

ABSTRACT

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Karel van Mander famously characterized Goltzius as a “Proteus or Vertumnus of art”, a turn of phrase that has been taken to refer to his virtuosic skill at engraving in the styles of all the best masters. Often overlooked is the fact that Goltzius also conspicuously exercised his abilities as an iconographer in his early career as a print publisher. Between 1582, when he started his Haarlem print studio, and 1590, when he departed for Italy, Goltzius used classical rhetorical methods to construct innovative compositions. He thus promoted not only his skillful hand, but also his inventive and resourceful mind. This thesis considers Goltzius’s intellectual circles in Haarlem during this critical professional period, presents several case studies of his inventive iconographies, and concludes with two new interpretations of mythological artworks based on the artist’s rarely-acknowledged use of iconographic manuals and emblem books.

HENDRICK GOLTZIUS'S PROTEAN ICONOGRAPHY: 1582-1590

By

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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INTRODUCTION

In 1604, Karel van Mander famously characterized Hendrick Goltzius as a “Proteus or Vertumnus of art,” a turn of phrase which has been taken to refer to the artist’s virtuosic skill at engraving in the styles of all the best masters. Even during his earliest years Goltzius won renown for his incredible ability to mimic the styles of the painters whose images he engraved. Between 1582, when he started his Haarlem print studio, and 1590, when he departed for Italy, Goltzius established a successful firm with several students and continued his stylistic evolution. Often overlooked is the fact that Goltzius also conspicuously exercised his abilities as an iconographer in his early career as a print inventor and publisher. He put many of his experimental stylistic innovations to use representing similarly innovative iconographies, thus promoting not only his skillful hand but also his inventive and resourceful mind.

By the early 1580s, Hendrick Goltzius had already established himself as the preferred engraver of designs by artists such as Anthonie Blocklandt, Joannes Stradanus, and Dirck Barendsz, distinguishing himself as one of the most skilled engravers of Philip Galle’s renowned Antwerp publishing house. In 1582, no longer content to issue engravings only after others’ designs, Goltzius established a print publishing business of his own in Haarlem. He elevated himself from a mere (albeit masterful) *executor* to a creative *inventor*, one who was free to design, engrave, and issue his own images or to delegate such engraving to students. The trickle of prints and series labeled “*HG invent*” before 1582 suddenly expanded to a torrent. Whereas Antwerp printers commissioned

Goltzius to engrave others' designs earlier in his career, by 1585 he was calling upon those houses (e.g. the Collaert brothers of Antwerp) to engrave designs in his name.

This evolution, which Larry Silver has aptly described as one from *sculptor* and *executor* to *emulator* and *inventor*, was simultaneously made possible by the artist's new independent studio, and also necessary for the commercial success of the same.¹ It was essential for Goltzius to demonstrate his facility in compositional invention in order to establish a print publishing firm in Haarlem that could rival the great Antwerp houses. The savvy artist was eager to publicize his intellectual acumen along with with his engraving acuity. In 1582 as a parting gift to his employer, Goltzius engraved a portrait of Philip Galle (Figure 1) accompanied by Latin verses composed by Janus Dousa and inscribed in ornate calligraphy.² Goltzius showed Galle standing on a porch before an idyllic landscape, rolling open a print on a desk next to a prominent burin. Goltzius's print is as much a portrait of the Galle himself as it is a portrait of a noble engraver. The verses complicate the image, however. Significantly, Goltzius describes his burin hand as not only *artifex*, but also *erudita* – not only skilled, but also learned. His skill, Goltzius implies, is not only the craftsman-like trade of printmaking, but also the intellectual gift of art-making. The portrait fittingly punctuates a new stage in Goltzius's career: a thankful homage to a mentor (“Goltzius’s hand, blessed by Galle,”) and a simultaneous declaration of his mastery of the medium (“Galle’s face, blessed by Goltzius.”) Goltzius gifted several copies of the portrait print as well as the copperplate itself to Galle, further establishing his intellectual bona fides by emulating the humanist tradition of portrait

¹ Silver, “Imitation and Emulation: Goltzius as Evolutionary Reproductive Engraver,” 74.

² Strauss, *Goltzius*, no. 156.

exchange between friends.³ Galle, for his part, treasured this print, distributing copies to his friends and family and ordering memorial impressions to be printed after his death.⁴

As Goltzius developed his studio, he also cultivated an intellectual circle in Haarlem. Most prominent was the so-called Haarlem Academy, more accurately described as an ongoing artistic and intellectual collaboration in the late 1580s between Goltzius, van Mander, and the painter Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem. Goltzius extended his artistic and intellectual horizons with the aid of van Mander, establishing a relationship with the Prague painter Bartholomäus Spranger that would revolutionize Goltzius's style after 1585 and introduce the Haarlem engraver to the Prague court of Rudolf II. To be sure, Goltzius cultivated this imperial relationship to gain international prestige, however Rudolf II's artistic attitudes probably appealed to Goltzius, too; the emperor officially recognized painted and graphic art in Prague as liberal arts alongside poetry and music, elevating the status of visual artists.

Spranger and the Rudolfine court were not Goltzius's sole source for innovative inventions of classical subjects, however. Goltzius also inculcated himself in the local circle of humanist scholarship in Haarlem, forming professional relationships (and even close friendships) with members of the Haarlem Latin School, the city's *rederijkerskamers*, or chambers of rhetoric, and neo-Latinist scholars such as Franco Estius and Cornelius Schonaeus.⁵ Many of the prints issued from the Goltzius studio bear verses signed by these poets. Previously assumed to be perfunctory accompaniments to

³ Kok, "Artists Portrayed by Their Friends," 164.

⁴ Sellink, "Een Teuggevonden Laatste Oordeel Van Hendrick Goltzius: Goltzius's Relatie Met De Antwerpse Uitgever Philips Galle," 155, 157.

⁵ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon Van Haarlem*, 297–319.

the prints, Doris Krystof has demonstrated that many of these verses subtly and intricately related to their coupled images.⁶ Some even took on meaning beyond their prints: it was in fact Schonaeus, not van Mander, who first compared Goltzius to Proteus in his inscription for Goltzius's *Life of the Virgin* series from 1594-5.⁷

Goltzius, argues Krystof, followed principles of rhetoric in many of his compositions, specifically the theory of “decorum,” which dictated that the form of expression must match its content. The Latin verses composed by members of his Haarlem circle were often integral to the rhetorical argument of these artworks. In a similar vein, Walter Melion has described how Goltzius conspicuously incorporated principles of rhetorical imitation in his mature artistic practice in order to elevate his prints and drawings from craft to fine art, most unmistakably so in his virtuosic *Life of the Virgin* series.⁸

Melion and Krystof predominantly focus on Goltzius's virtuosic stylistic emulations after 1590. I will argue that Goltzius also practiced these rhetorical methods when shaping iconographic compositions during the critical period between 1582 and 1590 when he was building his reputation as an artistic *inventor*. Following conventions of traditional rhetorical invention and imitation, Goltzius mined multiple visual and textual sources in order to assemble novel compositions that would best demonstrate his iconographic as well as his technical acumen. Likely working in close conjunction with his scholarly Haarlem circle, Goltzius modeled the learned practice of the inventive

⁶ Krystof, *Werben Für Die Kunst*.

⁷ Melion, “Theory and Practice: Reproductive Engravings in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands,” 62.

⁸ Melion, “Karel Van Mander's ‘Life of Goltzius’.”

engraver he famously emulated and sought to surpass in his own work: Albrecht Dürer, who often worked in tandem with notable Renaissance humanists such as Erasmus of Rotterdam and Marsilio Ficino when designing his most iconographically complex prints.⁹

Chapter 1 presents several case studies of this intellectual engagement with classical texts and their modern scholars. I will review prior literature that has studied the relationship between the texts and Goltzius's unorthodox graphic designs derived from them. Examples influenced by Goltzius earliest iconographic training include his *Ways and Means to Fortune* derived from Cicero and his cycle of the *Four Seasons* informed by Ovid. Other novel inventions on classical themes include his groundbreaking 1586 *Roman Heroes* series derived from Livy's histories, and two of his early portrayals of Terence's maxim "Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus Freezes". Finally, I will consider his incomplete designs from 1588-90 for illustrations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and his related *Judgment of Midas* print of 1590. Each of these examples illustrate Goltzius's dual pursuit of novel compositional inventions rooted in careful investigation of classical sources, depicted in elegant, alluring, and modern visual styles.

Chapter 2 presents two new interpretations of Goltzius artworks that demonstrate his rarely-acknowledged use of Renaissance emblem books and iconographic manuals. In 1588-89 in his most experimental print series, Goltzius depicted seven pagan deities in chiaroscuro woodcut. The iconography of this series has proven frustratingly impenetrable, provoking several varied explanations of the overarching scheme behind the series. Building on the most recent attempt to illuminate Goltzius's intent, I propose

⁹ A relationship most famously discussed in Panofsky and Saxl, "Dürer's *Melencolia I*."

that the humanistically-inclined engraver structured this series' unorthodox iconography from a close reading of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentili*.

I also offer a completely new interpretation of an iconographically obscure large figure drawing from 1586, here identified as a picture of the Greek goddess and allegorical figure Nemesis. This relatively obscure figure from the pagan pantheon is scarcely represented in the early modern history of art, one prominent exception being a 1500-1501 engraving by Albrecht Dürer. Rather than model his Nemesis directly from Dürer's prototype, Goltzius instead drew on two popular sixteenth-century iconographic texts: Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* and Vincenzo Cartari's iconographic manual, *Imagini de i dei de gli antichi*. Goltzius creatively synthesized the divergent iconographies offered by these texts, creating a Nemesis wholly different from Dürer's rendition. In this drawing, as in all of the works to be considered, Goltzius conspicuously demonstrated his ability to cull original subjects and original iconographic solutions from numerous artistic and textual sources. He thus visibly surpassed his established identity as a reproductive engraver, promoting his not only his protean style, but his protean iconography as well.

CHAPTER 1: GOLTZIUS 1582-1590: A SELF-FASHIONING ARTIST-INTELLECTUAL

Goltzius did not operate in an artistic vacuum after founding his independent firm, but continued to develop his style on the shoulders of giants. Goltzius did not develop his novel iconographies from the 1580s in an intellectual vacuum, either. Unique as his artistic talents were, he was by no means a self-made iconographer. Even late in his career, long after he had traded the burin for the paintbrush, Goltzius turned to friends to solicit suggestions for suitable paintings.¹⁰ Goltzius's intellectual circle had a profound impact on the iconography of his prints, print designs, and drawings in the 1580s. Understanding the constellation of humanist thinkers and their practical interaction with Goltzius's art will help to ground the subsequent exploration of a selection of Goltzius's mythological inventions from this critical decade.

In addition to his artistic partnership with Karel van Mander and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Goltzius fostered close professional relationships with humanist scholars in Haarlem whom he would enlist to compose verses for many of the prints his studio issued. Bartholomäus Spranger and the stylistics of the court of Rudolf II also deeply affected Goltzius in this decade. Spranger's drawings and paintings provided Goltzius a decidedly current and fashionable style for rendering the human form and composing figural scenes, and spurred Goltzius to develop innovative engraving techniques. Rudolfine art also attracted Goltzius because the artists in the Prague court

¹⁰ In a letter from 1605 Goltzius asked the Amsterdam goldsmith Jan van Weely to suggest some Old Testament stories to serve as subjects for a painting; Nichols, "Hendrick Goltzius: Documents", "10 June 1605."

exemplified the artist-intellectual identity that Goltzius himself so ardently pursued. Aligning himself with the Prague court style and artistic philosophy had commercial benefits for Goltzius, too. In this decade he began to cultivate the relationship with Rudolf II that would eventually earn him the honor of an imperial privilege (a kind of copyright) in 1595.¹¹ Moreover, the learned community in Haarlem admired the style of courtly Mannerism and its emphasis on antique or Romanist subjects; by linking himself to the court style Goltzius developed his local audience as well.¹²

In this chapter I will demonstrate that Goltzius practiced an artistic version of literary invention and emulation, by which an author builds a foundation for his work through selective quotation of previous masters while conspicuously transforming these quotations in order to create an original composition that surpasses its predecessors. Goltzius conspicuously transformed both content and form in this decade. When generating a design for a subject with an already-long visual history, Goltzius would not only modify its iconography, but also present his novel reformulation in a modern visual style, combining novel iconographic solutions with new visual styles and engraving techniques. He conspicuously exercised his inventive hand in this way so to appeal to the learned circles he frequented, who would appreciate his learned iconographic modifications as well as his innovative visual presentation.

¹¹ Ibid., “12 April 1595.”

¹² Acton, “Hendrick Goltzius and Rudolfine Mannerism in the Graphic Arts,” 30.

Dirck Coornhert and Maarten van Heemskerck

Goltzius's iconographic process in 1582-1590 must be understood in relation to his tutelage under Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert. Coornhert engraved designs and paintings by Maarten van Heemskerck, however he was also a theological free-thinker and prolific writer. He frequently generated complex moralizing iconographies based on his own writings for Heemskerck to visualize.¹³ Goltzius never met van Heemskerck in person (the painter died in 1574 in Haarlem while Goltzius was studying with the exiled Coornhert in Xanten), but he did see the painter's work.¹⁴ Van Heemskerck also worked in close in concert with Hadrianus Junius, a polymathic Latin poet, philologist, and historian most noted for his 1588 chronicle of Holland, *Batavia*. Van Heemskerck derived many of his subjects from antiquity, often mining classical texts as well as mediating emblem books and iconographic manuals. The partnership between van Heemskerck and Junius appears to have been especially close. Ilja Veldman has suggested that the author even shared his unpublished manuscripts with the painter; van Heemskerck replicated in his 1561 painting of *Momus criticizing the creations of the gods* a number of unorthodox elements that could only have originated from Junius, whose version of the story would only be published four years later in his 1565 *Emblemata*.¹⁵

¹³ Veldman, *Maarten Van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism*, 56–57.

¹⁴ Ampzing in his *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland* adds a parenthetical anecdote when describing van Heemskerck's *St. Luke Altarpiece*, relating that Goltzius was once seen inspecting it from atop a ladder; Nichols, "Hendrick Goltzius: Documents", "1628"; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, chap. 1, note 8.

¹⁵ Veldman, *Maarten Van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism*, 99–102.

Van Heemskerck's and Coornhert's influence on Goltzius in this critical period cannot be overestimated. He took them as a point of departure for the broad themes and detailed iconography in his own work. Yet Goltzius did not strictly imitate or copy either of these earlier masters after 1582. I will consider two print series that illustrate how Goltzius derived and transformed certain iconographic themes from van Heemskerck to create strikingly different artworks. Goltzius also fostered the same kinds of working relationships with contemporary scholars as did van Heemskerck and Coornhert. While he shared their enthusiasm for classical iconography informed by humanist study, the preferred methods of humanist scholarship had changed between van Heemskerck's and Goltzius's generation. Therefore even as Goltzius emulated van Heemskerck's iconographic process, his artistic results stood apart.

The Ways and Means to Fortune

Goltzius's first publication from his new studio was a four-print allegorical series called *The Ways and Means to Fortune*, also known as *The Rewards of Labor, Industry, Practice, and Art* (Figure 2-Figure 5). He inscribed this series with an advertisement not only for his new role as an inventor, but for the young firm that published it: "*Henricus Goltzius inuēt et sculptor, impressum Harlemi.*" This series, combined with his *Allied Virtues* prints and an engraving after a Blocklandt painting from the same year, formed a foundational inventory of stock series for his nascent firm.¹⁶ If Goltzius's portrait of Philip Galle was a none-too-subtle announcement of his new professional independence, *The Ways and Means to Fortune* was a similarly bold statement of the intellectual artistic

¹⁶ Kok, "Hendrick Goltzius: Engraver, Designer, and Publisher 1582-1600," 165.

vision Goltzius would be able to realize in the coming decade with that independence. The series is a complex depiction of the intellectual process underpinning his artistic practice; a pointed subject for an inaugural print series.¹⁷ The prints comprise an allegorical diagram of the theoretical principles and practical labors that an artist must follow to find success. Two personifications, male and female, are paired across four prints: labor pursued with diligence (Figure 2), art refined by practice (Figure 3), honor rewarded with wealth (Figure 4), and repose with a statue of Terminus (Figure 5).

Doris Krystof has demonstrated that the themes of the first three prints derive from Cicero's *De Oratore*, a treatise on the methods and moral application of oratory and rhetoric. Though orators are born with an innate genius, writes Cicero, they must perfect this gift through both practical experience (*usus*) and educated skills or art (*ars*), and maintain this skill through industrious labor (*labor* and *diligentia*), for which they can gain both honor and fortune (*opulentia*).¹⁸ Goltzius recasts these quoted themes to suit the idiom of the visual arts: in the second print he depicts *ars* guiding *usus* in the practice of draftsmanship amidst the books and implements of the artist. The verses accompanying these prints clarify that Goltzius's subject is not spoken rhetoric, but visual "*ars*" or "*consten*". From *Labor and Industry*: "When Labor is paired with Industry, Art also brings forth ingenious finds." From *Practice and Art*: "He who practices the arts lovingly and with care, will gain much praise and pure gold."¹⁹ The series boldly argues that Ciceronian methods can be applied practice of visual art. The implied message is clear:

¹⁷ Krystof, *Werben Für Die Kunst*, 26–50; Müller, *Die Masken Der Schönheit*, cat. 3.1-4; Leeflang, *Goltzius*, cat. 10.1-4.

¹⁸ Cicero, *De Oratore* I.4-15, II.147-150; cited in Krystof, *Werben Für Die Kunst*, 30–31.

¹⁹ Translated in Leeflang, *Goltzius*, cat. 10.

Goltzius's engraving firm is not to be considered an operation of manual laborers, but rather one of intellectuals who, with this series, have declared their intent to create "ingenious finds", or new and innovative kinds of art.

Despite Goltzius's assertive self-identification as "inventor" of *The Ways and Means to Fortune*, the series is substantially indebted to van Heemskerck's 1572 series *The Rewards of Labor and Industry*.²⁰ Van Heemskerck portrayed the personification of Labor as a peasant man, following him through a life married to the personification of Diligence (Figure 6) until he finds his final reward in the love of Christ (Figure 7).²¹ Goltzius quotes the hoe, spurs, and whip from van Heemskerck's personification, and also adopts the didactic labels identifying each figure. Goltzius also engraved the inscriptions in multiple languages like van Heemskerck's inscriptions. However Goltzius changed the moralizing message of van Heemskerck's series. He transformed van Heemskerck's intricately-clad figures into sensuous nudes, recasting the stentorian personifications as erotically intertwined bodies. Goltzius has also traded van Heemskerck's emblems of physical labor for those of intellectual and artistic labor. The humble physical rewards Heemskerck's Labor receives are, moreover, a stark contrast to the jewels and crowns of Goltzius's *Honor and Fortune*.

Goltzius's fourth and final print also alluded to van Heemskerck's model. To close his series, Heemskerck quite literally joined his figure Labor with a rope to Christ on the cross to allegorize the heavenly reward for a life of diligent work. In his closing print, Goltzius also alluded to the well-deserved repose at the end of life, noting in the

²⁰ Krystof, *Werben Für Die Kunst*, 31–32.

²¹ Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence," 230–232.

inscription, “The spirit of mortals is sick with care to be able to be sure of eternal rest.”²² Instead of the crucified Christ, however, Goltzius paired his personification with a statue of Terminus, the classical god of borders. Goltzius’s Terminus is a clear transformation of van Heemskerck’s crucified Christ figure; Goltzius endows his herm with a powerfully-defined musculature that visually mimics van Heemskerck’s similarly-muscled Christ. Though Terminus appears nowhere in van Heemskerck’s *Rewards of Labor and Industry*, the statue can be found in yet another van Heemskerck artwork, his *Saint Luke Painting the Madonna* of 1532 (Figure 8).²³ Yet the whole of Goltzius’s quotations are more than the sum of their parts, for the statue of Terminus provides a key to the overarching message of *The Ways and Means for Fortune*. Goltzius transforms van Heemskerck’s Christian allegory into a mythological one by including the classical herm. More importantly, Goltzius sets up a significant response to the Ciceronian references in the first three prints. The statue of Terminus invokes another intellectual giant, albeit one from the early sixteenth-century: Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, who took Terminus as his personal emblem and thus humbly acknowledged that even his vast knowledge could not cross the ultimate boundary of death.²⁴

It is curious that Goltzius would choose to invoke Erasmus in a print series that otherwise closely quotes Ciceronian ideals. In his 1528 *Dialogus Ciceronianus* Erasmus critiqued his overzealous contemporaries for pursuing a strict Ciceronianism that strenuously avoided using any construction, poetic style, or even any words Cicero

²² Translated in Leeflang, *Goltzius*, cat. 10.4.

²³ Healy, “Terminus: Crossing Boundaries,” 20.

²⁴ Leeflang, *Goltzius*, 46. For more on the history of Erasmus’s emblem, see Rowlands, “Terminus, the Device of Erasmus of Rotterdam.”

himself did not use. Through a satirical dialogue between a slavish Ciceronian and two skeptics, Erasmus pointed out the contradiction in modern authors limiting themselves to Cicero's words exclusively: to do so prohibited the rhetorical decorum (using language appropriate to one's content and audience) that Cicero so prized. "Since the entire scene of human activity has been transformed," notes one of Erasmus's skeptics, "the only speaker who can respond to it appropriately is one who is very different from Cicero."²⁵ In order to honor Ciceronian decorum in the modern era, he argues, one must necessarily speak unlike Cicero. In the words of G. W. Pigman, Erasmus was advocating a "historical decorum," or a decorum aware of the monumental shifts in the physical, social, and expressive realities of the world.²⁶ Although Erasmus was attempting to defend the core principles of Ciceronian rhetoric from shortsighted modern corruption, many (though not all) of his contemporaries misinterpreted his argument for historical decorum as a rejection of Cicero, and vehemently attacked Erasmus.²⁷ This controversy drove the wide distribution of the *Ciceronianus* in the early sixteenth century.

Goltzius clarified his other departures from van Heemskerck's prototypes by adding the statue of Terminus at the close of the series. By implicitly referencing Erasmus in conjunction with the Ciceronian terms of the first three prints, Goltzius invoked Erasmus's concern for historical decorum when practicing Ciceronian rhetoric in the modern era. As noted above, Goltzius conspicuously quoted from van Heemskerck's earlier series, even adopting some of the same symbolic attributes for his personifications

²⁵ Translated in Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, 383.

²⁶ Pigman, "Imitation and the Renaissance Sense of the Past," 161; c.f. Greene, *The Light in Troy*, 181–189.

²⁷ Pigman, "Imitation and the Renaissance Sense of the Past," 161–174.

of Labor and Diligence. However, Goltzius expressed the personifications in a completely different manner, using erotic nudes in the manner of Anthonie Blocklandt, which in 1582 was a more fashionable style than that of van Heemskerck.²⁸ And although the broad themes and allegorical structure of the series (presenting labor and diligence followed by their earthly and heavenly rewards) recall van Heemskerck's moralizing model, Goltzius transformed the iconography in order to advocate instead for an intellectual understanding of art.

The Ways and Means to Fortune thus exemplified the intellectual artistic practice that Goltzius designed them to elucidate. With this series Goltzius pledged to pursue Ciceronian rhetorical ideals in his artwork, yet he would do so with "historical decorum." He would root his inventions in historical models, quoting from them but also transforming these quotations to suit modern intellectual needs or stylistic tastes. In the coming decade Goltzius would expand his protean repertoire to include visual styles of all the best masters of his age, ensuring that as he strove to depict classical subjects with both textual fidelity and rhetorical inventiveness, he would do so in thoroughly modern stylistic idioms.

The Four Seasons

In 1589 Goltzius designed four circular prints of the *Seasons* that his stepson Jacob Matham engraved. Each displays a male personification bearing the attributes of his season while standing in an appropriate landscape: *Spring* wears a garland and holds a basket brimming with flowers at the edge of a flourishing forest, *Summer* carries ears of

²⁸ Leeflang, *Goltzius*, 44.

corn and a sheaf of wheat next to a field with harvesters (Figure 9), *Autumn* holds bunches of grapes and other fruits next to a vine, and *Winter* warms his hands over a small brazier in front of a frozen canal bustling with ice skaters. Goltzius placed the appropriate signs of the zodiac in the skies over each of his personifications. As the seasons progress, their personifications grow older, cleverly linking the four ages of man to the four seasons.

Veldman has demonstrated that Goltzius modeled this series on van Heemskerck's 1563 designs of the *Four Seasons* engraved by Philip Galle, with verses composed by Hadrianus Junius (Figure 10).²⁹ Goltzius duplicated some of the attributes and settings of each personification, the zodiac signs floating in the clouds, and the inventive pairing of each of the four the seasons with one of the four ages of man. Van Heemskerck derived many of his personifications' attributes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; Junius's accompanying verses cite that text as well. However van Heemskerck then added several more attributes to his depictions (e.g. *Spring*'s bow and arrow and *Autumn*'s cornucopia) from medieval depictions of the months.³⁰

Van Heemskerck presented the personifications as well as their symbols and attributes from varied sources with equal visual clarity and impact. For example, his personification of Summer looms large in the foreground, yet Heemskerck surrounded him with laboring peasants in the near distance who, along with the prominent zodiac signs, compete for the viewer's attention. In doing so, van Heemskerck visually expressed his humanist colleague's scholarly process of addition and compilation of as many learned

²⁹ Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments," 155.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 153.

references as possible. Junius pursued a traditional style of historical and literary compilation in which an author amassed the greatest number of facts notwithstanding their likely veracity or mutual contradictions. Junius packed his historical texts such as the *Batavia* with classical references and allusions, delighting in presenting interrelated references unearthed from myriad classical, medieval, and modern sources.³¹

In contrast, Goltzius reduced the number of iconographic elements in his *Four Seasons* by eliminating the non-Ovidian symbols that van Heemskerck introduced. Goltzius also stripped almost all the peasants and their tools from the background fields, while enlarging the sheaves of wheat his muscled Summer holds. What symbols Goltzius did add to this and the rest of the prints in the series (such as the puffing faces of the four winds, themselves an antique literary reference), he carefully scaled and engraved with a lighter line.³² This selective representation may reflect the generational shift between Junius (a late representative of the older school of scholarship) and the following generation of historians and philologists such as Janus Dousa, the poet who composed verses for Goltzius's *Portrait of Philip Galle*. Dousa prided himself on strictly differentiating between reliable primary sources and specious secondary sources in his histories, vocally castigating scholars who quoted indiscriminately even from sources they knew to be outdated.³³

³¹ Miert, *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius*, 290–296.

³² Estius may have suggested this correspondence from Lilio Giraldi; Veldman, “Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments,” 155, note 26. Although Estius’s verses do not mention the winds, they do comprise a more varied description of each season than Junius’s Ovid-centric lines on van Heemskerck’s prints. From Goltzius’s *Summer*: “Summer fertilizes the year with his ripe fruits; his head is garlanded with grain. At his coming the Crab shines on earth and sea, and the farmers sacrifice to Ceres”; Translated in Veldman, “Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments”, note 27.

³³ Miert, *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius*, 61–63, 290; Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 17–19.

This historiographic transition took place over the second half of the sixteenth century; it is not proper to say that Goltzius and his scholarly circle belonged strictly to one tradition or the other. However its effects are noticeable in the work of his intellectual circle. For example, van Mander would declare in his 1604 *Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish Painters* that he had omitted any fact or anecdote from his accounts that he could not corroborate.³⁴ Consonant with this declaration, van Mander admonished learning artists in his didactic poem *Introduction to the Noble Free Art of Painting* to pay faithful attention to the original classical texts because the iconographies of the ancient authors would result in the most successful history images.³⁵ This evolution of historiographical and philological methods dovetailed with Goltzius's own stylistic development between the late 1570s and 1590, during which he increasingly generated single-figure images with smaller allegorical or narrative elements relegated to the distant background, or multi-figure compositions carefully punctuated through spatial positioning and the rhythms of light and shadow, conceits van Heemskerck did not use in his printed works.

Goltzius's Scholarly Circle in the 1580s

For Goltzius to consult classical texts closely as prescribed by van Mander may have been easier said than done. Lucas Gijsbrechts noted in a poem that Goltzius spoke at least three languages, but Latin may not have been one of them; at least once Goltzius

³⁴ Van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, 158v; cited by Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 17.

³⁵ Acton, "Hendrick Goltzius and Rudolfine Mannerism in the Graphic Arts," 227.

had to have a Latin letter translated.³⁶ This does not seem to have injured the artist's reputation, however – the letter in question was from the great humanist commentator Julius Caesar Scaliger, whose portrait Goltzius engraved in 1592.³⁷ Goltzius worked in close concert with other Haarlem scholars and intellectuals in the 1580s, not only for aid in consulting these texts and generating Latin verses, but also in order to develop an audience for his art.

Cornelius Schonaeus

Although the first signed inscriptions by Cornelius Schonaeus do not appear until 1594, anonymous inscriptions on Goltzius studio prints as early as 1584 have been attributed to him.³⁸ Schonaeus was the rector of the Haarlem Latin School from 1574-1609.³⁹ He was the last Catholic rector of the school, and was prestigious enough to maintain his position through the reform of 1577 that removed many Catholics from prominent Haarlem positions.⁴⁰ In the course of his work as the Latin School, Schonaeus composed thirteen biblical plays and a handful of comedies, most of which were performed by students. Although Schonaeus rejected the lewd or profane content of classical comedies in his own plays, he was enamored of their rhetorical style. He earned the nickname *Terentius Christianus* because he adopted the Roman poet's style and meter

³⁶ Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 20, 310.

³⁷ Strauss, *Goltzius*, no. 309.

³⁸ van de Venne, *Cornelius Schonaeus Goudanus (1540-1611)*, 13–75; cited in Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 308, note 22.

³⁹ van de Venne, "Schonaeus, Cornelius (1540-1611)."

⁴⁰ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon Van Haarlem*, 302.

for his Biblical plays and incorporated classicizing elements such as a Greek chorus into his scripts.⁴¹ Schonaeus also mined antiquity for rhetorical impact. When he participated with van Mander in the 1586 festivities celebrating the arrival of the Duke of Leicester in Haarlem, he composed a Latin verse that adorned a triumphal pyramid: “Memphis built the barbarian wonders of the pyramid, envied of old in neighboring lands. We dedicate this paltry structure to you, oh prince. But this, if times of peace return, will be golden.”⁴²

This intellectual relationship was probably a great boon to the nascent Goltzius studio. The Haarlem Latin school provided a good portion of the demand for the learned prints that Goltzius issued. Concordantly, through its frequent performances of neo-Latinist plays the school probably promoted the prints and their learned themes to the general public outside its academic echelons.⁴³ Goltzius’s studio maintained this advantageous relationship with the Haarlem Latin School even after Schonaeus stepped down as rector in 1597. His successor, Theodorus Schrevelius, also composed verses for prints published from the Goltzius studio by Matham, Jan Muller, and Jan Saenredam.⁴⁴ There are indications that theirs was a more than a professional relationship. Goltzius also made a delicate metalpoint portrait of the scholar around 1590 before leaving for Rome (Figure 11), a singular token of friendship. Schonaeus himself seems to have regarded

⁴¹ Ibid., 312.

⁴² From Schonaeus’s 1597 *Liber Epigrammatum*, 490-491, translated in Ibid., 307.

⁴³ Ibid., 319.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 300.

even his early anonymous poetic contributions to Goltzius's prints with pride, publishing many of them in a compilation of his writings in 1592.⁴⁵

Franco Estius

The neo-Latinist poet Franco Estius composed verses for Goltzius studio prints between 1586 and 1590.⁴⁶ Born in Gorinchem, Estius contributed to publications by Rembertus Dodonaeus and Godelscalus Stewechius in Leiden.⁴⁷ Goltzius engraved a portrait of Stewechius in 1583 that was included in the author's 1585 *Commentarius ad Flavi Vegei Renati, De re militari libri quattuor*.⁴⁸ Estius contributed a poem to this volume, and it is possible he and Goltzius were introduced during this project.⁴⁹ Estius's inscriptions for prints by Goltzius and his studio committed his name to posterity more than any of his other independent works, little of which has survived. Unlike Schonaeus, who provided verses for Goltzius prints anonymously for years, Estius seems to have been eager to affix his signature to these widely-distributed works. Although we will see that his contributions were often integral to the intellectual framework of some of Goltzius's classical inventions from this period, Goltzius never cultivated the years-long friendship with Estius that he did with Schonaeus.

⁴⁵ van de Venne, "Schonaeus, Cornelius (1540-1611)," 13–75; cited by Leeflang, *Goltzius*, chap. 2, note 8.

⁴⁶ Reznicek, *Zeichnungen*, 190, 194.

⁴⁷ Franco was the uncle of the better-known Guliemus Estius, who was a Catholic theologian of note; van der Aa, "Franco Estius"; McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon Van Haarlem*, 299.

⁴⁸ Strauss, *Goltzius*, no. 178.

⁴⁹ McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon Van Haarlem*, 301.

Haarlem Rederijerskamers

Goltzius's only documented interaction with the Haarlem *rederijerskamers*, or chambers of rhetoric, dates after his return from Italy. Though he was never listed as a member of any of the city's rhetorical organizations, he did design stage props for the *Pelikann* in 1596, draft blazons for the same group in 1606, and serve as a judge on their *Landjuweel*, or rhetorical contest, along with Schonaeus in the same year.⁵⁰ However there is no doubt that the chambers of rhetoric influenced Goltzius from an early stage of his career. Van Heemskerck designed the device for the *Wijngaardranken*, etched by Coornhert in 1550, presaging Goltzius's later design for the *Pelikaan*.⁵¹ A drawing by Goltzius from 1586 shows a twelve year old boy (possibly Jacob Matham, although this is disputed) in refined dress, holding a heart-shaped shield with the motto of an Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric *In liefde bloeiende* (Figure 12).⁵² This motto is literally translated as "flourishing in love," but also sounds similar to "bleeding love," an allusion to the crucified Christ.⁵³ Such a play on words is precisely the kind of rhetorical riddle in which these chambers delighted.

Along with the students of the Haarlem Latin school, members of these rhetoric chambers probably formed a sizable audience for Goltzius's prints from this period. Like Goltzius's relationship with the Latin School and its rector, the rhetoric chambers

⁵⁰ Nichols, "Hendrick Goltzius: Documents," 91; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 20–21.

⁵¹ Acton, "Hendrick Goltzius and Rudolfine Mannerism in the Graphic Arts," 29.

⁵² Widerkehr accepts the inscription in a later hand that identifies the boy as Jacob Matham. Leeftang objects to this identification, however, because although the drawing is marked *Aetats XII*, Matham would have been 14 or 15 in 1586. It is also curious that Matham would be shown holding the device of an Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric rather than one from Haarlem; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 72–73.

⁵³ Widerkehr, "Le Graveur Jacob Matham Et Les Chambres De Rhétorique à Haarlem," 41.

probably encouraged Goltzius to develop his designs using Renaissance rhetorical methods. Both groups represented an erudite Netherlandish market for Goltzius's classical and allegorical subjects that Goltzius courted with his early statement of artistic intelligence, *The Ways and Means to Fortune*. Their eager reception of Goltzius's mannerist prints was surely also spurred by the fact that they were Dutch examples of the visual style favored by the sophisticated connoisseurs in the court of Rudolf II.⁵⁴

Bartholomäus Spranger and the Court of Rudolf II

Bartholomäus Spranger was the primary conduit through which Goltzius assimilated the visual and iconographic predilections of the Prague court of Rudolf II. Spranger's influence on Goltzius's style between 1583 and 1590 was first acknowledged by van Mander, who described in his *Lives* how pleased the young Goltzius was to see several Spranger drawings that van Mander had brought to Haarlem, and how he speedily mastered the Prague painter's style.⁵⁵ Goltzius would engrave several drawings by Spranger, including the magisterial *Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* of 1586-7, and also develop his own inventions using Spranger's elegant, elongated figural style.⁵⁶

In addition to Spranger's mannerist style, Goltzius clearly aligned himself with the Prague court's elevated conception of the artist. Artists in the court of Rudolf II were held in high regard indeed: the art-loving emperor conferred patents of nobility to his painters, including Giuseppe Arcimboldo in 1591, and Spranger in 1595. In the same year

⁵⁴ Acton, "Hendrick Goltzius and Rudolphine Mannerism in the Graphic Arts," 29–30.

⁵⁵ Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters* (1604), 284r.

⁵⁶ See Strauss, *Goltzius*, 343; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, chap. 4.

that Rudolf II ennobled Spranger, he also granted the Prague painters guild a Letter of Majesty that named painting one of the liberal arts, declaring that their profession surpassed mere craftwork and as such ought not be bound by the traditional rules of trade guilds.⁵⁷ Under the emperor's edict, painters now could claim the same intellectual virtue as their literary colleagues, not to mention the same social status. This opinion about the high status of artists was not born in Prague. But Rudolf II embraced visual art as a substantive intellectual form to a degree that was almost unprecedented for a ruler of his stature. This policy was in some sense a practical realization of Horace's maxim "*ut pictura et poesis.*" Just as poets practiced all the techniques of rhetoric (e.g. invention, imitation, amplification, decorum, etc.), so, too, could visual artists.⁵⁸

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has demonstrated that even before Rudolf officially granted painting the status of one of the liberal arts, his court artists were visualizing its marriage to the arts of rhetoric, such as Hans von Aachen's design for a print of *Minerva Presents Painting to the Liberal Arts* (Figure 13). Spranger promoted an iconography that joined Mercury with Minerva in order to allegorize the close connection between rhetoric and poetry (in the domain of Mercury) and painting (in the domain of Minerva). He portrayed the theme in painted allegory as well as print designs (Figure 14). The iconographic concept originated in Cicero's letters to Atticus, where the orator praises a statue of a "Hermathena", declaring it a most suitable addition to his gymnasium as both deities were appropriate symbols for the work of the academy.⁵⁹ Spranger and Aachen

⁵⁷ Kaufmann, *The School of Prague*, 42.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 92–94.

⁵⁹ Kaufmann, "The Eloquent Artist," 123–130; Müller, *Die Masken Der Schönheit*, 27–32, cat. 9.

could draw on early modern prototypes as well: among other examples, the Bolognese humanist Achille Bocchi considered using the Hermathena to decorate his townhouse in 1545,⁶⁰ and Vincenzo Cartari cited Hermathena as an academic symbol in his *Imagini*.⁶¹ Spranger paired Minerva and Mercury with the symbols of visual art to signal that the artist was an intellectual whose place was the academy, not the craftsman's guild, an iconography consonant with the position of artists in Prague.

The Hermathena was a powerful emblem for the artist-intellectual, and it is no surprise that Goltzius was quick to adopt it. Goltzius rendered the subject in a print design drawing (Figure 15) engraved by Matham in 1588 (Figure 16). Both figures, especially Mercury, have the weighty, slightly fleshy feel of a life-drawing that is markedly different from Goltzius's twisting and willowy figures of 1584-86 that showed the trademarks of Spranger's mannerism. The naturalism of the seated deities is also a departure from the almost grotesquely-stylized anatomy of the "knollenstil" with which Goltzius experimented between 1586 and 1588. This design drawing may be the earliest extant example of a drawing by Goltzius after live models, or made *naer het leven*, in the words of van Mander.⁶²

The style of this image seems to indicate a decisive break from Spranger's influence. Kaufmann has persuasively argued that Goltzius was making a conscious break from the stylistics of the Rudolfiner court by choosing to work *naer het leven*

⁶⁰ Müller, *Die Masken Der Schönheit*, 29.

⁶¹ Cartari, *Le Imagini De i Dei Degli Antichi*, 188; cited in Kaufmann, "The Eloquent Artist," 125.

⁶² Reznicek, *Zeichnungen*, 216.

specifically for an allegorical composition.⁶³ Artists at the Prague court decorously matched their visual style to the content of their paintings, e.g. mannerist, unrealistic bodies invented *uyt den geest*, or from the imagination, were ideal for history or allegorical painting, while naturalistic rendering was reserved for still-lives. In his 1588 design of *Mercury and Minerva*, Goltzius reversed this connection between style and content by using a naturalistic style for a mythological allegory. Yet even in breaking with the stylistics of Prague, argues Kaufmann, by selecting the Hermathena as a subject Goltzius nevertheless signaled his continuing faith in the ideal of the artist-intellectual and the artistic academy celebrated by Spranger and the Prague court. Kaufmann suggests that the print could have been an oblique reference to the “Haarlem Academy” in which Goltzius, Cornelis van Haarlem, and van Mander allegedly drew from live models, following the academic structure of the Prague court but doing so with very different stylistic priorities. Goltzius thus conspicuously avowed his commitment to the intellectual, rhetorical nature of art, but at the same time revealed his willingness and ability to adapt his style as times and fashions changed, essentially fulfilling his pledge in the 1582 *Ways and Means to Fortune* to practice his art with “historical decorum.”

Innovations from Classical Subjects, Transformations of Modern Sources

In addition to applying rhetorical concepts such as decorum to the visual arts, Goltzius also utilized principles of imitation and emulation. Imitation was described in the Renaissance using three major classes of imagery: transformative, when an author or

⁶³ Kaufmann, “The Eloquent Artist,” 138–139. On Goltzius’s version of *Mercury and Minerva*, also see Krystof, *Werben Für Die Kunst*, 73–84.

artist mines a prior source (or multiple prior sources) to produce a version that has been “digested” and recognizably modified; dissimulative imitation, whereby an author conceals his borrowing so perfectly that it cannot be detected in the work; and eristic, when an author’s use of a prior source is made manifest so as to contrast the author to his reference, usually promoting the author over his source.⁶⁴ Van Mander may have encouraged Goltzius to consider these rhetorical ideas in the 1580s; he would echo these concepts metaphorically in his 1604 *Grondt*, praising the artist that acts as a “dissimulative” thief (*rapiamus*) whose appropriations go undetected, and a “transformative” cook who makes good soup with good turnips (*gekookte rapen*).⁶⁵

These transformative principles manifested in a number of innovative, sometimes unprecedented visual inventions by Goltzius in the 1580s as he shifted his practice from reproductive engravings to original compositions. Having established his own printing studio, Goltzius now had the opportunity (not to mention the commercial imperative) to fully demonstrate his artistic merit through erudite quotation and transformation of earlier visual and textual sources. During this same period Goltzius made incredible stylistic strides, embracing and adapting the styles of Spranger and Cornelis van Haarlem in his engravings and refining his signature swelling burin line. Thus it should be no surprise that some of Goltzius’s most stylistically daring prints in this period depict scenes with unorthodox iconographies. The following examples illustrate several Goltzius inventions before 1590 notable for either their creative representations of rarely-depicted texts or novel reinterpretations of more familiar sources. By no means exhaustive, these episodes

⁶⁴ Pigman, “Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance,” 3–4.

⁶⁵ Van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, fol. 5r; see Van Mander, *Den Grondt Der Edel Vry Schilder-const* I, 86; II, 389-90; Sluijter, “Imitation, Artistic Competition, and ‘Rapen’,” 253–254.

are intended to exemplify Goltzius's deliberative iconographic experimentation and continued stylistic development in the mid- to late-1580s.

The Roman Heroes

Goltzius designed and engraved the ten-print series of the *Roman Heroes* in 1586 that he dedicated to Rudolf II with Latin inscriptions composed by Franco Estius. The frontispiece, *Rome Triumphant*, declares the powerful lineage of the Holy Roman Emperor (Figure 17). Eight burly, twisting heroes follow, among them *Titus Manlius Torquatus* (Figure 19) and *Horatius Cocles* (Figure 20). The closing print, *Fame and History*, depicts eponymous personifications amidst classical ruins, with verses ruminating on the transience of human life compared to the historical longevity conferred by worthy heroic acts (Figure 18).

Walter Melion has argued that as this series elevated Rudolf II as heir of the Roman empire by right of his lineage and exemplary actions, it simultaneously elevated Goltzius as an artist by right of his strenuous achievements with the burin.⁶⁶ Each hero in the series, explains the frontispiece text, salutes Rudolf II with admiration and approval, thus justifying his reign as Holy Roman Emperor. The hortatory verses can also be understood as an ode to Goltzius's strenuous artistic feats. Estius makes many direct and oblique references to the Roman heroes' hands, at once signifying those ancient heroes' virtuous wielding of arms, while also saluting Goltzius's virtuous burin-wielding hand

⁶⁶ Melion, "Thematics of Artisanal Virtue."

that resurrects these heroes.⁶⁷ Melion argues further that the same heroic virtue displayed by the heroes can be attributed to the artisanal virtue of Goltzius.⁶⁸

Each of the eight prints features a double-representation of its hero: a sensational full-length portrait of the armored subject, and a background scene illustrating one of their stories. Goltzius's miniscule background renderings of the narratives, although of secondary visual concern, are telling examples of his iconographic method. While there were visual precedents for some commonly-represented stories such as that of Mucius Scaevola burning his hand, or Marcus Curtius throwing himself into the burning gulf, comprehensive depictions of Livy's heroic pantheon were not common. Goltzius may have had to generate some scenes (such as the one accompanying his *Calphurnius*) by relying solely on Livy's text.⁶⁹ For other tales, however, Goltzius had reference to visual sources ripe for adaptation and transformation.⁷⁰ Tobias Stimmer executed a complete set of woodcut illustrations for translations of Livy's Roman history in 1574.⁷¹ It is possible that Goltzius saw Stimmer's illustrations when designing this series. Goltzius shows Titus Manlius charging the prone Gaul on a bridge, thrusting his sword towards his

⁶⁷ Ibid., 1090–1091.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 1115–1119.

⁶⁹ Melion proposes a Dutch translation, *De Roemsche historie*, published by Jan Graphaeus in 1541, reprinted 1585; Ibid., 1106. Melion also suggests that Goltzius selected the most appropriate Livian heroes with help from Valerius Maximus's *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, a rhetorical sourcebook; "Thematics of Artisanal Virtue," 1119. Livy's text was also widely available in other Latin printings as well as French and German editions in the late sixteenth-century Netherlands; Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier*, 510.

⁷⁰ Melion suggests chiaroscuro woodcuts by Nicolò Vicentino and Nicoloo Boldrini copying Pordenone's lost *Marcus Curtius* from the facade of the Palazzo d'Anna in Venice (ill. Davis, *Mannerist Prints*, 124–125.) however the resemblance is unconvincing; "Thematics of Artisanal Virtue," note 12.

⁷¹ Titus Livius and Lucianus Floris, *Von Ankunfft und Ursprung des Römischen Reichs* (Strasbourg, 1574); Peters, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 19, 64.17 (348).

target's neck. The poses and positioning of the figures almost perfectly reproduce the scene Stimmer offers, but as if viewed from the other side of the bridge (Figure 21). Goltzius may have looked to Stimmer's bridge architecture as well, adopting the same alternating projecting voussoir pattern for its supporting arch (Figure 22). In his *Horatius Cocles*, Stimmer shows Cocles rushing headlong across the demolished bridge to greet the massed army on the other side (Figure 23).⁷² Again, Goltzius rotates the scene from woodcut prototype to present the charging Roman from the front, the background scenery clearly quoted from Stimmer's woodcut (Figure 24).

Goltzius's three-dimensional thinking on display in the rotated quotations from Stimmer also reveals itself in the statuesque foreground figures, which, which viewed successively, present a rotating view of the human body. "Statuesque" is an especially appropriate adjective, as Goltzius probably consulted the mannerist bronzes of Willem Danielsz van Tetrode for several figures in the *Roman Heroes*. For example, the arms of *Mucius Scaevola* and *Titus Manlius Torquatus* both cross over their torsos similar to Tetrode's struggling *Hercules and Antaeus* (Figure 25).⁷³

These narrative passages typify the kind of transformative allusions to prior sources that Goltzius's learned scholarly circle would have prized in both the visual and literary arts. Beginning with a visual prototype, Goltzius rearranged or rotated their compositions, and at times modified them to better match Livy's original text.⁷⁴ The

⁷² Livy, *History of Rome* II.10.

⁷³ Goddard and Ganz, *Goltzius and the Third Dimension*, 57, figs. 48-51.

⁷⁴ For example, while Stimmer focuses on the bloodiness of the combat between Marcus Valerius Corvus and the Gaul, Goltzius instead represents the moment from Livy's story when a crow (interpreted as a divine portent) flies into the Gaul's face, distracting him so that Corvus can slay him; Livy, *History of Rome*, VII.26:4-5.

quotation remained visible to the informed viewer, who would have recognized the reference to a prior text (or, in this case, image) while also appreciating the additions included by Goltzius.

These were the first Goltzius prints for which Estius contributed signed verses, and he composed his lines to fit Goltzius's rhetorical priorities. Earlier states of the *Roman Heroes* testify to the apparent importance of these inscriptions for Goltzius. Surviving first states bear different inscriptions by an anonymous author that were later erased. Estius was apparently engaged to revise these (presumably unacceptable) verses.⁷⁵ In other words, Estius's words were not a perfunctory addition, but a critical component of the design. The verses accompanying each hero briefly recount the heroes' legendary acts from Livy's *Roman History*, the details of which might otherwise be lost behind Goltzius's muscular figures. However the verses do not dwell on narrative detail, but turn to address the historical immortality these acts conferred to each hero. For example, from the verses accompanying *Titus Manlius Torquatus*:

By killing the enemy, Manlius earned the name Torquatus
and hence Italy's fame grew in the world. Rome had many
Torquati: so are you surprised that Earth and Sea obeyed
his command?⁷⁶

Estius only briefly mentions Titus Manlius Torquatus's courageous strike against the swaggering Gallic champion. This reference prefaces an explanation of the relationship between the heroic act, the fame of the hero, and the ensuing fame of his nation. This

⁷⁵ Kok, "Hendrick Goltzius: Engraver, Designer, and Publisher 1582-1600", note 35; Leeflang, *Goltzius*, 91.

⁷⁶ Translated in Leeflang, *Goltzius*, cat. 29.6.

inscription echoes the overall argument of the series, that the virtue of these heroes' actions preserved their memory for posterity. By extension, so will the achievements of Rudolf II (and Goltzius) be preserved. The stories of the heroes are only a vehicle for the greater rhetorical project of the series. By coordinating Estius's textual rhetoric with his visual rhetoric, Goltzius developed innovative depictions of Livy that surpassed narrative illustration. His iconographic invention, which transformed several modern sources for rhetorical purpose, went hand in hand with a new stylistic approach, which together identified Goltzius as an artist of the highest intellectual and technical caliber, as well as an artist worthy of the Holy Roman Emperor.

Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus Freezes

Goltzius's truly unique technical invention from this period was using pen and ink to imitate the engraved line, a technique that he would refine with brush and paint later in his career. The best examples of this technique render an adage by Terrence, "*Sine Cerece et Baccho, Venus Friget*," or, "Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus freezes." Goltzius made at least ten different works depicting this theme during his career, the most advanced images dating from 1590s and early 1600s.⁷⁷ This maxim was popularized in the north by Erasmus, who included it in his compiled *Adages* first published in 1500.⁷⁸ Erasmus interprets the saying to mean that love is inflamed by the pleasures of food and wine, and that it grows cold without them.⁷⁹ Goltzius was not the first artist to visualize

⁷⁷ Nichols, "The 'Pen Works' of Hendrick Goltzius," 36.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁹ Erasmus, *Adagia* II.iii.97.

the saying, but he was one of the most prolific and influential. His representations of the adage would later inform renditions by Rubens, Rembrandt, and Agostino Carracci.⁸⁰

It was once assumed that Goltzius adopted this subject from Spranger's paintings on the theme, but Jane Shoaf and Nicholas Turner have shown that Goltzius first represented the adage in a drawn modello for a print (Figure 26), later engraved by Matham in 1588.⁸¹ This modello predates the earliest known depiction of the adage by Spranger in 1590. Goltzius's drawing, which is marked for transfer to the copper engraving plate, features four Spranger-esque nudes: Venus, Bacchus, Ceres, and a winged Cupid who brings wheat and grapes to his mother. As this drawing predates Spranger, Goltzius must have discovered the subject elsewhere. Lawrence Nichols has suggested that Cornelius Schonaeus may have suggested the adage as a subject, given his familiarity with the works of Terence (see page 19).⁸²

Whether Goltzius learned of the adage from Schonaeus or another source such as Erasmus's *Adagia*, the subject provided him great iconographic and stylistic latitude. Goltzius varied his compositions on the theme; while he always showed Venus, her companions Ceres and Bacchus were sometimes present only in their attributes. In 1590, shortly before his trip to Italy, Goltzius made a drawing of *Venus and Cupid* (Figure 27) that illustrated the beginning of Ovid's story of the rape of Proserpina. Venus, fearing

⁸⁰ Leeflang, *Goltzius*, 325, note 36.

⁸¹ Reznicek claimed in 1961 that Goltzius learned of the theme through Spranger; *Zeichnungen*, 197. He remains doubtful of the attribution of the 1588 drawing; "Drawings by Hendrick Goltzius, Thirty Years Later," 275. Shoaf and Turner convincingly argue for the drawing's authorship, comparing it to two other surviving Goltzius drawings for the same series of prints, each similarly indented for transfer; "Two New Drawings by Goltzius Related to Prints," 267–270.

⁸² McGee, *Cornelis Corneliszoon Van Haarlem*, 313.

that Proserpina will overshadow her beauty, asks Cupid to shoot one of his arrows at Pluto so that the god would kidnap the young goddess out of fiery passion.⁸³ Goltzius depicts Pluto's chariot in the background. However, a pair of doves, a bunch of grapes, and an ear of corn with a pomegranate rest at the feet of Venus. These items refer to Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres, respectively.⁸⁴ Goltzius spreads these items out distinctly across the bottom of the drawing, staging them in the shallow space he creates between Venus's legs and the great gnarled tree.⁸⁵ His reference to the adage may be oblique, but it is not concealed. If anything, the allegorical attributes overshadow Pluto's chariot, the narrative key to this drawing that Goltzius tucks away in the background as he did in the *Roman Heroes*.

Goltzius goal in making this drawing (as with most of his other renderings of the adage) was not exclusively a moralizing one. Venus's curvaceous nude body is more prominent than either the narrative or allegorical details in the 1590 drawing. Goltzius delighted in this kind of eroticizing imagery, as did his audience. The sensuality, and even outright erotic titillation of his pictures of the adage especially appealed to Rudolf II, who collected several of these renderings.⁸⁶ Contemporary observers often noted with disdain the emperor's seeming-predilection for erotic imagery. Mazuolo, the Ferrarese ambassador to Prague, wrote acidly in a letter to his home court that a "somewhat sensuous" subject ought to be chosen for a painted gift to the emperor in order to best

⁸³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* V.362-384.

⁸⁴ Nichols, "The 'Pen Works' of Hendrick Goltzius," 11.

⁸⁵ In earlier pen drawings, Goltzius drew isolated figures or passages, such as a single figure or study of a head. This is the earliest pen drawing that Goltzius completely filled to the edges of the sheet in the manner of an engraving; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 239.

⁸⁶ Nichols, "The 'Pen Works' of Hendrick Goltzius," 4.

appeal to his less-than-virtuous taste.⁸⁷ Thanks to his contact with Spranger, Goltzius understood this imperial predilection as well.

This erotic motive did not, however, prevent Goltzius from integrating two related learned references into this representation of the adage. Had he presented the voluptuous Venus and leering Cupid with only Pluto's chariot in the background and no further attributes, then the narrative element could be explained (or dismissed) as a veneer justifying a titillating nude. By adding the allegorical attributes derived from Terence's adage, however, Goltzius created an intellectually intriguing artwork that engaged the viewer's own poetic knowledge of varied classical literature at the same time that it offered a suggestive and pleasing view of two nude figures. This theme was doubly attractive to Goltzius because it allowed him to demonstrate his iconographic faculty as well as his skill in rendering beautiful and attractive nudes.⁸⁸

Ovid's Metamorphoses

Goltzius demonstrated his transformative and inventive hand again between 1588 and 1590 when he designed a number of prints illustrating Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Anonymous members of his studio would engrave groups of these designs in 1589, 1590, and 1615.⁸⁹ Existing illustrations by Virgil Solis and Bernard Salomon were an important visual reference for this project, however Goltzius used these prints as a

⁸⁷ Kaufmann, *The School of Prague*, 21.

⁸⁸ Goltzius would use this subject again to argue his artistic merit; Melion, "Love and Artisanry in Hendrick Goltzius's *Venus, Bacchus and Ceres* of 1606."

⁸⁹ Sluijter, "Herscheppingen (I)," 1–3; also "Herscheppingen (II)."

starting point only.⁹⁰ Goltzius apparently planned a comprehensive set of illustrations comprising three hundred prints spanning the fifteen books from the *Metamorphoses*, a scale that dwarfed these prior projects. Although only fifty-two were eventually completed, Goltzius still had to generate a number of visual solutions for previously-unillustrated scenes. For example, Goltzius designed an illustration of the rarely-shown *Peneus and the River Gods*, a story about the Thessalian river god that was traditionally eclipsed by the related story in which he transforms his daughter Daphne into a laurel tree.⁹¹

Goltzius also freely borrowed and adapted from Solis's earlier illustrations for many of the designs, however he usually modified them so that related more directly to Ovid's text. One example is the *Fall of Phaeton* (Figure 28), whose general composition Goltzius borrowed from Solis. As with his prototype, Goltzius shows Phaeton tumbling down to a landscape below as Jupiter strikes at him from the clouds. Goltzius adds in the host of figures that, according to Ovid, witness this scene, including Atlas looming in the background, and the many *horae* who look up with dismay. Following Ovid's text closely, Goltzius gives the *horae* insect-like wings.⁹²

The 1590 *Judgment of Midas* (Figure 29), was also based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, however it did not belong to the larger print series. Unlike the other *Metamorphoses* prints, Goltzius engraved the print himself and dedicated it separately.

⁹⁰ Goltzius consulted a 1566 Dutch translation of Johannes Florianus *Metamorphosis dat is, die herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe* (Antwerp, 1552) that featured illustrations by Solis. Bernard Salomon's illustrations would have been available in a 1557 Lyons edition; Sluijter, "Herscheppingen (I)," 3.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹² Noted by Reznicek, "Drawings by Hendrick Goltzius, Thirty Years Later", K 99a.

This print is an engraving tour de force into which Goltzius poured all his accumulated stylistic knowledge. He imbued the figures with a new solidity and weightiness, clothed them in extravagantly rippling fabrics, and cast them all in a dappled light to exhibit his tonal mastery. Moreover, Goltzius creates a thoughtful synthesis in this scene of two thematically-related Ovidian tales. While the figures at center and to the right depict the musical contest of Apollo and Pan judged by Midas and the mountain god Tmolus, surrounding the scene are Minerva and the nine Muses who are not in the *Metamorphoses* story.⁹³ They appear in another musical contest that Ovid mentions in his *Fasti*, that of Apollo and Marsyas, another satyr. In that myth, which Hygenius told fully in his *Fabulae*, Marsyas takes up the flute abandoned by Minerva, and the muses serve as the musical jury.⁹⁴

In this print Goltzius demonstrated his wide knowledge of Ovid's text. He would have known van Mander's design of the same scene from 1589 (Figure 30) which also introduces Minerva and the muses into the contest between Apollo and Pan. But Goltzius reoriented van Mander's composition to highlight Apollo's masterful performance and distinguish the learned Muses from the ignorant Midas and watching satyrs. Goltzius also specified Tmolus's leafy crown as that of an oak tree with acorns, a detail taken directly from Ovid's text: "oak leaves were wreathed upon his azure hair and acorns from his hollow temples hung."⁹⁵

⁹³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XI.146-193; this was noted by Stampfle, *Rubens and Rembrandt in Their Century*, 72-73.

⁹⁴ Ovid, *Fasti* VI.693-710. Not noted by Stampfle is that Ovid only alludes to this story; it is told fully in Hygenius's *Fabulae*, in which the Graces themselves judge the contest between Apollo and Marsyas.

⁹⁵ Translated in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI.155; see Acton, "Hendrick Goltzius and RudolFINE Mannerism in the Graphic Arts," 227.

Goltzius offered a specific contrast between the wisdom of Minerva and the ignorance of Midas. Once again Estius's verses are integral to the print's rhetoric; he castigates the ignorance of witless critics in his inscription: "Fools love crazy things and reject the preferable, and even a cobbler who does not stick to his last reviles Apelles."⁹⁶ The dedicatee of the print, Floris van Schoterbusch, is, on the other hand, praised as an "admirable and learned gentleman," who is a "true lover of painting and music."⁹⁷ Clearly this encomium placed Van Schoterbusch on the side of Minerva and her discriminating muses. By cleverly incorporating Minerva and her muses into the story of Midas's flawed judgment, Goltzius demonstrated his classical erudition and faithfulness to Ovid's text, while also constructing a pointed argument for the proper reception and learned judgment that such finely constructed art demanded from its audience.⁹⁸

That Goltzius felt the need to articulate such an argument implies that he may, perhaps, have encountered more than a few viewers who were perplexed by his iconographies. While Goltzius was connected through his learned circle to the cultivated audiences (both in Haarlem and further abroad) who would have appreciated these learned inventions, it is likely that the references in many of his carefully-structured (sometimes verging on convoluted) inventions may have been lost on many who saw his prints. It is important to remember that many of his prints from this decade were not learned classical scenes, but biblical stories, other religious allegories, portraits, and other subjects easily accessible to a diverse audience. But it is also important to remember that

⁹⁶ Translated in Leeftang, *Goltzius*, cat. 39.

⁹⁷ The inscription appears on a plaque in the foreground; translated in *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Krystof, "Zu Goltzius' *Midasurteil* Von 1590," 430; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 114.

his most masterful works, so often used to mark key stages in his stylistic development, were of mythological subjects: as the *Wedding of Cupid and Psyche*, *The Roman Heroes*, *The Great Hercules*, or *The Judgment of Midas*. The great compositional flexibility that these subjects allowed seems to have inspired stylistic as well as iconographic experimentation in Goltzius. Following his pledge in the 1582 *Ways and Means to Fortune*, he offered a wealth of inventive designs from his studio in order to demonstrate beyond any doubt his acumen as an *inventor*, in addition to his masterful skill as a *sculptor*.

CHAPTER 2: RENAISSANCE MYTHOGRAPHY AND GOLTZIUS'S PROTEAN ICONOGRAPHY

While Goltzius had recourse to sixteenth-century translations and other intermediaries when picturing subjects from antiquity, he would also have been familiar with modern secondary sources such as Renaissance mythographies and emblem books. Jean Seznec has demonstrated the powerful mediating role that late medieval and early Renaissance compilations of classical myth and iconography played for visual artists.⁹⁹ By the late sixteenth-century, printed editions of these manuals were being published across Europe, some being reprinted as often as every few years. These publications comprised both mythographic manuals, which were proto-encyclopedic texts listing major and minor mythological figures with their historical citations and (frequently) descriptions or illustrations of their semblances, as well as collections of emblems, or images paired with textual verses for use by artists representing broader allegorical concepts. Although Goltzius's use of classical texts has been relatively well documented, it has only been occasionally suggested that he looked at the iconographic manuals that constituted a book genre unto themselves during his lifetime. In this chapter, I will present two new interpretations of 1580s works by Goltzius in which he used these sources in a particularly unorthodox manner.

⁹⁹ Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods*, bk. 2, especially 219-257.

The Deities Woodcuts and Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum Gentili

Goltzius's seven oval woodcuts of pagan deities (Figure 31-Figure 37) present challenges on both technical and iconographic fronts. The chiaroscuro woodcuts are something of an outlier in Goltzius's graphic oeuvre, and so their dating had been a subject of disagreement.¹⁰⁰ Nancy Bialler, however, has convincingly established a chronology of Goltzius's chiaroscuro woodcut oeuvre based on technical observations, establishing that the artist experimented with the uncommon technique between the mid-1580s and the early 1590s. She dates the series of oval deities to c. 1588.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the identities and meanings of the seven deities are a continuing source of confusion. Goltzius did not limit his selection to the canon of deities familiar from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but instead selected more esoteric gods and goddesses whose significance as a group has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Reexamining an earlier suggestion by Walter Strauss that the series might be anchored around the print *Demogorgon in the Cave of Eternity* reveals that Goltzius used a prominent mythographic resource, Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentili*, in order to construct a carefully-formed representation of the three realms of the world (according to Ovid): the skies, the earth, and the seas.

¹⁰⁰ For example, Hirschmann suggested a date of 1598-1600 for all the deities save *Demogorgon*, which he placed c. 1594; Hirschmann, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 133, 367–372. Strauss dated the entire series to c. 1594; Strauss, *Goltzius* nos. 418-424. Ackley was the first to suggest a date of 1588-1589 for the whole series; Ackley, *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*, 7. For a full historiography, see Bialler, "Hendrick Goltzius and the Netherlandish Chiaroscuro Woodcut," chap. 2, note 28.

¹⁰¹ Bialler, *Chiaroscuro Woodcuts*, 115–120.

Prior Interpretations

Several authors have suggested identifications of the individual deities as well as interpretations for the series as a whole. Winslow Ames believed the prints could be separated into allegorical pairs representing the ages of man, the seasons, and the times of day.¹⁰² Strauss suggested that all of the deities were related to the print of *Demogorgon in the Cave of Eternity* (Figure 31), calling the series *The Children of Demogorgon*.¹⁰³ Strauss also offered the intriguing possibility that the series alluded to the story of the rape of Proserpina (much like Goltzius's 1590 *Ceres, Bacchus, and Venus*; see page 34) because the six deities accompanying Demogorgon, according to Strauss's identifications, were either participants in or witnesses of the abduction.¹⁰⁴ Strauss, however, was unable to decide between the two separate interpretations. Mazur-Contamine has proposed that the three pairs of gods accompanying Goltzius's *Demogorgon* represent in microcosm the three different earthly realms and their attendant elements described by Ovid in his story of the creation of the world from unformed chaos: "But God, or kindly Nature, ended strife—he cut the land from skies, the sea from land, the heavens ethereal from material air; and when were all evolved from that dark mass he bound the fractious parts in tranquil peace."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Ames, "Some Woodcuts by Hendrick Goltzius and Their Program," 431–436.

¹⁰³ This understanding was not shared by the Greeks or Romans, however. "Demogorgon" was a 9th century invention-via-mistranslation by Theodotius, a now-lost medieval encyclopedist; Seznek, *Survival of the Pagan Gods*, 222.

¹⁰⁴ Strauss, *Goltzius*, nos. 418-424.

¹⁰⁵ Translated in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I:5-31. Mazur-Contamine goes on to argue less convincingly that Goltzius used these three realms to describe a microcosm of the human spirit and a form of religious practice conceived as a kind of spiritual alchemy; Mazur-Contamine, "Goltzius' Seven Oval Chiaroscuro Woodcuts," 35.

That Goltzius selected the gods to represent these separate realms or elements is an attractive interpretation, but I would refine this argument further by reexamining Strauss's reading of the entire series as *The Children of Demogorgon*. I suggest that Goltzius (probably following the advice of one or more members of his intellectual circle) not only consulted Boccaccio for the *Demogorgon* print, but also structured the entire woodcut series to reflect the lineage described in the *Genealogy* with pairs of gods and goddesses marking successive generations. The gods in the woodcut series are all interconnected by lineage, each being the progeny, progenitor, and/or partner of another. These lineages are not merely coincident with the representation physical realms of the world. Goltzius or his circle recognized that Boccaccio explained many stories of the pagan deities he chronicled with natural or physical metaphors, making his text an apt source for an innovative rendering of the Ovidian microcosm.

Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum Gentilium

Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, or the Genealogy of the Pagan Gods, was an ambitious fifteen-book mythography that collated thousands of Greek, Roman, and medieval sources in order to generate a comprehensive index of the gods of antiquity. Commissioned by King Hugo IV of Cyprus, Boccaccio's project was a lengthy one, conducted between roughly 1347 and 1372.¹⁰⁶ His initial manuscript was

¹⁰⁶ Boccaccio, *Genealogy*, ix.

appended and edited by scholars during his life and shortly after his death in 1375; it was not until 1481 that the first printed edition appeared.¹⁰⁷

Boccaccio begins his mythography with Demogorgon, describing him as an old man who sits at the rear of a cave set deep in the earth where he breathes smoke and writes the rules that govern the cosmos.¹⁰⁸ With him is his first consort Eternity, a many-breasted goddess who sends out life into the world. An *ouroboros*, a snake eating its own tail, encircles the cave. In the woodcut Goltzius instead showed the *ouroboros* suspended near Demogorgon.¹⁰⁹ As the original god and progenitor of the pagan pantheon, Demogorgon would logically begin this series.

Boccaccio describes how together Demogorgon and Eternity conceived the goddess Earth. Goltzius depicted a nude woman decked with a garland, kneeling gracefully in a pleasant forest (Figure 32). This figure has previously been identified as Flora or Proserpina,¹¹⁰ but Mazur-Contamine correctly notes that, according to

¹⁰⁷ This first edition was published in Reggio. Other prominent editions include the 1494, 1497, and 1511 Venice editions, the 1511 Paris edition, and the 1532 Basel edition with annotations by Jacob Mycillus. The *Genealogia* was translated into French in a 1498 Paris edition re-set in 1531, and into Italian by Giuseppe Betussi in 1547 in Venice. Betussi's translation was republished several times, often bundled with Cartari's *Imagini* and other contemporary mythographies; *Ibid.*, xi–xii. While Goltzius may have used one of the 1585 or 1588 editions of Betussi's Italian translation, it is more likely that he saw one of the Latin editions from Venice that contained illustrated depictions of key deities in its genealogical trees.

¹⁰⁸ Boccaccio, *Genealogy*, I.1. Vincenzo Cartari would later open his own iconographic manual with a description of Demogorgon; *Le Imagini De i Dei Degli Antichi*, 11–14. For more on Goltzius and Cartari's *Imagini*, see page 48.

¹⁰⁹ This indicates Goltzius may also have been looking at Cartari's illustrations of the story. One illustration of Demogorgon, which Cartari relates to Satrun, shows an old man holding out his hand with an *ouroboros* vertically suspended on it; Cartari, *Le Imagini De i Dei Degli Antichi*, 26. Kemp rejected Boccaccio as a source for Goltzius *Demogorgon*, instead favoring Cartari's description on the basis of some small textual differences; Kemp, "Die Höhle Der Ewigkeit," 165. Mazur-Contamine resolves Kemp's issue; "Goltzius's Seven Oval Chiaroscuro Woodcuts," 31. Goltzius likely knew both sources and attempted to synthesize the two.

¹¹⁰ Flora by Ames, "Some Woodcuts by Hendrick Goltzius and Their Program," 436. Proserpina by Strauss, *Goltzius*, no. 424.

Boccaccio, Proserpina was one of the alternate identities of the goddess Terra or Earth.¹¹¹ After citing a number of ancient opinions, Boccaccio provides his own description of the deity: “as the benevolent mother with the greatest abundance she nurtures all living things and takes them all back into her lap when they die.”¹¹² Goltzius showed Earth gathering various fruits and berries into her lap with gracefully elongated arms, while a sash billows dramatically around her. Her round, small-featured face is characteristic of Goltzius’s Spranger style.

Demogorgon begot many more children with his daughter Earth, including the goddess Night. Goltzius depicted Night driving a carriage and bearing a torch (Figure 33). As in the woodcut of Earth, Goltzius followed Boccaccio’s description of Night closely: a female goddess who transverses the sky with a chariot, bearing a flambeau that references one of the early periods of the night when one lights the “first torch”.¹¹³ In the carriage a figure dozes; most likely Night’s child Sleep.¹¹⁴ Behind Night’s head Goltzius depicted a sun paired with another celestial body. Mazur-Contamine argues these spheres may be a reference to a Renaissance allegory of knowledge that used the Moon as a representation of the human spirit.¹¹⁵ I believe a more concrete source exists for this imagery in Boccaccio’s text. As he does for many of the entries in the *Genealogia*,

¹¹¹ Mazur-Contamine, “Goltzius’s Seven Oval Chiaroscuro Woodcuts,” 14.

¹¹² Translated in Boccaccio, *Genealogy*, I.8:7.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, I.9:6–7; first noted by Hirschmann, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 133.

¹¹⁴ Boccaccio, *Genealogy*, I:31; for further interpretation of this figure, see Mazur-Contamine, “Goltzius’s Seven Oval Chiaroscuro Woodcuts,” 5–6.

¹¹⁵ The moon (i.e. the human soul) could either turn to face the glory of the Sun (divine knowledge), or face away from it and be cast into darkness (hell); Mazur-Contamine, “Goltzius’s Seven Oval Chiaroscuro Woodcuts,” 9.

Boccaccio includes a natural philosophical interpretation of the often-perplexing godly relationships or descriptions offered by the ancients. Explaining why Night was believed to be the daughter of Earth, Boccaccio writes, “I think they say this because the body of the earth is so dense that the solar rays are unable to penetrate onto the opposite side. The result is shade so large that it occupies half of the earth’s area.”¹¹⁶ The small scene in the basket on the chariot is probably a literally-minded illustration of this physical concept. By including this cosmic scene along with Night’s daughter Sleep, Goltzius further alluded to the idea of a pagan genealogy of deities while also echoing the physical meaning that Boccaccio extracted from the myths of Night. This meaning is consonant with Ovid’s physical allegory of the three realms of the world.

Another child of Demogorgon and Earth was Erebus, partly synonymous with the god Pluto. Goltzius shows Erebus/Pluto from behind, representing the god as he views the underworld (Figure 34). At his feet is an overturned urn with four spouts that is meant to represent the four rivers of the underworld (the Acheron, Phlegethon, Styx, and Cocytus). In the background a line of souls awaits judgment by Rhadamanthys, Minos, and Aiakos.¹¹⁷ Boccaccio details both elements in his description of Erebus’s realm.¹¹⁸ While turning Erebus to face the background does focus attention on the scenery of the underworld, it also allowed Goltzius to demonstrate his skill in rendering musculature.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Translated in Boccaccio, *Genealogy*, I.9:3.

¹¹⁷ Strauss, *Goltzius*, no. 423.

¹¹⁸ Boccaccio, *Genealogy*, I.14.3.

¹¹⁹ As he did for the *Roman Heroes* (see page 25), Goltzius probably consulted the mannerist bronzes of Willem Danielsz van Tetrode; the pose of Erebus matches very closely that of one of Tetrode’s statuettes of a nude warrior; Goddard and Ganz, *Goltzius and the Third Dimension*, 62.

Erebus and Night, in turn, gave birth to the god Ether. Boccaccio describes Ether at the start of the second book of the *Genealogia*: “While he is usually assumed with good reason to be the sky many still seem to have regarded him as the element of fire.”¹²⁰ Although previously identified as Helios or Day, Goltzius’s woodcut depicting a male god with a fiery crown amidst the clouds appears to match this deity closely (Figure 35). This woodcut is an exception to the rest of the series, as Goltzius does not pair this deity with its consort Day in a second print. Boccaccio noted that Ether was often confused with its child, Sky, and with its own consort, Day, both of which were also associated with brightness and elemental fire.¹²¹ Goltzius may have referenced the connection between Ether and Sky in the woodcut: he placed Ether atop a ringed form that is partially visible through the clouds at the base of the woodcut. This abstract form matches the depiction of Sky in the genealogical tree at the beginning of the third book of the *Genealogia* (Figure 38).¹²²

The final two deities in the series have previously been identified as the couple Tethys (Figure 36) and Oceanus (Figure 37) who rule over the element of water and the seas, respectively.¹²³ This identification is consistent with the structure of Boccaccio’s *Genealogia*, which notes that Tethys is the daughter of Ether/Sky and the wife of

¹²⁰ Translated in Boccaccio, *Genealogy*, II.1:1.

¹²¹ Ibid., I:34:2, III.1.1. Mazur-Contamine correctly notes that the figure of Ether is also related to the figure of Fire from *The Four Elements* engraved by Jacob Matham after a design by Goltzius in 1589, both figures holding the same flint and tinder.

¹²² The extant autograph manuscript of the *Genealogia Deorum* features such trees, suggesting they were conceived and made by Boccaccio himself. Illustrations of the gods at the “roots” of these trees first appeared in the 1494 Venice print edition; Wilkins, “The Genealogy of the Genealogical Trees of the *Genealogia Deorum*”; Wilkins, *The University of Chicago Manuscript of the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium of Boccaccio*, 15–17.

¹²³ Bialler, *Chiaroscuro Woodcuts*, nos. 27-28.

Oceanus.¹²⁴ Mazur-Contamine notes that Goltzius probably took the oar that the male sea god carries from Cartari's description of Oceanus.¹²⁵

The genealogical relationships of the deities portrayed in the woodcut series are diagrammed in Figure 40. Clearly, Goltzius did not create the series in order to exhaustively or systematically render the *Genealogia*. Mazur-Contamine and Bialler are correct to suggest that this series represents the three realms of the universe described by Ovid: the earth (*Earth* and *Erebus/Pluto*), the seas (*Tethys* and *Oceanus*), and the sky (*Ether* and *Night*). Goltzius would revisit this theme in the 1590s with a set of three engravings executed by Jan Saenredam, with inscriptions by Franco Estius. However in the later series he would chose more traditional pairs of deities to corresponded to the three realms: *Jupiter and Juno* for the sky, *Neptune and Amphitrite* for the seas, and *Pluto and Proserpina* for the earth.

Van Mander likely suggested Boccaccio's *Genealogia* to Goltzius.¹²⁶ Van Mander often modeled Boccaccio and other Italian Renaissance mythographers in this commentary. In his *Wtbeeldinghe*, an accounting of other pagan figures that was appended to the *Wtlegghingh*, van Mander adopted the encyclopedic format of Boccaccio, approaching the text through Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini dei i dei degli*

¹²⁴ Boccaccio, *Genealogy*, III.3:1.

¹²⁵ Cartari, *Le Imagini De i Dei Degli Antichi*, 314; cited in Mazur-Contamine, "Goltzius's Seven Oval Chiaroscuro Woodcuts," 10, note 47.

¹²⁶ In addition to van Mander's own work with the *Genealogia Deorum*, two other individuals may have influenced Goltzius's use of the text. Coornhert published a Dutch translation of the *Decameron* in 1564, possibly introducing Goltzius to the author at an early date; *50 lustige historien ofte nyeuwigheden Joannis Bocatij*; Bostoën, Kolfin, and Smith, *Tweelinge eener dragt*, 76–77. Cornelius Schonaeus may also have advised Goltzius on this series. While he was famed for his knowledge of Terence (see page 31), Schonaeus was also familiar with Boccaccio's writings. He would later compose an inscription for a print by Jacob Matham of *Cimone and Efigenia*, one of the couples from Boccaccio's *Decameron*; Bostoën, Kolfin, and Smith, *Tweelinge eener dragt*, 78.

antichi (1566). He cites his Italian prototypes frequently in marginal notes, and, following the lead of both Boccaccio and Cartari, he opens his *Wtbeeldinghe* with a description of Demogorgon.¹²⁷ The frontispiece he designed for the *Wtlegghingh* features a smoke-blowing Demogorgon at the bottom of the frame of fictive architecture (Figure 41). The figures of Eternity and the many-breasted Mother Earth stand before the columns flanking the title frame, and Apollo with his bow and lyre surmounts the entire scene. Apollo's presence is another indication that van Mander probably approached the *Genealogia* through the mediation of Cartari: Apollo also appears at the entrance to Demogorgon's cave in Cartari's *Imagini* (Figure 39).¹²⁸

Why did Goltzius choose to so closely follow Boccaccio's *Genealogia* in a print series depicting the three realms of the world as described by Ovid? For almost every deity in the *Genealogia*, Boccaccio offered examples of the physical or natural truths that the ancients embedded in their often-fantastic myths. Boccaccio explained that in the mind of the ancient Greek author, these mythological descriptions and narratives contained physical theories about the elements and the cosmos, and so should not be patly dismissed as heretical religious stories alone by the modern reader.¹²⁹ "Physical theology," Boccaccio writes, "is found in the great poets since they clothe many a

¹²⁷ Van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, 124v–125r.

¹²⁸ Jochen Becker argues that with this design, van Mander engages the moral interpretations of the deities to create a kind of visual *proemium*: just as the crowning Apollo provides light and clarity against Demogorgon's amorphous, smoke-ringed figure below, so too will van Mander's *Schilder Boeck* help to guide the neophyte painter towards a more refined practice; Becker, "From Mythology to Merchandise," 37–39.

¹²⁹ Physical interpretations of pagan mythology were not original to Boccaccio; they had been practiced since the middle ages; Sez nec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods*, chap. 2. For more on Boccaccio's historical vision, see Lummus, "Boccaccio's Human Mythology," chap. 2.

physical and moral truth in their inventions.”¹³⁰ In the introduction to his 1604 commentary on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (which he had begun to work on as early as 1590), the *Wtlegghing op den Metamorphosis*, van Mander noted, too, that Ovid’s stories had both scientific and moral value for their ancient authors.¹³¹ If Goltzius intended to locate the best personifications for Ovid’s myth of the division of the three realms of the world during its creation, then Boccaccio’s elaborations on the ancients’ physical interpretations of their deities would have offered an ideal complementary source.

The Goddess Nemesis

Since its first documentation in 1713, a drawing by Goltzius now called *Patientia* in the Teylers Museum in Haarlem has been subject to numerous identifications (Figure 42). Executed on an unusually large folio sheet, the drawing shows a calm woman in flowing classical robes, her hips swayed elegantly as she stands before a distant, craggy landscape. In her hands she holds two instruments: a long wooden rod and a pair of restraints attached to a chain. Yet, without any inscription or other programmatic evidence, identifying which exact personification Goltzius intended has proven frustrating. No modern publication on the drawing has made an identification without appending a question mark.

¹³⁰ Translated in Boccaccio, *Boccaccio on Poetry*, XV.8.

¹³¹ *Het Schilder-boeck*, *Wtlegghing*, 3v; also see Reznicek, *Zeichnungen*, 194.

Reznicek has convincingly dated the drawing to circa 1586 based on its stylistic relationship to Spranger.¹³² The elegant mannerist sway of the female personification is clear, as is her small round-featured face. A number of prints from the same period help to narrow the dating further. Reznicek points to the frontispiece of Goltzius's *Roman Heroes* series of 1586 (Figure 17), in which the face of the personification of Rome, with a tiny mouth and sweet, round eyes, echo the robed woman in the Teylers drawing.

Today the drawing is cataloged as *Patientia* by the Teylers Museum, as it was by Reznicek who tentatively linked it to an emblem of Patience by Joris Hoefnagel (Figure 43).¹³³ The emblem shows a man bound at the feet by the type of ankle manacles that Goltzius's figure carries in her hand.¹³⁴ However this coincidental similarity alone cannot support Reznicek's identification; the female figure is not bound by the manacles, rather she carries them in her hand. Other proposals (based on archival evidence that will be further discussed on page 62 below) call the figure an allegory of *Castigatio* or *Disciplina*.¹³⁵ Neither *Castigatio* nor *Disciplina* are particularly convincing as identifications; the peculiar rod carried by the woman in the Haarlem drawing only incidentally suggests punishment or discipline. An allegorical personification of a woman with both rod and restraints as attributes, however, was known at the time of this drawing's execution: Nemesis, the ancient Greek goddess of revenge and retribution who, by the Renaissance era, had become associated with the Christian moral virtues of

¹³² Reznicek, *Zeichnungen*, no. 97.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Hoefnagel, *Patientia*, plate XI.

¹³⁵ Stolzenburg, "Inventory of Goltzius Drawings" no. 2; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 86.

temperance. Today she remains in relative obscurity, in part because she has a remarkably varied history of textual and visual representation.

The Iconography of Nemesis

Erwin Panofsky has traced the iconographic origins of the early modern depiction of Nemesis.¹³⁶ A review of Panofsky's excellent study will help us to understand the iconographic material that Goltzius would have known when making this drawing. The most widespread sixteenth-century descriptions of the goddess Nemesis comprise two emblematic books and one print: The *Emblematum liber* by Andrea Alciati (1492-1550), the *Imagini de i dei degli Antichi* by Vincenzo Cartari (1531-after 1569), and an engraving by Albrecht Dürer from 1501 of the goddess (sometimes called *The Great Fortune*).

Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum Liber*

Alciati's *Emblematum liber* (first published in 1531 in Augsburg) describes Nemesis in an emblem format, consisting of a motto or *inscriptio*, an explanatory epigram, or *subscriptio*, and an accompanying illustration. Emblem twenty-seven of his text reads:

Injure no one, either by word or deed.

¹³⁶ Panofsky, "Virgo & Victrix," 13–38.

Nemesis follows on and marks the tracks of men. In her hand she *holds a measuring rod and harsh bridles*. She bids you do nothing wrong, speak no wicked word, and commands that moderation be present in all things.¹³⁷

Alciati's text describing a rod and "harsh bridles" match the drawing by Goltzius readily enough. Alciati derived these implements from an anonymous verse in the *Anthologia Graeca Planudea*, a collection first published in Florence in 1494: "Nemesis warns us by her *cubit-rule and bridle* neither to do anything without measure nor to be unbridled in our speech."¹³⁸

While the motto and epigram in Alciati's *Emblematum liber* remained constant in the many editions of the text published across Europe through 1621, illustrations changed between editions and often diverged from the text. In the first edition of 1531, Nemesis appears as a woman in classical garb and holds a bridle (Figure 44). She is also winged, and stands atop a large, upright wheel, details not mentioned in Alciati's text. The 1531 illustration was informed by another classical source for Nemesis iconography, a passage from Ammianus Marcellinus's C.E. 354 *Res Gestae*. A relevant excerpt from his description of Nemesis:

¹³⁷ Translated in Glasgow University Centre for Emblem Studies, "Alciato at Glasgow." (italics added)

¹³⁸ Translated in Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 5, XVI, no. 223. (italics added) This anonymous "Greek Epigram" was printed in Florence in 1484 by Janus Lascarius, from Maximus Planudes's 14th century manuscript compilation; Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, 23–24.

Moreover, the storied past has given her wings in order that she might be thought to come to all with swift speed; and it has given her a helm to hold and has put a wheel beneath her feet, in order that none may fail to know that she runs through all the elements and rules the universe.¹³⁹

In the 1534 Paris edition of Alciati's *Emblematum liber*, Nemesis was for the first time portrayed sans-wheel, now walking through a mountainous landscape like the one in the Goltzius drawing, still holding the bridle in her left hand while crossing her right arm in front of her body (a mutation attributable to linguistic confusion).¹⁴⁰ Several iterations of this motif occurred, and though the image was redone several times her implements remained constant until 1584, just two years before Goltzius's drawing. In this edition of Alciati's *Emblematum liber* published in Paris, Nemesis is depicted carrying both a bridle and a long rod pointed up and over her body as she walks through a craggy landscape (Figure 45). Goltzius seems to have adopted from this illustration not only the general pose, ornamentation, and costume of Nemesis, but also the setting, with a city visible amidst the mountainous background in the distance. Goltzius probably also referenced this same edition of Alciati for the *Fame and History* print from his *Roman Heroes* series.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Translated in Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, bk. XIV, no. 26; Panofsky, "Virgo & Victrix," 22. For a recent, comprehensive study of the Roman representations of Nemesis, see Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman State, and the Games*.

¹⁴⁰ One incidental curiosity in the illustration of Alciati's epigram is the misinterpretation of the Latin word *cubitum*. Though Alciati almost certainly intended for the word to be understood as a cubit rod, or measuring stick, as it was written in the Greek epigram on which he drew, a number of illustrators from 1534 to 1542 seem to have translated it instead as "elbow". The resulting images show Nemesis in profile, holding out the reins with her left arm and supporting her left elbow with her right hand. In the 1569 edition this erroneous motif seems to have, to borrow Panofsky's elegant characterization, "evaporated"; Panofsky, "Virgo & Victrix," 21–22.

¹⁴¹ Melion suggests that Goltzius may have consulted Alciati's emblem *Strenuorum immortale nomen* (Immortal name of heroes) not only for the subject, but also the format of the *Fame and History* engraving;

Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini de i Dei de gli antichi*

While Goltzius would have known Alciati's description of Nemesis, and the 1584 woodcut in particular, it is equally clear he did not derive his figuration of Nemesis solely from that author. The pair of manacles is quite different from the "harsh bridles" from Alciati's epigram, and the stripped tree branch is not the manufactured, ruled measuring rod seen in the illustration. To find the origins of this imagery, one must turn to Goltzius's second major iconographic source for this drawing, Cartari's *Imagini de i Dei de gli antichi*.

Unlike Alciati, Cartari attempted to provide a full philology of the goddess. He cited both Ammianus Marcellinus, as well as the anonymous verses from the *Anthologia Graeca Planudea*.¹⁴² He added a third classical source for Nemesis: Pausanias, the second-century A.D. historian of Greece. Pausanias wrote of an ancient statue of Nemesis sculpted by the Persians in vain anticipation of a coming victory over Athens:

"Thematics of Artisanal Virtue," 1127. This emblem, quoting Cicero, describes Thetis emerging from the sea to lay garlands on the tomb of Achilles, "bulwark of the Greeks." Melion suggests Goltzius looked at this emblem in the 1551 Lyon edition of the *Emblematum liber*. However the 1584 Paris edition illustrates Thetis as a voluptuous nude, a closer match for the figure in the *Roman Heroes* than the meager woman in a tunic from the 1551 edition.

¹⁴² Cartari, *Le Imagini De i Dei Degli Antichi*, 388.

It is thought that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished. Of this marble Pheidias made a statue of Nemesis, and on the head of the goddess is a crown with deer and small images of Victory. *In her left hand she holds an apple branch, in her right hand a cup on which are wrought Ethiopians.*¹⁴³

By presenting this and other derivative accounts side by side, Cartari openly acknowledged the particularly unwieldy and unstable iconography of Nemesis. The iconographic discord he presents in the text is fittingly visualized in the illustrated edition of the *Imagini* from 1571.¹⁴⁴ Bolognino Zaltieri's woodcut for Nemesis explicitly visualized the goddess' iconographic discord, using two separate figures to properly represent the textual history provided by Cartari (Figure 46), a method Zaltieri had to employ for several deities whose cited references were contradictory.¹⁴⁵ The left figure stands before the wheel and rudder mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus and holds the ruler and bridle described in the Greek Anthology epigram. The right figure, however, is new. She bears a cup or chalice as well as a leafy branch, both items described by Pausanias. Pausanias, via Cartari, explains why Goltzius depicted his *Nemesis* with a branch instead of a man-made rod or ruler. Pausanias also, incidentally, explains why Goltzius may have chosen to represent Nemesis without wings. A wingless Nemesis is, according to Pausanias, more historically accurate:

¹⁴³ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* I (Attica), 33, 2-8, translated in Jones, *Pausanias: Description of Greece*. (italics added)

¹⁴⁴ The first edition of the *Imagini* was published in 1566, but the first illustrated edition appeared in 1571.

¹⁴⁵ Cartari, *Le Imagini De i Dei Degli Antichi*, 380. For more on the confusing illustrations in Cartari's *Imagini*, see Sez nec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods*, 137–147; McGrath, "The 'Old' and 'New' Illustrations for Cartari's *Imagini*."

Neither this nor any other ancient statue of Nemesis has wings, for not even the holiest wooden images of the Smyrnaeans have them, but later artists, convinced that the goddess manifests herself most as a consequence of love, give wings to Nemesis as they do to Love.¹⁴⁶

These iconographic sources also justify Goltzius's innovative characterization of the restraints as shackles instead of the more traditional bridle. The ancient authors cited by Cartari and the later commentators on Alciati's *Emblemata* occasionally mention yokes or fetters rather than bridles. Ammianus Marcellinus when writing about the character and function of Nemesis, describes the targets of Nemesis's vengeful punishments:

She too, *binding the vainly swelling pride of mortals with the indissoluble bond of fate*, and tilting changeably, as she knows how to do, the balance of gain and loss, now bends and weakens the uplifted necks of the proud, and now, raising the good from the lowest estate, lifts them to a happy life.¹⁴⁷

Marcellinus uses the Latin word *retinaculo*, meaning a bond, chain, or tie, rather than the more conventional *frenum* to denote a horse's bridle. By transmuting the reins of Nemesis into shackles, Goltzius developed a most inventive way of alluding to the traditional bridle while at the same time depicting Nemesis as a measurer and shackler of the actions of men, not horses. Such a transformation suggests that Goltzius did not just

¹⁴⁶ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, I (Attica), 33, 2-8, translated in Jones, *Pausanias: Description of Greece*.

¹⁴⁷ Translated in Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XIV, 26. (italics added)

consult Cartari's and Alciati's textual and visual summaries, but may also have known the ancient sources that the iconographers cited.¹⁴⁸

Goltzius's conceptual achievement in this drawing is remarkable. No single textual source mixes both tree branch and restraints. Only in Cartari's Renaissance-era image do the reins and the tree branch even enter the same illustration, yet even there Zaltieri used two women, not one, to illustrate all of Nemesis's attributes. Goltzius consolidated Cartari's two Nemesis figures into one, cleverly merging the ruler and tree branch into the rod-like switch his Nemesis holds in her right hand, and taking from Cartari's other figure the manacles his Nemesis holds. This elegant synthesis resembles the thoughtful iconographic innovation and combination Goltzius used in his *Four Seasons, Ceres, Bacchus and Venus, and Judgment of Midas* prints discussed in Chapter 1.

Albrecht Dürer's *Nemesis*

Goltzius's iconographic choices seem all the more remarkable when one considers that he must also have consulted Albrecht Dürer's important prototype for the goddess. Goltzius certainly would have known Dürer's 1501-1502 print *Nemesis* (Figure 47), since Dürer himself brought it to the Netherlands during his travels in 1520-21. In his diary from the Netherlands trip, Dürer meticulously recorded the prints and drawings he gifted, or sold to cover his day-to-day expenses. Four times Dürer records selling a print he called *Die Nemesis*, a print that has been linked to an engraving formerly known

¹⁴⁸ Goltzius (or, more likely, one of his Latinist friends such as Estius or Schonaeus) may have known Ammianus's *Res Gestae* either from an edition (albeit incomplete, but containing book XIV in which the Nemesis passage is found) published by Erasmus in 1518 in Basel, or a more complete edition published in July 1544 by Gelenius of Basel; *Ibid.*, xlv–xlvi.

as *The Great Fortune*.¹⁴⁹ Panofsky has demonstrated that Dürer derived his image of *Nemesis* in large part from a description by Politian a Florentine poet and humanist.¹⁵⁰ In 1482 Politian delivered a series of lectures on classical Latin poetry for Lorenzo the Magnificent.¹⁵¹ At Lorenzo's insistence, Politian published the lectures shortly afterward. The *Manto*, written in praise of Virgil's *Bucolics*, opens with a description of Nemesis:

There is a goddess *suspended on high upon the vacant air* who makes her way girded by a cloud, but her mantle is of a brilliant white, her hair radiant, and her *whirring wings* produce a shrill sound. She suppresses immoderate hopes and fiercely menaces the proud; it was given to her to crush the haughty minds of men and to rout their successes and their ambitious projects. The ancients called her Nemesis, born of the silent night to Ocean, her father. Stars adorn her brow; in her hand *she holds the bridle and the libation bowl*; she ceases not to utter a fearsome laugh and she stands opposed to senseless undertakings, quelling evil desires. And turning everything topsy-turvy, she confounds and orders our actions by turns and is borne hither and thither by the force of the whirlwind.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Marlier and Gijzen, *Albrecht Dürer: Diary*, 62 (twice), 72, 76. These entries were first linked with the engraving of *The Great Fortune* by Hausmann, "Welcher Kupferstich Von Albrech Dürer Ist Die Nemesis?".

¹⁵⁰ Panofsky rigorously confirmed a suggestion by Giehlow, "Poliziano Und Dürer"; in his "Virgo & Victrix."

¹⁵¹ Though initially presented as orations, these lectures (called the *Silvae*) were actually composed as classical poems themselves. *Manto* was initially published by Antonio Miscomini, Florence. After Politian's death *Manto* and the other *Silvae* were made available across Europe, published by houses in Paris, Basel, Munster, and Salamanca; Fantazzi, *Angelo Poliziano: Silvae*, xii, xix.

¹⁵² Politian, *Manto* 1-13, translated in *Ibid.*, 7. (italics added)

Politian's description, likely one of the earliest modern descriptions of Nemesis, merges both Pausanias's bowl and wings, as well as Ammianus Marcellinus's bridle, all of which Dürer depicts in his engraving.¹⁵³

Remarkably, Goltzius formulated an iconographic for his drawing of *Nemesis* utterly different from Dürer's design. Goltzius left out the wings, chalice, and horse reins found in Dürer's image, instead giving his own wingless *Nemesis* a rod and a pair of manacles. It is as if, looking at the literary descriptions of Nemesis and then to Dürer's print, Goltzius consciously selected all the emblems of the goddess that Dürer had *not* used. In particular, by leaving his *Nemesis* wingless as Pausanias described her (see page 57), Goltzius may have intended to create an image of the goddess more historically accurate than Dürer's. Stylistically, Goltzius's lithe, voluptuous Nemesis could not be farther from Dürer's solid figure. While Dürer expressed the goddess within Vitruvius's careful proportions, Goltzius, instead, drew on Spranger's sensual female forms and depicted Nemesis as an elegantly draped figure.¹⁵⁴ Still gesturing to Dürer's *Nemesis*, however, Goltzius set his figure before a distant city built in a mountainous landscape.

Goltzius had a lifelong penchant for emulation of and rivalry with earlier masters. Was he attempting to draw a comparison between himself and Dürer with the *Nemesis*? Van Mander would endorse such iconographic rivalry in his 1604 *Lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*. During his trip to the Netherlands in 1520-21, Dürer visited the home of Lucas van Leyden and the artists exchanged sets of their printed

¹⁵³ Panofsky lucidly traces the origin of the globe on which Dürer's Nemesis stands to a Roman coin from the Vespatian period showing *Victoria Augustea*, a winged figure balancing on an orb; Panofsky, "Virgo & Victrix," 24-28.

¹⁵⁴ Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, 80-82.

works.¹⁵⁵ While Dürer describes the meeting concisely in his own diary, van Mander embellished the story in his biography of the German master by playing up the competition between the two artists. Van Mander notes that Lucas constantly strove to emulate Dürer's inventions, writing that, "on occasion Lucas immediately engraved the same histories or other subjects which Albert [*sic*] had made."¹⁵⁶ With the *Nemesis* drawing Goltzius followed (albeit at an eighty-five year remove) Lucas's example of attempting his own formulations of subjects that Dürer had pictured.

Goltzius would later win renown for his masterful emulation of Dürer in his *Early Life of the Virgin* print series from 1593-4, in which he emulated the engraving styles of Dürer and Lucas, as well as the compositional designs and figural styling of Federico Barocci, Jacopo Bassano, Raphael and Michelangelo. Van Mander related an anecdote in his biography of Goltzius that illustrated how proud the artist was of the deceptive nature of these prints. Goltzius targeted haughty print connoisseurs who thought him beneath the great Dürer and Lucas. Goltzius delighted in these collectors' embarrassment when they learned that the impressions they so richly praised as newly-discovered masterpieces by those old masters were in fact masterful imitations by none other than Goltzius himself.¹⁵⁷ In van Mander's anecdote, Goltzius was delighted that his imitation of Dürer's style was so subtle that it went undetected, at least until Goltzius revealed his deception so that he might relish the reactions of those he had hoodwinked. Van Mander's anecdote is probably an embellishment of the truth, like his account of the meeting between Dürer

¹⁵⁵ Marlier and Gijsen, *Albrecht Dürer: Diary*, 29.

¹⁵⁶ Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters (1604)*, 212v.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 284v.

and Lucas. Nevertheless, one of the great delights of the imitative works by Goltzius is the way in which they reveal their imitation. Goltzius's *Circumcision of Christ* from the *Life of the Virgin* series (Figure 48) is one of the most creative executions of this type of conspicuous imitation. This mode of imitation is more accurately called *emulation*, whereby the newly invented work conspicuously surpasses its model.¹⁵⁸ Goltzius emulated the engraving style Dürer used in his print of the same subject (Figure 49), as well as the setting of the circumcision. Rather than simply copy the background, however, Goltzius transformed it by rotating the view and redistributing Dürer's figures into a new configuration. By demonstrating his masterful command of all the elements of Dürer's original *Circumcision* – style, figures, space, and composition – Goltzius cast himself as a superior successor to Dürer.¹⁵⁹ One could understand Goltzius's *Nemesis* drawing as a similar (if less mature) form of emulation, improving upon both the style and iconography of Dürer's print of the goddess.

Function and Provenance

Who would have seen, or would have been intended to see, the *Nemesis* drawing? What significance might *Nemesis* have carried for contemporary viewers? Uncertainty over the function of this drawing frustrates an easy answer to this question. This sheet is not connected to one of Goltzius's prints. Goltzius carefully finished this pen and brush drawing with wash and white highlighting, consistent with his drawn designs for

¹⁵⁸ Pigman, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," 3–4.

¹⁵⁹ For more on the significance of Goltzius's imitative works, see Melion, "Karel Van Mander's 'Life of Goltzius'"; Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 45–46.

engravings.¹⁶⁰ The great size of the drawing – more than 50 cm tall, easily double the size of his regular prints – is anomalous, however. Goltzius’s monumental *Great Hercules* of 1589 is his only print that rivals the *Nemesis* in size. Huigen Leeftang correctly points out that the drawing is not populated with the small figural details that Goltzius typically included behind large historical, mythological, or allegorical foreground figures.¹⁶¹ The drawing is also not incised for transfer, which further suggests Goltzius did not intend it to be a design for an engraving.

Reznicek has speculated that the large-format *Nemesis* may have been a cartoon for a stained glass window design, however this proposal is not particularly convincing. He has also suggested that a series of bust-length drawings of *Christ and the Apostles* from c. 1586 could have been stained glass cartoons as well (Figure 50).¹⁶² Goltzius drew the Apostles in front of blank backgrounds, though a number of the drawings have broad indications of haloes or other designs that run to the edge of the sheet. Goltzius also squared a number of the drawings, perhaps to mark the crossbars that would hold the glass panels together.¹⁶³ Although the *Nemesis* shares these drawings’ outside dimensions, the resemblances end there. Goltzius brushed brown ink over red chalk sketches for the *Apostles* drawings. The *Nemesis* is more finished: Goltzius left no visible under-sketching, added highlights in multiple hues, and detailed a mountainous landscape

¹⁶⁰ Hand, *The Age of Bruegel*, 31.

¹⁶¹ Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 86.

¹⁶² Reznicek, “Hendrick Goltzius 1961-1991 - Een Overzicht Van Dertig Jaar Onderzoek,” 125–128; Reznicek, “Drawings by Hendrick Goltzius, Thirty Years Later” K62a-K64a.

¹⁶³ These markings were customary for fifteenth-century stained glass modelli; Hand, *The Age of Bruegel*, 33.

in the background. The *Nemesis* was meant to stand on its own. Who might have been the intended recipient of this finished artwork?

Andreas Stolzenburg has convincingly traced the drawing back to the collections of Queen Christina of Sweden.¹⁶⁴ Inventories were made of her collections in 1656 as she prepared to leave for Rome from Antwerp, the city where she had lived since abdicating her throne two years earlier. These inventories noted three albums: an album of drawings by Goltzius, as well as two additional albums of drawings by Raphael, Michelangelo, and other Italian masters. After passing between several more owners, the albums were fully catalogued in a 1713-1714 inventory of the estate of Livio Odescalchi.¹⁶⁵ The inventories' entries are summary by modern standards, but Stolzenburg has matched almost all the provided titles to known drawings in present-day collections. Stolzenburg matches the Teylers drawing to an entry for *Castigo* based on the devices of punishment that Goltzius's *Nemesis* holds, and that it appears next to two other large-scale Goltzius drawings identified from c. 1578, suggesting another large scale drawing like the *Nemesis*.¹⁶⁶ Leeftang points out that the drawing could also correspond to an adjacent entry for *Disciplina* based on those same attributes.¹⁶⁷

Where had the *Nemesis* been between its creation in 1586 and Queen Christina's collections in 1656? Reznicek speculated that someone, perhaps Goltzius himself, assembled drawings after Roman antique statuary in an album that was passed on to

¹⁶⁴ Stolzenburg, "Inventory of Goltzius Drawings," 432.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 425.

¹⁶⁶ Stolzenburg, "Inventory of Goltzius Drawings", no. 10.

¹⁶⁷ Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 84.

Rudolf II sometime between the Goltzius's return from Italy in 1591 and his death in 1617.¹⁶⁸ Reznicek based his suggestion on an entry in the 1656 inventory of Christina's collections made as she left Antwerp for Rome: "A book bound in black leather, with some antique drawings by Goltzius."¹⁶⁹ Implicit in Reznicek's supposition is that the albums passed from Rudolf's *kunstammer* into Christina's holdings in 1648 when her armies entered Prague and took control of the castle and its collections.¹⁷⁰ Rudolf II did own several drawings, prints, paintings, and even print plates by Goltzius, and there is no doubt the inventive iconography of the *Nemesis* drawing would have appealed to the allegory-loving emperor. However there is no explicit documentary evidence that the emperor owned an album of the artist's drawings.¹⁷¹ It is just as likely that Christina created the album herself from loose Goltzius drawings.

Nemesis as a Political, Moral, and Scholarly Allegory

As no definitive documentation for Goltzius's *Nemesis* exists before the mid-seventeenth century, the significance of *Nemesis* current in the late sixteenth century must inform any speculation about the drawing's original recipient. Because her ancient literary origins were so varied, the fifteenth and sixteenth century adopted *Nemesis* for use as a political allegory, a vehicle for a moralizing message, and even as an allegory

¹⁶⁸ Reznicek, *Zeichnungen*, 320.

¹⁶⁹ "Un livre lié en cuir noir, avecq des desseins anticques de Goltsius", in Denuncé, *De Antwerpsche "Konstkamers,"* 179.

¹⁷⁰ Fučíková, "The Fate of Rudolf II's Collections," 177.

¹⁷¹ Evans and Fučíková, *Stylish Image*, 21. A letter from Johann Tilman to the Count of Lippe describes how intent Rudolf II was on acquiring paintings by Goltzius after the artist began working in the medium after 1600; Nichols, "Hendrick Goltzius: Documents," 95; Evans, *Rudolf II and His World*, 170.

for classical scholarship itself. Evaluating these meanings against the function of Goltzius's drawing will ultimately suggest two possible recipients, each prizing a different interpretation of the goddess.

The ancient and early modern literature on Nemesis inserted her time and again into historic affairs of state and war, lending the goddess a certain political currency. Pausanias described how Nemesis punished the Persians with a humiliating military defeat on the shores of Greece, because they had arrogantly anticipated an easy conquest of the Athenians.¹⁷² Politian told how Nemesis eventually reversed the fortune of the Greeks, forcing them under Roman rule.¹⁷³ Her political agency was acknowledged in the Renaissance, too. In 1478 the Medici family commissioned a portrait medallion memorializing Giuliano de' Medici, assassinated during the Pazzi-Montefeltro plot against the Florentine ruling family (Figure 51). At Politian's suggestion, the reverse of the medal shows Nemesis carrying the bowl and bridle in her capacity as the master of revenge.¹⁷⁴

Goltzius did occasionally reference contemporary political concerns in his engravings, such as the 1589 *Great Hercules*.¹⁷⁵ As noted above, though, Goltzius did not intend to issue the *Nemesis* drawing as an engraving, meaning that any political message would only have been seen by a very limited audience, perhaps just a single individual. Moreover, Goltzius did not emphasize Nemesis's allegorical connection to retaliation and

¹⁷² See page 52, note 143.

¹⁷³ Politian, *Manto* 13-20.

¹⁷⁴ Bode, "Der Florentiner Medailleur Niccolò Di Forzore Spinelli," 6-7; Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals Before Cellini*, 259, no. 986.

¹⁷⁵ Holman, "Goltzius's *Great Hercules*," 397-398.

retribution. Although almost every classical and Renaissance text described her as a raging force of vengeance, Goltzius added no hint of malice, anger, or threat to his goddess. Her sweet face is calm, and Goltzius depicts her walking in a stately manner on the ground, not speeding through the air to catch and punish malefactors. Her graceful demeanor is more reminiscent of Goltzius's single-figure allegorical personifications of the *Seven Christian Virtues and Vices* engraved by Matham around 1587. Goltzius shows the figure *Temperance* (Figure 52) standing in the foreground of a sweeping landscape. This setting, her classicizing garb, her intricately braided hair, and her fingers poised in carefully articulated gestures, all recall the *Nemesis*.

The similarity between the *Nemesis* and Goltzius's series of Christian virtues is not coincidental. The Christian virtue of Temperance is consonant with Nemesis's warnings against vain, haughty, or overambitious speech. In his entry on Nemesis in the *Adages*, Erasmus remarks that, in all the ancient stories of Nemesis, she is most hostile towards intemperate or prideful actions.¹⁷⁶ The personification of Temperance was traditionally represented with two jugs (i.e. tempering wine with water), an iconography also seen in Goltzius's 1587 design. David Greene has noted that late medieval and early Renaissance authors and artists often used Nemesis's attributes in order to convey allegorical or moralizing meaning rather than historical or political commentary. For example, Giotto depicted a personification of Temperance on the south wall of the Arena Chapel who holds a bit in her mouth, as if bridled by Nemesis (Figure 53).¹⁷⁷ Giorgio Vasari, in his 1568 biography of Marcantonio Raimondi, described Dürer's *Nemesis* as a

¹⁷⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia* II.vi.38.

¹⁷⁷ Greene, "The Identity of Emblematic Nemesis," 37–39.

nude, winged *Temperantia* hanging in the clouds over a tiny city bearing a cup and bridle.¹⁷⁸ Although Goltzius was clearly trying to depict Nemesis in his drawing rather than a personification of Temperance, by portraying his goddess with a calm expression and gently swaying pose he may have hoped to downplay her violent or retributive associations in favor of one of her other meanings.

This broad moral theme may have had a specific significance to Goltzius in 1586. His former teacher, Dirck Coornhert, published his *Zedekunst, dat ist wellevenskunst* the same year, a philosophical and moral treatise that emphasized the importance of a moderate, temperate life. One who strives too high, argued Coornhert, will find himself cast down, while one who embraces a modestly-lived life will enjoy a smooth road. Coornhert summarized his argument in the closing lines of the *Zedekunst*: “The selfsame day that briefly saw the proud man elevated so loftily also sees him swiftly and thoroughly humbled, thrust down in mortifying shame.”¹⁷⁹ This passage immediately brings to mind Politian’s description of Nemesis, who was given to “crush the haughty minds of men and to rout their successes and their ambitious projects.”¹⁸⁰

Moderation and temperance in the face of human greed and ambition was a lifelong philosophical imperative of Coornhert’s. Goltzius was in contact with his old teacher near the end of the 1580s: After returning from Italy in 1591, Goltzius engraved a portrait commemorating Coornhert, who had died in late 1590 while Goltzius was abroad (Figure 54). In the inscription Goltzius says he engraved the print after a drawing he did

¹⁷⁸ Strauss, *The Intaglio Prints of Albrecht Dürer*, 112.

¹⁷⁹ Coornhert, *Zedekunst, Dat Is Wellevenskunste*, 441; translated in Veldman, *Maarten Van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism*, 81.

¹⁸⁰ See page 58, note 152.

from life, which he must have made just prior to leaving on his Italian journey.¹⁸¹ At the top of the print Goltzius included Coornhert's personal motto "*Weet, of rust,*" "Know, or keep silent," a sentiment in line with Coornhert's prescriptions in his *Zedekunst*.

Other artworks by Goltzius from this period indicate he understood this outlook. Anne Lowenthal has suggested that Goltzius and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem engaged these ideas in the *Four Disgracers*, a series of paintings by Cornelis from 1588 that Goltzius engraved (Figure 55-Figure 56).¹⁸² Cornelis's tumbling Tantalus, Icarus, Phaeton, and Ixion exemplify the consequences of the overzealous ambition against which Coornhert warned. The inscriptions circumscribing each print echo this message; from *Phaeton* (Figure 56), "A wise man does not approve ambition, but prizes expressions of praise; he prizes them if they go to good people. Thus the fall of Phaeton teaches us that impetuosity comes to a bad end."¹⁸³ The inscription clearly recalls Coornhert's admonition, but the *Disgracers* are also visually related to an early print by Coornhert that also shows ambition's repercussions. Veldman has pointed out that the imagery from the *Zedekunst* echoes that in van Heemskerck's 1549 *Allegory of Human Ambition*, which Coornhert probably suggested as a topic and then etched (Figure 57).¹⁸⁴ Cornelis's and Goltzius's twisted *Disgracers* resemble van Heemskerck's and Coornhert's figures frozen mid-tumble after ambitiously climbing up to a precarious height. The *Nemesis* drawing fits alongside these moralizing allegories such as the *Seven*

¹⁸¹ Kok, "Artists Portrayed by Their Friends," 164; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, cat. 51.

¹⁸² Lowenthal, "The Disgracers: Four Sinners in One Act," 151; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, cat. 33.

¹⁸³ Translated in Leeftang, *Goltzius*, cat. 33.3.

¹⁸⁴ Veldman, *Maarten Van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism*, 81.

Virtues and *The Disgracers* that were related to Coornhert's philosophies. The drawing could even have been a gift to Coornhert commemorating the publishing of the *Zedekunst* that same year, or to another like-minded friend who would have appreciated both its iconographic inventiveness as well as its moralizing message.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Nemesis was also linked with the study of classical history itself, a significance which suggests an alternate recipient for Goltzius's drawing. In 1586 Philip Galle commissioned Goltzius to do a medallion portrait print of the Flemish geographer Abraham Ortelius (Figure 58).¹⁸⁵ In addition to geography, Ortelius was a humanist scholar who was close to the scholarly Antwerp circle that Goltzius was introduced to during his apprenticeship to Coornhert and Galle (Ortelius was friends with Goltzius's great-uncle, Hubertus Goltzius.) Goltzius may have seen Dürer's *Nemesis* while visiting Ortelius. The geographer amassed a substantial collection of ancient Roman coins, as well as more modern artifacts including a nearly-comprehensive collection of Dürer's woodcuts and engravings.¹⁸⁶

For a sixteenth-century humanist like Ortelius, Nemesis was not only associated with revenge, but also with the transmission of classical culture. Although he described her political and historical associations, Politian actually invoked Nemesis at the outset of his *Manto* in order to allegorize the introduction of Greek culture to Rome, a fitting introduction to a poem composed in praise of Virgil. As noted above, Politian wrote that Nemesis forced the Greeks under the might of Roman arms in retribution for their pride in driving back Persian invasions. Yet the goddess's retributive actions were not without

¹⁸⁵ Goltzius made the design for the print (inscribing it "*HG inv*"), however he may not have been responsible for engraving the plate itself; Strauss, *Goltzius*, no. 227.

¹⁸⁶ Buchanan, "Dürer and Abraham Ortelius," 734.

some positive consequence: Politian adds that the Greeks carried with them a skill in poetry that had no equal Latium.¹⁸⁷ He thus associates Nemesis with the transmission of ancient Greek culture to Rome. Furthermore, by putting her at the front of his own Virgilian poem, Politian implicitly associates Nemesis with the transmission of that culture to the Renaissance in turn. It has been suggested that Dürer may have thus designed his *Nemesis* as a gift to his humanist friend Willibald Pirckheimer as a paean to his classical research. Pirckheimer devotedly translated Greek texts into Latin, and also promoted Italian classical scholarship in Germany. He may have proposed that Dürer honor Politian's humanistic achievements by engraving an image of Nemesis after the Florentine poet's description.¹⁸⁸

Similarly, Ortelius may have introduced Goltzius to Dürer's *Nemesis* print and suggested the Dutch engraver attempt his own rendering of the goddess. Ortelius probably already knew the goddess from representations on some of his Roman coins. He included her under one of her alternate names, *Fortuna antias*, in a catalogue of the deities depicted on the reverses of his extensive numismatic collection.¹⁸⁹ Goltzius's drawing could have been an ideal gift to the Dürer-loving Ortelius, who supplemented his Dürer collection with prints from closely associated artists such as Hans Sebald Beham and Hans Baldung Grien as well as later copies after Dürer designs, creating a kind of

¹⁸⁷ Politian, *Manto* 18-27.

¹⁸⁸ Strauss, *The Intaglio Prints of Albrecht Dürer*, 115.

¹⁸⁹ *Deorum Dearumque Capita Ex Vetustis Numismatibus In Gratiam Antiquitatis Studiosorum Effigita Et Edita. Ex Museo Abrahami Ortelii*, first published in 1573 (Antwerp: Plantin); Lentz, "Abraham Ortelius and Medallist Art," 8.

memorial to the German master.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, Ortelius would have appreciated how, by incorporating ancient sources into his novel iconography, Goltzius thematized Nemesis's transmission of classical learning. The drawing would have honored Ortelius's own humanistic research as well as his artistic tastes.

Unfortunately, without greater insight into the intended recipient drawing, these speculations on political, religious, or moral motives for the picturing of Nemesis in 1586 must remain just that. Yet it is also possible that the drawing did *not* have a recipient, other than Goltzius himself. With its large format and high level of finish, the sheet could have stood in his studio as a demonstration of his facility in iconography, draftsmanship, and coloristic skill. Barring that, Goltzius may also have kept this drawing entirely for himself; he did hang some of his own work in his house.¹⁹¹ For Goltzius, Nemesis might have provided a tempting subject precisely because of her complicated iconographic history. To draw the goddess may have been as much a public demonstration of Goltzius's erudition as it was a personal test of his own ability to generate novel renditions of challenging classical subjects. Whether the audience was in fact a third party, or even just Goltzius himself, by synthesizing a markedly inventive design for the difficult-to-represent Nemesis, Goltzius continued to signal his experience with antique iconography and the many early modern reference texts that attempted to catalog them.

¹⁹⁰ Buchanan, "Dürer and Abraham Ortelius," 740–741.

¹⁹¹ Van Mander describes grisaille paintings of the seven planets of Goltzius's own invention hanging in the artist's entrance hall; Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters* (1604), 284r.

CONCLUSION

In 1590 Goltzius embarked on his trip to Italy. While he was away, his Haarlem studio (probably under Matham's oversight) continued to issue prints after drawings he made in the late 1580s.¹⁹² Goltzius's greatest engravings, not to mention his most stunning pen drawings, as well as his entire painted *oeuvre*, all came after this influential journey to the south. Yet, if Van Mander is to be believed, Goltzius's name was already known across Europe at the time he began his trip. His fame was such that he allegedly spent much of his trip to Italy in one disguise or another so that he might hear unvarnished opinions about his work, or gleefully shock unwitting hosts when revealing his true identity.¹⁹³ In its first eight years of his independent studio's operation, Goltzius had apparently succeeded in disseminating his name internationally.

Goltzius's professional star would only continue to rise after he returned from Italy with a dramatically expanded knowledge of both antique sculpture as well as fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian art. Goltzius made a wealth of chalk drawings while in Italy, and shortly after he returned to his Haarlem studio he issued prints either directly after these drawings, or closely informed by them.¹⁹⁴ For all Goltzius's obsession with classical iconography during the 1580s, it is clear that he made his Italian drawings primarily with an eye for form and style, and not in order to compile an iconographic aid.

¹⁹² Kok, "Hendrick Goltzius: Engraver, Designer, and Publisher 1582-1600," 180–181.

¹⁹³ Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters (1604)*, 282v–284r.

¹⁹⁴ Kok, "Hendrick Goltzius: Engraver, Designer, and Publisher 1582-1600," 182–187; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 117–125.

Unlike van Heemskerck, for example, whose Italian notebook comprised detailed studies of architectural and decorative details that he would use to add antique veracity to his works, Goltzius instead focused on capturing the plastic modeling of antique and Renaissance statuary, as well as the coloristic effects of paintings (although most of his extant drawings focus on sculpture.)¹⁹⁵ The classical style he absorbed from this trip manifested in a new compositional clarity and restraint that Goltzius had not prioritized to the same degree in his pre-Italy works.

This is not to say that Goltzius no longer invented new classical iconographies after his trip to Italy. Quite the contrary, he continued to innovate; for example, he revisited familiar themes such as the *Four Seasons* and the *Seven Planets*, inventively representing them with a print series of genre scenes showing the work done during each season, and the labors associated with the respective planets. Not surprisingly, the influence of Italy shows in these prints: Goltzius portrayed each god in the *Seven Planets* as a carved statue standing amidst its children, rather than as living participant in the scene.¹⁹⁶ However Goltzius's greatest displays of invention in the 1590s were not new iconographic combinations or refinements, but his virtuosic inventions in the guise of Italian and Northern masters.¹⁹⁷ Rather than scouring classical texts and modern mythographies for subjects, here Goltzius instead treated the very visual manners of master artists as the building-blocks of new inventions. while earlier he seems to have only been interested, for example, in Dürer for his iconography of *Nemesis*, Goltzius now

¹⁹⁵ Leeftang, *Goltzius*, 121.

¹⁹⁶ Veldman, "Seasons, Planets, and Temperaments," 162–175; Leeftang, *Goltzius*, cat. 77.

¹⁹⁷ See page 61.

strove to master Dürer's visual style and engraving hand so completely that he could deceive connoisseurs. Though he continued to build complex allegories and learned mythological scenes in his prints, drawings, and paintings, Goltzius' greatest achievements in this mature phase of his career explored the limits of his stylistic virtuosity rather than his literary knowledge.

While Goltzius's contemporary acclaim has rightly been credited to his astounding technical acumen and visual range, it should now be clear that his iconographic inventiveness helped establish his early popularity among learned circles both in Haarlem and abroad. Goltzius adopted rhetorical methods of invention and emulation in order to glean useful references from visual and textual sources, recombining them to create original, superior artworks that rendered antique knowledge in contemporary styles. By doing so, Goltzius demonstrated that he deserved to be ranked among the great northern painter-engravers such as Dürer or Lucas; a fitting goal, considering he would strive to completely surpass their artistic achievements in the following decade. In this critical professional period Goltzius fulfilled time and again the claim he made in his 1582 *Portrait of Philip Galle*: that his art was both *artifex* and *erudita* – both skilled and learned.

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