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Hendrick Goltzius: Painting with Colored Chalk

Alison M. Kettering

During the first half of the 1590s, Hendrick Goltzius created several large colored-chalk portraits of his artist friends, as well as two self-portraits. Mid-career, he traveled from Haarlem to Italy, encountering drawings and oil paintings that suggested new possibilities for employing color in portraiture. Already renowned as a graphic artist, Goltzius began to refashion himself as a master of color. I argue that these brilliant drawings provide valuable insight into his transition from linear expression to full-fledged oil painting in 1600. Equally important, they demonstrate an expansion of his technical prowess, using colored chinks (and washes) to evoke the presence and personality of sitters, especially through glowing flesh. Taken as a group, these presentation drawings gain resonance by representing a community of artists, bound by friendship and profession.

Wondrous Drawings

- 1 In his *Vite* of 1642, the artist Giovanni Baglione (1566–1643) expressed his astonishment over the mimetic virtuosity of the colored-chalk portrait drawings by the Haarlem artist Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), which he had seen in Rome. The “most wondrous” technique shown in these sheets appeared all the more extraordinary from the hand of a much-admired engraver: “[Goltzius] took great pleasure in painting and made beautiful portraits; and in Rome he portrayed various talented friends, making, among others, sheets with touches of colored washes most wondrous [exceptional]. And along with others, he did a portrait of Francesco Castello from Flanders . . . so that he seemed alive, so well was he represented.”¹
- 2 Baglione’s confusion about the mediums used by Goltzius is understandable. He ascribed the sheets’ remarkable effects to Goltzius’s use of colored washes rather than the chinks that contributed so significantly to the artist’s expression. Intuitively, Baglione recognized that Goltzius had blurred the distinctions between mediums. Goltzius’s large portraits of artists on paper were painterly images whose nuanced handling of color made the sitters seem to breathe. These drawings that Goltzius produced during his Italian trip of 1590–1591 and just after—autonomous presentation sheets rendered in dry colors, with added wash, rather than in oils—aided his transition from linear modes of expression to full-fledged oil painting by 1600. The novel lifelikeness of the portraits surely dazzled their subjects, Goltzius’s fellow artists, just as they later impressed Baglione. In the process of producing them, Goltzius began to craft a new image of himself as a master of color in chinks, an important step on the winding road toward mastery of oil painting.

3 In the biography of Goltzius that Karel van Mander published in his *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604, he noted that “when [Goltzius] drew something, then the flesh parts in particular had to be colored with *cryons* [fabricated chinks], and thus he eventually proceeded to brushes and oil paint.”² Van Mander’s remarks echo a longstanding recognition of the significance of color in oil portraiture (and, by extension, in portrait drawings), for it enhanced the impression of lifelike immediacy in ways that line and volume alone could not. Indeed, many of Goltzius’s artist portraits leave the sitters’ bodies sketchy, in black chalk lines alone, which calls attention to the flesh above, one of the most difficult surfaces for an artist to depict.³ Goltzius was not the only portraitist to achieve such immediacy with chinks, but he handled them as no one else had.

The Artist Portraits

4 In 1590, upon his departure for Italy, Hendrick Goltzius was already an established graphic artist in Haarlem, widely admired for his draftsmanship. In Venice, the first leg of his journey, he adopted chalk and touches of watercolor for a portrait drawing of his Dutch friend and colleague Dirck de Vries (1558–1617) (fig. 1). After stops in Bologna and Florence, he next visited Rome and stayed for half a year. Although no portraits are known to have survived from this period, Van Mander claimed that Goltzius made one of the Roman history and landscape painter Girolamo Muziano (1532–1592) (unlocated), and a sheet in Weimar has sometimes been thought to portray Francesco da Castello (Frans van de Castele, ca. 1541–1615) (fig. 2), the Flemish expatriate painter of miniatures to whom Baglione referred.⁴ During Goltzius’s briefer stay in Florence, he made a well-known portrait of the sculptor Giambologna (Jean de Boulogne, 1529–1608) (fig. 3) and another of the sculptor Pietro Francavilla (Pierre Francheville, 1548–1618) (fig. 4), along with a rendering of the painter Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet, 1523–1615) (fig. 5), all three of them Flemish expatriates. Back in Venice, en route home, he drew the Italian painter Jacopo Palma il Giovane (ca. 1548–1628) (fig. 6). In Munich, the Flemish engraver Johannes Sadeler I (1550–1600) (fig. 7) and the painter Christoph Schwarz (1545–1592) (unlocated) sat for portraits. Several further extant drawings include an unknown man (fig. 8); Goltzius’s stepson, engraver Jacob Matham (1571–1631) (fig. 9); and goldsmith Johan Dideringh (active late sixteenth century) (fig. 10). Both during the trip and/or afterward, Goltzius also demonstrated the powers of color in his self-portraits now in Stockholm (fig. 11) and Vienna (fig. 12). Certainly, he produced more colored-chalk portraits than the number known today.⁵

5 Previously, I have written about why Goltzius made these drawings, arguing that they served principally as friendship portraits, produced on Goltzius’s initiative, either as reminders of his personal encounters or as gifts.⁶ This essay focuses on the inextricable interdependence of his subject matter and choice of medium. It discusses Goltzius’s materials and techniques, placing his use of dry (and some wet) mediums in its sixteenth-century context and examining its implications for his development as an artist. It asks about the meanings, professional and personal, that these materials may have carried for an artist embarking on a portrait compendium of artist friends.

6 In launching such a compendium, Goltzius might possibly have had in mind the example of Albrecht Dürer’s (1471–1528) metalpoint friendship portrait of Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533), which Van Mander claimed elicited a portrait of Dürer by Lucas in return.⁷ We might even

imagine that Goltzius gained something material from the exchanges: say, a self-portrait by one of these artist friends or an amity portrait of himself by one of the chalk portrait sitters. If so, these are long lost. All we know for certain about the impetus for these works is that Goltzius made the portrait of Johannes Sadeler (see fig. 7) for his friend Philips van Winghen, as discussed below.

- 7 By focusing on likeminded practitioners, among them many expatriate Netherlanders, Goltzius essentially created an imagined community of artists on paper, his “talented friends” (to use Baglione’s expression). These were professionals well aware of Goltzius’s expertise and reputation back home.⁸ In return, he depicted them as colleagues whose talents had promoted their success on Italian and German soil. This fellowship of perceptive, appreciative, and knowledgeable viewers extended to *liefhebbers* (art lovers), the small circle of connoisseurs and likeminded beholders of the drawings who were not necessarily artists themselves. Jan Piet Filedt Kok has written about the international network of artist friends around Goltzius who engraved amity portraits of each other in the 1580s and throughout the 1590s—that is, portraits whose chosen medium, engraving, enabled replication and thus ensured ample distribution.⁹ Goltzius’s chalk portraits, by contrast, because they were dependent on color as their primary means of communication, could not be duplicated and were thus inherently limited in their circulation.

Chalks, *Cryons*, and Color

- 8 Sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists largely preferred pen and metalpoint to black chalk.¹⁰ In Italy, by contrast, artists had worked in black chalk for generations. Colored chalks—red chalk in particular, which was valued for its subtlety and friability¹¹—were also more commonly used in the south (and in Germany) than in the Netherlands. Natural chalks are mineral substances, mined and cut into sticks from schist, hematite, other natural substances.¹² Although red chalk was readily available in various hues, other naturally occurring colored chalks might have been more difficult to acquire, and their hues, purity, and intensity varied considerably. It is not surprising, then, that sixteenth-century Italian artists, including Federico Barocci (1535–1612), made their own drawing implements by mixing not just powdered hematite but powdered pigments of all sorts with binding mediums and compressing them into sticks.¹³ Many of the recipes became closely guarded secrets. Since fabricated chalks could often achieve a wider range of intensities and tonal nuances than natural chalks, they were worth the effort.¹⁴ Decades before Barocci, Germans such as Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531) recognized the vivacity that an intensely colored chalk could provide (fig. 13).¹⁵
- 9 Van Mander confirmed Goltzius’s adoption of fabricated chalks when he specified *cryon* (fabricated chalk) rather than *krijt* (natural chalk) as the medium for his large portrait drawings: “[They] continued to Rome on foot where he was recognized . . . by the artists there, the greatest of whom he portrayed in Cryons, as he also did in Florence, Venice and in Germany.”¹⁶ By cryons he probably meant fabricated chalks that had been compressed into *pennekens* (rods). In *Den Grondt der edel vrij Schilder-const*, the first section of the *Schilder-Boeck* (1604), Van Mander differentiated this fabricated cryon from *krijt*, the latter being a natural chalk cut into sticks, and I follow that distinction here.¹⁷ Likewise, the mid-seventeenth-century Dutch writers on technique and mediums Cornelis Pietersz. Biens, in his

short treatise of 1636 *De Teecken-Const*,¹⁸ and Willem Goeree, in *Inleyding tot de Al-gheemeene Teyckenkonst* (Middleburg, 1668, 1670) singled out fabricated cryons.¹⁹

- 10 Terminology regarding friable, colored drawing mediums, both in the seventeenth century and today, is imprecise and confusing. It is often unclear from examining certain works whether a given passage was produced by fabricated cryon or by natural chalk. Indeed, certain colors may sometimes have been brushed in with watercolor.²⁰ Nevertheless, in early modern sources, no doubt exists that from the later sixteenth century well into the seventeenth, Italian, French, German, and eventually Dutch and Flemish artists spent significant effort in finding the most suitable mixtures of pigment, binder, and (possibly) filler for their cryons.²¹ Later on, once the recipes had become settled and commercial availability of colored sticks common, pastel (the term adopted eventually for fabricated chalks) took on a life of its own as an alternative to oil paint in “painted” portraiture. Samuel van Hoogstraten anticipated this conventionalization in his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (1678), encouraging readers to work up a drawing “with red chalk and [fabricated] *kryons*, almost like painting with colors.”²² The medium attracted anyone who desired a dry technique that lent itself to creating effects, ranging from the highly finished to sketchy and vaporous.²³ Sixteenth-century artists, though, whatever their choice of implements and mediums—whether chalks alone, chalks blended with washes, or natural chalks and fabricated cryons together—showed a new awareness of the growing market for colored drawings, especially portraits, as autonomous, collectible sheets.²⁴
- 11 Although we cannot with confidence determine where Goltzius learned recipes for the fabrication of cryons, this matters less than Goltzius’s transformation of his predecessors’ work in this medium during his trip abroad.²⁵ Whatever techniques he may have absorbed from previous chalk drawings in the North, in Italy he made the medium entirely his own.

Goltzius in Haarlem

- 12 Chalk was hardly an obvious choice for Goltzius. An accomplished printmaker, he had long suggested plasticity and devised bravura effects with fine, hard, calligraphic strokes. In drawings made before his departure south, he showed a preference for metalpoint in portrait drawings (figs. 14, 15, 16) and pen and ink (and sometimes metalpoint) for drawings preparatory to engravings.²⁶ His experience with color was relatively limited, though in a drawing of a lumpsucker dated 1589 he must have realized the advantages of combining black and red chalk with washes for depicting a living creature from life (fig. 17).²⁷
- 13 We have reason to assume that Goltzius was aware of French and German artists’ explorations of colored dry mediums for portraits. French artists had long used black and red chalk for their drawings, among them Jean (1480–1541) and François (ca. 1510–1572) Clouet.²⁸ They employed black and red chalk repeatedly for large-scale preparatory drawings for their painted court portraits, laying in the form in black and adding warmth with red for flesh (fig. 18).²⁹ In this regard, they resemble drawings of high-ranking patrons by Hans Holbein (ca. 1497–1543), with which they share the combination of finished head, sketchy body, and an almost iconic formality.³⁰ But Holbein’s portrait drawings use line more insistently to define facial contours, and he employed colored chalks more extensively (fig. 19). Notably, Holbein reserved colored

chalks only for portraits. Although we do not know if Goltzius saw any of these drawings, he may have heard artist-talk about Holbein's linear mastery in relation to color in portraiture and about the ways color could make heads come alive.³¹

- 14 Goltzius's first really ambitious use of chalks came with a carefully worked-up portrait of his fellow printmaker and workshop assistant Gillis van Breen (ca. 1560–after 1602) (fig. 20). Goltzius probably chose a similar approach for the now-unlocated drawing of his teacher Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert (ca. 1591–1592) in 1590.³² Presumably this sheet stoked his memory when he memorialized him in an exceptionally large and vivid engraving of 1591–1592 (fig. 21).³³
- 15 Van Breen was the ready subject for portrayals in all sorts of mediums, among them metalpoint, pen and ink, chiaroscuro woodcut—and now chalk.³⁴ The chalk portrait shows Goltzius exploring a transition from hard line to soft chalk—or rather, to *relatively* soft chalk, for he sharpened the implement to a fine point. Evidently, he still conceived of the head in terms of line. Note the calligraphic swirl of curls he invented to capture Van Breen's exuberant head of hair, as well as the linear finish of his collar and doublet. Unsurprisingly, Goltzius began with an overall black chalk substructure, though he did draw the first contour lines of ear, nose, and mouth in red. He added red to further simulate skin tones; a little yellowish brown in the hair, mustache, and chin stubble; and shadowed effects near the eyes and right cheek. The subtle interplay of shadows and reflections is reminiscent of his portraits in metalpoint, a medium that encourages intricate shading. Here in the chalk drawing, he achieved tonality by hatching and stumping. In fact, the drawing gives the appearance of an engraving-cum-color, with the skin in particular dominated by linear rather than coloristic description.

Goltzius in Italy

- 16 Once Goltzius reached Italy, he would have encountered not only individually colored portrait drawings by prominent artists but also a theoretical orientation to prompt his further exploration. Goltzius traveled to cities—Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome—where drawings were considered an ideal medium for working out the power of color to evoke human personality. Significantly, portraits count as the single biggest category of these colored-chalk drawings. Thomas McGrath has written extensively about sixteenth-century ideas concerning color's role in expressing intangible qualities of character and likeness.³⁵ Gian Paolo Lomazzo, writing in 1585, saw color as expressive of a person's "voice and spirit, because in representing the complexions, [the artist] paints in their faces melancholy, anger, happiness and fear."³⁶ In his *L'Aretino* of 1557, Lodovico Dolce articulated the connections between color and mimesis, emphasizing the power of flesh in particular to simulate life: "Coloring is so important and compelling that, when the painter produces a good imitation of the tones and softness of flesh and the rightful characteristics of any object there may be, he makes his paintings seem alive, to the point where breath is the only thing missing in them."³⁷ Many of these ideas would have had resonance for a Netherlandish artist such as Goltzius, grounded in an artistic culture that valued the role of color in infusing depictions of the human body, especially glowing flesh, with life.³⁸
- 17 As for Goltzius's exposure to individual artists, his acquaintance with the work of Federico Zuccaro (1539–1609) is assured. According to Van Mander, Goltzius visited him in

Rome,³⁹ where he would have had the opportunity to see Zuccaro's two-color drawings on paper. Throughout his career, Zuccaro had employed red and black chalk for figure studies preparatory to paintings and for small portrait drawings that functioned as finished sheets.⁴⁰ Zuccaro's portrait drawing of Giambologna (fig. 22) exemplifies this technique.⁴¹ Vigorously drawn lines include hatching in red for the flesh or black for the body. In contrast to this striking openwork approach for the entire figure, the red and black chalk technique that the Clouets and Holbein preferred for their heads seems delicate and refined.⁴²

- 18 Correggio (1489–1534)—whose paintings, Van Mander notes, attracted Goltzius's attention in Rome—also exploited red chalk for its painterly advantages. His approach approximated the warm tonal range of his paintings. Correggio preferred white heightening (and occasionally black ink) as supplements to red chalk, at least in extant drawings, though Bellori claimed that for his heads, Correggio worked with *pastelli* (all sheets of which are unlocated), by which he meant fabricated chalks.⁴³
- 19 While Zuccaro only rarely ventured further than the two-color medium in drawing, many other Italian predecessors and contemporaries embraced polychromy for painterly textures, flesh tones, and/or atmospheric effects in their works on paper. In the early sixteenth century not only Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) but also Francesco Bonsignori (1460–1519) produced impressive portraits in colored chalks (fig. 23).⁴⁴ In the later sixteenth century, Federico Barocci (1535–1612) was the most innovative of the Italian draftsmen using color. Although Barocci employed some brown washes, he preferred the fabricated sticks that Bellori termed “pastelli” alongside natural colored chalks.⁴⁵ By the time Goltzius arrived in Italy, Barocci's colored drawings likely circulated fairly widely.

Goltzius's Initial Italian Portrait

- 20 Before his departure for Italy in 1590, metalpoint had served Goltzius's needs for presentation portrait drawings because of its capacity for fine detail, subtle tonality, and intrinsic preciousness. Indeed, he had pushed its limits as far as he could (see figs. 15 and 16). Once in Italy, Goltzius began showing off his aptitude for technical invention in a different way, by exploring mediums—chalk and watercolor—that he had only sampled earlier. The first of Goltzius's Italian portraits, *Portrait of Dirck de Vries* (fig. 1a), signals the change.
- 21 *Dirck de Vries* shares certain characteristics with many of Goltzius's Haarlem metalpoint (and engraved) portraits. The same compositional schema is evident: half torso, the body turned to the left, the head en face. But in Venice, Goltzius had little use for the high-class dress that rendered his Haarlem portraits formal, the burin-like line, or the small scale. De Vries's body is sketched in light, loose, black chalk strokes. The large size of the De Vries sheet is comparable to that of the Van Breen portrait (fig. 20a), not to mention the French and German drawings that came before them (see figs. 13, 18, and 19). Goltzius's metalpoint portraits, especially, often less than a third this size, seem like miniatures in comparison.
- 22 The De Vries portrait's immediacy is conveyed by two innovations. First, Goltzius conceived of the head in terms of color, laid in with red chalk more fully than in Gillis van Breen. Shades of

red, aided by some red watercolor, shine through everywhere except at the top of the cranium, suffusing the head and face with subtle warmth. While artists before Goltzius, such as Burgkmair, had also begun portraits with red chalk, they immediately pinned the drawing down with black line, often in some other medium. The Clouets simply heightened the flesh with light tints of red, adding color to otherwise monochrome drawings. By contrast, Goltzius smoothed the light black upper layer as well as the underlayer of red using an approach that, later, Willem Goeree termed *reuselen*, so that the hatching is barely visible.⁴⁶ Second, Goltzius worked in another warm hue, yellow-brown natural chalk or fabricated cryon, for the mustache and several hairs in the otherwise graying beard. Highlights in opaque white watercolor also appear throughout the face, lending sheen to the skin that complements the play of reflections prominent in the turned-away side. This impressive technique is worthy of its artist-subject, a fitting tribute to an artist-friend.

Further Exploration of Colored Chalks

- 23 Rome was the next leg of Goltzius's trip, and during the months he spent there, work with chalks consumed many a productive moment. His materials of choice for the numerous drawings he made of antique statuary were red and black chalks, but he employed each color alone, never mixing them. Chalk's usefulness had to do with its ease of manipulation and versatility. He could employ it broadly to render volume, plasticity, overall harmony, and generalized light effects, or he could sharpen the stick for insistent contours and detailed surface textures.⁴⁷ This practice of using chalk for sketches and finished drawings alike carried over into his portrait drawings. While the format of these sheets remained constant—worked-up heads with sketchier torsos—his color choices and technique evolved.
- 24 Of the extant drawings Goltzius executed in Florence, on his route back north, *Portrait of Giambologna* (fig. 3a) is the best known—for its plasticity of form, nuanced handling of light and shade, and striking juxtaposition of a finished head with sketchy garments.⁴⁸ The rough bravura of the long slashing strokes of black chalk in the clothes—continued, for the first time, in hatched strokes hinting at space behind the figure—make the refined head, subtle in color and detailed in line, appear all the more alive. To achieve that refinement, Goltzius added touches of watercolor to the red, black, and white chalks (whether natural or fabricated).⁴⁹ He played the fine lines of the hair and wrinkles off the glowing color of the complexion in a freer manner than in De Vries's portrait.
- 25 Perhaps he imagined this sheet in competition with Zuccaro's 1575 portrait of the same sculptor (fig. 22a), a drawing that twists the body to suggest lively movement. The two sheets show varying ways in which enhanced pictorial means could achieve a painting-like immediacy. Zuccaro's added color appears as embellishment and notation; he even used the same red for the clay bozzetto (sketch) as for Giambologna's skin and lips. But for Goltzius, red chalk was fundamental to his conception of the figure as conveyed through skin tones and minutely described facial detail. Equally important, in juxtaposing the finished head with a sketchy body—in contrast to Zuccaro's relative consistency of handling—Goltzius showed off chalk's capability in both modes, as well as his own virtuosity with the medium. The clothing and background reveal a vigorous, gestural hand, while the face features delicate line and subtle applications of

color. Emphasizing how the hand creates strokes, Goltzius sketched the clothing and background; suppressing his handmade strokes in the head, he allowed color to do more of the work.

- 26 *Portrait of Pietro Francavilla* (fig. 4a) renders the Cambrian sitter as dignified but less insistently magisterial than Giambologna. This was appropriate to Francavilla's more modest position in the Florentine hierarchy of sculptors. Gazing steadily and intensely outward, the sitter comes alive as a fully three-dimensional individual.⁵⁰ The sheet's brilliant state of preservation lets us see the subtle means by which Goltzius conveyed Francavilla's complexion: his intermingling of light and shade for plasticity, his highlighting with white for skin composed of various hues and tones, and his delicate layering of gray and brown tones over red to achieve the effect of blood beneath the surface, emulating the glow that Goltzius so prized in Italian painting.⁵¹ Here more obviously than in any previous drawing, Goltzius blended the transitions with a stump and washes to smooth lines away (much as Van Mander recommended using a fanning brush for softening flesh in paintings).⁵² By now Goltzius may have recognized stumping's capacity to make a sanguine-colored chalk appear as a lighter and warmer red.⁵³ Perhaps the availability of differently hued reds in Italy also stimulated his creative impulse. Or perhaps grinding the red-hued pigments into cryons made the difference in allowing him to convey glowing flesh tones.
- 27 Two other extant Florentine drawings show Goltzius's versatility in his handling of chalk portraiture. *Portrait of an Unknown Man*, sometimes identified as the Brussels painter Francesco da Castello (fig. 2a), is sparsely drawn in red and black alone.⁵⁴ The portrait of the Bruges artist Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet) (fig. 5a), then in the service of the Medici duke, seems almost austere, combining paler black and red chalk with a little brown and gray wash. Compared to the portraits just discussed, both are relatively subdued in color and less bold. In emphasizing the finely boned head, angular beard, and sharply contoured nose, Goltzius acknowledged his sitter's age (sixty-eight) and aristocratic demeanor. The work appears to pay homage to a life in art. By contrast, *Unknown Man*, in hard, pointed chalk, employs an assertive linearity to render a younger, energetic individual. The outward turn of the man's head conveys the immediacy of an actual sitting and suggests a personal connection to the artist. If this sheet does portray Castello, its linearity perfectly suits this founding member of the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, whose few extant paintings espouse principles of *disegno*. Both portraits leave the impression that Goltzius matched the treatment to his measure of the men.
- 28 During Goltzius's second visit to Venice, just before he left Italy to head home, he produced a portrait of Palma il Giovane (see fig. 6). The drawing of Palma, a prominent Venetian painter, is Goltzius's only sheet of an Italian sitter to survive. (The portrait of Girolamo Muziano is unlocated; De Vries and the rest were expatriate Netherlanders.) Here the slight lowering of the body on the sheet enhances the drawing's informality. Goltzius sketched the jacket with such sureness of touch that the fabric suggests movement. He deepened and warmed the hair and beard with brown tones (in wash or, alternatively, chalk or cryon), rather than relying primarily on the yellow-brown chalk (or cryon) of the de Vries portrait.⁵⁵ A few years later, Goltzius would express his admiration for Palma when he engraved a print after a design by the Italian artist, dedicating it to a friend.⁵⁶ But here he expressed his admiration in color.

29 What I have called the “versatility” displayed in all of these Italian drawings could just as easily be called “exploration.” Since his earliest years, Goltzius had proved himself a master of disegno in the narrower sense of the term (drawing, form). He came to Italy an acknowledged virtuoso with the pen and burin, as well as an inventor of novel compositions with dynamic nudes, and he continued his mastery of line in the sketchy bodies of his sitters. But once there he delved into colorito (color, brushwork) in a most remarkable way, admiring firsthand the work of Italian painters and draftsmen and recognizing the importance of color in their imitation of natural appearances. In his most innovative Italian portrait drawings (see figs. 1, 3, 4, 6, and 11), color became integral to design.⁵⁷

After Italy: Goltzius’s Portraits in Munich and Haarlem

30 Goltzius returned to the Netherlands by way of Munich, where he continued his compendium of artist portraits, drawing Johannes Sadeler I (fig. 7a), a Flemish engraver then employed by the Bavarian court. According to Van Mander, Goltzius also portrayed the Bavarian court painter Christoph Schwarz with colored cryons (now unlocated).⁵⁸ Interestingly, the Sadeler portrait shows Goltzius handling chalk in yet another manner. He devised a relatively simple head structure, defined by strong outlines and subtle tonal gradations. Extensive stumping achieves a smooth expanse of unblemished skin (despite the sitter’s age of forty-one), enlivened only by yellow for facial hair and red for lips. The broad head sits aloft a rather schematic body topped by a stiff ruff collar, which is exactly delineated rather than summarily drawn. The portrait’s masklike impassivity and psychological distance, echoing images by Holbein and the Clouets, emphasize courtly decorum and status. As mentioned above, this portrait is also notable for the inscription on its verso, which reveals participation in the contemporary culture of gift giving: “Hans Sadelaer, expert engraver to the duke of Bavaria drawn from life by the renowned Mr Hendrick Goltzius 1591 for his friend P. v. Wingen” (Wingen was Goltzius’s traveling companion in Rome and Naples).⁵⁹

31 The year 1591 on the verso of *Portrait of a Man* in the Harvard Art Museums, though annotated by a later hand, was probably transcribed from the original when the sheet was remounted (fig. 8a). Whether the drawing—with its subtle, mature handling of the black, red, and ocher chalks, detailed delineation of the collar, and relatively finished doublet—dates from the Italian trip or right afterward is difficult to say.⁶⁰

32 Once home in Haarlem, Goltzius continued to produce artist portraits, executing large colored-chalk drawings of his stepson, the engraver Jacob Matham (fig. 9a),⁶¹ and the Dutch goldsmith Johan Dideringh (fig. 10a).⁶² In both portraits, Goltzius brought the finish of the body more closely into alignment with the finished head than in the Italian sheets, reminiscent of his earlier metalpoint portraits and the portrait of Gillis van Breen (see fig. 20). And like the latter, the Harvard sheet and the portrait of Matham revert back to the hatching strokes familiar from before the Italian trip, though now looser and more nuanced.

33 Portraying friends and colleagues naturally spurs artist to reflect on their own sense of self—or, put differently, to create a pictorial reflection of themselves. Renaissance artists were cognizant of the ancient notion that friendship is a reflection of an alter ego.⁶³ It is therefore no surprise that

Goltzius, a highly self-aware artist who was transforming traditional materials and ways of working in colored-chalk drawings, turned his attention twice to self-portraiture in colored chalk on paper (see figs. 11 and 12). Neither is dated, although the complex shading, reflections, and finish of the Stockholm sheet (fig. 11a) bear such a strong relationship to the portrait of Francavilla (see fig. 4) that it might well have come from his time in Florence. Yet here Goltzius invested much more of his energy in the head. Against the robust plasticity of the head, the collar—rendered for the first time in white chalk—acts as an amorphous cushion rivaling Correggio’s and Barocci’s melting haze of chalk strokes. Here Goltzius shows a self-conscious juxtaposition of aesthetic manners that is particularly appropriate in a self-portrait. Once again, the surface of the skin is smoothed with a stump to create a painting-like effect. For the first time, he has brushed the paper with a light green wash, which complements the warm reds as another means of vivifying the skin. Along with various other examples of colored-chalk portraits, the Stockholm self-portrait could possibly have remained a while in Italy after Goltzius’s return to the Netherlands.⁶⁴ The technique of this and others that Baglione saw firsthand was surely “wondrous” (Baglione’s word) by any Italian standard.

- 34 Almost certainly, Goltzius’s Vienna self-portrait was produced in Haarlem between 1592 and 1595 (fig. 12a). This sizable chalk drawing is the most ambitious of these post-Italy sheets and the only one with an oval format.⁶⁵ The surface of the self-portrait reveals chalks touched so lightly across the skin area that the rougher texture of the paper is revealed, in contrast to the finish of the flesh in his earlier self-portrait (fig. 11a). The earlier self-portrait’s blur of white gives way here to a vigorously sketched ruff that captures the naturalistic flow of intricately folded cloth. The firmly delineated body and the sharp turn of the head in an opposing direction enliven the effect further.
- 35 Overall, in this self-portrait, Goltzius achieved a remarkable balance between color and line, and between sketchiness and precision. Perhaps he felt challenged by the scrupulous linearity of his own recently finished engraving of the late Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (fig. 21a), the humanist thinker, engraver, and Goltzius’s teacher. Their similarity suggests Goltzius meditating on their very intersubjectivity, the reflection of the self in the other. The two works are similar in their size, oval format, and atmospheric space. Both achieve an exceptional *ad vivum* effect. The print honors Coornhert by exhibiting the engraving skills he taught. By contrast, the chalk drawing demonstrates the enduring mastery of the student, but now with a whole new set of skills obtained through work with color.
- 36 The engraving of Coornhert probably relied on a now-unlocated colored-chalk preparatory drawing from around the year of Goltzius’s portrait of Breen (see fig. 20), which the Coornhert drawing may have resembled.⁶⁶ Since then, Goltzius had traveled a remarkable distance, as the post-Italian self-portrait in Vienna makes clear. Note the self-portrait’s lively, willful collar, set against the stiff torso and starched ruff of Gillis van Breen. Note, too, the self-portrait’s subtle pictorial adjustment of tones throughout the head and background and the coloristic handling of flesh in contrast to the metallic sharpness of Breen’s whole form.
- 37 For the rest of the 1590s, Goltzius’s transition to oil painting was neither straightforward nor predictable. Once Goltzius was back in Haarlem, his restless artistic ambition took him in

different directions altogether, most notably his Meesterstukjes engravings (1593–1594), some of which appropriated the styles of Italian painters that had attracted him on the trip. Other works, namely his famous pen drawings on canvas and parchment, demonstrate that he had not abandoned his mastery of line. But color was never far from his mind, as the most spectacular of the pen works on canvas, *Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus* (*Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus Would Freeze*), reveals (fig. 24). A tour de force of pictorial invention, this large canvas is enhanced by oil pigments.⁶⁷ He touched colored paint over or alongside pen lines on a bluish-gray oil ground. In highlighted areas, the line gives way entirely to color, the source of the fiery warmth that keeps Venus from freezing. While hugely different in technique from the chalk (and wash) artist portraits, this bravura performance on canvas shares with them a fascination with challenging the boundaries between techniques and mediums and in revealing the enlivening effect of color. In making a statement about the power of color, this pen work played a similarly important role in Goltzius's transformation from engraver/draftsman to painter.

In Friendship

- 38 Although various scholars have suggested that Goltzius may have intended to produce an engraved series of well-known artists, there is little reason to pursue this idea.⁶⁸ These are, by and large, finished presentation drawings that, in their reliance on color for conveying personality and character, differed significantly from previous series on artists. No engraving, not even one with the coloristic detail of *Portrait of Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert* (see fig. 21), could have done justice to their effects. In Goltzius's time, the best-known engraved series of artist portraits was Hieronymus Cock's publication of twenty-three portrait prints of deceased luminaries, *Pictorum aliquot Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*, each of which Dominicus Lampsonius provided with Latin poems (fig. 25). Here, image and text form a rather homogeneous, serial artistic identity, enhanced by formal and rhetorical devices—plinths, arm rests, hand gestures—to suggest the late sitters' presences even in the absence of the makers' physical encounters with their subjects.⁶⁹ Goltzius himself had engraved portraits of several artists in the 1580s, including Phillips Galle (in 1582) and Johannes Stradanus (ca. 1583), which similarly erect framing devices to convey dignity, status, and intellect.
- 39 In their pictorial presentation, no less than in their differences each from the other, Goltzius's new body of colored artist portraits differed significantly from Cock and Lampsonius's, as well as from the sixteenth-century series of small, humanist portrait prints on which the latter was ultimately based.⁷⁰ Goltzius's chalk drawings functioned as individual sheets, separately conceived, finished, and (mostly) monogrammed, presumably for the delight of a limited audience of artists, art lovers, and friends, including Goltzius himself. Likewise, in contrast to the Cock/Lampsonius series, none of Goltzius's chalk portraits refer specifically to the sitters' artistic identity. The artists' attire may be dignified—many wear that marker of class, the ruff, or a delicately lace-trimmed Italian collar—but Goltzius refrained from using devices that would present them either as members of an artistic workshop or as *uomini illustri*, that is, as members of an erudite, corporate whole, emphasizing status and public worthiness. The closest Goltzius comes to the latter is the inclusion of an oval medallion for his own self-portrait in Vienna (see fig. 12). This was added midway through, probably to echo his epitaph-like framing of his

engraved *Portrait of Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert*, to which his self-portrait acts as a sort of pendant. It is telling that Goltzius took that idea no further in this or any of his other chalk portraits. Instead, he stripped away all but the essentials, minimizing the physical and psychological barriers between sitter and artist, creating instead a dialogic encounter.

- 40 Goltzius's artist portraits, with their striking shift in materials and approach, can be tied to his desire to explore all graphic mediums, show off his range of craftsmanship, refashion himself as an artist, and demonstrate the powers of his personal invention to evoke "nature in all her aspects"⁷¹ (in this case, the nature of the human head and face). At the same time, this new mode aligned perfectly with a revised conception of portraiture, defining it in terms of strengthened social bonds. Most early modern portraits functioned as agents of memory, keeping alive sitters' features and spirit. But Goltzius went further, portraying artist sitters as individuals with whom he connected personally and professionally. His subjects appear as living artists, drawn before his eyes, on large-scale sheets of paper. Each of the sheets presents its subject looking outward toward the viewer, as if returning the gaze of a compatriot, whether artist or art lover. Rather than communications of status or public worthiness, they are (with the exception of *Johannes Sadeler*) evocations of personality and character. What better way to show his admiration for artist friends than by capitalizing on the color, texture, and softness inherent in chalks aided by transparent watercolor? This became his crucial aesthetic medium for imbuing warmth and vivacity. With these materials, he could exploit the essence of color, laying down line and color with just a few strokes and in the process producing not merely a wonderful likeness but a *presence*.
- 41 In 1590–1595, Goltzius's full-scale embrace of oil painting was still several years away. Nevertheless, in these works on paper, he was able to use color to transform sitters into animate images beyond anything Netherlandish, French, German, or even Italian draftsmen had achieved. He created them by conspicuously choosing members of an artistic community abroad and at home—his fellow artists and himself—for his subject matter. In this highly experimental body of work, Goltzius the engraver/draftsman had become Goltzius the painter in colored chalks.

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Biography

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Illustrations



Fig. 1 and 1a Hendrick Goltzius, *Dirck de Vries*, 1590, black, red, white, yellow-brown chalk, white and red opaque watercolor on paper, 36.2 x 27.6 cm. Teylers Museum, Haarlem (R. 287) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 3 Hendrick Goltzius, *Giambologna*, 1591, black, red, and white chalk with in brown and opaque white watercolor on paper, 37 x 30 cm. Teylers Museum, Haarlem (R. 263) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 2 and 2a Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of an Unknown Man (Francesco da Castello?)*, 1519, black and red chalk on paper, 36.8 x 27.7 cm. Schlossmuseum, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Weimar (R. 342) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 4 and 4a Hendrick Goltzius, *Pietro Francavilla*, 1591, black and red chalk with gray, brown, and opaque white watercolor on paper, 41.5 x 30.8 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-1961-71 (R. 271) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 5 and 5a Hendrick Goltzius, *Johannes Stradanus*, 1591, black and red chalk with brown and gray watercolor on paper, 35.4 x 30.8 cm. Fondation Custodia, Paris, inv. no. 2781 (R. 286) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 8 and 8a Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of a Man*, 1591, black, red, and ocher chalk with gray wash, 36.3 x 27.2 cm, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA, inv. no. 1999.141 (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 6 Hendrick Goltzius, *Jacopo Palma il Giovane*, 1591, black and red chalk with brown watercolor (or brown chalk) on paper, 42.1 x 31.4 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (R. 281) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 9 and 9a Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of a Young Man, probably Jacob Matham*, 1592, black and red chalk with gray, black, yellow, and perhaps opaque white watercolor, 36.8 x 28.6 cm. Albertina, Vienna (R. 279) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 7 and 7a Hendrick Goltzius, *Johannes Sadeler*, 1591, black and red chalk with stumping on paper, 33 x 23.8 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-1884-A-336 (R. 282) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 10 and 10a Hendrick Goltzius, *Johan Didering*, 1596, black and brown chalk (or wash?) on paper, 40.3 x 31.3 cm. École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Paris, inv. no. MAS 1653 (R. 268) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 11 and 11a Hendrick Goltzius, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1590–1592, black and red chalk with green, blue, and opaque white watercolor on paper, 36.5 x 29.2 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (R. 255) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 14 and 14a Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of a Twenty-Six-Year-Old Man*, 1586, metalpoint on paper, 7.8 x 6.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RPT-2010.60 (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 12 and 12a Hendrick Goltzius, *Self-Portrait*, 1593–1595, black, brown, red, and ocher chalk with blue, gray, green, and opaque white watercolor on paper, 43 x 32.2 cm. Albertina, Vienna (R. 256)



Fig. 15 Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of an Elderly Man*, ca. 1586, metalpoint on ivory-colored prepared tablet, 10 x 7.4 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-1884-A-334 (R.290) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 13 and 13a Hans Burgkmair, *Portrait of an Unknown Man in a Gold-Colored Cap*, 1505–1520, black and colored chalks on paper, 33.6 x 27 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 16 Hendrick Goltzius, *Self-Portrait Wearing a Hat and Wide Ruff*, ca. 1589, silverpoint with blue-gray and gray washes, graphite, and carbon black on yellow prepared vellum, 14.6 x 10.4 cm. The British Museum, London © The Trustees of the British Museum (R. 254)



Fig. 17 Hendrick Goltzius, *Lumpsucker*, 1589, black, red, and white or yellow chalk with washes, 23 x 31 cm. Koninklijke Bibliotheque van België, Brussels (R. 418) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 20 and 20a Hendrick Goltzius, *Gillis van Breen*, ca. 1588, black, red, brown, yellow-brown and white chalk on paper, 37.7 x 29.5 cm. Städelsche Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (R. 264) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 18 François Clouet, *Portrait of Claude Gouffier de Boisy*, ca. 1555, black and red chalk on paper, 31.8 x 22.8 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge MA, Gift of Meta and Paul J. Sachs, inv. no. 1949.5 (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 21 and 21a Hendrick Goltzius, *Portrait of Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert*, 1591/1592, engraving, 52 x 41.1 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-1944-3051 (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 19 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Sir Richard Southwell*, 1536, pink priming, black, red, yellow, and light brown chalks reinforced in ink with pen and brush, 37 x 28.1 cm. The Royal Collection, London ©2009 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II



Fig. 22 and 22a Federico Zuccaro, *Portrait of Giambologna, Holding a Model for Samson Slaying a Philistine*, 1575, black and red chalk on paper, 26.1 x 18.8 cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, Lady Murray of Henderland Gift 1860 as a memorial of her husband, Lord Murray of Henderland



Fig. 23 Francesco Bonsignori, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, before 1519, black and red chalk touched with white, brown, and yellow chalk on gray paper, 39.3 x 25.6 cm. The British Museum, London © The Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 25 Unknown Engraver, *Portrait of Frans Floris*, from *Pictorum aliquot Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*, posthumously published by Hieronymus Cock with a poem by Dominicus Lampsonius, 1572, engraving, 22.5 x 13.2 cm. The British Museum, London © The Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 24 Hendrick Goltzius, *Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus (Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus Would Freeze)*, 1599–1602, ink and oil on blue-gray prepared canvas, 105.1 x 80 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (R. 131) (artwork in the public domain)

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Endnotes

- 1 “Si diletto di dipingere, e faceva bellissimi ritratti; e qui in Roma ritrasse diverse suoi amici virtuosi, fatti sopra alcune carte tocche di colori in acquarelle raramente. E fra altri fece quello di Francesco Castello Fiamengo, bravo miniatore, assai naturale, che pareva vivo, tanto era ben rappresentato.” Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de’ pittori, scultori, architetti* (Rome, 1649), 1:390. The special emphasis on the colored sheets is partially explained by the comment’s positioning in the section devoted to printmakers; Baglione needed to elucidate their exceptional look. “Raramente” should be translated as “wondrously” or “splendidly” well rather than “most rare,” thus referring to quality rather than rarity. The date of Baglione’s encounter with the drawings is not known. My thanks to Carel van Tuyl van Serooskerken and especially to David Stone for help interpreting the comments. See Emil Karel Josef Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1961), 1:36; Maryvelma S. O’Neil, *Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation in Baroque Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 191, the latter on Baglione’s preference for illusionistic, vivid art. The first part of Baglione’s comment on Goltzius indicates that the author had heard about Goltzius’s engagement with oil painting and, perhaps also, more vaguely, that he had heard about his painting of portraits (in oil?). The second part is more important, though, confirming Baglione’s direct experience of the colored-chalk and wash drawings on paper, some of which remained behind in Italy. For Goltzius’s painted portraits in oil, of which only one is extant, see Lawrence W. Nichols, *The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558–1617, A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2013), 62–63.
- 2 “Teyckende hy yet, de naeckten sonderlingh mosten met den cryons hun verwen hebben: soo dat hy eyndlijck tot den Pinceelen en Oly-verwe hem heeft begheven . . .”; Karel van Mander, “Het Leven der Doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche en Hooghduytsche Schilders,” in *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem, 1604), fol. 285v; Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. and trans. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–1999), 1:400–401. It is fitting that Van Mander, who published the *Schilder-Boeck* shortly after Goltzius’s full-fledged turn to painting in 1600, praised his friend’s embrace of oils. For Van Mander, oil painting was the pinnacle of artistic accomplishment, “the most choice means . . . to come closest to representing Nature in all her aspects” (fol. 294r). Van Mander identified color as essential to the tradition of Netherlandish oil painting.
- 3 Ann Sophie Lehmann, “Fleshing Out the Body: The ‘colours of the naked’ in Workshop Practice and Art Theory, 1400–1600,” in “Body and Embodiment in Netherlandish Art/ Lichaam en Lichamelijkheid in de Nederlandse Kunst,” ed. Ann Sophie Lehmann and Herman Roodenburg, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 58 (2007–2008), 87–109; Paul Taylor, “The Glow in late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Dutch Paintings,” in “Looking through Paintings: The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research,” ed. E. Hermens, *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 11 (1998): 159–178; Eric Jan Sluijter, “Goltzius, Painting and Flesh; or Why Goltzius Began to Paint in 1600,” in Marieke van den Doel et al., eds., *The Learned Eye: Regarding Art, Theory,*

- and the Artist's Reputation; Essays for Ernst van de Wetering* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 158–176.
- 4 Reznicek, *Zeichnungen* 1:384 (R. 342), notes the possible identification of the Weimar portrait as Castello (born ca. 1541), but Castello was about fifty in 1591 when Goltzius portrayed him, older than the man in the Weimar drawing. Moreover, the Weimar portrait is the most conservative of all the artist-portraits that Goltzius produced in Italy, and therefore less likely to elicit Baglione's admiration. On Castello, see Nicole Dacos, "A Drawing by Francesco da Castello (Frans van de Castele)," *Master Drawings* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1991), 181–186; Nicole Dacos, "Francesco da Castello," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Roma Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1978), 21:796–797; Nicole Dacos, "Francesco da Castello prima dell'arrivo in Italia," *Prospettiva* 19 (October 1979): 46, fig. 1; Didier Bodart, *Les peintres des Pays-Bas méridionaux et de la principauté de Liège à Rome au XVIIe siècle* (Brussels/Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1970). The typically Italian collar suggests an Italian artist-sitter.
- 5 Perhaps Goltzius also drew Philips van Winghe, the young Flemish archaeologist who belonged to a Roman circle of cognoscenti (including Castello); Van Winghe accompanied Goltzius around Rome and to Naples. For Matham's engraved portrait of Van Winghe (after Goltzius's preparatory drawing), see Huigen Leeflang and Ger Luijten, eds., *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617): Drawings, Prints and Paintings*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 2003), 17, fig. 10. See also G. J. Hoogewerff, "Philips van Winghe," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 7 (1927): 59–82. Goltzius chose a strictly linear mode as preparatory for the engraving, perhaps to demonstrate to this new friend his mastery of an especially Netherlandish technique.
- 6 Alison M. Kettering, "The Friendship Portraits of Hendrick Goltzius," in *Face Book: Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th–18th Centuries*, Liber Amicorum Presented to Rudolf E. O. Ekkart on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday (The Hague: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, 2012), 59–64.
- 7 7. Christiaan Vogelaar et al., eds., *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance*, exh. cat. (Leiden: Lakenhal, 2011), 279; Jeffrey Ashcroft, ed. and tr., *Albrecht Dürer: Documentary Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 1:585, no. 162; Van Mander, *Life of Lucas van Leyden, Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 212v. No trace of a portrait of Dürer by Lucas remains. For a general discussion of art as gifts in the Dutch Republic, including comments on the portrait gifts of Dürer in Germany and of Goltzius, see Michael Zell, *Rembrandt, Vermeer and the Gift in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 196–204.
- 8 The encounter of Goltzius (traveling incognito) with Hans Sadeler in Munich while en route to Italy provides one example of Goltzius's notable if not notorious fame; see Joanna Woodall, "Monstrous Masculinity: Hendrick Goltzius's *Great Hercules*," in Valerie Mainz and Emma Stafford, eds., *The Exemplary Hercules from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 200–201. Van Mander gives no details of his second encounter (en route home) when Goltzius portrayed Sadeler.
- 9 J. P. Filedt Kok, "Artists Portrayed by Their Friends: Goltzius and His Circle," *Simiolus* 24, nos. 2/3 (1996): 161–181.

- 10 Black chalk, a schist containing carbon, was mined and cut into sticks or fabricated from crushed carbon mixed with a binder to form sticks. Joseph Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, trans. and rev. Winslow Ames (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), 87; James Watrous, in *The Craft of Old Master Drawings* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 91–129 (chap. 5). Joachim von Sandrart mentions chalk from Holland in *Teutsche Akademie* (Nuremberg, 1673), 1:62 (noted by Meder, *Mastery of Drawing*, 87). See also Carlo James, *Visual Identification and Analysis of Old Master Drawing Techniques* (Florence: Olschki, 2010), 26–27, on the impurities in natural chalks; fabricated sticks were more homogeneous and somewhat darker.
- 11 On both black and red chalk, see Caroline Corrigan, “Drawing Techniques,” in Carlo James, ed., *Old Master Prints and Drawings: A Guide to Preservation and Conservation*, trans. Marjorie B. Cohn (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), 68–69. See also Meder, *Mastery of Drawing*, 85–89, 97–99; Watrous, *Craft of Old Master Drawings*, 91–105.
- 12 For further information, see James, *Visual Identification*, 26–28. Red chalk was composed of the clay hematite, colored by iron oxide, and was widely available in Italy and elsewhere.
- 13 Thomas H. McGrath, “Federico Barocci and the history of *Pastelli* in central Italy,” *Apollo* 148, no. 441 (1998), 3–4; Carmen C. Bambach, “Leonardo’s Notes on Pastel Drawing,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 52, nos. 2/3 (2008), 176–204; Babette Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention: Federico Barocci and the Art of Design,” in Judith W. Mann and Babette Bohn, *Federico Barocci: Renaissance Master of Color and Line*, exh. cat. (St. Louis: St. Louis Museum of Art, 2012), 40. Whatever we call them, colored sticks made from powdered pigments were harder in consistency than pastels manufactured later on.
- 14 See Thea Burns, *The Invention of Pastel Painting* (London: Archetype, 2007), 8–11, on references to unusual colored earths, available in a few locales in Italy and France. Nevertheless, it is difficult to know for certain if such natural chalks reached the artists discussed in this essay.
- 15 Whether Burgkmair used a fabricated chalk is an open question. On German colored drawings, see Oskar Bätschmann, “Colored Drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger,” in *Master Drawings* 57, no. 4 (2019): 448–449. Bätschmann notes that artists in Augsburg, Burgkmair’s place of residence, used colored chalks for portraits. He does not address the composition of the chalks.
- 16 Van Mander, Life of Goltzius, *Schilder-Boeck*, 283v, 285v; Van Mander, *Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters* (ed. and trans. Miedema), 1:400–401.
- 17 Van Mander, *Den Grondt der edel vrij Schilder-const*, chap. 2 (on Drawing), #21 (on cryons), in *Schilder-Boeck*: “Cryons maect men van verscheyden colueren die men wrijft met lijm die half is verdorven” (Cryons are made with various colors which one rubs with lime/glue that is half-spoiled). The latter may mean that the binder had been made less sticky. Miedema translates cryon into modern Dutch as “pastel,” but that term will not be used here. In his *Lives of the Artists*, Van Mander used the same term, “cryon,” in the biographies of Jan Gossaert (1478–1532) and Frans Floris (1517–1570), and “crijons” in the life of Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611), all artists who had journeyed to Italy—

- like Goltzius later on. Despite Van Mander's dedication in *Den Grondt* to a section on cryon, it is not clear whether cryon was in widespread use in the later sixteenth century in the Netherlands or whether Goltzius had introduced the implement from Italy.
- 18 E. A. de Klerck, "De Teecken-Const, een 17de-eeuws Nederlands Traktaatje," *Oud Holland* 96 (1982): 55: "Eenighe weten alderhande verwen met een half bedorven lijmwater of gomwater, elcx op haer besonder mate te wrijven, ende in uytgheholdt crijt tot pennekens te laeten drooghen, welcke pennekens seer ghedienstigh en nut zijn, om neffens de teeckeninghe oock de coleuren (als oft geschildert waer) te gheven" (Mix pigments with a half-spoiled limewater/glue water, each rubbed/mixed according to its own special consistency/measure, and let them dry into [*uytgheholdt?*] chalk sticks; these sticks are very useful for drawing in colors [as if painting]). Biens terms the sticks "crijt" even though he describes the manufacturing process that Van Mander and others termed a "cryon." Biens's description expands on Van Mander's recommendation that pigments be mixed with "lijm die half is verdorven" (lime that is half spoiled) According to the paper conservator Cécile Gombaud, eighteenth-century recipes frequently mention sturgeon glue that was either slightly degraded (after a few days) so that it was less sticky or that consisted of other properties. "Half spoiled" could also mean impure glue that had been mixed with something else, such as alcohol. If the substance were lime, then perhaps the term suggests half-slaked lime. Another detail worth emphasizing is that Biens designated the effects created by cryons "als oft geschildert waer" (as if painted).
- 19 Willem Goeree, *Inleydinge tot de Al-ghemeene Teyckenkonst* (Middelburg, 1668, 1670), 82.
- 20 Thea Burns, "Chalk or pastel': The Use of Coloured Media in Early Drawings," *Paper Conservator* 17 (1994): 49–56; Thea Burns, "Distinguishing between Chalk and Pastel in Early Drawings," in Harriet K. Stratis and Britt Salvesen, eds., *The Broad Spectrum: Studies in The Materials, Techniques, and Conservation of Color on Paper* (London: Archetype Publications, 2002), 12–16.
- 21 Burns, chaps. 1 and 2 in *Invention of Pastel Painting*.
- 22 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (Rotterdam, 1678), 31: "Dewijl men 'er ook, als 't pas geeft, met rood krijt en kryons in kan spelen, als of men byna met verwen schilderde"; Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Introduction to the Academy of Painting; or, The Visible World*, ed. Celeste Brusati, trans. Jaap Jacobs (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2021), 84. See William W. Robinson, "' . . . As if one were painting with colors': Samuel van Hoogstraten and the Pictorial Drawing," *Master Drawings* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 2011): 391. Of course, it is not entirely certain that by "kryons" Hoogstraten meant exactly the same implement as Van Mander's "cryon," since fabricated chalks were constantly evolving. Goeree agreed with Hoogstraten when he noted: "Gansche Conterfeytsels, seer aerdigh en natuerlicjk mede Teyckenen kunnen, die byna geschildert schijnen" (Entire portraits, very pleasantly and naturally colored, could be drawn [in kryons or cryons], almost as if they had been painted) in a paragraph on cryons. Goeree, *Inleydinge tot de Al-ghemeene Teyckenkonst*, 96. See also Peter Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1981), 26.
- 23 Burns, *Invention of Pastel Painting*, 2–3, 12–15.

- 24 Thomas McGrath, “Drawing Practices and Market Forces in Sixteenth-Century Italy,” in Lars R. Jones and Louisa Matthew, eds. *Coming About: A Festschrift for John Shearman* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 235–241. Also, on collecting, see Hugo Chapman and Marzia Faietti, *Fra Angelico to Leonardo: Italian Renaissance Drawings* (Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, 2010), 23; on finished drawings made as gifts or for sale, Filedt Kok, “Artists Portrayed by Their Friends”; Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 61–62.
- 25 Goltzius had long liked to appropriate or reactivate the *handelingen* (pictorial manners) of other artists without necessarily revealing his sources. Walter Melion, “Karel van Mander’s ‘Life of Goltzius’: Defining the Paradigm of Protean Virtuosity in Haarlem around 1600,” *Studies in the History of Art* 27 (1989): 113–133. “Reactivate” is Melion’s term for the way Goltzius responded to others’ ways of drawing. In the later famous *Meesterstukjes*, however, Goltzius did encourage recognition of his sources.
- 26 By the mid-1580s, the lines of Goltzius’s metalpoint portraits grew relatively freer and broader. Around 1589, in a small metalpoint self-portrait, he even added washes, graphite, and a little black chalk, anticipating his explorations on the trip (fig. 16). Joanna Russell, Judith Rayner and Jenny Bescoby, *Northern European Metalpoint Drawings: Technical Examination and Analysis* (London: Archetype Publications in association with the British Museum, 2017), 44–47, 66.
- 27 After his return, Goltzius frequently combined different chalks to achieve convincing illusionism in highly accomplished studies of animals. For example, *Seated Monkey on a Chain*. See Marijn Schapelhouman, *Netherlandish Drawings circa 1600* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1987), 44–46, cat. no. 29.
- 28 Peter Mellen, *Jean Clouet: Complete Edition of the Drawings, Miniatures, and Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 26–27; Etienne Jollet, *Jean & Francois Clouet, tr. Deke Dusinberre* (Paris: Lagune, 1997). On chalk drawings before the Clouets, see Georg Josef Dietz and Dagmar Korbacher, “Pionier auf Papier: Jean Fouquets Porträtzeichnung des Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett,” in Stephan Kemperdick, ed., *Jean Fouquet: Das Diptychon von Melun*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2017), 164–171.
- 29 Because the portrait drawings by the Clouets were probably acquired in 1572 by Catherine de’ Medici, Goltzius would have had access only to copies. R. de Broglie, “Les Clouet de Chantilly,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, n.s. 5, no. 76 (1971), 257–336 (including a catalogue of drawings by the Clouets and their circle in the Musée Condé, Chantilly). See Mellen, *Jean Clouet*, 25, on the many copies of Clouet portrait drawings.
- 30 Oskar Bätschmann, *Hans Holbein* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 134ff., assumes that Holbein was inspired by drawings associated with Leonardo in France and his successors in Milan. Christian Müller suggests that the stimulus for his addition of color was found in his own workshop: Christian Müller, “Hans Holbein the Younger as Draughtsman,” in *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515–1532*, exh. cat. (Munich: Prestel, 2006), 30, 317.
- 31 Leeflang and Luijten, eds, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 149, with reference to Zuccaro’s praise of Holbein. Holbein’s English portrait drawings probably passed to Henry VIII on the

- artist's death in 1543. Karl T. Parker, *The Drawings of Hans Holbein in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1983), 12. Since Holbein's Basel portraits mostly went to family members, Goltzius was unlikely to have had firsthand experience of original Holbein portrait drawings. A number of Holbein's German contemporaries imagined their heads in color from the start; for example, Burgkmair's preparatory study for a painted portrait, *Head of an Unknown Man* (fig. 13), which was preparatory to a portrait extant only in copies. Similarly colored drawings by Leonhard Beck (1480–1542), Barthel Beham (1502–1540), Wolf Huber (1485–1553), Nikolaus Kremer (c. 1500–1553), and the Swiss Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (1484–1530) are in the Albertina, Vienna; Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; and Kunstmuseum, Basel. Bättschmann, "Colored Drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger," 448–449; and Erwin Pokorny, "'Conterfeit auf papier': Bildniszeichnungen der Dürerzeit," in Sabine Haag et al., eds., *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein: Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Das deutsche Porträt um 1500* (Munich: Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, 2011), 63–186.
- 32 Filedt Kok, "Artists Portrayed by Their Friends," 164.
- 33 Leeflang and Luijten, eds., *Hendrick Goltzius*, 159–160. The border inscription even states that Coornhert was "painted from life," in response to effects that suggest a colored-chalk preparatory study. "Painted" is the translation that Schapelhouman (*Netherlandish Drawings circa 1600*, 160) uses for Goltzius's choice of depictus (rather than the more usual delineatus) in the inscription. An alternative translation would be "portrayed." Reznicek's list of unlocated drawings (Zeichnungen 1:475–81) includes one in the J. G. Cramer collection sold in Amsterdam on November 13, 1769, lot 202: "Dirk Volkertsz. Koornhart. Gekleurd," album D, 478N.38.
- 34 For the woodcut, see Nancy A. Bialler, *Chiaroscuro Woodcuts: Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) and His Time*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1992), 91–94. The metalpoint portrait, signed "aet.32 1592" (unlocated) is a study rather than a finished portrait. Reznicek, *Zeichnungen*, 1:356 (R. 266).
- 35 Thomas H. McGrath, "Disegno, Colore and the Disegno Colorito: The Use and Significance of Color in Italian Renaissance Drawings" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1994), 1:54ff. See also Thomas McGrath, "Colour in Italian Renaissance Drawing, Reconciling Theory and Practice in Central Italy and Venice," *Apollo* 146, no. 429 (1997): 22–30; Thomas McGrath, "Observations on the Functions of Watercolors and Pastels in Italian Renaissance Drawings," in Stratis and Salvesen, eds., *Broad Spectrum*, 69–76.
- 36 Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* (1585), ed. R. Klein (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1974), 1:187: "... dimostra ancora nell'uomo l'istessa voce e spirito, poi che, rappresentando le complessioni, dipinge nelle loro faccie la melancolia, la colera, l'allegrezza e la paura."
- 37 McGrath, *Disegno, Colore and the Disegno Colorito*, 57, citing Ludovico Dolce, *L'aretino* (1557), ed. and trans. by M. Roskill, in *Dolce's 'Aretino' and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (New York: New York University Press, 1968), 154–155. See Sluijter, "Goltzius, Painting and Flesh," 161, for commentary on Dolce's pronouncements about the sensual effects of color.
- 38 Lehmann, "Fleshing Out the Body," discusses the traditional workshop traditions embedded in the theoretical framework for discussions of color in relation to lifelikeness.

- Netherlandish artists were particularly sensitive to oil techniques for painting the lifelike flesh colors of human bodies. She argues (p. 101) that glowing flesh techniques were disseminated from early Netherlandish painting into Italy and then re-imported by Netherlandish artists in the late sixteenth century.
- 39 Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 223r.
- 40 For example, *Portrait of a Young Man Wearing a Beret*, sometimes attributed to Zuccaro; its subtle shading might have stimulated Goltzius to try something similar. See Carel van Tuyll van Serooskerken, *The Italian Drawings of the 15th and 16th Centuries in the Teyler Museum* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 2000), 315, cat. no. 307; Stefann Hautekeete, *Disegno et Couleur, Italiaans en Franse Teekeningen van de 16de tot de 18de eeuw*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (Milan: Silvano, 2012); Detlef Heikamp, “Federico Zuccaro a Firenze,” *Paragone* 18 (1967), 55n57 and figs. 36a–37b; John Gere, *Dessins de Taddeo et Federico Zuccaro*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1969); Catherine Monbeig Goguel and Françoise Viatte, *Roman Drawings of the Sixteenth Century from the Musée du Louvre*, Paris, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1979).
- 41 Although there is a superficial resemblance between Zuccaro’s and Goltzius’s drawings in medium and focus (head over body), Zuccaro tended to distance his sitters and choose smaller paper sizes. See Veronika Birke, *Italian Drawings 1350–1800: Masterworks from the Albertina*, exh. cat. (Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1992), 130.
- 42 On Goltzius’s metalpoint portrait that used to be identified as Federico Zuccaro, see Holm Bevers in Jürgen Müller, Petra Roettig, and Andreas Stolzenburg, *Die Masken der Schönheit: Hendrick Goltzius und das Kunstideal um 1600*, exh. cat. (Hamburg: Kunsthalle, 2002), 118–119, cat. no. 35 (R. 303). My thanks to Huigen Leeftang for pointing out the sitter’s re-identification as Hubert Caymox; see Marjolein Leesberg and Huigen Leeftang, eds., *Hendrick Goltzius, New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2012), 4:65, cat. no. 777.
- 43 Diane De Grazia, *Correggio and His Legacy*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1984), 37, citing Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de’ pittori scultori et architetti moderni* (Rome, 1672), 173: Correggio’s teste a pastelli. By “pastelli,” Bellori seems to have meant fabricated chalks—an early form of pastel sticks. Other North Italian artists adopted fabricated colored chalks to introduce warm hues into their drawings. For a recent discussion, see Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” 40.
- 44 McGrath, *Disegno, Colore and the Disegno Colorito*, 2:23. He notes that in Bonsignori’s *Portrait of a Woman* in The British Museum (before 1519) the face was first sketched in black chalk and then modeled with red, black, and white chalks. Brown chalk appears in the hair and (perhaps) eyes and blue and yellow chalks in the necklace. Ursula Barbara Schmitt, “Francesco Bonsignori,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 12 (1961): 73–152. On Leonardo’s exploration of colored chalks, see Bambach, “Leonardo’s Notes on Pastel Drawing,” 176–204.
- 45 McGrath, “Federico Barocci,” 3–9, interprets these as an early form of pastel, as does Bohn, “Drawing as Artistic Invention,” 40. Burns, though, prefers to distinguish between drawing with natural and fabricated colored chalks, on the one hand, and the new

- practice of pastel painting that arose in the later seventeenth century on the other. Thea Burns and Philippe Saunier, *The Art of the Pastel* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2015), 29.
- 46 Goeree, *Inleydineg tot de Al-ghemeene Teyckenkonst*, 87. Alternatively, Goltzius smudged the lines carefully in a technique termed *doezelen* by Goeree.
- 47 Aurelia Brandt, “Goltzius and the Antique,” *Print Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (2001): 135–149. Austėja Mackelaitė has discussed Goltzius’s use of chalk in her recent thesis on Netherlandish drawings after antique statuary in Rome for the Courtauld Institute.
- 48 Inscribed on the verso: “Giouan de Bologna Beelthouwer tot florencen/Gheconterf [. . .] H [. . . (probably Goltzius)] 1591.” Goltzius also added touches of brown and brownish green watercolor.
- 49 Yvonne Bleyerveld and Ilja M. Veldman, in *The Netherlandish Drawings of the 16th Century in Teylers Museum* (Leiden: Primavera Pers in association with Teylers Museum, Haarlem, 2016), 98, note that he brushed brown and brown-gray at the corners and upper edges of the eyes, nostril, and upper edge of the lip and added white bodycolor dots in the eyeballs. Based on the Dutch inscription on the verso of *Giambologna*, Veldman suggests that Goltzius brought this portrait back with him to Haarlem in 1591. Ilja M. Veldman, “The History of Queen Christina’s Album of Goltzius Drawings and the Myth of Rudolf II as Their First Owner,” *Simiolus* 37, no. 2 (2013–2014): 109.
- 50 For the identification, see Josua Bruyn, “Een portrettekening door Hendrick Goltzius,” *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 9, no. 4 (1961): 135–139.
- 51 Taylor, “Glow,” 159–178.
- 52 On Van Mander’s use of the word *dommelig* for soft flesh painting, see Van Mander, *Life of Anthonis Blockland*, *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 254r; and Miedema’s commentary in Van Mander, *Lives* (ed. and trans. Miedema), 3:134ff; and Lehmann, “Fleshing Out the Body,” 96.
- 53 Debora D. Mayer and Pamela B. Vandiver, “Red Chalk: Historical and Technical Perspectives; Part 2: A Technical Study,” in Walter Strauss and Tracie Felker, eds., *Drawings Defined* (New York: Abaris Books, 1987), 172.
- 54 Reznicek, *Zeichnungen*, 1:394 (R 342).
- 55 For the portrait of Palma il Giovane, Goltzius used a little ocher chalk in the area just below the lips, between the beard and the collar, and between the eyelids and the eyebrows.
- 56 Leeflang and Luijten, eds., *Hendrick Goltzius*, 155, citing Van Mander, *Levens*, fol. 187r.
- 57 In this respect, his approach resembles that of central Italian artists; for comparison, see McGrath, “Colour in Italian Renaissance Drawing,” 28.
- 58 Van Mander, *Leven*, fol. 258r; Van Mander, *Lives* (ed. and trans. Miedema), 44–45, in the biography of Christoffel Swarts (Christoph Schwarz). See also Reznicek, *Zeichnungen*, 1:7.
- 59 “Hans Sadelaer Constrijck plaetsnijder van de[n] Hertoog van Bayere geteeckent naer’t leeve vanden vermaerde Mr. Hendrick Goltzius 1591 voor sijn vrient P.v.Wingen.” (The original date, 1591, was changed to 1592, probably by Philips van Wingen or someone in his circle.) On gift giving, see Filedt Kok, “Artists Portrayed by Their Friends,” 164; and Zell, *Rembrandt, Vermeer and the Gift*, 196–204.

- 60 Emil Karel Josef Reznicek, “Drawings by Hendrick Goltzius, Thirty Years Later: Supplement to the 1961 Catalogue Raisonné,” *Master Drawings* 31, no. 3 (Autumn 1993): 215–278; William W. Robinson, *Seventeenth-Century Dutch Drawings: A Selection from the Maida and George Abrams Collection*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1991), 24–25, cat. no. 3; William W. Robinson and Susan Anderson, *Drawings from the Age of Bruegel, Rubens, and Rembrandt: Highlights from the Collection of the Harvard Art Museums* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 151–153, cat. no. 42.
- 61 On Matham’s own trip to Italy, see Huigen Leeftang, “The Roman Experiences of Hendrick Goltzius and Jacob Matham: A Comparison,” in “Ein privilegiertes Medium und die Bildkulturen Europas, Deutsche, Französische und Niederländische Kupferstecher und Graphik verleger in Rom von 1590 bis 1630,” *Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 32 (2012): 21–38. The portrait of Matham is innovative in its establishment of greater pictorial depth by darkening the background. Goltzius used feather-light hatching and chiaroscuro effects to create a more three-dimensional figure in space, while continuing his fascination with the complexity of light on skin—note the subtly modeled flesh, with its play of light and shadow on the turned-away side of the head.
- 62 The portrait of Dideringh (R. 268) is annotated on the verso “Johan Dideringh” in a seventeenth-century hand. An Amsterdam auction catalogue of November 22, 1757, lists the drawing as representing “Een Goudsmid van Haarlem, genaamt Dideringh”; otherwise, nothing is known about the artist. See Leeftang and Luijten, eds., *Hendrick Goltzius*, cat. no. 53, for the identification of the sitter.
- 63 Edward H. Wouk, “Portrait of the Artist as a Friend,” in “Ars Amicitiae: The Art of Friendship in the Early Modern Netherlands,” ed. H. Perry Chapman et al., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 70 (2020): 96–117, esp. 112.
- 64 Andreas Stolzenburg, “An Inventory of Goltzius Drawings from the Collection of Queen Christina,” *Master Drawings* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 424–442, nos. 100–101.
- 65 Leeftang and Luijten, eds., *Hendrick Goltzius*, cat. no. 3. Goltzius’s *Portrait of Jan Govertsen van der Aar* (1606; Teylers Museum, Haarlem), which measures 47 x 37.5 cm (and is thus over life size), falls outside the series of artist portraits because of the sitter’s identity as a textile merchant.
- 66 Filedt Kok, “Artists Portrayed by Their Friends.”
- 67 Leeftang and Luijten, eds., *Hendrick Goltzius*, cat. no. 99; Lawrence W. Nichols, “The ‘Pen Works’ of Hendrick Goltzius,” *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 88, nos. 373/374 (Winter 1992); Nichols, *Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius*, cat. no. A-31. As Nichols makes clear, the Philadelphia pen work, though stupendous, is only one of a number of category-defying works of this period. See also Walter Melion, “*Vivae dixisses virginis ora*: The Discourse of Color in Hendrick Goltzius’s *Pygmalion and the Ivory Statue*,” *Word & Image* 17, nos. 1/2 (2001), 154–155; and Christine Göttler, “Yellow, Vermilion, and Gold: Colour in Karel van Mander’s *Schilderboeck*,” in Susanna Burghartz et al., eds., *Materialized Identities in Early Modern Culture, 1450–1750: Objects, Affects, Effects* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2021), 263–264.
- 68 For the suggestion (in passing) of an engraved series, see John Oliver Hand et al., *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC:

- National Gallery of Art, 1986), 162–163, cat. no. 57 (catalogue entry by Martha Wolff); Annette Strech, “*Nach dem Leben und aus der Phantasie*”: *Niederländische Zeichnungen von 15. Bis 18. Jahrhundert aus dem Städelsche Kunstinstitut*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt am Main: Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, 2000), 90.
- 69 On this series of engravings, *Pictorum aliquot Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*, see Hans-Joachim Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1984); Stephanie Porras, “Repeat Viewing: Hendrick Hondius’s *Effigies*,” in *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*, ed. Joanna Woodall and Stephanie Porras, Courtauld Books Online (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 2014), 17–42, [HTTPS://COURTAULD.AC.UK/RESEARCH/RESEARCH-RESOURCES/PUBLICATIONS/COURTAULD-BOOKS-ONLINE/PICTURING-THE-NETHERLANDISH-CANON](https://courtauld.ac.uk/research/research-resources/publications/courtauld-books-online/picturing-the-netherlandish-canon); Joanna Woodall, “Dem Dry Bones: Portrayal in Print after the Death of the Original Model,” in Woodall and Porras, eds., *Picturing the Netherlandish Canon*, 43–77; Joanna Woodall, “Hieronymus Cock’s *Effigies*: Living Presence in Portrait Prints after the Death of the Original Model,” in *The Secret Lives of Artworks*, ed. Caroline van Eck (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2014), 262–289; S. Meiers, “Portraits in Print: Hieronymus Cock, Dominicus Lampsonius, and ‘*Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*,’” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69 (2006): 1–16; Ger Luijten, “The Iconography: Van Dyck’s Portraits in Print,” in C. Depauw and Ger Luijten, eds., *Anthony van Dyck as a Printmaker*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1999), 76–77. On this portrait series and other seventeenth-century developments by Hendrik Hondius and Anthony van Dyck, see Dominicus Lampsonius, *The Life of Lambert Lombard (1565); Effigies of Several Famous Painters from the Low Countries (1572)*, ed. and trans. Edward H. Wouk (Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2021).
- 70 Filedt Kok, “Artists Portrayed by Their Friends,” 162–164. The most influential suite of portrait prints following (and elaborating on) Cock’s 1572 publication was the larger series of sixty-eight plates by Hendrick Hondius (1610), which used the same title as Cock’s.
- 71 Van Mander, *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 294r; Van Mander, *Lives* (ed. and trans. Miedema), in the biography of Jacques de Gheyn, vol. I, 434–435.