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Michiel Coxcie 1499 1592

and the Giants of his Age

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8 PUBLISH OR PERISH: MICHIEL COXCIE IN PRINT

Michiel Coxcie's ventures into printmaking were distinctly modest in comparison with the oeuvres of contemporaries like Frans Floris, Maarten van Heemskerck and Lambert Lombard.[1] While a painter like Floris in Antwerp flooded Europe with prints after his designs with the aid of publishers like Hieronymus Cock, Coxcie the court painter, who worked mainly in Brussels and Mechelen, displayed an extraordinary lack of interest in having prints made after his inventions. This may be one reason why his fame was so short-lived, and why his work was forgotten for so long and was only rediscovered quite recently, for prints were already in widespread use back in the sixteenth century as vehicles for visual information. Artists like Dürer and Raphael realized very early on how useful they were for spreading their names and garnering fame on the international stage. It was often only from prints that early historians of art such as Vasari and Van Mander knew about the work of masters too far distant in time or space. It is only logical, then, that graphic art contributed greatly to the formation of an artistic canon in the age before photography.

Michiel Coxcie witnessed major revolutions in printmaking during his long life. In the sixteenth century graphic art became the ideal way of disseminating the inventions of artists on a large scale. Around 1500 the top artistic segment of printmaking was still dominated by a small number of artists who usually took care of the design, production and distribution of their prints themselves. By the end of the century the market for printed images had expanded enormously, and almost all the technical and commercial aspects had passed into the hands of professional publishers, who also had an important say on the artistic side.[2] This evolution can also be traced in the small graphic oeuvre that has come down to us from Michiel Coxcie.[3]

When he was born at the end of the fifteenth century copper engraving had reached maturity in northern Europe with the work of Martin Schongauer, and the young painter Albrecht Dürer had emerged as the leading graphic artist of his age. In the Low Countries it was Lucas van Leyden who followed in the footsteps of the great German artist. Coxcie undoubtedly became acquainted with the graphic works of these masters during his youth and training in Mechelen and Brussels.[4] Artists of various kinds eagerly availed themselves of the models that were made easily accessible through the wide distribution of these prints.[5] Italian graphic art was not unknown in the North either. From 1510 to 1516 the Italian painter and printmaker Jacopo de' Barbari worked at the Mechelen court of Margaret of Austria and undoubtedly continued issuing his innovative engravings there.[6]

With a few exceptions there was no appreciable output of high-grade graphic art in Brabant in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. That came to an end with Dürer's visit to the Southern Netherlands in 1520. Directly inspired by him, artists like Jan Gossaert and Dirck Vellert, and Frans Crabbe van Espleghem and Nicolaas Hogenberg in Mechelen, began experimenting with copper engraving and etching. The young Coxcie may well have known these artists and their work at first hand. He certainly did not lack models before his departure for Italy, but there is nothing to show that he took any steps towards making or designing prints in that period. A drawing of a *Baptism of Christ* after Jan van Scorel that Reznicek attributed to Coxcie was thought by Dacos to be a design for an engraving and dated around 1530.[7] The evidence for her theory was the delicate hatching that matches the technique that Coxcie later employed for the designs for his *Loves of Jupiter* series.[8] That argument is not sufficiently convincing for this sheet to be regarded as a preliminary drawing for an etching or engraving.

Coxcie's earliest incontrovertible graphic projects date from his Italian sojourn or shortly thereafter, and were clearly influenced by his knowledge of Italian art and Roman printmaking. There he would have witnessed from close at hand a high

organized production process geared mainly towards engravings that were issued in large editions by professional publishers. Raphael himself had given the initial impulse to what became a genuine industry. Inspired by Dürer's prints he took the initiative to have his own designs turned into prints with the aid of a few collaborators, and it was those prints that largely contributed to the spread of his fame as a painter. As with the execution of his major commissions, it was due to a well-oiled machine that this project became such a success. Instead of retaining control over the design, production, financing and distribution, as Dürer had largely done, Raphael drew on the talents of different people to supervise separate links in the chain of production. In addition to Marcantonio Raimondi, who often worked with him as an engraver, he appointed his colleague Baverio de' Carocci in 1515 to oversee the printing and dissemination of his graphic works.[10] This laid the basis in Raphael's workshop for the profession of commercial print publisher. After his death in 1520, Baverio, also called 'Il Baviera', acquired control over the plates and started a print business that would serve as a model for other enterprises that made Rome the centre of European print production in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The legacy of Raphael and his school proved vigorous and long-lived, despite the many new trends inspired by a new generation of designers.[11]

The Sack of Rome in 1527 led to a break in the output of the first generation, with many designers and engravers fleeing the city for a while, but from the early 1530s it had regained its lead again. When Coxcie arrived there, he found a production apparatus that would not be introduced in the Low Countries until a decade later.
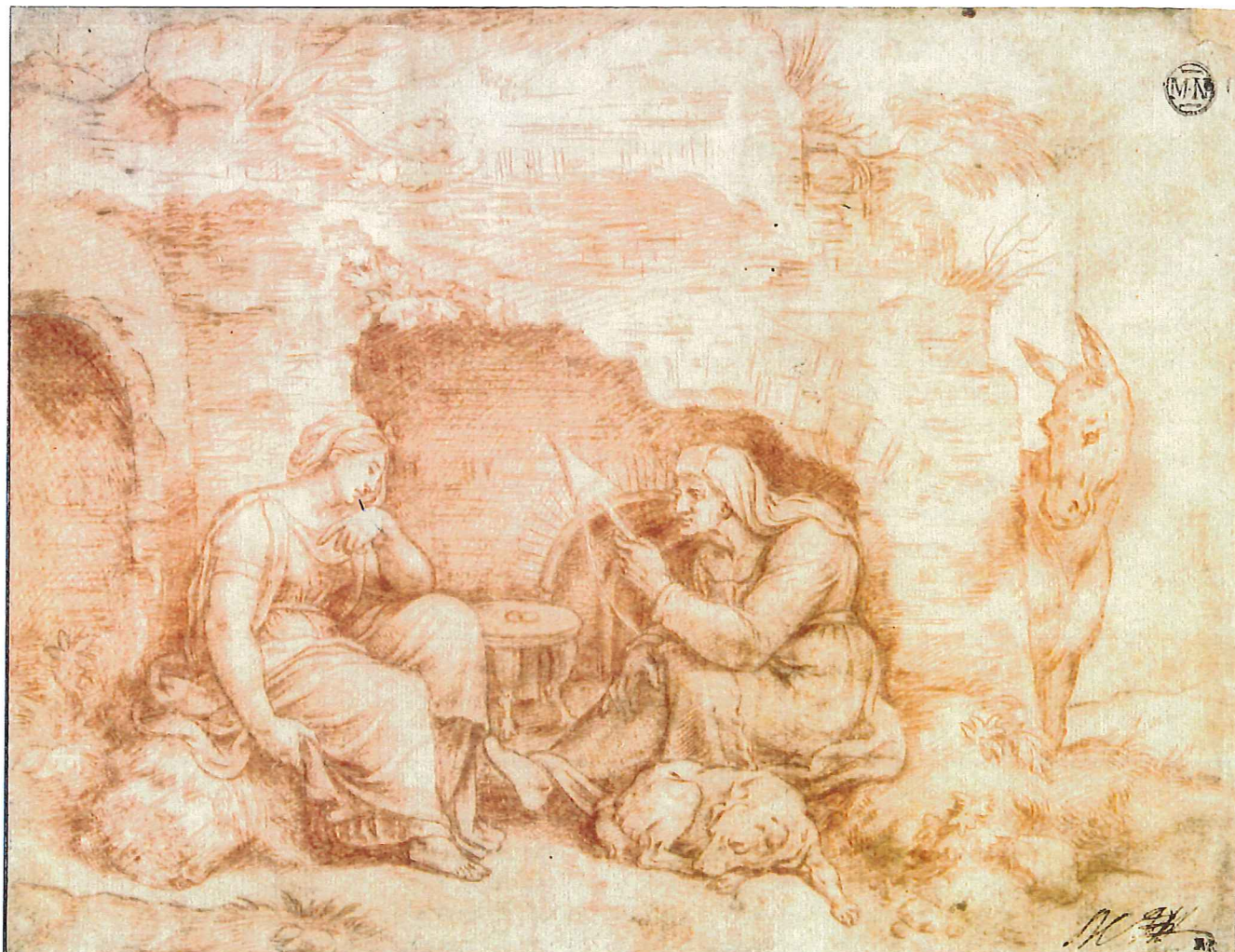
THE STORY OF CUPID AND PSYCHE: COXCIE OR NOT?

The *Cupid and Psyche* series is based on the fable in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, otherwise known as the *Metamorphoses* (IV:28–VI:24). It consists of 33 unnumbered plates with text margins at the bottom that have remained blank.[12] A drastically reworked state that was probably printed around the middle of the sixteenth century consists of 32 numbered engravings with two columns of Italian inscriptions below. The print with Venus ordering Psyche to collect water from a fountain is missing in this second version.[13]

The first, very rare state and the qualitatively inferior and heavily modified version are not always clearly differentiated in the literature.[14] The reworked state has the publisher's address of Antonio Salamanca, who died in 1562.[15] The reworking of the plates before 1562, a bare 30 years after they were engraved, is evidence that they had become badly worn. The first edition was undoubtedly very large and enjoyed great success, and the fact that it was known and popular outside Italy is demonstrated by the copies after 30 of the plates that were published with Latin and German inscriptions by Frans Hogenberg.[16]

The name of the designer is not mentioned on the prints. It was Vasari who attributed the design of the series to Coxcie in his life of Marcantonio Raimondi in the second, 1568 edition of his *Vite*: 'Next, among the many plates that have been issued from the hands of the Flemings within the last ten years, very beautiful are some drawn by one Michele, a painter, who worked for many years in two chapels that are in the church of the Germans [i.e. Santa Maria dell'Anima] at Rome. These plates contain the story of Moses and the Serpents, and thirty-two stories of Psyche and Love, which are held to be most beautiful.'[17]

The attribution to Coxcie is based first and foremost on the authority of Vasari, who was apparently well informed, as he asserted that he had known Coxcie in Rome and

153 Michiel Coxcie, *Apuleius Changed into a Donkey Listening to the Story Told by an Old Woman*. Drawing for plate I of the *Story of Cupid and Psyche* print series. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts graphiques

154 Michiel Coxcie, *The Clemency of Scipio* (?). Drawing. The British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings
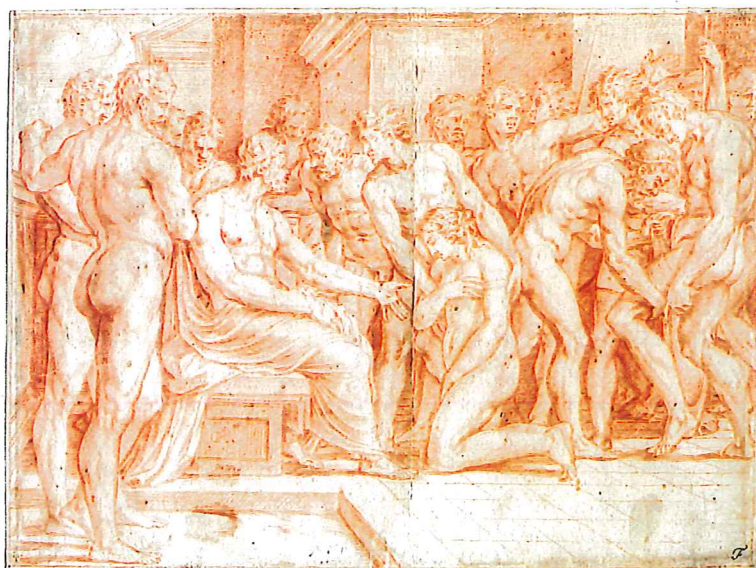
correctly cited other works, including the etching with the *Erection of the Brazen Serpent.* [173]
In the earlier literature the designer was identified as Raphael.[18] Many of the narrative
compositions have several figures in a more spacious architectural or landscape setting.
The classicizing inspiration of the nudes and the draperies testify to a deep knowledge
of classical art. The reworking of those elements in classically articulated and carefully
considered compositions, often with architectural elements that structure the image,
is close to Raphael. The subject-matter and style of some of the scenes are linked to the
decorations for the Loggia de Psiche on which Raphael and his workshop worked in
the Villa Farnesina in Rome in 1517–19.[19]

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Nicole Dacos has repeatedly and resolutely rejected the attribution to Coxcie.[20]
According to her, the series has nothing in common with the Fleming's known works
from his Roman period. In her reading it was derived from designs by Raphael for the
completion of the Farnesina decorations that were never executed due to the succes-
sive deaths of Raphael and the patron Agostino Chigi. The compositions were then
reworked in the workshops of Raphael's pupils and led, among other things, to the
decorative cycles by Perino del Vaga in the Palazzo del Principe in Genoa and in Castel
Sant'Angelo in Rome.[21] Tommaso Vincidor supposedly took drawings of these cycles
with him to the Netherlands in 1520, where they were worked up into designs for tap-
estries that were woven in Brussels.[22] A lost suite of 26 tapestries belonging to Francis I
that is now only known from later editions does indeed display similarities to the com-
positions in the print series.[23] Dacos rightly draws attention to the complex genesis of
the series, which led to numerous inconsistencies in the final design in the orientation
of compositions and the left-handedness of some of the figures.

She also wants to distinguish the hand of Lambert Suavius in the hypothetical
tapestry designs, and thus in the print series as well. The trouble is that her attributions
of paintings and tapestry designs to this Liège artist are extremely problematic and are

156 Agostino Veneziano, after Michiel Coxcie, *Psyche Served in Her Bath by Nymphs She Cannot See*. Engraving. *The Story of Cupid and Psyche*, plate 7. The British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings

based on the comparison of details executed in different media.[24] In a recent publication she cites drawings by Perino del Vaga as evidence that the design of the cartoons and the engravings should be attributed to Cornelis van Cleve, who supposedly made them with Suavius's aid in Vincidor's Brussels workshop.[25]

Coxcie nevertheless remains the most plausible candidate as designer of the series, meaning that he supplied the drawings, which are clearly based on models from the school of Raphael, and that the engraver used them for the prints. First and foremost, the 'names' of the engravers of the 33 plates are known for certain. Thirty were engraved by the Master of the Die, although he only monogrammed plates 6 and 9 with the die to which he owes his name of convenience. Agostino Veneziano engraved and signed plates 4, 7 and 13. The series can therefore be dated fairly precisely using the biographical information about the two of them. Agostino dei Musi, also known as Veneziano, dated his oeuvre between 1514 and his death in 1536. At the time of the Sack of Rome in 1527 he was in his native Venice, only returning to the Eternal City in 1531. His more modest share in the engravings may be attributable to his death. The Master of the Die was active as a printmaker in the period 1529–60 and repeated many compositions by Raphael and his workshop.[26] This means that the series almost certainly dates from the mid-1530s, right in the middle of Coxcie's stay in Rome. In addition, he could already have learned about the hypothetical tapestry designs for the Psyche series when he was working in Van Orley's shop in Brussels. He would certainly have met Vincidor in the city, and known the workshop he headed there for weaving the large tapestry series commissioned by the Pope.[27]

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The most important argument for attributing the design of the series to Coxcie has been put forward by Achim Gnann and Domenico Laurenza,[28] who correctly identified a red chalk drawing in the Louvre as the original design for the first plate.[29] It is in mirror image, has almost the same dimensions as the print, and the outlines are indented with a stylus for transfer to the plate. They also established a convincing stylistic connection between this Paris sheet and a drawing in London that bears Coxcie's monogram.[30] In their essay they outline the close relationship between Coxcie's work in his early Roman period and the example set by Raphael.

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Drawings by Raphael's school, possibly in the form of tapestry designs worked up by Vincidor and his shop in Brussels, remain eminently plausible as the source of inspiration for the Psyche suite. As Dacos so rightly remarked, the transformation of the compositions into tapestries was not based on the print series but more probably on an unknown common source. Here it is worth noting a few stylistic features that reflect Vincidor's contribution. The abundant and fairly minute rendering of the landscapes, for example, displays similarities to the scenes in the Vatican Loggia, the detailing of which has been attributed to Vincidor, among others. Compared to Raphael's autograph drawings the female figures, too, are heftier, with broad shoulders and fleshy upper arms, and those elements also recur in the designs attributed to Vincidor for the Scuola Nuova tapestry designs and in the finish of the Old Testament scenes in the Vatican Loggia.[31]

The designs for this cycle show that Coxcie was not a very original artist. His ability was more a question of taking ideas from other artists and putting them together, and that is also seen in other parts of his oeuvre. The skill and empathy that he brought to bear in his imitations of the style of other artists also stood him in good stead in his later work as a copyist. As is almost always the case, we do not have any information about the financial background to his print designs. He was probably paid only to deliver the drawings. Apart from the experience it gave him, and the income, which was probably more than welcome, this particular commission held out not the slightest prospect of publicizing his own designs and allowing them to make a name for him.

THE FLAGELLATION AND SOME INDIVIDUAL PRINTS
FROM THE ROMAN PERIOD

An engraving of the *Flagellation* that also bears Coxcie's monogram is heavily indebted to Michelangelo and his pupil Sebastiano del Piombo.[32] Until now it has largely escaped the notice of scholars.[33] The figure of Christ, bound to a pillar in the centre foreground, with jutting chest and head turned in profile away from the viewer, is clearly modelled on the one in the fresco that Sebastiano painted in the Borgherini Chapel of San Pietro in Montorio after a sketch by Michelangelo.[34] Coxcie was very familiar with the decorations in this chapel, which were completed in 1524. Sebastiano's fresco in the apse, just above the *Flagellation*, was the source of inspiration for Coxcie's *Ascension* in the St Barbara Chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima. Studies after the frescoes of both the Flagellation and the Ascension drawn on both sides of a sheet that probably comes from a sketchbook have been attributed to Coxcie by Nicole Dacos.[35] In his version Coxcie added more variation to the compact composition of Sebastiano's fresco. He replaced

157 Unknown Roman engraver, after Michiel Coxcie, *The Flagellation*. Engraving. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Prentenkabinet
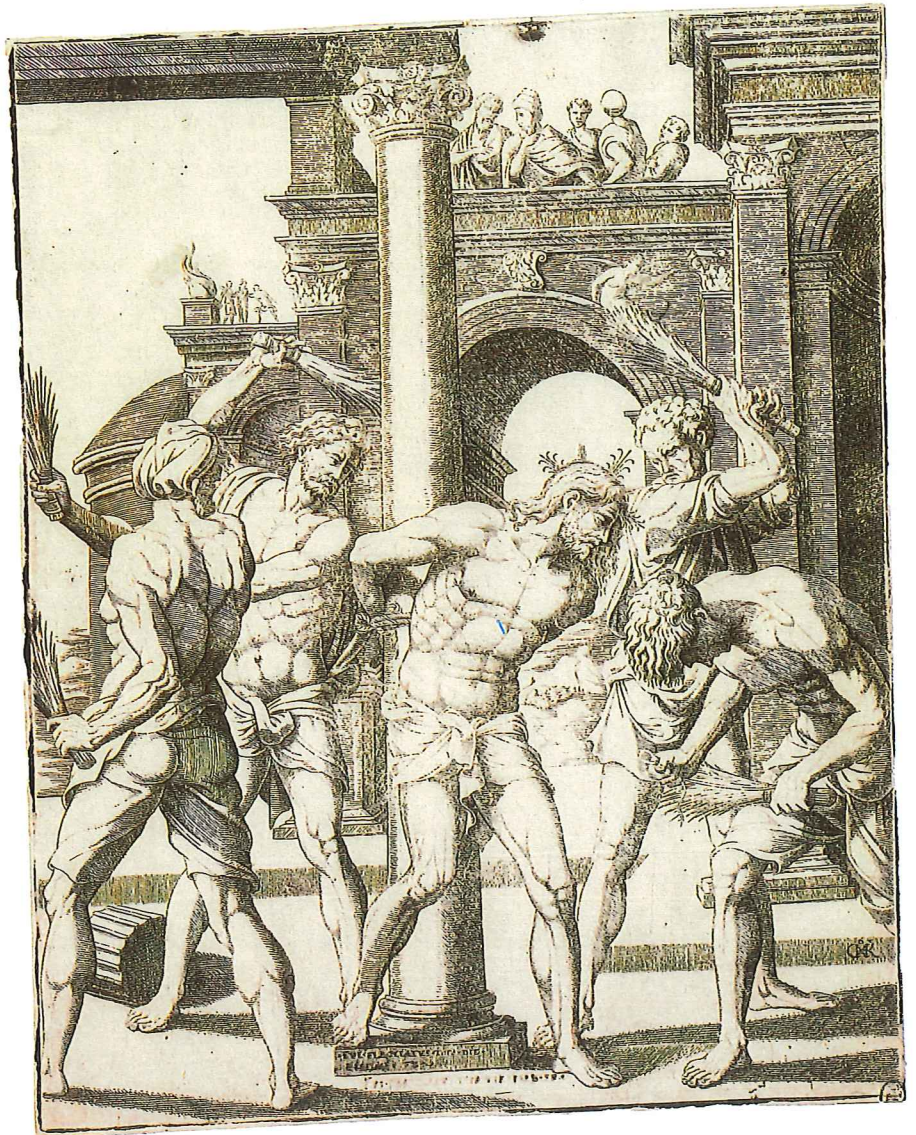
the central perspective of the Corinthian atrium by an architectural setting that recedes into the background in stages, but in so doing introduced some serious inconsistencies in the perspective construction. The pillar has been moved to just left of centre, and there is more variety and expressiveness in the poses of the torturers, who are also further away from Christ and have even partly disappeared out of the field of view.

The only impression known to me is a mediocre one of what is probably a later state in the printroom of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.[36] Traces of an erased inscription that can be made out below the base of the pillar may be the address of the original publisher. The engraver gave the figures a very hard, almost geometrical musculature. The drapery folds are sharp and the figures have incisive outlines. Tonal transitions are almost totally absent. Densely hatched, shaded passages adjoin white ones. This way of engraving, which is clearly by a less gifted Roman hand, has little in common with the tonally richer and rounded style of works like the *Loves of Jupiter*.

The same hand is seen in two other engravings of religious and moralizing scenes that are clearly based on Coxcie's designs. The first one, which has his monogram, is of St Jerome reading by a withered tree in a setting of classical ruins.[37] An angel is pointing to a Last Judgement in the background. The second one is of the risen Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen. It is not signed, but is related to the *St Jerome* in subject-matter, style and engraving technique. The figures of Christ and the Magdalen recall the fresco with the presentation of Cardinal Van Enckevoirt that Coxcie painted in the St Barbara Chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima.[38] The design and execution have to be placed in the Roman period. Most of the potential buyers for graphic art of this kind would have been more interested in the subjects than the artistry. These prints show that in his Roman period Coxcie was also involved in the production of this relatively simple kind of utilitarian graphic art.

THE LOVES OF JUPITER

The so-called *Loves of Jupiter* is a fine example of a series of drawings that were made specifically as print designs. They are preserved in the British Museum. Three have Coxcie's monogram,[39] and with the exception of *Jupiter, in the Form of Diana, Enjoying Callisto*, which is in black chalk, they are in pen and brown ink.[40] All of them have traces left by the stylus when indenting the outlines for transfer to the copperplate. The sheet in black chalk has technical and stylistic similarities to the preliminary drawing for the first plate of the Psyche cycle, and to the drawing of the *Clemency of Scipio* in London, which can be fitted neatly into Coxcie's Roman period, as Gnann and Laurenza have demonstrated.[41] The other drawings are carefully worked up with the pen. The anatomies of the figures are defined with a clear network of parallel and cross-hatchings,[42] and here the designer obviously made allowance for the fact that his drawing had to be interpreted by an engraver. That the drawings were made in Coxcie's Roman period is suggested by the borrowings from classical sculptures and from works by Raphael and Michelangelo.[43] *Leda and the Swan* and *Jupiter and Callisto* are based on classical statues that were in Rome at the time.[44] Raphael's influence is evident in the many borrowings from engravings by Raimondi and his school.[45]

The iconography of the series is based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with the artist illustrating various passages that deal with Jupiter's erotic escapades in different guises. Erotic print series featuring mythological figures were no novelty in Rome.[46] One notorious example was the so-called *I Modi* designed by Giulio Romano and engraved by Raimondi, in which mythological and classical pairs of lovers were seen copulating with abandon. The prints and their makers were severely criticized by the papal

158 After Michiel Coxcie, *St Jerome*.
Engraving. The British Museum, London,
Department of Prints and Drawings

159 ▷ Michiel Coxcie, *Jupiter, in the Form
of Diana, Enjoying Callisto*. Drawing
for plate 10 of the *Loves of Jupiter* print
series. The British Museum, London,
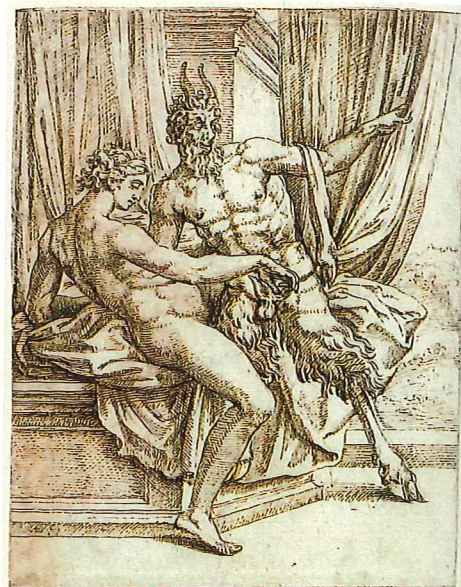Department of Prints and Drawings

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authorities, and the first edition was destroyed in its entirety.[47] A later series with *The
Loves of the Gods* cut by Jacopo Caraglio after designs by Perino del Vaga is less explicit.
Its popularity may have encouraged Coxcie and his patron to design a suite of his own.[48]
The prime motive for an artist to design prints must have been the widespread dissem-
ination of his ideas and the resultant fame, as well as financial gain. That being said,
though, the finished prints make not the slightest mention of the artist, the engraver
or the publisher. Were the makers afraid of being prosecuted as Marcantonio Raimondi
and Giulio Romano had been?

There is therefore no certainty about the engraver or place of publication.[49] Several
elements might indicate that the plates were made after Coxcie's return north and were
printed in and sold from the Low Countries.[50] The traditional attribution to Cornelis
Bos, which Schéle doubted, might be worth reconsidering,[51] for there are very close
similarities to his early monogrammed oeuvre. The result of an engraver's work is often
highly dependent on the style or quality of the preliminary drawing. In Bos's secure

works, for instance, one can see clear differences in the treatment of tonal contrasts between the works after Van Heemskerck and those after Lombard. In the case of the *Loves of Jupiter*, we know the quality of the precisely detailed preliminary drawing, which the engraver often followed meticulously. If one takes account of the variations in style and quality between the two designers, then the engravings with the *Loves of Jupiter* are very comparable indeed to Cornelis Bos's early work of about 1540. It is not out of the question that Bos spent some time in Rome before settling in Antwerp in 1540, and might already have collaborated with Coxcie there.[52] It is more likely, though, that the designs were not engraved until shortly after Coxcie's return home.

That may also have been the case with a large engraving with the *Conversion of Saul*. It is one of Coxcie's most ambitious prints, and the only one from the early period that is dated (1539). His monogram at bottom left is accompanied by the inscription 'I.VEN', which explicitly identifies him, possibly for the first time, as the inventor of the composition, although not with his full name.[53]

Needless to say, it is a work that owes much to the influences that he underwent during his Roman period. Nicole Dacos sees echoes of Bernard van Orley's *Crucifixion Triptych* in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges, and consequently argues for a dating shortly after Coxcie's return.[54] Rightly, too, she notes the influence of Salviati, who had been working on a *Conversion of Saul* in Rome in the 1530s, which appeared as a print in 1545.

In the centre, below the horse's left hoof, is the enigmatic inscription 'DV·E·CO·ST·CA.' Rathgeber attributed the print to Cornelis Bos, but that was rejected by Schéle.[55] Given the date, Bos is certainly worth considering as the engraver, but the handling of the figures and the shaded passages looks harsher and less supple than in his firmly established oeuvre. A few references in Plantin's financial accounts may indicate that he also dealt in this print from time to time and that the plate was in the Low Countries and used there.[56]

172 Cornelis Bos (?), after Michiel Coxcie,
The Conversion of Saul, 1539. Engraving,
with details of the inventor's monogram
and the enigmatic inscription. Albertina,
Vienna

THE ERECTION OF THE BRAZEN SERPENT:
EXPERIMENTING WITH ETCHING

In addition to the Psyche series, Vasari mentions a print whose authorship cannot be contested: a signed etching of the *Erection of the Brazen Serpent*.[57] It is quite clearly of a very different nature from the engraved narrative suite. The predominant influence is Michelangelo rather than Raphael and his school. The signature – '.MIGHEL. FLAM=/ MINGO. IN./VENIVR' – refers to Coxcie's Flemish origins, not to his actual surname. This could be a clue that the print was made abroad, in Italy, where he was known by that name, but it is also possible that it was used with an eye to the international distribution of the print.[58]

The monumental composition can be regarded as a one-off and possibly autograph experiment with the etching technique. Unlike the handling of the burin, which requires a great deal of skill, the etching needle is easy to use for an artist who knows how to draw. Coxcie may have intended to make the etching look like a pen drawing. A number of leading Netherlandish artists and printmakers started experimenting with etching in the 1520s.[59] Frans Floris and Pieter Bruegel the Elder also tried their hands at it, but much later, and like Coxcie only once.[60] The fact that they then abruptly abandoned their experiments may have been due to the technical limitations of the

173 Michiel Coxcie, *The Erection of the Brazen Serpent*. Etching. Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, Print Room

medium. Although the scene can be drawn easily and directly on the etching ground, biting it into the plate is not without risk. The lines do not always have the desired sharpness and depth, which can create problems when inking and printing the plate, especially when larger numbers of high-grade impressions are required. There are obvious technical defects in Coxcie's *Erection of the Brazen Serpent*, and attempts were made to correct them by biting the plate a second time and ultimately by reworking it radically with the burin, for which Coxcie may have called in the assistance of a professional engraver.

A date shortly after Coxcie's return to the Netherlands is plausible on several counts. In technique and typology the print has little in common with the etchings of his Italian contemporaries. The large scale of the sheet and the broad draughtsman-like execution recall the etchings of the School of Fontainebleau, which were distributed on an international scale from the late 1530s on,[61] so a date in the early 1540s would not be unlikely. Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, Coxcie's fellow court painter and tapestry designer, made iconographically and technically outlandish etchings in the same period that are closely related to his drawings.[62] Dirck Vellert already had two decades of experience as an etcher when he tried his hand at a monumental etched *Flood* in 1544.[63] There is of course no stylistic similarity between Coxcie's attempt and those works, but the ventures into etching by artists from his circle may have been what inspired him to try the etching needle for himself. Maarten van Heemskerck, often working jointly with Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, also made numerous etchings that have a distinctly draughtsman-like look that betrays the influence of the School of Fontainebleau. Van Heemskerck had returned to Haarlem from Rome in 1536, and started publishing prints almost immediately. The first one is dated 1537 and is signed with Cornelis Bos's initials. Two years later he engraved an ambitious print of the raising of the brazen serpent after a design by Van Heemskerck.[64] It is tempting to see the prints by Van Heemskerck and Coxcie as a duel in virtuosity between two artists who had returned from lengthy stays in Rome and now wanted to show off their skills to a large international public.

The subject was obviously ideal for depicting the human (and overwhelmingly male) nude in the most contorted and contrived poses, so the sheets by Van Heemskerck and Coxcie should not primarily be regarded as depictions of a religious subject but as displays of their mastery. In Coxcie's case the result is a rather incoherent compilation of quotations from contemporary Italian works and classical sculpture.[65] As Molly Faries has demonstrated, there is some connection between this sheet and a drawing in Swarthmore College, which in turn displays technical similarities to the monogrammed design for the *Loves of Jupiter* series preserved in London.[66] The Swarthmore drawing may be a fragment of an initial design for the print. Only the large reclining nude in the foreground is found in the etching, albeit in a radically different form. The nude is a striking borrowing from the drawing of the famous *Tityus* that Michelangelo made for Tommaso de' Cavalieri in 1532–33.[67] Coxcie could have copied that motif at first hand when he was in Rome, but the figure also appeared in a print published by Antonio Salamanca.[68] The facial expressions of some of the Israelites being assailed by snakes on the right are also noteworthy for their close resemblance to a head, the so-called *Fury* or *Anima dannata* that Michelangelo drew for Gherardo Perini in the 1520s.[69] Salamanca published a very similar head in an engraving.[70] However, the graphic stylization of the hair and the shadows on the face are so similar that it is more likely that Coxcie based himself on that print rather than on the original drawing.

REGRESSION

As already noted, there are persuasive indications that it was not until he was back in the Low Countries that Coxcie had the prestigious and Italianate *Loves of Jupiter* series engraved and marketed. With his *Erection of the Brazen Serpent* he himself experimented with a technique that had been employed with some success by a few prominent contemporaries. Although he had been fairly productive in the realm of graphic art during and immediately after his stay in Rome, it seems that his output dried up completely after his return to the North. The *Conversion of Saul* dated 1539 is the only firm point of reference in the chronology. There is a *terminus ante quem* for the edition of the *Loves of Jupiter* in the form of a weak and probably Italian copy in reverse of *Leda and the Swan*, which is dated 1545. A complex scene of *Invidia* that can be attributed to the burin of Cornelis Bos has points of resemblance to Coxcie's work, and may also have been made in the 1540s.[71] On occasion Coxcie also seems to have supplied cheap, utilitarian graphic works like processional banners, possibly in the form of woodcuts. There is a surviving record of payment to him for a cartoon or model for one such banner for the Miraculous Sacrament in Brussels.[72] It may have been a simple and traditional religious scene for which Coxcie had no need to draw on his knowledge of modern Italian art.

Not a single invention by Coxcie then appeared in print until the 1560s. He himself does not appear to have had the slightest interest in the distribution of his work in graphic form, in marked contrast to contemporaries like Lombard, Van Heemskerck and Floris, all of whom were closely involved in print production. Lombard took a keen interest in the training of engravers as part of the schooling he offered in Liège, which was run along Italian lines.[73] Like Van Heemskerck, he worked first with Cornelis Bos before switching almost exclusively to Hieronymus Cock shortly after 1550. Van Heemskerck formed a duo with the engraver and humanist Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, and later he too found a reliable artistic and commercial partner in Cock.[74] Although he regularly had prints produced after earlier drawings and compositions, he developed into a hugely creative and productive designer who provided Cock, and later his pupil Philips Galle, with dozens of majestic narrative cycles. It was Floris who exploited intaglio printing the most to promote himself as a leading painter. His native Antwerp naturally gave him direct access to the city's many engravers and publishers.

It is remarkable that Coxcie lagged so far behind his contemporaries in taking advantage of the opportunities presented by printmaking until at least the middle of the century. He never seems to have built up a relationship with Cock or any other publisher or printmaker. This will no doubt have had other causes than a failure to enter into a partnership. Coxcie may have been wary of the medium because he quoted so often and so literally from the work of other artists, which would have come to light all the sooner through the international distribution of prints. Even that, though, is an inadequate explanation, since quoting another person's work was often seen in a very positive light, certainly until the middle of the century. A better explanation may be that as a court painter he occupied a different social and economic position. In contrast to Van Heemskerck and Floris, who operated in a modern, urban and cosmopolitan milieu, Coxcie worked for the traditional elite of court, nobility and public dignitaries, the Church, and the great religious institutions and confraternities. He supplied the designs for ambitious projects like stained-glass windows and tapestries, and was entrusted with the prestigious task of decorating Binche Castle, as well as with royal commissions including the production of meticulous copies after masterpieces by Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden.[75]

There is nothing to suggest that Coxcie played an active part in the creation of the single prints after his designs that appeared sporadically from the 1560s onwards.

Hieronymus Cock published most of them, including two engravings that bear his monogram and which seem to be closer to his early work in style. The Antwerp publisher may have got hold of earlier drawings by the master, or perhaps drawn copies were made of works that were on public display. Some of those prints are important in that they give an idea of the original appearance of lost works by Coxcie.

174   The model for the engraving *Jesus Among the Doctors* that Cornelis Cort engraved for Cock and dated 1562 is not known.[76] The composition was very clearly inspired by Raphael. The central perspective, the architectural subdivision of the space and the

175   placement of the figures recall the *School of Athens*.[77] The composition could date from the 1540s and may have been worked up into a monumental version along the lines of Coxcie's large altarpieces. Cort also engraved a *Resurrection* for Cock.[78] The print has perhaps rightly been associated with Van Mander's report of a lost fresco of the same subject that Coxcie painted in the old Basilica of St Peter in Rome.[79] The poses of the soldiers are clearly influenced by Michelangelo, in particular by the so-called *Ignudi* on the Sistine Chapel ceiling. The famous figure of Adam is immediately recognizable in the soldier lying in the foreground. Christ's legs and torso are based on a *Crucifixion* by Michelangelo. The fresco probably owed its fame to its location, which would have been why Cock had a print made of it, complete with the familiar monogram.

174 Cornelis Cort, after Michiel Coxcie, *Jesus Among the Doctors*, 1562. Engraving. Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/ Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, Print Room

Cort also engraved a plate after the central panel of the *Morillon Triptych* in St Peter's in Leuven.[80] The print was certainly made before Cort's departure for Italy in 1565, and was probably commissioned by Cock.[81] For some reason it lacked an inscription for a long time, and it was only in the third state, which was published by Theodoor Galle in the seventeenth century, that the words 'Michael Coxsi pinxit' were added. The proportions in the print differ quite considerably from those on the panel, so it is not inconceivable that Cort based himself on a preparatory drawing or on a drawn copy of one.

The attribution to Coxcie of an unsigned engraving of the *Fall of Man* that was published by Cock can be firmly rejected.[82] The fine depiction of the Garden of Eden may have reminded some authors of Coxcie's tapestry designs, but the elegantly intertwined figures have nothing in common with his work. The roots of this scene lie in France, with the School of Fontainebleau and their followers. A similar pose may be found in an etched roundel of *Venus and Mars* by Jean Mignon after Lucca Penni from the mid-1540s.[83] The figures in a print of the *Fall* by Jean II de Gourmont are set in a vertical composition which Zerner regarded as a copy after Cock's print, but the relationship may be the very opposite.[84] The invention is said to be by Jean Cousin the Elder, and the landscape and the vegetation with the hanging foliage are typical of his style.[85]

175 Giorgio Ghisi, *Paul's Sermon on the Areopagus in Athens*, after Raphael's *School of Athens*. Engraving. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung

FURNIUS AFTER COXCIE:
THE ALSEMBERG CRUCIFIXION IN PRINT?

One of the largest and most ambitious prints after a surviving work by Coxcie is the engraving of a large Crucifixion by the Liège painter and engraver Petrus Furnius.[86] He [176] was a product of Lambert Lombard's school, and started working as an independent printmaker in the mid-1560s. He relied heavily on Antwerp for the printing and distribution of his graphic works, which are after his own designs as well as those by Lombard and other famous contemporaries. His hand can be detected in many unsigned prints. There is every indication that he worked for his own account, but from time to time he accepted commissions from Antwerp publishers like Hieronymus Cock and, after 1570, his widow Volcxken Diericx. Sometimes his style reaches the heights of virtuosity and was clearly influenced by Cort, although his engravings never achieve the same level of perfection.

In this engraving Furnius added his own monogram beside Coxcie's name, who is identified as the inventor. It shows Christ on the Cross between the two thieves. The bad thief on Christ's left is seen from the back and is looking over his shoulder between his left arm and the crossbeam. Rubens repeated this motif literally in a preliminary drawing for a book illustration for Balthasar Moretus,[87] so it can be assumed that the composition was fairly well-known, undoubtedly through the engraving. In addition to the large figure of St John seen from behind and the Holy Women mourning behind him, one's eye is caught by the Roman soldiers dicing and drinking in the foreground. The crouching one at the front is looking up at the cross over his shoulder and is holding the lance with the sponge, which creates a powerful diagonal.

The engraving perfectly matches a monumental panel that is now in Valladolid Cathedral.[88] Ollero Butler pointed out that this work may be identical with an important work by Coxcie which Van Mander says was in Alsemberg before being sent to Spain by Cardinal Granvelle. 'His first and most important work, two or three miles outside Brussels in Alsemberg, was the high altarpiece: a large piece with a *Crucifixion*, an excellently artistic work on account of which many artists often came from Brussels to see it. During the Netherlandish revolt this important work was taken to Spain by a certain Thomas Werry, merchant of Brussels, and sold to Cardinal Granvelle for King Philip.'[89]

The existence of this engraving, which was unknown to Ollero Butler, reinforces his hypothesis, for knowledge of the painting may have contributed to Furnius's decision to transform it into an ambitious print. He did so in 1574 at the latest, for on 19 December of that year he supplied Plantin with three impressions.[90] The fact that it was in an easily accessible location meant that a drawing could be made of it without involving Coxcie in the production of the print at all.

The same applies to the very last prints to be published after Coxcie's designs, which date from the mid-1570s. In 1574 in Antwerp Pieter Baltens issued a *Christ Triumphant* [177] that had been engraved by Jan Ditmar, on which Coxcie is credited as inventor.[91] It shows Christ seated in the clouds and triumphing over Death in the form of a skeleton on the terrestrial globe below. The figure of Christ was quite clearly inspired by Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* in the Sistine Chapel. He is surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists and by angels carrying the instruments of the Passion. The composition and details recall the central panel of the *Morillon Triptych*. It is possible that the print was modelled on a lost painted composition that was also executed around 1560.

All these graphic works were published in Antwerp, which had grown to become the leading centre of print production around 1570. Large publishing houses, like those of Hieronymus Cock, Gerard de Jode and Philips Galle, met the ceaseless and growing
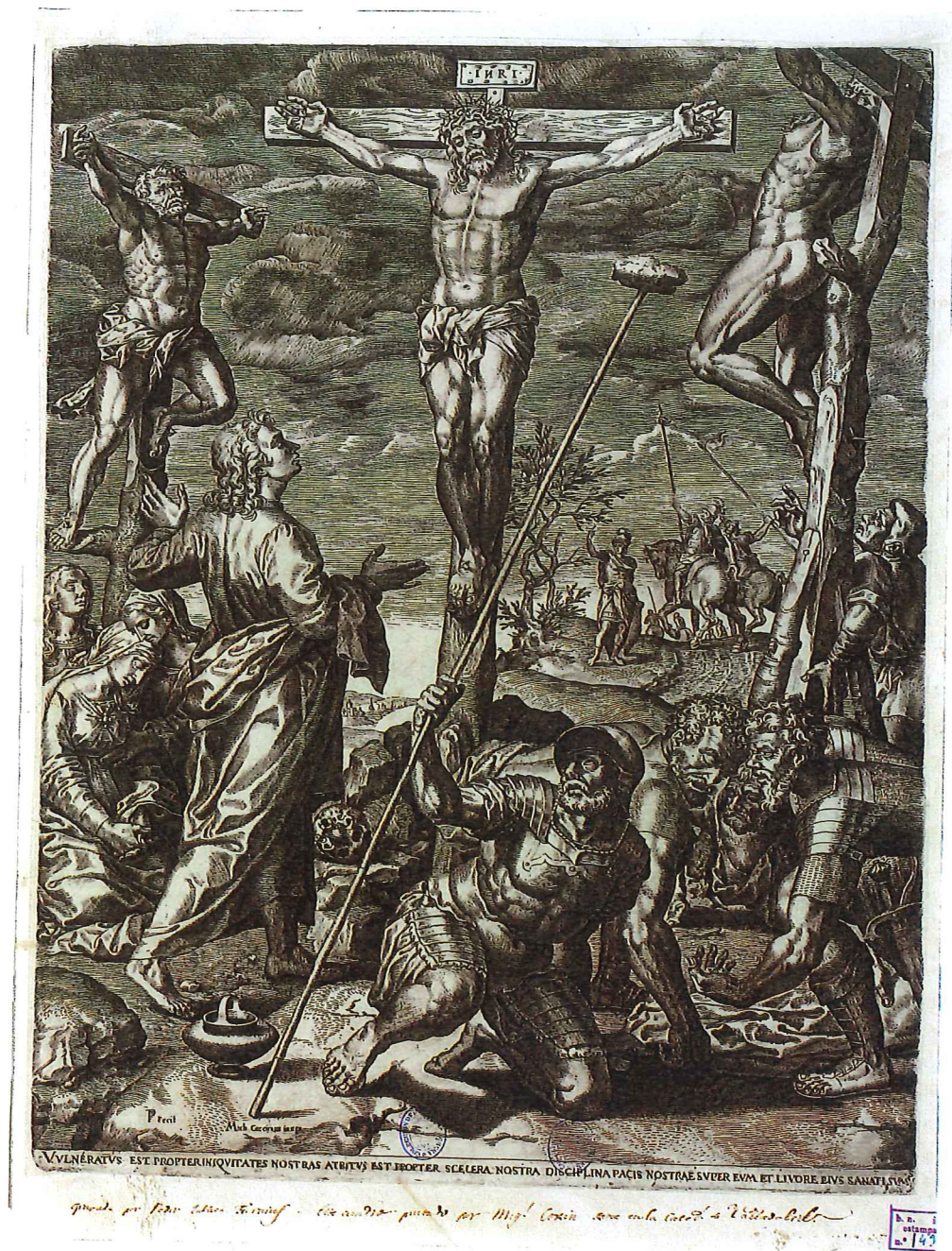
176 Petrus Furnius, after Michiel
Coxcie, *The Crucifixion*, c. 1560.
Engraving. Biblioteca Nacional,
Madrid

international demand for printed images. The design, production and distribution of devotional prints and narrative religious scenes of a high artistic and technical standard was a growth industry, and artists of a new generation were more than willing to give the public what it wanted. Figures like Maarten de Vos, Jan Snellinck and Gerard van Groeningen designed hundreds of individual prints and series. The inventions of an older man like Coxcie very rarely found an opening in this crowded market, and when they did it may well have been through sheer coincidence.

Gerard de Jode commissioned hundreds of prints of a similar size depicting all the books of the Old and New Testaments.[92] He assembled the plates over the years and in 1579 first published a specially printed title plate and table of contents for the entire collection. This *Thesaurus sacrarum historiarum veteris testamenti* required a huge investment. Artists like De Vos and Van Groeningen supplied most of the drawings, but earlier designs were also recycled in order to complete the series. The Book of Genesis includes three prints that Jan Sadeler engraved after Coxcie's designs in 1576. They are scenes from the story of Cain and Abel: *The Sacrifice of Abel*, *Cain Killing Abel* and *Adam and Eve Mourning Abel's Death*.[93] The compositions are very similar to the Genesis tapestries after the cartoons by Coxcie that were woven in the first edition for the Polish king Sigismund Augustus between 1548 and 1553. The kneeling figure of Cain by the smoking sacrificial altar is an identical reversed version of the one in the tapestry, although there his nudity is concealed by an animal pelt.[94] It is unlikely that the Antwerp publisher asked Coxcie to supply designs for these three prints. It was far

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177 Jan Ditmar, after Michiel Coxcie, *Christ Triumphant*, 1574. Engraving. Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/ Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Brussels, Print Room

178   Jan Sadeler, after Michiel Coxcie,
The Sacrifice of Abel, 1576. Engraving.
The British Museum, London,
Department of Prints and Drawings

Munera grata deüs iusti respexit Abelis, Ruricolæque nihil uota precesque putat.   Genes. 4.
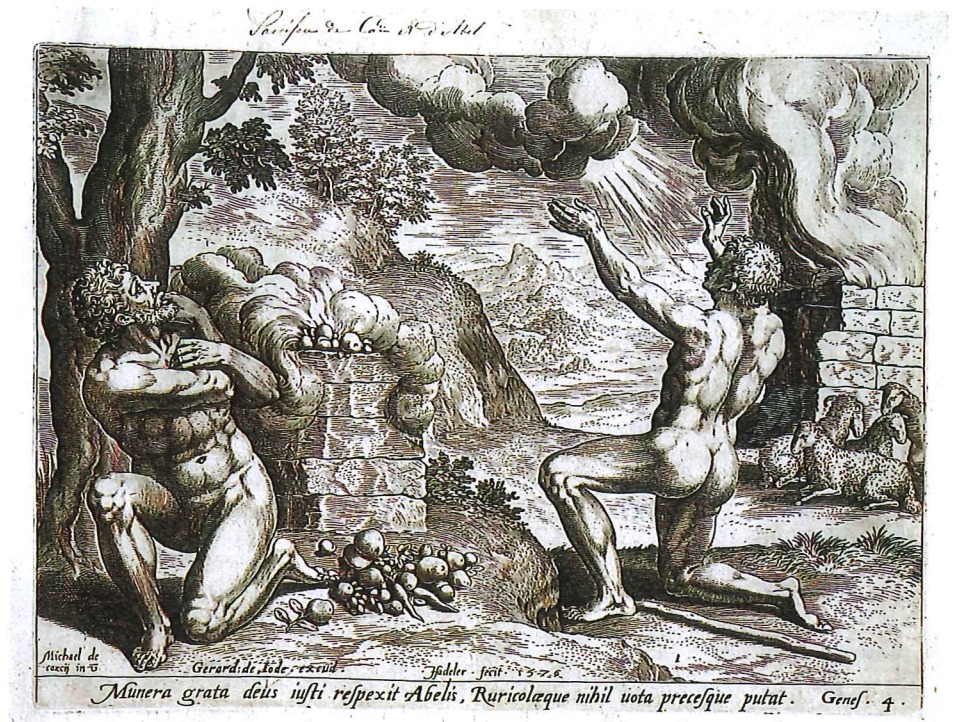
more common for a compilation to be made from the available models or for earlier variants to be reworked. Antwerp was the centre of the tapestry trade, and Coxcie's work would certainly not have been unknown there.

It is almost symbolic that one encounters the grandmaster of the ancient and prestigious medium of tapestry at the birth of a monumental and trailblazing work in the new medium that printmaking had become in Coxcie's day. The contrast between princely, costly, time-consuming, fragile yet long-lasting tapestries and the democratic, fleeting, swift, controversial but temporary nature of printmaking is symbolic of two worlds that existed in parallel yet often touched in the sixteenth century.

In his Roman period, and perhaps shortly after his return home as well, Coxcie tried to swim with the second current. He had been designing prints in Rome, perhaps solely for financial reasons, and when he got back to the Low Countries he briefly tried to gain fame with his own signed work. A train of events then made him change course and enter circles where he had no need to seek commissions and status by having his works appear in print. He was more of a court painter who gained his standing from his contacts with the political elite and from commissions for ecclesiastical and civic authorities who were often extremely conservative. This may have been due to his own nature. Unlike several of his famous Netherlandish contemporaries, Michiel Coxcie never initiated a school of followers, and that may have been a conscious decision on his part. As far as can be deduced from the fairly sparse biographical data, teaching did not suit him. In contrast to painters like Floris or Lombard, who established an Italian-style *bottega* that nurtured a sizeable number of pupils who went on to make successful careers for themselves, Coxcie evidently felt no desire to combine training and self-promotion. In that respect, at least, he has to yield the title of 'the Flemish Raphael' to Frans Floris.

1 On the prints of these three masters see, respectively, E. Wouk in NHD (Floris) 2011; NHD (Van Heemskerck) 1993–94; Denhaene 1990.

2 On the growing importance of the print publisher in this period, see Riggs, Silver and Melion 1993; Landau and Parshall 1994; Van der Stock 1998; Bury 2001; Witcombe 2008; Leuschner 2012; Van Grieken, Luijten and Van der Stock 2013.

3 There is barely a mention of Coxcie in Delen, the large survey of printmaking in the Netherlands, and not one of his works is discussed there; see Delen 1924–35.

4 See Lebeer 1947 for a survey of graphic production in Mechelen.

5 For Dürer's influence, see Held 1931.

6 On De' Barbari as a painter and printmaker, see Van der Sman 2002–03, pp. 13–19, and Zucker 1999.

7 *The Baptism of Christ*, Uffizi, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. 2315 F: pen and brown ink on paper, 210×278 mm. On the reverse, in a sixteenth-century hand: 'Michiel Coxies fecit'. The attribution is backed not only by Reznicek and Dacos but by Faries as well. The composition is a variation on Jan van Scorel's *Baptism of Christ* in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem. See Reznicek 1964, no. 25, pp. 27–28 and fig. 25; Faries 1975, p. 137, and p. 141 n. 15; Dacos 1993a, pp. 50–54.

8 Dacos 1993a, p. 51; see below for the *Loves of Jupiter*.

9 Nor is the composition reversed left for right relative to the model, which is usually the case when working from a drawing that was specifically intended to be turned into a print. The hypothetical impressions, not one of which has ever been found, would consequently show St John baptizing with his left hand.

10 Bury 2001, p. 9; Witcombe 2008, pp. 26–29, 43–46.

11 Oberhuber 1999; Gnann 1999.

12 The British Museum has an early eighteenth-century album from the Cracherode Collection that contains impressions of the entire first series that once belonged to Sir Peter Lely (L, 67.1–32). Pasted onto the facing pages are the text margins from the second version of the series. See Griffiths 1996.

13 Bartsch XV (1813), p. 224, no. 71; The Illustrated Bartsch 29, p. 227, no. 71.

14 Bartsch maintained that the plates of the first state were reworked by Francesco Villamena (c. 1565–1624). It is not clear whether all the plates have been reworked; some may simply have been copied. Important hatched passages have been completely reworked. The attribution to Villamena is chronologically impossible, since he was born after Antonio Salamanca's death (see below). See Bartsch XV, p. 212. For Villamena, see Bury 2001, p. 236.

15 The first plate is also known in a later state in which Salamanca's address has been struck through and that of Giovanni Battista de Rossi has been added: 'Si Stampa C Vende In Piazza Navona/ Gio Battista de Rossi/ Milanese In Roma'. See The Illustrated Bartsch 29, no. 39.

16 NHD (Frans Hogenberg), nos. 37–67; the copy after Bartsch 50 is missing.

17 Vasari (ed. Milanesi), vol. 5, pp. 435–36: 'Fra molte carte poi, che sono uscite di mano ai Fiamminghi da dieci anni in qua, sono molto belle alcune disegnate da un Michele pittore, il quale lavorò molti anni in Roma in due capelle, che sono nella chiesa de' Tedeschi; le quali carte sono la storia delle serpi di Moisè, e trentadue storie di Psiche e d'Amore; che sono tenute bellissime.' The translation is from Getscher 2003, p. 208.

18 By Armenini and Bellori, among others; cited by Dacos 2003, pp. 81–83. The title page of the last state, the plates of which are preserved in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, also bears his name. See Bernini Pezzini, Massari et al. 1985, pp. 250–57. Bartsch describes the prints separately, attributing the three by Veneziano to Raphael (Bartsch XIV, pp. 189–92, nos. 235–38). The others are described as being the work of the Master of the Die without naming the designer (Bartsch XV, pp. 211–24, nos. 39–70).

19 Compare, for example, *Jupiter Embracing Cupid* at top right on plate 29 with the pendentive of the same subject in the Farnesina, or the figures of Venus and Cupid at top right on plate 2 with their counterparts in the Loggia de Psiche. There is also a striking similarity to the wedding banquet of Cupid and Psyche with nymphs scattering flowers on plate 31. See Höpper 2001, p. 208. For the dependency of the Psyche engravings on the decoration of the Farnesina and other works by Raphael, see further Dacos 2003, p. 85 and n. 14.

20 Dacos 1993; Dacos 2003; see also Dacos 2012, pp. 82 and 238 n. 54.

21 Dacos 2003.

22 Dacos 1980.

23 An original set of tapestries woven in Brussels after these cartoons was in the collection of King Francis I of France and was lost during the French Revolution. Several later re-editions are known to exist, including those in the Château de Pau and the Quirinal in Rome. The composition of the first tapestry is particularly interesting in its strong resemblance to its counterpart by Perino del Vaga in Castel Sant'Angelo. See Dacos 2003, p. 91; Duverger 1993, pp. 186–88.

24 See Dacos 1992b; the only work by Suavius that is known properly dates from 1540–65 (see Hollstein XXVIII, pp. 165–99). It is characterized by elongated figures that are extremely sculptural in appearance who are draped in archaic, classical garments. In his engravings Suavius also displays a marked and refined sense of lighting effects and imitation of materials. In most cases those elements cannot be reconciled with the works that Dacos attributes to him.

25 Dacos 2012, pp. 82 and 238 n. 54. The author does not substantiate this assertion. I regard these attributions as problematic, for we have very little information about the early styles of both Suavius and Van Cleve.

26 See Milne 1996; The Illustrated Bartsch 29, pp. 159–241.

27 Another illustration of the connection between Vincidor's workshop in the Netherlands, Raphael's artistic heirs in Rome and the Master of the Die is the fact that the latter also made engravings after the tapestry series with playful putti with festoons woven in Brussels after designs attributed to Giovanni da Udine and Vincidor. See Bartsch XV, pp. 208–209, nos. 32–35, and The Illustrated Bartsch 29, pp. 189–92, nos. 32–35; see Dacos 1983.

28 Gnann and Laurenza 1996, pp. 292–302.

29 In their 1992 inventory Cordellier and Py still considered the sheet to be a copy after Coxcie, but nowadays it is attributed to Michiel Coxcie. *The Old Servant Telling the History of Psyche to the Young Captive*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 4210: red chalk over an underdrawing in black chalk, indented for transfer, 171 × 230 mm.

30 Michiel Coxcie, *The Clemency of Scipio*, red chalk, 222 × 298 mm, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1946,0713.151.

31 Compare, for example, the figures on the left in plate 2 (Bartsch XV, p. 213, no. 40; The Illustrated Bartsch 29, p. 196, no. 40) with the scene of *Jacob and the Daughters of Laban by the Well*, which was probably worked up by Vincidor in the Vatican Loggia, in relation to the drawing by Raphael in the Albertina, Vienna (SR 211, R 103, inv. 173). See Gnann and Plomp 2012, p. 146, no. 48; Dacos 2008, p. 217, fig. 157.

32 Anonymous engraver after Michiel Coxcie, *The Flagellation*, engraving, 238 × 190 mm. See Hollstein V, p. 62, no. 2; Hollstein XIII, p. 23, no. 1. For Sebastiano del Piombo's influence on Coxcie, see Dacos 1993b, 64–77.

33 Listed by Nagler (1858–79, vol. 2, p. 169, no. 2), who wrongly identified the monogram as Jan de Cock's, and in Hollstein (see note 32 above) under the monogrammists (without further identification) and under Cock.

34 Michelangelo, *The Flagellation*, 1516, The British Museum, London, inv. 1895,0915.500: red chalk over a detailed stylus underdrawing, 223 × 235 mm.

35 Dacos 1993b, p. 70 and p. 68, figs. 7 and 8.

36 Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Prentenkabinet, inv. BdH 15416.

37 Engraving, 235 × 191 mm. There are two impressions in the British Museum: inv. 1874,0613.660 and a damaged impression inv. Ii,5.36. See Hollstein IV, p. 62, no. 3.

38 There are also points of similarity to the Psyche series. For instance, the poses of Mary Magdalen and Christ can also be seen in plate 3, in which Psyche is being presented to a king.

39 They are: (1) *The Rape of Ganymede*, (5) *The Rape of Europa*, and (10) *Jupiter, in the Form of Diana, Enjoying Callisto*.

40 The British Museum, inv. 1851.1.12.1–12.9 and 1861.1.14.10. The numbers at top centre in pen and brown ink give the sequence. (1) *The Rape of Ganymede*, 177 × 137 mm; (2) *Jupiter and Antiope*, 174 × 135 mm; (3) *Jupiter and Alcmena*, 175 × 138 mm; (4) *Jupiter and Semele*, 174 × 139 mm; (5) *The Rape of Europa*, 178 × 138 mm; (6) *Jupiter and Aegina*, 170 × 138 mm; (7) *Jupiter and Proserpine*, 172 × 137 mm; (8) *Leda and the Swan*, 173 × 138 mm; (9) *Jupiter and Io*, 172 × 138 mm; (10) *Jupiter, in the Form of Diana, Enjoying Callisto*, 176 × 134 mm.

41 Gnann and Laurenza 1994.

42 See also the drawing in Swarthmore College, which does not appear to have been translated directly into print. See Faries 1975.

43 Various stylistic arguments can be put forward for placing the preliminary drawings in Coxcie's Roman period. In his entry on those drawings Van der Sman (Koenraad Jonckheere, *Michiel Coxcie. De Vlaamse Rafaël*, Leuven 2013) refers to the loose handling of the rounded foliage, which matches that in a drawing of the Colosseum that Coxcie is thought to have made on the spot, and which is now in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 1451. See Gerszi 2012, no. 11. Laurenza has also drawn attention to the similarities between Europa's profile in the *Rape of Europa* and the frescoes that he attributes to Coxcie in the Marciac Chapel in Santa Trinità dei Monte in Rome. See Laurenza 1993, p. 100.

44 See Bober, Rubinstein and Woodford 1986, nos. 5 and 94.

45 See Dacos 1995a, p. 173.

46 See Talvacchia 1999.

47 After the first edition was destroyed, the designs were said to have been engraved a second time by Agostino Veneziano. See Turner 2004 and James Grantham Turner, in Bayer 2008, pp. 200–02, no. 99.

48 The great success of the series can be deduced from the many copies and variants it spawned, and not only in Italy. See The Illustrated Bartsch 28 (Commentary), pp. 97–99; Turner 2010.

49 A statement in the 1601 probate inventory of Volcxken Diericx may refer to impressions of this series: 'Tweeentwintig bladeren van Standekens van vier op een blat' [Twenty-two sheets *of Positions,* with four to a sheet]. See Duverger 1984–2002, vol. 1, p. 22.

50 The British Museum has a complete set of late impressions in an early seventeenth-century album composed solely of prints published in Antwerp (inv. 1925,1117.19–159). See Van Grieken, Luijten, Van der Stock et al. 2013, p. 29 n. 20.

51 Schéle lists the series as 'doubtful' but gives no reasons for those doubts; see Schéle 1965, pp. 203–05, nos. 225–34.

52 On 1 April 1540 one 'Cornelis Willem Claussone van s'Hertogenbosche, figuersnyder in coper' [Cornelis Willem Claussone of 's-Hertogenbosch, carver of images in copper] was registered as a burgess of Antwerp. In 1537 Bos had already dated a *Sacrifice of Isaac* that he had engraved after Maarten van Heemskerck. See Schéle 1965, no. 1, and Van der Coelen 1995.

53 Cf. the monogram and signature on the wings of the *St Luke* for Mechelen.

54 Dacos 1995a, pp. 85–86, no. 18.

55 Rathgeber 1844, p. 172.

56 On 14 September 1563 he noted in his stock inventory: '3 Tresbuchement 2. Doubles feilles'; see Delen 1935, vol. 2, p. 151.

57 *The Erection of the Brazen Serpent*, etching, reworked with the burin, 298 × 431 mm, signed at bottom right: '·MIGHEL·FLAM=/ MINGO·IN·/ VENIVR'.

58 Oberhuber 1967, p. 89: 'Der Aufschrift nach ist es wahrscheinlich, dass sie in Italien entstand'.

59 Landau and Parshall 1994, pp. 332–36.

60 In 1552 Hieronymus Cock published an etching by Frans Floris of a *Victory* after a painting that adorned the Arch of the Genoese for Philip II's Joyous Entry into Antwerp in 1549. See Wouk 2011, pp. xlvii–liii and no. 156; and E. Wouk in Van Grieken, Luijten and Van der Stock 2013, pp. 314–15, no. 86. In 1560 Cock published the famous *Hare Hunt* that was etched by Pieter Bruegel the Elder himself. See Orenstein and Sellink 2001, pp. 200–02, no. 82; NHD (Bruegel), no. 1; and C. Tainturier, in Van Grieken, Luijten and Van der Stock 2013, p. 392, no. 109.

61 Zerner 1969.

62 As early as 1536 and 1538 Vermeyen requested monopoly privileges for printed material (maps, it is thought, but also etchings like the *Portrait of Mulay Hasan*) documenting Charles V's Tunisian campaign. A large group of the works is dated 1545; see Horn 1989, vol. 1, pp. 19–21, 33–35.

63 Popham 1925; Landau and Parshall 1994, pp. 335–36.

64 Etching and engraving, attributed to Cornelis Bos, 218 × 336 mm; see NHD (Van Heemskerck), no. 76.

65 Oberhuber saw quotations from the work of Michelangelo and Raphael, but also influence from Beccafumi and Salviati. See Oberhuber 1967, pp. 88–89, no. 101.

66 Attributed to Michiel Coxcie, *Detail from the Erection of the Brazen Serpent*, pen and brown ink, 235 × 327 mm, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; see Faries 1975.

67 Michelangelo Buonarotti, *Tityus*, black chalk on paper, 190 × 328 mm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 12771r.

68 Bartsch XV, 11, p. 259, no. 39; The Illustrated Bartsch 29, p. 296, no. 39. On the prints after the Cavalieri drawings, see Barnes 2010.

69 Michelangelo, *Damned Soul*, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, black chalk on paper, 251 × 357 mm.

70 Barnes 2010, p. 68; Rotili et al. 1964, p. 56, no. 18.

71 Compare the seated mother with children in the right foreground with the figure in the left foreground of *The Holy Kinship* in Kremsmünster.

72 'Ierst Vie july betaelt Meester Machielen van coxcyen schildere van een patroon totter vormen vanden vaenkens vanden heylighen sacramente te makene een gouden croon IX sc. VI den. gr. Item betaelt eenen vormensnyder van antwerpen vander voirscreven vormen te snyden XV sc. gr.' Archive of the Collegiate Church of St Michael and St Gudula, Brussels, 8674, fol. 481, quoted in Roobaert 2000, pp. 276–77 and 276 n. 71.

73 Denhaene 1990, pp. 217–22.

74 Riggs, Silver and Melion 1993, and Van Grieken, Luijten, Van der Stock et al. 2013.

75 It is repeatedly stated in the literature that the print after Van der Weyden's *Crucifixion*, which was engraved by Cort and published by Cock, was made after a copy or drawing by Coxcie. I have rejected this unfounded assertion on the evidence of the major discrepancies between the print and the original, which Coxcie copied fairly faithfully. The print is clearly the product of an Antwerp copying tradition of placing Rogier's famous composition in a landscape, which may hark back to a lost prototype by Quinten Metsys. See Joris Van Grieken, in Van der Stock and Campbell 2009, pp. 489–90, no. 70; idem, in Van Grieken, Luijten and Van der Stock 2013, p. 276, no. 75.

76 Cornelis Cort after Michiel Coxcie, *Jesus Among the Doctors*, 1562, engraving, 287 × 321 mm. See NHD (Cort), p. 148, no. 44; Sellink 1994, p. 47, no. 13; and Joris Van Grieken, in Van Grieken, Luijten, Van der Stock et al. 2013, p. 154, no. 32.

77 The fresco with the *School of Athens* in the Vatican was turned into a print by Giorgio Ghisi, working for Cock, who published the engraving in Antwerp in 1550. Van Mander relates that this infuriated Coxcie, because now everyone could see how closely he had based his composition on Raphael. See Van Mander 1604, fols. 258v–259r; Ger Luijten, in Van Grieken, Luijten, Van der Stock et al. 2012, p. 126, no. 20.

78 Cornelis Cort after Michiel Coxcie, *The Resurrection* (1565), engraving, 306×260 mm; NHD (Cort), no. 75, with further literature.

79 Van Mander 1604, fol. 258v: '... heeft op t'nat geschildert, tot S. Pieters te Room in d'oude Kerck, een Verrijsnis'.

80 M – Museum Leuven, inv. S.43; see Van den Boogert and Kerkhoff 1993, p. 24.

81 Cornelis Cort after Michiel Coxcie, *Christ in Triumph between Sts Paul and Peter*, engraving, 397×290 mm. See NHD (Cort), no. 90. However, contrary to what is stated in NHD (Cort), there is no listing in the inventory of Volcxken Diercx, Cock's widow, of anything that could be firmly identified with this print. See Duverger 1984.

82 There are two versions of the print, both of them published by Cock. See Riggs 1977, nos. 243 and 244. I am grateful to Catherine Jenkins for drawing my attention to the French sources of this composition.

83 Zerner 1969, Jean Mignon 38.

84 Henri Zerner, in Jacobson 1994, pp. 381–82, no. 129.

85 Compare the figures of the banished Adam and Eve with a drawing of *Pan Chasing Syrinx* in the Louvre (inv. 20901) that is attributed to Cousin.

86 Signed at the bottom: 'PDF [monogram] Fecit Mich Coccienus iuen'; in the text margin at the bottom: 'VVLNERATVR EST PROPTER INIQVITATES NOSTRAS ATRITVS EST PROPTER SCELERA NOSTRA DISCIPLINA PACIS NOSTRAE SVPER EVM ET LIVORE EIVS SANATI SVMVS'. According to Hollstein there is also a second state of this work with a different inscription: 'Mich. Coxienus invent. P. Furnius fecit. Rombaut van den Hoye exc.'. On Furnius, see Puraye 1948, vol. 1, pp. 1016–25, and Jans 1987.

87 Peter Paul Rubens, *Christ on the Cross between the Two Thieves*, unexecuted design for an illustration in the *Breviarium Romanum* and *Missale Romanum* of 1614, pen and brown ink over graphite, brown wash, 290 × 195 mm, The British Museum, London, inv. 1895,0915.1050. See Judson and Van de Velde 1978, no. 35; Ollero Butler 1975, p. 192.

88 Oil on panel, 360 × 274 cm. Ollero Butler states that it is authentic, despite being taken for a Flemish copy. At bottom right it is inscribed 'Cusin Flamenco F.' See Urrea and Valdivieso 1970, p. 160, no. 1, and Ollero Butler 1975, pp. 189–90.

89 Van Mander 1604, fol. 258v: 'Sijn eerste en besonderste werck was, buyten Brussel twee oft dry mijlen, te Halsenbergh, t'hoogh Altaer-tafel, een groot stuck, wesende een Crucifix, een uytnemende constigh werck, daer menigh Constenaer dickwils uyt Brussel quam om te sien. Dit heerlijck stuck werdt in de Nederlandtsche beroerte ghevoert in Spaengien, door eenen Thomas Werry, Coopman van Brussel, en aen den Cardinael Grandvelles vercocht, om den Coning Philips'. See Van Mander (ed. Miedema), vol. 4, p. 188. Translation: ibid., vol. 1, p. 293.

90 'Pierre du four painctre et tailleur a Liege Le 9 Decembre 1574, recue les pourctraictures ensuivantes): 3 Crucifix double feulle de 3½ pat. a 2 pats'; see Delen 1935, p. 169.

91 Jan Ditmar after Michiel Coxcie, engraving, 427×335 mm (KBR, S.I 14567).

92 Mielke 1975. In this pioneering study of the *Thesaurus* and its makers Mielke assumed that the first edition dated from 1585. More complete editions have emerged since then, among them an early one dated 1579 on the title page. See Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, inv. RP–1995–26.

93 Hollstein mistakenly cites six prints. See Hollstein IV, p. 62, nos. 14–19.

94 Misiag-Bochenska 1972, nos. 1–6.