

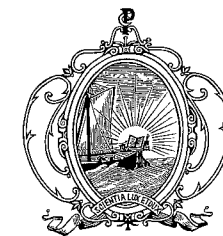
# ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN IN CONTEXT

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## 'Rogerij Belgae inventum'

### Rogier van der Weyden's Late Reception in Prints (c. 1550-1600)

Joris Van Grieken

ABSTRACT: In a letter (1565) to Giorgio Vasari the Liège painter Lambert Lombard called the German painter and printmaker Martin Schongauer a student of Rogier van der Weyden. Although this assertion is not in accordance with the biographical data of both artists, it is clear that from a very early date the style of Van der Weyden was linked to the prints of Schongauer. Many other engravers from the initial years of printmaking seem to have been familiar with particular inventions from the workshops of Campin and Van der Weyden. This contribution focuses on the role that prints played in the late reception and posthumous reputation of Rogier and his pictorial style.

Since about the middle of the fifteenth century, prints have played an important role in the spread of artistic models and compositions throughout Europe.<sup>1</sup> The fact that they could be produced in large quantities made them cheap and easily accessible for a broad public and for a wide range of purposes.<sup>2</sup>

When Rogier died in 1464, printmaking was already well established in northern Europe. The Burgundian territories, where Van der Weyden was active, contributed to the evolution of the medium, especially the intaglio print,<sup>3</sup> although it was a German painter from the upper Rhine region, Martin Schongauer, who brought copper engraving to a higher technical and artistic level in the last decades of the fifteenth century. Schongauer set the standard for later painters seeking to spread their inventions in the form of widely distributed engrav-

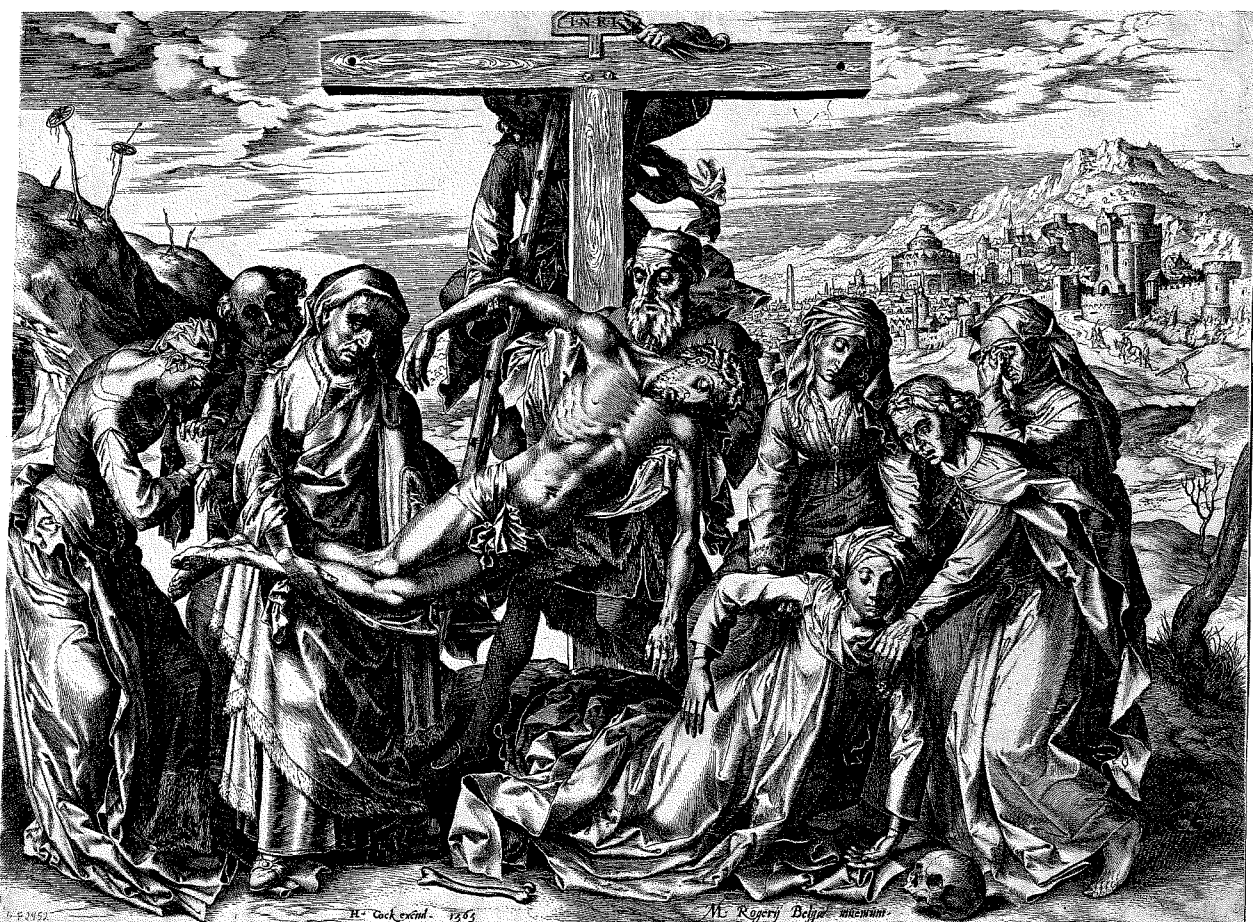
ings, most famously for Albrecht Dürer whose monogram and name became known throughout Europe. It was Raphael who, in collaboration with Marcantonio Raimondi and others, began to produce prints after his own works and designs, that were explicitly adorned with his name.<sup>4</sup> They were specifically intended to spread his inventions and his international renown.

These evolutions took place long after the death of Van der Weyden. It is improbable that Van der Weyden himself had much interest in printmaking or took any part in the production of prints by others. Intaglio printmaking has its origin in the goldsmith's workshop, where it was initially used to control and preserve decorative patterns engraved on precious metalwork, armour or weapons. Many early engravers clearly had a goldsmith's background, but found a new source of income in producing and distributing prints for the open market. Although Brussels certainly did not lack goldsmiths, it was situated some way from the major trade centres where early prints were produced: along the Rhine from Switzerland to Holland, and in large commercial centres with an important book and paper trade, such as Bruges in Flanders.<sup>5</sup> A court centre like Brussels traditionally focused on the production of luxury goods such as tapestries and illuminated manuscripts. Unlike Bruges – and later on a more massive scale Antwerp – Brussels never became a major centre for the production of prints or printed books.<sup>6</sup>



ROGERO BRUXELLENSI PICTORI,  
*Non tibi sit laudi, quòd multa, & pulchra, Rogere,  
Pinxisti, ut poterant tempora ferre tua,  
Digna tamen, nostro quicumque est tempore Pictor  
Ad quæ, si sapiat, respicere vsque velit:  
Testes picturæ, quæ Bruxellense tribunal  
De recto Themidis cedere calle vetant:  
Quàm, tua de partis pingendo extrema voluntas  
Perpetua est inopum quòd medicina fami.  
Illa reliquisti terris iam proxima morti.  
Hæc monumenta polo non moritura micant.*

III. 29.1 Cornelis Cort, *Portrait of Rogier van der Weyden*, burin engraving, 212 x 122 mm, from 'Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniæ Inferioris Effigies', Antwerp, Volckken Diercx, 1572. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Printroom, inv.V5434/52.



Ill. 29.2 Cornelis Cort after Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross*, burin engraving, 320 × 406 mm, Hieronymus Cock, Antwerpen 1565. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Printroom, inv. F2452.

Prints that were influenced by Rogier van der Weyden's style, however, exist in large numbers and were already produced during his lifetime, in Germany and the Burgundian territories alike. To some extent they all played a role in the transmission of Rogerian compositional schemes, iconography or style, although none of them can be considered to have been directly based on works by Rogier or his workshop.<sup>7</sup>

This is even true to some extent for the only print bearing the name of Rogier van der Weyden, which was produced in 1565, more than a century after Rogier's death, and is a unique source for the late reception of his work<sup>8</sup> (ill. 29.2). The print is important because it is the earliest document to link the famous *Descent from the Cross*, to the name of Rogier van der Weyden.<sup>9</sup> The plate can be attrib-

uted with great certainty to Cornelis Cort, a Dutch engraver working at this stage of his career for the Antwerp publisher Hieronymus Cock.<sup>10</sup> Cort's oeuvre is a milestone in the development of engraving, as his astounding mastery of the burin enabled him to convey a great variety of textures and tones with a consistent system of swelling hatchings. He was renowned as a specialist in transposing complex compositions, with all their pictorial qualities, into black and white. In the same year as this engraving was published, Cort departed for Italy where he started to work in the service of Titian, translating the latter's pictorial inventions into print.<sup>11</sup>

Cort could not have had the original *Descent from the Cross* in front of him, since it was already in Spain, so that he is likely to have worked from an accurate drawing, itself based on a copy.<sup>12</sup> The



Ill. 29.3 Joos van Cleve (workshop), *Descent from the Cross*, oil on panel. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art. The John G. Johnson Collection, inv. 1917.373.

copies by Michiel Coxie, ordered by Mary of Hungary and Philip of Spain, have repeatedly been suggested as models.<sup>13</sup> If we take a closer look, it becomes immediately apparent that the print is further removed from the original than is the fairly faithful copy by Coxie, now in the Escorial.<sup>14</sup> On the engraving, the composition is shown in a landscape that clearly matches the landscape tradition of Antwerp in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Although the addition of stock landscapes by the engraver or the designer of a print was at that

time a very common practice, there are reasons to assume that the landscape setting was already present in the version that directly served as a model for the engraving. A similar version of Rogier's *Descent from the Cross* in a landscape, now in Philadelphia, is attributed to the workshop of Joos van Cleve<sup>15</sup> (ill. 29.3). A number of other elements indicate that the work that served as the model for this engraving must have originated in Antwerp. Taking account of the numerous copies made in the city until well into the sixteenth century, it is easy

to accept that a fairly accessible painted copy was to be found there from an early date, and was used as a model by countless copyists.<sup>16</sup> It is a very tempting hypothesis to see this copy as a work by Quintin Metsys.

Metsys was based in Antwerp but born and raised in Leuven and so must have known Rogier's painting at first hand. An echo of it is clearly visible in his famous *Lamentation* (1507-1508), painted for the chapel of the Joiners' Guild in the Antwerp Church of Our Lady.<sup>17</sup> From documents we know that Quintin Metsys painted an *Afdoeninghe* for the altar of the Coopers' Guild in the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp in the years 1497-1498, shortly after he became a master in Antwerp.<sup>18</sup> *Afdoeninghe* literally means *Deposition* but it is known that the word was also used to designate a lamentation in front of the cross, following immediately after the actual deposition. With this argument Josua Bruyn has tried to identify the Coopers' *Afdoeninghe* with such a lamentation, today in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa.<sup>19</sup> I would like to propose here that the Coopers' *Afdoeninghe* was instead a fairly faithful copy after the Leuven *Descent*, probably provided with a landscape background. It might have been this work that inspired the Van Cleve copy in Philadelphia, the engraving by Cort and numerous other copies that were produced in Antwerp in the sixteenth century, notably the many copies attributed to the Coffermans workshop.<sup>20</sup>

A comparison of the engraving with the original painting brings to light a number of important differences besides the addition of the landscape, including the heavy heads of the men with their prominent noses and pronounced cheekbones, which are reminiscent of the work of Quinten Metsys and his son Jan.<sup>21</sup>

Moving away from the question of the model for the engraving, it is rewarding to consider the context in which the print was made. A wide interest in Rogier's original may have been encouraged by the fact of its acquisition by Mary of Hungary, and later by Philip II, as well as by the legend of its almost miraculous survival from shipwreck while

being transported to Spain, both newsworthy stories that were probably known by numerous people.<sup>22</sup> Cock's motives for producing the print must firstly be seen as purely commercial.<sup>23</sup> The print will also have appealed to viewers with conservative tastes. The Latin text engraved below emphasises the suffering of Christ, which suggests that the composition could also be used in its traditional devotional context. This is also apparent from a later seventeenth-century state, which adds haloes to the heads of the most prominent figures.<sup>24</sup> Just like the engraving, painted copies and variations on Rogier's *Descent* continued to be popular as devotional aids or domestic 'altarpieces' well into the seventeenth century. The print also was clearly aimed at this market.

On the other hand the engraving is surely evidence of the special value that continued to be placed on Rogier's work a century after his death. The mention of the name in the form: *Magister Rogerij Belgae* indicates that certain buyers would not only be interested in the engraving as a purely religious, devotional piece, but would also appreciate it as a work of art.<sup>25</sup> In this context, the print after the *Descent from the Cross* must also be seen as what is – anachronistically – called a 'reproductive' engraving, made after a famous masterpiece and spreading the name and fame of its master far beyond local boundaries. This kind of print was a specific Italian genre, introduced in the North by Hieronymus Cock, who published several prints after Italian masterpieces of the High Renaissance, such as Ghisi's monumental engraving after the *Scuola di Athena* by Raphael.<sup>26</sup> Hieronymus Cock was part of a network of artists, patrons and scholars inspired by Humanism, who, despite their preference for the art of antiquity and of the Italian Renaissance, were also discerning lovers of the works of their long dead compatriots.<sup>27</sup>

Especially revealing of this attitude toward local art from the past is the letter that the Liège Romanist painter Lambert Lombard wrote to Giorgio Vasari in 1565.<sup>28</sup> Lombard belonged to the circle of artists who frequently collaborated with Hieronymus Cock

during the 1550s and 1560s.<sup>29</sup> In his letter Lombard praises Vasari's *Vite* and expresses his belief that the Italian renaissance manner, based on study of art from antiquity, is the only right one for a contemporary artist. This conviction, however, did not hamper his interest in the art of his predecessors. He asks Vasari to send him some drawings after compositions by Gaddi, Giotto and Margaritone because he would like to compare them with medieval wall paintings in local churches. Lombard thus pursued the study of local medieval art with a novel sense for archaeological and historical method, and reconstructed in his letter a brief history of Northern art clearly based on Vasarian concepts.<sup>30</sup>

In this passage Rogier van der Weyden also has his place: 'I remember that I saw in Italy works that were made around 1400, and although they were not 'dry' nor 'rounded', nor very careful in manner, were very unpleasing for the eye. It seems to me though, (forgive me if I'm wrong) that the works by masters who were active between Giotto and Donatello, are, generally speaking, rather crude and that this is also true for works made in our countries and in Germany, until master Rogier and Jan of Bruges showed up and opened the eyes of the colourists. Their followers did not take care, and they just imitated Jan's technique, filling our churches with works that were not made after nature but only show pleasing colours. Since that time the engraver Bel Martino (Martin Schongauer) showed up in Germany, and although he did not abolish the technique of Rogier, his master, he could not match his wonderful colouring. Apart from that, he used by preference the burin, and made engravings that were considered as masterpieces in his time, and still today are highly praised by artists. These prints, despite their dry character, look rather good.'<sup>31</sup>

What becomes immediately clear from this passage is that Lombard saw no boundaries between a Netherlandish and a German school. Lombard treats them together, as a counterpart for the Italian school that was so magnificently canonised in Vasari's *Vite*.



III. 29.4 Johannes Wierix after Martin Schongauer; *Crucifixion*, burin engraving, Antwerp, Hieronymus Cock, 1563. London, British Museum, inv. 1845.0809.389.

Apparently on the basis of stylistic comparison, he comes to the conclusion that Rogier must have been the master of Martin Schongauer. The latter's work indeed depends largely on the influence of Rogier, although an apprenticeship in the workshop of Van der Weyden is chronologically implausible.<sup>32</sup>

As Lombard states, prints by Schongauer were still popular in the mid-sixteenth century, notably in Antwerp. Antwerp painters producing cheap devotional works for the open market, such as Marcellus Coffermans, based most of their compositions on Schongauer's engravings.<sup>33</sup> Coffermans produced numerous small versions of the *Descent from the Cross* by Van der Weyden, which was clearly still popular as a devotional image. Large

numbers of such images were exported to Spain and Portugal, where they were well received by a traditional and pious public. Lombard was probably not the only one to associate the works of Van der Weyden and Schongauer. In general their style, compositions and subject matter were still immensely popular in a devotional context.<sup>34</sup>

That Rogier's work was associated with passion, emotion and devotional practice also becomes clear from the portrait of Rogier that, just like the *Descent from the Cross*, was engraved by Cornelis Cort for Hieronymus Cock.<sup>35</sup> Behind the figure, there is a small arch-topped panel hanging on the wall, which shows Mary embracing the dead body of Christ. The composition is indeed close to figures invented by Rogier, seen for example in the *Brussels Lamentation*.<sup>36</sup> The *Lamentation* composition also exists in versions showing only Christ and the Virgin like the one depicted on the portrait, a pattern further developed in Antwerp by painters such as Quinten Metsys and Willem Key, a pupil of Lombard.<sup>37</sup> The inclusion of this representation of the Pietà in the engraved portrait possibly inspired later attributions of similar works to Van der Weyden. This might have been the case in the inventory of archduke Ernst of Austria in 1595 where such a work was described as: 'Marie embrassant son fils, de Rugier de Bruxelles'.<sup>38</sup>

The engraved portrait of Rogier is part of the series '*Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*' finally published in 1572 by Hieronymus Cock's widow Volxcken Diercx with texts by Dominicus Lampsonius<sup>39</sup> (ill. 29.1). The series includes twenty-three portraits of Netherlandish painters, arranged in chronological order by the masters' (supposed) dates of death. The portrait of Van der Weyden comes fourth, after the portraits of Hubert and Jan van Eyck and Hieronymus Bosch. The placing of Rogier among the founding fathers of a 'Netherlandish' school is very reminiscent of the passage in Lombard's letter where he names Rogier in the same breath as Jan Van Eyck. The whole idea of a set of portraits of Netherlandish painters in chronological order is very Vasarian and



Ill. 29.5 Rogier van der Weyden (Southern Netherlandish follower), *Virgin and Child*, c. 1450, silverpoint on white prepared paper, 216 x 133 mm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, inv. N9.

can be read as a small scale local answer to Vasari's own elaborate *Vite*.<sup>40</sup> An early 'nationalistic' impulse is apparent through this series, as it contains portraits of only 'Lower German' or Netherlandish masters. The fact that Rogier was 'Belgian' is also underlined in the signature on the print after the *Descent* where he is called: 'Rogerij Belgae'. Other contemporary sources emphasise the nationality of Jan Van Eyck who is called repeatedly: 'Belgarum Splendor'.<sup>41</sup> The phenomenon of placing painters into a national and historical concept, in this case in the visual form of a printed gallery, is symptomatic for the higher social and intellectual status that modern artists influenced by humanism



Ill. 29.6 Attributed to Johannes Wierix after Rogier van der Weyden, *Madonna with Child*, burin engraving, 224 x 136 mm. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

had achieved or hoped to achieve. For them it was a kind of genealogy, a printed gallery of 'artistic' ancestors that underlined the antiquity and nobility of their art in their own country.

In the past, Lampsonius, secretary of the prince-bishop of Liège and a good friend of Lambert Lombard, has been credited with the concept of this series but, as becomes clear from the Latin introduction, he only wrote the texts at Cock's request and did not finish the task until after the latter's death.<sup>42</sup> The portrait of Van der Weyden proves that it took a long time to complete the set, probably because of the serious efforts made to gather reliable biographical information and visual sources for the portraits.<sup>43</sup> Since the portrait of Van der Weyden has been convincingly attributed to the



Ill. 29.7 Hieronymus Wierix, *Madonna with Child*, burin engraving, 262 x 202 mm, Antwerp, Hans van Luyck, c. 1585. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Printroom, inv. S.IV 3915.

burin of Cornelis Cort, it must date from before or around 1565, the year that Cort left for Italy.<sup>44</sup> It is unlikely that Cort sent the completed engraving from Italy, because it is clear from other portraits that, after Cort's departure, the commission was taken over by the young brothers Johannes and Hieronymus Wierix.<sup>45</sup>

These youthful engravers from Antwerp learnt their skill with the burin by meticulously copying prints after earlier German masters, especially Dürer and Schongauer. As we have seen from the letter of Lombard, their prints were still highly regarded and both artists were seen in relation to Rogier van der Weyden, within the larger framework of a Northern school. Hieronymus Cock published a copy after Schongauer's *Crucifixion* in 1563, a work that is now attributed to Johannes Wierix<sup>46</sup> (ill. 29.4). The engraving is dated and bears the address of Cock, but there is no trace of

the monogram of Martin Schongauer. It is remarkable that the copy is not reversed and that the copyist omitted the tree behind Saint John on the left and filled the sky with horizontal hatchings, suggesting the darkness that fell at the moment Christ died. He also added the moon and sun that appeared simultaneously at the same moment. The copy was probably made because of the flourishing market for Schongauer's engravings in Antwerp in the second half of the sixteenth century, but it was clearly not the intention to replicate the engraving in an exact way. It was primarily the subject matter and the traditional style in which it was executed that would have interested potential buyers. Another, more puzzling print which has been attributed to the Wierix brothers was made directly after a drawing from Rogier's workshop, now in the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen<sup>47</sup> (ill. 29.5 and 29.6). The Italian inscription *Alberto Durer* on the drawing dates from the nineteenth century, but it is probable that in the Wierixes's day the drawing was seen as a work by Schongauer or Dürer and was engraved for that reason. The print is, however, executed in the more modern, less meticulous style typical of the more mature Wierix brothers. As it bears no inscriptions, it is difficult to place in its exact historical context. It looks as though the engraving was never published in large quantities, as there are only two impressions known today.<sup>48</sup> A comparable Virgin with Child, closer in style to Hugo van der Goes, was signed by Hieronymus Wierix and published by Hans Van Luyck<sup>49</sup> (ill. 29.7). It probably dates from the 1580's and, with its line of Latin text underneath, was clearly intended as a devotional image. Numerous other examples show that prints with religious subjects, executed in a fifteenth-century Netherlandish style with reminiscences of Rogier van der Weyden or Martin Schongauer, appealed to a particular public primarily interested in them for their traditional devotional iconography.<sup>50</sup> It was probably only a very small minority who, like Cock, Lampsonius and Lombard, took a more specific artistic interest in long deceased painters like Van der Weyden,

and who made the effort to learn more about their life and work and to communicate this to a larger public in the form of prints and texts.

## NOTES

1 The early history of printmaking in Italy and the North up to the mid sixteenth century is described in Parshall & Landau 1994. On the early woodcut, see Parshall & Schoch 2005.

2 On early printmaking, its functions and public, see: Parshall 1998: 17-36; Parshall & Schoch 2005; Weekes 2004; Veldman 2006: 9-44.

3 On fifteenth century printmaking in Northern Europe see Max Lehrs' monumental study: Lehrs 1908-1934. On the situation in the Southern Netherlands, see Delen 1924; Mayr-Harting 1997; Jean-Richard 1997.

4 Höper 2001; Pon 2004.

5 Very little is known of early Netherlandish printmakers active before 1500. It is often impossible to determine with certainty where they lived and worked. The engraver called *The Master of the Boccaccio Illustrations* was most likely active in Bruges as he illustrated a Boccaccio translation issued by the Bruges publisher Collard Mansion. Masters such as *FVB* and *W with the Key* have traditionally been associated with this city although there is no definitive proof that they actually worked there. *Master W with the Key* appears to have worked in the vicinity of the court of Duke Charles the Bold, so that he could just as well have been a resident of Brussels or any other city where the Burgundian Court resided. Masters such as *IAM of Zwolle* and *Allard Duhomeel* are known to have worked more to the north, in Zwolle and 's-Hertogenbosch respectively, although Duhomeel also worked for some time as an architect in Leuven. See Delen 1924, passim; Lebeer 1960: 81-88; Jean-Richard 1997, passim.

6 On the introduction and development of printmaking in Antwerp see Van der Stock 1998. On early printmaking in Brabant and Brussels, see Lebeer 1935: 189-247 and Lebeer 1953.

7 Countless examples can be found in the work of Schongauer. In general, numerous fifteenth-century German and Netherlandish printmakers were heavily influenced by the style of Van der Weyden and his school. See Koreny 1968; on the influence of Van der Weyden's work on Schongauer, see Kemperdick 2004: passim; Lehrs et al. 2005: 13-14.

8 Cornelis Cort after Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross*, burin engraving, 32 x 40.6 cm, Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp 1565. In the Brussels impression reproduced here (fig. 29.2) the text margin below has been cut. See Sellink & Leeflang 2000: no. 65; Joris Van Grieken, in Campbell & Van der Stock 2009: 489-491, cat. 70.

9 The attribution of the Prado *Descent from the Cross* is primarily based on stylistic evidence. There are no contemporary documents preserved that link the painting to Rogier. The print published by Cock is the first document that explicitly mentions Rogier's name as the inventor of the famous composition. In 1574 the panel was mentioned in the *Entregas* of the Escorial as a work of *Maestre Rogier*. Around 1582 the Leuven theologian and historian Johannes Molanus mentioned it in a manuscript as from the hand of *Magister Rogerius*. It is not known to what extent both later documents relied for their attribution on the authority of the print. The attribution might have been based on now lost documents or on an oral tradition. See Folie 1963: 208-209. On Molanus's manuscript of 'Rerum Lovaniensium', see Jan Papy, in Campbell & Van der Stock 2009: 492, cat. 72.

10 Bierens De Haan 1948: 198; Sellink & Leeflang 2000: III, 163, no. 227; Joris Van Grieken, in Campbell & Van der Stock 2009: 260-262, cat. 2.

11 Cort's work deeply influenced Italian printmaking from the mid 1560s onwards. See Bury 2001. On Cort's life and work, see Sellink 1994.

12 Turner 1973: 54-64.; Mund 2009: 198.

13 Sellink 1994: 67; Sellink & Leeflang 2000: 227, no. 65; Powell 2006: 560, note 41.

14 Inv. 1893. See Van Den Boogert et al. 1993: 285. On exact copies, see Mensger 2010: 194-221..

15 Joos van Cleve, *Descent from the Cross*, c. 1518-1520, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917.373. See Hand 2004: 121-122, cat. 14; Mund 2009: 198.

16 This hypothesis is formulated by Turner 1973: 54-64. See also Mund 2009: 198.

17 Antwerpen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 245-249. See Silver 1984: 204-205, no. 11.

18 See Prims 1938: 296-306.

19 Bruyn 2003: 65-95.

20 On Marcellus Coffermans, see Deleu 1999; De Vrij 2003.

21 Comparisons can be made with many of their paintings: Joseph of Arimathea is remarkably similar to Metsys's *Head of a Saint* in Barcelona (Silver 1984: cat. 33) but also to a *Saint Jerome* that survives in versions by both Quentin and Jan Metsys (Silver 1984: cat. 33, Buijnsters-Smets 1995: cat. 7). The face of St John with the lock of hair on the forehead, the pronounced cheekbones and heavy eyelids is reminiscent of the St John in grisaille on the exterior of the wing-panel of the *Lamentation* in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp.

22 The legend of the shipwreck was already mentioned by Molanus in an unpublished manuscript of around 1580 but first appeared in print in Van Mander's *Schilderboeck*, see Jan Papy, in Campbell & Van der Stock 2009: 492, cat. 71; Van Mander 1604: 207r.; Folie 1963: 208-209.

23 Cock published a wide variety of prints aimed at a broad public. The majority of his signed publications, however, are prints of high artistic and technical quality. From the inventory made after the death of his widow, it is known that the publishing house also possessed a huge stock of copperplates of small devotional prints. They were probably sold with no mention of the publisher's name. See Van Grieken 2010: 93-120. On Cock, see further: Riggs 1977; Burgers 1988.

24 The plate was later published by Joan Galle (1600-1676) and Michiel Cabaey (c. 1660-1722). For the most recent description of the states, see Sellink & Leeflang 2000: 227.

25 Van Grieken 2008: 29-45.

26 Melion 1993: 47-69.

27 On Hieronymus Cock and his circle, see Riggs 1977; Riggs & Silver 1993; Van Grieken 2010.

28 Liège, April 27, 1565. Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Art. n.v. Nr. 3. See: Frey & Frey 1923-1930: II, 163-167, doc. XIII.

29 Denhaene 1990.

30 On Lombard's antiquarian interests and his art historical views, see: Kemp & Kemp 1973: 122-152; Denhaene 1990: 197-203; Denhaene 2006: 92-97.

31 'Mi ricordo hauer visto in Italia le cose fatte al tempo di 1400, molto dispiaceuoli al occhio per non esser ne secche ne tampoco grasse ne di bella maniera; et parmi (pardonatemi, s'io erro,) l'opere delli maestri, che furono tra il Giotto et Donatello, riescono goffe: et cosi ghene in paesi nostri et per tutta la Germania de 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 piu inanzi, hanno lasciate le nostre chiese piene di cose, che non simigliano alle bone et

naturali, ma solamente vestite di belli colori. In Germania si leuo poi vn Bel Martino, tagliatore in rame, il quale non abandono la maniera di Rogiero, suo maestro, ma non arriuò pero alla bontà di colorire, che haueua Rogiero, per esser piu vsato all'intaglio delle sue stampe che pareuano miracolose in qual tempo; et hogi sono anchora in bona reputatione tra i nostri mansueti artefici, perche anchora che le cose sue siano sechhe, pero hanno qualche bon garbo.' Cited from Frey 1930: 165.

32 Kemperdick 2004: 23.

33 See Deleu 1999; De Vrij 2003: passim.

34 In this sense we can also interpret some engraved copies after Schongauer's *Passion Series* (re)published by Adriaan Huybrechts in Antwerp in 1585. They are dedicated by the publisher to Catholic dignitaries after the recapture of Antwerp by the Spanish; see Rodiers 2008. On the popularity of some of Dürer's religious prints in the context of the early Counter Reformation, see Clifton 2001: 105-125.

35 Sellink & Leeflang 2000: 163, no. 227; Joris Van Grieken, in Campbell & Van der Stock 2009: 260-262, cat. 2.

36 Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. 3515. See Cyriel Stroo, in Campbell & Van der Stock 2009: 504-507, cat. 74.

37 Of the Metsys composition, only workshop versions and copies survive, amongst others in the Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique in Brussels (inv. no. 4705) and Antwerp (inv. no. 565). See Silver 1984: 229, cat. 47. The version by Key (München, Alte Pinakothek) is closely related to the Metsys model, especially in the landscape and the head of Virgin.

38 See Dhanens 1995.

39 Lampsonius 1572; Lampsonius 1572 (ed. 1956); Sciolla & Sciolla 2001.

40 That the portrait series by Cock / Lampsonius was by some contemporaries interpreted as such becomes apparent from a passage by the German humanist and author Johan Fischart in the 'Vorrede' of the German edition of Onofrio Panvinio's *'Accuratae effigies pontificum...'*, Bernhart Jobin, Strasburg, 1573. See Kultermann 1966: 37-38. See also: Thöne 1934: 125-133.

41 See Mensger 2000: 44-53; King 2002: 137-190.

42 Meiers 2006: 1-16.

43 On the relation between the engraved portrait by Cort, the drawing in the *Recueil d'Arras* and a recently discovered double portrait of Van der Weyden and his wife, see Lorne Campbell, in Campbell & Van der Stock 2009: 256-259, cat. 1.

44 Sellink 1994: 149.

45 Thirteen portraits of the set are signed by, or have been attributed to, Johannes Wierix. See Van Ruyven-Zeman & Leesberg 2003-2004: nos. 2023-2035.

46 It was first given to Philips Galle, see Lehrs 1908-1934: v, no. 14e; Van Ruyven-Zeman & Leesberg 2003-2004: no. 733.

47 Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, inv. no. 9. On the drawing, see Koreny et al. 2002: 82-84, no. 16. and Stephanie Buck, in Campbell & Van der Stock 2009: 394-396, cat. 39. On the print attributed to Hieronymus Wierix, see Van Ruyven-Zeman & Leesberg 2003-2004: no. 985.

48 One is (probably since the late sixteenth-century) in the Escorial print collection; the other is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. See: González de Zárate et al. 1992; Van Ruyven-Zeman & Leesberg 2003-2004: no. 985.

49 Van Ruyven-Zeman & Leesberg 2003-2004: no. 984.

50 See: Van Grieken 2008: 29-45.