* was published in Ghent in 1558. It contains a laudatory poem by Van Vaernewijck, partially set in Latin, but this contribution seems rather unimportant in both scale and content.¹⁵⁵

Van Vaernewijck seems to have distanced himself somewhat from the milieu of the rhetoricians after his term as administrator of Mariën Theeren ended in 1558 [app. 1]. This shift is visible in his literary output [app. 2].¹⁵⁶ There are two exceptions, however. In August 1563, Salenson secured the privilege to publish a *Cort tractaet Algorismi; Vijfthien taefelspeelkins ende presentwynen*, apparently compiled by Marcus van Vaernewijck. No copies seem to have

¹⁵² Gheeraert van Salenson?, *De cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte* [...] (Ghent 1557).

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, fol. MM3. See *Bibliotheca Belgica* vol. v, 6–7 no. 101, and Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 119–121 for a discussion of authorship of the first edition. A second, extended edition of the text was published in 1563. In the preface to that edition, Van Vaernewijck explicitly claims no responsibility for the original part of the text, Marcus van Vaernewijck and Gheeraert van Salenson?, *Cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte* [...] (Ghent 1563), fol. A3v, 'Ick selue/ die dit voorwerck tot Trebonius tijt (so voorseyt is) vergadert hebbe (...). Angaende van tander deel van Gaius Trebonius voort/ en is mijn werck niet/ hoe wel dat sommighe ghemeent hebben/ dat ia/ om die Ballade int hende van den Wercke'.

¹⁵⁴ Matthijs de Castelein, *De const van rhetoriken, allen ancommers ende beminders der zeluer* [...] (Ghent 1555), fol. *2, 'HET es een ghemeen opinie (Eerzame ende Goedwillighe Lezer) onder den meerderen deel van den Poëten, ofte Rhetoriciennen van hedensdaeghs, angaende alle wærcken van Rhetoriken, hoe goed, schoone, ende elegant die wezen moghen, dat zij die blaméren, zo wanneer die zelue in prente ghecommen zijn. Dat meer es, zij verachten ooc, ende versmaden alzulken Poëet, die zine wærcken in prente laett commen, specialicken, binnen zinen levenden tide, taxérende hem van Ambitien ende glorysoukene'.

The epistle was written by written by Jan Cauweel, the printer and publisher of the edition. Cauweel proceeds to cite a list of French authors 'danof al den meerderen deel noch leuen, ende diens weercken wy al hebben. Ooc tselvs, onder de Nederlandsche, hoe wel weinigh, maer groeiende: als te wetene Ian vanden dale, Ian van den Beerghe, Andries van der muelen, Cornelis van Ghistele, Cornelis Manilius, Maerc van Vaernewijck, ende onzen teghenwoordighen Castelein (...). Alwelke voornoemde Autheurs, ende dusent andere (duer tlaten prenten ende ghemeen maken van huerlieder weercken) hemlieden eenen eeuwighen ende ontsteeruelicken name vercréghen hebben'.

¹⁵⁵ Petrus Bacherius, *Sommighe vriendelicke ende zeer hertelicke minnebriefkens tusschen de leerende Ziele ende Alethia* [...] (Ghent 1558) 12. A second edition titled *Vriendelicke tsamen sprekinghe tusschen de Christen ziele, ende de Waerheyt haer meesterse, zeer bequame om lesen* [...] appeared in Ghent in 1576. Two other contributions are by Lucas d'Heere.

¹⁵⁶ Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 72–73; van Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 162

survived, so it is unsure whether the text appeared at all.¹⁵⁷ The second exception is a rather heterodox text that was published under a pseudonymous name in order to circumvent censorship. This *Questien oft raetsels der minnen*, a lengthy conversation in the Renaissancist French tradition between a ‘joncvrouwe’ and a ‘riddere’, was published in *Die Conste der Minnen* by Marius Laurier (ca. 1530–?) in 1564.¹⁵⁸ According to the address, it was printed by one ‘Cornelis vander Riuieren’ in Doesburg. This is in fact a pseudonym used by Dirck Buyter, an obscure printer and bookseller active in Vianen between ca. 1563 and May 1565, when he apparently left for Antwerp.¹⁵⁹ Buyter may well have been a native of the lordship Vianen or an immigrant from Antwerp. Nothing is known about Buyter’s life prior to his short recorded stay in Vianen, nor do we have any insight into his career after his departure. However, the scarce surviving examples of books printed in his workshop are usually of a clandestine nature.¹⁶⁰ *Die Conste van der Minnen* was probably commissioned by the Antwerp publisher Willem Silvius (ca. 1520–1580), who gave the pseudonymous printing orders ‘for books which he did not dare to print on his own press’.¹⁶¹ At any rate, Braekman regarded Van Vaernewijck’s poem as the ‘most elaborate and original adaptation’ of a French source of this genre in Flemish literature of the sixteenth century.¹⁶² Perhaps unsurprisingly, *Die Conste der Minnen* was included in the Index librorum prohibitorum in 1570.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ M. Baelde, ‘De toekenning van drukkersoctrooien door de Geheime Raad in de zestiende eeuw’, *De Gulden Passer* 40 (1962), 19–58, 48 no. 68. For a list of other lost texts of Marcus van Vaernewijck, see Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 129–132. Many titles are first cited in Antonius Sanderus, *De Gandavensibus Eruditionis Fama Claris libri tres* [...] (Antwerp 1624) 97–98.

¹⁵⁸ Marius Laurier, *Conste der Minnen, de Arte Armandi ghenaept* [...] (Vianen 1564) fols. H6r–K6v. Marcus van Vaernewijck’s authorship is confirmed by a short laudatio by Laurier on fol. K6v; ‘Dese vrighen ende solutien die hier aen dit boeckken gevoecht sijn heeft ghecomponeert die gheleerde ende seer verstandighe Rethorisijn Marcus van Vaernewijck’. Willy L. Braekman published an edition of the poem in ‘Marcus van Vaernewijcks catechismus der minne’, *Verlagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde (nieuwe reeks)* (1989) 1–78, 18–48.

Vaernewijck’s catechetical poem is an adaptation of *Les adevineaux amoureux*, printed in Bruges by Colard Mansion in 1479, see *ibid.*, 12–13, and Paul Valkema Blouw, ‘The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen’s activities, 1562 to 1567’, in: Ton Croiset van Uchelen and Paul Dijstelberge (ed.), *Dutch typography in the sixteenth century. The collected works of Paul Valkema Blouw* (Leiden 2013) 173–218, 200–201. For a broader discussion of Laurier’s translation of Ovid, see F.K.H. Kosmann, ‘De sleutel op de Conste der Minnen en de rederijker Marius Laurier van ijperen’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 60 (1941) 207–226, and Willy L. Braekman, ‘De “amoureuusche raetselen” in De arte amandi oft De Conste der Minnen’, *Jaarboek de Fonteyne* (1987) 177–200.

¹⁵⁹ Valkema Blouw, ‘The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen’s activities’, 200 n. 82.

¹⁶⁰ For a survey of all books issued by Buyter, see De la Fontaine Verwey, ‘Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen’, 8–12, 15, 17, *ibid.*, ‘Over enige boeken te Vianen gedrukt tijdens het “Voorspel”’, *Opstellen door vrienden en collega’s aangeboden aan dr. F.K.H. Kossmann ter gelegenheid van zijn vijf en zestigste verjaardag en van zijn afscheid als Bibliothecaris der Gemeente Rotterdam* (’s-Gravenhage 1958) 20–34, 23–25, and A. van Hulzen, *De Grote Geus en het falende Driemanschap* (Hilversum 1995) 79–83.

Titles in Buyter’s fund include a protestant adaptation of *De imitatione Christi* of Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380–1471), a catechetical treatise between ‘eenen Evangelischen Hans/ ende eenen Luyterschen Peeter’, originally composed by Hans Sachs (1494–1576), an account of the martyrdom of Christoffel de Smedt (ca. 1527–1564), a calvinist minister who was burned at the stake in Antwerp, various volumes with translated essays by Martin Luther (1483–1546), Otto Brunfels (1488–1534), Caspar Huberinus (1500–1553) and John Calvin (1509–1564).

¹⁶¹ Blouw, ‘The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen’s activities’, 200–201.

¹⁶² Braekman, ‘Marcus van Vaernewijcks catechismus der minne’, 12.

¹⁶³ Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 115–116.

Descriptions of Flanders and Italy: chronicles and chorographies

The period between ca. 1560 and 1565 seems to have been remarkably fruitful for our author. In 1560, Marcus van Vaernewijck published his *Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt*.¹⁶⁴ The text is divided into four separate treatises and is largely set in rhyme. Much like *De cronijcke van Vlaenderen*, it describes a fantastic history of Flanders. In that context, Van Vaernewijck presents a faux history of Belgis, an ancient Trojan kingdom in the vicinity of Ghent, founded by a prince named Bavo.¹⁶⁵ The final segments of the book give an overview of important historical events that happened in the region up until 1560. It contains an eyewitness report of the festivities at the twenty-third Chapter of the Golden Fleece in 1559, an account of the display and ceremonies surrounding the death and funeral of King Henry II of France (1519, r. 1536–1559), short descriptions of Flemish cities and towns, and various other subjects. The subsequent editions of 1562 and 1563, ‘wederom zeer vermeerdert ende verbeteret/ duer Marcus van Vaernewijck/ residerende te Ghend’, appeared under the title *Nieu Tractaet ende curte beschrijvinghe van dat Edel Graefscap van Vlaenderen*.¹⁶⁶ A fourth, enlarged edition was published posthumously between 1581 and 1588 under the original title, suggesting a sustained interest in the text and the genre.

Yet another chronicle, titled *Die warachtighe historie van den alder onverwinnelicsten ende alder moghensten Keyser van Roome Carolus de vijfste*, first appeared in 1561, with a reprint under a slightly different title three years later.¹⁶⁷ Van Vaernewijck contributed a prologue and a ballade, but his role in the remaining part of the text is unclear and disputed.¹⁶⁸ His ballade is largely focused on four ancient statues reportedly found in Viterbo during the papacy of Alexander VI (1431, r. 1492–1503).¹⁶⁹ An adaptation in prose of this section on the statues, in fact famous forgeries by the intriguing antiquarian Annio da Viterbo (1432/1437–1502), re-appears in the *Spiegel* [no. 6]. After his discussion of the statues, Van Vaernewijck proceeds to mention a number of manuscripts he is by then preparing to publish. One of those texts

¹⁶⁴ Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt: Inhoudende veel wonderlicke antiquiteyen* [...] (Ghent 1560), with the same woodcut frontispiece as the *Cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte*.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, fol. B1, ‘VViese stichte, men ooc wel zegghen mach,/ Twas den Coningh Bauo, die om zijn ver moyen/ Quam ghevlucht uut hoogh Frigien, tlant van troyen’. ‘Dees stad hadde thien hondert turren in haer mueren/ Om langhe te dueren, ia teeuvegher daten,/ En zeuen v wonderlicke Tempelen, noit zulke kuere/ Ghenaemt naer die zeuen Planeten, groot bouen maten./ Zy hadde ooc zeuen poorten, met zeuen straten’. The entire second treatise is devoted to this history, see *ibid.*, fol. C7rff, ‘Tweede tractaet der Vlaemscher autvremdicheyt. Tot den lesere. Hoe die Troyanen ghecommen zijn dees landen beneuen,/ Die trijck van Belgis hebben ghefondeert./ (...) Virgilius van de Troyanen wel inscibeert/ Hoe zy in Italien quamen groot wonder bedryven:/ Dis moghen wy ook wel van Vlaendren schryuen’. Van Vaernewijck already mentioned Belgis in *De cronijcke*, but in much less detail.

¹⁶⁶ Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet en[de] curte beschrijvinghe van dat Edel Graefscap van Vlaenderen* [...] (Ghent 1562, 1563).

¹⁶⁷ Gheeraert van Salenson?, *Die warachtighe historie van den alder onverwinnelicsten, ende alder moghensten keyser van Roome, Carolus de vijfste* [...] (Ghent 1561). The title of the second edition is *De warachtighe gheschiednisse van allen gheloofveerdighe saken vanden alder onverwinnelicsten, ende alder moghensten keyser van Roome* [...] (Ghent 1564), cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica* vol. v, 8–9 no. 103–104.

¹⁶⁸ Salenson?, *Die warachtighe gheschiednisse*, fol. a3r, ‘Prologhe oft Voor-reden up themen vanden Keyser/ Carolus den vijfste/ van dien name rhetorijckelijck ghestelt/ by Marcus van Vaernewijck’, for the ballade, see fols. FFF3–FFF4r. The first introductory text was an ‘Ode’ by Lucas d’Heere, *ibid.*, fols. A1v–A2v.

¹⁶⁹ The segment is quoted in the comments to no. 6.

explores the history of the ancient city of Belgis. It is in fact an elaborate announcement of the *Spiegel*:

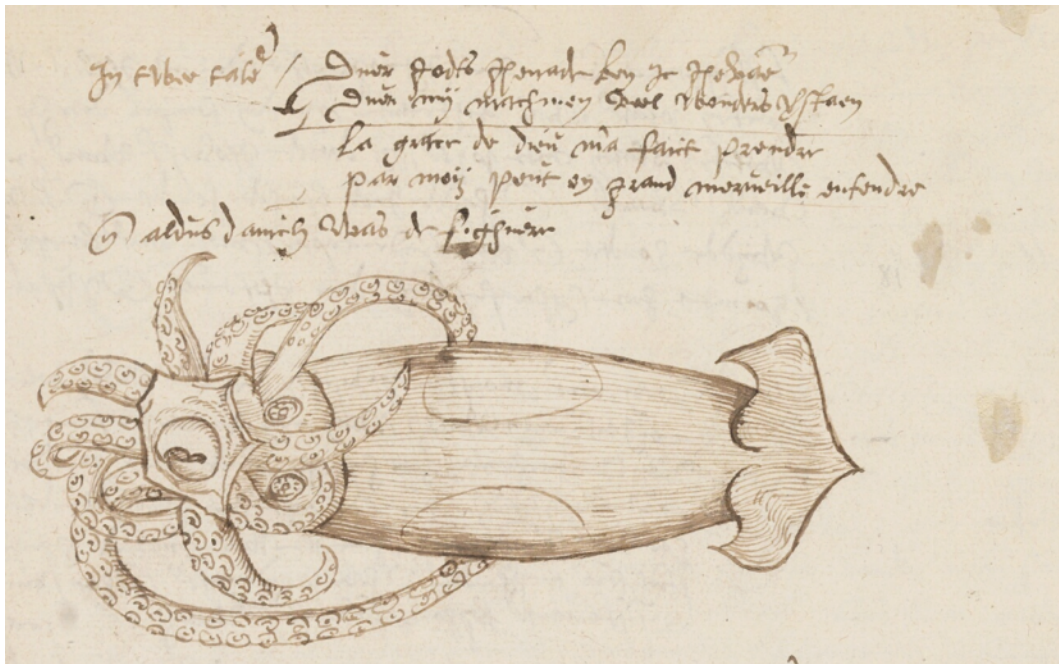
Van ghelijcken, so zullen wy laten blijcken
In vier groote boucken in prose ghestelt,
Hoe die Troyanen hier streden met zweerden en pijcken,
Teghen de Romeynen, zij en wilden niet wijcken,
Tot dat die Romeynen als Martialisten hielden tvelde
Die Trooyaensche stadt Belgis, seer zijnde ghequelt
VVart met den Roomschen viere ghemaectt beschaemt:
En om dat dees stadt hier hadde so groot ghewelt,
VVert ons bouck historia rerum Belgicarum ghenamt.
Dat willen wy den lieuen Leser, corts presenteren
Met vele antiquiteyten al ghesaeyt
Die al meest op dees Nederlanden corresponderen,
Noynt en heeftment in de prente meer zien vseren.
Twert wat auts, onghehoort, dat den gheest verfraeyt:
Fondatien van veel steden, hier int landt ghedraeyt:
Invallen der natien machmen daer in mercken,
Onghelooouen, inundatien, oorloghen ontpaeyt
En veel ander dijngghen, soot blijktt met de wercken.¹⁷⁰

Our author's extended descriptions of titles he was preparing to publish could imply that he was more involved in the creation of the main text of *Die warachtighe historie* than has been previously assumed.

Travel reports and descriptions of rarities

About a decade before compiling the *Spiegel*, Van Vaernewijck extensively traveled the Low Countries, Germany and Italy. In or around 1550, after his term as juror of St. Luke had ended, he was in cities such as Aachen, Cologne, Frankfurt, and Worms. From there, he traveled to Nuremberg [no. 15], Tirol and Italy, where he visited Venice, Rome, Florence, and various other cities [nos. 8, 9, 18]. Six years later, presumably while he was factor of Mariën Theeren, he went

¹⁷⁰ Salenson?, *Die warachtighe gheschiedenisse*, fol. FFF4r, cf. the many references in the 1563 edition of Salenson?, *De cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte*, e.g. fol. B2r, 'Maer waer die kinderen Noe haer betrocken hebben/ ende wat natien daer af ghecommen sijn/ ende oock van veel ander wonderlicheden van tbehinsel der werelt/ daer af leesdu ouervloedich int eerste boeck Historiæ rerum Belgicarum ghenamt/ in vele diuersche passagen/ twelck wy meenen corts te laten int licht comen', and the 1562 and 1563 editions of Van Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet*, fol. M8r, 'Vier groote boucken in prose suldy ontfaen/ Die u veel vvonder sullen ontvaauven/ Van Vlaenderen, en van dees neder landaauven:/ Ooc van de vverelt vvonderen meuchdy daer lesen,/ Met veel vvreemde materien, schoone int anschauven'.



figs. 4-5.
 Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Monstrous fish*, ink drawing
 in *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*, fol. 104v, ca. 1566–1568.
 Collection Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent, inv. no.
 2469.



to Westphalia, Saxony, and the Northern Netherlands [no. 11].¹⁷¹ He probably visited Rome a second time in ca. 1559–1562 [no. 3]. The texts Van Vaernewijck wrote during his travels, *Voyagie naer Roomen*, *Voyagie naer Seeland*, and perhaps others, have not survived.¹⁷² In his notebooks, Van Vaernewijck made sketches of the many ancient statues, ruins, sanctuaries, and other artful works he saw in Italy [no. 9]. Only two drawings by Van Vaernewijck appear to survive today: the first is a roughly sketched plan of the Reformed church ('dweerck vande ghenen') that was being erected outside the Brugse Poort, Ghent.¹⁷³ The second is a copy after a print of a large 'monstruesen visch', in fact an octopus or that was caught by fishermen in Holland in November 1566. Van Vaernewijck carefully recorded the bilingual caption, after which he inserted the illustration [figs. 4–5]:

duer godts ghenade ben ic ghevaen

¹⁷¹ NBW vol. viii, 795–797; Lamont, *Het Wereldbeeld*, 54–57. *Spiegel*, cap. iii.38, fol. 79 [K7v], 'zo wy ghesien hebben/ int laer vijftien hondert lvi. inde maent van Maius'.

¹⁷² Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 57.

¹⁷³ Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. ii, 14–15 (fol. 103r in the manuscript).

duer mij mach men veel wonders verstaen/
la grace de dieu m'a faict prendre
par moij peut on grand merueille entendre/
ende aldusdanich was de fighuere.

According to Van Vaernewijck, the gueux considered the appearance of the monster as an omen or a sign that God was on their side and in support of their cause, but, alas, 'zij en verstonden niet/ dat dit meer een voorteecken was van haerder nederlaghe/ ende verdriet'.¹⁷⁴ Unfortunately, no copies of the print referenced by Van Vaernewijck seem to survive. The drawing and anecdote should probably be seen in the context of Van Vaernewijck's humanist interests in rarities and naturalia, as well as the general state of political and religious unrest that followed after the Iconoclastic Fury of August 1566. Furthermore, his recording of curious sea creatures stands in a lengthy tradition that is perhaps epitomized in the famous *Visboeck*, a rich, unique manuscript album compiled and illustrated between 1577 and 1581 by Adriaen Coenen (1514–1587), a wholesaler in fish and an early ichthyologist from Scheveningen.¹⁷⁵ He too documented two large octopuses or 'poelomps' that were caught near Katwijk on November 15 and 17, 1566. The creatures quickly became known locally as the 'gose vissche' or beggar fish: their suction cups resembled the 'goesen napkens' or beggar bowls, a symbol of the gueux that 'men hier in hollant ande hoeden ende mutsen was dragende'.¹⁷⁶

Coenen evidently based his drawing on the same print as Van Vaernewijck. He even recorded the Dutch part of the caption.¹⁷⁷ In the same segment, Coenen describes how he commissioned a local artist to paint the likeness of the poelomp so that it would be preserved for eternity – he attempted the same in 1546 with another octopus that he had bought at the fish auction. He then was not completely satisfied with the end result, however, because the painter did not manage to capture the creature's strangeness.¹⁷⁸

Next to the descriptions of curious fish, Coenen's album also contains several accounts of meteorite showers, the Great Comet of 1577, and other wondrous natural occurrences.¹⁷⁹ It is

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 15–17 (fol. 104r in the manuscript). Also see Anne-Laure van Bruaene, 'Revolting beasts. Animal satire and animal trials in the Dutch Revolt', in: Walter S. Melion, Bret Rothstein and Michel Weemans (ed.), *The anthropomorphic lens. Anthropomorphism, microcosmism and analogy in early modern thought and visual arts* (Leiden 2014) 23–42, 32–33.

¹⁷⁵ Florike Egmond, 'Curious fish: connections between some sixteenth-century watercolours and prints', in: Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (ed.), *Early Modern zoology. The construction of animals in science, literature and the visual arts* vol. i (Leiden 2007) 245–272, 246.

¹⁷⁶ Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, *The mammoth and the mouse. Microhistory and morphology* (Baltimore 1997) 23–25; Florike Egmond, *Een bekende Scheveninger. Adriaen Coenen en zijn Visboeck van 1578* (Scheveningen 1997) 49, 51; Adriaen Coenen, *Vischboeck (1577–1579)* fols. 53v–54. Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, inv. no. KW 78 E 54. The complete manuscript is available via the site of the KB, see <<https://www.kb.nl/themas/middeleeuwen/visboek-van-adriaen-coenen>>.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, fols. 53v–54. 'Doer goets genaden bin ic gevaen/ Doer mij mach men veel wonders verstaen'.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, fol. 37r, Coenen describes how he brought the animal to a local painter 'diese in een doeck naeschilderen soude soe na als hij mochte maer hij en konde se soe vrent niet schilderen als sij was'. The painter was one Cornelis Claesz. Sceveninc or Scheveninck.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, fols. 49v–51v.

certain that Van Vaernewijck was preparing a text titled *Leecken philosophie* that was to include similar themes. The manuscript of this lost text was finished somewhere between 1561 and May 1562, and apparently ready for printing as late as 1568.¹⁸⁰ This otherwise unknown title is referred to several times throughout the *Spiegel*, in most cases in the context of miracles and descriptions of ‘die principael deelen der conste Statuaria, als Pictoria ende Sculptoria’, showing that at least books xx and xxi of the *Leecken philosophie* were devoted to (the history of) the arts [nos. 1, 5, 18].¹⁸¹ We know from Van Vaernewijck’s references in other texts that book xxv was devoted to ‘wonderlicke hemel teecken’, eclipses, thunder, and lightning.¹⁸² The interest in comets and other natural phenomena or indeed wonders was both archaic and at the same time distinctly modern: on the one hand, there were widely interpreted as theological signs or prophecies, on the other, they became the subject of humanist fascination and empirical study.

III. Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt

Introduction

The most important text by Van Vaernewijck’s hand still published during his lifetime is without doubt *Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt* of 1568. The segments of the book relevant to our purpose will be discussed in extenso below, so a brief description and introduction will have to suffice here. The approbation and printing privilege for the first edition were granted to Gheeraert van Salenson (?–1570), the publisher, on September 4, 1565.¹⁸³ According to the author, a first version of the text was already finished in early March 1561, as is confirmed by the announcements in *Die warachtighe historie, Nieu Tractaet*, and *De cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte*. The draft was subsequently ‘ghecorrigeert, ende in veel plaetsen gheaddeert’ in March and April 1566.¹⁸⁴ It is not immediately clear why it took Salenson and Ghileyn Manilius, the printer, until 1568 to publish the *Spiegel*. It seems likely that the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566 interfered, but it remains unclear in what way. There are

¹⁸⁰ Salenson?, *Die warachtighe gheschiedenisse*, fol. FFF4, ‘En noch eene van der Leecken philosophien/ In xxvij boucxkens, al diuersche partien,/ Tooghende van menigherande consten tbescheet/ Oft meerder vallen sal, ick noch niet wel en weet,/ VVant tseuenthienste bouck en ga ick maer beghinnen’. Here it becomes clear that the text was unfinished at this point (1561). In Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet*, fol. M8v, the author notes: ‘Dan, der Leecken Philosophie, waert volmaect’. The dedication to Adolph of Burgundy is dated May 20, 1562.

¹⁸¹ Quoted from no. 18.

¹⁸² Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, cap. iv.67, fol. 138ra [S2ra], ‘Van dese wonderlicke hemel teecken/ ziet ons xxv boeck der Leecken Philosophie ouervloedich ende hoe zy zom ghecauseert worden/ welke xxvij boecken/ wy cortc meynen (spaert ons Godt int leuen) tAntwerpen te laten printen’, *ibid.*, cap. iv.69, fol. 139vb [S3vb], ‘van zulcke hemel-teycken/ ende vanden donder en blixem/ ziet vele ende breet ins ons Leecke philosophie/ int xxv boeck, door diuersche capittelen’. Also see Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 175, ‘Van dese ende deseghelijcke dijnghe hebben wij vele ende breet ghescreven int xxv^e bouc der leecken philosophie, dwelc xxv^e bouc wij daeromme dat hemelsche bouck gheenaemt hebben’.

¹⁸³ Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, fol. *iv, ‘Faict à Bruxelles le iij. de Seembre, 1565. Soubsigné De Langhe’.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, cap. iv.73, fol. 145r [S7r], ‘Dese vier boecken hebbe ick met grooten aerbeyt ende diligentie met ander affairen verladen sijnde/ vergadert wt vele oude boecken ende Authoren/ ende voleyndt te Ghendt int iaer ons Heere xv. hondert, lxi. op den eersten dach van Maerts ende hebbe die wederom ouersien/ ghecorrigeert, ende in veel plaetsen gheaddeert in Maerte/ ende in April/ int Jaer xv. hondert/ ende lxi. LAVS DEO’.



fig. 6. Frontispiece of Marcus van Vaernewijck's *Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt* (Ghent 1568). Collection Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, inv. no. BIB.G.000033.



fig. 7. Frontispiece of Marcus van Vaernewijck's *Die historie van Belgis, diemen anders namen mach: Den spiegel der Nederlandtscher audtheyt* (Ghent 1574). Collection Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, inv. no. BIB.G.000034.

indications, for one, that Manilius got into trouble for printing banned pamphlets.¹⁸⁵

All of Marcus van Vaernewijck's known works were published by Gheeraert van Salenson, his widow, or his son, Jan [app. 2]. Salenson owned a bookstore annex printing press in Ghent between ca. 1550 and ca. 1568. After he passed away, his widow continued to operate the shop until 1578.¹⁸⁶ The Salenson publishing house seems to have been broadly specialized, and Van Vaernewijck would certainly have felt at home – Salenson's fund included religious treatises, rhetoric literature, travel reports, and chronicles.¹⁸⁷ The *Spiegel* and the first edition of *Die historie van Belgis* both feature the same woodcut printer's device on the frontispiece, depicting the Salenson escutcheon and a stylized cartouche with the motto 'in the beginning

¹⁸⁵ Machiels, *De boekdrukkunst te Gent*, 226.

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 259.

¹⁸⁷ Other Salenson publications include *Le conseil des sept sages de Grece, ensemble le miroer de prudence. Le tout mis en françois* [...] (1550); Antoine Dumoulin, *Déploration de Vénus sur la mort du bel Adonis, avec plusieurs chansons nouvelles* [...] (1554); Livinus Pontanus, *Moscholatria. Tragedia sacra, carmine Heroico scripta* [...] (1559); Cornelis van Ghistele, *Der Griecscher Princerssen, ende Ioncvrouwen clachtige Send brieuen* [...] (1559); and an edition of Matthijs de Castelein's *De Const van Rhetoriken* [...] (1571), this edition also contains the *Baladen van Doornijcke* (ca. 1522) by the same author. Cf. Vanderhaegen, *Bibliographie gantoise* vol. i, 139–157, 355–361, vol. iv, 14, 18–22, 48–49, vol. vii, 2.

figs. 8–10.

Woodcuts in Salenson, *De cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte*, 1557. Collection Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, inv. no. BIB.G. 000033.

From top to bottom: *Battle scene with Roman pikemen*, ca. 35 × 45 mm (each), fol. D1v; *Cavalry charging with banners and pikes*, ca. 45 × 45 mm (each), fol. F3r. The same image appears on fols. D3v, I3r, J3r; *Besieged city wall*, ca. 30 × 45 mm (each), fol. MM2v. The same image appears on fol. LL3v. The same woodcuts were re-used throughout the *Spieghel*.



was the word' (Jn. 1.1) in Greek and Latin on the pages of an open Bible [figs. 6–7].¹⁸⁸

In the privilege extract, the book is already referred to as 'vn liure intitulé L'Histoire du Belgis, en Thiois [Diets]'; which would become the title of all subsequent editions.¹⁸⁹ After the privilege extract, we find two introductory ballades, Van Vaernewijck's woodcut emblema with the inscription 'laet [vaeren] niit',¹⁹⁰ a dedication to the magistrates of Ghent, a third ballade that forms an acrostichon of the author's name, a table of contents, and a list of errata.¹⁹¹

Illustrations

The 63 woodcuts that adorn the volume are small in size, of average quality, and often repetitive. Several woodblocks we know from earlier histories written by (or attributed to) Van Vaernewijck have been re-used in various configurations throughout the *Spieghel* – this was a common practice throughout the sixteenth century. The six illustrations showing battle scenes

¹⁸⁸ See Frank Vandeweghe and Bart op de Beeck, *Drukkersmerken uit de 15de en 16de eeuw binnen de grenzen van het huidige België* (Nieuwkoop 1993) 63, 217–218 for variations.

¹⁸⁹ Van Vaernewijck, *Spieghel*, fol. *1v, cf. Vaernewijck, *Die historie van Belgis*. This second edition of 1574 appears in the index of the Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen (STCV), a database of books printed in Flanders (including Brussels) between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, <<http://anet.be/record/stcv/stcvopac/c:stcv:7092767/N>>. *Die historie van Belgis* was officially published by the widow of Gheeraert van Salenson. The Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, however, owns a copy with 'By Jan van Salenson wonende op de Hoochpoort in den gauden Bybel' pasted over the existing address in letterpress, see the notes at <<https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:002292584>>, cf. *Belgica typographica* vol. iii. no. 9272, and *Bibliotheca Belgica* vol. v, 410–411 no. 64.

¹⁹⁰ Van Vaernewijck, *Spieghel*, fol. *2v, the word 'vaeren' is replaced by a woodcut image of an actual fern.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, fols. *3–*7.

first appear in the 1557 edition of *De cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte*, printed by Hendrik van de Keere (?–1580) for Gheeraert van Salenson.¹⁹² The same blocks were used to decorate *Die warachtighe historie* and *Die warachtighe gheschiedenisse*, printed by (probably) Ghileyn Manilius for Salenson and Salenson himself, respectively [figs. 8–10, app. 2].¹⁹³ It is unclear who designed the woodcuts. They could originate from Salenson's workshop, or be an invention of Van de Keere. Alternatively, the blocks could have been produced by Joos Lambrecht (ca. 1491–1556/1557), and have come in Van de Keere's possession some years after Lambrecht sold his printing business to Hendrik Van de Keere's father, Petrus van der Keere, in August 1553.¹⁹⁴ The workshop was rented and operated by Jan Cauweel between 1554 and 1556, after which it came under control of Hendrik van der Keere until 1567.¹⁹⁵

The images of *The fall of the angels*, *Adam and Eve working*, *The destruction of Sodom* (used multiple times throughout the text to visualize the destruction of various cities),¹⁹⁶ the tetragrams, the escutcheons, and the decorative borders scattered throughout the text have different sources. The blocks with the Biblical scenes were cut by Joos Lambrecht in or around 1543 for *Een zuuerlic boucxkin*, a lavishly illustrated translation of a treatise originally written by Pope Innocentius III (ca. 1160, r. 1198–1216).¹⁹⁷ Jan Cauweel issued a reprint of the text in 1556.¹⁹⁸ Some of the decorations we encounter throughout the *Spiegel* also appear in editions printed and published by Lambrecht in the early 1550s.¹⁹⁹ The tetragram and the escutcheons, finally, were initially cut for an armorial printed and published by Salenson in 1567.²⁰⁰

The other woodcuts, most of them showing cityscapes, appear to be original, and were specifically made for the *Spiegel* in the workshop of Salenson or Manilius. The same images appear throughout Van Vaernewijck's *Die historie* of 1574. Similar cityscapes appear in other chorographies of the era: they are a pictorial device meant to underline the locality of the

¹⁹² Salenson?, *De cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte*, fol. D1v (*Battle scene with Roman pikemen*); fols. D3v, F3r, I3r (*Cavalry charging with banners and lances*); fols. LL2v, MM2v (*Besieged city walls*).

¹⁹³ Salenson?, *De warachtighe gheschiedenisse*, fols. I2r, Q2r (mirrored), T2r, BBB1r, EEE2v (*Besieged city walls*); fol. N1r, (*Battle scene with pikemen*), fols. N1r, AAA3v, EEE4v (*Charging cavalry*). Cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica* vol. v, 8–9 no. 103 (*De warachtighe historie*), 'Ces figg. ont déjà servi pour la *Cronijcke van Vlaenderen* de G. van Salenson, les armes de Charles-Quint, la comète, la tombe d'Isabelle, reine du Danemark, et le collier de la Toison d'or exceptés', *ibid.*, 9 no. 104 (*De warachtighe gheschiedenisse*), 'Avec quelques figg. sur bois dans le texte, les mêmes que celles de l'édition de 1561'.

¹⁹⁴ Vanderhaegen, *Bibliographie gantoise* vol. i, 56, 159.

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 132–133, 158; Werner Waterschoot, 'De Gentse drukkers Joos Lambrecht en Jan Cauweel', *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992) 27–31, 30–31.

¹⁹⁶ e.g. Trier, see Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, cap. ii.3, fol. 27vb [D3vb].

¹⁹⁷ Andries vander Meulen, *Een zuuerlic boucxkin vander ketyuigheyt der menschelicker naturen* [...] (Ghent 1543). Lambrecht also was the printer and publisher of the text, *Bibliotheca Belgica* vol. v, 409; Machiels, *De boekdrukkunst te Gent*, 120, 135 no. 123.

¹⁹⁸ Andries van der Meulen, *Van der Ketiugheit der menschelicker naturen* [...] (Ghent 1556), fol. G8r (*The fall of the angels*); fol. B3v (*Adam and Eve working*); fol. G2v (*The destruction of Sodom*).

¹⁹⁹ The vertical decorative borders that cradle Salenson's privilege extract first seem to appear in Joos Lambrecht, *Eualuüiciboucxkin, waar in men figurelic vindt al de gauden ende zelueren penninghen* [...] (Ghent 1550) fol. A1v. The horizontal friezes, then, were apparently first used in Lambrecht's *De testamenten der twalf patriarchen* [...] (Ghent 1552) fol. A3r.

²⁰⁰ Jean Lautte, *Den Boomgaert der wapenen, inhoudende de wapenen van vele edele huysen van dese Nederlanden* [...] (Ghent 1567) fol. B4r (Bohemia); fol. D1r ('antique' and 'modern' Flanders); fol. AA5r (Ghent); AA5v (Bruges); fol. AA6r (Ypres); fol. AA7r (tetragram).

stories and descriptions offered in the text.

Structure of the text

In the introductory epistle, Van Vaernewijck mentions several reasons for compiling his *Spiegel*. One of them is ‘den Druckere’ who had supported the author and had provided him with various materials.²⁰¹ This short passage shows the warm ties that existed between humanist writers and their publishers and printers. Moreover, the explicit involvement of a group of ‘eenighe goede vrienden’ who had encouraged Van Vaernewijck to publish his text may indicate the existence of an informal social or scholarly network, that was perhaps clustered around Salenson’s bookshop.²⁰²

Marcus van Vaernewijck marketed his text as a classical history or chronicle of the region that was larded with myths, legends, obscure facts and rarities. Or, in the words of the author:

In my zoo machmen veel oudtheyts speuren,
Veel vrende dinghen, noyt niet veel ghehoort,
Zo een Schilder zijn tafereel met coleuren
Verschiert, soo commen hier d’Historien voort,
Van alle oude tyden gheseylt aent boort,
Als eenen Spiegel der oudtheyt om weggen om wysen.
Ick worde lustich om hooren, als Orpheus accoort,
Voor die oudtheyt van haer vaderlandt prysen.²⁰³

The text is divided into four books that all are meant to resemble a separate (pseudo-)historical era. The *Spiegel* is therefore structured as a typical regional chronicle, starting with the biblical history of Genesis up until the time of the first Gallic kings.²⁰⁴ The second and third books mainly contain (pseudo-)histories of Greek and Roman activity in Flanders, with a focus on the ancient kingdom of Belgis. In the fourth and final book, the author proceeds to describe developments that are somewhat historically correct, such as

²⁰¹ Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, fol. *3v, ‘Daertoe heeft ons ten eersten ghemouert die liefde/ende magnificentie ons Vaderlands/ ten anderen zommighe oude schriften: ende ten derden/ eenighe goede vrienden die ons daertoe ghepersuadeert hebben/ ende ten vierden den Druckere/ die als dit werck al ghedaen was/ ons aangebracht heeft ten diuerschen stonden/ zommighe materien/ begheerende datmen die daerinne zoude voeghen: waeromme hieraf ghebeurt is/ als van een edificie/ dat naer de conste Architectura wel ghewrocht is/ ende men noch daertoe addeert eenighe ciraten/ die zomtjids superflue sijn/ hem daerdore voor Meesters ende constighe ooghen/ wat schamende is’.

²⁰² Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 127–128, 292.

²⁰³ Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, fol. *2r.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, fol. *4v, ‘Daer af deerste comt van tbeghin der weereld afghedaelt/ ende wordt gheeyndt met xvj. Duytsche Coninghen/ die ooc Gallische wel mogen gheheeten sijn’.

floods, wars, and the christianization of Flanders.²⁰⁵ Van Vaernewijck also gives extensive histories and encyclopedic descriptions of the principal cities and religious institutions of Flanders, especially those in Ghent and the surrounding cities and towns. Within this context, numerous works of art are described in detail – ‘zoo vertrouwen wy dat dese Historie boecken/ den liefhebbers der conste/ een vermaken wesen sal’.²⁰⁶ The *Spiegel* thus combines folklore, history, antiquarianism, and topography, a sixteenth-century genre known as the chorography. It may therefore be added to the extremely short list of Netherlandish chorographies containing (the names, lives and works of) artists that were published before Hadrianus Junius’s famous *Batavia* of 1588.²⁰⁷

Van Vaernewijck’s wide combination of approaches ultimately was meant to shape a distinct local identity of his home town. He established ‘a pedigree of ancient forefathers’ such as Bavo, the Trojan prince, to promote the region’s unique history.²⁰⁸ His detailed descriptions of works of art in Ghent should, in addition to his general humanist interests, also be seen as part of his effort to construct and glorify a local identity: Van Vaernewijck deliberately emphasized Ghent’s artistic output and riches in a time that Antwerp had overshadowed it as the dominant city in Flanders.

In both the dedicatory epistle and the preface to the first book of the *Spiegel*, Van Vaernewijck preemptively apologizes to his audience, and asserts that he was ‘een onconstich man’ who was poorly schooled.²⁰⁹ Of course, that modest claim is completely false, but it is typical for humanist writers of the era, and telling of how the author wished to present himself to his audience. As noted before, Marcus van Vaernewijck must have had a firm (at the least passive) understanding of French, German, Italian, and Latin.²¹⁰ His learned background becomes more apparent from his selection of source material, which is to be discussed in the following segment. At any rate, these humbling statements, together with the publication of the work in the vernacular language and the wide range of topics, including many myths,

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*, fol. *4v, ‘Het tweede boeck beghindt van die ouercomste der Frigien/ ofte Troyanen/ die hier in nederlandt haer habitatie genomen hebben/ (...) ende is eyndende op Taynardum/ den Belgischen Coninc ende die inwendige oorlogen der Romeynen’. ‘Het derde boeck beghindt van die ouercomste der Romeinen hier te landen/ ende eyndt op die oude hercomste der Hunen/ Gotten ende Wandalen’. ‘Het vierde boeck neemt zijn beghinsel/ op die Regimenteurs die naer Julius Cesars doot dese landen gouneerden/ ende eyndt op de bekeeringhe van dese nederlanden/ totten heyiligen christen ghelooue’.

For an excellent study of Trojan origin myths and sagas in Low Countries literature, see Wilma Keesman, *Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen in de (laat)midleleeuwse en vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Hilversum 2017), with segments on Van Vaernewijck in *ibid.*, 476–480, 526–533, 641–644.

²⁰⁶ Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, fol. *4r.

²⁰⁷ See Zinman, ‘From Ausonia to Batavia’, 210–211, and De Glas, *Holland is een eiland*.

²⁰⁸ Thijs Weststeijn, *Art and antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain. The vernacular arcadia of Franciscus Junius, 1591–1677* (Leiden 2014) 12 (cit.)–13.

²⁰⁹ Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, fol. *4r, ‘Wat wilt ghy benyden een onconstich man,/ Oft begrypen, indien hy yeuwers ghefaelt heeft?/ Die niet dan zijns moeders tale en can,/ Dijnct u niet dat hy hier ghenoech betaelt, heeft?/ Die oock dees wercken ruyneus ghehaelt, heeft,/ Wt diuersche gheschriften, onghereet om zoecken,/ Stekende zijnen neuse in veel hondert boecken’, *ibid.*, fol. *8rb, ‘dat meer is/ dat ick noyt niet meer dan een maent/ om lesen ofte schryuen te leeren scholen en ghijnck’.

²¹⁰ His statement thus has to be interpreted as a ‘captatio benevolentiae’, Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 51–52. Lucas d’Heere used a similar rhetorical device in his *Hof en boomgaard*, see, for example, *ibid.*, 47.

miracles and legends, suggest that the *Spiegel* was aimed towards a broad audience.

Sources and short overview of the relevant segments

As it becomes clear from the commentary to the edition below, Marcus van Vaernewijck based his text on a vast selection of classical, medieval, and Renaissancist sources. He was above all a compiler of older material, not a creator in the strict sense of the word. His notes about art and artists, however, are usually based on his own observations. These descriptions should probably be seen in the context of Van Vaernewijck's own profound interest in art (especially sculpture), and, importantly, his wider effort to preserve the knowledge of the history of Flanders:

Want wy hadden ghedacht dattet onbehoorlick ware zulck eenen tresoor der antiquiteyten/ onder de wolcken der verghetenheyt te laten schuylen/ als ons Godt verleent heeft (soo Gobelinus zecht) die edel conste der letteren/ ende nu dat meer is die Druckerye/ diet alderbest bewaren ende verbreyden can.²¹¹

Throughout the text, Van Vaernewijck is heavily dependent on classical authors.²¹² Such is to be expected from a humanist writer, but it is also telling of how he viewed the foundations of the history of art, and indeed the ancient roots of his own craft. As was noted above, Van Mander added his *Leven der oude Antijcke doorluchtighe Schilders* in his *Schilder-Boeck* for similar reasons, and we find the same notion in the art historical notes of later authors such as Arnoldus Buchelius, Petrus Scriverius (1576–1660), and Franciscus Junius (1591–1677): the foundations of the arts were laid in Antiquity, after which 'they were revived in the early modern period'.²¹³ For Van Vaernewijck, art history begins with the biblical Tubal-cain, the first metalsmith and engraver [no. 2]. His subsequent discussions of the riches and wonders of the ancient world, then, help him to trace the history of art up until his current time [nos. 4, 5, 6, 10, 18], and allow our author to draw comparisons between famous Netherlandish masters and their ancient predecessors. One could think of the clichéd pairing of Apelles and Jan van Eyck [no. 15], but also of the less apparent comparisons, such as the one between Myrmecides, known for his miniature sculptures, and one Pieter Pauwels, who constructed a monumental reliquary attic at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter [no. 16]. These references were not only designed to illustrate the monumental and solid historical foundations of the then current arts, but also to praise the capabilities of Flemish artists and, of course, to show Van Vaernewijck's own erudition. As we have seen above, Vasari's *Vite* had shed light on the innovative ways in which artists were celebrated in Italy, and Van Vaernewijck's careful

²¹¹ Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, fol. *3v. Person Gobelinus (1358–1421) was a German historian.

²¹² A complete alphabetical index of artists, authors, kings, saints, and other names mentioned throughout the edition of the *Spiegel* is in app. 3.

²¹³ Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht*; Weststeijn, *Art and antiquity*, 12; Schmidt, 'Buchelius's "Res pictoriae"', 184 (cit.).

recordings of works of art in Flanders and especially Ghent were meant to do the same for local painters and sculptors, as well as to underline the splendour and cultural importance of the region.

Some descriptions and surveys of antiquities and archaeological objects are evidently based on our author's own observations, however [nos. 3, 8, 9, 14, 18]. In one instance, for example, Van Vaernewijck details how he made a copy of a carnelian intaglio that was found near the Flemish town of Velzeke. After careful examination of the gem, he was able to add a copy of it to his own collection of rarities, 'want wy drucktent af in wasse ende papier' [no. 14]. Van Vaernewijck's antiquarian interests fit in the wider humanist tradition of recording and examining archeological and ethnographical objects as expressions of local identity.²¹⁴ Van Vaernewijck's elaborate reproduction of Hubert and Jan van Eyck's epitaphs [no. 15], for example, should probably be seen in the same context.

The *Spiegel* is filled with references to Pliny, Vitruvius, Virgil, Ovid, and similar authors. But not all paragraphs about ancient artists are included on account of a 'pure' historical interest. Van Vaernewijck's discussion of the lives of the legendary sculptor Pygmalion and his child, Paphos, for example [no. 7], shows that he often still was influenced by the milieu of the rhetoricians, even after he had explicitly distanced himself from Mariën Theeren [app. 1–2].

Analysis of the sources consulted by Van Vaernewijck makes it immediately clear that he had access to a vast amount of information. The intellectual and social circle that apparently clustered around Salenson's book shop must have been of great help to him. At the same time, the many segments that are based on French and Latin sources make it clear that Van Vaernewijck's comprehension of those languages perhaps was not as perfect as has been assumed in the past. His translations of source material are more often than not marked by small mistakes, inaccuracies, confusions, and, in rare instances, outright misunderstandings. The best example presumably is Van Vaernewijck's survey of the Colossus of Rhodes [no. 5]. Our author compiles information from various French and Latin sources, including Pliny, Lucius Ampelius,²¹⁵ Beda Venerabilis (672–735), and André Thevet (1516–1590), the French explorer and cosmographer. A large woodcut of the Colossus of Rhodes in Thevet's *Cosmographie de Levant* is described in detail by Van Vaernewijck, albeit without mentioning the source [fig. 11].²¹⁶ An apparent misunderstanding of some of this source material, however, results in a description of a second Colossus, while this was in fact the same monument. Van Vaernewijck seems to have used a similar pictorial source in his elaborate description of the

²¹⁴ Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 157–158.

²¹⁵ Ampelius's *Liber memorialis* was first published in print by Claude Saumaise (1588–1653) in Leiden, 1638, but Van Vaernewijck might have had access to a manuscript version, see the comments to no. 5.

²¹⁶ See André Thevet (1516–1590), *Cosmographie de Levant. Revue & augmentée de plusieurs figures [...]* (Lyon 1556) 104–113. The iconography of the Colossus was known by Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), who used a similar motif in his *Panorama with the abduction of Helen amidst the wonders of the Ancient world*, (1535), collection Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, inv. no. 37.656. Heemskerck applied it again in his series of the *Eight wonders of the world*, published by Philips Galle (1537–1612) in 1572. For the broader pictorial tradition of the Colossus in the sixteenth century, see Nathan Badoud, 'L'image du Colosse de Rhodes', *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 91:1 (2012) 5–40, 9–21.

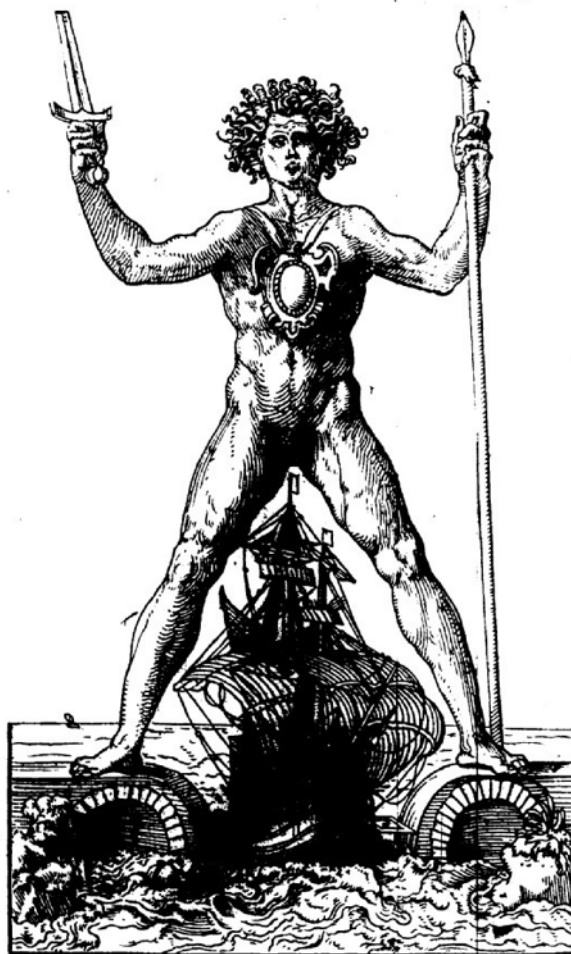


fig. 11.
Bernard Salomon, *Colossus of Rhodes* in
Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, 1556, cap. 31,
105. Woodcut. Collection Bibliothèque
nationale de France, Gallica, Paris.

Tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, where he refers to the woodcut 'Ignographie' of the site by Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543), published in 1521 [no. 10]. Elsewhere, he mentions Abraham Ortelius's 'new' plan of the ruins of Brittenburg, a Roman fortress off the coast at Katwijk that had become visible after a spring tide in 1562 [fig. 12].²¹⁷ According to Van Vaernewijck, the discovery of the ramparts of Brittenbrug is proof of the break of the alliance between the Romans and the Batavians:

Maer ghelijck alle dinc ver=
andert byder tijt, ende ooc die vrientschappen/
so heeft haer dese alliance ooc (soot schijnt)
ommeghekeert: want men heeft bevonden/
dat die Romeynen daer int lant (de wyle dat
het water vander Zee afgheloopen was) een
Romeynsch Wapenhuys/ oft eerden wallen

²¹⁷ The ruins were already known from the writings of Lemaire de Belges and Geldenhouwer, see Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 37, 41.



fig. 12.
Frans Hogenberg? after Abraham Ortelius,
*Ruinarum Arcis Britannicae apud Batavos
Typus*, 1566. Engraving, 590 × 435 mm.
Collection Altea Gallery, London, inv. no.
14906.

hadden/ danof men die Ichnographie/ oft
platte forme/ met vele antijsche steenen ghe=
druckt vint/ inde nieuwe Hollantsche Char=
te/ by Abraham Ortelium wtgesett/ die
welcke ter zeluer plaetsen ghevonden waren/
ende alhier onnoodich anderwerf te stellen.²¹⁸

Ortelius's *Ruinarum Arcis Britannicae apud Batavos Typus*, decorated with images of coins and inscriptions found at the site, was first printed in a small quantity by Christophe Plantin (1520–1589) in 1566.²¹⁹ The plano sheet, a collaboration between Ortelius, Goltzius, and the brothers Laurinus, then was circulated in Ortelius's group of humanist and antiquarian friends, where Van Vaernewijck must have seen it. The map was perhaps engraved by Frans Hogenberg (1535–1590), who by that time already was working on the plates for the first edition of Ortelius's *Theatrum*.²²⁰ Plantin's record books of 1568 show a payment to Ortelius for delivering seven copies to Frankfurt. In 1581, Plantin reissued an amended, resized and rotated version of the

²¹⁸ Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, cap. iv.30, fol. 107ra [O2ra].

²¹⁹ Dated in the central cartouche.

²²⁰ A single copy of this print was rediscovered in 2015, Massimo De Martini and Miles Baynton-Williams, "Find another one". *Altea Gallery catalogue 2* (London 2015) 12–13 cat. 5, also see Eric Ketelaar, 'Opnieuw: Ortelius's Brittenburg', *Caert-Thresoor. Tijdschrift voor de historische cartografie in Nederland* 34:3 (2015) 145–148. I am grateful to em. prof. dr. Ketelaar for providing me with a copy of his article.

map in the second edition of Guicciardini's *Descriptionne di tutti i Paesi Bassi*.²²¹ Ortelius's plan and renditions of the antiquities found at 'Brittenburgus' were later copied in Junius's *Batavia*.²²²

Van Vaernewijck's selection of sources often ties in perfectly with what we know about his biography. In several segments on the antiquities of Rome, for example, he quotes from an edition of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, a popular medieval guidebook to the city primarily intended for pilgrims [nos. 9, 18]. One of the many printed variations was issued by Antonio Blado (1490–1567) in Rome in 1550.²²³ We know Van Vaernewijck visited the Eternal City that very year, making it highly possible that he purchased the guide during his tour.

The most valuable segments of the *Spiegel*, however, are not based on classical or medieval sources – they are first-hand descriptions of works of art, or indeed biographical details of artists not found anywhere else before that time. Van Vaernewijck mentions a large amount of Flemish artists by name, allowing us to reconstruct his notions of which artists (and indeed individual works of art) were worth knowing and remembering. The criteria Van Vaernewijck used to select his subjects appear to be largely based on his personal taste and the quality and style of the work at hand, vicinity, and, importantly, his own social ties to the discussed artists. Whenever he deems it necessary, Van Vaernewijck explicitly stresses the artistic importance and quality of certain sites, as is the case with Willem Hughe's (ca. 1450–after 1488) Gothic sculptures in the crypt of St. Bavo's in Ghent [no. 16].²²⁴ Likewise, the works by Van der Goes, Van der Weyden, and Memling at Bruges could fulfill 'de liefhebbers der conste' with 'een groote vreucht' [no. 21]. But Van Vaernewijck's canon is above all a local one. Most artists discussed at any length are from Ghent – this is hardly surprising considering our author's focus on the history of the city throughout the rest of his text. The most important artists discussed are Hugo van der Goes, Willem Hughe, highly esteemed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, but now obscure, Gerard Horenbout (ca. 1460/1465–1541), a miniaturist and painter, and Jan and Lucas d'Heere [nos. 16, 17]. The inclusion of two female artists from Ghent is especially noteworthy, and perhaps based on the example set by Pliny [no. 25].²²⁵ Van Vaernewijck's section on Susanna Horenbout or Hornebolt (1503–ca. 1554), a miniaturist, is suspiciously similar to the one found in Lodovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione*.²²⁶ Was Van

²²¹ The 1581 map is reproduced in Krista de Jonge, 'De oudheid an Hieronymus Cock. Archeologie en architectuur tussen Italië en de Nederlanden', in: Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten and Jan van der Stock (ed.), *Hieronymus Cock. De renaissance in prent* (Brussels 2013) 42–51, 44–45; Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 41–49.

²²² Junius, *Batavia*, 107–122, esp. 114–116.

²²³ Anon, *Mirabilia vrbis Romae nova recognita, et emendata* [...] (Rome 1550).

²²⁴ Van Vaernewijck shared his interest in Gothic art with Lambert Lombard, who at his art school had 'called into question Vasari's notion of the barbarous, gothic Middle Ages', Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 37–38.

²²⁵ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.40.147. I should point out that Van Vaernewijck personally knew most artists included in his local canon.

²²⁶ Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, 98–99, 'Et anco ci sono state nella Pittura donne eccellenti, dell quali nomineremo solamente tre, l'vna fu Susanna sorella di Luca Hurembout prenominato: la quale fu eccellente nella pittura, massime nel fare opere minultissime oltre a ogni credere, & eccellentissima nell' alluminare, in tanto che il gran' Re Henrico ottauo con gran' doni & gran' prouisione, la tirò in Inghilterra, doue visse molti anni in gran' fauore, & gratia di tutta la Corte, & iui finalmente si mori ricca, & honorata'.

Vaernewijck perhaps his informant? The biographical note on Horenbout was later copied by Vasari.

Other artists discussed by Van Vaernewijck, most of them active during the fifteenth century, are regarded with similar respect and esteem. Much like Hugo van der Goes ('Meester Hughe'), they are often referred to only by their first name; e.g. 'Meester Rogiers' and 'des Duytschen Hans' [no. 21]. Van Vaernewijck apparently assumed that his readers exactly knew who he meant. There is only one artist, however, that had a complete chapter devoted to him and his art: Jan van Eyck, 'den Prince van alle schilders' [no. 15]. The anecdotes about how *other* artists regarded the works discussed by Van Vaernewijck are especially interesting. They reveal local (oral) traditions in which the perceived histories or dominant interpretations of certain works of art were being preserved and circulated. These stories, in turn, helped to shape the reputation of the painter or sculptor. Van Vaernewijck attached special value to the opinion of Albrecht Dürer, 'die aldervermaertste Schilder van onsen tyden' – it is perhaps in part for this reason that he gives his elaborate description of the altarpiece by Jan Gossart at the Premonstratensian Abbey in Middelburg. Dürer had lauded it during his own visit, according to local tradition [no. 11]. Van Vaernewijck might have learned about the altarpiece from Jan d'Heere, who had worked with Gossart on the epitaph of Isabella of Habsburg (1501–1526) at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, Ghent [no. 16]. Likewise, Van Vaernewijck's chapter on the *Ghent Altarpiece* [no. 15], perhaps written as early as ca. 1560 in response to Lucas d'Heere's *Ode* of ca. 1559,²²⁷ features similar notes. According to local tradition, Albrecht Dürer, Jan Gossart, Hugo van der Goes and many other great artists had praised the polyptych, indeed, it was 'so constich/ dattet Appelles werc niet en wijcken en heeft'. Van Vaernewijck explicitly mentions the opinions of these famous painters to further underline the importance of the retable, as well as to laud Van Eyck's artistic achievement.

Traditions and the circulation of knowledge: Van Eyck self portraits

In the same chapter, we encounter the following segment related to the perceived self portraits of Hubert and Jan van Eyck on the missing panel of the *Just Judges*:

Ioannes den ioncsten broeder/ ende princi=
pael meester, is inde zelue tafel gecontrefaict
rydende te peerde, met eenen rooden Pater
noster/ op zwarte cleederen/ ende Hubertus
om zijn ouderdom/ zitt op een peert neffens
hem/ ter rechter hant (...).

Van Vaernewijck's identification is evidently based on an existing tradition – d'Heere mentions the Van Eyck portraits as well, although the two authors have a different opinion of which

²²⁷ The first draft of the *Spiegel* was finished in March 1561, according to Van Vaernewijck, *supra*.

figure should be identified as ‘Hubert’.²²⁸ Importantly, this knowledge was not limited to Ghent and its surroundings, as is also evident from a portrait sculpture by Willem van den Broecke alias Paludanus (1530–1580) of Antwerp, which is based on the figure on the *Just Judges* panel.²²⁹ This sculptured bust of Van Eyck was installed in the decorated façade of the house of Cornelis van Dalem (ca. 1530–1573), the Antwerp nobleman and amateur painter, in 1562 or 1563.²³⁰ Thankfully, several descriptions of the façade and its decorative programme are preserved. It featured a frieze over the door with Pictura sitting next to her easel and brushes, flanked by the sandstone bust of Jan van Eyck as ‘Belgarum Splendor’, and a second bust of Albrecht Dürer as ‘Germanorum Decus’. Images of Mercury, patron god of commerce and trade, and Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and the arts, were placed in the door spandrels below.²³¹ The two near life-size busts are now in the collection of Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerp.

Most likely, the figures identified as Jan and Hubert van Eyck are no portraits at all, but nonetheless they at some point became part of the oral traditions and lore associated with the polyptych.²³² The story was apparently popularized by Lucas d’Heere, who included a segment on the ‘portraits’ in his *Ode* to the altarpiece, and, in second instance, Van Vaernewijck, who added the note quoted above to his chapter on Van Eyck. At any rate, the appearance of Van Eyck’s portrait bust in Antwerp demonstrates that the (oral) circulation and discussion of art historical knowledge and traditions were not necessarily confined to the locality of the city it

²²⁸ See the comments to no. 15.

²²⁹ Best known for his decorations of the Antwerp City Hall (1561–1565) and the decorated base for a statue of the Duke of Alva (1507–1582) in the Antwerp Citadel (1571), Van den Broecke should be regarded as one of the most prominent Flemish sculptors of his time.

²³⁰ Jan van der Stock (ed.), *Antwerp. Story of a metropolis, 16th–17th century* (Antwerp 1993) 165–166; Dominique Allart, ‘Un paysagiste à redécouvrir: Cornelis van Dalem (Anvers, avant 1534?–Bavel, 1573)’, *Revue Belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art/Belgisch tijdschrift voor oudheidkunde en kunstgeschiedenis* 62 (1993) 95–130, 96; Ariane Mensger, ‘Jan van Eyck, “Belgarum Splendor”, und der Anfang einer niederländischen Geschichte der Kunst’, *Pantheon: Internationale Jahresschrift für Kunst* 58 (2000) 44–53, 44–45; Catherine E. King, *Representing renaissance art, ca. 1500–ca. 1600* (Manchester 2007) 41–42, 118–119, 294–295; Kemperdick, ‘The history of the Ghent Altarpiece’, 51–53. Allart mistakenly mentions ‘De Hesp’, Van Dalem’s other property in the Lange Nieuwstraat, as the building with the decorated façade. The actual building was called ‘De Cagie’.

²³¹ Catherine E. King, ‘Artist’s houses: mass-advertising artistic status and theory in Antwerp, ca. 1565’, in: Michèle-Caroline Heck, Frédérique Lemerle, and Yves Pauwels (ed.), *Théorie des arts et création artistique dans l’Europe du Nord du xvi^e au début du xviii^e siècle*. Actes de colloque international organisé les 14 et 16 décembre 2000 à l’Université Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3 par le Centre de Recherches en Histoire de l’art pour l’Europe du Nord (ARTES) (Lille 2002) 173–190, 174–176, 179–181. For images of the façade, see figs. 1–3 in *ibid.*

²³² The Dürer bust appears to be derived from a portrait print by Melchior Lorch (ca. 1526–after 1583) of 1550, Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Künstlerhaus. Anmerkungen zur Sozialgeschichte des Genies* (Braunschweig 1990) 63. Cf. Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol (ed.), *Dürers Verwandlung in der Skulptur zwischen Renaissance und Barock. Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt am Main, 1. November 1981 bis 17. Januar 1982* (Frankfurt am Main 1981) 94–95, 100–101 cat. 44, 48, that mention a portrait medallion designed by Hans Schwarz (1492–ca. 1520) as Van der Broecke’s primary pictorial source. Lorch presumably based his portrait of Dürer on Schwarz’s medal, but because of the dominant availability of prints, Lorch’s print seems the most likely candidate to be Van der Broecke’s model. Also see Matthias Mende, ‘GERMANORUM DECUS: Zur Bildnisbüste Albrecht Dürers im Museum Vleeshuis in Antwerpen’, in: Christian Hecht (ed.), *Beständig im Wandel: Innovationen – Verwandlungen – Konkretisierungen: Festschrift für Karl Mösenender zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin 2009) 121–128.

Interestingly, similar portraits of Dürer and Van Eyck were engraved in a silver cup that was offered to the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke as early as 1549. The other engraved portraits on the cup were those of Raphael (1483–1520), Apelles, and Zeuxis, Catherine King, ‘Looking a sight: sixteenth-century portraits of woman artists’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58:3 (1995) 381–406, 400; King, *Representing renaissance art*, 118–119.



fig. 13.
 Willem van den Broecke, *Portrait of Jan van Eyck as Belgarum Splendor*, ca. 1562–1563. Sandstone, 39 cm. Collection Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerp, inv. no. VH. 5920.2/2. Image source: BALaT KIK-IRPA, Brussels, cliché B016425.

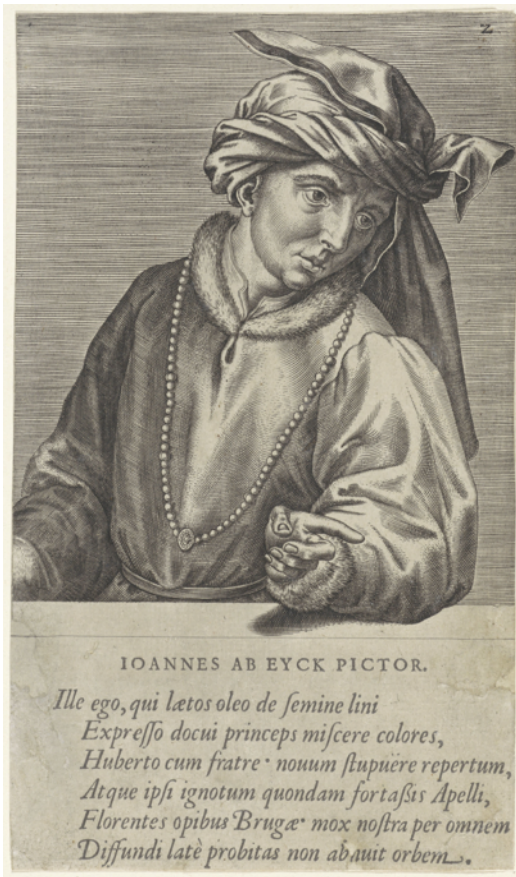


fig. 14.
 Anonymous engraver (formerly attributed to Johannes Wierix), *Portrait of Jan van Eyck*, in *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*, 1572. Engraving, 209 × 123 mm. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-OB-67.046.

originated from.

The two Antwerp sculptures postdate Lucas d'Heere's famous *Ode* to Van Eyck by only three to four years. It does not seem unlikely that Van Dalem had seen the d'Heere's text first-hand in the Vijdt Chapel. Alternatively, it is possible that he knew (a version) of the poem or the oral tradition of the Van Eyck portraits through the network of his father, who was a prominent rhetorician. In turn, Van Dalem's commission for the sculptured portraits predates the publication of the *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*, an important series of 23 portraits of artists from the Low Countries compiled by Hieronymus Cock (1518–1570), by almost a decade, even though Cock already started work on the catalogue as early as ca. 1564 (infra). Laudatory poems were added by Dominicus Lampsonius. Interestingly, the portrait busts, with their glorifying inscriptions meant to underline the status and importance of the masters depicted, are strikingly similar in form and appearance to Cock's print series, issued a few years later [figs. 13–14].

For the first time, portraits of the two most famous Northern masters were visible in the

public space. This, in fact, renders Van Dalem an important but often overlooked figure in the historiography of the Netherlandish canon. As Schwarz rightly noted, Van Dalem's choice to include 'zwei vergleichsweise fast zeitgenössische Künstler' in the elaborate pictorial programme of his façade must have been nothing but sensational.²³³ It appears that Cock took notice.

According to some specialists, Cornelis van Dalem's choice for two distinctly 'Northern' artists was a deliberate attempt to place himself outside of the dominant artistic tradition of his famous townsman Frans Floris: he 'seems to have been deliberately seeking a style that followed a different path', much like his contemporary Pieter Bruegel did.²³⁴ But while Van Dalem's painted landscapes were Flemish in style and execution, the subject matter often sprung from a humanist literary interest that was typical for the Italian Renaissance. Likewise, the highly decorated façade of the building was constructed in a modern Italian fashion, 'like one narrow central bay of a large palazzo', at the time a complete novelty in Antwerp.²³⁵ Interestingly, the relief of *Pictura* appears to have been 'the first public showing of this personification' in the Low Countries.²³⁶ The inclusion of the busts of Van Eyck and Dürer signify the fame and regard that was Van Dalem attached to these distinguished artists as the purported founders of the Northern school of painting.

Reading Vasari?

Like Lucas d'Heere, Van Vaernewijck refers to the *Vite* of Giorgio Vasari in his discussion of Van Eyck's altarpiece at St. Bavo's. Our author seems to follow his source faithfully, but to what extent did he indeed consult it?²³⁷ Interestingly, in his discussion of Van Eyck's paintings at Naples, Florence, and Urbino, Van Vaernewijck follows Lucas d'Heere's sequence, not Vasari's original. Van Vaernewijck, always anxious to show his knowledge, does not give any additional information as compared to the *Ode*, leading me to the conclusion that he in fact did not consult Vasari's text at this point. Similar issues arise in the discussion of Van Eyck's perceived invention of oil paint. Van Vaernewijck presents some details from the *Vite* that are not in the *Ode*, nor in any other contemporary printed source, making it somewhat more probable that he consulted Vasari's text first-hand. It remains problematic, however, that Van Vaernewijck does not give us more details of Van Eyck's 'invention' as described in Vasari's biography of Antonello da Messina (ca. 1430–1479),²³⁸ nor do we find any other reference to the *Vite* in the remainder of the *Spiegelhel*. One would expect more visible influence of the most famous text in

²³³ Schwarz, *Das Künstlerhaus*, 62–63 (cit.), 185 cat. 20. Schwarz regards Jan Adriaensens (before 1522–1588), Van Dalem's former teacher and the person who bought the property in 1549, as the likely commissioner for the decoration of the façade. He dates the two portrait busts around 1550.

²³⁴ Peter van der Coelen and Friso Lammertse, 'Inspiratie en imitatie. Schilders en prentkunstenaars rondom Bruegel', in: Peter van der Coelen and Friso Lammertse (ed.), *Van Bosch tot Bruegel. De ontdekking van het dagelijks leven* (Rotterdam 2015) 235–287, 245.

²³⁵ King, 'Artist's houses', 173, 175.

²³⁶ *ibid.*, 177.

²³⁷ Also see the comments to no. 15.

²³⁸ Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de piv eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scvltori [...]* (Florence 1550, 3 pts. in ii vols.) 380–385.

contemporary art literature, especially from an author that is (as he says himself) focussed on detail and obscure facts. Did Van Vaernewijck indeed read the *Vite*, or did he again draw from an existing local tradition, perhaps stemming from the circles of the rhetoricians or similar learned milieus? It is likely, in my view, that Marcus van Vaernewijck and Lucas d'Heere in fact received excerpts of Vasari's information about Jan van Eyck from a scholar such as Dominicus Lampsonius, in turn a close friend of d'Heere.²³⁹

Van Vaernewijck as a sculptor

Throughout the text, Van Vaernewijck appears to have a special appreciation for sculptures, carved altarpieces, and ornamented micro-architecture. He enthusiastically reports on ancient statues purportedly discovered at Viterbo [no. 6], discusses splendid examples of 'der conste Statuaria' [nos. 16, 18], and seems to have a firm understanding and knowledge of base materials and their geographical origins [no. 12]. It may be argued that Van Vaernewijck's interest was fueled by sculptors in his social circle, and further advanced by the recent publications of designs for funerary monuments, cartouches and ornaments for epitaphs, and sculpted altarpieces. One of the more striking examples is *Veelderley nieuwe inuentien van antycksche sepultueren* by Cornelis Floris (1514–1575), a series of sixteen large prints published in Antwerp in 1557.²⁴⁰ However, Van Vaernewijck's apparent affinity with sculpture can also be explained if the (part-time?) occupations of his direct relatives are taken into account. His father, Marcus van Vaernewijck sr. (?–before 1540), was a trained and active woodcarver, but probably not out of necessity. He became a free master of the Guild of St. Luke in 1496, after the sculptor Antonis Salaert (1460–ca. 1535) had advanced his deposit of 10 Flemish groten. Between 1495 and 1502, the two worked together on several important commissions, amongst them at least three large retables.²⁴¹ In 1526, Marcus sr. became juror of the Guild of St. Luke.²⁴² Marcus jr.'s older brother, Pieter van Vaernewijck, also had an artistic career. He was juror in 1536–1537, and dean of the guild in 1539–1540.²⁴³ Marcus jr. was juror in 1549–1550 [app. 1]. It must be noted, however, that there is no archival evidence that suggests that he was a

²³⁹ Similar questions arise in the work of the German writer Johann Fischart (ca. 1547–1590). Mainly due to his many small inaccuracies, it is not certain that Fischart had access to a complete copy of the *Vite*, see Josef Glowka, 'The role of art in the cultural competition between Germans and Italians in the sixteenth century: Johann Fischart's response to Vasari's *Vite* (1568)', *Simiolus* 37:3/4 (2013–2014) 187–203, 187–199.

²⁴⁰ Christine van Mulders, 'De prentenreeksen. Cornelis Floris als ornamentist', in: Antoinette Huysmans e.a. (ed.), *Cornelis Floris, 1514–1575. Beeldhouwer, architect, ontwerper* (Brussel 1996) 62–67, 156–161; Peter Fuhring, 'Hieronymus Cock en de impact van zijn serie uitgegeven architectuur- en ornamentprenten', in: Van Grieken, Luijten and Van der Stock, *Hieronymus Cock*, 36–41, 288–291 cat. no. 78.

²⁴¹ *NBW* vol. iii, 761–761, Rudy van Elslande, 'Marcus van Vaernewijck, de beeldhouwer (vader van Marcus van Vaernewijck, kroniekschrijver)', *Ghendtsche tydinghen* 24:1 (1995) 23–31.

²⁴² Els Cornelis, 'De kunstenaar in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent i. Organisatie en kunstproductie van de Sint-Lucasgilde in de 15de eeuw', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 41 (1987) 97–128, 104–105; *ibid.*, 'De kunstenaar in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent ii. De sociaal-economische positie van de meesters van de Sint-Lucasgilde in de 15de eeuw', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 42 (1988) 95–138, 132, 135; Victor van der Haegen, *Mémoire sur des documents faux relatifs aux anciens peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs flamands* (Brussels 1898) 49.

²⁴³ Van der Haegen, *Mémoire sur des documents faux*, 45, 50, Van Elslande, 'Marcus van Vaernewijck, de beeldhouwer', 27.

professional woodcarver himself.²⁴⁴ But it would only seem natural for him to step into the footsteps of his father and older brother. Van Vaernewijck's relation to the craft remains largely speculative for now. Additional archival research would be necessary to answer this question satisfactorily. It seems possible, nonetheless, that it was in this artistic network that Marcus van Vaernewijck and Lucas d'Heere first got acquainted, instead of in the chambers of rhetoric of Ghent.

IV. Humanists in Antwerp and Liège

Introduction

In Antwerp, the capital of Flemish art production, relatively little that qualifies as 'literature of art' was published until the early 1570s. Here, we find an interesting tension with Ghent and Liège, two towns where ideas and reflections about art were demonstrably written down and printed, but where less art was produced. We already briefly touched upon the works of Dominicus Lampsonius of Liège in chapter one. In the following chapter, we shall examine his later endeavors, as well as those of two of his closest friends and colleagues active in Antwerp, Abraham Ortelius and Hieronymus Cock. Starting from the second half of the 1560s, scholars active in the city of Antwerp started to claim the central role in the development of Flemish discourses about art.

Ortelius

Abraham Ortelius was primarily known for his activities as a seller and decorator of cartographic materials. After he came into contact with Gerard Mercator (1512–1594) in 1554, he gradually shifted his activities from decorating and selling maps to designing and making them. In 1570 the first edition of Ortelius's famous *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* appeared in Antwerp, in which he bundled his own work with maps by other masters.²⁴⁵

Ortelius maintained a wide circle of correspondents.²⁴⁶ His preserved letters and album amicorum²⁴⁷ give the impression of a man with an extensive intellectual network. In addition to some Flemish painters, he corresponded with, among many others, Lampsonius, Sambucus, Joannes Moretus (154–1610), Christophe Plantin, and Justus Lipsius (1547–1606).²⁴⁸ The latter and Ortelius probably knew each other through Plantin.²⁴⁹ Ortelius's album amicorum was

²⁴⁴ Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 61, 67–68, 71.

²⁴⁵ Peter H. Meurer, 'De cartograaf Abraham Ortelius', in: R.W. Karrow jr. e.a. (ed.), *Abraham Ortelius, 1527–1598. Cartograaf en humanist* (Turnhout 1998) 43–60.

²⁴⁶ Joost Depuydt, 'De brede kring van vrienden en correspondenten rond Abraham Ortelius', in: Karrow, *Abraham Ortelius*, 117–140. Ortelius's preserved letters are now in the process of being compiled through *Early modern letters online*, a project of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, see <<http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>>.

²⁴⁷ Now in the collection of Pembroke College Library, Cambridge University, inv. no. LC2113.

²⁴⁸ Jan Hendrik Hessels (ed.), *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum (Abrahami Ortelii sororis filium) epistulae, 1524–1628*. Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae archivum vol. i (Cambridge 1887) nos. 154, 171 (Ortelius to Lampsonius), 176. For Lipsius, see: *ibid.*, nos. 189, 191, 19, 201, 205, 208, 277; Sambucus: *ibid.*, nos. 13 (with portrait), 14, 44; Moretus: *ibid.*, no. 65; Plantin: *ibid.*, no. 150 (with portrait).

²⁴⁹ Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'Abraham Ortelius en Justus Lipsius', in: Karrow, *Abraham Ortelius*, 141–151.

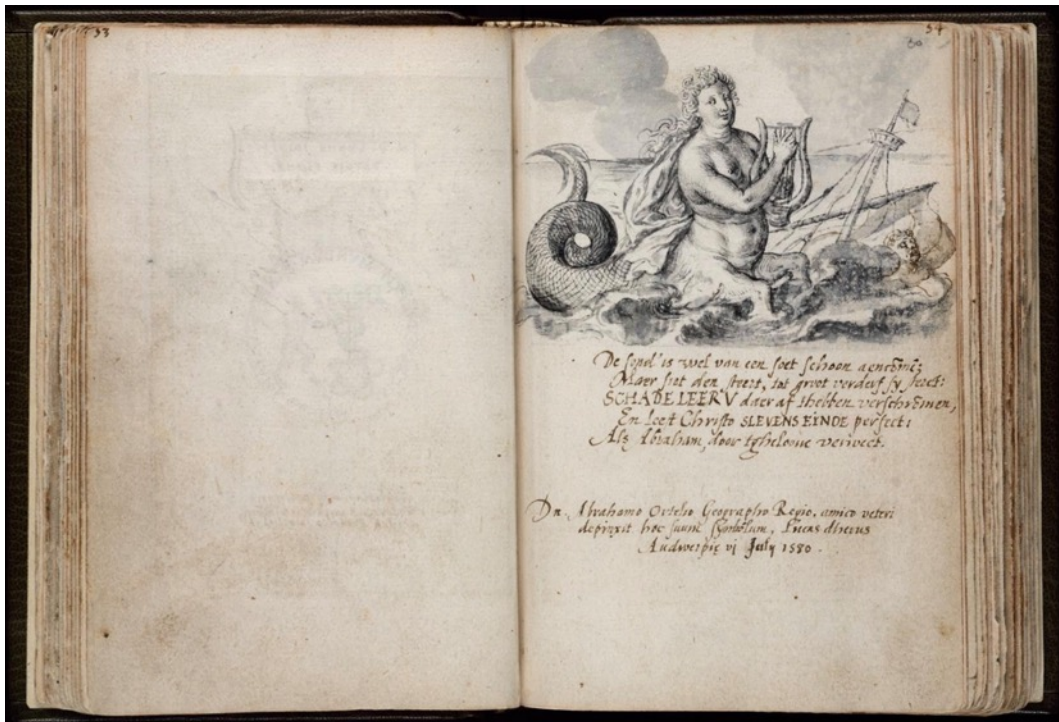


fig. 15.

Lucas d'Heere, *Siren rising from the sea*, entry in *Album amicorum Abraham Ortelius* (1573–1596) fols. 28v–29r, d.d. July 6, 1580. Pen and ink wash, 160 × 110 mm (sheet). Collection Pembroke College Library, Cambridge University, inv. no. LC2113.

signed by humanists such as Lipsius, Plantin, the Moreti, Lambert Lombard, and Philips of Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde.²⁵⁰ Lucas d'Heere contributed a large ink drawing of a *Siren rising from the sea* [fig. 15].²⁵¹ The drawing is strikingly similar to a slightly earlier entry by d'Heere in the album of Joannes Vivianus (ca. 1520–1598), the merchant and humanist art connoisseur [fig. 16], and a large drawing made in 1576 for Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1600/1601), the painter and miniaturist [fig. 17]. D'Heere's earliest version of the *Siren* can be found in the album amicorum of Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612), the consul of traders from the Low Countries in London.²⁵² The drawings are elaborations of d'Heere's anagram 'Schade leer u', adopted after his arrival in England in early 1568. Vivianus and Hoefnagel both were close friends of Ortelius, Van Meteren was his nephew.

Already during his own lifetime, Ortelius was known as an avid collector of art, curiosities and antiquities. He had, among other things, a substantial library, exotic shells, ethnographic

²⁵⁰ Jean Puraye (ed.), *Album Amicorum Abraham Ortelius* (Amsterdam 1969), also published in two parts in *De Gulden Passer* 45–46 (1967–1968). For Philips of Marnix: *ibid.*, fol. 42r; Lombard: *ibid.*, fol. 50r (with portrait); Lipsius: *ibid.*, fols. 74v–75r; Plantin: *ibid.*, fol. 75r; Balthasar Moretus (1574–1641): *ibid.*, fol. 114r; Joannes Moretus: not included by Puraye, see Depuydt, 'De brede kring van vrienden en correspondenten rond Abraham Ortelius', 133.

²⁵¹ Puraye, *Album Amicorum Abraham Ortelius*, fol. 29r.

²⁵² Bodleian Library, Oxford, inv. no. Douce 68. The entry by d'Heere, d.d. June 5, 1576, is on fol. 7r. The sonnets addressed at Van Meteren and Hoefnagel are reproduced in Wim Vermeer, 'De sonnetten van Lucas d'Heere', *Spiegel der Letteren* 21:2 (1979) 81–101, 95–97. On Van Meteren and his history of the Netherlandish wars, see Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 141–146.



fig. 16.
Lucas d'Heere, *Siren rising from the sea*,
entry in *Album amicorum Joannes Vivianus*
(1570–1603) fol. 55r, d.d. April 1, 1580. Pen
and ink wash, 202 × 142 mm (sheet).
Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The
Hague, inv. no. 74 F 19.

fig. 17 (below).
Lucas d'Heere, *Siren rising from the sea*, d.d.
August 1, 1576. Pen and ink wash, 329 × 442
mm. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,
inv. no. RP-T-1911-83.





fig. 18.

Pieter Bruegel, *Death of the Virgin*, ca. 1564. Oil on panel, 36 × 55 cm. Collection National Trust, Upton House, Warwickshire, inv. no. NT 446749.

and archaeological objects, coins, sculptures, paintings, and a large collection of prints and woodcuts that included many sheets by Martin Schongauer and an almost complete catalogue of the printed oeuvre of Albrecht Dürer.²⁵³ Characteristic of Ortelius's reputation as an art lover is a letter that Hieronymus Scholiers (1553–1597) sent to him from Madrid on November 6, 1576:

hebbe dicwils op v.L. ghedocht, om dies wille dat hier ouer all de aerdichste hulselen [hairstyles or covers] oft tophuijnen [armets] syn dan die my dunct Frans Floris of Jeronimus Bos souden oijt moghen versiert hebben, soo sy hier eertyts nyet gheweest hebben moeten ten minsten van dit fatsoen ghedroomt hebben.²⁵⁴

This quotation implies that Ortelius was familiar with the work of these artists, or perhaps even owned paintings by them.²⁵⁵ It is certain that Ortelius owned work by Pieter Bruegel, including the grisaille of the *Death of the Virgin* [fig. 18], now in the collection of Upton House, Warwickshire.²⁵⁶ Ortelius possibly ordered the painting directly from Bruegel in ca. 1564. In 1574, Ortelius commissioned Philips Galle (1537–1612) to produce a large engraving after this

²⁵³ Buchanan, 'Dürer and Abraham Ortelius', 734–741; Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 158–163.

²⁵⁴ Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii*, no. 63.

²⁵⁵ Nils Büttner, 'De verzamelaar Abraham Ortelius', in: Karrow, *Abraham Ortelius*, 169–180, 173.

²⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 174–175; Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel. Het volledige werk: schilderijen, tekeningen, prenten* (Antwerp 2011) 194–195 cat. no. 128.

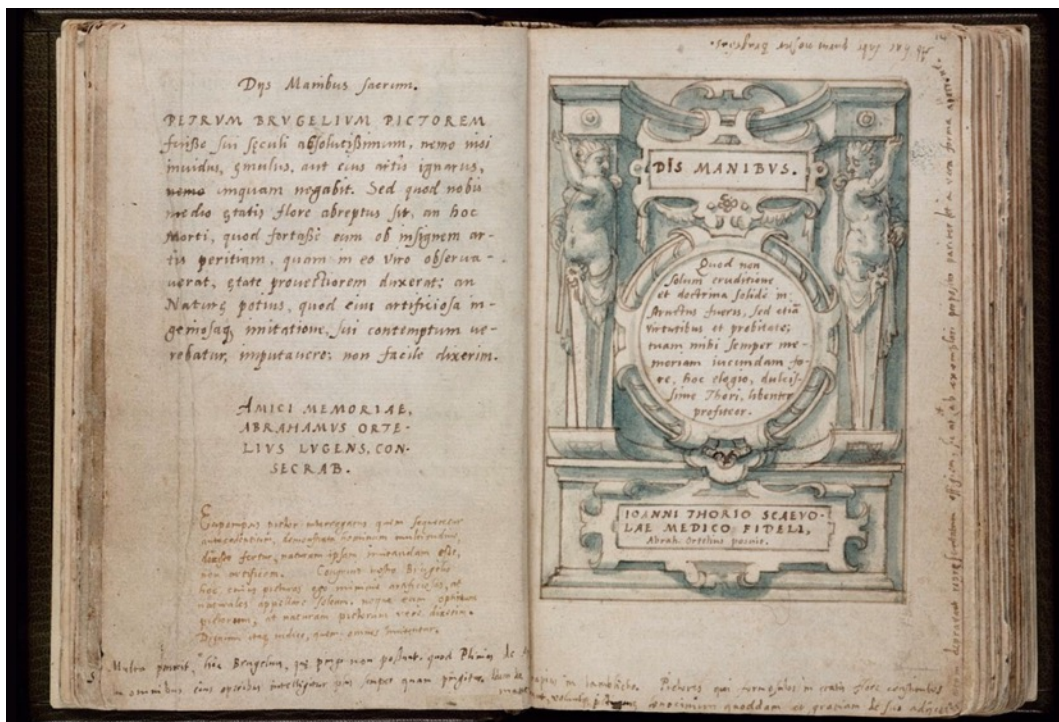


fig. 19.

Ortelius's eulogy of Pieter Bruegel (left) and epitaph of French medical doctor Jean Thorius in a grotesque frame designed by Hans Vredeman de Vries (right) in *Album amicorum Abraham Ortelius* (1573–1596) fols. 12v–13r. Pen and ink wash, 160 × 110 mm (sheet). Collection Pembroke College Library, Cambridge University, inv. no. LC2113.

painting, which he subsequently sent to his friends.²⁵⁷ The acknowledgments received 'are a clear indication of how high Bruegel's art was regarded by Ortelius and his humanist acquaintances', remarked Büttner.²⁵⁸

In his *album amicorum*,²⁵⁹ Ortelius wrote a eulogy in memory of Pieter Bruegel [fig. 19]. He praised the artist for his skillful and perceptive representation of nature.²⁶⁰ 'He has painted many things, this Bruegel, which cannot be painted, as Pliny says about Apelles', he noted.²⁶¹ He also likened Bruegel to the ancient painter Eupompus, who, like Bruegel, closely followed Nature.²⁶² This type of praise was, as we have seen, part of the standard repertoire of the humanist writer. The epitaph composed by Ortelius can presumably be dated around the same

²⁵⁷ Nadine M. Orenstein (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Drawings and prints* (New York 2001) 258–261 cat. no. 117; Sellink, *Bruegel*, 194–195 cat. no. 129; Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 163–170.

²⁵⁸ Büttner, 'De verzamelaar Abraham Ortelius', 175.

²⁵⁹ The core of which is the preparatory manuscript of Ortelius's numismatic study *Deorum dearumque capita* [...] (Antwerp 1573), designed by Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–1607), Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 172, 207–213.

²⁶⁰ The epitaph is reproduced and analyzed in Jan Muylle, 'Pieter Bruegel en Abraham Ortelius. Bijdrage tot de literaire receptie van Pieter Bruegels werk', in: M. Smeyers (ed.), *Archivum Artis Lovaniense. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de kunst der Nederlanden opgedragen aan prof. em. dr. J.K. Steppe* (Louvain 1981) 319–337.

²⁶¹ I used the English translation in Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 223–224 app. 1. 'Multa pinxit, quae pingi non possunt, quod Plinius de Apelle', cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.96, 'pinxit [Apelles] et quae pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgetra fulguraque'. Also see Muylle, 'Pieter Bruegel en Abraham Ortelius', 327; Alexandra Onuf, 'Local terrains. Imaging the vernacular landscape in sixteenth-century Antwerp', in: Joost Keizer en Todd M. Richardson (ed.), *The transformation of vernacular expression in Early Modern arts* (Leiden 2012) 229–272, 251.

²⁶² Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 172, 223–224 app. 1.

time as his commission of the print of the *Death of the Virgin*.²⁶³ The text ends with a quotation from *De vitis philosoporum* by Hadrianus Junius, published by Plantin in 1568.²⁶⁴ Ortelius's use of the ancient Roman formula 'Diis Manibus' for dedicating the epitaph to the gods of the dead, or Manes, is especially interesting because it demonstrates his complete immersion into Roman culture as well as his profound knowledge of inscriptions in ancient funerary monuments.²⁶⁵ It must be noted, lastly, that Bruegel's social position was different than often is assumed. Bruegel did indeed orbit the intellectual circle of Ortelius, Plantin, and similar humanist scholars, but he probably was not part of it.

Cock and Lampsonius: the Pictorum

In 1572, the *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*, the famous series of 23 more or less chronologically ordered portraits of great artists from the Low Countries, was published by the prestigious Antwerp publishing house In de vier winden. The shop was by then managed by Volcxken Diericx (ca. 1525–1600), the widow of Hieronymus Cock, who passed away in 1570.²⁶⁶ Lampsonius delivered the Latin poems and epigrams, while Cornelis Cort (ca. 1533–1578), Jan Wierix (1549–ca. 1620), and (probably) Cock crafted the portraits of the painters. The *Pictorum* is usually observed as the 'magnum opus' of Lampsonius, but Meiers noted that the series seems more like a 'visual programme than a literary text', where the captions are secondary to the portrait images.²⁶⁷ Following this interpretation, it seems probable that Cock was in fact the driving force behind the project since ca. 1564 (infra). The present series of portraits could reflect the number of printing plates that was available for use after Cock's death in 1570, after which the project stalled.²⁶⁸ It would explain, at least, why several important Netherlandish painters are missing from the collection. Let us inventory a few of them: Hugo van der Goes, Joos van Wassenhove (ca. 1410–ca. 1480), Gerard David (ca. 1460–1523), Jan Mostaert, and Jan Sanders van Hemessen (ca. 1500–ca. 1566). Other masters one would expect to have been included in the *Pictorum* are Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), Pieter Aertsen (1508–1575), and Joachim Beuckelaer (1533–1574). These omissions can be explained by the simple fact that those painters were still alive when the *Pictorum* was in production, however. It must be noted that it is not entirely clear whether the collection was meant to have a commemorative or funerary character from the outset, or that the plates with portraits of living artists were simply unfinished by the time Cock passed away.²⁶⁹ At any rate, the creation of the series should be seen in the context of Flemish cultural identity building.

²⁶³ Muylle, 'Pieter Bruegel en Abraham Ortelius', 321.

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 330–331.

²⁶⁵ Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 209.

²⁶⁶ Both the 1572 and 1610 editions of the *Pictorum* can be consulted on the website of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, see <<https://sites.courtauld.ac.uk/netherlandish-canon/categories-and-themes>>. Alternatively, Jean Puraye (ed.), *Les Effigies des Peintres célèbres des Pays-Bas* (Liege 1956) offers a French translation with annotations.

²⁶⁷ Sarah Meiers, 'Portraits in print. Hieronymus Cock, Dominicus Lampsonius, and Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69 (2006) 1–16, 1–5.

²⁶⁸ Meiers, 'Portraits in print', 2 n. 5.

²⁶⁹ Van Grieken, Luijten, Van der Stock, *Hieronymus Cock*, 272–273 cat. no. 73.

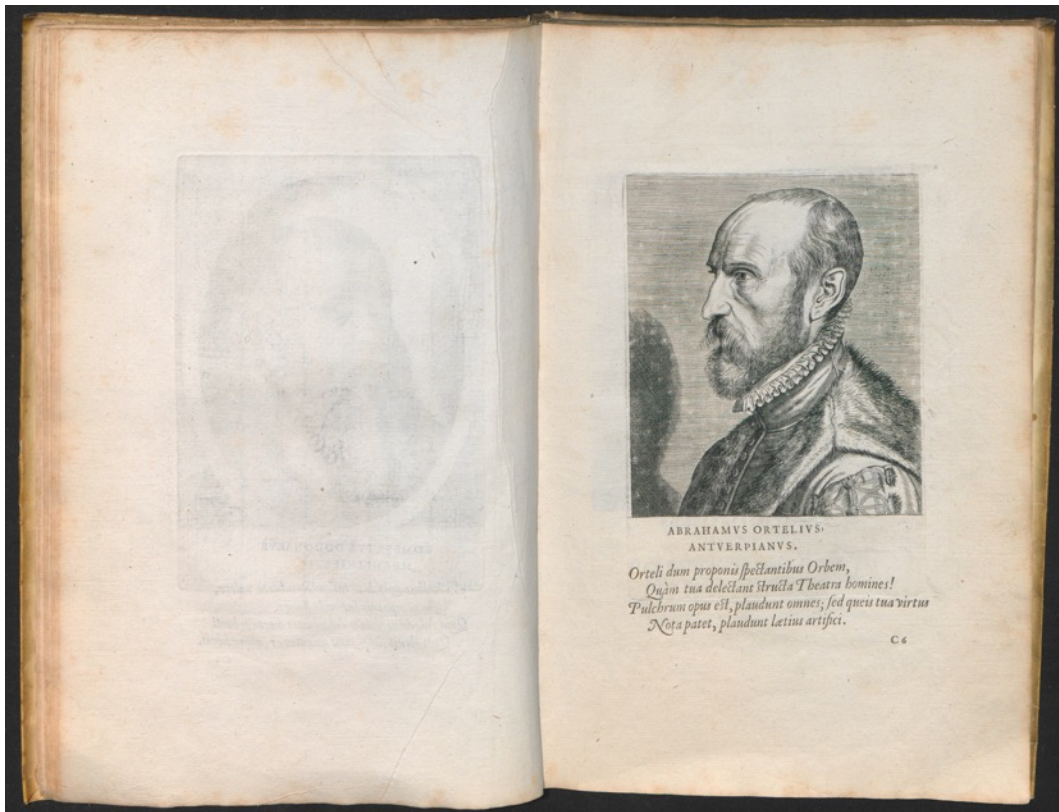


fig. 20.

Philips Galle, *Portrait of Abraham Ortelius*, in *Virorum Doctorum de Disciplinis benemerentium Effigies*, 1572, fol. C6. Engraving, 175 × 120 mm. Collection Museum Plantin-Moretus, Prentenkabinet, Antwerp, inv. no. 4 97.

Much like a number of the chorographies published in the sixteenth-century Low Countries, including the *Spieghel*, Cock's *Pictorum* formed an erudite monument of Flemish artistic and intellectual achievements against the bold 'Italian claims to cultural and intellectual superiority'.²⁷⁰

The portrait of Hieronymus Cock is the very last in the collection. He carries a skull, as if it were a memento.²⁷¹ Furthermore, in the dedicatory poem to Cock, Lampsonius offers his apologies for the untimely delivery of the accompanying texts. This again suggests that Cock in fact had a controlling function.²⁷² The surviving sets of the *Pictorum* all are numbered in sequence. Each portrait is engraved with an Arabic numeral in the upper right corner, but this is no conclusive proof that the series was, in fact, finished. The numbers could have been added by an engraver without trouble as the existing plates went into print.

A similar series of 36 'learned men', *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium effigies*, was produced by Philips Galle and published in Haarlem in 1567. No complete compilations survive, but the enlarged editions issued by Plantin in 1572 (44 portraits) and 1587 (50 portraits)

²⁷⁰ Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht*, 44.

²⁷¹ Meiers points out that this could be a mere reference to his namesake St. Jerome, who often had a skull as his attribute, Meiers, 'Portraits in print', 7.

²⁷² Puraye, *Les Effigies*, 22.

show that it must have been highly successful.²⁷³ The geographically ordered series included portraits of scholars of international allure such as More, Boccaccio, Dante, Erasmus, Ortelius, Junius, and Plantin [fig. 20]. The accompanying laudatory quatrains of the second edition were written by Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), the Spanish theologian who in 1568 was sent to Antwerp to oversee the production of Plantin's *Biblia Polyglotta*.²⁷⁴ According to Galle's preface, his series of portraits drawn after life was meant to commemorate those that had advanced the 'bonae artes' by their talent and erudition.²⁷⁵

Galle thus was the first print publisher in the Low Countries to issue a series of portraits of famous scholars after Antonio Laferi (1512–1577) set the example with his 1566 catalogue of scholars of law.²⁷⁶ Galle may have been first to publish a series of portraits, but Cock demonstrably took the initiative to start work on the *Pictorum* as early as ca. 1564. One of his collaborators, Cornelis Cort, left for Italy in 1565, thus ceasing production for him.²⁷⁷ It seems likely that Galle, who worked for Cock until ca. 1563–1564, was inspired by his master's endeavor, and ventured to create his own series of illustrious men based on Cock's model.²⁷⁸ Interestingly, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, owns a volume in which copies of both series are bound together, suggesting that they targeted the same audience and that they both should be regarded in the context of the humanist interest in scholars as 'illustrious men'.²⁷⁹ The combination of portraits and praising inscriptions is strongly reminiscent of the sculptures of Van Eyck and Dürer at Van Dalem's residence and the circular portrait in Lampsonius's biography of Lombard. This development was fueled by the rapidly rising antiquarian interests in numismatics and archaeology as well as the desire to underline Flemish intellectual and cultural accomplishment.

Many of the texts that Lampsonius wrote about art circulated only in the form of letters. A letter to Giulio Clovio (1498–1578) contains a short poem about a *Madonna* by Dürer, and an extensive, bilingual description in rhyme and prose of an altarpiece of the *Risen Christ with St. Peter and St. Paul* that Anthonis Mor (1519–1575) painted for the large Premonstratensian Abbey at Mariënweerd.²⁸⁰ A later letter, circulating in the group around Ortelius, was

²⁷³ G. Tournoy, J. Papy, and J. de Landtsheer (ed.) *Lipsius en Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 september–17 oktober 1997*. Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia xiii (Louvain 1997) 399. Complete catalogues are in Manfred Sellink, *Philips Galle, 1537–1612. Engraver and print publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp* vol. i (diss. Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam 1997) 221–295 app. 2a–2e.

²⁷⁴ Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'Benito Arias Montano and the friends from his Antwerp sojourn', *De Gulden Passer* 80 (2002) 39–62. It is unclear who delivered the accompanying texts for the 1567 edition. Frans van Ravelingen (1539–1597) composed the verses for the edition of 1587.

²⁷⁵ Sellink, *Philips Galle*, 43–57, 223–225 app. 2b.

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 64–66.

²⁷⁷ Van Grieken, Luijten, Van der Stock, *Hieronymus Cock*, 80–81 cat. no. 5, 272–273 cat. no. 73.

²⁷⁸ Sellink, *Philips Galle*, 66. Galle issued several other portrait series during his career, of which his *Pontificum maximorum effigies* (1572), a copy after the 1568 catalogue of 27 popes by Laferi, is the most well known.

²⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 225 app. 2b.

²⁸⁰ The letter, d.d. December 9, 1570, is discussed in detail in Jean Puraye, 'Antonio Moro et Dominique Lampson', *Oud Holland* 64 (1949) 175–183 and Karla Langendijk, 'La Résurrection du Christ. Une oeuvre exceptionnelle d'Antonio Moro retrouvée à Chantilly', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 108 (1966) 233–238; Buchanan, 'Dürer and Abraham Ortelius', 735; Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon*, 160, 169–170. The altarpiece, ordered somewhere before 1550 by abbot Petrus van Suyren (ca. 1503–1563), is presently in the collection of Musée de Condé, Chantilly, inv. no. 96E.

addressed to the French humanist Ludovicus Demontiusius (?–1585). Here, Lampsonius postulates his opinion about Dürer and his prints. In what follows, he discusses how his art relates to that great Italian masters such as Michelangelo. Lampsonius' views again seem to be strongly derived from Vasari.²⁸¹ Lampsonius corresponded with enthusiasts and artists like Ortelius, Mor, and Vasari.²⁸² In the second edition of the *Vite*, Vasari explicitly mentions Lampsonius as a source for his notes on the 'Fiamminghi', after which he reproduces a letter d.d. October 30, 1564.²⁸³ One wonders whether Lampsonius supplied Van Vaernewijck with the anecdote about Titian as the source for the expensive natural azurite used in Michiel Coxcie's copy of the *Ghent Altarpiece* [no. 15]. Even though the segment implies that the story is derived from oral tradition ('men zecht dat...'), the details could well be provided by Lampsonius, who was a correspondent of Titian.

Around that same time, Lambert Lombard also was in contact with Vasari. In April 1565, Lombard sent a letter to Florence in which he compared the 'maniera' of 'Maestro Rogiero et Ioan di Bruggia [van Eyck]' with that of Giotto and Donatello.²⁸⁴ He then proceeds with a short summary of the development of the arts in 'Germania', in which Schongauer and Dürer assume a central and pivotal position. It may be assumed that Lampsonius and Lombard were Vasari's primary sources for the lives of painters from the Low Countries that were included in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*. Vasari also mentions Joannes Stradanus (1523–1605), the Bruges painter, and Jean Boulogne (1529–1608), the sculptor, as individuals who provided him with additional information.²⁸⁵

Towards the next generation

It was in the vicinity of this intellectual environment that Karel van Mander, the later author of the famous *Schilder-boeck*, received his first artistic education. Around 1566, Lucas d'Heere

²⁸¹ Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii*, no. 163; Buchanan, 'Dürer and Abraham Ortelius', 735; Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon*, 160–163; Meiers, 'Portraits in print', 1–3.

²⁸² Lehmann, 'Fleshing out the body', 96.

²⁸³ Vasari, *Vite* vol. ii, 857 (cit.), 860, 'Ma di tutti i sopradetti è stato maggiore Lamberto Lombardo da Liege, gran letterato, giudizioso pittore, & architetto eccellentissimo maestro di Francesco Floris, e di Guglielmo Cai. delle virtu del quale Lamberto, e d'altri mi ha dato molta notizia per sue lettere M. Domenico Lampsonio da Legie, huomo di bellissime lettere, e molto giudizio in tutte le cose: il quale fu famigliare del cardinale Polo d'Inghilterra, mentre visse, & ora è segretario di monsignor Vescovo, e Prencipe di Lege. Costui dico mi mandò già scritta latinamente la vita di detto Lamberto: e piu volte mi ha salutato a nome di molti de' nostri artefici di quella provincia. E una lettera che tengo di suo, data adi trenta d'Ottobre 1564. è di questo tenore. (...)'. Also see Karen Goodchild, 'A hand more practiced and sure. The history of landscape painting in Giorgio Vasari's Lives of the artists', *Artibus et Historiae* 64 (2011) 25–40, 35–37, and Miedema, 'De ontwikkeling van de kunsttheorie', 106–109.

²⁸⁴ Letter from Lombard to Vasari, d.d. April 27, 1565, '(...) et parmi (perdonate mi s'io erro) lopere delli maestri che furono tra il Giotto et Donatello riescono goffe, et così ghenè in paesi nostri et per tutta la Germania da quel tempo fin a Maestro Rogiero et Ioan di Bruggia, ch' aperse li occhi alli coloritori, i quali imitando la maniera sua et non pensando più inanzi, hanno lasciate le nostre chiese piene di cose che non simigliano alle bone et naturali, ma solamente vestite di belli colori'. The letter is reproduced in J. Gothier (ed.), *Lettre de Lombard a Vasari. Notes sur la première École de Gravure* (Liège 1874) 129–146, cit. 142–143. Also see Ellen Kemp en Wolfgang Kemp, 'Lambert Lombards antiquarische Theorie und Praxis', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1973) 122–152, 126–127.

²⁸⁵ Vasari, *Vite* vol. ii, 858, 'De' quali tutti si è havuto notizia da maestro Giovanni della Strada di Brucies, pittore, e da Giovanni Bologna de Douai, scultore, ambi Fiamminghi, & eccellenti come diremo nel trattato degl'Accademici'.

became the mentor of Van Mander, at least until the former fled to England in early 1568.²⁸⁶ It is no surprise, therefore, that Van Mander was deeply influenced and inspired by the texts and ideas emerging from the circle of humanist writers around Lucas d'Heere, Dominicus Lampsonius, and Marcus van Vaernewijck. It is likely that Van Mander had come to know Van Vaernewijck personally when he worked in d'Heere's studio in the Bennesteeg, Ghent.

Van Mander's extensive intellectual insight into this circle is evident from his biography of Lucas d'Heere, in which his humanist, antiquarian and archaeological interests in the area around Oudenaarde occupy a prominent place. According to local learned tradition, the ancient kingdom of Belgis, a second Troy, would have been situated in those parts. This idea is especially prevalent in Van Vaernewijck's *Spiegel*. In an effort to give his historical claims about Belgis more substance, our author devotes an entire chapter to his discussion of a series of archaeological objects found in the surroundings of the town of Velzeke [no. 14]. These finds confirm (at least to him) that Belgis truly existed.²⁸⁷ Interestingly, Van Vaernewijck explicitly mentions the collection of Françoise of Luxemburg-Gavere (?–1557), the wife of Jan IV (1499–1528), Count of Egmont. The Egmont family owned the heerlijkheid Zottegem, of which Velzeke was part.²⁸⁸ Keesman notes that Françoise's youngest son, Lamoraal I of Gavere (1522–1568), himself Count of Egmont since 1541, had frequent contact with Frans Floris, the former master of Lucas d'Heere. It is probable, in my view, that there is a connection between d'Heere's and Van Vaernewijck's interest in the history of the area, and Floris's acquaintance with Lamoraal of Gavere. Furthermore, Marcus van Vaernewijck and Livina Hallinck, his wife, both received leases on land and property in Zottegem, according to the inventory compiled after Van Vaernewijck's death.²⁸⁹ Van Mander, finally, reports that d'Heere's collection of rarities also included antiquities found at Velzeke. Amongst those objects were several small

²⁸⁶ Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere en Den Hof en boomgaard der poësie', 60; Irene van Thiel-Stroman, 'Biographies 15th–17th century', in: Neeltje Köhler e.a. (eds.), *Painting in Haarlem, 1500–1850: the collection of the Frans Hals Museum* (Amsterdam 2006) 99–364, 229–231; Miedema, 'De ontwikkeling van de kunsttheorie', 111–112.

²⁸⁷ Van Vaernewijck's ideas about the history of Belgis are partially indebted to Simon Cock's *Van Jilius Caesar ende den Romeyne [...]* (Antwerp 1545), see Keesman, *Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen*, 476–477.

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 530–531.

²⁸⁹ The inventory, d.d. September 15, 1570, is published in Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 301, 'Item XIII gr. s. tsaers, erfvelicke cheinsrente, vallende den I^{en} meije ende november, telcken deen heelft ten laste van Joos vanden Berghen up een bunder lants gheleghen binnen Zotteghem, achtervolghende der originale constitutie van den jare XIII^cLXXVIII. Item noch II s. gr. tsaers, den penninck XVI, ten laste van den voornomden Joos vanden Berghe, vallende tAlder Heleghemesse, alst blijkt bij den chatere, ghepasseert voor de wet van Sotteghem den lesten october XV^cXXXVIII'. Also see the leases purchased together with Livina Hallinck, *ibid.*, 304, 'Item vijf s. gr., reste van X s. gr. tsaers, vallende teleken I^{en} octobris, ten laste van Jan de Clercq, filius Sanders, bezet up gront van erven, gheleghen binnen der prochie van Zotteghem, naer uutwijsen den brief, ghepasseert voor scepenen van den lande ende eijghendom van Zotteghem den XIII^{en} van lauwe XV^cLX [1561 n.s.]. Item X s. gr. tsaers, den penninck XVI, die nu ghelt de weduwe van Lauwereins de Coninck tZotteghem, vallende telcken VI^{en} octobris, bezet up een behuusede stede, daer heere Jan de Vleesebauwer uppe te wonnen placht, achtervolghende den originalen chatere van daten VI^{en} octobris XV^cXXII, den weesen vadere ghetranspoorteert bij den voomonden Jan de Clercq ende Jan de Nayere, achtervolghende den transpoort van daten IIII^{en} maerte LX [1561 n.s.], onderteekent Renterghem'. Gheeraert van Renterghem was the court secretary of Françoise of Luxemburg, see no. 14.

bronze images of Mercury.²⁹⁰

In the *Ode to Van Eyck*, furthermore, d'Heere brings forth the terms 'gheest', 'patientie', and 'memorie' in order to describe the three defining virtues of a master painter. Van Vaernewijck elaborates on these virtues in the context of the 'drie proprieteiten die een excellent schilder in hem moet hebben' [no. 15]. He uses 'verstant' instead of 'memorie', but his definition of the term remains largely the same. A little later, the virtue of patience also takes a prominent place within the writings of Lombard and Lampsonius, insisting that an artist must concentrate on quality instead of volume.²⁹¹ In Van Mander, finally, we read: 'Vier deelen had hy doch, die Schilders wel ghelijcken,/ Ghedult, onthoudt, verstandt, en gheest in overvloet',²⁹² suggesting that the artistic virtues first formulated by d'Heere and Van Vaernewijck by that time had developed into what Melion called 'essential paradigms'.²⁹³ Furthermore, Van Vaernewijck's term 'netticheyte', apparently closely related to 'patientie', is used multiple times by Van Mander in his *Grondt der edel vry schilder-const*,²⁹⁴ as well as in his biographical references to works by Van Eyck, Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), and several other artists. Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* thus is a distinct product of the time in which he received his education.

Epilogue

The present study is focussed on literature of art in the sixteenth-century Low Countries, and, specifically, the notes and considerations about art and artists in Marcus van Vaernewijck's *Spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheit*, published in Ghent in 1568. In order to answer the posed question of how that particular text fits into the context of the development of art literature and the emerging artistic canon, we have examined the three most important genres of Netherlandish art literature up until ca. 1570–1575: the chorography, the laudatory poem, and the biography. In the earliest printed texts in which art is discussed, references to painters or sculptors were scarcely more substantial than a succinct list of 'great men', often garnished with an expression of praise that usually referred to an ancient painter such as Apelles or Zeuxis. The writings of Jean Lemaire de Belges are exemplary for this particular subgroup. Gerard Geldenhouwer's texts, however, are exceptional for the early period in which they were produced: the biographical details that appear throughout Geldenhouwer's texts usually have more much depth and detail as compared to those of his contemporaries. This contrast can probably be explained by Geldenhouwer's position at the court of Philip of Burgundy. The artists at the court worked for the greater glory of Philip. Thus, their role had to be explained,

²⁹⁰ Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 256r, 'Hy was een Man van groot verstant en oordeel/ en een groot beminder der Antiquiteyten/ Medaillien/ en ander vreemdicheyt/ waer van hy een paslijck moy Cobinet plach te hebben: Onder ander eenighe cleen coperen Mercuriuskens/ doende aerdighe standekens/ en waren ghevonden te Velseke in Vlaender/ by Oudenaerde/ daer men meent de stadt Belgis soude gestaen hebbe (...)'.
²⁹¹ Caecilie Weissert, 'Malerei und Künstler-virtus', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (2003) 26–59, 46.

²⁹² Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 201v.

²⁹³ Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon*, 140–141.

²⁹⁴ I used the commented edition in Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, Hessel Miedema ed. (Utrecht 1973, in ii vols.).

described and lauded in intrinsic detail.

After this early period, the interest in writing about art and artists appears to have died down up until the second half of the century – or, at least, nothing was published in print. Giorgio Vasari's *Vite* (1550) seems to have been the main driving force behind a renewed Northern interest in literature of art. Indeed, a majority of the texts (and the portrait series) discussed in this essay were originally produced and published in the decade between 1560 and 1570 – d'Heere compiled his *Ode* to Van Eyck's polyptych at St. Bavo's as early as ca. 1559, probably in the context of the twenty-third Chapter of the Golden Fleece held at the same location; Van Vaernewijck finished a first draft of his *Spieghel* in ca. 1561; the connoisseur Cornelis van Dalem ordered his busts of Jan van Eyck and Albrecht Dürer in 1562–1563; Cock started work on his *Pictorum* in ca. 1564; Lampsonius wrote Vasari about the 'Fiamminghi' in the same year; Goltzius published Lampsonius's *Vita* of Lombard in 1565. D'Heere's distinctly Renaissancist *Hof en boomgaard* was printed that same year, and Guicciardini's *Descrittione*, finally, was published at Antwerp in 1567.

Where did this suddenly renewed interest in the lives of artists come from? Much research remains to be done on this subject, but I would like to suggest that these authors inspired each other and (Lampsonius and Cock, at least) ventured to fill a void that was left in the first edition of Vasari's *Vite* (1550), in that it contained no biographies of important masters from the Low Countries. Vasari's text helped to reshape the general structure and appearance of Netherlandish art literature: succinct writings about art evolved into coherent bodies with a focus on (relatively) extensive biographies, often larded with art-theoretical considerations. In this light, the *Vita* of Lombard by Lampsonius is of great importance. For the first time, a biography of a single artist was combined with extensive theoretical discussions and transgressions about the history of style. Lampsonius's considerations were closely related to the information offered in Vasari's *Vite*. Strikingly, both Lampsonius and Lombard were correspondents of the Florentine painter and author.

Van Vaernewijck and d'Heere, however, do not seem to have consulted Vasari's text first-hand. It is telling for the broader situation, perhaps: local humanist authors demonstrably knew about Vasari, and they referred to his work, but they more often than not did not have a copy at hand. It seems likely that excerpts of Vasari's text were supplied by scholars such as Lombard, Lampsonius, or Ortelius, after which information from the *Vite* started to circulate in local networks, be it in oral or written form. This is how humanist authors in Ghent most likely became familiar with Vasari's text. Likewise, it is plausible that the (re)release of Jean Lemaire's collected work in 1549 also contributed to the renewed interest in writing about art. Van Vaernewijck, for one, eagerly quoted from Lemaire in his description of antique sculptures purportedly found at Viterbo.

Many of Van Vaernewijck's notes show that he sourced much information from local learned networks in which traditions, lore, knowledge, and interpretations of particular works of art were gathered, shared and preserved. The assumed portraits of the Van Eycks are a case

in point that demonstrate the importance of these networks for the sharing and advancement of knowledge. As we have seen, both d'Heere and Van Vaernewijck take the time to explicitly identify the perceived self portraits of Hubert and Jan van Eyck. The very same portraits were later incorporated in Cock's catalogue of painters, and Van Dalem added the portrait of Jan to the decorated façade of his Antwerp palazzo. The sculpted portraits of Van Eyck and Dürer were accompanied by succinct lauding inscriptions that were to underline their status as great masters. The form and format of Cock's portrait prints thus, strikingly, echo those of the busts ordered by Van Dalem a few years prior. A similar combination of artist's portrait and praising distichon was included in the preface of Lampsonius's *Vita* of Lombard. Lucas d'Heere addressed various famous painters and humanist learned men in a comparable manner, albeit in sonnets or epistles set in rhyme instead of in portraits with a commending inscription. This all points to what was a developing distinctly humanist fascination for the biographies of scholars, in casu painters, their identities as illustrious men, and an ongoing learned debate about which artists were worth knowing and remembering. Marcus van Vaernewijck added his elaborate descriptions of painter's biographies and individual works of art for a similar reason. Here we see the early beginnings of the 'Netherlandish canon', almost forty years before Karel Van Mander published his famous *Schilder-Boeck*. This development can be traced back to the early 1500s, when Lemaire de Belges and Geldenhouwer compiled their primitive lists and biographies of illustrious individuals. Importantly, though, these early collections of artist's names are not limited to either 'Northern' or Italian artists. The desire to differentiate between the two geographic schools only emerged in the second half of the century.

Van Vaernewijck's artistic canon was above all a local one, meant to raise the reputation and cachet of Ghent and, in second instance, that of Flanders. Interestingly, several important masters are only referred to by their first name. Van Vaernewijck apparently trusted that his readers understood who he meant. This again gives us some insight in which artists already were considered to be part of the early canon, and which were accorded less fame. It is telling, perhaps, that Van Vaernewijck devotes an entire chapter to Jan van Eyck, the 'Prince of Painters' and the modern Apelles, and his monumental altarpiece at St. Bavo's. He gives similar attention to Hugo van der Goes, the most important painter Ghent had ever produced, and Willem Hughe, a sculptor whose Gothic works decorated many churches across the city and attracted international visitors. As said, these notes were meant to elevate the status of Van Vaernewijck's home town as a learned centre of artistic production in a time that Antwerp had taken over its position as the most dominant city in Flanders. At the same time, they are part of his intrinsically humanist effort to (sometimes literally) unearth and preserve the history of Flanders, and, especially, the city of Ghent. The main purpose of the text thus was to construct and glorify a distinct local cultural identity of Van Vaernewijck's home region. Furthermore, it can be seen as a direct response to Vasari's *Vite* in that it counters the Italian claims to historical, cultural and intellectual hegemony. This is evident from the text of the *Spiegelhel*: after describing some antique sculptures at Rome, the author immediately sets out to examine

the famous artistic treasures at Ghent, Bruges, or Ypres, showing that Flanders, too, had a rich cultural history that went back to ancient (purportedly Trojan) times. The chorographic structure of the *Spiegel* thus provided the framework in which the author could discuss, describe, and praise local architecture, riches, artists, and their artistic output. Van Vaernewijck's notes about artists and descriptions of works of art in Ghent and other Flemish cities are all based on his own examinations and knowledge. This not only proves Van Vaernewijck's importance for our understanding of the development of chorographic art literature in the Low Countries, but it also demonstrates our author's originality – Junius wrote his *Batavia* between ca. 1566 and 1575, and the first Northern Netherlandish city descriptions only started to appear after the first decade of the seventeenth century. The only other author that approaches Van Vaernewijck's thoroughness at this early time is Lodovico Guicciardini in his *Descrittione* of the Low Countries. In what is an approach markedly different than that of Van Vaernewijck, Guicciardini provides a single, lengthy list of Flemish painters, sculptors, and engravers in his discussion of the Antwerp chamber of rhetoric 'della Violiere', with rare transgressions about biographical details or particular works of art.²⁹⁵ At any rate, the *Spiegel* may thus be added to Zinman's extremely short list of Netherlandish chorographic accounts containing notes about art or artists before Junius's *Batavia*.²⁹⁶

Van Vaernewijck took elements from other genres of art literature, namely the laudatory poem and the biography, to further shape his argument. This is best visualized in his chapter on the *Ghent Altarpiece* [no. 15]. After a lengthy biographical discussion of the Van Eyck brothers that is strongly reminiscent of Vasari's life of Giotto (1276–1337), Van Vaernewijck sets out to describe and praise the individual panels of the altarpiece. His mention of the minuscule pieces of red coral at the feet of the *Hermits* demonstrates how thoroughly our author must have studied the panels. On multiple occasions, Van Vaernewijck compares Jan van Eyck to Apelles, a simple rhetorical device used to explain why many great artists so revered the Ghent retable. Lucas de d'Heere uses the same device in his *Ode* ('den vlaemschen Apelles'), and a poem dedicated to his former master, Frans Floris. We have seen that it was highly common for humanist authors to copy and adapt ancient examples and models.

Marcus van Vaernewijck was profoundly influenced by Lucas d'Heere, his friend, a learned individual who in turn was closely acquainted with Ortelius, Lampsonius, Goltzius, Laurinus, and other learned humanists. As it becomes clear from d'Heere's *Hof en boomgaard*, Van Vaernewijck's notes in the *Spiegel*, and the works published by Lampsonius and Cock, the worlds of art lovers, humanist antiquarians, medallionists, and numismatics often intersected and overlapped.²⁹⁷ Indeed, Van Vaernewijck, too, can be counted to the rising group that

²⁹⁵ Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, 97–101; Zinman, 'From Ausonia to Bavaria', 211.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 210.

²⁹⁷ The close-knit network of humanist writers, collectors, and artists is embodied in Eduard de Dene's *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren*. In ca. 1566–1567, Lucas d'Heere composed its introductory verses at the request of the painter Marcus Gerards (ca. 1521–ca. 1590?), an acquaintance of Ortelius who illustrated and published the text in Bruges in 1567. Gerards dedicated the text to the 'constrijke Hubrecht Goltz, vermaert Schilder, Antiquarius, ende Historiscrijuer'. See De Dene, *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren*, 2–3.

Meganck described as 'hybrid experts' who 'bridged the artisanal and learned worlds',²⁹⁸ Although he was (most likely) not educated at university, Van Vaernewijck managed to profile himself as an erudite humanist writer who concerned himself with matters about art, culture, and ancient history. Like many of his associates, he was an antiquarian and collector of archeological objects who had visited Italy and Germany. In the *Spieghel*, he combined knowledge about topography, culture, history, rarities and art into an encompassing chorographic corpus, most of all meant to shape a unique local identity of Ghent and its surroundings. Van Vaernewijck's elaborate recording and discussions of the wonders, painters and sculptors from Antiquity were meant to underline the continuity and development of the arts up until his current time, to commend local artists for their achievements by drawing comparisons between famous Netherlandish masters and their famous ancient predecessors, as well as to demonstrate his own knowledge and erudition. At the same time, they show Van Vaernewijck's interest in ethnography and distant (ancient) cultures. We encounter the same profound interests in Lucas d'Heere, who compiled a *Théâtre de tous les peuples* of costumes from all over the world between ca. 1568 and 1584.

The humanist discourses about art, as we have seen undoubtedly fueled by local (oral) traditions, are now regrettably largely invisible, but the sporadic printed texts that remain as well as the preserved letters by scholars such as Ortelius and Lampsonius nevertheless give insight into what must have been a thriving humanist milieu in which ideas about the history of art, art theory, style, and connoisseurship were freely exchanged. Printers and dealers such as Gheeraert Salenson at Ghent and Christophe Plantin at Antwerp played a crucial role in the facilitation of these debates.

Marcus van Vaernewijck was above all a compiler of older material, perhaps in part supplied by his publisher, but his notes and ideas about the then current arts are largely his own. Throughout the *Spieghel*, Van Vaernewijck proves his eloquence and his ability to gather and combine information that cannot be found in other printed sources of the same era. Indeed, his notes and descriptions are very detailed and rich, especially when we compare them to earlier examples. The text not only is an interesting source on account of its art historical contents and the view it offers into the spirit of a humanist antiquarian, but also because of its very existence. As we have seen, it is one of the rare Netherlandish texts about art of any substance that was published prior to Van Mander's famous *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604, and thus it should be regarded as a source of importance in our ongoing effort to understand more about the history and development of early art literature and the artistic canon in the Low Countries.

²⁹⁸ Meganck, *Erudite eyes*, 2.

‘Zeer constich ghedaen ende wel beziensweerdich’

The notes about art and artists in Marcus van Vaernewijck’s *Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt* (1568). Context, origins, and a reproduction of the text with added commentary

Research Master Thesis Art History

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Part II – Edition of the text, appendices, and bibliography

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Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt: edition of the text

The following is an overview of references to art or artists throughout Van Vaernewijck's *Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt*, published by Gheeraert van Salenson in Ghent, 1568. The transcript is based on a complete printed edition of the text, presently in the collection of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent (inv. no. BIB.G.000033). I used another copy in the same collection (inv. no. BIB.G.000032) as a backup to check hard-to-read or blemished segments.¹ All references are to the Ghent edition of 1568, unless explicitly stated otherwise in the notes. Of course, it is possible that individual copies from the same print run may differ from one another due to corrections often made on the press. For practical and timely reasons, I have not explored the subtle differences between the copies available to me.

Original spelling, interpunction and capital letters have been retained, even when they are evidently wrong according to modern standards. Expanded abbreviations are indicated by italics. During transcription, no distinction has been made between the various letterforms of *d*, *r*, and *s*. The allographs *u/v/w*, *i/j* and *ij/y* were adopted without alteration. Errata are in the footnotes. The original text is divided into two columns, with occasional notes in the margin, here reproduced on the left side of the page. I have opted for a single-column structure where the start of each new of page or column is indicated between square brackets. A '(...)' indicates that a section of text irrelevant to our purposes has been left out. Each selected segment is headed by a reference number and a short description in English. Comments to the text will be placed in the footnotes.

The reader needs to be aware that the printed pagination of the volume is not always accurate. The folio numbers 35 [E3], 36 [E4], 44 [F4], and 54 [G6] are incorrectly marked *xl*, *xlvj*, *xiiij*, *liij*. Page *lii* is omitted [Q6 is C.x, Q7 is C.xij]. Page *liij* is counted twice, of which the first is miscounted as folio C.xvij [P6].² The error is not completely resolved in the 1574 edition of *Die historie*.³ For the sake of clarity, I will keep using the printed pagination, but with a reference to the section number between square brackets, e.g. 'cap. iv.73, fol. 145r [S7r]'.

¹ Both copies are available digitally, see <<https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:000797171>>.

² cf. Vanderhaegen, *Bibliographie gantoise* vol. i, 152, 'Les chiffres ne sont pas toujours exacts: ainsi les feuillets 35, 36 et 49 sont marqués par erreur *xl*, *xlvj*, *xl*, il n'y a pas de feuillet chiffré *lii*, et celui coté *liij* y est deux fois, dont la 1.re fois chiffré encore pas erreur C.xvij', cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica* vol. v, 409, 'Les chiffres de la pagination ne sont pas toujours exacts: ainsi les feuillets 35, 36 et 49 sont marqués par erreur *xl*, *xlvj*, *xl*, il n'y a pas de feuillet chiffré *lii*, et il y a deux ff. cotés C.xvij., dont le second se trouve entre les ff. C.xvij et C.xix'.

³ *ibid.*, 155–156, 'Les chiffres sont aussi peu exacts que dans la 1.^{re} édition. Ainsi les feuillets 17, 31, 53, 65, 98 s'y trouvent répétés au lieu de 18, 32, 54, 66 et 99, on a mis *xl* pour 35, *xlvi* pour 36, *lix* pour 63, C.vij pour 104; le feuillet C.xix y est coté deux fois et le feuillet *lii* manque'.

1. fol. *4v. Marcus van Vaernewijck expresses his intention to publish other texts that –at least partially– were devoted to the history of the arts (supra). The manuscripts did not survive.

D'Acteur belooft
noch meer
boecken te laten
wtgaen

(...) so hopen wy metter gratien des Heeren almachtich/ indien den tijt wat beteren wilt,⁴ te laten wtgaen onze xxviiij. boecken vander Leecken Philosophie/ daer vele diuersche vremde consten ende materien zeer vermakelic in te merken sijn/⁵ ende groote nersticheyt in ghebesicht is (...). Ende zonderlinghe hebben wy onzen lust op een lastich werck dat wy ooc begonnen hebben/ van die wonderlicke ende vermaerde steden ende edificien der geheelder weerelt/ daer wy byna aldermeerst onsen aerbeyt in doen zullen.⁶ (...).

2. cap. i.8 [sic, i.9], fol. 6ra [A6ra]. The biblical history of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4). Tubal-cain, a descendant of Cain, is mentioned as the first metalsmith and engraver.

¶ **Van Caims boosheit, ende van sijn generatie
ende vander vindinghe der consten. Cap. viij.**

(...) Sella dat an der wijf Lamechs baerde hem Tubacain/⁷ die hantierde eerlic die ruyterye/ ende den krijch/ waerdoor hy groote rijckdommen vercreghen heeft/ ooc was hy deerste inuenteur/ van die conste van smeden/⁸ graueren/ snyden/ ende ste= ken/ tot behaghelicheyte ende wel bevallen der ooghen/ men leght hem toe dat hy (misschien zorghende tperijckel der Diluuijen)⁹ schulpeer= de zeker gheschrieffte/ in een tichel steenen/ ende in een marberen colomne/ oft al wel den tichel steen vanden reghen beschadicht worde/ dat

⁴ Van Vaernewijck is referring to the time of unrest that resulted in the Iconoclastic Fury of August 1566.

⁵ Also see nos. 5, 18, and Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 145–146, 'Hier af [the art of Hubert, Jan, and Margareta van Eyck] zult ghij breeder bescheet vinden in mijn leecken philosophie, int xx^e bouck'.

⁶ This text was probably never finished. The sections on ancient architecture and sculpture throughout the *Spiegel* are likely similar to the material that was to be offered in *Van die wonderlicke en vermaerde steden*. Also see the reference in no. 18.

⁷ Gen. 4.22. Should be read as 'Tubalcaim', see the errata on fol. *7v.

⁸ The section is based on a Flemish translation of the *Antiquities of the Jews* of Flavius Josephus, see *Flauij Josephi des vermaerden Joetschen hystorie scriuers, Twintich boecken, vanden ouden gheschiedenissen der Joden* [...] (Antwerp 1553) cap. i.2, fol. 3ra, 'Maer Thobel een vanden ghenen die vander huysvrouwe gheboren waren/ seer vroom van stercheyt/ heeft die ruyterye seer heerlijk ghehandelt/ door welcke behendicheyt hy groote rijckdommen/ ende wellustigher leuen ghecreghen heeft. Oock heeft dese eerstmael gheuonden die conste van metael te smeden/ ende is vader gheworden van een dochter Naame ghenoeemt'.

⁹ Gen. 6–9.

dan noch den marbersteen mocht blyuen/ tot
 een ghedachtenisse der voorleder weereld/ van
 dese colommen (soomen meent) heeftmen noch
 eene veel iaren zien staen naer die Diluuie in
 dlant van Syrien.¹⁰ (...) ende zo Vincenti=
 us¹¹ schrijft libr.i. capi.x.¹² zijn alle weereltlic=
 ke consten/ ende wetentheden die den menschen
 nootsakelick ende ghenouchelick zijn/ meest=
 deel ghevonden van den gheslachte die van
 Cain ghedescendeert was.

3. cap. i.24, fol. 11vb [B3vb]. Van Vaernewijck on prints he had seen at the palazzo of Cardinal Andrea della Valle (1463–1534), Rome. The dating of the prints implies that Marcus van Vaernewijck might have visited the Eternal City a second time somewhere between June 1559 and May 1562. Also see nos. 8, 9, 18, and app. 1.

¶ **Van tRijcke van Amasonien daer niet dan
 vrouwen en regneerden. Cap. xxiiij.**

(...) Men meent ooc dat die Amasoonsche maechden
 dicwils in silueren harnasch ten stride commen
 zijn: wantmen in haer landen veel zeluer vant.
 Te Roome zijn vonden die effigien vanden voornoemde
 Amasoensche Coninginnen met antijsche hel
 men op thooft/ die ic met verwonderen gesien heb

Zelueren
 harnasch
 der Amaso-
 nen.

¹⁰ This anecdote seems to be a confusion with the story of Seth, the third son of Adam and Eve, as reported in Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*. Also see the following chapter, *Spiegelhel*, cap. i.10, fol. 6r, that describes how descendants of Seth (Gen. 4.25–26, 5.1–8) invented the art of astronomy, and how they inscribed their knowledge and discoveries into two pillars made of brick and stone so that they were protected and preserved for eternity: 'zo hebben zy twee colommen ghemaect die eene van ghebacken steenen/ ende dander van harde steenen/ ende daer hebben zy hare ghevonden consten in gheschreuen/ op dat die van harte steenen was/ ouerblyuen mochte totter menschen leeringhe/ by alzo dat die ander van ghebacken steene door die Diluuie oft ouervloet des waters verghinghe/ Iose. libr.i.capi.ii. Hieraf twijfeltmen of dit de colomme is in Syrien daer wy af gheseyt hebben'. The section in the *Spiegelhel* is a near direct copy from Josephus, see *Flauij Josephi des vermaerden Joetschen hystorie scriuers*, cap. i.2, fol. 3r, 'so hebben si twee columnen ghemaect/ die eene van ghebacken steenen/ dander van harde steenen/ ende daer hebben si haer gheuonen consten in gheschreuen/ op dat die van harde steenen was/ ouer bliuen mochte/ totter menschen leeringhe/ by also die ander van ghebacken steene door die diluuie oft ouervloet des waters verghinghe/ (...) Want men seyt dat dit die hare steenen colonne die van henlieden hier toe gheschiedt was/ noch is die oock in onse tiden staende is in Syrien'.

¹¹ Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1190?–1264?), author of the *Speculum historiale*. Van Vaernewijck likely used the Flemish translation published by Claes de Grave, *Den spiegelhel historiael houdende in hem alle hystoryen der waerachtiger Cronijcken ende der Bibelen ende der godlijcker scriftueren [...]* (Antwerp 1515, 1556), or the French edition published by Nicolas Cousteau, *Le premier volume de Vincent miroir hystorial [...]* (Paris 1531 [1532 n.s.]). I consulted Cousteau's edition for reasons of availability.

¹² Van Vaernewijck quotes the wrong chapter, however, cf. *ibid.*, cap. ii.57, fol. 24v, 'Car Iesabel [Jabal] trouua la portatiue des pastores/ et Iubal le son et les concordances de musique qui appartiennent au delict des oreilles. Tubalcain trouua l'art de feret l'entailleure des mestaulx qui feruent a couuoitise et plaisent aux yeulx. Et noema sa seur trouua l'art doeuures de tistre. Et a pou tous les ars seculiers & de science mecanicque et liberaulx de philosophie desseruans a la curiosite & a la necessite humaine surent trouuez des filz de de celluy siecle'. The segment is based on Gen. 4.20–22.

be, wtgedruet bi eenen Spaignaert Salaman=
ca genaemt/¹³ int huis vanden Cardinael de Laualle.¹⁴

4. cap. i.25, fol. 12rb [B4rb]. Van Vaernewijck on the riches, sciences and arts of Ancient Egypt. Also see nos. 4, 6, 10, 18.

¶ **Van den oorspronck van tRijcke van Egypten, ende van zommighe vvonderen ende excellentien des zeluen lants. Cap. xxv.**

(...) De zelue Diodorus zeght/¹⁵ dat oock in Egypten ghevonden waren die hooghe ende zeer zware consten van Astronomie/ ende Astrologie/ ende oock Arithmetica/¹⁶ die zo constich ende zwaer zij/ dat zi (al schoon ghevonde zijnde) van zeer subtile lieden noch qualic con=nen begrepen worden/ peynst van wat meesters zulcke vindere gheweest hebben/ Licurgus/ Solon/ ende Plato vande eerste ende meeste Philosophen/ en hebben haer niet gheschaemt in Egypten te reysen om die Logiken ende Loyen aldaer te leeren/¹⁷ van ghelijcken Pithagoras Sameius die scherpzinnighe man/ heeft daer ghegaen om te leeren Geometrie ende Arith=

Astronomie
Astrologie,
ende Arithmetica, von
den in E-
gypten.

¹³ Antonio Salamanca (1479–1562), a Spanish bookseller, engraver and publisher active in Rome. For a biography and an elaborate overview of his output, see Valeria Pagani, 'Documents on Antonio Salamanca', *Print Quarterly* 17:2 (2000) 148–155; Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Print publishing in sixteenth-century Rome. Growth and expansion, rivalry and murder* (London 2008) 67–78, 84–105. The sheets Van Vaernewijck had seen can be identified as part of a series that later would become known as the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, a corpus of ancient and modern Roman subjects. The large two-plate print of the *Battle of the Amazons* was published in 1559 by Salamanca in cooperation with Antonio Lafreri (ca. 1512–1577), a Frenchman. The design was engraved by Nicolas Béatrizet (ca. 1520–after 1560), see Peter Parshall, 'Antonio Lafreri's "Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae"', *Print Quarterly* 23:1 (2006) 3–28; Witcombe, *Print publishing in sixteenth-century Rome*, 12, 242, 380. The model, a sarcophagus, was displayed at the Palazzo dei Conservatori, see Michael Bury, 'Beatrizet and the "reproduction" of Antique relief sculpture', *Print Quarterly* 13:2 (1996) 111–126, 113–114, 117–119.

¹⁴ Andrea della Valle, the cardinal and collector of art and Roman antiquities, famous for his hanging garden with Antique sculpture, see William Stenhouse, 'Visitors, display, and reception in the antiquity collections of late-Renaissance Rome', *Renaissance Quarterly* 58:2 (2005) 397–434, 402, 408; Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire without end. Antiquities collections in renaissance Rome, ca. 1350–1527* (New Haven 2010) 174–175, 208, 216–220, 383–388. The collection, recorded by Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) in the 1530s, was bought by Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609) in 1584.

¹⁵ Diodorus Siculus (ca. 90–ca. 30 BC), a Greek historian and author of the *Bibliotheca Historica*. Van Vaernewijck used the French translation by Anthoine Macault, see *Les Troys premiers livres de l'histoire de Diodore Sicilien, historiographe grec* [...] (Paris 1535).

¹⁶ *ibid.*, cap. i.8, 54, 'Les prestres endoctrinent et enseignent leurs enfans, es lettres qu'ilz appellent saintes, et es autres sciences qui concernement le bien public: et mesmement en Geometrie et Arithmetique (...). Et ont dauantaige iceulx egyptiens diligement ceché le moueuement des planetes leus coniuinctions et epicycles (...).'

¹⁷ *ibid.*, cap. i.12, 65v, 'Semblament Lycurgus, platon, et solon, ont porté a leurs republicques, plusieurs loix et constitutions qu'ilz au oient auparauant prises des egyptiens'.

metica/¹⁸ Alle ambachten waren daer zonder=
 linghe constich. Item haer Schilders/Beel=
 desnyders/ ende Architecten waren die constich
 ste diemen ter werelt vant/¹⁹ (...).

5. cap. i.37, fol. 17vb [C1vb]. Van Vaernewijck on the Colossus of Rhodes, a gigantic bronze statue of the Greek titan-god Helios, and similar remarkable works of art from the Ancient world. Also see no. 4, 6, 10, 18.

¶ **Marsus die VI. Coninck der Duytschen,
 ende van die beelden Colossus ghenaeemt,
 Ende andere dijnck. Cap. xxxvij.**

Colossus magnus tder de vvonder der weerelt.	(...) Hier wart gevon den als men die stad maecte Capitolium Rhodose zecht Anglicus/ ²⁰ dat was eenen grooten colossus die Colossus Magnus gheheeten was/ ²¹ ofte een metalen beelde/ opgerecht in die aerde ²² der zon= ne/ hooge C. ende xxvj. voeten/ ²³ oft C. cubitussen ²⁴ minder dan teylant Colesus/ daer noch L. me=
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¹⁸ *ibid.*, 'Pythagoras aussi, a appris es saintes escriptures, d'egypte la geometrie et larismethique ensemble la transmutacion des ames de corps en corps'.

¹⁹ This statement is probably based on *ibid.*, cap. i.12, 65v–66r, a lengthy description of 'Les meilleurs et plus excellens tailleurs dymaiges' of Greece and Egypt.

²⁰ Bartholomeus Anglicus (before 1203–1272), author of the compendium *De proprietatibus rerum*. Van Vaernewijck consulted one of the many French editions, e.g. Anglicus, *Le Grand propriétaire de toutes choses* [...] (Paris 1556) cap. x.129, fol. 134ra, 'RHodes est la prouince de isles de Ciclade vers Orient, ou on trouue le capitole de la cité de Rhodes quand elle fut premier fondée. En la cité de Rhodes soul oit auoir vne ydole d'arain qui auoit septante couldées de hault'.

²¹ cf. Erasmus, *Adagiorvm chiliades tres* [...] (Antwerp 1561) iii.2.83, fol. 247v, 'Colossæa magnitudine vir (...) Een man als een boom'. The Flemish proverbs in this edition were added by Joannes Servilius (ca. 1536–?). Servilius's edition of the text appeared in 1544, with reprints in 1545, 1553, 1561 and 1568.

²² Should be read as 'eere', see the errata on fol. *7v.

²³ Most sources mentions a height of 70 cubits, based on Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.18.41. Beda, however, gives a height of 136 feet in his *De Septem Mundi Miraculis*, Jacques-Paul Migne ed., *Patrologia Latina* [PL] 90 (Cologne 1862) 961, 'III. In Rhodo insula Colossi imago ærea centum triginta sex pedum fusilis facta'. Vaernewijck's reported height of 126 feet could thus well be based on a misreading of Beda's account, or, alternatively, a conversion done by the author himself.

²⁴ Lucius Ampelius, a Roman scholar from the third century, describes a colossus on Rhodes placed on marble half-columns with a height of 100 cubits. The statue itself was 60 cubits in height. Ampelius's *Liber memorialis* was first published in print by Claude Saumaise (1588–1653) in Leiden, 1638, but Van Vaernewijck might have had access to a manuscript version, *L. Annævs Florvs* [...] *addidit Lvcivm Ampelium. & cod. M.S. nunquam antehac editum* [...] (Leiden 1638) cap. 8, 311–312, 'Continet autem gigantomachiam. (...) Rhodo Colossi signum Solis altum super columna marmorea com quadriga. Columna vero habet cubitos centum. Cypro signum [Iovis Olympii] ærum, facies ex auto, quem [fecit Phidias] in cubitis centum quinquaginta, & lata cubitis sexaginta'. For a bilingual edition with comments, see Ampelius, *Liber memorialis - Was ein junger Römer wissen soll*, Ingemar König ed. (Darmstadt 2011). Another source, Nicola di Martoni's late fourteenth-century report of a voyage through the Levant, records that whoever ascended to the top of the Colossus of Rhodes could see a hundred miles wide, such was its height: L. Legrand, 'Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien, 1394–1395', *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 (1895) 566–669, 585–586, 'et quisquis ascendebat ad capud dicti ydoli videbat centrum milearia longe, tante erat altitudinis'. It seems plausible that Van Vaernewijck (or indeed the source he consulted) misunderstood or mistranslated the text.

talen beelden by stonden die minder waren/²⁵ ende dit was tderde wondere/ onder die zeuen wonderen der weerelt getelt/²⁶ wantmen niet en conde verstaen hoe zo groot een beelt gegoten mocht wesen/ ende hoet mochte opgherecht werden/ ende hoe die aerde zulc gewichte conde gedraghen/²⁷ ende van die constighe propoortie die dae in ghehouden was. Dit ouer constich ende wonderlick stick is ghevallen/ deur een eertbeuinghe²⁸ int xxv. iaer van Ptholomeus Euergetes regnatie.²⁹ Item een Autheur verhaelt³⁰ datter noch eenen andere Colossus³¹ heeft ghestaen int eylant Rhodes/ in een auene des zeluen eylands/ ende stont met zijn voeten/ op twee steenen boghen:³² ander zegghen op een Pedestal onderstelt met lxx. marbren pilaren/³³ ende dees beelde was zoo horrybelick groot/ dat die zeeschepen quamen ghevaren/ tusschen zijn beenen deure/ in zijn rechte handt haudende een groot vervaerlich zweert/ ende in zijn slijncke handt een pijcke/ ende voor zijn burst hijnck

Noch eenen
anderen Co
lossus int ey
lant Rhodie

²⁵ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.18.41 mentions a hundred other colossal statues, as does Anglicus, *Le Grand propriétaire de toutes choses*, cap. x.129, fol. 134ra, '& en ceste isse en auoit cent autres qui estoient moindres, comme dit ysidore au quinziesme liure. Rhodes & Cypre cest tout vn, ce dit ysidore au quinziesme liure au chapitre des noms des citez'. Therefore, Vaernewijck's 'L. metalen beelden' should be read as 'C. metalen beelden'.

²⁶ Beda, *De Septem Mundi Miraculis*.

²⁷ *ibid.*, 'hoc mirum qualiter tam immensa moles fundi potuisset, vel erigi et stare'.

²⁸ The earthquake occurred in 227 or 226 BC, cf. Strabo, *Geography*, xiv.2.5.

²⁹ Ptolemy III Euergetes (ca. 284, r. 246–222 BC), the third king of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt, cf. Polybius, *Histories*, v.88–89.

³⁰ Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, cap. 31, 104–113, 'Des Colosses de Rhodes. Chap. xxxi'. Thevet's description includes a large woodcut reproduction of the statue, see fig. 11.

³¹ This was in fact the same statue.

³² Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, 106, 'Le quatrieme est celui de Rhodes, nombré entre les miracles du monde: lequell estoit sur le port, ayant les iambres sur les deus arches du port'.

³³ This may well be based on a misreading of a description of the colossus in Guillaume du Choul's (1496?–1555) study of Roman religion. There, the pedestal of the colossus is described in the following manner: 'la base, qui soustenoit la statue, estoit de forme triangulaire, & chascune de ses extremittez estoit soustenuue par soixante colonnes de marbre', see *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains* [...] (Lyon 1556), 194. Alternatively, it could be a mistranslation or faulty interpretation of Philo of Byzantium's account of the stone and iron armature used to support the cast bronze exterior of the sculpture. See Philo, *De septem orbis miraculis*, iv.2, 5, translated in: Herbert Maryon, 'The Colossus of Rhodes', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 76 (1956) 68–86, 68–70, also see the comments in D.E.L. Haynes, 'Philo of Byzantium and the Colossus of Rhodes', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77:2 (1957) 311–312; Fred C. Albertson, 'Zenodorus's "Colossus of Nero"', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 46 (2001) 95–118, 99–100.

eenen constighen grooten brant spiegel/³⁴ dit
beelde was oock inde eere der zonne ghestelt/
ende was hooghe tseuentich cubitussen: waer
ouer Chares Lindius³⁵ was besich eer hijt vul=
maken ende opgherechten conste xii. Iaren/³⁶
ende hy hadde by comparatien ghecost wel
hondertt/ ende tachtentich duysent Fransche
Croonen/³⁷ elcke Croone van vijfentich stu=
uers/³⁸ en stont maer zessenvijftich Iaeren/ doe
is hy van tschudden der aerderijcks ooc ghe=
broken geworden.³⁹ Luttel lieden waren zoo
groot die den duym van dees beelde mochten
ommevamen/⁴⁰ ende die Sarracenen die stadt
Rhodes winnende int Iaer ons Heeren zes
hondert vyuenvijftich/ hebben het metael van
deser beelde naer Alexandrien in Egypten ge=
voert/ waer mede men neghen hondert keme=
len hadde moghen laden.⁴¹ Solinus plach

³⁴ Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, 106, ' & estoit si haut esleué, que les nauires entrans au port passioient entre ses deus iambres. Il tenoit en la main dextre une espee, & en la senestre une piquem & auoit deuant la poitrine un miroër ardant, comme pourrez voir par la figure precedente', cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.18.41. Also see fig. 11. This is a medieval fantasy and a physical impossibility, first recorded in a chronicle compiled by Juan Fernández de Heredia (ca. 1310–1396), a counsellor to the kings of Aragon, and popularized at the end of the fifteenth century by Felix Fabri (ca. 1441–1502), who vividly recorded his pilgrimages to Palestine.

³⁵ Chares of Lindos (fl. ca. 280 BC), the most successful pupil of Lysippos.

³⁶ Construction began around 292 BC.

³⁷ Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, 106, 'Ledit Colosse estoit dédié au Soleil, ayant septante coudees de hauteur, pour lequel parfaire & eriger, Chares Lyndius (disciple de celui Lysippe, dont i'ay parlé ci deuant) employa douze ans: & couta cetui Colosse trois cens talens (qui montent à cent quatre vint mille Escus.)'

³⁸ See note 44 below.

³⁹ Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, 106, 'Ce grand simulacre du Soleil, cinquante six ans apres qu'il fut erigé, tomba par tremblement de terre.'

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 'Icelui tombé esbahissoit ceus qui le regardoient: peu de gens pouuoient embrasser son poulse, & estoient ses dois beaucoup plus gros & plus grans que plusieurs statues communes', cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.18.41.

⁴¹ Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, 109, 'Si est ce toutefois qu'elle fus bien autrement, que de l'air, troublee & mise en desarray, l'an de grace six cens cinquante cinq, lors que les Sarrazins la prindrent, & demolirent ledit grand Colosse: l'airein duquel fut porté en Alexandrie: & dit on qu'il y auoit asles matieré pour charger neuf cens chameaux'. This anecdote is derived from a chronicle compiled by Theophilus of Edessa (ca. 695–ca. 785). According to this story, a Jewish merchant from Edessa bought the bronze remains and moved them away on nine hundred camels, a translated edition of the section in Theophilus, *Theophilus of Edessa's chronicle and the circulation of historical knowledge in late Antiquity and early Islam*, Robert G. Hoyland ed. (Liverpool 2011) 139.

Noch vier
Colossen inde
werelt voor
tijds ghe-
veest.

die van Rhodes te bespottene: zegghende/⁴² de
lucht nemmermeer zoo doncker te wesen/ dat
die van Rhodes de zonne niet en zaghen/ dat
was omdat zy de Zonne/ voor haren patroon
ghecosen hadden/ die zy met zulcke excessyue
beelden eerden. Noch vier Colossen
hebbender voortijts gheweest inde gheheele
weerelt/ als: te weten/ eene van Apollo/ die
Marcus Lucullus⁴³ van Appolonien in Pon=
tus bracht naer Italien/ die was dertich cu=
bitussen hooghe/ ende hadde ghecost vijftich
talenten/ of thien hondert duysent Francsche
Croonen als voren.⁴⁴ Den anderen was ter ee=
ren van Iupiter/ int velt van Mars⁴⁵ ghestelt
ende wart ghenoumt Pompeius Colosse/ om
dat hy by een Theatrum stont die Pompeius
hadden doen maken daermen die spelen in plach
te vertooghen naer die heydensche maniere.⁴⁶
Den derden was opgherecht te Tarenten/⁴⁷ ende [fol. 18ra, Czra]
was Lysippus weerck/ den meester van Cha=
res voornomt, ende was hooghe veertich cu=
bitussen.⁴⁸ Den vierden dede die Roomsche key
ser Nero maken/ naer zijn figure ende stellen
te Roome voor het wonderhuys transitorie/⁴⁹

⁴² Gaius Julius Solinus, author of *De mirabilibus mundi*. The text was published in print as early as 1473. I consulted the glossed edition of 1543, *C. Iulii Solini Polyhistor, Rerum Toto Orbe Memorabilium Thesaurus locupletissimus* [...] (Basel 1543) cap. 21, 42–43, ‘Nunquam ita cœlum nubilum est, ut in sole Rhodos non sit’. The glosses to this segment read: ‘Rhodos.’ (...) In ea fuit admirandæ magnitudinis Colossus, à quo postea Rhodij appellati sunt Colossenses, ad quos apostolus epistolam scripsit’. The notes to the edition of 1557, *Commentaria In C. Iulii Solini Polyhistora* [...] (Basel 1557) cap. 21, 128, are much more elaborate, but do not refer to the Colossus. An Italian translation appeared in *Delle cose maravigliose del mondo* [...] (Venice 1559) cap. 20, 86, ‘De niun tempo é tanto nubiloso il Cielo a Rhodi, che non ci si uegga il Sole’.

⁴³ Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus (ca. 116–55 BC).

⁴⁴ Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, 104, ‘Nous trouuons en escrit quatre Colosses, l’un d’Apollon, ayant trente coudees de hauteur, lequel auoit esté translaté d’Apollonie Pontique au Capitole par M. Luculle, & auoit couté icelui à construire cent cinquante talens (qui reuiennent à nonante mille escus: l’escu vallant trentecinq souz [sols] de notre monnoye.’), cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.18.39–40, Strabo, *Geography*, vii.6.1. According to Pliny, the statue had cost 500 talents to make.

⁴⁵ The Campus Martius.

⁴⁶ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.18.39–40, the statue was dedicated by Emperor Claudius (10 BC–54).

⁴⁷ The Tarentum, a field for equestrian exercise in the Campus Martius.

⁴⁸ Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, 104–106, ‘L’autre estoit de Iuppiter, au champ de Mars, [105 is the page-size woodcut image of the colossus, fig. 11] lequel s’apela puis apres le Colosse de Pompee, pource qu’il estoit procain du Theatre par lui edifié. Les tiers estoit à Tarente, lequel Lysippe auoit fait de quarante coudees de hauteur’, cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.18.40–41.

⁴⁹ The Domus Aurea.

hooghe 120. voeten na Suetonio.⁵⁰ Van dese
dinghen moecht ghi veel breeder lesen/ in ons
xx. boeck der Leecken Philosophie/ dat wy
meenen corts tAndtwerpen te laten drucken/
indient Gode belieft (...).⁵¹

6. cap. i.42, fol. 20vb [C3vb]. Four ancient sculptures found in Viterbo during the papacy of Alexander VI (1431, r. 1492–1503). The present segment is an adaptation in prose of Van Vaernewijck's ballade in *Die warachtighe historie* (1561).⁵² Also see nos. 4, 5, 10, 18.

¶ **Hercules die XI. Duytsche Coninck, ende
van Eolus, Orpheus, ende Proserpina.**

Cap. xlij.

Aude memorialen vonden by Viterben.	(...) Ende inde tyden des Paus Alexandri die vi. waren vonden enden wter eerden ghetrocken by die stadt Viterbia/ vier groote beelden
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⁵⁰ Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (ca. 69–ca. 122), a Roman historian and author of *De vita Caesarum*, see Suetonius, *Lives (Nero)*, iv.31.1. The French translation by Michel Guillaume first appeared in Paris in 1521, see *Des Faictz et gestes des Douze Cesars. Nouvellement translate de Latin en Francoys* [...]. I consulted the reprint of 1531, *La tresillustre et memorable vie, faictz et gestes des douze Cesars* [...] (Paris 1530 [1531 n.s.]) fol. 118v, 'Il fist vne maison depuis se palais iusques aux lieux nommez exquilles l'aquesse premierement is nommoit transsitoire puis apres quesse fut par feu destruite la faisant reparer sappella la maison dor: de l'espasse de l'aquesse facon & parement reparer dirons aulcune chose. Le vestibule qui est la court de deuant ou autre place du bastiment fut si trant que se colosse de six vingtz pietz fait a la semblance la estoit situe. Le portal si large se maintenoit quil estoit en quantite de triples miliaires'.

Interestingly, all French editions that I checked (1521, 1531, 1540, 1541) wrongly report a height 'de six vingtz piedz', which means that Van Vaernewijck consulted either a Latin original, or the German translation of the text: *Von gebuert leben thaten und todt Julii, Augusti, Tyberii, Caligule, Claudii, Neronis, Galbe, Othonis, Vitelii, Vespasiani, Titi und Domitiani der XII. ersten Roemischen Keyser jetzundt new außgangen* [...] (Strasbourg 1536) fol. 42r, 'Vom berg Palatino biß an der berg Exquilias hat er eyn hauß gebawet/ welchser von ersten Transitoriam (das man dadurch von eym bergt zum andern gieng) aber balt darnach verbrunnen/ widerumb gebawet/ Auream/ das gülden hauß genennt hat. Dessen ingang was so weit das darinnen ein Colossus stand nach seiner biltnuß hundert und zwenzig schu groß', cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.18.45.

⁵¹ See nos. 1, 18.

⁵² The complete segment in Salenson?, *Die warachtighe gheschiedenisse*, fol. FFF3 reads as follows: 'Doen worden daer ghetrocken vut der eerden/ Vier groote beelden seer triumphant ghesneden:/ D'eene van Iasius, als Conijck van weerden,/ D'ander van Electra zijn moeder (so zij begheerden)/ Des grooten Athlas dochter, een ruese van leden./ De derde was zijn suster, Armonia vol vreden/ Die leefde met die Vestael maechden in reynicheyt./ De vierde was van Cibeles, aldaer ter steden,/ D'huusvrauwe van Iasius met certeynlicheyt. (...) Ende desen Iasius, die ooc drouch de crone,/ Hadde eenen broede Dardanus, die van hem schiet,/ En fondeerde die schoonste stadt onder den throne/ Dardania, die naermaels groot Trooyen hiet./ Noch was daer vuter eerder gheheuen/ Een grote tafel van Marber, claer als glas,/ Daer met Griecsche letteren in stont gheschreuen/ Van Iasius huwelick, dat daer wart bedreuen/ En hoe de godinne Ysis daer ter bruloft was,/ Ende leerde hemlien broot backen op oselue pas./ Sy was doen aut vier hondert ende tsestich iaren/ VWant haer volle auderdom also ik las, VWas ses hondert ier, naer Plinius verclaren'. I quote from the 1564 edition of the text instead of the 1561 *Historie* because I was unable to consult a complete copy of the latter. The text is the same.

zeer triumphant/⁵³ deene was de figure van Ja=
 sus/⁵⁴ dander van zijn moeder Electra dochter
 vanden grooten Athlas. De derde was van
 Iasius zuster Armonia ghenamt/⁵⁵ die noyt
 en huwede: maer bleef maecht inde religie van
 die Godinne Vesta/⁵⁶ ende de vierde was van [fol. 21ra, C4ra]
 Cibeles/ de huysvrouwe vanden voornoemde Coninck
 Iasius/ ende daerby was ghevonden een groo=
 te tafel van marber. daer veel griecsche lette=
 ren in gheschreuen stonden/⁵⁷ daer ghetuyghe=
 nisse af stont van Iasius huwelick/⁵⁸ ende hoe
 Isis daer ter Bruyloft gheweest hadde/ ende
 daer gheleert broot backen/⁵⁹ ende hoe Isidus
 doen audt was iiiic. ende lx iaren/⁶⁰ ende was

⁵³ The ‘discoveries’ were made by Annio da Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni, 1432/1437–1502) in the fall of 1493 while he toured Pope Alexander around the town. Not only was the event staged, Annio’s claims were bogus, too – the four sculptures in fact were Etruscan sarcophagi with faked inscriptions. He died in 1502 of a poison allegedly supplied by Cesare Borgia (1475–1507), Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance discovery of Classical Antiquity* (London 1973) 114, 125–126, Philip Jacks, *The antiquarian and the myth of Antiquity. The origins of Rome in Renaissance thought* (Cambridge 1993) 161–171. For a biography of this curious antiquarian, see Amanda L. Collins, ‘The Etruscans in the Renaissance: The Sacred Destiny of Rome and the “Historia Viginti Saeculorum” of Giles of Viterbo, ca. 1469–1532’, *Réflexions Historiques* 27:1 (2001) 107–137, 112–120, and Walter Stephens, ‘When Pope Noah ruled the Etruscans: Annio of Viterbo and his forged “antiquities”’, *MLN, Italian Issue Supplement: Essays in honor of Salvatore Camporeale* 119:1 (2004) 201–223, 203–204.

Annio da Viterbo, best known historically for his counterfeits and fabrications of ancient sources, describes his purported archaeological discoveries in a separate chapter of his famous *Antiquitates* of 1498. One of the many reprints is *Antiquitatum Italiae ac totius orbis libri quinque* [...] (Antwerp 1552) 331–368. The ‘triumphales statuæ’ found in Viterbo are discussed in *ibid.*, 341–368. Van Vaernewijck, however, consulted the *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye* of Jean Lemaire de Belges, who incorporated Annio’s information in his chronicle. I here quote from the reprint of Lyon, 1549, cap. xiii, 38–39, ‘Comme il appert tant par liures autentiques, comme par certaines vieilles statues, marbres, & escritures quinha gueres surent trouuees aupres de la cité de Viterbe, & monstrees au pape Alexandre vi. Come recite frere Iean Annio dudit Viterbe, disant quon tire hors la terre, quatre simulacres ou images triomphales’.

After the ‘discovery’, the sarcophagi were on display in the Palazzo dei Priori in Viterbo. They are now lost.

⁵⁴ Iasus, or Iason, son of Electra, one of the Pleiades, and Zeus, Diodorus, *Library of History*, v.48.2–3. In the account of Annio da Viterbo, Iasus Ianigena is an early Etruscan king.

⁵⁵ The goddess of harmony and concord. Her other brother was Dardanus, whose descendants founded the city of Troy, Diodorus, *Library of History*, v.48.3–4.

⁵⁶ The Roman virgin goddess.

⁵⁷ Lemaire de Belges, *Illustrations de Gaule*, 39, ‘Lune de Iasius, lautre de sa mere Electra, la tierce de sa sœur Armonia, qu ne fut iamais mariee, ainçois demoura vierge, & nonnain de la religion Vestale, & la quarte, de Cybeles femme dudit Roy Iasius. Et oultreplus on trouua vne grand table de marbre, en laquelle escrit en lettres Grecques, ce qui fut translaté en Latin ainsi quil sensuit: (...)’.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, ‘Iasius Ianigena, (...) feit aussi presque tout en vn mesme temps aliance de mariage, auecques vne haute, & noble pucelle, nommee Ipitiss Cybeles’, in the tradition of Diodorus, *Library of History*, v.49.1–3, it was the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia, where the gods provided the marriage-feast.

⁵⁹ Lemaire de Belges, *Illustrations de Gaule*, 38, ‘Mesmement à cause de ce que la grand Deesse Isis Royne d’Egypte, (...) fut presente à la celebration desdites noces: & y offrit les premiers pains qui iamais furent mengez en Italie’.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, ‘Ceste Deesse Isis, autrement dite Ceres, Iuno, Frugifera, Legifera, fut vne merueilleuse femme, & de longue vie, comme desia nous auons dit cy deuant: Car quand elle vint en Italie ausdites noces, elle auoit quatre cens & soixante ans’, cf. Diodorus, *Library of History*, v.49.1.

noch clouck ende steerck. Item Plinius af=
fermeert ooc dat Isis in Duytschlandt quam
ende oock in Vranckerijcke/ welcke y=
dole/ men heet: de ydole van Sente Germeyn
des Pretz (...).⁶¹

7. cap. ii.2, fol. 27va [D3va]. The legendary lives of the sculptor Pygmalion and his child, Paphos, as told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

¶ **Van Bauo Coninck van Hooch-Frigien,
hoe hy ouerghecommen is in dese Nederland-
den, ende van Inghelant, Pingmaleon, ende
Paphlo. Cap. ij.**

Pingmaleon
ende Paphlo

(...) In desen tijt zoude noch Paphlo gheleeft heb
ben/ Pingmaleons zone/⁶² die den lijflicken broe
der was van Dido Coninghinne der Carta=
ginensen/⁶³ ende fondaresse der stadt Cartago/⁶⁴ so
int leste van deerste bouck gheseyt is.⁶⁵ Desen
Pingmaleon/ commende in Cypers/ ontrent
een plaetse ghenoumt Lemiso (welck land hy
ghewonnen hadde met den zweerde)⁶⁶ ende aen=
merckende die quade lichtvoerige zeden/ vanden
vrouwen van dien lande/ die Venus daertoe
gepersuadeert hadde/⁶⁷ so zoude hi (zo Ouidius

⁶¹ Lemaire de Belges, *Illustrations de Gaule*, 38, 'Et comme met Pline au vii. liure de Lhistoire naturelle, elle au partir de son Royaume d'Egypte, enseigna premierement comment on deuoit mouldre la farine, & faire du pain, en la cité d'Athens, & puis en lisle de Sicile, & apres en Italie. Frere lean de Viterbe expositeur de Berosus, met aussi quelle fut en Allemagne du temps d'Hercules Allemanus, lonzieme Roy (...). Encores voit on son simulacre en France, quon appelle l'Idole de saint Germain des prez', cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, vii.56.191.

⁶² In Ovid's original narrative, Paphos was a daughter of Pygmalion, the Cypriot sculptor, see *Metamorphoses*, x.296–297. In the Flemish translation by Joannes Florianus (1522–1585), however, Paphos is his son, see *Metamorphosis, dat is die herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe* [...] (Antwerp 1552). A rare copy of this volume is preserved in the library of Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp. I consulted reprint of 1615, published by Gheleyn Jansens in Antwerp. The relevant segment is in *ibid.*, 151r, 'Pigmalion namse daer na te houwelijc ende was aen haer eenen sone, dien hy Paphum dede noemen, waer af het eylandt noch den naem vuert'. Van Vaernewijck did not consult this primary source, however, but the account of Joos van Ghistele (1446–1516), published in Ambrosius Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele, oft anders, Texcellent, groot, zeldsaem ende vremd voyage* [...] (Ghent 1557), see below.

⁶³ In the tradition of Virgil, see *Aenid*, i.346–348.

⁶⁴ Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, cap. v.3, 222, 'Daer heeft ooc in tyden voorleden Conijngh gheweest een man ghenaeemt Pigmalion/ broeder van der Conijnghinne Dydo die Cartago stichte'.

⁶⁵ Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegelhel*, cap. i.48, fol. 25va [D1va].

⁶⁶ Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, cap. v.3, 222, 'Van welken Pigmalion de aude historien zegghen dat als hy zynen zwagher doodghesleggen hadde ende vermoordt om zijns goeds ende ghelds wille/ ende ghevloten zijnde in Cypers al tland winnende met den zweerde/ maecte zijn woonste omtrent der plecken van Limiso'. Limassol is a town on the southern coast of Cyprus.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 'Van dezen zeluen Pigmalion schriuen de Poeten in haer fabelen (ende zonderlijnght Ouidius in Methamorphoseos) een wonderlicke zake: te weten dat anmeerckende de quade manieren van den vrouwen van Cypers/ en wilde gheen wijf oft huusvrauwe nemen van dien landen'.

Ander vwon
deren te
Roome.

nen ende ander anticagien.⁷⁴ Vier metalen peer
den in de lucht springhende meerder dan dle=
uen⁷⁵ hebbic op tpoortael van Sente Marcus
kercke ghesien/ in welcke eerlicke kercke S.
Marcus lichaem als patroon van Venegien
ende een Euanlegist is eerweerdelic rustende (...).

9. cap. ii.ii, fol. 35va [E3va]. Short descriptions of the antiquities and artful objects
that are to be seen in Rome. Also see nos. 3, 8, 14, 18.

¶ **Van Romulus ende Remus die eerste stich
ters van Roome, ende van zommighe Conin
ghen van Belgis, ende van den prijs der stadt
van Roome. Cap. xj.**

(...) Item inde tyden vanden
Keyser Octavianus Augustus/ als hi Antho
nium verwonnen hadde/⁷⁶ was Roome zeere [fol. 35vb, E3vb]
gherepareert vanden zeluen Keyser/ diese met
marmoren huysen/ ende mueren decoreerde/
zoo veel beelden/ colommen/ ende teecken
der verwonnen nacen/ ende figueren der E=
delijnghen/ van diueersche materialen ghe=
maeckt/ ende constigh ghewrocht/ plochten
binnen Roome te wesen/ alsser menschen zom
tijdts wonachtich waren/ van die springhen=
de marmoren Peerden met de naecte mannen
diese houden/ oock van wit marmor/ gedaen
by die wtnemende constenaers/ ende Statua=
teurs Pittias/⁷⁷ ende Praxiteles/⁷⁸ welcke meer

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, cap. viii.33, 345. 'Men zeyt daer dat alle de aude gheveerten binnen Venegien zijnde (dier veel is) zijn meest al comen van Troyen ende daer ghebracht: als colummen/ marber steenen ende andere dijnghen'.

⁷⁵ The Roman sculptures were captured by Venetian forces during the Sack of Constantinople in 1204, and sent to the city by Marino Zeno, the podestà of the Venetians at Constantinople, between 1205 and 1207, see Marilyn Perry, 'Saint Mark's trophies: legend, superstition, and archaeology in Renaissance Venice', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977) 27–49; Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The lure of Classical sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven 1981) 236–239. They were installed on the balcony above the portal of the Church of San Marco between 1253 and 1268.

⁷⁶ Van Vaernewijck refers to the Final War of the Roman Republic (32–30 BC), fought between Marcus Antonius (83–30 BC) and Augustus (63 BC, r. 27 BC–14 AD), who would become the first Roman Emperor.

⁷⁷ Should be read as 'Phidias', see the errata on fol. *7v. Also known as Pheidias (ca. 480–ca. 430 BC), most celebrated for his statue of Zeus at Olympia, one of the seven wonders of the world, and is credited to have been the first to fully demonstrate the capabilities sculptural design, according to Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxiv.19.49, 54, 56.

⁷⁸ The famous Attic sculptor (ca. 390–ca. 320 BC). Pliny dates him as an artist active in the 104th Olympiad (364–361 BC), see *Natural history*, xxxiv.19.50, 69–71.

der dan tleuen ghemaect zijn/⁷⁹ oock van die
 twee witte marmoren colommen vol historien/
 ende beelden constich geschulpeert/ deene xxxiiij.
 passen hooghe/ vanden Keyser Antonius daer
 doen stellen/⁸⁰ ende dander twintich passen hoo=
 ghe vanden Keyser Elius Adrianus Traia=
 nus op een ander plaetse ghesticht.⁸¹ Item/ van
 die groote steenen naelde oft Piramidisse/ al
 van eenen ghesproetten steen/ daermen meent
 dat Iulius Cesars asschen op rusten/⁸² in eenen
 metalen appel die vergult plach te wesen/⁸³ wanof
 beneden elcke facie (zo wy ghemeten hebben)
 xiiij. palmen breed is. Item van die groote
 steenen/ Reusen/ colommen/ edificien/ ende an=
 der fondatien diemen daer in veel plaetsen/ in
 oudt Roome ghebroken/ ende ruineus ziet
 ligghen/ ooc mede van die ouervloedighe hei
 lichdommen, ende constighe dinghen die daer
 noch te ziene zijn/ zoude al te lanck vallen
 hier te schryuen/ dwelc ick vele gheteeckent
 hebbe in mijn voyage van Roome.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ The Horse Tamers, situated on the Quirinale near the Baths of Constantine. The inaccurate attributions to Praxiteles and Pheidias are recorded in the anonymous *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, a popular medieval guidebook to the city primarily intended for pilgrims. One of the many printed variations is *Mirabilia vrbis Romae nova recognita, et emendata* [...] (Rome 1550), issued by Antonio Blado (1490–1567). It seems highly likely that Van Vaernewijck bought a copy when he visited the city in the same year, see app. 1. The relevant segment is in *ibid.*, fol. A4r, 'De equis marmoreis. Equi & homines nudi significant quod tempore imperatoris Tiberij fuerunt duo philosophi iuuenes secundum Praxitellis, & Pitias, qui dixerunt se esse tante sapientie (...)'. Also see no. 18.

⁸⁰ The Column of Antonius Pius (86, r. 138–161) in the Campus Martius, *Mirabilia*, fol. A2v, 'Palatia Imperatorum sun hec. (...) palatium Anthonij, vbi est alia columna .xxxiiij. passuum'. Only the base is preserved today, and is preserved in the collections of the Vatican Museums, inv. no. 5115.

⁸¹ The Column of Trajan (53, r. 98–117) in the Forum Traiani, see *ibid.*, 'palatium Traiani, vbi est columna .xx. passuum'. Van Vaernewijck confused Trajan with Hadrian (76, r. 117–138), his successor.

⁸² The Needle of St. Peter, a red granite obelisk originally in the Vatican Circus (it was moved to its current location on St. Peter's Square in 1586). In the Middle Ages, the needle was widely believed to be the tomb of Julius Caesar (ca. 100 BC, r. 49–44 BC), see John Osborne, 'St. Peter's Needle and the ashes of Julius Caesar: invoking Rome's Imperial history at the Papal court, ca. 1100–1300', in: Maria Wyke (ed.), *Julius Caesar in Western Culture* (Oxford 2006) 95–109, 99–102. Cf. *Mirabilia*, fol. A2v, 'dalatium [sic] Neronis, vbi est angulea [agulia] sancti Petri', fol. A3r, 'De Angulea sancti petri. Ibi est memoria Cesaris, vbi splenditus cinis in suo sarcofagio idem malo ereo requiescit vt sicut eo viuente totus mundus ei subiectus erat sic ipso mortuo omnia corpora mortuorum sibi subiacerent vbi in giro mali inscriptum est. Cesar tantus erat quo nullus maior in orbe. Sed in modico nunc tam: magnus clauditur antro. Intra scriptura stat Cesaris alta columna. Regia structura quanta non extat in aula. Si lapis cit vnus qua fuit arte leuatus. Et si sunt plures dic vt vrbi congeries'.

⁸³ As per the common (oral) tradition, also recorded in yet another medieval source, *De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*. For an edition of the only preserved manuscript, see G. McN. Rushforth, 'Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae: a new description of Rome in the twelfth century', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 9 (1919) 14–58, 56.

⁸⁴ Van Vaernewijck's notebooks and apparent sketches are now lost. The only drawings of Van Vaernewijck that are preserved are those in the manuscript of *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*.

10. cap. ii.23, fol. 42rb [F2rb]. Van Vaernewijck describes the Tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus. Also see no. 4, 5, 6, 18.

¶ **Van die Coninghinne Arthimesia, ende vele vvonderlicke dijnghen, die binnen den tyden, dat die Hertoghen in Belgis regneerden ghebeurt zijn. Cap. xxiiij.**

INde vierentseuentichste Olimpiades/ ghebeurde dees groote nederlaghe der Per=sen/⁸⁵ waeraf Bocatius⁸⁶ spreect/ dat die edel Coninghinne Arthimesia/⁸⁷ die zy zom willen Arthemedora heeten/ haer zo mannelic in den skeepstrijt ghehadt heeft/ dat hadde Xerxes⁸⁸ hem zo fijnlic ghehadt/ hy hadde moghen obtineren/⁸⁹ zy was doen een weduwe van haren man den Coninc Mausalus/⁹⁰ die zi met een zo zonderlinghe liefde beminde/ dat haer die geheele weerelt daeraf verwondert:⁹¹

(...) nochtens dede zi tsijnder eere zo costelick een sepulture opzechten/ datmen van dier ghelijcke niet en leeft/ waertoe dat zi doen halen heeft/ vier zo constighe schulptores dat die Griecken zeyden datmen gheen constigher ter weerelt en vant. Haer namen waren

Arthimesias
liefde.

Tvierde
vvonder der
vveerelt.

⁸⁵ See the previous chapter, *Spiegel*, cap. ii.22.

⁸⁶ Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), the famous Florentine author. He first circulated his *De mulieribus claris* in 1374. There are numerous French translations; *Des dames de renom* [...] (Lyon 1551) is the edition most likely known to Van Vaernewijck. Already in 1525, an obscure Flemish translation was published at the Antwerp printing house of Claes de Grave, *ibid*, *Bescruiende vanden doortlichtighen gloriosen ende edele mannen ende van haren werken ende gheschienen die si ghedaen hebben* [...] (Antwerp 1525). I was unable to check a copy of this version, I therefore refer to the French translation mentioned above.

⁸⁷ Artemisia II of Caria (r. 353–351 BC).

⁸⁸ Xerxes I (518, r. 486–465 BC), the Persian king best known for his failed invasion of Greece.

⁸⁹ Boccaccio, *Des dames de renom*, cap. lv, 188–189, 'Il y en toutesfoys quelques vns, qui disent que ceste Dame, qui fut au secours de Xerxes, n'estoyt pas Arthemisia, mais vn autre, nommee Arthemedora, Roynne de Halicarnas, amenans, pour tesmoignage de cela, que la guerre nauale de Xerxes, pres de Salamin, fut en la septante quatrième Olimpiade, & que l'on trouue le sepulchre la de Mausolus auoir est basti en la centième Olimpiade.'

⁹⁰ Mausolus, Satrap of Caria (r. 377–353 BC) also was Artemisia's brother.

⁹¹ The following segment is almost exclusively based on Boccaccio, *Des dames de renom*, cap. lv, 181–189, who in turn borrowed his information from Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.30–32.

Scopas/⁹² Briaxem/⁹³ Timotheus/⁹⁴ ende Leotharius⁹⁵
 elck maeckte een facie/ aen dees sepulture/ al
 van bereyde marmorsteenen/ daer zy persona=
 gien in sculpeerden die schenen te leuen, so dat
 langhen tijt daernaer wt verre landen conste=
 naers ghecomen zijn/⁹⁶ om dit wtnemende con=
 stich ende costelic weerck te ziene/ soo dat men
 wel zach dat die handen der constenaeren daer
 hadden ghesteden/ om die glorie ende eere:
 want zo Bocatius schrijft/⁹⁷ het heeft in coste=
 licheyt ende const/ byna te bouen ghegaen
 alle timmeragien des weerelts/ ende is onder
 die zeuen wonderen oft miraculen der weerelt
 dat vierde ghetelt. Dees sepulture heeft twee
 zyden ghehad/ elck van lxij. voeten: maer
 die andere waren corter/ ende was hooghe
 hondert ende veertich voeten:⁹⁸ maer Arthimesia
 en heeft niet moghen letten/ dat dit werck vol
 maeckt zoude gheweest hebben/ nochtans om
 die zonderlinghe excellentie van desen wercke
 hebbent die Meesteren willen volbringhen/
 tot een wonderlic spectacel voor de naercom=
 mers. Ende den vijfsten Meester is daer ghe=
 commen/ ende heeft de hoochde van der op=
 perster colomne in xxiiij. graden begrepen.⁹⁹
 Ende den zesten Pithis ghenoeemt,¹⁰⁰ heeft al bo=
 uen eenen marmoren waghén ghemaect. Ende

⁹² Scopas (fl. ca. 395–350 BC), the famous Greek sculptor and architect, known for a figure of Venus at Samothrace and a Neptune, later moved to the Flaminian Circus, Rome. Scopas was responsible for the eastern side of the monument, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.25–26, 31.

⁹³ Bryaxis carved the northern face, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.31.

⁹⁴ Timotheus (d. ca. 340 BC), the sculptor that was responsible for the southern face, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.31.

⁹⁵ Leochares, a sculptor from Athens, carved the western facade, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.31.

⁹⁶ This rhetorical device is later re-used by Van Vaernewijck, see below.

⁹⁷ Boccaccio, *Des dames de renom*, cap. lv, 183, 'duquel ne sera point impertinent de faire ici mention particuliere, puisqu'il outrepassa presque tous les autres edifices du monde, tant à raison de l'art qu'à cause de la grande despense, & qu'il fut nombre, pendant qu'il dura, vn des sept miracles de l'vniuers'.

⁹⁸ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.30–32.

⁹⁹ The architect, Satyros, remains unnamed here, as is the case in Pliny and Boccaccio; see *Des dames de renom*, cap. lv, 184, 'Toutesfoys il y arriua vn cinquième Maistre, qui monta la hauteur de la plus grande Pyramide iusques à vingtquatre degrez plus qu'elle n'estoyt'. According to Pliny, Satyros added a pyramid above the existing colonnade 'as high again as the lower structure and tapering in 24 stages to the top of its peak', Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.31.

¹⁰⁰ Pythius or Pytheos of Priene, an architect and sculptor, his chariot was placed on top of the pyramid constructed by Satyros, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.32.

Ignographia is een platte forme oft gront beschryuinge.

dit graf is gheheeten Mausoleum/ naer den Coninc Mausalus voorschreuen/ waernaer de sepulturen van ander Coninghen ooc gheheeten gheweest zijn Mauseola. Item Cesar Cesarianus zecht:¹⁰¹ dat hy van eenen Griek ghecreghen hadde/¹⁰² die Ignographie van desen wercke/ ende heuet ghefigureert eerst/ met een hauene alf ront.¹⁰³ Van daer aanzietmen t grootmachtige pallaey des Conincx Mausolij/ hebbende bouen op den Colossus ghe-noemt Arcolython/¹⁰⁴ daerby staende een fonteyne naer die Nymphhe Salmacus ghenoeemt/¹⁰⁵ ooc Phanum Veneris: dats den Tempel van Venus.¹⁰⁶ Plinius zecht van xxxvj. marmoren colomnen die dees sepulture ooc zoude ghehadt hebben.¹⁰⁷ Hieraf heeft ooc Vitruuius Architectus gheschreuen/ ende veel meer andere.¹⁰⁸ Dit wonder plach te stane in het Eylant Caria ghenoeemt/ by een vermaerde stadt die Herculianussus hiet (...).¹⁰⁹

[fol. 42va, F2va]

Marcus Vitruuius Pollio.

¹⁰¹ Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543), the author of an illustrated and commented Italian edition of the *De architectura* by Vitruvius, first published in Como in 1521; *ibid.*, *De architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare affigurati* [...] (Como 1521).

¹⁰² Van Vaernewijck apparently studied the notes to the segment well, Cesariano, *De architectura*, fol. 42r, 'In alcuni libri græci antiquissimi dixit hanc repto intra le altre designatione de uno de loro signori che de tale cose hano tenuto cuncto questo Ichnographiado fundamento signato .D. quale memoraua essere dil predicto'. The plan added by Cesariano does not correspond with the descriptions of Pliny and Boccaccio.

¹⁰³ Cesariano, *De architectura*, fol. 13r, 'Ichnographia si e uno continente uso facto modicamenta del Circino & de la regula de la quale se capissent le descriptione de le forme in li solii de le areæ', cf. the succinct edition in the vernacular by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550), *Die inventie der colommen met haren coronementen ende maten* [...] (Antwerp 1539) fols. A7v–A8r, 'Die Ichnographia is een gebruijk van passerende rye in platten formen oft gronden der edificien'.

For the woodcut and its legend, see Cesariano, *De architectura*, fols. 41v–42r. Interestingly, while Vitruvius's text is more detailed, Van Vaernewijck only gives a brief description of what is visible on the image.

¹⁰⁴ Cesariano, *De architectura*, fol. 42r, 'C. Martis fanum: in medio cuius est mausoleum: idest monumentum Mausolei. D. est Ignographia eius fani & mausolei fundamenti. E. statua colossi quam acrolithon dicunt'. The acrolithon, a colossal herm with a head, hands, and feet of marble, was in a temple of Mars. According to Vitruvius, the statue was designed by Leochares or Timotheus.

¹⁰⁵ The spring or fountain of the adjoining town of Salmacis. Ovid's famous myth of the nymph Salmacis and Hermaphroditus is based on this location.

¹⁰⁶ This is derived from the legend of Cesariano's woodcut, see *De architectura*, fol. 42r, 'G. Veneris fanum'. According to Vitruvius, it was a Temple of Venus and Mercury.

¹⁰⁷ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.31.

¹⁰⁸ Vitruvius, *On architecture*, ii.11–12, vii.12–13. Van Vaernewijck consulted the French translation edited by Jean Martin, *Architecture, ou art de bien bastir de Marc Vitruve Pollion* [...] (Paris 1547), see below.

¹⁰⁹ Present-day Bodrum, Turkey.

ii. cap. iv.28, fol. 105ra [O1ra]. Van Vaernewijck describes the monumental altarpiece by Jan Gossart in the Premonstratensian abbey of Middelburg.¹¹⁰

¶ **Vande afcomste ende fondatien, der
Zeeuscher steden, ende die Ethimologie
van hare namen. Cap. xxviiij.**

(...) Item die principale/ ende capitale
stadt van Zeelant/ is Middelburch/ daer oock
een zeer rijcke Abdye staet/¹¹¹ inde welcke is een
tafel te ziene van schilderye/ seer leuende ende excel
lent gedaen/ van dien hoochberoemden conste=
naer/ M. Ian van Mabeuse/¹¹² ende staet inden
hoogen Choor/ met dobbeldeuren zo groot ende
zwaer, datmense met schraghen als mense open
doet moet onderstellen.¹¹³ Dit seer costelic werck
quam besien een die aldervermaertste Schil=
der van onsen tyden Albertus Durerius van
Norenburch in Duytschlant/ die doen ter tijt

Constighe
gheschilder
de tafel te
middelburg

¹¹⁰ Van Vaernewijck probably saw the painting during his tour of 1556, *Spieghel*, cap. iv.26, fol. 103rb [N7rb], 'Item in Hollandt ligghen veel degheelicke steden/ schoone/ rijcke ende groot/ de welcke wy int corte zullen ouer loopen also wi die ghesien ende bevonden hebben/ Anno xv^c.lvj'.

¹¹¹ The Abbey of Our Lady. The monastic activities at complex were forcibly terminated after the Siege of Middelburg ended in 1574. For a history of the abbey, see J. Dekker and K. Heyning (ed.), *De Abdij van Middelburg* (Utrecht 2006).

¹¹² The name he adopted from his place of birth, Maubeuge in northern France.

¹¹³ cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 225v, 'Onder seer veel wercken/ het besonderste en vermaertste stuck van hem ghedaen/ is geweest d'hoogh Altaer-tafel te Middelborgh/ een seer groot stuck met dobbel deuren/ die met in't open doen om de grootheyt met schragen most onderstellen'.

The mentioned altarpiece was destroyed by fire on January 24, 1568, as is also recorded by Van Vaernewijck, see *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. iii, 229, 'Up den zelve dach sneudet wederom zeere, ende dat zeer onnatuerlic was, de lucht onstack zoo in Zeelandt (ja, eijst dat ment ghelooven mach), dat den blixem slouch al boven in den appel vanden turre vanden clooster ende abdie tot Middelburch (dwelck een schoone ende costelicke abdie es), ende es zoo tvier nederwaert ghelooopen, ende heeft den gheheelen turre ende keercke verbrant, ende daer mede, onder veel costelicke juweelen, een uutmene constighe ende costelicke tafele gheschildert bij meester Jan Van Mabeuse, die zoo groot was dat zij dobbel dueren hadde, ende als men die open dede, zoo moest men die met sraghen onderstellen, want die ijseren leden en hadden tghewichte niet moghen verdraghen, ja, indien dees tafele gheen schade en leet in den tijt vander brekijnghe, zoo wij int tweede bouck int xv^e capittel vermaent hebben', also see Maryan W. Ainsworth, 'The painter Gossart in his artistic milieu', in: Ainsworth, *Man, myth and sensual pleasures*, 9–30, 11–13. The central panel showed the *Crucifixion*, with the *Bearing of the cross* and the *Resurrection* on the doors, see Dekker and Heyning, *De Abdij van Middelburg*, 95, and Weidema and Koopstra, *Jan Gossart. The documentary evidence*, 135–136 no. 127, 154, 'In d'middelste perck is geschildert de cruijcinge van ons Heere tusschen de moordenaers daer seer veel personagien ende perden ontrent sijn, op de deure aen de rechte sijde is geschildert daer ons Heere sijn cruijce draecht ende Veronica hem tegen compt, met vele personagien. Op d'andere deure is de verrijzenisse ons Heere daer de wakers bij t'graf slaepen'.

tAntwerpen was, *ende* heuet seere gecommendeert.¹¹⁴

Den Abt diet dede maken/ onder veel andere
eerlicke reparatien/ was Heere Maximiliaen
van Bourgoignen,¹¹⁵ die ouerleet anno Domini
vijftien hondert xxiiij. te Bruessel in Brabant:¹¹⁶
maer wiert gebrocht/ ende begrauen *inde* zelue
Abdye.¹¹⁷ Sijn edelheyt *ende* gheleertheyt wordt
seer ghepresen van twee treffelicke Schriben=
ten/ als D. Erasmus van Rotterdamme/ ende
Adrianus Barlandus.¹¹⁸

12. cap. iv.32, fol. 107rb [O3rb]. Marcus van Vaernewijck on the various types of marble and lime found in Hainault, and the vast collections of governess Mary of Hungary (1505–1558).

¶ **Zommighe proprieteyten van Brabant, ende Henegouvvve, ende van haer principale steden. Cap. xxxij.**
(...) Henegouwe wordt oock het

¹¹⁴ This anecdote appears to be loosely based on the chronicle of Zeeland of Jan Reygersbergh van Cortgene (ca. 1510–ca. 1591), see *Dye cronijcke van Zeelandt* [...] (Antwerp 1551) fol. V2r, 'Om welcke tafel te sien van Antwerpen in zeelant gecomen is ooc een vermaert constenaer Albert durinc hoochduytisch/ die dese schilderie seer gecommendeert heeft/ seggende dat hi sulcx in dese nederlanden nyet ghesien en hadde [margin: Ianmijn Mabeuze een vermaerde constenaer in schilderien/ plach te Middelburch *ende* ter Vere te resideren]'. For Dürer's note on the altarpiece, see Hans Rupprich (ed.), *Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlaß* vol. i: *Autobiographische Schriften; Briefwechsel; Dichtungen; Beischriften, Notizen und Gutachten; Zeugnisse zum persönlichen Leben* (Berlin 1956) 162, 'Von dannen fuhr ich gen Mittelburg; do hat in der abteÿ Johann de Abüs eine grosse taffel gemacht, nit so gut im hauptstreichen als in gemähl'. It seems improbable that Reygersbergh had access to (a copy of) Dürer's travel diary. It is likely, therefore, that his report is based on a local (oral?) tradition pertaining to the painting that had found its way into print. Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 225v, 'Den vermaerden Albert Durer, t'Antwerpen wesende/ quam dit stuck met groot verwonderen sien/ niet sonder grooten lof daer van uyt te spreken'.

¹¹⁵ Reygersbergh, *Dye cronijcke van Zeelandt*, fol. V2r, 'Hi heeft binnen sinen leuene groote reparacie inde selue abdie van Middelburch doen maken/ een seer wijs *ende* geschicht heere'. The person in question is Maximilian of Burgundy (1486–1535), a son of Balduin of Burgundy (ca. 1446–1508). In November 1518, he was appointed abbot of the Premonstratensian house at Middelburg by pope Leo X (1475, r. 1513–1521), Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 227. The altarpiece would thus have been ordered (and produced) between that date and ca. 1520–1521, when Dürer saw the retable.

¹¹⁶ Here, Van Vaernewijck confused the year of death of the patron, Maximilian of Burgundy, with that of Gossart's principal mecenas and Maximilian's uncle, Philip of Burgundy, cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 225v, 'Den Abt die't dede maken/ was den Heer Maximiliaen van Bourgoignen/ overleden A^o.1524'.

¹¹⁷ Reygersbergh, *Dye cronijcke van Zeelandt*, fol. V2r, 'Ter seluer tijt [October 1534] sterfte te Bruessel in Brabant die eerweerdige heere/ die prelaet van Middelburch in Zeelant heere Maximiliaen van Bourgoingnen/ heere Boudewijn die b. [bastard] van Bourgoingnens sone/ *ende* wert te Middelburch in Walcheren in een looden tombe gebracht/ *ende* aldaer inde abdie begrauen'.

¹¹⁸ Reygersbergh, *Dye cronijcke van Zeelandt*, fol. V2r, 'Dese voorscreuen prelaets edelheyt *ende* geleertheyt wort seer gecommendeert van D. Erasmus Roterodamus/ *ende* Hadrianus Barlandus'. Reygersbergh is referring to the preface to Erasmus's Latin translation of St. John Chrysostom's (ca. 349–407) *De orando Deo*, in which a letter to Maximilian d.d. March 30, 1525 is reproduced, see Erasmus, *De orando deum libri II. Erasmo Roterodamo interprete* [...] (Basel 1525) fols. A1v–A2v, with a Dutch translation in Erasmus, *De correspondentie van Desiderius Erasmus* vol. xi. *Brieven 1535–1657*. Rob Tuijenga ed. (Rotterdam 2013) 79–80 no. 1563. Also see the letter to Cranevelt (d.d. February 10, 1525) in *ibid.*, 35–36 no. 1545.

Henegou-
vve een pri-
eel, ende hof
ghenoumt.

Dyerande
steen in He-
negouvve.

Vrou Marie
vandt eerst
den Sausines
steen te po-
listen.

Prieel oft den hof gheheeten/ om al die plan-
tinghen/ ende tgheboomte datmen daer ziet/
het is onder andere gauen der natueren rijc=
ke van minialen of steenen: want men graeft
daer wter eerden/ dryerande zonderlinghe
manieren van steenen/ als sausines steen/¹¹⁹ die
vindtmen in Felu/ ende ooc een deel tot Her=
kenne in Brabant, dit is schoonen blouwen
steen zeer hart/¹²⁰ wanof die maniere van po=
listen, aldereerst vant die manhartighe vrou=
we/ onse Regente was/ wiens ziele Godt
ghenadich sy/ Vrou Marie Coninghinne
van Hungarien/ ons Keysers zuster/ Caroli
de vijfste.¹²¹ Ooc vindtmen in Henegouwe by
Bijns/¹²² Reus/¹²³ ende Avre,¹²⁴ een schoon ghedaen=
te van witten grysen steen/ danof dat een me=
morie staet by Bijns/ op een cooren velt/
ontrent vijfthien voeten hooghe/ ende mo=
ghelick zeer diepe in die eerde. De der=
de maniere van Steene/ en is aldaer maer
vonden/ int Iaer ons Heeren vijfthien hon=
dert Lxj. ofte daeromtrent/ te Rans¹²⁵ by die
ackerlieden/ die dat landt ackerden/ ende is
fynen Marmorsteen/ ende zylieden int eerste
niet wetende wat dattet was/ hebbender die
huysen mede onderstelt/ desen steen die wort
noch daghelicx/ tot zeer grooten profyte wt
ghetrocken in die Heerlicheyt van Barban=

¹¹⁹ Named after the town of Écaussinnes, famous for its quarries of the blueish lime that turns deep black when polished. Nowadays the stone is usually known as petit granit, see G. van Tussenbroek, 'Belgisch marmer in de Zuidelijke en Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1500–1700', *Bulletin KNOB* 100:2 (2001) 49–71, 52, 55, and Veerle Cnudde e.a. (ed.), *Gent... Steengoed!* (Ghent 2009) 62, 65–66.

¹²⁰ Feluy and Arquennes, about 4 kilometers west of Écaussinnes.

¹²¹ Indeed, the process of polishing often was carried out by women, see Van Tussenbroek, 'Belgisch marmer in de Zuidelijke en Noordelijke Nederlanden', 52.

¹²² Binche.

¹²³ Roux, a village to the northeast of Binche.

¹²⁴ Havré, about 10 kilometers northwest of Binche, best known for its stronghold.

¹²⁵ Rance, a famous source of red marble since Roman times, see Van Tussenbroek, 'Belgisch marmer in de Zuidelijke en Noordelijke Nederlanden', 51, 53–54.

son/ by die nieuwe stadt Marienburch.¹²⁶ Dese
dryerandere steenen dienen tot vele decoratien/
ende verchierselen/ ende sijn den edificanten
zeer oorbaerlick (...).¹²⁷

Item/ van tHof te [fol. 107va, O3va]

VVonder-
licke dingen
te Bijns, ende
te Bossu.
Bijns dat die Coninghinne vrou Marie voor
schreuen daer heeft doen maecken/¹²⁸ ende van
tCasteel ende Hof van mijn Heere van Bos=
suut/¹²⁹ van alle constighe wercken die daer
te ziene sijn/ van allerande werck meesteren/¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Mariembourg, a fortified town constructed by Mary of Hungary in 1546 in order to counter the French threat. The defenses of the town, designed by the Emperor's chief engineer, Donato Boni di Pellizuoli (?–ca. 1555), had the reputation to be impenetrable. Nonetheless, Mariembourg was captured by troops of Henry II of France in 1554, see Charles van den Heuvel, 'Mariembourg. Een eerbetoon aan de vestingbouwkundige activiteiten van Maria van Hongarije', in: Bob van den Boogert and Jaqueline Kerkhoff (ed.), *Maria van Hongarije. Koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars, 1505–1558* (Zwolle 1993) 137–138, 159 no. 126–127, Jacqueline Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije en haar hof, 1505–1558: tot plichtsbetrachting uitverkoren* (Hilversum 2008) 142–143, and Pieter Martens, 'La défense des Pays-Bas et l'architecture militaire pendant la régence de Marie de Hongrie', in: Bertrand Federinov and Gilles Docquier (ed.), *Marie de Hongrie: politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas. Actes du colloque tenu au Musée royal de Mariemont les 11 et 12 novembre 2005* (Morlanwelz 2008) 90–108.

¹²⁷ The above segment clearly shows Van Vaernewijck's interest in (and knowledge of) the base materials used in architecture and sculpture. Together with the apparent focus on the art of sculpture elsewhere in the *Spiegel*, this strengthens the suspicion that Van Vaernewijck himself was in fact an artist and a sculptor (supra).

¹²⁸ Mary's main residence was the court in Brussels. The medieval castle at Binche was gifted to her in February 1545 by her brother, Emperor Charles V. The chateau was remodeled in Italian style by Jacques du Brœucq (1505–1584) between May 1545 and spring of 1549, see the excellent study in Robert Didier, *Jacques Dubroecq, sculpteur et maître-artiste de l'Empereur, 1500/1510–1584* (Mons 2000) and Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije en haar hof*, 30, 138–140. Also see the reproduced records of payment in the classic study of Robert Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroecq von Mons: ein niederländischer Meister aus der Frühzeit des italienischen Einflusses* (Strasbourg 1904) 106–182, 256–273.

Our most important source on the chateau and its decorations is the description by Christoval Calvete de Estrella (?–1593), *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe Don Felipe [...]* (Antwerp 1552), a French translation is in *ibid.*, *Les très-heureux voyage fait par très-haut et très-puissant prince Don Philippe [...]*, Jules Petit ed. (Brussels 1873 [2000]) vol. iii, 81–153. Van Vaernewijck does not appear to have used this text, however.

¹²⁹ Jean de Hénin–Liétard (1499–1562), Grand Equerry of Emperor Charles V, the first Count of Boussu and initial mecenas of Jacques Du Brœucq, who also renovated the chateau in the 1540s.

¹³⁰ One of the most important paintings in the collection at Binche was Rogier van der Weyden's famous *Descent from the Cross* (ca. 1435). It was situated on the altar of Mary's private chapel. The painting was moved to the Escorial somewhere between 1549 and 1554, thus evading the destruction of the castle by the French. It is now in the collection of the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. no. P0285, see Dirk de Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden. The complete works* (New York 1999) 10, 185–186, and Bernhard Ridderbos, 'Objects and questions', in: Ridderbos, Van Buren and Van Veen, *Early Netherlandish paintings*, 4–172, 23–25.

The walls of the chateau's great hall were lavishly decorated with tapestries designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Michiel Coxcie (1499–1592), who also provided paintings and numerous frescos. Coecke's series of the *Seven cardinal sins* ties in perfectly with the broader iconographical programme of Coxcie's work (a *Tantalus*, a *Competition between Apollo and Marsyas* and a *Flaying of Marsyas* are known by name), Titian's (ca. 1488–1576) *Four Furies* (see next note), and the anonymous *Tower of Babel* and *Fall of Phaeton* on the baldachin over Mary's throne: each work showed what happens to those that question divine authority. Mary's collection of about 250 tapestries, the core of which is now in the Patrimonio Nacional de España (Palacio Real), was one of the largest and most important in sixteenth-century Europe, Bob van den Boogert, 'Het mecenaat van Maria van Hongarije', in: van den Boogert and Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije. Koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars*, 269–301, 269, 271, 280–281, 289–295, 311–312 nos. 213–214, Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije en haar hof*, 140, 192, 196. Four of Coecke's *Seven cardinal sins* still exist, see Ian Buchanan, 'The tapestry collection of Mary of Hungary', in: Federinov and Docquier, *Marie de Hongrie*, 145–155, 146, 152–154.

oock van verre landen/ als wt Italien doen
 halen/¹³¹ waer misschien verloren veel gheschre
 uen, want men daermede wel eenen bysonde=
 ren boeck vullen zoude/¹³² dus diener beter ghe=
 sien dan gheschreuen/ midts datment zoo niet
 en zoude connen beschryuen/ alzoot inder waer
 heyt is/ want het sijn twee wonderen, die bo=
 uen andere in dese Nederlanden te mercken sijn.
 Maer in de leste oorloghe van Vranckrijcke/
 waren meest alle die costelicke houen ende cy=
 raten te Bijns verwoest, ende ghebroken:¹³³ als
 een Ceres/ godinne des coorens, oft vruch=

Een Ceres
 van ghebac
 ken eerde.

¹³¹ At least four of the Italian paintings in the collection at Binche were done by Titian, ordered by Mary in 1548. His monumental allegorical cycle of the *Four Furies*, all inhabitants of Tartarus (after Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv.447–464), decorated the great hall. Titian's paintings of *Tityus* and *Sisyphus* are now in the collection of the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. nos. P00426, P00427. The other paintings, showing *Tantalus* and *Ixion*, were presumably lost during a fire in the Alcázar in 1734, see Van den Boogert, 'Het mecenaat van Maria van Hongarije', 284–285, 290–291, 337 no. 233, Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije en haar hof*, 192–193. Also see Albert van de Put, 'Two drawings of the fêtes at Binche for Charles V and Philip II, 1549', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31/2 (1939) 49–55, 49, 53; A.E. Popham, 'The authorship of the drawings of Binche', *ibid.*, 55–57.

The chateau at Binche also housed an important early collection of plaster copies after ancient sculptures in the Papal collection, Rome. The molds were acquired by Leone Leoni (1509–1590) from Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570) at the Palace of Fontainebleau in late 1549. Primaticcio subsequently sent his pupil Luca Lancia di San Germano (?–1553) to Binche to cast the statues, see Bruce Boucher, 'Leone Leoni and Primaticcio's moulds of antique sculpture', *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981) 23–26, Van den Boogert, 'Het mecenaat van Maria van Hongarije', 287–288, and Walter Cupperi, "Giving away moulds will cause no damage to his Majesty's casts". New documents on the Vienna Jüngling and the sixteenth-century dissemination of casts after the Antique in the Holy Roman Empire', in: Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand (ed.), *Plaster casts: making, collecting and displaying from Classical Antiquity to the present* (Berlin 2010) 81–98, 82–85. On Lancia, see Jacques Debergh, 'Luc Lange "molleur en platte" actif en Hainaut entre 1500 et 1553', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis* 59 (1990) 75–89 and Didier, *Jacques Dubroeuq*, 65, 68–69. Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroeuq von Mons*, 266 nos. 47, 52 record the payments of 768 pounds (d.d. September 22, 1551) and 410 pounds and 8 sols (d.d. September 23, 1552) to 'maistre Lucq Lange, molleur en platte de figures d'anticquaiges', *ibid.*, no. 49 mentions two statues, a 'Nil et Cleopatre [=Ariadne] par Luc Lange', that were placed along the walls of the chateau's enclosed garden, see Walter Cupperi, 'Sculpture et jardins dans le palais "à la antique" de Binche', in: Federinov and Docquier, *Marie de Hongrie*, 174–188. Mary's interest in ancient sculpture was undoubtedly fueled by her sister Eleonora (1498–1558), who was married to Francis I of France (1494, r. 1515–1547).

Furthermore, a fountain in Carrara marble was transported from Genoa to Boussu between 1535 and 1537. The basin, a copy after the one in the garden of the Spanish ambassador in Genoa, was done by Niccolò da Corte (ca. 1500–ca. 1552), the large sculpture of *Three graces*, the life-size *Ceres* and four putti were by Guglielmo della Porta (ca. 1500–1577) as is reported by Vasari, see Krista de Jonge, 'Hans Vredeman de Vries en de Europese tuinkunst', in: Peter Fuhring (ed.), *De wereld is een tuin. Hans Vredeman de Vries en de tuinkunst van de Renaissance* (Antwerp 2002) 50–67, 58–59, *ibid.*, 'A model court architect. Mary of Hungary and Jacques Du Broeuq, 1545–1556', in: Hans Vlieghe and Katlijne van der Stighelen (ed.), *Sponsors of the past: Flemish art and patronage, 1550–1770. Proceedings of the symposium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, December 14–15, 2001* (Turnhout 2005) 1–15, 2–4, 11.

¹³² Such as Van Vaernewijck's lost *Leecken Philosophie*?

¹³³ A considerable part of collection at Binche was destroyed in 1554, when the French torched the chateau as part of the Italian War of 1551–1559, see Bertrand Federinov, 'Binche en 1554. Une victime des guerres entre Charles Quint et Henri II', in: Federinov and Docquier, *Marie de Hongrie*, 80–89.

ten/ die in eenen hof lach 28. voeten lanc sijnde/¹³⁴

Berch van ende eenen berch van groue moere van perlen ge=
moer van maect/ genoemt Mons Parnassus met een fon=
perlen. teynkin Helicon genoemt/¹³⁵ daer die ix. musica
le Goddinnen op zaten/ van witten marmor/¹³⁶
die de Poeten aldus ghenoeemt hebben/ Clio/
Eutherpe/ Thalia/ Melpomene/ Cerpsicore/
Erato/ Polyphymnia/ Calliope/ ende Urania/
men wilt datse Iupiter genereerde by Mne=
mosine/ alias Memoria/¹³⁷ Ooc zechtmen van
VWaterbac eenen Waterback van profijl marmorsteen/¹³⁸
van marmor danof de sculptores zegghen/ dat hi nauwelic
profijl. in een iaer gemaect en was:¹³⁹ want profijl mar=
mor is talder hartste/ ia so miniabel/ datter
geen stael iij.werf op slaen can/ nochtans vin
den die Italianen/ die zeer inuentief sijn/ daer
toe een maniere/ want zijt met peerden/ ende
Bancketeer stercke instrumenten mineren. Voort een coste
tafel. licke houten bancketeer Tafel/ daer die beste
hoochduytsche constenaers/ een gantsch iaer
ouer wrochten/¹⁴⁰ daer veel duser sticckins in=

¹³⁴ Perhaps the statue was a design of Jacques du Brœucq, who also made 'une médaille représentant la figure de Cérés faicte de pierre blanche qui est assise deseure la fontaine du jardin de Maryemont'. It had cost 100 pounds, according to the record of payment (d.d. December 15, 1549), Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroecq von Mons*, 263 no. 32.

Cf. the notes added by Petrus Montanus (1594/1595–1638) to the French (1609) and Dutch (1612) editions of Guicciardini's *Descrittione*, i.e. Lodovico Guicciardini [and Petrus Montanus], *Beschryvinghe van alle de Neder-landen; anderssins ghenoeemt Neder-Duytslandt* [...] (Amsterdam 1612) 363, 'Byv. [Door de furie der Fransoysen tot Bins veel konstelijcke wercken vernielt ende verwoest werden: onder andere die konstelijcke Ceres achtentwintich voeten lanck/ in eenen hof ligghende]'

¹³⁵ A nymphaeum or artificial grotto fountain, designed by Jacques du Brœucq after the latest Italian fashion, see Jacques Debergh, 'Echos de l'antiquité romaine dans l'œuvre de Du Brœucq', in: *Jacques De Brœucq, sculpteur et architecte de la Renaissance* (Mons 1985) 125–144, 129–137 and De Jong, 'Hans Vredeman de Vries en de Europese tuinkunst', 60, 62. Mount Parnassus and Mount Helicon in central Greece were traditionally associated with the home and sacred springs of the nine Muses.

¹³⁶ Cf. Guicciardini [and Montanus], *Beschryvinghe van alle de Neder-landen*, 363, 'ende de bergh Parnasus van Peerlemoer/ met het fonteynken in Helicon/ daer die neghen Musicale Goddinnen op saten van wit Marber'.

¹³⁷ In the tradition of Hesiod, *Theogony*, 76–80, 917, the nine Muses were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, the personification of Memory.

¹³⁸ Red marble from Rance.

¹³⁹ The basin was delivered by Séverin Moreau in 1552. It had a diameter of about 10 foot, and had cost 200 pounds, see Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroecq von Mons*, 266 no. 50. Cf. Guicciardini [and Montanus], *Beschryvinghe van alle de Neder-landen*, 363, 'oock die Waterback van Porphyrsteen/ die in een iaer nau ghemaect was'.

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps the artists in question can be identified as Adolf Thaur from Württemberg, Hans and Balthazar Bruye from Nuremberg, or Michel and Hans Wisrutter, who all worked on the carved wood paneling, inlaid window shutters and parquet floors at Binche between ca. 1546 and 1553. The brothers Wisrutter had worked for the count of Boussu before, see Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroecq von Mons*, 166–167, 177, 258 no. 6, 261 nos. 21, 26 ('maistre Aldophe Thaur [...] fait de marcqterie pour la grande sallette du riche logis de Sa Majesté'), 265 nos. 40, 42, 45, 267 no. 58, Didier, *Jacques Dubroecq*, 64–67, and De Jonge, 'A model court architect', 7.

ghevoecht waren, schinende een wtnemende schil= derye te syne/ daer die stadt van Bijns in ghe= contrefaict was/ met veel ander dingen/ zonder eenige schilder coleuren: maer de coleuren nemende vanden gevoechden houten/ so God door die natuere gegeuen hadde/¹⁴¹ ooc veel cassynen met morisschen wonderlick gevoecht/¹⁴² dat groote constenaers die met verwonderen moesten anzien.

Afghegoten
cruyden. Ooc zilueren afghegoten cruyden ende bloemen/ in costelicke giolen zo dinne/ ende edelic ghedaen/ datsy ooc vanden wint beroert mochten worden¹⁴³ zulk constich dijnc hebbic ook gesien te Ghent afgegoten van M. Lucas van Quicquelberge¹⁴⁴ daer ook vlieden of rupsemen an die cruyden zittende mede afghegoten waren, dwelck niet wel om dincken en is/ hoe dat mach te wercke [fol. 107vb, O3vb] gaen/¹⁴⁵ alle dese constighe stucken/ sijn in de oorloghe van Henricus die ij. dies naems, coninc van Vrancrijck doen bederuen met veel mar moren colommen, ender ander excessiue cyraten/ oock alle die onghesiene/ ende vreemde plantacien/ die menich duysent weerdich waren.¹⁴⁶ (...) Dit en conde ic niet ghezwyghen/ om dattet door de destructie niet gheheel vergheten en zoude worden: maer noch is hier veel achter

¹⁴¹ The techniques of marquetry or intarsia, two forms of wood inlaying, cf. Guicciardini [and Montanus], *Beschryvinghe van alle de Neder-landen*, 363, 'ende het Bancket-tafelken van wel duysent stucken ingevoecht/ in het welck de stadt Bins nae het leven afghebeeldt was met naturelle coleuren/ door Hoochduytsche konstenaers'.

¹⁴² Chambranles with Moresque ornaments, as was the Italian fashion.

¹⁴³ cf. Guicciardini [and Montanus], *Beschryvinghe van alle de Neder-landen*, 363, 'als oock die silveren afghegoten kruydekens ende bloemen konstelijck ghemaect/ die door den windt verwaeyden'. Van Vaernewijck is referring to precious objects produced by life casting, a technique often applied by master goldsmiths in Southern Germany (particularly around Nuremberg) and Italy. A rare surviving object made using this practice is an enameled table ornament by Wenzel Jamnitzer (1507/1508–1585) in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-17040-A. Also see Pamela H. Smith and Tonny Beentjes, 'Nature and art, making and knowing: reconstructing sixteenth-century life-casting techniques', *Renaissance Quarterly* 63:1 (2010) 128–179, and Pamela H. Smith, 'Between nature and art: casting from life in sixteenth-century Europe', in: Elizabeth Hallam and Tim Ingold (ed.), *Making and growing. Anthropological studies of organisms and artefacts* (New York 2016) 45–64.

¹⁴⁴ Lucas Quicquelberge, probably from a family of jewelers and diamond cutters in Antwerp. He might be related to Samuel Quicquelberge (1529–1567), the art advisor to Albert V (1528–1579), Duke of Bavaria. Lucas collaborated with Pieter van der Beke (?–1567) on *De Charte van Vlaendren*, a woodcut map of Flanders in four sheets, published in 1538, see Lauren Beck, 'Pieter van der Beke: The man and the map', *Dutch Crossing. Journal of Low Countries Studies* 31:1 (2007) 113–132, 116–118.

¹⁴⁵ See Smith and Beentjes, 'Nature and art, making and knowing', 143–166.

¹⁴⁶ cf. Guicciardini [and Montanus], *Beschryvinghe van alle de Neder-landen*, 363, 'ende voort die vreemde plantagen menich duysenden weerdich/ en veel marberen colommen'.

ghelaten, ende my onbekent, vande wonderen
van Bijns.

Tcasteel te
Bossu.

Aennopende ooc van dat wtnemende casteel
te Bossu/ dat waer hier al te lanck om verha=
len, het welcke midts dattet noch al gheheel
in wesen is/ men zelue mach experimenteren/
die daerinne gheraecken can/ ende staet by
Berghen¹⁴⁷ in Henegouwe: maer onder menich
vuldighe andere wonderen, om zonderlijn=
ghe ghetrouwe diensten van den Heere van
Bossu/ der Keyserlijcker Maiesteyt ghedaen
Carolo die vijfste dies Naems, ende wt dyen
dat hy een groot liefhebber der consten was/
soo schanck hem die Keyser/ eenen zilueren
Hercules, veel meerder dan het leuen, twelf
voeten hooghe, dien de Parisienen der zeluer

Zilueren
Hercules
xij. voeten
hooghe.

Maiesteyt gheschoncken hadden/ als hy
door Parijs quam/ int Jaer vijftien
hondert xxxix.¹⁴⁸ dwelk noch geen
van de meeste decoratien
van zijnen casteele
en was.

13. cap. iv.41, fol. 114ra [P1ra]. Van Vaernewijck describes how a silver statue of
Mercury was melted down to a man-sized crucifix.

¶ **Zommighe antiquiteyten van beede de
Abdyen te Ghendt, S. Baefs, ende S. Peeters,
ende ander dinck. Cap. xlj.**

INT iaer naer de gheboorte Christi vj.
hondert viij. predicte Sinte Armandus/
aldereerst int casteel Ganda/ dat heylich
christen Ghelooue. Hy dede te nieten die
beelde van Mercurius/ ende zynen Tempel/
ende maecte daer een kercke. Van deser beelde

Van Meren
curius beelde
een Cruci
fix ghegoten

¹⁴⁷ Mons.

¹⁴⁸ 1540 n.s. The statue of Hercules holding two columns, designed by Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540) of Florence, court sculptor and painter of Francis I of France, was presented to Charles V at his Joyous Entry in Paris on January 1, 1540, see Eugene A. Carroll, *Rosso Fiorentino: drawings, prints, and decorative arts* (Washington 1987) 31, and William Eisler, 'Charles V and Imperial art patronage', *Arte Lombarda* 105–107 (2–4), *Congresso internazionale in onore di Eugenio Battisti - Parte prima* (1993) 33–36, 35–36. The statue was destroyed or looted by the French in 1554. Cf. Guicciardini [and Montanus], *Beschryvinghe van alle de Neder-landen*, 366, 'Carel vereerde dese timmeragie met eenen silveren Hercules twaelf voeten hooghe/ waer mede hem die van Parijs in het jaer 1539 vereert hadden'.

die van ziluer was/ wiert ghegoten een Cru=
cifix/ eens manslinchde groot/¹⁴⁹ dwelck ic
ghesien hebbe hanghen in de kercke van Sinte
Baefs (...).¹⁵⁰

14. cap. iv.45, fol. 117ra [P4ra]. In an effort to give his historical claims about the ancient kingdom of Belgis more substance, Van Vaernewijck describes some of the many valuable archeological objects found in the surroundings of the town of Velzeke. This antiquarian interest was likely fueled by Lucas d'Heere, who was a close friend of Ortelius, Lampsonius, and Goltzius. Also see nos. 3, 8, 9, 18.

¶ **Sommighe memorialen, ende antiqui-
teyten, van die stadt van Lothrijcke,**¹⁵¹ **daer
men meent dat Belgis gestaen heeft.**

Cap. xlv.

OM dat wy hier voren wat geseyt heb=
ben= vander distructie der stadt van Lo=
thrijcke/ zo en dijncct ons niet onbe=
quame zijnde/ dat wi daer af vertellen/
te meer, ende met beter cause/ om dat die ghe=
meene opinie is/ datter zeluer plecke zoude
ghestaen hebben die groote stadt van Belgis/
war op wy onse constructie/ oft dese vergade
ringhe meest ghenomen hebben. Het is al
warachtich ende openbaer/ dat ter zeluer plec
ken (dwelck is/ daer nu de kercke van Velsic=
ke staet int landt van Aelst/ ontrent vier my=
len van die stadt van Ghendt) ghevonden wor=
de/ vele dinghen/ waer by men claerlick can
proberen/ dat aldaer een stadt ghestaen heeft. [fol. 117rb, P4rb]
Want ick hebbe ghesien een effigie, van eenen
ghelaureerden Roomschen Keyser/ staende

¹⁴⁹ For the original tradition of Armandus and the Ghent idol of Mercury, a typical hagiographical myth, see Gillis de Wevel, *Leven van St. Amandus* (1366), Collection Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, hs. 542, published in *ibid.*, *Leven van Sinte Amand, patroon der Nederlanden. Dichtstuk der XIVe eeuw* vol. i, Ph. Blommaert ed. (Ghent 1842) 113–117 r. 3462–3591.

¹⁵⁰ It is now lost.

¹⁵¹ Velzeke, see Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, cap. vi.44, fol. 116 vb [P3vb], 'In desen strijt wiert die stadt van Lothrijcke (die stont in tlant van Aelst/ daer nu Velsicke staet alias Belgica) van die van Ghent beclommen/ ghewonnen ende verbrant ende gheheel gheraseet/ van welcx ruwynen ofte materialen/ die mueren van Audenaerde gheconstrueert zijn'. Also see Luc van Durme, 'De zestiende-eeuwse archeologische en onomastische belangstelling voor Velzeke', *Handelingen van Zottegems genootschap voor geschiedenis* 1 (1983) 15–38; Wilma Keesman, 'Met eigen ogen: Marcus van Vaernewijck bij de resten van Belgis. Een zestiende-eeuwse auteur tussen antieke vondsten en historische fictie', in: Dirk Coigneau and Samuel Mareel (ed.), *Met eigen ogen. De rederijker als dichtend individu, 1450–1600. Jaarboek de Fonteyne 2008* (Gent 2009) 179–218; Keesman, *Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen*, 476–480, 526–533, 641–644.

Memoriael van Seuerus Pius aug. op eenen zilueren munte/ met dese superschrip tie/ Seuerus Pius aug.¹⁵² ende op den dors was ghefigureert een vroukin/ zittende in eenen antijcschen waghē/ met dese letteren/ Restituor¹⁵³ Vrbis, maer die stadt/ die hy zoude gerestaureert hebben, en was daer niet genoemt. Noch hebbic ghesien veel ander oude munte/ aldaer gevonden/ ende als die landtslieden ackeren ende ploughen/ wt die ommeghekeerde eerde gheraep: ende onder andere een eeren mannekin/ gheheel naeckt ende gelaureert/ hebbende op het hooft/ als twee Rams hoorekins/ die cleene waren/ daer het hayr in vergadert was/ als oft Bacchus den afgodt geweest hadde: maer zijn rechter hant/ was gebroken/ altemale zeer aerdich ende constig ghedaen.

Een metalen Beeldeken. (...)

Ghefigurerden Cornalijn. (...) veel fijn ghesteenten worden oock aldaer wt der aerden ghetrocken: daer af ick ghesien hebbe/ staende in eenen gouden rijnc eenen schoonen Cornalijn steen/¹⁵⁴ waer inne een Sathyr ghegraeert was/ draghende op zijn handt een schale met fruyte. ende voor hem stont een dorre boomkin zeer aerdich ge daen: want wy drucktent af in wasse ende papier. (...) Ons was oock gheseyt dat ontrent twelf iaren daer te voren dat ic daer was/ de plaetse visiteren (dat was op den vij. Februari xv.hondert Lxiii.)¹⁵⁵ vonden was/ by eenen landman ghenoeemt Ian de hondt/ tusschen Zottegem/¹⁵⁶ ende Oortveerdighem/¹⁵⁷ eenen schoonen Onijcle/ ofte Onicx

¹⁵² Emperor Severus Pius Augustus (145, r. 193–211). Van Vaernewijck shared his interest in numismatics with his friend Lucas d'Heere (supra). Also see Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 256r, in which Van Mander recounts d'Heere's antiquarian and archeological interests and his collection of antiquities, coins and rarities found in the area around 'Velseke in Vlaender/ by Oudenaarde/ daer men meent de stadt Belgis soude gestaen hebben'. This segment shows that Van Mander had an advanced insight in the ideas circulating the social and intellectual network of d'Heere, Van Vaernewijck, and their peers. The collections of d'Heere's and Van Vaernewijck's apparently were not visited by Goltzius, according to the list in *ibid.*, *C. Iulius Caesar*, fol. Aa4r.

¹⁵³ Sic, 'restitutor'.

¹⁵⁴ A carnelian intaglio, an engraved or carved gemstone.

¹⁵⁵ 1564 n.s.

¹⁵⁶ Marcus van Vaernewijck received leases on land in Zottegem (supra).

¹⁵⁷ Godveerdegem.

steen, waerin zeer edelick ghegrauert stont/
eenen ghecroonden clemmenden Leeu: welcks
croone ende naghelen/ oft claukins/ gulden
waren: dese wiert ghecocht aen den vinder van
dien/ met een meukin coorens/¹⁵⁸ ende ter handt
ghedaen/ mt¹⁵⁹ Vrouwe de Graefnedinne van Eg=
mont/ Franchoyse de Lucemburch/¹⁶⁰ die dede de=
sen antijcschen steen/ zeer magnifjc stellen/ op
het decxel van haren principalen Cop, die alnoch
in wesen is/ ende was alsdoe op tCasteel te Zotte
ghem.¹⁶¹

(...) Zeer on= [fol. 117va, P4va]

Zelueren
Medaillen
vonden te
Neuele.

trent desen tijt/ waren oock vonden te Neuele
by eenen Schaepwachtere in derde vele zil=
ueren Medaillen. Maer aangaende van de
plaetse te Velsicke/ daer zijn groote macht van

Groore [sic]
macht van
Medaillen te
Velsicke
vonden.

Medaillen vonden: want Meester Gheeraert
van Renterghem/¹⁶² secretaris van Zotteghem/
Velsicke/ Hasselt te Vryen/ ende andere plaet=
sen/ heeft ons gheseyt/ dat hy alleene wel twee
hondert zilueren Medaillen ghehadt heeft/
die alle te Velsicke vonden waren/ ende heeft
ons veel antiquiteyten daer al ghetoocht/ als [fol. 117vb, P4vb]
meest de ghene die hier voorschreuen zijn/ ende
te Velsicke vonden (...).

15. cap. iv.47, fol. 117rb [sic, P6rb]. The most famous and important segment of the
entire *Spiegel*: Marcus van Vaernewijck's elaborate description of Jan van Eyck's

¹⁵⁸ Or 'muedekin', 'modeken', a capacity measure for dry goods.

¹⁵⁹ Sic, probably 'wt'?

¹⁶⁰ Françoise of Luxemburg-Gavere (?–1557), the wife of Jan IV, Count of Egmont (1499–1528). The Egmont family owned the heerlijkheid Zottegem, of which Velzeke was part, Keesman, *Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen*, 530–531. Keesman notes that Françoise's youngest son, Lamoraal I of Gavere (1522–1568), himself Count of Egmont since 1541, had frequent contact with Frans Floris, the master of Lucas d'Heere until ca. 1555. It seems likely that there is a connection between d'Heere's and Van Vaernewijck's interest in the history of the area, and Floris's acquaintance with Lamoraal. Lamoraal was beheaded in Brussels on June 5, 1568.

¹⁶¹ The castle came in possession of the Egmonts in 1530.

¹⁶² The court secretary of Françoise of Luxemburg, Keesman, *Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen*, 531. Also see Van Vaernewijck's inventory, published in Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 304, 'Item X s. gr. tsiaers, den penninck XVI, die nu ghelt de weduwe van Lauwereins de Coninck tZotteghem, vallende telcken VI^{en} octobris, bezedt up een behuuse stede, daer heere Jan de Vleesebauer uppe te wonnen placht, achtervolghende den originalen chatere van daten VI^{en} octobris XV^cXXII, den weesen vadere ghetranspoorteert bij den voomonden Jan de Clercq ende Jan de Nayere, achtervolghende den transport van daten IIII^{en} maerte LX [1561 n.s.], onderteckent Renterghem'.

monumental polyptych in Ghent.¹⁶³

¶ Van die vvonderlicke gheschilderde
Altaer Tafel te Ghendt, vvelcx ghelijc-
ke nauvvvelick inde vveerelt en is, vvie de
Meesters vvaren ende ander dijnck.

Cap. xlvij.

IN die stede van Ghendt/ zijn oock zom=
mighe wonderen ende Singulariteyten/
als alvoren ende bouen al/ die wonderlic
ke constighe gheschilderde Tafel¹⁶⁴ in S.
Ians Kercke/¹⁶⁵ wvelcx gelijcke men in gheheel
Europen niet en vint: oorzaecke dwerc is so
constich/ dattet Appelles werc niet en wijcken
en heeft/¹⁶⁶ wvelcken Appelles ghehouden wort/

¹⁶³ The *Spiegel* is not the oldest printed source that refers to Van Eyck's marvel. The retable is first mentioned, albeit briefly, in the 1560 edition of Van Vaernewijck's *Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt*, i.92, fol. B6r, '92. (...) Veel constige vverken, zijn binnen die Ghentsche baermen/ Als den yseren zolder, vvel vveerdt te beziene:/ En die tafel tSente Ians, noch al meer dan tiene'. In the second edition of 1562, however, the author dedicated two separate stanzas to the polyptych (infra). Also see Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 143–146, an account similar to the one reproduced here, albeit with more structure and detail. Van Vaernewijck also was the first author to describe the exterior of the wings, *ibid.*, 145, cf. Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 198–199; Kemperdick, 'The history of the Ghent Altarpiece', 23.

Van Mander's biography of the Van Eyck brothers is heavily indebted to this chapter, but he likely consulted the 1574 reprint of the text, see n. 205 below.

¹⁶⁴ It is generally assumed that the altarpiece was commissioned in the early 1420s. According to the much-debated but authentic quatrain, the work was completed and installed in May 1432, Kemperdick, 'The history of the Ghent Altarpiece', 19–22. For recent studies of the original appearance of the polyptych, see Griet Steyaert, 'The Ghent Altarpiece: new thoughts on its original display', *The Burlington Magazine* 157 (2015) 74–84, Aline Genbrugge and Jessica Roeders, 'Research into the structural condition and insights as to the original appearance of the panels and frames of the Ghent Altarpiece', in: Christina Currie e.a. (ed.), *Van Eyck studies. Papers presented at the eighteenth symposium for the study of underdrawing ant technology in painting, Brussels, 19–21 September 2012* (Louvain 2017) 97–106, and Hélène Verougstaete, 'La présentation de l'agneau Mystique dans la chapelle Vijd. Le rapprochement progressif de deux retables', in: *ibid.*, 157–178.

On August 19, 1566, the altarpiece was dismantled and stored in the tower of St. Bavo's, see Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 87–88.

¹⁶⁵ In 1540, St. John was renamed to the Church of St. Bavo after the collegiate chapter from the Abbey of St. Bavo was incorporated there. Emperor Charles V ordered the demolition of the abbey after the Revolt of Ghent (1539–1540); the Spanjaardenkasteel, the citadel, was then erected in its place. With the founding of the Diocese of Ghent in 1559, the church was elevated to the status of a cathedral. Apparently, St. John's still was a name popularly used by the 1560s.

Both Van Vaernewijck and d'Heere refer to the retable as the *Altarpiece of Adam and Eve*; d'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 35, margin: 'Dese værsen staen te Ghent, in S. Ians kercke in de Capelle van den Adam en Eua gheseit', Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 143, 'die uutnemende ende zonder ghelijcke tafele, die men heet van Adam ende Eva, om dat van binnen in de bovenste dueren onse eerste auders gheschildert staen'. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, however, the retable was known as the *Vijdt Altarpiece*, after its donors, Jodocus Vijd (ca. 1370–1439) and his wife Elizabeth Borluut (?–1443). Those names 'had clearly been forgotten a century later', Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 200.

¹⁶⁶ Van Vaernewijck compares Jan van Eyck to Apelles, a rhetorical device used to explain why many great artists so revered the Ghent retable. Lucas de d'Heere uses the same device in his *Ode* ('den vlaemschen Apelles'), and a poem dedicated to his former master, Frans Floris, see Jochen Becker, 'Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lucas de Heere', *Simiolus* 6:2 (1973) 113–127, 121; Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere in Gent', 133.

voor die alder constichste schilder diemen ter [fol. 117va, P6va]
 weerelt vant/ hy was deerste gheleert Schil=
 der, ende zeyde dattet onmoghelick was schil=
 der te syne zonder die kennisse van Arithme=
 tica ende Geometria te hebben/ hy plach te
 nemen van yemandt¹⁶⁷ te leeren thien Talenten
 goudts tsiaers/ twelck zoude bedragen naer
 Budeus Calculatie, zes hondert gouden croo=
 Apelles camp stick. nen.¹⁶⁸ Hi dede een campstick dat hem noyt men
 sche naer ghedoen en conde: want hy eens com=
 mende inde camere/ daer den Coninck Deme=
 trius van Egypten¹⁶⁹ zijn maeltijt dede/ ende on=
 dervraecht sijnde/ wat hy daer quam maken/
 zeyde: dat hij daer van een Heerschap ontbo=
 den was, men vraechde hem van wie/ hy had=
 de den name vergeten, ende mids dat den zeluen
 Heere op dien tijd daer niet en was/ zo hiesch
 hy een cole/ oft crijt/ ende teeckende daermede
 aen den muer zijn effigie oft philomonie/ so cor
 rect ende ghelijck dat zy hem lichtelick daer=
 wt kenden/ ziet hieraf Fulgosum¹⁷⁰ alle gierende
 Plinium.¹⁷¹ Maer desen Meester die de wtne=
 mende Tafel/ S. Ians te Ghendt ghemaect
 heeft/ en is gheensins minder te achten/ wt
 causen (so voorseyt is) dat het werc dies vulle

¹⁶⁷ Pamphilus, see Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.75, 40.123.

¹⁶⁸ Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), the French scholar and author of *De asse, et partibus eius libri V* [...], first published in Venice in 1514. Van Vaernewijck here consulted the annotated French edition of Pliny's *Natural history* by Antoine du Pinet (ca. 1510–ca. 1584), *L'histoire du monde de C. Plin Second, Collationnee & corrigee sur plusieurs vieux exemplaires latins, & enrichie d'annotations en marge* [...] vol. ii (Lyon 1652) 644–645, 'Il [Pamphilus] estoit de Macedoine: & fut le premier de cest art, qui s'adonna aux lettres. Et de fait, il estoit fort fauant en toutes disciplines, & signamment en Arithmetique, & Geometrie: & auoit ceste opinion, que nul ne pouoit se dire peintre parfait, sans auoir la cognoissance de ces deus arts. Il ne monstra iamais son art à personne, à moins d'un* talent pour dix ans: & s'en fit autant payar à Apelles, & à Melanthius. [margin: *ou, de dix Talentz par an, selon Budee: & neantmoins chasque Talent valoit six cens escuz]'. Cf. Van Mander, *Het leven der oude Antijcke doorluchtighe Schilders*, fol. 72r, 'Hy [Pamphilus] was den eersten Schilder/ die hem tot de Letter-const begaf: soo dat hy oock seer verstandich was in alderley wetenschap en leeringhen/ bysonder in de Arithmetica, en Geometrie: (...) Hy en wilde noyt yemandt zijn Conste leeren/ minder dan voor een Talent in thien Iaren/ oft (nae Budeus meeningen) voor thien Talenten slaers/ nochtans is eenen Talent op onse rekeninghe/ ses hondert Croonen: en dede hem soo veel betalen van Apelles en Melanthius'.

¹⁶⁹ In Pliny's traditional version, king Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 367, r. 305–283/282 BC).

¹⁷⁰ Battista Fregoso (Fulgosius, 1450–1505), author of *Baptistae Fulgosi De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea* [...] (Milan 1509) fol. LL1r, 'De Apelle pictore', correctly mentions king Ptolemy. In the next segment, 'De Prothogene pictore', Fregoso reproduces Pliny's anecdote of Protogenes and Demetrius I of Macedon (337–283, r. 294–288 BC). It seems possible that Vaernewijck confused the two kings when he consulted the text.

¹⁷¹ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.89.

ghetuyghenisse gheeft: want die alderbeste
 Schilders van onzen tyde/ zien dat werc met
 groot verwonderen aen.¹⁷² Albertus Du=
 Durerius. rerius van Norenberch/¹⁷³ die zeer wyde ver=
 maerde Schilder (welcx coperen plancken/
 die hij metten Graefyser/ of punten van Dia=
 manten ghesneden heeft/ worden van die Wet=
 houders der stadt van Norenberch/ voor een
 eeuwig verwonderen bewaert, ooc mede zijn
 schilderyen/ ende andere constighe dingen die
 zeer vele waren).¹⁷⁴ Item/ Meester Ian
 Meester Ian van Mabeuse, Meester Hughe/¹⁷⁵ ende veel
 ende M. Hüge meer andere/ hebben elck bysonder eenen groo=
 M. Lancelot ten lof daer af ghegheuen/¹⁷⁶ oock Meester Lan=
 ende Meester chelot van Brugghe/¹⁷⁷ ende Meester Ian Schoo=
 Ian Schoore re Canonic van Utrecht/¹⁷⁸ ooc trefflicke Schil=
 ders, sijn te Ghendt ghecommen/ ende begon=
 den dees tafel te wasschen/ anno xv. hondert
 vijftich/ den vijfthiensten Septembris/¹⁷⁹ met
 zulcker liefden/ dat zy dat constich werck in
 veel plaetsen ghecust¹⁸⁰ hebben/waerome hem
 lieden die Herren van S. Baefs/ voor een gra
 tuiteyt elck een gheschinck ghedaen hebben/

¹⁷² The following segment is likely an elaboration of d'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 35, 'const beminders van alle gheslachten'.

¹⁷³ In his accounting book, Dürer notes: 'Darnach sahe ich des Johannes taffel; das ist ein über köstlich, hoch verständig gemähl, und sonderlich die Eva, Maria und Gott der vatter sind fast gut', Rupprich, *Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlaß* vol. i, 168.

¹⁷⁴ Dürer bequeathed his *Four Apostles* (1526), now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, to Nuremberg's Rathaus, Andrea Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer. The appropriation of art, 1528–1700* (Burlington 2013) 13, 65, 122. Earlier commissions from the city council, including two pictures of the Emperors Charlemagne (742, r. 800–814) and Sigismund (1368, r. 1411–1437), now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, various (self) portraits, and other works were also preserved at that location, as is recorded by Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 209r, 'Daer zijn oock van hem in zijn Vader-stadt Norenburgh op het Raedtheuys verscheyden schoon stucken: (...) als my wel voorstaet gesien/ en in mijn handen gehadt te hebben/ doe ick daer was A^o.1577'. For Dürer's designs for the decoration of the Great Hall of the Rathaus, see the highly complete catalogue in Matthias Mende (ed.), *Das alte Nürnberger Rathaus. Baugeschichte und Ausstattung des großen Saales en der Ratsstube* vol. i (Nuremberg 1979) 8, 38–88, 194–202 cat. nos. 160, 163, 224–233 cat. nos. 221–224, 235–238 cat. nos. 239–247, 245–257 cat. nos. 273–277. Perhaps Van Vaernewijck saw the collection during his voyages through Germany in 1550 and 1556.

¹⁷⁵ Hugo van der Goes.

¹⁷⁶ Probably per a local oral tradition, as was the case for Dürer's notes on Gossart's altarpiece in Middelburg.

¹⁷⁷ Lancelot Blondeel (1498–1561).

¹⁷⁸ Jan van Scorel (1495–1562).

¹⁷⁹ P. Coremans and J. Thissen, 'Matériaux originaux et technique picturale eyckienne', in: Paul Coremans (ed.) *L'Agneau mystique au laboratoire. Examen et traitement* (Antwerp 1953) 69–76, 75; Dhanens, *Het retabel van het Lam Gods*, 38–39.

¹⁸⁰ Should probably be read as 'ghecust', or 'cleaned'.

Tweederan- als Meester Ian Schoore eenen zilueren cop
de Azur. daer ic te Utrecht tsynen huuse wt ghedronc=
ken hebbe:¹⁸¹ niemant (verstandt vander conste
hebbende) ende die dit stick ghesien hebben/
oft zy en belyden (met die Coninghinne Sa=
ba) dat die waerheyt van dien meerder is van
die fame.¹⁸² Meester Michiel de Coxien
Michael de anno xv.honder lix. wt bevele/ ende by laste/
Coxien. van onzen edelen Coninck Philippus/ die
xxxvj. Graue van Vlaendren/¹⁸³ heeftse zeer
leuende ghecontrefaict:¹⁸⁴ want hy ooc een wt
nemende Schilder is/ residerende te Brues=
sel in Brabant: maer heeften moeten te Ghent
zijn domicilie om houden/ alle den tijt dat hy
besich was met contrefaicten/ dwelck onspre=
kelick goet ghecost heeft/¹⁸⁵ ende wiert naer
Hispanien ghevoert.¹⁸⁶ Men zecht dat

¹⁸¹ This casual remark demonstrates that the author apparently moved in the same circles as some of the principal Northern painters of the time, or at least was acquainted with them.

¹⁸² 1 K. 10.1–10, esp. 7: ‘But I couldn’t believe it until I had come and seen it all for myself. But I didn’t hear even half of it; your wisdom and wealth are much greater than what I was told’.

¹⁸³ Philip II (1527–1598). Van Mander largely based his segment on the copy made by Michiel Coxie on the *Ode* by Lucas d’Heere, but Van Mander’s ‘Den Coningh Philips 36^e. Graef van Vlaender’ is interpolated from Van Vaernewijck; D’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 38, Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 200v, Werner Waterschoot, *Ter liefde der Const. Uit het Schilder-Boeck (1604) van Karel van Mander, uitgegeven met een inleiding, aantekeningen en commentaar* (Leiden 1983) 59 r. 187.

¹⁸⁴ Coxie, the court painter of Philip II, was in Ghent between 1557 and 1559 in order to copy Van Eyck’s altarpiece for Philip, Koenraad Jonckheere and Ruben Suykerbuyk, ‘The life and times of Michiel Coxie, 1499–1592’, in: Koenraad Jonckheere (ed.), *Michiel Coxie and the giants of his age* (Turnhout 2013) 22–49, 34, 38; Almudena Pérez de Tudela, ‘Michiel Coxie, court painter’, in: *ibid.*, 98–115, 103–104; Ruben Suykerbuyk, ‘A royal reproduction. Michiel Coxie’s copy of the Ghent Altarpiece, 1557–1558, its documentary evidence and early reception’, in: Stephan Kemperdick, Johannes Rößler, and Joris Corin Heyder (ed.), *The Ghent Altarpiece. Reproductions, interpretations, scholarly debates* (Berlin 2017) 70–83.

¹⁸⁵ D’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 38, ‘Dit wærck heeft ons Coningh soo hooghe verheuen/ (Zo alle goede consten staen in zinen sin)/ Dat hi (om dat te contrefaicten) heeft ghegheuen,/ Wel vier duysent guldenen oft lutter min’.

¹⁸⁶ According to Lucas d’Heere, the copy was brought to Valladolid after its completion, see *Den hof en boomgaard*, 38, ‘Dees copie is in Spaignen (op dat ict vertelle)/ Te vendedoly, t’eender memorie bloot,/ Van ons Coninghs liefde, die ik voor ander stelle:/ Ende tot Heycus, en Coxyens glorie groot’. This account is problematic, however, because Coxie’s painting has, as far as is known, never been in Valladolid. Instead, the copied retable was installed in the Royal Alcazar of Madrid somewhere before 1561, Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 213; Kemperdick, ‘The history of the Ghent Altarpiece’, 44. In 1808, the French brought the polyptych to Brussels, where the panels were sold on the art market. The panels are now scattered across several European museums. The panels showing *The Virgin Mary* and *John the Baptist* are in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, the *Adoration of the mystic Lamb* and the *Deity Enthroned* are in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, the side wings are in Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels. Coxie’s copies of *Adam* and *Eve* are lost since 1808, however, see J. Duverger, ‘Kopieën van het Lam Godsretabel van Hubrecht en Jan van Eyck’, *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten Brussel* 3 (1954) 55–67. The panels were reunited for the first time in over 200 years as part of ‘Michiel Coxie. The Flemish Raphael’ in Museum M, Louvain (October, 31, 2013 until February, 23, 2014).

Toetsianus van Venegien¹⁸⁷ ooc een abel rijcke [fol. 117vb, P6vb]
 Schilder/ het Azuer zant/ om daerinne te ver
 besighen/ ooc by laste vanden Coninck/ waer
 voren dat zout betaelt sijn xxxij. Ducaten
 alleene om den mantel van onze lieue vrouwe
 te coloreren.¹⁸⁸ Men meent dat dit natuerlic/
 ende niet artificiael Azur was: want mids dat
 de Venetianen met de Turcken tracteren/ so
 souden zijt van haer ghecregen hebben, dwelc
 gheen en was/ eer Hungherien onder
 die handen der Turckemannen quam/ mids
 dattet in die rootsen van Hungarien ghevon
 den wort.¹⁸⁹ Vrou Marie die moeye van on=
 zen edelen Coninc Philips/¹⁹⁰ die eens ghetraut
 hadde Ludouicum die Coninck van Hunga=
 rien/ die ieghens den Turck int velt bleef/¹⁹¹
 heeft eens een cleen tafereelkin vanden zeluen
 Meester ghedaen (welcx name was Ioannes
 van Eyck/ waerin dat gheschildert was/ een
 trouwinghe van eenen man ende vrouwe/ die
 van Fides ghetrauwwt worden, eenen Barbier
 diet toebehoorde) betaelt met een officie/ die

De Conin-
 ghinne van
 Hungarien
 betaelt die
 conste met
 een liberael
 herte.

¹⁸⁷ Tiziano Vecelli (ca. 1488–1576), or Titian. According to Miedema, Vaernewijck's spelling of 'Toetsianus' likely is a play on the word 'toetsen' (brushstrokes), Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 208. Judging by the marginal note, Van Vaernewijck attached more importance to the story of the azurite pigment itself than to Titian's name.

¹⁸⁸ This seems to be the oldest printed source for this anecdote; Anne Dubois and Pascale Syfer-d'Olne, 'La copie du Polyptyque de l'agneau mystique par Michel Coxcie: études des panneaux conservés aux Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique', in: Hélène Verougstraete and Jacqueline Couvert (ed.), *La peinture ancienne et ses procédés. Copies, répliques, pastiches* (Paris 2003) 234–241, 235 n. 9; Kemperdick, 'The history of the Ghent Altarpiece', 44. Van Vaernewijck's source is unclear. It could well be derived from local tradition ('men zecht dat...'), or perhaps this anecdote was supplied by Lampsonius, who was a correspondent of Titian?

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 200v, 'En also in dees Landen soo schoonen blaew niet te becomen was/ wordt door begheerte des Conings dat van Venetien ghesonden door Titiaen, t'welck was een Asuyr/ datmen acht natuerlijk te wesen/ en ghevonden wort in eenighe geberghen van Hongerien/ dat welcke voortijts beter de krijghen was/ aleer den Turck dat land in hadde genomen: dat weynich Asuyr/ dat alleen was tot den mantel der Mary-beeldt coste 32. Ducaten'.

¹⁹⁰ Van Vaernewijck is mistaken here: it was not Mary of Hungary, but Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), the aunt of Charles V, who acquired the painting, Waterschoot, *Tot liefde der Const*, 62 r. 367. The segment was later reproduced by Van Mander, see the next note.

¹⁹¹ Louis II of Hungary (1506, r. 1516–1526). He was killed at the Battle of Mohács on August 29, 1526. Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 202v, 'Dit [the painting described in the following segment] worde ghesien van Vrou Marie, Moeye van Philips Coningh van Spaengien/ en Weduw van Coningh Lodewijck van Hongherien/ die tegen den Turck strijdende in't veldt bleef'.

hondert guldenen tsiaers in brachte.¹⁹²
 Georgius Vasarius Arentinus¹⁹³ discipel van
 Iulius Romanus/¹⁹⁴ die Raphael Durbinus
 principael discipel was/¹⁹⁵ dwelc alle constighe
 Schilders waren/ schryuende van die excellen=
 d'Inuentie van M. Ioannes van Eyck.
 te Schilders van Italiën/ zecht: dat desen
 Ioannes van Eyck/ heeft gheleuert tafelen/
 eene te Naples/¹⁹⁶ eene te Florencen/¹⁹⁷ ende eene
 te Urbino¹⁹⁸ van olye verwen/¹⁹⁹ waerdoor die
 Italiaensche Schilders ontsteken waren tot

¹⁹² Van Eyck's famous *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his wife* (1434), now in the collection of the National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG186. See the classic study in Erwin Panofsky, 'Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait', *The Burlington magazine for connoisseurs* 64 (1934) 117–127; Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 193–205; Ridderbos, 'Objects and questions', 63, 65–66. Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 202v, 'Desen Ioannes had oock gemaect in een Tafereelken twee conterfeytsels van Oly-verwe/ van een Man en een Vrouwe/ die malcander de rechter handt gaven/ als in Houwlijck vergaderende/ en worden ghetrouwt van Fides, diese t'samen gaf. Dit Tafereelken is namaels in handen van eenen Barbier ghevonden te Brugghe (als ick meen) die dit selve toequam'.

¹⁹³ Giorgio Vasari, artist and author of the famous *Vite*, with a revised and extended edition including the 'pittori Fiamminghi' in 1568. I here quote from the first edition, unless explicitly stated otherwise. Van Vaernewijck's explicit mention (following d'Heere) of the *Vite* as a source shows the impact and the reputation that the Florentine work must have had in the Low Countries.

¹⁹⁴ Giulio Romano (ca. 1499–1546). Vasari never was a pupil of Romano.

¹⁹⁵ Raphael Sanzio da Urbino (1483–1520).

¹⁹⁶ Probably the lost *Triptych with the Annunciation* by Van Eyck in the collection of Alphonso V of Aragon (1396–1458), king of Naples since 1442. The inner wings showed St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome, with the donors, Battista Lomellini of Genua and his wife, on the outside; a contemporary description by Bartolomeo Facio (1400/1410–1457) is reproduced in James W.H. Weale, *Hubert and John Van Eyck, their life and work* (London 1908) lxxiii–lxxiv, also see Scheewe, *Hubert und Jan van Eyck*, 38–39, and Maria Clelia Galassi, 'Jan van Eyck's Genoese Commissions. The lost triptych of Battista Lomellini', in: Currie e.a., *Van Eyck studies*, 481–494, 483–492. Alphonso purchased another painting by Van Eyck, a *St. George*, in June 1445, see Weale, *Hubert and John Van Eyck*, 177, and Lorne Campbell, 'The art market in the Southern Netherlands in the fifteenth century', *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976) 188–198, 197.

¹⁹⁷ Lorenzo I de' Medici (1449–1492), il Magnifico, owned a *St. Jerome in his study* by Van Eyck, see Waterschoot, *Ter liefde der Const*, 61 r. 333. Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 366 fig. 232, 370–371 identifies a panel in the Detroit Institute of Arts as a possible copy after this lost original. It is, however, uncertain whether or not this indeed is the case, see Paula Nuttall, 'Pittura degli antichi Paesi Bassi a Firenze: commentatori, committenti e influsso', in: Bert W. Meijer (ed.), *Firenze e gli antichi Paesi Bassi, 1430–1530. Dialoghi tra artisti; da Jan van Eyck a Ghirlandaio, da Memling a Raffaello* (Livorno 2008) 22–37, 23–24, 86–88 cat. no. 1. My thanks to dr. Victor M. Schmidt for this reference.

¹⁹⁸ This painting probably was Van Eyck's now-lost *Woman at her toilet*, Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 206–211. An anonymous early sixteenth-century copy is in the Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum. Van Eyck's painting is also depicted on Willem van Haecht's (1593–1637) famous rendition of the 'constcammer' of the Antwerp spice merchant and art collector Cornelis van der Gheest (1575–1638), now in the Rubenshuis, Antwerp.

¹⁹⁹ Vasari, *Vite* vol. i, 84, 'FV vna bellissima inuentione, & vna gran' commodita all' arte della pittura, il trouare il colorito à olio; Di che fu primo inuentore, in Fiandra Giouanni da Bruggia il quale mandò la tauola à Napoli al' Re Alfonso & al Duca d'Urbino Federigo II la stufa sua; & fece vn' san Gieronimo, che Lorenzo de Medici aueua, & molte altre cose lodate'.

Van Vaernewijck's sequence is derived not from Vasari's original, but from d'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 37, '[margin: Georgius Vasarius] Een Schilder uut Italiën zelfs confesseert,/ Dat Heycus daer d'Olverwe brocht en heeft vonden:/ En van dry sine wæcken hi mentioneert/ Die te Napels, Florencen en Turbino stonden'. Van Vaernewijck, always anxious to show his knowledge, does not give any additional information as compared to the *Ode* of Lucas d'Heere, leading me to the impression that Van Vaernewijck in fact did not consult Vasari's text at this point.

liefde/²⁰⁰ van zulck een maniere van wercken/
 gheuende Meester Ioanni van Eyck van die
 eerste inuentie van Lyzaet olie in schilderyen
 te ghebruycken den prijs: want die oude
 Schilders als Apelles/ Parrhasius/ Seuxis
 ende andere/ plochten haer verwen te tempe=
 ren alleene met water/ oft in stede van olye/
 met eyeren daertoe gheprepareert/²⁰¹ ende schrijft
 dat Ioannes van Eyck tvoornoemde vandt
 door zijn groote industrie ende gheleertheyt/
 ende dat hy die olye wist te purgieren om die
 coleuren onsterffelick te onderhouden: maer
 hy schrijft errerende dat hy van Brugghe in
 Vlaendren gheboren was/²⁰² alwaer hy de begra=
 uen licht in S. Donaes kercke/²⁰³ welcx Epi=
 taphie aen een colomne staende luyt aldus:²⁰⁴

Hic iacet eximia clarus virtute Ioannes,
In quo picturæ gratia mira fuit.
Spirantes formas, & humum florentibus herbis
Pinxit & ad viuuum quodlibet egit opus
Quippe illi Phidias & cædere debet Apelles.
Arte illi inferior ac Policretus erat.
Crudeles igitur, crudeles dicite Parcas
Quæ talem nobis eripuerunt virum,
Actum sit lachrimis incommutabile fatum

²⁰⁰ The following passage is based on Vasari's lengthy biography of Antonello da Messina (ca. 1430–1479), in which he again mentions Jan van Eyck as the mythical first 'inventor' of oil paint, see his *Vite*, 380–385. Van Vaernewijck presents some details that are not in the *Ode*, nor in any other contemporary source, making it somewhat more probable that he consulted Vasari's text first-hand. It remains problematic, however, that Van Vaernewijck does not give us more details of Van Eyck's 'invention' as described in Vasari's vita of Antonello, nor do we find any other reference to Vasari's text in the remainder of the *Spiegel*. Did Van Vaernewijck indeed read the *Vite*, or did he draw from an existing local tradition, perhaps stemming from the circles of the rhetoricians or other learned milieus? It is likely, in my view, that Van Vaernewijck and d'Heere in fact received excerpts of Vasari's information about Jan van Eyck from an acquaintance such as Dominicus Lampsonius, a friend of d'Heere.

²⁰¹ Vasari, *Vite* vol. i, 83, 'Da Cimabue in dietro & da lui in qua s'è, sempre veduto opre laurate da' Greci à tempera in tauola, & in qualche muro', *ibid.*, 386, 'Laqual cosa tanto piu debbe essere in pregio, quanto manco si troua scrittore alcuno, che questa maniera di colorire assegni a gli antichi. Et se è so potesse sapere che ella non fusse stata veramente appressio di loro, auanzerebbe pure questo secolo le eccellenzie dello antico in questa perfezzione'.

²⁰² Vasari refers to Van Eyck as 'Giovanni da Bruggia'. This could imply that Van Vaernewijck did indeed read the relevant segment of the *Vite*, also see n. 249 below.

²⁰³ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 38, 'Brugghe bewaert hem, daer hi sijn leuen liet'.

²⁰⁴ Van Vaernewijck's elaborate recording of Hubert and Jan van Eyck's epitaphs fits into his wider effort to preserve the knowledge of Ghent's past (*supra*).

Maer hy was van natiuiteyt wt dat ruyde
Kempen lant/²⁰⁷ van een verworpen stedekin ghe
legghen by der Riuiere van den Mase/²⁰⁸ welck
stedekin ghewonnen wier/ van Hertoghe
Kaarle die voor Nancy bleef/²⁰⁹ met xijj ander
stedekins/ waeronder oock Ludic die frissche
stadt ghetelt wordt/²¹⁰ dit stedekin is ghenoeemt [fol. 119ra, P7ra]
naer die zelue Riuiere Maseyck/ waernaer
hy ende zijn broeder, toe ghenoeemt waren van
Eyck:²¹¹ want zynen oudsten broeder²¹² was ghe-
noemt Hubertus van Eyck/²¹³ ende was oock
een wnemende constich Schilder/ die de ta-
fel in S. Ians kercke eerst begonnen hadde/²¹⁴
zijn sepulture is te Ghent inde zelue kercke
ende is bouen een witte steenen doode/ in ee-
nen Zaercsteen/ die een metalen Tafeleckin

Hubertus
van Eyck
sepulture.

²⁰⁵ Waterschoot, *Ter liefde der Const*, 63 r. 386, 'het woordje "ut" bewijst dat Van Mander Vaernewijck's *Historie van Belgis* raadpleegde: in de vroegere versie van dit werk, getiteld *Den Spieghel (...)*, fol. P6v is dit "ut" weggevalen', cf. Van Vaernewijck, *Die historie van Belgis*, fol. 119 [P6rb].

²⁰⁶ Reproduced in full in Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 202v. An English translation of the epitaph is in Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 57–59.

²⁰⁷ De Kempen, a territory in the current provinces of Antwerpen and Limburg.

²⁰⁸ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 38, 'Dese blomme zeer vrough vande weerelt schiet,/ Die uut dat onnoosel Maesheyc is becleuen', Van Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet*, fol. C2, '102. In sente Ians keercke es een autaar tafel te ziene/ So constich van ingiene, pictorale practijcke/ So dat in gheheel Europen, om de vvaerheyt te bediene/ Nauvelic en es te vinden, eene dier ghelijcke:/ Meester Ian van Eyck, hiet den meester publijcke/ Van Maeseyc een stedeken in ruudt Kempen lant,/ In eenen ruden tijd, ons God desen grooten constenaer sant'. This last verse is strongly reminiscent of Vasari's life of Giotto (1276–1337). Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 199r, 'Het is te achten/ dat in soo vroeghen tijt/ daer in dien rouwen oft eensamen hoeck landts/ weynich Schilders of eenich goet voorbeeldt van Schilderije most wesen'.

²⁰⁹ Charles the Bold (1433, r. 1467–1477), who died in the battle of Nancy on January 5, 1477. Maaseik was subjected by the Burgundians in 1467 as part of the Liège Wars (1465–1468). As all the other cities in the County of Loon, Maaseik was then forced to dismantle its defenses.

²¹⁰ Liège.

²¹¹ This information is likely derived from the inscribed rim of Hubert's tombstone.

²¹² Jan and Hubert van Eyck had another brother, Lambert, see Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 60. Like his brothers, Lambert was active as an artist. Nothing is known about his age or oeuvre. Does Van Vaernewijck's phrasing when referring to Hubert as Jan's 'oldest brother' implicitly mean that Jan was the youngest of the three?

²¹³ No signed work of Hubert is preserved, although the Eyckian *Three Marys at the tomb* (ca. 1425?) in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, is occasionally (in part) attributed to him, see Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 20–31, and Stephan Kemperdick and Friso Lammertse (ed.), *De weg naar Van Eyck* (Rotterdam 2012) 293–295 cat. 82.

²¹⁴ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 36, 'Welcken Hubert dit wærck begonste naer sijn zé/ Maer deur de doot (diet al doodt) moest hijt staken'.

voor haer houdt/²¹⁵ daer dit (na die oude vlem=
sche carmina) in ghegraveert staet/²¹⁶ zo ic van
letter tot letter gheortographieert hebbe.

Spieghelt v an my die op my treden
Ick was als ghy, nu bem²¹⁷ beneden²¹⁸
Begrauen doot, alst is anschyne.
My ne help raet, const, noch medicine,
Const, eer, wijsheyt, macht, rijcheyt groot
Is onghespaert, als comt die doot.
Hubrecht van Eyck was ick ghenant,
Nu spyse der wormen, voormaels bekant
In schilderye zeer hooghe gheeert:
Cort na was yet, in nieute verkeert.

Int iaer des Heeren des sijt ghewes,
Duysent, vierhondert, twintich en zes,²¹⁹
Inde maent September, achthien daghen viel,
Dat ick met pynen God gaf mijn ziel.
Bidt God voor my die Const minnen,
Dat ick zijn aensicht moet ghewinnen
En vliedt zonde, keert u ten besten
Want ghy my volghen moet ten lesten.²²⁰

Die aerm pype/daer zijn constighe handt

²¹⁵ The Romanesque tombstone is preserved, albeit heavily damaged, in the collection of the Museum voor Stenen Voorwerpen, St. Bavo's Abbey, Ghent. It is carved out of Tournai limestone, and shows a skeleton that was once inlaid in white marble. A brass memorial plate was affixed over its chest. Two brass banderoles, now lost, filled the space between its legs and the rim of the slab. The lozenges and quadrilobes on the rim itself probably showed Hubert's coats of arms and signs of the evangelists, see Dhanens, *Het retabel van het Lam Gods*, 19–24, and Ronald van Belle, 'The tomb-slab of Hubert van Eyck and Gerard Horenbout. A tribute to the great Ghent master', in: Currie e.a., *Van Eyck studies*, 535–546, 536–538. The appearance described by Van Vaerneuwijk is highly unusual. According to Dhanens, 'this case is unique in the Netherlands and appears to be derived from very ancient models', *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 30. The memorial plaque was stolen by iconoclasts in 1578, Kemperdick, 'The history of the Ghent Altarpiece', 20–21.

²¹⁶ Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 202v, 'De Sepultuere van den oudsten broeder staet te Ghent in S. Ians kercke/ als gheseyt is/ in eenen muer/ in eenen Serck-steen/ waer in staet van wit steen een Doot/ die een coperen plaet voor haer houdt/ dar in is dit Graftschrif/ wesende een oudt Vlaemisch ghedicht'.

²¹⁷ Sic.

²¹⁸ Hubert's tombstone was almost certainly placed in the floor of the chapel of the Vijdts family, or indeed in the crypt below it, cf. d'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 36, 'Hi leit hier begrauen, ende zijn zuster mé'. Van Mander reports that the stone was set upright (see the previous note), this was probably done somewhere before 1568 to prevent further wear or damage to its surface, Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 31.

²¹⁹ Lucas d'Heere was apparently unaware of Hubert's year of death, D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 36, margin: 'Hubert sterf anno. 14'.

²²⁰ The epitaph is reproduced in full in Van Mander, *Leven*, fols. 202v–203r.

Margareta
van Eyck.

aen ghestaen heeft/ heeft langhe ghehanghen
in een yser besloten/ op tkerchhof (soo ik ooc
ghesien hebbe)²²¹ midts dat die kercke nieuwe
ghemaect wiert/ ende zijn graf met meer an
der opghedoluen. Zi hadden een zuster
Margareta ghenoeemt/²²² die haren maechdom
totter doot toe bewaerde/ diemen oock groo=
ten prijs toeschrijft/ in die edel conste picto=
ria oft Schilderye:²²³ maer zeker dits wel te
noteren *ende* voor een groot wonderstic te achte
dat dese groote hemelsche lichten/ *ende* geesten
ghefloreert hebben in zoo bient eenen tijdt,²²⁴ te
weten bycans ouer hondert/ ende vijftich ia=
ren/²²⁵ als men van zulcker conste niet en wiste/
zoot wel blijkt aen die oude gheschilderde
tafelen, ende glaesvensteren/ die een groote
plompicheyt vertooghen/²²⁶ ook quamen zy (so
voorseyt is) wt een zeer ruyt landt, daer zy
ooc gheen exempel oft voorbeelt van haerder
conste en zaghen/ waeromme zy (ter auontue=
ren) niet min te achten en sijn/ dan of zy van
nieuws dese conste in dese landen gheinuen=
teert hadden/ ende niet alleene ghevonden:
maer oock ten hoochsten ghebracht.

Drye pro-
prieteyten
van een vol
maect Schil
der.

De drie proprieteiten die een excellent schil
der in hem moet hebben/ sijn volcommelic in

²²¹ The display of Hubert's right humerus in a reliquary tells the story of a curious popular devotion of the great master. Also see the Latin inscription on the lower frames of the polyptych, describing Hubert van Eyck as 'maior quo nemo repertus', Christina Meckelnborg, 'The inscription of the Ghent Altarpiece. A philological investigation', in: Kemperdick and Rößler, *The Ghent Altarpiece by the brothers Van Eyck*, 112–121, 118.

²²² Not to be confused with Margareta van Eyck, Jan's wife, whom he married around 1532. He painted her portrait, now in the collection of the Groeningemuseum, Bruges, in 1539.

²²³ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 36, 'Hi [Hubert] leit hier begrauen, ende zijn zuster mé'/ Die ooc in schilderyen dede groote zaken'. Since Hubert and his sister were apparently buried together, Van Vaernewijck probably derived his information about Margareta from the rim of Hubert's grave stone, see Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 32. Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 199r, 'dewijle dat oock hun suster Margriete van Eyck is vermaert/ dat sy met grooter Const het schilderen gheoeffent heeft/ en als een gheestighe Minerva (shouwende Hymen en Lucina) in Maechdlijcken staet tot den eyndt haers levens ghebleven is'.

²²⁴ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 37, 'Van desen moetmen hem te meer lofs gheuen waerlic/ Om dat hi in zulcke tiden alsoo heeft ghefloreert'.

²²⁵ See n. 242 below.

²²⁶ With this reference to other 'old' altarpieces and stained glass windows, Van Vaernewijck apparently trusted that his readers understood what he meant. No (fragments of) windows or paintings from this early period are preserved at St. Bavo's.

hemlieden ghevonden: te wetenen/ gheest/²²⁷ ver=
stant²²⁸ ende patientie.²²⁹ Den gheest hebben zy
ghebruyckt naer tleuen/ dwelck van alder= [fol. 119rb, P7rb]
besten patroon²³⁰ is. Tverstant in veel ma=
nieren/ als in die vreemde boomen/ die hier te
lande niet groeyen/²³¹ ende in tcorael dat wt
de rootsen schijnt wassende.²³² Item inde
vighe die Eua inde hant heeft:²³³ want Augu=
stinus ghelooft bet²³⁴ dattet een vighe was/²³⁵ die
Adam nuttende was dan eenen appel/ oorza=
Tvvijffel
vande vrucht
daer Adam
ende Eua in
zondichden

²²⁷ Imagination or natural talent, and the ability to invent and paint a coherent, detailed scene ‘naer tleuen’, see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon*, 138–142, and Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 205.

²²⁸ Understanding, the ability to apprehend and accurately paint varying unfamiliar, exotic objects such as foreign trees from memory, Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon*, 139.

²²⁹ Patience for the meticulous rendition of familiar things, such as the execution of recognizable plants, as well as the ability to articulate difference (in casu 330 distinct figures), *ibid.*, 85–87, 138–141, 288. The virtue of patience is also a prominent factor in the writings of both Lombard and Lampsonius, stressing that a painter should focus on quality instead of volume, Caecilie Weissert, ‘Malerei und Künstler-virtus’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (2003) 26–59, 46.

Here, Marcus van Vaernewijck elaborates on the virtues first postulated by Lucas d’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 37, ‘Sijn scherpicheit maect ons zijn patiente vroet,/ En zijn memorie groot blijckt in tselfde claerlic/ Alzoo oock zinen grooten gheest bouen al doet,/ In d’inuentie, ende ordinancien openbaerlic’. Our author uses understanding (‘verstant’) instead of memory (‘memorie’), but his definitions of the terms remain largely the same. In Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 201v, finally, we read: ‘Vier deelen had hy doch, die Schilders wel ghelijcken./ Ghedult, onthoudt, verstandt, en gheest in overvloet’, suggesting that the artistic virtues first mentioned by d’Heere and Van Vaernewijck by that time had developed into what Melion called ‘essential paradigms’, see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish canon*, 140–141 and below.

²³⁰ Model or cartoon.

²³¹ Van Vaernewijck is referring to the palms, citrus trees, and other exotic species rendered by Van Eyck on the inner panels of the lower register, see L. Hauman, ‘Etude de la vegetation’, in: Coremans, *L’Agneau mystique au laboratoire*, 123–125, plates lii–liv.

²³² Van Vaernewijck’s mention of the minuscule pieces of red coral at the feet of the *Hermits* demonstrates how thoroughly our author must have studied the panels. The painted gemstones and coral were considered a sign that one was close to the Garden of Eden, Marjolijn Bol, ‘Gems in the water of the Paradise. The iconography and reception of heavenly stones in the Ghent Altarpiece’, in: Currie e.a., *Van Eyck studies*, 35–50.

²³³ D’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 37, ‘Tschijnt dat hi weighert, en ontseghet Euams raet,/ Die hem presenteert een fighe, haer anghename’.

²³⁴ Good, certain.

²³⁵ This simple rhetoric device was used to show the erudition of Van Eyck, and, by extension, Van Vaernewijck. I was unable to pinpoint Van Vaernewijck’s source, however, also see Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 203–204, Waterschoot, *Ter liefde der Const*, 57 r. 143, and Karel Bostoën, ‘Boekbeoordelingen: Karel van Mander: Ter liefde der Const: uit het Schilder-Boeck (1604), uitg. met een inl., aantek. en comment. door W. Waterschoot. ‘s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1983’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 101 (1985) 154–158, 155–156. Bostoën identifies Van Vaernewijck’s note as a reference to St. Augustine’s *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus*, cap. vii.20–22, in which fig leaves are explained as a symbol of sin, but this solution is unsatisfactory. Interestingly, d’Heere also noted that the fruit was a fig, see the penultimate note. This again implies that there was a local network in which knowledge and/or interpretations of the *Ghent Altarpiece* were shared. Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 200r, ‘niet (als de Schilders ghemeenlijck schilderen) den Appel/ maer een versche Vijghe/ waer by eenighe gheleertheyt blijckt geweest te hebben in Iohannes: want Augustinus, en sommige Geleerden achten/ dat get wel mocht een Vijge wesen/ die Eva haren Man gaf’. On the fig (tree) as a motif in the iconography of Adam and Eve, see Oswald Goetz, *Der Feigenbaum in der religiösen Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin 1965) 18–49.

ke, den literalen text zecht van een vrucht/²³⁶
niet discernerende wat vrucht: maer deckten
haer met vigheboom bladers terstont na den
val/ niet met appelboom bladeren/²³⁷ voort in
alle die constighe aensichten/ die schynen zom
te mediteren/ som te spreken, som te lesen/ ende
som te zinghen/ ende niet twee onder meer dan
dry hondert en dertich gheheele aensichten/²³⁸
die elckanderen ghelijck sijn/ ick late staen
alle die ander gheestighe/ ende verstandighe
wercken in dees tafel bevonden/ die als een
Zee tallen canten ouervloeyen,²³⁹ waerinne ooc
een ouergroote patientie gebesicht is/ in alle
die netticheyt²⁴⁰ ende den tijdt die daerinne gheoc=
cupeert is/ so datmen die grassekins met duy
sentich duyst tellen/ ende die cruydekens on=
derkennen zoude moghen/²⁴¹ ende ooc mede die
bladeren ende vruchten der boomen.
Item die coleuren der zelve tafele/ sijn noch
zoo wonderlick en schijnbaer, dat zy alle nieu=
we gheschilderde tafelen beschamen/²⁴² ghelijc
eenen wtnemenden Torcois/ wanneer daer

²³⁶ Gen. 3.7.

²³⁷ The fruit depicted is in fact not a fig, but a citrus fruit – ‘a shaddock or pomelo, commonly known as an Adam’s apple’, Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 204. Also see James Snyder, ‘Jan van Eyck and Adam’s apple’, *The Art Bulletin* 58 (1976) 511–515.

²³⁸ D’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 36, ‘Dat hy d’aensichten al onghelijc conste maken,/ Hoe wel datter nochtans drye hondert sijn ghedaen’.

²³⁹ *ibid.*, 35, ‘En lett vry op alle zaecken, zo merct ghi midts desen/ Dattet is een zee van gratien abundant’, cf. Van Mander’s adaptation, *Leven*, fol. 201r, ‘Op yeder eyghenschap des wercks, ghy vindt midts desen/ Een zee die overvloeyt van Const, aen elcken cant’.

²⁴⁰ Van Vaernewijck’s term fastidiousness (‘netticheyt’), apparently closely related to ‘patientie’, is used numerous times by Van Mander in references to works by Van Eyck, Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), and other artists, e.g. *Grondt*, cap. 12, fol. 48r, ‘Hoe hy [Titian] in de bloeme zijns leuchts verstercken/ Plocht uyt te voeren zijn constighe wercken/ Met onghelooflijcke netticheyt vlijtich:/ De welcke niet te berispen verwijtich/ En waren, maer behaeghden wel een yder/ T’zy ofmender verre van stondt oft byder [margin: Nette dingen, die noch de gheesticheyt behouden, zijn prijselijck, en houden den aenschouwer lange speculerende]; Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 199v, ‘Iohannes hadde gemaect een Tafel/ daer hy grooten tijdt/ vlijt en arbeydt in hadde gebruyckt (ghelijck hy altijts met groote netticheyt en suyerheyt zijn dingen dede)’, *ibid.*, fol. 296v, ‘Veel cleen stucxkens/ van uytnemende scherphuyt en netticheyt sietmen van hem [Joachim Wtewael, 1566–1638]’.

²⁴¹ Paraphrased by Karel van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 200v, ‘In ’t Landtschap zijn veel uytlandsche vreemde boomen: de cruydekens, diemen onderkennen can, en grassekens in de gronden, zijn uytnemende aerdich en net’.

²⁴² D’Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 37, ‘Ten anderen moet het selfde veel lofs ontfaen,/ Van weghe sine schoone bliuende coleuren:/ Die in hondert vijftigh iaren niet en zijn vergaen:/ Twelcke men nu ter tijt niet veel en siet ghebeuren’.

ander simpel Torcoisen byghestelt worden.²⁴³
 Hoedanighe historien daerinne gheschildert
 staen, mach elc commen zien diet belieft/ ghe=
 lijck veel grote personagien/ ende Keyseren
 haer hebben gheweerdicht te doene/²⁴⁴ ende ooc
 die constenaers (haer ande zelue conste zeer
 wel verstaende) die den alderwarachtichsten/
 ende besten prijs daeraf moghen gheuen.

Ioannes hem
 zeluen ghe-
 contrefaict.

Ioannes den ioncsten broeder/ ende princi=
 pael meester,²⁴⁵ is inde zelue tafel gecontrefaict
 rydende te peerde, met eenen rooden Pater
 noster/ op zwarte cleederen/²⁴⁶ ende Hubertus
 om zijn ouderdom/ zitt op een peert neffens
 hem/ ter rechter hant:²⁴⁷ Iohannes is ionc ouer=
 leden/ hadde hy noch moghen leuen hy hadde
 (alsomen van Athemon zeyde)²⁴⁸ lichtelick alle
 Schilders der weerelt te bouen ghegaen.

Hierop hebben wy breet gheschreven naer
 onze materie: maer veel te cort naer de weerd=
 de ende waerachticheyt van deser zaecke.

Een helle
 den voet
 vander tafel.

Item een helle heeft den voet van deser ta=

²⁴³ Also see Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 146, 'Dese uitnemende wonderlicke hemelsche tafele, waer bij dat ander constighe schilderien maer en schijnen bastaert ende leelic van coluere te zijne (ghelijck den eenen turckoijs den anderen afsteect)'.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 200v, 'Veel grote Princen, Keyseren en Coningen, hebbent oock met groot behagen aengesien'.

²⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 200r, 'Iohannes, hoewel hy de jonghste was/ is den broeder te boven ghegaen in de Const'.

²⁴⁶ The supposed portraits are on the missing panel of the *Just Judges*. This identification is evidently based on an existing tradition; see, for example, the decorated façade of the house of Cornelis van Dalem, and the portraits in the famous *Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipuae Germaniae Inferioris effigies* of 1572, compiled by Hieronymus Cock (supra).

²⁴⁷ D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd*, 36, 'Ten rechten siet men onder de zulcke [the *Just Judges*] verkeerren,/ Den princelicken Schilder die dit werck voldé/ Met den roden Pater noster op zwarte cleeren/ Sijn broeder Hubert rijdt by hem in d'hooghste sté, i.e. on Jan's left. In Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 144–145, however, we read: 'hier heeft den meester ghe-naemt Johannes Van Eijck hem zelven gheconterfeijt, rijdende up de slijncke zijde van Hubertus zijn broedere, die dit weerck eerst beghonnen hadde, ende was een schoon jonckman, (...) maer Hubertus was audt ende vet'. Here, Van Vaernewijck and d'Heere seem to have a clearly differing opinion of the identity of Hubert. Waterschoot, however, regards Van Vaernewijck's description as an erroneous interpretation of d'Heere's *Ode*, see Waterschoot, *Ter liefde der Const*, 65.

Cf. the adoption by Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 200r, 'In d'ander deuren comen te Peerde (...) oock de twee Schilders/ Hubertus en Ioannes. Hubertus sit op de rechter sijde van den broeder/ om zijn ouderdom wille/ schijnende vast oudt te wesen by zijn broeder (...) Ioannes heeft op een seer versierlijcke mutse/ schier als eenen tulbant achter afhangende/ hebbende op eenen swarten Tabbaert een root Pater noster/ met een Medaillie'. Van Mander's descriptions are partially based on the portrait prints of the Van Eyck brothers in Cock's *Pictorum*.

²⁴⁸ A rather obscure Greek artist mentioned by Pliny. According to him, Artemon painted a portrait of queen Stratonice of Macedon (ca. 300 BC?), and several other works, of which the best ended up in the Octavian Portico, Rome, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.40.139. The remaining part of this reference remains unknown.

fel gheweest/door den zelven Meester Ioan=
 nes van Eyck van waterverwe gheschildert/²⁴⁹
 de welcke zommighe slechte Schilders (zoo
 men zecht) haer hebben bestaen te wasschen/
 oft zuyeren, ende hebben dat miraculeus con=
 stich werc, met hun caluers handen wt gevaecht²⁵⁰
 de welcke met de voornoemde tafel/ meer weert was
 dan tgout datmen daerop ghesmeed zoude
 connen legghen.²⁵¹ Ioannes heeft om zijn ouer
 groote conste, zeer lief ghetal geweest/ bi Phi
 lips van Charlois/²⁵² zone van Hertoge Jan van
 Digion/ die xxxj. Graue van Vlaendren/²⁵³ ende
 men wilt dat hi hem om sijn wijsheyt ende natuer
 lic hemels verstant/ tot eenen eymelicken raet
 van zijnder Maiesteyt ghemaect heeft, sijn sta=
 delic bysijn ende gheselschap zeer begheerende.²⁵⁴

16. cap. iv.48, fol. 119va [P7va]. Other works of art in the various religious institutions of Ghent. The paintings by Hugo van der Goes and the sculptures by Willem Hughe and Jan d'Heere are amongst the most important.

¶ Vanden yseren zolder te Ghendt, ende

²⁴⁹ A predella (or perhaps antependium?) painted in tempera, probably a *Christ in Limbo* or a *Purgatory*. It was lost somewhere in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Dhanens, *Het retabel van het Lam Gods*, 50; Kemperdick, 'The history of the Ghent Altarpiece', 19. For other (lost) paintings by Van Eyck that were probably done in tempera, see Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 68.

²⁵⁰ Kemperdick, 'The history of the Ghent Altarpiece', 51, recognizes this section as a possible reference to Vasari, who mentions in his praise of oil paint that panels painted in tempera could not be washed 'without the colours running'. Also see the remarkable marginal note in Van Mander, *Het leven der oude Antijcke doorluchtighe Schilders*, fol. 71v, where the author anecdotes how a painting by Aristides of Thebes in the Temple of Apollo, Rome, was destroyed when a painter with lacking skill attempted to clean it: 'Hier blijct, dat d'Antijcke van geen Olyverwe wisten. De weergade van desen plompaert maecte den voet van I. van Eckyen tafel te Ghent schoon', cf. Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.98–100.

²⁵¹ This could be a mutilated reference to Pliny's anecdote of a portrait of Alexander done by Apelles, for which 'the artist received the price of this picture in gold coin measured by weight', Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.92. Van Mander apparently was better aware of the appearance of the image than Van Vaernewijck, see his *Leven*, fol. 200v, 'De principael Tafel hadde eenen voet/ daer sy op stondt/ desen was gheschildert van lijm/ oft Ey-verwe/ en daer in was een Helle ghemaect/ daer de helsche knien/ oft die onder d'aerde zijn/ hun knien buyghen voor den naem Iesu, oft het Lam: maer alsoo men dat liet suyveren oft wasschen is het door onverstandighe Schilders uytgewischt en verdorven gheworden'.

²⁵² Philip the Good (1396–1467). Van Eyck held a position as the Duke's court painter and chamberlain, see the excellent biography in Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 34–59.

²⁵³ John the Fearless (1371–1419).

²⁵⁴ Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 200v, 'Ioannes: welcken men acht/ om de uytneementheyt zijner Const/ en om zijn treffelijck groot verstandt/ is heymelijck Raedt van hem [Philip] geweest/ en den selven Grave hadde hem altijd geern in zijn geselschap/ gelijk den grooten Alexander oock den uytnemenden Apelles geern hadde'. Further on, Van Mander misreads the information provided by Van Vaernewijck, mistakenly interpreting it as that Philip the Good commissioned the painting, Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 200. Also see Van Mander, *Grondt*, fol. *3v, 'Ioannes van Eyck hadde den Graef Philips van Charlois [as his mecenas]'.

van veel ander constighe vvercken, aen-
gaende de conste Statuaria.

Cap. xlvij.

Constighen
yseren zol-
der.

VOort sijnder noch ander wonderen/
in die stadt van Ghendt: als den y-
seren zoldere/ staende in die abdye
van Sinte Peeters/²⁵⁵ inden Choor
vanden Cloostere, achter den hooghen altaer
ende is zoo constich ghemaect dat hy wt den
pauemente schijnt te groeyen/ ende voorts
alle die proportien der moderne gheboghen/
ghevlochten/ ende zoo werckelick gheleydt/
datmen mocht meynen dattet yser als eenich
was buyghelick gheweest hadde.²⁵⁶ Hierop
staen die costelicke Fierters/²⁵⁷ daer die heylighe
lichamen in besloten ligghen/ als S. Bertul-
phus/ die plach te cloppen (alsoomen zeyde)
alst oorloghe oft quaten tijdt zoude worden/²⁵⁸
S. Godewalde/²⁵⁹ S. Ausbert/²⁶⁰ S. Wandregise=
lius/ (waeraf vooren gheseyt is cap.xvij. wie

²⁵⁵ The Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter.

²⁵⁶ The reliquary attic was designed by Gerard Horenbout (ca. 1460/1465–1541), miniaturist and court painter of Margaret of Austria since 1507, and active at the court of Henry VIII of England (1491, r. 1509–1547) after October 1528, R.A.C. van Driessche, 'De konventuele gebouwen van de Sint-Pietersabdij te Gent', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 34 (1980) 3–107, 22–23. See no. 25. The construction was installed in 1517, but the attic and the relics that were stored on it were largely destroyed during the violent wave of iconoclasm that rocked Ghent in August 1566, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 132.

For a succinct biography of Horenbout, see Lorne Campbell and Susan Foister, 'Gerard, Lucas and Susanna Horenbout', *The Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986) 719–727, 719–721; R.D.A. van Elslande and A.M.J. de Kraker, 'De familie Horenbout: Renaissancekunstenaars en cartografen te Gent en daarbuiten (circa 1460 tot circa 1630)', *Jaarboek van de Oudheidkundige Kring "De Vier Ambachten"* (2007) 7–173. Van Mander informs us of a carved altarpiece in St. John's Church that had wings painted by Horenbout, *Leven*, fol. 204v, 'Noch is te Ghent geweest eenen Geerard Horebout, welcken namaels wiert Schilder van den Coningh van Engelandt/ Hendrick de 8^e. Van zijn werc was te Gent in S. Ians Kerck/ op de slincke sijde van het hoogh Choor/ te weten deuren van een Altaer-tafel/ waer van t'binneste was ghesneden werck/ Dit hadde doen maken eenen Abt van S. Baefs, genaemt Lieven Hughenos'. One door showed a *Flagellation*, the other a *Descent from the Cross* with a clever rendition of the *Three Marys at the Tomb* in the background; 'in't verschieten waren de dry Marien, die ten grave quamen met Lanteernkens en lichten in dat doncker spelonckigh graf/ welcke lichten wederschijn gaven in hun tronien: in dees graf-rootse was eenigh doorsien te sien'. Furthermore, a double-sided tondo done by Horenbout, showing a *Man of Sorrows* and a *Madonna*, was in the linen hall on the Vrijdagmarkt, 'Daer is noch van desen Geerardt te Ghent op de Vrydagmarct in den Lijnwaet-arm een dobbel ronde/ oft op beyde sijden geschildert: op een sijde Christus sittende op eenen steen/ daer hy ghecroont met de doorne Croon/ van een wort gheslaghen op t'hoofd met een riet: op d'ander sijde is Maria met haer kindt/ en een deel Engelen om haer'.

²⁵⁷ From the Latin 'feretrum', or reliquary box.

²⁵⁸ St. Bertulphus of Renty or Bertoul d'Artois (ca. 645–February 5, 705). This is a local tradition.

²⁵⁹ St. Gudwal (fl. ca. 650?), a patron of the abbey. His feast day is on June 6.

²⁶⁰ St. Authbertus of Cambrai (ca. 600–December 13, 699).

hy was)²⁶¹ S. Wulfram/²⁶² S. Amelberghe/²⁶³ ende
meer andere tot x. toe. Den Meester
die desen zolder maecte/ was ghenoeemt Pie=
ter Pauwels/ gheboren/ ende woenachtich te
Ghendt.²⁶⁴ Den Abt diet dede maken hiet
Heer Ian vander Cauwerburch:²⁶⁵ maer en be=
leefde niet dat hy hem volmaect ghesien had=
de/ slachtende die edel Coninghinne Arthi=
mesia/ die niet en beleefde het volmaken van
haers mans ouer constighe ende costelicke se=
pulture/ soo vooren lib. ij. cap.xxij. gheseyt
is:²⁶⁶ maer desen yseren zolder wiert volmaect
in des Abts tyden die naer hem quam/ ghe=
noemt Heer Gheeraert van Culsbroeck/²⁶⁷ daer
naer is den Meester oock corts ouerleden.
Hy en hadde maer xlvij. hondert guldenen
daeraf: maar bouen desen is noch den cost ghe
daen van tselue yserwerc te vergulden.²⁶⁸ Eenen
Abt wt tlandt van Ludick²⁶⁹ dit werck ziende/
hadde wel willen/ noch eens zoo vele danof
gheuen/ om zulck een stuck in zijn Abdye te
hebben/ hadde hy den Meester connen van=
der dood weder ghehalen/ oft yemandt ghe=
vinden die hem hadde dorren verbinden/ al=
zo goet een werck te maken, welcke Mee=
sters men noyt nieuwers sedert dien tijdt en

Xlvij hon=
dert guldens
cost den y=
seren zolder

²⁶¹ St. Wandregisel of Fontenelle (ca. 605–July 22, 668); See Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, cap. iv.17, fol. 97vb [Nivb].

²⁶² St. Wulfram of Sens (ca. 640–March 20, 703).

²⁶³ St. Amelberga of Temse (ca. 741–July 10, 772).

²⁶⁴ No further works or biographical details of Pieter Pauwels (?–ca. 1555?) are known. According to the infamous forged archives of the Ghent Guild of St. Luke, Pauwels became a master of the local guild in 1517, and juror in 1530–1531. In the actual documents, however, Pauwels is not mentioned, probably because he was a member of another craft. Another member of the Pauwels family, Jan, a (gold?)smith, became a master of the Guild of St. Luke in 1499, and juror in 1518–1519, Cornelis, ‘De kunstenaar in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent i’, 129, Van der Haegen, *Mémoire sur des documents faux*, 48, 60, 149.

²⁶⁵ Joannes Couwerburch (1457–1517), a succinct biography is in the antiquarian study by Auguste van Lokeren, *Chartes et documents de l’abbaye de Saint Pierre au Mont Blandin à Gand depuis sa fondation jusqu’à sa suppression*, 630–1794 vol. ii (Ghent 1871) lxxvii–lxxviii.

²⁶⁶ See no. 10.

²⁶⁷ Gheeraert van Culsbroeck (?–1555) was installed as abbot on June 6, 1517, Van Lokeren, *Chartes et documents de l’abbaye de Saint Pierre* vol. ii, lxxviii–lxx.

²⁶⁸ Van Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet*, fol. C2r, ‘101. (...) Veel constighe vvercken zijn binnen die Ghentsche baermen/ Als den yseren solder van Mr. Pieter Pauwels ghemaect/ Die xlvij. guldenen coste, sonder tgaut ghedaect/ Heer Ian vander Cauwverburch die abt deden vvercken excellent/ En in heer Gheeraert van Culbrouck tijt vvas hy vulhent’.

²⁶⁹ Liège.

Mirmethi=
des ysere
vvaghen.

Callicrates
yuooren
mierkins.

heeft connen ghevinden: want hy is met zijn
constighe handen begrauen/ ghelijck Mir=
methides/ die eenen waghen smeedde/ met al
zijn toebehoorten/ speeken/ velghen/ assen/
wielen etc. zoo cleene datmen mochte decken
metten vlerck van een bie.²⁷⁰ Ende Callicra=
tes die mierkins maecte van Iuore/ die zoo
cleene waren/ datmenze nauwelick ghesien
en conde/²⁷¹ hieraf schrijft Sabellicus/ allegie=
rende Plinium.²⁷² Alsoo sijnder zommighe ty=
den daer eenighe zonderlijnghe constenaers
haer in vertooghen/ die wel waer te nemen
sijn: want Godt en laett niet altijds zulcke
lichten op de weerelt schynen. In dit zelue
clooster is oock een tafereel van Schilderye
achter den hooghen Choor in de capelle/ zeer
constich ghedaen ende wel bezienswaardich/
hier voortijts ghemaect by Meester Hughe
vander Leyden in Hollant/²⁷³ hierontrent staen
oock herde fraeye gheschilderde glasvensteren [fol. 119vb, P7vb]
met hystorien ende figueren wten ouden Te=
stamente/ accorderende op tNieuwe Testa=
ment.²⁷⁴ Dese capelle is onderstelt met neghen
steenen pilaren/ ende ligghen daer begrauen
inden inganck zommighe Grauen van Vlaen=
dren/ in seer simpel sepultueren/ naer haerlie=
der hoocheyt. Maer wie zal connen

²⁷⁰ The wing of a fly, according to Pliny's version. Myrmecides also was known for a tiny model of a ship that a bee would conceal with its wings. Van Vaernewijck seems to have interlaced the two anecdotes, see Pliny, *Natural history*, vii.21.85, xxxvi.4.43, cf. *ibid.*, xxxiv.19.83 (on Theodorus). See no. 25.

²⁷¹ Callicrates or Callicratides, Pliny, *Natural history*, vii.21.85, xxxvi.4.43. See no. 25.

²⁷² Marcus Antonius Sabellicus (1436–1506), a historian from Venice, and editor of a version of Pliny's *Natural history*; see *Caii Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historie Libri xxxvij* [...] (Lutetia 1516) fol. 47v, also see *ibid.*, *Opera Mantonii Coccii Sabellici in duos digesta tomos* [...] vol. ii (Basel 1538) 154, 'De Visu. (...) fuit & Callicrates acerrimi uisus, qui formicas & alia minuta animalia in ebore sculpsit, quorum partes quaedam ab alijs cerni nequiuissent'.

²⁷³ Hugo van der Goes, the famous Ghent painter. Also see the note in Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 151, '(...) ende was ghemaect bij die curiuese constighe handen van meester Hughe van der Ghoest in Zeelandt, zoo ghetoeaemt om dat hij daer langhe ghewoont hadde, maar was vander Leijden in Hollandt ghebooren'. Van Vaernewijck's claim that Van der Goes was born in Leiden is baseless. It is possible that he confused Van der Goes with Huygh Jacobsz. van Leyden (ca. 1450–1535), who also had lived in Zeeland, Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 230–231; Jochen Sander, *Hugo van der Goes. Stilentwicklung und Chronologie*. Berliner schriften zur Kunst 3 (Mainz am Rhein 1992) 19. On Jacobsz., see J.Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Hugo Jacobsz', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 6 (1955) 101–117.

²⁷⁴ These windows with typological scenes were destroyed during the iconoclasms of 1566 and 1578, together with a considerable part of the church's inventory.

Constighe
 vvercken
 van Aleba-
 ster, Marmor
 ende Toetse.

verzwyghe/ die constighe ghesneden wercken
 van Alebaster/ Marmor/ ende Toetse/²⁷⁵ die
 daer ghemaecht sijn/ als bysonder inden hoo=
 ghen Choor/ drye priesterlicke stoelen/²⁷⁶ een
 Epitaphie van die Coninghinne van Dene=
 marcke Isabella,²⁷⁷ ghetrouwt hebbende Chri=
 stiernum die tweede van dien Name/ Coninc
 van Denemarcken/ Noorweghen/ Zweden/
 Gotthen ende Wenden/²⁷⁸ die zuster van onzen
 Keyser was Carolus de vijfste/ wanof dat die
 Carmina in Latyne ghemaect heeft/ die
 gheleerde, ende eloquente Heere/ Meester
 Cornelius Schepperius/ Heere van Eecke/²⁷⁹
 ende is naermaels ghetranslateert gheweest/
 ende in vlaemschen dichte gestelt/ by M. Ian
 Viuarium priester, Poete ende Rhetorisien/²⁸⁰ het
 welcke men lesen mach/ int leuen vanden Key=
 ser Carolus die vijfste/ ghedruckt by Ghee=
 raert van Salenson/ anno Domini duyst/ vijf
 hondert lxiij.²⁸¹ Item noch een tafele op

²⁷⁵ Basanite or touchstone.

²⁷⁶ Designed by Jan d'Heere, and smashed in August 1566, according to Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 130.

²⁷⁷ Isabella of Habsburg, the sister of Emperor Charles V. She died of illness at the Castle of Zwijnaarde, which was owned by the abbots of St. Peter's. Her monument was designed by Jan Gossart, and sculpted by Jan de Smijtere (?–1528), Jan d'Heere, and one Matheus de Smet. After several delays, including the death of De Smijtere, the epitaph was finally installed to the right side of the choir in February 1529, R.A.C. van Driessche, 'Het mausoleum van Isabella van Oostenrijk in de Gentse Sint-Pieters Abdijkerk', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 45 (1990) 125–138. The contracts for the monument are reproduced in Weidema and Koopstra, *Jan Gossart. The documentary evidence*, 33–42 nos. 25–32. See no. 25.

One of Gossart's design drawings (1526?) is preserved in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. no. KDZ 4646, see Ainsworth, *Man, myth and sensual pleasures*, 395–398 cat. 108. Even though the epitaph was one of the rare objects at St. Peter's that had survived the violent iconoclasm of 1566, both the Zwijnaarde castle and the tomb were largely destroyed in 1578, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 130–131; *NBW* vol. ii, 296.

²⁷⁸ Christian II of Denmark (1481, r. 1513–1523, 1559). After his forced abdication in April 1523, he, Isabella, and their household fled to Flanders. The family eventually settled in Lier, where they became interested in Lutheranism.

²⁷⁹ Cornelius de Schepper or Scepperus (ca. 1501?–1555), a diplomat and ambassador in the service of Emperor Charles V and Mary of Hungary.

²⁸⁰ Jan van den Vivere (ca. 1540–after 1632), a rhetorician and the author of an unpublished chronicle of Ghent, an edition was brought into print in *ibid.*, *Chronijcke van Ghendt*, Frans de Potter ed. (Ghent 1885).

²⁸¹ Salenson?, *Die warachtighe gheschiednisse*, fols. O1v–O3r, 'Van die edelheyt ende duecht der seluer vrou Isabelle heeft seer funerlick int corte ghescreuen in latijne in haer Epitaphium/ de gheleerde ende eloquente Heere Meester Cornelis Schepperius/ Heere van Eecke/ ende is naermaels ghetranslateert gheweest wt den latine in vlaemsche door Meester Ian van den Viuere/ Priester. (...): The woodcut decorating this segment is probably copied after a series of watercolours of ca. 1560 by Arent van Wijnendaele (ca. 1540?–1592), copies of which are preserved in the *Atlas Goetghebuer*, Stadsarchief Gent, see Van Driessche, 'Het mausoleum van Isabella van Oostenrijk', 129, 130–133 figs. 1–4; Ainsworth, *Man, myth and sensual pleasures*, 396.

den hooghen altaer/²⁸² ende achter den zeluen
altaer/ een graf ons Heeren/ met een altaer
tafel van Sinte Andries/²⁸³ al te samen ghe=
maect by Meester Ian de Heere/ een ver=
maert Sculptor ende Architector.²⁸⁴ Item
tsacraments huys/ ende noch twee tafelen in
den ommeganck vanden Choor/ ende in de bo
uenkercke eene of twee/ sijn ghemaect by
Meester Franchoys vanden velde/ expert Geo
graphie ende Geometrist/ ende meer andere sub=
tyle consten/²⁸⁵ nochtans in die conste Statu=
aria sijn dese zijn wercken, beneden die werc=
ken van Meester Ian de Heere voornoemt/
soo hy oock wel getoocht heeft/ aen den Doc=

Docsael in
zes vveken
volmaectt.

²⁸² Ordered in 1555 by Gheeraert van Cuelsbroeck, *NBW* vol. ii, 297.

²⁸³ Situated in the northern side of the transept.

²⁸⁴ Jan d'Heere, a sculptor originally from Mechelen, free master of the Ghent Guild of St. Luke since 1533. Jan received his education in the atelier of Jan de Smijtere, his father-in-law. After De Smijtere died, somewhere before August 6, 1528, d'Heere became the principal sculptor involved in the production of Isabella of Habsburg's funerary monument, Van Driessche, 'Het mausoleum van Isabella van Oostenrijk', 126–127, Weidema and Koopstra, *Jan Gossart. The documentary evidence*, 34–35 no. 26, 'ende indien dat zo ghebeurde dat Jan de Smytere overlede eer dweerck vulmaect ware zo zal Jan myn Heere cnape vanden vorszegde Jan de Smytere dit zelve weerck ghetrauwelic vullveren'. On August 20, 1528, King Christian II personally requested the abbot of St. Peter's to ask Jan d'Heere, who then was thought to be in Zeeland, to resume work on the epitaph. He was to return to Ghent within a week, and bring with him 'Jennijn Mabuse scilder. Want wy selve in persone tot Ghendt comen sullen om aldaer met hem luyden te spreken', *ibid.*, 40–41 no. 31. Jan d'Heere actually was at his house in Mechelen, where he 'noch in groote ziecke licht', the abbot replied, *ibid.*, 41–42 no. 32.

Jan d'Heere had two sons, Lucas (*supra*), and Jan jr. (ca. 1534–ca. 1581?), who also appears to have been active as a painter and an architect, *NBW* vol. ii, 292–305; Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 17; Ainsworth, *Man, myth and sensual pleasures*, 396–397. A 'Giouanni Minesheren di Guanto architetto & scultor grande' is mentioned in Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, 101.

All altarpieces mentioned here were smashed in the evening of August 22, 1566, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 129–130, 'ende nu den avont vallende, zijn zij in Sente Pieters abdie ghelooopen, daer zij zoo veel costelicke weercken ende consti ghe sticken gheschonden ende bedorven hebben dattet claghelic ende te beweenen was, als Sente Andries autae tafele, up de slijncke zijde, zoo men incomt, in de cruijskeercke, ende was een hooghe upghaende weerck, al nieuwe ghemaect bij die constighe handen van meester Jan Dheere, schulptor ende architect, al van fijnen ende schoonen albastre, toetse ende marbere (...) Die constighe ende zeer costelicke autae tafele, die up den hooghen autae stont, ooc van albaster, marber ende toetse, ende costelic met ghaut ende ander schilderijen verchiert, met haer fraeije gheschilderde dueren, wart al in greijse ghesmeten, ende achter, een begravinghe ons Heeren ooc van zulcker costelicker matterie'. Van Vaernewijck estimated the damages to the abbey's works of art alone at 'xi duijsent ponden grooten', *ibid.*, 132.

²⁸⁵ Frans van de Velde, a mathematician, geographer and architect from Ghent, who also was active as a painter and sculptor, see Alfred von Wurzbach (ed.), *Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon [...]* vol. ii (Amsterdam 1910) 752. Much like the altarpieces and sculptured thrones by Jan d'Heere, Van de Velde's sculptures did not survive the Iconoclastic Fury, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 131.

sael in S. Ians Baptisten kercke te Ghent/²⁸⁶
 daer nu die Canonicken van Sinte Bauo/
 haer goddelicke diensten celebreren/ welcken
 Docsael/ hy in zes weken tijds met min dan
 hondert persoonen ter hoochsten ghebrocht/
 ende al voldaan heeft/ wanof die Schilderye
 (tbeeldeweck aengaende) by Meester Lucas
 de Heere (noch een ionchman wesende/ des
 voornoemden Meester Ians zone) ooc gheen
 faute en sloech/²⁸⁷ soo oock gheen ander schil-
 derye ofte werck en dede/ dat aen den zeluen
 Docsael soude moghen ghefaelt hebben: want
 dit moeste alsoo met haesten ghedaen wesen/
 om te verchieren die selue kerke/ want onzen
 edelen Coninck Philips/ wilde daer zijn so=
 lemuele Toyson feeste ghehouden hebben, zoo
 hy dede anno Domini xv.hondert lix. int eyn=
 de vande maent Iulius.²⁸⁸ Item die glasven=
 steren in de voornoemde Sinte Ians kercke

²⁸⁶ Construction of the rood screen in St. Bavo's started in May 1559 as part of the preparations for the twenty-third Chapter of the Golden Fleece, Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 24–26. Jan d'Heere's screen was dismantled in 1759–1760, after which the construction and installation of the current rood screen started. The redecoration was completed in 1767, see Elizabeth Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent. Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen* vol. v (Ghent 1965) 73–75 cat. no. 68; Elizabeth Dhanens, 'De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk te Gent in de 15de eeuw', *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, klasse der schone kunsten* 44:1 (1983) 34–35.

Van Vaernewijck gives a description in rhyme of the decorations of the church in *Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt*, fols. H2–H3r, copied in Van Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet*, fol. K6, also see the poem in *ibid.*, fol. C2v, '103. VVie en zal ooc niet vervvonderen, int generael/ Van den docsael, in die zelue kercke ghesticht/ Daer Meester Ian de heere of vvas vvercman principael/ In vi. vveken tijds, vvas hy gheel ghebacht int licht,/ Min dan met hondert persoonen, zeer schone int ghesicht/ En Meester Lucas zijn zone, heeft in dien tye/ Daer an ghedaen die constichste schilderye'.

²⁸⁷ One of d'Heere's paintings, *Philip II of Spain as Solomon, questioned by the Queen of Sheba*, is preserved in the vast collections of St. Bavo's, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 190–191, cat. no. 434. Lucas collaborated with a painter he knew from his time in the workshop of Frans Floris, Benjamin Sammeling (ca. 1520–after 1604), Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere en Willem van Oranje', 84–85; On Sammeling, now obscure, see Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 242v, '[margin: Benjamijn sammeling van Gent.] een oudt vry Ghesel van Ghent/ noch teghenwoordigh in dit laer 1604. levende/ en was gheboren A^o.1520. is in zijnen tijt een seer goet Coloreerder geweest/ alst blijkt aen d'Historyen/ aen den Docksael in S. Ians Kerck te Ghent/ die hy schilderde nae de teyckeninghe van Lucas de Heere, en oock aen veel meer dinghen/ maekende oock seer goede conterfeyselen'; Waterschoot, *Ter liefde der const*, 169 r. 398.

The fifty-one painted escutcheons of the members of the Order are often wrongly attributed to Jan and/or Lucas d'Heere. They were probably executed by Jacques le Boucq (1528/1533–1573) of Valenciennes, herald of arms to the Order, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 187–190 cat. no. 433; Ronald de Buck, '51 blazoenen van ridders in de orde van het Gulden Vlies', *Ghendtsche Tydinghen* 26:5 (1997) 182–193. Also see the description in Van Vaernewijck, *Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt*, fol. H2v, '22. Achterveertich wapenen zietmen in den hoghen choir/ Schoonder dan Euoor, daer de Canuncken zinghen/ Al nieuwe gheschildert niet loerde noch loor,/ Van eenen Valenchiensis tooghende der consten tresoor'. The three most important coats of arms were attached to the new rood screen.

²⁸⁸ July 29–August 1, 1559.

te weten inden nieuwen beuck/ sijn de patroo
 nen van dien meest al geteeckent/ byden voor
 noemden Meester Lucas de Heere/²⁸⁹ preter²⁹⁰ de
 drye meeste/ danof heeft die patroonen ghe=
 teeckent Meester Michiel de Cocxien/²⁹¹ schilder [fol. 120ra, P8ra]
 van onzen Coninck/ int contrefaiten van die
 oude/ wtnemende constighe, gheschilderde ta=
 fel Sinte Ians soo voorseyt is.²⁹² Noch sijn daer
 te ziene diuersche constighe Epitaphien/²⁹³ ende
 Memorialen der ouerleden Edelinghen ende
 andere/ oock meest van Marmor/ Toetse/ ende
 Alebastre/ zoo de voornoemde wercken Sin=
 te Peeters int clooster sijn.²⁹⁴ Item een
 sepultuere niet vercrompen van costelicheyd/
 ende conste/ van heer Lucas de Monick/ den

²⁸⁹ Lucas d'Heere's first recorded commission after leaving Floris's workshop in 1555 was the design of these windows. Together with seven other artists, he was to design and deliver twenty-two new nave windows with heraldic motifs, coats of arms, and similar devices. Other windows in the nave included those donated by nobles such as Philip the Good, Charles the Bold (both in ca. 1458), Philip the Handsome (1478–1506, 1509), Mary of Hungary (1556) and Emmanuel Filibert of Savoye (1528–1580, 1559). All windows are now lost, save five small fragments from 1559, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 36, 162 cat. no. 381; Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 23. An early seventeenth-century manuscript contains an inventory of the then-present windows, complete with a series of coloured drawings of 'de ghelase veinsteren' in the cathedral, K.G. van Acker, 'De handschriften der vroegere St.-Baafslibrijë', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 14 (1960) 63–86, 67 cat. no. 1(2); Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 276 cat. no. 745; Dhanens, 'De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk', 31–33.

²⁹⁰ From the latin 'praeter', 'except'.

²⁹¹ The windows were destroyed in the sixteenth century, but some sketches survive. One window was donated by Emperor Charles V, two by King Philip II and Mary Tudor (1516, r. 1553–1558). The cartoons were designed by Michiel Coxcie in 1555, and installed a year later, see Philip Kervyn de Volkaersbeke, *Les églises de Gand* vol. i (Ghent 1857) 22, 248–249; Jan van Damme, 'The donation of the Seventh Window: a Burgundian-Habsburg tradition and the role of Viglius van Aytta', in: Wim de Groot (ed.), *The Seventh Window. The king's window donated by Philip II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk in Gouda, 1557* (Hilversum 2005) 131–144, 134–136 figs. 52–54, 140–141; Jonckheere and Suykerbuyk, 'The life and times of Michiel Coxcie', 28 fig. 12, 30; Melina Reintjens, 'The Habsburg windows in Brussels Cathedral', in: Jonckheere, *Michiel Coxcie*, 138–155, 147.

²⁹² Van Eyck's altarpiece; see no. 15.

²⁹³ The epitaph of Simon Bette (1485–1554), Lord of Bottele, and his wife, Eleonora van Waudripoint (1595–1547), Lady of Haut-Lieu, the only surviving object of its kind in St. Bavo's predating the Fury, was sculpted by Jan d'Heere, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 136 cat. no. 246. Also see the account in Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 92, 'Die costelicke epitaphien van Bets ende van meester Jan De Meij werden, ten besten dat men mochte, afghenomen'. The latter was destroyed nonetheless.

²⁹⁴ The two rare and partially surviving examples are the tombs of Margareta van Ghistel (?–1431), in the crypt below the Chapel of St. Aubertus, and the fragmentary remains of the tomb of Michelle de Valois (1395–1422), the spouse of Philip the Good, originally in the Abbey of St. Bavo, but moved the northern transept of St. John's in 1540, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 114–115 cat. nos. 231–232. Both monuments were severely damaged during the Iconoclastic Fury.

lesten Abt vander zeluer/²⁹⁵ nu een Cane=
sye/ eenen Proost hebbende/ dese staet achter
den choor twee steeghers op te clemmen/ tus=
schen onzer Vrouwen/²⁹⁶ ende die Backers capelle/²⁹⁷
alzo ghenoeemt om dat die backers daer
plochten haren altaer te houden/ dwelcke nu
ghecesseert is mids die nieuwe concessie der
Keyserlicker Maiesteyt.²⁹⁸ Op den altaer van
deser capelle/ staet oock een nieuwe/ costelicke
tafel/ met witte Marmoren beelden/ ende
ander costelicke materialen/ alle dese wercken
sijn meest ghemaect by den voornoemden

²⁹⁵ Lucas Munich (1491–1562), the last abbot of the Abbey of St. Bavo and the first provost after the abbey's transition to a collegiate chapter in 1536, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 17. The chapter was moved to St. John's in 1540 after Emperor Charles V ordered the demolition of the abbey, see the notes to no. 15.

Munich's funerary monument was probably designed by Jan d'Heere. The tomb was heavily damaged by iconoclasts while it was still unfinished. It was restored, but destroyed again in 1578. In 1637, the current tomb slab of ca. 1600 was moved to the crypt, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 142; Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 115 cat. no. 233; *NBW* vol. ii, 298.

²⁹⁶ The Chapel of Our Lady with the Nimbus (now the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament), in the center of the apse; the Confraternity of Our Lady's retable, showing *The legend of Veronica*, was placed in the chapel in 1480. An alabaster *Madonna* and a sculpted baldachin were added by Jan d'Heere in ca. 1530–1532, see the description in Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 142. The same artist delivered a sculpture of St. Paul in 1541, Paul Trio, *De Gentse broederschappen, 1182–1580. Ontstaan, naamgeving, materiële uitrusting, structuur, opheffing en bronnen*. Verhandelingen der maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde 16 (Ghent 1990) 57–63.

²⁹⁷ The Chapel of St. Aubertus (now the Bishop's Chapel), to the right of the Chapel of Our Lady, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 68 cat no. 56.

²⁹⁸ Van Vaernewijck is referring to the *Concessio Carolina*, instituted on April 30, 1540, an elaborate set of sanctions meant to punish the city for its failed revolt against Emperor Charles V. All local trade groups and guilds lost most of their property, both movable and immovable. Corporations that owned a vicary (a secluded capital meant to pay for the livelihood of a priest, assigned to carry out tasks explained in the vicary's foundation letter) were allowed to keep their liturgical objects so that they could celebrate Mass, with exception of the silver; other possessions were only partly restituted later; Dambruyne, *Corporatieve middengroepen*, 100–101, 108, 118–124, 169–172.

De crocht
van S. Ians
kercke.

Meester Ian dHeere.²⁹⁹ Oock isser een con=
stich stuck van beelden te ziene/ in den crocht
vande voorseyde kercke/ welcken crocht soo
schoone ende groot is/ met pilaren/ capellen/
ende altaren met taferelen verchiert/ dat hy me
nighe deghelicke kercke te bouen gaet: dit
werck staet in een plaetse die afghesloten is/
voren inden zeluen crocht ghenoeemt Iheru=
salem/³⁰⁰ ende is daer zoo donckere datment niet
en can ghesien/ dan met veel lights/³⁰¹ ende is
een begrauinghe ons Heeren/ met beelden al=
soo groot als tleuen/ ghemaect by wylent
M. Willem Hughe/³⁰² een heylich man van leuen
zoo de mare van hem ghinck, dwelcke werck
voor waer die beste ende constichste ghesneden
wercken van Ghendt niet te wijcken en heeft

²⁹⁹ A retable showing *The life of St. Luke*, sculpted by Jan d'Heere. Munich commissioned Frans Floris to paint and install the wings. The panels are now lost, but a copy after Floris's *St. Luke painting the Virgin* (ca. 1563) is preserved in the collections of St. Bavo's, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 17, 187 cat. no. 432; Wouk, *Frans Floris*, 168–169, 397, 510–511, 608 cat. nos. P.168–P.172.

The panels were saved from destruction in 1566; the retable was dismantled by Jan d'Heere on August 19, after which the panels apparently ended up in Lucas's workshop in the Bennesteeg, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 91–92, 142, 'Want up den xix^e augustij was noch besich met afbreken, ter minster quetse, meester Jan de Heere (...) die costelicke marmoren ende albastren autaer tafele die stont in Sente Jans keercke, in de backers capelle, zoo dat eenen derde diet zach; want daer waren beelden in van witten marmore ende die colonnen van rans marmore, die reste van albaster ende toetse; die dueren waren constich gheschildert van meester Franchoijs Floris t'Andtwerpen, welcken meester Jan voornoemd maer eenen curten tijt daer te voren die beelden daer an ghemaect ende ghestelt hadde'. It is interesting that Lucas d'Heere, himself a protestant, was the one to hide and preserve Floris's pained wings; it shows that he must have kept them safe on account of their art historical and civic importance. Also see the account in Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 241, 'Te Gent/ achter in S. Ians Kerck/ waren van hem [Floris] vier dobbel deuren/ in de Capelle van den Abt van S. Baefs, die den Abt Lucas hadde laten maken/ wesen inwendich d'Historie van S. Lucas: (...) also ick self ghesien heb/ want wy dese deuren hadden op onsen winckel tot Lucas de Heere, daer sy voor den storm der beelden waren bewaert/ en ons daeghlijcx in onse leeringhe dienden'. Van Mander proceeds with a detailed description of the individual panels, probably based on sketches he made in d'Heere's workshop, Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 52; Waterschoot, *Ter liefde der const*, 174.

³⁰⁰ The Romanesque section of the crypt was converted into an oratory in 1480, and lavishly decorated with murals between that time and ca. 1540, the year the Chapel of Jerusalem was closed to the public, Frans de Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijt tot heden* vol. v (Ghent 1893–1896, in viii vols.), 450–451; Dhanens, 'De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk', 59–65. See the descriptions of the surviving murals in Gabriel van den Gheyn, 'Les peintures murales à la crypte de St. Bavon', *Bulletijn der Maatschappij van geschied- en oudheidkunde te Gent* (1937) 105–131, and Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 45–48, 168–173 cat. nos. 401–422.

Together with the reliquary attic at St. Peter's and Van Eyck's polyptych, the crypt was regarded as one of the 'seven Antijcque wonderen van Ghendt', Juste Billet, *Chroniqueur gantois au XVII^e siècle* [...], Edmond de Busscher ed. (Ghent 1873) 188; Dhanens, *Het retabel van het Lam Gods*, 41.

³⁰¹ The seven metal rings used to suspend the lighting from the ceiling are still present, Dhanens, 'De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk', 60.

³⁰² Willem Hughe, a sculptor, highly esteemed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, but now obscure. Hughe became a free master in the local Guild of St. Luke in 1475, and was dean in 1483–1484 and 1487–1488, Cornelis, 'De kunstenaar in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent i', 104; *ibid.*, 'De kunstenaar in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent ii', 122, 124. Also see n. 316 below.

al eyst naer die oude maniere ghedaen/³⁰³ welcke werck al stondt in een zeer duyster plaetse/ soo datment zonder kerssen niet en heeft moghen zien/ soo nochtans ghelicht heeft/ door de fa=me/ dat vele meesters ende constbeminders wt verre landen dat commen besoecken ende visiteren hebben.³⁰⁴ Zijn wercken verchieren ooc in meer plaetsen die stadt van Ghendt/ als oock een Marie beelde/ op den hoeck van Sinte Iooris huys (die daer ghestelt was/ den viij. in den Meye xiiij. hondert lxxx. als Mher Joos van Ghistel Ridder/ Voorschepen was)³⁰⁵ ende oock ten Predicheeren/³⁰⁶ ende elders/³⁰⁷

Decoratie van d'ander kercken van Ghendt. Item/ Sinte Niclaus kercke is redelick verciert met tafelen/³⁰⁸ ende gheschilderde glas=vensteren/ waeraf die tafel ghesneden byden voornoemden Meester Willem Hughe/ ende gheschildert by Meester Ian Schoore cano=nick tUtrecht/ inde Meersseniers capelle die

³⁰³ Or, in a Gothic style. The sandstone sculpture group mentioned by Van Vaernewijck still exists today, but it is regrettably nowhere close to its former late Gothic glory, Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, 99–101 cat. no. 143; Dhanens, 'De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk', 59–63; Alfons van Werveke, 'Een Heilig Graf van Willem Hughe in St. Baafs te Gent', *Ghendtsche tydingen* 35:2 (2006) 88–94. According to Van Vaernewijck, the sculptures were smashed and largely destroyed in 1566, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. ii, 147, 'daer sommighe conste verstandighe mannen, oock constighe schulptores ende pictores wel van over hondert mijlen ende meer quamen om tzelve te ziene, ende wij zijn zoo dul dat wijt hebben laten schenden ende breken, van ghuijten ende rabauwen die nauwelic een cause an tbeen en hadden oft eenen schoen an den voet, ende die gheheel mesjant van leven ende van gheloove waren'. The sculptures were heavily restored, plastered and painted over in ca. 1656 and 1765.

³⁰⁴ The same was apparently the case for the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, see no. 10.

³⁰⁵ The St. Jorishof on the Botermarkt, owned by the Greater Crossbow Guild of St. George. Hughe's sculpture was removed from the façade of the building on August 18, 1578, Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. ii, 204, 213. Van Vaernewijck must have known the statue well on account of his civic duties at the town hall, opposite the St. Jorishof, and his membership of the guild (supra). Also see his description of the 'magnifijcke Schutters houen' in *Spiegel*, cap. iv.49, fol. 121ra [Qira], 'twee zonderlinghe sijn van heerlicheit ende schoonheit pryselic/ als thof van toude Ghilde van S. Iooris/ twelck thoof Ghilde van Vlaendren is/ daer Keyseren/ Coninghen ende Princen haer laten inschryuen/ ende staet int herte vander stadt, hebbende een seer eerlicke ende stercke huysagie/ ende een schoon Galerye van blouwen steenen/ lanch vanden eenen steegher totten anderen/ hondert liiij. passen/ ende de langhe doelen sijn alby zo lanc'.

³⁰⁶ An *Annunciation*, now lost, and other sculptures, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 166.

³⁰⁷ See no. 21. Van Vaernewijck *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 174, also mentions a *Madonna* at the Augustinian Monastery of St. Mary in Galilea in the Hoogstraat.

³⁰⁸ See no. 21.

beste is.³⁰⁹

Item/ in Sinte Jacobs kercke/³¹⁰ sijn noch
meer constighe glasvensteren, wanof die alder
beste is/ die den Helsenaers toegheheechent is³¹¹
ende die constichste Schilderye/ een cleen ta=
fereelkin oft Epitaphie/ hanghende inden
beuck ontrent der Vunte/³¹² sprekende³¹³ op eenen
Waulter Gaultier/³¹⁴ gheschildert van die zeer

³⁰⁹ The altarpiece was placed in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the southern side of the nave. It was decorated with sculptures of St. Nicasius and a seated St. Nicholas, and was about 24 foot in height. Archival records of the merchant's craft show that Hughe started work on the altarpiece in ca. 1483. The final payment was made to Hughe's widow, Margaretha Rutaert (?–after 1503), on December 28, 1485, Elizabeth Dhanens, *Sint-Niklaaskerk Gent. Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen* vol. iii (Ghent 1960) 64, 101; E. van der Hallen, 'Het Gentse meerseniersambacht, 1305–1540', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 31 (1977) 77–149, 110–111; Rudy van Elslande, 'Daneel Rutaert, alias Van Lovendeghem, beeldhouwer, wijnhandelaar of mecenas?', *Ghendtsche Tydinghen* 41:5 (2012) 377–391, 379, 383–384. Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. vi, 457–458, records the appearance and the approximate size of the altar, but wrongly located the altarpiece at St. James.

The canvas or cloth painting done by Jan van Scorel was evidently a later addition. It can be dated around 1550, when Scorel was in Ghent (see no. 15), even though Vaernewijck implies that the painting was imported from Utrecht, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 152, 'ende die platte schilderije up douck was ghedaen bij meester Jan Schoore, canonick t'Utrecht; moghelic en wast daerom up haut niet gheschildert, om dattet zoo verre te voeren zoude gheweest hebben'.

³¹⁰ Van Vaernewijck served as churchwarden of St. James, his parish church, from 1562 until his death, see app. 1, and the study of the parish in Anne-Laure van Bruaene and Michal Bauwens, 'De Sint-Jacobskerk te Gent. Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van de stedelijke parochiekerk in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 65 (2011) 103–125, 108, 121–124.

³¹¹ The elsenars (from the Middle Dutch 'elsene', or awl), the corporation for apprentices and journeymen of shoemakers. A similar organization existed in Bruges, see the study by K. van Quathem, 'Het broederschap van de schoenmakersknechten of "elsenaars" te Brugge', *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor geschiedenis* 133:1–3 (1996) 78–97.

The window, showing a *Lamentation* flanked by figures of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, was destroyed on August 23, 1566; see the description in Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 151–152, 'ende die veinster vanden helsenaers, ende was de constichste van Ghendt, daer in gheschildert was die figure van Onsen Heere als oft hij afghedaen hadde gheweest vanden cruse, ligghende in een cleet, ende zijn moeder ende die discipelen daer bij, zeer rauwich schijnende, Sente Chrispijn ende Sente Chrispiaen. Beede de patroonen vanden helsenaers waren daer ghefigureert over deen ende over dander zijde, ende achter was die figure van tbinnenste van een keercke, met een fraeij verdiepijnghe, gheschildert, alzoot scheen, naer die conste optica ofte perspectiva'. One Hans Claeijs was executed on September 29, 1566 on account of his share in the breaking of the window, *ibid.*, vol. ii, 275.

The scene on the window also was recorded by Van Mander, who regarded it as a *Descent from the cross* designed by Hugo van der Goes or Jan van Eyck, *Leven*, fol. 203v, 'In de selve Kerck was oock een glaes-venster van een afdoeninghe van t'Cruys/ een seer constich stuck: dan ick twijffel of de teyckeninge van hem [Hugo]/ oft van zijn Meester Iohannes was'. Here, Van Mander was likely drawing from a local tradition, Miedema, *Lives* vol. ii, 230, 234.

³¹² Or, close to the portal of the church.

³¹³ Van Vaernewijck is evidently referring to an inscription.

³¹⁴ Wauter Ghautier (Wauters?), his year of death is uncertain, but his membership of the Smaller Archery Guild of St. Sebastian attests that he could not have been very old when he passed away, Elizabeth Dhanens, 'Het "Memoriaalke" van Wauter Ghautier door Hugo van der Goes', *Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique: Miscellanea Henri Pauwels* 38–40:1–3 (1989–1991) 125–136, 129–131.

constighe handt van Meester Hughe³¹⁵ die zeer [fol. 120rb, P8rb]
ontrent den tijdt leefte/ van Willem Hughe
voornoemt/³¹⁶ dese kercke ende oock Sinte Ni=
claus hebben constighe Sacraments huysen/³¹⁷
ende Sinte Jacobs staen iente priesterlicke
Stoelen/ van heer Willem Doens doen ma=
ken/³¹⁸ oock twee ghesneden tafelen/ deene coste
lick ghestoffeert/ is vanden strijdt van Sinte

³¹⁵ It is unclear whether this painting by Hugo van der Goes was a small diptych or a triptych, but its central scene was a *Seated Madonna and Child*, perhaps in an Enclosed Garden. The interior wings (or indeed the second panel) showed St. Barbara and St. Catherine. The exterior panel(s) showed a memento mori with a corpse and an angel, and perhaps Gauthier's patron saint or banderoles with inscriptions.

The epitaph was affixed to a column opposite the altar of the Smaller Archery Guild of St. Sebastian (in the Chapel of St. Sebastian and St. Agnes, currently the Chapel of St. Joseph). The painting, regarded by Vaernewijck as the 'very best' at the Church of St. James, was saved by the clerk of St. Sebastian's, of which Ghautier also was a member, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 150–151, 'Daer hijnc an eenen pilaer een memoriaelkin van schilderie van eenen Wauter Ghautier, overleden der weerelt, jeghen over Sente Sebastiaens autae, djonghe ghilde vander schutterie, ende was binnen een zittende Marien beeldekin in een pleijn met haer kindekin, ende daer neffens zittende twee jonghe helighe maechdekens figueren, als Sente Barbara over deen zijde ende Sente Katherina over dandere. Buten wast een doode ghestrec ende eenen inghel ende anders daer ontrent. Dit dede af ende drouch wech (eer de foele ghebuerde) den cnape van Sente Sebastiaen, ende was verre tconstichste sticckin van schilderien, dat in de gheheele keercke was'; Dhanens, 'Het "Memoriaalke" van Wauter Ghautier', 129; Sander, *Hugo van der Goes*, 19–20; David Maes, 'Het Gents kerkepad: Sint-Jakobskerk', *Ghendtsche Tydinghen* 25:6 (1996) 309–328, 322. The scene on the epitaph by Van der Goes is perhaps comparable to a painting from the circle of Robert Campin (ca. 1375–1444), now in the collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. no. 1959.9.3.

Van Mander claims to have seen the diptych or triptych numerous times, *Leven*, fol. 203v, '(...) een beeldt nouwe anderhalf voet groot/ dat ick dickmael ghesien hebbe/ met groot verwonderen van netticheyt die daer in was: oock op den grondt de cruydekens en ghesteentghens: bysonder was te verwonderen de gracelijcke zedicheyt/ die in de tronie der Mari-beeldt was/ daer die oude een bysonder gratie in hadden/ die gheestlijcke wesens sulcken statighe devoticheyt by te voegen'.

³¹⁶ Probably an attempt at dating the painting. Willem Hughe became a free master in the Guild of St. Luke in 1475, the same year Hugo van der Goes was dean. The latter also partially advanced the deposit of 8 Flemish groten and a silver plate for the former, Cornelis, 'De kunstenaar in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent ii', 122, 124, and note 332 below. Hughe and Van der Goes worked together on at least one occasion, see no. 17.

³¹⁷ The sacrament house at the Church of St. Nicholas was constructed by the stonemasons Jan and Pieter Moerman in ca. 1552–1555. Commissioned by Andries Seys, churchwarden of St. Nicholas's between 1543 and 1547, the tower was ca. 13 metres in height, and had over 30 sculptures of evangelists, apostles, prophets, and the Church Fathers, and featured reliefs with scenes of the Old testament and the Seven Holy Sacraments, Dhanens, *Sint-Niklaaskerk Gent*, 71–71. Also see the case study in Ruben Suykerbuyk and Anne-Laure van Bruaene, 'Towering piety: sacrament houses, local patronage and an early Counter-Reformation spirit in the Low Countries, 1520–1566', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 67 (2017) 118–159, 142–145.

The sacrament house at St. James was partially polychromed, and had such height that it 'tot boven an den boghe vander keercken reecte'. Both were destroyed in the night of August 23, 1566, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 138, 147, 152.

³¹⁸ The three thrones were commissioned to the Ghent sculptor Hendrick van Ballare (ca. 1531?–ca. 1573) by Willem Doens, priest and chaplain at St. James. They were to be sculpted in bluestone and avenderstone, while the histories on the rear sides were painted by Jan van der Rivière (ca. 1518?–1569). The thrones were only finished somewhere in 1565, according to Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 'ende costen hem wel veertich ponden grooten, noch gheen jaer ghestaen hebbende, werden van quaetwillighe bouwen ooc afgebroken'; Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. vii, 12–13, 186; *Biographie Nationale* vol. xix, 381; *NBW* vol. i, 75–77.

Iacob/³¹⁹ ende dander staet in de Schrijnwerckers capelle, daer het lambrouseersel van dien weerdich te besien is.³²⁰

Item/ in S. Michiels kercke, staen twee goede altaer tafelen/ inde cruyskercke/ waer al die vanden namen Ihesus/ die werckelicste/ ende constichste is, ghedaen van wit ende zwart by Meester Jaspar.³²¹ Item meester Ian ende Lucas dHeere zijn zone, hebben ooc dees kercke helpen decoreren/ door die goede Heeren diet becosticht hebben/ deene in den beuck

³¹⁹ The altar of the Confraternity of St. James the Apostle, installed in a chapel the crossing of the church, Frans Verstraeten, 'De Broederschap van Sint-Jakob-in-Compostella, gevestigd in de Gentse Sint-Jakobskerk, op het einde van de XV^e eeuw', *Ghendtsche Tydinghen* 5:3 (1976) 127–133, 128–129. One of the donors, Jan Poortier (?–1542), was involved in the revolt against Emperor Charles V. It cost him his head; Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 87–88, 150, 'In somma niet een autaeer tafele oft beelde en wasser in de gheheel keercke, voren ende achtere, of zij en worden ghebroke, zonder de ghene die te voren wech ghedaen waren, ghelijc dat Sente Jacobs autaeer tafele in partijen afghedaen was [on August 19, 1566], die de broeders, die tSente Jacobs in Galissien gheweest hadden, onderhilden, zoo voorscreven es, welcke tafele de constichste vander keercken es, ende onder ofte in den back es ghesneden de bataille oft strijt van Sente Jacob, ooc costelic verghult ende ghestoffeert. Hier up es als vader vande voornoemde confrerie buten up de dueren gheschildert Jan Poortier ende Christoffels Van Beveren, naer tleven wel gheconterfeet, welcken Poortier onthoof was, omdat hij hem te breet ghemoeyt hadde int jaer xl'. Also see Trio, *De Gentse broederschappen*, 152–155.

³²⁰ The Chapel of St. Lieven or Livinus, used by the joiners's guild, Maes, 'Het Gents kerkepad', 326. The appearance and maker of the altarpiece are unknown, but it is probable that it showed scenes from the life of the craft's patron saint.

³²¹ An altarpiece or epitaph with the *Final Judgement*. The altarpiece was commissioned in ca. 1524 by Lieven van Pottelsberghe (1470/1475–1531), Lord of Vinderhout. Van Pottelsberghe was a counselor of Emperor Charles V, a churchwarden of the Church of St. Michael and a (founding?) member of the Confraternity of the Sweet Name of Jesus. It was installed in 1525 in the confraternity's chapel in the southern transept of the church, which doubled as the Pottelsberghe's family altar. Van Vaernewijck's curious description of the painting as being a grisaille might lead us to the impression that he only knew the exterior of the wings (see below). In *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 153–154, however, he is more elaborate: 'die constighe tafele gheschildert van wit ende zwart, vanden name Ihesus, daer veel helighen dien hooghen name loven ende anbidden, ende den inghel Sente Michael staet int midden: onder es een helle, etc'. The altarpiece was saved in 1566, but it is now lost, A. van de Veegaete, 'Lieven van Pottelsberghe. Een Gents maecenas uit het begin der XVI^e eeuw', *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor geschiedenis te Gent* 3 (1949) 93–104, 101–104; Trio, *De Gentse broederschappen*, 163–166; David Maes, 'Over Lieven van Pottelsberghe', *Ghendtsche Tydinghen* 25:1 (1996) 31–34.

The true identity of 'Master Jaspar' remains problematic. Jaspar must have been an artist of some reputation, however, since Van Vaernewijck addresses him only by his first name, as he does when referring to masters such as Hugo van der Goes and Rogier van der Weyden. A probable contender, in my view, is Gerard (corrupted as Gaspard?) Horenbout, the famous Ghent miniaturist who painted a triptych for Van Pottelsberghe in ca. 1524. The exterior panels of the wings, showing portraits of Van Pottelsberghe and his family flanked by angels, are presently in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, inv. nos. 1932-a, 1937-a. It is charming to think that the mentioned wings are the surviving fragments of the altarpiece described by Van Vaernewijck, even though the portraits are rendered in powerful colour.

The other altarpiece, probably owned by the fisherman's guild, showed St. Peter and St. Paul on the exterior doors, according to the description in Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 154, 'zoo zij van ghelijcken hadden doen afnemen, in de zelve cruuskercke, een ander costelicke gheschilderde tafele, daer buten Sente Pieter ende Sente Pauwels gheschildert es, ende binnen ander dijnc tot devocie verweckende. De eerste was ghedaen van die meesterlicke handen van meester Jaspar; maer wie dander ghemaect heeft es mij onbekent'.

III duysent
orghelpypen

met twee tafelen van Alebastre³²² ende dandre
met een gheschilderde Epitaphie/ onder die
orghel/³²³ van welcke orghel wy ooc dat wonder
niet zwyghen en connen/ op dat zy maer een
middelbaer stuk sijnde/ drye duysent orghel
pypen in haer heeft/ welcke die Organisten
voor wat nieus hebben ghenoteert.³²⁴

17. cap. iv.49, fol. 120rb [P8rb]. Other works of art in the various religious institutions of Ghent. The paintings by Hugo van der Goes and the *Calvary* by Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516) are the most important.

¶ **Van zommighe cloosteren, ende huy-
sen te Ghendt, van haer verchieringhen,
ornamenten, oft costelicheden ende van
tvvee schoone schutters houen.**

Cap. xlix.

(...) Hier staen ooch schone/ coste

³²² The largest of the two was an altarpiece ordered by Nicolaas Triest (ca. 1515–1570), Lord of Ouwegem. The other, an epitaph, was installed above the tomb of Karel Claessone (?–1540), Lord of Wallebeke, and showed a *Final Judgement* in the upper register. Both works were completely destroyed in 1566, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 155, 'dat costelic weerck ende autae tafele, dat mer Claeijs Triest, heere van Hauweghem, hadde doen maken, scheen afghenomen zijnde, ende was van marber, albaster ende toetse van meester Jan Dheere ghedaen. Men zacher niet dan den blooten muer daert ghestaen hadde, inghehouden ende ghebroken met hauweelen daert inghevoucht hadde gheweest. Dat albasteren tafelkin van meester Charels Claijsone doen maken, daerboven een oordeel stont, waren de beelden al wech ende som ghebroken. Dit was ooc ghemaect van meester Jan Dheere, die eenen gheest van Phidias heeft'; Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. v, 211; *NBW* vol. ii, 300.

³²³ A *History of Moses and the brazen serpent* (Num. 21,4–9). In this episode, a bronze serpent, later known as Nehushtan (2 K. 18.4), was erected by Moses to protect the Israelites from the biting snakes sent by God as a punishment for turning against Moses. Those who looked at the serpent were cured of the plague, those who turned away died; see the description in Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 154, 'Ooc waren afghenomen zeker schoon tafereelen, ende onder andere eene dhijstorie vanden motalen serpente in de woestijne, hanghende onder dhurghel jegen over den name Jhesus autae voornoemt, ghedaen bij dien jonghen gheleerden constenare meester Lucas De Heere wonende te Ghendt, den zone van meester Jan, schulptor, voornoemt'.

The subject of the brazen serpent is rather obscure, but far from unique. Lucas probably knew the theme from a large painting by Frans Floris, commissioned by Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586) in ca. 1554, when Lucas was working in Floris's workshop. The painting is lost, but the design was also brought into print by Hieronymus Cock in 1555. In the lengthy inscription by Lampsonius, Floris is praised for his 'Appelean hand', while Granvelle is mentioned as the 'Maecenas' and 'Ingenior'. For this rare print, see *New Hollstein Dutch* (Floris) xlii, liv, cat. no. 25; Wouk, *Frans Floris*, 263–265, 286–289, 295, 537, 578 cat. no. p.54, 650 cat. no. h.25. Interestingly, also in 1554, Michiel Coxcie painted a large triptych with an *Adoration of the brazen serpent* on the central panel, today in the collection of the Maagdenhuismuseum, Antwerp. Coxcie already designed a print with a similar theme years earlier (ca. 1540), perhaps in response to Maarten van Heemskerck. Coxcie's print was later praised by Vasari, see the 1568 ed. of the *Vite* vol. ii, 319; *Hollstein Dutch* (Cornelisz.-Dou) 62 cat. no. 1; *New Hollstein Dutch* (Van Heemskerck) 75 cat. no. 76; Joris van Grieken, 'Publish or perish: Michiel Coxcie in print', in: Jonckheere, *Michiel Coxcie*, 156–183, 171–172.

³²⁴ The organ, donated by Lieven van Pottelsberghe, was installed on the western wall of the southern transept, opposite to his chapel. The amount of three thousand pipes seems exaggerated; Van de Veegaete, 'Lieven van Pottelsberghe', 102; David Maes, 'Het Gents kerkepad: Sint-Michielskerk', *Ghendtsche Tydinghen* 26:2 (1997) 54–74, 63; Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet*, fol. Czv, 'Vwie zou ooc gheloouen, oft connen begrijpen,/ Dat iij. M hurghelpipen, in sente Michiels hurghel spelen'.

- Predicheeren
te Ghendt. licke cloosters/ als vanden Predicheeren³²⁵ een
groot/ sterck ghestichte/ met een kercke bin= [fol. 120va, P8va]
nen xl. voeten wijt/ zonder eenighe rustinghe
der pilaren/ dan aen die zycapellen/ ende heeft
twee schoone panden/ met glasen wel verciert
waeraf eene wtnemende constich ghedaen was/
ende was de historie vanden drye Coninghen
daer zy haer offerande deden in Bethelehem/³²⁶
dese venster ende die glasvenster van den Hel=
senaeers voornoemt/ in Sinte Jacobs kercke
vochten ieghens elcanderen om prijs.³²⁷ Dit
Clooster heeft oock veel huysingen/ ende cel=
len/ staende van achter aen die riuere van der
Leye. In die kercke is eene van die beste Or=
ghelen van Ghendt/³²⁸ ende vele ander cieraten
hier te lanck om noemen.
- Carmeliten Item/ onzer Vrouwen broeders clooster/³²⁹
is oock wel ghebouwet/ sterck/ ende schoone/
oock niet sijnde zonder reflectie des waters.
In dees kercke is een tafel geschildert by der
hant van Meester Hughe/ in zynen ionghen
tijt/ ende is de Legende oft Historie van S.
Catarine/³³⁰ daerneuens is noch een tafel daer

³²⁵ The former Dominican friary, currently owned by the University of Ghent.

³²⁶ The window was destroyed by the iconoclasts on August 22, 1566, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 109–110, 114, 'Ja, die schilderien an mueren ende in glaesveinsters en waren niet vrij, zij werden uutghescrapt bijsonder die ooghen ende aenzichten, ende die glaesveinsters met steenen duerworpen', 'Daer en bleef nieuwers een glaesveinster gheheel. Hier ghijnck die zeer uutmene ende constighe ghelaesveinster te ruijne, die inden eenen pant stont, wesende dhijstorie vande drij coninghen. De keercke wart zoo ghehandtiert dattet onsprekelic ware'.

³²⁷ See no. 16.

³²⁸ It was saved in 1566 on account of its quality, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 128.

³²⁹ The Caermersklooster.

³³⁰ An altarpiece with the scenes from the *History of St. Catharine*, painted by Hugo van der Goes, apparently with compartmentalized reliefs done by Willem Hughe. According to Van Vaernewijck, its execution was not as competent ('constigh') as the other altarpieces at the monastery, perhaps on account of Van der Goes's young age, but it was larger and much more noteworthy ('veel toochlicker ende meerder'), Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 160–161. In August 1566, the retable was dismantled by the monks and brought to the refectory for safekeeping, but it was discovered and subsequently smashed, see the next note. Cf. Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 203v, 'Daer was nog binnen Ghent van Hughe, in't Clooster van den onse Vrouwen Broers/ een Tafel/ waer in was gheschildert de legende oft Historie van S. Catharina, dat een constigh en schoon werck was/ hoewel hy dit zijn jonckheit hadde ghedaen'.

hy zijn conste in ghestroyt heeft.³³¹ Item/ eenen
Docsael van houten oft een afsluytsel voor den
hooghen Coor/ zo costelick ende zwaer aen
gheleyt/ datter den Meester³³² in verstelt bleef/
ende alnoch onvolmaeckt staet/³³³ hier sijn ooc
Priesterlicke Stoelen ende ander dijnc niet
ter verachten.³³⁴

(...) Ooc [fol. 120vb, P8vb]

sijn in die Stadt van Ghendt vele excellente
dinghen/ in vele poorters huysen/ die menich
mensch niet bekent en sijn/ als zommighe ca=
meren wanof men zecht/ dat zy meer dan hon
dert ponden grooten van lambrosen ghe=
cost hebben. Daer is ooc eenen mantel van

Costelicken
mantel van
een caue.

³³¹ This was a standing altarpiece with scenes in separate cartouches or compartments, perhaps depictions of the life of a saint or a cycle of the Passion, see the sparse description in Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 160–161, ‘ende noch een tafel over hende met constighe paercxkins, van meester Hughe Van der Ghoest gheschildert, zeer net ende aerdich (...). Alle dese tafelen met meer andere, waren ghebrocht ende gheleijt in den reeft; maer waren van Ghijselbrecht Cools, lootghierter, ghewesen ende al bedorven ende in sticken ghesmeten, dwelc groote schade ende jammer was’; Sander, *Hugo van der Goes*, 20. Cools was executed by hanging on September 7, 1566, Van Heule, *Memorieboek der stad Ghent* vol. ii, 342.

³³² The choir-side of the rood screen was sculpted by Jan de Smijtere. In December 1511, apparently unsatisfied with De Smijtere’s work, the prior of the monastery commissioned Daneel Rutaert the Younger (?–before 1541) to finish the screen. At the time, Rutaert must have been an artist with a considerable reputation. Between ca. 1499 and 1501, he and Bartholomeus Pons of Haarlem (?–after 1524) worked on the new choir stalls of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Barcelona. Archival records show Rutaert was back in Ghent in April 1504. He must have known Willem Hughe well, since Rutaert’s sister Margaretha was married to him. His father, Daneel Rutaert the Elder (?–1487), a wine merchant and collector, advanced the entrance fees to the Guild of St. Luke for Joos van Wassenhove (ca. 1410–ca. 1480, in 1469), Hugo van der Goes (in 1467), and Willem Hughe (in 1475), Van Elslande, ‘Daneel Rutaert’, 378–383. On Bartholomeus Pons, see Josua Bruyn, ‘De betekenis van het werk van Jan van Scorel omstreeks 1530 voor oudere en jongere tijdgenoten (4)’, *Oud Holland* 98:2 (1984) 89–109, 100–106.

According to the contract, the nave-side of the rood screen was to be lavishly decorated. Reliefs of the *Seven sorrows* and the *Seven joys* of the Virgin were to be placed between the arcades, with the empty spots filled with sculptured flowers, leaves, and animal figures. The capitals of the columns were to show scenes from the life of the prophet Elijah, Van Elslande, ‘Daneel Rutaert’, 387 n. 44. Van Vaernewijck adds that a large sculpted *Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John* was placed on top of the screen, see the next note.

³³³ According to Van Vaernewijck’s account in *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 162, the splendid and costly rood screen was barely halfway finished when construction stalled. It was said that Rutaert worked on the screen in poverty (‘inne bijstier’, perhaps a subtle reference to Protogenes, who did not want to blunt his sensibilities with a luxurious diet, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.102), until his complete lack of money forced him to stop production. The screen apparently remained in that unfinished state after the artist’s death in ca. 1541, until it was smashed by the iconoclasts in August 1566.

³³⁴ Polychromed sedilia made of avenderstone, ordered by Gerard Rijm (?–1570), Lord of Eeckenbeecke, attorney general to the Council of Flanders since 1547, and member of the same council from 1557. Lucas d’Heere dedicated a short epigram to his wife, Barbe Claessone, Lady of Wallebeke, in *Den hof en boomgaerd*, 43, 121; On Rijm (or Rym), see P.P.J.L. van Peteghem, *De Raad van Vlaanderen en staatsvorming onder Karel V, 1515–1555. Een publiekrechtelijk onderzoek naar centralisatiestreven in de XVII Provinciën* (Nijmegen 1990) 326–328; Dambruyn, *Corporatieve middengroepen*, 434. The sedilia were destroyed in 1566, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 161.

een caue/³³⁵ int huys staende aen tmuyde bruch=
sken,³³⁶ die niet alleene die oogen van ghemeene
lieden: maer ooc van groote constenaers (hem
dies wel verstaende) zoude doen openstaen, ende
met grooten lust aenzien/ zo fraey ende leuende
is hy gheschildert vanden voornoemden M.
Hughe/ noch een ionchman sijnde: want men
zecht dat hy daer ten huysse een dochter vrij=
de/ waeromme hem de Liefde te constigher
dede wercken,³³⁷ dit is die Historie van Abigail
daer zy Daudid inde wildernisse wesende/ met
haer ghiften comt verzoenen.³³⁸

Die goede christelijke ouders/ hebben ooc
hier voortijts zeer neerstich gheweest om die
godelicke diensten met schoone/ ende costelic
ke ornamente te verchieren (...).

ende onze voorzaten groote kosten
ghehangen aen costelicke Fierters/ om die
lichamen der Heylighen (die de vrienden
des Heeren sijn/ zeer machtich int rijke der He=

³³⁵ A decorated mantelpiece. Based on Vaernewijck's cryptic description, the painting could be interpreted as a mounted panel, but Van Mander is clear, *Leven*, fol. 203v, '(...) en is gedaen voor een schouwe oft schoorsteen op den muer van Oly-verwe'.

³³⁶ The house of one Jacob Weytens on the Muide, according to the sonnet of Lucas d'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 61, 'Sonet, van het excellent stick van schilderyen, staende in het huus van Iacob Weytens te Ghent'; Sander, *Hugo van der Goes*, 20–21. Weytens was arrested on account of his protestantism on February 20, 1568.

A certain Jacob van der Goes apparently lived across the street from Weytens, it is charming to think that this was in fact a relative of Hugo van der Goes, see Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, 'Enkele middeleeuwse muurschilderingen te Gent i. Gegevens op basis van kopieën', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 39 (1985) 85–121, 108; Elizabeth Dhanens, 'De geschiedenis van David en Abigaïl en de ontmoeting van Jacob en Rachel door Hugo van der Goes', *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, klasse der schone kunsten*. [Actum Gandavi. Zeven bijdragen in verband met de oude kunst te Gent] 48:2 (1987) 17–30, 20–21.

³³⁷ This seems like a typical painter's myth. The same anecdote is reported by Karel van Mander, who combined Van Vaernewijck's information from the *Spieghel* and the sonnet by Lucas d'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard*, 61, cf. *Leven*, fol. 203v, '(...) want hier oock het affect der Liefden (so men seght) mede in gewrocht/ en Cupido de Pinceelen heeft helpen stieren (...) want Hüge noch vry geselle wesende/ daer ten huysse vrijdde de dochter/ daer hy seer op verlief was'.

³³⁸ See 1 Sam. 25.2–42. The mural is now lost, but anonymous painted copies seem to survive in Prague, Brussels, and Waarschoot, Rudy van Elslande and A. Evrard, 'Van der Goes' muurschildering "David en Abigaïl", *Ghendtsche tydingen* 12:1 (1983) 41–48; Martens, 'Enkele middeleeuwse muurschilderingen te Gent i', 103–110; Dhanens, 'De geschiedenis van David en Abigaïl', 21–22; Sander, *Hugo van der Goes*, 20–22.

According to Karel van Mander, the painter Cornelis Inghelrams (1527–1583) was commissioned by Willem van Oranje to decorate the chambers of his residence in Antwerp with scenes from the life of David. He was supplied with designs by Lucas d'Heere, *Leven*, fol. 228v, 'TAntwerpen in't Casteel maecte hy voor den Prins van Oraengien/ nae ordinantie van Lucas de Heere/ in een camer d'Historie van David, waer in [Hans Vredeman de] Vries maecte eenighe Metselhrijen/ frijsen/ termen/ en wapenen/ en alles van Water-verwe'; Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere en Willem van Oranje', 94. Did d'Heere perhaps find his inspiration in the house of Jacob Weytens?

melen/ welcx lichamen Templen des heylichs
 Gheests gheweest hebben/ soo Paulis secht)³³⁹
 daerinne weerdichlick te beslyuten. Van dese
 ende deser ghelijcke dinghen/ sijn noch voor=
 zien/ die abdye van S. Peeters/ die Prostie
 van Sinte Baefs/ die Abdye van Dronghene
 neuens Ghendt/³⁴⁰ die Canezye van S. Phara=
 hilden/ int midden der Stadt/³⁴¹ alwaer ooc een
 gheschilderde tafel staet/ die in consten niet
 onghезouten en is/ ender daer onze Heere
 ghebenedijt gaet metten cruyce gheladen/ na
 den berch van Caluarien.³⁴² Wie en weet niet
 dat het heylich lichaem van S. Bauo (wy=
 lent Graue van Haspergauwe/³⁴³ rustende inde
 voornoemde Prostye ende Canesyе van sinte
 Jans) licht in eenen Fierter van finen goude
 ghesmeedt? ende ooc inde kercke van Sinte
 Siborie van S. Iacobs
 kercke te
 Ghendt. xxxiiij. marc zes oncen ende twee inghelschen/

³³⁹ 1 Cor. 3.16, 6.19–20, 2 Cor. 6.16.

³⁴⁰ The Premonstratensian abbey at Drogen.

³⁴¹ The Church of St. Pharaïldis (St. Veerle of Ghent), demolished in 1581.

³⁴² Here, curiously, the artist remains unnamed, but once checked against *Die Beroerlicke tijden*, we learn that the altarpiece was done by Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516). It is uncertain which painting Van Vaernewijck had seen, more so because he was not sure whether or not the painting was destroyed during the Iconoclastic Fury, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 156, ‘Sente Pharahilden en weet ic niet wat daer sonderlinx ghebrouwen was. Hier inne was een gheschilderde tafel ende es daer Ons Heere zijn cruuse draecht, ghedaen bij meester Jeronimus Bosch, die men hiet den duvelmakere, omdat zijns ghelijcke niet uut en quam van duvelen te maken. Dit was eene vanden besten sticken; dander en waren maer middelbaer’. Van Vaernewijck’s account seems to be the oldest printed source where a specific work by Bosch is mentioned. Contenders for identification are Bosch’s *Christ carrying the cross* presently in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv.no. GG-6429, or the similar scene in the Escorial, Madrid, inv.no. 10014739, see Matthijs IJssink e.a. (ed.), *Hieronymus Bosch, painter and draughtsman. Catalogue raisonné* (London 2016) 236–247 cat. 12, 248–259 cat. 13. The Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, also owns a Bosschian *Christ carrying the cross*, inv.no. 1902-h. However, new research suggests that this piece is in fact ‘not autograph’, but rather a work by an unknown follower that was produced ‘considerably later’, *ibid.*, 59, 62, 442–449 cat. 29; Luuk Hoogstede e.a. (ed.), *Hieronymus Bosch, painter and draughtsman. Technical studies* (London 2016) 394–403.

Interestingly, in Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 61, the author mentions an anonymous follower of Bosch, active in Ghent, ‘Daer was ooc eenen duvelmakere, woonachtich te Crommenhessche, die dese maniere van duvelen uutstelde ende zeer aerdich ende constich daer af was’. In the second half of the sixteenth century, there was a high demand for the fantastic themes of temptations, purgatory and hell that were employed by Bosch and his followers. Larry Silver rightly observed that ‘a veritable industry of “Boschiana” was flourishing’ on the open art market of Flanders, see Larry Silver, ‘Second Bosch. Family resemblance and the marketing of art’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50:1 (1999) 30–56, 50.

³⁴³ Haspengouw, a region on the left bank of the Meuse. A County of Hesbaye is known from Frankish archival records of the eighth century onwards.

³⁴⁴ A ciborium, a container used to hold the hosts during the Eucharist.

metten Christalynen glase/ ende die Mane
de welcke fijn gout is ende dees mane is met
perlen ende ghesteenten verchiert/ hierinne
rust die weerdighe hostie ons Heeren.³⁴⁵ Van
alle dese ornamenten/ Cappen/ Myteren, ende
dier ghelijcke, en is mijn meininghe niet hier
te schyuen/ ende ben daer dieper in ghecom=
men dan ick voor my ghenomen hadde: maer
noch en dient hier niet vergheten (...).

18. cap. iv.50, fol. 121ra [Q1ra]. An exploration of the arts of Antiquity, largely based on Pliny, Virgil, and similar sources. Also see nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14.

¶ **Van zommighe vvonderen van die princi=
pael deelen der conste Statuaria, als Pictoria
ende Sculptoria. Cap. I.**

Niemandt en late duncken/ dat
wy ontweecht sijn/ om dat wy van
die consten Pictoria ende Sculptoria
(dat is gheschildert ende gesneden werc
die ooc met eenen name/ al eyst datter ij. spe=
cien sijn/ gheheeten wert Statuaria) ons zoo
vele ende breet ghemoeyt hebben te schriuen/
anghesien dat de zelue so leuende ende aerdighe
consten sijn/ dat zy den prijs behouden bouen
andere consten/ midts dat in dese consten (ia
zouden ten hoogsten ghebrocht worden) in=
ghelijft sijn veel ander edel consten/ ende ouer
midts dat vele andere diemen consten noemt/
beter ende eyghentlicker mochten scientien/
oft wetenschappen ghenoeemt sijn/ alzo wy
breeder betoocht hebben/ in ons xx. boeck der
Leecken Philosophie:³⁴⁶ want dat selue ghehee=
le boeck van dese twee specien sprekende is/³⁴⁷ ooc
en heeft Plinius/ Diodorus Siculus/ Boca
tius/ ende vele meer andere/ niet verdrotten

³⁴⁵ On August 19, 1566, the monstrance was evacuated from the church, Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 87–88, 'Die costelicste sijborie van Sente Jacobskeercke wart in derde ghedolven, zoo werden noch vele ander rijdommen ende costelicheden'.

³⁴⁶ See nos. 1, 5.

³⁴⁷ One might consider that the present section is (partially) copied from the lost manuscript text of the *Leecken Philosophie*, also see Van Vaernewijck's note at the end of this chapter.

daeraf nerstelicken te schryuen/ ende te tracteren: want Plinius schrijft dat Seuxis dien hooch-beroemden Schilder/ heeft gheschildert in een Speelbane/ eenen wijngaert met druyuen/ zoo natuerlick ende werckelick ghesdaen/ dat die voghelen daertoe ghelocot werden/ haer beste dede om die druyuen af te picken/ daer menich mensche sijn ghenoechte in hadde/ in zulcx te ziene.³⁴⁸

Parrhasius en Seuxis schilderen om prijs.

Maer Parrhasius een Schilder van Ephe sien/ heeft ghewrocht om prijs ieghens den voornoemden Seuxis/ ende schilderde een cortyne ofte cleet ouer een tafereel/ de welcke Seuxis hem verabuserende/ meynde te schuyuen oft af te doene/ om Parrhasius constighe schilderye onder het cleet te ziene/ so hy waerde: daeromme sprack Parrhasius dat meerder conste was menschen verschalcken/ ia zeer constighe menschen als Seuxis was/ dan voghelen/ oft onnoosele beesten/ ghelijck dat Seuxis ghedaen hadde inde voornoemde Speelbane.³⁴⁹

Pontius Gayus.

Pontius Gaius³⁵⁰ commendende in die stadt Lauinium/³⁵¹ zach die figure van Helena/³⁵² zoo wtnemende schone/ bevallich/ ende lieflijck ghewrocht van den meester Demaratus/³⁵³ dat hy door die imagnatie gheinflammeert wesende/ schoot naer die zelue beelde/ als hadde hyse willen ont-

[fol. 121rb, Q1rb]

³⁴⁸ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.65.

³⁴⁹ Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.65–66.

³⁵⁰ Caligula (12, r. 37–41). 'Pontius' is probably derived from Pinet's edition of Pliny, *L'histoire du monde de C. Pliny Second* vol ii, 633, 'Et, de fait, Pontius lieutenant de l'Empereur Caligula, fit bien tout son possible, d'auoir lesdites pieces entieres, pour vne affection lubrique & voluptueuse qu'il y auoit: mais l'enduysson ne peut porter de se laisser leuer entiere'.

³⁵¹ Lavinium, a port city in the vicinity of Rome. According to Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.6.17–18, there was a nude image of Helen at Lanuvium/Lanivium, in present-day Lazio. Van Vaernewijck (or indeed his intermediary source, if he used one) confused the two towns.

³⁵² Helen, the mythical wife of King Menelaus of Sparta.

³⁵³ In Pliny's version, the master remains unnamed. Perhaps Van Vaernewijck is referring to Demaratus of Corinth, father of Tarquinius Priscus (r. 616–579 BC), traditionally the fifth King of Rome. According to Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.5.16, numerous artists followed Demaratus when he fled Corinth for Italy, but he was not an artist himself. Thus, this attribution could either be an invention of Van Vaernewijck, or perhaps an erroneous contamination from another myth; In Herodotus, *Histories*, vi.61.1–63.3, the mother of Demaratus (r. 510–491 BC), King of Sparta, is beautified by Helen.

Æneas. schaecken/ alszoo Paris die leuende figure
eens ghedaen hadde.³⁵⁴ Ende
Eneas³⁵⁵ commende in die stadt van Carthago
in Aphrijcken/ in Iunonis Temple/³⁵⁶ zach
aldaer het werck van dien grooten Meester
Ardices/³⁵⁷ hoe dat Achilles den cloecken Hec=
torem met een glauië³⁵⁸ doorreet/³⁵⁹ zoo dat hy
moeste (door die kennisse die hy met den
zeluen Hector ghehadt hadde)³⁶⁰ van grooter
droefheyte weenen:³⁶¹ merckt hoe dese edel con=
ste den mensche animeert/ dat zy tot vreucht
ende oock tot droefheyte/ door de zelue ver=
weckt worden.³⁶²

Demetrius. Wy lesen dat Demetrius Rhodum niet en
wilde verbrandt hebben/ om die zeer consti=
ghe ende wtnemende wercken/ die Protoge=
nes daer ghemacht hadde.³⁶³ Attalus gaf
hondert Talenten gouts voor die constighe
gheschilderde tafel, die Aristides ghemaecht
hadde.³⁶⁴ Candaules gaf tghewichte van
Augustus. goude om Bulareus conste.³⁶⁵ Augustus
stelde in Iupiters throone die tafel van Po=

³⁵⁴ According to Greek mythology, Helen's elopement with prince Paris of Troy was one of the main causes of the Trojan War.

³⁵⁵ Aeneas, the mythical ancestor of Romulus and Remus.

³⁵⁶ Juno's temple at Carthage is described in relative detail in Virgil, *Aeneid*, i.441–493, see the studies of the segment in Diskin Clay, 'The archaeology of the temple to Juno in Carthage (Aen. i. 446-93)', *Classical Philology* 83:3 (1988) 195–205; Steven Lowenstam, 'The pictures on Juno's temple in the Aeneid', *The Classical World* 87:2 (1993) 37–49.

³⁵⁷ One of the first artists to practice the art of line drawing was Ardices or Aridices of Corinth, who worked in monochrome, according to Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.5.16. He usually is not connected to the temple at Carthage, however, so this likely is an invention of Van Vaernewijck.

³⁵⁸ A glave, a polearm or spear with a single-edged blade on the end.

³⁵⁹ Homer, *Iliad*, xxii.317–336.

³⁶⁰ According to Homer, Aeneas was a cousin of Hector, and his highest commander, *Iliad*, vi. 73–77, xii.99.

³⁶¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, i.454–463, 484–489.

³⁶² Marcus van Vaernewijck eloquently proves his point by citing two extremes of human emotion, Caligula's intense love and Aeneas's deep sorrow, both acutely provoked by an astonishing work of art. Similarly, in the following segments, Van Vaernewijck collects a series of anecdotes from classic sources that demonstrate the value of art, and its importance to the reputation of kings and emperors.

³⁶³ King Demetrius I of Macedon (337–283, r. 294–288 BC), who besieged Rhodes in 305–304 BC, and Protogenes of Rhodes, the famous artist, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.105–106.

³⁶⁴ Probably King Attalus I of Pergamon (269, r. 241–197 BC), and Aristides of Thebes, a contemporary of Apelles, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.98–100.

³⁶⁵ King Candaules of Lydia (r. 735–718 BC) and Bularchus (d. 708–705 BC), who painted a picture showing a battle of the Magnetes, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.55.

Valerius Massala.	licrates. ³⁶⁶ Valerij Massale thriumphe moeste met die <i>conste</i> Pictoria/ ende Sculptoria
Lelius Sci- pio.	verchiert wesen. ³⁶⁷ Van ghelijcken Lelius Scipio/ wilde oock zijn triumphe wt Azia/ daermede verchiert hebben. ³⁶⁸ Diodorus
Dedalus.	schrijft dat Dedalus ³⁶⁹ die Grieck maecte beel= den van houte/ steene ende goude/ ende wiert om zijn wtnemende Conste van die van E= gypten voor eenen God gehouden. ³⁷⁰
Gheschil- dert huys aen eenen muer.	In des Keysers Claudij tyden/ ³⁷¹ was in een Speelbane/ aen eenen platten muer een huys gheschildert van het welcke dat dack/ ende alle andere dijnghen zoo wonderlijcken wel ghemaect was: naer die <i>conste</i> Per= spectiua oft Optica/ ³⁷² zoo dat die Craeyen oft voghelen meynden op het dack van desen huy= se te beetten/ ende flidderden af soo datter dic= wils omme ghelagchen was. Een mee= ster Mennon ghenoeemt/ ³⁷³ maecte in Siman= seulpture.
Simandius wonderlicke seulpture.	

³⁶⁶ The 'painting by Polycrates' Van Vaernewijck is referring to in fact is the famous ring of Polycrates of Samos (r. ca. 538–522 BC). According to Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvii.2.3–5, the gem, a sardonyx, was set in a horn made of gold, and gifted by Emperor Augustus to the Temple of Concord, Rome, where it was on display.

³⁶⁷ Manius Valerius Maximus Corvinus Messala, a Roman consul who had his victory over the Carthaginians and the Syracusians (264 BC) painted on a wall at the Curia Hostilia, Rome, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.7.22.

³⁶⁸ Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, a Roman consul who ordered a picture of the Battle of Magnesia (190 BC) to be installed in the Capitol, Rome. It supposedly showed his victory over King Antiochus III (ca. 241, r. 222–187 BC), Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.7.22.

³⁶⁹ Daedalus, the mythical architect and inventor.

³⁷⁰ Diodorus, *Library of History*, i.97.5–6; *ibid.* [Macault], *Les Troys premiers livres de l'histoire de Diodore Sicilien*, cap. i.7, 65, 'Et qui auoir conduit et fait vng tel edifice & ouraige [a temple of Vulcan at Memphis], le peuple luy octroia, metre oudit temple vne sienne statue et semblance qu'il fait luy mesmes en boys. Auquel Dedalus pour l'excellence de son art, et pour auoir este inuenteur de plusieurs choses, les habitants du pays luy feirent et porterent (asa tresgrande gloire) honneur comme a vng dieu'.

³⁷¹ According to Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.7.23, the one to pay for this decors was not Emperor Claudius (10 BC, r. 41–54), but one Cladius Pulcher, a Roman consul.

³⁷² This is Van Vaernewijck's own addition to the anecdote.

³⁷³ The following segment is based on Diodorus, *Library of history*, i.47.1–4, i.49.5. In the original source, however, no 'Mennon' or a variation thereof is mentioned. It is not completely clear where Van Vaernewijck got this information from. As in no. 4 and the segment on Daedalus above, he likely consulted the French translation of Diodorus by Macault, *Les Troys premiers livres de l'histoire de Diodore Sicilien*, cap. i.7, 32v–34v. Unfortunately, fol. 33 is missing from the copy I had access to (Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon), I therefore consulted a later reprint, *Histoire de Diodore Sicilien, traduite de grec en françois [...]* (Paris 1585) 30, 'vne autre entree & porte semblable à la premierem mais plus remplie d'ourage & le sculpture, où y auoit trois grandes statues d'vne seule pierre, faites de le main & ourage de Memnon, l'vne desquelles representant le Roy assis'. Van Vaernewijck's spelling of the name, however, could potentially also point in the direction of Pieter Coecke van Aelst's French translation of the *Architettura* by Sebastiano Serlio (1475–ca. 1554), *Les antiquites: le troisieme liure translaté d'italien en franchois [...]* (Antwerp 1550) fol. T2r, 'a l'entree d'icelle apparceoit on trois grandes figures de marbre, faictes d'vng Maistre appellé Mennon'.

dius³⁷⁴ Sepultuere,³⁷⁵ des Conijnck van Egipten
drye zittende beelden, waeraf den voet van
een van die beelden meerder was dan zeuen
Cubitussen/ waerwt lichtelic te gloseren is
hoe groot dat die beelden waren/ der welc=
ker mate hier te lanck zoude vallen te schry=
uen/ ende waren dees beelden elck van ee=
uen den alderschoonsten blijckenden Steen
ghesculpeert/ diemen vinden mochte/ zo dat=
ter nieuwers niet een keenkin in te mercken
en was.³⁷⁶ Daer was nog veel ander din=
ghen in desen tempel weerdich te noteren/ ende
was ghedect met Marmoren tichelen/ die ij.
stellen lanck ende oock zoo breed waren/ ooc [fol. 121va, Q1va]
was hy binnen verchiert met azuer ende gout³⁷⁷
ende al bouen op dit graf (ick en weet niet by
wat dullicheynt schrijft Diodorus) stont eenen
gouden cirkel ofte rijck/ die dry hondert
cubitussen int ronde groot was/ ende eenen
cubitus dicke/ daer den loop van der Zon=
ne door zeer groote costen/ ende subtijlheynt
inne ghegraeert was/³⁷⁸ Desen Cirkel
wier naermaels gherooft/ van Cambyses
Coninck der Persen.³⁷⁹ Dit graf ghinck
in costelicheynt/ ende consten alle wercken ter
weerelt te bouen/ so Diodorus die Siciliaen
seyt.³⁸⁰ Item/ Ghistel³⁸¹ schrijft van
een hooft wt eenen steen ghehouden/ datmen
met vier vademen³⁸² niet ommeringhen en zou=

Gouden cirkel.

Hooft ende
Serpent van
steene.

³⁷⁴ Ozymandias, or Pharaoh Ramses II (ca. 1303, r. 1279–1213 BC). The name Simandius is often encountered French sources.

³⁷⁵ The Ramesseum at Thebes.

³⁷⁶ Diodorus, *Library of history*, i.47.3–4.

³⁷⁷ *ibid.*, i.47.2. The ceiling of the peristyle was made of a single stone of two fathoms wide, and decorated with stars on a blue field.

³⁷⁸ *ibid.*, i.49.5; Van Vaernewijck here seems to misunderstand his source, or he at least cites it incorrectly, for the circular border of gold was 365 cubits in circumference, according to Diodorus.

³⁷⁹ Cambyses II (r. 529–522 BC).

³⁸⁰ Diodorus, *Library of history*, i.49.5–6, *ibid.* [Macault], *Histoire de Diodore Sicilien*, cap. i.7, 31, 'ce monument & sepulture de Simandius a esté non seulement de plus grande despense que tous les autres, mais aussi plus magnifique & plus excellent d'ediffice'.

³⁸¹ Joos van Ghistele, see the notes to no. 7.

³⁸² Fathoms.

de/ ende is het hoofd van eenen mensche met
den schouderen/ ende van daer voort eyst die fi-
guere van een Serpent/ met eenen steert/ wel
van vijfthien vademen lanck/ ende lach noch
in Egypten/ achter een Pyramidisse in zy=
nen tyden/³⁸³ waeraf die opinie was/ dat dit
hoofd in den tijdt der idolateryen ghesproken
hadde/ soo hy dan of breeder tracteert.³⁸⁴

Bel videre
te Roome.

Wie eyst te Roome commende in Bel vi-
dere/³⁸⁵ ende ziende daer die oude zeer constighe
Anticagien/ oft hy en zal met een ontzet=
tjnghe verwondert worden: waer af men
den wit Marmoren Lacon/ met zijn twee
zonen/ die van de Zee-Serpenten verscheurt
wierden/³⁸⁶ ende eenen Hercules/ bouen die
andere antijcken den prijs gheeft.³⁸⁷ Laco=

Bediet van
die sprin-
ghende peer-
den ende
naecte man-
nen te Roo-
me in monte
Cauallo.

on was een Troyaensch Priester/ dien zulck
een miserie overquam als daer ghefigureert
staet.³⁸⁸ Die twee springhende Marmo=
ren peerden in Monte Cauallo (maer zeere
ghebroken door den ouderom)³⁸⁹ met die twee
naecte Marmoren mannen diese houden,³⁹⁰ be=
duyden³⁹¹ (alzo zommighe schryuen) dat ghe=
lijck zy springhende sijn, met den voorsten

³⁸³ This segment is directly copied from Van Ghistele's report of the archeological sites around the Pyramids of Gizeh. Van Vaernewijck adapted the length of the sphinx, perhaps to make his account more probable, Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, cap. iii.24, 165, 'Achter dese Píramiden staet een figure van eenen hoofde/ wel also groot datment met vier vademen niet om grypen en zoude/ hebbende de figure van eenen mensche tot den schauderen toe: maer van den schauderen achterwaert/ zo heuet de figure van eenen Serpente den steert wel vijftich vademen lang/ ende al van eenen steene gehauden'.

³⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 'Men zeyt daer datt/ dat hoeft plaght te spreken ten tiden van der Ydolatrien/ ghelijc ander Afgoden plaghen te doene (...)'.

³⁸⁵ On the history of the collections at the Belvedere, see Hans Henrik Brummer, *The statue court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm 1970) 17–42; Wren Christian, *Empire without end*, 157–178, 265–275.

³⁸⁶ The Laocoön Group, arguably one of the most famous sculptures ever made. The Laocoön was excavated from a nobleman's vineyard in early 1506, and put on display at the Belvedere that same year, Brummer, *The statue court in the Vatican Belvedere*, 75–119; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 243–247; Wren Christian, *Empire without end*, 163, 265–266.

³⁸⁷ Probably the *Heracles and the infant Telephos*, added to the papal collections in May 1507, and installed at the Belvedere around 1512, Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 188–189; Wren Christian, *Empire without end*, 266–267.

³⁸⁸ See the account in Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii.201–231, Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxvi.4.37–38.

³⁸⁹ As is to be seen on the print of the *Dioscuri*, published by Antonio Salamanca before 1546, Witcombe, *Print publishing in sixteenth-century Rome*, 379. See no. 3.

³⁹⁰ Van Vaernewijck discussed these works before, see no. 9.

³⁹¹ Represent, signify.

voeten in die lucht/ dat desghelijcx alzo der Meesteren gheeft diese sculpeerden/ zoo wilt was, dat hy scheen te springhen/ ofte vlieghen/ ende dat die mannen al naect staen/ bloot ende onghedeckt/ dat zoude bedieden/ dat die scientie/ conste ende wijsheyt/ so groot ende claer in deze Meesteren was/ datter gheen lemmer, decksel/ noch belet in hemlieden en was, dat dese mochte beletten of hinderen ende dat dees Marmoren mannen schenen te wysen met haren vingheren eenighe coniecuratien/³⁹² daerof was het bedietsel/ dat die Werckmeesters van dien/ die conste hadden/ om toecomme dijnghe te voorzegghen/ ghelijck zy dat wel bewesen hadden/ aen den Keyser Tyberius/³⁹³ dien zy wisten te zegghen wat hy heymelijcken in zijn Camere gesproken hadde/ ende als hemlieden Tyberius van zulcken conste wilde loonen/ zoo en zouden zy niet anders begheert hebben/ dan eenen zeer grooten/ ende schoonen witten Marmorsteen/ daer zylieden innen sculperen zouden/ die qualiteyten van haerlieder consten/³⁹⁴ ende dit waren die voornoemde wercken/ die ick nog zien staen hebbe/ anno xv. hondert l.³⁹⁵

[fol. 121vb, Q1vb]

Phidias ende Praxitiles.

Dese Artisten/ waren twee ionghe Griecsche Philosophen/ welcx namen waren Phidias ende Praxitiles/ waerof die Namen ghesculpeert staen/ onder elck van haren werken.³⁹⁶ Wie en zal oock ter auontueren

³⁹² Recommendations, prophecies.

³⁹³ Emperor Tiberius (42 BC, r. 14–37).

³⁹⁴ *Mirabilia*, fol. A4r, 'De equis marmoreis. Equi & homines nudi significant quod tempore imperatoris Tiberij fuerunt duo philosophi iuuenes secundum Praxitellis, & Pitias, qui dixerunt se esse tante sapientie, vt quid imperator illis absentibus in camera sua diceret. Ipsi referrent de verbo ad verbum quod fecerunt vt dixerunt, & inde pecuniam non petierunt sed memoriam sempitemam, ita quod Philosophi habernt duos equos marmoreos calcantes terram, qui significant principes huius seculi, quia nudi sunt circa equos significat quod altis & extensis brachijs & replicatis digitis narrabant que futura erant, & vt ficut nudi sunt ita scientia huius mundi in eor mentibus nuda & aperta est', also see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 136–141.

³⁹⁵ See app. 1.

³⁹⁶ See no 9.

Pingmale-
ons yuooeren
beelde.

niet verwonderen: in die yuooeren vrouwe=
licke beelde/ die Pingmaleon ghegrauert
hadde/ die zoo schoone ende liefelick was/
dat hy daer zelue op verliefde/ ende zoude
den zone Paphum daeraenne ghewonnen heb=
ben: maer dit schijnt meer een Poetsche al=
legorie/ dan eenighe historiale waerheyt/
hoewel nochtans dat zommighe willen/ dat
met eenighe Duyuelrie/ zulcx gheschiet zou=
de sijn: maer dat Paphus voornoemt in Cy=
pers/ den eersten Tempen Veneris stichtede/
ende die alderouste Stadt van Cypers/ naer
hem Paphum genoemt/ alzo wy vooren
int' tweede boeck/ int derde capittel gheschre=
uen hebben/ dat is al claer/ ende notoir.³⁹⁷

Zeer groote/ ende onbegrypelijcke werc=
ken/ hebben in ouden tijden die Architecto=
res/ Sculptores, ende Pictores/ zom met
den effecte bedreuen/ ende zom met den zin/
industrie/ ende verstande begrepen. Ghe=
lijckerwijs dat Marcus Vitruuius Pollio/
die edel Architector/ in zijn Proheyme³⁹⁸ op
zijn tweede boeck schrijft/³⁹⁹ van eenen Archi=
tector Dinocrates genoemt/⁴⁰⁰ de welcke quam
ghecleedt met eender Leeuws huyl/ met een
cudtse⁴⁰¹ in zijn hant/ ende eenen crans op sijn
hoofl/ als een ander Hercules/ voor den
grooten Keyser Alexander van Macedonien/⁴⁰²
hem tooghende zeker pourtraicturen ende li=
niamenten/ waermede dat hy aghedeelt⁴⁰³ had=
de den horriblen berch Athon/ om dien te
besnyden ende formeren als een man/ als dat

Dinocrates
die groote
Architector
van Mace-
donien vvon
derlick be-
grijp.

³⁹⁷ See no. 4.

³⁹⁸ Prologue.

³⁹⁹ Vitruvius, *On architecture*, ii.p.1-4.

⁴⁰⁰ Dinocrates of Rhodes, a Greek architect.

⁴⁰¹ A wooden club.

⁴⁰² Alexander the Great (356, r. 338-323 BC), Martin, *Architecture*, 14, 'Parquoy se confiant en telz dons le Nature, despouilla en son logis ses accoustremens ordinaires, oignit son corps d'huyle, meit sur sa teste vne coronne de Pouplier, getta sur son espaul gauche la peau d'un Lyon, & print en sa main droite vne massue: puis en cest equipage s'en alla deuers le Tribunal ou le Roy administroit iustice a ses subjectz'.

⁴⁰³ Sic, afghebeelt.

hy in zijn hant houden zoude een groote stadt
ende in dander handt een schale/ oft staende
zee/ daer alle die wateren des gheberchts in
zoude vergaert hebben/ om alzo van bo=
uen af/ als wten hemel met een vervaerlick
ghedruys ghestort te worden inder Zee.⁴⁰⁴

Desen ouer grooten berch/ licht tusschen
Macedonien ende Thratien/⁴⁰⁵ waerinne niet
een stuck steens en is/ datmen met passer/ ofte
reghel mocht ouercommen, noch oock in een
huere tijds omme gaen/ ende nochtans zoo
wilde hem bestaen desen grooten Architector
van Macedonien voornoemt te snyden/ ghe=
lijck een beeltsnyder een beeldt snijdt: maer
dit werck en ghijnck niet voort/ om dies=
wille dat die Stadt die in die eene handt zou=
de ghestaen hebben van desen berghe/ om
die onvruchtbaerheyt wille des berchs/ ha=
re inwoenderen/ niet en zoude connen on=
derhouden hebben, niet min Alexander nam
groot vermaecken in zulck een clouck be=
grijp/ ende ghebruyckte desen Meester in
ander groote wercken van machte/ als int
stichten ende fonderen van die groote ende fa=
meuse stadt van Alexandrien/ int eynde van
Egypten.⁴⁰⁶ Dese dingen mijn eerzame Leser
hebben wy hier by ghevoecht/ om te too=
ghen hoe dusdanighe consten in voorleden [fol. 122ra, Q2ra]
tyden in groote estime ende weerdicheyt ghe
weest hebben.⁴⁰⁷ Die hieraf breeder lust te lesen/
bezie ons xx. ende xxj. boeck der Leecken phi
losophie/ ende ook zal v veel ampelder hier=
af voldoen/ een groot Boeck/ dat wy onder

⁴⁰⁴ Martin, *Architecture*, 14, 'Dinocrates respondit: Sire, ie suis vn Architecte de Macedoine, qui vous apporte certaines miennes fantasies & desseingz, dignes de vostre haultesse: car i'ay formé le mont Athos a la semblance d'une statue d'homme, tenant en sa main gauche vne ville spacieuse: & en sa droite vne grand tasse, qui recevra les eaux de tous les fleuves deriuans de celle montaigne, lesquelz de lá s'en iront aualler en la Mer'.

⁴⁰⁵ Thrace.

⁴⁰⁶ Martin, *Architecture*, 14, 'Alexandre esiouy en la raison de tele forme, demanda incontinent si enuiron ce mont lá il y auoit oint de terres labourables qui peussent entretenir la Cité de grains & autres prouisions necessaires. A quoy luy fut respondu que non, si ce n'estoit par l'apport de la marine (...)'.

⁴⁰⁷ Should this chapter, then, be interpreted as a complaint against the looming threat of the iconoclasts?

handen hebben/ van die wonderlijcke steden/
ende edificien der weerelt:⁴⁰⁸ maer nu willen wy
weder een luttel schryuen van Ghendt.

19. cap. iv. 51, fol. 122ra [Q2ra]. Van Vaernewijck on the decorations of the Ghent City Hall. His first-hand explanation of the meaning of six decorative candelabrams is especially interesting.

¶ **Van tStadthuys oft tSchepenhuis te
Ghendt, van diuersche fondatien ende re-
paratien van dien, ende van zommighe van
de principale clocken van Ghent. Cap. Ij.**

DEse heeft een Stadthuys oft Sche=
penhuys/ ooc wel besiensweerdich/
al eest dattet hem nochtans onvol=
maeckt vertoocht/⁴⁰⁹ ende is van buy=
ten zoo constich een modeerne/ dat menze qua
lick zoude connen verbeteren.

(...) In dese Camere/ twelck is
tSchepenhuis vander Keure/ ofte hooghe
banck) hebbe ic ghemerct⁴¹⁰ aen de mueren vaste
ghemaect/ zes candelaren van metale/ ende
onder elcken is en aensichte van eenen men=
sche/ met een Maelslot aen den mont/ vander
zeluer stoffe ghemaect/⁴¹¹ dwelcke beteekent:
dat alle die Wethouders/ die daer frequente=
ren/ Pencionarisen/ Secretarisen/ ende andere
schuldich sijn te zwyghene van datment daer

Expositie
van die zes
metalen can-
delaers in
Schepenca-
mer te Ghent

⁴⁰⁸ See no. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ The new dining hall was still under construction in 1565. According to Van Vaernewijck, *Spiegel*, cap. iv.51, fol. 122va [Q2va], the room had a capacity of 'meer dan dry hondert personen'. Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. i, 210.

⁴¹⁰ Van Vaernewijck was Alderman of the Keure in 1564–1565, see app. 1.

⁴¹¹ These copper candelabrams were delivered by one Janne Laerbeke in 1483–1484, Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. i, 200. Curious objects like the ones described here were common in Flemish law practice. Archival sources show that the tribunal at Bruges kept several bronze or copper heads from which the tongues were pierced by a nail. In other cases, similar busts (sometimes masks or hands) were donated to the city hall or the tribunal by convicts as part of their sentence. Surviving examples are the silver bust donated by Pieter van der Gote to the Bruges Franc (in 1464), presently in the Gruuthusemuseum, Bruges, the bronze head donated to the City Hall of Veurne by Pieter de Beert (in 1499) and the bronze fist donated by Adriaen Bra (in 1546), now in the collection of the City Hall of Veere, Zeeland, see J. Schimmer, 'Een merkwaardig rechtsgebruik. Middeleeuwse Gerechtshanden', *Spiegel Historiae* 9 (1974) 294–299; Frans van Molle, 'Koperen koppen en vuisten in het oude Vlaamse strafrecht', *Antiek* 9:2 (1974–1975) 141–166; Dhanens, 'De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk', 45; Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, *Artistic patronage in Bruges institutions, ca. 1440–1482* (Santa Barbara 1992) 161–168, 414 doc. 1, 475–476 doc. 69, 590–591 doc. 161; Jos Koldewij, 'Schuld, boete en eeuwige schande. De gerechtigheidsvuist als straf', *Vind* 19 (2015) 120–123.

tracteert/ dat ooc die Wethouderen/ ende die
andere/ die trecht helpen administreren/ be=
hooren blinckende te syne van deuchden/ als
een claer metael/ oock soo een metael eenen
schoonen clanc wtgheeft/ als men daerop slaet
dat ooc van hemlieden behoort een goet ghe=
ruchte ende fame te gane/ wanneer men haer
fame aenroert met eenighe deuiseringhe oft
spraecke/ ende ten derden ghelijck het metael
durabel is/ niet lichte varierende oft ooc roe
stende/ zoo en sal een die een Richter is/ niet
veranderen/ om vrientschap ofte vyantschap
van iemandt die leeft/ soo dat hi tRecht buy=
ghen oft zelue danof wijcken zoude/ oock zal
hy allen roest van giften ende corruptien van
hem weeren/ ende al dat den Rechte bejeghe=
nen mach/ dinckende datter een Richter bo=
uen hem is/ diet al ziet ende oordelen zal/ de
deucht niet latende ongheloont/ noch het qua=
de onghepuniert/ so ooc die schoone tafereelen
van schilderyen wel te kennen gheuen/⁴¹² die bo
uen der Heeren hoofden staen in de zelue Ca=
mer (...).

20. cap. iv.56, fol. 127rb [Q7rb]. Brief mentions of sculptures in the public space of Ghent, and a description of the Church of Our Lady.

¶ **Van thien proprieteyten, diemen die
stadt van Ghendt toe mach schryuen, ende
vander Riuiere ghenoeemt de Lieue, van-
der stadt preheminentie ende haer
teecken.** **Cap. lvj.**

(...) zoo eest dat zy⁴¹³ haer ghemerck pleghen

⁴¹² This cycle included a *Crucifixion* and a *Last Judgement* painted by Cornelis van der Goes (or Goux) in 1496–1497. This painting was destroyed in 1578 and replaced a decade later by a similar scene by Raphael Coxcie (ca. 1540–1616), now in the collection of Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, inv. no. s-54; Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. i, 200, 219–221, 225. For later decorations, see Elizabeth Dhanens, 'Tussen de Van Eycks en Hugo van der Goes', *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, klasse der schone kunsten* 45:1 (1984) 1–98, 33, 38–52 and Elizabeth Dhanens, 'Nogmaals de justitietafereelen in het Gentse schepenhuis', *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, klasse der schone kunsten*. [*Actum Gandavi. Zeven bijdragen in verband met de oude kunst te Gent*] 48:2 (1987) 31–37.

⁴¹³ Visitors from outside the city, such as pilgrims.

te nemen/ aen zeker teecken die te Ghendt
zom te deser causen ghestelt sijn/ om te ant=
woorden, als zy daerop ghevraecht worden/
ende met de zelue teecken te noemen te veri=
ficeren, dat zy daer gheweest hadden. Ghe=
lijck aen dat Marien beelde/ dat ouer tynde
aen tgroote Vleeschuys staet/ hebbende ee=
nen schriftoris inde hant:⁴⁴⁴ andere nemen haer
ghemerck aen die ellef torren van sinte Nico=
laus kercke: andere aen den Crocht Sinte
Ians/ daermen van deen zyde met zesthien/
ende van dander zyde met neghienthien trap=
pen in daelt: ander aen dat schoone poortael
Sinte Peeters/ aen onser Vrouwen kercke/⁴⁴⁵
dat buyten ende binnen met steenen beelden/
alzo groot bycans als tleuen/ zeer wel ver=
chiert is/ is herde constich ghedaen van ou=
den tyden/⁴⁴⁶ oft aen dat houekin ooc herde wel
ghedaen/ dat daerneuens staet/⁴⁴⁷ [fol. 127va, Q7va]
(...). in dese kercke en is niet
zonderlincx meer dat constich is/ dan tghe=
stoelte inden Choor/ dwelck van harden eec=
ken hout ghesneden is deen zyde/ by die con=
stighe handen van Meester Willem Hughe

Teecken
te Ghendt
voor die
wandelaers

Schoon poor
tael ende an
der dijnghe
van onzer
Vrouven
kercke.

⁴⁴⁴ Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 176, 'Ooc was ghecorrumpeert met eenighe rudesse die schoone Marien beelde, alzo groot als dleven, die stont over hende an tvleeschhuus, buten an den voet van des Graven brugghe, welcx kindekin pleecht in zijn handekin te hauden eenen scriftoris die haudende bij den inctpot, daer die wandelaers haer ghemeerck an namen, met welck lijcteecken zij doceerden dat zij te Ghendt gheweest hadden.'

⁴⁴⁵ The church was demolished by the French in 1799.

⁴⁴⁶ The highly decorated Gothic portal showed sculptures of Christ and the Apostles in true size, perhaps arranged similarly to the portal of the Notre-Dame, Paris. The inside of the narthex was even more impressive, according to Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 156, 'Binnen dit poortael zach men xxx parcken ijdel staen, daer men an den rugghe ofte an de ijdel plaetse, noch een aude schilderie van beelden zach. Hier hebben schoone ende constighe hijstorie van Avennes steene ende ghestoffeert met schilderie inne ghestaen, naer die aude Italiaensche manniere; maer die vier parcken staende in de vier houcken vanden portale waren mindere dan die andere. Alle dees beelden bycans alzo groot als dleven, ja, drij of iiii beelden tsamen, die uut eenen steen ghesneden waren, waren alle van boven neder gheworpen [on August 22, 1566].'

The altar of the Fraternity of Our Lady of the Fiertel, situated in the portal of the church, was destroyed by a fire in the evening of July 8, 1564, severely damaging the silver reliquary box below the sculptured shrine, Trio, *De Gentse broederschappen*, 79; Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 62.

⁴⁴⁷ Apparently a small court or shrine with sculptures of 'ons Heere met zijn drije apostelen, alzo groot als dleven', Van Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 129.

voornoemt:⁴¹⁸ maer vele en weten niet (al woe=nen zy in die stadt) van dat Crochtkin in die zelue kercke, daer eenen altaer in staet/ daer=men Misse op celebreert/ ende van een Marie beelde/ daer ons Heere oft tKindekin ghe=maeckt is met een Drilnote⁴¹⁹ inde hant/ al eest te ziene in Sinte Niclaus kercke/⁴²⁰ (...).

21. cap. iv.60, fol. 132va [R4va]. Van Vaernewijck on important and famous works of art in Bruges; paintings by Jan van Eyck, Robert Campin, Hans Memling, and the *Madonna* by Michelangelo.⁴²¹

¶ **Van die princelicke stadt van Brugghe,
vvat van haer ghevveest heeft ende noch
is. Cap. lx.**

Constighe
schilderien
te Brugghe.

(...) Item die stadt van Brugghe is verchiert/
niet alleene/ in die kercken/ maer oock in die
huysen van Meester Hughens/⁴²² Meester Ro
giers/⁴²³ ende des Duytschen Hans⁴²⁴ Schilderien
dwelck de liefhebbers der conste/ een groote
vreuct inbringhen can/ zeggende dat te Brug
ghe den tresoor is/ van Meester Hughe/ ende

⁴¹⁸ The choir stalls survived the iconoclasm of 1566, according to Van Vaernewijck on account of the hardness of the wood, its old appearance, or because of its 'vremde grillen ende bootsen die daer in ghesneden zijn, dwelc meer tot verstandighe ende zedelicke boerden verwecken mochte dan tot eenighe devocie', *Van die Beroerlicke tijden* vol. i, 157–158.

⁴¹⁹ A toy.

⁴²⁰ Identification is not completely certain; the retable was owned by either the Confraternity of Our Lady with the Nimbus (in the choir, on an altar opposite the tabernacle), or the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Poorters (on the altar next to the Chapel of St. Margaretha); Dhanens, *Sint-Niklaaskerk Gent*, 64–65, 155–156; Trio, *De Gentse broederschappen*, 50–52 n. 211, 108–110.

⁴²¹ Cf. Van Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet*, fol. C5r, 'Constighe schilderye en heeft Brugge ooc noyt ontdiert/ Zy ester vvel af verciert in kercken ende husen,/ Meester Huge, meester Rogier die vvonder hebben verziert,/ Met den Duytschen Hans om te schilderen abusen/ Ende bouen al Ioannes van Eycx vverc (vry gheen refusen)/ Ooc Michael Angelus Bonarotus heefter ghelaten/ Een marberen Marien beelde van duysent ducaten'.

⁴²² Hugo van der Goes.

⁴²³ Rogier van der Weyden.

⁴²⁴ Hans Memling (ca. 1435–1494). It is not immediately clear which paintings by Memling Van Vaernewijck had seen when he visited the city. Likely contenders are the monumental *Triptych with St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist* (1479), the *Triptych of Jan Floreins* (1479), the *Triptych of Adriaan Reyms* (1480) and the famous *Shrine of St. Ursula* (ca. 1489), all of which still can be seen in their original location, the Old Hospital of St. John, currently the Memlingmuseum. The *Triptych of Willem Moreel and Barbara van Vlaenderberch* (1484), originally in the Church of St. James, is now in the Groeningemuseum.

Rogiers conste/⁴²⁵ ende bysondere het alder be=
 ste werck van Meester Hughe/ is te ziene in [fol. 132vb, R4vb]
 sinte Jacobs kercke.⁴²⁶ Item Iohannes van Eyck
 den Prince van alle schilders heeft te Brug=
 ghe oock een memoriael van zijnder conste/
 ghelaten.⁴²⁷ Ende in onser lieuer vrouwen
 Michael kercke/ is oock een Marien beelde van witten
 Angelus marmor/ alzo groot als tleuen/ ghedaen by
 vverck te die zeer constighe handt, van Michael Ange=
 Brugghe. lus/ Bonarotus van Florencen/⁴²⁸ ende is van
 Roome met groote costen ghehaelt ende betaelt
 men schattet op bet dan iiij. duysent Gulde=

⁴²⁵ Perhaps the *Triptych of Baptiste del Agnelli* (1476) at the Church of St. James. It showed the *Baptism of Christ* on the central panel, and the *Decapitation of St. John* and *Salome with the head of St. John* on the interior wings, Martens, *Artistic patronage in Bruges institutions*, 274–278. Van Vaernewijck's description is too sparse to be able to reconstruct which works of art by Rogier van der Weyden he could have seen in Bruges, but, according to Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 203r, many works by this master were on display in the 'kercken en huysen' of Bruges (probably paraphrasing Van Vaernewijck). Dürer, furthermore, mentions paintings by 'Rudiger' in the Prinsenhof and the Church of St. James in his accounting book, Rupprich, *Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlaß* vol. i, 168, 'Darnach fürten sie mich ins kaisers hauß, dat ist groß und köstlich. Do sahe ich Rudigers ghemahlt cappeln und gemähl von ein grossen alten meister (...). Darnach furten sie mich gen S. Jacob und liessen mich sehen die köstlichen gemähle von Rudiger und Hugo, die sind beede groß maister gewest'.

⁴²⁶ Van Vaernewijck is likely mistaken here: Dhanens and Kemperdick demonstrated that the large triptych with the *Descent from the cross* (infra) was painted by Robert Campin, instead of Hugo van der Goes. It was commissioned by Jacob Biese the Elder in ca. 1440, originally installed in the Chapel of St. James (Biese's family chapel), but relocated to a position behind the main altar in March or April 1474. The altarpiece was restored around that same date. Somewhere in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it was moved again, this time to the main altar. The altarpiece is now lost, but a fragment of the right wing showing Gestas, the impenitent thief, is preserved in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, inv. no. 886, see Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish painting* vol. ii. *Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle* (Leiden 1967) 39, 53–54, 71 no. 59; Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish painting. Its origins and character* vol. i (New York 1971) 167–169, 175–177, 423; Dhanens, 'Tussen de Van Eycks en Hugo van der Goes', 5, 10–20; Stephan Kemperdick, *Der Meister von Flémalle. Die erstatt Robert Campins und Rogier van der Weyden* (Turnhout 1997) 29–42; Bernhard Ridderbos, *Schilderkunst in de Bourgondische Nederlanden* (Zwolle 2014) 31–32, cf. the other interpretations of this segment in Sander, *Hugo van der Goes*, 21–22, 159 n. 10; Martens, *Artistic patronage in Bruges institutions*, 267–274.

Both Van Vaernewijck and Van Mander, interestingly, appreciate the work as Van der Goes's 'very best', suggesting an influence of Van Vaernewijck in Van Mander's biographical entry, or at least a shared taste, cf. *Leven*, fol. 204r, 'Noch is van desen constigen Meester/ onder ander fraey dingen/ die te Brugghe my onbekent moghen wesen/ een Tafel/ die men acht van zijn uytneemste en alderbeste werck te wesen dat hy oyt dede'. According to Van Mander, who did not see painting himself, the triptych showed a *Crucifixion* with 'de Moordenaers/ Marie, en ander dinghen/ dat welcke alles soo levendigh/ en met sulcen vlijt ghedaen is/ dat het niet alleen t'ghemeen volck/ maer alle verstandighe gheesten in onser Const grootlijck moet behagen'. A local seventeenth-century source, however, describes the altarpiece as a *Descent from the cross*, see the article by Dhanens cited above.

⁴²⁷ This painting can be identified as the *Virgin and child with canon Joris van der Paele* (1436) originally in the Collegiate Church of St. Donatian, which was elevated to the status of cathedral in 1559. Van Eyck's picture was installed as an epitaph in the Chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul after the death of the patron in 1443. It is now in the collection of the Groeningemuseum, Bruges, Martens, *Artistic patronage in Bruges institutions*, 171–183. For the original 'Prince of painters', Parrhasius, see Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.36.71.

⁴²⁸ Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564). The *Madonna of Bruges* is preserved at the Collegiate Church of Our Lady to this day.

nen/⁴²⁹ zonder de costen/ die daer noch aen ghe=
 hanghen werden/ van xij. paercken van on=
 ser vrouwen:⁴³⁰ daermede dat dit stick/ in een o=
 uer costelijcke tafel becleet zal worden/ diemen
 meent dat vj^c. ponden grooten costen zal/ waer
 af Meester Ian dHeere te Ghendt/ den pa=
 troon gheordineert/ ende Meester Lucas zijn
 zone gheteeckent heeft/⁴³¹ niemant en meene dat
 fabuleus is/ dat wy van zulcke excessiue costen
 schryuen: want my is kennelick/ dat den Bac=
 chus die van witten marmor gheschulpeert
 was/ staende te Ghendt voor thof van Raue=
 steyn⁴³² (daermen noch het lijck teecken ziet/ vanden
 plaetse daer hy ghestaen heeft)⁴³³ coste alleene van
 wt te doene xxj. schellinghen grooten/ ende van
 in yser te beslane xvj. schellinghen grooten/
 zonder de vracht/ van te voeren op tCasteel

tBeelt van
 Bacchus te
 Ghendt.

⁴²⁹ The sculpture was ordered in late 1503 by Alexandre Mouscron (?–before 1514), a member of a wealthy and influential family of cloth merchants based in Bruges, as is recorded in the ledger books of Giovanni and Baldassarre Balducci, Michelangelo's Roman bankers. The *Madonna* was finished in or around August 1505, and finally shipped from Florence to Bruges in October 1506. It was probably installed in the Church of Our Lady in 1514, see the next note. Interestingly, both Mouscron & Cie. and Michelangelo had accounts at the bank of the Balducci brothers, Harold R. Mancusi-Ungaro, *Michelangelo: the Bruges Madonna and the Piccolomini Altar* (New Haven 1971) 35–46, 135–146, 161–175.

According to Asciano Condivi (1525–1574), the painter-biographer, Michelangelo was payed 100 ducats for the *Madonna*, *ibid.*, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti* [...] (Rome 1553), fol. 14r, 'Gittò ancho di bronzo una madonna, col suo figliolino in grembo, laquale da certi Mercanti Fiandresi de Moscheroni, famiglia nobilissima in casa sua, pagatagli ducati cento, fu mandata in Fiandra'. I consulted the edition in Asciano Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti raccolta per Asciano Condivi da la Ripa Transone vol i, Volltext mit einem Vorwort und Bibliographien*. Fontes 34, Charles Davis ed. (2009). The full text is available online, see <<http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2009/714>>. The price of 100 ducats is confirmed from the Balducci account books. Vasari added Condivi's information to the second edition of the *Vite*. Both Condivi and Vasari mistakenly report that Michelangelo's statue was a bronze, however.

⁴³⁰ Twelve compartments with reliefs showing scenes from the life of the Virgin.

⁴³¹ In 1514, Jean Mouscron, a son and heir of Alexandre Mouscron, commissioned a large retable or tabernacle in memory of his parents. Michelangelo's sculpture was to be installed in the central niche of the ensemble, Mancusi-Ungaro, *Michelangelo: the Bruges Madonna*, 43.

Interestingly, Van Vaernewijck's phrasing in the future tense shows that by the early 1560s, later heirs of the Mouscron family were already contemplating a redecoration of the family chapel. Apparently only Lucas d'Heere's design cartoons were finished at the time this segment was written, however. The current monument was constructed on the order of Pierre Mouscron (?–1571) sometime before his death, as is attested by the inscription in his tomb slab in the floor before the altar. Perhaps this monument reflects a toned-down version of d'Heere's original design. Van Vaernewijck likely got the estimated value of the commission from Jan d'Heere himself.

⁴³² The court of Adolph of Cleves (1425–1492), Lord of Ravenstein, opposite the Church of St. Michael. Philip the Good honoured Adolph with a membership of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1459. After his death, the property came in the possession of his son, Philip of Cleves (1459–1528), Lord of Ravenstein, a military commander and the French ambassador of Genoa in the service King Louis XXI (1462, r. 1498–1515), De Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. vii, 363–365, 368–371.

⁴³³ The sculpture was originally situated in a niche in the facade of the building.

te Rauesteyn by Ghelderlandt:⁴³⁴ dit en was
maer een beelde totter borst/ naeck met vette
vrouwen borsten/ ende met twee hayren hoo=
rekins op het hooft/ schoone van aensichte/
ende constich ghedaen/ van ouden tyden/⁴³⁵ men
zeyde dat inden tyden der Idolatrie/ den vy=
andt daer deure mirakel ghedaen hadde.
Dit beelt was brocht/ met groote costen/ van
die Italiaensche stadt Genua/ daert stont voor
een Natioens pallaey: welcke natie van coop
lieden/ het selue beelde/ niet en dorste vercoo=
pen/ omme gheen goet: maer zy lietent mijn
Heere van Rauesteyn/⁴³⁶ by nachte beheynde=
lick nemen/ alzoomen zeyde (...).

22. cap. iv.61, fol. 133ra [R5ra]. In his characterization of the Church of St. Martin at Ypres, Van Vaernewijck describes Van Eyck's now-lost *Maelbeke Madonna*.⁴³⁷

¶ **Van die stadt van Ypre, ende zommi-
ghe ander steden van Vlaendren, als Cas-
sele, Rijssele, Douvvay, Audenaerde, Cur-
trijcke, Aelst, Dendermonder, Gheertsber-
ghe, ende Greuelinghe. Cap. lxj.**

Sinte Mar-
tins Typre.

(...)

In die kercke ende Proo=

⁴³⁴ The Lordship of Ravenstein was encapsulated by Brabant and Gelre. In 1360, Walraven of Valkenburg (ca. 1310–1378) erected a stronghold on the southern banks of the Meuse. Ravenstein received city rights in 1380. The Lords of Cleves acquired the territory in 1397.

In late 1528, the *Bacchus* at the court in Ghent was claimed by a cousin of Philip of Cleves, probably John III of Cleves (1490–1539), after which he apparently transported the bust to Ravenstein, De Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden* vol. vii, 374–377. The payments mentioned by Van Vaernewijck are likely based on an earlier, now-lost chronicle of Ghent.

⁴³⁵ Apparently a Roman antique?

⁴³⁶ Philip of Cleves, during his time in Genoa from 1498 onwards.

⁴³⁷ The triptych is now lost (*infra*), but its appearance is recorded through Van Vaernewijck's description, a drawing from the middle of the fifteenth century, and a seventeenth-century painted copy, reproduced in Susan Frances Jones, 'New evidence for the date, function and historical significance of Jan van Eyck's "Van Maelbeke Virgin"', *The Burlington Magazine* 148 (2006) 73–81, 74–75 figs. 1–4.

According to Scheewe, *Hubert und Jan van Eyck*, 66, the *Spiegel* was the earliest source to mention the triptych. D'Heere's *Ode to Jan van Eyck* (ca. 1559), and Van Vaernewijck's poem in *Nieu Tractaet* (1562), are older, however, see the next note and *Den hof en boomgaard*, 32, 'Sijn wecken waren ghesocht uut alle landauwen,/ Daerom en vindtmen boven dees tafel niet,/ Dan datmen te Brugghe magh noch een anschauwen,/ Ende t'Ypre ooc een onvulmaecte zomen siet'.

stie van sinte Marten/ wiert bewaert⁴³⁸ een Ta=
 fereel/ daer ons lieue Vrouwe/ met haer kinde
 kin in ghefigureert staet/ ende eenen Abt oft
 Proost daer voren knielende/⁴³⁹ de Deuren zijn
 onvuldaen/⁴⁴⁰ ende hebben elck twee paercken⁴⁴¹
 als vanden bernenden Eglentier/⁴⁴² Gedeons
 Vlies/⁴⁴³ Ezechielspoorte/⁴⁴⁴ ende Aarons roede/⁴⁴⁵
 die al op de maechdelicheyt van Maria cor=
 responderen/ wel besiens weerdich/ oock ghe=
 maeckt by Meester Iohannes van Eyck/ welcs
 werck meer hemelsch/ dan meinschelic schijnt⁴⁴⁶
 waer af wy voren gheschreuen hebben in het
 xlvij.⁴⁴⁷ capittel.⁴⁴⁸ Dus zijn de iij. hoofste=

⁴³⁸ While 'Proostie' also can mean provostship, Van Vaernewijck here is referring to the provost's chambers or residence, since his descriptions are usually consistently precise, e.g. 'tusschen onzer Vrouwen/ ende die Backers capelle', 'inde Meersseniers capelle', 'in de Schrijnwerckers capelle', cf. Jones, 'New evidence', 77 n. 24.

Thus, if we take Vaernewijck's text at face value, Van Eyck's work was kept in both the provost's chambers and the Church of St. Martin itself. This is only possible if the incomplete state of the triptych is taken in account (infra) – while it is highly implausible that a triptych with unfinished doors would have been installed in the church, it is probable that the central panel was on display above Maelbeke's tomb, as is also attested by the panel's inscription, reproduced in Jones, 'New evidence', 74. The separated wings, then, could have been preserved in the provost's residence on the grounds of their artistic value; Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 310, 314.

⁴³⁹ Nicholas van Maelbeke (?–1445), provost of the Augustinian canons at St. Martin's, Jones, 'New evidence', 73.

⁴⁴⁰ See the penultimate note. It is not immediately clear whether the wings were truly unfinished, or that the word 'onvuldaen' here should be interpreted as 'unsatisfactory', i.e. imperfect or damaged. Also see Van Vaernewijck, *Nieuw Tractaet*, fol. C5v, 'Een onuolmaect tafereel ziet men in de proostye./ Van Ioannes van Eyck ghedaen, van auden tye', where the word 'onuolmaect' can mean both 'imperfect' and 'incomplete'. Thankfully, Van Vaernewijck's note in *Van die Beroerliche tijden* vol. i, 74–75, is less ambiguous: 'oft hier in dees ravesie dat tafereel schade gheleden heeft, dat meester Johannes Van Heijck gheschildert, maer niet vuldaen en heeft, (...) dat en weet ic niet'.

It is interesting that Lucas d'Heere was the first to draw attention to the unfinished state of the triptych (see note 437), since he owned Van Eyck's *St. Barbara*, now in the collection of the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, inv. no. 410, Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, 314, Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 202v, 'dat ick een cleen conterfeyt selken van een Vrouw-mensch van hem hebbe ghesien/ met een Landtschapken achter/ dat maer gedoorverwet was/ en nochtans seer uytnemende net/ ende glat/ en was ten huysse van mijn Meester/ Lucas de Heere, te Gent'.

⁴⁴¹ Compartments.

⁴⁴² Ex. 3.2.

⁴⁴³ Judg. 6.37.

⁴⁴⁴ Ez. 44.1–3.

⁴⁴⁵ Num. 17.8.

⁴⁴⁶ Again, Van Mander copied Van Vaernewijck's wording, including the 'more heavenly than human' appearance of the panel, *Schilder-Boek*, fol. 202r, 'Daer was van Ioannes tot Iper/ in de Kerck en Prostie van S. marten, een Tafereel van een Mari-beeldt/ waer by quam een en Abt priant: de deuren waren onvoldaen/ hadden elck twee percken/ met versheyden beteyckenighen op Maria, als den brandenden Eglentier/ Gedeons Vlies/ en dergelijcke/ dit werck gheleek meer Hemelsch als Menschlijck te wesen'.

Van Eyck's triptych was removed from St. Martin's around 1757. It was then brought (or indeed returned) to the provost's residence. It disappeared in ca. 1794, after the French occupied the town, Jones, 'New evidence', 73 n. 1, 79.

⁴⁴⁷ Sic, xlvij.

⁴⁴⁸ See no. 15.

den in Vlaendren/ met zijnder conste verchiert (...).⁴⁴⁹

23. cap. iv.62, fol. 134va [R6va]. Van Vaernewijck discusses a carved retable devoted to St. George in Tournai.

¶ **Van die oudtheyt van Doornicke, di-
uersche opinien, ende vvatt voor een stadt
gheveest is, ende noch is, eensdeels daer
af verhalende, dat in ons tvveede boeck
gheschreuen is. Cap. lxij.**

Die Bisscho
pelicke kerc
ke.

(...) maer onzer Vrouwen
kercke voornoemt/⁴⁵⁰ is wel besiens weerdich
een groot vat/ wt eender hant van oudts seer
wel ghewrocht/ ende soo ghemaect/ dat zy
schijnt in den beuck noch een kerke bouen te
hebben. Hier staet noch een altaer tafel/
die om haar grootheit ende rijckelicheyte won
derlick om te zien is/ ende wel een Conincx pre=
sent ghelijckende: want die Coninck van In
ghelant voornoemt,⁴⁵¹ die stadt ghewonnen heb
bende/⁴⁵² heeftse daer teender memorie doen op=
richten/ ende is een sumptueus ghesneden
werck van Sinte Iooris/ dwelck den In=
ghelschen Patroon is.⁴⁵³ In dees kercke sijn
veel costelicke croonen o[m] kerssen op te stellen
zeer groot van blinckenden metale/ ende zom
mighe zilueren candelaren ende lampten/ inde
cruyskercke staet een allebastren tafereel/ dat
menich duysent ghecost heeft/ noch sijnder

Een Altaer
tafel.

⁴⁴⁹ It is no surprise that so many treasures could be found in Bruges, Ypres and Ghent. In the fifteenth century, the three cities were the dominant industrial and artistic centers of Flanders, paying 35 percent of the fiscal quotas for the whole province, Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 16, 22–23, 113–116. A description of another costly altarpiece at St. Martin's not mentioned here is in Van Vaernewijck, *Nieuw Tractaet*, fol. C5v, 'Den autaer in den hooghen choor, voren daer men celebreert/ Es van zeluer, tvvelc men niet en ziet van buten/ Ooc es die autaer tafele als mense gaet ontsluten/ Van fynen zeluer, veel keerssen men onsteectere/ De costelicheyte esser, maer de conste ghebrectere'.

⁴⁵⁰ The Cathedral of Our Lady.

⁴⁵¹ King Henry VIII of England.

⁴⁵² See the next note.

⁴⁵³ The monumental retable had five compartments with statues of St. George on horseback, St. James, St. John the Baptist, and St. Margaret, according to the notes of canon Denis-Dominique Waucquier (1689–1761), M. C.-J. Voisin, 'Notice sur les anciennes peintures murales de la cathédrale de Tournai', *Bulletins des Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie* 4 (1865) 257–284, 261.

The maker and detailed appearance of the retable are unknown, but it can be dated between 1513 and ca. 1519: Tournai was captured by Henry VIII of England in 1513. In 1519, the city was returned to French rule, following the Treaty of London of 1518, see C.S.L. Davies, 'Tournai and the English Crown, 1513–1519', *The Historical Journal* 41:1 (1998) 1–26.

bouen desen ander marmoren ende allebastere
cyraten/ ende des Bisscheops Pallaey/ staet
vaste an dees kercke, ghelijck des Paus pal=
aey/ aen S. Pieters kercke te Roome (...).

24. cap. iv.65, fol. 135vb [R7vb]. Van Vaernewijck touches on the large amount of artistic workshops in Mechelen. The town was known as a production centre for cheap watercolour paintings on linen, and its export of cartoons for the tapestry industry.⁴⁵⁴

¶ **Van die stadt van Bruessel, oock van
Mechelen, Liere, Aken, Maestricht ende
Hoy. Cap. lxxv.**

(...) daer [Mechelen] is oock thuys der Ar=
lillerye het gheschut aengaende/⁴⁵⁵ stofferende
alle dese nederlanden ende van metael ghieten
ende koperwerck/ als Ingien/ ⁴⁵⁶ Clocken &c.
sijn daer die beste Meesters/ die yeuwers in
die landen daerontrent ghevonden worden.⁴⁵⁷

C. en l. schil
der meesters

Daer sijn ooc hondert en vijftich Schilders [fol. 136ra, R8ra]
wijnckels ofte meer/ ende oock wel zoo veel
cnapen/⁴⁵⁸ soo datmen in dat cas/ dierghelijcke
inde weerelt nauwelick en zoude vinden/⁴⁵⁹ zy
voert oock (als die Stadt van Ghendt) een
Maecht in haer wapen/ ende steenen pinnen
op haer mueren/ in een teeckin dat zy nooyt
ghewonnen en was (...).

25. cap. iv.69, fol. 140rb [S4rb], Van Vaernewijck discusses the work of Cornelis Boerman, a curious sculptor, and, interestingly, several female artists active in Ghent.

⁴⁵⁴ Neil de Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, 'The Antwerp-Mechelen production and export complex', in: A. Golahny, M.M. Mochizuki, and L. Vergara (ed.), *In his milieu. Essays on Netherlandish art in memory of John Michael Montias* (Amsterdam 2006) 133–148.

⁴⁵⁵ On April 5, 1551, Charles V ordered the establishment of a central armory at Mechelen. Existing properties on the Adegemstraat were demolished to make way for the construction of two new warehouses, Bernhard Roosens, 'Het arsenaal van Mechelen en de wapenhandel, 1551–1567', *Studia Historica Gandensia. Seminarie voor geschiedenis van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent* 229 (1978) 155–247, 178–186.

⁴⁵⁶ Siege engines.

⁴⁵⁷ Mechelen was a production hub for weapons, bronze artillery cannons, shot, and gun powder, with important export contracts to England, Spain, and Portugal, Roosens, 'Het arsenaal van Mechelen', 175, 177, 181–182.

⁴⁵⁸ Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 260r, 'in een Stadt daer veel slechte Doeckschilders hun wesen hadden: Soo is onghelijcx onder sulcken geselschap oock te Mecchelen/ daer meer als 150. sulcke Winckelen waren/ opghecomen Hans Bol (...)':

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Vaernewijck, *Nieu Tractaet*, fol. Dzv, 'Maer gheen stat in de vverelt, en sietmen so vervroomen/ Van schilders, also ic hebbe hooren ontbinden,/ VWant daer sijn hondert vijftich schilders vviijnckels te vinden'.

**¶ Van noch meer andere vvonderliche-
den in onzen houck des landts gheschiet
vanden iare xiiij. honder lxviij. tot de-
sen ieghenvvoordighe tijdt.**

Cap. lxix.

Cornelis Boerman.	(...) Item/ in desen tijdt ⁴⁶⁰ heeft oock Cornelis Boerman ⁴⁶¹ t'Ipre zijn consten beghinnen too ghen/ hy was een causmaker ende cleermaker ende wrachte byden ghesichte/ zonder mate te nemen/ hy sneedt oock meer in een huere/ dan een ander in eenen haluen dach/ hy maec= te houten mannekens/ ende andere dinghen dat hem beroerde/ als oft gheleeft hadde/ als eenen anderen Promotheus. ⁴⁶² Hy
Een houten vroukin spinnende.	heeft ghemaect van houte een vroukin spin= nende/ ende ommekijckende naer haer kindt dat in een wieghe lach/ ende was ghewiecht van een ander kindt. Item noch
Houten kint hem beroe- rende, ende een honde- kin.	een kindt pap etende/ ende schudde het hooft als oftet hem verbrandt hadde/ ende een hon= dekin dat diende/ om wat te hebben/ ende al hem roerende/ als oft leuende gheweest had= de. Hy maecte oock eenen waghens/ die alleene voort liep/ een groot stuck weechs
Eenen vvag- ghen die al leen voort liep.	die eenen man leuende daerop zittende bestier de: Ende als men op de zulle ⁴⁶³ van zijn camer tradt/ soo hadde hy ghemaect/ dat die deu= re van selfs open ghijnck. Men zecht
Dore alleen open.	dat hy eenen houtenen man ghemaect had= de die metten boeczack voor zijn wijf ter kerc ken ghijnck/ ende eenen man van houte
Tvree hou- ten mans die wande- len.	die den Prince (t'Iper commende) ieghen quam ende presenteerde hem die Sleutelen van der

⁴⁶⁰ Around 1537.

⁴⁶¹ On Boerman, see Willy L. Braekman, 'Cornelis Boerman, een automatenbouwer te Ieper in de zestiende eeuw', *Biekorf* 97 (1997) 364–369, and Herman Pleij, 'Rederijkerij als spektakel', in: Bart A.M. Ramakers (ed.), *Conformisten en rebellen. Rederijkerscultuur in de Nederlanden, 1400–1650* (Amsterdam 2003) 23–44, 34–35.

⁴⁶² Prometheus, the famous mythological figure known for his intelligence, inventiveness and constant search for knowledge.

⁴⁶³ Doorstep.

Schepper- kins, ende Simme van houte.	Stadt. ⁴⁶⁴	Van die outen Schep= perkins die voor zijn caue zaten en naeyden/ ende van een Simme ⁴⁶⁵ hem roerende/ ende die trommel slaende op zijn bordesse/ heeftmen vele gheseyt. Maer gheheele historien van onzer lieuer Vrouwen, daerof haer alle die beeldekens beroerden/ elck naer zyne qualiteyt/ ende toebehoorte. Oock een vroukin op een tafel gaende/ ende haer ommekeerende/ ende wederomme gaende/ met eenen zekeren matelicken dans/ alzo zy selue op een Luyte speelde/ al van hou= te ghemaect/ ende gheschildert ofte ghe= stoffteert/ hebbe ick met menich duysent men= schen ghesien. ⁴⁶⁶ Hy heeft oock zulcke constighe stucxkins in Vranckerijcke ghele= uert. Ende int clooster te Marceenen ⁴⁶⁷ [fol. 140va, S4va] heeft hi ghemaect dat die Fierters byna van selfs/ met cleender moeyten van eenen zolder commen/ ende weder op ghedaen worden/ die patroonen van zijn beeldekens, heeft hem veel ghesneden Meester Ian dHeere te Ghendt: ⁴⁶⁸ nochans en heeft hy dese in sijn werck niet ghebruyckt: maer met zijn constighe handen andere daernaer ghesneden/ ende daer sijn vijskins binnen wonderlick ghevoeght/ alle zijn instrumenten ende hallam ⁴⁶⁹ vijlde hi zelue dan dat hijt wten ruyden liet smeden: want niemand en condet hem naer zynen gheest ghe maken/ hy was ander een simpel ghemeyn ⁴⁷⁰ man/ zeer goed van herten ende van leuen/ die
Onser vrou wen historie		
Vroukin op de Luyte spelende.		
Fierters van selfs op ende af commen		

⁴⁶⁴ Van Vaernewijck is probably referring to the Joyous Entry of Philip II in late July 1549, Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent king: a new life of Philip II* (New Haven 2014) 34–39.

⁴⁶⁵ A monkey, a fashionable motif often encountered in sixteenth-century Flemish art. The most famous example is Bruegel's *Two chained monkeys* of 1562, presently in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Sellink, *Pieter Bruegel*, 181 cat. no. 118.

⁴⁶⁶ Apparently, Boerman travelled the Flemish various fairs to show his inventive automatons, see Braekman, 'Cornelis Boerman', 368.

⁴⁶⁷ The Benedictine abbey at Marchiennes, in northern France.

⁴⁶⁸ It is not completely clear whether or not d'Heere did indeed design Boerman's animated sculptures, or that this is an invention of Van Vaernewijck. Or, does this mean that Boerman copies existing sculptures done by d'Heere?

⁴⁶⁹ Sic?

⁴⁷⁰ Common.

Heere van
Halevijn
oock van
deser conste,
inden seluen
tijdt.

deerlic ghequelt was/ met een zot quaet wijf/
daer hy nochtans zeer wijsselick mede leefde/
zy en mocht niet zien dat hy met zulcker con=
ste besich was: maer met scheppen/ ofte caus=
maken, dwelck zijn ambacht was/ dus moest
hijt al bedeckt/ ende ghestolen wercken voor
haer. Daer was een goet out Heere van
Halewijn/⁴⁷¹ die ooc met zulcker conste begaeft
was/ hy maecte een schip dat alleene voer/ ende
dede op eenen torre daer hy ter tafel zat, zijn
spyse met instrumenten op de tafel commen:⁴⁷²
maer als hy hoorde dat Cornelis Boerman/
in zulcke consten floreerde/ so en conde hy nau=
welick zijn presentie ghederuen: want (zomen
zecht) den eenen Constenare zoekt/ ende be=
mindt den anderen (...). [fol. 140vb, S4vb]

Noch sijnder twee vrouwen te Ghent ghe
boren:⁴⁷³ maer deene is corts ouerleden (die ghe
noemt was ioncvrouwe Susanna Huerbouts⁴⁷⁴
filia Meester Gheeraerts/⁴⁷⁵ een constich ver=
lichter, ende was als een edel dochter ghe=
houden int hof vanden Coninch van Inghe=
landt Henricus die viij. van dien name/ ende
dander is Ioncvrouwe Anna Smyters⁴⁷⁶ filia
Meester Ians,⁴⁷⁷ nu dhuysvrouwe van Meester
Ian dHeere/ excellent Sculptor ende Archi=
tector) die beede in de conste van verlichten/

⁴⁷¹ Halluin, a town in northern France.

⁴⁷² As at the castle at Binche?

⁴⁷³ The inclusion of (some) female artists in the artistic canon goes back to Pliny, *Natural history*, xxxv.40.147. Van Vaernewijck personally knew both women discussed here.

⁴⁷⁴ Susanna Horenbout, a miniaturist active in Ghent and Westminster. Horenbout, like her father and her older brother Lucas (ca. 1490–1554), worked as an artist at the court of Henry VIII. She was a gentlewoman of Jane Seymour (ca. 1508–1537) and Anne of Cleves (1515–1557), see no. 16. No works can be attributed to her with complete certainty. She was lauded by Dürer, however, who owned an illumination of Christ painted by her. For a biography of Horenbout, see Campbell and Foister, 'Gerard, Lucas and Susanna Horenbout', 719–727, Thomas Kren, 'New directions in manuscript painting, ca. 1510–1561', in: Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (ed.), *Illuminating the Renaissance. The triumph of Flemish manuscript painting in Europe* (Los Angeles 2003) 411–516, 427–439 cat. nos. 129–135.

⁴⁷⁵ Gerard Horenbout.

⁴⁷⁶ Anna de Smijtere, a miniaturist active in Ghent. Her son is Lucas d'Heere. Like Susanna Horenbout, she was lauded by Guicciardini and Vasari, see Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, 100, 'Et di donne viue nomineremo quattro: (...) la quarta fia Anna Smiters di Guanto veramente gran' pittrice, & grande illuminatrice'; Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas d'Heere', 16–18, 38. See nos. 16, 17.

⁴⁷⁷ Jan de Smijtere.

niet alleene constighe:⁴⁷⁸ maer ooc wonderlicke dinghen/ metten ghesichte ghedaen hebben/ als onder andere hebben zy gheschildert/ elck een meulen met volle zeylen/ ende eenen meulenaere met eenen zack gheladen gaende op de meulen, een kerre ende een peert/ ende eenen meulenberch/ ende passanten/ die daer schenen te passeren/ altemale zoo clene ende subtylic gedaen/ datment al mochte bedecken met een half cooren greyn/⁴⁷⁹ ende dese dijnghen om der grooter consten wille/ worden gheacht ende ghepresen bouen edel costelick ghesteente/ ende ouerzulck doen stellen in ringhen van goude/ ende ghedreghen voor een bysonder excellentie/ van groote Meesters ende Prelaten: alle de welcke wonderwercken men wel mocht by Mirmetidis ende Callicratis werck stellen.⁴⁸⁰

Dit Memoriael hebben wy oock ghestelt in ons boeck tWout van Wondere gheuoemt int derde deel int vijfste capittel/⁴⁸¹ twelcke wy hier niet en begheeren verzweghen te hebben om te verdoogen/ die edele ende constighe zinnen van Ghendt/ die oock opereren in vrouwenlicke beelden/ twelck zeer constighe mannen haer nauwelic en souden bestaen te doene oft soude haer ten minsten zeer zwaer/ ende lastich dincken/ als oft Flora haer bestonde te wedden iegens Herculem int verkeerspel/ twelcke men seit dat zi beede ghesaemder handt ghevonden hebben (...).

⁴⁷⁸ No works of Anna de Smijtere are known.

⁴⁷⁹ The amount of details in this description implies, in my opinion, that Van Vaernewijck owned the illumination(s) himself. Also see the adaptation by Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 255r, 'want daer was van haer [Anna] ghedaen een Meulen met volle seylen/ Melenaer met sach gheladen gaende oft climmende op de Meulen/ een Peerd onder op de Meulen-wal met een karre/ en volck die onder voor by gingen/ en al dit werck con men bedecken met een half Coren-graen'.

⁴⁸⁰ See no. 16.

⁴⁸¹ This text does not survive.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Chronological overview of Marcus van Vaernewijck's known social and political positions until his death on February 20, 1569, based on Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, and Coessens, *De Sint-Jorisgilde te Gent*. The total number of servants with the same function and Vaernewijck's rank therein are indicated between square brackets (if known).

Year	Starting date of term	Organization	Function	Notes
1549–1550		Guild of St. Luke	Gezworene (juror) [2/2]	Tour of Germany and Italy
1556–1557		Chamber of Mariën Theeren	Factor [2]	Tour of Germany and the Northern Netherlands
1557–1558		Chamber of Mariën Theeren	Proviseerder (administrator) [12]	
1558–1559	Apr 23	Greater Crossbow Guild of St. George	Proviseerder (administrator) [13]	
1559	May	City council	To arrange festivities and decorations for the twenty-third Chapter, July 29–August 1, 1559.	Together with Jan and Lucas d'Heere
1559–1562?				Second tour of Rome, cf. no. 3. Van Vaernewijck started work on the <i>Spiegel</i> in this period.
1560		Crossbow Guild of St. George		
1562	May 10	Greater Crossbow Guild of St. George, City council	To arrange festivities and a water jousting tournament	Together with Jan and Lucas d'Heere
1562–1569	Jun 24	Church of St. James	Kerkmeester (churchwarden)	
1562–1563	Dec 24	Church of St. James	Vinder [5]	Appointed by the Keure
1563–1564	Feb 10?	Armenkamer	Gouverneur (governor) [13]	Appointed by the Keure
1564–1565	May 10	Aldermen of the Keure	Schepen (alderman) [9/13]	
1565–1567	May 10	Brede raad (Wide council)	Collatieheer (councillor) [94]* *each of Ghent's 7 parishes was represented by 6 men, plus 52 resigned aldermen	Automatic function for two consecutive years after resigning from the Keure
1565–1566		City council	Stapelheer (Grain inspector) [3]	
1566	Aug 7	Parish of St. James	Vingtenier (commander) [6]	Appointed by the Keure

1567–1568	May 10	Brede raad (Wide council)	Collatieheer (councillor) [94]	Third term on behalf of the Parish of St. James
1567–1568		City council	Stapelheer (Grain inspector) [3]	Appointed by the Keure
1567–1568	Apr 23	Crossbow Guild of St. George	Proviseerder (administrator) [13]	
1567–1568	Dec 24	City council	Overste (prior) of 7 out of 21 trade groups	Appointed by the Keure
1568	Jul	Parish of St. James	Vingtenier (commander)	
1568–1569	May 10	Aldermen of Gedele	Schepen (alderman) [9/13]	

Appendix 2

Works by Marcus van Vaernewijck published in print during the sixteenth century. For a survey of his lost or unpublished titles, see Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld*, 129–132.

Author	Title	Year	Printer	Publisher	Notes
Gheeraert van Salenson?	<i>De cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte</i> [...]	1557	Hendrik van den Keere	Gheeraert van Salenson	Laudatory ballade by Van Vaernewijck
Petrus Bacherius	<i>Sommighe vriendelicke ende zeer hertelicke minnebriefkens</i> [...]	1558	Cornelis Manilius?	Cornelis Manilius	Laudatory poem by Van Vaernewijck
Marcus van Vaernewijck	<i>Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt</i> [...]	1560	Hendrik van den Keere	Gheeraert van Salenson	
Marcus van Vaernewijck and Gheeraert van Salenson?	<i>De warachtighe historie van den alder onverwinnelicsten, ende alder moghensten keyser van Roome</i> [...]	1561	Ghileyn Manilius	Gheeraert van Salenson	Prologue and ballade by Van Vaernewijck
Marcus van Vaernewijck	<i>Nieu Tractaet ende curte beschrijvinghe van dat Edel Graefscap van Vlaenderen</i> [...]	1562	Ghileyn Manilius	Gheeraert van Salenson	Second, enlarged ed. of <i>Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt</i>
Marcus van Vaernewijck	<i>Nieu Tractaet ende curte beschrijvinghe van dat Edel Graefscap van Vlaenderen</i> [...]	1563	Ghileyn Manilius	Gheeraert van Salenson	Reprint of the 1562 text
Marcus van Vaernewijck and Gheeraert van Salenson?	<i>De cronijcke van Vlaenderen int corte</i> [...]	1563	Ghileyn Manilius	Gheeraert van Salenson	Second, enlarged ed. of the 1557 text
Marcus van Vaernewijck	<i>Cort tractaet Algorismi; Vijfthien taefelspeelkins ende presentwynen</i> [...]	1563?	?	Gheeraert van Salenson	Printing privilege was granted on August 2, 1563. No copies of this text have survived, therefore it is not clear if it was ever published at all

Marcus van Vaernewijck and Gheeraert van Salenson?	<i>De warachtighe gheschiedenisse van allen gheloofweerdighe saken vanden alder onverwinnelicsten, ende alder moghensten keyser van Roome [...]</i>	1564	Ghileyn Manilius or Gheeraert van Salenson	Gheeraert van Salenson	Second ed. of the 1561 text
Marius Laurier	<i>Die Conste der Minnen de Arte Armandi ghenaeempt [...]</i>	1564	Dirck Buyter	Dirck Buyter	Lengthy catechetical poem by Van Vaernewijck
Marcus van Vaernewijck	<i>Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt [...]</i>	1568	Ghileyn Manilius	Gheeraert van Salenson	Manuscript finished in March 1561, revised in March and April 1566. The printing privilege was granted in September 1565
Marcus van Vaernewijck	<i>Die historie van Belgis [...]</i>	1574	Widow of Ghileyn Manilius? or Jan van Salenson	Widow of Gheeraert van Salenson	Second ed. of <i>Den spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt</i>
Petrus Bacherius	<i>Vriendelicke tsamen sprekinghe tusschen de Christen ziele [...]</i>	1576	Widow of Gheeraert van Salenson	Widow of Gheeraert van Salenson	Second ed. of the 1558 text. Laudatory poem by Van Vaernewijck
Marcus van Vaernewijck	<i>Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt [...]</i>	1581–1588?	Jan van Salenson	Jan van Salenson	Fourth ed. of the 1560 text, 'Van nieuw oversien ende vermeerdert'

Appendix 3

Complete alphabetical index of artists, authors, kings, saints, and other names mentioned throughout the edition of the *Spiegel*.

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Alexander: 18	Barlandus, Adrianus (author): 11
Amelberga of Temse (Saint): 16	Bavo (Saint): 17
Andreas (Saint): 16	Beauvais, Vincent of (author): 2
Anglicus, Bartholomeus (author): 5	Bertulphus of Renty (Saint): 16
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Apollo: 5	Boerman, Cornelis (sculptor, inventor): 25
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Artemon (painter): 15	Burgundy, Maximilian of (abbot): 11

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Cain (Gen. 4): 2
Caligula (Emperor): 18
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Cesariano, Cesare (author): 10
Chares of Lindos (sculptor)
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Christian II of Denmark (King): 16
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D'Heere, Jan (sculptor, architect): 25
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 Altarpiece of Nicholas Triest: 16
 Altarpiece of St. Luke: 16
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Diodorus Siculus (author): 4, 17, 18
Doens, Willem (priest, chaplain): 16
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Fregoso, Battisa (author): 15
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Ghautier, Wauter: 16
Ghistele, Joos van (author): 8, 16, 18
Gideon: 22
Goes, Hugo van der (painter): 15, 21
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 Protogenes (painter): 18
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 Pythagoras of Samos (mathematician): 4
 Pythius of Priene (sculptor, architect): 10
 Quicquelberge, Lucas van (goldsmith?): 12
 Ramses II (Pharaoh): 18
 Renterghem, Gheeraert (secretary): 14
 Romano, Giulio (painter): 15
 Saba (Queen): 15
 Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius (author): 16
 Salamacis: 10
 Salamanca, Antonio (printer)
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 Schepper, Cornelius de (diplomat): 10
 Scopas (sculptor, architect): 10
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Appendix 4

Complete alphabetical index of regions, towns, rivers, peoples, and other geographical names mentioned throughout the edition of the *Spiegel*.

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 Caermersklooster (Carmelites): 17
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- Annio da Viterbo, *Antiquitatum Italiae ac totius orbis libri quinque* [...] (Antwerp 1552).
- Anon, *Mirabilia vrbis Romae nova recognita, et emendata* [...] (Rome 1550).
- , *Refreynen ghepronunchieert opte Intreden binnen der Stede van Delft* [...] (Delft 1581).
- , *Preuve tot betoogh dat die van het gheslachte moderne van Vaernewyck zijn de principael fondateurs ende dotateurs vanden Godts-huyse, ofte clooster vande Carthusiers alsdan residerende tot Royghem, ende nu jeghenwordigh binnen de stadt van Ghendt* (Ghent 1670).
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- B**
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Summary

In 1568, the Ghent rhetorician Marcus van Vaernewijck (1518–1569) published his *Spiegel der Nederlandscher audtheyt*. The *Spiegel* is one of the earliest, and at the same time one of the most elaborate examples of literature of art from the Low Countries. Van Vaernewijck's chorography includes one of the earliest 'Netherlandish' artistic canons, albeit a predominantly local one. It was meant to shape Ghent's cultural identity as a learned centre of artistic production in a time that Antwerp had clearly taken over its position as the most dominant Flemish city, while Italian authors claimed historical, cultural and intellectual superiority over Flanders as a whole. Marcus van Vaernewijck, himself an antiquarian and avid collector, used archeological evidence and ancient sources to (sometimes literally) unearth, establish, and promote a unique regional history and culture that purportedly went back to Trojan times. The chorographic structure of the *Spiegel* provided the framework in which the author could discuss, describe, and praise local architecture, riches, artists, and their artistic output.

Van Vaernewijck's elaborate notes and descriptions of art and artists shed light onto two distinctly humanist developments. First, they reveal a maturing fascination for the biographies of scholars, in casu painters and sculptors, and their identities as illustrious men. Secondly, they show an ongoing learned debate about which local works of art and artists were worth knowing and remembering, a discussion that was in part fueled by important Italian predecessors. The *Spiegel* thus claims a clear but overlooked place in the early history of the Netherlandish artistic canon, almost four decades before Karel van Mander (1548–1606) published his famous *Schilder-Boeck*.

Marcus van Vaernewijck moved in a learned local milieu in which opinions, histories, and interpretations of local art and artists were freely shared, debated, and preserved. The assumed portraits of Hubert (ca. 1385/1390–1426) and Jan van Eyck (ca. 1390–1441) are a case in point that demonstrate the importance of these networks for the circulation and advancement of knowledge about art beyond the borders of the city. Indeed, Van Vaernewijck was what Meganck described as a 'hybrid expert' who bridged the gap between the artistic and learned circles. This shared intellectual network was key to the development of a true 'Northern' canon that ventured to counter the Italian claims to artistic hegemony.

In this thesis, I demonstrate the originality and importance of Marcus van Vaernewijck's text in the context of the development of art literature and the artistic canon in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. The second aim of this thesis is to shed light onto the hitherto obscure sections of the *Spiegel* that include notes about art or artists. To this end, I present a complete commented edition of the relevant segments of the source text.

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