

## ABSTRACT

Title of Document: MICHAEL SWEERTS (1618-1664) AND THE  
ACADEMIC TRADITION

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This dissertation examines the career of Flemish artist Michael Sweerts (1618-1664) in Brussels and Rome, and his place in the development of an academic tradition in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Sweerts demonstrated a deep interest in artistic practice, theory and pedagogy over the course of his career, which found remarkable expression in a number of paintings that represent artists learning and practicing their profession. In studios and local neighborhoods, Sweerts depicts artists drawing or painting after antique sculpture and live models, reflecting the coalescence of Northern and Southern attitudes towards the education of artists and the function and meaning of the early modern academy.

By shifting the emphasis on Sweerts away from the *Bamboccianti* – the contemporary group of Dutch and Flemish genre painters who depicted Rome’s everyday subject matter – to a different set of artistic traditions, this dissertation is able to approach the

artist from new contextual and theoretical perspectives. It firmly situates Sweerts within the artistic and intellectual contexts of his native Brussels, examining the classicistic traditions and tapestry industry that he encountered as a young, aspiring artist. It positions him and his work in relation to the Italian academic culture he experienced in Rome, as well as investigating his engagement with the work of the Flemish sculptor François Duquesnoy (1597-1643) and the French painter Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665). The breadth of Sweerts' artistic and academic pursuits ultimately provide significant insight into the ways in which the Netherlandish artistic traditions of naturalism and working from life coalesced with the theoretical and practical aims of the academy. This dissertation thus seeks to broaden our understanding of the artistic exchanges between the North and South, and the evolving role of the artist and the academy in the changing artistic landscape of the Netherlands in the mid-seventeenth century.

MICHAEL SWEERTS (1618-1664) AND THE ACADEMIC TRADITION

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
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## Dedication

For my parents, and my husband.

## Acknowledgements

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## Introduction

The Flemish artist Michael Sweerts (1618-1664) executed his *Self-Portrait as a Painter* (fig. 1) at the height of his career in Brussels in the mid-1650s.<sup>1</sup> He had recently returned from a long stay in Rome (c. 1646-1652), where he had enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj (1622-1666), the nephew to Pope Innocent X (1574-1655), and had cultivated a place for himself within the city's prominent artistic and academic circles. Set against an Italianate landscape of softly painted blue and green hills, and dressed in a black jacket and crisp white shirt, Sweerts engages the beholder with an assured, self-aware gaze. He holds a bundle of brushes, a maulstick and a palette in his left hand, and delicately grasps a thin brush still glistening with white paint in the other. While the painter's tools reveal his profession, Sweerts' elegant dress and aristocratic bearing set him far apart from the image of a working craftsman. The portrait instead reflects a distinguished and proud gentleman, aptly evoking Sweerts' success and sophistication as a learned artist.

While Sweerts has long fascinated scholars and viewers for his incredibly rich and evocative images, his work and life remain largely understudied. Often characterized as enigmatic and strange, Sweerts is regarded as an artist who struggled

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<sup>1</sup> For Sweerts, see Rolf Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts: Brussels 1618-Goa 1664*, trans. Diane L. Webb (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1996); Guido Jansen and Peter C. Sutton, eds., *Michael Sweerts: 1618-1664* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2002). For the self-portrait, see *Ibid.*, 164–166. For earlier discussions of the painting, see Wolfgang Stechow, "Some Portraits by Michael Sweerts," *The Art Quarterly* 14 (1951): 206–215; Wolfgang Stechow, "A Self Portrait by Michael Sweerts," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 9 (1952): 64–65; B. P. J. Broos, Edwin Buijsen, and Rieke van Leeuwen, *Great Dutch Paintings from America* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1990), 442–447. Sweerts reproduced this work as an etching in the mid-1650s, which is inscribed 'Michael Sweerts Eq. Pi. et fe.' Sweerts produced two other known self-portraits during his career, *Self-Portrait with a Skull* (see fig. 54), and *Self-Portrait*, oil on panel, 45 x 53 cm, Florence, Uffizi. Leopoldo de' Medici acquired this work by 1675. See Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, no. 84. A full discussion of Sweerts' biography and place in the art historical scholarship follows below.



to negotiate a career that stretched from Brussels to Rome, Amsterdam and the lands of Persia and Goa. Yet, despite what may rightly be called his idiosyncrasies, Sweerts produced works that distinguished him from his contemporaries, and which provide an extraordinary opportunity – alongside his activities in Rome and Brussels – to examine the concept and meaning of the “academy” in the seventeenth century.

Born in Brussels in 1618, nothing is known about Sweerts’ early life or artistic training before he arrived in Rome in the mid-1640s. As a result, he is primarily associated with the *Bamboccianti*, the contemporary group of Dutch and Flemish artists in Rome who depicted the city’s everyday street life with a great degree of realism.<sup>2</sup> Sweerts rendered scenes of beggars, peasants and cardplayers during his time in Rome (figs. 2-3), as well as religious subjects and strikingly immediate portraits and head studies (figs. 4-6) that demonstrate his careful attention to the world around him and the human condition. Above all, the richness of Sweerts’ *oeuvre* is evident in his ability to represent artists learning and practicing their profession with an exceptional degree of immediacy and complexity (figs. 7-15).<sup>3</sup> In

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<sup>2</sup> For the *Bamboccianti*, see particularly Giuliano Briganti, Ludovica Trezzani, and Laura Laureati, *The Bamboccianti: The Painters of Everyday Life in Seventeenth Century Rome*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (Roma: U. Bozzi, 1983); David A. Levine, “The Art of the Bamboccianti” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1986); David A. Levine and Ekkehard Mai, eds., *I Bamboccianti: Niederländische Malerrebellien im Rom des Barock* (Milano: Electa, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> Sweerts produced a series of the *Seven Acts of Mercy* in the late 1640s, which he rendered in the manner of scenes from everyday life in Rome. The only other extant religious subject he produced was a *Lamentation*; known through a print, this work was probably executed after a painting of the same subject, as the inscription informs us: ‘*Michael Sweerts Eques pin: et fe*’ (*The Lamentation*, etching, 28.9 x 34.7 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Sweerts painted a number of portraits during his career, including at least three of his patrons in Rome, the Deutz brothers (discussed below), and several portraits in Brussels, three of which only survive as etchings. See Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 80–93, 100–105, 136–138, 170–172. Sweerts executed at least half a dozen painted *tronies*, small, immediate head studies of anonymous individuals, which were almost certainly rendered from life. Only three of Sweerts’ works are signed and dated: *In the Studio*, 1652 (fig. 12); *A Game of Draughts*, signed and dated “*Michael Sweerts/fecit an 1652/Roma*” (oil on canvas, 48 x 38 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum); and *Portrait of a Young Man*, signed and dated “*A.D. 1656/Ratio Quique Reddenda/Michael Sweerts F*” (oil on canvas, 114 x 92 cm, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage

a remarkable number of paintings executed in Rome, Sweerts depicted artists drawing outside in the urban landscape and in studio-academies that are characterized by the juxtaposition of drawing a model *naer het leven* – from life – and from the idealized forms of antique sculpture. Sweerts portrayed the fundamentals of artistic training and the sophisticated theories of pedagogy that framed their development. In his paintings, the viewer often contemplates, alongside Sweerts' own visitors, modes of artistic inspiration and emulation.

Upon his return to Brussels in the early to mid-1650s, Sweerts established an academy for drawing *naer het leven* for young artists and tapestry designers.<sup>4</sup> He represented the subject in a large-scale painting from this period (fig. 15), introducing the viewer to those eager students who study the model from life. The print series of highly individualized head studies that he produced in 1656 for the use of artists in and outside of the academy marks a student's pathway to his command of human types and expression (figs. 16a-f). By 1660, Sweerts, a man of deep artistic and religious convictions, departed for Amsterdam where he joined a Christian missionary society that set sail for the Far East in 1661. Executed during the years in which the academy was active, Sweerts' *Self-Portrait as a Painter* casts a reflective glance onto his present and past, and represents an artist who had a rich and varied career in the Netherlands and Italy as a painter, etcher and academician.

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Museum). This study follows the basic chronology of Sweerts' works established by Kultzen, with later revisions, particularly to his Brussels period, set forth in the 2001 exhibition. See Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*; Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*.

<sup>4</sup> The drawing academy was the first of its kind in the Southern Netherlands.

This dissertation endeavors to demonstrate the significant role that Sweerts played in the development of an academic tradition in the seventeenth-century Netherlands. It establishes Sweerts' relationship to early modern academic traditions in the Netherlands and Italy through an examination of his paintings of artists and academic activities in Rome and Brussels. While defining the enduring and fundamental influence of the Italian academic culture he experienced in Rome, this study also situates Sweerts and his work in relation to notions of academic training and practice in the Low Countries, not only precedents to his endeavors, but also contemporary and subsequent examples. By focusing upon this academic framework, this dissertation casts Sweerts in a new light, and differs from the existing scholarship on the artist, which emphasizes his relationship with the *Bamboccianti*. This study, instead, situates Sweerts firmly within the artistic and intellectual contexts of his native Brussels, and reframes his encounter with Italian artistic traditions and the classical past. It provides a nuanced perspective on Sweerts' place in the artistic exchange between the North and South, and aims to broaden our understanding of the role of the artist and the academy in the mid-seventeenth-century Netherlands.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The academic tradition in the early modern Netherlands has long been undervalued as a subject for study in the history of Dutch and Flemish art. To date, no comprehensive study exists on its formation or development, a lacuna that results from a multitude of factors. The term "academy" itself has a broad and loosely defined set of meanings in the Netherlandish artistic context, signifying the collective practice of drawing directly from life, *naer het leven*, and in the later seventeenth century, an institution dedicated to the theoretical and practical instruction of artists. The first large-scale, public academies of art in Florence and Rome preceded the formal Netherlandish academy by nearly a century; the Accademia del Disegno was founded in Florence in 1563, followed shortly thereafter by the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in 1593. The first formal, state sponsored Netherlandish academy of art was only founded in Antwerp in 1663, preceded by the small drawing academies that existed in Haarlem and Utrecht at the turn of the seventeenth century.

While this gap in time has discouraged a sustained consideration into the Netherlandish academy's formation and purpose, so too have well-worn prejudices against the realism of Netherlandish art and the practice of working *naer het leven*, which are seen at odds with the intentions of the academy and the intellectual ideals associated with it. Yet, from its earliest conception the Netherlandish academy

Sweerts' works provide significant insight into ideas and modes of academic practice among artists in Italy and the Netherlands. They reveal the close relationship that existed between the instruction of artists in the North and South, and how the Netherlandish artistic traditions of naturalism and working directly from life coalesced with the theoretical and practical aims of the early modern academy of art.<sup>6</sup> By approaching Sweerts and his paintings of artists from this new theoretical and contextual perspective, this study illuminates the importance of artistic exchange between the Netherlands and Italy, and Brussels and Rome, in shaping the character and spirit of Sweerts' career and his relationship to seventeenth-century Netherlandish academic traditions.

*Sweerts' Life in Brussels and Rome and his Paintings of Artists at Work*

Sweerts was born in Brussels in 1618 and baptized in the Catholic Church of St. Nicolas on 29 September.<sup>7</sup> Although nothing is known about his early life or training, which was undoubtedly a fundamental aspect of his career, the artistic traditions that he would have encountered as a young artist in Brussels were greatly influenced by Italian classicism.<sup>8</sup> This pictorial attitude is particularly evident in the

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was deeply influenced by the Italian academic model, reflecting in its character and spirit the nobility of the artist's profession. For a detailed discussion of the scholarship on early modern academies, see below.

<sup>6</sup> For the meaning of the term *naer het leven*, "from life," and its importance in Netherlandish artistic traditions, see pages 16-17, note 35, and Chapter 2. For the development of the early modern academy, see below.

<sup>7</sup> Brussels, Stadsarchief, Registres de Baptêmes (hereafter cited as SAB, Parish records), Paroisse de Saint-Nicolas, vol. 460, fol. 11v.

<sup>8</sup> Scholars to date, notably Rolf Kultzen, and most recently, Peter Sutton, Guido Jansen and Jonathan Bikker, have not addressed the context of Brussels and Sweerts' early years in the city. Discussions of

work of the Brussels-born and Italian-trained artist Theodoor van Loon (1582-1649), whose style combined Caravaggio's naturalism and the classicism of the early Baroque. Van Loon, in fact, was probably an important influence on the young Sweerts' distinctive mode of representation and interest in the antique.<sup>9</sup>

The tapestry industry also appears to have played a significant role in Sweerts' professional development. The production of tapestries, which dominated Brussels' artistic, social and economic life, also encouraged exchanges between the Netherlands and Italy.<sup>10</sup> Italian tapestry designs regularly began to make their way into Brussels' workshops by the 1510s, marking the beginning of a tradition that continued through the following century. Sweerts' connections to tapestry probably began at home as his father, David Sweerts, was a textile merchant. He also had patrons, including members of the Amsterdam Deutz family, who were active in the international textile market.<sup>11</sup> Sweerts' connections to the tapestry world are most explicit, however, in

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Sweerts commence with his arrival in Italy. See, particularly, Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 1–11; Jonathan Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," in *Michael Sweerts: 1618-1664* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2001), 25–36.

<sup>9</sup> For Van Loon, see Irene Baldriga et al., *Theodoor van Loon: "Pictor ingenius" et contemporain de Rubens* (Gand: Snoeck, 2011). The artistic relationship between Van Loon and Sweerts has not been explored in the scholarship. As will be discussed in Chapter 1, there was an important Northern artistic tradition of the interest in, and study of, antiquity, which developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through figures such as Lambert Lombard, Wenzel Coebergher and Peter Paul Rubens.

<sup>10</sup> See, most recently, Thomas P. Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002); Thomas P. Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> See Jonathan Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts: New Information from Elisabeth Coymans's 'Journael'," *Simiolus* 26, no. 4 (1998): 292–302.

his decision to establish a drawing academy for artists and tapestry designers in Brussels in the mid-1650s.<sup>12</sup>

Sweerts is first documented in Rome in the spring of 1646, living on the Via Margutta, an area known for its community of foreign artists.<sup>13</sup> His decision to travel to Italy continued a tradition that had begun in the early sixteenth century. Driven by the desire to see and experience Italian art and the remains of antiquity firsthand, sixteenth-century Dutch and Flemish artists such as Jan Gossaert (c. 1478-1532), Jan van Scorel (1495-1562), Lambert Lombard (1505-1566) and Frans Floris (1517-1570), helped make the Italian sojourn an essential component of a northern artist's education.<sup>14</sup> The artist, theorist and author Karel van Mander (1548-1606)

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<sup>12</sup> To date, scholars have not situated Sweerts within the context of Brussels' tapestry industry. As an exception, however, Jonathan Bikker has made a significant contribution to the broader issue by addressing Sweerts' relationship with the Deutz family and the textile trade. He also recognized Sweerts' unusual decision to open an academy for tapestry designers, which, to my knowledge, had no precedent. See Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts." For a complete discussion of the academy in the context of Brussels, see Chapter 4.

<sup>13</sup> Sweerts is listed in the annual Easter census in the parish of Santa Maria del Popolo every year between 1646 and 1651. For the parish records, see G. J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome, 1600-1725: uittreksels uit de parochiale archieven*, vol. 8, Mededelingen van het Nederlands historisch instituut te Rome (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1938), 83–86. For the possibility that Sweerts may have arrived in the city earlier, see Chapter 1, note 95, and Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 25. Before leaving for Italy, it has been suggested that Sweerts traveled to other places, such as the Northern Netherlands and France, and while there is no documentation to support his presence in either of these places, it remains a possibility that he traveled there. Later documentation (see Appendix 1 and note 46) also records that Sweerts "traveled extensively in Italy and other places," and "spoke seven languages," though it is not clear where he traveled or how he acquired this knowledge.

<sup>14</sup> For the early tradition of Netherlanders in Italy, see *Fiamminghi a Roma: 1508-1608: artistes des Pays-Bas et de la principauté de Liège à Rome de la Renaissance* (Brussels: Société des expositions du Palais des beaux-arts de Bruxelles; Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1995). Gossaert visited Rome in the company of his patron, Phillip of Burgundy, in 1508. Van Scorel traveled to Rome in the early 1520s where he served as curator of the papal collections. Gossaert's contemporary in Antwerp, Frans Floris, spent time in Rome in 1540s. Floris' intellectualism and deep interest in the art of Raphael established an Italianate manner of history painting in sixteenth-century Flanders. For Floris, see Carl van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): leven en werken* (Brussel: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1975). and for Gossaert, see most recently, Maryan W. Ainsworth, Nadine M. Orenstein, and Lorne Campbell, *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance: The Complete Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press,

emphasized the importance of traveling to Rome in his influential *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst*, a didactic poem that formed part of his larger *Het Schilder-boeck*, published in 1604.<sup>15</sup> “For Rome is the city,” Van Mander wrote, “which above all places, could make an artist's journey fruitful, being the capital of the schools of Pictura.”<sup>16</sup>

By the second quarter of the seventeenth century, many Northern artists who traveled to Rome had the opportunity to join the newly founded group called the *Bentvueghels*, or *Schildersbent*.<sup>17</sup> Established through the efforts of Dutch Italianate

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2010). Further discussion follows in Chapter 1, including a close examination of Lombard's career. For the most recent scholarship on Lombard and the idea of a Northern antiquity, see Edward H. Wouk, “Reclaiming the antiquities of Gaul: Lambert Lombard and the history of northern art,” *Simiolus* 36, no. 1–2 (2012): 35–65.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

<sup>16</sup> Van Mander continued, however, by cautioning artists that Rome was also “the one place where spendthrifts and prodigal sons squander their possessions; be reluctant to permit a youth to make the journey.” See Karel Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973), fol. 3v, 31. Nevertheless, the fruits of such unheeded advice were evident in the depth and breadth of the Netherlandish response to Italian and classical art in the seventeenth century. One may cite the well-known examples of the Dutch and Flemish artists who went to the Italian peninsula, including Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1617), Pieter Lastman (1583-1633), Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656), Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). For the tradition of Netherlanders in Italy, see especially, Frederik J. Duparc and Linda L. Graif, *Italian Recollections: Dutch Painters of the Golden Age* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1990); Joaneath A. Spicer, Lynn Federle Orr, and Marten Jan Bok, *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Peter Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth: 17th-century Dutch Artists in Italy* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001); Laurie B. Harwood, Christopher Brown, and Anne Charlotte Steland, *Inspired by Italy: Dutch Landscape Painting, 1600-1700* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2002). For Rubens, see Wolfgang Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); Jeffrey M. Muller, “Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art,” *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (1982): 229–247; Marjon van der Meulen and Arnout Balis, *Rubens: Copies After the Antique. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, 23 (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994); David Jaffé et al., *Rubens: A Master in the Making* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). These texts represent the scholarship's traditional focus on centers like Utrecht and Antwerp. While their significance should not be underestimated, they often overshadow the impact of Italy on other artistic centers, notably Brussels, and other pictorial traditions.

<sup>17</sup> The foundational work on the *Bentvueghels* remains G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1952). More recent studies include David A. Levine, “The Bentvueghels: Bande Académique,” in *Essays honoring Irving Lavin on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin

landscape painters Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594/95-1667) and Bartholomeus Breenbergh (1598-1657) in the early 1620s, the *Bent* was an informal fraternity of Netherlanders who gathered around mutual social and cultural interests.<sup>18</sup> The *Bent* acted as a source of support and camaraderie for its members, which included painters, sculptors, engravers, goldsmiths, apothecaries, poets and even connoisseurs.<sup>19</sup> The Dordrecht poet Matthijs van de Merwede (c. 1625-1677), a member of the *Schildersbent* in the 1640s, supposedly had a portrait painted by Sweerts in 1648, which unfortunately no longer survives.<sup>20</sup> Sweerts' name, however, does not appear in the records of the *Bent*'s members, and he is not listed in the rosters of the Accademia di San Luca, Rome's state-sponsored academy of art that

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(New York: Italica Press, 1990); Martina Geissler, "Der Feste der Bentvughels: eine Kombination aus Albernheit und Spitzfindigkeit," *Kritische Berichte* 31, no. 3 (2003): 13–23; Judith Verbene, "The Bentvueghels (1620/1621-1720) in Rome," in *Drawn to Warmth: 17th-century Dutch Artists in Italy*, ed. Peter Schatborn (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 22–32. The appellation "*Bentvueghels*" meant birds of a common feather.

<sup>18</sup> The *Bentvueghels* and the *Bamboccianti* are often confused in the scholarship, largely due to the overlap in their "membership." The *Bentvueghels* were a social and cultural group, while the *Bamboccianti* were a group of artists joined by the stylistic and iconographic similarities in their work. Judith Verbene does an excellent job of explaining this distinction in her essay; see Verbene, "The Bentvueghels (1620/1621-1720) in Rome." The *Bent*, which existed well into the eighteenth century, was never an official, documented organization. This situation may account for many of the conflicts the group experienced with Rome's larger artistic community and the Catholic Church.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 23. Despite its benevolent aims, the *Bent* was infamous for its rowdy and raucous celebrations and initiations, and its satirical spoofs on the rituals of the Catholic Church. The antics portrayed in an engraving after Dominicus van Wijnen (b. 1661), a member at the end of the century, illustrate how the organization often antagonized the city's authorities. In a mock baptismal ritual, a *Bent* member bends over before a barrel of wine with a fiery candle protruding from his exposed buttocks. Bacchus presides over this debauchery, solemnly christening the *Bentvueghel*'s newest member. See Geissler, "Der Feste der Bentvughels," 17–19, fig. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Van de Merwede later complained in a poem that his portrait "was once done very badly by Sweerts in Rome." Merwede refers to the artist as "Swart," which, as some scholars have suggested, could have been his *Bent* nickname. For Van de Merwede's poem, see J.L. Van Dalen, "Matthys van de Merwede, Heer van Clootwijk," *Oud Holland* 18 (1900): 95–111.



Federico Zuccaro had founded in 1593.<sup>21</sup> His absence from the registers of these Roman institutions – unofficial and official, respectively – has contributed to the confusion surrounding his career and his artistic motivations, and is often cited as evidence for his conflicted character.

Nevertheless, as will become clear in this study, even if Sweerts was not a member of the *Bent*, he integrated himself into the larger community of foreign artists in Rome, and his works from this period also demonstrate a close familiarity with the Accademia and the pedagogical model it advocated.<sup>22</sup> Significantly, on 7 October 1646, Sweerts acted as an intermediary with fellow Brussels artist Louis Cousin (1606-1667) to resolve a financial dispute between the *Bent* and the Accademia.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Sweerts' absence from these records does not entirely eliminate the possibility that he was a member of one or both organizations. Hoogewerff originally reconstructed the membership of the *Bent* from portrait drawings completed in the 1620s and 1630s, and later archival documentation from the period after Sweerts had already left the city. Although Sweerts is not mentioned in any seventeenth-century biographies, his name appears in several later sources as an "*accademico*," including Giuseppe Ghezzi, *Il centesimo dell'anno M.DC.XCV.: celebrato in Roma dall'Accademia del disegno* (Roma: Gio. Francesco Buagni, 1696), 50; Melchior Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademie di S. Luca* (Roma: Stamperia de Romanis, 1823), 474; Antonino Bertolotti, *Artisti belgi ed orlandesi a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII. Notizie e documenti raccolti negli archivi romani* (Florence: Editrice della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1880), 181. For a discussion of the meaning of this term in relation to the Accademia di San Luca, see Chapter 2. For the Accademia, see Peter M. Lukehart, ed., *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia Di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590-1635* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> A full discussion of Sweerts' engagement with the Accademia di San Luca follows in Chapter 2. Sweerts' knowledge of the Accademia may have come earlier in Brussels, as Theodoor van Loon was a member in the early seventeenth century. See Chapter 1.

<sup>23</sup> For this record, see G. J. Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden*, vol. 2, 1913, 57. Members of the *Bent* and artists associated with the *Bamboccianti* had a contentious relationship with the Accademia di San Luca. In particular, the *Bamboccianti*'s realism in subject and style angered proponents of the Accademia. Frustrations between the two groups also resulted from issues of authority; the Accademia was the governing body of Rome's artistic community, and as such demanded alms and taxes be paid on a regular basis into its coffers by all artists residing in the city. Northern artists' refusal to pay these dues naturally resulted in constant strife. For further discussion of the *Bamboccianti*, see below; the conflict between the two groups is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2. See also Sandra Janssens, "Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentuvueghels," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor schone kunsten* (2001): 57–85.

His involvement in the incident suggests that a level of trust developed between him and his compatriots. Cousin, a classicizing painter trained in Brussels before he arrived in Rome in the late 1620s, was a member of the *Bent* and the Accademia di San Luca, to which he served as the director from 1651-1652.<sup>24</sup> The *bambocciante* painter Johannes Lingelbach (1622-1674), whose portrait Sweerts later painted while he was in Amsterdam, was also a member of the *Bent*.<sup>25</sup>

The lack of information about Sweerts' early training in Brussels and the fact that scholars have not examined the artistic context in which he developed as an artist have perpetuated the idea that he drew his artistic inspiration exclusively from the *Bamboccianti* once he arrived in Rome. Unlike the *Bent*, which offered a social and cultural community for Northern artists in Rome, the *Bamboccianti* represented a group of artists who shared a distinctive stylistic and thematic approach to their art. Pioneered by the Haarlem artist, Pieter van Laer (1599-c. 1642), who arrived in Rome around 1625 and earned the nickname *il Bamboccio* (clumsy puppet), the *Bamboccianti* depicted Rome's lower classes, including beggars and travelers, street actors and washerwomen. Those artists who followed in Van Laer's footsteps in the 1630s and after his own departure in 1639, including Jan Miel (1599-1664), Jan Asselijn (1610-1652), Andries (c.1612-1641) and Jan Both (c. 1618-1652), and Johannes Lingelbach, continued to work in this iconographic tradition.<sup>26</sup> By

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<sup>24</sup> For Cousin, see the discussion in Chapters 2 and 4.

<sup>25</sup> Sweerts' portrait of Lingelbach is only known in a mezzotint by Bernard Vaillant (Vaillant after Michael Sweerts, *Portrait of Johannes Lingelbach*, mezzotint, 24.22 x 17.4 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

<sup>26</sup> Miel arrived in Rome in the early 1630s and remained there until 1658. He later moved to Turin where he remained until his death in 1664. Asselijn probably arrived in Rome between 1639 and 1643. The Both brothers came to Rome in 1637; Andries left for the Netherlands in 1641, and on his

exceeding even the realism of Caravaggio (1571-1610) in their choice of subject matter, the *Bamboccianti* focused upon an entirely different aspect of Italy than evident in the traditions of their predecessors.<sup>27</sup>

In a series of letters exchanged in 1651 between Rome and Bologna, the Italian classicist painters, Andrea Sacchi (1559-1661), and his teacher, Francesco Albani (1578-1660), derided the *Bamboccianti* for the “liberty of conscience [that is now] being taken in representing everything, even if badly founded in truth.”<sup>28</sup> Sacchi wrote of paintings that depict, “unseemly and indecorous acts, representing a rogue looking for lice, and another who drinks his soup from a bowl: a woman, who pisses, and who holds the teat of an ass, that brays; a Bacchus, who vomits; and a dog who licks. Now then!”<sup>29</sup> Sacchi and Albani sought not only to criticize their northern contemporaries, but to draw a firm line between the nobility of their classicist pursuits as history painters and the baseness of the *Bamboccianti*’s sordid subjects,

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journey north, drowned in a canal in Venice in 1642. Lingelbach’s exact dates in Rome are not known, but he was likely there in the late 1640s to c.1650. Van Laer also had an Italian follower, Michelangelo Cerquozzi (1602-1660).

<sup>27</sup> The iconographic and stylistic character of the art of the *Bamboccianti* falls within the broader debates in the scholarship concerning the question of seventeenth-century Dutch realism. For a comprehensive collection of essays treating the issue of realism, see Wayne E. Franits, ed., *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>28</sup> For Sacchi and Albani’s letters, see Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de’ pittori bolognesi*, ed. Giampietro Zanotti and Vicente Victoria (Bologna: Forni, 1967), 179–181. I would like to thank Professor Anthony Colantuono for the English translation of the text. Echoing these sentiments of coarse realism, the artist and biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri (1610-1679), later commented that the works of Pieter van Laer, “seemed an open window through which one was able to see what went on without deviation or alteration.” Passeri’s comment appears in the biography of Van Laer in his *Vite de Pittori, Scultori et Architetti che hanno lavorato in Roma*, published in 1773. See Giovanni Battista Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, ed. Jacob Hess (Worms am Rhein: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995), 74.

<sup>29</sup> Sacchi’s letter is dated 28 October 1651. See Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de’ pittori bolognesi*, 179; Wendy Wassing Roworth, “A Date for Salvator Rosa’s Satire on Painting and the Bamboccianti in Rome,” *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (1981): 611–617.

exemplified in works like Pieter van Laer's *Shepherd and Washerwoman in a Grotto* (fig. 17) and Jan Miel's *Italian Marketplace with a Toothpuller* (fig. 18).<sup>30</sup>

A number of Sweerts' paintings relate iconographically to works by Van Laer and his followers. Images executed in the late 1640s, such as *Man Searching for Fleas* (fig. 2) and *Card Players* (fig. 3), for example, reflect Sweerts' association with the genre of painting practiced by the *Bamboccianti*, particularly works by Lingelbach and Miel. Sweerts even conceived his ambitious series of the *Seven Acts*

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<sup>30</sup> While some contemporaries viewed the *Bamboccianti*'s art as an affront to Rome's lustrous past, their relationship to the city's artistic community and its traditions was more complex than the accounts of contemporary observers – and some modern scholars – may attest. More recent scholarship, for example, places the letters of Sacchi and Albani in historical perspective, noting how their critical comments about Van Laer and his followers were likely motivated by the competitive art market of seventeenth-century Rome. In the eyes of Sacchi and Albani, the *oltramontani* unfairly profited from the “*scuola di Roma*,” which suggested, in other words, that they stole good patronage. In his response to Sacchi's letter, Albani remarked “those who come boldly from remote countries [the North] to take advantage of the school of Rome [*ad approfittarsi della Scuola di Roma*].” The *Bamboccianti*'s works were often found in the collections of Rome's elite, including Sweerts' own patron in Rome, Camillo Pamphilj, as well as in the collection of the Deutz family in Amsterdam. For Albani's remark, see Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de' pittori bolognesi*, 179. For a discussion of the relationship between the *Bamboccianti* and Rome's art market, see especially, Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 120–145; Richard E. Spear, “Rome: Setting the Stage,” in *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters*, ed. Richard E. Spear and Philip L. Sohm (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 94–97. For the collecting activities of Sweerts' patrons, see Chapter 1, pages 85-90; Chapter 3, pages 163-170; Chapter 4, pages 246-249.

The validity of Passeri's remarks (see above) has also been subject to needed contextualization. Although the *Bamboccianti* portrayed scenes of daily life from in and around Rome, their works were not “open windows” onto the world, but contrived realities that followed certain iconographic tropes in the manner of contemporary Dutch genre painting. Moreover, artists like Van Laer were not immune to the presence of Rome's classical past, but they often interpreted it in unusual and contradictory ways, such as portraying contemporary figures in poses based on classical sculpture – a practice also employed by Sweerts. Van Laer's *Washerwomen and Shepherd in a Grotto* shows a sitting peasant in the pose of the ancient bronze statue of the *Spinario*, while the thief in *Brigands Attacking a Traveler* takes the form of the *Horse-Tamers* on the Quirinal. Cornelis van Poelenburch and the Haarlem artist Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683) also used antique forms in their Italianate landscape scenes. For example, Berchem, who went to Rome in the 1650s, depicted the shepherd in his *Resting Shepherds* from 1644 in the pose of the *Farnese Hercules*. See Peter Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague, Netherlands: Govt. Pub. Office, 1981), 67–68. David Levine has interpreted the *Bamboccianti*'s use of antique sculpture as a form of irony. He draws parallels between Van Laer and the ancient Greek painters Peiraikos and Pauson, each of whom also challenged the traditional hierarchy of subjects by depicting only base and “unworthy” subjects as a way to evoke higher truths. For Levine's scholarship, see Levine, “The Art of the *Bamboccianti*”; David A. Levine, “The Roman Limekilns of the *Bamboccianti*,” *Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (1988): 569–589.

*of Mercy*, executed between 1646 and 1649, as scenes of daily life from Rome. His sensitive handling of the subject is evident in the depiction of the old, sick and impoverished, who maintain a dignified presence regardless of class. These *bamboccianti*-like paintings, however, are only a portion of Sweerts' artistic output, and the way in which he renders his figures with restraint and monumentality impart an iconographic and stylistic ideal to his works that is distinct from that of the *Bamboccianti*. This same ideal emerges in his depictions of artists at work, which engage a set of ideas on artistic practice and pedagogy that further distinguish him from his northern contemporaries.<sup>31</sup>

Sweerts pursued the subject of artists at work with great tenacity and curiosity from the moment he arrived in Rome. Between the years 1646 and 1652, he executed four paintings of artist's studios (figs. 10-13) and three others that depict an artist drawing outside in a Roman locale (figs. 7-9). Sweerts' works emphasize artistic training and instruction and the fundamental role that drawing – both after antique sculpture and the real model – played in the education and practice of artists in Italy and the Netherlands.<sup>32</sup> These ideas become evident in *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 10)

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<sup>31</sup> The *Bamboccianti* also turned to the subject of the artist at work in the studio and outside in the Roman landscape, as in Jan Asselijn's chalk drawing, *Painter and Draughtsman in Nature* (red-brown and some black chalk, brush in grey, 187 x 237 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett) or in a moment of artistic spontaneity, as seen in Pieter van Laer's *Bentvueghels in an Inn* (pen and brush in brown, 20.3 x 25.8 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). Other Italianate Dutch artists who treated the theme of the artist at work include Bartholomeus Breenburgh and Cornelis van Poelenburch. Michelangelo Cerquozzi, an Italian artist who aligned himself with the *Bamboccianti*, also painted an artist's studio with a self-portrait during this period (*Self-Portrait with Model in the Studio*, oil on canvas, 52 x 41 cm, Florence, Capponi Collection). For a discussion of Sweerts' paintings of artists in relation to contemporary *bamboccianti* examples, see Levine, "The Art of the Bamboccianti," 207–285.

<sup>32</sup> Sweerts' paintings of artists at work have a very different character from that of contemporary Dutch and Flemish examples of the subject of the artist in his studio. In the seventeenth-century Netherlands, Dutch artists often depicted artists in their studios, including Rembrandt (1606-1669) in his early *Self-Portrait in the Studio* from 1628 (oil on panel, 9 ¾ x 12 ½ cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts), Jan

where students draw after plaster casts of antique sculpture and practice the difficulties of rendering muscle and anatomy by sketching an *écorché* figure. The master of this studio-academy paints from a nude model who kneels next to his easel. Sweerts' own *Roman Wrestlers* (fig. 19) hangs above the artist on the back wall, its

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Miense Molenaer (1610-1668) in his 1631 *Artist Studio* (oil on canvas, 86 x 127 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) and Adriaen van Ostade's (1610-1685) *Painter's Workshop* from 1663 (oil on panel, 38 x 35 ½ cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen). Other notable examples of artists in the studio from later in the century include Jan Steen's (1626-1679) *Drawing Lesson* from 1665 (oil on panel, 49 x 41 cm, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum), which, interestingly, bears more in common with Sweerts' depictions of artistic instruction than most contemporary examples, and Johannes Vermeer's (1632-1675) *Artist's Studio* from c. 1667 (oil on canvas, 130 x 100 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Also of note in this context is the little known Dutch artist Jan ter Borch (d. 1678), who was active in the 1630s and the 1640s in Utrecht. Ter Borch depicted scenes of young artists drawing in modest studios, often by candlelight, which evoke the character of works by the Utrecht Caravaggisti. See, for example, *The Drawing Lesson* from 1634 (oil on canvas, 120 x 159 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), which depicts an older master instructing his pupil how to draw from plaster casts of antique sculpture by candlelight. For Ter Borch's depictions of artists in the context of Utrecht, see Liesbeth M. Helmus, Gero Seelig, and Marten Jan Bok, *The Bloemaert Effect: Colour and Composition in the Golden Age* (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2011). Ter Borch's artist paintings have also been compared to *An Artist's Studio* attributed to Sweerts in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome. See Livio Pestilli, "'The Burner of the Midnight Oil': A Caravaggesque Rendition of a Classic 'Exemplum.' An Unrecognized Self-Portrait by Michael Sweerts?," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 56, no. 1 (1993): 119–133.

A slightly different tradition existed in the Southern Netherlands, as seen in David Ryckaert's (1612-1661) studio paintings, such as his *Atelier* (oil on canvas, 59 x 95 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre) executed in Antwerp in the 1638, which reflects the peasant interiors of David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690) or Adriaen Brouwer (1605-1638). For Ryckaert, see Bernadette van Haute, *David III Ryckaert: A Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painter of Peasant Scenes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). Kultzen highlights what he sees to be the similarities between Sweerts' and Ryckaert's studio scenes, a point with which I disagree.

For the topic of the artist's studio, see A.B. De Vries and A.A. Moerman, eds., *De Schilder in zijn wereld: van Jan Van Eyck tot Van Gogh en Ensor* (Delft and Antwerp, 1964); *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Providence: Dept. of Art, Brown University, 1984); Perry Chapman, "The Imagined Studios of Rembrandt and Vermeer," in *Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 108–146; Katja Kleinert, *Atelierdarstellungen in der Niederländischen Genremalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts: realistisches Abbild oder glaubwürdiger Schein?* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2006). It is worth noting that Kleinert does not discuss Sweerts.

Sweerts' paintings, instead, reflect the approach seen in Italian and Dutch didactic prints of artist's academies, including Odoardo Fialetti's frontispiece for his 1608 drawing book, *Il vero modo et ordine* (fig. 20), Pietro Francesco Alberti's etching of an *Academy of Painters* from 1625 (fig. 37), Crispijn van de Passe's engraving of a drawing academy in his 1643 *'t Light der teken en schilder konst* and Abraham Bloemaert's title page to his 1651 *Tekenboek*. The iconographic relationship between Sweerts' paintings and these prints are explored in greater depth in Chapters 2 and 4.

figures modeled after antique sculpture.<sup>33</sup> The painting demonstrates the continuity of Sweerts' academic approach outside of his depictions of the artist's studio, and serves as an *exemplum* for how the artistic labor taking place in the studio below might be utilized in the artist's own creativity.<sup>34</sup>

By drawing or painting *naer het leven*, the artists in Sweerts' paintings reinforce the idea that nature is a worthy example to follow. The term "*naer het leven*" meant "from life," or "true to life," which indicated to the seventeenth-century viewer the authenticity of the image, or more specifically in this context, the artist's ability to render faithfully his subject from nature.<sup>35</sup> In *Artist Sketching a Beggar*

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<sup>33</sup> For Sweerts' use of antique sculpture in this painting, see Maria Horster, "Antikenkenntnis in Michael Sweerts' 'Römischen Ringkampf,'" *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 11 (1974): 145–158. Sweerts' composition and subject bear a number of striking similarities with a drawing by his Flemish contemporary, Cornelis de Wael (1592-1667), who spent time in Rome and Genoa. The relationship between Sweerts' painting and the drawing are unclear, but they share in the representation of the foreground figure removing his shirt and the kneeling figure located at the edge of the circle towards the back. Unlike Sweerts' image, however, De Wael situates the scene outside below an open sky. (De Wael, *Wrestling Match in the Open Air*, pen and brush in grey, 31 x 47 cm, Hamburg, Kunsthalle.)

<sup>34</sup> Sweerts' depiction of everyday figures in the form of antique sculpture calls attention to the practice of copying sculpture as a young artist. Through this process, an artist became familiar with a range of ideal forms, ostensibly for the purpose of rendering them in large-scale historical and religious paintings – and not in everyday genre scenes. For a discussion of the tradition of studying antique sculpture, and Sweerts' later use of it, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, particularly pages 158-163 and 183-185.

<sup>35</sup> For the concept of "*naer het leven*" in artistic practice in the Netherlands, see Claudia Swan, "'Ad Vivum', Naer Het Leven, From the Life. Defining a Mode of Representation," *Word and Image* 11, no. 4 (1995): 353–372; Joaneath A. Spicer, "The Significance of Drawing Naer Het Leven, or 'from Life,' in Netherlandish Art in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Center 21, National Gallery of Art, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Research Reports 2000- 2001* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2001), 160–163; Boudewijn Bakker, "'Au Vif- Naer 't Leven - Ad Vivum: The Medieval Origin of a Humanist Concept,'" in *Aemulatio: Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800: Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluijter*, ed. Anton Boschloo et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), 37–52. The Dutch term "*naer het leven*" derived from the Latin expression "*ad vivum*," which came into use in the early sixteenth century among botanists and theologians. The Dutch artist Hieronymus Cock adopted it in 1559 for his print series of the "Small Landscapes" as a way to demonstrate the authenticity of his images of Dutch villages. The term was increasingly used in relation to portraiture, and by the seventeenth century became associated with the practice of drawing or painting. On the contrary is the term "*uyt den gheest*," which referred to images done from the mind, memory or the imagination. It implied the intellectual process associated with

(fig. 9), Sweerts depicts an artist seated before a darkened hillside where, surrounded by a group of onlookers, he draws an elderly, white-bearded man. Although the figure comes from a low social class, dressed in simple peasant's clothes and visibly worn by life's difficulties, Sweerts renders him with an unusual sense of dignity and grace, evoking, as he so often does, the humanity of his subjects. A young, turbaned woman in the act of sewing captures the artist's attention in *An Artist's Studio with a Woman Sewing* (fig. 11).<sup>36</sup> Looking across a towering pile of antique plaster casts, the artist paints the woman directly on the canvas, her concentrated gaze and timeless beauty being the sole object of his attention. While Sweerts' conception for working *naer het leven* was varied, and often wrought with his own stylistic ideals, he succeeded in rendering his figures with a sensitivity to the human experience.

Several of Sweerts' studio paintings from his Roman period represent the sculpture of the Brussels artist François Duquesnoy (1597-1643), indicating that the younger artist was familiar with Duquesnoy's work. Although Duquesnoy died shortly before Sweerts arrived in Italy, he spent decades there as a member of the *Bent* and the Accademia di San Luca. Duquesnoy's sculptures, such as the highly praised marble *Saint Susanna* executed in 1630-1631, for Santa Maria di Loreto, and the bronze *Apollo and Cupid* (fig. 38) depicted several times in Sweerts' paintings, espoused the classicistic ideals of beauty that help to distinguish Sweerts' works from the *Bamboccianti*. Sweerts likely admired Duquesnoy as a loyal supporter of the

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rendering images, and was thus complementary to working *naer het leven*. For Van Mander's use of this term, see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 65–66; 243, note 10.

<sup>36</sup> The same sewing woman also appears in Sweerts' *The Schoolroom* from around 1650 (oil on canvas, 89.5 x 114, Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire). See Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 110–112.



Accademia, and the sculptor's renowned reputation would have resonated with Sweerts as a fellow artist from Brussels.

Sculpture by Duquesnoy was owned by Camillo Pamphilj, for whom Sweerts would work in a range of capacities from September 1651 to March 1652, including, it appears, involvement in a private art academy in the Pamphilj household.<sup>37</sup>

Although little is known about this academy's activities, it was not unusual for Roman patrons to house small, informal academies in their residences.<sup>38</sup> Camillo was an avid collector of antiquities and of Netherlandish and Italian artists, making it plausible that the academy was intended to provide him with artistic training in drawing or painting.<sup>39</sup> In any event, Sweerts' work was well regarded by the

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<sup>37</sup> Camillo's account books from this period indicate that Sweerts not only painted (no longer surviving) portraits, religious and genre scenes for his patron, but also acted as an agent in the purchase of art and was involved in a play performed at the Pamphilj residence. For a detailed discussion of Sweerts' activities for Camillo, see Chapter 3, and for the documents, see Jörg Garms, ed., *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj zur Kunsttätigkeit in Rom unter Innocenz X* (Vienna: Böhlau; Kommissionsverlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1972), 76; Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 31. The entry, which dates from 21 March 1652, describes that Sweerts received 3.05 *scudi* for oil used since 17 February in His Excellency's academy [*olio diverso presso la lucerna servita per l'accademia di S.E.(Sua Eccellenza)*].

<sup>38</sup> For discussion of Camillo's academy, see Giovanna Capitelli, "Une testimonianza documentaria per il primo nucleo della raccolta del principe Camillo Pamphilj," in *I capolavori della collezione Doria Pamphilj da Tiziano a Velázquez* (Milan: Skira, 1996), 96; Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 31; Jonathan Bikker, "Een miraculous leven," *Kunstschrift* 55 (2001): 21, note 1.

<sup>39</sup> Alongside academies that were held in noble households during this period, small, private drawings academies also existed in artists' studios in seventeenth-century Rome. While very little is known about them, they typically allowed artists to draw after the nude model. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century biographers, such as Giovanni Baglione, Malvasia and Passeri mention instances of these academies in the lives of artists such as Guercino and Domenichino. For a general discussion of this topic, see Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 71–74. For a discussion of Camillo's vast patronage activities, his particular interest in Northern artists working in Italy, and his academy in the context of informal drawing academies, see Chapter 3, and Capitelli, "Une testimonianza documentaria per il primo nucleo della raccolta del principe Camillo Pamphilj."

Pamphilj family and before he left the city he received the title of *cavaliere*, or knight, from Pope Innocent X.<sup>40</sup>

The artistic circles around Camillo may have provided Sweerts with the opportunity to encounter the work of Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665), and perhaps even to meet the renowned French painter himself.<sup>41</sup> Although Sweerts' and Poussin's artistic approaches differed considerably, they shared an interest in antique sculpture, art theory and pedagogy. Their relationship is most apparent in Sweerts' large scale history painting *Plague in an Ancient City* (fig. 20), for which Poussin's *Plague at Ashdod* (fig. 37) served as its iconographic and stylistic source.

Although there is no specific indication as to when Sweerts returned to Brussels, it was likely in the early to mid-1650s.<sup>42</sup> Back in his native city, he founded a drawing academy for young artists, and, remarkably for this time, also for tapestry designers. The academy was not documented in the records of Brussels Guild of St. Luke, but evidence for its existence emerges in the petition for privileges that Sweerts

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<sup>40</sup> Evidence of Sweerts' title of *cavaliere* comes from the petition that he submitted to the Brussels city magistrates in 1656 requesting privileges on the basis of the drawing academy that he had established several years earlier. Brussels, Stadsarchief, Register der Tresorije, vol. 1297, fols. 117v-118v. (hereafter cited as SAB, RT). See Appendix 1.

<sup>41</sup> Camillo also owned a painting by Poussin of a "nude, winged Cupid." See Francesca Cappelletti and Giovanna Capitelli, eds., *I capolavori della collezione Doria Pamphilj da Tiziano a Velázquez* (Milano: Skira, 1996), 72, no. 35. Poussin was a member of the Accademia di San Luca, and moved among the circles of prominent patrons and intellectuals in Rome, making it possible that he and Sweerts may have met. Poussin was also a close friend of Duquesnoy. For a complete discussion of the relationship between the two artists and their place in the artistic community in Rome during these years, see Chapter 3.

<sup>42</sup> Sweerts was last documented in Rome in March of 1652, as attested by references in the account books of Camillo Pamphilj and his painting, *In the Studio*, which is signed and dated "*Michael Sweerts/fecit/Roma/A.D. 1652.*" While Sweerts is only documented with certainty back in Brussels on 19 July 1655 (at the baptism of his nephew, Michael Auwerkercken, the son of his sister, Catherine, and her husband Judocus), the petition that he submitted for the drawing academy suggests that he had already been back in the city for several years.

submitted to the Brussels magistrates in 1656.<sup>43</sup> From the document, one learns that the academy was dedicated to teaching young men how to draw *naer het leven*, which indicated the practice of drawing from a live model, seen in Sweerts' painting of the academy from this period (fig. 15).

During the mid-1650s, Sweerts produced a didactic series of head studies, which followed in the tradition of Italian and Netherlandish precedents, among them Odoardo Fialetti's *Il vero modo et ordine* from 1608, Crispyn van de Passe's 1643 *'t Light der teken en schilder konst*, and Abraham Bloemaert's *Tekenboek* from 1651.<sup>44</sup> In 1659, Sweerts presented a self-portrait to the Brussels Guild of St. Luke, which they noted in their records as hanging in the meeting room of the guild "as a reminder of him," suggesting that his involvement with the academy had ended.<sup>45</sup> The reasons for the academy's short-lived existence are unclear, but in 1660 Sweerts departed for Amsterdam, where he joined the Société des Missions Etrangères. He left with the mission for the Near East in 1661, dying in Goa in 1664.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> SAB, RT, vol. 1297, fols. 117v-118v; see Appendix 1.

<sup>44</sup> See Jaap Bolten, *Method and Practice: Dutch and Flemish Drawing Books, 1600-1750* (Landau Pfalz: PVA, 1985), 96–99, 254–255.

<sup>45</sup> Sweerts' gift of a self-portrait is recorded in the guild's records from 1659: Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Ambachten en Gilden van Brabant: Schilders, Goudslagers en Glazenmakers, inv. 818, fol. 221v; see Appendix 3. Although the specific details of the portrait are not described, it seems likely that Sweerts' *Self-Portrait as a Painter*, rather than the *Self-Portrait with a Skull* (fig. 54) was the painting presented to the guild. The question of the self-portrait as gift is discussed in the Conclusion.

<sup>46</sup> Our knowledge of Sweerts' involvement with the Société des Missions Etrangères comes from the journal of Nicolas Etienne, a French Lazarist missionary who Sweerts met in Amsterdam prior to his departure. Etienne wrote at length about Sweerts' character, describing, "*sa conversion et sa vie est tout extraordinaire et miraculeuse.*" For Etienne's account of Sweerts, see the full text in Bikker, "Een miraculous leven," 26, Appendix 1. Sweerts was asked to leave the mission in 1662 only after one year in its service. His departure is reported in a letter from the leader of the mission, François Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, who wrote, "our good Mr Svers is not the master of his own mind. I do not think that the mission was the right place for him, nor he the right man for the mission...Everything has been terminated in an amiable fashion on both sides." Pallu's account contradicts Etienne's admirable

*The Tradition of the Academy in Italy and the Netherlands*

The establishment of the first academies of art in Italy in the mid-sixteenth century formally recognized the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture as noble professions of the liberal, rather than the mechanical, arts.<sup>47</sup> As such, artists were expected to be proficient in not only the technical aspects of their art, but also in theoretical and scientific studies, including knowledge of anatomy and perspective, and history and literature. These subjects required a formal program of education that balanced theory and practice, thereby extending an artist's traditional training beyond his apprenticeship in a master's workshop.<sup>48</sup> By distinguishing himself from the craftsman, the early modern artist emerged as an intellectual, endowed with a newly elevated social status.

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characterization, yet often too much has been made of these descriptions in the scholarship as evidence for Sweerts' religious fanaticism and peculiarities. For Pallu's letters, see Vitale Bloch and Jean Guennou, *Michael Sweerts: Suivi de Sweerts et les Missions Etrangères par Jean Guennou* (La Haye: L.J.C. Boucher, 1968), 94–106; Louis Baudiment, *François Pallu, principal fondateur de la Société des Missions étrangères (1626-1684)* (Niort: Impr. Saint-Denis, 1934), 96–97; 99. The original letters are housed in the Archives des Missions Etrangères, Paris, vol. 101. Sweerts' reasons for traveling to Goa after his departure from the mission are unknown; the mission archive recorded his death there in 1664.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics Part I," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12, no. 4 (1951): 496–527; Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics (II)," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13, no. 1 (1952): 17–46; Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967).

<sup>48</sup> For the training of the artist in the workshop, see Gabriele Bleeker-Byrne, "The Education of the Painter in the Workshop," in *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Providence: Dept. of Art, Brown University, 1984), 28–39; Hessel Miedema, "Over vakonderwijs aan kunstschilders in de Nederlanden tot de 17de eeuw," in *Academies of Art: Between Renaissance and Romanticism. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, ed. Anton Boschloo, vol. 5–6 (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989), 268–282; Paul van den Akker, "Het Atelier als School," in *Ateliergeheimen: over de Werkplaats van de Nederlanse Kunstenaar vanaf 1200 tot Heden*, ed. Mariëtte Haveman (Amsterdam: Kunst en Schrijven, 2006), 216–233.

The Accademia del Disegno in Florence and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, established in 1563 and 1593, respectively, were the first public, state-sponsored academies of art. They instituted extensive curricula that codified the theories for the education of the artist put forth by Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci in the late fifteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Drawing, which had already played a central role in an artist's training in the workshop, assumed even greater significance within an academic context.<sup>50</sup> As outlined by Leonardo, young artists began by copying the prints and drawings of a good master, followed by sculpture and plaster casts after the antique, and finally, in the most important step, drawing the human figure from life. Federico Zuccaro, the founder of the Accademia di San Luca, placed additional emphasis on drawing in his pedagogical program. Drawing served as the institution's grounding theoretical framework as well as the basis for all activities in the "Studio," the part of the Accademia specifically dedicated to the practical instruction of artists.

The concept of the academy, however, had emerged before the establishment of these institutions in Florence and Rome, seemingly derived from humanist

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<sup>49</sup> Alberti's treatise on painting appeared in 1435. See Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, ed. Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin Books, 1991). Leonardo's treatise on painting, the *Trattato della Pittura*, circulated in manuscript form until it was first published in 1651. See Claire J. Farago, ed., *Re-Reading Leonardo: The Treatise on Painting Across Europe, 1550-1900* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). Subsequent examples to discuss ideals for artistic education and practice include Giovanni Battista Armenini's *De veri precetti della pittura* from 1586 and Gian Paolo Lomazzo's *Idea del tempio della pittura* from 1590.

<sup>50</sup> For the role of drawing in an artist's education, see Alberti, *On Painting*; Jean Paul Richter, *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), 2: 243, no. 483; Joseph Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, trans. Winslow Ames (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), 217–295; Cynthia E. Roman, "Academic Ideals of Art Education," in *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Providence: Dept. of Art, Brown University, 1984), 81–95; Laura Olmstead Tonelli, "Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Providence: Dept. of Art, Brown University, 1984), 98–107; Paul van den Akker, "Tekeningen op de grond," in *Ateliiergeheimen: over de Werkplaats van de Nederlandse Kunstenaar vanaf 1200 tot Heden*, ed. Mariëtte Haveman (Amsterdam: Kunst en Schrijven, 2006), 143–161.

gatherings in fifteenth-century Italy dedicated to the study of literature and philosophy. Agostino Veneziano's 1531 engraving of a group of artists (fig. 21), led by the sculptor Baccio Bandinelli, drawing by candlelight in the Vatican Belvedere, suggests that an "artistic" academy already existed in Rome at that time.<sup>51</sup> The image demonstrates Bandinelli's effort to associate the intellectual characteristics of the academy with the pictorial arts. Small, private drawing academies, such as this one, continued to exist in the seventeenth century even after formal academies were instituted in Florence and Rome. Thus, even in the Italian context, the term "academy" had a fluidity of meaning in the early modern period.<sup>52</sup>

In the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Netherlands, when no formal art academy existed in the North, the term "*academie*" was broadly used to refer to a small, informal group of artists who gathered in order to draw a nude (or nearly nude) model from life.<sup>53</sup> The term was first used to describe the drawing

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<sup>51</sup> The term "academy" has antique origins; it originated in 4<sup>th</sup>-century Athens in regard to Plato's school for the instruction of philosophy. The word "academy" and the arts were first linked in a series of engravings after Leonardo da Vinci in the early sixteenth century that depict interlaced white designs over a black background. They are each inscribed: "*Academia Leonardi Vinci*." Scholars have long speculated on whether Leonardo operated an academy of art, but it is widely believed that his "academy" likely referred to the intellectual circles of Milan who gathered to discuss humanist and scientific ideas. In the late fifteenth century in Florence, Lorenzo the Magnificent is believed to have founded a school in his palace for sculptors. According to Vasari, the sculptor Bertoldo di Giovanni instructed a group of artists, among them Michelangelo, to study antique sculpture. Although far from a formal academy, the Medician school provides an early example of the type of academic education that would soon develop. For the origins of the term and its development in the Renaissance, see Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 1–38.

<sup>52</sup> Also significant in this context is the Carracci academy in Bologna, which is discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of the term academy in the Netherlands during this period, see, most notably, Hessel Miedema, "Kunstschilders, gilde en academie. Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw," *Oud Holland* 101, no. 1 (January 1, 1987): 1–33; E.A. de Klerk, "'Academy-Beelden' and 'Teeken-Scholen' in Dutch Seventeenth-century Treatises on Art," in *Academies of Art: Between Renaissance and Romanticism. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, ed. Anton Boschloo, vol. 5–6 (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989), 283–288. Later in the century, the term "*collegia*" or "*academy-beelden*" would often be used in place of *academie*. Willem Goeree and Gerard de Lairese used these terms in their treatises, *Inleydinge tot*

sessions that Karel van Mander, Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem (1562-1638) and Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) had formed in Haarlem in 1583, shortly after Van Mander's own trip to Italy in the mid-1570s.<sup>54</sup> Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) and Paulus Moreelse (1671-1638) initiated a similar *academie* for artists in Utrecht in the 1610s, which was likely attended by artists who Sweerts would later know in Rome, such as Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-1660) and Jan Both.<sup>55</sup> Organized drawing after a live model also probably occurred in Haarlem in the 1630s and 1640s, in the wake of the reorganization of the Guild of St. Luke, as well as in the studios of Rembrandt (1606-1669), Govert Flinck (1615-1660) and Jacob Backer (1609-1651) in Amsterdam in the 1640s and 1650s.<sup>56</sup>

These Dutch drawing schools, like Sweerts' own academy in Brussels, existed outside of the jurisdiction of the Guild of St. Luke and served as a complement to,

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*de Al-ghemeene Teycken-Konst and Grondlegginge ter Teekenkonst*, published in 1678 and 1701, respectively. For the role of drawing in an artist's education in the Netherlands more broadly, see Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, 99–106; Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*; Michael W. Kwakkelstein, ed., *Willem Goeree: Inleydinge tot de al-ghemeene teycken-konst; een kritische geannoteerde editie* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1998); Akker, "Tekeningen op de grond."

<sup>54</sup> Evidence for the academy comes from a posthumous and anonymous biography of Van Mander, published in the 1618 edition of *Het Schilder-boeck*, which explained that the three artists had "formed an academy for studying from life." See Karel Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the First Edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603-1604). Preceded by the Lineage, Circumstances and Place of Birth, Life and Works of Karel Van Mander, Painter and Poet and Likewise His Death and Burial: From the Second Edition of the Schilder-boeck (1616-1618)*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994), 1: fol. S2r, 26.

<sup>55</sup> See Marten Jan Bok, "'Nulla dies sine linie': De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 6 (1996): 58–68.

<sup>56</sup> See E. Taverne, "Salomon de Bray and the Reorganization of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1631," *Simiolus* 6, no. 1 (1973): 50–69; S. Dudok van Heel, "Het 'gewoonlijck model' van de schilder Dirck Bleker," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* (1981); S. Dudok van Heel, "Het 'Schilderhuis' van Govert Flinck en de kunsthandel van Uylenburgh aan de Lauriergrachte te Amsterdam," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 74 (1982): 70–90; Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, 19–22; Holm Bevers, "Drawing in Rembrandt's Workshop," in *Drawings by Rembrandt and His Pupils: Telling the Difference* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), 1–30.

rather than a substitute for, an artist's traditional training in a master's workshop where he learned the rudiments of the profession.<sup>57</sup> By enabling the exchange of artistic knowledge in a shared space and the opportunity to draw collectively from a model, the Netherlandish academy was part of an artist's education and continuing practice, reflecting the larger intellectual associations of the Italian *accademia* in both its formal and informal manifestations.<sup>58</sup> Sweerts' *academie*, however, differed from his Dutch predecessors in a key respect: in 1656 his academy received official recognition from the Brussels civic authorities (as evidenced in the petition and Sweerts' receiving of privileges), which not only distinguished it from the Dutch

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<sup>57</sup> These drawing schools were rarely – if ever – documented in the guild's records. An artist's apprenticeship with a master typically began between the ages of 12 and 16 years old. Contracts were agreed upon between the master and the pupil's parents or guardians, and at times a youth performed household chores in exchange for room and board. Training was tightly controlled by the local guild and pupils were required to register. See, for instance, Bleeke-Byrne, "The Education of the Painter in the Workshop"; Miedema, "Over vakonderwijs aan kunstschilders in de Nederlanden tot de 17de eeuw"; Akker, "Het Atelier als School."

<sup>58</sup> It is important to note, however, that the practice of drawing from a nude male model in the workshop – a role typically assumed by a male apprentice – probably already began to occur at the end of the fifteenth century in Italy, evidenced, for example, in drawings by the Florentine artist Filippino Lippi (1457-1504). This practice seems to have developed later in the Netherlands, suggested by late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century drawings by Hendrick Goltzius, Cornelis van Haarlem and Jacob de Gheyn II (1565-1629), as well as examples by Peter Paul Rubens and Jacob Jordaens. Although little evidence survives to understand fully the role of models in the workshop, they would have played a more practical, rather than didactic, role in an artist's execution of a painting. For the role of the model in the early Renaissance, see Christopher S. Wood, "Indoor-Outdoor: The Studio Around 1500," in *Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 36–72; William Breazeale et al., *The Language of the Nude: Four Centuries of Drawing the Human Body* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008). For the practice of drawing from a model in the seventeenth century in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, see, respectively, Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, 19–22; I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn, Three Generations* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1983), 2: nos. 796–797; 3: 268, 281; Peter Schatborn and Victoria van Rooijen, *Het Naakt* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997); Anne-Marie S. Logan and Michiel Plomp, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 9–11; 144–169; Susan Anderson, "International Currents: The Nude in the Low Countries, 1550-1750," in *The Language of the Nude: Four Centuries of Drawing the Human Body*, ed. William Breazeale (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008), 48–85; Joost vander Auwera and Irene Schaudies, eds., *Jordaens and the Antique* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 55–73.



model, but also suggested a more formal endeavor in line with the Italian *accademia* and the Netherlandish academies of the later seventeenth century.

Although little documentation survives about Netherlandish academies and the role they played in artistic instruction and practice, contemporary written and visual sources demonstrate the ways in which the *academie* absorbed the Italian model in the seventeenth century. In his biography of Van Haarlem in *Het Schilderboeck*, for example, Van Mander praised his colleague's choice of "the best and most beautiful living and breathing antique sculptures," suggesting that drawing from the antique was integrated into the Netherlandish concept of working *naer het leven*.<sup>59</sup> The title page of Bloemaert's *Tekenboek* (fig. 22) reinforces – and conflates – this method of drawing from both the nude model and antique sculpture. A young pupil sits in a studio drawing a nude older man. With his wrinkled and sagging skin, the model appears strikingly realistic, but one soon realizes that he, too, like the plaster fragments hanging on the wall, is only a hollow cast.

### *Sweerts and the Academy in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century*

Sweerts' position at a juncture of Netherlandish and Italian academic cultures put him in a unique position at mid-century. His foundation of the drawing academy in Brussels in the 1650s, his deep interest in antique sculpture and his solid, defined

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<sup>59</sup> Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, fols. 292v–293r. This concept relates to what Jan Emmens described as the "pre-classicist" phase of Dutch art in the tradition of Van Mander, who saw nature and the antique as worthy models. Northern artists had begun to draw from antique sculpture in the sixteenth century, as the examples of artists such as Jan Gossaert and Lambert Lombard indicate; what shifted by the seventeenth century is the way in which this practice became part of a larger, more defined academic framework. The use and representation of antique sculpture is a theme that permeates this study.

figures and balanced, well-structured compositions anticipate the academic-driven classicism found in late seventeenth-century Dutch theoretical treatises on the art of painting. In 1678, Willem Goeree (1635-1711) published the *Inleydinge tot de Algemeene Teycken-Konst*, the first Netherlandish theoretical drawing manual; that same year Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678) wrote his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst anders de zichtbare werelt*; and in 1701, Gerard de Lairese (1640-1711) published his *Grondlegginge ter Teekenkonst*, which reflected the academic practices he had experienced in Amsterdam in the last several decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>60</sup> The publication of Jan de Bisschop's (1628-1671) *Signorum Veterum Icones* in 1668 and the *Paradigmata Graphices* in 1671 formalized a canon of antique sculpture for Netherlandish artists, thus codifying a classical ideal.<sup>61</sup> The treatises by Goeree, Van Hoogstraten, De Lairese and De Bisschop expressed the idea that art should be based on a set of rational rules guided by a canon of ideal beauty.<sup>62</sup> Influenced in these respects by Italian academic traditions and the guidelines of the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture in Paris, founded in 1648, these authors came to incorporate the practice of life drawing into a classicist framework.

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<sup>60</sup> For Goeree, see Kwakkelstein, *Willem Goeree*. For Hoogstraten, see most recently, Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel Van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008). For Lairese, see Lyckle de Vries, *How to Create Beauty: De Lairese on the Theory and Practice of Making Art* (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2011). These texts were preceded by Franciscus Junius' *De Pictura Verterum*, the first manual on classical art in the Netherlands that was compiled from antique texts. See Franciscus Junius, *The Literature of Classical Art*, ed. Keith Aldrich, Philipp P. Fehl, and Raina Fehl (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

<sup>61</sup> See J. G. van Gelder, Ingrid Jost, and Keith Andrews, *Jan De Bisschop and His Icones & Paradigmata: Classical Antiquities and Italian Drawings for Artistic Instruction in Seventeenth Century Holland* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1985).

<sup>62</sup> See above for references.

Sweerts' academy fits snugly in this context, anticipating the establishment of the formal, public academies of art that were soon founded in the Southern and Northern Netherlands. Life drawing became the backbone of the curriculum of the Antwerp Academy of Art, which was founded in 1663, the first state-sanctioned, public academy in the Southern Netherlands; it was also the first form of instruction in the academies in The Hague in 1682 and Utrecht in 1696.<sup>63</sup> Barent Graat (1628-1709) and De Lairese participated in academies for life drawing in Amsterdam around 1700.<sup>64</sup> Drawing from his predecessors and contemporaries, Sweerts serves as an important figure in understanding the development and character of the Netherlandish academic tradition in this transitional moment at mid-century. One of this dissertation's objectives is thus to establish Sweerts' role in helping formulate the defined and formal set of academic and classicist ideas that emerged in the Netherlands in the second half of the seventeenth century.

### Chapters

To examine the growth of Netherlandish academicism and Sweerts' role within it, this dissertation develops chronologically and thematically through Sweerts'

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<sup>63</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 130. The study of perspective, anatomy and mathematics were later added to the curriculum of the Antwerp Academy in emulation of the academic models of Rome and Paris. The fact that drawing from life formed the core of the academy's curriculum for the first several decades of its operation expressed a particularly Netherlandish conception of artistic education. Drawing from life, as well as prints and antique sculpture, also constituted the main form of instruction at the first public academy of art founded in Brussels in 1711. For the latter, see A. Pinchart, "Recherches sur l'histoire et les médailles des Académies et des Écoles de Dessin, de Peinture, de Sculpture, d'Architecture et de Gravure en Belgique," *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* 4 (1848): 207–223.

<sup>64</sup> See Chapter 4. Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 130–131. See also Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts."

life in four chapters. Sweerts' paintings constitute the core evidence for this study, in addition to a focused contextual analysis. In the few instances where possible, archival documentation occupies an important role as primary evidence. Finally, this dissertation also constructs the larger network of Sweerts' contacts and patronage in Brussels and Rome in order to place him in a cohesive social and artistic framework.

Chapter 1 begins by addressing the heretofore neglected artistic and cultural contexts of Brussels in the first half of the seventeenth century. It establishes the underlying framework for Sweerts' career prior to his trip to Rome in the 1640s and upon his return in the 1650s. Specifically, it explores how Italian-trained artists like Wenzel Coebergher (1560/61-1634) and Theodoor van Loon established an intellectual and classicizing tradition in Brussels that significantly informed Sweerts' attitudes towards the making of art. This chapter also addresses Brussels' tapestry industry for its role in furthering the taste for Italian art in the city and the personal and professional relationships that Sweerts maintained to its larger culture.

Chapter 2 investigates the nature of Sweerts' involvement with the Accademia di San Luca and the community of Northern artists in Rome. By examining specific works in relation to the precepts of the Accademia, including *Roman Street Scene*, *Artist Sketching Beggars in a Landscape* and *Painter's Studio*, this chapter elucidates Sweerts' reliance on the Italian pedagogical model. It also situates Sweerts' paintings in relation to Italian prints of artists' academies, exploring the innovative ways in which he contributed to this tradition. Concurrently, this chapter considers the influence of Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* and didactic poem, *Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst*, published in 1604, on the education of artists in the Netherlands. It

also discusses the drawing academy founded in Haarlem in 1583, an important and relevant predecessor for understanding the beginnings of a Netherlandish academic tradition.<sup>65</sup>

Chapter 3 focuses on Sweerts' theoretical concerns in Rome by investigating the artistic relationship that developed between his work and that of François Duquesnoy and Nicholas Poussin. By addressing Sweerts' representation of Duquesnoy's classicizing sculpture in his studio scenes, and his use of Poussin's *Plague at Ashdod* as a model for his own *Plague in an Ancient City*, this chapter illuminates the ways in which the classicist principles championed by this older generation of artists informed Sweerts' artistic and academic ideas. It also examines Sweerts' most important Roman patron, Camillo Pamphilj, and the small, private academy in Camillo's palace that may have served as an important precedent to Sweerts' own drawing academy in Brussels.

The final chapter addresses Sweerts' establishment of the drawing academy for young artists and tapestry designers in Brussels in the early to mid-1650s. The academy may be understood as the culmination of Sweerts' academic interests and the realization of his ideas on artistic practice and pedagogy. In relation to the academy, this chapter examines Sweerts' painting of the *Drawing Academy* and the series of didactic head studies he produced in 1656. Finally, this chapter situates the academy within the germane artistic context of Brussels and the Southern

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<sup>65</sup> Van Mander's ideas resurfaced in the reorganization of the Haarlem guild in 1631, and are evident in Pieter de Grebber's *Regulen: Welcke by een goet Schilder en Teykenaar geobserveert en achtervolght moeten werden*, published in Haarlem in 1649.

Netherlands in the mid-seventeenth century, demonstrating its originality and relevance in Brussels and within the larger Netherlandish tradition.

### *Sweerts in Art Historical Scholarship*

Scholars regularly regard Sweerts as a mysterious and isolated outsider in the narrative of seventeenth-century Netherlandish art. The unusual quality of his paintings – in both style and subject matter – has proved resistant to scholarly consensus. Even so, the early confusion surrounding Sweerts’ life, the attribution of his works as well as his nationality – he was long considered to be Dutch – resulted in a relatively small number of studies on the artist.<sup>66</sup> Willem Martin first reintroduced Sweerts to the art historical world in two articles in *The Burlington Magazine* at the beginning of the twentieth century. In a 1905 article, Martin used Sweerts’ studio paintings to illustrate the life of a Dutch artist, and two years later he reconstructed Sweerts’ *oeuvre* for the first time.<sup>67</sup> Rolf Kultzen’s 1954 dissertation on Sweerts followed these articles nearly half a century later, and in 1958 the first monographic exhibition devoted to the artist was held in Rome and Rotterdam.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Sweerts’ “Dutch” nationality also explains the reason why his works are not found in any Belgian museums. The date of Sweerts’ birth was also long believed to be 1624 (instead of 1618). And until the end of the nineteenth century, his paintings were mistaken for Gerard ter Borch, Karl du Jardin and even Johannes Vermeer. Adolf Beyersdorf first attributed a work (*An Inn Parlour*, Munich) to Sweerts in 1896. As a result of these misattributions, he was only known in the nineteenth century for his graphic work (most of which was signed), instead of his paintings.

<sup>67</sup> Willem Martin, “The Life of a Dutch Artist in the Seventeenth Century,” *The Burlington Magazine* 7 (1905): 125–128; Willem Martin, “Michiel Sweerts als schilder: proeve van een biografie en een catalogus van zijn schilderijen,” *Oud Holland* 25, no. 1 (1907): 132–156.

<sup>68</sup> Rolf Kultzen, “Michael Sweerts (1624-1664)” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hamburg, 1964); Rolf Kultzen and J.C. Ebbinge Wubben, eds., *Michael Sweerts e i bamboccianti* (Rome and Rotterdam: Lorenzo del Turco, 1958). For a review of the exhibition, see Malcolm Waddingham, “The Sweerts Exhibition in Rotterdam,” *Paragone* 9, no. 107 (1958): 67–73.

Kultzen's dissertation, finally published in 1996, provides an indispensable catalogue raisonné of Sweerts' life and works.<sup>69</sup> Yet Kultzen hardly questions Sweerts' views on artistic theory and practice. Rather than looking to Brussels or even the academic circles with which Sweerts was in contact in Rome, Kultzen emphasized the influence of the French genre painter Louis Le Nain (1600/1610-1648) on Sweerts' development.<sup>70</sup> While Kultzen did point to Sweerts' use of classical statuary in his studio paintings and genre scenes – observations that showed the importance of antiquity for the artist's academic outlook – he did not consider Sweerts' work in relation to broader academic traditions. He also minimized the importance of Sweerts' academy in Brussels.<sup>71</sup>

Aside from these monographic studies, Sweerts remains primarily situated within the literature of the *Bamboccianti*, a point first argued in the 1958 exhibition on this group of artists.<sup>72</sup> Giulio Briganti also included Sweerts in *I Bamboccianti*, the extensive exhibition he organized in Rome in 1983. Although Briganti recognized that Sweerts' art differed from that of Van Laer and his followers, he maintained that Sweerts, like the *Bamboccianti*, painted conventional scenes from

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<sup>69</sup> Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*.

<sup>70</sup> Martin first expressed this idea by calling Sweerts the “Dutch Le Nain” in 1907. Sweerts is not documented as having traveled to France, though it has been speculated that he passed through on his way to or from Rome.

<sup>71</sup> Rolf Kultzen, “Michael Sweerts als Lernender und Lehrer,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 33 (1982): 109–130. Other scholars who have also addressed Sweerts' use of classical sculpture and its unusual manipulation are Horster, “Antikenkenntnis in Michael Sweerts' ‘Römischen Ringkampf’”; Thomas Döring, “Belebte Skulpturen bei Michael Sweerts: Zur Rezeptions-geschichte eines vergessenen pseudo-antiken Ausdruckskopfes,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 55 (1994): 55–83.

<sup>72</sup> Kultzen and Wubben, *Michael Sweerts e i bamboccianti*.

everyday life.<sup>73</sup> This view went unchallenged until David Levine's dissertation in 1984, which, as discussed below, interpreted the work of these Northern artists in Rome as more than scenes of everyday life. A series of articles followed Levine's dissertation in the 1980s, culminating in the 1991 exhibition, *I Bamboccianti: Niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock*, which also included Sweerts.<sup>74</sup>

Levine's scholarship positioned the *Bamboccianti* within an intellectualizing, literary tradition of irony and paradox. He argued that, despite their low-life art, the *Bamboccianti* were well-inclined towards the classical tradition, bringing the profane and the elevated together in order to challenge conventional artistic truths.<sup>75</sup> Levine's development of the motivations of the *Bamboccianti*'s work and their paradoxical relationship with tradition furthers our understanding of Northern artists in Rome.<sup>76</sup> Yet, like Briganti before him, Levine situated Sweerts within this context and located his intentions within the tradition of irony. It is argued here, on the other hand, that while Sweerts relied in part on the *bambocciante* tradition, the didactic and

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<sup>73</sup> Briganti, Trezzani, and Laureati, *The Bamboccianti*.

<sup>74</sup> Levine, "The Art of the Bamboccianti"; Levine, "The Roman Limekilns of the Bamboccianti"; Levine, "The Bentvueghels: Bande Académique"; Levine and Mai, *I Bamboccianti*.

<sup>75</sup> Levine demonstrates this idea in Van Laer's *Small Limekiln* in Budapest, a work that depicts a group of beggars playing the lowly finger-game of Morra before an oversized limekiln in the Roman cityscape. Although Morra was a game that required little skill or intellect (it relied on chance), it carried a certain degree of nobility because of its classical origins. The limekiln behind the men was one of many in Rome that was used to convert marble and travertine blocks into quicklime for building in the city, an act that many viewed as an abuse of the availability of Rome's antique monuments as a source of raw material. Van Laer's juxtaposition of the destruction of Rome's physical past with the Morra-playing beggars makes a biting commentary on the enduring quality of ignoble things and the destructibility of antiquity. See Levine, "The Roman Limekilns of the Bamboccianti." The tradition of raising moral issues through ignoble subjects had its origins in the philosophy of Socrates, who established that base things could act as vessels for divine truths.

<sup>76</sup> Levine has also suggested that the *Bentvueghels* could be considered as a kind of "academic band" in their own right. He associates the meaning of the word "*vueghel*" with the members of ancient Greek academies who were mockingly called "birds" by their contemporaries. Even if the *Bent* was indeed making such an association between their name and an ancient academic tradition, it relates to a very different set of intentions than with Sweerts. See Levine, "The Bentvueghels: Bande Académique."



pedagogical concerns guiding his work were quite different than those that inspired these artists.

Most recently, Sweerts was the subject of a monographic exhibition held in Amsterdam, Greenwich and San Francisco in 2002. The exhibition, *Michael Sweerts, 1618-1664*, presented an overview of Sweerts' life and work, and an up-to-date assessment of recent scholarship.<sup>77</sup> Jonathan Bikker's archival work offered the most significant contribution to the exhibition. His essay expanded upon a 1998 *Simiolus* article, in which he demonstrated that Sweerts worked for Camillo Pamphilj and Jean, Jeronimus and Joseph Deutz in several different capacities.<sup>78</sup> While this exhibition provided an important reevaluation of Sweerts, many unanswered questions persisted about his attitudes towards artistic practice and the education of artists, and like Kultzen, it ignored the context of Sweerts' formative years in Brussels.

This dissertation thus builds on the foundation of Sweerts' scholarship already in place. It is not my intention to divorce the artist from the community of Netherlanders in Rome – including the *Bamboccianti* – to which he undoubtedly belonged. As is evident in his paintings of artists at work, however, Sweerts held artistic interests and goals that differed fundamentally from those of most of his Northern colleagues in Rome. By viewing Sweerts' work through the lens of academic traditions and the artistic environment to which he was exposed in Brussels,

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<sup>77</sup> Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*.

<sup>78</sup> Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts." For example, Sweerts acted as an agent in the purchase of art and antiquities for the Deutz family from Rome. Bikker's findings also appeared in a volume of *Kunstschrift* that accompanied the exhibition; see Bikker, "Een miraculous leven."

this dissertation revises our understanding of Sweerts and the larger artistic and academic traditions he knew and responded to in the Netherlands and Italy.

### *Sweerts in the Southern Netherlands*

This dissertation explores the artistic and cultural framework of Brussels in the mid-seventeenth century, a subject that has long been neglected by scholars.<sup>79</sup> As the seat of the Habsburg court and home to one of Europe's most important centers of tapestry production in the early modern period, Brussels maintained a dynamic and unique artistic culture. The important role played by Italian and classicizing art in its cultural life fundamentally shaped Sweerts' attitudes towards these traditions before he left for Rome. This context subsequently encouraged him to return to Brussels and led to his decision to establish the academy there in the 1650s.

By emphasizing the importance of Brussels as an artistic center, this dissertation seeks to lend a balanced perspective to the study of Flemish art, which traditionally focuses on Antwerp, where Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) lived and worked for most of his career.<sup>80</sup> As the most important Flemish artist of the period,

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<sup>79</sup> Unusually little is known about seventeenth-century art in Brussels due to the destruction of many of the city's archives in the fire of 1695, as well as a general lacuna in the art historical scholarship. My discussion of Brussels during this period largely relies on Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Hans Vlieghe, "Flemish and Dutch Paintings in the Seventeenth Century: Changing Views on a Diptych," in *Rubens, Jordaens, Van Dyck and Their Circle: Flemish Master Drawings from the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen*, ed. A. W. F. M. Meij and Maartje de Haan (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2001), 13–23.

<sup>80</sup> There is also a general neglect in the scholarship to address Flemish art after Rubens, particularly art in Brussels. Relatively few studies of Flemish art in the second half of the seventeenth century exist, and while this disregard is slowly changing, a significant amount of work remains to be done. See, for example, Joost vander Auwera, ed., *Rubens: A Genius at Work* (Tiel: Lannoo, 2007); Ann Diels, *The Shadow of Rubens: Print Publishing in 17th-Century Antwerp* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2009); Leen Kelchtermans, Katlijne van der Stighelen, and Koenraad Brosens, eds., *Embracing Brussels: Art and Art Production in Brussels (1500-1800)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). The latter book

Rubens casts a long shadow over the study of other accomplished and relevant Flemish artists, including Sweerts. Rubens thus assumes a supporting role in my narrative, as does Antwerp. Sweerts, rather than being understood as an anomaly in Flemish art, is here brought into a more inclusive Netherlandish context.

### *Early Modern Academic Traditions and Classicism in the Netherlands*

The literature on early modern academies traditionally focuses on Italy since the first formal, institutionalized academies of art developed in Florence and Rome in the late sixteenth century.<sup>81</sup> This emphasis is evident in Nikolaus Pevsner's *Academies of Art: Past and Present*, the first book to treat comprehensively the rise of the early modern academy.<sup>82</sup> Originally published in 1940 and subsequently revised in 1973, Pevsner's text concentrates on academies in Italy and France. He mentions Van Mander's Haarlem academy in passing, and spends several pages discussing the Antwerp Academy of Art.<sup>83</sup> In both instances, however, he

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emerged from a 2010 symposium at KU Leuven, which addressed seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art and culture in Brussels. Koenraad Brosens has taken up the subject of tapestry in the last quarter of the century. See Koenraad Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry, 1670-1770: The Dye Works and Tapestry Workshop of Urbanus Leyniers, 1674-1747* (Brussels: Koninklijke vlaamse academie van België voor wetenschappen en kunsten, 2004).

<sup>81</sup> The establishment of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence in 1563 was followed by the Accademia di San Luca's founding in Rome in 1593, and the formation of smaller academies in Bologna in 1573 and Milan in 1620.

<sup>82</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*.

<sup>83</sup> Pevsner treats the history of the academy as an institution from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, so his scope is quite expansive.

emphasizes the role of the craft guilds in hindering the development of the academy in the Low Countries.<sup>84</sup>

Since Pevsner, most scholarship on academies has continued to focus on Italian examples, notably studies by Charles Dempsey, Karen-edis Barzman and Peter Lukehart, although a few focused studies on academies in the North have appeared.<sup>85</sup> In 1984, an exemplary catalogue based on an exhibition at Brown University, *Children of Mercury*, treated the theme of the education of artists in a series of essays on both the North and the South.<sup>86</sup> A 1989 volume of the *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, revisited the development of the early modern academy with the intention of updating Pevsner's study, and contained four essays on the Netherlandish example.<sup>87</sup>

The most important studies on Dutch academies are those of Hessel Miedema and Pieter van Thiel, who studied the case of Haarlem, and Maarten Jan Bok has

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<sup>84</sup> This interpretation has held steadfast in the scholarship on academies, and the Northern tradition is generally dismissed. The neglect of the art historical scholarship to recognize the presence of a viable academic tradition in the Netherlands is still largely bound to the idea articulated by Jan Emmens of a "pre-classicist" and "classicist" phase of Dutch art. According to this model, rational rules defining the instruction and practice of art – and thus a kind of "academic" tradition – did not develop until the end of the seventeenth century with the advent of the classicist ideal of beauty. See Jan Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst* (Amsterdam: G.A. Van Oorschot, 1979).

<sup>85</sup> Charles Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 4 (1980): 552–569; Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*. The Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery has also created a website that publishes archival documents from the Accademia from the period from approximately 1590-1635.

<sup>86</sup> *Children of Mercury*. A more recent collection of essays explored similar themes relating to artistic practice and education in the studio; see Mariëtte Haveman, ed., *Ateliiergeheimen: over de Werkplaats van de Nederlanse Kunstenaar vanaf 1200 tot Heden* (Amsterdam: Kunst en Schrijven, 2006).

<sup>87</sup> Anton Boschloo, ed., *Academies of Art: Between Renaissance and Romanticism. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 5–6 (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989). Although the *LKJ* volume contains four essays on the Netherlands, by Hessel Miedema, E.A. de Klerk, Pieter Knolle and L.Th. van Looij, respectively, only two of these focus upon the seventeenth century.

addressed Bloemaert's academy in Utrecht.<sup>88</sup> Peter Schatborn discussed related ideas of academic drawing in his catalogue, *Dutch Figure Drawing*, of 1981.<sup>89</sup> The Netherlandish drawing book and its relationship to the academic tradition have also received attention, including Jaap Bolten's important study from 1979, *Method and Practice: Dutch and Flemish Drawing Books*, and more recently, Cécile Tainturier's studies on Crispyn van de Passe's *'t Light der teken en schilder konst*, the most important Dutch drawing book produced in the middle of the century.<sup>90</sup> In the Southern Netherlands, the key text on the Antwerp Academy remains Franz J.P. van den Branden's outdated *Gescheidenis der Academie van Antwerpen* from 1867.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Miedema, "Kunstschilders, gilde en academie. Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw"; P. J. J. van Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz Van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, trans. Diane L. Webb (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1999); Bok, "'Nulla dies sine linie': De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw." Paul Knolle has addressed the development of drawing academies into the eighteenth century, as well as the development of the academy in The Hague. See Joop van Roekel, Paul Knolle, and Marjolijn van Delft, *Haags naakt: geschiedenis van het tekenen naar naakt model op de Haagse Academie van Beeldende Kunsten* (Utrecht: Impress, 1982); Paul Knolle, "Tekenenacademies in de Noordelijke Nederlanden: de 17de en 18de eeuw," in *De Lucaskrater: historie en analyse van en meningen over het beeldende-kunstonderwijs aan de kunstacademies in Nederland*, ed. M. Van der Kamp and P.G.J. Leijdekkers (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 19–34; Paul Knolle, "Dilettanten en hun rol in 18de-eeuwse Noordnederlandse tekenacademies," in *Academies of Art: Between Renaissance and Romanticism. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, ed. Anton Boschloo, vol. 5–6 (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989), 289–301.

<sup>89</sup> Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*.

<sup>90</sup> Bolten, *Method and Practice*; Cecile Tainturier, "A Crossroad of Pedagogical Endeavors: The Drawing Method of Crispijn Van De Passe," in *The Low Countries: Crossroads of Cultures*, ed. Ton Broos, Margriet Lacy Bruyn, and Thomas F. Shanon (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2006), 33–45.

<sup>91</sup> Franz J.P. Van den Branden, *Gescheidenis der Academie van Antwerpen* (Antwerp: J.E. Buschmann, 1867), 103–104. Zirka Filipczak also discusses the Antwerp Academy in the context of her larger study; see Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). The role of prints in the education of artists in the Southern Netherlands, particularly in the context of Rubens, has recently received sustained attention. See Michael W. Kwakkelstein, "Tekenen naar prentkunst in de opleiding van de schilder tussen circa 1470 en 1600," in *Beelden van de dood: Rubens kopieert Holbein*, ed. Kristin Lohse Belkin and Carl Depauw (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju en Zoon, 2000), 35–62; Victoria Sancho Lobis, "Artistic training and print culture in the time of Rubens" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2010).

Most recently, scholars have addressed the development of Dutch art theory. Thijs Westeijn published his book on Samuel van Hoogstraten's theory of art in 2008, and Lyckle de Vries undertook a study on Gerard de Lairesse's theoretical drawing book in 2011.<sup>92</sup> These studies examine the character of Dutch and Flemish classicism in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The distinction between the "pre-classicist" ideas in the tradition of Van Mander and the classicist ideas of later seventeenth-century artists – argued by Jan Emmens in his *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst* in 1969 – still remain present in the scholarship.<sup>93</sup> Efforts to address these issues, notably in the *Dutch Classicism* exhibition in 1999, concentrate on particular centers rather than the broader definition of Netherlandish classicism as a whole and its intersection with a growing academic tradition.

Nonetheless, there has been no attempt to chart the development of the Netherlandish academic tradition in the North and South over the course of the seventeenth century. While this dissertation is not a comprehensive study of the subject, it seeks to fill a significant lacuna by using Sweerts' art as its focus. It also argues for an inclusive Netherlandish academic tradition that, while influenced by different social and artistic factors in the Northern and Southern provinces, ultimately produced a single academic identity. It is my hope that this dissertation will enhance the study of the Netherlandish academy in the seventeenth century and the diverse factors and influences that shaped its development.

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<sup>92</sup> Weststeijn, *The visible world*; Vries, *How to Create Beauty*.

<sup>93</sup> Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*; Albert Blankert, ed., *Dutch Classicism in Seventeenth-Century Painting* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 1999).

## Chapter 1: Sweerts' Early Years and the Italian Tradition in Brussels

The first decades of Sweerts' artistic training and work in Brussels represent a fundamentally formative and significant aspect of his career. Nevertheless, beyond the most basic information – Sweerts was born in Brussels in 1618 to David Sweerts, a textile merchant, and Martynken Balliel – nothing is known about his artistic education and no records exist documenting his registration in the Guild of St. Luke.<sup>94</sup> There are also no known drawings or paintings from these years. Sweerts presumably served an apprenticeship in a master's studio in Brussels, beginning in the late 1620s or early 1630s, and worked in the city until the early or mid-1640s when he departed for Rome.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Sweerts was baptized in the Catholic Church of St. Nicholas on 29 September 1618. Brussels, Stadsarchief, Registres de Baptêmes (hereafter cited as SAB, Parish records), Paroisse de Saint-Nicolas, vol. 460, fol. 11v. He had two older sisters, Maria and Catherine, and several nephews to whom he would act as godfather in the 1650s. Records do not survive for the baptisms of Maria and Catherine, although the earliest parish records only date from 1618. For Sweerts' presence at the baptisms of his nephews, see Chapter 4. For David Sweerts' profession, see C. Verwoerd, "Michael Sweerts, een nederlandsche kunstschilder uit de XVIIde eeuw Aspirant Broeder-Missionaris," *Het Missiewerk* 18 (1937): 167. Among later sources, David Sweerts' profession is alternatively referred to as textile, linen or silk merchant. The name Sweerts seems to have been relatively common in the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Kultzen, who at the time of his monograph was unaware that Sweerts indeed received the title of *cavaliere* from the Pope, tried to locate – unsuccessfully – the noble lineage of the Sweerts name. The name Michael Sweerts does not appear in the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 24 (Brussels, 1926-29) but it does appear in the *Biographisch Woordenboek*, 1113, though only in regard to Sweerts' work as an etcher. Michael Sweerts also does not appear in Nicole Decostre, *Les registres du lineage Sweerts*, Genealogicum Belgicum 5 (Brussels, 1964), 1–239.

<sup>95</sup> Sweerts is first listed in the annual Easter census in the parish of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome in 1646, living on the Via Margutta. There is a possibility that he arrived in the city earlier, as a record from 1640 describes a "Gherardo, Flemish, painter, with his companion Michele" also living on the Via Margutta. This formula is nearly identical to another record that appears in 1648, which mentions two artists living on the Via Margutta, a "*Ghirardo, fiamengho, pittore. Michele suo companio.*" It is unclear whether the former reference indicates our Sweerts or another man of the same name; a "Michael Swerts" is also listed in attendance as the godfather at the baptism of a certain Johannes Hackaert in Brussels on 7 June 1644. Since we can only determine with certainty that Sweerts was in Rome beginning in 1646, I will maintain this date as his entry into the city. However, in light of Sweerts' connection to the Accademia di San Luca in 1646, I leave open the possibility that he could

This chapter investigates the artistic and cultural contexts of Brussels in the first half of the seventeenth century and the artists who were active at the archducal court, including Wenzel Coebergher (1560/61-1634), Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Theodoor van Loon (ca. 1580/82-1649) and Gaspar de Crayer (1584-1669). It brings to light the importance of Italian and classicizing art in Brussels' artistic culture, demonstrating how Sweerts' initial encounter with these traditions was fundamental for his development as an artist and his attitudes towards the making of art. I address the influential roles that these Italian-trained painters may have played in Sweerts' early years as artistic and intellectual models.<sup>96</sup>

This chapter also examines the artistic, social and economic dynamics of tapestry, Brussels' most important industry in the early modern period. It underlines tapestry's role in developing the taste for Italian art in Brussels, providing a greater perspective on the city's artistic culture. I suggest that Sweerts' connections to tapestry, which emerge in his drawing academy in the 1650s, began before he ever left for Rome and may have developed as a result of his father's profession as a textile merchant. Through the exploration of this distinctive set of artistic dynamics, this chapter locates the roots of Sweerts' knowledge of Italian and classicizing traditions in the context of seventeenth-century Brussels. As such, it provides an

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have arrived in Rome several years earlier. For the *stati delle anime* records, see Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Kunstenaars te Rome, 1600-1725*, 8:83–86. For the 1640 document, see G.J. Hoogewerff, "Nadere gegevens over Michiel Sweerts," *Oud Holland* 29, no. 1 (1911): 135. For the 1644 record, see Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 25, 34, note 7. For further discussion of Sweerts' residence in Rome, see Chapter 2.

<sup>96</sup> Although in a few instances scholars have made passing mention of Van Loon's potential influence on Sweerts, no thorough argument has been made or the subject fully explored. See, for instance, the brief notes made by Hans Vlieghe, "Review of Michael Sweerts, Amsterdam, San Francisco, Hartford," *The Burlington Magazine* 144, no. 1192 (2002): 444; Denis Coekelberghs, *L'eglise Saint-Jean-Baptiste au Beguinage à Bruxelles* (Brussels: Monographie du Patrimoine artistique de la Belgique, 1981), 189.



important framework for understanding his subsequent engagement with the Italian academic tradition and the classicism of François Duquesnoy and Nicholas Poussin.

*Brussels in Perspective: a Brief History*

Brussels, as the capital and court city of the Southern Netherlands and residential seat of the Habsburg crown, presented a unique environment to a young artist in the early decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>97</sup> The Archduke Albert (1559-1621) and Archduchess Isabella (1566-1633) had been granted sovereign reign of the Habsburg Netherlands from Isabella's father and the King of Spain, Phillip II (1527-1598), upon their marriage in 1599. Their rule as sovereigns, rather than governors as was customary, gave them the autonomy to pursue vigorously the economic and religious revitalization of the region in the wake of the most destructive years of the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648).<sup>98</sup> While this revitalization meant, on the one hand,

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<sup>97</sup> Brussels had been the ruling seat of the Netherlands since the fifteenth century under the Burgundian court. During the reign of Maximilian I (1459-1519), the Habsburgs had emerged as the major ruling family in Europe. In 1477, Maximilian married Mary of Burgundy, heir to the duchy of Burgundy, thus uniting the Holy Roman Empire and the provinces of the Netherlands. This inheritance continued through Charles V's rule and then abdication in 1555. At that point, the empire was divided in two: the Austrian Habsburgs kept central Europe and the imperial title, and the Spanish Habsburgs retained Spain and the Netherlands. Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 21–23. For a complete, still useful history of Brussels, see Alexandre Henne and Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 3 vols. (Bruxelles, 1845).

<sup>98</sup> Albert had already arrived in the Netherlands to assume the post of Governor General in 1596. The decision to marry Isabella, which was made in 1598, ensured the continuity of his rule. Phillip II granted Albert and Isabella sovereignty under the Act of Cession on 6 May 1598 (they were married in 1599), which allowed them, for example, the right to create and administer laws, print money and receive ambassadors. However, the Act of Cession stipulated that the Southern Netherlands would remain in Spanish hands should the Archdukes leave no legitimate heir. When Albert died in 1621 without a successor, Isabella's position was reverted back to governor, which placed more power in the king's hands. See Peter C. Sutton, "The Spanish Netherlands in the Age of Rubens," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter C. Sutton and Marjorie E. Wieseman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 106–130; Werner Thomas, "Andromeda Unbound: The Reign of Albert & Isabella in the Southern Netherlands, 1598-1621," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays*, ed. Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 2–7.

the support of local industries and the founding of new financial institutions, it also meant the rebuilding – both literally and spiritually – of the Catholic faith.<sup>99</sup> Guided by the goals of the Counter-Reformation, Albert and Isabella sought to re-educate the populace and re-establish the dominance of the Church on all levels of society.

Like the rest of the Low Countries during the last decades of the sixteenth century, Brussels had suffered from the religious and political consequences of the Netherlands' revolt against Spanish control. Phillip II, who ascended the throne as the King of Spain in 1556, had inherited the rule of the Netherlands from his father, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1558). Phillip's governance differed considerably from that of Charles, whose sympathetic rule had created a strong and prosperous Netherlands. Phillip preferred a government in Brussels largely dominated by Habsburg loyalties, which created fissures among the provinces. He increased the number of Spaniards in local governments and appointed his illegitimate half-sister, Margaret of Parma, to rule in his place.<sup>100</sup> Most severely, Phillip brought to the Low Countries the full wrath of the Inquisition, a series of measures implemented to stamp out heresy. These measures were intended to quell the rapid growth of Protestantism and to assert the dominance of the Catholic Church.

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<sup>99</sup> For the Archdukes' efforts to promote Catholicism, see, for example, Sutton, "The Spanish Netherlands in the Age of Rubens"; Paul Arblaster, "The Archdukes and the Northern Counter-Reformation," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays*, ed. Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 87–92; Eddy Put, "Les archiducs et la réforme catholique: champs d'action et limites politiques," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays*, ed. Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 255–265. One way that the Archdukes sought to restore the region's economic prosperity was through the establishment of institutions that lent money to struggling industries, known as the *Bergen van Barmhartigheid* or *Monts-de-piété*. This organization was supervised by Wenzel Coebergher as part of his role at the court in the 1620s. See Bernadette Mary Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher, Theodoor Van Loon and the Pilgrimage Church at Scherpenheuvel" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1996), 68–77.

<sup>100</sup> See Sutton, "The Spanish Netherlands in the Age of Rubens," 106–130.

Phillip's policies produced strong political and religious tensions in the Netherlands, which erupted in the Iconoclasm of 1566.<sup>101</sup> In April of that year, two hundred Protestant noblemen marched to Brussels to appeal to Margaret of Parma for an end to the Inquisition. They presented her with the *Smeekschrift der Edelen*, or Petition of Compromise, published in Dutch, German and French, which threatened armed revolt should the Habsburg government fail to revoke the anti-heresy measures.<sup>102</sup> Margaret acquiesced to the protesters. She temporarily suspended the anti-heresy placards and sent the petition to Spain to appeal to the king, an action that revealed the slow disintegration of Habsburg authority and allowed Calvinists to gain more confidence. Calvinist ministers began to preach openly in the months following the submission of the petition, contributing to the rise in tensions that finally erupted with the iconoclast riots in August of that year.<sup>103</sup> Rioters stripped churches of their artwork, damaged paintings and sculpture, and in some cases, destroyed entire structures.<sup>104</sup>

In 1567 Phillip responded to these destructive acts by sending the Duke of Alva, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo (1507-1582), to crush the uprising and the Protestant heresy. Alva's brutal reign, which lasted until 1573, further polarized the

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<sup>101</sup> See David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609* (New York: Garland, 1988); David Freedberg, "Painting and the Counter-Reformation in the Age of Rubens," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter C. Sutton and Marjorie E. Wieseman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 131–145; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 145–53.

<sup>102</sup> The *Edelen*, or nobles, which included Catholics as well as Reformed Protestants, first drafted the petition in 1565.

<sup>103</sup> Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609*; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 145–153. Subsequent outbreaks occurred in 1576-77 and 1580-81.

<sup>104</sup> See Freedberg, "Painting and the Counter-Reformation in the Age of Rubens."

northern and southern provinces.<sup>105</sup> The situation worsened in 1576 when mutinous Spanish soldiers sacked the city of Antwerp, in what became known as the Spanish Fury. Antwerp temporarily regained its position as a Calvinist stronghold after the siege, and Brussels, too, fell to the Calvinists in 1577. The city was forced to submit to the military government of Olivier van Tynpael (1540-1603), a colonel in the army of William of Orange (1533-1584).<sup>106</sup> In 1585, however, the Spanish, led by Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma (1545-1592), reclaimed control of Antwerp and Brussels, along with the rest of the Southern Netherlands.<sup>107</sup>

Brussels and its artistic community suffered significantly through these events. During the Calvinist dominance of the city, one of Brussels' most prominent churches, Sint-Jan Baptist ten Begijnhof, was looted and partially razed.<sup>108</sup> The churches of Saint Nicolas and Sainte Catherine were also pillaged, as were the churches of Sainte Elisabeth and the Bogards; even the royal chapel was robbed of its ecclesiastical ornaments in the summer of 1579.<sup>109</sup> Many artists, too, had fled during the years of Alva's persecution, thereby threatening the city's artistic culture,

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<sup>105</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 155–168.

<sup>106</sup> Raymond van Uytven, Andries van den Abeele, and Jan van Oudheusden, *Geschiedenis van Brabant: van het hertogdom tot heden* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), 302–303.

<sup>107</sup> In 1578 Farnese had already established the Union of Arras, forming a cohesive Southern Netherlands that maintained Catholicism and the rule of Spain. Shortly thereafter, in January of 1579, the Northern provinces responded by forming the Union of Utrecht. The union formed a united Protestant territory and maintained its rights against the foreign power of Spain.

<sup>108</sup> See, for example, Eelco Nagelsmit, “Art and Patronage at the Brussels Beguinage During the Counter Reformation (ca. 1610-1640)” (M.A. Thesis, Leiden University, 2008); Coekelberghs, *L’eglise Saint-Jean-Baptiste au Beguinage à Bruxelles*, 15–33.

<sup>109</sup> Coekelberghs, *L’eglise Saint-Jean-Baptiste au Beguinage à Bruxelles*, 22–23.

particularly its tapestry industry, which relied on a large network of artists, craftsmen, merchants and weavers.<sup>110</sup>

The beginning of Albert and Isabella's reign in 1599 was seen as a welcome relief for the Southern Netherlands, and their commitment to revitalizing the region ushered in a period of sustained artistic production. Driven by the need to repair destroyed churches, monasteries and convents and to create new Catholic monuments and altarpieces, they began a vigorous campaign of rebuilding and redecoration. The signing of the Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and the Northern Netherlands in 1609, which provided a prolonged period of peace and stability, facilitated the Archdukes' ongoing patronage efforts. As a result, Brussels emerged as an important center of the Counter Reformation and experienced a period of artistic revitalization in the first half of the seventeenth century unmatched almost anywhere else in Europe.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> For the emigration of the tapestry workers in the period following the revolt, see Guy Delmarcel and Gaspard De Wit, eds., *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Migration and the Founding of Manufactories in Europe: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Mechelen, 2-3 October 2000* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002).

<sup>111</sup> The city of Antwerp was also a major artistic and religious center of revitalization during this period. Most notably, the college of the Jesuits was based in Antwerp, and the city had a large number of religious orders and lay societies that developed during the first half of the seventeenth century. As the economic powerhouse of the Netherlands since the fifteenth century – displaced by Amsterdam's rise to power in the seventeenth century – Antwerp had also long been home to one of the largest artistic communities of the region. For Antwerp, see, for example, Sutton, "The Spanish Netherlands in the Age of Rubens," 117–124; Jan van der Stock, *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis: 16th-17th Century* (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993). For the importance of Brussels and its court as the heart of the Counter-Reformation, see Thomas Glen, "Rubens and the Counter Reformation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1975), 11–12; Put, "Les archiducs et la réforme catholique: champs d'action et limites politiques."

The period of revitalization in the Southern Netherlands was also comparable to the surge of artistic productivity that occurred in the Northern provinces during this time. The situation in the north was largely influenced by the emigration of many Flemish artists to cities such as Amsterdam and Haarlem, as well as the great economic prosperity of Amsterdam through the rise of trade and new industries. For the broader consideration of the transitional period from the end of the sixteenth century and into the years of the Twelve Years' Truce, see Ariane van Suchtelen et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age:*

*The Artistic Fabric of the Court and the Circle of Rubens in Brussels*

From their palace on the Coudenberg, the Archdukes Albert and Isabella provided a wealth of patronage to artists from within and outside of Brussels. They fostered a vibrant artistic culture distinguished by a steady flow of artists who moved among the city's court, churches and tapestry workshops.<sup>112</sup> The Archdukes favored the work of Flemish artists, both those who worked in Antwerp, such as Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) and Joos de Momper (1564-1635), but also artists in Brussels, including Wenzel Coebergher (1560/61-1634), Antoon Sallaert (ca. 1580-1650), Theodoor van Loon (c. 1580/82-1669), Gaspar de Crayer (1584-1669), Jacques Francquart (1583-1651), Pieter Snayers (1592-1666/67), Denijs van Alsloot (ca. 1570-1626) and Hendrick de Clerck (ca. 1570-1630).<sup>113</sup> Each of these artists served the court in

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*Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620*, ed. Ger Luijten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1993); Eric Jan Sluijter, "On Brabant Rubbish, Economic Competition, Artistic Rivalry, and the Growth of the Market for Paintings in the First Decades of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 1, no. 2 (2009).

<sup>112</sup> The most thorough study of the patronage of Albert and Isabella remains M. De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de xviii-eeuwse schilderkunst in de zuidelijke nederlanden*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen. Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België 9 (Brussels: Klasse der Schone Kunsten, 1955). More recently, see Jonathan Brown, "Der spanische Hof und die flämische Malerei," in *Von Brueghel bis Rubens: das goldene Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei*, ed. Ekkehard Mai and Hans Vlieghe (Cologne: Locher, 1993), 93–101; Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo, eds., *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Sabine van Sprang, "Les peintres à la cour d'Albert et Isabelle: une tentative de classification," in *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550-1700. Proceedings of the Symposium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, December, 14-15, 2001*, ed. Hans Vlieghe and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 37–46. This courtly culture distinguished Brussels among other cities in the Spanish Netherlands, particularly Antwerp. See note 111 above.

<sup>113</sup> Relatively few monographic studies exist on these Brussels artists, although this disregard is slowly changing. See, most notably, Hans Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Brussels: Arcade, 1972); Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher"; Baldriga et al., *Theodoor van Loon*; M. Van der Vennet, "Le Peintre Bruxellois Antoine Sallaert," *Bulletin Des Musées Royaux Des Beaux-Arts De*

different capacities, including in the production of altarpieces, portraits and tapestry designs as well as in architectural and civic projects.<sup>114</sup> In the following overview, I will focus attention on four of these masters, Rubens, De Crayer, Coebergher and Van Loon, artists who would have served as logical and important sources of influence for the young Sweerts.<sup>115</sup>

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*Belgique* 23–29 (1980–1974): 171–197; Sabine van Sprang, *Denijs Van Alsloot* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). Leen Kelchtermans at KU Leuven is currently preparing a doctoral dissertation on Pieter Snayers. For a broader consideration of the artists during this period, see Paul Huys Janssen et al., *Meesters van het Zuiden: Barokschilders rondom Rubens* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 2000).

<sup>114</sup> These differences were also reflected in an artist's status in courtly circles and the number of economic and social privileges that he may have received. For a thorough analysis of the various positions at the court and their significance, see Sprang, "Les peintres à la cour d'Albert et Isabelle: une tentative de classification," 37–46. The reasons for such differences of rank and treatment by the court were varied, and not always clear. Rubens, for instance, who was appointed as an official court artist in 1609, was granted the privilege of residing in Antwerp rather than in Brussels, and was still able to enjoy the economic and social benefits of his position. Sallaert, on the other hand, who worked as a painter and tapestry designer for Albert and Isabella, never received any of the privileges bestowed upon some of his contemporaries. See, for instance, Christopher Brown, "Rubens and the Archdukes," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, ed. Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 121–128.

<sup>115</sup> Significantly, the Archdukes displayed a particular interest in artists who had spent time in Italy and returned home with the knowledge of Italian and classical traditions. One of the first artists they employed was Rubens' teacher, Otto van Veen (1556–1629), who had been to Rome in the 1570s. For Van Veen's work for the court, see De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, 62–82. As will be examined in greater depth below, Coebergher and his brother-in-law, Francquart, who both spent a considerable amount of time in Italy, were appointed as court artists in the early 1600s. Van Loon, who traveled back and forth to Rome throughout his career, executed some of the most important commissions in Brussels in the first half of the century. For a general discussion of the Archdukes' patronage interests, see, most notably, Brown, "Der spanische Hof und die flämische Malerei," 93–101; De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*. Even though François Duquesnoy's father, the sculptor Hiëronymous Duquesnoy (before 1570–1641/42), never traveled to Italy himself, he was greatly admired by the court for his restrained, early classicist style, which was influenced by the work of the Italianate sculptor, Cornelis Floris (1514–1575). Very few of Hiëronymous' works survive, though he was active in completing commissions for the court, as well as the Churches of Saint Nicholas, Saint Géry, Saint Gudule, Saint Catherine and the sanctuary of the Jesuits in Brussels, among others. The most notable of his surviving works is the marble *Tabernacle* for the Church of Saint Martin in the town of Aalst. For further discussion of Hiëronymous' influence on his son and the beginnings of his classicist style, see Chapter 3 and Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, *Les du Quesnoy* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1970), 7–14.

The Archdukes did not have a significant collection of paintings by Italian artists, except for a large number of works by Titian, which they inherited from the Habsburg collections. Inventories for the court also demonstrate that Albert and Isabella collected paintings by the Flemish Caravaggisti, such as Gerard Seghers. See De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, 132, 277–278.

One of the most important artists to work for Albert and Isabella in the first half of the seventeenth century was Peter Paul Rubens.<sup>116</sup> Freshly returned to the Netherlands after a nine year sojourn in Italy, Rubens was appointed as an official court artist in 1609.<sup>117</sup> The high regard with which he was held at the Brussels court was evident in the number of privileges that he received from the Archdukes. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Rubens was permitted to continue residing in Antwerp, rather than Brussels as was customary, and was exempt from the standard regulations of the guild, including registering his pupils, which allowed him the freedom to develop his large Antwerp studio.<sup>118</sup> Even so, Rubens maintained a tangible presence in the court city as a result of the numerous commissions that he received from the Archdukes, Brussels' monastic orders and other aristocratic patrons.<sup>119</sup> Among those

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<sup>116</sup> For Rubens' role at the court in Brussels, see Brown, "Albert and Isabella"; Sabine van Sprang, "Rubens and Brussels, More Than Just Courtly Relations," in *Rubens: A Genius at Work*, ed. Joost vander Auwera (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007), 12–17.

<sup>117</sup> Rubens, however, had gained introduction to Albert before he left for Italy through his teacher, Otto van Veen. He completed his first commission for Albert in Rome for a series of altarpieces in the Chapel of St. Helene in the church of Santa Croce in 1602. The Archduke had received his cardinal's hat some years earlier in this church, which he remained titular cardinal until 1598. For Rubens' stay in Italy, see Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*; Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*.

<sup>118</sup> For Rubens' studio, see Hans Vlieghe, "Rubens' Atelier and History Painting in Flanders: A Review of the Evidence," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter C. Sutton and Marjorie E. Wieseman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 163–164. In the letter patent that granted Rubens the title of court artist, dated 23 September 1609, he was given a handsome annual pension and the right to enjoy a number of honors, liberties and exemptions bestowed upon servants of the court. Work performed for Albert and Isabella was paid on top of his annual pension. He was also presented with a sword, a gold chain and a medal bearing the Archdukes' portraits. For the letter patent, see De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, doc. 62; Brown, "Albert and Isabella," 121. For the larger context of privileges at the court, see note 131 and Sprang, "Rubens and Brussels, More Than Just Courtly Relations."

<sup>119</sup> Outside of Antwerp, more of Rubens' paintings were in Brussels than in any other city. See Sprang, "Rubens and Brussels, More Than Just Courtly Relations." Beyond his religious commissions, Rubens also produced mythological paintings for the Archdukes, which included a *Bacchus*, a *Discovery of Romulus and Remus*, *Ganymede*, *Satyrs, Nymphs and Leopards*, *Samson Breaking the Jaw of a Lion*, *The Head of Cyrus Presented to Queen Tomyris* and a *Kitchen Scene by Snyder with Figures*. For further references, see *Ibid.*, 14.



were three paintings commissioned around 1621 for the new oratory in the Palace of Brussels, *The Nativity*, *The Adoration of the Kings* and a *Pentecost*; a 1621 commission from Isabella for a *Nativity* and the *Descent of the Holy Spirit and Epiphany* for the Church of St. Gudule; an *Assumption of the Virgin* for the high altar of the newly constructed Carmelite Church; and in the early 1630s the Ildefonso altarpiece for the Chapel of the Brotherhood of St. Ildefonso in the Church of Sint Jacob op den Coudenberg.<sup>120</sup>

The vigorous monumentality of Rubens' classicizing works, rendered with great naturalism and immediacy, satisfied the aims of the Counter Reformation: to educate and inspire the populace with the Catholic faith.<sup>121</sup> This visual language significantly influenced Gaspar de Crayer, one of Brussels' most important history painters and an artist who has been seen as Rubens' closet counterpart in the court city during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>122</sup> Born in Antwerp, De Crayer spent his entire career in Brussels, working first for Albert and Isabella, and later for Cardinal Infante Ferdinand (1609-1641) and Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614-1662).<sup>123</sup> After an apprenticeship with Raphael Coxcie, he became a master in the

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<sup>120</sup> Rubens also completed, among others, a *Story of Job* (1612-1613) in the Church of St. Nicolas for the Musicians Guild; *Dead Christ Mourned by the Virgin and Friends with St. Francis* (1618-1620) in the Capuchin Church for Prince Charles of Arenberg; *Delivery of the Keys and Pasce over Meas* (1616) for the Church of St. Gudule for Nicolas Damant. See Glen, "Rubens and the Counter Reformation," 255–262; Sprang, "Rubens and Brussels, More Than Just Courtly Relations."

<sup>121</sup> Rubens' interest in antique sculpture, as well as his contributions to tapestry design, will be discussed below.

<sup>122</sup> See Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer*.

<sup>123</sup> Ferdinand was appointed as the new governor in 1634 by Phillip IV (r. 1621-1665).

Brussels Guild of St. Luke in 1607.<sup>124</sup> Although De Crayer never worked in Rubens' studio, and no contact between the two artists is documented, he would have been familiar with Rubens' works in Brussels, and may have visited the master's studio in Antwerp on occasion.<sup>125</sup>

De Crayer's idealized, robust figures, exemplified, for instance, in his *Alexander and Diogenes* (fig. 23), recall Rubens' classicizing forms from his first decade back in the Netherlands. This stylistic approach and De Crayer's propensity to impose his works with clarity and expressiveness are also evident in his slightly later *Mocking of Job* (1619), *Judgment of Solomon* (1621-1622) and *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* (1622).<sup>126</sup> De Crayer's Rubenism must have appealed to audiences in Brussels as his altarpieces evoked the positive convictions of belief that were essential to the Counter-Reformation. Yet later in his career, De Crayer also developed his own distinctive manner of painting, rendering his figures with softer,

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<sup>124</sup> De Crayer served as the guild's dean from 1613-1619 and was an alderman of the municipal government of Brussels in 1626. See Henne and Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 2: 545. As early as 1612 he acted as a buyer of art for Archduke Albert and after the latter's death became an "archer noble" in the court of Isabella. Early in his career, De Crayer fell under the influence of artists such as Maerten de Vos and Hendrik de Clerk. See Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer*, 59–60.

<sup>125</sup> Vlieghe argues that De Crayer must have frequented Rubens' studio, even if only as a visitor, in the 1610s and 1620s. Motifs from Rubens' work can be found in De Crayer's *oeuvre* from this period, such as in his *Saint Macaire among the Pests*, which uses elements from Rubens' *Daniel in the Lion's Den* and *Miracle of St. Ignatius*. De Crayer's *Triumph of Scipio Africanus*, a preliminary sketch set up for the triumphal entry of Ferdinand, also demonstrated his familiarity with Rubens' sketch for the *Triumph of Henry IV*, which would only have been visible in Rubens' studio. Whatever their relationship might have been, De Crayer was described in a 1640 letter from Rubens as "*pogo amico*," and later acted as a mediator at the sale of Rubens' paintings after his death in 1640. See Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer*, 37–38, 64, 82–83, doc. 52, 310; Vlieghe, "Rubens' Atelier and History Painting in Flanders: A Review of the Evidence."

<sup>126</sup> De Crayer's *Job* demonstrates the first real influence of Rubens, in this case probably the result of his familiarity with Rubens' *Story of Job* in the Church of St. Nicholas from 1612-1613. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer*, 61.

more delicate forms that eschewed the solidity and powerful immediacy of Rubens' example.<sup>127</sup>

De Crayer's influence also extended to other artists in Brussels, including, most notably, Antoon Sallaert.<sup>128</sup> Sallaert became a master in the Brussels' guild in 1613, and enjoyed a healthy career in the city, receiving commissions from the newly built Jesuit church and the town hall. Sallaert's fame, however, can be more readily applied to his work as a tapestry designer. He became dean of the tapestry guild in 1646, and soon thereafter was granted the privilege of exemption from taxes for the contribution he had made to the city.<sup>129</sup> The tapestry guild stated that he had already designed over twenty-seven tapestry sets, and even more importantly, "had not only gained a new style or manner in its work, but in addition [the city] had been relieved of the need to seek such cartoons from painters in other cities."<sup>130</sup>

Although there is no evidence to suggest that Sweerts was directly influenced by Rubens, De Crayer or even Sallaert, he came of age in a period when these masters were the dominant artistic force in Brussels. Their work establishes the larger pictorial vocabulary that Sweerts would have known, and the importance of

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<sup>127</sup> See Brown, "Albert and Isabella." By the 1630s, De Crayer was increasingly influenced by Anthony van Dyck, a change evident in the softer, more emotional evocation of Christ in *The Raising of the Cross*. Information concerning contact between De Crayer and Van Dyck is even rarer than with Rubens, but the latter executed two portraits of the artist: a drawing for his inclusion in the *Iconographie*, and a painted portrait now in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, dated c. 1627-1632. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer*, 38.

<sup>128</sup> See Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, 70-71; Van der Vennet, "Le Peintre Bruxellois Antoine Sallaert." Sallaert, too, was influenced by Rubens, but more so through the work of De Crayer. His *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* evokes Rubens' weighty and muscular figures, but it also closely relies on De Crayer's painting of the same subject.

<sup>129</sup> Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 239-240.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

classicism and naturalism within Brussels' Counter-Reformation artistic culture.<sup>131</sup>

This approach found different expression in each of the artists discussed above, but it introduced Sweerts to a distinctive manner of handling the human form and the importance of engaging with the classicist tradition.

### Wenzel Coebergher and the Italian Tradition

In the early decades of the Archduke's reign, Wenzel Coebergher, painter, architect and antiquarian, played a major role in shaping the artistic landscape of Brussels. He received one of the first appointments to the newly formed court in 1605 after spending nearly twenty years in Rome.<sup>132</sup> Coebergher had attracted the attention of Albert and Isabella with an altarpiece of the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* that he completed (from Rome) for the guild of the Jonge Handboog in the Cathedral of Antwerp in 1599.<sup>133</sup> In November of 1600, the Archdukes sent a letter to their ambassador at the papal court in Rome, Jean Richardot, expressing their strong

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<sup>131</sup> Although Sweerts is not documented as having been in Antwerp, he was surely aware of developments taking place there. His name does not appear in the Van den Branden index in the Antwerp city archives, which suggests in all likelihood that he never lived in the city. However, it remains a possibility that he visited Antwerp before he left for Italy. I would like to thank Leen Kelchtermans at KU Leuven for her help with this research in Antwerp.

<sup>132</sup> For Coebergher, see De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, 198–213; Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher"; Tine Megnanck and Krista de Jonge, "Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes: The Court and Its Architects," in *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays*, ed. Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 204–210.

<sup>133</sup> The painting is presently in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nancy. Although the circumstances for the commission are not entirely clear, the *St. Sebastian* altarpiece demonstrated Coebergher's international reputation at an early date. The altarpiece was vandalized in 1601, and Coebergher, who at that time was traveling in the Netherlands, repaired it that same year. The motivation for the crime was never fully solved, but Coebergher's handling of the martyred saint, which evoked a classical ideal of male beauty, may have offended his Antwerp audience. See Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 22–27.

interest in employing the artist in Brussels.<sup>134</sup> A second letter addressed directly to Coebergher in January praised the artist's talents, already well-known in the Netherlands, and urged him to take the position at court.<sup>135</sup> Although several years passed before Coebergher accepted the Archduke's offer, his appointment as "*nostre architecte et ingénieur*" was finally made official by letter patent in 1605.<sup>136</sup> This royal order indicated that he was required to reside in Brussels, where he received a salary of 125 *livres* per month and all of the "rights, honors, liberties, exemptions and franchises" due to an artist of his standing.<sup>137</sup>

Coebergher's generous remuneration reflected Albert and Isabella's high regard for his international experience and knowledge of Italian and classicizing traditions. Born and trained in Antwerp by Marten de Vos (1532-1603), who had himself spent time in Italy, Coebergher left the Southern Netherlands in 1579 where he headed, via Paris, for Naples.<sup>138</sup> Once there, he resided and worked with the

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<sup>134</sup> The letter to Richardot is dated 29 November 1600. *Ibid.*, 368–369, Appendix 13.

<sup>135</sup> The letter to Coebergher, which was sent through Richardot, is dated 26 January 1601. It is partially quoted in *Ibid.*, 46–47. For the complete letter, see De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, 267, doc. 18.

<sup>136</sup> Coebergher was first named as a servant of the court in 1604. This document is published in Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 370–372, Appendix 16. For the letter patent, which legally granted Coebergher his new status as court artist, see *Ibid.*, 53–54. For the complete letter, see De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, 279–280, doc. 40. The reasons for Coebergher's delay in accepting the offer from the Archdukes are unclear, as are his reasons for traveling between Rome and the Netherlands from 1601 to 1604. In 1601 he was in Antwerp to repair his *St. Sebastian* altarpiece, where he remained until at least 1602. In 1603 he was back in Rome where he appears in parish records. He had, nonetheless, returned to the Netherlands permanently in 1604 as his registration in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke informs us. He completed several independent commissions in 1604 before becoming an official servant of the court and moving to Brussels in 1605.

<sup>137</sup> Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 54; De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, 279–280. The sum of 125 *livres* was enormous and unprecedented at the court. As a comparison, Rubens, for instance, received only 500 *livres* per year, but he was not required to live in Brussels. For Rubens' letter patent, see *Ibid.*, 293–294, doc. 62.

<sup>138</sup> For a complete biography of Coebergher, see Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 3–67.

Flemish painter, Cornelis de Smet, executing several altarpieces in the 1590s.<sup>139</sup> By 1597, he had moved to Rome and established himself in the city's artistic circles. In 1598 he, along with Paul Bril and the Tuscan painter Cristofano Roncalli (1552-1626), were named in the will of Cardinal Bonelli to draw up the inventory of his art collection after his death.<sup>140</sup> Several months later Coebergher received an important commission for an altarpiece in S. Maria in Vallicella – the same church that Rubens would later, in 1606, receive the commission for *Saints Gregory and Domitilla Surrounding by Saints Marus and Papianus, Nereus and Achilles*.<sup>141</sup> Although Coebergher's altarpiece no longer survives, the commission demonstrates his prominent standing in Rome at the turn of the seventeenth century.

One of the richest sources of information about the artist comes from a letter that Richardot sent to the Archdukes in 1600.<sup>142</sup> In it, Richardot praised Coebergher's erudition and experience. He described the artist's ability to speak Dutch, French and Italian, as well as his working knowledge of Greek and Latin that he had developed during his study of the antique. Richardot pointed out Coebergher's deep interest in numismatics, boasting that he was in the process of compiling a book of ancient coins that was far greater than Hubert Goltzius' *Vivum*

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<sup>139</sup> Among these known works is the *Virgin and Child with Catherine of Alexandria, Thomas Aquinas and Catherine of Siena*, commissioned by the Carafa family in 1590.

<sup>140</sup> Roncalli would later become an advisor to the renowned art collector, Vincenzo Guistiniani. See Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 18. Notably, Sweerts later received payment from his patron, Camillo Pamphilj, for his role in the sale of a large-scale painting by Roncalli. See Chapter 3, 166.

<sup>141</sup> Coebergher's altarpiece depicted the "Holy Spirit." See *Ibid.*, 18–19, 361–362, Appendix 9.

<sup>142</sup> Richardot's letter is reproduced in *Ibid.*, 27–29. It was originally published in Jan Hendrik Plantenga, *L'architecture religieuse dans l'ancien Duché de Brabant (au XVIIe siècle) depuis le règne des archiducs jusqu'au gouvernement autrichien (1598-1713)* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1926), 287, doc. 7. Although the letter dates from 1600, it remains unclear whether Richardot's letter was in response to, or the motivation for, the Archduke's decision to hire Coebergher.

*ferè Imperatorum Imagines*.<sup>143</sup> In addition to his antiquarian interests, Richardot described Coebergher's architectural accomplishments, explaining how he had collaborated on a number of building projects in Naples and Rome with some of the most prominent architects.<sup>144</sup> Coebergher was also held in high regard by the papal nephews, Cardinals Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini, the former a patron of architectural projects in Rome. Strangely, Richardot barely discussed Coebergher's work as a painter, which was, at the time, his primary profession. His emphasis on Coebergher as an architect and antiquarian instead reveals what was of most interest to the archducal court.

Coebergher's deep-seated interest in the Italian ideal was embraced by the architectural projects that he carried out for the Archdukes.<sup>145</sup> As stated in his original letter patent, Coebergher was primarily responsible for buildings and fortification in and around Brussels, as well as the renovation of existing structures and the design of new ones.<sup>146</sup> One of the first projects that he undertook for the court was the reconstruction of the royal chapel, followed by the design and construction of the convent and church for the Discalced Carmelite nuns in Brussels, which was constructed between 1607 and 1611.<sup>147</sup> Although destroyed in the

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<sup>143</sup> See Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 28, 30. Goltzius' text, *Vivum ferè Imperatorum Imagines a C. Julio Caesar usque ad Carolum et Ferdinandum, ex antiquis numismatis verè a ac fideliter adumbrate*, told the history of Roman emperors through ancient coins. Published in 1597, it remained the single most important source of ancient coins in the North.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 30–31.

<sup>145</sup> See particularly, Tine Meganck, *De kerkelijke architectuur van Wensel Coebergher (1557/61-1634) in het licht van zijn verblijf te Rome* (Brussels: KAWLSK, 1998).

<sup>146</sup> See page 52.

<sup>147</sup> Coebergher was responsible for several altarpieces in the church, including for the ceiling and the high altar. He also enlisted Theodoor van Loon to complete four other paintings for the church, an

eighteenth century, a surviving engraving demonstrates that Coebergher modeled the church's façade on those with which he was familiar in Rome.<sup>148</sup> His design of a two-tiered system of classical orders relied heavily on late sixteenth-century Roman models, such as the Church of the Gesù, San Girolamo dei Schiavoni and the unexecuted façade of Santa Maria in Vallicella. Coebergher's innovative use of a near contemporary Italian architectural model was one of the earliest examples of this style in the Netherlands.<sup>149</sup>

Coebergher also relied on Italian models for the most important commission he received from the court: the design and construction of the pilgrimage church at Scherpenheuvel.<sup>150</sup> The project was the first major architectural commission by the Archdukes – Albert in particular – and represented their effort to create a highly original site of national pilgrimage. Scherpenheuvel was long a place of Marian devotion, but it gained particular significance for Albert and Isabella in 1603 when Catholic forces prevented a Calvinist attack on s'Hertogenbosch, the northernmost city closest to Spanish control. In gratitude, the Archdukes made a pilgrimage to

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*Adoration of the Magi, Adoration of the Shepherds, Birth of the Virgin and Assumption.* These paintings have not been securely identified today. The newly restored *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Musées royaux de Beaux-Arts de Belgique in Brussels, for example, may possibly be identified with Van Loon's work for this church. See Baldriga et al., *Theodoor van Loon*, 15. There is also an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz, and an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, probably later, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, whose early provenance is unclear. For the latter, see Ronni Baer, "Towards the light: Theodoor van Loon's Adoration of the Shepherds," *Apollo*. no. 495 (2003): 20–21.

<sup>148</sup> Megnanck and Jonge, "Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes," 208–209. For the engraving, see Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, 259, fig. 366.

<sup>149</sup> Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 57–59; Megnanck and Jonge, "Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes," 208–209.

<sup>150</sup> Megnanck and Jonge, "Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes," 205–208; Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingmans, *Scherpenheuvel: het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2002).



thank the Madonna of Scherpenheuvel, and thereafter decided to make it a site of national pilgrimage, which meant rebuilding the original chapel that had been destroyed by Calvinists.

Coebergher, who was the artistic director of the project, designed a monumental church with a centrally planned dome that reflected a design that Albert had made for a seven-pointed star shaped garden.<sup>151</sup> With this building, Coebergher changed the mode of architecture in the north.<sup>152</sup> The church, whose first stone was laid in 1609, took nearly twenty years to complete. The classically inspired structure demonstrated how Albert and Isabella appropriated the antique as an expression of Habsburg authority, while underlining the relevance of Italian artistic and architectural traditions within a Northern context.<sup>153</sup>

### *Manifestations of the Classical Tradition in the Sixteenth-Century Southern Netherlands*

A nascent tradition of artistic and humanist interest in antiquity began to flourish in the Netherlands in the early sixteenth century. In 1508, the Flemish artist Jan Gossaert (c. 1478-1532) had traveled to Rome in the company of his patron, Phillip of Burgundy, to record the city's antique monuments and sculpture in a series

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<sup>151</sup> Meganck and Jonge, "Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes," 206–207.

<sup>152</sup> Scherpenheuvel was intended to be a completely integrated structure of architecture, painting and sculpture. Coebergher employed the sculptor Robrecht de Nole (ca. 1570-1636) for a series of sculptures for the space and Theodoor van Loon to depict seven monumental scenes of the Life of the Virgin. See Duerloo and Wingmans, *Scherpenheuvel: het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen*.

<sup>153</sup> Meganck and Jonge, "Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes," 205.

of remarkable drawings.<sup>154</sup> The Haarlem artist Maerten van Heemskeck (1498-1574), following in the footsteps of his master, Jan van Scorel (1495-1562), spent several years in Rome in the mid-1530s and returned home with hundreds of drawings of architectural ruins and classical sculpture.<sup>155</sup> These artists significantly contributed to the spread of ideas on antiquity in the Netherlands, shaping the way future generations of artists came to know the archaeological and artistic landscape of Rome. But neither Gossaert nor Heemskerck approached the classical past with the same intellectual rigor of the Liège artist Lambert Lombard (1505-1566).

Lombard had set off for Rome in 1537 to purchase antique sculpture for his patron, the prince-bishop of Liège, Erard de la Marck.<sup>156</sup> Already deeply interested in antiquity, Lombard's passion was complemented by the English humanist Reginald Pole, with whom he traveled in Rome and gained introduction to the elite circles of the city and its private collections of sculpture.<sup>157</sup> As his biographer and student Domenicus Lampsonius (1532-1599) later wrote, Lombard "applied himself to imitating antique statues and fragments... he decided that he admired no other

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<sup>154</sup> See Stephanie Schrader, "Drawing for Diplomacy: Gossart's Sojourn in Rome," in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance: The Complete Works*, ed. Maryan Wynn Ainsworth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 45–55.

<sup>155</sup> See Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher* (Soest: Davaco, 1975); Ilja M. Veldman, *Maerten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century* (Maarsse: Gary Schwartz, 1977). Van Scorel was in Rome from 1522-1523 where he served as curator of the papal collections under the Dutch pope Adriaan VI. Also important to note in this context is the Haarlem artist Hendrik Goltzius, who traveled to Rome in 1590-1591 and returned to Haarlem with many drawings after antique sculpture. He intended to publish the images of the antique as a complete set of engravings, which ultimately never materialized.

<sup>156</sup> For Lombard, see Godelieve Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard: Renaissance et humanisme à Liège* (Anvers: Fonds Mercator, 1990); Godelieve Denhaene, ed., *Lambert Lombard, peintre de la Renaissance: Liège 1505/06-1566* (Brussels: IRPA/KIK, 2006).

<sup>157</sup> For Lombard's Roman sojourn, see Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard*, 15–19, 65–75.

beauty.”<sup>158</sup> Lombard believed that the ancients had achieved perfection in their rendering of the human form through a system of formal, almost scientific rules, which he termed the “grammar” of ancient art.<sup>159</sup> Eager to practice and teach his ideas in the North, Lombard established a kind of “academy” shortly after returning to Liège in 1538 to instruct young artists in the pursuit of this antique style.<sup>160</sup>

Little is known, however, about the activities of Lombard’s academy, or for how long it functioned, and Lampsonius only mentioned it briefly in his biography of the artist from 1565.<sup>161</sup> Nevertheless, Lombard’s drawings after antique sculpture

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<sup>158</sup> Lampsonius first published a biography of Lombard in 1565 with Hubert Goltzius in Bruges. For the above quote, which is part of this biography, see the published version in French in J. Puraye and J. Hubaux, eds., “Dominique Lampson. Lamberti Lombardi...Vita,” *Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art* 18 (1949): 67–68.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 67; Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard*, 65–66. Lombard’s interest and knowledge was also shaped by the study of Gallo-Roman and Frankish antiquities that he had access to in the north, namely those works produced in France, Germany and the Netherlands during the late classical period when the production of art declined in Italy. He believed that ancient and northern art had been closely related until the fourteenth century, and thus saw that the “grammar” of ancient art could also be revived in a northern context. For Lombard’s views on northern ancient art, see Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, fol. 220r; Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 148–150, 164–165; Wouk, “Reclaiming the antiquities of Gaul.” Most recently, Wouk has demonstrated how Lombard sought to visualize a Northern antiquity, and thus legitimize Northern art through the use of its own native visual traditions. He shows how Lombard was able to emphasize Northern artistic innovation without depending on Italy as an intermediary to classical antiquity, ultimately redefining our concept of a Northern Renaissance.

<sup>160</sup> See Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard*, 65–66, 217–221.

<sup>161</sup> Lampsonius himself does not use the word academy in his biography of Lombard, but rather refers to it as an “*école où il enseignait à jeunes gens à dessiner et graver ses propres dessins, ou ceux des autres maîtres.*” See Puraye and Hubaux, “Dominique Lampson. Lamberti Lombardi...Vita,” 76. The designation of the term “academy” seems to have been first used in the nineteenth century in Adrien Wittert, *Lettre de Lombard à Vasari: notes sur la première école de gravure* (Liège: J. Gothier, 1874). Lombard’s endeavor is widely referred to in the scholarship as an academy, as it seems to have been an organized effort to teach young artists how to draw and to learn the art of engraving, while instilling them with the formal properties of an antique style.

There is no indication that drawing from the nude model was practiced here, as it is important to underline that Lombard’s intentions centered most strongly on the antique. In this way distinct from early seventeenth-century manifestations of the academy, Lombard’s school also anticipates Van Mander’s conception of working from the antique and from life as inclusive, rather than exclusive practices. For a discussion of what Denhaene calls Lombard’s “academic style,” see Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard*, 77–117. The fact that Lampsonius did not refer to Lombard’s school as an

help to demonstrate his attitudes towards classical art and perhaps those ideas espoused in his school. In a sketch of *Hercules and the Lion* executed in Rome, for example, Lombard strove for absolute fidelity in the form, proportion and musculature of the figure.<sup>162</sup> The result is a heavy, rigid representation that lacks any sense of movement or liveliness. Lombard's drawing style reflects the critique issued by Giorgio Vasari in his *Life* of the Italian artist Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), where he called the artist's use of antique sculptural forms in his paintings "dry, hard and harsh."<sup>163</sup> How fitting then, that Lombard considered Mantegna to have been the only modern Italian artist to have truly preserved the forms of antiquity.<sup>164</sup>

By formulating a set of didactic principles for the pursuit of an antique style, Lombard's Liège academy represents the early manifestation of an academic tradition in the Netherlands.<sup>165</sup> His endeavor also demonstrates an important moment of exchange between Netherlandish and Italian artistic traditions. In Rome, Lombard had met the Florentine sculptor Baccio Bandinelli, at the time working in the Vatican, who had organized the first *accademia* for drawing several years earlier in the

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academy may have also been the result of the nascent use of the term itself. See below for a discussion of the relationship between Lombard's school and the Italian *accademia*. Also see Pierre-Yves Kairis, "Les peintres Liègois dans le sillage de Lambert Lombard," in *Lambert Lombard, peintre de la Renaissance: Liège 1505/06-1566*, ed. Godelieve Denhaene (Brussels: IRPA/KIK, 2006), 311.

<sup>162</sup> For this drawing, see Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard*, 67, fig. 74. Lombard also returned from Rome with his own album of drawings of sculpture and antique coins.

<sup>163</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, ed. George Bull (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 251.

<sup>164</sup> See Puraye and Hubaux, "Dominique Lampson. Lamberti Lombardi...Vita," 67. Lampsonius also criticized Lombard for the harshness of his style.

<sup>165</sup> Lombard's ideas towards the antique, which were closely concerned with propagating an antique style heavily influenced by the humanist culture he experienced in Rome and Liège, also spread through Lamponsius' biography of the artist from 1565.

Belvedere (fig. 21).<sup>166</sup> Bandinelli may have influenced Lombard's decision to found an academy upon his return to the Netherlands, and in the very least, may have inspired him with the idea that art could be taught as an intellectual discipline.<sup>167</sup> Lombard's attitudes towards antiquity later spread through his pupils, including Lamponius, Hubert Goltzius (1526-1583) and Frans Floris (1517-1570), who were, respectively, instrumental in developing the classical tradition in the Southern Netherlands.<sup>168</sup>

Rubens also inherited this tradition as a young artist at the end of the sixteenth century under the tutelage of Lamponius' pupil, Otto van Veen. Rubens' subsequent Italian sojourn brought him into direct contact with classical statuary, resulting in animated, carefully rendered drawings that gave life and movement to the sculptural forms of the antique.<sup>169</sup> Rubens' antiquarian passion was evident in his art, as well as his writings, and in the early 1610s, he composed a theoretical essay on the imitation of ancient statues, known as *De Imitatione Statuarum*.<sup>170</sup> The essay, which originally formed part of Rubens' notebook on theory, stressed how artists should be thoroughly

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<sup>166</sup> See Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard*, 217–218. For Bandinelli's academy, see Chapter 2.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 217–221.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 223–226. For Lamponius' *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*, which established the first northern canon of artists in response to Vasari and the Italian tradition, see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 143–159. For Goltzius, see note 142, and for Floris, see Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570)*.

<sup>169</sup> For Rubens' engagement with antique sculpture, see, for example, Meulen and Balis, *Rubens: Copies After the Antique. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*; Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art."

<sup>170</sup> For the essay, see Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art"; Andreas Thielemann, "Rubens' Traktat: De imitatione statuarum," in *Imitatio als Transformation: Theorie und Praxis der Antikennachahmung in der fruhen Neuzeit*, ed. Ursula Rombach and Peter Seiler (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 95–150.

possessed of the knowledge of the antiques, but cautioned that one should imitate sculpture judiciously, and above all avoid the appearance of stone.<sup>171</sup> Although Rubens' approach differed from Lombard's own method, both artists contributed to a tradition that made the visual language of antiquity part of the Northern artistic idiom.

The depth and earnestness of Wenzel Coebergher's interest in the antique was appreciated by the French humanist and antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637), who visited the artist in 1606 soon after he returned to Brussels.<sup>172</sup> In a report he wrote after their meeting, Peiresc noted that Coebergher was working on a series of drawings of the antique, which he intended to publish in four treatises.<sup>173</sup>

The first book, which was nearly finished in 1606, was to be dedicated to architecture. It included Coebergher's corrections – from his own observations – of the false plans and dimensions that he had found in the architectural writings of Andrea Palladio and Sebastiano Serlio.<sup>174</sup> It also included previously unpublished

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<sup>171</sup> The essay, which was never published during Rubens' lifetime, first appeared in the eighteenth century as part of Roger de Piles' *Cours de peinture par principes*, though it only survived in fragments. For the English translation of the text, see Roger de Piles, *The Principles of Painting* (London, 1743), 86–92.

<sup>172</sup> The record of this visit is published in Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 362–363, Appendix 10. The letter was originally published in Joseph Marie Martin Van den Gheyn, "Peiresc et Coebergher," *L'Académie royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Annales* no. 7, 5th (1905): 5–13.

<sup>173</sup> There is no indication that the treatises were ever published. Two manuscripts concerning ancient coins survive in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Brussels (nos. 2052 and 5575). The first, bearing the title *De Wenzel Coebergher flamengo pittor, observatione de medallie antiche de Iulio Cesar sina a Gallieno*, is dated Rome 1598. The second is entitled *Medglie de Coeberger designate a mano*. See Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 35–36.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 32; Megnanck and Jonge, "Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes," 205.

drawings after antique architecture near Naples, such as the cave of the Sibyl in Cuma and the monuments in Pozzuoli, where he had spent many years.<sup>175</sup>

The second treatise concerned antique sculpture and consisted of detailed drawings – each a foot-high – of various statues of deities. Peiresc described how Coebergher had chosen the best examples and had provided two views of each sculpture, as well as a third drawing that provided the figure’s contour and dimensions. Coebergher had already prepared 100 of these drawings for publication, and had another 300 partially finished.<sup>176</sup> Unfortunately, Peiresc does not identify the sculptures themselves, but one can imagine that Coebergher intended to include the major sculptures of ancient Rome and Naples. Peiresc does, however, mention the location of several of the sculptures included in Coebergher’s third book, which contained drawings after ancient bas-reliefs. These half-foot drawings, some of which came from Cumae and Baiae in Naples, depicted reliefs of ancient customs and scenes from mythology.<sup>177</sup>

The fourth and final treatise contained drawings of ancient coins.<sup>178</sup> It was probably the same manuscript that Richardot had described several years earlier, suggesting that Coebergher began at least part of this larger project while he was in Rome. Peiresc’s descriptions, like Richardot’s, similarly boasted of the book’s greatness, arguing that it was even more accurate than Enea Vico’s illustrated

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<sup>175</sup> Huvane, “Wenzel Coebergher,” 32; Megnanck and Jonge, “Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes,” 205.

<sup>176</sup> Huvane, “Wenzel Coebergher,” 34.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 34–35.

<sup>178</sup> See 53-54.

numismatic treatise, *Le immagini*, published in Venice in 1548.<sup>179</sup> Peiresc and Coebergher's correspondence continued into the 1610s, before it dissipated due to what seems to have been Coebergher's poor correspondence skills. Nonetheless, the Frenchman's report after his original meeting with the artist in 1606 provides a remarkably detailed glimpse into this unpublished and now lost treatise. Although its exact function and audience for which it was intended are unclear, the nature of the project suggests it was a comprehensive source book of the antique for artists, collectors and humanists.<sup>180</sup>

Coebergher's treatises should thus be situated within the broader context of the classical tradition in the Southern Netherlands. Unlike his predecessors, and even Rubens after him, Coebergher's efforts were distinguished by their comprehensiveness and systematic compilation. By codifying the antique, the treatises affirmed the significance of the classical world as a source of inspiration and imitation for modern artists.<sup>181</sup> This framework is essential for understanding

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<sup>179</sup> Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 34–35.

<sup>180</sup> The positive regard for such a study by learned circles in Brussels is also evident in the response to the Italian-inspired architectural treatise that Jacques Francquart, Coebergher's brother-in-law, produced in 1617. Francquart, also a Brussels native, had spent almost twenty years in Italy (1591–ca.1610) working in Naples and Rome as a painter under the guidance of Coebergher. Albert and Isabella appointed him as a court artist in 1613, where it seems that his activities were primarily directed towards architecture. In 1616, along with Coebergher, he had designed the new Jesuit church in Brussels (the church had been started in 1606 by Hendrik Hoeimaker, but was never finished) and later the church of the Augustinians, in an Italianate style. Francquart's *Premier Livre d'Architecture*, published in 1617 and dedicated to Albert, was similar to Coebergher's in that four volumes were planned, although only one was ever published. This treatise features eighteen designs for doors, all of which are based on designs by Michelangelo and later Mannerist architects. The book reflects the tradition of Vredman de Vries' pattern books. Like Coebergher's unpublished treatise, Francquart's book made a significant contribution to the knowledge of the Italian tradition in the Southern Netherlands. See Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, 261–262; Meganck and Jonge, "Building Policy and Urbanisation During the Reign of the Archdukes," 210–212.

<sup>181</sup> For later seventeenth-century attitudes and efforts towards the codification of the classical world, see Chapter 3. For new research exploring Jacob Jordaens's long overlooked relationship with the classical tradition, see Auwera and Schaudies, *Jordaens and the Antique*.



Sweerts' engagement with antique sculpture, which would play a prominent role in his paintings in Rome and his attitudes towards the education of artists. It demonstrates how Sweerts was introduced to the classical past through the lens of his northern predecessors and contemporaries, and whether he knew of Lombard's academy, Coebergher's manuscripts or Rubens' theories directly, it is certain that their commitment to working within the framework of Italian classicizing and academic traditions was common currency in Brussels at the time that Sweerts was at the very outset of his artistic career.

*Theodoor van Loon: a Brussels "Apelles"*

Another Brussels artist patronized by the Archdukes that was well-versed in the Italian pictorial and intellectual tradition was Theodoor van Loon. Born in Erklenz, Germany not far from the Brabant border around 1580-1582, Van Loon worked primarily in Rome and Brussels.<sup>182</sup> He was first documented in the Italian city in 1602, where he remained at least until 1608, and again from 1617-1619 and 1628-1632.<sup>183</sup> While Van Loon probably received his initial training in Brussels,

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<sup>182</sup> Long overlooked by scholars, not unlike Coebergher, Van Loon has escaped much scholarly attention. However, the newly published study on Van Loon's altarpieces undertaken by the Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique in Brussels in 2011 is a significant contribution to the literature. See Baldriga et al., *Theodoor van Loon*. Also see the recent biography of the artist by Irene Baldriga, "Theodoor van Loon," in *I Caravaggeschi: Percorsi e Protagonisti*, ed. Alessandro Zuccari (Milan: Skira, 2010), 743–749.

<sup>183</sup> Nothing is known about Van Loon's family or early life before Rome. He was long assumed to have been born in Brussels, but a recently discovered notarial testament from 1649 confirms that he was born in Erklenz. See W. Huppertz, "Nieuwe gegevens over de zeventiende-eeuwse zuid-nederlandse schilder Theodorus van Loon," *De Maasgouw* 116 (1997): 136–144. The parish records of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome describe him in 1602 as "*Teodoro di Teodoro Vanlo, Fiandrese pittore anni 20.*" His age in this record may not be precise, and scholars generally hold that he was born ca. 1580-1582. For this record, see Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Kunstenaars te Rome, 1600-1725*, 8:11–12.

when he arrived in Rome in 1602 he is documented in the parish records of the Santa Maria del Popolo as a pupil of the Flemish painter Jacob de Hase (1575-1634).<sup>184</sup> Van Loon's name appears in the parish records again in 1607. At that time, he was living with Anthonie van Os, who had also been a pupil of De Hase, on the Via de Ripetta.<sup>185</sup> The following year he was recorded as a witness in a lawsuit, along with Nicolas van Aelst and Willem van Nieulandt the Elder, for a case brought against Jacques Francquart when he was still in Rome.<sup>186</sup>

Although little is known about the commissions or work that Van Loon produced during this first Roman period, he was active in the city's academic and scholarly circles. In 1604 he registered as a member in the newly formed Accademia di San Luca, along with De Hase and Van Nieulandt.<sup>187</sup> One may assume that he remained connected to the Accademia until 1608 when he left the city.<sup>188</sup> He also had ties to the city's burgeoning scientific community. In 1603 Rome's first academy for

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<sup>184</sup> Van Loon's apprenticeship with De Hase only lasted until 1603. Cornil suggests that Van Loon was first trained in Brussels. See Thérèse Cornil, "Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 17 (1936): 189.

<sup>185</sup> Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Kunstenaars te Rome, 1600-1725*, 8:11–12.

<sup>186</sup> See Cornil, "Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne," 189; Bertolotti, *Artisti belgi ed orlandesi a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII. Notizie e documenti raccolti negli archivi romani*, 77–78, 378. Van Loon was a witness to a theft of diamonds that involved Francquart.

<sup>187</sup> For the relationship between Netherlandish artists and the Accademia di San Luca, see Chapter 2. De Hase and Van Nieulandt were registered in the Accademia at least by 1604 and both artists' names appear several times in the academy's records that year. De Hase is mentioned again in 1607. Anthonie van Os is also recorded as having made contributions to the academy in 1604 and 1607. See, respectively, Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:26, 32–37, 38.

<sup>188</sup> See *Ibid.*, 2:26. The record reads "*Maestro Teodoro fiamingo*." Although Van Loon's surname is not given, it is generally believed that this connotation does indeed refer to the artist. The parish records from this time identify him similarly as "*Teodoro di Teodoro Vanlo, Fiandrese*," and he is listed in the 1608 lawsuit as "*Teodoro Vallorio pittore*." See note 203 and Bertolotti, *Artisti belgi ed orlandesi a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII. Notizie e documenti raccolti negli archivi romani*, 78. Van Loon's place in the circle of artists who were members of the Accademia, namely De Hase, Van Os and Van Nieulandt, also supports this assumption. See Baldriga et al., *Theodoor van Loon*, 21.

the sciences, the Accademia dei Lincei, was founded by Prince Francesco Cesi.<sup>189</sup> Correspondence during the years 1614-1616 between the German botanist and physician Johannes Faber, who served as the chancellor of the Accademia dei Lincei, and the Ghent humanist Johannes Ryckius, describe Van Loon as a close and intimate friend.<sup>190</sup> A personal letter from Van Loon to Faber in 1622 further suggests that the two were more than passing acquaintances during the artist's time in Rome.<sup>191</sup> Van Loon, then in Brussels, lamented that he wanted to return to the city as soon as possible where he could be "alone and free."<sup>192</sup> While he returned to Rome one last time in 1628, he enjoyed success in the Netherlands in the intervening decades.

Van Loon was well-regarded as an artist and intellectual when he returned to Brussels between 1608 and 1612.<sup>193</sup> The Leuven humanist Eyrcius Puteanus (1574-1646), with whom Van Loon enjoyed a close friendship throughout much of his life, praised him in a letter from 1612 as "Apelles" and "celebrated painter."<sup>194</sup> After the

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<sup>189</sup> The Accademia dei Lincei became famous for the important role it played in the dissemination of the writings of Galileo. Baldriga is the first scholar to emphasize Van Loon's relationship to the Accademia. Johannes Faber was also involved with the larger community of artists interested in the scientific and natural worlds in Rome in the early seventeenth century, including Adam Elsheimer and Rubens. See Irene Baldriga, "Entre l'Italie et les Pays-Bas méridionaux: le parcours artistique et culturel de Theodoor van Loon," in *Theodoor van Loon: "Pictor ingenius" et contemporain de Rubens* (Gand: Snoeck, 2011), 24–27.

<sup>190</sup> Ryckius was also involved with the early activities of the Accademia and he also had ties to Eyrcius Puteanus in Leuven. Both men had also spent time in Milan with Cardinal Borromeo. See *Ibid.*, 24–25.

<sup>191</sup> For this letter, see Didier Bodart, "Une lettre inédite de Théodoor van Loon," *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts* 55 (1973): 95–102.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 481–482.

<sup>193</sup> The exact year in which Van Loon returned to the Netherlands is unclear. He was last recorded in Rome in 1608 and first mentioned back in Brussels in 1612.

<sup>194</sup> This letter was first published in Eyrcius Puteanus, *Epistolarium Bellaria Centura III & Nova* (Leuven, 1612), 374, letter 35. See also Cornil, "Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne," 19. The letter is the first known correspondence between the two men, yet it is possible that they had met

death of Rubens in 1640, Puteanus wrote to his friend, the French doctor and antiquarian Phillip Chifflet (1588-1660), that Van Loon was now the “prince of painters.”<sup>195</sup> Such praise was confirmed by the inclusion of Van Loon in Anthony van Dyck’s *Iconographie*, a series of eighty etchings portraying contemporary rulers, diplomats, scholars and artists produced in the mid-1630s (fig. 24).<sup>196</sup> Van Dyck’s elegant portrait of the artist bespeaks an accomplished individual; his fine dress, ruffled collar and confident stare recall the aristocratic demeanor present in self-portraits of Rubens.<sup>197</sup> Van Loon’s active and rhetorical gesture emphasizes his erudition and status among Brussels’ elite.

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earlier, whether in the Netherlands or even in Italy. Puteanus, who eventually succeeded Justus Lipsius as the chair at the University of Leuven in 1623, was in Italy for several years at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1597 he went to Milan to teach Latin, where among his students was Rubens’ brother, Phillip. For the relationship between the two, see M. Thøfner, “Amico Intimo, Ingenio Et Arte Pingendi Celeberrimo’: Erycius Puteanus and Theodoor Van Loon,” *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 49 (2000): 359–376.

<sup>195</sup> See Huvane, “Wenzel Coebergher,” 169–170, note 71. Chifflet became the chaplain of Isabella’s oratory in 1624.

<sup>196</sup> The inscription beneath the portrait reads, “*Theodorus Van Lonius pictor humanarum figurarum majorum Lovanni.*” The identification of the artist with Leuven, rather than Brussels is interesting. Although much of Van Loon’s career was spent in the court city, he traveled with increasing frequency to Leuven in the late 1630s and 1640s, likely as a result of his relationship with Puteanus. In 1622 the city of Leuven even offered him privileges to reside there as a painter, but he continued to work in Brussels as his major commissions and contact with Coebergher from this period indicate. Van Dyck’s series was published between the years 1636-1644. See Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L’iconographie d’Antoine van Dyck* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, 1991); Carl Depauw, Ger Luijten, and Erik Duverger, *Anthony van Dyck as Printmaker* (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus/Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, 1999), 72–91.

<sup>197</sup> The *Iconographie* followed the example set forth by the sixteenth-century artist and humanist Domenicus Lampsonius, who produced a series of engraved portraits of famous artists in 1572. Lampsonius published his *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* with Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp. The engravings were done by Jan Wierix. The series consisted of twenty-three engraved portraits of famous Netherlandish painters, creating the first northern canon. For the series, see Domenicus Lampsonius, *Les effigies des peintres célèbres des Pays-Bas*, ed. J. Puraye (Paris: Desclée de Brauwier, 1956); Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 143–159.

The portrait of Van Loon is similar to Sweerts’ etching after his *Self-Portrait as an Artist* (fig. 1), although, unlike Sweerts, Van Loon is shown without the tools of his trade. In this way, Sweerts’ self-portrait is similar to the *Portrait of Pieter Coecke van Aelst* in the *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*. The latter image depicts the esteemed sixteenth-century Brussels painter

Van Loon and Rubens likely met during their shared time in Rome, and their mutual interest in Italian art and connections to scholarly circles suggests that they were familiar with one another.<sup>198</sup> Yet there is no documentary evidence of an acquaintanceship, either in Rome or in the Netherlands. In Rome, they each demonstrated a response to Caravaggio's use of *chiaroscuro* and unadorned realism, but Van Loon, more than Rubens, continued to work within Caravaggio's pictorial idiom throughout the rest of his career. Van Loon's distinctive manipulation of Caravaggesque light and shadow, however, was somewhat tempered in his later works by the classicism of artists such as Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) and Domenico Zampieri, known as Domenichino (1581-1641), who was working in Rome when Van Loon returned there in 1617-1619 and in 1628-1632. Van Loon, however, remained grounded in the Netherlandish attention to the tangible world, which earned him praise from Cornelis de Bie in *Het Gulden Cabinet* (1661) for his ability to paint *naer het leven*.<sup>199</sup>

The unique quality of Van Loon's paintings evidently appealed to Albert and Isabella, who employed him for some of the most important commissions in Brussels in the 1610s and 1620s. He worked closely with Coebergher and many of his commissions were intertwined with the latter's projects for the court. Van Loon

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and tapestry designer in the half-length pose and direct gaze that Sweerts later assumed for himself. Both artists hold their brushes and palette as if in the act of painting, but Sweerts' aristocratic bearing and stylish dress depart from that of his predecessor's craftsman-like persona.

<sup>198</sup> Their paths may have crossed in a variety of ways, including perhaps through Adam Elsheimer, who was also linked to the activities of the Accademia dei Lincei.

<sup>199</sup> Cornelis de Bie, *Het Gulden Cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst*, ed. Gerard Lemmens (Soest: Davaco, 1971), 412–413. See also Baldriga, "Entre l'Italie et les Pays-Bas méridionaux: le parcours artistique et culturel de Theodoor van Loon," 19–20.

executed a cycle of Marian paintings for the Carmelite church designed by Coebergher in 1613, and painted a series of six no longer surviving altarpieces to surround Coebergher's *Entombment* for the Church of Saint-Géry.<sup>200</sup> Although no documentation survives to explain the extent of their relationship outside of these commissions, Puteanus mentioned seeing a *Nativity of Christ* painted by Van Loon in Coebergher's studio in 1625.<sup>201</sup> An eighteenth-century source wrote that Van Loon lodged with Coebergher, for which he paid room and board.<sup>202</sup> Such references suggest that, at the very least, Van Loon was a regular presence in Coebergher's studio.<sup>203</sup> Their artistic relationship demonstrates the tightly woven network of Brussels' artistic circles, even between those who were official court artists and those who were not.<sup>204</sup>

One of the early commissions that Van Loon received in Brussels was the *Martyrdom of St. Lambert* in 1617 (fig. 25), which he executed for the Woluwe Saint-Lambert Church. The painting demonstrates the extent of Caravaggio's influence on

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<sup>200</sup> See Cornil, "Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne," 191. Coebergher's altarpiece was executed in 1605. Among the paintings were an *Adoration of the Magi*, an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, a *Birth of the Virgin* and an *Assumption*.

<sup>201</sup> See Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 160, 172. In the letter, which was addressed to Phillips Chifflet, Puteanus expressed his interest in acquiring the painting for the castle in Leuven. The original letter is published in De Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, 238, docs. 194–196.

<sup>202</sup> This comment by Mensaert, originally part of his *Le peintre amateur et curieux* (Brussels, 1763), I, 14, is cited in Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 159–160.

<sup>203</sup> Although there is no evidence for Coebergher's studio, or pupils, he must have had some form of workshop to account for the size of his output.

<sup>204</sup> Van Loon himself was never an official court artist. Nonetheless, Coebergher must have also appreciated Van Loon's style. In the very few paintings that he still executed in the Netherlands, Coebergher's works demonstrate an earlier manifestation of Van Loon's classicism. In *The Entombment*, executed in Brussels, Coebergher handles the figures with an almost severe, somber approach. The figures are well-defined and exaggerated in their physicality, demonstrating the influence of Neapolitan painting, as well as early Annibale Carracci and Frederico Barocci.

Van Loon during his first decade back in the Netherlands.<sup>205</sup> In this painting St. Lambert falls to his knees at the moment of his martyrdom and opens his arms to receive the light of God. This dark scene is pierced by a shaft of light from the upper left corner that illuminates his face in a warm, golden glow. The strong contrasts of light and dark and the violence of the moment reflect both Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* and *Calling of St. Matthew* in the Contarelli Chapel, which Van Loon would have seen in Rome.<sup>206</sup> Yet, despite these dramatic elements, Van Loon's composition displays restraint and stability.<sup>207</sup> St. Lambert is not defeated, but humbly accepts his fate before God. This tempered appropriation of Caravaggio may have also been the result of the influence of Orazio Borgianni (d.1616), one of Caravaggio's earliest followers.<sup>208</sup>

Van Loon's Caravaggism became less pronounced after he revisited Rome and returned to Brussels in 1619.<sup>209</sup> As is evident in the commission that he received from the Archdukes for their hunting lodge at Tervuren in the early 1620s to paint the *Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist* (fig. 26),

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<sup>205</sup> For this painting, also see Denis Coekelberghs, "Le Martyre de Saint Lambert, tableau caravagesque de Théodore van Loon," *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique* 17 (79 1978): 139–148.

<sup>206</sup> Van Loon may also have known Caravaggio directly, as the artist was in Rome until 1606. Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 153.

<sup>207</sup> The attention to theatrical costumes – the red plumed hat of the executioner and his pink, billowing scarf – bring to mind the remnants of Mannerism.

<sup>208</sup> The influence of Borgianni on Van Loon was first mentioned by Cornil, "Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne," 203.

<sup>209</sup> Van Loon's response to Caravaggio was very different, for instance, from Gerard Seghers, who had returned to Antwerp from Italy around 1620 and produced genre and religious paintings with large figures illuminated by candlelight.

he had tempered his Caravaggism with the classicism of the Carracci.<sup>210</sup> The centralized, pyramidal composition of this work is a significant departure from the *Martyrdom of St. Lambert*, and directly recalls Annibale Carracci's *The Virgin between Saints Jean and Catherine* in Bologna, as well as the Italian artist's *Saint Gregory in Prayer* in the Salviati Chapel in Rome.<sup>211</sup> Seated on a raised throne with an antique relief below, the Virgin and child are idealized and softly rendered. Light emerging from the rising storm clouds in the distance accentuates the heavy forms and thick, colored drapery of the saints flanking the Virgin. As they stare out towards the viewer, they seem frozen and isolated from the rest of the composition.

The restrained monumentality of Van Loon's figures reached its maturity in *The Birth of the Virgin* (fig. 27), one of the seven altarpieces that he executed for Scherpeneuvel between 1623 and 1628.<sup>212</sup> Much as in the *Presentation in the Temple* (fig. 28), Van Loon organized the composition around the central action, harmoniously balancing its color, light and space. The figural group forms a pyramidal mass that has at its solid base the woman's weighty blue dress. Although deep contrasts of light and shadow provide a dramatic mood to the scene, it has a classicist structure and stability. While the image closely relies on Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin*, the Caravaggsque elements have been wholly integrated into Van

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<sup>210</sup> See Sabine van Sprang, "Van Loon et les tableaux de la chapelle ducale Saint-Hubert à Tervuren," in *Theodoor van Loon: "Pictor ingenius" et contemporain de Rubens*, ed. Irene Baldriga (Gand: Snoeck, 2011), 43–59.

<sup>211</sup> Annibale Carracci was in Rome between 1595 and 1609. Whether Van Loon knew the former painting, which was in Bologna, is unclear, though the similarities between the compositions are striking. He was more likely familiar with the painting for the Salviati Chapel. See Cornil, "Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne," 205–206; Sprang, "Van Loon et les tableaux de la chapelle ducale Saint-Hubert à Tervuren," 57–58.

<sup>212</sup> The last work, an *Assumption* for the high altar, was executed in 1632 when Van Loon returned from his last trip to Rome.



Loon's classicist style, which also includes playful *putti* who tumble and twist with the curtain above.

Van Loon renders the large, weighty figures with careful attention to naturalistic detail and texture, endowing their ordinariness with physical and spiritual dignity. The softly rendered youth of the women, with their hair in delicate braids, forms a contrast to the old age of the midwife whose finely wrinkled face gazes thoughtfully into the distance.<sup>213</sup> Van Loon's ability to merge the spiritual and material, the idealized and the mundane, must have satisfied Coebergher's aims for the decoration of the newly built church. His paintings demonstrate an assured command of the human form that appears at once distant and removed, but brought down to the viewer with an easy naturalism derived from his studies *naer het leven*. As Van Loon was still working on the altarpieces in 1623, Puteanus described them admiringly: "On this site of so many miracles, the ingenious and popular brush of our great friend Theodoor van Loon has been employed so that art has triumphed and the images themselves, by their beauty, seem like miracles."<sup>214</sup>

In 1628 Van Loon returned one last time to Rome, where he received a commission for a now lost altarpiece for Santa Maria dell' Anima, the church of the Netherlandish community in the city.<sup>215</sup> By 1632 he was back at work in Brussels,

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<sup>213</sup> For a discussion of a possible head study of an old woman by Van Loon, see Julius S. Held, "Some Studies of Heads by Flemish and Dutch Seventeenth-Century Artists," *Master Drawings* 24, no. 1 (1986): 46–53, 129–140. Sweerts, too, painted a study of an old woman upon his return to Brussels. (*Head of an Old Woman*, ca. 1654, The J. Paul Getty Museum.)

<sup>214</sup> For this letter, see Erycius Puteanus, *Epistolarum selectarum apparatus miscellaneus et novus, officia familiaria, negotia, studia continens ...* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonium, 1646), 24. The English translation is cited in Huvane, "Wenzel Coebergher," 147.

<sup>215</sup> See Cornil, "Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne," 196–197; Baldriga, "Entre l'Italie et les Pays-Bas méridionaux: le parcours artistique et culturel de Theodoor van Loon," 38–39.

finishing the last altarpiece for Scherpenuvuel, an *Assumption*. In the following decades until his death in 1649, Van Loon divided his time between Brussels and Leuven.<sup>216</sup> His presence in and around Brussels in the 1630s and early 1640s during the years of Sweerts' training makes it possible that the two artists were in contact, or at least crossed paths in the circles surrounding Coebergher's studio. As an artist who was held in such great esteem in Brussels in the first half of the century, Van Loon would have been a logical artistic and intellectual model for the young Sweerts.<sup>217</sup>

Van Loon's paintings may have also played an influential role in shaping Sweerts' attitudes towards the treatment of his figures, handling of light and shadow and composition. Van Loon rendered his figures with solidity and a clarity of shape and contour that resonates in Sweerts' paintings. The ways in which Sweerts' genre scenes transcend the everyday, evoking a sense of dignity and immediacy, has distant roots in the work of Van Loon. In Sweerts' *Visiting the Sick* (fig. 29) from the *Seven Acts of Mercy*, for instance, he portrays the peasants with gravity and sensitivity. The face of the old woman, which recalls Van Loon's midwife from the *Birth of the Virgin*, reflects his careful attention to naturalistic detail. Moreover, Sweerts' sculptural treatment of the figures in his *In the Studio* (fig. 12) and *Roman Wrestlers* (fig. 19), and his use of dark, uneven light, create a sense of monumentality and distance that instills the scenes with seriousness beyond their basic subject matter.

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<sup>216</sup> During the 1630s, he seems to have been more involved with the activities of Puteanus, and provided the frontispiece for the *Purpura Austriaca* in 1635.

<sup>217</sup> Although Van Loon himself is not documented as having had apprentices, or even his own workshop, given the number of commissions that he received during these years, it is likely that he had some kind of studio or at least assistants. It is also possible that Sweerts encountered the practice of drawing from a model through Van Loon, or at least became familiar with it through Van Loon's own Italian experience.

Despite the inherent difficulties in establishing the iconographic links between Van Loon and Sweerts, commonalities in their style and unusual evocation of solemnity in the most common of figures suggests that Van Loon played an important role in Sweerts' artistic education.<sup>218</sup> In addition to his merging of Caravaggism and classicism, Van Loon's experience in Italy and ties to Rome's artistic and intellectual circles, particularly the Accademia di San Luca, may have provided Sweerts with contacts in the city. The possible artistic and professional relationship between Sweerts and Van Loon significantly enhances our understanding of this period of Sweerts' early training, while also allowing us to consider his interest in artistic instruction and later engagement with the classicist sculpture of Duquesnoy and the painting of Poussin from a new perspective.

*The Tradition of Tapestry: its Artistic and Economic Importance in Brussels*

Brussels had been a center of tapestry weaving since the early fourteenth century, but with its growing importance as the seat of the Burgundian court in the mid-fifteenth century, it began to overtake tapestry production in other cities, particularly Arras and Tournai.<sup>219</sup> The patronage of the court, as well as the availability of skilled weavers and dyers associated with the cloth trade, contributed to the development of the industry. A further indication of the strength of the tapestry

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<sup>218</sup> To my knowledge, Van Loon only produced religious paintings.

<sup>219</sup> See Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*. In particular, see Thomas P. Campbell, "Merchants and Weavers in Northern Europe," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 29–39; Thomas P. Campbell, "Netherlandish Production and the Rise of Brussels," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 131–145.

industry in the fifteenth century came in 1447 when the city's tapestry producers, or *tapissiers*, separated from the woolworkers guild and formed an independent tapestry guild.<sup>220</sup> Their statutes were put into place in 1451 and remained unchanged until the eighteenth century.<sup>221</sup> As a labor intensive process, the tapestry industry required a large labor force of artists, designers, weavers, managers and merchants, all of whom operated on a high level of collaboration from within and outside Brussels.

The arrival of Raphael's cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles*, woven in Brussels between 1516 and 1519, represented a major shift in tapestry design and effectively began one of the most important avenues of artistic contact between the Netherlands and Italy.<sup>222</sup> Raphael's focus on the actions and expressions of the figures and evocation of three-dimensional space shifted Netherlandish tapestry design away from its traditional decorative, two-dimensional framework. In Raphael's wake, designs by other Italian artists, including Guilio Romano, Giovanni Francesco Penni and Perino del Vaga streamed northward into Brussels' workshops.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> See Koenraad Brosens, "The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 20 (2004): 268–269.

<sup>221</sup> From its very beginnings, tapestry and the economic life of Brussels were closely intertwined, and tapestry producers commanded a presence in the city's affairs. Having their own guild gave the *tapissiers* more autonomy and the ability to participate in the city administration. See S. Schneebalg-Perelman, "Importance économique de la tapisserie bruxelloise au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales de la Société royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 58 (1981): 219–235. The statues of the tapestry guild are published in Alphonse Wauters, *Les tapisseries bruxelloises: essai historique sur les tapisseries et les tapissiers de haute et de basse-lice de Bruxelles* (Bruxelles: Impr. de Ve. Julien Baertsoen Succr. de Bols-Wittouch, 1878), 35–40.

<sup>222</sup> See Thomas P. Campbell, "The Acts of the Apostles Tapestries and Raphael's Cartoons," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 187–223.

<sup>223</sup> See Thomas P. Campbell, "Italian Designs in Brussels, 1530-35," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 341–377.

The first Netherlandish artist to respond profoundly to this Italian influence was Bernaert van Orley (1488 or 1491/92-1542). Born in Brussels, and an esteemed painter to the court, Van Orley combined the anecdotal and decorative character of Netherlandish tapestries with the vital realism and exaggerated emotion of Italian designs, thus revolutionizing tapestry production in the sixteenth century.<sup>224</sup> Some of the most famous tapestry designs of the century were undertaken in Van Orley's studio in the 1520s, such as *The Honors* (purchased by Charles V in 1526),<sup>225</sup> *The Battle of Pavia* (presented as a gift to Charles V in 1531) and *The Hunts of Maximilian*.<sup>226</sup> Following Van Orley's death, his post as the official tapestry designer in Brussels was taken over by Michiel Coxcie (1499-1592), who had spent time in Italy in the 1530s. Coxcie, as well as Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550), continued developing Italianate tapestry design through the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>227</sup>

Brussels' position as the leading center of European tapestry production was well-recognized, for example, by Ludovico Guicciardini, the Florentine ambassador, on his trip to the Netherlands in 1567. Guicciardini wrote that the Brussels tapestry

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<sup>224</sup> See Thomas P. Campbell, "Bernaert Van Orley and the Revolution in Netherlandish Tapestry Design," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 287–303. Although Van Orley never traveled to Italy, he was also influenced by Raphael's working methods for the production of tapestry cartoons, which he likely learned from the designs and *modelli* that came to Brussels from Raphael's studio. See Arnout Balis, "Working it out: Design Tools and Procedures in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Flemish Art," in *Concept, Design & Execution in Flemish Painting, 1550-1700*, ed. Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, and Carl van de Velde (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 132–133.

<sup>225</sup> Campbell, "Tapestry in the Renaissance," 2002, 288–289. No documents concerning the commissioning of the *Honors* survive, though it is held that Van Orley was not responsible for the entire set but collaborated with various other artists and cartoonists.

<sup>226</sup> See also Arnout Balis, *Les Chasses de Maximilien* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993).

<sup>227</sup> See Thomas P. Campbell, "Netherlandish Designers, 1530-60," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 379–405. For Coecke van Aelst, see note 196.

trade was the most profitable industry in the city; he noted that Brussels tapestries made from silk, silver and gold were universally admired.<sup>228</sup> Indeed, in 1545 an agent of the Medici had been sent to Brussels to lure weavers back to Florence. Whether he was successful or not is unclear, but he noted in his report that there were 15,000 people involved in making tapestries in Brussels, about a quarter of the city's population.<sup>229</sup>

The flourishing tapestry industry was essential to Brussels' economy. In the fifteenth century the city and its guilds carefully monitored the quality and production of its designs and weaving. In 1476, for example, the city's tapestry weavers and painters reached an agreement over the fabrication of new figurative tapestry cartoons. The *tapissiers* were no longer permitted to use cartoons made by artists from outside the city, which allowed the Brussels' Guild of St. Luke to gain a monopoly over the production of tapestry designs while ensuring their quality.<sup>230</sup> By the mid-sixteenth century, the demand for Brussels tapestries was so high that the city introduced an ordinance to ward off the rise of counterfeits. In 1528 the municipality required that, after inspection, every tapestry produced in Brussels had to receive a

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<sup>228</sup> Ludovico Guicciardini, 1567, as cited in Thomas P. Campbell, "Introduction: The Golden Age of Netherlandish Tapestry Weaving," in *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 3.

<sup>229</sup> Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 117.

<sup>230</sup> The conflict that arose between the tapestry and the painters' guilds in 1476 emerged when the painters accused the tapestry weavers of using cartoons made by artists from outside the city – and essentially "taking the bread out of the mouths of established members of the craft." The final agreement allowed weavers to retain freedom in the design of border elements, such as flora and fauna, but maintained that the depiction of figures was only for painters who were members of Brussels' Guild of St. Luke. For the above quote, as well as a discussion of the dispute, see *Ibid.*, 45–47; Wauters, *Les tapisseries bruxelloises*, 48–49.

quality mark woven into its border – a red shield with BB for Brabant and Brussels.<sup>231</sup>

This ordinance was followed by an imperial edict issued by Charles V in 1544 that applied to the entire industry: every weaver in the Netherlands had to include the mark of the city where the tapestry was produced.<sup>232</sup>

Even with Brussels' prominence in the production of tapestries, it was forced to rely on Antwerp's dominance in international trade for the mercantile and financial side of the industry. Antwerp's merchants and financiers provided the capital for large scale projects as well as those made on a speculative basis. In 1554 Antwerp finished building a trading hall for tapestries, the *Tapissierspand*, which meant that Brussels tapestries, when they were not commissioned, were sent there to be sold.<sup>233</sup>

Despite the interdependence of the two cities, tensions inevitably grew out of competition. Authorities in Antwerp often tried to lure *tapissiers* away from Brussels, and the city's delay in supporting the 1544 edict angered many Brussels producers.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 115. Also see Isabelle van Tichelen and Guy Delmarcel, "Marks and Signatures on Ancient Flemish Tapestries: A Methodological Contribution," in *Conservation Research. Studies of Fifteenth- to Nineteenth Century Tapestry*, ed. L. Stack, Studies in the History of Art (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1993), 57–70. Quality marks on tapestries were not entirely new; inspections had taken place since 1450 and seals – in wax or lead – were applied, which had inevitably short life-spans. What was new about the 1528 ordinance was that these marks had to be woven into the tapestry. Such marks, however, are not always helpful today in identifying where tapestries were made. Some marks are only monograms, and it is thus difficult to ascertain whether they refer to a city, the manufacturer or the financiers who supported their production. For the marks of various centers, see the appendix in Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*.

<sup>232</sup> Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 115–116.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>234</sup> Antwerp was reluctant to adopt the 1544 edict, as were other cities in the Southern Netherlands, because of the strict regulations it put into effect for the production and trade in tapestries. Antwerp flourished because of its "free trade," and the implementation of the edict would hinder the freedom it had enjoyed in the sale of tapestries. Tapestries were also produced in Antwerp, but it is important to recognize the distinctions between the two cities in terms of their roles in the larger industry. See *Ibid.*, 116–117, 176–180.

The cities, nonetheless, continued to rely on one another, regularly negotiating the politics of artistic, economic and civic pride. These dynamics came into sharper focus in the early seventeenth century with Albert and Isabella's introduction of protectionist measures for the tapestry industry in the wake of the Netherlands revolt. The conflict had weakened Brussels' monopoly on the European tapestry market and caused the emigration of many tapestry workers who established new workshops across Europe, including in the Dutch Republic, Germany, England and France.<sup>235</sup> Although the tapestry industry had slowly begun to recover by 1600, city authorities recognized the necessity of protecting the industry from further decay and petitioned Albert and Isabella to help them by encouraging workers to return to the Southern Netherlands, and specifically to Brussels.

In 1606, Albert and Isabella, upon the urging of the city's tapestry merchants and town authorities, reinstated the 1544 imperial edict that had protected the production of tapestries in Brussels through the use of the BΔB mark. The measures also prohibited the export of raw materials used in tapestry production and granted the tapestry guild exemption from taxation on beer and from participation in the civic guard to guarantee productivity.<sup>236</sup> These efforts continued in 1613 when nine of Brussels' tapestry firms jointly filed a petition for additional privileges. They argued that tapestry was essential for the economy of the city, and that "since the [1606]

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<sup>235</sup> See Delmarcel and De Wit, *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad*; Guy Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Spanish Netherlands 1625-1660," in *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 203–217.

<sup>236</sup> Brosens, "The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris," 274–276; Thomas P. Campbell, "The Development of New Centers of Production and the Recovery of the Netherlandish Tapestry Industry, 1600-1620," in *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 67–68.



privileges had been granted, the workmen had been more motivated and their number had grown; some emigrated weavers had moved back to Brussels.<sup>237</sup>

Albert and Isabella acquiesced with this petition and granted the tapestry firms further exemptions from taxation on beer and wine. In 1629 another generation of *tapissiers* was granted the continuation of privileges granted in 1606 and 1613.<sup>238</sup> After 1629 tapestry producers, designers, weavers and dealers began to request privileges individually; the result was that between 1613 and 1700 at least seventy-five *tapissiers* were granted some kind of privilege.<sup>239</sup> The significance of these economic measures should not be underestimated. They indicate how essential tapestry production was for the economy and the artistic and social identity of Brussels. Albert and Isabella's role in meeting the demands of the industry demonstrated their recognition of tapestry's importance as they sought to contribute to the revitalization of the city.

During the early years of the seventeenth century, the Archdukes commissioned a number of tapestries from Brussels workshops. In 1603 they ordered a set of *Grotesques* from Jakob Tseraerts, the court *tapissier*, after designs by Denis van Alsloot; in the years that followed, they purchased sets of the *Story of Joshua*, a *Story of the Trojan War* and a *Story of Cleopatra*, among others.<sup>240</sup> Notable among their acquisitions was also a set of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*, which Isabella gave

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<sup>237</sup> Brosens, "The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris," 275–276.

<sup>238</sup> In 1626 the guild had also been given annuity of 3,125 guilders.

<sup>239</sup> See Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry*, 370–372; Brosens, "The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris," 276.

<sup>240</sup> Campbell, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 2007, 68.

to the Carmelite church in 1620. Isabella's purchase reflected the state of the industry in the first few decades of the century: the city's *tapissiers* relied heavily on the reweaving of sixteenth-century Netherlandish and Italian designs, which were still available in the city's workshops. As well as Raphael's designs, cartoons by Guilio Romano and Italianate Netherlandish artists, including Bernaert van Orley, Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Michael Coxcie, enjoyed a revival.<sup>241</sup>

Brussels' tapestry industry experienced another moment of revival with Rubens' designs for the *Decius Mus* series in 1616 and the *Triumph of the Eucharist* in 1625.<sup>242</sup> The latter series, commissioned by Isabella for the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, consisted of twenty tapestries rendered with a level of stylistic and iconographic innovation that changed – at least momentarily – the direction of Baroque tapestry design.<sup>243</sup> While the series was not Rubens' first, the *Triumph of the Eucharist* reinvented notions of space and narrative through the play of illusionistic borders and *trompe l'oeil* architectural elements. Rubens' dynamic, figural designs were conceived as large-scale paintings that blurred the line between tangible and spiritual realities.

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>242</sup> For a discussion of each of these series, as well as a full bibliography, see Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, 2007, 95–105, 218–233.

<sup>243</sup> Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 218–233. Copies of the cartoons and the *modelli* remained in Brussels in the workshop of Jacques Geubels II and Jan Raes. In a recent symposium held at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (30-31 March 2012), "Peter Paul Rubens's Triumph of the Eucharist Series," Koenraad Brosens challenged the widely held view that Rubens was a good tapestry designer. Brosens suggested that by making his designs more like paintings – emphasizing the monumentality of his figures, creating a frieze-like construction of space and eliminating in large part the decorative attributes of border design – Rubens eschewed the very qualities unique to the tapestry medium. As a result, the importance of Rubens' impact as a tapestry designer is questioned, as well as our general understanding of the development of Flemish tapestry in the middle decades of the seventeenth century.

The influence of Rubens' classically oriented designs was significant for a generation of artists. Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) began to design tapestries in the 1630s, including such series as the *Story of Alexander*, the *Proverbs* and *Scenes of Country Life*.<sup>244</sup> Sallaert, too, was influenced by the drama and emotion of Rubens' compositions, evident in his *Life of Man* and *History of Theseus*. He also maintained his own individual style, working with deep contrasts of light and dark and depicting his figures with distinctive gestures and profiles.<sup>245</sup> As mentioned earlier, he was rewarded for his innovation in tapestry in the privileges that he received from the city of Brussels in 1646. Among the fashion for figurative tapestries, patrons also had a taste for purely landscape designs, conceived by such artists as Lodewijk de Vadder (1605-1655) and Jacques d'Arthois (1613-1686).<sup>246</sup>

The resurgence in innovation and the quality of production of tapestry in Brussels in the mid-seventeenth century was the result of the designs of artists like Rubens, Jordaens and Sallaert, as well as the concerted efforts of the industry's major workshops and producers, such as the Raes, Reymbouts, Leyniers and Van den Heck families. The size and influence of the tapestry industry would not have been lost on Sweerts. It also presented him with the opportunity to see designs by Italian artists that circulated in the city's workshops. The long tradition of contact between the Southern Netherlands and Italy through tapestry provides another important perspective from which to consider Sweerts' artistic education and the breadth of

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<sup>244</sup> See *Ibid.*, 208–209; Kristi Nelson, *Jacob Jordaens: Design for Tapestry* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

<sup>245</sup> Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 240.

<sup>246</sup> Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 212. It should also be noted that many other Flemish painters produced designs for the tapestry industry at one point or another in their careers, including, Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Justus van Egmont, Erasmus Quellin, Cornelis Schut and David Teniers.

influences that reached him in Brussels. In a more personal way, Sweerts may have been involved with the larger tapestry community through his family's profession.

*Sweerts, the Deutz Family and the Textile Trade in Brussels and Rome*

Sweerts' father, David Sweerts, was a textile merchant, as was his brother-in-law, Gaspar Kimps, the husband of his sister, Maria.<sup>247</sup> The Sweerts family's involvement with textiles, likely in silk and linen, was not unusual for the period.<sup>248</sup> Brussels and Brabant had been important centers for the weaving and dyeing of silk, linen and wool since the fourteenth century.<sup>249</sup> Textiles were significant in Brussels for tapestry and for the larger industry that was involved in their production. While tapestries themselves were primarily woven from wool, which came from England and Spain, more expensive materials like silk were often imported from Italy or Spain, and threads of gold and silver – used in prominent commissions – from Venice or Cyprus.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Gaspar Kimps' profession is recorded in Sweerts' record in the Archives of the Missions Étrangères, Paris, vol. 115, Mémoire du départ des Noss. Les trios Evesques Envoyés par sa Sainteté en la Chine, 37, 4 October 1660. For this document, see Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 82 (with the incorrect volume and page numbers). Gaspar and Maria married only in 1645. Bikker describes him as a silk merchant.

<sup>248</sup> There was also a Sweerts family in Antwerp, the most well-known member being the sixteenth-century humanist and tapestry merchant, Frans Sweerts, but there is no documentation supports this connection.

<sup>249</sup> For the dyeing of textiles, see Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry*; R. de Peuter, "Industrial Development and De-Industrialization in Pre-Modern Towns: Brussels From the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century, A Provisional Survey," in *The Rise and Decline of Urban Industries in Italy and in the Low Countries*, ed. Herman van der Wee (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 213–216.

<sup>250</sup> Thomas P. Campbell, "The Art and Magnificence of Renaissance Tapestries: Introduction," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 6.

No documentation links Sweerts himself to the textile trade in Brussels, but a document from 6 June 1651 indicates that he did participate in it from Rome. The document, signed by Jean Deutz (1618-1673), who belonged to a prominent Amsterdam merchant family, granted Sweerts the power of attorney to act on Jean's behalf in the transaction of seven lengths of Leiden silk.<sup>251</sup> Jean was the eldest of eight children born to Johannes Deutz, a businessman, and Elisabeth Coymans, the daughter of the well-known trader and banker, Balthasar Coymans.<sup>252</sup> Elizabeth took over her husband's business after his death in 1638, and Jean rose to be one of the most successful merchants and bankers of his day.<sup>253</sup> The family's business in the mid-seventeenth century primarily concerned the trade in textiles, and evidence indicates that they imported fabrics from Italy, Spain, France and the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>254</sup> The authority invested in Sweerts to handle the shipment of silk suggests that this transaction may not have been his first foray into the textile world, and in the very least, his family background may have made him suitable for the job.

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<sup>251</sup> The document was first published in J.O. Kronig, "Über einige Bilder von Michiel Sweerts," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* (1910): 45–48. Also see Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, Appendix E, 80; Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 292–293.

<sup>252</sup> Balthasar Coymans ranked among the wealthiest of Amsterdam's citizens in 1631 as a result of his trading company and role in international banking (he was also a slave trader). For the list of the wealthiest citizens in Amsterdam in 1631, which was based on tax assessments, see Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 348. For the Deutz family background, see Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 277–280.

<sup>253</sup> Jean was, for example, in charge of overseeing trade with the Levant at mid-century and was often called upon by Johann de Wit, the Pensionary of Holland, for financial advice. Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 280.

<sup>254</sup> The family also traded in other commodities, including cloves, tobacco, pepper and sugar. Over time, their interests grew, particularly after 1648 with the signing of the Treaty of Münster, which eased trade restrictions abroad and ended the Spanish embargoes. In 1659, Jean acquired a mine in the Holy Roman Empire, allowing him to gain a monopoly over the sale of mercury, and thus significantly contributing to his wealth. See *Ibid.*, 277–280.

How Sweerts initially came into contact with the Deutz family remains an open question.<sup>255</sup> Unfortunately, no specific mention is made of Brussels in the Deutz family records, yet it seems reasonable to suggest that there was already contact between the two families in Brussels as a result of their trade in textiles.<sup>256</sup> In any event, Jean, and two of his younger brothers, Jeronimus (1622-1670) and Joseph (1624-1684), traveled to Rome in 1646 – the same year that Sweerts is first documented in the city.<sup>257</sup> The journey was probably part of the brothers' Grand Tour, an activity commonplace among elites in the seventeenth century, as well as related to their business interests.<sup>258</sup> According to entries in Elisabeth Coyman's *Journal*, the account book that she kept from January 1649 to March 1653, Jean's travels, which also included trips to France and Spain, took place between July 1646 and September 1649. Joseph and Jeronimus stayed in Italy one year longer.<sup>259</sup>

During their Roman sojourn, the Deutz brothers purchased a significant number of paintings and antique marble statues, which were then shipped back to the

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<sup>255</sup> Martin first called attention to Sweerts' relationship to the Deutz family in 1907, a point further explored by Van Eeghen in 1975 in the context of the family's patronage efforts. Kultzen (before Bikker's recent archival evidence came to light) argued that personal contact between the Deutzes and Sweerts only came in 1658, the date in which he believed Sweerts moved to Amsterdam. See Martin, "Michiel Sweerts als schilder: proeve van een biografie en een catalogus van zijn schilderijen"; I.H. van Eeghen, "De eerste Deutz op het Deutzenhofje," *Maanblad Amstelodamum* 67 (1975): 65–70; Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 5, note 34.

<sup>256</sup> This suggestion was also made by Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 293. Despite Kultzen's argument that Sweerts and the Deutz brothers met after Sweerts was in Rome, he does suggest that the Sweerts family business may have provided the initial point of contact between them. The will of Gideon Deutz, Jean's younger brother, drawn up in 1670 indicates that the family owned a Brussels tapestry. See *Ibid.*, 282–283.

<sup>257</sup> Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 287–288.

<sup>258</sup> See Anna Frank-Van Westrienen, *De Groote tour: tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche uitgeversmaatschappij, 1983), 274–305.

<sup>259</sup> For these references in the *Journal*, see Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 287.

Netherlands.<sup>260</sup> Their acquisitions focused predominantly on the work of contemporary Italian and Netherlandish artists working in Italy, including a number of paintings by Sweerts.<sup>261</sup> The first documented contact between artist and patron, however, involved Sweerts' role as agent. An entry from the *Journael* records that Sweerts "received more than was his due for paintings purchased in equal shares by Jean, Jeronimus and Joseph" between 1648 and 31 October 1650.<sup>262</sup> Although the entry is vague as to whether the paintings refer to works by Sweerts or another artist(s), the breadth of his activities for the Deutz brothers is confirmed by a second entry on 13 September 1649, which describes that he handled a shipment of frames from Rome.<sup>263</sup>

The relationship between Sweerts and the Deutz brothers is further demonstrated by the fact that Sweerts executed portraits of the brothers in Rome,

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<sup>260</sup> The first record of a shipment of two crates of paintings sent from Rome to Livorno and then to Amsterdam is from 14 May 1649. A second record from 6 August 1649 also lists two crates, specifying 46 paintings. A shipment on 13 September 1649 lists a crate of frames for paintings, presumably belonging to the August shipment. The final entry for 1649, from 26 September, also included sculpture. Subsequent shipments from 1650 and 1651 contained paintings, eight crates of marble sculptures, as well as dyes for textiles. While the Deutz brothers amassed a sizable art collection of their own during these years, Jonathan Bikker has convincingly show that they were also involved in the art trade back in the Netherlands. *Ibid.*, 281–282, Appendix A, 307.

<sup>261</sup> The shipment of paintings from 22 December 1650 included three portraits by Sweerts, presumably of the Deutz brothers themselves, described as "*Conterfeijstels na t'leven van Michiel Sweerts met haer vergulde lijsten.*" See further discussion below, and for this record, see *Ibid.*, Appendix A, 307. The records from the *Journael* and later inventories do not always identify the artists, but among those works acquired by the family were paintings by Netherlanders, such as Gottfried Wals, Johan van den Hecke, Pieter van Laer and Jan Both, and Italian artists, including Veronese, Jacopo Bassano, Giovanni Lanfranco, Francesco Albani, François Perrier and Claude Lorrain. The Deutzes also purchased a significant number of paintings and sculpture from a sale in Amsterdam on the Herenlogement on 25 October 1650. *Ibid.*, Appendices A, B and C, 307–309. For the collecting of Italian art by Dutch patrons in the seventeenth century, see H.T. van Veen, "Uitzonderlijke verzaemlingen: Italiaanse kunst en klassieke sculptuur in Nederland," in *De Wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735*, ed. Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker (Zwolle: Waanders, 1992), 102–116.

<sup>262</sup> Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 293, Appendix F, 312.

<sup>263</sup> See notes 260 and 261 and *Ibid.*, 293, Appendix A, 307.

including the *Portrait of Joseph Deutz* (fig. 4).<sup>264</sup> Moreover, inventories taken after the brothers' deaths indicate that they owned at least a dozen paintings by Sweerts.<sup>265</sup> Most notably, Sweerts' "*Een Romeijns Naeijstertje*" (A Roman woman sewing), "*Een Schilders-academetje*" (Painter's academy), and the series of the *Seven Acts of Mercy* hung in the "*Purpere groot Salet*," or large purple room, of Joseph Deutz's home on Amsterdam's Herengracht.<sup>266</sup> Although it is impossible to determine which of the painter's studios Joseph owned, his prominent display of the work, as well as Sweerts' other paintings, speaks to Sweerts' significance as an artist, while also establishing the kind of elite audience that was likely viewing them.<sup>267</sup>

Sweerts' contacts with those involved in the textile trade also extended beyond the Deutz family. Around 1648 he painted the portrait of Anthonij de Bordes, an Amsterdam linen merchant who also traveled to Italy in the 1640s (fig. 30).<sup>268</sup> De Bordes's daughter Maria, later married Daniel Deutz, a cousin of the family and also

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<sup>264</sup> See Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 100–103.

<sup>265</sup> For a discussion of the identification of the portraits, which Bikker recently revised, see Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 293–296. Not all of the works by Sweerts have been identified, or survive; Jean's inventory, taken thirty-nine years after his death in 1712, contained self-portraits by Sweerts, a *Flight into Egypt* and a *Portrait of Jean Deutz*. The former two works have not been identified.

<sup>266</sup> Joseph had in fact acquired the painter's academy from his brother, Jeronimus. The latter's will, dated 1 March 1680, gave Joseph the right to choose twelve of his best pictures. See *Ibid.*, 283, 299, Appendix C, 310. The "*Romeijns Naeijstertje*" was valued at 400 guilders, the most expensive work in Joseph's collection. Bikker has suggested that Sweerts may have given Joseph Deutz the *Seven Acts of Mercy* as a gesture of gratitude for the family's generous patronage. Such a gesture would have particularly resonated with the Deutz family, for, according to Joachim van Sandrart, Annibale Carracci had given the Deutz brothers' grandfather, Balthasar Coymans, a series of the *Seven Acts of Mercy* (now lost) as a show of gratitude for his efforts to help the artist out of his spell of melancholy. Although the story has been doubted by scholars, Bikker suggests that there is probably a certain degree of truth to it, and Sweerts, as an artist who negotiated naturalism and classicism in manner comparable to the Carracci, may have been inspired to imitate Annibale's gesture. See *Ibid.*, 298–299.

<sup>267</sup> For further discussion of the Deutz's artistic interests and contacts during this period, see Chapter 4.

<sup>268</sup> See Guido Jansen, "A Family Tradition Confirmed: Sweerts' Portrait of Anthonij De Bordes," *Hoogsteder Mercury* 12 (1991): 37–41.



a dealer in Italian and Levantine silk. The portrait is included in Daniel's inventory from 1708, as well as possibly several other paintings by Sweerts' hand.<sup>269</sup> The frequency with which Sweerts' name appears in connection with figures involved in the textile trade suggests that he himself may have played a role in his family's business. Even so, it may have at least provided him with an important network of patrons and occasioned his initial contact with Brussels' tapestry community.<sup>270</sup> As a result, his relationship with the Deutzes and De Bordes during his first years in Italy may be understood as integral to his professional interests.<sup>271</sup>

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The absence of documentation about Sweerts' artistic education and his activities before he arrived in Rome in 1646 makes it difficult to establish the full range of the formative influences on his artistic ideas. Yet, it is certain that by the time he left Brussels for Rome, Sweerts was fully trained as a painter, both familiar with Netherlandish artistic traditions and knowledgeable about Italian art. Interest in antiquity and contemporary Italian art and architecture, evident in the many paintings and buildings created by masters in Brussels, including Coebergher, Van Loon and Rubens, as well as the tapestry designs woven in the city's workshops, afforded a young artist extensive experiences with a vibrant and dynamic artistic culture.

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<sup>269</sup> Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 301.

<sup>270</sup> Sweerts also had connections to other Brussels artists involved with tapestry later in his career, namely Lodewijk de Vadder and Louis Cousin. It remains an open question whether Sweerts may have had any connections to the tapestry community in Rome. For a discussion of tapestry in Rome during this period, see James Harper, "Tapestry Production in Seventeenth-Century Rome: The Barberini Manufactory," in *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 293–303.

<sup>271</sup> The significance of these relationships, explored further in Chapter 4, is relevant to Sweerts' decision in the early to mid-1650s to establish an academy for drawing in Brussels for young artists and tapestry designers.

Having come from this artistic context, Sweerts arrived in Rome with a different background from other artists who belonged to the *Bamboccianti*. Even though he was interested in depicting aspects of daily life in seventeenth-century Rome, the framework of Italian classicism that he had experienced in Brussels continued to inform his work as he engaged with the academic tradition during his years in Italy.

## Chapter 2: Sweets and the Italian Accademia

In the spring of 1646, Sweets was first documented in Rome in the registers of the parish of Santa Maria del Popolo on the Via Margutta, a district home to foreign artists in the northwestern corner of the city.<sup>272</sup> There, he encountered an established community of Netherlandish artists, some of whom were members of the Accademia di San Luca, Rome's institutionalized academy of art that Federico Zuccaro (1540/41-1609) had founded in 1593.<sup>273</sup> The Accademia held a commanding position in Rome's artistic life, exerting its influence over the professional, religious and daily lives of the city's artists. Although Sweets himself was never a documented member, his response to the practices and intellectual climate of the academy was immediately palpable in the paintings that he executed of artists at work. The way in which Sweets portrayed artists learning how to draw from antique and contemporary sculpture, anatomical figures and live models, evoked the traditions of artistic education that the Accademia di San Luca advocated.

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<sup>272</sup> For the annual Easter parish records, see Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Kunstenaars te Rome, 1600-1725*, 8:83–86.

<sup>273</sup> The Accademia di San Luca's first history was compiled by Romano Alberti in 1604, see Romano Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell'Accademia del Dissegno, de pittori, scultori, & architetti di Roma* (Pavia: Pietro Bartoli, 1604). The most comprehensive study after Alberti's was undertaken by Melchior Missirini in 1823, though he acknowledged that many documents concerning the institution had by then been lost or destroyed. See Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademie di S. Luca*. Pevsner made a significant contribution to the scholarship on the Accademia in 1940; see Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 55–66. Most recently, the Center for the Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art undertook a major study of the institution that has sought to present a new, reformulated history of the Accademia di San Luca. For the study, see Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*. Accompanying the publication is a website, entitled "The History of the Accademia di San Luca, c. 1590-1635: Documents from the Archivio di Stato di Roma ([www.nga.gov/casva/accademia/](http://www.nga.gov/casva/accademia/)), which is meant to be viewed in conjunction with the volume. For a concise historiography of the Accademia, see Lukehart's introductory essay, 1-21.

This chapter situates Sweerts and his paintings of artists at work within the context of this Italian academic tradition, charting the development of the first academies in Florence and Bologna and the roles of theory and practice in the education of the artist. It emphasizes the context of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, and demonstrates the ways in which Sweerts was influenced by the academy's pedagogical model in his own artistic program.<sup>274</sup> This chapter also situates Sweerts' paintings in relation to Italian prints of artists' academies, an iconographic tradition to which he contributed in innovative and unusual ways.<sup>275</sup>

An important backdrop for understanding Sweerts' responsiveness to Italian academic culture and his interest in the Accademia di San Luca is the character of the artistic education he probably received in Brussels. To this end, this chapter begins to address the nature of academic training in the Netherlands, and examines the ideals underlying the establishment of the first Netherlandish academy in Haarlem in 1583 and the critical role played by Karel van Mander – himself in Rome during the early initiatives for the Accademia – in its development. By situating Sweerts and his Northern predecessors in relation to the Italian academic tradition, this chapter sheds new light on his artistic and pedagogical concerns, and the relationship between Netherlandish artists and the Roman academy in the seventeenth century.

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<sup>274</sup> Kultzen characterizes Sweerts as wavering between the *Bamboccianti* and academic styles, a view that was essentially upheld in the 2002 exhibition. See Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 3–4; Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*.

<sup>275</sup> For these prints, see Roman, “Academic Ideals of Art Education”; Hein-Th Schulze Altcapenberg and Michael Thimann, *Disegno: der Zeichner im Bild der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2007).

### Sweerts' Arrival in Rome

Upon his arrival in Rome in the spring of 1646 and in the years that followed, Sweerts lived on the Via Margutta with several Flemish painters, and one Frenchman.<sup>276</sup> Almost nothing is known about this group of artists and no traces of their works survive. Sweerts soon befriended another artist from Brussels, Louis Cousin, who had arrived in Rome in the late 1620s and who had joined the Accademia di San Luca in 1638.<sup>277</sup> In October of 1646 Sweerts acted with Cousin to resolve a long-running financial dispute between the *Bentvueghels* and the Accademia.<sup>278</sup> The incident suggests the level of trust that existed between Sweerts and the Netherlandish artistic community not long after he arrived in Rome.

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<sup>276</sup> According to Hoogewerff, Sweerts first lived with “Henrico Virduno” (Hendrick Verdonck) on the Via Margutta in 1646. In the parish registers from the following year, he is recorded in a different house living with “Giraldo” (possibly identified as Gerrit Willemsz Horst), Verdonck and a servant named Marco Antonio. In 1648 Sweerts’ name appears only with a “Ghirardo, fiamengho” (Horst again?), while the 1649 register mentions “Pietro, francese.” By 1650, Sweerts was in the same house on the Via Margutta, but now living with a larger number of artists: “Pietro, francese,” “Nicolo, pittore,” “Monsu Burromans,” “Giovanni, fiammengo,” and “Claudio, fiammengo.” The ages of these artists ranged from 24 to 50 years old; all seemed to have been Catholic as the remark at the end of the register indicates – *tutti comunicati et confirmati*. However, other than the possibility raised by Hoogewerff that “Ghirardo” refers to Gerrit Willemsz Horst, a Dutch painter from Amsterdam (ca. 1612-1652) who may have spent time in Italy, no other artist has been reliably identified. The fact that Sweerts’ only known pupil in Brussels in 1657 was a certain Jean-Baptiste Borremans suggests a possible connection with the “Monsu Burromans” mentioned in the 1650 record, which, I believe, is a point not mentioned previously in the literature. See Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Kunstenaars te Rome, 1600-1725*, 8:83–86; Hoogewerff, “Nadere gegevens over Michiel Sweerts.” Kultzen also discusses the registers and publishes Hoogewerff’s records, see Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 3–7, Appendix C, 78–79.

<sup>277</sup> Very little information survives about Cousin, who was also known by the names of Luigi Gentile and Louis Primo. He rose to the rank of *principe*, or director, of the Accademia in 1651 – only the second Netherlander to do so. Flemish artist Paul Bril (1554-1626) held the post of *principe* from 29 August 1620 to 2 January 1622. For Cousin’s post, see Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:58. Missirini also discusses Cousin’s position as *principe*; Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademie di S. Luca*, 117. For Cousin’s biography, of which relatively little is known, see Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 241–242; Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeine Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1907), 13: 407–408.

<sup>278</sup> This incident will be discussed in detail below.

Probably also in this first year in Rome, Sweerts turned to the subject of artists at work with *Roman Street Scene with a Young Artist Drawing Bernini's 'Neptune and Triton'* (1646-48) (fig. 7).<sup>279</sup> The painting represents a young man sketching Bernini's imposing sculptural group, which Sweerts has displaced from its actual location in the garden of Cardinal Alessandro Perettii at the Villa Montalto.<sup>280</sup> The artist sits perched on the remnant of a classical column with his sketchbook and chalk in hand. His mouth agape, he is deeply absorbed in the act of drawing Bernini's robust forms and unaware of the two boys who closely watch him. Strikingly juxtaposed against the artist is a group of craftsmen: a knife grinder, a spinner, a butcher and a stonemason.<sup>281</sup> The latter, who rests among broken antique columns, follows the artist's gaze towards *Neptune and Triton*.

In his unusual representation of an artist and craftsmen situated in the Roman streetscape, Sweerts joins the academic and mechanical aspects of (artistic) creation. The craftsmen succeed in their professions because they dutifully follow established procedures, complementing the young artist who hopes to succeed in his profession through years of study and drawing. Looking to Bernini's *Neptune and Triton*, the

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<sup>279</sup> My discussion of *Roman Street Scene* derives from a previously published essay in the proceedings of the conference, *Nord/Sud, Ricerzioni fiamminghe al di qua delle alpi*, held at the University of Padua in October 2007. See Lara Yeager-Crasselt, "A Flemish Artist Amongst His Own? A Closer Look at Michael Sweerts' 'Roman Street Scene with a Young Artist Drawing Bernini's Neptune and Triton'," in *Culture figurative a confronto tra Fiandre e Italia dal XV al XVII secolo*, ed. Anna De Floriani and Maria Clelia Galassi (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 166–175.

<sup>280</sup> Bernini's sculpture was originally commissioned by Cardinal Perettii, nephew of Pope Sixtus V, in 1620. It stood over the *peschiera* of the villa's garden. An engraving of the garden, including the *Neptune and Triton*, appeared in Giovanni Battista Falda's *Le fontane di Roma nelle piazza e lvoghi pblici della città, con li loro prospetti, come sono al presente*, published between 1675-91.

<sup>281</sup> I have suggested that the figures of the craftsmen convey emblematic traditions in the Netherlands, evoking forms of artistic virtue. See Yeager-Crasselt, "A Flemish Artist Amongst His Own? A Closer Look at Michael Sweerts' 'Roman Street Scene with a Young Artist Drawing Bernini's Neptune and Triton'."

artist seeks inspiration for new and different modes of representation. *Roman Street Scene* evokes the importance of the process of artistic learning and the diligence and hard work required of a young artist.

In *Artist at Work near a Fountain* (fig. 8), executed during Sweerts' first several years in Rome, he depicts a sketching artist seated near a row of Cyprus trees before a Roman fountain. Rather than looking to sculpture, however, the artist draws a sleeping peasant, reminiscent of the subjects depicted by the *Bamboccianti*, lying across a blanket in the middle of the composition. A group of men stand behind the artist, peering over his shoulder to observe his work. The young boys in the immediate foreground seem to remind the viewer that learning to draw is a long and arduous process that must begin in youth. Such is the case in *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 10), where pupils draw from plaster casts of antique sculpture and an anatomical model to master the human form. Then one might be ready to draw – or paint as often in Sweerts' case – the figure directly from life, as the mature artist does in *A Painter's Studio* and *Artist Sketching a Beggar* (fig. 9). Sweerts' early paintings in Rome depict artists imitating the natural world as well as drawing after sculpture.<sup>282</sup> They reveal his concerns about the nature of artistic education and the ideal model, as well as the importance of practice in achieving one's goals.

This interest makes Sweerts' absence from the rosters of the Accademia di San Luca surprising.<sup>283</sup> Dutch and Flemish artists residing in Rome had a long

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<sup>282</sup> For a discussion of the idea of working *naer het leven*, see pages 16-17, note 35, and pages 134-137.

<sup>283</sup> Wendy Thompson has been one of the few scholars to address directly the issue of Sweerts' relationship – and question of membership – to the Accademia di San Luca. Although she ultimately regards his links as rather tenuous, her scholarship develops a more integrated approach by situating him and the culture of the academy in broader terms. See Wendy Thompson, "Pigmei Pizzicano Di

tradition of involvement with the institution that could have easily encouraged Sweerts' participation. Some of the earliest members of the academy at the turn of the seventeenth century were Netherlanders, including Matthias Bril (1550-1584) and his younger brother, Paul Bril (1554-1626), Jacob de Hase (1575-1634), Willem van Nieulandt (1584-1635) and Theodoor van Loon.<sup>284</sup> Van Loon was documented in 1604 as a member and he likely remained a member until his departure from Rome in 1608.<sup>285</sup> Van Loon may have introduced Sweerts to the Accademia and its principles while he was still in Brussels, and provided him with contacts, such as Louis Cousin, after he arrived in Rome.<sup>286</sup> The Antwerp born painter Jan Miel, whose work is stylistically related to Sweerts, was involved in the academy beginning in 1648.<sup>287</sup> Names of other Netherlandish artists also appear in the academy's records throughout the seventeenth century, though most are little known today.<sup>288</sup>

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Gigante': The Encounter Between Netherlandish and Italian Artists in Seventeenth Century Rome" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1997), 528–530.

<sup>284</sup> See Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:46–54. Bril had a close working relationship with Girolamo Muziano in Rome, a figure who was highly involved in the idea for an academy. Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, 177.

<sup>285</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>286</sup> François Duquesnoy was also a major proponent of the classicist ideals of the academy from the time he joined in 1634 until his death in 1642. Duquesnoy's name first appears in the academy's records in 1634 and continues to appear regularly until 1641. For a complete discussion of Duquesnoy's relationship to the Accademia, see Chapter 3.

<sup>287</sup> Miel arrived in the city in 1636, though his name only appears in the academy's records twelve years later. His participation was noted at various meetings, and he also served as a "*stimatori di pittura*," or estimator of paintings, a professional duty conferred on artists connected to the academy to appraise works of art. See note 289 below for further description of this activity. Miel's name was offered up, and ultimately refused, for the post of *principe* in November 1651. Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:59, 63, 90.

<sup>288</sup> See *Ibid.*, 2:22–78, 85–131. It often occurs that names of Netherlandish artists appear in the academy's records in capacities other than as members, such as in attendance at a meeting or in residence with another artist. Their mention in the archives has resulted in some confusion by later scholars, who have at times misinterpreted the information. The best example of this circumstance is a record from the general meeting held at the academy in 1636 over the *Bentvueghel*'s refusal to pay



While the foundation and aims of the Accademia di San Luca will be discussed at length below, it is important to underline here that the institution, in addition to its didactic aims, had assumed the functions of the artists' guilds when it was first founded in 1593. As a result, it exercised control – at least in principle – over the professional activities of all artists in the city. This meant, for example, that every work of art produced in Rome was subject to a duty paid to the academy, a privilege granted to the institution in 1595. An artist, however, was first obliged to make an annual payment to the academy in order to receive a license to practice his trade. (Until the papal brief of 1633, which turned this contribution into a tax, the payment was in the guise of alms for the patron saint.) Once an artist had received a license, which could also be refused by the academy, he presented his work to a commission to receive an appraisal on it. From this estimate (or *stima*), the academy received a sum of two percent of its worth.<sup>289</sup>

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their dues to the academy. Attendance by Netherlandish artists was high and included *Bamboccianti* such as Pieter van Laer and Herman van Swanevelt. Their attendance led Francis Haskell to identify Van Laer as an academy member, a mistake that reappears in subsequent literature. Sandra Janssens addresses this point in her article on the relationship between the *Bentvueghels* and the Accademia. See Janssens, "Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentvueghels," 81; Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 18, note 1. For the list of artists in attendance at the 1636 meeting, see Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:49–52.

<sup>289</sup> In reality, the Accademia's power had its limits. Netherlandish artists had a long tradition of circumventing the *stima* and practicing their trade without a license. Artists like Paul Bril, Adam Elsheimer and Cornelis van Poelenburch, for example, sold their works with great success in Rome in the early decades of the seventeenth century without the intervention of the academy, just as the *Bamboccianti* would do years later. This success demonstrated how wealthy patrons were eager to purchase paintings regardless of whether they had gone through the proper institutional channels. Moreover, the Netherlanders had strength in the sizable community they had formed in Rome, which gave them clout in the face of the Accademia. And although their refusal to pay their dues created great frustration for the institution, there seemed to be little it could do to prevent their success. Nonetheless, certain Netherlandish artists were more than happy to participate as members and in a few cases, even pay their dues. See pages 130-133 for further discussion of the professional and financial conflict between the Netherlanders and the Accademia, as well as the excellent contribution to the topic by Janssens, "Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentvueghels." Hoogewerff's account still remains the foundational study of the topic, see Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*, 57–77.

Sweerts may have chosen not to join the academy for personal or professional reasons of which we will never know. As many Northern artists before him, he may have felt that the academy was overbearing in its attempt to control all artistic activities in Rome. And although there is no mention of Sweerts in the academy's archives beyond the 1646 incident,<sup>290</sup> his name appears in late seventeenth and nineteenth-century histories of the academy as alternatively an “*accademico*” or “*aggregato*.”<sup>291</sup> The former term referred to a member of the academy, which suggests that these authors had access to information that no longer survives, or they assumed that Sweerts was a member given his role in the proceedings with Cousin or because of his academic interests.<sup>292</sup>

A rule in 1607, however, revised the statutes of the Accademia and created a new group of members – the *accademici aggregati*. This name referred to foreign artists who were full-fledged members of the academy, subject to the same rules and

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For a broader discussion of the Accademia and its activities during this period, see Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*.

<sup>290</sup> My assumption that Sweerts' name does not appear anywhere else in the archives of the academy is based on the extensive archival research carried out by Hoogewerff, followed by Kultzen and, most recently, Bikker. See Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*; Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 2–6; Bikker, “Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View.”

<sup>291</sup> Giuseppe Ghezzi first included Sweerts in his list of academicians in 1696. In his monumental history of the Roman academy, Melchior Missirini called Sweerts an “*accademico*,” while Bertolotti described him as an “*aggregato*” in 1880. See Ghezzi, *Il centesimo dell'anno M.DC.XCV.: celebrato in Roma dall'Accademia del disegno*, 50; Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademie di S. Luca*, 472; Bertolotti, *Artisti belgi ed orlandesi a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII. Notizie e documenti raccolti negli archivi romani*, 184.

<sup>292</sup> This suggestion was also made by Bikker. Kultzen dismisses the term “*aggregato*” on the basis that it was not used to denote any relevant condition of membership as described by Missirini. He suggests that it was used by Bertolotti to describe Sweerts' relationship to the academy in regard to his role in the 1646 dispute. Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 3, note 24.

privileges as their Roman counterparts.<sup>293</sup> This reference raises the possibility that Sweerts himself was an *accademico aggregato*; at the very least, these associations suggest that he may have had a closer relationship to the institution than has previously been acknowledged.<sup>294</sup> Nevertheless, regardless of his membership – or lack thereof – Sweerts’ paintings of artists at work situated him squarely within Rome’s academic culture. The diligent artists in his paintings learn their profession on Rome’s streets and in its studios, drawing from life and from sculpture in accordance with traditions long established in Italy.

#### *The Italian Academic Tradition and the First Academies of Art*

Drawing had been a central component of a young artist’s training since the early Renaissance.<sup>295</sup> Regarded as the father of all of the arts, drawing formed the foundation of a young artist’s education. It was practiced first in the workshop, and later in an artist’s training he would have taken formal courses that were part of the curriculum of academies in the second half of the sixteenth-century. Teachers guided students to draw after the antique and after drawings, prints, sculpture or paintings by

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<sup>293</sup> For a discussion of the founding and precepts of the Accademia, see below, and particularly Monica Grossi and Silvia Trani, “From Universitas to Accademia: Notes and Reflections on the Origins and Early History of the Accademia Di San Luca Based on Documents from Its Archives,” in *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia Di San Luca in Rome, C. 1590-1635*, ed. Peter M. Lukehart (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 32. The 1607 statutes represented a turning point in the history of the academy. They defined its organization and structure for the rest of the century. Also newly created in these statutes was the membership of the *accademici di grazia*, which denoted princes, lords and other noblemen who wished to join for pleasure. Theirs was a limited membership; they were only admitted for lectures and art classes.

<sup>294</sup> To my knowledge, there was not a separate list of the membership for the *accademici aggregati*.

<sup>295</sup> For a broader discussion of the education of artists during the Renaissance, see *Children of Mercury*; Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*.

Renaissance masters, thereby developing their ability to render form, light and shadow in two and three dimensions. By ultimately training the hand and the eye in the difficulties of representing the human form, drawing carried both practical and theoretical significance. It honed an artist's judgment and released his imagination. As Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) wrote in the introduction to his *Lives of the Artists* in 1550, "the practice that is acquired by many years of study in drawing...is the true light of design and that which makes men really proficient."<sup>296</sup>

Artists and humanists had espoused theories for the proper way to render the human body since the fifteenth century. In his *De Pictura* from 1435, Leon Battista Alberti had compared the art of painting to that of writing, reflecting the progressive drawing methods embraced by later generations of theorists. He stated that one must start with the individual parts of the body, as with letters, and build them up into more intricate combinations. He wrote: "those who begin to learn the art of painting do what I see practiced by teachers of writing. They first teach all of the signs of the alphabet separately, and then how to put syllables together, and then whole words. Our students should follow this method of painting."<sup>297</sup>

Leonardo da Vinci more fully developed this drawing method in his treatise on painting, *Trattato della Pittura*, which, although only published in 1651, had

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<sup>296</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique; Being the Introduction to the Three Arts of Design, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, Prefixed to the Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Louisa S. Maclehorse (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), 208.

<sup>297</sup> Alberti, *On Painting*, 89. For a discussion of Alberti's *De Pictura* and its relationship to ancient rhetoric, see D.R. Edward Wright, "Alberti's *De Pictura*: Its Literary Structure and Purpose," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984): 52-71.

already circulated among artists and intellectuals in the sixteenth century.<sup>298</sup> In it, he advised a progressive method of study: after copying the prints and drawings of a good master, students should progress onto sculpture and plaster casts, where they would learn how to handle light and shadow and the schemata of the body.<sup>299</sup> Finally, Leonardo asserts, students would be ready to draw from nature, by which he meant a living model.<sup>300</sup> Leonardo's approach, echoed by later artists and theorists, such as Vasari, Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571) and Giovanni Battista Armenini (1533-1609), is evident in Sweerts' own studio paintings, including *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 10) and *Boy Drawing the Head of a Roman Emperor* (fig. 14), where young artists are engaged in these various levels of study.<sup>301</sup>

The practice of life drawing, the culmination of a student's training, became a standard part of the academic curriculum in sixteenth-century Italy. Yet even before the drawing course was incorporated into the first public academies of art founded in Florence and Rome, artists had informally gathered in small groups for the purposes

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<sup>298</sup> See Richter, *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci*, 2: 243–254, nos. 482–508. See Bleeke-Byrne, “The Education of the Painter in the Workshop,” 28–29; Tonelli, “Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” 98–107. For the dispersal of Leonardo's treatise across Europe, see Farago, *Re-reading Leonardo*. For the events surrounding the publication of treatise, see Chapter 3.

<sup>299</sup> Richter, *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci*, 2: 243, nos. 483–485. In the Renaissance students copied a standard repertoire of plaster casts comprised predominantly of antique examples. See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

<sup>300</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 25–37; Roman, “Academic Ideals of Art Education,” 81.

<sup>301</sup> See Vasari, *Vasari on Technique*, 205–208; Giuseppe Guido Ferrero, *Opere di Benvenuto Cellini* (Turin: Grafica Moderna, 1971), 829; Giovanni Battista Armenini, *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, ed. Edward J. Olszewski (New York: B. Franklin, 1977), 36–124. This method of study would also be absorbed in the North, advocated by Karel van Mander and later seventeenth-century writers, such as Willem Goeree, which will be discussed in this and subsequent chapters. See Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*.

of drawing.<sup>302</sup> While these gatherings, which began during the first half of the sixteenth century, likely involved drawing after sculpture more than live models at the outset, their very existence indicated the importance of drawing – and the need for its practice outside of the workshop – for the artist’s creative process.<sup>303</sup> Moreover, Leonardo advised artists to draw in the company of others for the simple reason that “...a wholesome emulation will stimulate you to be among those who are more praised than yourself, and this praise of others will spur you on.”<sup>304</sup>

A representation of such a drawing session appears in Agostino Veneziano’s engraving (fig. 21) of the drawing academy organized by Baccio Bandinelli (1493-1560) in Rome in 1531.<sup>305</sup> Clement VII, a Medici pope, had granted the Florentine sculptor a space to hold the academy in the Vatican Belvedere. The engraving depicts a group of men gathered around a table drawing and studying wax or clay models by candlelight. The prominent shadows cast on the walls demonstrate the importance of learning how to draw by artificial light to be able to render objects in

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<sup>302</sup> Pevsner refers to these types of gatherings where artists would gather informally to draw and discuss ideas as “pre-academies.” Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 37–42. Drawing after the nude or clothed model, however, was practiced in artists’ workshops in Italy as early as the fifteenth century. Apprentices likely served these roles, as a late fifteenth-century drawing of a standing male youth by the Florentine artist Filippino Lippi demonstrates. For a discussion of the role of drawing in the early artist’s workshop, see Wood, “Indoor-Outdoor: The Studio Around 1500,” 42–45, fig. 2.3; Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, 249–251, 299–320.

<sup>303</sup> The practice of drawing after a live model in small groups, whether in an artist’s studio or in the palace of a patron, occurred with increasingly regularity in the seventeenth century, much to the dismay of the Accademia di San Luca, which sought to keep such practices inside its own walls. I will address this topic in relation to Sweerts in Chapter 3.

<sup>304</sup> Richter, *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci*, 2: 249, no. 495.

<sup>305</sup> For a discussion of Bandinelli’s “academy,” see Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 39–42; Roman, “Academic Ideals of Art Education,” 81–83; Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, 177; Ben Thomas, “The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli,” *Print Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (2005): 3–13; Schulze Altcapenberg and Thimann, *Disegno: der Zeichner im Bild*, 106–113. The engraving is after a drawing by Bandinelli.

relief.<sup>306</sup> The practice of working by night also emphasized the artists' industry and diligence, attributes highly praised by contemporaries.<sup>307</sup> The print marks the first occasion where the term "academy" was pictorially linked to artistic practice, as evidenced by the inscription beneath the artists' table, which reads: "*Academia di Bacchio Brandin in Roma in Luogo Detto Belvedere MDXXXI.*"<sup>308</sup> Although the image of the academy is idealized, and as some scholars have argued, may have been intended as propaganda for Bandinelli's claims to high social status, it still provides a sense of the character of these early drawing sessions and the tradition that Sweerts would later inherit.<sup>309</sup>

The print also demonstrates Bandinelli's effort to join the intellectual characteristics associated with the term "academy" with the pictorial arts.<sup>310</sup> Until

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<sup>306</sup> For a discussion of shadow theory during this period, see Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, "The Perspective of Shadows: The History of the Theory of Shadow Projection," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975): 258–287. The projection of the figure's form on the back wall also recalls Pliny the Elder's anecdote on the origins of painting, which began by tracing a man's shadow on the wall. Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), xxxv, 15.

<sup>307</sup> The candle or lamp was one of the attributes of Study in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* in 1603. See Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Hildesheim: G. Olms Verlag, 1970), 478.

<sup>308</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 39.

<sup>309</sup> See note 310 below.

<sup>310</sup> Kathleen Weil-Garris has argued that the print of the academy should be understood within the context of Bandinelli's efforts to raise his social status and create an identity based on the intellectual ideals of artistic practice. Ulf Sölter explores these ideas further in his recent essay, where he argues that the print, rather than representing a real academy that took place in the Belvedere, instead reflected the idea of an intellectual academy where learned men could gather to discuss – in this case – art and theory. He, too, sees the print as a form of propaganda to assert Bandinelli's learned and elite status as an artist. Ben Thomas also relates issues of identity, drawing and art theory to print culture in his article, exploring how the print consciously sought to express Bandinelli's fame as well as his ideas on artistic practice. See Kathleen Weil-Garris, "Bandinelli and Michaelangelo: A Problem of Artistic Identity," in *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H.W. Janson*, ed. Moshe Barasch and Lucy Freeman Sandler (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1981), 235–236; Schulze Altcapenberg and Thimann, *Disegno: der Zeichner im Bild*, 106–113; Thomas, "The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli." Bandinelli himself briefly mentioned the academy and the print in his autobiography, *Memoriale*, from ca. 1552. For this text, see Paola Barocchi, ed., *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento* (Milan and Naples: R.

this point, the term *accademia* had been primarily linked to humanist institutions dedicated to the study of literature and philosophy, such as in Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonic academy in Florence.<sup>311</sup> Bandinelli emphasized the broad intellectual associations of an academy devoted to the training of artists in another engraving executed nearly twenty years later by the printmaker Enea Vico (1523-1567). This print featured Bandinelli's second academic endeavor in Florence in the 1540s (fig. 31), which may have been larger and more ambitious than the first.<sup>312</sup> As in the earlier engraving, men young and old gather around a table to draw by candlelight, but they are now guided by their own imagination instead of sculptural models. The various books and molds that line the shelves above, and the skeletons resting on the floor, remind the viewer of the types of theoretical and practical studies that an aspiring artist needed to master.<sup>313</sup>

Bandinelli's modest drawing academies in Rome and Florence preceded the Accademia del Disegno, the first public, state-sponsored academy of art founded in

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Ricciardi, 1971), 1359–1411. The sculptor also wrote a treatise on drawing, which only survives in fragments, where he described the working space he had in the Vatican Belvedere and the collections of antique sculpture there that allowed him access to the best possible material to practice *disegno*. See Louis Alexander Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court: A Corpus of Early Modern Sources* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), S. 895–909; Schulze Altcapenberg and Thimann, *Disegno: der Zeichner im Bild*, 108.

<sup>311</sup> The origins of the term “academy” stretch back to Plato's academy in Athens in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. For the use of the term in the Renaissance, see, for instance, James Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols., *Storia e letteratura* 215 and 220 (Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 2004). Pevsner also includes a general discussion of the evolution of the term, Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 1–24.

<sup>312</sup> See Roman, “Academic Ideals of Art Education,” 84–86; Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*, 5, 281, notes 20 and 21; Schulze Altcapenberg and Thimann, *Disegno: der Zeichner im Bild*, 108–113. For further discussion of Bandinelli and the academy's context in Florence, see Weil-Garris, “Bandinelli and Michaelangelo: A Problem of Artistic Identity.”

<sup>313</sup> In his treatise, Cellini specifically advised students to draw after bones, as then one would never render a figure with errors. See Ferrero, *Opere di Benvenuto Cellini*, 829.



Florence in 1563 through the efforts of Giorgio Vasari and Duke Cosimo de' Medici.<sup>314</sup> Although Bandinelli's academies existed on a significantly smaller scale and on a far less ambitious scope than the Florentine institution, they shared the basic principle that the arts of *disegno* – painting, sculpture and architecture – constituted intellectual, rather than mechanical disciplines.<sup>315</sup> As a result, they required a systematic program of study that joined theory and practice, and thus extended an artist's education beyond his apprenticeship in a master's workshop.<sup>316</sup>

The Florentine academy realized the modest goals set forth by Bandinelli; it recognized painting, sculpture and architecture as true professions of the liberal arts and instituted a curriculum that codified the theories of Alberti and Leonardo.<sup>317</sup> By doing so, the academy not only elevated the social status of the artist, but it also

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<sup>314</sup> For the Florentine academy, see, in particular, Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 42–55; Carl Goldstein, "Vasari and the Florentine Accademia del Disegno," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38, no. 2 (1975): 145–152; Zygmunt Wazbinski, "La prima mostra dell'Accademia del Disegno a Firenze," *Prospettiva* 14 (1978): 47–57; Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century"; Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*. While Vasari is traditionally given credit for spearheading the establishment of the academy, a large group of artists were involved in its founding and the drafting of its original statutes. Vasari mentions the sculptors Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli and Francesco da Sangallo, and the painters Agnolo Bronzino, Michele di Ridolfo Ghirlandaio Tosini and Pier Francesco di Sandro Foschi.

<sup>315</sup> See the discussion in Schulze Altcapenberg and Thimann, *Disegno: der Zeichner im Bild*, 106–113.

<sup>316</sup> The view of art as an intellectual discipline – worthy of humanistic study – had its roots in the writings of Alberti in the fifteenth century, and in the work of Leonardo, who championed painting as a science. For a discussion of the elevation of the arts into a discipline of the liberal arts, see the foundational essay by Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts," 1951; Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts," 1952. As part of the new status of the artist, Charles Dempsey has argued that before entering the academy artists would have received training in Latin grammar schools, where they studied ancient texts and rhetoric. See Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century."

<sup>317</sup> See Karen-edis Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia Del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," in *Academies of Art: Between Renaissance and Romanticism. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 5–6 (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989), 14–32. Alberti had also devised a scientific approach to painting in his treatise, *De Pictura*, particularly regarding the use of perspective. See Alberti, *On Painting*.

affirmed the artistic preeminence of the city of Florence.<sup>318</sup> The Accademia functioned as a single governing body under the protection of the Duke, but it was also a tripartite entity composed of the painter's old religious confraternity, the *Compagnia di San Luca*, the artists' guilds, including the painters' *Arte dei Medici e Speciali* and the sculptors and architects' *Università dei Fabbricanti*, and the academy, for teaching.<sup>319</sup>

The Accademia del Disegno implemented an extensive curriculum for artists that stressed the interrelated and graduated knowledge of theoretical and practical subjects. Students began with the study of mathematics, which incorporated geometry and perspective, and advanced to anatomical studies, life drawing and natural philosophy.<sup>320</sup> Lectures in mathematics and perspective, for example, were instituted in 1569, and anatomical dissections – scheduled annually at the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova – were mentioned in the very first statutes in 1563.<sup>321</sup> Although life drawing classes were not held until the seventeenth century, drawing from sculpture was commonly practiced.<sup>322</sup> A rule from 1571 required that students were

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<sup>318</sup> Barzman effectively argues that the academy was used as an instrument of the Medician state and represented Cosimo's efforts to retain cultural hegemony in Tuscany. See Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*.

<sup>319</sup> The functions of the guild were assumed by the governing body of the Accademia in the 1570s; it was officially incorporated as part of the Accademia in 1584. See *Ibid.*, 23–59; Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century," 552–556.

<sup>320</sup> Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia Del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist"; Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*, 145–178.

<sup>321</sup> Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia Del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," 19–22; Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*, 56, 163–172. The academy also utilized *écorché* models, called *scorticati*, for teaching the anatomy of the muscles, tendons, etc.

<sup>322</sup> Barzman suggests that, despite the lack of evidence until the seventeenth century, it was likely that drawing from life occurred as part of the teaching program of the academy. Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*, 162–163.

to prepare a clay figure, drape it with cloth and draw it twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays; later, members would have to exchange places and draw after each other's models.<sup>323</sup>

The Accademia complemented and enhanced a youth's apprenticeship with theoretical studies and the opportunities to draw collectively. As the 1563 statutes demonstrate, instructors also visited students outside of the workshop setting to supervise and critique their work.<sup>324</sup> Such work could later be submitted to competitions held at the Accademia. Winning entries were either sold in support of the academy or kept for its own collections.<sup>325</sup> Through this complete program of study, the Accademia set forth the liberal education of the artist.

Despite the breadth of its curriculum, later scholars have repeatedly questioned how committed the Accademia del Disegno was to education.<sup>326</sup> A number of the initiatives laid out in its original statutes failed to materialize or endure, and the lack of evidence about the effectiveness of the academy's activities has

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<sup>323</sup> Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia Del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," 24; Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*, 56.

<sup>324</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 47; Tonelli, "Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 96–97.

<sup>325</sup> Tonelli, "Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 97.

<sup>326</sup> The root of this critique goes back to Pevsner, who saw the Accademia's main purpose as liberating artists from the guild, and thus elevating their social status. He also believed that the academy failed to realize most of its pedagogical plans, a view that was partially the result of his lack of access to archival records. Nonetheless, this view has been upheld in recent scholarship by Carl Goldstein. See Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 49–54; Goldstein, "Vasari and the Florentine Accademia del Disegno"; Carl Goldstein, *Teaching Art: Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 16–29. For a reconsiderations of Pevsner's view, see Wazbinski, "La prima mostra dell'Accademia del Disegno a Firenze"; Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century"; Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*.

caused scholars to question its success.<sup>327</sup> Although Karen-edis Barzman's recent contribution to the scholarship on the Accademia has put a great deal of these issues to rest, doubts still linger about the academy's pedagogical program.<sup>328</sup> What remains important for this discussion, however, is the academic paradigm established by the Accademia del Disegno and the example it set in practice and theory for the academies that followed, among them the Accademia del Disegno in Perugia, which was founded in 1573; the Carracci academy was formed in Bologna in 1582; and the Accademia di San Luca, which emerged in Rome in 1593.<sup>329</sup>

*The Carracci Academy and Fialetti's Didactic Drawing Book*

The Carracci academy, also known as the *Accademia degli Incamminati*, was formed by the brothers Annibale (1560-1609) and Agostino (1577-1609) and their cousin Ludovico (1555-1619) in 1582, with Agostino likely playing the leading role.<sup>330</sup> While built on the same intellectual principles as the newly founded academy

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<sup>327</sup> The most oft cited contemporary sources for the academy's educational failures are letters written by Federico Zuccaro and Bartolomeo Ammananti in the mid-1570s and in 1582, respectively. Each artist criticized the institution's shortcomings in their teaching program. Zuccaro's letter will be discussed in greater depth below. For a discussion of these letters, which are partially reprinted, see Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 51–53.

<sup>328</sup> Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia Del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist"; Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*.

<sup>329</sup> Cardinal Federico Borromeo, who helped found the academy in Rome in 1593, also founded an academy of art in Milan in 1620. It did not survive after Borromeo's death in 1631. See Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>330</sup> For the founding of the Carracci academy, see the account in Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de' pittori bolognesi*, 1: 404–405. The Carracci academy has been a subject of much debate in the scholarship. Its very existence has at times been questioned, and it has been criticized for having only narrow, practical aims and lacking any theoretical foundation. For the most part, these views have evolved and given way to the understanding that the academy effectively joined theory and practice. As Charles Dempsey and Gail Feigenbaum have convincingly shown, the theoretical concerns of the

in Florence, the Bolognese school was a private academy dedicated to the practice of drawing, particularly after life.<sup>331</sup> In this regard, it succeeded the academies of Bandinelli in Rome and Florence, as well as the life-drawing academy, or “*Accademia del nudo*,” organized by Bernardino Baldi (1553-1617) in Bologna in the years leading up to the Carracci’s school.<sup>332</sup>

The activities of the Carracci academy included theoretical and scientific studies in addition to drawing. In his eulogy at Agostino’s funeral in January of 1603, Lucio Faberio (ca.1550-1610), secretary of the Bolognese painter’s guild, opined:

In this Academy virtuous emulation was the means towards perfection, whereby everyone vied with one another in drawing the bone structure of the body...in knowing the muscles, nerves, veins, and other parts, to which end they often did dissections of corpses. [...] there one attended with great

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Carracci were inextricably linked to the practice of the workshop. By turning to nature, and thus life drawing, the Carracci sought a reform of painting in response to Mannerism. See Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1977); Dempsey, “Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century”; Charles Dempsey, “The Carracci Academy,” in *Academies of Art: Between Renaissance and Romanticism. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 5–6 (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989), 33–43; Gail Feigenbaum, “Practice in the Carracci Academy,” in *The Artist’s Workshop. Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 38 (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1993), 59–76. Carl Goldstein disagrees with this view, seeing the Carracci as lacking any thorough theoretical approach. See Carl Goldstein, *Visual Fact Over Verbal Fiction: A Study of the Carracci and the Criticism, Theory, and Practice of Art in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

<sup>331</sup> Carl Goldstein doubts that the practice of life drawing actually occurred at the Carracci academy. Goldstein, *Visual fact over verbal fiction*, 49–88.

<sup>332</sup> Baldi’s academy is mentioned by Malvasia, who informs us that students went there to draw from live models and plaster casts. Some later went on to attend the Carracci academy. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de’ pittori bolognesi*, 1: 334; Feigenbaum, “Practice in the Carracci Academy,” 62. For private academies in Rome, see Chapter 3.

regularity, I say, to drawing living persons in the nude, or partly draped, military weapons, animals, fruits, and in short all created things.<sup>333</sup>

The academy's curriculum thus led students from the study of anatomy and proportion to the progressive pedagogical approach of drawing outlined by Alberti and Leonardo. Through these exercises students learned how to render judiciously the human form, a principle central to Renaissance artistic theory, which advocated the pursuit of the antique ideal alongside the study of nature.<sup>334</sup>

Figure drawing studies executed by the Carracci brothers in the 1580s and 1590s were conceived along these principles. For example, a red chalk drawing by Annibale in the Uffizi, *Study of a Seated Man*, depicts an adolescent boy from the back, seated and twisted to the right with his left knee pulled towards his chest. The boy's upper body resembles Michelangelo's *Pietà*, but delicate shading defining his softly rendered muscles suggests that the drawing was made directly from a model. As Gail Feigenbaum has observed, while the pose recognized Michelangelo's authority, the artistic process of rendering the figure from life ultimately asserted the authority of nature itself.<sup>335</sup> This method represented a fundamental aspect of the pedagogical method espoused in the Carracci academy.

Before an artist was able to draw the human figure from life, he had to acquire the knowledge of the body in a step-by-step process built up through fundamental

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<sup>333</sup> See Anne Summerscale, ed., *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci: Commentary and Translation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 201.

<sup>334</sup> Feigenbaum, "Practice in the Carracci Academy."

<sup>335</sup> Feigenbaum's essay addresses the question of how the Carracci's drawings from life were often incorporated into their compositions, demonstrating how a distinction cannot always be made between discerning that such drawings were used simply for learning purposes or as preparatory sketches. *Ibid.*, 66–67, fig. 9.

schemata. A drawing by Agostino from ca. 1590, shown here in a later engraving by Luca Ciamberlano (fig. 32), illustrates the lower leg from different angles with varying degrees of hatching, light and shadow. By demonstrating the progressive forms of modeling, the image guided students through the depiction of the leg. Odoardo Fialetti, who received his early artistic training in Bologna, formalized this method in the first known didactic drawing book, *Il vero modo et ordine per dissegñar tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano*. Published in Venice in 1608, Fialetti's book transformed the Carracci's drawing practice into a manual for artists.<sup>336</sup> The book contained thirty-seven illustrations of the individual parts of the human body, leading students line by line through the representation of the human form.

A number of similar drawing books followed Fialetti's example in the seventeenth century, many produced by Italian artists who had either attended the Carracci academy or were trained in Bologna, including Ciamberlano, Francesco Brizio and Oliverio Gatti.<sup>337</sup> These books provide one of the most enduring legacies of the pedagogical program of the short-lived Carracci academy.<sup>338</sup> They rapidly

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<sup>336</sup> For Fialetti's book and its place within the development of seventeenth-century Italian drawing books, see Chittima Amornpichetkul, "Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawing Books: Their Origin and Development," in *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Providence: Dept. of Art, Brown University, 1984), 108–118; Vincenza Maugeri, "I manuali propedeutici al disegno a Bologna e Venezia agli inizi del Seicento," *Musei Ferraresi: Bollettino Annuale* 12 (1982): 147–156. A more detailed discussion of drawing books follows in Chapter 4, including Sweerts' own contribution to the genre.

<sup>337</sup> Ciamberlano published the *Scuola Perfetta Per imparare a Disegnare tutto il corpo Humano Cavata dallo studio, e disegni de Caracci* with Brizio shortly after Fialetti's book appeared, and Gatti engraved and published a series of anatomical drawings and head studies after Guercino in 1619. Amornpichetkul, "Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawing Books: Their Origin and Development," 113.

<sup>338</sup> The school began to decline already by the end of the sixteenth century; Annibale left for Rome in 1595, where he was joined by Agostino only two years later. Ludovico's death in 1619 brought the academy to its end.

spread across Europe and became highly influential for the development of the genre in the Low Countries. One of the earliest drawing book produced in the Netherlands, the *Teiken bouxken* (1611-1616) by Pieter Feddes from Harlingen, for example, contained illustrations in the style of Fialetti, and parts of the Italian book itself were reproduced by Johannes Janssonius in Amsterdam in 1616.<sup>339</sup> Crispyn van de Passe's monumental *'t Light der teken en schilder konst* from 1643 also included examples from Fialetti's text, among others.<sup>340</sup>

It is possible that Sweerts was exposed to *Il vero modo et ordine* or versions of it as a young artist in Brussels given the frequency with which these types of books circulated.<sup>341</sup> In any event, the close pictorial relationship that exists between the frontispiece to Fialetti's manual (fig. 33) and Sweerts' *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 10) strongly suggests that he was familiar with *Il vero modo et ordine* once he arrived in Rome.<sup>342</sup> The frontispiece depicts an artist's studio or academy where young pupils sit attentively drawing after antique plaster casts, including torsos, legs, hands and a male bust. Tools for measuring lie in the foreground at the feet of an adolescent boy

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<sup>339</sup> See Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 247–248. The earliest drawing books to appear in the Southern Netherlands were published in Antwerp. Philips Galle published thirteen prints focusing on anatomy in 1589, along with a title page and introduction, entitled *Instruction et fondements de bien pourtraire*. In 1629, Pieter de Jode published his *Diversche figuren uit de academia*, which included 24 prints of individual parts of the body, head studies, nude figures and animals. De Jode's series existed in only a single edition. See, respectively, Manfred Sellink, "'As a Guide to the Highest Learning:' an Antwerp Drawing Book Dated 1589," *Simiolus* 21, no. 1/2 (1992): 40–56; Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 90–91; 251.

<sup>340</sup> Tainturier, "A Crossroad of Pedagogical Endeavors: The Drawing Method of Crispijn Van De Passe."

<sup>341</sup> For a larger discussion of the spread and use of drawing books in the Netherlands, see, for instance, Victoria Sancho Lobis, "Printed Drawing Books and the Dissemination of Ideal Male Anatomy in Northern Europe," in *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Karolien de Clippel, Katharina Van Cauteren, and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turin: Brepols, 2011), 51–64.

<sup>342</sup> Sweerts' knowledge of this tradition becomes clear once he returned to Brussels and published his own drawing book in 1656. See Chapter 4.



whose furrowed brow bespeaks his level of concentration. In the center of the composition, a master critiques a younger student's work, while two older masters paint at their easels. Another figure grinds pigments. The image portrays the importance of drawing in an artist's learning process, where copying from antique sculpture was paramount, and so, too, was collaboration and repeated practice. This frontispiece to Fialetti's drawing book had tangible pedagogical significance, as it illustrated concepts he developed in his text.

In his *A Painter's Studio*, Sweerts apparently took Fialetti's modest etching as a model and transformed it into a full-scale painting of academic practice. A young man in the foreground, wearing deep red stockings and a brown smock, sits facing an *écorché* model that was used to teach students how to draw human anatomy – a practice that was already in use at the Florentine academy in the sixteenth century.<sup>343</sup> An imposing pile of plaster casts rests near his feet, including the head of a *Niobid*, the fragmented plaster cast of the torso of Duquesnoy's bronze *Apollo* from the *Apollo and Cupid*, the Hellenistic head of an *Old Woman*, and a relief that combines the two classical reliefs of *Winter* and *Hercules and the Cretan Bull*.<sup>344</sup>

In the middle of the room, a young boy draws after the head of the *Ludiviso Juno*, much like the figure in Fialetti's scene. His work is carefully observed by a smaller boy, tucked into the shadows in the background, who looks on behind him. An older man, silhouetted against the Roman streetscape, grinds pigments on a table to the right. The master of this studio sits at his easel painting directly from a nude

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<sup>343</sup> See note 321.

<sup>344</sup> For a discussion of the identifications of these sculptures, see Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 97–99.

model posing next to him. Two well-dressed gentlemen visitors observe his work. Sweerts' *Roman Wrestling Match*, its own figures in the poses of antique sculpture, hangs prominently on the back wall.

Sweerts' painting, like Fialetti's image, evokes industry and diligence among young artists. Sweerts depicted an artist *painting* directly from a nude model, an academic practice, which, though discouraged by Italian theorists for its lack of imagination, reflects the Netherlandish practice of looking directly to life in drawing and painting.<sup>345</sup> Although to a certain extent, Sweerts' studio may be understood as a reconceptualization of Fialetti's early etching, he rendered his scene in an immediate and tangible manner that endowed it with a newfound significance. Sweerts did not directly follow the Bolognese tradition, but his pictorial engagement with Fialetti's book demonstrates that he was aware of the Carracci's pedagogical model.<sup>346</sup>

#### *The Founding of the Accademia di San Luca and the Role of Federico Zuccaro*

The Accademia di San Luca was officially inaugurated at a service held at the church of Santa Martina nel Foro Boario in Rome on 14 November 1593.<sup>347</sup> Federico Zuccaro, a highly regarded artist who was integral to the academy's foundation and

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<sup>345</sup> See below for a discussion of the importance of working from life in the Netherlands.

<sup>346</sup> The Carracci academy wanted to institutionalize itself along the lines of the Roman academy in the 1590s. Ludovico sought to join the academy with the Bolognese guild of painters, much like the Florentine academy had also done, in order to give it institutional standing and a great sense of permanence. Given Bologna's connection to Rome – it was under the jurisdiction of the Holy See – Ludovico also attempted to affiliate the academy with the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. However, none of these measures came to pass. See Dempsey, "The Carracci Academy," 33–39.

<sup>347</sup> The 1593 statues come down to us through Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno*, 1–13. They are also published in Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*, Appendix 4, 357–364. Also see Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 59–60.

had also been involved with the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, was chosen as the institution's founding *principe*. Its first series of statutes, also known as the “*statuti della Zuccari*,” were established at that time.<sup>348</sup> Half a year earlier in March, the organizers of the Accademia had met before a notary to declare the goals and purpose of the institution, stressing the honor of their profession, the nobility of art and the glory of God.<sup>349</sup> Much as the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, the Roman academy was intended to serve the professional, social and religious needs of the painters, sculptors and architects of the city. It took over the functions of the *Università Picturae ac Miniaturae*, the painters and illuminators' guild, and the *congregazione*, the religious organization associated with the church and its confraternity. Most significantly, it created the academy for the instruction of artists.<sup>350</sup>

The initiative for an academy of art in Rome had begun several decades earlier. In 1577 the artists of the city had submitted a petition proposing an academy to Pope Gregory XIII. He responded by issuing a papal brief on 15 October that supported the founding of an *accademia* to train young artists, a *congregazione* under

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<sup>348</sup> Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno*, 1–13; Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*, Appendix 4, 357–364; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 59–60.

<sup>349</sup> Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*, Appendix 3, 352–356; Peter M. Lukehart, “Introduction,” in *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia Di San Luca in Rome, C. 1590-1635* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 1.

<sup>350</sup> While this chapter focuses on the didactic aims of the Accademia, it is important to bear in mind that it exercised authority over the professional and religious lives of artists in the city. Its monopoly over the artistic activity in Rome extended from regulation of the quality of art produced and pricing, to limiting the freedoms of painters and sculptors to express opinions that were contrary to the views of the Accademia. See note 289 and Grossi and Trani, “From Universitas to Accademia: Notes and Reflections on the Origins and Early History of the Accademia Di San Luca Based on Documents from Its Archives”; Pietro Roccasceca, “Teaching in the Studio of the ‘Accademia Del Disegno Dei Pittori, Scultori E Architetti Di Roma’ (1594-1636),” in *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia Di San Luca in Rome, C. 1590-1635*, ed. Peter M. Lukehart (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009).

the protection of St. Luke, and a hospice that would offer lodging for young artists entering the city.<sup>351</sup> In the brief, Gregory XIII expressed the need for an academy to counter what he perceived was the decline of art in contemporary Rome, which arose from “a lack of knowledge of Christian morals.”<sup>352</sup> Spearheading these early efforts was the Brescian painter Girolamo Muziano (1532-1592), who arrived in Rome in the 1550s and served as the superintendent of public works in the city. According to his biographer, Giovanni Baglione, Gregory XIII’s brief had been directed to Muziano because of the efforts he had made to found the academy and to create a home for the *giovani*, the young boys who came to Rome to become artists.<sup>353</sup>

An engraving by the Dutch artist Cornelis Cort (ca. 1533-1578) after a drawing by Johannes Stradanus (1523-1605) from 1578 illustrates the Roman academy’s early ambitions (fig. 34).<sup>354</sup> Stradanus, a Flemish painter who had trained

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<sup>351</sup> For Gregory’s brief, see Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*, Appendix 1, 348–349; Grossi and Trani, “From Universitas to Accademia: Notes and Reflections on the Origins and Early History of the Accademia Di San Luca Based on Documents from Its Archives,” 28–29; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 57–59. The need for lodging for young artist’s entering Rome was indeed a real one; contemporary authors describe the difficulties artists faced finding work and lodging, and the threat of exploitation by other artists. See the essay by Robert Williams, “The Artist as Worker in Sixteenth-Century Italy,” in *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome*, ed. Julian Brooks (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 94–103.

<sup>352</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 57.

<sup>353</sup> Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de’ pittori, scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a’ tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, ed. Jacob Hess and Herwarth Röttgen (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1995), 123–124.; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 57; Lukehart, “Introduction,” 3. Baglione’s account of Muziano’s role in the initiative for the Accademia is generally accepted in the scholarship. Doubts are at times cast on its validity, however, because of Malvasia’s mention of a letter about the Bolognese painter Lorenzo Sabbatini, which described that Sabbatini was in fact the real founder of the Accademia. Although Sabbatini was in Rome in the 1570s, he died in 1576, shortly before Gregory issued his brief. See Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de’ pittori bolognesi*, 1: 184. The story of the Accademia’s founding is recounted in Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademie di S. Luca*, 18; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 57–59.

<sup>354</sup> Detlef Heikamp first recognized this print’s connection to the Accademia di San Luca in 1972. See Detlef Heikamp, “Appunti sull’Accademia del Disegno,” *Arte Illustrata* 50 (1972): 298–304.

in Antwerp, came to Florence around 1550 where he soon became familiar with the Florentine academy. He later spent time with Vasari in Rome where he made the drawing that Cort later engraved.<sup>355</sup> The engraving depicts an allegory of academic practice that joins theoretical and practical studies. Figures are tightly packed into a small space, partaking in every aspect of artistic activity. A group of young students draw from sculpture and study anatomy, as an older man examines a life-sized *écorché* figure. A sculptor carves an equestrian statue and others practice the arts of architecture and engraving at a table in the foreground. A painter examines his large-scale fresco on the back wall, as a man grinds pigments under the classical archway in the distance. Rome herself watches over this scene, personified by an imposing female figure surrounded by representations of the Tiber River and Romulus and Remus.<sup>356</sup> Cort dedicated the print to Gregory XIII's son, Jacopo Boncompagni, as protector of the arts.<sup>357</sup>

Stradanus' image represents a nascent conception of the Accademia di San Luca, which assumed that all of the arts in Rome would come under its authority. He makes their inclusion clear by providing inscriptions beneath each activity, including one that identifies the young boy sharpening his pen in the foreground as a beginner.<sup>358</sup> The education of young artists, which was integral to the academy's

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<sup>355</sup> Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 1: 326–328, fol. 267–267v. Stradanus, or Jan van der Straet, also did a drawing of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, which was never engraved. Cort also spent a large part of his career in Italy where he made engravings after famous masters.

<sup>356</sup> Roman, "Academic Ideals of Art Education," 88.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, 88–89.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

initial aims, seems to have been emphasized to a greater extent than in Florence. Nevertheless, Stradanus' image remained little more than an ideal. For reasons that remain unclear, the academy never materialized after the petition was submitted in 1577. Nor did it in 1588, when Pope Sixtus V issued a second, nearly identical brief calling for the foundation of the academy.<sup>359</sup> The brief reiterated the social, religious and didactic functions of the institution, and it granted the academy a proper meeting place in the church of Santa Martina.<sup>360</sup> It also stated that the institution's leadership was to be conferred only upon painters and sculptors.<sup>361</sup> Despite this renewed effort, the artists of the city waited another four years before the institution was realized.

The successful initiative for the Accademia di San Luca ultimately came through the leadership of Zuccaro and Cardinal Federico Borromeo.<sup>362</sup> Writing in the *Origine e progresso dell' Accademia del Disegno, de pittori, scultori, et archietti di Roma*, the Accademia's first history compiled in 1604, Romano Alberti recounted its founding:

[T]he painters of Rome [wishing] to erect a studio, and Academy of Drawing [Accademia del Disegno] in to order to assist and guide studious young students who wished to study the most noble professions of Design [*Disegno*]:

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<sup>359</sup> For Sixtus' brief, see Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*, Appendix 2, 350–352. The brief also articulated an important change: whereas the *Università* had been answerable to the city of Rome, the Accademia was now subject to the control of the Catholic Church through the pope's vicar general. Grossi and Trani, "From Universitas to Accademia: Notes and Reflections on the Origins and Early History of the Accademia Di San Luca Based on Documents from Its Archives," 29; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 59.

<sup>360</sup> Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*, Appendix 2, 350.

<sup>361</sup> This mandate was later realized when only painters and sculptors were permitted to hold the office of *principe*. Grossi and Trani, "From Universitas to Accademia: Notes and Reflections on the Origins and Early History of the Accademia Di San Luca Based on Documents from Its Archives," 29, 32–38.

<sup>362</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 59.

Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, which had – lacking the [sense of] proper use and order of benefits and [being] judiciously practiced – declined...in excellence and dignity...Moved by this good zeal, and praiseworthy desire, united in large part by said painters, especially the most important ones, to reform the laws and statutes of the entire body of the profession, and all together [they] erected this Studio and Academy.<sup>363</sup>

Alberti, an artist, writer, member of the academy and a close friend of Zuccaro, echoed the earlier sentiments of Gregory XIII by calling attention to the academy's role as an instrument of reform in Rome's artistic life. He celebrated Zuccaro's achievements as founding *principe* and his role in raising the arts of *disegno* back to their former glory.<sup>364</sup> Teaching was integral to these achievements and the heart of the academy's operations, a focus indebted to Zuccaro who demonstrated a deep concern for the education of young artists throughout his life.

Zuccaro, born in about 1540 in the provincial town of Sant'Angelo in Vado on the Adriatic coast, traveled widely as a painter before settling in Rome in the 1590s. He worked for prominent patrons in Italy, England and Spain, and later published several theoretical texts on the arts, including the *Lamento della pittura* (1605) and *L'idea de' pittori, scultori e architetti di Roma* (1607).<sup>365</sup> In the 1570s, Zuccaro, then

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<sup>363</sup> Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno*, 13. The English translation of Alberti's text comes from Lukehart, "Introduction," 3.

<sup>364</sup> Lukehart points out that Alberti's close relationship with Zuccaro resulted in a bias towards the artist's pedagogical project, which was reflected in the text. See Lukehart, "Introduction," 3.

<sup>365</sup> See Peter M. Lukehart, "Parallel Lives: The Example of Taddeo Zuccaro in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome," in *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome*, ed. Julian Brooks (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 104–111; Julian Brooks, "Introduction," in *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 1–5.

a member of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, had written a letter expressing the need for reform in the institution's teaching directives.<sup>366</sup> He called for a separation of the administrative and educational affairs of the academy, and urged a revitalization of the teaching of mathematics, perspective and drawing. He insisted that a room for life drawing be set up where classes could be held once a week.<sup>367</sup> Finally, Zuccaro emphasized the need for skilled instructors, citing, for example, that two sculptors should be assigned to one student for several months, and that prizes should be awarded to the best students.<sup>368</sup>

Some of Zuccaro's reforms, such as the revised teaching of mathematics, were put into effect in the 1580s, while the successful implementation of others remains unclear.<sup>369</sup> Nevertheless, the nature of the reforms mentioned by Zuccaro demonstrated the breadth of his concerns for the academy's teaching program, elements that would later help to form the curriculum of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. Zuccaro's preoccupation with the training of young artists was rendered in a remarkable series of twenty drawings illustrating the early life of his brother,

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<sup>366</sup> For the letter, part of which was published by Pevsner, see Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 51–52. The letter dates from 1575–78.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, 51. Barzman also discusses Zuccaro's call for reforms, and she points out that the letter, often used as evidence for the academy's failure to realize some of its educational goals, was instead solicited by the academy to complement a revised set of rules then being drafted. Even so, the letter brings to light some of the weaknesses in the academy's program and Zuccaro's role in calling for reform. See Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia Del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," 17, 28, note 25.

<sup>368</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 51.

<sup>369</sup> Barzman notes that account books and other documents mention that equipment and furniture were purchased in the 1580s for the instruction of mathematical sciences. See Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia Del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," 17. Yet, as far as we know, life drawing did not occur with regularity until the seventeenth century.



Taddeo (1529-1566).<sup>370</sup> Executed in the early 1590s, nearly thirty years after Taddeo's death, the drawings depict the young enthusiast on the arduous journey to become an artist in sixteenth-century Rome. Zuccaro's visual narrative follows Taddeo from his departure from their family home to his quest to find work in the city.<sup>371</sup> The youth's diligent pursuit of knowledge and perseverance against adversity play a major role in the series, demonstrating his strength of character, and, even more importantly, the traits necessary to become an artist.

Zuccaro captures these qualities through touching representations of Taddeo overcoming various hardships, such as his rejection in the studio of his cousin, the painter Francesco il Sant'Angelo, and his employment in the household of Giovanni Piero Calabrese.<sup>372</sup> Yet Zuccaro also evokes the great promise of Rome in an image of Pallas Athena, or Minerva, the goddess of arts and learning, guiding Taddeo to a view overlooking the city where he observes all that Rome has to offer.<sup>373</sup> In subsequent images, Zuccaro portrays Taddeo drawing after the façades of the famous painter Poliodoro da Caravaggio (ca. 1497-ca. 1543); Raphael's frescoes in the Loggia of the Villa Farnesina; the *Laocoön* in the Belvedere Court in the Vatican (fig. 35); and Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel.<sup>374</sup> The immediate and sensitive images in Zuccaro's *Life of Taddeo* series underscore the importance of

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<sup>370</sup> The full series is published in Julian Brooks, ed., *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007).

<sup>371</sup> Zuccaro likely relied on both Taddeo's own account of his adolescence in Rome (ca. 1544-1548), as well as his biography in Vasari's *Lives*.

<sup>372</sup> See cat. nos. 5 and 7, Brooks, *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro*.

<sup>373</sup> See cat. no. 3, *Ibid.*

<sup>374</sup> See cat nos. 12, 13, 17, and 18, *Ibid.* In cat. no. 9, Taddeo is also shown drawing from a window by moonlight.

study and draughtsmanship in the education of the artist, as well as the copying of antique and Renaissance monuments. They reflect the unique opportunity of becoming an artist in Rome, which, although certainly burdened by real hardships, remained a place full of inspiration and great artistic potential.

Zuccaro's intentions for the series remain unclear. The unusual shape of the individual drawings – vertical and horizontal, and many shaped like dumbbells – suggests that they were not preliminary studies for prints. Scholars suggest that they may have been executed for a complex decorative scheme within the Palazzo Zuccari, the palace built by Federico near the church of SS. Trinità dei Monti in the 1590s.<sup>375</sup> At least seven of the compositions were painted on leather as early as 1600, a costly and unusual method that may indicate that the images were intended to be seen *in situ*.<sup>376</sup> In any event, artists in Zuccaro's circle copied a number of the drawings, raising the possibility that they could have circulated within the Accademia di San Luca in the seventeenth century and were thus familiar to Sweerts.<sup>377</sup> The themes of artistic learning and the importance of drawing portrayed in the series find expression in Sweerts' *Roman Street Scene* and *A Painter's Studio*, and would take shape in the pedagogical program Zuccaro envisioned.

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<sup>375</sup> Brooks, "Introduction," 2–3.

<sup>376</sup> Christina Strunck suggests that the leather may have been inserted into a wooden framework. See *Ibid.*, 2; Christina Strunck, "The Original Setting of the Early Life of Taddeo Series: A New Reading of the Pictorial Program in the Palazzo Zuccari, Rome," in *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome*, ed. Julian Brooks (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 112–125.

<sup>377</sup> Brooks, "Introduction," 3. Brooks does not mention the names of the artists who copied the drawings, or their present whereabouts, and no extant copies have come to my attention thus far.

The Pedagogical Program at the Accademia di San Luca

From its inception, teaching was critical to the function and purpose of the Accademia di San Luca. The academy relied on the model of its academic predecessors, but it was distinguished by Zuccaro's commitment to pedagogy and rigorous implementation of its aims. Zuccaro devised a two-part pedagogical program for the academy that balanced theory and practice.<sup>378</sup> For the former, he conceived of the "Discorsi," a series of biweekly lectures on the arts of *disegno* that were held by various academicians. The Discorsi were open to all members of the academy, as well as to men of letters and connoisseurs.<sup>379</sup> The first series of lectures consisted of topics such as the *paragone*, the definition of *disegno*, the rendering of the movements and the use of decorum.<sup>380</sup> Zuccaro's aim for the lectures was tied to his larger effort to explore the meaning and concept of *disegno*, which as the foundation of the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture, was understood as both an intellectual and practical activity.<sup>381</sup>

Zuccaro chose the subject of drawing for a meeting on 2 January 1594, assigning the lecture to Romano Alberti and Durante dal Borgo. Perhaps displeased with the discussion (as he often was), Zuccaro offered his own ideas on the topic in response. Drawing, he expressed, is "fundamental...not just to our professions

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<sup>378</sup> For an excellent account of Zuccaro's pedagogical program, see Roccasecca, "Teaching in the Studio." Alberti first recorded Zuccaro's teaching program in his *Origine e progresso* in 1604.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>380</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 60.

<sup>381</sup> Zuccaro's ideas on *disegno* were expressed in his treatise from 1606, entitled *L'idea dei scultori, pittori e architetti*. He developed the concept of *disegno interno*, which is a reflection of the divine idea within us. For a discussion of this concept, see Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: a Concept in Art Theory* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968); Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 138-148.

[painting, sculpture, and architecture], but to all forms of intelligence – or human cognition, those things can be understood by our mind – and [it] is the food and life of our operations; that is, our principal internal, speculative, human motor, which illuminates and moves the intellect, and provides cognition of all things.”<sup>382</sup> Zuccaro’s belief in the importance of drawing, evident in his *Life of Taddeo* series, became the grounding theoretical framework of the Accademia’s pedagogical program.

To complement the Discorsi, Zuccaro created the “Studio,” the part of the Accademia di San Luca that was dedicated to the practical instruction of young artists, predominantly through the drawing course.<sup>383</sup> Zuccaro had a former hayloft near Santa Martina set up for this purpose, with the majority of the materials – cartoons, engravings, reliefs and sculpture in stone, plaster, terracotta and clay – donated by the academicians themselves.<sup>384</sup> Plaster casts were among the most numerous items, demonstrating the essential role that they played in the Accademia.<sup>385</sup> The students were led by twelve academicians, called *assistenti*, who

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<sup>382</sup> Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno*, 17. Lukehart, “Parallel Lives: The Example of Taddeo Zuccaro in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 106.

<sup>383</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, focus will be given to the activities of the Studio, but it should be kept in mind that the Discorsi remained an integral part of the Accademia’s program. Roccasacca calls attention to the little mentioned, but important point, that the Studio was a separate and distinct entity within the academy’s structure.

<sup>384</sup> An inventory taken in 1594 mentions fifteen cartoons, two engravings and sixty sculpted pieces; some of these same items appear in subsequent inventories from thirty years later. See Roccasacca, “Teaching in the Studio,” 125, Appendix 7, 368.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

were required to instruct the youths on all feast days on a rotating monthly basis for one hour every afternoon during the week “after lunch, in the Accademia.”<sup>386</sup>

Following in the tradition of Leon Battista Alberti, Leonardo, as well as the Carracci, the academy’s curriculum taught students to progress from part to whole, from casts and prints to the nude model. Zuccaro called this method the “Alphabet of Drawing;” every student should first learn the “ABC, eyes, noses, mouths, ears, heads, hands, feet arms, legs, bodies, backs and other similar parts...”<sup>387</sup> Romano Alberti described how academicians guided students through various projects in the *Origine e progresso*:

Some will draw *disegni* by hand, some cartoons, some reliefs, some heads, some feet, and hands; and some will be sent during the week to draw from the Antique or the façades of Poliodoro [da Caravaggio]; some will draw views of landscapes, clusters of houses, some animals, and other similar things; in addition, at suitable times [they will] undress nudes, and portray them with grace and intelligence, make models in clay, in wax, dress and portray them with artistry; some will make architectural drawings, some perspective drawings, respecting the established rules and true.<sup>388</sup>

Alberti’s description of the academy’s teaching program repeated the advice offered by Leonardo, but it emphasized to a new extent the practice of drawing after the

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<sup>386</sup> The *assistenti* were selected annually by random drawing. This rule is cited by Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell’Accademia del Disegno*, 4; Roccasacca, “Teaching in the Studio,” 126.

<sup>387</sup> Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell’Accademia del Disegno*, 17. As cited in Lukehart, “Parallel Lives: The Example of Taddeo Zuccaro in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 106.

<sup>388</sup> Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell’Accademia del Disegno*, 8; Roccasacca, “Teaching in the Studio,” 126.

antique and Renaissance monuments in Rome, such as Poliodoro's frescoes, which Zuccaro himself depicted in the *Life of Taddeo*.

Alberti's account also reflected the well-rehearsed steps in the Italian tradition that a student took towards the mastery of drawing: *copiare, ritrarre* and *disegnare*.<sup>389</sup> The first referred only to mechanical copying by following the examples of established masters. Then, one proceeded towards studying and describing nature, whether after sculpture or live models. Finally, one reached the intellectual stage of rendering forms and compositions from the imagination. This theoretical drawing method became particularly significant in the Accademia di San Luca because it was instituted as a formal program of study. Students advanced through these stages over a period of four years, or two *bienni* (two year periods).<sup>390</sup>

Life drawing also played a significant role within the Studio's teaching practices. Romano Alberti's mention that "at suitable times (*nelli tempi convenevoli*) [they will] undress nudes, and portray them with grace and intelligence," has been suggested to indicate that life drawing sessions were held there during the warm

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<sup>389</sup> Roccasecca, "Teaching in the Studio," 127–132.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid., 128. The strict graduation of levels that a student faced in the Studio was also reflected in their rank and designation as novice members (or hopeful members) of the Accademia. The beginners, or *principianti*, had to submit a drawing based on a theme established by the *principe*. If accepted, the young artist could be admitted as an *accademico desideroso*, an aspiring academic who would not yet be added to the registers of the Accademia. An advanced student who submitted a drawing from his imagination could be accepted on the grounds of an *accademico studioso*, or academic scholar, and have his name inscribed in the register. After proving himself, the *accademico studioso* could advance to the title of *accademico utile e honorato*, or useful and respected academic, therefore able to fully participate in all levels of academic life – including being drawn as a Studio teacher. Professional painters, sculptors and architects were known as *accademici utili*. See Ibid., 124–125. Zuccaro's program also included the granting of awards to distinguished students, which was meant to encourage students. A similar kind of competition had also taken place at the Accademia del Disegno in Florence. For a detailed discussion of these awards, see Ibid., 126–127.

months between May and September.<sup>391</sup> A new mandate appeared in 1596 that forbade students to meet outside of the academy for purposes of life drawing.<sup>392</sup> This rule suggests that not only was life drawing regarded as a central aspect of the academy's instruction, but that the institution intended to keep control of it within its own walls. To aid students in rendering the human body, dissections were also held. Alberti recounted how in 1594, "for fifteen consecutive days it was the most useful class, [with] everyone drawing, and delighting in seeing and discovering every muscle, bone and vein..."<sup>393</sup>

In 1625, the artist Pietro Francesco Alberti (1584-ca. 1638) portrayed these aspects of teaching in an etching of the Accademia di San Luca (fig. 36).<sup>394</sup> Alberti was a member of the academy from 1622 to 1633, so his etching, albeit idealized, reflects the educational principles he must have experienced at the academy himself. In the left foreground, a young pupil learns the "alphabet of drawing" with an instructor who diagrams the human eye.<sup>395</sup> A student draws the cast of a leg near the natural light of the window, while another pupil tackles an entire human skeleton in the foreground. *Giovani* model figures in clay or wax on a table to the right, aspiring to the level of the students in the back of the room who dissect a body. Other groups

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<sup>391</sup> Roccasacca, "Teaching in the Studio," 126.

<sup>392</sup> See Tonelli, "Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 98; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 62. For the original mandate, see Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademie di S. Luca*, 70.

<sup>393</sup> Alberti goes on to describe how the students later cast the body in plaster and put it on display in the Accademia. See Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno*, 28; Roccasacca, "Teaching in the Studio," 133.

<sup>394</sup> For a discussion of this print in context, see Tonelli, "Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

<sup>395</sup> The diagram closely resembles a page from Fialetti's drawing book, or one similar.

learn perspective and study architecture. Plaster casts line the shelf above the room and paintings of various subjects hang on the back wall. Alberti's etching encapsulates the stages of learning at the Roman academy, harkening back to Stradanus' original sixteenth-century engraving.

The Accademia, however, did not always function smoothly. Academicians were often absent from lectures and Zuccaro tended to hold strongly onto his own ideas on *disegno*.<sup>396</sup> The statues (*statute accademiche*) were reissued and revised throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, in 1607, 1617, 1619 and 1627, respectively, which demonstrates that the institution continued to evolve.<sup>397</sup> Unfortunately, evidence does not survive to indicate whether the extensive aspects of the teaching program were always successfully implemented.

Nonetheless, records from account books and inventories in the first half of the seventeenth century inform us that the Studio was functional and continued to expand over time. In the series of statutes from 1607, for example, a library was created with books donated by its members. An inventory of the contents of the Studio taken in 1624 shows that the library had grown considerably, containing about forty volumes of works by Leon Battista Alberti, Albrecht Dürer, Giovanni Paolo

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<sup>396</sup> Tonelli, "Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 103.

<sup>397</sup> Roccasecca, "Teaching in the Studio," 134–141; Grossi and Trani, "From Universitas to Accademia: Notes and Reflections on the Origins and Early History of the Accademia Di San Luca Based on Documents from Its Archives," 31–39. Roccasecca points out how extensive plans for the Studio were laid out in 1607, but little proof of their implementation appears in ledgers or account books.



Lomazzo, Cesare Ripa, Baldassare Castiglione, Biondo Flavio, Herson, Euclid, Appianus of Alexandria and Ovid.<sup>398</sup>

The same inventory notes a number of sculptural casts in plaster, clay and wax, both broken and whole, as well as books of drawings of the human figure, drapery studies and so forth.<sup>399</sup> Interestingly, although life drawing classes had probably already begun in the sixteenth century, the first record of payment made for the use of a model in the Studio's life drawing classes only occurred in June of 1628.<sup>400</sup> Models were used again during the summer months of 1629 and 1632, a practice that continued in subsequent years.<sup>401</sup> Thus, while changes took place within the academy's teaching program over the years, the foundational pedagogical program that Zuccaro had initiated remained its guiding framework into the mid-seventeenth century.

### *Sweerts and the Accademia di San Luca*

When Sweerts arrived in Rome in the 1640s, the Accademia di San Luca was, by some accounts, in relatively poor condition, both financially and otherwise.<sup>402</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> Roccasecca, "Teaching in the Studio," 124. For the inventory, see Lukehart, *The Accademia Seminars*, Appendix 7, 369–370.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>400</sup> Roccasecca, "Teaching in the Studio," 134. A certain Cosimo Fiorentino earned 12 *giulli* per month for working as a model. Though, as mentioned earlier, this practice had already likely begun at the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>402</sup> Compared to the earlier history of the institution, as well its later development, the years around mid-century are relatively understudied. My discussion – and at times inferences – about this period draws on references in Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*; Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 65–66; Thompson, "Pigmei pizzicano di Gigante," 229–240, 461–469; Janssens, "Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentvueghels"; Angela Cipriani and Enrico

With the death of one of the academy's great benefactors, Pope Urban VIII, in 1644, the institution had lost a major source of support.<sup>403</sup> A 1662 document, which describes the state of the institution, noted that the academy and its facilities had been in decline in the 1640s and 1650s.<sup>404</sup> It mentions that the functions, income and property of the Accademia had been neglected for years, and that even some young artists were not pleased with their professors.<sup>405</sup> Sweerts' time in Rome seemed to be one of transition for the Accademia; a period that fell between the highly charged theoretical climate of the late 1630s when Andrea Sacchi and Pietro da Cortona debated the merits of classical and epic styles, and before Gian Pietro Bellori gave his famous lecture on the "Idea" in 1664.<sup>406</sup> The election of a foreigner – Louis Cousin – as *principe* in 1651 was also a significant sign that the academy was in transition.<sup>407</sup>

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Valeriani, eds., *I Disegni di figura nell'Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca* (Rome: Quasar, 1988), 179–181. This climate also provoked the great criticism for the *Bamboccianti*, epitomized in the exchange of letters between Sacchi and Albani.

<sup>403</sup> See Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 121–122. Urban VIII's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, had also been the Accademia's official protector since the 1630s. Pope Innocent X showed little interest in supporting the academy – or the arts – in any way comparable to his predecessor. See Chapter 3.

<sup>404</sup> The document, *Informatione dello Stato della Accademia di S.to Luca nell'anno 1662*, (A.S.L., Misc. Varia A., VI) is published in Cipriani and Valeriani, *I Disegni di figura nell'Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca*, 179–180.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>406</sup> Sacchi and Cortona debated in the Accademia di San Luca in 1636. The latter was *principe* from 1634–1638. See Ann Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi: Complete Edition of the Paintings with a Critical Catalogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 33–37. For Bellori's lecture, see Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, ed. Hellmut Wohl and Alice Sedgwick Wohl (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>407</sup> For a discussion of Cousin's tenure as *principe* in the context of the academy at mid-century, see Thompson, "Pigmei pizzicano di Gigante," 461–469. Thompson argues over the course of her dissertation that an acrimonious relationship developed between Netherlandish and Italian artists in Rome around 1650, which represented a shift from the 1620s and 1630s when the groups seemed to be more sympathetic towards each other.

This state of affairs makes Sweerts' role in resolving the financial dispute between the academy and the *Bentvueghels* in 1646 all the more striking. On 7 October of that year, Sweerts, together with Cousin, was put in charge of collecting overdue funds from the *Bent*.<sup>408</sup> The incident was the culmination of a two decade long conflict over the Netherlanders' refusal to pay their annual dues to the Accademia.<sup>409</sup> The conflict began in 1619 when the *congregazione* had decided to officially institute the collection of alms for the church of St. Luke, as patron saint of the academy. In return, artists received a license to practice their profession. Although voluntary in spirit, all artists residing in the city were obligated to pay.<sup>410</sup> The *Bentvueghels*, however, took advantage of a privilege originally granted by Pope Paul III and Pope Sixtus V in the sixteenth century that had exempted all inhabitants of the Via del Babuino, Via Margutta and Via Sistina – the districts home to foreigners – from paying for a license.<sup>411</sup>

Angered by the *Bentvueghels*' refusal to pay and their disregard for the academy's authority, Pope Urban VIII issued a papal brief on 11 July 1633 that instituted an annual tax for all artists residing in Rome.<sup>412</sup> As far as can be determined from the surviving account books from the period between 1633 and

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<sup>408</sup> Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:57; Thompson, "Pigmei pizzicano di Gigante," 457–458. Thompson minimizes the importance of Sweerts' role in the collection of monies and attributes his involvement solely to Cousin's urging.

<sup>409</sup> For an excellent account of the conflict, see Janssens, "Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentvueghels," 78–85. Hoogewerff also gives an extensive account in Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*.

<sup>410</sup> See page 98 and note 289 for a discussion of the history of these payments. Janssens, "Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentvueghels," 78–79.

<sup>411</sup> Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*, 63; Janssens, "Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentvueghels," 80. Netherlanders living outside these areas also did not pay.

<sup>412</sup> Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*, 62–63.

1646, the Netherlanders still refused to pay.<sup>413</sup> Even a general meeting held in the Accademia in 1636 to try and resolve the issue amounted to nothing.<sup>414</sup> The academy ultimately seems to have given up – until 7 October 1646 when Sweerts and Cousin collected the first payment made in years.<sup>415</sup>

Sweerts' reconciliatory role in the conflict between the Accademia and the *Bent* situates him at a critical juncture between the two organizations. It brings to light his sympathetic position towards the academy, an idea that would rapidly become evident in his paintings of artists at work. Clearly receptive to the academy's teachings, Sweerts' paintings engage the theoretical and practical issues present in its daily activities. His artists draw after sculpture and from life, following practices that reflect Romano Alberti's description of how academicians guided students through the steps of *copiare*, *ritrarre* and *disegnare*. Plaster casts of antique sculpture dominate Sweerts' studio scenes, dutifully serving as reminders of the classical ideal. Scattered throughout these piles are the "ABCs" of drawing: casts of hands, legs, feet and torsos.

By also representing his artists outside of the studio and the academy, Sweerts upholds the promise of inspiration that Rome offered young artists, particularly those from abroad. His depiction of a youth drawing Bernini's *Neptune and Triton* is not so different from Zuccaro's depiction of Taddeo outside the Belvedere. Crouched over

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<sup>413</sup> Janssens, "Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentuvueghels," 81–82. Worth noting is the fact that the only Netherlandish artist who did make contributions during these years was François Duquesnoy.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*, 81. For the list of artists in attendance at the meeting, see Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:49–52.

<sup>415</sup> The reason for the sudden collection of payments is unclear, but payments were customarily collected in October, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of the month.

their sketchbooks, these young artists confront Rome's past – Sweerts' more recent – as they learn the art of drawing. Sweerts' paintings of artists at work portray acts of academic practice that demonstrate the breadth of his knowledge of Italian traditions, but they also reveal a familiarity with the teaching program and intellectual culture of the Accademia di San Luca. At the same time, however, it is important to bear in mind that Sweerts was also likely familiar with these broader traditions and practices before he departed for Rome, as the concept of the Italian academy and its intellectual associations had already made its way north in the sixteenth century.

*Karel van Mander and the Early Netherlandish Academic Tradition*

By the turn of the seventeenth century, theoretical ideas surrounding the education of artists and the importance of drawing from Leonardo and other Italian theorists had been absorbed in the Southern and Northern Netherlands. While such ideas would have easily been known to Sweerts by the third decade of the seventeenth century, they had already played a significant role in Karel van Mander's *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst* from 1604, which was the first art theoretical – and instructional – treatise to emerge in the Netherlands.<sup>416</sup> Van Mander, who had himself been in Italy in the mid-1570s and was likely witness to the early stirrings of the Accademia di San Luca, stated the utmost importance of learning how to draw –

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<sup>416</sup> Although Leonardo's treatise on painting was not published until 1651, it had circulated in manuscript form already in the sixteenth century. For a range of discussions centering on the dissemination of Leonardo's ideas throughout Europe, including its influence on Van Mander, see Farago, *Re-reading Leonardo*.

above all from the human figure – in the second chapter of *Den Grondt*.<sup>417</sup> The treatise was not exactly a “how-to” practical manual, and Van Mander even lamented that a book for young people on the ABC’s of the fundamentals of drawing was needed, but stated that he was not fit to do it.<sup>418</sup> Yet, following Leonardo’s prescription, he described how students should find a good master to learn how to draw, subsequently moving from copying good prints to plaster casts.<sup>419</sup> When ready, a student should move from “fantasy to the truth, that is to say, to life, which is the most favorable to us....She is your guide to steer the ship by. This is the goal at which to shoot, the foundation on which to build. There is no text better to draw towards you, no example is there sweeter nor more trustworthy than perfect nude men and women. These are the most learned books to study.”<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, 99–106, fols. 8–9v. Van Mander was in Rome from 1574-1577. See Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 1: fol. R3v–R4r, 17–18.

<sup>418</sup> There has been great debate by scholars over the intentions of the *Schilder-boeck*, and for whom it was intended. Hessel Miedema’s understanding of the treatise as a lofty theoretical poem for “knowledgeable lovers of art,” has recently been challenged by Ernst van der Wetering, who argues that the *Grondt* was intended for the instruction of apprentices. He writes: “Van Mander’s *Grondt* was meant to be a written course for trainee painters supplementary to what they learned in the master’s workshop, of course.” For differing opinions on the meaning of the *Schilder-boeck*, see Hessel Miedema, “Karel Van Mander: Did He Write Art Literature?,” *Simiolus* 22, no. 2 (1994): 58–64; Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*; Ernst van de Wetering et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt paintings. V, Small-scale History Paintings* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 8–22. The development of drawing manuals will be discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>419</sup> Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, 102, fol. 9. For the education of artists in the Netherlands, see, for example, Tonelli, “Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”; Miedema, “Over vakonderwijs aan kunstschilders in de Nederlanden tot de 17de eeuw”; Kwakkelstein, “Tekenen naar prentkunst in de opleiding van de schilder tussen circa 1470 en 1600”; Akker, “Het Atelier als School”; H. Perry Chapman, “The Wooden Body: Representing the Maniken in Dutch Artists’ Studios,” in *Body and Embodiment in Netherlandish Art = Lichaam En Lichamelijkheid in De Nederlandse Kunst. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), 189–215; Lobis, “Artistic training and print culture in the time of Rubens.”

<sup>420</sup> Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, 102–105, fols. 9–9v. English translation cited in Elizabeth Honig, eds., *The Foundation of the Noble and Free Art of Painting* (New Haven, 1985), 17.

Van Mander had initiated such a study upon his return to Haarlem in 1583. He, along with Hendrik Goltzius, who had also spent time in Italy, and Cornelis van Haarlem, “formed an academy for studying from life.”<sup>421</sup> Unfortunately, little else is known about their endeavor; the information comes from the anonymous biography written about Van Mander in the 1618 edition of the *Schilder-boeck*.<sup>422</sup> Scholars continue to debate the nature of their collaboration, questioning whether it was actually an academy to draw after the nude, one to draw after sculpture and plaster casts, or the meeting of shared interests in Italy and the antique by a group of established artists.<sup>423</sup> Looking to antique sculpture would not have been new at the turn of the seventeenth century, as the example of sixteenth-century artists like Lambert Lombard have demonstrated, but determining how widespread the practice of drawing from a nude model was in this early period is more difficult to determine, and examples are rare.<sup>424</sup> Yet the effort by this group of Haarlem artists seems to demonstrate a desire to organize the collective drawing from a model outside of

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<sup>421</sup> The original text reads, “...en quam korts daer nae aen kennisse van Goltzius, en Mr. Kornelis, hielden en maecken onder haer dryen een Academie, om nae 't leven te studeeren...” This text is cited by Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638*, 62, note 36. For the English text, see Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 1: fol. S2r, 26.

<sup>422</sup> Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 1: fol. S2r, 26.

<sup>423</sup> For a thorough discussion of the uncertainties surrounding the existence of the academy and its activities, see Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638*, 59–90. Otto Hirschman first attempted to address what was meant by the term ‘academy’ in this context in 1918. He argued that it was a loose collaboration of artists rather than a formal school. See Otto Hirschmann, “Karel van Mander’s Haarlemer Akademie,” *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1918): 213–231. Also see Miedema, “Kunstschilders, gilde en academie. Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw.”

<sup>424</sup> See note 58 and Erna Kok, “The Female Nude from Life: On Studio Practice and Beholder Fantasy,” in *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Karolien de Clippel, Katharina Van Cauteren, and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), especially 41–44; Schatborn and Rooijen, *Het Naakt*. A discussion of the male nude model also follows in Chapter 4.

workshop practice, guided by the larger intellectual framework provided by the Italian example.

Returning from Italy in the late 1570s, Van Mander would have been directly familiar with the theoretical framework that governed the education of artists, as well as the intellectual associations of the practice of life drawing and the term “academy” itself. The Haarlem academy thus provides one of the earliest instances of the infiltration of formal Italian academic ideas into the Low Countries (preceded only by Lombard’s school in Liège).<sup>425</sup> While the endeavor may have amounted to little in reality, the exact nature of which will never be known, the presence of life drawings of nudes by Goltzius in the 1590s, and the revival of many of Van Mander’s ideas by the group of artists trying to reform the Haarlem guild in the 1630s, does indeed attest to the existence of their academic endeavor.<sup>426</sup>

So, too, does Van Mander’s biography of Van Haarlem, where he praised the artist for “his ambitious nature through drawing an exceptional amount diligently from life (*naer het leven*) – to which end he chose from the best and most beautiful living and breathing antique sculptures.”<sup>427</sup> Van Mander’s praise for Van Haarlem suggests that the traditions of studying from the antique, and from the nude model, were already present in this Netherlandish academy. Van Mander’s words were not precise indications of a clearly defined set of rules to govern the instruction of artists,

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<sup>425</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>426</sup> See Taverne, “Salomon de Bray and the Reorganization of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1631.” Whether Goltzius actually drew his nude models from life – and from a real woman – has been questioned by some scholars. Kok has suggested that Goltzius may have been using young boys in the studio to pose for him, which he subsequently “transformed” into a female form. See Kok, “The Female Nude from Life: On Studio Practice and Beholder Fantasy,” 44–47.

<sup>427</sup> Van Mander, Miedema, ed., fols. 292v-293r.



but they established a tradition of the importance of drawing *naer het leven* that would inform the practice and education of artists in the Netherlands throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>428</sup> Sweerts himself inherited this tradition, which should, ultimately, be viewed together with his profound response to the Italian academy.

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<sup>428</sup> For a discussion of Van Mander's use of the term *naer het leven*, as well as the concept of *uyt den gheest*, and the larger theoretical issues raised in the *Schilder-boeck*, see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 63–66. Whether or not Sweerts knew of Van Mander's academy is of course unclear, but in all likelihood he would have been familiar with *Den Grondt* and the principles it espoused. More broadly, it is very likely that Sweerts would have been aware of the practice of drawing from life as it manifested itself in the workshops of Flemish contemporaries, such as Rubens (who we know drew from models) or Theodoor van Loon.

### Chapter 3: Sweerts, Duquesnoy, Poussin and the Patronage of the Pamphilj

Sweerts' experience in Rome in the mid-1640s and early 1650s was shaped by the artists and traditions that he encountered around the Accademia di San Luca, but his works from this period also demonstrate the significant influence of two non-Italian, classicizing artists who had achieved great renown in and outside of Rome in the seventeenth century: the Brussels sculptor, François Duquesnoy (1597-1643), and the French painter, Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665).<sup>429</sup> Sweerts' representations of Duquesnoy's classicizing sculpture in his studio scenes (figs. 10-13) and his use of Poussin's *Plague at Ashdod* (fig. 37) as a model for his only large-scale history painting, *Plague in an Ancient City* (fig. 20), reveal admiration for the achievements of his famed contemporaries and the inspiration that they found in antique sculpture.<sup>430</sup> Yet by engaging the work of Duquesnoy and Poussin on his own artistic

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<sup>429</sup> For Duquesnoy, see Mariette Franolet, *François du Quesnoy: Sculpteur d'Urbain VIII, 1597-1643* (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1942); Marion Boudon-Machuel, *François du Quesnoy: 1597-1643* (Paris: Arthéna, 2005); Estelle Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). For Poussin, see, most notably, Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: Critical Catalogue* (London: Phaidon, 1966); Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (London: Pallas Athene, 1995); Jacques Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994); Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). While Duquesnoy died before Sweerts reached Rome, Poussin remained in the city until his death in 1665. See below for further discussion of this subject.

<sup>430</sup> The artistic relationship between Sweerts and Duquesnoy has been long overlooked in the scholarship. My discussion of the topic in this chapter is partly derived from my recent article, which explores the artistic dynamic between Sweerts and Duquesnoy through the theoretical context of the *paragone*, a theme that plays a less prominent role here. Centrally important to both the article and this chapter, however, is Duquesnoy's deep interest in antique sculpture, which is more broadly engaged in this context in consideration of the academy. See Lara Yeager-Crasselt, "Michael Sweerts/François Duquesnoy: A Flemish paragone in seventeenth-century Rome," *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Country Studies* 35, no. 2 (2011): 110–126. Few scholars have investigated Sweerts' representation of Duquesnoy's sculpture in his paintings or the motivations behind it. Notable exceptions include Giovanna Capitelli, "François Duquesnoy, Michael Sweerts, Gerrit Dou. Note preliminari allo studio del rapporto tra pittura e scultura nei Paesi Bassi Settentrionali (1650-1675)," in *Tracce per lo studio della cultura figurative fiamminga e olandese dal XV al XVII secolo*, ed. Irene Baldriga and L. Lorzio (Rome: Apeiron, 1997); Peter Hecht, "Art Beats Nature, and Painting Does so

terms, Sweerts also competed with their inventions in ways that help to define the character of his academic and theoretical concerns in Rome and later in Brussels.<sup>431</sup>

This chapter addresses the artistic relationship that emerged between the work of Sweerts and Duquesnoy and Poussin, respectively, in Rome in the mid-seventeenth century. It illuminates the ways in which the deeply classicist principles of the latter two artists informed Sweerts' artistic ideas, while casting his ambitions and intellectualism into sharper relief. Sweerts would have known the work of Duquesnoy and Poussin through his familiarity with Rome's artistic and academic circles, but, as is argued in this chapter, he would also have been stimulated to look at their works because of the interests of his most important Roman patron in the early 1650s, Camillo Pamphilj (1622-1666), the cardinal and nephew to Pope Innocent X.<sup>432</sup> Also examined in this chapter is the character of the private art academy in the

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Best of All: The Paragone Competition in Duquesnoy, Dou and Schalcken," *Simiolus* 29, no. 4 (2002): 184–201. Recent monographs on Duquesnoy also mention Sweerts' depiction of his sculpture. See Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 201–202, 205–207; Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 8–9.

These studies also address Leiden painter Gerrit Dou's repeated depiction of Duquesnoy's relief of *Bacchanal of Putti with a Goat* and *Sacred and Profane Love* in his genre paintings. Dou uses these reliefs with a recurrent motif: the relief forms part of a fictive architectural frame in which his figures perform some activity. Some examples include: *The Physician* (1653); *Violin Player* (1653); and *Trumpet Player in front of a Banquet* (1660-1665).

Scholars have long noted the close similarities between Sweerts' and Poussin's *Plague* paintings since Roberto Longhi first reattributed the *Plague in an Ancient City* from Poussin to Sweerts in 1934. See Roberto Longhi, "Zu Michiel Sweerts," *Oud Holland* 51 (1934): 271–277. Nonetheless, little attempt has been made to situate Sweerts and Poussin in similar artistic circles in the broader context of Rome, nor to examine the influence the French artist may have had on Sweerts' academic ideas. Longhi, for instance, even deemphasizes any interest Sweerts may have had in Poussin's theoretical concerns. Further discussion of the extent to which one can draw parallels between the two artists' theoretical ideas follows below. For a review of literature concerning Sweerts' *Plague in an Ancient City*, see Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, no. 13, 113–117.

<sup>431</sup> See Yeager-Crasselt, "Michael Sweerts/François Duquesnoy."

<sup>432</sup> Sweerts' first documented contact with Camillo Pamphilj began in September 1651, and lasted until at least March 1652. For Camillo's patronage of Sweerts, see Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj*, 76; Capitelli, "Una testimonianza documentaria per il primo nucleo della raccolta del

Pamphilj household and its role as a precursor to Sweerts' drawing academy in Brussels.<sup>433</sup>

*Duquesnoy's Pursuit of the Antique and his Friendship with Poussin*

On 19 July 1643, François Duquesnoy died in the Italian port of Livorno in the company of his brother, Jérôme the Younger, who was also a sculptor. The two were en route back to Brussels upon the urging of Duquesnoy's doctors, who believed that the northern climate would help the sculptor recover from a severe illness.<sup>434</sup> After spending twenty-five years in Rome, Duquesnoy had recently accepted a highly lucrative offer from the King of France, Louis XIII, to establish an academy of sculpture in Paris as the official sculptor to the king.<sup>435</sup> The foundation of a royal

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principe Camillo Pamphilj"; Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 28–31. For the patronage of the Pamphilj family in general, see Mirka Benes, "The Villa Pamphilj (1630-1670): Family, Gardens, and Land in Papal Rome" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1989); Beatrice Palma, Annarena Ambrogi, and Beatrice Palma Venetucci, eds., *Villa Doria Pamphilj: Storia della Collezione* (Roma: De Luca, 2001); Stephanie C. Leone, ed., *The Pamphilj and the Arts: Patronage and Consumption in Baroque Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

<sup>433</sup> For reference to Sweerts' "*accademia*" in Camillo's household, see Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj*, 76.

<sup>434</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 232.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid., 231–232. Duquesnoy first received the invitation from the French court in 1639. The offer was drafted by Louis XIII's *Surintendant des Bâtiments*, François Sublet de Noyers. Duquesnoy seemed to have initially accepted the offer in 1640, before changing his mind. Repeated attempts by Sublet de Noyers, Paul Fréart de Chantelou, Poussin's friend and patron, among others in Rome and Paris, went unheeded. But in January 1643, Duquesnoy changed his mind again - possibly as a result of rather desperate financial difficulties - and finally accepted the offer, which included one thousand *scudi* per year for three years. While Duquesnoy's plans to settle in Paris were first delayed, and then ultimately thwarted as a result of his severe illness, the situation was further complicated by the death of Louis XIII in May 1643. See Ibid., 232; Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 7–8. Nicholas Poussin, a close friend of Duquesnoy since he first arrived in Rome in 1624, also received a similar offer from the king in 1639 to establish a royal academy of painting, but he declined the invitation. However, urged by Chantelou to return to France, Poussin left Rome in 1640 for a period of two years to decorate Louis XIII's Grand Galerie in the Louvre. During this time, Poussin was named *premier peintre de roi*, a title he retained after returning to Rome in 1642. See Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin*, 119–121.

academy would have been a fitting end to Duquesnoy's illustrious, though at times, troubled career.<sup>436</sup> Most significantly, it would have allowed him to formalize his attitudes towards making sculpture and studying antique statuary.<sup>437</sup>

Born in Brussels in 1597, Duquesnoy was trained by his father, the Brussels court sculptor, Jérôme the Elder.<sup>438</sup> Despite a prolific career in the service of the Archdukes, very little of Jérôme's work survives. The monumental marble *Tabernacle* (1604) in the Church of St. Martin in Aalst reflects a certain familiarity with classical architecture that Jérôme probably gained through his contact with the Italian-trained sculptor and architect Cornelis Floris (1514-1575), as he himself never traveled south.<sup>439</sup> Duquesnoy likely assisted his father on similar commissions, and although nothing of his youthful work survives, he would have been broadly familiar

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<sup>436</sup> Duquesnoy's biographers wrote that he was often depressed, and as Bellori described, "frequently and readily suspicious, and would withdraw, distracted and brooding." As a result, his work was slow and "he had difficulty conceiving inventions on his own." By the end of his life he was in dire financial straits and burdened by what was, in fact, a lack of large-scale commissions. See Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 231–233; Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 103; Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*, ed. A. R. Peltzer (Munich: G. Hirth's Verlag, 1925), 234.

<sup>437</sup> To a certain extent, some of Duquesnoy's presumed ideas about sculpture can be found within the treatise on ancient sculpture written by his student, Orfeo Boselli. Boselli stressed the judicious imitation of the antique and even went on to note specific antique sculpture that represented certain ideal types. See Orfeo Boselli, *Osservazioni della scoltura antica*, ed. Phoebe Dent Weil (Florence, 1978). A new, critical English edition of Boselli's treatise is in progress by Anthony Colantuono, who I wish to thank for sharing early parts of the manuscript with me.

<sup>438</sup> See Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 17–18; Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, 232–233; Hadermann-Misguich, *Les du Quesnoy*, 7–14. Perhaps most famously, Jérôme the Elder created *Manneken Pis*, the fountain figure in Brussels, in 1619.

<sup>439</sup> See Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 17–18. The work particularly reflects the influence of Floris' monument in the Church of Saint Catherine of Zuurbemde. Cornelis Floris was brother to Frans Floris, who was instrumental in bringing Italian and classical styles into the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. For Cornelis Floris, see Antoinette Huysmans, "Cornelis Floris 1514-1575. Beeldhouwer, architect en ontwerper," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1143 (1998): 390. For Frans Floris, see Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570)*.

with Italian and classicizing artistic traditions in Brussels through his father's example and the work of his father's contemporaries, like Wenzel Coebergher.<sup>440</sup>

In 1618, Duquesnoy applied for a stipend from the Archdukes Albert and Isabella to enable him to study in Rome for a period of two years.<sup>441</sup> In 1620, with little interest in returning north, Duquesnoy decided to pursue his career in Italy. During his early years in Rome, he devoted himself to the study of antique statuary. As later recounted by the German artist and writer, Joachim van Sandrart (1606-1688), who visited Rome from 1629 to 1635, Duquesnoy had modeled copies in terracotta after the *Belvedere Torso*, the *Nile* and the *Laocoön*.<sup>442</sup> The latter, according to Giovan Pietro Bellori, "was perfected through a study over a period of six months, during which François labored, unable to satisfy himself that he had perfected it to the degree of excellence admired in the original."<sup>443</sup>

Duquesnoy's desire to work within the classical tradition was shared by Nicholas Poussin, who had arrived in Rome in 1624. Giovanni Battista Passeri, another of Duquesnoy's biographers, described the artists' friendship in part as the product of "a certain sympathy of nations" since they were both *Oltramontano*.<sup>444</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> See Chapter 1 for the Brussels context. Duquesnoy may have also known Rubens in the early decades of the seventeenth century after the Antwerp painter returned from his sojourn in Italy. Later correspondence between the two artists in the 1640s suggests that they may have known each other before Duquesnoy left for Rome.

<sup>441</sup> Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella granted Duquesnoy permission for which he received a stipend of six hundred *livres*. The death of the Archduke in 1621 freed Duquesnoy from any obligations of returning to the Netherlands. Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 19–20.

<sup>442</sup> See Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 231–232.

<sup>443</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 234.

<sup>444</sup> "Una certa simpatia di Nazione per essere l'uno e l'altro Oltramontano e di Professione diversa cioe uno Scultore, el' altro Pittore." Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 105.

Even so, Duquesnoy's and Poussin's friendship probably resulted more directly from their mutual interest in antiquity.<sup>445</sup> Before coming to Rome, Poussin may have studied Latin and ancient literature at the Jesuit college in Rouen.<sup>446</sup> Poussin's desire to become a painter led him to Paris, where, as Bellori writes, he was dissatisfied with the "poor style of painting [that] was in fashion everywhere."<sup>447</sup> Yearning to travel to Italy, he soon came to the attention of the celebrated Italian poet Giovanni Battista Marino, then working at the court of Marie de' Medici.<sup>448</sup> Marino employed the artist to make drawings for his illustrated edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and his poem *Adone*.<sup>449</sup> In 1624 Poussin accompanied Marino when he returned to Rome.<sup>450</sup> Through Marino's efforts and network of contacts in Italy, Poussin gained introduction to the elite circles of Rome, including those individuals who would become his most important patrons: Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew to Pope

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<sup>445</sup> Many early biographers, as well as modern scholars, credit Poussin with guiding Duquesnoy towards the study of the antique. But, as Estelle Lingo has suggested, Duquesnoy, who had been in Rome for five years by the time Poussin arrived, had already begun to develop his classicist interests. See Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 228; Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 13.

<sup>446</sup> Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin*, 101.

<sup>447</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 310. Poussin had been trained in an outdated Mannerist manner, changing masters several times during his youth, including a period with the Flemish portrait painter, Ferdinand Elle (ca. 1585-1637/40), who resided in Paris. For Poussin's youth in France, see Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, 3–53; Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin*, 100–107.

<sup>448</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 310. In 1622 Poussin was in Paris at work on a series of six, now lost, paintings for the Jesuits in celebration of the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.*, 311; Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, 39. Poussin probably executed the drawings between 1622–1623. These drawings later came into the collection of Cardinal Camillo Massimo, another patron of Poussin.

<sup>450</sup> Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin*, 89–90; Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, 52–53.

Urban VIII, and Cassiano dal Pozzo, secretary to Francesco and an esteemed antiquarian scholar himself.<sup>451</sup>

By 1626, Duquesnoy and Poussin shared a house together on the Via Maroniti, not far from the Via Margutta where Sweerts would later live.<sup>452</sup> Sandrart recounted that during these years, he, Duquesnoy, Poussin and the French landscape painter, Claude Lorrain, often took long walks around the city to study and discuss ancient sculpture.<sup>453</sup> Sandrart, who moved easily between the communities of Italian and Northern artists in Rome, later described these meetings in his *Teutsche Academie* as “*die Antiquität-Academia*.”<sup>454</sup> He went on to describe how the group often discussed the excellence of ancient Greek sculpture (“*La gran maniera Greca*”), ostensibly for the purpose of aiding modern sculptors like Duquesnoy in their own artistic practice.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>451</sup> Marino first introduced Poussin to the Roman art patron, Marcello Sacchetti, through whom he met Barberini, and subsequently, Dal Pozzo. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 311; Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, 52. For Dal Pozzo, see further discussion below.

<sup>452</sup> Jacques Bousquet, *Recherches sur le séjour des peintres français à Rome au XVIIème siècle* (Montpellier: A.L.P.H.A., 1980), 208–209, 213; Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 24, note 98. In 1630, Duquesnoy lived with Karel Philips Spierinck, a Flemish artist and pupil of Paul Bril, until 1639.

<sup>453</sup> See Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 258; Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 24, note 98. Sandrart played an important role in Rome’s circles during the early 1630s. When Sandrart arrived there in 1629, he became a friend of Domenichino (who departed for Naples in 1631) and briefly attended a small, private drawing academy that the artist held in his studio, to be discussed further below. Shortly thereafter, Sandrart was commissioned by Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani to publish a book of engravings of the Marchese’s large collection of antique sculpture, called the *Galleria Giustiniani*. Sandrart employed a number of Italian and Netherlandish artists to assist him on this project, including Pietro Testa, Cornelis Bloemaert, Renier Persin, Theodor Matham, Michael Natalis, Claude Mellan, François Perrier and Duquesnoy. For Sandrart’s life and career, see Christian Klemm, *Joachim von Sandrart: Kunst Werke und Lebens Lauf* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1986).

<sup>454</sup> Sandrart used this phrase on several different occasions in his *Teutsche Academie*. See Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 2: part 2, I, 236.

<sup>455</sup> Sandrart makes this statement in part two of the *Teutsche Academie* in conjunction with a series of engravings of ancient sculpture that he deemed suitable for young artists to study. In another context,



The phrase is significant in this context as it invokes the tradition of the informal, private academy that stretched back to Bandinelli, as well as the theoretical and practical ideas associated with an artist's education at the Accademia di San Luca. Pictorially, the phrase recalls Zuccaro's drawings of his brother, Taddeo, studying antique sculpture *in situ*, as well as Sweerts' young artist drawing outside in *Roman Street Scene* (fig. 7).<sup>456</sup> However, while drawing after sculpture probably occurred during these so-called academic outings, the central role given to *discussing* and *experiencing* antique sculpture by a group of mature artists distinguished it from earlier academies. By engaging antique sculpture directly in the Roman landscape, the "Academy of Antiquity" furthered an intellectual dialogue about the role and importance of the antique for modern artists.<sup>457</sup> Although Sandrart's "academy" no longer existed when Sweerts arrived in Rome, it is possible that he was familiar with the concept of studying antique sculpture in the Roman streetscape as an academic exercise in itself. Such a tradition provides another perspective from which to understand the breadth of the academic experience in seventeenth-century Rome.

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he recounted his and Duquesnoy's close examination of the ancient Roman bronze sculpture of *Marcus Aurelius*, which they found to an "excellent piece of sculpture." Ibid., 2: 1; Estelle Lingo, "The Greek Manner and a Christian 'Canon': François Duquesnoy's 'Saint Susanna'," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (2002): 67.

<sup>456</sup> Sandrart also used the term in relation to Duquesnoy's student, the Flemish sculptor, Artus Quellinus the Elder, who came to Rome in 1634. Quellinus also attended an "academy of antiquities," which apparently improved his art. See Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 2: part 2, I, 236, 288; Christian Theuerkauff, "Enkele kanttekeningen bij Artus Quellinus en de 'antieke Academien'," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 50, no. 2 (2002): 308–319. For Bandinelli's academy, see Chapter 2. Sandrart also called the team of engravers working on the Guistiniani project "an academy." The idea of the academy was dear to Sandrart. Years after he left Rome, he founded academies in Augsburg and Nuremberg, and he organized his monumental treatise around the idea of the academy.

<sup>457</sup> The intellectual tenor of these gatherings recalls the early humanist academies of the Renaissance, which first gave the artistic academy its name, as well as the so-called school for studying sculpture that existed in the garden of Lorenzo the Magnificent in Florence in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

For Duquesnoy, the inspiration provided by these excursions was significant for his development as an artist. As Passeri noted, Duquesnoy “wanted to show himself a rigorous imitator of the Greek manner, which he called the true teacher of perfect working, because it possesses at the same time grandeur, nobility, majesty, and loveliness, all qualities to unite together in a single compound, and this tendency for him was increased by the observations of Poussin who wanted above all to vilify the Roman manner, for reasons that I will explain in my biography of Poussin.”<sup>458</sup> Although Passeri never returned to the subject in his biography of the painter, his evocation of the artists’ pursuit of the “Greek manner” demonstrated the distinction developing within this circle of artists between Greek and Roman antique sculpture.<sup>459</sup> For Duquesnoy, the Greek manner possessed a certain aesthetic ideal defined by a slender, graceful form and firm contours.<sup>460</sup> In addition, the Greek

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<sup>458</sup> Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 112. For the English translation, see Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 2.

<sup>459</sup> Passeri’s remark also points to the development of a canon of taste for antique sculpture that was forming during this period. See Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*. In 1996, Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey first thoroughly addressed these issues in regard to Poussin and his larger circle. They demonstrated how this group of artists developed the ability to make distinctions between Greek and Roman sculpture, which scholars had long believed to have emerged only with Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s work on Neoclassicism in the eighteenth century. Moreover, Cropper and Dempsey showed how such distinctions gave way to a preference for the Greek style. Estelle Lingo carried these ideas further in her scholarship on Duquesnoy, by asserting that the sculptor specifically employed a Greek style in his work and contributed to the broader definition and circulation of ideas on the Greek manner. Anthony Colantuono has also addressed Duquesnoy’s and Poussin’s depiction of *putti* at play in relation to Greek epigrams as further evidence of their pursuit of the Greek style. See Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*; Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (La Salle: Open Court, 1987); Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*; Anthony Colantuono, “The Tender Infant: Invenzione and Figura in the Art of Poussin” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1986); Anthony Colantuono, “Titian’s Tender Infants: On the Imitation of Venetian Painting in Baroque Rome,” *I Tatti Studies* 3 (1989): 207–234.

<sup>460</sup> See Lingo, “The Greek Manner and a Christian ‘Canon’.” Critical to the Greek manner was also the nude form, or the body rendered with drapery in such a way as to allow for its contours to be fully delineated. While Duquesnoy and Poussin developed their knowledge for the Greek manner through their direct study of the antique, they would have also been familiar with descriptions of Greek sculpture and paintings in Pliny’s *Natural History*, Quintilian’s *Institutio oratorio*, Pausanias’

manner had the potential, as evinced by Duquesnoy and Poussin, to embody different paradigms of emotional and psychological expression, thereby representing a range of character.<sup>461</sup>

Duquesnoy's activities as a restorer in the 1620s and 1630s, which allowed him intimate contact with Greek sculpture, complemented this unrelenting attention to the classical past.<sup>462</sup> Contemporaries soon described him as capable of rivaling the ancients in his own work. Bellori wrote that in Duquesnoy's *Saint Susanna* in Santa Maria di Loreto (1630-1633), one of the two large commissions that the sculptor received in Rome, "he bequeathed to modern sculptors the example of clothed statues, advancing to equal the best of the ancients in a style that is altogether refined and delicate, and to this day there is none to equal him in chisel work."<sup>463</sup> As a result, it was not uncommon to find copies after Duquesnoy's sculptures—typically produced from his own studio—circulating both in and outside of Rome among sculptors and painters who looked to his work as a model worthy of imitation.<sup>464</sup>

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*Description of Greece*, Philostratus' *Imagines*, and Callistratus' *Descriptions*. See Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 16–19.

<sup>461</sup> Cropper and Dempsey also discuss this distinction as a gradual transition from the Italian concept of the *affetti* to the French concept of *expression*, which became critical to eighteenth-century discourse. Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 46–48.

<sup>462</sup> Bellori cites Duquesnoy's two most famous restorations: a *Minerva* commissioned by Ippolio Vitelleschi and a *Faun* owned by Alessandro Rodini. See Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 23–31.

<sup>463</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 229. The *St. Susanna* was commissioned by the Roman baker's guild. Duquesnoy's other monumental commission in Rome was for the sculpture of *St. Andrew* for the crossing of St. Peter's, executed in 1629.

<sup>464</sup> See, for instance, Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 192–195.

Above all, artists admired his famed *putti*, which were celebrated for their great naturalism and expression of tenderness.<sup>465</sup> Duquesnoy refined his depiction of this form through his and Poussin's careful study of Titian's paintings of the *Bacchanals* in the Villa Ludovisi in Rome.<sup>466</sup> Bellori wrote how Duquesnoy and Poussin devoted themselves to the study of Titian's *putti*, where Duquesnoy "translated them into various groups of half-relief, and Nicholas Poussin modeled them in clay together with him."<sup>467</sup> Copies of Duquesnoy's *putti*, whether in plaster or wax, were owned by artists in Rome and Flanders.<sup>468</sup> Plaster castings of the *putti* that decorated the cenotaph of Ferdinand van den Eynden in Santa Maria dell' Anima, for instance, were listed in the studio inventories of the Flemish sculptor Peter Verpoorten and the Italian artist Ercole Ferrata in Rome, as well as in the Antwerp studios of Erasmus Quellinus II and Peter Paul Rubens.<sup>469</sup> In a 1640 letter to Duquesnoy, Rubens expressed his gratitude for the two *putti* the sculptor had sent him from Rome. Praising their beauty, Rubens described the *putti* as if "it is nature, rather

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<sup>465</sup> For Duquesnoy's *putti*, see Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 43–63; Colantuono, "The tender infant"; Colantuono, "Titian's Tender Infants: On the Imitation of Venetian Painting in Baroque Rome"; Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

<sup>466</sup> Bellori credited Duquesnoy with creating *putti* as tender infants, in the manner of Titian, as opposed to the more mature antique *putti*. Colantuono has demonstrated that the representation of *putti* in Duquesnoy's and Poussin's work was a visual embodiment of the sentiment of tenderness, and one related to the Greek epigram, or short lyric.

<sup>467</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 228.

<sup>468</sup> Notably, the frontispiece to Bellori's life of Duquesnoy shows a *putto* chiseling away at a portrait of Duquesnoy. For a discussion of Duquesnoy's *putti*, see Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 42–63.

<sup>469</sup> Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 192–193. For Van den Eynden's tomb and a larger discussion of Duquesnoy's funerary monuments, see Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 64–111.

than art, that has formed them [...] and I, along with all our nation, rejoice and participate in your fame.”<sup>470</sup>

In light of Duquesnoy’s deep interest in the antique and later academic aspirations in France, it is not surprising that he was a member and avid supporter of the Accademia di San Luca during his career in Rome. He first appeared as a member of the academy in 1630, and was among those nominated for the post of *principe* in 1633, 1640 and 1641, though he was never selected.<sup>471</sup> A sign of his commitment to the institution is evident in his uninterrupted payment of dues during the decades of the conflict between Netherlandish artists and the Accademia. A document from the year 1635-1636 explicitly stated that the academy “had not received anything from the Fiamminghi; only *una piastra* from signor Francisco, sculptor: Sc. 1,06 [*scudi*].”<sup>472</sup> This document also indicates that Duquesnoy even *overpaid* his dues: *una piastra* amounted to at least twice the contribution expected of academicians, and more than four times that for Netherlandish artists.<sup>473</sup>

As a Netherlander, Duquesnoy’s unerring commitment to the Accademia di San Luca is noteworthy given the continuing strife that unfolded between the

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<sup>470</sup> R.S. Magurn, ed., *The Letters of Sir Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 413–414.

<sup>471</sup> Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 99; Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:54, 123.

<sup>472</sup> Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:95; Janssens, “Between Conflict and Recognition: The Bentvueghels,” 81.

<sup>473</sup> According to the papal brief issued by Urban VIII in 1633, academicians were expected to pay 60 *bajocchi* annually, whereas foreign artists only had to pay 36 *bajocchi*. (There were 100 *bajocchi* to a *scudo*.) As an academician, Duquesnoy would have been expected to pay the former, but his “*una piastra*” equaled 1.20 *scudi* – about twice the amount required. For these specifications, as well as an analysis of what these numbers signified, see Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:113–114; Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*, 69–70; Thompson, “Pigmei pizzicano di Gigante,” 237, 248, note 78, 448–449, 494, note 28; Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 99.

Netherlandish and Italian artistic communities in Rome in the middle decades of the century. It shows Duquesnoy's belief in the principles espoused by the academy, while also suggesting his interest in artistic pedagogy, which he hoped to fulfill with his decision to accept the invitation to establish an academy for sculpture in Paris. Teaching in an institutionalized academic setting would have also formalized his and Poussin's ideas about a Greek artistic ideal.<sup>474</sup>

Given the uncertainties surrounding Sweerts's whereabouts before 1646, it is impossible to know whether he and Duquesnoy ever met in person. Even so, Sweerts would have been familiar with Duquesnoy's reputation, and once he arrived in Rome (if not before), also his sculpture.<sup>475</sup> Sweerts also may have admired the sculptor for his devotion to the academy. His representation of Duquesnoy's sculpture reflects a sense of their shared academic values and the importance placed in the study of the antique, as well as an awareness of how ancient Greek sculpture could evoke certain forms of ideal expression. In a more personal sense, Duquesnoy's revered status must have resonated with Sweerts as a fellow Fleming and artist from Brussels. Their shared artistic heritage provides another important perspective from which to understand the nature of Sweerts' interest in the sculptor and his distinctive representation of Duquesnoy's classicist forms.

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<sup>474</sup> Cropper and Dempsey have demonstrated, however, that the ideas espoused by Duquesnoy and Poussin in their work did have a later impact on the French academy. See Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 56–58.

<sup>475</sup> See below for the possibilities of where Sweerts may have encountered Duquesnoy's sculpture.

Sweerts' Representation of Duquesnoy's Sculpture in the Studio

Sweerts rarely depicted Duquesnoy's sculptures in their original state. Instead, he often manipulated the artist's sculptures into fragmented plaster casts that emphasized their affinity with antique sculptural forms. In this way, Sweerts reinforced the comparisons that contemporaries had made between Duquesnoy's work and the antique. In *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 10), for instance, Sweerts depicts the torso of Duquesnoy's bronze *Apollo* from *Apollo and Cupid* (fig. 38) as a fragmented plaster cast lying among the pile of antique sculpture in the foreground.<sup>476</sup> As it rests against the plaster bust of the head of the famous *Niobe* or *Cesi Juno*, the front of the torso catches the light, which gently models its subtle contours.<sup>477</sup> *Apollo's* headless *Cupid* stands in the back of the sculpture pile, turned towards the viewer with his left arm raised – a slight change from Duquesnoy's *Cupid*, which in the original bronze raises its right arm. Other casts lie tangled together in a sculptural heap, with a cast of a Hellenistic head of an *Old Woman*, which appears several times in Sweerts' paintings, resting towards the back of the pile.<sup>478</sup> Although Duquesnoy's sculpture does not hold the attention of the young boy, its prominent display in the

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<sup>476</sup> For the *Apollo and Cupid*, see *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1985), nos. 50, 83; R. Baumstark, J. Hecht, and Olga Raggio, *Die Bronzen der Fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein* (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt, 1986), no. 5, 146–151. For the various later versions of the sculpture, see Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 263–271. Beyond Sweerts' representations, the only other depiction of Duquesnoy's *Apollo and Cupid* that I have been able to find – in any context – is in the *Allegory of Repentance* by the Spanish artist, Antonio y Salgado, depicted in the form of its bronze original. See Anthony Radcliffe, Malcolm Baker, and Michael Maek-Gérard, *Renaissance and Later Sculpture: with Works of Art in Bronze* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1992), 184, fig. 2.

<sup>477</sup> For the *Cesi Juno* and the *Niobe*, see, respectively, Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 242–243, 274, 279.

<sup>478</sup> For the old woman's head, see Döring, "Belebte Skulpturen bei Michael Sweerts: Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte eines vergessenen pseudo-antiken Ausdruckskopfes."

immediate foreground lends it a degree of importance, confirming its worthy inclusion among the ancients and its rightful place in an academic setting.<sup>479</sup>

Sweerts portrayed Duquesnoy's *Cupid* standing with its back to the viewer above an equally large pile of antique sculpture in *Artist's Studio with a Woman Sewing* (fig. 11).<sup>480</sup> A cast after Duquesnoy's marble relief of *Bacchanal of Putti with a Goat*, now rendered in its original state, stands just below the table.<sup>481</sup> Familiar plaster casts poke their heads up from within the group: the head of the *Niobe* appears to the left on the table; across from her is the bust of the *Ludovisi Juno* drawn by the boy in *A Painter's Studio*; the head of the *Old Woman* lies in the immediate foreground along with nearly a dozen other casts clustered around a hollowed torso.

Despite the large number of plaster casts, the painter looks across them to paint the sewing woman directly from life. The sculpture, both antique and modern, mediates the artist's study of the model in a practical and meaningful way. Looking to the antique and to life was integral to Sweerts' own artistic practice and pedagogy, already evident in *Artist Sketching a Beggar* (fig. 9), *Artist at Work near a Fountain*

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<sup>479</sup> David Levine has argued that Sweerts' representation of contemporary sculpture demonstrates his rejection of traditional academic values in the study of the antique. Levine never takes up the issue of Duquesnoy specifically, but he is one of the few scholars to acknowledge Sweerts' use of contemporary sculpture in general. I disagree with his argument here, however, as Sweerts' use of antique and contemporary sculpture — particularly Duquesnoy's — suggests quite the opposite. See Levine, "The Art of the Bamboccianti," 207–285. The only other contemporary artist's work that appears in Sweerts' *oeuvre* is in *Roman Street Scene with a Young Artist Drawing Bernini's Neptune and Triton* (fig. 7).

<sup>480</sup> Thompson identifies another small *putto* lying in the pile against the torso as the *Cupid*.

<sup>481</sup> In this instance, the *Cupid* adheres to Duquesnoy's original with his left arm. For Duquesnoy's reliefs of *putti*, see Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 45–60; Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 45–56; Colantuono, "Titian's Tender Infants: On the Imitation of Venetian Painting in Baroque Rome." For their reproduction and representation in painting, particularly in Dou's paintings, see Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 201–209; Hecht, "Art Beats Nature, and Painting Does so Best of All"; Stephanie Sonntag, "Im Wettstreit der Künste. Fensterbilder der Leidener Feinmaler und der 'paragone' mit der Bildhauerkunst," *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 5 (2006): 279–287.



(fig. 8) and *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 10).<sup>482</sup> Duquesnoy had also embraced this approach, although arguably without the sense of tension – between the real and ideal model – that emerges in Sweerts' work. Bellori recounted how Duquesnoy made countless studies “from the antique and from life; thus he would make more than one model not only of the principal parts, a hand or a foot, but even of a single finger and a single fold of drapery, and in his diligence he was never still.”<sup>483</sup> These combined efforts produced sculpture that, though informed by nature, ultimately surpassed it in its perfection.<sup>484</sup>

Sweerts' integration of Duquesnoy's sculpture with the antique occurs most conspicuously in *In the Studio* (fig. 12).<sup>485</sup> In a darkly lit room, a young, elegantly dressed visitor engages the attention of the painter through his careful examination of the plaster cast of *Cupid*. The cast of *Apollo*'s torso rests among a collection of plaster fragments from a number of familiar antique sculptures, including the *Ludovisi Juno*, the *Cesi Juno* (or *Niobe*) and the Hellenistic head of the *Old*

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<sup>482</sup> Dörning also discusses how Sweerts joined the practice of working from casts and from life. For the former, see Horster, “Antikenkenntnis in Michael Sweerts' ‘Römischen Ringkampf.’”

<sup>483</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 232. Duquesnoy's studies from life, which to my knowledge do not survive, have an interesting connection to the model books by Crispijn van de Passe and Abraham Blomaert, to be discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>484</sup> This method reflected the Carracci's approach to painting. See Chapter 2. Contemporaries also complain that Duquesnoy was, as a result of his efforts, too slow in producing work. He only completed two monumental works in his career, in contrast to Bernini's vast *oeuvre*.

<sup>485</sup> Sweerts' artistic dialogue with Duquesnoy's *Apollo and Cupid* in this painting has been largely overlooked by scholars because of the long-held belief that the casts of the sculpture were taken from antique sculpture. For the history of the identification of the *Apollo and Cupid*, see below. Ironically, by the eighteenth century, the authorship of the *Apollo and Cupid* (as well as the *Mercury*, to be discussed below) was forgotten, and both works were taken to be antique. It was only in the early twentieth century that the attribution of the bronzes was restored to Duquesnoy.

*Woman*.<sup>486</sup> Various tools displayed on a green cushion in the foreground, among them a compass, a triangle and two right angles, refer to the arts of engraving, drawing, sculpture and architecture and illustrate the universality of painting's concerns. A large stringed instrument known as a *chittarone* also stands in the foreground beside an open music book, a symbol of music's importance as a source of inspiration or harmony for the artist.<sup>487</sup> The back wall contains five framed pictures, though only one is visible, a *Madonna and Child*. In the background, an assistant carries in another batch of casts, and a small doorway reveals a man reading in a room lined with bookshelves and a globe.

All activity in the studio has come to a halt as the visitor stands captivated by the limbless *putto*. The painter, interrupted from his work, points to *Apollo*'s slender

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<sup>486</sup> For the history of the identification of these works (with the exception of the *Apollo*), see Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 123, notes 5–7; Julius Held, *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1982), 113–114. Willem Valentiner, who purchased the painting for the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1930, first suggested that the *putto* in the artist's hand may represent a work by Duquesnoy. See Willem Valentiner, "A Painter's Atelier by Michiel Sweerts," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 12 (1930): 4–6. In his entry for the painting in the museum's collection catalogue, however, Julius Held only tentatively identified the *putto* as Duquesnoy's, and referred to the torso as a 'fourth-century hero type.' Kultzen also suggests that the *putto* may be Duquesnoy's, but mentions it only in a note. He, too, supports the assumption that the torso is antique. Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 17.

In 1994, Thomas Döring first identified the torso and *putto* as casts of Duquesnoy's *Apollo and Cupid*, but he associated Sweerts' representation of the sculpture with later seventeenth-century engraved reproductions of Roman sculpture, which occasionally included contemporary examples among the antique. See Döring, "Belebte Skulpturen bei Michael Sweerts: Zur Rezeptions-geschichte eines vergessenen pseudo-antiken Ausdrucks Kopfes," 60–61. Döring compares Sweerts' inclusion of the *Apollo and Cupid* to Jan de Bisschop's *Signorum veterum icones* (1670) and Domenico de Rossi's and Alessandro Maffei's *Raccolta di statue antiche e modern* (1704). These examples, however, all post-date Sweerts' painting, as well as his death in 1664. Though they provide a later point of comparison, their dates, and more pointedly, their function as visual inventories of the antique, suggest a very different set of intentions from Sweerts' painting. De Bisschop's, De Rossi's and Maffei's engravings included contemporary sculpture: De Bisschop included Michelangelo's *Moses*; De Rossi and Maffei, collaborating on *Raccolta di statue antiche e modern* (1704), included Duquesnoy's *Saint Susanna*. See also Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 120–123.

<sup>487</sup> For the role of music in the studio, see Hans-Joachim Raupp, "Musik im Atelier," *Oud Holland* 92, no. 2 (1978): 106–129.

torso perched on the edge of the table. His gesture is deliberate and meaningful, calling attention to the sculpture and the fact that the torso and *putto* belong together as one.<sup>488</sup> A strong light illuminates the torso from the left, articulating *Apollo*'s muscles and casting shadows across his body. Sweerts mirrors *Apollo*'s graceful contrapposto in the visitor's own pose, so that he, too, becomes a classicizing model not unlike the sculptures themselves.<sup>489</sup> In this way, the visitor assumes an enduring and dignified presence, displaying Sweerts' command of the antique form. The juxtaposition between the sculpture and visitor demonstrates painting's capabilities, while bringing to life Duquesnoy's pursuit of an idealized and youthful male beauty that revived a classical ideal.

Sweerts' unusual portrayal of the *Apollo and Cupid* also cleverly engaged the *paragone*, the theoretical debate that concerned the relative merits of the arts of painting and sculpture.<sup>490</sup> Although by the seventeenth century the *paragone* no longer carried the same heated status as it had a century earlier, it would have likely attracted a renewed sense of interest at this time with the publication of Leonardo's

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<sup>488</sup> Döring suggests that the *putto* may signify erotic or vulgar love, referencing the studio visitor as a Grand Tourist and the sexual escapades he might have experienced in Rome. This scenario recalls a book published in 1651 by the Dordrecht poet Matthijs van der Merwede, *Uyt-heemsen Oorlog, ofte Roomse Min-triompfen* (The Hague: Isaac Burghoorn), which recounted his amorous adventures in Rome in 1647-1650. See Döring, "Belebte Skulpturen bei Michael Sweerts: Zur Rezeptions-geschichte eines vergessenen pseudo-antiken Ausdruckskopfes," 72–73. Held also suspected that the visitor in the painting may be a Grand Tourist. See Held, *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century*, 117–114. I would like to thank Anthony Colantuono for pointing out that, by directly putting his finger on the uppermost point of *Apollo*'s torso, the painter references a key place of proportion in the study of the body, as subsequently noted in Orfeo Boselli's treatise, *Osservazioni della scoltura antica*.

<sup>489</sup> Kultzen has noted—though not in regard to this painting—Sweerts' frequent use of classical sculpture in the guise of contemporary genre figures. See Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 28; Kultzen, "Michael Sweerts als Lernender und Lehrer," 109–130. For Sweerts' use of classical sculpture in other paintings, see Horster, "Antikenkenntnis in Michael Sweerts' 'Römischen Ringkampf'."

<sup>490</sup> The *paragone* originated from medieval literary traditions that compared all of the arts – painting, sculpture, poetry and music. See Claire J. Farago, *Leonardo Da Vinci's Paragone: A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas* (Leiden: E.G. Brill, 1992).

*Trattato della Pittura* in 1651.<sup>491</sup> Leonardo had made an important contribution to the *paragone* at the end of the fifteenth century in his treatise as part of an effort to assert painting's place as one of the liberal arts.<sup>492</sup> He regarded painting as superior to sculpture because it involved greater intellectual effort as opposed to physical exertion, but he also distinguished painting for its artifice: the ability to render on a flat surface all matter and effects using perspective, light and shadow and color.<sup>493</sup>

The efforts to publish Leonardo's treatise had been in the works in Rome since the mid-1630s under the auspices of Poussin's patron and friend, Cassiano dal Pozzo.<sup>494</sup> Dal Pozzo, who was secretary and librarian to Francesco Barberini, expressed a deep interest in the study of art, antiquity and natural history, and he eagerly sought to promote the writings of Leonardo.<sup>495</sup> Nearly two decades after acquiring a copy of Leonardo's manuscript for the Barberini library, he succeeded in

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<sup>491</sup> For a discussion of the publication of the *Trattato* and its influence and reception across Europe during this period, see Farago, *Re-reading Leonardo*.

<sup>492</sup> Leonardo's arguments on the *paragone* were discussed in one section of his treatise, the so-called *Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270*. Leonardo's arguments influenced the most important contribution to the *paragone* debate in the second half of the sixteenth century, Benedetto Varchi's *Paragoni*, published as part of his *Due Lezioni* in Florence (1550). For Varchi, see Leatrice Mendelsohn, "Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's *Due Lezioni* and Cinquecento Art Theory" (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1982).

<sup>493</sup> Leonardo's argument is essentially scientific in nature; painting is superior because it relies on sight, and this supported his optical theories. See Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*; Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, *Italian art, 1500-1600: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 4–8.

<sup>494</sup> See Donatella Livia Spati, "Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Poussin and the Making and Publication of Leonardo's 'Trattato'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 66 (2003): 143–188.

<sup>495</sup> Dal Pozzo also sought to publish the manuscripts of Matteo Zaccoloni, which will be addressed below. The scholarship on Cassiano dal Pozzo is vast, but see, for example, Francis Haskell and Mirka Benes, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo* (Ivrea: Olivetti, 1993); Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 109–145; David Freedberg and David N. Pegler, *Fungi. The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo. A Catalogue Raisonné. Drawings and Prints in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, the British Museum, the Institut de France and other Collections. Series B, Natural history Part Two.*, vol. 2, 3 vols. (London: The Royal Collection in association with Brepols, 2006).

publishing the treatise with Raphael Trichet Du Fresne in Paris in 1651.<sup>496</sup> The *editio princeps* appeared in Italian and French editions, and contained illustrations by Poussin.<sup>497</sup> The publication of the *Trattato* certainly would have received the attention of artists and patrons connected to the Accademia di San Luca, and given Sweerts' academic interests, he may have also been responding directly to the events taking shape in Rome.<sup>498</sup>

Although renewed attention was given to Leonardo's writings in the early 1650s, his ideas had already circulated in manuscript form in Italy and the Netherlands through his pupil, Francesco Melzi, who owned the manuscripts after Leonardo's death.<sup>499</sup> Just as Leonardo's writings significantly informed ideas surrounding the education of the artist in the Italy and the Netherlands, so, too, did his

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<sup>496</sup> Du Fresne was formerly head of the Imprimerie royale in Paris, but had been in Rome in the 1640s when he became close with Poussin. The published text was based on several surviving manuscripts, but Cassiano's was regarded as the most precious. See Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 156; Claire J. Farago, "Introduction: The Historical Reception of Leonardo Da Vinci's Abridged 'Treatise on Painting'," in *Re-Reading Leonardo: The Treatise on Painting Across Europe, 1550-1900* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 4–6.

<sup>497</sup> See Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*, 28–29; Sparti, "Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Poussin and the Making and Publication of Leonardo's 'Trattato'."

<sup>498</sup> Further evidence for the renewed interest in Leonardo's ideas in the middle decades of the century is shown by Sweerts' fellow Flemish artist Jan Miel, who also took up the topic of the *paragone* in his painting of a *Blind Man*, from the early 1650s (Galleria Sabauda, Turin). Miel's painting illustrates an anecdote recounted by Ambrogio Mazenta in his 1631 *Memorie* in which a blind man compares painting and sculpture. Although the blind man can sense sculpture through touch, painting ultimately stands as the greater marvel because of all it can depict on a flat surface. In the *Memorie*, Mazenta describes the anecdote as an experiment that actually took place with Leonardo, and was later written in his manuscripts. However, there is no evidence of the anecdote in Leonardo's surviving manuscripts, which suggests Mazenta either made the story up or there are missing pages to the existing manuscript. See Peter Hecht, "The Paragone Debate: Ten Illustrations and a Comment," *Simiolus* 14, no. 2 (1984): 133–135; Carlo Pedretti, *Leonardo Da Vinci on Painting: A Lost Book (Libro A)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 122, note 67.

<sup>499</sup> See Farago, "Introduction: The Historical Reception of Leonardo Da Vinci's Abridged 'Treatise on Painting'," 4–5; Michèle-Caroline Heck, "The Reception of Leonardo Da Vinci's *Trattato Della Pittura*, or *Traité De La Peintre*, in Seventeenth-Century Europe," in *Re-reading Leonardo: The Treatise on Painting Across Europe 1550-1900* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 378–379.

ideas on the *paragone*.<sup>500</sup> While the topic played a minor role in Karel van Mander's writings, echoes of Leonardo's ideas on the subject are found in the writings of Philips Angel, Willem Goeree, Cornelis de Bie, and Sandrart.<sup>501</sup> In Angel's *Lof der Schilderconst* (*Praise of the Art of Painting*), published in Leiden in 1642, for example, he argued that although both painting and sculpture seek to imitate nature, painting is able to do so "more truly and faithfully [...] and much more copiously," relying on sight, the most noble of the senses.<sup>502</sup> Painting's virtue is found in her capacity to create illusion or, as Angel terms it, its "semblance without being."<sup>503</sup>

Sweerts also sought to exhibit his medium's virtuosity in *In the Studio*, demonstrating painting's marvel through his clever conceits.<sup>504</sup> Working with the dramatic light and shadow that fall diagonally across the room, he renders the plaster heads with incredible life-likeness as they appear to gaze at each other and up towards the figures. The open-gaped mouth of the *Old Woman*, her expression full of despair,

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<sup>500</sup> See Hecht, "The Paragone Debate: Ten Illustrations and a Comment," 125–136; Heck, "The Reception of Leonardo Da Vinci's Trattato Della Pittura, or Traité De La Peintre, in Seventeenth-Century Europe."

<sup>501</sup> Van Mander makes only a passing mention of the *paragone* in the biography of Gillis van Coninxloo in *Het Schilder-boeck*. Later in the seventeenth century, Cornelis de Bie and Willem Goeree also discussed the *paragone* and largely relied on Leonardo for their arguments. See Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet vande edel vry schilder-const*. Antwerp: Juliaen van Montfort, 1662; Willem Goeree, *Inleydingh tot de practyck der al-gemeene schilder-konst*, 1670. Middelburgh: Willem Goeree, 1670; and Goeree *Natuurlyk en schilderkonstig ontwerp der menschkunde*, 1682. Amsterdam: Willem Goeree 1682; Joachim von Sandrart also included parts of Leonardo's treatise into his 1675 *Teutsche Academie*. See Hecht, "The Paragone Debate: Ten Illustrations and a Comment," 133–136.

<sup>502</sup> Angel largely draws on his discussion of the *paragone* from Jan de Brune's introduction to the Dutch edition of Franciscus Junius' *De Pictura Verterum* (1641). See Junius, *The Literature of Classical Art*.

<sup>503</sup> Philips Angel, "Praise of Painting," ed. Hessel Miedema, trans. Michael Hoyle, *Simiolus* 24, no. 3 (1996): 239.

<sup>504</sup> The depiction of the *chittarone* also recalls Leonardo's arguments for the superiority of painting over music: painting, unlike music, is not fleeting; it can be enjoyed as a whole at once and for longer periods of time. See Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*, 94.

contrasts the youthful, supple male torso beside her, displaying the range of types possible in the studio. An illusionistically painted piece of paper curled over the edge of the table displays the artist's signature and date: "Michael Sweerts/ *fecit/ Roma/ A.D.1652.*" A small fly resting on the edge of the visitor's jacket, barely discernible in the shadows, reminds one of Angel's praise that only painting is capable of depicting every kind of creature, as well as the classical anecdotes of illusionism of Zeuxis, Parrhasios and Philostratus.<sup>505</sup>

The *trompe l'oeil* motifs of the fly and the illuminated piece of paper are integral to Sweerts' effort to emulate the ancients, much as Duquesnoy had done with his sculpture. Sweerts' rendering of the *Apollo* and *Cupid*, as with all of the casts in his paintings, demonstrates his ability to not only paint sculpture convincingly, but also to create the illusion that the *Apollo* and *Cupid* are plaster casts of *antique sculpture*, similar to those on the artist's table.<sup>506</sup> In this way, Sweerts celebrates Duquesnoy's achievement, and in doing so draws attention to his own classicist ideals, now made 'real' by their practice in the studio. At the same time, the painting

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<sup>505</sup> Angel 1996: 239. Sweerts also depicts two small flies in the upper right hand corner of *A Game of Draughts* (the Mauritshuis, The Hague), which is signed and dated 1652. Pliny the Elder wrote of the artistic competition between Zeuxis and Parrhasios in his *Natural History*. Zeuxis, who bragged that he had painted grapes so realistically that birds had flocked to the canvas, was ultimately tricked by the illusion of a painted curtain by Parrhasios, which he foolishly tried to pull aside. Philostratus described a painting by the ancient artist Narcissus, which depicted the dew dripping off of flowers and a bee sitting on them in such a realistic way that it was unclear whether the bee or the viewer had been deceived. Finally, Filarete described in his *Treatise on Architecture* how Giotto painted flies on a canvas to fool his master Cimabue, who tried to brush them away with a cloth. For these anecdotes, with their original citations, see Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, "Trompe L'oeil: The Underestimated Trick," in *Deceptions and Illusions: Five Centuries of Trompe L'oeil Painting* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2002), 17–87. For illusionism in Netherlandish art, see Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Illusionism in Dutch and Flemish Art," in *Deceptions and Illusions: Five Centuries of Trompe L'oeil Painting*, ed. S. Ebert-Schifferer (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2002), 76–87.

<sup>506</sup> Sandrart depicted the head of Duquesnoy's *St. Susanna* as an antique relic in the *Ruina Romae*, an engraving from his *Teutsche Academie*. See Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 2: part 2, plate qq; Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 156.

also displays the important role played by artistic dialogue within an artist's creative process. Echoing Leonardo's advice that "a wholesome emulation will stimulate you...and spur you on," Sweerts calls attention to the necessity and complexity of engaging the past as an artist and a teacher.<sup>507</sup>

*Sweerts, Duquesnoy and the Circle of Artists around Camillo Pamphilj*

Where and how Sweerts may have come into contact with Duquesnoy's *Apollo and Cupid*, whether in the original bronze or through a plaster copy, is unclear. Dated to the late 1630s on the basis of stylistic similarities to a bronze *Mercury* commissioned by the prominent collector Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani, the *Apollo and Cupid* is first recorded in the inventories of Prince Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein in 1658.<sup>508</sup> Bellori stated that after making the *Mercury*, Duquesnoy "made an *Apollo* as a companion to the *Mercury*, and it is balanced in the attitude of the Belvedere *Antinous*."<sup>509</sup> Eusebius traveled to Rome in 1633 and it may have been

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<sup>507</sup> Richter, *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci*, 2: 249, no. 495. Sweerts' ability to imitate and transform Duquesnoy's sculpture and the illusionism of the ancients may also be understood through the theoretical concept of *aemulatio* – competition with the aim of surpassing one's admired models. This concept is addressed in Eddy de Jongh, "The Spur of Wit: Rembrandt's Response to an Italian Challenge," *Delta* 12 (1969): 49–67; Anton W. A. Boschloo and Jacquelyn N. Coutr , eds., *Aemulatio: Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800: Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluifjer* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011).

<sup>508</sup> See V. Fleischer, *F rst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein als Bauherr und Kunstsammler* (Vienna: C.W. Stern, 1919), 70. The *Mercury* served as a pendant for an ancient bronze *Hercules* in Giustiniani's collection of antiquities, and was the only contemporary work to be included in the *Galleria Giustiniani*, a collection of engravings from Giustiniani's extensive holdings of antique works. For a discussion of Giustiniani's collection, see Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 23–105. The *Mercury* is bronze with light-brown lacquer patina, measuring 63 cm in height.

<sup>509</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 233. While the *Apollo* closely relates to Duquesnoy's *Mercury*, it is not believed to have been a commission of Giustiniani, as no record of it exists in the inventory taken after his death in 1638. This inventory is unpublished, but is discussed in *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, 79; Baumstark, Hecht, and Raggio, *Die Bronzen der F rstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein*, 146–148.



on this occasion that he commissioned the *Apollo and Cupid*, as well as a copy of the *Mercury*.<sup>510</sup> The Prince was also known to leave agents in Rome to purchase art on his behalf, presenting an alternative possibility for the sculptures' acquisitions.<sup>511</sup>

Although there is no evidence to indicate that a plaster cast of the *Apollo and Cupid* existed at this time, it seems likely given the frequency with which copies of Duquesnoy's work were made.<sup>512</sup> Evidence of a wax model, moreover, is confirmed by the young English sculptor Nicholas Stone Junior, who traveled to France and Italy between 1638 and 1642. In 1642, Stone Junior sent molds and casts of Duquesnoy's sculpture to his father, the sculptor Nicholas Stone, in London. Among the objects was a "box marked A. E. [with] *Apollo* of wax of Sir Francisco du Quesnoy, *Mercury* in plaster [...] a box marked Q. wherein was a head of wax greater than the life also a body of the *Cupid* which accompanies the *Apollo*."<sup>513</sup>

An inventory compiled by the Kortijk collector Jan-Baptist van Baelen at the end of the seventeenth century indicates that plaster casts of the *Apollo and Cupid* existed by that time. The document, drawn up in 1678 with the help of the Ghent painter, Jan Baptist van Moerkercke (1623-1689), describes:

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<sup>510</sup> See Liechtenstein: *The Princely Collections*, 79–83.

<sup>511</sup> See Herbert Haupt and Johann Kräftner, *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein, 1611-1684: Erbe und Bewahrer in schwerer Zeit* (Munich: Prestel, 2007), 64–67.

<sup>512</sup> A note about the making of plaster casts: plaster molds were first taken from the original sculpture (typically of wax or clay), often in pieces. These pieces were then assembled and enclosed in an outer casing (usually of plaster) to secure them together. Wet plaster was then poured into the complete mold to make the cast. A specialist was usually required to smooth over the still visible piece lines. Bronze sculptures could also be cast in pieces that were taken from the original model. See Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 1–6; 16–36.

<sup>513</sup> Walter Lewis Spiers, *The Note-Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone*, vol. 12, The Walpole Society (Oxford: F. Hall, 1919), 199.

Two figures of more than 2 feet high of plaster in my study, the one a Mercury, the other an Apollo 3 £ gr. Moerkercke says that he has two identical ones, & that they cost him 9 guilders each; notes that these two figures come from the moulds made from the original two figures by François Duquesnoy; also notes that I have the same forms, coming from the master Charles Hurterel and that they are worth a lot.<sup>514</sup>

The existence of plaster casts of the *Apollo* would not have been unusual in the Southern Netherlands by this time, as one recalls that casts of Duquesnoy's *putti* had already reached Antwerp in 1640.<sup>515</sup> After Duquesnoy's death in 1643, Jérôme had taken cases of his brother's sculptures back with him to Brussels, where he was likely responsible for selling them, or copies thereof, throughout the Netherlands.<sup>516</sup> Yet what is striking about Van Baelen and Van Moerkercke's description is that they believed that the casts came from molds made from the original, which raises the possibility that copies had existed in Rome.<sup>517</sup> Furthermore, their declaration of the

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<sup>514</sup> This reference came to my attention in a recent essay by Leon Lock. See Leon Lock, "Picturing the Use, Collecting and Display of Plaster Casts in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Artists' Studios in Antwerp and Brussels," in *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting, and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 265–266. For the inventory, see Paul De Keyser, "Jan Baptist van Baelen en zijn Verzameling Tekeningen en schilderijen te Kortrijk in de XVIIe eeuw," *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis* 25 (1956): 231.

<sup>515</sup> See pages 149-150.

<sup>516</sup> Unfortunately, it is not clear exactly what sculptures Jérôme had with him back in Brussels. Hecht, "Art Beats Nature, and Painting Does so Best of All," 194; Boudon-Machuel, *François Du Quesnoy*, 93.

<sup>517</sup> For Van Moerkercke, see Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeine Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 25: 13; Adriaan van der Willigen and Fred G. Meijer, *A Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Still-Life Painters Working in Oils, 1525-1725* (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2003), 144.

casts' authenticity reinforces the value associated with owning – albeit if only a copy of – Duquesnoy's original.<sup>518</sup>

Although it remains uncertain whether Sweerts saw the original bronze *Apollo and Cupid* while he was in Rome, or a plaster cast of the entire sculptural group or fragments of the same, he certainly would have had the opportunity to encounter other examples of Duquesnoy's sculpture. Sweerts' Brussels compatriot Louis Cousin, with whom he had acted to resolve the dispute between the *Bentvueghels* and the Accademia di San Luca in 1646, and with whom he was likely reunited in Brussels in the later 1650s, was a close friend of Duquesnoy.<sup>519</sup> In his biography of Cousin, Passeri writes how "*Francesco Fiammingo famoso Scultore*," along with the Flemish merchant Pieter Visscher, or Pietro Pescatore, Duquesnoy's first patron, befriended and guided Cousin when he arrived in the city around 1626.<sup>520</sup> Passeri states that, as fellow countrymen, Duquesnoy felt compelled to reach out to Cousin, helping the freshly arrived artist procure opportunities in the city.<sup>521</sup> The friendship between Cousin and Duquesnoy, which must have also extended into their involvement with the Accademia, suggests that Cousin may have initially introduced

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<sup>518</sup> Their statement as to the authenticity of the casts may have also been a marketing ploy.

<sup>519</sup> See Chapters 2 and 4.

<sup>520</sup> Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 241–242. Very little is known about the Flemish merchant, Pieter Visscher, who was, according to an account by Bellori, one of Duquesnoy's early significant patrons in Rome. He commissioned Duquesnoy's first life-sized marble, a now lost *Venus Nursing the Infant Cupid*. Visscher was, however, active in the Flemish community in Rome. He is known to have served in the administration of Santa Maria dell' Anima and was involved in overseeing Duquesnoy's commission for the tomb of Van den Eynden, which the sculptor executed in that church in the late 1630s. See Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 228; Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 57, 73, 77–78.

<sup>521</sup> Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 242. Passeri writes, "*Quel Maestro Fiammingo chiamato Pietro procuro sempre di sollevare quelli della sua nazione, e Francesco Fiammingo famoso Scultore, divenuto amico com'era paesano di Luigi, gli procurava dell' occasioni per portarlo avanti.*"

Sweerts to the sculptor's work. Cousin may have also extended a helping hand to Sweerts as a new arrival in the same way that Duquesnoy had guided him earlier.

Cousin also had connections to the Pamphilj family. Although no evidence suggests that Cousin worked for Camillo, Sweerts' eventual patron, he produced a series of devotional paintings for Camillo's uncle, Giovanni Battista Pamphilj, who reigned as Pope Innocent X from 1644-1655.<sup>522</sup> Unlike his uncle, however, who showed relatively little interest in artistic patronage,<sup>523</sup> Camillo was an active patron of Italian and Netherlandish artists as well as a collector of antiquities.<sup>524</sup> The Dutch artist Jan Baptist Weenix, who arrived in Rome from Utrecht in 1643, worked for Camillo from 1645 to 1646.<sup>525</sup> An inventory of Camillo's collections taken between 1648 and 1652 also shows that he owned works by Jan Brueghel the Elder, Paul Bril, Leonart Bramer, Herman van Swanevelt, Justus Sustermans and Rembrandt.<sup>526</sup>

Significantly, Camillo owned Duquesnoy's relief of the *Bacchanal of Putti with a*

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<sup>522</sup> Ibid., 242–243; Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 86.

<sup>523</sup> Innocent X was known for his cheapness and reluctance to pay many artists in his employ. For a discussion of the artistic situation in Rome during the reign of Innocent X, which was in contrast to the patronage efforts of his papal predecessor, Urban VIII, see Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 146–150; Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 81–110; Ludwig Pastor and Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (St. Louis: Herder, 1938), XXX, 381–411.

<sup>524</sup> Camillo first rose to prominence in Rome's cultural circles upon his election to the cardinalate in 1644, a post he resigned in order to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini in 1647. As a result, he was forced into a brief three year period of exile from the city, during which time he oversaw the construction of an elaborate countryside villa with the help of the sculptor, Alessandro Algardi. See Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 147–148; Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 81–110.

<sup>525</sup> See Christine Skeeles Schloss, "A Note on Jan Baptist Weenix's Patronage in Rome," in *Essays in Northern Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Anne Marie Logan (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983), 237–238.

<sup>526</sup> For Camillo's collection of works by Northern artists, see Capitelli, "Une testimonianza documentaria per il primo nucleo della raccolta del principe Camillo Pamphilj." For the inventory of Camillo's collection taken between 1648 and 1652, see Cappelletti and Capitelli, *I capolavori della collezione Doria Pamphilj da Tiziano a Velázquez*, 71–79.

Goat, which Sweerts depicted prominently in *Artist's Studio with a Woman Sewing* (fig. 11).<sup>527</sup>

During the late 1640s and early 1650s, Camillo began to acquire a large collection of antique sculpture, including the Hellenistic head of an *Old Woman* and possibly a plaster cast of the famous *Niobe* head, both of which appear several times in Sweerts' studio scenes.<sup>528</sup> Aided in his collecting activities by the sculptor Alessandro Algardi, Camillo was able to exert a great amount of control over the antiquities market through his uncle's influence.<sup>529</sup> In a letter to his friend, Paul Fréart de Chantelou, on 21 August 1645, Poussin warned that he should expect problems exporting antiquities to France due to Camillo Pamphilj, who had forbidden the activity for the past month in order to have whatever was available on the market for his new villa, then under construction on the Janiculum.<sup>530</sup>

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<sup>527</sup> See Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 51–53.

<sup>528</sup> Camillo also owned a second sculpture of a Hellenistic old woman, which may have been a source of inspiration for Sweerts. See Carla Benocci, *Le Virtù e i Piaceri in Villa: per il nuovo Museo Comunale Della Villa Doria Pamphilj* (Milano: Electa, 1998), 76–80; Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 29. Bikker suggests that the inclusion of the *Niobe* head in a later portrait of Niccolò Simonelli, the keeper of Camillo's collection during this period, may be evidence for the sculpture's presence in Camillo's collection or in the very least "round out the picture of the artistic interests in Camillo's circle." *Ibid.*, 29–30, fig. 28. Included in this portrait, which dates to the 1660s, are also plaster casts of a *putto*'s head and a foot. The former may be identified with a plaster head poking out at the bottom of the bag carried by the studio assistant in *In the Studio*, whereas the latter is shown on the table in *In the Studio* and in the foreground of *A Painter's Studio*. For Camillo's collection of antique sculpture, which will also be discussed below, see Benocci, *Le virtù e i piaceri in villa*; Palma, Ambrogi, and Venetucci, *Villa Doria Pamphilj*.

<sup>529</sup> Innocent X also intervened on occasion. On 15 September 1646, for example, the Pope issued a papal brief that allowed the selling of an ancient statue and various ancient urns from the Monastery of Grottaferrata to Matteo Bonicelli (to be discussed below), who worked for Camillo restoring antique sculpture. See Sarah McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved: A Portrait of Costanza Piccolomini* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 66–68.

<sup>530</sup> For the letter, see Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 1: 251, note 85. Export licenses were difficult to come by during these years, and many sculptures ended up in the hands of the papal family. See, for instance, Donatella Livia Sparti, "Tecnica e teoria del restauro scultoreo a Roma nel Seicento, con una verifica sulla collezione di Flavio Chigi," *Storia dell'arte* 92 (1998): 62. For the Pamphilj villa, known today as the Villa Doria Pamphilj, see Benes, "The Villa Pamphilj (1630-1670): Family, Gardens, and

Sweerts is first documented in the Pamphilj account books on 25 September 1651.<sup>531</sup> While the reasons for these initial four payments are unspecified, subsequent entries provide more detailed information. On 5 March 1652, Sweerts received 22.66 *scudi* for pigments, canvas and oil for a play performed at the Pamphilj residence, and on 11 March he received another payment for a large history painting by the sixteenth-century artist Cristoforo Roncalli.<sup>532</sup> The latter entry suggests that Sweerts may have also acted as an agent acquiring art for Camillo, which would not be surprising given his similar role for the Deutz brothers during these years.<sup>533</sup> The final entry in the account books, dated 21 March 1652, notes that Sweerts received 3.05 *scudi* for “various oils used since 17 February in the academy of his Excellency.”<sup>534</sup> The mention of an academy in the account books, to be discussed below, alongside Sweerts’ other activities for Camillo, demonstrates the breadth of work he performed under his patron. Indeed, the inventory of Camillo’s possessions drawn up between 1648 and 1652 lists three (no longer surviving) paintings by Sweerts: a portrait of Camillo, an image of a laughing old woman with a candle and a

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Land in Papal Rome”; Cappelletti and Capitelli, *I capolavori della collezione Doria Pamphilj da Tiziano a Velázquez*; Palma, Ambrogio, and Venetucci, *Villa Doria Pamphilj*; Leone, *The Pamphilj and the arts*.

<sup>531</sup> See Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj*, 76.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid. The entry specifies that the play, which one is unclear, had been performed during the previous Carnival season. Sweerts was likely responsible for the scenery or props. His involvement in the transaction of the Roncalli painting also relates to his activities for the Deutz family. For Roncalli, also see Chapter 1, page 55. See Bikker, “Sweerts’ Life and Career – A Documentary View,” 29; Bikker, “The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts,” 292–293.

<sup>533</sup> See Chapter 1 and Bikker, “The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts.”

<sup>534</sup> The English translation described here is cited in Bikker, “Sweerts’ Life and Career – A Documentary View,” 29. The original record in Garms reads: “Sweerts über s. 3,05 für *olio diverso presso la lucerna servita per l'accademia de S.E. [Sua Eccelenz]* seit dem 17. Februar.” See Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj*, no. 295, 76. For a discussion of the translation of the Italian and its possible meanings, see below.

young boy, and a canvas of dead Christ laid out with two nude angels, larger than life (*piú grande del naturale*).<sup>535</sup>

Through his relationship with Camillo Pamphilj, Sweerts would have also come into contact with the Roman sculptor, Matteo Bonarelli (1604-1654).<sup>536</sup> Although predominantly known for his role as an assistant to Bernini, as well as the husband of Bernini's infamous mistress, Constanza Piccolomini, Matteo himself had a successful career, earning the patronage of Jules Mazarin, the prime minister of France, Philip IV, the King of Spain, and the elite families of Rome, including the Barberini, the Orsini, the Massimi, and the Pamphilj.<sup>537</sup> Account books indicate that Camillo was one of Matteo's most important patrons between 1645-1654, during which time he actively restored and purchased antique sculpture for the prince.<sup>538</sup> A

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<sup>535</sup> For this inventory, see Cappelletti and Capitelli, *I capolavori della collezione Doria Pamphilj da Tiziano a Velázquez*, 71–79; Bikker, “Sweerts’ Life and Career – A Documentary View,” 28.

<sup>536</sup> Matteo's career has been long overlooked in the scholarship. For an excellent reconsideration of his work and his importance in the artistic circles of mid-seventeenth-century Rome, see most recently, McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 63–81.

<sup>537</sup> In the seventeenth century, the sculptor was known as “Matteo scultore” of Lucca. He is referred to in contemporary documents by a variety of alternative last names, including Matteo Bonarelli, Matteo Bonucelli and Matteo Barocellus; he seems to have referred to himself as the former. He first appeared in the parish records in Rome in 1629, living with Domenico Arigo from Massa Carrara, and two years later with the Italian *bambocciante* artist, Michelangelo Cerquozzi, with whom he would remain close friends throughout his life. He worked as an assistant to Bernini from 1636 until 1639, and again in 1645. Bernini and Matteo's wife, Constantza, began an affair in the mid-1630s, not long after Matteo and Constantza's marriage in 1632. After the affair abruptly (and rather violently) ended, Bernini produced a now famous marble portrait of his mistress, presently in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence. Sarah McPhee investigates the marble portrait bust of Constanza and the story surrounding its creation and its little known subject in her recent book. For the basic facts about Matteo's life and his early work in Rome, see *Ibid.*, 32–37, 63–81. For Matteo's work for Bernini, see Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 126–150.

<sup>538</sup> See McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 66–70. For the records of Matteo's work for Camillo, see Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj*, nos. 305, 313, 362, 393, 462, 990, 1078, 1079, 1094, 1147. Sweerts' and Matteo's paths could also have crossed through the trade in antique sculpture. During this period, Sweerts was acting as an agent in the purchase of art and antiquities for the Deutz brothers in Amsterdam, something that may have looked attractive to Camillo as well.

sign of the significance of Camillo's patronage was evident in the fact that his portrait hung in Matteo's house on the Vicolo Scanderbeg, at the base of the steps of the Quirinal Hill.<sup>539</sup>

Through her recent scholarship exploring Bernini's *Portrait of Constanza Piccolomini*, Sarah McPhee has brought to light Matteo's place in the larger circle of artists around the Pamphilj and the significant collection of art and antiquities he and his wife formed in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>540</sup> Two works by Sweerts, *Artist at work Near a Fountain* (fig. 8) and *Peasant Woman with Children and a Dog* (Private collection, Milan), formed part of their collection.<sup>541</sup> They also owned Poussin's *Bacchanal of Putti* and *Bacchanal of Putti with a Cart*, products of Duquesnoy's and

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<sup>539</sup> See McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 68, Appendix 8, 165. The portrait is listed in the inventory of Matteo and Constanza's home in 1662, eight years after the sculptor's death.

<sup>540</sup> Through her recent archival research, McPhee has uncovered not only the extensive career of Matteo as a sculptor, but also as a prominent restorer of antique sculpture and dealer in the market of antiquities. After his death in 1654, McPhee has demonstrated that Matteo's wife, Constantza, took over his business and continued to be an active participant in the art market. McPhee has been able to reconstruct the couple's art collection through inventories of their household taken by notaries after Constanza's death in 1662. For Constanza's role in the art market and the couple's extensive collection of paintings and sculpture, see *Ibid.*, 82–109; Appendix 8, 156–168. The couple's collection showed their taste for foreigners, and among the works in the 1661 inventory are those by *Bamboccianti*, especially the Italian artist, Michelangelo Cerquozzi. See *Ibid.*, 105–106.

<sup>541</sup> For the first time, McPhee has traced these two works by Sweerts to the collection of Matteo and Constanza, although it remains uncertain as to when and how they acquired them. The paintings have long been linked to the collection of Flavio Chigi, the nephew of Pope Alexander VII, who inherited them in the later seventeenth century. After Constanza's death in 1662, the collection passed to Domenico Salvetti, the tutor and guardian of Matteo and Constanza's daughter, Olimpia Caterina Piccolomini. Salvetti died in 1664, subsequently leaving the collection to his heir, Mario Chigi, the brother of the Pope. When Mario died in 1667, Flavio Chigi inherited it. For the provenance of the Sweerts paintings, including a discussion of the general provenance of Matteo and Constanza's art collection, see McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 93–94, 98–99, 233, note 105; Appendix 8, fol. 652r, 163. The keeper of Flavio's collection from 1658 until at least 1671 was Niccolò Simonelli, who had previously served this same role for Camillo Pamphilj. See Giovanna Capitelli, "Connoisseurship' al lavoro: La Carriera di Nicolo Simonelli (1611-1671)," *Quaderni storici* 39, no. 2 (2004): 375–401. For Sweerts' paintings in the 1692 inventory of Flavio's collection, see McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 233, note 105; Luigi Salerno, *Pittori di paesaggio del Seicento a Roma* (Roma: U. Bozzi, 1900), 3: 1123–1124.



Poussin's outings to the Villa Ludovisi in the late 1620s.<sup>542</sup> Duquesnoy may have even introduced Poussin to Matteo since the two sculptors knew each other from their work in St. Peter's.<sup>543</sup> Duquesnoy executed the *St. Andrew* for the church's crossing in the second half of the 1630s when Matteo was assisting Bernini with his *St. Longinus*.<sup>544</sup> Additionally, Matteo and Duquesnoy were both employed on respective commissions in Santa Maria dell' Anima around 1640.<sup>545</sup>

By 1647, Matteo had also acquired Poussin's *Plague at Ashdod* (fig. 37). On 28 August of that year, André Félibien, a friend of Poussin and later one of his biographers, noted in his journal that in the home of Signor Matteo, he had seen Poussin's "*Peste*," and his *Parnassus*.<sup>546</sup> Félibien remarked that the paintings were very beautiful and were both worth nearly 1,000 *écus*, which was a great sum at the time.<sup>547</sup> Given that Matteo and Sweerts both worked for Camillo Pamphilj in the early 1650s, Sweerts could have easily had the opportunity to see the painting in the

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<sup>542</sup> See page 149 and McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 96–97, 233, note 95, Appendix 8, fol. 652r, 163. Poussin's paintings are in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

<sup>543</sup> On the basis of his recent investigation into the letters of Jules Mazarin, Patrick Michel has suggested that Poussin and Matteo were also friends. See Patrick Michel, "Rome et la formation des collections du cardinal Mazarin," *Histoire de l'art* 21–22 (1993): 5–16.

<sup>544</sup> See Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 113–159; Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 126–150; McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 64–65.

<sup>545</sup> Matteo worked in the German national church of Santa Maria dell' Anima from 1640–1647, which was also when Duquesnoy was working on the tomb of Ferdinand van den Eynden. McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 65; Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 71–82.

<sup>546</sup> Thuillier includes a transcription of the letter: "*Je fus voir Mr. Poussin avec M. L[oir]. Je vis aussy par après chez le Sr. Mathei ses tableaux qui sont fort beaux entr' autres une peste et un parnasse dudit Sr. Poussin qu'il estime mil escus pièce.*" Félibien was accompanied on the visit with Nicholas Loir, a French painter. See Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin*, 162; McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 71. On Félibien, see Y. Delaporte, "André Félibien en Italie (1647–1649)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 51 (1958): 193–214. Henry Keazor securely identified the sculptor mentioned by Félibien as Matteo Bonarelli in 1996. See Henry Keazor, "A propos des sources littéraires et picturales de La peste d'Asdod (1630–1631) par Nicolas Poussin," *Revue du Louvre* 45 (February 1996): 62–69.

<sup>547</sup> Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin*, 162.

sculptor's studio.<sup>548</sup> The *Plague* was one of the couple's most prized possessions, hanging on the second floor, or *piano nobile*, of their house.<sup>549</sup> It remained in Constanza's possession after Matteo's death in 1654.<sup>550</sup> She had a copy made to hang in its place before she sold it to the Duc du Richelieu in 1661.<sup>551</sup>

### *Images of Plague: The Dialogue between Sweerts' and Poussin's Paintings*

Poussin began to paint the *Plague at Ashdod* (fig. 37) in 1630, only four years after he arrived in the city.<sup>552</sup> Already by that time he had been welcomed into the

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<sup>548</sup> The fact that Matteo owned the *Plague at Ashdod* is significant for a number of reasons, namely because it indicates that the only version of the painting that Sweerts could have seen in Rome at this time was Poussin's original. This conclusion revises the currently held view that Sweerts may have more likely known the painting from a copy. See note 551 below and Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 30. Bikker speculated that Sweerts may have seen a copy of the painting in Pamphilj's household.

<sup>549</sup> McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 86.

<sup>550</sup> For a discussion of the provenance of the painting after Constanza's death, see below.

<sup>551</sup> In the years that followed Matteo's death in 1654, Poussin's painting was sought after by prominent buyers, including Jules Mazarin, the prime minister of France. On 22 November 1660, Mazarin's agent in Rome, Elpidio Benedetti, wrote to his patron, who was eager to have a painting by Poussin, that "the widow of Matteo, scultore, has a few of them and especially the famous Plague, of which there is a copy in your own collection by Caroselli that puts the original to shame, for which she wants no less than a thousand scudi." On 20 December, Benedetti wrote again, stating that "of Poussin there will be something but not of the best quality, aside from that painting of the Plague, held at such a high price by its *padrona*." Constanza ultimately sold the work for her asking price of a thousand *scudi* to the Duc de Richelieu in 1661. Richelieu then sold the painting to the King of France, Louis XIV, in 1665. Along with the rest of her collection, the copy of the *Plague* would end up in the hands of Flavio Chigi, the nephew of the reigning Pope Alexander VII, several years following Constanza's death. For the provenance of the painting after Matteo's death, see McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 90–91; Keazor, "A propos des sources littéraires et picturales de La peste d'Asdod (1630-1631) par Nicolas Poussin," 67, note 19. For Benedetti's letters, see Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, *Etudes Mazarines* (Paris: De Boccard, 1981), 307–308. For the English translation, see McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 91. The 1662 inventory of Constanza's collection lists "*una copia del quadro rappresentante la peste con cornice dorata grande*." The artist who executed the copy is not named. See *Ibid.*, 92, Appendix 8, 163, fol. 652r.

<sup>552</sup> For concise discussions of the *Plague at Ashdod*, see Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: Critical Catalogue*, 24–25, no. 32; Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 85, 268–270. For more recent interpretations of the painting, see Elisabeth Hipp, "Poussin's Plague at Ashdod: A Work of Art in Multiple Contexts," in *Piety and Plague: From Byzantium to the Baroque*, ed. Franco Mormando and Thomas Worcester (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007), 177–223., which

circles of Rome's elite and had received the patronage of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Cassiano dal Pozzo and Marcantonio Borgehese.<sup>553</sup> His antiquarian knowledge was vast.<sup>554</sup> In the late 1620s, he was commissioned by Dal Pozzo to participate in one of his patron's most ambitious projects: the monumental *Museo Cartaceo*, or "Paper Museum," a collection of drawings intended to record and classify all aspects of the ancient world.<sup>555</sup> Despite Poussin's prominence in Rome, however, there is no known patron for the *Plague*, and it is not certain why he executed this work.<sup>556</sup> In 1631, the Sicilian art and diamond dealer, Fabritio Valguarnera, acquired the unfinished painting after he had seen it in Poussin's studio.<sup>557</sup> One year later, with Valguarnera facing trial for stealing diamonds, the

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summarizes and revises her monograph on the painting, Elisabeth Hipp, *Nicolas Poussin: Die Pest von Asdod* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2005).

<sup>553</sup> Poussin's early works from the period of the late 1620s and early 1630s are largely undocumented, making it difficult to determine the progression of his style. Nonetheless, several history paintings from this period are *The Death of Germanicus* (1627), *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (1628-1629) and the *Kingdom of Flora* (1631). He also executed several battles scenes for Dal Pozzo in the mid-1620s. See Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin*, 111–118; Spear, "Rome: Setting the Stage," 101.

<sup>554</sup> Poussin was admired for his precise representation of antique costumes and architecture. Bellori had remarked, for example, how in Poussin's *Moses Striking the Rock*, he depicted a woman "with the hairstyle and trappings of Egypt," whereas in his *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well*, he accurately dressed one of the women in the Greek woven cloth called a peplos. See Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 315; Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, 233–235.

<sup>555</sup> See Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 109–145; Haskell and Benes, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo*; Freedberg and Pegler, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo*. The project paralleled Giustiniani's efforts to engrave his collection of antique sculptures.

<sup>556</sup> Hipp has recently proposed that the painting may have been originally commissioned by or intended for a member of Poussin's elite circle of patrons, namely those who were members of the *Congregazione della Sainità*, Rome's board of health founded in 1629 by Pope Urban VIII. The board was formed in an effort to protect the city from plague by establishing certain measures and daily practices that would protect residents from the spread of disease. Members of the *Congregazione* included Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Cassiano dal Pozzo, and Giulio Mancini, the physician to the pope and the first biographer of Poussin. See Hipp, "Poussin's Plague at Ashdod: A Work of Art in Multiple Contexts," 204–215.

<sup>557</sup> The early history of the *Plague at Ashdod* and its acquisition by Valguarnera was discovered in 1950 through archival research into the records of the Sicilian's trial. See Jane Costello, "The Twelve Pictures 'Ordered by Velasquez' and the Trial of Valguarnera," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld*

painting was put up for auction.<sup>558</sup> It subsequently passed through several hands before reaching Matteo Bonarelli sometime in the 1640s.

Poussin's painting depicts the biblical plague that befell the Ashdodites as told in 1 Samuel V: 5-9. Having captured the Ark of the Covenant from the Israelites during the battle of Ebenezer, the Philistines took it back to their city of Ashdod and placed it in the temple of their idol, Dagon. As punishment for their sins, God struck the Philistines with a plague.<sup>559</sup> Poussin situated the Old Testament narrative within a meticulously rendered ancient city. A central street lined with classical buildings leads the viewer's eye to an obelisk that rises into a cloud-filled sky beset with a soft light. The setting recalls Vitruvius' classicizing tragic stage set from his *Second Book of Architecture*, which Poussin would have known through a sixteenth-century engraving by Sebastiano Serlio.<sup>560</sup>

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*Institutes* (1950): 237–284. At the time of his purchase of the *Plague*, Valguarnera also purchased Poussin's *Flora*.

<sup>558</sup> Poussin attended Valguarnera's trial on 28 July 1631 where he remarked that, "having sold him [Valguarnera] two pictures, that is one four or five months ago which is the 'Miracle of the Ark in the Temple of Dagon,' and the other a 'Garden of Flowers...'" The former was the title that Poussin gave to the *Plague at Ashdod*. See *Ibid.*, 255–256, 263, 275.

<sup>559</sup> Poussin's choice to depict the Plague at Ashdod was unusual, as the biblical narrative had typically only been represented in medieval illuminations. Moreover, Poussin's ingenuity comes forth in the fact that he depicted the Old Testament episode as a form of "real" suffering. Indeed, although the type of plague sent to the Philistines in the Bible has been debated, contemporaries largely understood it as dysentery. Poussin instead depicted it as the bubonic plague, possibly in reference to contemporary events, namely the plague that struck Milan in 1629, a suggestion first put forth by Blunt. In addition to the biblical source, Hipp also suggests that Poussin consulted Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*. See Hipp, "Poussin's Plague at Ashdod: A Work of Art in Multiple Contexts," 177–186; Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: Critical Catalogue*, 25; Christine M. Boeckl, "A New Reading of Nicolas Poussin's 'The Miracle of the Ark in the Temple of Dagon,'" *Artibus Et Historiae* 12, no. 24 (1991): 120, 143, note 9.

<sup>560</sup> For a discussion of Poussin's composition as a stage setting, see, for example, Pierre Rosenberg and Keith Christiansen, *Poussin and Nature: Arcadian Visions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 62–64.

Situated in the foreground of this rationally-executed architectural setting is the horror-ridden scene of victims ravaged by the plague. Men, women and children lie dead and dying among the fragmented relics of antique columns. Gracefully draped male figures make a last effort to save helpless children as the men visibly struggle to shield themselves from the stench that surrounds them. The temple of Dagon stands to the left, its idol now dismembered and broken beneath the structure's Corinthian columns.<sup>561</sup> The stolen Ark looms over a large crowd that has gathered before it. Behind them, steps lead to the door of another temple, beside which two figures carry the body of the deceased to interment.

In the *Plague at Ashdod*, Poussin represented pathos on a large, unprecedented scale. Bellori captured the depths of this suffering in his description of the painting:

The massacre and scourge of the Ashdodites appears, with some dead, some languishing, some seized with fear, in a doleful scene of horror. In the middle a mother lies dead on the ground with her head toward the front and her right hand touching her spreading hair, pale as death, with her breast and arms the color of ice, and beside her lies her dead child. The sense of pity and the funeral aspect are increased by another baby, not dead, but still breathing, who

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<sup>561</sup> Poussin's depiction of the fallen idol accords with the biblical text. "When they arose early on the morrow morning, behold Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him" (1 Samuel V: 8). In this way, Poussin evokes God's punishment of the Philistines for their practice of idolatry, as well as their theft of the Ark. He reinforces this idea by representing an emblem of idolatry from Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* as a relief on the bottom of the temple. For this reference, see Hipp, "Poussin's Plague at Ashdod: A Work of Art in Multiple Contexts," 192; Keazor, "A propos des sources littéraires et picturales de La peste d'Asdod (1630-1631) par Nicolas Poussin," 66. For a discussion of Poussin's painting as a moral commentary on the triumph of virtue over vice, as well as in the history of Judaism and Christianity, see Hipp, "Poussin's Plague at Ashdod: A Work of Art in Multiple Contexts," 192–194, 215–217; Boeckl, "A New Reading of Nicolas Poussin's 'The Miracle of the Ark in the Temple of Dagon'."

has his hand on his mother's belly as he brings his mouth near the nipple in order to suck the milk from it, but in that instant he lifts his innocent face toward a man who touches his forehead and removes him from that tainted nourishment.<sup>562</sup>

Poussin's portrayal of the child trying to nurse from his dying mother takes as its source a popular engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael's *Plague of the Phrygians* (or *Il Morbetto*) (fig. 39) (ca. 1515-1516), which represents the plague described in Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>563</sup> Both Poussin and Raphael took as their inspiration for this motif a famous painting by the ancient Greek painter Aristides, which they knew only through Pliny's description in his *Natural History*. Pliny wrote how Aristides, in depicting a child trying to nurse from his dying mother on a battlefield, became the first artist to capture human emotion.<sup>564</sup>

Poussin positioned the foreshortened mother in the center of the foreground to emphasize the visual impact of this pitiful *topos*. As Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey have observed, Poussin also harnessed the expressive potential of Greek sculpture in his depiction of the mother. Her pose takes the form of a figure from the *Laocoön*, the most famous *exemplum doloris*, as well as that of the dead *Amazon* in the Farnese collection.<sup>565</sup> Poussin probably knew the latter sculpture from the

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<sup>562</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 312–313.

<sup>563</sup> Bellori first identified Raphael as Poussin's source, where he described that the artist "followed the movements and the very *affetti* of the figures." Ibid., 313. For a discussion of the print's relation to Poussin's painting, see Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, 94; Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 268–269. Poussin also looked to Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo* for the figure of the man on the right.

<sup>564</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXV, 98–99.

<sup>565</sup> Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 85.

drawing in Dal Pozzo's *Museo Cartaceo*.<sup>566</sup> By capturing the suffering of the plague's victims through Greek sculptural models, Poussin guided the viewer through the emotions of fear, horror, pity and compassion towards an intellectual contemplation of the impact of the plague.<sup>567</sup>

When Sweerts saw the *Plague at Ashdod* in Matteo's studio in the 1640s, he would have been well aware of Poussin's reputation, for the artist had already been granted the title of *peintre de roi* in 1640.<sup>568</sup> In 1649, the French author and engraver Abraham Bosse described Poussin, Raphael and the antique to be "among the gods of art."<sup>569</sup> The possibility even exists that Sweerts and Poussin knew each other, or at least met, as they belonged to the closely knit circle of artists that surrounded Camillo Pamphilj, and were part of the community of foreign artists in Rome. Like Duquesnoy, Poussin was also a member of the Accademia di San Luca,<sup>570</sup> and in 1628 had even been appointed as a teacher in the "Studio," the part of the academy

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<sup>566</sup> Ibid.; Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London: H. Miller, 1986), 179–180, no. 143.

<sup>567</sup> Hipp situates the painting in relation to contemporary theories about plague, a reality in seventeenth-century Europe, and demonstrates how Poussin's painting followed moralistic plague literature. She likens this process of emotional horror and intellectual understanding to how moral treatises produced during this period gradually made the reader face the realities of plague and ultimately come to terms with it.

<sup>568</sup> Poussin was granted the title of *premier peintre de roi* in 1640 during a two-year stay in Paris to decorate Louis XIII's residence. See note 435.

<sup>569</sup> Abraham Bosse, *Sentiments sur la distinction des diverses manières de peinture, dessin et gravure et des originaux d'avec leurs copies* (Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1973), 51.

<sup>570</sup> For the records for Poussin's early involvement in the Accademia di San Luca, see "The History of the Accademia di San Luca, c. 1590-1635: Documents from the Archivio di Stato di Roma," a project of the National Gallery of Art, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, in association with the Archivio di Stato di Roma and the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca," (<http://www.nga.gov/casva/accademia/>). For his membership in the 1650s, see Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:62, 64, 65.

dedicated to the instruction of young artists.<sup>571</sup> In 1657, he was elected to the post of *principe*, an honor he declined.<sup>572</sup>

Poussin's involvement with the publication of Leonardo's *Trattato della Pittura*, as well as his efforts with Cassiano dal Pozzo to publish the manuscripts of the Theatine monk and Leonardo scholar, Matteo Zaccolini, complemented his artistic and intellectual interests.<sup>573</sup> Zaccolini's writings, which are believed to have been the direct result of his knowledge of Leonardo's manuscripts, were instrumental in developing Poussin's ideas on optics, color and "the principles of light and shadow."<sup>574</sup> The seriousness with which Poussin pursued his own set of ideas about the making of art is further evident in the treatise on painting that he proposed writing.<sup>575</sup> His pedagogical interests are also evident in a drawing he made of an

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<sup>571</sup> For this record, see "The History of the Accademia di San Luca, c. 1590-1635: Documents from the Archivio di Stato di Roma," ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1628, pt. III, vol.117, fols. 207r-v, (<http://www.nga.gov/casva/accademia/>). Unfortunately, given the dating limitations of the Accademia's database, I have not been able to determine if Poussin continued to serve as a teacher in the Studio in the years when Sweerts was also in Rome. For a discussion of the "Studio," see Chapter 2.

<sup>572</sup> Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*, 2:65.

<sup>573</sup> See Elizabeth Cropper, "Poussin and Leonardo: Evidence from the Zaccolini MSS," *Art Bulletin* 62, no. 4 (1980): 570–583. Cassiano acquired the manuscripts for the Barberini library after Zaccolini's death in 1631, but the publication never materialized.

<sup>574</sup> Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 311; Cropper, "Poussin and Leonardo: Evidence from the Zaccolini MSS." As a result of their technical investigations into Sweerts' paintings, Arie Wallert and Willem de Ridder have suggested that Sweerts would have been familiar with Zaccolini's manuscript and his ideas on light and shadow, the gradation of colors and tonal values. See Arie Wallert and Willem de Ridder, "The Materials and Methods of Sweerts' Paintings," in *Michael Sweerts: 1618-1664*, ed. Guido Jansen and Peter C. Sutton (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2002), 44–45.

<sup>575</sup> Poussin's theoretical observations on painting, known as his *Osservazioni di Nicolò Pussino*, only survive in Bellori's biography of the artist. See Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 338–339; Anthony Colantuono, "Poussin's Osservazioni sopra la pittura: Notes or Aphorisms?," *Studi Secenteschi* 61 (2000): 285–311. Colantuono has demonstrated that Poussin intended to publish these "notes" as a formal treatise on painting, and that they were written in an aphoristic style mimicking that of Leonardo.



artist's studio that shows several students practicing the rendering of geometric forms and chiaroscuro.<sup>576</sup>

Sweerts shared with Poussin an interest in antique sculpture and contemporary art theory and pedagogy. His response to Poussin's *Plague at Ashdod* in his painting *Plague in an Ancient City* (fig. 20), dated to the early 1650s, should thus be understood within this larger artistic and intellectual framework.<sup>577</sup> His choice to draw a range of iconographic and stylistic inspiration from Poussin's painting demonstrates, much as with his representation of Duquesnoy's sculptures, his admiration for the Frenchman's work and esteemed reputation.<sup>578</sup> Sweerts also executed his painting on a grand scale comparable to Poussin's work.<sup>579</sup> However, Sweerts' departure from Poussin's narrative, composition and handling of the figures indicate that Sweerts, in making this painting, pursued his own set of artistic and personal intentions. In this ambitious history painting, the only one he created during

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<sup>576</sup> For the drawing, see Walter F. Friedlaender and Anthony Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin* (London: The Warburg institute, 1939), no. 369, pl. 280; Cropper, "Poussin and Leonardo: Evidence from the Zaccolini MSS," 570–573; Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicholas Poussin*, 150–153.

<sup>577</sup> The possible patron for this work and a more defined date for its execution will be addressed below.

<sup>578</sup> In a departure from the existing scholarship, my discussion of the relationship between Sweerts' and Poussin's *Plague* paintings is centered around the nature of Sweerts' motivations for using Poussin's painting as a model for his own – stylistically and conceptually – and how the two paintings bring Sweerts' ideas about artistic practice into sharper relief. This discussion is in contrast to much scholarship on the topic, which tends to consider what historical plague Sweerts depicted, as well as how his composition may relate to contemporary events. Other seventeenth-century artists to depict the theme of the plague include Sebastian Bourdon, Mattia Preti and Pierre Mignard. The Liège artist Bertholet Flémalle also imitated Poussin's painting; for this reference, see Peter C. Sutton and Marjorie E. Wieseman, *The Age of Rubens* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 591.

<sup>579</sup> Sweerts' painting measures 118.75 x 170.82 cm, which is not a significant difference from Poussin's canvas, measuring 148 x 198 cm.

his time in Rome, Sweerts consciously sought to assert his abilities and aspirations as a painter, with, it must be admitted, mixed results.<sup>580</sup>

Unlike Poussin, Sweerts did not portray a readily known historical or biblical plague in *Plague in an Ancient City*. Scholars have long debated the identity of Sweerts' subject, proposing that it may depict the Athenian plague from Thucydides' description in the *History of the Peloponnesian War*; the Trojan plague at Pergamea as described in the *Aeneid*; or a generic plague from antiquity that was intended to conjure up reflections about contemporary bouts of the epidemic, such as the terrible fever that swept through Rome in 1648-1650.<sup>581</sup> Most recently, Franco Mormando has argued that the painting represents the Julianic plague that struck the Roman Empire in the late fourth century as punishment from God for the apostasy of Emperor Julian (r. 361-363), who rejected Christianity for a return to paganism.<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>580</sup> Sweerts created the series of the *Seven Acts of Mercy* between 1646 and 1649, which, despite its biblical subject matter, was rendered in a manner reflective of scenes of everyday life. It thus relates to the genre of the *Bamboccianti* in a broader sense and, as a result, has not been considered within the same context as *Plague in an Ancient City*.

<sup>581</sup> For a summary of these interpretations, which extend back to the nineteenth century, see Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 113–117. Little pictorial evidence, however, fully supports these suggestions, a point further examined by Franco Mormando in his recent interpretation of the painting; see below. In the Sweerts exhibition in 2001, the painting was described as a generic plague, which allowed Sweerts to depict a range of human emotions.

<sup>582</sup> See Franco Mormando, "Pestilence, Apostasy, and Heresy in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Deciphering Michael Sweerts's 'Plague in an Ancient City,'" in *Piety and Plague: From Byzantium to the Baroque*, ed. Franco Mormando and Thomas Worcester (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007), 237–312. Mormando's interpretation of the painting as a depiction of the Julianic plague is the result of an exhaustive analysis of the work's architectural and figural details. He argues that Sweerts is "contrasting two distinct forms of religion or worship in which citizens of this plague-besieged city are engaged in the midst of this horrendous outbreak of disease." On the basis of the fact that the scene takes place in the ancient Roman Empire, at a time when paganism and Christianity still existed side by side (represented in Sweerts' composition by the "Black Hall" on the left and the "White Temple" on the right), Mormando determines that one historical plague struck during the reign of Emperor Julian in the fourth century, shortly after Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. Julian, though baptized as a Catholic, reverted to paganism once he took control of the empire. In return, God punished Julian and his dominions by sending down various calamities, including the plague. Only two authors mention this fourth-century plague: Jesuit Antonio Possevino (d. 1611) in his spiritual treatise, *Cause et rimedii della peste* and the Byzantine scholar Nicephorus

Mormando demonstrates that Sweerts assimilated a complex series of visual clues, taken from ecclesiastical writings and commentaries, contemporary treatises and emblem books, to create an image that ultimately reaffirms the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church and its message of repentance and salvation.<sup>583</sup>

Mormando's interpretation of *Plague in an Ancient City* is the most thorough and penetrating to date, and his careful analysis of the work's pictorial elements sheds significant new light on what still remains a puzzling composition. Although his identification of the subject as the Julianic plague remains an open question given the lack of documentation regarding the painting's execution, its possible commission and its whereabouts in the seventeenth century, the possibility that this work was conceived as a commentary on the triumph of Catholicism and the promise of

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Callistus Xanthopoulos in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Both treatises enjoyed great popularity among Christian apologists and historians in the seventeenth century, and Nicephorus' history was reprinted in Paris in as late as 1630. The treatise also seems to have been useful to artists, as Bernini was known to have consulted it for his statue of Constantine for St. Peter's. Nonetheless, Mormando explains that the puzzling elements of Sweerts' canvas are only clarified when considered in this Julianic context. Using these sources, as well as writings by and about Julian published in the seventeenth century, he proposes that the activity in the catacombs refers to mystic pagan religion, possibly Mirthism, relating to the worship of the sun, which was believed to have been practiced by Julian. This dark structure is in contrast to the Christian temple on the right side of the painting, indicated by the figures in the early Christian *orans* prayer pose.

<sup>583</sup> Mormando suggests that Sweerts or his patron may have looked to a multitude of sources, including Possevino and Nicephorus cited above, as well as the *Golden Legend*, the second-century Latin novel, the *Golden Ass*, and the sixteenth-century *Hieroglyphica* by the humanist Pierio Valeriano. The choice of Julian was not casual; as Mormando's explains, "divine retribution prevailed" after Julian's apostasy. The Virgin Mary ordered his execution at the hands of Christian soldiers in Persia, and the church was thereafter restored to primacy. He continues: "the polemical relevance and usefulness of Julian's memory did not escape Counter-Reformation Rome." Indeed, a large part of the fresco cycle in the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, completed under the patronage of Pope Paul V in the early seventeenth century, was dedicated to the theme of heresy and depicts the violent death of Julian as a warning for those who turn their back on the Catholic faith. See *Ibid.*, particularly 301–302. For the representation of Julian in the Pauline Chapel, see Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 229–230. Julian is not represented in Sweerts' painting, for as Mormando notes, Sweerts' concerns remained in the depiction of the effects of the disease on the people. In any case, Julian's downfall did not come from the plague, but from assassination.

salvation would have resonated in mid-seventeenth-century Rome.<sup>584</sup> As discussed below, it would have specifically resonated with Sweerts' own patron, Camillo Pamphilj. The size, scope and subject of the *Plague* are so different from works Sweerts otherwise produced that it seems likely that the painting was a commission from – or intended for – Camillo or another member of the papal family. Stylistically this work should be dated to the early 1650s, during the very years in which Sweerts was active in the Pamphilj household.

Sweerts' *Plague* takes place in an open square surrounded by classical buildings with a large number of figures occupying the central space.<sup>585</sup> Many mourn the figures of the dead and dying whose bodies lie cast across the foreground, while others appear as detached observers, seemingly immune to the tragic events that take place around them. A large obelisk rises above the square before a two-storied open-arched structure, which permits a view out onto a softly lit rolling landscape. In the left foreground Sweerts depicts groups of figures inside a darkened catacomb who process up a long ramp with burning torches.<sup>586</sup> Across from this puzzling structure are the steps of a temple framed by Doric columns. A figure dressed in a white gown points towards the door, as others kneel in prayer before him. A woman in the lower left weeps, while a muscular male figure, wearing only shorts and a cape across his back, tears at his hair in grief.

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<sup>584</sup> There is no documentary evidence in regard to the painting's execution and its provenance can only be traced back to the nineteenth century. While Mormando's interpretation counters existing ones, he does little to examine the artistic context in Rome during this period, and Sweerts' larger artistic goals, beyond what is described as his fervent religious beliefs.

<sup>585</sup> The architectural setting has been attributed to Viviano Codazzi, which will be discussed below.

<sup>586</sup> These figures are barely visible in the painting, but are evident in a later engraving of the work by the British artist James Fittler.

A man and a woman stand in the middle of the foreground, their presence distinguished by their prominent placement in the square and the strong light that strikes the man's deep blue robe. They seem to comment on the events taking place around them, as the older, bearded man, who evokes moral gravitas, points towards the temple at the right. His youthful, bare-breasted companion follows his gesture with great concentration, encouraging the viewer to do the same. Tucked closely behind the pair in the shadows is another male figure that engages the viewer with a direct stare.<sup>587</sup> The painting's narrative structure revolves around this figural grouping, commanding the viewer's attention and directing his gaze. We are led from the darkened catacomb towards the illuminated temple, which, as Mormando suggests, represents the turning away from the practice of pagan ritual – the cause of the death and suffering on the square – towards the temple of Christian salvation.<sup>588</sup>

Sweerts created a contrast between the two halves of the canvas and he made a clear effort to emphasize the temple within the composition. The white-robed figure on the temple's steps points directly to its entrance, as does another figure near the obelisk, thus visually echoing the older man's gesture in the center. This narrative device, which Leon Battista Alberti recommended in *De Pictura*, helps to communicate to the viewer the composition's most essential elements.<sup>589</sup> Sweerts may have been inspired in this regard by Poussin, who depicted a white-robed figure

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<sup>587</sup> This figure may represent a self-portrait of Sweerts.

<sup>588</sup> See note 582 above.

<sup>589</sup> Alberti encouraged the artist to have "someone in the 'historia' who tells the spectators what is going on, and either beckons them with his hand to look, or with ferocious expression and forbidding glance challenges them not to come near, as if he wished their business to be secret, or points to some danger or remarkable thing in the picture, or by his gestures invites you to laugh or to weep with them." Alberti, *On Painting*, 77–78.

before the Ark of the Covenant guiding the people – and the viewer – directly to the source of their misfortune. In his work, however, Sweerts leads the victims of the plague towards the source of their salvation, which differs from Poussin’s model on a compositional and iconographic level.

The monumentality of the painting and its carefully rendered antique setting set the *Plague* apart from the rest of Sweerts’ oeuvre.<sup>590</sup> To execute the buildings, Sweerts employed the Roman artist Viviano Codazzi (c. 1604-1670), a specialist in architectural and perspective painting.<sup>591</sup> Codazzi had returned to Rome in 1647 when he and Sweerts may have met through Matteo Bonarelli. Matteo knew Codazzi through Michelangelo Cerquozzi, with whom he had a long friendship, and the two Italian painters would go on to collaborate in the 1650s.<sup>592</sup> Matteo Bonarelli and Constanza Piccolomini also owned paintings by Codazzi, and it is possible that Sweerts saw some of that painter’s work in Matteo’s studio.<sup>593</sup>

Much as in Poussin’s painting, the well-defined architectural setting serves as the stage for the plague’s helpless victims. Sweerts prominently depicted two lifeless

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<sup>590</sup> While the classical setting depicted here is believed to be a generic ancient Roman city, Mormando has suggested that Sweerts specifically chose to represent the basilica of Saint John Lateran in Rome for the structure behind the obelisk, and the so-called Temple of Minerva (today known as a nymphaeum from the Gardens of Licinus) for the darkened catacomb. The former, one of the four patriarchal basilicas of Rome and a gift from Constantine himself in the fourth century, reached the end of a long series of renovations in 1650 in time for the celebration of the Holy Year. An obelisk, possibly the one depicted by Sweerts, also stood in front of the Lateran, which had a long and distinguished history stretching back to the second millennium BCE. See Mormando, “Pestilence, Apostasy, and Heresy in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Deciphering Michael Sweerts’s ‘Plague in an Ancient City,’” 288–291.

<sup>591</sup> The setting was first attributed to Codazzi by Longhi in 1934. See Longhi, “Zu Michiel Sweerts,” 73–74; Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 116.

<sup>592</sup> See McPhee, *Bernini’s Beloved*, 89.

<sup>593</sup> Sweerts would also go on to collaborate with Lodewijk de Vadder for the landscape background in *The Bathers* back in Brussels in the 1650s.

women in the immediate foreground, their bodies draped over fragmented antique columns. To the left, a child crawls towards the breast of his dead mother, as a young boy, holding his hand against his face, gently pulls the child away and back towards him. The grouping repeats the *topos* of the mother and child described by Aristides and later represented by Raphael and Poussin. Sweerts dramatized the woman by bathing her in a bright light accented by the white sheet beneath her on the mattress. With her eyes eerily cast towards the back of her head, her suffering becomes tangible; absent from this image is the detached heroism of Poussin's dead mother. The second female victim, whom Sweerts placed against a deep yellow cloth with an orange robe exposing her breasts in the foreground, adds to the level of physical and emotional despair. The two women provide an emotional intensity to the scene that contributes to the sense of human pain and suffering.

To emphasize this pathos, Sweerts turned towards sculptural models for the individual figures in his composition. He based many of these figures on plaster casts of antique sculpture that are found in his studio scenes.<sup>594</sup> For example, the two dying women in the foreground evoke the suffering *Niobids* whose plaster heads peer helplessly up from the sculptural piles in *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 10) and *Painter's Studio with a Woman Sewing* (fig. 11). The old woman to the left, who holds her head up with her hand, mouth agape and staring blindly into the distance, is the head

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<sup>594</sup> As Roberto Longhi first noted in 1934, "the Vecchia Capitolina sits disconsolate on the left. Here and there we see figures standing and lying that recall gladiators, Gauls or Niobids, Vestal Virgins or Ariadnes..." Longhi, "Zu Michiel Sweerts," 274. The composition also demonstrates Sweerts' reuse of certain figures: the man lying against a column near the steps of the temple recalls the figure of the stonecutter in *Roman Street Scene*, and the man standing with his back to the viewer in a striped orange-red robe in the middleground (before the obelisk) appears in the same pose in Sweerts' *Card Players* (oil on canvas, 62 x 86 cm, Rome, Megna Collection). Moreover, many of Sweerts' figures in this scene seem to have been transposed directly from the studio; the man tearing at his hair to the left, for example, could have easily been rendered from life.

of the same *Old Woman* that Sweerts portrayed in each of studio scenes (the *Old Woman* was also owned by Camillo Pamphilj).<sup>595</sup> Poussin depicted a similar figure gripping a column to the right of the foreground in the *Plague at Ashdod*, though unlike Sweerts' figure, she appears much closer to death.

The use of sculptural models in the *Plague in an Ancient City* demonstrates Sweerts' interest in adapting antique forms for an ambitious history painting, but also his limitations in transforming them into figures of flesh and blood. Although the *Plague* represents Sweerts' academic method at work in both a theoretical and practical sense, his figures do "smell of stone" – something Rubens rightly warned against when using sculptural models.<sup>596</sup> While these figures demonstrate Sweerts' conviction that Greek sculpture had great expressive potential, they appear frozen in space, oddly isolated from one another and lacking compositional unity.<sup>597</sup> Rather than embodying the gracefulness of Poussin's or Duquesnoy's figures, Sweerts' figures evoke the frozen and restrained character of those of his Northern predecessor, Lambert Lombard.<sup>598</sup> By striving towards the fidelity of the antique model, Sweerts was unable to free his figures from the visual effect of stone. Thus, while the *Plague* relies on Greek sculptural models to achieve its emotional impact, it

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<sup>595</sup> See pages 114; 152-154; 159; 166. Mormando also suggests that Sweerts may have turned to the ancient Roman relief of *Dacia Weeping* for this figure. See Mormando, "Pestilence, Apostasy, and Heresy in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Deciphering Michael Sweerts's 'Plague in an Ancient City,'" 244; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, no. 28, 193–194.

<sup>596</sup> As cited in Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, 86.

<sup>597</sup> This characteristic is not unusual for Sweerts, as discussed previously and again in Chapter 4.

<sup>598</sup> Sweerts also clothed his figures in a mix of contemporary and antique costume in a way fundamentally in contrast to Poussin, who dressed his figures in the appropriate style of their historical moment. Longhi first made this observation when he attributed the painting to Sweerts. For Lombard, see Chapter 1.



also shows Sweerts' limitations in such an exercise, as well as how his ambitions may have gotten in the way of his artistic sensibility.

For all of the visual power of *The Plague in an Ancient City*, Sweerts was not successful in creating a cohesive pictorial moment that seamlessly integrated the dramatic elements of this history painting. Thematically, however, Sweerts' and Poussin's two works share a similar conceptual thrust: the triumph of Christianity over paganism. The plague of Ashdod was not only punishment for the Philistine's theft of the Ark of the Covenant, but also for their worship of pagan idols.<sup>599</sup> Sweerts' *Plague* thus demonstrated Poussin's role as a model for inspiration and emulation on a conceptual and stylistic level, while also embodying Sweerts' own classicist and academic aspirations. Yet the painting also may have revealed to Sweerts that he needed to express himself on a different compass, smaller in scale and without the same effort to turn sculpture into flesh and blood. Notably, he never returned to a work of this scale and magnitude during the rest of his career.

Although no commission for the *Plague* is known, the painting's Catholic message would have held great relevancy at mid-century. In 1648, the papacy faced defeat after signing the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the bloody conflict that had ravaged Protestant and Catholic Europe. The treaty crushed any hopes for the re-Catholicization of the Germanic lands, and significantly for the papacy, recognized the secular needs of the state ahead of its

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<sup>599</sup> For this interpretation of Poussin's painting, see note 559. My understanding of Sweerts' painting within this context is the result of Mormando's analysis, and while I do not agree fully with his precise identification of the subject, I believe that the larger theme that he evokes in his discussion of the painting is meaningful and relevant. Mormando raises a similar point about the relationship between Poussin's and Sweerts' paintings; Mormando, "Pestilence, Apostasy, and Heresy in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Deciphering Michael Sweerts's 'Plague in an Ancient City,'" 292–293.

religion.<sup>600</sup> In frustration, Innocent X issued the papal bull, *Zelo domus Dei*, in the Holy Year of 1650, which declared that the concessions granted “to the heretics and their successors [the Protestants]” to be “utterly null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, condemnable, reprobate, inane, and without legal force or effect.”<sup>601</sup> Although Innocent’s protest went unheeded, it crystallized the ongoing struggle within the Christian faith and its very real and immediate consequences.<sup>602</sup>

The message of Sweerts’ *Plague* that punishment will befall those who do not follow the “true faith” of Christianity, would have spoken directly to the Pamphilj.<sup>603</sup> Sweerts, himself, would also have been extremely sympathetic to this Christian message. Not only was he Catholic, but later in his life he demonstrated a profound interest in religion. In 1660, he joined the Société des Missions Etrangères in Amsterdam, which soon set sail on a missionary expedition to the Far East.<sup>604</sup> An

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<sup>600</sup> See, for example, Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, eds., *1648: War and Peace in Europe*, 2 vols. (Münster: s.n., 1999). For a general historical overview of the period that Sweerts was in Rome, see Lynn Federle Orr, “The Roman Environment During the Reign of Innocent X (1644-55),” in *Michael Sweerts: 1618-1664*, ed. Guido Jansen and Peter C. Sutton (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2002), 48–55.

<sup>601</sup> Translation cited in Mormando, “Pestilence, Apostasy, and Heresy in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Deciphering Michael Sweerts’s ‘Plague in an Ancient City,’” 299.

<sup>602</sup> The terms of the treaty were put into effect as intended.

<sup>603</sup> Mormando has also suggested that the painting may have commissioned by the Pamphilj, but he suggests more specifically that it may have been intended to be sent as a warning to the Catholic leaders of the Holy Roman Empire or France, who had turned their backs on the Roman Catholic Church during the signing of the Treaty. See Mormando, “Pestilence, Apostasy, and Heresy in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Deciphering Michael Sweerts’s ‘Plague in an Ancient City,’” 294–303.

<sup>604</sup> Sweerts’ stay with the mission was brief; he was asked to leave in 1662. As a letter from the leader of the mission, François Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, informs us, “our good Mr Svers is not the master of his own mind. I do not think that the mission was the right place for him, nor he the right man for the mission...Everything has been terminated in an amiable fashion on both sides.” For Pallu’s letters, see Bloch and Guennou, *Michael Sweerts*, 94–106; Baudiment, *François Pallu, principal fondateur de la Société des Missions étrangères (1626-1684)*, 96–97; 99. For a discussion of Sweerts’ missionary activities in the context of his biography, see Bikker, “Sweerts’ Life and Career – A Documentary View,” 32–33.

indication of the depth of Sweerts' religious beliefs is found in a double portrait, *Two Men in Oriental Costume* (fig. 40). This late painting, which he executed around 1660, depicts two turbaned men behind a parapet, their attention drawn towards something beyond the canvas. The bearded man points to the left, directing the gaze of his companion who holds a piece of paper in his right hand, which reads "*Sig:r mio videte la strada di salute per la mano di Sweerts*" (Sir, you see the path of Salvation by the hand of Sweerts).<sup>605</sup> The intentions behind this mysterious painting are unclear, but it reinforces the earlier, personal expression of faith evident in the *Plague*. Sweerts may have felt that such a sentiment would also be shared by the Pamphilj, one that would appeal to their religious, dynastic and artistic activities.

#### *Sweerts and a Pamphilj Academy*

The evidence for an academy in the Pamphilj household exists in the form of a record from Camillo's account books from 1652. The entry, dated 21 March, indicates that Sweerts was reimbursed for 3.05 *scudi* for oil he supplied for a lamp used in "*l'accademia di S.E. [Sua Eccellenza]*."<sup>606</sup> The wording of the entry is ambiguous, and as the varied opinions of scholars suggest, open to interpretation.<sup>607</sup>

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<sup>605</sup> See Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, cat. no. 29, 158–160.

<sup>606</sup> I would like to thank Anthony Colantuono for his generous assistance in helping me translate and interpret this phrase.

<sup>607</sup> The idea that Sweerts operated an academy in the Pamphilj household, however, is generally accepted in the scholarship. Bikker first argued this idea in 2001, stating that "the document's wording, 'His Excellency's Academy,' should perhaps be taken literally, especially as it was not unusual for rich patrons in Rome to maintain painting academies in their palaces." Capitelli, however, suggests that this record indicates that Camillo paid for the illumination during the festivities of the Accademia di San Luca. There is no evidence to indicate that Camillo was involved with the Accademia, however, though if so, this reference would reinforce Sweerts' relationship to the

Yet the use of the term “*accademia*” points to the existence of a private academy of some kind in Camillo’s palace, which would not have been an uncommon occurrence among noble households in seventeenth-century Rome. Sweerts’ role in this endeavor, however, is less clear. The wording of the entry only indicates that Sweerts supplied oil for a lamp, and not oil as a medium for paint.<sup>608</sup>

Even so, given Sweerts’ artistic activities and academic interests in Rome, it is quite plausible that he was involved in an academy intended for the artistic training of Camillo himself. On 18 January 1655, Camillo wrote a letter to the papal nuncio in Paris regarding the purchase of a series of four paintings of the elements by Jan Brueghel.<sup>609</sup> In it, he expressed how, out of admiration for Brueghel’s paintings, he had been inspired to take up painting in a style that imitated the Flemish artist’s own manner.<sup>610</sup> As a result, he had spent “some hours with a paintbrush in hand.”<sup>611</sup>

Jonathan Bikker has suggested that Sweerts’ *In the Studio* and *A Painter’s Studio* may

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institution. See Bikker, “Sweerts’ Life and Career – A Documentary View,” 29–30; Capitelli, “Une testimonianza documentaria per il primo nucleo della raccolta del principe Camillo Pamphilj,” 63.

<sup>608</sup> The same word is used for the oil painting medium and for lamp oil in seventeenth-century Italian, making it difficult without further information to determine the meaning of the word with certainty. However, the context of the passage seems to suggest that it refers to the latter. One of Sweerts’ tasks under his patron may thus have been as mundane as acquiring lamp oil that could be used in the academy. Anthony Colantuono has also pointed out that the phrase could be understood metaphorically, “as likening the academy itself to a lamp,” which burns light [i.e., knowledge, understanding] or lamp oil, which was “often metaphorically associated with virtue and hard work--as in our phrase “burning the midnight oil,” or in the 17th-century academic dictum “*oleum non vinum*,” that is, ‘when you stay up late at night, consume lamp oil, not wine.’” Written correspondence with Anthony Colantuono, 30 August 2012.

<sup>609</sup> For this letter, see Capitelli, “Une testimonianza documentaria per il primo nucleo della raccolta del principe Camillo Pamphilj,” 60; Bikker, “Sweerts’ Life and Career – A Documentary View,” 30. These paintings are still in the Pamphilj palace in Rome.

<sup>610</sup> I would like to thank Anthony Colantuono for his help with the translation of this text.

<sup>611</sup> “*qualche hora col pennello alla mano...*” Capitelli, “Une testimonianza documentaria per il primo nucleo della raccolta del principe Camillo Pamphilj,” 60.

represent the kind of private academy where Camillo learned to paint, and while I would argue that the paintings are imagined spaces rather than real ones, they may indeed reflect the character of the intimate academic setting in the Pamphilj household.<sup>612</sup>

The existence of such a small, private academy is not unlikely given that informal drawing schools had sprung up all over Rome in the seventeenth century – despite efforts by the Accademia di San Luca to restrict them.<sup>613</sup> In 1645, Edward Norgate, a British painter and writer who worked for the court of James I, commented that,

There is yet in Italy and France...another way of designing, that is by frequenting the academy, which is a Roome, where in the middle a hired long-sided porter...is to be set, stand or hang naked sometimes in a posture for two or three howres...surrounded by a number of Painters, who make him their Model, and drawe him as he appears to everyone. By this practice they pretend to greate skill in the naked Anatomy and Muscles of the Body...<sup>614</sup>

Norgate must have observed the kinds of informal drawing academies in Rome mentioned by seventeenth-century biographers where artists could gather, whether in a fellow artist's studio or the palace of a patron, to draw '*dal nudo*' or '*dal*

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<sup>612</sup> See Bikker, "Een miraculous leven," 21, note 1; Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 30. While learning to paint was quite different from the activities that took place in drawing academies (as one learned to paint in the workshop of a master and not in the academy – which would not have been appropriate for a nobleman), the distinct character of Camillo's "*accademia*" may have been specifically shaped to suit his desire to paint. It does not, however, preclude the possibility that Camillo also practiced drawing.

<sup>613</sup> See Chapter 2, and Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 71–74.

<sup>614</sup> Edward Norgate, *Miniatura, or the Art of Limning*, ed. Jeffrey Muller and Jim Murrell (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 84.

*naturale.*<sup>615</sup> In his *Vite de' pittori, scultori, architetti* from 1642, for instance, Giovanni Baglione described “*Accademie che per Roma si fanno,*” “*Accademie...le quail continuamente qui sogliono farsi,*” and “*Accademie, che si sogliono continuamente fare in questa città continuamente in public e in private si fanno.*”<sup>616</sup> Malvasia wrote in his *Felsina pittrice*, published in 1678, how Guercino “*cominciò l'Accademia del Nudo*” in the house of Bartolommeo Fabri in 1616 after he made the artist master of two rooms to be used for the purposes of an academy.<sup>617</sup> Bellori informs us that Poussin drew after the nude in Domenichino’s studio academy in the late 1620s, and Passeri described that the former also attended a life drawing academy in the studio of Andrea Sacchi.<sup>618</sup>

Even these few examples suggest the regularity with which these types of academies existed, and presumably the regularity with which artists took up the practice of life drawing in an intimate setting in seventeenth-century Rome.<sup>619</sup> Sweerts could easily have participated in such an endeavor in Camillo’s palace, which would have significantly contributed to his conceptions of academic practice. Such informal academies provide models outside of that offered by the Accademia di San Luca, and ones that in some ways were more closely related to the tradition of

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<sup>615</sup> Pevsner surveys these informal academies and the difficulties in assessing their activities and significance. What is clear, however, is that they seemed to exist in a relatively considerable number and distinctly outside of the regular activities of the Accademia di San Luca.

<sup>616</sup> Baglione as cited in Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 72.

<sup>617</sup> Malvasia, as cited in *Ibid.*

<sup>618</sup> For mention of Domenichino’s academy, see Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 312; Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 326; Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 339; Richard E. Spear, *Domenichino* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1: 18. For Sacchi’s drawing academy, see Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 108, 326; Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 288. Sandrart, too, probably took part in these studio academies.

<sup>619</sup> Such examples are not only limited to Rome, but the largest number seems to have existed there.

Netherlandish drawing academies. Nonetheless, pursuing such activities in the household of a patron would have been limiting for Sweerts' ambitious academic pursuits. The decision to leave Rome and found the academy in Brussels, influenced by the Accademia di San Luca, the artistic model offered by Duquesnoy and Poussin, and perhaps the existence of informal academies such as that in the Pamphilj palace, allowed Sweerts to develop and expand his own artistic ideas and incorporate them into a Netherlandish context.

## Chapter 4: Sweerts' Return to Brussels: The Drawing Academy, Tapestry and Brussels in the 1650s

Between 1653 and 1655, Sweerts left Rome and returned home to Brussels where he established a drawing academy for young artists and tapestry designers.<sup>620</sup> After nearly a decade in Italy, where he had enjoyed a successful career in the patronage of Camillo Pamphilj and had been knighted by Pope Innocent X, his decision to leave must have been deeply considered.<sup>621</sup> It demonstrated the earnestness with which he intended to pursue his own academic program. With its artistic roots in Rome and in his paintings of artists at work and in the studio, Sweerts' academy, which taught pupils how to draw from a model, brought to life his ideas on artistic practice and pedagogy. This chapter situates the drawing academy as the culmination of Sweerts' academic interests and addresses the importance of Italian and Netherlandish academic traditions on its formation. It also examines Sweerts' works from his Brussels' period, including, most importantly, his series of etchings of head studies from 1656 (figs. 16a-f).<sup>622</sup>

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<sup>620</sup> Evidence for the academy primarily comes from the petition for privileges that Sweerts submitted to the city of Brussels in 1656. SAB, RT, vol. 1297, fols. 117v-118v. The petition was first partially transcribed in Wauters, *Les tapisseries bruxelloises*, 305. Until Jonathan Bikker rediscovered the original petition in 2001, scholars had relied only on Wauters. Bikker published the document in his essay, Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 34 (with an incorrect inventory number). He did not include the response by the Brussels council preserved in the archives. See Appendices 1 and 2 for the original documents.

<sup>621</sup> The petition describes that Sweerts had "received from His Holiness the title of knight and other forms of recognition..." SAB, RT, vol. 1297, fol. 118vr. Innocent X died in January 1655.

<sup>622</sup> Despite the exceptional quality of Sweerts' academic effort, it continues to be marginalized in the scholarship on the artist and the development of academies. To a certain extent this disregard results from the lack of further documentation about the academy, which has caused scholars to hesitate in awarding it too much significance. Rolf Kultzen, who relied on the partial transcription of the petition in Wauter's *Les Tapisseries Bruxelloises*, passed over the academy rather quickly in his monograph on Sweerts. He neglected to draw attention to the connections between Sweerts' academic interests in Rome and the founding of the drawing school, and he never addressed the larger Flemish and Brussels



This chapter also situates the academy within the long overlooked, but germane context of Brussels as an artistic center in the Southern Netherlands in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>623</sup> Sweerts' decision to found the academy in Brussels – rather in Rome – suggests that he saw advantages in returning to that city. Indeed, Sweerts' drawing academy was the first of its kind in the Southern Netherlands, preceding the Antwerp Academy, which was not founded until 1663.<sup>624</sup> Brussels, and the Southern Netherlands in general, had experienced a slowing of artistic activity after 1650, a reality that Sweerts pointed out in his petition for privileges that he submitted to the Brussels magistrates in 1656.<sup>625</sup> In the petition, Sweerts argued that his academy could reinvigorate the production of art, and specifically of tapestry, in the court city. The magistrates' favorable response suggests that they, too, believed that an academy to teach the fundamental exercise of drawing from a live model had the much needed potential to reform Brussels' art and tapestry. Sweerts' Italian experience and classicist interests must have also proved attractive to these authorities, particularly in light of the growing appeal of classicism in the second half of the century.

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context in which the academy originated. See Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 7, 43–46. In his study of early modern academies, Nicholas Pevsner does not even mention Sweerts' academy. See Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*. A more recent study of Sweerts' series of etchings by Cécile Tainturier has begun to draw attention to his academic efforts. See Cecile Tainturier, "Voor oog en hand: het tekenboek," *Kunstschrift* 45 (2001): 27–31.

<sup>623</sup> This disregard is also largely symptomatic of the general neglect in the scholarship to address Flemish art after Rubens, and particularly art in Brussels. Very few studies of Flemish art in the second half of the seventeenth century exist, and while this disregard is slowly changing a significant amount of work remains to be done. Recent notable exceptions include Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry*; Diels, *The Shadow of Rubens*; Kelchtermans, Stighelen, and Brosens, *Embracing Brussels: Art and Art Production in Brussels (1500-1800)*.

<sup>624</sup> See below for a discussion of the Antwerp Academy.

<sup>625</sup> SAB, RT, vol. 1297, fols. 117v-118v. The petition will be discussed at length below.

Sweerts' decision to leave Rome in the early 1650s, thus, seems to have been largely motivated by his desire to reinvigorate the art of his native city. The foundation of the academy in Brussels allowed Sweerts to develop an innovative pedagogical program, drawing together Italian and Netherlandish traditions and encompassing young artists and tapestry designers. The following discussion endeavors to situate Sweerts' academy within the artistic fabric of Brussels and to examine his connection to the tapestry community, a topic that has not been featured in scholarly studies to this point.<sup>626</sup> Sweerts' drawing academy was an important contribution to Netherlandish academic traditions, and fits squarely within the larger currents of academicism taking shape across Europe in the seventeenth century.

*“Een accademie van die teekeninge naer het leven”*

On 28 February 1656, Sweerts submitted his petition to the Brussels city magistrates, requesting privileges – exemption from certain taxes and civic duties – on the basis of the academy that he had established several years earlier.<sup>627</sup> The petition begins in a proud, almost arrogant tone:

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<sup>626</sup> Scholars have acknowledged Sweerts' mention of tapestry in the petition, but have subsequently dismissed it. Kultzen concludes that the academy could not have been noteworthy, and he disregards any possibility that it may have played a role in Brussels' tapestry, a view supported by Heinrich Göbels, *Wandteppiche* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1923), 430. Although in his discovery of the petition Bikker recognized the academy's importance for Sweerts' career after Rome, he offered no further discussion – or contextualization – for his argument that it was primarily intended to train tapestry designers. See Bikker, “Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View,” 31.

<sup>627</sup> The petition was prepared by the Brussels notary, Willem van der Borch, who Sweerts also portrayed in an etching in the late 1650s. This Van der Borch may have been one of the notary publics for the tapestry industry. In order to understand fully Sweerts' petition and his request for tax exemptions, one must situate the petition in the tradition of privileges for tapestry producers. Sweerts' request was part of a tradition that had begun at the turn of the century, developing from the protectionist measures that had been put in place by Albert and Isabella following the Netherlands revolt. Petitions began to be used as a bargaining tool for artists, *tapissiers* and producers against the

“Michiel Sweerts points out respectfully how, after having traveled extensively in Italy and other places, he has reached – saying this without boasting – such knowledge of the art of painting and drawing that he has received from His Holiness the title of knight and other forms of recognition, and also that love for his homeland did eventually bring him back to his native city, and that he has founded here at great financial cost, and has now maintained for a long time, the academy for drawing from life (“*een academie van die teekeninge naer het leven*”), which many young men attend daily.”<sup>628</sup>

The year of its foundation is not given, but by 1656 the academy must have been already well-established. Although Sweerts is not documented as being back in Brussels until he attended the baptism of his nephew on 19 July 1655, he is last recorded in Rome on 21 March 1652.<sup>629</sup> Despite the lack of knowledge about his whereabouts during these years, the fact that the academy had apparently been

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city government, yet *tapissiers* and designers had to prove that they were productive, demonstrating, for instance, that they had produced at least two sets per year. In this light, Sweerts’ academy must have been seen as a worthwhile endeavor to be supported by the city, a point that I will address in great depth below. It is also important to note that only successful petitions were archived. My discussion of the connection of the drawing academy to tapestry is indebted to personal correspondence with Dr. Koenraad Brosens at KU Leuven. For a discussion of the role of such petitions in the tapestry industry, see Chapter 1, and Koenraad Brosens and Veerle De Laet, “Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure: New Data on Baroque Tapestry in Brussels.” *Burlington Magazine* 151 (2009): 360–367; Brosens, “The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris.”

<sup>628</sup> SAB, RT, vol. 1297, fols. 117v-118r. See Appendix 1 for the original text. I would like to thank Margriet Bruijn Lacy for her translation of the original petition into English.

<sup>629</sup> Sweerts is last mentioned in an entry from the account book of Camillo Pamphilj on 21 March 1652. See Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj*, 76. His *In the Studio* is also dated to 1652. However, Sweerts’ name last appears in the parish registers in 1651. He is recorded back in Brussels at the baptism of his nephew, Michael Auwerkercken, the son of his sister, Catherine, and her husband Judocus, on 19 July 1655. SAB, Parish records, (Paroisse de Saint-Nicolas), vol. 461, fol. 85v.

running “for a long time,” suggests that Sweerts had returned to Brussels before 1655, and may have founded the academy as early as 1653.<sup>630</sup>

In any case, Sweerts had high aspirations for the academy’s success. “It is hoped,” as the petition continues, “[that the academy] will bring about this beneficial result that in a few years the art of drawing will reach its level of perfection and that there will be a large number of perfect men.”<sup>631</sup> More concretely, it is hoped that the academy would restore the art of tapestry, Brussels’ most important industry in the early modern period, “which has suffered greatly because of bad conditions, will again find its former luster and glory, and that there will be an increase in the making of, and dealing in, paintings, drawings, sculptures and other forms of art.”<sup>632</sup>

Sweerts’ petition and the academy itself must have impressed the city administration: he received the privileges on 3 April – less than two months after he submitted the petition – which generously included exemption from ordinary taxes on eighteen *sisteren* of malt and seven quarts [7/4] of wine annually, as well as exemption from participation in the civic guard.<sup>633</sup>

As the only existing written record of the academy (one long overlooked by scholars), the petition is an essential source for understanding the academy’s activities

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<sup>630</sup> The series of etchings published in 1656 also supports the idea that Sweerts had returned to Brussels before 1655, as does his collaboration with Lodewijk de Vadder on *The Bathers*, who died in 1655. See the discussion below.

<sup>631</sup> SAB, RT, vol. 1297, fol. 118r.

<sup>632</sup> SAB, RT, vol. 1297, fol. 118r.

<sup>633</sup> SAB, RT, vol. 1297, fol. 118v. See Appendix 2. The significance of such privileges should not be underestimated because beer, along with bread and meat, were the most important sources of nourishment. See Brosens, “The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris,” 274.

and Sweerts' ambitions upon his return to the North. The glimpse it provides into the academy and what was taught there becomes increasingly significant in the absence of any surviving drawings by Sweerts or his students.<sup>634</sup> Curiously, only one documented pupil is known from the short period in which the academy functioned – it had dissolved by 1660 when Sweerts departed for Amsterdam. The pupil was a certain Jean-Baptise Borremans, of who very little is known, who is listed as a *leerjongen* of Sweerts' in the Brussels' guild records from 1657.<sup>635</sup> The term indicates that Borremans was a full pupil, learning under the artist as an apprentice in all aspects of the profession, while almost certainly attending the drawing academy as well.<sup>636</sup> Despite the number of lacunae surrounding the academy, Sweerts' paintings and etchings, viewed carefully alongside the petition, demonstrate the scope and focus of his academic approach and provide insight into the academy's aims.

The petition stressed, in particular, the effort and time that Sweerts had put into the academy's founding, and the vast artistic knowledge that he had gained from his time in Italy. The explicit mention of Italy pointed to the influence of the

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<sup>634</sup> Of note in this regard is a recent acquisition by the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. The museum acquired a large-scale portrait drawing of a certain Jan van den Enden, dated to c. 1651, executed in Rome, which Andrew Robison, Mellon Senior Curator of Prints & Drawings at the National Gallery, has attributed to Sweerts. (Attributed to Michael Sweerts, *Jan van den Enden*, black chalk on laid paper, 53 x 36 cm, c. 1651.)

<sup>635</sup> Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Ambachten en gilden van Brabant: Schilders, Goudslagers en Glazenmakers, inv. 818, fol. 214r. The specific date is not given. As noted earlier, and discussed further below, since participation in the academy did not constitute formal training regulated by the guild, attendees were not documented.

<sup>636</sup> For the education of artists in the workshop and the use of the term *leerjongen*, see Miedema, "Over vakonderwijs aan kunstschilders in de Nederlanden tot de 17de eeuw"; R. de Jager, "Meester, leerjongen, leertijd: een analyse van zeventiende-eeuwse Noord-Nederlandse leerlingcontracten van kunstschilders, goud - en zilversmeden," *Oud Holland* 104, no. 2 (1990): 69–111. Jager points out that contracts for apprenticeships in the Northern Netherlands, which survive in guild records, generally specified the kinds of skills a student would learn, which might include, as a 1647 contract from The Hague notes, teaching a pupil to copy, draw and paint. To my knowledge, no such contract survives for Borremans, and the reference to him the guild's records is incredibly short.

Accademia di San Luca and its pedagogical model, as well as the private academy in the household of Camillo Pamphilj and the tradition of informal drawing academies that existed in Rome.<sup>637</sup> This Italian experience was crucial for the academy's theoretical underpinning, and provided it with a strong intellectual basis that reflected the nobility of the profession itself. At the same time, Sweerts' conception for how the academy would function also seems to have drawn from the tradition and practices of earlier Netherlandish drawing academies, including Karel van Mander's endeavor in Haarlem, the drawing academy formed in Utrecht by Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) and Paulus Moreelse (1671-1638) in the early 1610s, and the informal drawing sessions that took place in Haarlem and Amsterdam in the 1630s and 1640s, respectively.<sup>638</sup> As discussed below, the influence of these academic precedents became manifest in different ways, such as in the close relationship that exists between Crispyn van de Passe's 1643 engraving of the Utrecht *academie* (fig. 45) and Sweerts' own *Drawing Academy* produced over a decade later (fig. 15). By situating Sweerts' academy in relation to these Italian and Netherlandish models, as well as with regard to the near contemporary – and more formalized – examples in Paris and Antwerp, his engagement with tradition and innovation come into greater focus.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>637</sup> See Chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>638</sup> See below for a discussion of these early Netherlandish academies and complete references.

<sup>639</sup> The Académie de Peinture et Sculpture was founded in Paris in 1648; for further discussion, see below.

Sweerts' Academic Paintings in Brussels

Sweerts gave pictorial form to the importance of drawing after a model in his painting of a *Drawing Academy* (fig. 15), which he executed in Brussels between 1655-1659.<sup>640</sup> In a darkened, crowded interior, a large group of youths gather around a small platform to draw from a nearly nude male model.<sup>641</sup> The young men sit attentively over their sketchbooks with their chalk in hand, as an instructor circles the

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<sup>640</sup> The *Drawing Academy* was originally attributed to Job Berckheyde and believed to be a depiction of the studio of Frans Hals. It was in the spirit of artistic patrimony that it was acquired by the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem. It was not until 1899 that Hofstede de Groot made the correct attribution to Sweerts. For this painting, also see Jan Emmens, "Michael Sweerts. Een Tekenacademie," *Openbaar Kunstbezit* 9 (1965): 1a–1b.

<sup>641</sup> Sweerts' depiction of a loin cloth on the model was a show of decorum for the period. In contrast to the representation of the female nude, full male nudity was rare in Netherlandish art in the seventeenth century. As Fiona Healy has shown, male nudity was "a much more serious matter, with the potential to cause embarrassment to the – male – viewer." The careful display of the male nude is also evident in Sweerts' *A Painter's Studio*, *Roman Wrestlers* and *The Bathers*. In the former, the nude male model is carefully posed so as to conceal his genitals. Still an understudied subject in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, the male nude has received recent attention in a broader context by Healy and in regard to Rembrandt's *oeuvre*. See Fiona Healy, "Male Nudity in Netherlandish Painting of the Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth- Centuries," in *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Karolien de Clippel, Katharina Van Cauteren, and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 131–158; Alison M. Kettering, "Rembrandt and the Male Nude," in *Aemulatio: Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800: Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluijter*, ed. Anton Boschloo et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), 248–262. The depiction of the male nude has, however, received more attention in the sixteenth century in a mythological context, most notably in the work of Jan Gossaert and Maarten van Heemskerck. See, for example, Larry Silver, "Figure Nude, Historie e Poesie': Jan Gossaert and the Renaissance Nude in the Netherlands," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 37 (1986): 1–40.

Sweerts' depiction of the male model in the drawing academy was also in keeping with contemporary practice. It was conventional to use male models in the studio or the academy – at times even for the depiction of the female. The use of female models was controversial for much of the seventeenth century because it was seen as a sign of immorality to pose nude. As a result, many of the female models were probably prostitutes, as the legal cases from the period demonstrate. For the issue of the female nude model, which has been treated extensively in regard to Rembrandt, see Volker Manuth, "'As Stark Naked as One Could Possibly Be Painted...': The Reputation of the Nude Female Model in the Age of Rembrandt," in *Rembrandt's Women*, ed. Julia Lloyd Williams (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2001), 48–54; Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Eric Jan Sluijter, "The Nude, the Artist and the Model: The Case of Rembrandt," in *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Karolien de Clippel, Katharina Van Cauteren, and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 11–34; Kok, "The Female Nude from Life: On Studio Practice and Beholder Fantasy."

room.<sup>642</sup> The master of this academy stands with his back to the viewer in a red robe and white cap, directing the gaze of an elegantly dressed visitor towards the model in the center of the room.<sup>643</sup> The students gaze earnestly at the model before them, whose smooth and muscular body Sweerts has instilled with the solemnity of an antique sculpture, resembling the *Ludovisi Mercury*.<sup>644</sup> He appears frozen in his pose, his form more stone than flesh. The boy in the right foreground draws on a piece of paper perched on a small tablet on his knees, giving the viewer a glimpse of the red chalk outlines he has made of the model's form.<sup>645</sup>

Sweerts places great emphasis on the blond-haired boy in the foreground, whose profile is enveloped by the light. His hat has been carelessly tossed beside his chair. He is the only figure not looking at the model; instead, he gazes off of the canvas, seemingly lost in thought. Separated in this way from the rest of the group, he evokes the cognitive process necessary for learning how to draw, and complements the action of the two boys to his left who exchange drawings in an effort to help one another. Whether Sweerts' image represents his academy or an

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<sup>642</sup> While no known portraits of this group are known to exist, the prominent profile of the boy in the foreground closely resembles the Hartford *Boy with a Hat*, dated to this same period.

<sup>643</sup> The young boy sitting at the base of the model's platform mirrors the gesture of the master. He points back to the older figure and directs the viewer's gaze towards the visitor at the door.

<sup>644</sup> The model has never been securely identified with an antique sculpture, but his pose most closely resembles *Mercury*, as well as, perhaps, the *Apollo Belvedere*. If not directly, Sweerts may have been familiar with these sculptures through a series of engravings after antique sculpture compiled by the French artist, François Perrier, in 1638. Known as the *Icones and Segmenta*, Perrier's series enjoyed great popularity in Rome and abroad in the mid-seventeenth century. See Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 16–22.

<sup>645</sup> Red chalk was commonly used in the seventeenth century for figure studies. For a discussion of materials for drawing in the Netherlands, see Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, 22–26. The boy prominently depicted in profile in the left foreground may possibly be a portrait.



idealized version of one, it nonetheless reflects the academy's central aim: to teach young artists how to draw *naer het leven*.<sup>646</sup> The image reinforces Sweerts' continued efforts to visualize his ideals of artistic education, now transposed into the Brussels context.

The only other painting of an artist at work that Sweerts produced during these years was *Boy Drawing the Head of a Roman Emperor* (fig. 14).<sup>647</sup> In a small, dark space a young boy sits on a low stool before the heavy plaster head of the aged Roman emperor Vitellius. With his sketch book on his knees, he draws intently, the pieces of paper littering the floor a close reminder of the difficulties of drawing's early practice. The contrast between the youth of the boy and the old age of the emperor cleverly demonstrates the advice described by Leonardo da Vinci in his *Trattato della Pittura*.<sup>648</sup> Leonardo had recommended placing “the ugly next to the beautiful, the old man next to the young man, and the weak next to the strong.”<sup>649</sup>

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<sup>646</sup> However, the blond-haired boy in the foreground may suggest the concept of working “*uyt den gheest*.” After looking to the model, he now works from memory, complementing the act of drawing *naer het leven* taking place around him. Furthermore, the view just visible through the doorway is certainly fanciful: a mountainous landscape accented against a softly lit pink sky evokes Italy rather than the Southern Netherlands. Recent technical examination, however, confirms that this painting was made in the Netherlands and not in Italy. See Wallert and Ridder, “The Materials and Methods of Sweerts' Paintings,” 46; Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 133. The

<sup>647</sup> The painting is not universally attributed to Sweerts for several reasons, among them, the handling of the boy's face, which is rounder and plumper than Sweerts' usual depiction of faces, and the composition has been suggested as being too simplistic to be by Sweerts. Kultzen dates the work to Sweerts' Amsterdam period under the incorrect understanding that Sweerts had an academy there in the early 1660s. The Minneapolis Museum of Art also dates the painting to c.1661, which I believe to be too late. I cautiously maintain the attribution to the artist in light of the way he approached the subject matter and composition with a sensitivity to the young boy and the act of drawing. I would date the painting to the late 1650s, keeping it in line with the activities at the academy. See Malcolm Waddingham, “Michael Sweerts, Boy Copying the Head of a Roman Emperor,” *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 63 (77 1976): 56–65.

<sup>648</sup> See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the publication of Leonardo's *Trattato*.

<sup>649</sup> Leonardo da Vinci, *Traité de la peinture de Léonard de Vinci* (Paris, 1651), ch. 98, 31, as cited in Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 129.

Sweerts had already depicted the contrast between young and old in his *Young Gentleman and Procuress* (fig. 41) from ca. 1652-1654, but by representing this juxtaposition in a didactic context, he demonstrates the relevancy of Leonardo's advice – and his ability to adapt it – for his own pedagogical purposes.

During the mid-1650s, Sweerts turned gradually away from the representation of artists at work and in the studio, directing his attention to the fruits of such labor in the depiction of academic figures in a landscape.<sup>650</sup> *The Bathers* (fig. 42), dating to around 1655, represents over half a dozen mostly nude young men, who, perched on the banks of a quiet river, have freshly emerged from a swim in the cool waters beside them.<sup>651</sup> They are conspicuously posed like academic models, and one of the central figures represents a mirrored version of the model in the *Drawing Academy* (fig. 15). A strikingly similar scene appears in *Young Men Bathing* (fig. 43), where men frolic and remove their clothes near the water's edge. However, in both paintings, as the figures twist and turn their muscled bodies in different directions, they lack any sense of coherency as a group.<sup>652</sup>

The sense of disconnect between the figures and their surroundings is a characteristic that often appears in Sweerts' work, and was already evident in his

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<sup>650</sup> Sweerts' artistic activities during this period also included portraits, such as the striking *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, which is signed and dated 1656 ("A.D. 1656/Ratio *Quique Reddenda/Michael Sweerts F*" [every man must give an account of himself]); as well as several portrait etchings, *Portrait of a Man*, signed ca. *Michael Sweerts Pi. Et fe.*, (private collection), and *Willem van der Borcht*, inscribed "G. v. Borcht" and signed *Michael Sweerts Eq. Pi et fe* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna).

<sup>651</sup> The landscape has been attributed to Lodewijk de Vadder, a Brussels landscape painter and tapestry designer. I will return to a discussion of the relationship between Sweerts and De Vadder below.

<sup>652</sup> Healy has pointed out the way in which Sweerts also creates a certain tension in the scene by including men who are dressed alongside the nudes. See Healy, "Male Nudity in Netherlandish Painting of the Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth- Centuries," 152–153.

Roman paintings, particularly *Roman Street Scene* (fig. 7), *Artist's Studio with a Woman Sewing* (fig. 11) and *Plague in an Ancient City* (fig. 20).<sup>653</sup> Yet, in *The Bathers* and *Young Men Bathing*, this visual disconnect has manifested itself into a fully-fledged demonstration of academicism. Sweerts' concerns lie in the idealized representation of individual nude figures rather than compositional unity. While the result reflects the limits of Sweerts' academic approach, it also demonstrates its applicability on a larger scale, which Sweerts most clearly illustrated in the figure standing in the foreground water of *The Bathers*. He, along with the man removing his shirt towards the back, are both directly modeled on Sweerts' etching of *An Archer Viewed from the Back* (fig. 44), dated to the mid-1650s. Such an etching would have been useful to students as an example of how to handle light and shadow on a human form, and its adaptation here would show how such an academic study could be used in a full-scale composition – one substantially more modest than *Plague in an Ancient City*.<sup>654</sup>

The *Archer* reveals Sweerts' attention to earlier seventeenth-century Italian precedents of a similar subject. The pose is largely derived from, for example, Teodoro Filippo de Liagno's print of a *Nude Archer* from c. 1615, and Domenichino's *Cain Fleeing the Wrath of God*, dated to the early part of the century.<sup>655</sup> While Liagno's and Domenichino's figures are more fully developed in

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<sup>653</sup> Kultzen also raised this broader point in regard to Sweerts' Roman artist studios. He suggested that this sense of disconnect developed from Sweerts' repeated use of similar models in his paintings, which may have been part of a larger pedagogical program. See Kultzen, "Michael Sweerts als Lernender und Lehrer."

<sup>654</sup> This etching, as well as Sweerts' didactic series of etchings of head studies, suggests that his pedagogical activities in Brussels included an interest in the earlier stages of an artist's education, which meant copying the prints and drawings of a master.

regard to their muscle and mass, Sweerts' close reliance on their example demonstrates the continued relevance of Italian prototypes for his own work and teaching in Brussels. Other figures in *The Bathers* and *Young Men Bathing* display Sweerts' familiarity with classical figures he had encountered in Rome. Although they may not reiterate antique sculpture with the specificity of Sweerts' *Roman Wrestlers* (fig. 19), they still evoke the idealized and balanced forms of the antique.<sup>656</sup>

The tension between studying from life and from classical sculpture that often emerges in Sweerts' paintings was again apparent in Brussels when he was fully engaged in academic instruction. While drawing from life almost certainly formed the core of Sweerts' teaching activity in Brussels, he also must have guided students towards the study of prints and sculpture.<sup>657</sup> Sweerts may have brought Italian prints as well as plaster casts of sculpture to Brussels for the use of his students. Given Sweerts' role as an agent for the Deutz brothers, he may have been in a particularly favorable position to acquire antique casts in Rome.<sup>658</sup> Nevertheless, both prints and plaster casts were already widely available in the North, as the earlier examples of

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<sup>655</sup> Domenichino's etching was later reproduced in Jan de Bisschop's *Paradigmata Graphices* in 1671. See Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 173; Gelder, Jost, and Andrews, *Jan de Bisschop and his icones & paradigmata*, 233.

<sup>656</sup> A number of the figures in *Roman Wrestlers* have been identified as part of the *Niobid* group; see Horster, "Antikenkenntnis in Michael Sweerts' 'Römischen Ringkampf'." The figures in each of Sweerts' bathing scenes have not been specifically identified with classical sculptures, but, as noted above, one of the central figures is closely related to the model in a *Drawing Academy*. The figure to the left of center in the *Bathing Scene*, who twists his back away from the viewer, resembles, for instance, the *Belvedere Torso*. While similar correspondences may be made in these works, it is the effect of the group posed together that demonstrates Sweerts' command of antique forms in an academic-inspired composition.

<sup>657</sup> For the use of prints in an artist's education, see Kwakkelstein, "Tekenen naar prentkunst in de opleiding van de schilder tussen circa 1470 en 1600"; Lobis, "Artistic training and print culture in the time of Rubens."

<sup>658</sup> See Chapters 1, and Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts."

Coebergher and Duquesnoy demonstrate.<sup>659</sup> What remained a constant in Sweerts' academy was the primacy of drawing, a pedagogical approach that he had developed in Italy, but one reinforced by the tradition of the Netherlandish *academie*.

### Netherlandish Academic Models

The drawing academy formed by Karel van Mander, Cornelis van Haarlem and Hendrik Goltzius in Haarlem in the late sixteenth century represented the beginning of a practice that would slowly take shape in the Netherlands over the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>660</sup> Whatever may or may not have occurred in the Haarlem academy – drawing from the nude or clothed model, plaster casts of antique sculpture or all of the above – the endeavor represented the transferal of the Italian concept of the academy and the recognition of drawing as a cognitive activity into the landscape of Northern artistic practice. Van Mander's praise for Van Haarlem's use of antique sculpture and for working *naer het leven* ("through drawing an exceptional amount diligently from life – to which end he chose from the best and most beautiful living and breathing antique sculptures..."<sup>661</sup>) expressed the importance of nature as a

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<sup>659</sup> For Coebergher's treatise on antique architecture, coins and sculpture, see Chapter 1, 57-61 and for plaster casts of Duquesnoy's sculpture in the Netherlands, see Chapter 3. Plaster casts of antique sculpture were common among artists' studios in the Netherlands as early as the sixteenth century. Cornelis van Haarlem was known to have a large collection, for instance, as did Rembrandt. For the general use of plaster casts, see Lock, "Picturing the Use, Collecting and Display of Plaster Casts in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Artists' Studios in Antwerp and Brussels."

<sup>660</sup> For a full discussion of the Haarlem academy, see Chapter 2.

<sup>661</sup> Van Mander, Miedema, ed., fols. 292v-293r.

worthy example for artists to follow, and one that was intricately intermixed with the intellectual underpinnings of the academy.<sup>662</sup>

A second Netherlandish drawing academy was established in Utrecht in the early 1610s.<sup>663</sup> Just prior to its founding, the painters and sculptors of Utrecht had separated from the Saddler's Guild, of which they had been a part since the Middle Ages, and had founded their own independent Guild of St. Luke in September of 1611.<sup>664</sup> The initiative for a painter's guild bestowed a new agency upon the painters and sculptors of the city as it recognized the artist as distinct from the craftsman. The drawing school, which probably began to welcome students in 1612, was organized by Abraham Bloemaert and Paulus Moreelse.<sup>665</sup> Masters painters as well as young pupils attended the new *academie*, as it was named, where they received instruction in drawing, particularly after the nude model.<sup>666</sup> Although little documentation survives detailing the academy's founding, there is no indication that it was institutionalized; it did not have its own building, rules, salaried professors, or official

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<sup>662</sup> For a discussion of Van Mander's use of the term *naer het leven* and the larger theoretical issues raised in the *Schilder-boeck*, see Walter Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Cannon: Karl van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 63-66.

<sup>663</sup> See Bok, "'Nulla dies sine linie: ' De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw"; Marten Jan Bok, "Artists at Work: Their Lives and Livelihood," in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht During the Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 91-95.

<sup>664</sup> See Bok, "Artists at Work: Their Lives and Livelihood," 91-92; Marten Jan Bok, "Vraag En Aanbod Op De Nederlandse Kunstmarkt, 1580-1700" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universiteit Utrecht, 1994), 165-168. Bok takes much of his information about the guild from Samuel Muller, *Schilders-vereening te Utrecht. De Utrechtse archieven* (Utrecht: J.L. Beijers, P.A. Geerts, 1880), 92-93.

<sup>665</sup> Bok, "Artists at Work: Their Lives and Livelihood," 93; Bok, "Vraag En Aanbod Op De Nederlandse Kunstmarkt," 178-179.

<sup>666</sup> Bok, "Artists at Work: Their Lives and Livelihood," 93; Bok, "Vraag En Aanbod Op De Nederlandse Kunstmarkt," 178-179.

approval from the government.<sup>667</sup> In this sense, the academy existed outside of the guild, which also likely means that many of its pupils have not been documented.

An engraving published by Crispyn van de Passe (1597-1670) in his 1643 drawing book, *'t Light der teken en schilder konst* (fig. 45), presents an idea of how the Utrecht *academie* may have functioned. Young artists are shown gathered around a model who sits in the center of the composition, illuminated from above by a bright lantern. The instructors who guide several students have been identified as Bloemaert and Moreelse, who both played a significant role in the creation of the academy and in Utrecht's artistic life.<sup>668</sup> Bloemaert, described by Van Mander as a dedicated teacher, operated a large studio that trained a number of Utrecht artists, including Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629), Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656), Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594-1667), Jan van Bijlert (1597/98-1671), Jan Both (d. 1652), Nicolas Knupfer (1609-1655) and Jan Baptist Weenix, who would also work for Camillo Pamphilj and may have known Sweerts.<sup>669</sup> Moreelse, unlike Bloemaert, had

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<sup>667</sup> Bok, "'Nulla dies sine linie': De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw," 59–60; Miedema, "Kunstschilders, gilde en academie. Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw," 13–21.

<sup>668</sup> Bok, "'Nulla dies sine linie': De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw," 60–63. For Bloemaert, see, most recently, Elizabeth Ann Nogrady, "Abraham Bloemaert (1566 - 1651), the 'Netherlandish Academy' and Artistic Collaboration in seventeenth-century Utrecht" (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 2009); Marcel Roethlisberger, *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons: Paintings and Prints* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1993).

<sup>669</sup> In his biography of Bloemaert, Van Mander wrote that he was a dedicated teacher who wanted to provide artists with a better training than he himself had received. See Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 1: fols. 297r–298r, 446–450. Weenix was in Rome between 1643 and 1647 when he worked for Camillo, suggesting that he may have known Sweerts. See Chapter 3.

The Italian influence in Utrecht encouraged a generation of Utrecht artists to travel south; many of Bloemaert's own pupils left for Italy in the 1610s and 1620s, including Honthorst, Ter Brugghen, Van Bijlert, Poelenburch and Weenix. For Bloemaert and his pupils, see Nogrady, "Abraham Bloemaert (1566 - 1651), the 'Netherlandish Academy' and Artistic Collaboration in seventeenth-century

been to Italy in the 1590s – at the very moment of the foundation of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome – which suggests that he may have provided the original inspiration for the academy’s organization.<sup>670</sup> He also served not only as one of the founding members of Utrecht’s Guild of St. Luke, but also as its first dean in 1611.<sup>671</sup>

De Passe, who had lived and worked in Utrecht between 1612 and 1617, experienced the academy firsthand, and he specifically described the Utrecht drawing school as modeled on “the Roman Academy or Drawing School.”<sup>672</sup> In the preface to *’t Light*, he wrote how he, among others, “had attended a famous drawing school in those days by the most distinguished masters.”<sup>673</sup> By distinguished masters, De Passe was surely referring to Bloemaert and Moreelse, but also Utrecht’s other important artists who may have attended the academy, including Honthorst, Jan Gerritsz. van Bronchorst (1603-1661), Roelandt Saverij (1578-1639) and Joachim Wtewael (1566-1638).<sup>674</sup> Each of these men was portrayed on the title page of *’t Light* (fig. 46) in homage to the city of Utrecht surrounding Minerva, as the protectress of the fine arts.

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Utrecht,” 26–29. It is interesting to note that Nogrady uses the term “academy” to reflect the idea of collaboration and friendship in the artistic community in Utrecht.

<sup>670</sup> According to Van Mander, Moreelse had trained with the portrait painter Michiel van Mierevelt in Delft before leaving for a long sojourn in Italy. He returned to Utrecht in 1596. See Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 1: fols. 281v, 299v–300r, 385, 457–458.

<sup>670</sup> Bok, “Artists at Work: Their Lives and Livelihood,” 92. De Passe had also not been to Italy, but he had spent time in France.

<sup>671</sup> Bok, “Artists at Work: Their Lives and Livelihood,” 92.

<sup>672</sup> De Passe, preface, as cited in Klerk, “‘Academy-Beelden’ and ‘Teeken-Schoolen’ in Dutch Seventeenth-century Treatises on Art,” 285.

<sup>673</sup> Crispyn van de Passe, preface, *’t Light der teken en schilder konst*, as cited in Ibid.

<sup>674</sup> Bok, “‘Nulla dies sine linie:’ De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw,” 60–62.



An open book on Minerva's lap reveals the text: *Nulla dies sine linie*, or never a day without a line, a phrase that aptly evoked the necessity of drawing and its practice.

Sweerts' own painting of the *Drawing School* bears many similarities to De Passe's engraving in its subject and composition. He was undoubtedly familiar with this drawing manual, which was widely available throughout the Netherlands.<sup>675</sup> De Passe's image, which is integrated into his text, is distinguished from Sweerts' painting in its scale, medium and context. In his painting, Sweerts monumentalizes the drawing academy in a way similar to his use of Fialetti's etching of the artist's studio-academy (fig. 34) as a model for his own *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 10).<sup>676</sup> As in the former, Sweerts reconceptualizes the print, and transforms it into an immediate and tangible image of artistic instruction. Nevertheless, both De Passe's and Sweerts' images reflect the shared influence of the Italian academic tradition, and specifically, the importance of the Roman academic model.

Since the Haarlem academy only existed for a few years at the end of the sixteenth century, the Utrecht drawing academy was the only such school to exist in the Northern Netherlands in the early seventeenth century. It was organized to encourage drawing after the live model, training that was complementary to, and not a substitute for, an artist's apprenticeship in a master's studio.<sup>677</sup> The academy

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<sup>675</sup> See Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 26–47.

<sup>676</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>677</sup> There is a possibility that the Utrecht academy continued to function in some capacity in the 1620s. Writing in his *Teutsche Academie*, Joachim van Sandrart, who went to Utrecht to study in the mid-1620s with Gerard van Honthorst, referred to his studies there as “*unserer Academie*.” It is possible that Honthorst continued Bloemaert's and Moreelse's earlier tradition after he came back from his own Roman sojourn in 1620. Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 22, 184.

enabled artists and pupils to draw from models in a collaborative setting.<sup>678</sup>

Bloemaert's role in the academy provides a precedent for Sweerts' own activities in Brussels. Bloemaert demonstrated a life-long interest in artistic education that took shape not only in the drawing academy, but also in his decision to produce a didactic drawing book, discussed below, and in his commitment to running a large workshop in Utrecht. Although Sweerts never operated a studio on the level of Bloemaert, their mutual interests in artistic training and practice is significant for our understanding of the influences and development of the academy in the Netherlands.

In the second quarter of the seventeenth century, the academic ideas first put forth by Van Mander reverberated in the artistic culture of Haarlem due to the efforts of a group of artists, led by Salomon de Bray (1597-1664), to reorganize the Guild of St. Luke.<sup>679</sup> The new guild charter of 1631 strengthened the position and status of the painters within the guild's structure, and significantly, outlined recommendations for the practice of group study and drawing sessions among its members.<sup>680</sup> The new clause stated:

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<sup>678</sup> Although no written evidence indicated that drawing after the antique played a significant role here, it may be assumed that artists also looked to the classical example. However, Utrecht artists in particular responded to the example of Caravaggio and brought his style back with them to Utrecht. The work of these Caravaggisti, such as Honthorst and Ter Brugghen, more closely followed nature and the chiaroscuro of Caravaggio than the idealized forms of the antique.

<sup>679</sup> The Haarlem Guild of St. Luke had fallen into a state of decline in the early decades of the seventeenth century. No minutes exist from the guild's meetings during this period, and the organization seems to have been plagued by negligence and disorder on all fronts. De Bray, a pupil of Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis van Haarlem, took the initiative for the restructuring of the guild, which meant drafting a new charter, reorganizing its archives and the construction of a new guild chamber. Van Haarlem was still alive during the guild's reorganization and may have influenced the academic tone of the charter in light of his experience in Van Mander's academy. For the reorganization of the Haarlem guild, see Taverne, "Salomon de Bray and the Reorganization of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1631."

<sup>680</sup> The new charter was first drafted in 1631 and accepted by the *oud-vinders*, but it took until November 1634 for the final document to be ratified. It is important to note that the painters in Haarlem, unlike their counterparts in Utrecht, did not seek to form their own independent guild.

The *vinders* are also to promote meetings of all the members, or as many as are willing to attend, at which all the skills and knowledge of the various masters will be practiced. Joint sessions in drawing, anatomy and other skills and exercises will be held, as well as public lectures, lessons and demonstrations by the best masters for the benefit of the interested laymen, the guild members and guests. Each master is to explain his own art and science. This is to the honor and esteem of our city and guild.<sup>681</sup>

Although the term “academy” is not used in this context – these were guild recommendations after all – the provisions put forth by the new charter accorded with contemporary notions of academic practice. The combination of drawing sessions with lectures and anatomy studies is strikingly similar to the curriculum of Italian academies in Florence and Rome. While informal in comparison, the guild’s articulation of a set of academic principles in 1631 demonstrates the influence of the Italian academic paradigm in the North.

In 1649, the Haarlem painter Pieter de Grebber (1600-1653) published a pamphlet to guide young artists in the practical aspects of their profession.<sup>682</sup> His

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Instead, they sought to reflect their elevated status and superior position over the other arts by positioning themselves at the top of a hierarchical structure. Thus, the charter specified the compartmentalization of the various trades represented in the guild, from highest to lowest: the painters, who formed “the largest and most important group,” followed by the engravers, those who performed other arts, like house painters and gilders, and finally goldsmiths. See *Ibid.*, 52–53. This case demonstrates Hessel Miedema’s argument that Netherlandish artists did not seek – nor need – emancipation from the guilds in order to elevate their status, but were able to do so from within the guild structure itself through reorganization and consolidation. See Miedema, “Kunstschilders, gilde en academie. Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw.”

<sup>681</sup> For the translation and original text, see Taverne, “Salomon de Bray and the Reorganization of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1631,” 53, note 18.

<sup>682</sup> The pamphlet was first published by P. J. J. van Thiel, “De Grebbers regels van de kunst,” *Oud Holland* 80 (1965): 126–131. For an investigation of De Grebber’s pamphlet in the context of

*Regulen: Welcke by een goet schilder en Teyckenaer geobserveert en achtervolght moet warden*, or “Rules to be observed and followed by the good painter and draftsman,” consisted of eleven short dictums that focused on how an artist should handle composition, light and shadow, and the arrangement of the figures.<sup>683</sup> Although the ideas put forth in the *Regulen* brought together well-rehearsed advice for the artist, by embracing the didactic spirit of the revised guild charter, they demonstrated the modern application of Van Mander’s academic tradition.<sup>684</sup> Indeed, as a pupil of Hendrick Goltzius, De Grebber would have inherited ideas formulated in the Haarlem academy.<sup>685</sup> While the practice of drawing *naer het leven* was not specified in the *Regulen*, praise for De Grebber’s “marvelously close observations [of the nude]” by Phillips Angel in his speech to the Leiden guild in 1642 suggests that De Grebber was working from a live model long before he published his pamphlet.<sup>686</sup>

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Haarlem classicism and its significance as a patriotic vision for the art of painting, see Margaret Rose Harrington, “Reclaiming the ‘Ancient Luster’ of Painting: Pieter de Grebber’s *Regulen* and Haarlem Classicism” (M.A. Thesis, University of Maryland, 2012).

<sup>683</sup> Thiel, “De Grebbers regels van de kunst.”

<sup>684</sup> De Grebber’s guidelines for the artist reflect Van Mander’s recommendations in *Den Grondt* as well as the character of Leonardo’s *Trattato*, which, as discussed earlier, had circulated in the Netherlands as early as the sixteenth century before its publication in 1651. Taverne even calls De Grebber’s pamphlet “a pocket edition of that work [Van Mander’s *Schilder-boeck*].” For this quote and a discussion of the *Regulen* in the context of the reorganization of the Haarlem guild, see Taverne, “Salomon de Bray and the Reorganization of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1631,” 53–55.

<sup>685</sup> De Grebber was first a pupil of his father, the history painter Frans Pietersz. de Grebber, before becoming an apprentice to Goltzius in 1617.

<sup>686</sup> In his address to the Leiden guild, Angel lamented the lack of a place for painters to study in Leiden and held Haarlem up as a praiseworthy example. He expressed that De Grebber “is greatly experienced and excels many others, by way of the numerous examinations and marvelously close observations he has made in this manner [i.e. studying the nude].” Angel may have also had an earlier version of De Grebber’s rules. For Angel’s speech and praise for De Grebber, see Angel, “Praise of Painting,” 247–248.

The practice of artists gathering to draw from a model became common in Amsterdam in the 1640s and 1650s. Life drawings of nudes by Rembrandt from this period attest to the practice in his workshop, as does his etching of male nudes in *Het rolwagentje* (fig. 47) and the drawing, *Rembrandt and his Pupils Drawing after a Nude Model* in Darmstadt (fig. 48).<sup>687</sup> Rembrandt's pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten, later referred to these sessions as "academy drawing," which situates them in line with the traditions in Haarlem and Utrecht.<sup>688</sup> Drawings of the same female nude model (fig. 49) by Govert Flinck (1615-1660) and Jacob Backer (1608-1651) in the late 1640s also suggest the existence of such informal drawing "academies" and artists seeking the experience of drawing *naer het leven* in the space of a painter's workshop.<sup>689</sup>

A document from 27 March 1658 concerning the Amsterdam painter Dirck Bleker (1621-1679), mentions that "about nine or ten years earlier" he had worked from a model who "usually sat openly" – in what he termed – "*het collegie van*

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<sup>687</sup> Also notable in this context is Rembrandt's etching of an *Artist Drawing from a Plaster Cast* (dated c. 1641, Paris, Frits Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais). Rembrandt's "academy" remains a controversial subject among scholars. For differing opinions on the matter, see, for example, Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, 21–22; Paul Huys Janssen and Werner Sumowski, "Rembrandt's Academy," in *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Rembrandt's Academy* (The Hague: Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder, 1992), 20–35; Manuth, "'As Stark Naked as One Could Possibly Be Painted...': The Reputation of the Nude Female Model in the Age of Rembrandt"; Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, 322–324; Bevers, "Drawing in Rembrandt's Workshop." Rembrandt's etching, *Het rolwagentje*, not only demonstrates his use of male models, but the sketchily rendered image of a child learning to walk towards his mother in the background also serves as an allegory of learning itself – artistic or otherwise. For this etching, see, for instance, Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, 209–211. For a more recent discussion, including full references, as well as other examples of Rembrandt's nude etchings, see Kettering, "Rembrandt and the Male Nude," 278–249, 255.

<sup>688</sup> Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt; verdeelt in negen leerwinkels, yder bestiert door eene der zanggodinnen* (Rotterdam: Davaco, 1678), 64.

<sup>689</sup> Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, 21, 88–91, 99–111. For the use of male and female models in the studio, see note 641.

*schilders.*”<sup>690</sup> The same term would be used decades later by Willem Goeree (1635-1711) and Gerard de Lairesse (1640-1711) in their respective treatises on drawing to describe sessions dedicated to drawing from the model.<sup>691</sup> While these examples describe gatherings of more established artists rather than instructional academies as it seems to have been with Sweerts, they point to the increasing frequency of life drawing as a fundamental aspect of a painter’s practice in the mid-seventeenth century.

*Sweerts’ ‘Drawing Book’: “Diverse faces for the use by the young and others”*

In 1656, the very same year that Sweerts submitted his petition to the Brussels magistrates, he designed and published a series of twelve etchings of half-length figures in various forms of dress and expression (fig. 16a-f).<sup>692</sup> These anonymous figures display a range of human types, young and old, male and female. They have the character of Netherlandish *tronies*, highly individualized depictions of anonymous figures that are so exacting in their appearance that they could be mistaken for formal

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<sup>690</sup> The document was part of a testimony that Bleker gave in regard to a commission that he had received from a certain Bartholomeus Blijdenberch. It stated that Bleker had been asked to make a painting of the Magdalen in penitence, and as the patron had not given any order as to what person [model] he should paint, he took “*sijn gewoonlijk model (his usual model) naer de person van eenen Maria la Mot, de welcke ordinaris int collegie van schilders openlijck sat ende daer toe gebruyckt wiert.*” For the original document, see Dudok van Heel, “Het ‘gewoonlijck model’ van de schilder Dirck Bleker,” 214. For a discussion of this case, also see Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, 21; Manuth, “‘As Stark Naked as One Could Possibly Be Painted...’: The Reputation of the Nude Female Model in the Age of Rembrandt,” 47–48.

<sup>691</sup> See the discussion that follows below.

<sup>692</sup> The etchings, which are not bound, are located in several museums, including the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and the Albertina, Vienna; a complete set is held by a private collection. For a discussion of the etchings, see Ger Luijten, “For the Young and Others’: The Prints of Michael Sweerts,” in *Michael Sweerts: 1618-1664*, ed. Guido Jansen and Peter C. Sutton (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2002), 167–168; Tainturier, “Voor oog en hand: het tekenboek,” 27–31. For a discussion of the etchings in the context of Dutch and Flemish drawing books, see Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 96–99, 254–255.

portraits (figs. 5-6).<sup>693</sup> Nevertheless, such immediate and unassuming etchings belong to the pedagogical tradition of drawing books that developed in Italy and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, and that provided visual models for young artists to copy as part of their training.<sup>694</sup>

Sweerts' series broadly follows Italian and Netherlandish precedents, such as the first Italian drawing book, Odoardo Fialetti's *Il vero modo et ordine* published in Venice in 1608, and the most important Dutch drawing books of the period, De Passe's 1643 *'t Light der teken en schilder konst* and the *Tekenboek*, the drawing manual produced by Bloemaert in 1651.<sup>695</sup> Sweerts' head studies, however, differ from the progressive pedagogical method of these manuals, which gradually led students through the successive stages of drawing, including anatomy, proportion and

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<sup>693</sup> See, for instance, Lyckle de Vries, "Tronies and Other Single Figured Netherlandish Paintings," in *Nederlandse Portretten. Bijdragen over De Portretkunst in De Nederlanden Uit De Zestiende, Zeventiende En Achtiende Eeuw. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 8 (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989), 185–202.

<sup>694</sup> For a discussion of the development of Dutch and Flemish drawing books as well as a broader discussion of drawing books in general, see Bolten, *Method and Practice*; Lobis, "Printed Drawing Books and the Dissemination of Ideal Male Anatomy in Northern Europe." To my knowledge, no such copies after Sweerts' etchings survive.

<sup>695</sup> For seventeenth-century Italian drawing books, and Fialetti's specifically, see Chapter 2, and Amornpichetkul, "Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawing Books: Their Origin and Development"; Maugeri, "I manuali propedeutici al disegni a Bologna e Venezia agli inizi del Seicento." For Crispyn van de Passe, see Tainturier, "A Crossroad of Pedagogical Endeavors: The Drawing Method of Crispijn Van De Passe," 33–45; Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 26–47, 251–252. For Bloemaert's *Tekenboek*, see *Ibid.*, 46–67, 253; Roethlisberger, *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons*, 389–420; Nogrady, "Abraham Bloemaert (1566 - 1651), the 'Netherlandish Academy' and Artistic Collaboration in seventeenth-century Utrecht," 226–231. Bloemaert's *Tekenboek* was published posthumously by his son, Frederick Bloemaert, in 1651, the year of the master's death. A little-known precedent to De Passe's and Bloemaert's drawing books is the small, unillustrated treatise on drawing written by Cornelis Pietersz. Biens and published by Johannes Janssonius in Amsterdam in 1636. The modest manual, which does not survive (it is known only through a transcription by C. Müller-Hofstede), was meant for beginners and amateurs as a practical guide to drawing. Biens was not an artist, but a poet, and much of the book describes well-known advice, much of which reflects his familiarity with Van Mander. Among other things, Biens stresses the importance of copying, and having a good master to guide you, as well as drawing *naer het leven*. The treatise is published in E.A. de Klerk, "De Teecken-Const, een 17de eeuws Nederlands Traktaatje," *Oud Holland* 96 (1982): 48–56. For earlier Dutch and Flemish drawing books, see page 113 and note 339.

perspective.<sup>696</sup> Instead, as is discussed at further length below, Sweerts' etchings centered on the principle of imitation as a form of instruction, providing a range of character types that aided a young artist in his own work.

Fialetti's drawing book provides the first instance of the progressive pedagogical approach that developed in the seventeenth century. Beginning with the frontispiece of an artist's studio (fig. 33), the book illustrates the individual parts of the human body – the ears, the eyes, the nose, etc. – and physiognomic studies. A page from the book (fig. 50) depicting, line by line, how to draw the human eye demonstrates Leon Battista Alberti's recommendations for rendering the human body. He had advised artists to begin with the individual parts of the body, as with letters, and build them up into more intricate combinations. As he wrote in *De Pictura*: "first teach all of the signs of the alphabet separately, and then how to put syllables together, and then whole words. Our students should follow this method of painting."<sup>697</sup> In *Il vero modo*, Fialetti has taken Alberti's humanist commentary and turned it into a practical manual, signifying a development in attitudes towards artistic pedagogy from the early Renaissance into the seventeenth century.

Subsequent drawing books followed Fialetti's, including most notably, the *Scuola perfetta Per imparare a Disegnare tutto il corpo Humano Cavata dallo studio, e disegni de Carracci*, composed by Luca Ciamberlano, who was active in Rome, and illustrated with engravings after Agostino Carracci.<sup>698</sup> In 1619, Oliviero Gatti in

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<sup>696</sup> Most importantly, these seventeenth-century examples largely differed from earlier sixteenth-century books in that they were not singularly concerned with theories of proportion and measurement, such as Albrecht Dürer's *Four Books on Human Proportion* from 1528.

<sup>697</sup> Alberti, *On Painting*, 89.



Bologna published a series of twenty-one pages of anatomical studies and heads of men and women after Guercino (fig. 51).<sup>699</sup> While the degree to which these books were used is not known, the frequency with which they were produced suggests that a market existed for their practical and theoretical advice.<sup>700</sup>

The fact that these Italian books made their way to the North and influenced the Netherlandish production of drawing books indicates their popularity. While it is unclear how Pieter Feddes came to know of *Il vero modo et ordine*, his modest *Teiken bouxken*, which he published in the second decade of the seventeenth century, contains several examples of torsos, seen from different angles, in the style of Fialetti.<sup>701</sup> Johannes Janssonius' *Diagraphia*, published in Amsterdam in 1616, also included plates copied after Fialetti.<sup>702</sup> The most important Netherlandish drawing book to be produced in the mid-seventeenth century, De Passe's *'t Light der teken en schilder konst*, also drew from these publications. A composite of various sources, De Passe assimilated pedagogical models from Germany, France and Italy, including Fialetti and Guercino.<sup>703</sup> De Passe's book develops along the same lines as

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<sup>698</sup> Many of the early Italian drawing books were produced by artists from – or influenced by – the Carracci in Bologna. See Amornpichetkul, “Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawing Books: Their Origin and Development”; David Rosand, “The Crisis of the Venetian Renaissance Tradition,” *L'Arte* 10 (1970): 5–53; Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon, 1966).

<sup>699</sup> Amornpichetkul, “Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawing Books: Their Origin and Development,” 110–111. Fig. 48 is an etching taken directly after Guercino's original in De Passe's *'t Light der teken en schilder konst*.

<sup>700</sup> For an investigation of how such prints may have been used in the North, see, for example, Lobis, “Printed Drawing Books and the Dissemination of Ideal Male Anatomy in Northern Europe.”

<sup>701</sup> Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 18–25, 248.

<sup>702</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>703</sup> See Tainturier, “A Crossroad of Pedagogical Endeavors: The Drawing Method of Crispijn Van De Passe.”

articulated by Alberti, Leonardo and Van Mander, beginning with the parts of the human body and gradually progressing to anatomy, proportion, perspective and head studies. He similarly urged students to study the works of established masters, including Goltzius and Bloemaert.<sup>704</sup>

Bloemaert's *Tekenboek* was published in 1651, less than a decade after De Passe's manual.<sup>705</sup> Consisting of engravings by his son, Frederick Bloemaert, after his own drawings, the *Tekenboek* led pupils through academic drawing examples that Bloemaert had composed himself.<sup>706</sup> The book, however, lacks a clear, progressive methodology. For instance, the first chapter contains studies of heads, hands and feet, followed by more complex figural compositions. A similar arrangement of basic and complex studies continues through the last section of the book, which commences with studies of the head and face. Despite its seemingly haphazard organization, the *Tekenboek* was designed as a practical guide for pupils.

On the title page, the following inscription appears beneath the image of a young man drawing after a life-size plaster cast of an older nude man (fig. 22): "This book, studious youths, brings to mind the appropriate rudiments of the art of Apelles: follow the road with this guide, learn piece by piece the whole figure, climbing these

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<sup>704</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>705</sup> See above.

<sup>706</sup> Bolten discusses Bloemaert's book as "not a method, a canon, or a system of construction which is being offered as an example, but the *maneria* of the great and respected master himself." See Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 253. The motivations behind the organization of Bloemaert's book are not readily apparent. As Elizabeth Nogrady has recently observed, the "non-methodical" mode of the book's organization may, in fact, reflect the vision of Bloemaert's workshop, and the importance for artists of being able to assimilate a broad range of imagery. See Nogrady, "Abraham Bloemaert (1566 - 1651), the 'Netherlandish Academy' and Artistic Collaboration in seventeenth-century Utrecht," 226-231.

steps leads to height.”<sup>707</sup> The fragmented plaster casts of legs, hands, feet and heads hanging on the back wall and piled together in the foreground reinforce Bloemaert’s message and echo Zuccaro’s advice to learn the “Alphabet of Drawing,” progressing from the parts of the body to the whole.<sup>708</sup> The abundance of fragmented plaster casts that surround this young artist is also strikingly similar to the sculptural piles that dominate Sweerts’ *A Painter’s Studio* (fig. 10) and *Artist’s Studio with a Woman Sewing* (fig. 11), as well as the casts that line the back wall in *Artist’s Studio* (fig. 13). Sweerts repeats certain elements seen in Bloemaert’s title page: the plaster bust of the *Niobe*, for instance, sits in the immediate foreground of Sweerts’ *A Painter’s Studio*.<sup>709</sup> Moreover, Bloemaert’s depiction of an artist drawing an unidealized sculptural model reflects the Netherlandish conception of working *naer het leven*, an idea that Sweerts engages with a real model in *Artist Sketching a Beggar* (fig. 9).

Sweerts’ own series of etchings is distinguished by its simplicity and originality: rather than offering a comprehensive scheme of study, it consists of only the twelve images (figs. 16a-f) that were never bound into a single book. The figures, which are Sweerts’ own inventions, resemble his paintings of head studies from the mid- to late 1650s, such as *Boy with a Hat* (fig. 5) and *A Young Maidservant* (fig. 6).

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<sup>707</sup> The original text reads: “*Artis Apelles, liber hic, studiosa juvenas/Aptata ingenio fert rudimenta tuo:/Hoc duce carpe viam, membratim tota figura/Discitur, his gradibus scandere ad alta dabit.*” See Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 49, 51. The English translation comes from Roethlisberger, *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons*, 395.

<sup>708</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>709</sup> The close relationship that exists between the depiction of casts in Bloemaert’s image and Sweerts’ paintings may be coincidental, for it is unclear how Bloemaert would have known Sweerts’ images. Yet the similarities between the handling of plaster casts of sculpture may also be more broadly understood as part of a shared iconographic tradition. What distinguishes Sweerts’ images repeatedly, however, is their medium and scale; just as with Italian prints of artists’ academies, Sweerts contributes to a graphic culture of academic iconography in the Netherlands.

These works, too, may have been of use as a model for students in or outside of the academy, but they were certainly a demonstration of Sweerts' ability as an artist.<sup>710</sup>

Sweerts' etched images also appear in some of his figural compositions as if to demonstrate how such academic figures could be incorporated into complex scenes, as in his use of the etching of the *Archer* in *The Bathers*. These figures, like Sweerts' painted *tronies*, demonstrate a sense of great immediacy and timelessness that bring together his straightforward, sensitive study of life with a classical ideal.

Any doubt of the series' didactic intentions, however, is put to rest in light of its title page (fig. 16), which unifies the etchings with a single pedagogical purpose.<sup>711</sup>

The image depicts a young man peering out of the shadows from behind a painter's easel. He looks directly at the viewer and guides our attention to the words written on the panel: "*Diversae Facies In Vsvm Iuvenvm et Aliorvm Delineatae.*" The peculiar highlights that hit the man's knuckles and index finger illuminate the viewer's way towards the text, but they also call attention to the importance of the artist's hand.

Although Sweerts must have intended the etchings to be used by the very students who attended his academy, it also seems that he sought a wider audience of art lovers,

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<sup>710</sup> Such informal head studies recall etchings of heads, or *tronies*, done by Rembrandt and Jan Lievens (1607-1674) in the late 1620s and early 1630s in Leiden. In a manner similar to Sweerts' later print series, Lievens produced sets of *tronie* etchings in single sheets joined by respective title pages, which were published in Antwerp. The first series' title page reads, "Diverse Heads;" while the second title page states "*Diverse Tronikens.*" Sweerts' series should also be considered within this broader context, one that distinctly existed outside of academic training. Lievens' images were probably intended as collector's items, a possibility that exists for Sweerts' series as well. (See below). Nevertheless, when considered in the context of Sweerts' career, and specifically in light of the fact that the series was produced during the years of his academy, Sweerts' etched *tronies* belong more firmly within the tradition of drawing manuals. For Lievens' series, see Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., ed., *Jan Lievens: A Dutch Master Rediscovered* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 194–199.

<sup>711</sup> See Tainturier, "Voor oog en hand: het tekenboek"; Luijten, "For the Young and Others': The Prints of Michael Sweerts."

one that he believed would benefit from the practice of copying the prints or simply enjoy collecting them.<sup>712</sup>

### *An Academy for Brussels*

Sweerts' series of etchings reflect Italian and Netherlandish precedents. The head studies resemble those in the drawing books of Guercino and Ciambelano, but they also suggest his awareness of De Passe's and Bloemaert's drawing manuals. These comparisons also shed light on how Sweerts' academy may have functioned. The Utrecht *academie* seems to have been established outside the boundaries of the guild, and Sweerts' academy probably operated in a similar way, which may explain why it is not mentioned in the Brussels guild records. The drawing sessions that took place in Haarlem and Amsterdam in the middle decades of the seventeenth century also provide ways to understand how the concept of the "academy" manifested itself both within the confines of the guild's structure and in the space of the artist's studio.

The Utrecht, Haarlem and Amsterdam examples thus occupy a critical place in understanding how Sweerts drew from and participated in Netherlandish academic traditions.<sup>713</sup> Sweerts' academy was part of the Netherlandish framework for such

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<sup>712</sup> The seventeenth century also witnessed an increase in the number of amateurs, or *liefhebbers* in the Netherlands, who learned to draw as part of their broader education. Sweerts may have been trying to reach this larger audience in addition to the students in his academy. Sweerts may have also been motivated for economic reasons in the production of the prints, which served as an advertisement for his artistic capabilities, as well as his other work.

<sup>713</sup> Notably absent in this discussion of Netherlandish academic traditions is a distinctly Flemish one, which speaks to the documented absence of the drawing "academy" in the Southern Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century. Drawing from the male nude almost certainly occurred in Rubens' workshop, for instance, but there is not, to my knowledge, any reference to the workshop as an "academy," or an understanding that it functioned in a purely didactic capacity. Students in Rubens' studio collaborated with the master to meet the demands of his large production of work, and thus, from my perspective, represent a workshop tradition rather than an academic one. For further

places of study, rather than an isolated example, as it is repeatedly asserted in the scholarship.<sup>714</sup> Viewed within this larger context of artistic instruction, Sweerts' academic endeavor emerges as an important moment in the evolution of Netherlandish academies over the course of the seventeenth century, preceding, as it does, those founded in Antwerp in 1663, The Hague in 1682 and Utrecht in 1696.<sup>715</sup>

Sweerts' academy followed on the heels of the founding of the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture in Paris in 1648, an institution that instructed students in geometry, perspective, arithmetic, anatomy, astronomy and history, as well as in the essential life-drawing course.<sup>716</sup> Although a complete system of rules for the French academy would not be fully articulated until Jean Baptiste Colbert took over

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discussion of the role of drawing in Rubens' *oeuvre*, and his depiction of female nudes, see Logan and Plomp, *Peter Paul Rubens*, especially 148; Karolien de Clippel, "Defining beauty: Rubens' female nudes," in *Body and Embodiment in Netherlandish Art. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, ed. Ann-Sophie Lehmann and Herman Roodenburg, vol. 58 (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), 110–137. For Rubens' attitudes towards the classical tradition, see Chapter 1.

<sup>714</sup> See note 622 above.

<sup>715</sup> See Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 129–130; Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 136. In 1655 forty-eight painters in The Hague applied for exemption from the existing Guild of St. Luke, which included wood-carvers, embroiders as well as painters and sculptors. In 1656 they were permitted to establish a "confrérie," or company, of their own, which was called Pictura. Adriaen Hanneman was the first dean, and Gerard de Laresse and Samuel van Hoogstraten were among its members in the 1660s and 1670s. (Hoogstraten joined in 1671.) The company's rules were still shaped by the guild structure, and it was not until 1682 that instruction was introduced in the form of life-drawing classes. For the academy in The Hague, see Roekel, Knolle, and Delft, *Haags naakt*. Sweerts' academy also preceded the foundation of the first (and little studied) public academy of art in Brussels in 1711. Originally housed in the Brussels town hall, the academy provided instruction in drawing, including after prints, antique sculpture and from life, to *tapissiers*, painters and sculptors. See Pinchart, "Recherches sur l'histoire et les médailles des Académies et des Écoles de Dessin, de Peinture, de Sculpture, d'Architecture et de Gravure en Belgique," 207–223; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 129.

<sup>716</sup> For the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, see, for instance, Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 82–93; Tonelli, "Academic Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 100–101; June Hargrove, ed., *The French Academy: Classicism and Its Antagonists* (Newark: University of Delaware, 1997); Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Reminiscent of the Accademia di San Luca's intent to have a monopoly on life drawing in 1596, the French academy prevented life drawing from being practiced anywhere but within its own walls in 1655. Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 87.

in 1663, the Académie's rigorous set of principles to govern the practice of art were well known before that time.<sup>717</sup> While the French academy existed on a much larger and more ambitious scale than Sweerts' school, the primacy it gave to drawing the human form, and subsequently classical sculpture, is consistent with the approach Sweerts took in conceiving his academy. Even though there is no evidence that Sweerts ever traveled to France, as an academic-minded artist he was surely aware of developments there, especially as some of his fellow contemporaries in Brussels had been involved with its establishment.<sup>718</sup>

Nevertheless, Sweerts' decision to found the academy in Brussels, rather than in Rome, and to instruct a new generation of tapestry designers, was innovative and timely. Sweerts clearly sought to adapt his ideas of academic training for Brussels' unique artistic context. Indeed, what further distinguished the academy from those elsewhere was the inclusion of painting, drawing, sculpture *and* tapestry in its pedagogical program. As the first academy of its kind to exist in the Southern Netherlands, Sweerts envisioned his drawing school as a necessary contribution to the artistic culture of Brussels.

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<sup>717</sup> As will be addressed below, David Teniers would evoke the French academy as a model for the Antwerp Academy in 1663.

<sup>718</sup> As mentioned earlier, Sweerts could have easily traveled through France on his way to or from Italy, as the route through France was common for Netherlandish artists on their journey south. The Flemish artist Justus van Egmont, who had returned to Brussels during the years of Sweerts' academy, was one of the founding members of the French academy. Phillipe de Champaigne, another Brussels born artist, also spent several decades in France before returning to Brussels in 1655. See page 234.

*Brussels and the Southern Netherlands in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century*

By the mid-seventeenth century, the artistic climate of the Southern Netherlands had begun to slow. This fate, shared in part by Brussels and Antwerp, came as a result of changing social and economic factors after the Treaty of Münster in 1648, the gradual turning towards foreign markets, and the still looming gap in creativity left after the death of Rubens.<sup>719</sup> In the wake of the peace with the Dutch Republic, the Southern Netherlands faced strong economic competition from Amsterdam and other northern centers, which began to dominate world trade.<sup>720</sup> This dire economic situation for artists coincided with the slow decline of religious commissions. In contrast to the flurry of religious art produced during the Counter-Reformatory zeal of the early seventeenth century, commissions for altarpieces and church decorations decreased radically after 1648.<sup>721</sup> As a result, the vitality of artistic innovation that had characterized Flemish art during the first half of the

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<sup>719</sup> Unusually little is known about seventeenth-century art in Brussels due to the destruction of many of the city's archives in the fire of 1695, as well as the general lacuna in the art historical scholarship. For the art historical situation in Brussels during this period, see generally, Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, especially 68–104; Vlieghe, "Flemish and Dutch Paintings in the Seventeenth Century: Changing Views on a Diptych." It is worth noting that Van Loon died in 1649, but during the last decade of his life he was increasingly in Leuven, and his presence in Brussels less palpable.

<sup>720</sup> The development of Dutch economic primacy in this period was the result of several factors: already in 1646 the Flemish privateering campaign against Dutch shipping came to an end; in 1647 the Spanish embargoes were lifted; the Dutch-Spanish hostilities in the New World ceased in 1647; the Dutch naval blockade of the river Scheldt was lifted in 1647, although its consequences proved irrevocable; and the conclusion of fighting and disbandment of armies in Germany and the Northern Netherlands. Each of these factors contributed to the restructuring of Dutch commerce and the expansion of industry and trade. See Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 611–619. By the 1660s, the Southern Netherlands also experienced foreign protectionist measures from France, which furthered weakened the economy.

<sup>721</sup> The last major church to be built in Brussels, for example, the church of the Béguines, was completed in the late 1650s. See *Ibid.*, 744–745; Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, 3, 7, 92–99; Vlieghe, "Flemish and Dutch Paintings in the Seventeenth Century: Changing Views on a Diptych," 22–23.



seventeenth century waned, and artists did little to change the direction of Flemish painting after the deaths of Rubens and Van Dyck.<sup>722</sup>

Some artists, however, such as the Antwerp painter and engraver Erasmus Quellinus II (1607-1678), and the Antwerp painter Pieter van Lint (1609-1690), adapted to the conservative and aristocratic tastes that were gaining hold across Europe around 1650.<sup>723</sup> Quellinus' classicist inspired works earned him prestigious commissions at home and abroad, including *The Sermon of the Apostles Simon and Judas* in 1657, *The Assumption of the Virgin* (c. 1657) and *The Miraculous Healing of St. Roch* from 1660. Lint, too, remained active until the end of his career, continuing in the strict classicist style that had defined such early works as *The Marriage of the Virgin* from 1640. Artists also increasingly relied on foreign commissions.

Quellinus, along with his brother, the sculptor Artus Quellinus (1609-1668), worked on the decorations for Amsterdam's new town hall in 1656. And even Jacob Jordaens focused his attention outside of the Southern Netherlands in the late 1640s and 1650s for commissions for Queen Christina of Sweden's castle in Uppsala and the enormous *Triumph of Frederik Hendrik* for the House of Orange's Huis ten Bosch in The Hague.<sup>724</sup> Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669) also completed commissions from the House of Orange, executing at least six large canvases for the Huis ten Bosch.

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<sup>722</sup> The decline in innovation in the art of the Southern Netherlands after mid-century was in contrast to the great flowering of innovation in the Dutch Republic after 1650, particularly with genre paintings.

<sup>723</sup> Other artists whose work became increasingly classicist over their careers included, for example, Jan-Erasmus Quellinus (1634-1715), the son of Erasmus Quellinus II, Theodoor Boeyermans (1620-78) and Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669).

<sup>724</sup> In 1648 Jordaens had been commissioned to paint thirty-five large ceiling paintings for Queen Christina. This commission was shortly followed in 1651 by the decoration for the Oranjezaal.

Brussels, however, occupied a special place in this context because of the presence and patronage of the court, as well as its active tapestry industry, which continued to attract a regular flow of artists.<sup>725</sup> Many Antwerp artists, including Jordaens, Gerard Seghers (1591-1651), Cornelis Schut (1597-1655), Van Thulden (1606-1669), Jan Boeckhorst (1604-1668) and Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596-1675), produced religious and mythological paintings for the court and churches of the city. Gaspar de Crayer, Brussels' most important history painter, continued to play an important role at the court and in commissions for large-scale religious pieces for Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614-1662).<sup>726</sup> Yet the work of these history painters— many of whom came from Rubens' studio – lacked the renewed creativity that was necessary to reinvigorate the artistic landscape of the Southern Netherlands outside of Brussels. Jordaens' work, for instance, often became monotonous and repetitive in the 1650s, and even De Crayer began to rely on older compositions that lacked the emotional vigor of his earlier work.<sup>727</sup> Even with a continuous flow of commissions, the southern provinces could not compete with the burst of artistic innovation that was taking place in Dutch painting at mid-century.

This general decline in Flemish innovation was also felt in tapestry design. Brussels retained its position as one of the most important centers of European tapestry production in the mid-seventeenth century, and the workshops of major

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<sup>725</sup> Such had been the case with Albert and Isabella earlier in the century with Rubens, and later with Cardinal Enfantie; see Chapter 1 for a discussion of the history of court patronage in Brussels.

<sup>726</sup> For De Crayer, see Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, 68–70; Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer*.

<sup>727</sup> The large size of De Crayer's studio also undoubtedly contributed to this decline in quality by the end of his career, as it often became difficult to distinguish between De Crayer's hand and that of his students.

*tapissiers*, including Jan Raes, Francois van den Hecke and the Leyniers family, continued to produce a variety of old and new designs.<sup>728</sup> But at mid-century, Brussels' tapestry industry began to face challenges from the slow disappearance of a vital generation of Flemish tapestry designers, the absence of immediate successors and competition from the production of tapestry in other parts of Europe. De Crayer, for example, had never designed tapestries, and Antoon Sallaert, one of Brussels' most important designers in the first half of the century, died in 1650.<sup>729</sup> While Sallaert's contemporary Lanceloot Lefebure (1585/86-c. 1655) took over his privileges in 1650, he never achieved the same prominence.<sup>730</sup>

In light of these factors, tapestry producers and patrons began to turn back to older models and reliable formulae.<sup>731</sup> To be sure, innovation was not entirely nonexistent – some new designs by Flemish artists were produced – but the dearth of talented designers and the competition from foreign producers began to weaken

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<sup>728</sup> For a discussion of tapestry production during this period, see Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 209–254; Delmarcel, “Tapestry in the Baroque,” 203–217; Brosens, “The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris”; Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry*.

<sup>729</sup> For Sallaert, see Chapter 1, Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700*, 70–71; Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry*, 80–81. Once again, Rubens' absence was palpable. There was no successor who could achieve the splendid illusionism and creativity that he had developed in Baroque tapestry design in the 1620s and 1630s.

<sup>730</sup> See Brosens and De Laet, “Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure: New Data on Baroque Tapestry in Brussels.” Even Jordaens, who continued to design tapestries until 1670, including his *Creation of the Horse* series and *The History of Charlemagne* from 1660, could not reinvigorate the market as in earlier in the century. Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 233–239. Scholars have also long held the belief that there was no successor to the splendid illusionism and creativity that Rubens had developed in Baroque tapestry design in the 1620s and 1630s. Yet Rubens' importance for tapestry design has recently been questioned by Koenraad Brosens, altering our view of the artistic landscape of tapestry at mid-century. Brosens' point was made at a recent symposium, “Peter Paul Rubens's Triumph of the Eucharist Series,” at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (30-31 March 2012).

<sup>731</sup> See Delmarcel, “Tapestry in the Baroque,” 203–217; Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 209–254.

Brussels' dominance as a tapestry center.<sup>732</sup> Beginning around 1650, for example, Rubens' cartoons for the *Triumph of the Eucharist* series, which were still available at the royal palace in Brussels, were rewoven in the workshop of Nicolaas Lauwers, and shortly thereafter, again in the workshop of François van den Hecke and his son Jan-Frans.<sup>733</sup> Several more re-editions would appear in the following years, a testament to the continued popularity of Rubens' original creation.<sup>734</sup> During his reign as governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands from 1647 to 1655, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm acquired re-editions of Rubens' tapestry series, *Decius Mus*, as well as Jordaens' popular tapestries of *Proverbs*.<sup>735</sup>

During this period there was also a renewed desire for Italian Renaissance tapestries, which were woven from cartoons still kept in Brussels' tapestry workshops. Re-editions of earlier models were often adapted in their reweaving, with simplified cartoons or new borders and details.<sup>736</sup> One sixteenth-century Italian series to undergo a great revival at mid-century was Gian Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano's *Deeds and Triumph of Scipio*, first produced in the mid-sixteenth century

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<sup>732</sup> Competition was, above all, felt from the royal manufactories in France, but also in the mid-seventeenth century from centers of production at the Mortlake factory in England and the Barberini in Rome. Only manufacture in Paris, with its large, factory-like scale, could truly compete with tapestry production in Brussels. For a comparison of the different modes of production in Paris and Brussels, see Brosens, "The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris," 264–284.

<sup>733</sup> Rubens' cartoons and *modelli* for the series had been purchased originally by Archduchess Isabella. In 1645, they were still confirmed in the palace at the Coudenberg, but it is also possible that copies of the cartoons were made during the original weaving and kept in the workshop. Lauwers also published a series of five engravings after the designs in about 1650. See Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 231–232; Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 233.

<sup>734</sup> Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 233.

<sup>735</sup> Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 203; Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 235. Leopold would later leave the series in Brussels as a gift to Prince Johan Adolf Schwarzenberg.

<sup>736</sup> Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 220.

for King Francis I of France. A collaboration of several different workshops, predominantly with Jan and Willem van Leefdael and Gerard van der Strecken, produced the tapestries, which were then rewoven with new borders of richly drawn symbols of the seasons and elements.<sup>737</sup> Don Luis de Benavides, marquis of Caracena and governor in Brussels from 1660 to 1664, had an impressive set made in these very workshops, and other re-editions entered the collections of the Farnese in Parma between 1650-1655, the duke of Lorraine after 1656, and the Michiel family between 1656 and 1669.<sup>738</sup>

In addition to the reissuing of Italian designs, a taste began to develop for the classicism of French tapestry. By 1650, cartoons by the French artist Charles Poerson (1609-1667) of the *Story of Moses*, the *Story of Clovis*, the *Story of Titus and Vespasian* and the *Story of Cleopatra* had found their way into Brussels workshops.<sup>739</sup> The popularity of Poerson's sets encouraged Brussels *tapissiers*, particularly Jan Leyniers, to open their workshops to other French designs, most notably, in the 1660s, to the work of the French artist Charles le Brun (1619-1690).<sup>740</sup>

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<sup>737</sup> Ibid., 252.

<sup>738</sup> Ibid.

<sup>739</sup> Ibid.; Koenraad Brosens, "Nouvelles donnés sur l'histoire de Cléopâtre de Poerson: le réseau parent et la tapisserie bruxelloise à la français," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 74 (2005): 63–77. Evidence for these sets comes from a 1663 letter addressed to Johan Adolf van Schwarzenberg, in which the tapestries are offered for sale. Brosens argues that the entrepreneur Charles de La Fontaine was largely responsible for the early dispersal of French tapestry design in Brussels. See Koenraad Brosens, "Bruxelles/Paris/Bruxelles. Charles de La Fontaine et la diffusion des modeles des tapisseries de Charles Poerson," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 76 (2007): 43–60.

<sup>740</sup> See Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 252–253; Brosens, "Nouvelles donnés sur l'histoire de Cléopâtre de Poerson: le réseau parent et la tapisserie bruxelloise à la français"; Brosens, "Bruxelles/Paris/Bruxelles. Charles de La Fontaine et la diffusion des modeles des tapisseries de Charles Poerson." Le Brun's designs may have entered Brussels in the form of prints, which subsequently would have been adapted into tapestry cartoons. It is certain, however, that his *History of*

The burgeoning interest in the revival of Italian tapestry and the refined classicism of French design in Brussels in the 1650s provides an important framework for our understanding of Sweerts' academy and the city's punctual response to his petition of 1656. Sweerts' Italian influenced academicism complemented this changing artistic culture with its classicist orientation, while also filling a gap in Brussels' slowing artist environment.

### Leopold Wilhelm as Patron and Teniers' Role at Court

The taste for Italian art remained strong at the court in Brussels in the 1650s, largely because of the artistic preferences of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.<sup>741</sup> Leopold, the son of Emperor Ferdinand II, had succeeded Cardinal Infante Ferdinand as governor of the Spanish Netherlands in 1647, shortly before the signing of the Treaty of Münster in 1648.<sup>742</sup> The treaty, which officially ended the Eighty Years' War, recognized the independence of the Dutch Republic, but it also affirmed Habsburg Spain's continued rule of the Southern Netherlands. Although Leopold's governorship only lasted until the spring of 1656 when he resigned from his post and returned to Vienna, during his years in Brussels he created one of the largest art

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*Meleager* was woven with cartoons sent directly to Brussels. Le Brun had already designed tapestries for the Gobelins Manufacture in Paris during these years.

<sup>741</sup> See Hans Vlieghe, "Frayichety ende kunst daer syne inclinatie toe stryckt": beschouwingen over het mecenaat van aartshertog Leopold-Wilhelm tijdens zijn landvoogdij over de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1647-1656)," in *Sponsors of the Past. Flemish Art and Patronage 1550-1700*, ed. Hans Vlieghe and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 61–90.

<sup>742</sup> Leopold was both a military and religious man; he held many ecclesiastical positions, serving as bishop of Passau, Strasbourg, Olmütz and Breslau, among others, and was active as a military commander against the new enemy, France.

collections in seventeenth-century Europe, consisting primarily of Italian, Netherlandish and German paintings.<sup>743</sup>

Leopold's first court artist, Jan van den Hoecke (1611-1650), had spent time in Rome between 1637 and 1644 before moving to the Habsburg court in Vienna, where the two men must have first met.<sup>744</sup> Van den Hoecke accompanied Leopold to the Netherlands in 1647, and after a brief stay in Antwerp, settled in Brussels.<sup>745</sup> He died in 1650. Despite Van den Hoecke's short stay at the court, the 1659 inventory of Leopold's collection contains no fewer than 43 paintings by the artist. Even if a number of these works had already entered the Archduke's collection in Vienna, it still demonstrated the high level of his production at the court.<sup>746</sup> Van den Hoecke's works have a classical character, as is evident in the mythological and allegorical paintings he produced for the Archduke, and in the set of cartoons he designed for a tapestry cycle of the twelve months, the *Allegory of Time*.<sup>747</sup> After his death in 1650, David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690) was named court artist.<sup>748</sup> A native of

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<sup>743</sup> While some paintings remained in Brussels after the Archduke's departure, the majority of the collection returned with him to Vienna, later to become the core of the Kunsthistorisches Museum's collection.

<sup>744</sup> Van den Hoecke had worked for Emperor Ferdinand III in Vienna. See Vlieghe, "Frayichety ende kunst daer syne inclinatie toe stryckt": beschouwingen over het mecenaat van aartshertog Leopold-Wilhelm tijdens zijn landvoogdij over de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1647-1656)," 64–66.

<sup>745</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>746</sup> Vlieghe, "Frayichety ende kunst daer syne inclinatie toe stryckt": beschouwingen over het mecenaat van aartshertog Leopold-Wilhelm tijdens zijn landvoogdij over de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1647-1656)." Leopold's inventory was first published in A. Berger, "Inventar des Kunstsammlung Leopold Wilhelm," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen der allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 1 (1883): 79–176.

<sup>747</sup> Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 248; Vlieghe, "Frayichety ende kunst daer syne inclinatie toe stryckt": beschouwingen over het mecenaat van aartshertog Leopold-Wilhelm tijdens zijn landvoogdij over de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1647-1656)," 64–66.

<sup>748</sup> Hans Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690): A Biography* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 30–45.

Antwerp, Teniers was an unusual choice as court artist because he specialized in peasant scenes. Yet Leopold demonstrated a great enthusiasm for Teniers' work, and he entrusted the artist with the care of his collection.<sup>749</sup>

Over the course of his governorship, Leopold acquired over 500 Italian paintings, predominantly by acquiring the collection of the Duke of Hamilton in England in 1649, and by subsequent purchases at the time of the dispersal of Charles I's collection in 1651.<sup>750</sup> A great number of these paintings were Venetian, including the works of Titian, Giorgione, Palma Vecchio, Veronese, Tintoretto and Bassano.<sup>751</sup> Teniers celebrated these acquisitions in a series of paintings of the archduke's galleries in the early 1650s (fig. 52). Leopold's collection of Italian paintings was subsequently published in Tenier's monumental *Theatrum Pictorum* in 1660, which only appeared after Leopold had returned to Vienna.<sup>752</sup> The ambitious project underscored Leopold's important role as collector and concentrated efforts to bring Italian paintings to the court.

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<sup>749</sup> Leopold likely first came into contact with Teniers' work through the Bishop of Triest, with whom he stayed upon his arrival in the Netherlands. Ibid.

<sup>750</sup> See Berger, "Inventar des Kunstsammlung Leopold Wilhelm." For Teniers' role in traveling to England and acting on behalf of the Archduke for the purchase of art in 1651, see Margaret Klinge, "David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting," in *David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting* (London: Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery in association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2006), 12–14. Also see Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 147–183.

<sup>751</sup> Klinge, "David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting," 13.

<sup>752</sup> Quite distinct from the earlier tradition of paintings of collector's cabinets, such as those paintings by Frans Francken, Teniers' images were documentary in nature, and may be regarded as visual inventories of the collection. See Klinge, "David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting." Little documentation survives indicating who first conceived of the idea for the publication – whether Leopold or Teniers. The project was likely the result of a collaborative effort. The *editio princeps* of 1660 contained a letter from Teniers with a list of the Northern paintings in the Archduke's collection that were omitted from the *Theatrum*. Five editions of the book are known: 1660, 1673, 1684, c. 1700 and 1755. See Ibid., 19–26.



Leopold also patronized contemporary Flemish artists. He favored works by Rubens and Van Dyck, but also those pupils or artists who had worked in their studios, including Jordaens, Schut, Van Thulden and Boeckhorst. Leopold also collected works by artists who worked in a classicizing manner.<sup>753</sup> One of these was the Antwerp artist Justus van Egmont (1601-1674), who was one of the founding members of the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris in 1648, and who lived and worked in Brussels between 1649 and 1655.<sup>754</sup> Van Egmont painted a state portrait of Leopold as a master of the Teutonic Order in 1649.<sup>755</sup>

Other classicizing artists who worked for Leopold were Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674), and Louis Cousin, both of whom were born in Brussels.<sup>756</sup> De Champaigne had spent several decades in Paris before returning to Brussels in 1655-1656 when he executed the monumental and classically inspired *Lamentation of Abel* for Leopold.<sup>757</sup> Cousin, after spending most of his career in Rome, which ended with his tenure as the *principe* of the Accademia di San Luca, had also returned to his native city in about 1655. As a close colleague of Sweerts in Rome, it is likely that the two artists were on familiar terms in Brussels.<sup>758</sup> In 1656 Cousin painted for

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<sup>753</sup> Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)*, 82–84.

<sup>754</sup> Van Egmont also made a brief trip back to Paris in 1652-1653, where he executed portraits for the French royal family, including the young Louis XIV, his mother and brother. *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>755</sup> *Ibid.*, 82–83.

<sup>756</sup> For Leopold's patronage of Cousin, see *Ibid.*, 84–85. For De Champaigne, see Bernard Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1674: la vie, l'oeuvre, et le catalogue raisonné* (Paris: L. Laget, 1976).

<sup>757</sup> See Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1674: la vie, l'oeuvre, et le catalogue raisonné*, 11, n. 8. The *Lamentation of Abel* is at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

<sup>758</sup> I will return to a discussion of Cousin's relationship with Sweerts below. It is striking to note that a number of these artists were returning to their native Brussels at this time.

Leopold the *Venus Mourning Adonis* (fig. 53), a work that strongly reflects the classical tradition in style and composition.<sup>759</sup> Leopold's departure from Brussels in May 1656 must have left a significant void in the artistic culture of the city, and one that his successor, Don Juan José of Austria (1629-1679), the illegitimate son of Phillip IV, did not fill.<sup>760</sup> Although he only ruled until 1660, and even maintained Teniers as court artist, Juan José's interests remained more military than cultural, and he did little to change the feeling that Southern Netherlandish art was falling behind developments in the rest of Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>761</sup>

#### *Sweerts' Academy and Brussels Tapestry in the 1650s*

The establishment of Sweert's academy in the mid-1650s coincided with an important development in Brussels' tapestry industry. In 1655 the city opened its first *Tapissierspand*, or tapestry market hall, a space for the sale and display of tapestries in Brussels' town hall.<sup>762</sup> Until this point, even though production was centered in Brussels, the sale of tapestries had taken place in Antwerp. The establishment of the *Tapissierspand* was a major development for Brussels' industry; it shifted the merchant end of the tapestry business from Antwerp to Brussels, concentrating all

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<sup>759</sup> See Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)*, 84–85, fig. 30.

<sup>760</sup> Leopold officially abdicated as governor on 9 May 1656.

<sup>761</sup> For Teniers' role as court artist for Don Juan José, see Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)*, 50–52.

<sup>762</sup> Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 214–215; Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 212–213; Brosens, "Nouvelles données sur l'histoire de Cléopâtre de Poerson: le réseau parent et la tapisserie bruxelloise à la française," 71–73. The Antwerp Pand remained open until 1705, but sharply declined.

tapestry activities into one location.<sup>763</sup> The opening of the tapestry hall points to the city's efforts to reinvigorate the industry and to reassert Brussels' prominence at the center of European – and certainly Netherlandish – tapestry production. The *Tapissierspand* highlights Brussels' healthy display of civic pride in its attempt to assert its importance as an artistic center in the 1650s.

Sweerts' intention to establish an academy to instruct a new generation of Brussels tapestry designers – with the hope of reinvigorating the industry – must be seen in conjunction with the efforts of Brussels' tapestry community to promote tapestry production in the foundation of the *Tapissierspand*. Similarly, Sweerts' academy sought to raise Brussels' status as an artistic center. The success of his petition indicates that the city was concerned with this goal. It should be noted that not all petitions were successful – the tapestry producer Matthijs Roelandt's (1602-1663) 1648 petition was rejected – and others required the support of fellow artists.<sup>764</sup> Erasmus III de Pannemaker's (b. 1627) 1663 petition for tax relief was signed by Joris Leemans (c. 1620– c.1663-1667), and the petition that the dyer Gaspar Leyniers (1634-1703) filed in 1671 had twelve supporting signatures.<sup>765</sup> Sweerts' petition, on the other hand, was accepted without needing added support of other artists and he

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<sup>763</sup> Once produced, all tapestries had to first undergo inspection in the hall before their sale. In 1657, each weaver had to sign the tapestries with his own name and not just that of the dealer involved as it had been before. Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 214.

<sup>764</sup> Brosens and De Laet, "Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure: New Data on Baroque Tapestry in Brussels.," 361.

<sup>765</sup> Ibid. A photograph of the original document is included in Brosens, "The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris," 283, fig. 8. The twelve men who signed the petition were Jasper van der Bruggen, Leonard Wyns, Jacob van Zeunen, Andries van den Dries, Jan van Leeftael, Francois van den Hecke, Everard Leyniers, Koenraad van der Bruggen, Philippe Stryckwant, Gerard van der Strecken, Hendrik Reydam and Joris Leemans.

was granted each of the privileges he requested, including the sought after civic guard exemption.<sup>766</sup>

The specific mention of tapestries in the petition is indicative of Sweerts' personal relationships with the tapestry community. As Guy Delmarcel and Koenraad Brosens have established in their scholarship on tapestry production, the Brussels industry was built around closely-knit social and familial relationships that developed among producers, weavers, entrepreneurs and designers.<sup>767</sup> *Tapissiers* often grounded their connections through family ties, making marriages and baptisms important acts in the establishment of social and economic connections. Everaert Leyniers II, for example, had Hendrik Reydam I and Gillis van Habbeke act as godfather to his sons in 1639 and 1641, respectively. The three would go on to collaborate on numerous occasions between 1641 and 1669.<sup>768</sup> Bernadus Leyniers, of the Leyniers tapestry dynasty, served as godfather to the third son of Matthijs

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<sup>766</sup> Once an artist or producer died, his privileges became available again; thus it is also possible that Sweerts took the privileges that had been available after the death of Lanceloot Lefebure, who died c. 1655. Lefebure himself had taken the privileges after the death of Antoon Sallaert in 1650. The tapestry designer Willem van Schoor received privileges in 1659, suggesting that he may have taken them from Sweerts. See Brosens, "The Organization of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris"; Brosens and De Laet, "Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure: New Data on Baroque Tapestry in Brussels." These ideas developed through written correspondence with Koenraad Brosens.

The city council also usually consisted of a considerable number of *tapissiers*, which meant that Sweerts' petition may have had a particularly receptive audience. Gillis van Habbeke and Everaert Leyniers III were both members of the town council and Jan Raes I and II served not only on the council, but even served as mayor. François van den Hecke held the post of tax collector between 1650 and 1666. Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 212; Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry*, 65–67. For a list of the members of Brussels' city council in 1655–1656, see Henne and Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 2: 549. J. van den Hecke and Gaspar Sallaerts (possibly related to Antoon Sallaert) are some of the members listed.

<sup>767</sup> See Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry*; Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 212–213; Koenraad Brosens, Leen Kelchtermans, and Katlijne van der Stighelen, eds., *Family Ties. Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

<sup>768</sup> Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry*; Delmarcel, "Tapestry in the Baroque," 212–213.

Roelandts and his wife Johanna de Pot, and Jan II Raes was the godfather to their daughter in 1634.<sup>769</sup> In 1643, Lanceloot Lefebure also became the godfather to Antoon Sallaert's daughter, Maria.<sup>770</sup> In this light, Sweerts' connections with other artists active in the tapestry business are significant. The professional relationships that Sweerts formed within the tapestry industry, in addition to his family's connections to the textile trade, help to establish his place within the cultural fabric of Brussels in the 1650s.<sup>771</sup>

The landscape in *The Bathers* (fig. 43), for instance, has been convincingly attributed to the landscape painter and tapestry designer Lodewijk de Vadder (1605-1655).<sup>772</sup> De Vadder received privileges from the Brussels magistrates in 1644 for his work as a designer of tapestry cartoons.<sup>773</sup> Anna de Vadder (1623-1695), probably Lodewijk's cousin, became godmother to Sweerts' nephew, Michael Auwerkercken, at his baptism on 19 July 1655 in the Parish of St. Nicolas, the same church where Sweerts had been baptized in 1618.<sup>774</sup> In 1657 Sweerts became godfather to Michael Kimps, the son of his brother-in-law, Gaspar Kimps, a Brussels linen merchant.<sup>775</sup>

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<sup>769</sup> Brosens and De Laet, "Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure: New Data on Baroque Tapestry in Brussels.," 360–361.

<sup>770</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

<sup>771</sup> For a discussion of Sweerts' family and its connection to textiles, see Chapter 1.

<sup>772</sup> See Jansen and Sutton, *Michael Sweerts*, 130–131. The literature on De Vadder is also scarce; see J. de Maere, Jennifer A Martin, and Marie Wabbes, *Illustrated Dictionary of 17th Century Flemish Painters* (Brussels: Renaissance du livre, 1994), 1: 403–404.

<sup>773</sup> See Wauters, *Les tapisseries bruxelloises*, 243–244.

<sup>774</sup> Sweerts was godfather to his nephew, who was the son of his sister, Catherine, and her husband Judocus. See Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View," 32. Brussels, Registres de Baptêmes, Paroisse de Saint-Nicolas, vol. 461, fol. 85v.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. SAB, Parish records, (Paroisse de Saint-Nicolas), vol. 462, fol. 110r.

Sweerts must have also been in contact in these years with Cousin, who had returned to Brussels in 1655 after twenty-nine years in Italy. According to Cousin's biographer, Giovanni Battista Passeri, the artist also designed tapestry cartoons in the late 1650s.<sup>776</sup> With his academic background and long history with Sweerts, Cousin may have reinforced Sweerts' connections to the tapestry world and supported the establishment of his academy.

*Teniers and the Beginnings of an Academy of Art in Antwerp*

In the late 1650s, David Teniers began to recognize that artistic reform was also as necessary in Antwerp as it was in Brussels. In a letter to Philip IV in early 1662, Teniers, writing on behalf of Antwerp's Guild of St. Luke, lamented the unfortunate state of artistic affairs in the Southern Netherlands.<sup>777</sup> Recognizing the decline of art since the death of Rubens, Teniers complained that young artists were not being sufficiently educated in Antwerp. He urged Philip to support the establishment of an academy of art [in Antwerp] modeled on those in Rome and

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<sup>776</sup> Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, 241–242. Primo is mentioned in the petition for tax relief filed by Daniel II Eggermans in 1662.

<sup>777</sup> The letter is recorded in Van den Branden, *Gescheidenis der Academie van Antwerpen*, 103–104. See also Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, 164–176; Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 126–129; L.Th. van Looij, “De Antwerpse Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten,” in *Academies of Art: Between Renaissance and Romanticism. Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, ed. Anton Boschloo, vol. 5–6 (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989), 302–319; Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)*, 68–71.

Paris.<sup>778</sup> Such an institution for academic instruction would provide nourishment and respect for the art and artists of the city.<sup>779</sup>

From his privileged place in Brussels, Teniers was in a favorable position to act on behalf of the Antwerp guild.<sup>780</sup> His interests in supporting an academy in Antwerp, rather than in Brussels, stemmed from his personal and professional ties to the city.<sup>781</sup> He also must have been aware of Sweerts' academy in Brussels, and endeavored to establish a similar tradition in Antwerp. A native of that city, Teniers was still close to his brothers who resided there, as well as the family of his wife, Anna Brueghel, the daughter of the well-respected still-life painter Jan Brueghel the Elder.<sup>782</sup> Teniers had traveled to Antwerp regularly to purchase art on Leopold's behalf, and he had a strong history with the Guild of St. Luke, having served as its dean in 1644.<sup>783</sup>

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<sup>778</sup> Van den Branden, *Gescheidenis der Academie van Antwerpen*, 103.

<sup>779</sup> Teniers had likely expressed the idea for an academy as early as 1655, while he was still working for Leopold, in a now lost series of letters with the then Antwerp burgomaster and dean of the guild, Hendrick van Halmale the Younger (1596-1679). The correspondence suggests that the idea for an academy and the need for reform had already been brewing for some time. These letters are mentioned by Van den Branden without any reference to a source, and they have since disappeared. *Ibid.*, 17. Vlieghe also discusses the correspondence between Teniers and Van Halmale the Younger. See Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)*, 69; Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, 165-169.

<sup>780</sup> Although Teniers was no longer officially employed as court artist after the departure of Don Juan José in 1660, he continued to reside in Brussels and remained an influential figure in the artistic and cultural life of the city.

<sup>781</sup> In addition to Teniers' personal interests, Antwerp must have seemed like a natural choice for an academy in the Southern Netherlands because of its long history as the center of artistic activity in the region. It may have also been a recognition of a lack of commitment to the arts in Brussels after Leopold's departure.

<sup>782</sup> Teniers married Anna Brueghel in 1637.

<sup>783</sup> Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)*, 68.

In 1663, a year after Teniers submitted his letter to Phillip IV, the Antwerp city magistrates were requested to ask for a report from the members of the guild to describe the benefits an academic institution would offer to the city.<sup>784</sup> The guild's detailed report emphasized an academy's potential to revitalize Antwerp's artistic life, remarkably stressing that, should they fail to approve it, the academy "would certainly be founded instead in Brussels (where the authorities would make strenuous efforts to achieve it), which city would consequently 'attract all the arts such as painting, engraving, sculpture etc.'"<sup>785</sup> Teniers' 1662 letter and the guild's remarks about the need for academic instruction and reform, and their potential to "nourish" the art and artists of Antwerp, echoed Sweerts' earlier appeal to the Brussels magistrates. The guild's comments also point to a sense of competition with Brussels, and suggest their awareness of Sweerts' academy, which had succeeded in the city several years earlier. Although Sweerts' school dissolved by 1660, it seems to have left an important mark and academic precedent in Brussels' artistic life.<sup>786</sup>

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<sup>784</sup> A year after receiving Teniers' letter, Phillip IV asked for further recommendations from the marquis of Caracena, who was in Brussels serving as governor. Caracena, in turn, sent the letter to the Privy Council, who then passed it on to Antwerp's city council. Two of the council's prominent members, Floris van Berchem and Gregorius Martens, were appointed to investigate the benefits such an academy might offer to the city. See *Ibid.*, 69. The guild's support of the founding of an institutionalized academy was in striking contrast to the situation in Paris, where the academy arose out of fierce disagreements and competition with the guild. For a further discussion of the relationship between the guild and the academy in Antwerp, see Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, 167–169.

<sup>785</sup> The original report is recorded in A.S.A., *Collegial Actenboeck*, 1663, folio 3. For the partially paraphrased translation of the original text, see Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)*, 70. The original text is transcribed in *Ibid.*, 122, note 73. It reads: "ende waert saecke de Heeren van het Magistraet oordeelden de versochte Academie niet nut, om deselve te aenvaerden, ist seker de selve by de H.H. van Brussel (dewelcke daer groote instantie toe doen) sal aenveerd worden, ende door dien middle alle consten van schilderen, plaetsnyden, beelthouden, etc. tot hun trecken, daer de stadt Antwerpen alyt van heft gefloreert."

<sup>786</sup> After Sweerts' academy in Brussels and the Antwerp Academy, no other academy would be founded in the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Lucas Fayd'herde attempted to found an academy in Mechelen in 1684, but was turned down by the city government. See Emmanuel



Teniers' vision for the academy in Antwerp was on a much larger scale than Sweerts' modest endeavor: the Antwerp Academy was intended as a state-sponsored institution with a comprehensive program of instruction. The curriculum was to be organized along the lines of the Italian and French examples, including the study of geometry, perspective, anatomy and life drawing.<sup>787</sup> With Teniers' initiative, the institution was officially inaugurated on 18 October 1663, and was provided rooms next to the St. Luke's Guild's chambers in the Bourse.<sup>788</sup> Its immediate future was guaranteed by the financial support granted from Philip IV.<sup>789</sup> Although the academy functioned as a branch of the guild, it restricted its membership to painters, engravers and sculptors; artists whose work required a theoretical, as well as a practical education.<sup>790</sup>

Despite the Antwerp Academy's lofty ambitions, life drawing would be the only course it offered until 1690.<sup>791</sup> An account book from 1666, which records the

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Neeffs, *Histoire de la peinture et de la sculpture à Malines* (Ghent: Van der Haeghen, 1876), 1: 51. Sweerts' academy may have also served as an important precedent for the academy founded in Brussels in 1711 for tapestry-weavers, painters and sculptors. See Pinchart, "Recherches sur l'histoire et les médailles des Académies et des Écoles de Dessin, de Peinture, de Sculpture, d'Architecture et de Gravure en Belgique," 207–223.

<sup>787</sup> Van den Branden, *Gescheidenis der Academie van Antwerpen*, 19; Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, 167–168.

<sup>788</sup> The Royal Decree for the foundation of the academy was signed on 6 July 1663. Van den Branden, *Gescheidenis der Academie van Antwerpen*, 106–109; Looij, "De Antwerpse Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten," 306–311.

<sup>789</sup> Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, 166; Looij, "De Antwerpse Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten," 308.

<sup>790</sup> Other artisans, art dealers – and even architects – who counted themselves among the regular members of the guild, were not permitted to become members of the academy. *Liefhebbers* were permitted to join the academy; they can be compared to the *accademici di grazia*, which denoted princes, lords and other noblemen who joined the Accademia di San Luca in Rome for pleasure.

<sup>791</sup> The importance accorded to life drawing was made clear from the academy's foundation. See Van den Branden, *Gescheidenis der Academie van Antwerpen*, 19–20.

expenses from that year, specifies that two models were used “*het ene jong het andere oud*” (one young and the other old).<sup>792</sup> Drawing after classical sculpture was formally introduced in 1693, followed by courses on perspective and anatomy.<sup>793</sup> The reasons for the academy’s failure to realize fully its ambitions are not altogether clear, but complaints were levied about absent teachers and financial difficulties.<sup>794</sup> Despite these shortcomings, the initiative for a state-sponsored academy of art in Antwerp on a scale comparable to those in Florence, Rome and Paris encapsulated the shifting attitudes towards the education of artists in the Netherlands in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>795</sup> Although slow to implement its full curriculum, the fact that the academy’s activities in its first twenty-seven years were dedicated to drawing *naer het leven* demonstrates the primacy of that Netherlandish academic tradition.

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<sup>792</sup> The account book from 1666, in addition to noting that the two models earned 240 *gulden*, also included costs for heating (60 *gulden*), lighting (80 *gulden*) and remuneration for the guardian of the painter’s room (100 *gulden*). Interestingly, this same record lists remuneration for the teachers in the sciences of building, perspective and geometry (*vergoeding van de leeraars in bouw-, doorzicht- en meetkunde* [500 *gulden*]); the meaning of this entry is unclear, given the fact that that full courses on these subjects were not introduced until after 1693. It is possible that general attention to these subjects was given within the context of the drawing sessions. For this document, see Looij, “De Antwerpse Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten,” 311, 319, note 14.

<sup>793</sup> Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, 170–171.

<sup>794</sup> A sign of the academy’s struggling state during these years was also evident in the popularity of the local Antwerp painter Abraham Genoels (1640-1723), who, having recently returned from a stay at the Parisian academy in about 1690, began to attract young artists to lectures in his studio. He offered lectures on mathematics, geometry, perspective and architecture, subjects that were not yet fully offered at the Antwerp Academy. He apparently drew such great numbers that he asked the city for permission to use the academy’s rooms – a request flatly denied. *Ibid.*, 171; Looij, “De Antwerpse Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten,” 311.

<sup>795</sup> The Antwerp Academy’s emergence from the framework of the guild, and its inextricable ties to it, are often discussed in the scholarship as being unusual. This understanding comes from comparisons to the Royal Academy in Paris, which was an exceptional case in its own right. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, the academies in Florence and Rome did not emerge in opposition to the guilds, but in fact absorbed their functions and purpose within the new academic framework.

*The Rise of Academicism in the Netherlands in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*

In 1678, Willem Goeree published his *Inleydinge tot de Al-ghemeene Teycken-Konst* in Middelburg, the most important theoretical text on drawing published in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.<sup>796</sup> In *Teycken-Konst*, Goeree, who was not trained as an artist, described in five chapters the stages of instruction first recommended by Leonardo da Vinci.<sup>797</sup> The student should begin by copying prints, drawings and paintings, and then proceed to sculpture and plaster casts, before drawing after the live model. He advised students to attend drawing workshops on their own, which he termed “*academy-beelden*” or “*collegia*.” Goeree never mentioned the Italian or French academies in this context; instead, his “*collegia*” continued the Netherlandish tradition of drawing from the model as it was practiced in Haarlem, Utrecht and Amsterdam.<sup>798</sup> Although Goeree’s pedagogical method was not original, it was the first detailed written manual dedicated to drawing in the Netherlands. Moreover, his specific recommendations for how such drawing workshops should be conducted – he recommended that a group of eight or ten youths

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<sup>796</sup> For Goeree, see Kwakkelstein, *Willem Goeree*. Samuel van Hoogstraten also published his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst; anders de zichtbare werelt* in 1678, though in comparison to his predecessors, the treatise is much broader in its scope and aims. Hoogstraten dealt with the topic of drawing, but his concerns were more theoretical than practical, and tied in with his larger goal of situating painting among the liberal arts. The book is organized in nine chapters that Hoogstraten describes as “our Academy” with “nine rooms of learning.” While his “academy” is a theoretical and literary construct in this context, Westeijn has suggested that the *Inleyding* may be considered the program for an academy that was never realized. See, most recently, Weststeijn, *The visible world*, especially 41–46.

<sup>797</sup> Goeree followed Leonardo’s model without ever citing his source; though he himself owned a copy of the French edition of the *Trattato della Pittura*. Kwakkelstein, *Willem Goeree*, 37–38.

<sup>798</sup> See Goeree, 31-37; Klerk, “‘Academy-Beelden’ and ‘Teeken-Schoolen’ in Dutch Seventeenth-century Treatises on Art,” 283–287; Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, 19–21.

gather once or twice a week and that a stove should be lit in the winter – emerged from his own observations on contemporary artistic practice.<sup>799</sup>

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Gerard de Lairese (1640-1711), an artist and theorist who had moved to Amsterdam in the mid-1660s from his native Liège, also produced a treatise on drawing, the *Grondlegginge ter Teekenkonst* (1701).<sup>800</sup> The *Grondlegginge* was intended as a practical and theoretical guide for young artists and amateurs, leading them through simple and complex exercises in rendering the human form, including studies of perspective and drapery.<sup>801</sup> The treatise emerged from a long tradition of seventeenth-century drawing books, but it was directly influenced by Goeree's example, as well as the experience of the drawing academies that De Lairese knew in Amsterdam and The Hague. De Lairese wrote that he had "attended the weekly Colleges and drawn *Akademie Beelden naar 't leeven'*" in the last few decades of the century in Amsterdam.<sup>802</sup> He

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<sup>799</sup> Goeree, 72-73; 76.

<sup>800</sup> De Lairese was trained by his father, but his work demonstrates the influence of the classicizing Liège artist Bertholet Flémalle. A love affair caused De Lairese to leave his hometown in 1664; he then went to Utrecht for a year and a half, for reasons that are unclear, before moving to Amsterdam. He led a successful career in that city, working for prominent patrons, including Willem III of Orange, who became *stadhouder* in 1672. De Lairese's patronage for the court must have also brought him to The Hague. His career as a painter ceased in 1690 when he lost his eyesight, to which he then turned to writing. He was also active with the Amsterdam literary society *Nil Volentibus*, as well as the theater. See Lyckle de Vries, *Gérard De Lairese: An Artist Between Stage and Studio* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), 1–63. For the *Grondlegginge ter Teekenkonst*, see *Ibid.*, 73–88; Eddy de Jongh, "The Artist's Apprentice and Minerva's Secret: An Allegory of Drawing by Jan De Lairese," *Simiolus* 13, no. 3/4 (1983): 201–217.

<sup>801</sup> Gérard de Lairese, *Grondlegginge ter Teekenkonst, zynde een korte en zekere weg om door middel van de Geometrie of Meetkunde, de Teekenkonst volkomen te leeren* (Amsterdam: De Coup, 1701).

<sup>802</sup> As cited in Klerk, "'Academy-Beelden' and 'Teeken-Schoolen' in Dutch Seventeenth-century Treatises on Art," 286.

also refers to drawing from a model in the *collegia* several times in his slightly later manual on painting, the *Groot Schilderboek*, published in 1707.<sup>803</sup>

De Lairese was probably referring to drawing academies like the academy established in The Hague in 1682, and the academy founded by the history painter and portraitist, Barent Graat (1628-1709), in Amsterdam in the 1690s.<sup>804</sup> De Lairese and Graat, who were (at least for a time) close friends, had in fact planned to open an academy together.<sup>805</sup> The endeavor never materialized, but Graat apparently went forward with the establishment of his academy.<sup>806</sup> In his *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* published in 1753, Arnold Houbraken informs us that Graat organized sessions for drawing the nude model – “in the way of the French Academy” – twice a week in his house in Amsterdam.<sup>807</sup> The academy

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<sup>803</sup> De Lairese’s treatise was influenced by Hoogstraten’s *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*. For the *Groot Schilderboek*, as well as an English translation of the entire treatise, see Vries, *How to Create Beauty*. For De Lairese’s references to drawing *naer het leven* and the drawing academy, see Gérard de Lairese, *The Great Book on Painting, Offering Thorough Instruction in The Art of Painting in All Its Aspects, Explaining It Through Reasoning and with the Help of Prints; Using Examples from the Best Works of Art of the Most Excellent Older and Newer Painters as Demonstrations: Thus Indicating How Art Should and Should Not Be*, trans. Lyckle de Vries (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2011), 1: 38, 50, 51, 139, 303.

<sup>804</sup> The academy in The Hague developed out of the painter’s confraternity, *Pictura*, which had formed in 1656. De Lairese and Hoogstraten were among its members. The Hague academy focused on drawing the nude model several times per week. It initially struggled to survive due to a lack of students, in part a result of arbitrary policies that drove away more experienced artists. For Graat, see Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, 96–97. For the academy in The Hague, see Roekel, Knolle, and Delft, *Haags naakt*, 5–14.

<sup>805</sup> Graat apparently visited De Lairese regularly at his home in Amsterdam, and Graat was also influenced by De Lairese’s style of painting. See Jan van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen: waer in de levens- en kunstbedryven der tans levende en reets overleedene schilders, die van Houbraken, noch eenig ander schryver, zyn aengeteekend, verhaelt worden* (The Hague: Van Gool, 1750), 2: 504; J. J. M. Timmers, *Gérard Lairese* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1942), 13; Bikker, “The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts,” 304–305.

<sup>806</sup> Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen*, 2: 504.

<sup>807</sup> The original text reads: “Vyfthien agter een volgende jaren hield hy twee maal ter week in zyn Huis een Kweekschool op de wyze der Koninglyke Academie, niet alleen voor zig zelve, maar ook voor

seems to have been successful, for it existed for fifteen years and attracted the best of Amsterdam's painters.<sup>808</sup>

Since at least the late 1650s, Graat had also enjoyed a close professional relationship with the Deutz brothers. He executed a grand family portrait in 1658, as well as three portraits of children for Jean Deutz, and was involved in matters related to Joseph Deutz's estate after his death in 1684.<sup>809</sup> Graat's academic and classicist interests must have complemented the collecting tastes of the Deutz's. He would have been familiar with Sweerts' works in their collection, namely the *Painter's Academy*, *A Roman Seamstress*, the *Seven Acts of Mercy*, and the portraits that Sweerts executed of the brothers in Rome.<sup>810</sup> Sweerts' manner of painting and artistic and academic ideas probably became known to artists in Amsterdam in the second

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*anderen die zig geneigt vonden door dien weg tot de kundigheid van 't naakt te komen. De eerste en voornaamste der Amsterdamsche Konstschilders begaven zig in dit Konstgenootschap, waar men zoo wel naar een levendig Mannen-, als Vrouwen Model, teekende; en zyne byzondere leeryver lokte ook anderen uit om hem op dit spoor te volgen, waar door het gezelschap tot een twintigtal aangroeide."* Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (The Hague: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, en M. Gaillard, 1753), 2: 203. Of course Graat's academy, while reflective of the French academy in spirit, was on a much smaller and more modest scale.

<sup>808</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>809</sup> For Graat's relationship to the Deutz family, see Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 304–305. The *Portrait of the five Deutz brothers* from 1658, which remains in the family until today, depicts the brothers in an Italianate villa with a white marble sculpture of Apollo. In 1688, Graat was responsible for assessing and then drawing up a list of the twelve paintings in Joseph's collection, which had originally been a part of his brother Jeronimus' estate. Sweerts' "Painter's Academy" was among the twelve paintings, in addition to a number of works by Italianate Dutch and Flemish artists. Joseph Deutz also owned a "naked Venus" by Graat. Ibid., 283, Appendix C, 309–310.

<sup>810</sup> The fact that Graat was responsible for assessing Joseph's group of twelve paintings at the estate in 1684 strongly supports the notion that he was directly familiar with Sweerts' painting of the artist's studio, a subject with which he would have found close to his own academic interests. See Chapter 1 for the Deutz's patronage of Sweerts. For a discussion of Graat's interest in French classicism, and the important influence of De Lairese, see Bikker, "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts," 303–305.

half of the seventeenth century through Graat.<sup>811</sup> The Deutz family's collection thus may have played an even more important role in propagating Sweerts' artistic attitudes than has heretofore been recognized.

Netherlandish artists at the end of the seventeenth century, like Graat and De Lairese, were increasingly influenced by the rigorous academicism implemented at the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture in Paris and the growing importance of classicism as a distinctive style and theoretical framework governed by an ideal of beauty.<sup>812</sup> This new attitude was exemplified in the publication of Jan de Bisschop's *Signorum Veterum Icones* in 1668 and the *Paradigmata Graphices* in 1671, which created a canon of ideal beauty based on a collection of etchings he had made of antique sculpture.<sup>813</sup> De Bisschop wrote in his preface that "since antiquity so judiciously selected from so great a variety of things whatever is excellent in nature

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<sup>811</sup> There is also the possibility that Sweerts met Graat and others when he was in Amsterdam in 1660. It would be unlikely if he had not at least visited the Deutz family, as they were such important patrons. Bikker also raises these broader points in his article, but does not go so far as to suggest the significance of Graat or De Lairese seeing Sweerts' painting of the academy. See *Ibid.*, 305–306.

<sup>812</sup> It is interesting to note that later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts cite the French, rather than the Italian academy specifically. This shift suggests that the French academic model, which was also more recent, went hand in hand with the increasing influence of French classicism on the art of the Netherlands during this period.

<sup>813</sup> De Bisschop's *Icones* contained one hundred etchings of a select group of antique sculpture taken from drawings that De Bisschop made after drawings and prints by other artists. The *Paradigmata* was intended as a pedagogical book, which contained drawings after various Italian artists and classical portrait busts. De Bisschop's books represent the further formalization of earlier examples of this kind, ranging from Coebergher's early seventeenth-century treatises to French artist François Perrier's *Icones et segmenta*, a collection of one hundred prints of the finest antique sculptures in Rome, published in 1638 (Perrier's volume contained one contemporary example: Michelangelo's *Moses*). It also continues another side of this tradition as evidenced in Guistiniani's volume of his collection of antique sculpture and even Dal Pozzo's *Museo Cartaceo*, which had sought to classify all aspects of the ancient world. See Bolten, *Method and Practice*, 68–72, 256–258; Gelder, Jost, and Andrews, *Jan de Bisschop and his icones & paradigmata*.

herself, it is rightly regarded as the best guide.”<sup>814</sup> He specifically praised Poussin in this classicist context, emphasizing that his abilities as a painter developed because of his “close and thorough attention to the statues at Rome.”<sup>815</sup>

Sweerts and his academy anticipated this later academic approach. His extensive use of antique sculpture – and emulation of Poussin – as well as the academy he founded in the early to mid-1650s, situates him at the forefront of many of these developments. While Sweerts’ dedication to working *naer het leven* and depicting unidealized scenes of daily life belong in many ways to earlier Netherlandish traditions, his ability to join Italian and Netherlandish models in his work and academy provides critical insight into the development of formal ideas of artistic education in the Low Countries. He thus may be seen as representing a transitional moment in the history of academic traditions in the Netherlands, while at the same time demonstrating a unique conception of academic practice through his inclusion of tapestry designers in a seventeenth-century academy.

The short-lived existence of Sweerts’ endeavor (c. 1653/54-1660), which never operated on the scale of institutions like those in Rome, Paris or Antwerp, relegates his academy to a secondary place in the history of academies. Its success has been questioned by scholars in part because only one documented pupil of

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<sup>814</sup> This advice is in contrast to the criticism that he gives to earlier seventeenth-century Dutch artists, who wrongly believed that “whatever is unsightly in reality is pleasing and praiseworthy in art, and that consequently a deformed, wrinkled and tottering old man is more suitable for a painting than a handsome and youthful one.” See Gelder, Jost, and Andrews, *Jan de Bisschop and his icones & paradigmata*, 90.

<sup>815</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.



Sweerts is known.<sup>816</sup> Yet as this chapter has demonstrated, Sweerts' academy has to be viewed within the broader context and development of the "academy" – as an idea and as an institution – and, specifically, within the artistic traditions in Brussels in the seventeenth century.

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<sup>816</sup> See Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 43–46; Bikker, "Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View." Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Ambachten en gilden van Brabant: Schilders, Goudslagers en Glazenmakers, inv. 818, fol. 214r.

## Conclusion

Before Sweerts left Brussels for Amsterdam in 1660, he presented a self-portrait to the Guild of St. Luke. The gift is recorded in its records from 1659:

first, we have received the //

portrait of mister michael sweerts //

who leaves that [painting] in the room [i.e. the meeting room of the guild] as a reminder //

of him; [it is] painted by himself.<sup>817</sup>

The portrait has never been identified. It is most likely the *Self-Portrait as a Painter* (fig. 1), which depicts Sweerts as the learned artist, elegantly dressed and delicately holding his brushes before an Italianate landscape. Looking confidently out at the viewer, Sweerts transcends the craft of his profession for the lofty theoretical world of the academician. While this portrait would have been a fitting gift for the guild, Sweerts' *Self-Portrait with a Skull*, probably executed around 1659, also bears consideration (fig. 54). Hardly the assured academician of the former, this self-portrait reveals another side to Sweerts' artistic convictions. With a penetrating stare, Sweerts invites the viewer to contemplate the very notions of mortality that the skull poignantly evokes. The unusual image raises questions about the nature of Sweerts' faith and religious beliefs, but it also allows us to reflect on his artistic identity and legacy in Brussels. The guild's acceptance of his gift – in whatever form it may have

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<sup>817</sup> Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Ambachten en gilden van Brabant: Schilders, Goudslagers en Glazenmakers, inv. 818, fol. 221v. I would like to thank Koenraad Brosens for his translation of this document into English.

taken – demonstrated their pride in an artist who clearly held a significant place in the cultural history of their city.

*Sweerts in Perspective*

In the absence of information about Sweerts’ pupils, and the lacunae that exist in our understanding of his life, it remains difficult to assess the full extent of his influence as an artist after his lifetime. However, Sweerts’ understanding of the potential of antique sculpture – and that of Duquesnoy – to serve as a source of inspiration was important to the development of late seventeenth-century classicism in the Netherlands. Sweerts’ ability to fuse classicist forms with his studies of nature in the academy provided a model for subsequent artists, like David Teniers in Antwerp and Barent Graat in Amsterdam. His academy may have also been a model for the first public academy of art to be founded in Brussels in 1711, which offered instruction in drawing to painters, sculptors, and notably, tapestry designers.

The formalization of artistic instruction in the academy also paralleled the publication of Dutch theoretical treatises on the art of drawing and painting. Works by Goeree, De Bisschop and De Lairese expressed the idea that art could not only be learned, but that it should aspire to an ideal of beauty. Sweerts’ career in Rome and Brussels fit squarely in this larger context, reflecting earlier academic traditions, while anticipating the advent of this academic-driven classicism in the last quarter of the century. Sweerts’ position at a juncture of Netherlandish and Italian academic cultures and commitment to artistic instruction make him a significant and unique figure for understanding the development of the early modern Netherlandish academy. His pursuit of the “academy” – both painted and real – sheds new light

onto a complex experience in the seventeenth century, evoking in its scope and ambition the tides of tradition and innovation in the education of the artist.

Moreover, Sweerts' artistic relationship with, and influence on, his contemporaries and a later generation of Flemish artists deserves further exploration. Wallerant Vaillant's (1623-1677) *A Young Boy Copying a Painting* (c. 1658), for example, engages the themes of diligent practice and inspiration that were central to Sweerts' own images of artistic learning.<sup>818</sup> Vaillant, predominantly active in Amsterdam, would also go on to create a mezzotint after Sweerts' *Boy Drawing before the Bust of a Roman Emperor* (fig. 14).<sup>819</sup> The Bruges painter, Jacob van Oost the Elder (1603-1671), turned to the subject of artistic education in his 1666 *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 55), which represents a young boy surrounded by the instruments of academic instruction.<sup>820</sup> Holding up a red chalk drawing of the classical bust standing on the table before him, he displays for the viewer the fruits of his hard-earned artistic labor.

Towards the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, Antwerp artists Gerard Thomas (1663-1721) and Balthasar van den Bossche (1681-1715) depicted monumental images of artists' studios. Both men were active in Antwerp's artistic and academic communities; Thomas served as dean of the Guild of

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<sup>818</sup> Vaillant, *A Young Boy Copying a Painting*, oil on panel, 32.1 x 39.5 cm, Guildhall Art Gallery, City of London. For a broader discussion of Vaillant's other works of young artists drawing, including *A Youth Drawing* (Paris, Louvre) now attributed to Jan Lievens, see Bernhard Schnackenburg, "Knabe im Atelier und Bücherstilleben, zwei frühe Gemälde von Jan Lievens und ihr Leidener Kontext: Rembrandt, Jan Davidz. de Heem, Pieter Codde," *Oud Holland* 117, no. 1/2 (2004): 33–47.

<sup>819</sup> Vaillant, *Boy Drawing before the Bust of a Roman Emperor*, after Michael Sweerts, mezzotint, 33 x 26.9 cm, London, The British Museum.

<sup>820</sup> While there is no evidence to suggest that the two artists knew each other, Van Oost and Sweerts share a similar sensitivity and handling towards the figure in their portraits and head studies. See also Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts*, 9; 48; 58, note 20; 75.

St. Luke twice during his career, and Van den Bossche, Thomas's pupil, acted as director of the Antwerp Academy in the early eighteenth century.<sup>821</sup> Although it is uncertain whether Thomas and Van den Bossche knew Sweerts' works directly, their connections to the Antwerp Academy and the subject and character of their paintings, such as *A Painter's Studio* (fig. 56) and *A Sculptor's Studio* (fig. 57), suggest that they inherited Sweerts' attitudes towards the representation of the artist at work.

These artists broadly share Sweerts' conception of the artist's studio and academy, while they demonstrate the importance of drawing and antique sculpture for artistic practice. Like Thomas and Van den Bossche, Sweerts often has well-dressed visitors in his modest studios that remind the viewer of the important dynamic between artist and patron, and the need to express the nobility of the artist's profession. In this regard, the latter two artists belong to a different generation, and their works point to the growing trend in the eighteenth century of the amateur art lover, or *liefhebber*, attending drawing schools, like those in Amsterdam, to showcase his cultivation and refined education and manners.<sup>822</sup>

Sweerts' legacy may also be modestly observed in a small drawing executed by the Flemish artist Philippe Joseph Tassaert (1732-1803) in 1764, during the years in which the Brussels academy was active.<sup>823</sup> Known as *A Brussels Drawing*

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<sup>821</sup> For further discussion and references to Thomas (who was only discovered in 1902) and Van den Bossche, both of whom are understudied, see Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, 177–186; Lock, "Picturing the Use, Collecting and Display of Plaster Casts in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Artists' Studios in Antwerp and Brussels," 261–263.

<sup>822</sup> For drawing academies in the Netherlands in the eighteenth century, see Knolle, "Tekenenacademies in de Noordelijke Nederlanden: de 17de en 18de eeuw"; Knolle, "Dilettanten en hun rol in 18de-eeuwse Noordnederlandse tekenacademies."

<sup>823</sup> The drawing is signed and dated, "*Tassaert. del Bruxelles. 1764.*" The figures are dressed in seventeenth-century costume.

*Academy* (fig. 58), Tassaert's image depicts a group of young men tightly gathered before a table to draw a small plaster cast of the *Borghese Gladiator*. The lamp above illuminates their rough sketches and the quick chance for a whisper that takes place between the two boys to the left. In the center of the composition the instructor guides a pupil towards the sculptural model with a gentle hand. Glancing back at the viewer, a small boy invites us in to this intimate moment of instruction, reflecting, several generations later, Sweerts' own paintings of the artist at work.

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This dissertation has shown that Michael Sweerts, long considered a mysterious and conflicted *bambocciant*e artist, was also a sophisticated figure well-versed in Netherlandish and Italian artistic and academic traditions. A player on the artistic stage in mid-seventeenth-century Rome, Sweerts directly engaged with his more famous contemporaries, François Duquesnoy and Nicholas Poussin, as he navigated his role in the circles surrounding the Accademia di San Luca and in the politics of patronage under Camillo Pamphilj. At the same time, he was also a part of the larger community of Netherlanders in Rome, responding to shared iconographic and stylistic traditions with his own distinctive artistic sensibility. Sweerts' portraits and *bambocciant*e scenes demonstrate his sensitive observation and rendering of life in its humble and unadorned forms. His deep interest in the education of artists and the academy – as a concept and as an institution – found remarkable expression in his paintings of artists drawing and painting in and outside of the studio. They are a testament to his own artistic vision, but they also guide us towards an understanding

of an academic tradition in the Netherlands born from the coalescence of Northern and Southern attitudes towards artistic education and practice.

Just as this dissertation has underscored Sweerts' ingenuity and, at times, idiosyncrasy as an artist, it has also firmly situated his work within well-established artistic traditions. The ways in which he responded to the academic prints and drawing books produced in Italy and the Netherlands during this period demonstrate his desire to participate in this didactic culture. Sweerts' decision to establish the drawing academy in Brussels may also be understood as a response to these very same traditions. While related to earlier Netherlandish drawing academies, Sweerts' academy in Brussels drew from his experience with Rome's formal and informal academies of art. In his academy, he sought to instruct young artists and tapestry designers in drawing *naer het leven*, which was an innovative and timely decision that reflected his keen understanding of Brussels' artistic culture.

A significant aspect of this dissertation has been dedicated to defining the artistic and intellectual contexts of Brussels in the seventeenth century. This framework has brought to light the interrelated nature of Sweerts' personal and professional lives and has demonstrated the influential role of the tapestry industry in fostering Brussels' dynamic culture. As a result, this study has illuminated a long overlooked period of Sweerts' career, subsequently developing a continuous narrative that runs through his life in Brussels and Rome. This investigation has also provided insight into the artists who may have served as models for the young Sweerts, perhaps most important among them, the painter Theodoor van Loon. My examination of the artistic, economic and social contexts of Brussels has also allowed for a more

nuanced perspective on the North-South artistic exchange and the reception of the classical tradition in the Netherlands.

This dissertation's focus on Sweerts' academic interests has made possible a broader examination of the concept of the "academy" in the Netherlands and Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While Sweerts was by no means unique in his decision to travel to Italy, or in his strong response to its artistic culture, his defined, continual efforts to represent artists learning and practicing their profession with sensitivity and immediacy was exceptional. Viewed concurrently with his academic activities in Rome and his drawing academy and didactic etchings in Brussels, these paintings provide insights into established traditions by showing them from new perspectives. Thus not only has this dissertation demonstrated Sweerts' significance as an artist and his contribution to academic traditions in the Netherlands, but it has also assessed how Northern and Southern modes of artistic practice and instruction coalesced to shape their identity. Sweerts' images ultimately provide us with a richer understanding of the cultural moment from which he came, and the larger artistic and academic traditions to which he contributed in thoughtful and fascinating ways.



## Appendices

### Appendix 1

Brussels, Stadsarchief

Registers der tresorije gehouden, Oud Archief, inv. 1297, fols. 117v.-118v (Vyffde Register te Tresorye gehouden t'sedert Syne Ma. ts nijeuwen Reglemente begonst 14 Novembris 1654 geejndicht 10 Januarij 1660).

Aen mijne heeren die Wethourderen deser stadt Brusselen:

Verthoont reverentelijck Michiel Swerts, hoe dat hij naer langduerige reijse soo in Italie als andere quartieren sonder jactantie geschreven is gecommen tot soodaenige kennisse van die schilderkunste ende het teeckenen dat hij selver bij sijne Heijlichheit is vereerd geworden met den tijtel van Ridder ende andere eermercken ende also hem ten leste die lieffde tot sijn Vaederlandt heft wedergeroepen tot sijne geboortestadt, heft alhier in die selve met grooten kost opgericht ende nu langen tijt onderhouden d'accademie van die teeckeninge naer het leven, tot die welcke veelde Jongelingen daegelijcx sijn frequenterende ende waervan die sekere vruchte verhoopt wordt dat die teeckenkonste in weijninge Jaeren sal komen tot haere perfectie, ended at daer vuijt sullen voortcomen een groot getal van volmaeckte mannen het effect waervan wesen sal, dat die konste van tapisserijen grooten alhier versleght en verargert om die groote missteltenisse van nieuw tot sijnen ouwden luyster ende eere sal herkomen ende voor die reste een grootte manufacture ende handelinge van schilderijen plaeten, beelden als andere konsten, om allen het wens des Verthoonder verhoopt dat uwe vererw: sullen gedient wesen hem te vereeren met die ordinarisse, exemptie en vrijheden met de welcke uwe vererw: gewoon sijn alle fraije konstenaeren te beneficieren als van accijsen borgelijcke wachten ende andere lasted at also hem noodich is dat uwe vererw: hem daerover version van behoorelijcke acte.

Bidt oodtmoedens ten eijnde die selve uwe Verw: gedienst sij hem verthoondere te verleenen acte in forma van vrijdom ende exemptie van accijsen ende alle andere Borgelijcke lasten, dit doende ende was ondertk: G Borght

To the aldermen of the city of Brussels:<sup>824</sup>

Michiel Sweerts points out respectfully how, after having traveled extensively in Italy and other places, he has reached - saying this without boasting – such knowledge of the art of painting and drawing that he has received from His Holiness the title of knight and other forms of recognition, and also that love for his homeland did eventually bring him back to his native city, and that he has founded here at great financial cost, and has now maintained for a long time, the academy for life-like drawing, which many young men attend daily and which, it is hoped, will bring about this beneficial result that in a few years the art of drawing will reach its level of perfection and that there will be a large number of perfect men and that, consequently, the art of making tapestries, which has suffered greatly because of bad conditions, will again find its former luster and glory, and that there will also be an increase in the making of, and dealing in, paintings, drawings, sculptures, and other forms of art. Therefore, the petitioner is hopeful that you, the honorable aldermen, will grant him the ordinary exemptions that you usually grant to all who are engaged in the liberal arts, and will exempt him officially from taxes, civic duties, and other charges as well.

It is respectfully requested that in an official act exemption from taxes and all other civic duties be granted to the petitioner. Signed by G. Borght

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<sup>824</sup> I would like to thank Margriet Bruijn Lacy for the translation of the original text.

Appendix 2

Brussels, Stadsarchief

Registers der tresorije gehouden, Oud Archief, inv. 1297, fols. 117v.-118v (Vyffde Register te Tresorye gehouden t'sedert Syne Ma. ts nijeuwen Reglemente begonst 14 Novembris 1654 geeijndicht 10 Januarij 1660).

Copije vanden appointementen,<sup>825</sup>

Sij gestelt in handen vanden heeren tresoriers ende rentmren //  
deser stadt om advijs actum 28 februarij sesthienhondert //  
ende sessenvijftich ende was onderteeckent A: de Witte //  
nederwaerts stontd aldus Mijne heeren die wethouderen //  
der stadt van Brussele andermael gesien hebbende dese //  
requeste metten schriftel advise der heeren tresoriers //  
ende rentmren der selver stadt hebben de supplt [Sweerts] bij pro- //  
misie vereert metten vrijdom van deser stadt ordinarisse //  
accijns van achtien sisteren mautt ende van een stuck //  
wijn van seven vierendelen [7/4] tsjaers midtsgaeders //  
metten vrijdomme vande borgerl wachte midts hem //  
regulerende naer den inhouden deser reqte ende doende //  
dese benefens de selve reqte behoorel enregistreren //  
ter tresorije deser stadt ingevolge van sijne mats //  
nieuwen reglemente op pene van nulliteijt actum //  
tertia aprilis 1656 ende was onderteeckent A: vanden //  
Broecke //

Concordatum suo originali quod //

attestor par 3a aprilis 1656

P. van Ranst

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<sup>825</sup> I would like to thank Koenraad Brosens for the transcription of this text.

Copy of the decree<sup>826</sup>

Has been placed in the hands of the treasures and financial stewards of this city for advice given on February 28, 1656, and was signed A. de Witte; was followed by this statement:

The aldermen of the city of Brussels having again seen the petition, together with the written advice of the treasurers and financial stewards of this same city, have granted to the petitioner [Sweerts] exemption from this city's ordinary taxes on eighteen *sisteren* of malt and seven quarts [7/4] of wine annually, as well as from civic duties [being a city guard - my comment, ML], according to his request; and this decision, together with the petition, will be recorded properly at the treasury of this city, in compliance with his majesty's new regulations, or else will be void; done on April 3, 1656, and signed by A. vanden Broecke.

[Copy] agrees with the original, as attested on April 3, 1656.

P. van Ranst

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<sup>826</sup> I would like to thank Margriet Bruijn Lacy for the translation of the original text.

Appendix 3

Brussels, Rijksarchief

Archives Générales du Royaume: Ambachten en gilden van Brabant: Schilders,  
Goudslagers en Glazenmakers) inv. 818, p. 221:

inden eersten soo hebben wij ontfanghen het //  
conterfijssel van menheer michael sweerts //  
die dat laet tot een memorie op de camer //  
tot sijnder gedenkennis van hem self geschildert

first, we have received the //  
portrait of mister michael sweerts //  
who leaves that [painting] in the room [i.e. the meeting room of the guild] as a  
reminder //  
of him; [it is] painted by himself<sup>827</sup>

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<sup>827</sup> I would like to thank Koenraad Brosens for the transcription and translation of the text.

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