



Partie 2

LEÇONS DE FONTAINEBLEAU

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THE GALERIE FRANÇOIS I^{ER} AT FONTAINEBLEAU: AN INSPIRATION FOR NETHERLANDISH ARTISTS FROM THE LATE 1530S

One of the prime artistic inventions of the French culture at the court of François I^{er} deserves a closer look: the systematic and systemic use of ornament as it was developed by Rosso Fiorentino (1494-1540) and Francesco Primaticcio (1504-1570) in the Galerie François I^{er} at Fontainebleau (fig. 1)¹. The Florentine artist arrived at Fontainebleau in 1530; he was rejoined by the Bolognese in 1532. As Robert Knecht has put it, *The frescoes were executed [in 1536-1537] by four men of varying skill after the stucco had been completed [between 1533 and 1535/1536]. [...] Much haste was apparently applied to finishing the gallery for the Emperor's visit in 1539*². The remarkable multi-media work by the two artists and their collaborators, a prime object of the French Renaissance, transformed the art of interior decoration and was immediately well-received, even in Italy itself. From the beginning the stucco decoration and its sculptures, “très belles”, were praised, more than the frescoes, judged “très laides”³.

The role of Fontainebleau in the propagation of framing devices, of cartouches, is well known. The immensely popular sixteenth-century ornamental genre of strapwork derived in part from painted and stucco borders in the Galerie François I^{er},

due to its dissemination through print makers in the service of the court⁴, but also through tapestries⁵. In the Low Countries, artists like Cornelis Bos (c. 1506/10-1555), Cornelis Floris (1514-1575), Jacob Floris (1524-1581), and Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-c. 1607) invented myriad variations on this theme⁶; their engravings, like those of the Fontainebleau print makers, were subsequently adapted by artists working in different media. It would be quite unusual if Netherlandish artists had ignored the Galerie François I^{er} in its early years, as earlier research has implied. On the basis of visual evidence, the present essay aims to show that from the end of the 1530s artists from the Low Countries grasped what was at play in Fontainebleau, understood the *modus operandi* of the Gallery decoration, and implemented some of its devices in a subtle way.

The Fontainebleau gallery conveys the notion of ornament as a (meta)system, not simply as a gathering of individual decorative devices and quasi-architectural fragments. There, stucco ornament operates outside the domain of primary representation and offers an infrastructure for the frescoes⁷. The ornament observed in Fontainebleau has precedents. The famous Roman wall paintings with their



Fig. 1 Galerie François I^{er}, château de Fontainebleau. (Photo: Isabelle Lecocq)

grotesques and bizarre architectural painting provided a similar scaffolding for nested images. And very much the same treatment was found in the expansive grotesque decoration in the Renaissance, especially in Italy, where entire walls and vaults might be covered with grotesques. Nor was the grotesque, itself, essential to this function of ornament. Gothic tracery, divorced from its mundane task of supporting window glass and used extensively to clad walls, portals, tombs, altarpieces, and other furnishings also established ornament as a system that unified large architectural and sculptural programs while highlighting particularly important features within its fields.

Many of the features of Rosso's framing devices used at Fontainebleau are apparent a few years earlier in a vault he designed for the Roman church of S. Maria della Pace, where they occupy the ceiling of a single chapel bay (fig. 2)⁸. In France Rosso elaborated on certain of these principles, expanding his project to the extensive wall of the Galerie François I^{er}. Other well-known approaches to ornament were transported to different spaces in their new receiving cultures. Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling, with its hierarchy of framing figures, was clearly one of the roots of the ornamental system on the Fontainebleau gallery.



Fig. 2 Detail of the ceiling of the Cesi Chapel (S. Maria della Pace, Rome), v. 1525. (Photo: Ethan Matt Kavalier)

In a much less successful and comprehensive way, Lanceloot Blondeel approached ornament as a system of containment and articulation in the Mantelpiece to Charles V in the Bruges Liberty⁹. Dating from 1528, this extensive wall decoration was designed in the same years that Rosso undertook his gallery. At Bruges the disparate elements of the statues of Charles V and his grandparents, the myriad coats of arms, the grotesque figures, and the spindly architectural borders are united in a network that imputed integrity and status to the ensemble (fig. 3).

Two prominent Netherlandish artists were especially attentive to this feature of the gallery: the remarkably versatile

Antwerp painter Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550) and the celebrated Utrecht sculptor Colijn de Nole (?-before 1558). One of the earliest responses to Fontainebleau in the Netherlands may well be the series of stained glass windows that Pieter Coecke and his workshop designed for the prestigious Herkenrode Abbey¹⁰. The remains of at least seventeen windows of Herkenrode Abbey were reinstalled at Lichfield, in twelve windows, whose narratives represent mainly the Life and Passion of Christ. Pieter Coecke seems to have been involved in the preparatory drawings for these windows, though his participation is most evident in the latest windows from the series, which bear the

dates 1538 and 1539. The draftsmanship of these windows betrays strong links with other works from Coecke's workshop in several media: paintings, drawings, and prints.

In Herkenrode, the crucial and most prestigious scenes of the Passion were displayed in the apse: Pilate washing his hands with Christ led away (given by Jean de Hornes, 1539), Christ carrying the Cross (donated by Erard de La Marck, 1532), Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross (donated by Florent d'Egmont, 1532) and the Resurrection (donated by Maximilien d'Egmont, 1538). In these windows of the choir, the architectural frame of the scenes is particularly well developed in order to lavishly present the

narrative events and their eminent donors (fig. 4).

Around the narrative scenes, we find certain ornamental details that were precocious in the art of the Low Countries: terms, masks, satyrs, and other such elements (fig. 5). These motifs are found separately elsewhere, for instance in Raphael's decorations for the Stanze in the Vatican palace (1508-1525). Of course, the designer of the windows – Coecke himself perhaps, with members of his workshop – availed themselves of a variety of sources that included Italian, German and Netherlandish ornamental prints. Yet the total ornamental conception strongly suggests reference to the decorations at Fontainebleau. In



Fig. 3 Lanceloot Blondeel (designer), Mantelpiece to Charles V, Franc, Bruges. (Photo: Ethan Matt Kavaler)



Fig. 4 Pieter Coecke and workshop (designer), *Jean de Hornes and his wife Anne d'Egmont presented by Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Anne carrying the Virgin and Child* (scene from the window NIV of the Lady Chapel of the Lichfield Cathedral, formerly in the Herkenrode Abbey), 1539. (Photomontage with photos of Barley Studio)

the Herkenrode windows, the masks are heavy and expressive, much like their Fontainebleau counterparts, and the satyrs strain to support cornices, an architectonic function that we see as well in the palace of François I^{er}. The use of human figures and hybrid creatures interacting would soon be exploited by Cornelis Floris in his grotesque designs.

The relationship between the glass for Herkenrode and the decoration of the Galerie François I^{er} is not a question solely of shared motifs. More fundamentally, it concerns the integration of these motifs with representational elements. As we have noted, the lessons drawn from Fontainebleau are clearest in the latest windows from 1538-1539, which may show awareness of the system used at Fontainebleau for organizing the pictorial information. In these works the framing follows a different logic from that of

the earliest windows. Whereas the first windows operate with the simple addition and superimposition of framing motifs, the later designs show a skilful integration of the central image with the frame. Here the rich and complex structure of the windows is emphasized, and the figurative elements of the frame compete with the religious scene. In the window representing Pilate Washing his Hands, two young men sit conspicuously on the cornice without any supporting function (fig. 6). These figures are likely an echo of their counterparts who adorn the image of the Royal Elephant in the Galerie François I^{er} (fig. 7). The youths on the cornice seem to resist gravity and behave like actors in a secondary play. Different levels of reality are introduced. In the same manner, the satyrs that recur about the windows are well-adjusted to the spandrels they occupy but are also believable, vital creatures in their own right.

There are few comparisons for these framing figures in Netherlandish art of this time – let alone in stained glass. The only exception is a preparatory drawing for a stained glass window that significantly oscillates between Coecke's manner and that of Fontainebleau (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 8679, fig. 8)¹¹. It was for a time attributed to Leonard Thiry, the Antwerp artist who was active at Fontainebleau, but it is now generally attributed to an anonymous Flemish draftsman. Certain characteristics of the drawing – the treatment of the figure of Jonas, «flexueux et délié»¹² – seems indeed to be anchored «dans le style et dans les pratiques graphiques des anciens Pays-Bas»¹³. When compared



Fig. 5 Pieter Coecke and workshop (designer), *Satyr* (detail from *Christ leaving Pilate*, scene from the window SIV of the Lady Chapel of the Lichfield Cathedral, formerly in the Herkenrode Abbey). (Photo: Isabelle Lecocq)



Fig. 6 Pieter Coecke and workshop (designer), *Young men on a cornice* (detail from fig. 4). (Photo: Isabelle Lecocq)



Fig. 7 Primatice and Rosso, *The Royal Elephant* and framing device, 1532-1538, Galerie François I^{er} at Fontainebleau. (Photo: Isabelle Lecocq)

with the Herkenrode glass windows and surviving sketches for these works, it seems clear that the St. Petersburg drawing may have been produced in the circle of Peter Coecke during the late 1530s.

It is this comprehensive use of ornament that suggests a first-hand experience of Fontainebleau, a response that is unlikely to have developed from printed sources. Coecke was one of the most original designers of ornament in the Low Countries and would naturally have been curious about the inventions at the French court. He had extensive court connections himself¹⁴ and would have been aware of Habsburg attention to the projects of François I^{er}¹⁵. Through his activity as a

designer and entrepreneur in the field of tapestry, Coecke was informed about the patronage of many rulers of Europe, who ordered hangings after his designs. The French king purchased the initial series of Coecke's St. Paul tapestries¹⁶, which was likely the artist's first independent cycle. Coecke most probably travelled to Fontainebleau, that "second Rome". It would be remarkable had he not visited this renowned site, whose magnificence was already broadcast in 1539 by Giovan Battista da Gambara as comparable to Mantua, which Coecke did, in fact, see¹⁷. The journey from Antwerp was no more than two days ride and easily undertaken. Other ways of exchanging artistic ideas



Fig. 8 Workshop of Pieter Coecke (?), *Resurrection of Christ above Jonah and the Whale* (St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 8769). (Photo: Isabelle Lecocq)

were also possible; in 1532 Primaticcio was sent to Brussels to supervise the weaving of the tapestry of Scipio Africanus after designs by Giulio Romano¹⁸.

We may detect further interest in the French decorative system in some of Coecke's other works. For instance, the drawing representing John III, King of



Fig. 9 Pieter Coecke, *John III, King of Portugal and his wife Catherina of Aragon*, ca. 1542 (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum). (Photo: Isabelle Lecocq)

Portugal, and his wife, for the lower part of a window of the cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula displays the typical soft strapwork we find in Fontainebleau, with a characteristic bifurcation of the strap at its end (fig. 9)¹⁹. More fundamentally, Coecke seems to take his lead from Fontainebleau in his dramatic mixing of scale in the framing of the arches for the Entry of 1549 of Charles V and the future Philip II into Antwerp, as Yves Pauwels has noted²⁰. Here Coecke imprisons caryatids and atlantes in strapwork cages, much as Rosso fashioned in Fontainebleau. Cornelis Floris would develop this practice



Fig. 10 Colijn de Nole, Mantelpiece in the Town Hall of Kampen, 1543-1545. (Photo: Ethan Matt Kavaler)

in his designs for prints in the following decade²¹.

It is worth underlining that, in the works attributed to Coecke and his workshop, the ornamental system is quite different from that of Bernard van Orley. Van Orley, Coecke's great predecessor in painting and designs for both tapestry and stained glass, was a remarkably fertile inventor of ornament in all media. His designs, however, privilege architectural elements over the figural components far more comprehensively than in Coecke's projects. The triptych of the Story of Job, with Bernard van Orley's coat-of-arms, is a case in point²². His architectural structures – fashionably in the new antique manner – are complex compositions of compound piers encrusted with medallions, rams heads and other decorative devices. They have the ornamental density of some Late Gothic inventions (that can be found in contemporary stained glass and altarpieces), and Van Orley, in fact, designed Gothic fittings in a few of his early paintings. It is no accident that another of the early masters of the antique mode, Jan van Roome, worked concurrently in a Late Gothic mode. Both manners were praised for their dedication to rich detail and the elaborate crafting of three dimensional objects. In Remy de Puy's description of the ephemeral decoration of the Entry of the Archduke Charles (V) into Bruges in 1515, stages and arches in both modes were praised as "highly artfully" achieved. Unlike Van Orley, Coecke's architectural inventions were visually simpler and less dependent on ornamental additions to their basic forms. M. D. Ozinga once called this the

"strict style" of antique design – with all the virtues of self-control, reticence, and directness implied²³. Less ideologically, we can say that Coecke's antique manner was more closely dependent on Roman models – both those of ancient Rome as well as those of Raphael, Bramante, and other Central Italian designers of the early sixteenth century. Van Orley's designs, on the other hand, if they have an Italian locus, seem closer to the creations of north Italy – especially to the famous monuments of Lombardy: Giovanni Amadeo's Certosa of Pavia and the Colleoni Chapel in Bergamo. On the one hand, this was only natural, since Lombardy had been the destination of invading French forces since 1494. The tomb of the French King Louis XII (begun 1515) understandably reflected the Sforza tomb in the Certosa of Pavia, for instance. On the other hand, Van Orley had early access to Raphael's very different designs, as the cartoons for the Tapestries of the Apostles by the Italian were sent to Brussels for weaving. And yet Van Orley seems to have responded only to the individual poses and gestures of Raphael's figures, not the overall figural compositions or the architectural inventions²⁴.

It was in the 1540s that a second artist derived much of his ornamental vocabulary from Fontainebleau: the Utrecht sculptor Colijn de Nole. De Nole shows quite an interest in Rosso's inventions in a number of works: primarily his mantelpiece for the town hall in Kampen (figs. 10, 11, 1543-45) and his tomb for the illustrious Reinout III van Brerode and Philippote de La Marck (circa 1542)²⁵. De Nole came from Cambrai, the cathedral city for much of Brabant and a town closer to

French cultural achievements. His family may have emigrated from Italy, but their origins are obscure. In any event, by 1532 De Nole had relocated in Utrecht, where he became the principal antique sculptor of the Northern Netherlands. Like his Utrecht compatriot Jan van Scorel²⁶, De Nole was soon attracted to the figural language of Rosso. The impressive genii on the Brederode Tomb are, indeed, close to a drawing of two women that relay a Netherlandish reception of Rosso's protagonists (figs. 12-13)²⁷. This sketch appears to be from the workshop of Jan van Scorel.

Like Coecke, De Nole was well-connected with the court, as his monument for Van Brederode demonstrates. His chief work, perhaps, was the mantelpiece for Kampen. The aldermen of Kampen were so intent on creating a powerful artwork

that they bypassed their own local sculptor, a Master Fredrik, in favor of the celebrated De Nole of Utrecht. The mantelpiece is a dense assembly of figural, narrative, and ornamental devices. Although the decorative motifs have various origins, several signal a direct interest on the part of De Nole in the recently completed work at Fontainebleau. These include most obviously the use of volutes to create an idiosyncratic cartouche that encloses a disembodied head (fig. 11), satyrs bracing architectural elements like buttresses, gracefully draped herms, masks terminating in leafy tendrils, and putti framing statues. Like the gallery at Fontainebleau, the Kampen mantelpiece nests narrative scenes within its ornamental surrounds. The Roman civic virtues of Mucius Scaevola, Scipio, and Marcus



Fig. 11 Colijn de Nole, Mantelpiece in the Town Hall of Kampen, 1543-1545, detail. (Photo: Ethan Matt Kavalier)



Fig. 12 Colijn de Nole, Tomb of Reinout III van Brederode and his wife, Philipotte de la Marck (Vianen, Reformed Church), 1542, detail. (Photo: Ethan Matt Kavaler)



Fig. 13 Workshop of Jan van Scorel, *Two women* (private collection). (Photo: Ethan Matt Kavaler)

Curius Dentatus are paired with the Old Testament just king, Solomon. Even more important is the way that the different parts are interrelated. The putti framing the statues look down upon the scenes of justice. The concentrated form of the mantelpiece is a fully integrated network of narrative and ornamental elements, which offer the most sophisticated and elaborate framing functions.

The Galerie François I^{er} made an immediate impact throughout Europe. Northern artists such as Pieter Coecke and Colijn de Nole were quick to seize upon its innovations. Yet these Netherlanders did not simply replicate elements of Rosso's

designs. Rather, they adopted and adapted the new inventions to their own purposes. Ornament was conceived as a system from its earliest incarnations, as we have noted. Yet Netherlandish artists learned much from Rosso, Primaticcio and their inventions – their canon of bodily proportions, their methods of figural abstraction, and – perhaps most of all – their ambitious and copious framing techniques, which offered a wealth of new ornamental motifs and a new logic for their ordering and assembly.

NOTES

1. Over the Galerie and its ornament, see among others, ZERNER H., “Le système décoratif de la Galerie François I^{er} à Fontainebleau”, in CHASTEL A. (ed.), *Actes du colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau*, Paris, CNRS, 1975, p. 31-35; BOUDON Fr. and BLECON J., *Le château de Fontainebleau de François I^{er} à Henri IV: les bâtiments et leurs fonctions*, Paris, Picard, 1998; CORDELLIER D. (ed.), *Primitice, maître de Fontainebleau* (Exh. Cat., Paris, Musée du Louvre, 22 septembre 2004-3 janvier 2005), Paris, Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2004, sp. p. 82-113; ZORACH R., *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2005; AUCLAIR V., “L’invention décorative de la galerie François I^{er} au château de Fontainebleau”, *Seizième Siècle*, 3, 2007, p. 9-35; PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS J.-M., *Le château de Fontainebleau*, 2^e éd., Paris, Scala, 2009, sp. p. 11-76; CRÉPIN-LEBLOND Th. and DROGUET V., *Le Roi et l'artiste. François I^{er} et Rosso Fiorentino* (Exh. Cat., Fontainebleau, Château de Fontainebleau, 23 mars-24 juin 2013), Paris, Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2013; SALMON X., *Fontainebleau. Le temps des Italiens*, Courtrai, Snoeck, 2013, sp. p. 37-136.
2. KNECHT R. J., *Renaissance Warrior. The reign of Francis I*, 2nd ed., New York, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 413.
3. See ZERNER H., *L'école de Fontainebleau, Gravures*, Paris, Arts et métiers graphiques, 1969; CHATENET M., *La cour de France au XVI^e siècle. Vie sociale et architecture*, Paris, Picard, 2002, p. 252-253 (including testimonials from Italian ambassadors).
4. See also LECOQ I., “Échanges artistiques entre la France, les anciens Pays-Bas et la Principauté de Liège pendant le XVI^e siècle: l'importance des modèles gravés et l'ascendant de l'École de Fontainebleau”, in MAËS G. et BLANC J. (ed.), *Les échanges artistiques entre les anciens Pays-Bas et la France, 1482-1814. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Institut*

de Recherches Historiques du Septentrion – UMR CNRS 8529 – et l'Université de Lille au Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille, 28-30 mai 2008, Turnhout, Brepols, 2010, p. 237-250.

5. The different terms for strapwork (*cuir*, *rolwerk*, *beschlagwerk*) each signaled a slightly different form of the ornamental device and suggested varied points of origin.
6. *An offshoot of the Fontainebleau school is the center of Antwerp, which in the 1560s became important for the publication of pattern books of architectural ornament like that of Hans Vredeman de Vries*, in ROSENTHAL E., “The Diffusion of the Italian Renaissance Style”, *Western European Art, The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 9, n° 4, p. 39.
7. For a discussion of ornament as a system, see LUHMANN N., *Art as a social system*, trans. by Eva M. Knodt, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000, 115, p. 120-21.
8. We are grateful to Femke Speelberg for reminding us of this precedent.
9. KAVALER E. M., “Power and Performance: The Mantelpiece to Charles V in the Bruges Vrije”, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, forthcoming.
10. These stained glass are currently studied and will be published in a *Corpus Vitrearum* volume of Great Britain. See VANDEN BEMDEN Y., KERR J. and OPSOMER C., “The Sixteenth-Century Glass from Herkenrode Abbey (Belgium) in Lichfield Cathedral”, *Archaeologia*, CVIII, 1986, p. 189-226 and VANDEN BEMDEN Y., “The 16th-century stained glass from the former Abbey of Herkenrode in Lichfield Cathedral”, *The Journal of Stained Glass*, XXXII, 2008, p. 49-90. See also LECOQ I., “Étude préalable à la conservation-restauration des vitraux de la cathédrale de Lichfield par les soins du *Barley Studio*, atelier de création et de restauration de vitraux dirigé par Keith Barley, York, 2003”, *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique*, 30 (2003), 2004, p. 319-325.
11. BRUGEROLLES E. and GUILLET D., *The Renaissance in France. Drawings from the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris* (Exh. cat., Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 23 Sept.-6 Nov. 1994;

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum/ Harvard University Art Museums, 4 Feb.-9 Apr. 1994; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12 Sept.-12 Nov. 1995), Cambridge, Mss., Harvard University Art Museums, 1995, p. 124; CORDELIER D., "Dessins inédits de Jean Cousin le Père", in ZERNER H. and BAYARD M. (ed.), *; Renaissance en France, renaissance française?*, Rome, Académie de France à Rome, 2008, p. 206; GASNAULT H., *Léonard Thiry (ca. 1500-1550), dans l'ombre de Rosso*, Paris, Thèse non publiée de l'École nationale des chartes, 2011, vol. 2, p. 134-135.

12. CORDELIER D., "Dessins inédits de Jean Cousin le Père", *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 206.

13. *Ibid.*

14. There is considerable evidence that from 1543 onward Coecke was in the service of the Empereur (see MARLIER G., *La Renaissance flamande. Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Bruxelles, R. Fink, 1966, p. 43). See also DE JONGE K., "The Court Architect as Artist in the Southern Low Countries 1520-1560", in CHAPMAN P. and WOODALL J. (ed.), *Envisioning the Artist in the Early Modern Netherlands*, Zwolle, Waanders, 2010, p. 110-135.

15. Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier considers that Mary of Hungary may have been influenced by Fontainebleau: «Between 1533 and 1537, as an explicit response to the edifice Rosso was then decorating at Fontainebleau, Mary added the gallery shown on the left of an anonymous drawing dating from around 1570» quoted in WILSON-CHEVALIER K., "Art patronage and women (including Habsburg) in the orbit of King Francis I", *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 16, n° 4, december 2002, p. 511.

16. See DELMARCEL G., "The Life of Saint Paul", in CLELAND EL. (ed.), *Grand Design. Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry, Grand Design. Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry* (Exh. Cat., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 8 Oct. 2014-11 Jan. 2015), New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014, p. 124-135.

17. SMITH M. H., "La première description de Fontainebleau", *Revue de l'Art*, 1991, 91, p. 44-46.

18. See SCAILLIÉREZ C., *François I^{er} et ses artistes dans les collections du Louvre* (Monographie des musées de France), Paris, Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1992, p. 30.

19. See HELBIG J. and VANDEN BEMDEN Y., *Les vitraux de la première moitié du XVI^e siècle conservés en Belgique, Brabant et Limbourg*, Ghent-Ledeberg, Erasmus, 1974, p. 88; VANDEN BEMDEN Y., "Les vitraux anciens (XVI^e et XVII^e siècles)", in LECOCQ I. (ed.), *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Saints-Michel-et-Gudule de Bruxelles, Histoire, Conservation et restauration* (Scientia Artis, 2), Bruxelles, Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique, 2005, sp. p. 82-83; LARIANOV A., *From gothic to mannerism. Early netherlandish drawing in the State Hermitage* (Exh. Cat., 18 May-1st September 2010), St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Publishers, 2010, p. 211-213, 359.

20. See PAUWELS Y., "Propagande architecturale et rhétorique du Sublime: Serlio et les 'Joyeuses entrées' de 1549", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2001, 137, p. 221-236.

21. See HUYSMANS A., VAN DAMME J. and VAN DE VELDE C., *Cornelis Floris (1514-1575), Beeldhouwer, architect, ontwerper*, Brussels, Crédit Communal, 1996.

22. See GALAND A., *Bernard van Orley* (The Flemish Primitives, VI), Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 2013, p. 199-235.

23. OZINGA M. D. "De strenge Renaissance-stijl in de Nederlanden naar de stand van onze tegenwoordige kennis", *Bulletin & nieuwsbulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse oudheidkundige Bond*, 6th series, 15, 1962, p. 10-34.

24. For Bernard van Orley and Raphael, see AINSWORTH M. W., "Romanism as a Catalyst for Change in Bernard van Orley's Workshop Practice", in MOLLY FARIES M. (ed.), *Making and Marketing: Studies of the Painting Process in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Workshops*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2006, p. 99-118.

25. On the Brederode tomb, see RODING J. and HIJMAN N., "Between the Secular and the

Religious: Art, Ritual and Science in the Funeral Chapel of Reinoud III of Brederode, Lord of Bianen (1491-1556) and his Wife, Philipotte de la Marck (d. 1537), in the Reformed Church fo Vianen”, in KODRES Cr. and MÄND A. (ed.), *Images and objects in Ritual Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Northern and Central Europe*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars, 2013, p. 143-63.

26. HOOGEWERFF G. J., *Jan van Scorel en zijn navolger en geestverwanten*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1941, p. 127-136, esp.134-135. For the interest of the sculptor Jacques Du Broeucq in Rosso, see KAVALER E. M., “Jacques Du Broeucq

and northern perspectives on the antique mode”, in CHAPUIS J., *Invention: Northern Renaissance Studies in Honor of Molly Faries*, ed., Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, p. 190-207.

27. On the Brederode tomb, see RODING J. and HIJMAN N., “Between the Secular and the Religious: Art, Ritual and Science in the Funeral Chapel of Reinoud III of Brederode, Lord of Bianen (1491-1556) and his Wife, Philipotte de la Marck (d. 1537), in the Reformed Church fo Vianen”, in KODRES Cr. and MÄND A. (ed.), *Images and objects* Scholars..., *op. cit.* (note 24), 2013, p. 143-63.