

BRAMANTE IN THE NORTH: IMAG(IN)ING ANTIQUITY IN THE LOW COUNTRIES (1500-1539)*

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Much has already been said about the representation of the architectural cityscape of fifteenth-century Early Netherlandish painting. The startling amount of detail in which Jan van Eyck or Rogier van der Weyden created a microcosm of gothic abundance, forms a defining element in their so-praised sense of realism.¹ Their urban landscapes and domestic interiors have been studied both from a architectural, iconographical, and quantitative point of view.² Despite the inclusion of some identifiable buildings and cityscapes – increasingly by the last quarter of the century in Bruges and Brussels³ – it is generally accepted that most of these city views represent an abstract ideal of the flourishing late Medieval Burgundian city. Much like Zeuxis created an ideal female model out of the best parts, the artist selected, combined and improved the finest architectural examples in order to create a universal city, allowing the beholder to identify with the, mostly biblical, scene on the foreground. Also, the combination of liturgical scenes and the contemporary urban background might have been closely related to staged liturgical plays held during Holy days or urban festivities, as some of Memling's *Simultanbilder* have been interpreted.⁴ Artists were well aware of the now seemingly anachronistic decors to which they set their scenes, as the inclusion of certain Romanesque elements testifies. This conscious style-awareness of Romanesque and Gothic is often interpreted as the evocation of an ancient past. A well-known example is that of Van Eyck's so-called *Washington Annunciation* (c. 1434-36), set in the nave or choir of a Romanesque church, is often interpreted as an reference to an

* This research is based upon a chapter of my PhD dissertation which is part of the research project 'Designing Architecture in the Sixteenth-century Low Countries', funded by the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO). I wish to thank prof. dr. Krista De Jonge and Katrien Lichtert for proofreading and commenting on earlier drafts of this article.

1 Craig Harbison, *Jan van Eyck: Play of Realism* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991).

2 For a detailed methodological overview, see Jelle De Rock, 'De stad verbeeld: De representatie van de stedelijke ruimte in de late middeleeuwen en vroegmoderne tijd: een status quaestionis', *Stadsgeschiedenis*, 7 (2012), pp.248-61.

3 Thomas Coomans, 'Stadsgezichten op portretten als weerspiegeling van de "sociale topografie" van de opdrachtgever', in *Met passer en penseel. Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld*, ed. by Eliane De Wilde (Tournai: La Renaissance du Livre, 2000), pp.173-81; Didier Martens, 'Architectuur in de Brusselse schilderkunst van de tweede helft van de 15de eeuw. Van kopieën naar Rogier tot "gebouwportretten"', *De Erfenis van Rogier van der Weyden. De schilderkunst in Brussel 1450-1520*, ed. by Véronique Bücken and Griet Seyaert (Tiel: Lannoo, 2013), pp. 81-94.

4 Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, *Narrative Performance and Devotional Experience in the Art of Hans Memling* (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005); Micheal O'Connell, 'The Civic Theater of Suffering: Hans Memling's Passion and Late Medieval Drama' in *European Iconography: East and West*, ed. by Gyorgy Szonyi (Leiden: E. J.Brill, 1996), pp. 22-34; Martin Stevens, 'The Intertextuality of Late Medieval Art and Drama' *New Literary History* 22, no.2 (Spring 1991); Sally Whitman Coleman, 'Hans Memling's scenes from the Advent and Triumph of Christ and the Discourse of Revelation', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 5 (2013).

ancient antique past of the Old Testament.⁵ Thus, the representation of Romanesque and Late Gothic architecture does not necessarily exclude the will to historicisation or a quest for antique manners. At the turn of the century, however, a drastic revolution occurred in the depiction of the architectural background. By the mid-1510s, the identifiable and recognizable Burgundian architectural settings were swiftly replaced or at least combined with antique ornament such as shell motifs, dolphins, baluster columns, medallions or putti. Antique ornament and architecture – often still in combination with local gothic innovations⁶ – became a ubiquitous, almost obsessive accessory in all visual media. It is important to realise the mental gap between the represented architectural environment and the real urban structure. It was not until the mid-1530s when the first signs of antique architecture started to appear, such as the palaces of Henry III of Nassau (1483-1538) or Prince-bishop Érarid de la Marck (1472-1538), respectively in Breda and Liège.⁷ An entire generation of visual artists like Bernard van Orley, Jean Bellegambe, Jan Gossaert and Quinten Metsys were able to experiment with a new visual repertoire in two dimensions before they were applied in real structures. Expertise in the antique style would also become one of the motivator for visual artists like painters to get commissions for micro-architecture such as Lanceloot Blondeel's chimney piece in Bruges, ephemeral architecture used during Joyous Entries or permanent structures such as the Antwerp Town Hall.⁸ By 1533, the profession of *antycycksnyder* (antique carver) was included in the registries of the Antwerp Guild of St.-Luke and would gradually replace that of *metselrmysnyder* (masonry carver).⁹ The study of

5 Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: its Origins and Character* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1953); Carol J. Purtle, *The Marian paintings of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1982); Carol J. Purtle, 'Van Eyck's Washington Annunciation: Narrative Time and Metaphoric tradition', *Art Bulletin*, 81 (1999), pp. 117-25; Melanie E. Gifford, 'Van Eyck's Washington Annunciation: Technical evidence for Iconographical Development', *Art Bulletin*, 81 (1999), pp. 108-16; Carol J. Purtle, 'Assessing the Evolution of Van Eyck's Iconography through Technical Study of the Washington Annunciation, II: New Light on the Development of Van Eyck's Architectural Narrative', in *Investigating Jan van Eyck*, ed. by Susan Foister, Sue Jones et al. (Turnhout: Brepols 2000), pp. 67-78; Stephan Hoppe, 'Die Antike des Jan van Eyck. Architektonische Fiktion und Empirie im Umkreis des burgundischen Hofes um 1435', in *Persistenz und Rezeption. Weiterverwendung Wiederverwendung und Neuinterpretation antiker Werke im Mittelalter*, ed. by Dietrich Boschung and Susanne Wittekind (Wiesbaden: Zakmira, 2008), pp. 351-52.

6 On this stylistic pluralism, see Larry Silver, 'The "Gothic" Gossaert: Native and Traditional Elements in a Mabuse Madonna', *Pantheon*, 44 (1987), 58-69; Ethan Matt Kavaler, 'Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament', *Art Bulletin*, 82 (2000), 226-51; Ethan Matt Kavaler, 'Renaissance Gothic: Pictures of Geometry and narratives of ornament', *Art History*, 29 (2006), 1-46; Ariane Mensger, 'Jan Gossaert und der niederländische Stilpluralismus zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts – eine Annäherung', in *Stil als Bedeutung: Stil als Bedeutung: in der nordalpinen Renaissance; Wiederentdeckung einer methodischen Nachbarschaft*, ed. by Stephan Hoppe, Matthias Müller and Norbert Nußbaum, (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008), pp. 189-211; Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic. Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe 1470-1540* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2012).

7 For the introduction of Antique architecture in the Low Countries, see Wouter Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1994); Rutger Tijs, *Renaissance- en Barokarchitectuur in België* (Tiel: Lannoo, 1999); Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheim (eds.), *Unity and Discontinuity, Architectural Relationships between Southern and Northern Low Countries (1530-1700)*, *Architectura Moderna* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 21-40.

8 Without exception, all of the participating sculptors, painters and printmakers of the design completion for the city hall in 1561 had gained their architectural experience by profiling themselves as experts in the antique style: Jan de Heere, Jacques Dubroeuq, Jan du Jardin, Lambert Suavius, Lambert van Noort, Louis du Foix, Nicollò Scarini, Wouter vanden Elsmere, Jan Metsys, Paludanus (Willem van den Broecke), Hans Vredeman de Vries and Cornelis (II) Floris. See: Floris Prims, *Het Stadhuis te Antwerpen. Geschiedenis en beschrijving* (Antwerp: Standaard, 1930); August Corbet, 'Cornelis Floris en de bouw van het stadhuis van Antwerpen', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'histoire de l'Art*, 6 (1936), 223-64; Jozef Duverger, 'Cornelis Floris II en het stadhuis te Antwerpen', *Genese Bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, 7 (1941), 37-72; Holm Bevers, *Das Rathaus von Antwerpen (1561-1565). Architektur und Figurenprogramm* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Olms, 1985); Kuyper, *Het Triumphant Entry*, pp. 156-58; Jan Lampo, *Het Stadhuis van Antwerpen* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1993).

9 Philip Felix Rombouts and Theodore Van Leries, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpse Sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols (Antwerp: Baggerman, 1872), I, p. 119.

the imaginary antique architecture depicted in paintings, prints, tapestry or glass roundels thus forms a quintessential addition to our understanding of the stylistic developments and the meaning of this architectural language in the Low Countries. In comparison the wide attention for architectural representation in fifteenth-century painting, the study of antique architecture in painter's *œuvres* remains a subject which is still treated marginally. Often the architectural settings of early sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting are merely labeled as lavish fantastic inventions.¹⁰ Recently Samantha Heringuez explored the architectural sources used in the painted *œuvre* of Jan Gossart (1478-1532).¹¹ She convincingly argued that Gossart did not only have a keen eye for Roman antiquity but also had a vigorous fascination for contemporary architectural developments, and especially those of Bramante (1444-1514). In this article I will further elaborate on this influence and the meaning of Bramantesque and Lombard sources in defining the character of the visualised architectural language in Netherlandish painting between the dawn of the century and the publication of Serlio by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in 1539.

Gossart's voyage to Rome with his patron Philip of Burgundy, between 1508 and 1509, is often regarded as a turning point in Netherlandish art.¹² Like many patrons in the Burgundian-Habsburg aristocracy, Philip of Burgundy took a lively interest in Roman antiquity, and commissioned Gossart to make drawings of the ancient monuments. According to Gerard Geldenhauer, Philip's secretary and biographer, Philip had a profound fascination for architecture and especially for the antique building manner. He was said to be able to have conversations on architecture as if he seemed to be quoting from Vitruvius.¹³ The interest of Philip of Burgundy in antique building styles is strongly reflected in the works of his court painter; most notably in the Berlin *Neptune and Amphitrite*, painted for his palace in Souburg in 1516.¹⁴ Gossart intelligently places his protagonists in the *cella* of a Doric temple which has been interpreted as a quotation from the earliest illustrated printed edition of Vitruvius by Fra Giocondo (1511), also referring to Gossart's own studies of the Basilica Aemalia.¹⁵ Gossart's *Danae*, dated 1527, has equally been considered as an interpretation of antique Roman examples such as the Vesta Temple on the Forum Romanum or even the Tempel of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium.¹⁶

10 See, for example: *Extravagant! A forgotten chapter of Antwerp Painting 1500-1530* ed. by Peter Van den Brink and Maximiliaan P.J. Martens (Schoten: BAI publishers, 2005), no. 18, 21, 45; Martha D. Orth, 'Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in French Renaissance Books of Hours: A Case Study of the 1520s Hours Workshop', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 47 (1989), 61-90.

11 Samantha Heringuez, 'L'architecture antique dans le Neptune et Amphitrite de Jean Gossaert', *Journal de la Renaissance*, 6 (2008), 107-18; Samantha Heringuez, 'Bramante's Architecture in Jan Gossart's Painting', *Dutch Crossing*, 35 (2011), 229-49. The influence of Bramante on Gossart's painted architecture was first proposed by Nicole Dacos, *Les peintres belges à Rome au XVI^e siècle* (Wetteren: Imprimerie Universa, 1964), p. 21.

12 Nicole Dacos and Bert W. Meijer (eds.), *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608. Artistes des Pays-Bas et de la principauté de Liège à Rome de la Renaissance* (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1995); Stephanie Schrader, 'Drawing for Diplomacy: Gossart's sojourn in Rome', in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasure. Jan Gossart's Renaissance: The Complete Works*, ed. by Maryan W. Ainsworth (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), pp. 45-56.

13 'De Architectura erat sermo, noverat hic eius artis dimensiones, proportiones, symmetrias. De basibus, columnis, epistiliis, coronamentis atque id genius reliquis adeo exacte disserbat, ut ex ipso Vitruvio eum singula legere putares. Si de fontibus, aquaeductibus, terminis sermo incidisset, nihil harum rerum hunc latere adparebat.' Gerard Geldenhauer, *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenbauer noviomagus, gevolgd door den herdruk van eenige zijner werken*, ed. by Jacob Prinsen (The Hague: Nijhof 1901), pp. 232-33.

14 Belin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 648. The work has recently been reinterpreted as a depiction of Neptune and Zeelandia, see Marisa Bass, 'Jan Gossaert's Neptune and Amphitrite reconsidered', *Simiolus* 35 (2011), 61-83.

15 Sadjia Herzog, 'Tradition and Innovation in Gossart's Neptune and Amphitrite and Danae', *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, 19, nos. 1-3 (1963), 25-34; Heringuez, 'L'architecture antique', pp. 110-14.

16 Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 38; Herzog, 'Tradition and Innovation', p. 38.

Heringuez amply suggested Bramante's *Tempietto* in the San Pietro in Montorio as Gossart's prime architectural example.¹⁷ Instead of the two mentioned antique temples, the *Tempietto* is also crowned with a hemispherical dome placed on a cylindrical drum and its interior columns or pilasters rest upon high pedestals. There is little doubt Gossart also witnessed the construction site of Bramante's innovating new basilica of St. Peter's at the Vatican.¹⁸ At the time of the diplomatic visit, work had begun on the four main piers at the central crossing.¹⁹ Both in his *Saint Luke drawing the Virgin* (1513) in Prague as in the interior of the wings in Toledo, showing *Saints John the Baptist and Peter*, Gossart makes an unambiguous reference to a typical Bramantesque motif of a vaulted apse ending in a shell.²⁰ Bramante not only used this motif during his early years in Milan but also applied it in his Roman projects of St. Peter's and the choir of Sta. Maria del Popolo (1505-09).²¹ A drawing which has recently been re-attributed to Gossart, showing a preparatory study for *The Adoration of the Magi* in the Lehman Collection, dated c. 1515-20, affirms the familiarity of the draftsman with Bramante's construction site of St. Peter's (Figure 1).²² The figures in the foreground seem to dissolve into the architectural extravaganza that surrounds them. The coffered arch above the holy family strongly resembles that of the Basilica Maxentius or Bramante's construction site. The artist also shows unfinished parts of the edifice on the left hand side, which underline the building's unfinished state.²³ When interpreting the architectural setting of the Lehman drawing, one is able to distinguish a front area leading up to a second central area, connected on the left with the unfinished or ruined section. This makes it possible to assume that the Adoration itself takes place in an apse of the central crossing of a building that is being erected, quite similar to the original Bramante design for St.-Peter's with central dome inscribed in a Greek cross.

Gossart was working in an exceptional and exclusive court environment which facilitated access not only to Italy itself, but also to the most recent innovations in architectural theory such as Fra Giocondo's Vitruvius edition (1511) and perhaps also Diego da Sagredo's treatise *Medias del Romano* (1526).²⁴ Most artists working outside the court culture were strongly dependent upon workshop drawings and – especially – the new market of loose ornamental prints.²⁵ Although German or Italian ornamental prints answered to an increasing demand for *all'antica* decoration, complete architectural settings in which one could have an impression of the antique seem to have been lacking until Hieronymus Cock

17 Heringuez, 'Bramante's architecture', pp. 230-36.

18 Since both Philip of Burgundy and Julius II were known as fanatic amateurs of architectural inventions, it is not unthinkable that the papal architect was introduced to the northern ambassador and his court artist.

19 Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante*, trans. by Peter Murray (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 146.

20 Prague, Narodni Galerie, inv. VO 1261; Toledo (Ohio), Toledo Museum of Art, inv. 1952.85a-b.

21 Heringuez, 'Bramante's architecture', p. 244.

22 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, Lehman Collection, inv. 1975.I.832; Stijn Alsteens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, in *Jan Gossart's Renaissance*, pp. 331-33, no. 76.

23 Similar ruins are included in the background of Gossart's *Holy Family*, Bilbao, Museos de Bellas Artes y de Arte Moderno, inv. 69/110.

24 Gossart might have been in contact with Sagredo's treatise thanks to the patronage of Henry III, Count of Nassau-Breda. In 1524 Henry III married Mencía de Mendoza, member of one of the wealthiest Spanish families. Since the couple's arrival in the Low Countries in 1530, Gossart received regular payments until his death in 1532. Their castle in Breda, which had been built under the supervision of Tomasso Vincidor, was most likely the result of Mencía's articulated architectural interest. It can better be compared to Spanish Renaissance courts of La Calahorra, Toledo, Granada and Valladolid. G.W.C. Van Wezel, *Het Paleis van Hendrik III, Graaf van Nassau te Breda* (Zeist: Waanders, 1999), pp. 61-67, 85-87, 215, 222; De Jonge and Otteheym, *Unity and Discontinuity*, pp. 62-64, 77-78.

25 On the use of loose sheet ornamental prints, also see Cammy Brothers and Michael J. Waters, *Variety, Archeology & Ornament. Renaissance Ornamental Prints from Column to Cornice* (Charlottesville: Virginia University Art Museum, 2011).

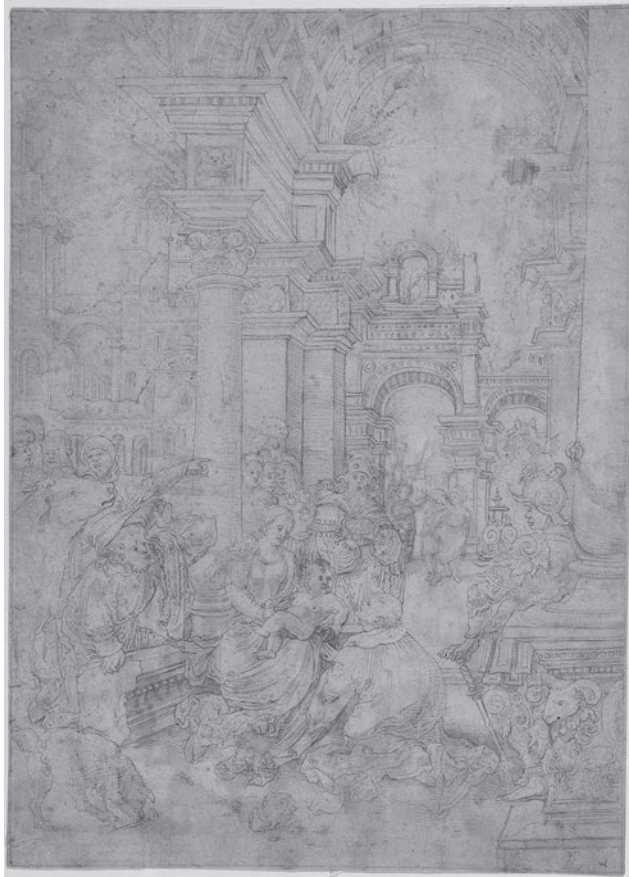


FIGURE 1: Jan Gossart, *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1515-20. Drawing, 28.3 × 20.3 cm, ©New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, inv. 1975.I.832.

(1510-70) and Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574) provided the market with antique ruins and Roman *vedute* by the late 1540s.²⁶ The void of accurate on ancient antiquity was partly filled by one pivotal engraving: the so-called *Incesione Prevedari*; one of the earliest reflections of Bramante's developing architectural language (Figure 2). According to a contract, dated 24 October 1481, the Milanese engraver Bernardo Prevedari was commissioned to work 'day and night' on an engraving which closely copied an original drawing of Bramante of Urbino.²⁷ The print was probably one of the largest engravings to have been produced until that date, covering two glued pages with one large plate, which would imply

26 Timothy Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock (1510-1570). Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds* (New York & London: Garland, 1977); *Hieronymus Cock. The Renaissance in Print* ed. by Joris Van Grieken, Ger Luitjen an Jan van der Stock (Brussels: Mercatorfonds 2013), pp. 90-91, no. 9; Ilja M. Veldman, 'Maarten van Heemskerck in Italië', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 44 (1993), 125-42; Arthur J. DiFuria, 'Remembering the Eternal in 1533. Maerten van Heemskerck's Self-portrait before the Colosseum', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 (2009), 91-105; *Rom Zeichnen. Maarten van Heemskerck 1532-1536/7*, ed. by Tatjana Bartch and Peter (Berlin: Mann, 2012).

27 For a transcription of the contract see, Clelia Alberici, 'L'incesione Prevedari', *Rassegna di Studi e di Notizie*, 6 (1978), 52-54.



FIGURE 2: Bernardo Prevedari (after Donato Bramante), *The interior of a Ruined Church, or Temple, with figures*, 1481. Engraving, 70.8 × 51.2 cm, © London, British Museum, inv. V,1.69.

the use of a specialised roller press.²⁸ It displays a ruined temple with a kneeling figure as its main protagonist. The iconographical meaning of the engraving is still rather enigmatic and it is mostly referred to by Arthur Hind's description: *The interior of a Ruined Church, or Temple, with figures*.²⁹ The original contract simply describes the print as *stampam unam cum hedifitiis et figuris*, which does not provide us with any further clue.³⁰ The lack of reference to any narrative almost seems to suggest that it was subsidiary to the architectural display. The scene takes place in a richly decorated but yet decaying temple and the scenographic space touched upon some features which would later appear in the artist's built *œuvre*. According to Arnaldo Bruschi's reconstruction of the ground plan, the edifice would



28 On the print's size and its implication: David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 106-07.

29 Arthur Hind, *Early Italian Engraving: a Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproductions of all the Prints Described* (London: M. Knoedler, 1948), pp. 102-04, no. 1. The iconography of the print has been interpreted as St. Ambrose or the apostle St. Barnabas. Most recently, Christian Kleinbub re-interpreted the print as a dialectic discussion on the idea of image making within an intellectual humanist context. Christian K. Kleinbub, 'Bramante's Ruined Temple and the Dialectics of the Image', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 63 (2010), 412-58.

30 'A print with figures and buidings'. For a complete transcription of the original contract, see Alberici, 'L'incisione', pp. 52-54.



FIGURE 3: Alejo Fernández, *The Flagellation of Christ*, c. 1510, 48 × 32 cm, © Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. P01925.

represent a cross inscribed in a square with a cupola on top, which would herald Bramante's original design for St. Peter's Basilica.³¹ One year later, Bramante would bring this idea into practice in the *Pièta Chapel* of the *Sta. Maria presso San Spirito* (1482). Matteo de' Fedeli (c. 1450-1505), who commissioned the engraving of the drawing, must have been fully aware of the commercial value of the new medium of printed images for the dissemination of architectural ideas. Matteo, who was a painter himself, might have intended the commission as an architectural model for architectural backgrounds for other colleagues. The fact that only two copies survived, one in Milan and the other in London, seems to be a sign of the print's immense popularity rather than a limited print run. Its use as a painter's workshop model is also supported by the presence of pricks and incisions in the London copy.³² Since this was still a few years before the publication of the first illustrated editions of both Alberti and Vitruvius, there was a very high demand on the young international print market for antique examples such as the Prevedari engraving.³³ In Germany, the architectural

31 A. Bruschi, *Bramante* (London: Thames and Hudson), pp. 51-54

32 Laura Aldovini, 'The Prevedari print', *Print Quarterly*, 26 (2009), 38-45.

33 On the use of printed media in the spread of architectural ideas and standards: Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing, Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printing Images in the History of Architectural Theory*, trans. by Sarah Benson



FIGURE 4: Master of St. Gilles, *Presentation in the Temple*, c. 1520, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. 2462. (see colour plate 8)

setting was quickly picked up by Albrecht Altdorfer (1480-1538) and his close colleague Wolf Huber (c. 1485-1553).³⁴ The international influence of the print can be witnessed in Spain, as Alejo Fernández of Seville (c. 1475>c. 1545) uses a mirrored version of Prevedari's engraving in *The Flagellation of Christ*, now in Madrid (Figure 3).³⁵ Technical research of

(Cambridge, MA: MIT University Press, 2001). On various artists who applied motifs from the Prevedari print: Peter Murray, "Bramante Milanese": the Printings and Engravings, *Arte Lombarda*, 7 (1962), p. 34.

³⁴ Several panels of Altdorfer St. Sebastian Altarpiece in St. Florian's priory, dated 1518, such as *The Crowning of Christ*, *St. Sebastian clubbed to death*, *St. Sebastian before Diocletian* and *Christ before Caiaphas* are depended upon the Prevedari engraving for their architectural settings. Wolf Huber applied Bramante's architectural language most clearly in his *Presentation in the Temple*, dated 1521, now in Bregenz, State Museum of Vorarlberg.

³⁵ On Fernandez, see Diego Angulo Iníguez, *Alejo Fernandez* (Sevilla: Laboratorio de Arte de la Universidad 1946), p. 12; Diego Angulo Iníguez, 'Bramante et la Flagellation du Musée du Prado', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 42 (1953), 5-8; Aída Padrón Mérida, 'Influencia de Raphael en la Pintura y Escultura Españolas del Siglo XVI a Través de estampas', *Archivo Español de*



FIGURE 5: Jan de Beer, *The trial of Moses*, 1511-19, Pen and ink on paper, 48.8 × 36.8 cm, © London, British Museum, inv. Oo, 9.4.

the underdrawing indicated the use of a model drawing or print with pouncing holes which explains the accurate transition from print to panel.³⁶ Heringuez pointed out that Jan Gosart, next to his personal experience with Bramante's architecture in Rome and perhaps in Milan, might have used architectural elements from the Prevedari print as well.³⁷ The unequal relationship between architecture and figures in the Lehman drawing (Figure 1) generates a very similar spatial effect which is absent in other contemporary Netherlandish works. A panel attributed to the Master of St. Gilles in Rotterdam, confirms the early

Arte 57 (1984), p. 61; Maria del Carmen Garrido Pérez, 'Différentes techniques observées dans la réalisation du dessin sous-jacent des peintures sur bois', in *Le Dessin sous-jacent et pratiques d'atelier. Colloque IX. 12-14 septembre 1991*, ed. by Hélène Verhougstraete and Roger van Schoute (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), p. 37.

³⁶ Garrido Pérez, 'Différentes techniques', p. 38.

³⁷ Heringuez, 'Bramante's architecture', pp. 241-45.



FIGURE 6: Pseudo-Blesius, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1505-10, Oil on Panel, 74 × 64 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 708.

presence of copies of the print in the Low Countries (Figure 4).³⁸ This *Presentation in the Temple* meticulously reproduces the outlines of the original engraving's architecture despite some playfulness with the ornamentation. The baluster column is slightly altered and placed more to the background and the decorated frieze, which frames the central cupola in the engraving, is now placed above the niche in order to narrow the space.³⁹ A drawing in the British Museum attributed to Jan de Beer (c. 1475-c. 1528), dated between 1511 and 1519, represents a second example of dependence of Netherlandish artists upon the print as scenographic model (Figure 5).⁴⁰ In the architectural background of the London drawing two dominant printed models were cunningly combined. The heavy beamed ceiling of the room is borrowed from Dürer's woodcut *The Presentation in the Temple*, from his popular *Life of the Virgin* series (1503-05).⁴¹ The second bay, with the cross vaulted ceiling pierced

38 Master of St. Gilles, *Presentation in the Temple*, c. 1520, Museum Boymans van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. 2462.

39 An *Adoration of the Magi* by the anonymous Master of the Martyrdom of the Two St. Johns is comparable to the Boijmans panel and might have been completed in the same milieu. Both panels contain a hooded man in the background, as if the kneeling monk of the engraved example has risen and is now walking towards us. Max J. Friedländer, *Altmiederländische Malerei*, 14 vols (Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1924-37), XI (1933), pp. 34, 73, no. 62, pl. 64; Auctioned: Christie's, London, July 10, 1987, no. 55.

40 Dan Ewing, 'The Paintings and Drawings of Jan de Beer' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1978), p. 324; Martha Dickman Orth, 'Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in the French Renaissance Books of Hours: A case Study of the 1520's Hours Workshop', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 47 (1989), p. 83.

41 Walter L. Strauss (ed.), *The Illustrated Barch. Sixteenth Century German Artists*, 96 vols (New York: Abaris Books, 1979-2012), X (1980), p. 183, no. 88; Rainer Schoch, Matthias Mende and Anna Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürer. Das*

by oculi, does not appear on the Dürer woodcut but is a literal response to the Prevedari engraving. Not all references are as literal.⁴² Many of the architectural settings of marketed Adoration scenes, produced in Antwerp during the first quarter of the sixteenth century indirectly refer to the architectural composition of Bramante's imaginary design. The *Adoration of the Magi* by the so-called Pseudo Blesius, at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, dated around 1510, will here be used as a starting point (Figure 6).⁴³ Most likely produced in Antwerp in the artistic environment of Jan de Beer, the adoration scene takes place in a ruined church nave with tree subsequent bays, overrun by vegetation. Recently, Stephen Goddard already noticed a strong uniformity in the structures surrounding these Antwerp adoration scenes, and pointed towards prints of Dürer and the Netherlandish Master IAM of Zwolle as possible models for these architectural novelties.⁴⁴ In the light of the argued dominance of the Prevedari engraving, however, the latter print might have served better as a model. The strong articulation of the candelabra decorated pilaster, the unbalanced relationship between architecture and figures and especially the element of the broken arch which intrudes the beholder's space on the left side of the painting, all seem to be distant echoes of the Milanese engraving. When mirroring the print – as was also done in Alejo Fernandez' interpretation – this visual connection is enhanced. When browsing through early sixteenth-century Antwerp Adoration scenes, these same basic features reappear in the workshops of the Master of the Antwerp Adoration, Jan de Beer, or the Master of 1518.⁴⁵

Besides the dissemination of the Prevedari print, Bramante's influence can also be felt in the two first illustrated versions of Vitruvius, available in the Low Countries. Although various versions of Vitruvius's text circulated since antiquity, it was not until 1480 that Francesco di Giorgio drafted a critical vernacular edition of the book.⁴⁶ The first printed and illustrated edition of the text, however, was written by the Veronese architect Fra Giovanni Giocondo (c. 1433-1515), published in Venice in 1511 by Giovanni Tacuino.⁴⁷ The publication was dedicated to Bramante's patron pope Julius II, who was known for his keen interest in architecture.⁴⁸ Fra Giocondo also succeeded Bramante as the main architect on the building site of St. Peter's after Bramante's death, in good company of

Druckgraphische Werk, 3 vols (Munich, Berlin, London and New York: Prestel, 2002), II, pp. 156-58, no. 178.

⁴² An anonymous panel of a master associated with Albrecht Bouts' workshop only uses the typical cartwheel window, which Bramante uses in the side bay of his temple. Bruges, Hospitaalmuseum, inv. SJ0188.I; *Getekend Jan R. Jan Rombouts een Renaissance-meester herontdekt*, ed. by Yvette Bruijnen (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 2012), p. 95, no. 3.

⁴³ Friedländer dated the panels 1505-07. Recently it was dated 1510 by Dan Ewing. It should be noted that the composition was enlarged during the seventeenth century with a 23 cm addition on top. Max J. Friedländer, *Die niederländischen Manieristen*, Leipzig 1921, p. 6; Max J. Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei*, 14 vols (Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1924-37), XI (1933), p. 15; *Extravagant!*, pp. 54-55, no. 17.

⁴⁴ Stephen Goddard, 'Assumed Knowledge. The Use of Prints in Early Sixteenth-Century Antwerp Workshops', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (2004-05), 131-36.

⁴⁵ Research on Antwerp Mannerists in the collection of photographic reproductions in the RKD The Hague finalised in a preliminary list of 56 works which accord to a same basic architectural structure. Oliver Kik, *Imag(in)ing the Antique. The Use and Origin of Antique Motifs in the Visual Arts in the Low Countries 1480-1530* (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Utrecht, 2010), p. 52.

⁴⁶ On the diffusion and reception of Vitruvius during the Middle Ages, see: Stephan Schuler, *Vitruv im Mittelalter. Die Rezeption von "De Architectura" von die Antike bis in die frühe Neuzeit* (Colone: Böhlau Verlag, 1999). On Francesco di Giorgio, see: Francesco Paolo Fiore, 'The Trattati on Architecture by Francesco di Giorgio', in *Paper Palaces. The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise* ed. by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven & London: Yale University Press), pp. 66-85.

⁴⁷ Lucia A. Ciapponi, 'Fra Giocondo da Verona and his Edition of Vitruvius', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984), 72-90; Ingrid D. Rowland, 'Vitruvius in Print and in vernacular translation: Fra Giocondo, Bramante, Raphael and Cesare Cesariano', in *Paper Palaces*, pp. 108-09.

⁴⁸ Ingrid D. Rowland, 'Vitruvius in Print', p. 110.



FIGURE 7: Lambert Lombard (and workshop), *St. Paul before the statue of the unknown Deity*, c. 1533, Oil on panel, 73 × 61 cm, Liège, Musée Grand Curtius inv. 3.

Giuliano da Sangallo and Bramante’s nephew Raphael.⁴⁹ A second translation by Cesare Cesariano (c. 1476-1532) is even closer associated to Bramante’s architectural language since the author was one of Bramante’s close associates during his Milan year.⁵⁰ Working at the court in Milan as a painter and military engineer, Cesariano conceived a complex and detailed vernacular translation of the Latin text, which he accompanied with a full margin commentary. By using well-chosen woodcut illustrations and detailed commentaries Cesariano strongly promoted antique, medieval and contemporary Lombard architecture in discussing Vitruvius’ text. An oft-cited example is the way he used the geometrical ratio’s behind the Milan Cathedral as an example of Vitruvian Classical proportions, thus placing an antiquarian aura over local architecture.⁵¹ Given Bramante’s role as Cesariano’s tutor, traces of influence and homage occur frequently.⁵² Both Fra Giocondo and Cesariano’s vernacular translations were indispensable sources

⁴⁹ Wolff Metternich, *Die frühen St.-Peter-Entwürfe 1505-1514* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1987), pp. 52-58; Vincenzo Fontana, *Fra’ Giovanni Giocondo Architetto 1433 - c. 1515* (Roma: Neri Pozza, 1988), pp. 77-80.

⁵⁰ For more on Cesariano’s relationship to Bramante, see Alessandro Rovetta, ‘La formazione Milanese di Cesare Cesariano, tra “causus rerum”, “versus vulgares” e “mathematicos pingere modos”’, in *Cesare Cesariano e il Rinascimento a Reggio Emilia*, ed. by Alessandro Rovetta et al. (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), pp. 11-29.

⁵¹ Cesare Cesariano, *De Architectura Libri Dece* (Como, 1521), fols. 5-6.

⁵² Cesariano most probably relied on Bramante’s interpretations of scenographic city views for the woodcut illustrations of different types of perspective cross sections relate to a tradition of ideal city views at the courts of Milan and Urbino; Bramante himself contributed to the genre with the publication of a print of a city view, which is often been considered

in generating and assimilating the antique style in the north, before the standardisation of the antique by Pieter Coecke van Aelst's translations of Serlio (1539).⁵³ As mentioned earlier, Jan Gossart probably had early access to Fra Giocondo's Vitruvius thanks to his patron's interest in architecture. Also, both Vitruvius's editions served as inspiration for the basic lay-out of Henry III of Nassau's palace in Breda. As argued by Gerard van Wezel, the dimensions of the ground plan had been based upon both Fra Giocondo's as Cesariano's interpretation of Vitruvius's description of the classic Roman Atrium house.⁵⁴ Also, Pieter Coecke van Aelst mentions Cesariano as one of the main sources when publishing his own Vitruvian treatise, *Die Inventie de Colommen*.⁵⁵

The question remains if sources like the Prevedari print were visually quoted merely for their antique appearance, or also for the intellectual connotation of Bramante's authorship? Since the original print is signed with 'BRAMANTU/S. FECIT./ IN MLO', the choice for this particular print might have exceeded esthetic reasoning. In one late borrowing from the Prevedari print, the authorship of Bramante seems to have been a decisive element. Lambert Lombard's (1505/06-66) *Altarpiece of St. Dionysius*, dated around 1533, seems to pay tribute to Bramante as architectural inventor. Since the altarpiece was created before Lombard's own voyage to Italy in 1537-38, the artist would have to rely on written, drawn or engraved sources to create an accurate interpretation of the antique. In the panel depicting *St. Paul before the statue of the unknown Deity*, Lombard uses the Prevedari engraving as inspiration for the architectural setting (Figure 7).⁵⁶ The baluster column from the engraving is replaced with a statue based upon a Raimondi engraving.⁵⁷ In the second panel of the same altarpiece, depicting *The healing of the Blind Man*, Lombard refers to Bramante for a second time.⁵⁸ A print by Agostino Veneziano (1517) after Bramante's initial design for St. Peter's was the starting point for the construction of the architectural background in the painting.⁵⁹ Given Lombard's intellectual and art theoretical background, his choices for applying this architecture are not merely arbitrary. During his artistic career in Liège, Lombard studied local and foreign antique heritage through the use of mythology, classical literature and archeology, making him a model *Pictor Doctus*.⁶⁰ Lombard discussed antiquity with humanist peers such as his patron Érarde de la Marck,

as a precedent for Serlio's Tragic and Comic scenes. London, British Museum, Prints & Drawings Department, inv. 1860.0609.43.

⁵³ Ingrid D. Rowland, 'Vitruvius in print', p. 110.

⁵⁴ Gerard W.C. Van Wezel, *Het Paleis van Hendrik III, graaf van Nassau te Breda* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), p. 176.

⁵⁵ Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Die Inventie der Colommen met hare, coromenten ende maten* (Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1539), fol. 4r.; Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheim, *Unity and Discontinuity*, p. 42.

⁵⁶ Liège, Musée Grand Curtius, inv. no. 3. Infrared reflectography of the panel concluded that the outlines of the architectural run through the entire composition, overlapping with the figures, indicating that the print was direct source. On the relationship between the Prevedari engraving and the panel, see: Wolfgang Krönig, 'Lambert Lombard, Beiträge zu seinem werk und zu seiner Kunstauffassung', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 36 (1974), 120-23; *Lambert Lombard: Renaissanceschilder, Luik 1505/06-1566*, ed. by Godelieve Denhaene (Liège: Musée de l'Art Wallon, 2006), pp. 134-35, 489-91, no. 126.

⁵⁷ The Illustrated Bartch, XXVI, p. 56, no. 360.

⁵⁸ Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts Belgium, inv. 1405; Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard*, 2006, pp. 293-94, no. 128.

⁵⁹ The Illustrated Bartch, XXVI, p. 217, no. 534; Godelieve Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard. Renaissance en humanisme te Luik* (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 1990), p. 53. Nicole Dacos suggests Lambert Suavius as the author of the retable: Nicole Dacos, 'Le retable de l'église Saint-Denis à Liège: Lambert Suavius et non Lambert Lombard', *Oud Holland* 106 (1992), 103-16.

⁶⁰ On Lambert Lombard's treatment of antiquity, see: Wolfgang Kemp and Ellen Kemp, 'Lambert Lombards antiquarische Theorie und Praxis', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 36 (1973), 122-52; Edward H. Wouk, 'Reclaiming the Antiquities of Gaul: Lambert Lombard and the History of Northern Art', *Simiolus*, 36 (2012), 35-65.

Abraham Ortelius, Laevinius Torrentius, Stephan Wynants Pighius, among others. It is not unthinkable that it is through this intellectual network, Lombard also acquired a copy of the Prevedari engraving. Given his humanist social circles and erudition, Lombard's choice for these two particular Bramantesque sources seems to be far from just pragmatic. Needless to remind us about the fact that Bramante's architectural inventions were praised during and after his life, as the most perfect interpretations and assimilations of antique architectural language. Perhaps the most famous accolades came from Serlio, when he included Bramante's *Tempietto* and designs for *St.-Peters* in his *Terzo Libro*, dedicated to antique building typology.⁶¹ Within the context of Lombard's quest for a learned and accurate interpretation of the ancient past, the prints based on Bramante's design would have been a perfect instrument.⁶² Also, Gossart's borrowings from the engraving ought to be interpreted within this context, in addition to his fascination for Bramantesque architecture in general. However, when moving our scope from the social context of courtly humanist patronage to that of an urban middle class art market, differences in understanding the architectural sources for the antique compositions are inevitable. The vast productivity and demand in blooming art markets such as that of Antwerp for carved and painted altarpieces quickly generated a market situation which relied on proto-industrial working methods which made use of stock compositions and models, a process that had already started in Bruges by the end of the fifteenth century in the workshops of Gerard David, Memling and Isenbrandt.⁶³ The demand for luxury products in Antwerp coincided with changing taste patterns of the urban middle-class. Stimulated by public affairs such as antique styled Joyous Entries, the urban middle class quickly adapted the courtly taste for the antique. Despite the many borrowings from the Prevedari print in marketed panels, the chance of a direct influence of the original design is minor. Many of the compositions are but a mere shadow of the original. Also the fact that these panels unanimously use a mirrored version of the print, makes it possible to suggest that they derived from drawn or printed copies after the original print. The absence of the print – and thus the absence of the signature – reduces its association with Bramante as designer. One other source seems to be pointing in this direction. In 1549, when Pieter Coecke van Aelst published a second edition of his Dutch translation of Serlio's *Quattro Libro*, he felt the urge to stress that still many artists misinterpreted Vitruvius and had strayed from the path towards a correct antique manner, which made their work look 'monstrous and ugly'; enriching his argument for a use of Vitruvian or Serlian modeled architecture, Coecke refers to two Italian architects who had been concerned about this matter as well: Donato Bramante and Baldasare

61 Sebastiano Serlio, *On Architecture*, trans. by Vaughn Hart and Peter Hicks, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), I, p. 127-130.

62 There is a strong possibility that the reputation of interpreting antiquity had reached Lombard. Denhaene already suggested a possible link between Gossart and his works made for Philips of Burgundy at Souburg castle. Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard*, 1990, p. 53.

63 On early sixteenth-century working methods on the art market and copying practice, see: Jean C. Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages. Studies in Society and Visual Culture.*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press: 1998); Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market Commercialisation of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); Maximiliaan P. J. Martens and Natasja Peeters, 'Artists by Numbers: Quantifying Artists' Trades in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in *Making and Marketing: Studies of the painting process in the Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Netherlandish Workshops*, ed. by Molly Faries (Turnhout: Brepols 2006), pp. 211-22; Micha Leeftang, 'Workshop practices in Early Sixteenth-century Antwerp Studios', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2004-05), 159-232.

Peruzzi.⁶⁴ Ironically, Coecke did not seem to have been aware of the fact that many of these artists had been indirectly dependent on Bramante's architectural style already. His own reference to Bramante is most likely inspired by Serlio himself. Three years earlier, he had published a translation of Serlio's third book with the above described ode to Bramante's architecture.⁶⁵ Pieter Coecke himself had made a career in providing Adoration scenes for the art market, since his enrolment in the Antwerp painter's guild in 1527.⁶⁶

One way of explaining the print's popularity would be its author and the particular antique style. However, this quest for antiquity was not a novel phenomenon at the dawn of the sixteenth century, but rather a continuous process which was already instigated during the previous century. Panofsky already interpreted Romanesque architecture in the pictorial background as interpretations of a local ancient past, often symbolizing the transgression from the old to new testament with the coming of Christ.⁶⁷ A similar iconographical sub-layer to the ruinous structures in the Prevedari engraving might be an additional reason to its success. Although the subject matter of the print is still a topic of debate, some scholars have recently accepted the scene to represent the apostle St. Barnabas kneeling in a newly consecrated church in Milan.⁶⁸ St. Barnabas is known to have Christianised Lombardy and was elected Archbishop of Milan. The engraving shows the moment on which Barnabas kneels down in prayer in the Christianised antique temple. The ostentatious placing of the cross on the pagan candelabrum underlines the dominance of the new religion. The cross holds a pivotal position in the entire scene, despite the abundance of the print's ancient architecture and ornament of the antique. The wear and tear of the edifice would reflect the iconography of the fall of paganism. The fact that the Prevedari engraving was predominantly reused in composing the architectural scenery for Adoration panels, might be explained by the iconographical similarities in architectural dualism between paganism and Christianity. Perhaps Lombard's *St. Paul before the statue of the unknown Deity*, assimilates the original meaning of the print, as both works also tackle the relationship between ancient and new religion.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century prints like the Prevedari engraving, but also the early illustrated treatises, helped to shape local interpretations of antique architecture in the visual arts. Lombard sources like the Prevedari engraving or Cesariano's Vitruvius edition made northern artist indirectly dependent upon northern Italian sources,

64 '[...] datse niet alleene de redene ende exemplelen der goeder Antiquen en hebben verlaten, maer hebben bouwen datte haer werck monstrueus ende onbevallijck der ooggen gemaect gelijkmen dese erroren inden Antiquen sien mach. Waerduere, beminde lesere, dat hun veel Architecten in beyden geleert sijnde daer over becommert hebben ende bysondre in desen onsen tijden Bramant van Casteldurante, Balhasar van Siznen ende meer andere' P.C. Van Aelst, *Generale Reglen der Metselerie* (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1549).

65 On the publication of Serlio in the Low Countries, see Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Pieter Coecke and Serlio's book on Architecture', *Quaerendo* 6 (1976), 166-94; Krista De Jonge, 'Vitruvius, Alberti and Serlio: Architectural treatises in the Low Countries, 1530-1620', in *Paper Palaces. The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural treatise* ed. by Vaughn Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven and London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), pp. 281-96; Krista De Jonge, 'Les éditions du traité de Serlio par Pieter Coecke van Aelst', in *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon: architecture et imprimerie*, ed. by Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa (Lyon: Chomarat, 2004), pp. 262-68.

66 Georges Marlier, *La Renaissance flamande. Pierre Coecke D'Alost* (Brussels: Finck, 1966). The un-Serlian nature of the architecture and ornament used by Coecke in his painted *œuvre* is remarkable.

67 Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, its Origins and Character*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), I, pp. 134-40. See also: Hoppe, 'Die Antike des Jan van Eyck'.

68 Germano Mulazzani, 'Il tema iconografico dell' incisione Prevedari', *Rassegna di studi e di Notizie*, 6 (1978), 67-71; Clelia Albereci, 'Bernardo Prevedari incisore di un disegno del Bramante', *Arte Lombarda* 86-7 (1988), 7-10; Stefano Borsi, *Bramante e Urbino: il problema della formazione* (Roma: Ufficina, 1997), 101-29; Kleinbub, 'Bramante's Ruined Temple', pp. 415-29.

among many other elements.⁶⁹ The growing demand for antique styled decoration, the rapid rise of the Antwerp art market, and the increased reproducibility of images are crucial elements in the popularity ornamental and architectural prints in the local definition of antiquity. The fundamental role of single sheet ornamental and architectural prints in the reception and assimilation of antique architectural languages can hardly be underestimated. Being far more accessible and especially more affordable than printed treatises, they were the main sources of inspiration for generating a two-dimensional antique utopia in the Low Countries. One of the most crucial innovation in the architectural designing process at the dawn of the sixteenth century is the emergence of new professional players such as painters, sculptors and goldsmiths.⁷⁰ Within this social process, the study of their antique architectural language and the conscious use of certain sources is not only explanatory for the *œuvre* of these painters, but also allows access to a more general understanding of the designing process, which transcends disciplinary categories.



⁶⁹ These Lombard stylistic elements are only small parts of the puzzle in defining the character of northern antique style. Jean Mone, for example, shows a parallel but individual development, developed at the workshop of Bartholomé Ordoñez in Barcelona. De Jonge, 'Unity and Discontinuity', pp. 31-40.

⁷⁰ R. Meischke, 'Het architectonische ontwerp in de Nederlanden gedurende de late Middeleeuwen en de zestiende Eeuw', in R. Meischke (ed.), *De Gotische Bouwtraditie*, Amersfoort 1988, pp. 186-91; H. Miedema, 'Over de waardering van Architect en beeldend kunstenaar in de zestiende eeuw', *Oud Holland*, 94 (1980), pp. 71-85.