

Buchelius's "Res pictoriae" and the writing about art¹

Traditionally, writing about art has been the business of artists. One only needs to think of Cennino Cennini, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Albrecht Dürer, Leonardo da Vinci, Giorgio Vasari, and Karel van Mander to realize how obvious this is. It was also true in Antiquity; in the first book of his *Natural history*, Pliny mentions among his authorities a number of sculptors (for Book XXXIV) and painters (for Book XXXV), including Apelles, Melanthius, Euphranor and Parrhasius. Some of these writer-artists may not have been the greatest of their time (like Cennini or Van Mander), but they were fully trained professionals. Even Dominicus Lampsonius, today principally known as a learned humanist, did receive some training in painting from Lambert Lombard. Perhaps the only early exception is Leon Battista Alberti. Although he claims in his treatise on painting (Book II, 9, 19; Book II, 63) that he painted himself, no works by him have come to light. On the other hand, even though Alberti may have been only an amateur painter at best, he was of course an architectural designer and he also modeled a self-portrait.²

During the early modern period, also persons other than artists started to express opinions about art and artists. They are usually referred to as "humanists," and their writings on art often have an encomiastic nature. Among these, the Utrecht antiquarian Arnoldus Buchelius (Aernout van Buchel, 1565-1641) deserves special interest. A series of his notes on art and artists were published in 1928 by Hoogewerff under the title "Res pictoriae."³ So far, Buchelius's notes have been mined for their historical information, but they have a much wider interest, as I will argue in the following paragraphs.

"Res pictoriae"

Throughout his life, Buchelius made notes about art and artists. As such they are primarily a by-product of his antiquarian interests, of which the *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Traiectinae urbis atque agri inventa* ("Monuments found everywhere in churches and monasteries in the city of Utrecht and environs") is the best known result.⁴ Buchelius's notes on art and artists survive in many of his manuscripts, but a series of sheets, which today make up Ms. 1781 of the Utrecht university library, deals exclusively with these matters. In his edition, Hoogewerff divided the contents into four parts, added similar notes on art and artists from three other manuscripts of Buchelius, and put the seven sections in chronological order. Hoogewerff's chronology may be roughly correct, but the dates he assigned to the four parts of the "res pictoriae" are questionable. The first part, consisting of a loose leaf and a sextern, is inscribed "pictorum catalogus," and is dated by Hoogewerff to 1585-90. It includes, however, a reference to Francisco de Hollanda in a book that was not published until 1600.⁵ According to Hoogewerff, the notes contained in "Res pictoriae I" were compiled during the years 1590-1605. This timespan is doubtful as well: at the end, Buchelius refers to Opmeer's *Opus chronographicum orbis universi*, which was published in 1611, and copies a passage from the *Schilder-boeck*, which was published for the first time in 1604. A number of notes in "Res pictoriae II" are explicitly dated 1620, 1621, 1622 and 1628. Because the "Res pictoriae III" follow the "Res pictoriae II," they seem more recent, but that is not necessarily the case. In a note on Cornelis Ketel, Buchelius added that he was still alive ("Adhuc vivit"); Ketel died in

1616. On the other hand, two other entries in this section are dated 1629 and 1631, respectively.⁶

Contrary to what Hoogewerff writes in his introduction, the text as edited is not complete. Particularly in the "pictorum catalogus," Hoogewerff left out a number of notes, mostly on ancient painters. Some omissions are accounted for in a footnote, but others are not. The omissions betray a limited and outdated approach to Buchelius's notes. It is true that notes on ancient painters culled from ancient writers do not have a "historical" value. On the other hand, the very fact that Buchelius found it interesting to include them, should make us aware that for him, the foundations of art were laid in Antiquity, after which they were revived in the early modern period. For the same reason, van Mander begins the large biographical section in the *Schilder-boeck* with the "Lives of the ancient painters."

Also the notes about Italian painters were apparently not interesting enough for Hoogewerff to transcribe them all. But consider, for example, Buchelius's list of Florentine painters taken from Leandro Alberti's *Description of Italy*. As such, these notes provide no "new" information, but they acquire some importance if one knows that Buchelius had travelled to Italy, had kept a diary, and had both the Italian and Latin editions of Alberti in his library.⁷ Add to these criticisms the errors in the transcriptions and comments, and it is clear that a new edition is in order.

Interest

The very existence of Buchelius's notes is what makes them of interest. There is simply a lamentable scarcity of writings about Netherlandish art and artists from the Low Countries prior to van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* — in shocking contrast to the situation in Italy in the same period. According to van Mander, Lucas d'Heere had the intention of compiling a collection of artists' lives in verse, but the project came to nothing.⁸ Gerald Geldenhouwer, or Geldenhauwer (1482–1542), may have had the intention of writing a series of lives of illustrious Netherlanders, including

Gossaert, but all that is left is a number of names in manuscript.⁹ Names of famous contemporary artists are also included in two poetic laments by Jean Lemaire de Belges, prompted by the deaths of Louis of Luxembourg, Count of Ligny, and Duke Philibert of Savoy, respectively.¹⁰ In 1565, Dominicus Lampsonius published his brief *Lamberti Lombardi ... vita*, the first monograph of a Netherlandish artist ever, and seven years later he provided the Latin epitaphs of the most important Netherlandish and German artists in the print series published by Hieronymus Cock under the title *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*.¹¹ Hadrianus Junius discussed contemporary artists in the context of his chorography of Holland, published posthumously in 1588, and the Ghent historian Marcus van Vaernewijck included remarks and notices about art and artists in *Den spiegel der Nederlandscher oudtheyt* ("The mirror of Netherlandish antiquity"), first published in 1568.

Buchelius's well-furnished library included the *Schilder-boeck* in the second edition of 1618, Lampsonius's *Life of Lambert Lombard*, and Junius's *Batavia*, and he referenced all three in his notes. His notes also include brief references to Netherlandish artists culled from a wide variety of printed sources, such as a poem and a letter by Janus Secundus addressed to Jan van Scorel,¹² a reference to Scorel, Heemskerck, Dürer and Gossaert as modern Apelleses,¹³ and two letters by Justus Lipsius to Lampsonius, one including a recommendation of Otto van Veen, the other mentioning Goltzius's engraved portrait of the author.¹⁴

Also Buchelius's notes concerning foreign artists give some idea of his wide reading and diligent note making. Like the notes on ancient and Netherlandish artists, they are taken from printed books, primarily those in his own library. Apart from the curious reference to Francisco de Holanda already mentioned, his notes cover Aegidius Periander's poem in praise of Dürer;¹⁵ Poliziano's epitaph of Giotto;¹⁶ the well-known passage on Cimabue and Giotto in Dante's *Pur-*

gatory (IX, ll. 94–96);¹⁷ the one and only reference to Giotto in Platina's *Lives of the Popes*;¹⁸ Janus Pannonius's poem in praise of Mantegna's double portrait of him and Galeotto Marzio da Narni;¹⁹ the mention of Mantegna in the *Opus Macaronicorum* of Merlinus Cocaius (pseudonym of Teofilo Folengo);²⁰ Philippe Desportes's poem on a portrait of Renée de Rieux, the mistress of Henri III of France, by the French court painter Jean Decourt (active 1533–84);²¹ the mention of Titian's Habsburg portraits in Pighius's *Hercules Prodicus*;²² and a reference to Holbein's portrait of Erasmus in Basel in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*²³ – to mention just a few.

Buchelius as a historical source

Hoogewerff was mainly interested in Buchelius's notes because of their historical value. A substantial part of the notes do indeed provide original information on painters, on paintings seen in contemporary collections, and on the prints Buchelius collected or otherwise knew. Most interesting are the remarks on Scorel, which contain information not found in van Mander. "Scorel, an excellent painter, when he had first returned from Italy, strove for sobriety and glory; but when he was approached by others of his craft to be enrolled in the guild, he answered bad-temperedly that with his fame and the great number of his works he would reduce all their earnings to naught, which he did to some degree bring to pass and he did, it is true, make a great profit with the extent of his production, though in doing so he tarnished his reputation. Moreover, he often went to parties ("symposia"), and in doing so, his art deteriorated much."²⁴ Another example is Buchelius's mention of the sad demise of Aertgen van Leyden, who drowned in a canal after having relieved himself. In this case, Buchelius's informant was Johannes de Wit (d. 1622), canon of St Marie in Utrecht, and his information agrees with what van Mander writes about the painter. Buchelius added that he had seen a painting by Aertgen representing the gathering of manna with Bonaventura Vulcanius, professor of Greek at the

University of Leiden.²⁵ Thanks to Hoogewerff's edition this and similar historical information became known, and has found its way into studies of Netherlandish painting, including Hessel Miedema's monumental commentary on van Mander's biographies of Netherlandish painters.

Buchelius as a reader of van Mander

Buchelius's notes are interesting for yet another reason. It turns out that he was a diligent reader of the *Schilder-boeck*, most likely the 1618 edition, which he had in his library. At the end of the "res pictoriae I" we find the first extract, in this case a passage from the chapter on composition ("Van der Ordinanty ende Inventy der Historien") in van Mander's art-theoretical poem, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* ("The foundation of the noble and free art of painting"), concerning compositions with groups, with Tintoretto, and Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* in the Sistine Chapel as examples.²⁶ Elsewhere, Buchelius notes that, for example, one learned to draw in Rome and to paint in Venice, or that the oval and the cross are essential aids in the positioning of the faces.²⁷ As such, these notes are far from spectacular, but they are an important testimony of the reception of the *Schilder-boeck*.²⁸ They also acquire significance if one considers the fact that Buchelius, as a non-artist, is copying notes of an art-analytical nature, which are, moreover, in Dutch.

Writing about art, particularly as a non-professional, presupposes the knowledge of an appropriate vocabulary. This should not be taken for granted, as is borne out by a well-known passage in Petrarch's testament, in which he mentions his small painting ("icona") of the Madonna by Giotto, which he wants to bequeath to Francesco il Vecchio Da Carrara: "The ignorant do not understand the beauty of this panel but the masters of art are stunned by it."²⁹ The professionals, in other words, would be able to judge the beauty (and quality), and they also would be able, unlike the non-professionals, including Petrarch, to explain why Giotto's painting is so beautiful. About two centuries later, however, some

non-professionals, too, would be able to use an art-critical vocabulary to some extent. In the *Life of Lambert Lombard*, Lampsonius evokes a visit by Willem Sagher, or Zagrius, to the painter's studio in Middelburg. After having pointed out a syntactical error ("soloecismus") in the inscription of a painting representing Dido, Zagrius goes on to extol what Pliny had written about the ancient painters in his *Natural history*.³⁰ Thanks to the many printed editions, Pliny's book had become fairly wide-spread, including book XXXV – which is the major ancient source for Greek and Roman painting to survive. In fact, for Northern authors without an artistic background, Pliny was the only readily available Latin source on painting in general. Plinian vocabulary permeates the brief accounts of the major sixteenth-century painters from Holland in Junius's *Batavia*.³¹ Also Lampsonius's vocabulary is clearly shaped by Pliny, as the use of originally Greek terms as "graphice" (painting on panel); "harmoge" (attunement of colours), and "charis" (charm) attests.³² However, one has the impression that Lampsonius was also familiar with the treatise on painting by Alberti, whom he explicitly mentions at the very end of the text.³³ Next to Pliny, Alberti's *On painting* was the only Latin text on painting available; that is, after its first edition in 1540, only to be followed by the *Lamberti Lombardi ... vita* itself in 1565. The latter text must have had a limited circulation, however: in his "life" of the painter, van Mander complains that he could not get hold of a copy.³⁴ In this context it is interesting that Buchelius had Pliny's *Natural history*, Lampsonius's *Vita*, and *On painting* in his library (although he made no reference to the latter in his notes).

Seen against this background, van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* is an enormous leap forward. For the first time in the Low Countries, there was a major book on painting available, not just a modest publication – Lombard's *vita* is a booklet of only 38 pages, Alberti's text in the *editio princeps* counts 120 pages –, written by a professional, and in the vernacular at that. Nowhere else could Buchelius have read such expert commentary on

composition, or qualifications of Netherlandish painters, such as: "Marinus van Romerswael, rou in zijn schilderen, maer goet van ordonnantie" ("Marinus van Reymerswaele, rough in his painting, but good in composition"). In this case, Buchelius picked out the two most relevant qualifications from van Mander.³⁵

Buchelius's own qualification of Abraham Bloemaert goes a step further: "Of great fame with all, particularly foreigners, whose art one would in vain try to praise with words, because we see his works and deeds, so excellent that they are beyond reprehension, and because they could be compared with works from Antiquity. He is rich and varied in invention, charming in disposition ("dispositio") – what they with an art term ("artis vocabulo") call 'ordinantie' – lively in the distinction of color, and for the rest in all qualities most perfect in the art of painting."³⁶ This passage is not only interesting because Buchelius knew Bloemaert personally, but also because of the vocabulary and the difference between Latin and the vernacular. Unlike van Mander, Buchelius preferred Latin, in which case it became important to find the right terms. Buchelius surely knew the term "dispositio" from rhetoric, but he could have read it in Pliny as well.³⁷ At any rate he remarks that "they" (the painters, I presume) call it "ordinantie" – the very term in which he showed an interest earlier.

In this and similar cases, van Mander's influence possibly goes even further. I suspect that Buchelius tried to find a Latin equivalent for the kind of appreciation of Bloemaert that he found in van Mander's biography of the painter, such as an "excellently beautiful *Banquet of the gods*," which is "well composed and painted and an exceptionally good work" ("wel gheordineert, en gheschildert wesende, en een treflijck goet werck"), or some small pieces in the collection of Jacques Razet in Amsterdam, including a skull with additional elements, "very well executed and colored" ("seer wel gehandelt en ghecoloreert"), and a painting with shells in the foreground and Perseus freeing Andromeda in the background,

which is “amazingly subtle in coloring and well executed” (“wonder aerdigh gecoloreert, en wel gedaen”). And in general Bloemaert is “very experienced in all aspects of art” (“in alle deelen der Const seer ervaren”).³⁸

Much earlier, back in 1591, Buchelius wrote another qualification of Bloemaert in his *Diarium*: “Abraham Bloemaert, of Utrecht, shows himself daily more adept in his art. For his constant dedication gives variation to his painting and he has given his heart to the achieving of trueness to nature in painting and his watchfulness will perfect the work,” followed by the mention of a number of paintings.³⁹ The wording is much more general than in the later passage. The difference is, I would like to argue, due to the *Schilder-boeck*.

Conclusion

Thanks to Buchelius’s “res pictoriae,” we gain an excellent insight into what an erudite Dutchman of around 1600 could know about art and artists – knowledge not necessarily only derived from the

vernacular “Kunstliteratur” that we value today. Buchelius also included important information on artists from hearsay or named informants. Finally, his notes are important on account of the critical vocabulary he uses, both in Latin and Dutch, and in the interaction between the two. If I see it correctly, Buchelius shows how writing about art and artists gradually became established among laymen – at least in those circles in which it was considered meaningful to be knowledgeable about art and artists. Van Mander’s *Schilder-boeck* was instrumental in this development. Socially as well, Buchelius belonged to the art lovers, whom van Mander always considered as one of the principal audiences of his *Schilder-boeck*. Not all those “Constbeminders” took to writing, however, whereas Buchelius did – and this very fact makes him special, not only in his own period, but also in the light of contemporary practice: as an antiquarian and a “non-artist art critic,” Buchelius is, after all, a predecessor of the honoree and the contributors to this volume.

1 The following text is based on a paper presented at the symposium *Kunst op schrift: kunsthistoriografie en -theorie in de Lage Landen gedurende de 16de eeuw* (University of Utrecht, 14 March 2014).

2 On Alberti as a practitioner of painting, see recently D.R.E. Wright, *Il De pictura di Leon Battista Alberti e i suoi lettori, 1435-1600*, Florence 2010, p. 164. On Alberti’s self-portrait cast in bronze (National Gallery of Art, Washington), see L. Syson, “Alberti e la ritrattistica,” in J. Rykwert and A. Engel (eds.), *Leon Battista Alberti*, Milan 1994, pp. 46-53.

3 G.J. Hoogewerff and J.Q. van Regteren Altena (eds.), *Arnoldus Buchelius “Res pictoriae”: aantekeningen over kunstenaars en kunstwerken voorkomende in zijn Diarium, Res pictoriae, Notae quotidianae, en Descriptio urbis Ultrajectinae (1583-1639)*, The Hague 1928.

4 The work, which remained in manuscript, has been made available on the website of Het Utrechts Archief in exemplary fashion: www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/handschriften/buchelius/monumenta. For Buchelius as an antiquarian, see S. Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht: oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hilversum 2001. For the man, his writings, and his beliefs in general, see the fine study by J. Pollmann, *Religious choice in the Dutch Republic: the reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641)*, Manchester & New York 1999.

5 Cf. Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 33: “De Francisco Hollando pictore. Recend. tom. 2, pa. 55.” Hoogewerff could not identify “Recend.” My thanks to Teresa Soley for suggesting that the author is André de Resende (1500-73), an important Portuguese antiquarian. A posthumous edition of his works (*L. Andreae Resendii Eborensis scriptorum nunc simul editorum tomus alter*, Cologne 1600) does indeed contain on p. 55 a reference to Francisco de Holanda.

6 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 84.

7 Utrecht University Library, Ms. 1781, fol. 23r: “Leander in Florentie meminit Jotti, Masonis, Jo Giambur [Cimabue], Stephani simiac [Stefano fiorentino], Thaddei Gaddi, Jo: Dominicani [Fra Angelico], philippini [fra Filippino Lippi], Bartholom: dominicani [fra Bartholomeo], Lorenzi Vintij, Alexandri Boticelli, philippi Brandulini [sic: fra Filippo Lippi?] pictorum.” The wrong name for Leonardo da Vinci occurs in both editions of Alberti that Buchelius owned (Italian edition, Bologna 1550, fol. 42v; Latin edition, Cologne 1567, p. 70). The contents of Buchelius’s library are known thanks to the auction catalogue compiled after his death: *Catalogus librorum clarissimi viri D. Arnoldi Buchelii, J.C.^{ff.}*, Utrecht 1642. Buchelius’s *Iter italicum* is discussed in a number of publications by Jan L. de Jong, including *The power and the glorification: Papal pretensions and the art of*

propaganda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, University Park 2013, chapter 6. Buchelius's text is available in an out-dated edition: R.A. Lanciani (ed.), *A. Buchellius: iter Italicum*, Rome 1901.

8 Karel van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 198r. A number of poems on artists were, however, included in his *Hof en boomgaard der poësten* (1565). Modern edition: Lucas d'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard der poësten*, ed. W. Waterschoot, Zwolle 1969. The poems have been discussed by J. Becker, "Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lucas de Heere," *Simiolus* 6 (1972-73), pp. 113-27.

9 J. Prinsen J.Lz (ed.), *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus gevolgd door den herdruk van eenige zijner werken*, Amsterdam 1901, pp. 72-73.

10 P. Jodogne, *Jean Lemaire de Belges, écrivain franco-bourguignon*, Brussels 1972, pp. 204-54. Partial English translation in W. Stechow, *Northern Renaissance art 1400-1600 (Sources and documents)*, Englewood Cliffs (NJ) 1966, pp. 26-29.

11 The images, the texts and translations can be conveniently consulted at www.courtauld.org.uk/netherlandish-canon/lampsonius/image-tombstone/index.html

12 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 28; J.P. Guépin, *De drie dichtende broers Grudius, Marlius, Secundus, in brieven, reisverslagen en gedichten*, 2 vols., Groningen 2000, vol. 1, pp. 151-52 (Dutch); vol. 2, pp. 542-43 (Latin).

13 Antonius Hovaeus, *Zuermondus, vel de temporis nostri statu, ac conditione dialogus*, Leiden 1564 [not 1546 as Hoogewerff claims], fol. 40r.

14 From 31 May 1584 and 19 June 1587, respectively. Modern edition: M.A. Nauwelaerts, with the assistance of S. Sué (eds.), *Iusti Lipsi epistolae, pars II: 1584-1587*, Brussels 1983, pp. 125-26, nr. 352; pp. 369-70, nr. 546.

15 Ms. 1781, fol. 2v (omitted by Hoogewerff): "De Durero Periand. in Germ. Artis Apelleae constans honor unus haberis, / Cum magna patria nomina magna trahens / Eloquio clarus scripto DURERE probate, / Europae magnum diceris esse decus." See Aegidius Periander, *Germania*, Frankfurt 1567, p. 18.

16 Ms. 1781, fol. 3v (omitted by Hoogewerff). See *Tertius tomus operum Angeli Politiani*, Lyon 1537, p. 340. According to the 1642 catalogue, Buchelius owned two volumes of Poliziano's *Opera*. However, he may have found the text in a variety of publications, including Nathan Chytraeus, *Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae*, Herborn 1594, p. 139 (with thanks to Jan de Jong for the reference). Giotto's monument with Poliziano's verses is in Florence Cathedral.

17 Ms. 1781, fol. 7r (omitted by Hoogewerff).

18 Ms. 1781, fol. 28r (omitted by Hoogewerff). Buchelius owned two editions of Platina's *Lives*. The reference to Giotto is in the *Life* of Benedict XII. See for this passage: M.V. Schwarz and P. Theis, *Giottus pictor, I: Giottos Leben*, Vienna, Cologne & Weimar 2004, p. 329, nr. 11b4.

19 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 29; Ms. 1781, fol. 7r (omitted by Hoogewerff). See *Iani Pannonij Quinuecclesiensis Episcopi ... opera*, Basel 1552,

pp. 232-34. Buchelius had this edition in his library. For a discussion and an English translation of the poem, see R. Lightbown, *Mantegna, with a complete catalogue of the paintings, drawings and prints*, Oxford 1986, pp. 459-60.

20 Ms. 1871, fol. 7r (omitted by Hoogewerff). See *Opus Merlini Coccaii poetæ mantuani Macaronicorum*, Toscolano 1521, fol. 143v. A modern facsimile edition: A. Nuovo, G. Bernardi Perini and R. Signorini (eds.), *Edizione "Toscolanense" (1521) delle opere macaroniche di Teofilo Folengo*, Mantua & Bassano del Grappa 1994. My thanks to Jan de Jong for identifying this source.

21 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 32. Modern edition: Philippe Desportes, *Diverses Amours et autres œuvres meslées*, ed. V.E. Graham, Geneva & Paris 1963, p. 156. Buchelius owned an edition of Desportes's works (Avignon, 1577), which I could not trace bibliographically.

22 Ms. 1781, fol. 6r (omitted by Hoogewerff). See Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, *Hercules Prodicus*, Antwerp 1587, p. 235. Buchelius owned a copy of this book.

23 Ms. 1781, fol. 28r: "Holbeen pictor celebris cuius meminit Munsterus in Basel de effigie Erasmi p. 407." The reference is to Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia universalis*, Basel 1552, p. 407, a book that Buchelius owned. Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 86 read "Munstenius" instead of "Munsterus," and understandably could not identify the author.

24 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 29. English translation in Karel van Mander, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters*, H. Miedema (ed.), 6 vols., Doornspijk 1994-99, vol. 3, pp. 268-69 (here expanded and modified). See also I. Zinman, "From Ausonia to Batavia: the artists of Hadrianus Junius reconsidered," *Simiolus* 37 (2013-14), pp. 204-26, esp. p. 223.

25 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 83. Van Mander, *The lives*, cit. (note 24), vol. 4, p. 5.

26 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 40: "Het is 't gebruyck geweest van Tintoretten t'ordonneren met groepen ende knopen, ende Angeli Oordeel [Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*] is oock veel met hoopkens geordonneert; maer doch besmetten enige sijn eere, omdat hij op de beelden hem heeft verlopen; dan hij heeft meer gelet op de ordonnantie, 't welck men moet te beste houden, siende dit werck al vol const doorgoten: soo veel acten verscheyden van fatsoene der naecten mach men daar spooren. Bonarota [Buonarroti] liet de geesten in sijn Oordeel bekenen, om wat sonde elcx ter helle most varen, ende dat om 't geene d'affecten was aengaende noyt geen schilder voor hem en hadde bestaen, ende dat hij sulcx conste bespien voor het omgaen van yders leven." Copied from chapter 5, on the composition and invention of narrative scenes in van Mander's poem. See Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, cit. (note 8), fol. 16v; Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, ed. and trans. H. Miedema, 2 vols., Utrecht 1973, vol. 1, pp. 132-33.

27 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 73: "Te Roomen leert men teyckenen ende te Venetien schilderen"; "Het eyront ende cruys seer noodich te

verstaen int stellen der tronien." Copied from Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, cit. (note 8), fols. 7v and 8v; Van Mander, *Den grondt*, cit. (note 26), pp. 96-97; pp. 100-01.

28 For the reception of the *Schilder-boeck*, see Van Mander, *The lives*, cit. (note 24), vol. 2, pp. 24-26.

29 T.E. Mommsen (ed.), *Petrarch's testament*, Ithaca (NY) 1957, pp. 78-81: "Et predicto igitur domino meo Paduano, quia et ipse per Dei gratiam non eget et ego nihil aliud habeo dignum se, dimitto tabulam meam sive iconam beate Virginis Marie, operis Iotti pictoris egregii, que mihi ab amico meo Michaelae Vannis de Florentia missa est, cuius pulchritudinem ignorantes non intelligunt, magistri autem artis stupent; hanc iconam ipsi domino meo lego, ut ipsa virgo benedicta sit propitia apud filium suum Iesum Christum."

30 Dominicus Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi apud Ebu-rones pictoris celeberrimi vita*, Bruges 1565, p. 6; J. Hubaux and J. Puraye, "Dominique Lampson: Lamberti Lombardi ... vita: traduction et notes," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 18 (1949), pp. 53-78, esp. p. 63. Lampsonius wrongly refers to the man as Michaël Zagrius. See *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 6, Leiden 1924, col. 1215 s.v. "Sagher, Wilhelmus"; G. Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard: Renaissance en humanisme te Luik*, Antwerp 1990, p. 167; E.H. Wouk, "Reclaiming the antiquities of Gaul: Lambert Lombard and the history of northern art," *Simiolus* 36 (2012), pp. 35-65, esp. p. 38.

31 Zinman, op. cit. (note 24), pp. 211-20.

32 Pliny, *Natural history*, XXXV, 77: "graphice"; *ibid.*, XXXV, 29: "harmoge"; *ibid.*, XXXV, 79: "charis."

33 Lampsonius, *Vita*, cit. (note 30), p. 10, uses the terms "copia" and "varietas" in a way quite similar to Alberti (*De pictura*, II, par. 40). "Copia" and "varietas" also occur in the *Natural history*, but never, as far as I could ascertain, in connection with composition in art. See also J. Becker, "Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Domenicus Lampsonius," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973), pp. 45-61, esp. 48.

34 Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, cit. (note 8), fol. 22or.

35 Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 39. Cf. Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, cit. (note 8), p. 261: "Het gherucht wil qualijck laten verswijgen eenen constighen Schilder, gheheeten Marijn van Romerswalen, oft Marijn de Seeu. Sijn wercken zijn veel geweest in Zeelandt. Hy hadde een veerdige handelinghe op de nieuw manier, doch meer rouw als net, by dat icker van heb ghesien. Daer is tot Wijntgis te Middelborgh van hem eenen Tollenaer, sittende in zijn Contoor, wesende wel geordineert, en fraey ghedaen." Van Mander, *The lives*, cit. (note 24), vol. 1, p. 305: "Fame will hardly permit that one keeps silent about an art-full painter called Marijn van Romerswalen or Marijn de Seeu. There were many of his works in Zeeland. He had a rapid handling in the new manner, but more rough than smooth as far as I have seen. There is a *Tax Gatherer* sitting in his office with Wijntgis in Middelburg, well designed and handsomely executed."

36 Ms. 1781, fol. 22v. Buchelius "*Res pictoriae*," cit. (note 3), pp. 74-75: "Abr. Blommart . - Magni nominis apud omnes precipue exteros cuius artem frustra verbis conetur aliquis extollere, quod opera eius et facta videamus, tam excellentia ut omnia reprehensione sint maiora et quod cum prisca saeculi operibus componi possint. Inventione est uber et varius, dispositione - quod artis vocabulo "ordinantie" vocant - venustus, colorum distinctione vividus, caeterum omnibus in pictoria dotibus absolutissimus" (corrected from the ms.).

37 Quintilian, in Book VII of his *Institutio oratoria* deals extensively with "dispositio." "Dispositio" in connection with painting is briefly mentioned in the *Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 79. English translation in J.J. Pollitt, *The art of Greece 1400-31 B.C. (Sources and documents)*, Englewood Cliffs (NJ) 1965, p. 164.

38 Van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, cit. (note 8), fol. 297v-298r; Van Mander, *The lives*, cit. (note 24), vol. 1, pp. 449-50.

39 *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 94 (adapted); Hoogewerff and van Regteren Altena, op. cit. (note 3), p. 31, note 3.